Interactions of Sinitic Languages in the Philippines: Sinicization, Filipinization, and Sino-Philippine Language Creation

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Wilkinson Daniel Wong Gonzales

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W. D. W. Gonzales (✉)
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA
e-mail: wdwg@umich.edu

Abstract

This chapter explores the interactions between Sinitic and Philippine-based languages in the Philippine context. It focuses on the complex dynamics between the languages of the historically indigenous population and those of the (heritage and homeland) Chinese groups. Using oral and written data sampled from 12 linguistic varieties in three major Philippine cities across the archipelago, the chapter features the processes of Sinicization, Filipinization, and language creation. It shows that languages that co-exist in the same linguistic ecology can actually affect each other differently, depending on the sociohistorical context in which such interactions take place. Overall, this descriptive overview chapter hopes to highlight the intricacies of the relationship between the Sinitic and Philippine-based languages and attempts to provide a holistic characterization of the Sino-Philippine and, consequently, broader Philippine linguistic landscape.

Keywords

Sino-Philippine linguistic varieties · Language ecology · Language contact · Linguistic interactions · Sociolinguistics

List of Abbreviations

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ADV	Adverb
CLF	Classifier
CLI	Clitic
COM	Comparative
COND	Conditional
CONJ	Conjunction
COP	Copula
DEM	Demonstrative
DET	Determiner
GEN	Genitive
INC	Inclusive
INF	Infinitive
INT	Interjection

LNK	Linker
LOC	Locative
NEG	Negative marker
NOM	Nominative case
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
POL	Politeness marker
PRT	Particle
Q	Question marker
REL	Relativizer
SG	Singular
UV	Undergoer voice

Introduction

This chapter is mainly concerned with the dynamics of Sinitic languages (e.g., Hokkien) in relation to non-Sinitic languages used in the Philippines (e.g., Tagalog). Up to now, most linguistic studies that focus on multilingual interactions in the Philippines have stressed the dynamics between historically indigenous languages and Western languages such as English and Spanish (Schuchardt 1883; Toribia 1963; Llamzon 1969; Sobolewski 1980; Bautista 2004). Some of these studies include work on the local English (e.g., Bautista 2000 for English in Manila), creoles (e.g., Lesho 2013 for Cavite Chabacano), and bilingual code-switching between English and a regional language (e.g., Sobolewski 1980; Bautista 2004 for Tagalog-English; Abastillas 2015 for Cebuano-English). Although these works were successful in examining aspects of dynamic linguistic contact phenomena in the Philippines, they become inadequate if one seeks to gain a fuller understanding of the linguistic landscape of the Philippines and of its complexities. This is because earlier research tends to downplay, if not ignore, the role other non-Western languages (apart from historically indigenous ones) play in the Philippine "language ecology" – a term that refers to the set of interactions between languages and their environment (Haugen 1971).

There are several non-Western ethnic groups that have historically resided in the Philippines and have interacted with the Filipinos in varying degrees (e.g., Koreans, Imperial 2016; Chinese, Wickberg 1965; Doeppers 1986; See and Teresita 1990; Gonzales 2017a). This suggests that "Philippine-based" languages – linguistic varieties that are historically indigenous to the Philippines (e.g., Tagalog) and nativized varieties of non-indigenous languages (e.g., Philippine Englishes, Gonzales 2017b) – have also come into contact with the languages of these ethnic groups, and not just the Western languages. Yet, very little scholarly attention has been given to these ethnic groups and to the codes they use.

As a minority group in the Philippines, the Chinese were engaged in trade long before the arrival of the Spanish (Wickberg 1965), have historically been considered

economic pillars of Philippine society, and dominate several major industries (Tan 1993: 77). But despite their influence and contributions to early and contemporary Philippine society, studies focusing on Sinitic language(s) and the dynamics of these languages in relation to other Philippine-based languages continue to be eclipsed by research and reference works that focus solely on Western-local interactions.

Despite the fact that overseas Chinese trade and migration to the Philippines and greater Southeast Asia have always been a crucial part of Chinese history (Wickberg 1965), there has been very little work on how the Sinitic languages used by the local Chinese communities interact with other languages spoken in the Philippines. This is in contrast with the many studies that have focused on descriptions of the Sinitic languages without accounting for the interactive dynamics (of language contact) among them (see Li and Thompson 1989 for Mandarin; MacGowan 1883, Bodman 1987 for Amoy Hokkien; Chappell 2019 for Southern Min, etc.).

To encourage the development of dynamic-based linguistic research in both Philippine and Sinitic scholarly circles, this chapter introduces and explores the nexus of Sinitic and Philippine linguistics. It aims to bridge the gaps between fields by highlighting the complex, dynamic nature of the interactions between the Sinitic languages and Philippine-based languages. By doing so, it provides a more holistic and, consequently, more faithful characterization of the (Sino-)Philippine linguistic landscape that could potentially serve as a springboard for further, much-needed research in the field.

Specifically, this chapter will survey several linguistic codes that are related to Sinitic languages. It will illustrate and discuss the varied consequences of contact between Sinitic and Philippine-based languages as reflected in the general processes of Filipinization, Sinicization, and Sino-Philippine language creation. The chapter is intended to be a *descriptive* overview of Sino-Philippine interactions, focusing on three major Sinitic languages spoken in the Philippines – Southern Min (Hokkien), Cantonese, and Mandarin. It also aims to showcase new languages resulting from contact between Sinitic and Philippine-based languages. The four speaker groups that this chapter will focus on are the Filipinos, the Lannangs, Mainland Chinese (new immigrants and sojourners), and the Sangleys.

The rest of the chapter is organized as follows: the next section will cover the operational definitions of select terms in language contact studies. The two sections that follow this will set the stage by providing a general overview of the Philippines, the Chinese heritage and homeland groups in the Philippines, and their languages. This is succeeded by explorations of Sino-Philippine linguistic interactions. A general discussion that accounts for these interactions and concluding notes follow these sections.

Terminology

In this chapter, "code-switching" will be used to refer to situations when a speaker completely shifts from one language to another – whether it is at the word, phrase, clause, or sentence level. A speaker code-switches when they switch from a

monolingual (unilingual) to a bilingual language mode; this is typically socially motivated. For example, a speaker can code-switch as a mark of inclusion of another bilingual speaker, or to exclude an outsider conversation, or to assert their identity.

Code-switching is different from "borrowing," which is operationally defined here as the integration of the word from one language into another (Grosjean 2010). In contrast to code-switching, borrowing involves phonological adaptation. In code-switching, a given word, for instance, is clearly flagged as originating from another language based on its phonology. In contrast, in borrowing, the loaned word is considered as fully integrated to the recipient language.

While some scholars may view borrowing as being either lexical, functional, or structural (see Thomason and Kaufman's 1988 borrowing scale) in this chapter, I limit myself to using "borrowing" to designate only lexical borrowing or loan words. Functional and structural borrowing will be referred to as "language transfer" or simply "transfer" here. For example, it is uncommon to say that a language "borrows" the pronominal system from another language. For the present purposes, we will say instead that the pronominal system is "transferred" from the source language to the recipient language (Odlin 1989; Pavlenko and Jarvis 2008).

The Philippines in a Nutshell

The Philippines is an archipelagic nation in Southeast Asia that consists of around 7,641 islands (Fig. 1).

The population is roughly 106 million (The World Bank 2018), and most people belong to one of the seven major indigenous ethnic groups – the Tagalogs, Cebuanos, Ilocanos, Visayans, Ilonggos, Bikolanos, and Warays. Table 1 shows the breakdown of the population by ethnicity.

As mentioned in the introduction, the Philippines has had a long history of trade with other non-indigenous groups, such as the Chinese (Patanne 1996), and had been occupied by several foreign powers, such as the Spaniards in the 1500s, the Americans around the 1900s, and, briefly, the British (1762–1764, Manila) and the Japanese (1942–1945) (Agoncillo and Guerrero 1970).

The interaction between the indigenous and non-indigenous populations throughout history is one reason why the Philippines is generally thought of as a hotbed of languages. According to Simons and Fennig (2020), it has 184 living languages, comprising 175 indigenous languages and 9 non-indigenous ones. Of these codes, Filipino – operationally defined in this chapter as a standardized Tagalog variety with overt non-Tagalog lexical mixing – functions as the national language. Alongside English, Filipino is also an official language, that is, both English and Filipino are used in official domains, such as in government documents. Both English and Filipino are also used as the primary media of instruction in school, whereas the other languages are mainly used for wider communication within their respective ethno-geographic groups.

Figure 2 shows the predominant indigenous languages in the Philippines by language family.

Chinese Heritage Groups and Their Languages

Historically, those of Chinese descent in the Philippines comprise three major groups – the Sangleys, the Lannangs, and the Mainland Chinese.
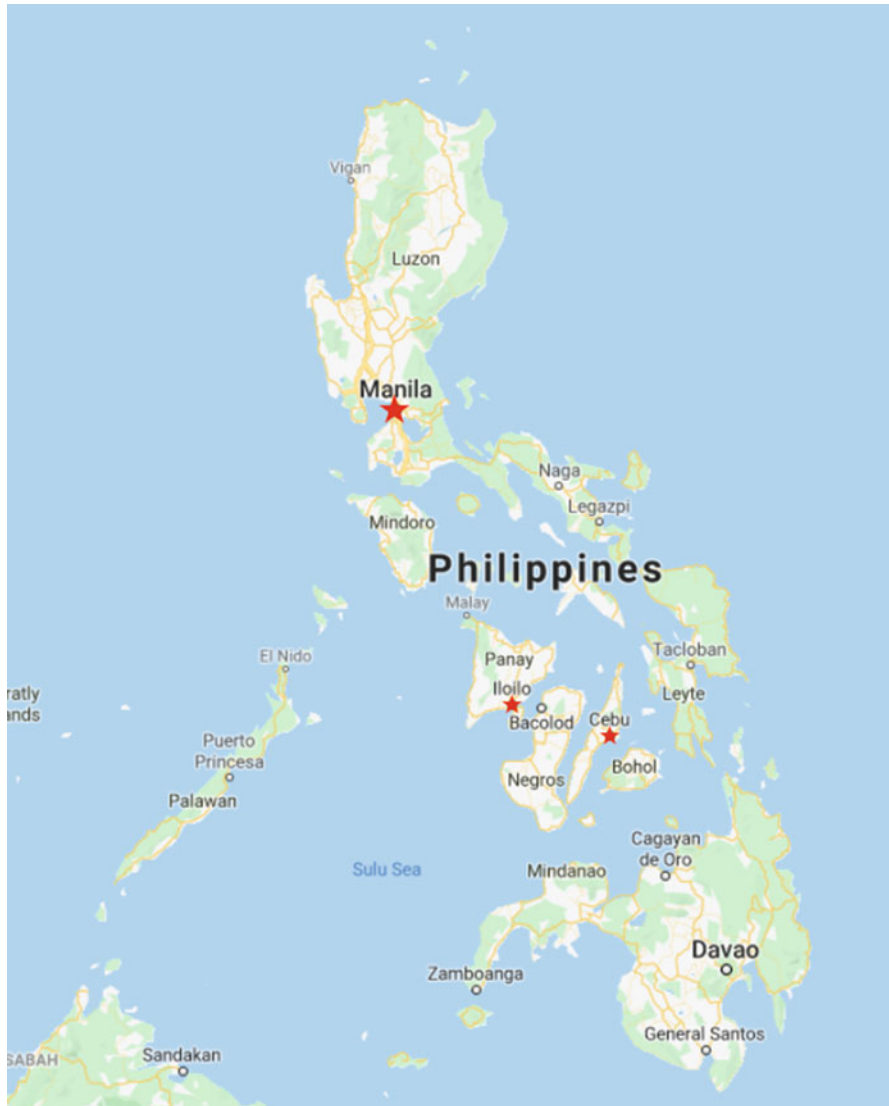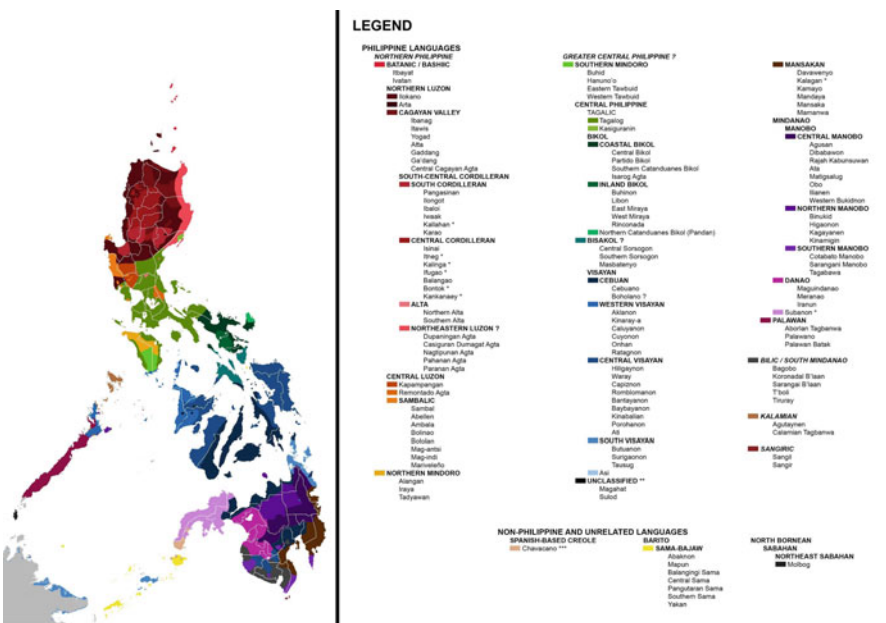

Fig. 1 Map of the Philippines with Manila, Iloilo, and Cebu highlighted with red stars

Table 1 Population by ethnicity according to the 2010 Census of Population and Housing conducted by the Philippine Statistics Authority ([2010](#)) (latest data not available)

Ethnicity	Population	%
Tagalog	22,512,089	24.44
Cebuano	9,125,637	9.91
Ilocano	8,074,536	8.77
Bisaya/Binisaya	10,539,816	11.44
Hiligaynon/Ilonggo	7,773,655	8.44
Bikol	6,299,283	6.84
Waray	3,660,645	3.97
Chinese (Lannang?)[a]	1,410,000	1.53
Other foreign ethnicity	63,017	0.07
Others	22,632,850	24.57
Not reported	6,450	0.01
Total	92,097,978	100

[a]The population estimates are based on Uytanlet ([2014](#): 3)

Fig. 2 Linguistic map of the Philippines based on indigenous and/or predominant language groups. (Map by Reddit user u/*pansitkanton*, based on data from Ethnologue in 2016, Simons and Fennig [2020](#))

Colonial Era

Sangleys

The Sangleys were Southern Chinese merchants and traders during the Spanish colonial era of the Philippines. They functioned as the "middlemen" between the indigenous population and the Spanish colonizers (Uytanlet 2014: 48). The Sangleys were engaged in trade among other professions (e.g., bakers, cooks, barbers, vendors, blacksmiths) that sought to fill in the occupational vacuum that the natives and the colonizer left (Uytanlet 2014): the natives, at that time, generally only practiced subsistence agriculture, while the Spaniards were not too keen on engaging with hard labor (Uytanlet 2014).

The Sangleys, who had Hokkien (Klöter 2011) and Chinese Spanish Pidgin (Fernández and Sippola 2017) in their linguistic repertoire, interacted frequently with the local population. Some, if not most, Sangleys intermarried the natives, having offspring who eventually assimilated to mainstream Philippine society at the turn of the nineteenth century (Wickberg 1965: 237). Although most Sangleys were concentrated in Manila, they had also established trade in other Philippine ports such as those in Iloilo, Zamboanga, and Jolo (Wickberg 1965: 5).

Contemporary

Lannangs

The Lannangs (derived from Hokkien *lân láng* "our people") generally consist of Southern Chinese who emigrated from China around the late nineteenth to early twentieth century and their descendants. They are individuals with Chinese ancestry (but not necessarily "pure" Chinese) who spent the majority of, if not their entire, life in the Philippines. Many Lannangs have Filipino citizenship, but there are some who were unable to acquire it despite the mass naturalization decree issued in the 1970s (Tan 1993). The Lannangs also go by many names, depending on their political alignment, citizenship, and personal preference. Some of these include Filipino-Chinese, *Huīdīpīn Huakiaú* "Philippine Overseas Chinese," Tsinoy/Chinoy, or Chinese Filipino (see Gonzales 2021 for a comparison). Regardless of race, citizenship, or designation, the Lannangs all share the experience of a mixed Chinese and Filipino culture. They are generally more oriented toward the Philippines.

Exposed to a multicultural environment, most Lannangs are multilingual in both Sinitic and Philippine-based languages. They are knowledgeable in Philippine Hokkien, Mandarin, and Cantonese (if they are of Cantonese heritage) and can also communicate in the dominant regional language (e.g., Hiligaynon, if in Iloilo City). Like the Filipinos without Lannang heritage (henceforth, Filipinos), the Lannangs also have the dominant languages Filipino and English in their linguistic repertoire, as they have also been schooled using a national English-Filipino curriculum.

In terms of location, the Lannangs are dispersed all across the Philippine islands (Doeppers 1986). In the National Capital Region of Metropolitan Manila (see

Fig. 3), the Lannangs tend to reside in either the historic Chinese enclave areas of Binondo and Santa Cruz (see Fig. 4) or in the Banawe area in Quezon City, although a large number of Lannangs do not live in any of these areas and reside in areas such as Tondo as well as San Juan City and Makati City.

Fig. 3 A map of Metropolitan Manila
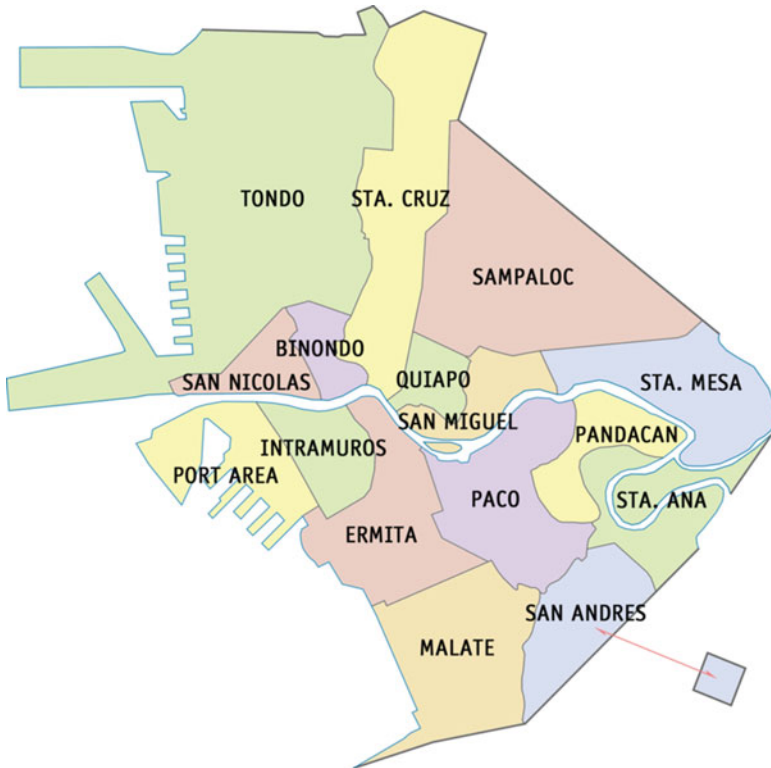
Fig. 4 A map of Manila City

Mainland Chinese

The Mainland Chinese – called the *Taīdiōkâ*s "Mainlander" by many Lannangs –
generally refer to individuals of Chinese ancestry who began arriving in the
Philippines from the 1990s. They consist of new immigrants from Southern
China as well as other Chinese groups that have no intention of staying in the
Philippines (henceforth, sojourners). Unlike the Lannangs, the Mainland
Chinese are more oriented toward their homeland in China compared to
the Philippines.

Unlike most Lannangs, the Mainland Chinese have Mandarin as their dominant
language and are also not as knowledgeable of Philippine-based languages, in
contrast to those with Lannang heritage. Mainland Chinese with Southern Chinese
heritage also have Hokkien as another dominant language. Most of these new
immigrant Southern Chinese are concentrated in the Binondo area, while the other
Mainland Chinese groups reside in less predictable areas compared to the immi-
grant group.

Sinitic Languages and Their Interactions

This section explores how the Sinitic languages of the heritage and homeland groups – particularly Southern Min (henceforth, Hokkien), Cantonese, and Mandarin – interact with major Philippine-based languages. The section also features new languages created from these interactions.

Data

The observations and analysis of these interactions draw from two main sources: (a) examples from published sources and (b) a data bank consisting of transcribed fieldwork recordings, elicitations, narratives, and interviews collected in Metropolitan Manila between 2017 and 2019. A subset of the data bank, particularly that collected from Lannangs (approximately 155,000 words), will hereafter be referred to in this chapter as the Lannang Corpus (LC).

Orthography

With the exception of Pinyin-using Mandarin, the latter data source had been transcribed (and will be presented) in Lannang Orthography or the orthographic conventions of The Lannang Archives (The Lannang Archives 2020). Linguistic data from the literature review will be presented as is.

Annotations

Under each linguistic example, I use the following labelling convention:
(Reference, if applicable; date of utterance/writing, location, type of data, linguistic variety, participant ID/information)

Overview

Overall, the succeeding sections will feature the following languages and varieties:

- Hokkien
    - Early Manila Hokkien
    - Mainland Hokkien: Manila
    - Philippine Hokkien (Lannang Hokkien): Manila
- Cantonese
    - Lannang Cantonese: Manila
    - Lannang Taishanese: Manila

- Mandarin
  - Mainland Mandarin: Manila
  - Lannang Mandarin: Manila
- Chinese Spanish Pidgin
  - Manila variety
- Chinese Tagalog Pidgin
  - Manila variety
- Lánnang-uè (Philippine Hybrid Hokkien)
  - Manila variety
  - Cebu variety
  - Iloilo variety

Using these codes as case studies, the following sections feature three broad linguistic processes – Filipinization, Sinicization, and Sino-Philippine language creation. Filipinization is where Philippine languages influence Sinitic ones; Sinicization is where the reverse occurs; Sino-Philippine language creation is where new languages not genetically traceable to the source languages are created.

Each of the sections on linguistic interactions will begin with an overview of the highlighted language. Seminal research on the language along with relevant socio-historical information will then be outlined. This will then be followed by descriptions of individual varieties within that language and discussions of how these varieties contribute to the processes of Sinicization and Filipinization. A section featuring new languages created out of Sino-Philippine language contact will follow this.

Hokkien

No survey of Sinitic languages in the Philippines is complete without a discussion of Hokkien, arguably the oldest and most widely used Sinitic language in the Philippines. The earliest systematic study of this language in the Philippine context, to my knowledge, is a Spanish missionary grammar entitled *Arte de la lengua Chio Chiu* (Klöter 2011). One of the earliest (if not the earliest) concrete linguistic evidence of Hokkien use, on the other hand, can be found in translations of Christian catechisms in the local Hokkien vernacular – the *Doctrina Christiana en letra y lengua china*, published in 1604. It dates Hokkien use in the Philippines to at least the seventeenth century, although historical references suggest that Hokkien use predates Spanish colonization (Van der Loon 1966, 1967; Chirino 1604). In the absence of records of other Sinitic languages, such as Mandarin or their speakers in the Philippines prior to the 1600s, one could reasonably assume that Hokkien is the oldest Sinitic language in the Philippines. It is also claimed to be widely used among the contemporary Philippine Chinese communities as a heritage language, even if some of them have non-Hokkien heritage (e.g., Cantonese). This is because the Hokkien-speaking population has traditionally formed the bulk of the Philippine Chinese population

(90%, by Ang See's 1990 estimation), a situation that continues up to the present. Its established and dominant use in the community has most likely caused the minority Chinese population – the Standard Cantonese and Taishanese-speaking Cantonese – to assimilate with the majority Hokkien-speaking Chinese by acquiring Hokkien as one of their dominant languages.

This section does not attempt to survey all historical varieties of Hokkien in the Philippines and will focus only on three salient Hokkien varieties during two different eras: Early Manila Hokkien is discussed for the earlier era (see Klöter 2011); and Philippine Hokkien and Mainland Hokkien in Manila are discussed for the contemporary era.

Early Manila Hokkien

The earliest attested variety of Hokkien in the Philippines is Early Manila Hokkien, used by the Sangleys. The literature on the variety is scarce: the most extensive study of it, to my knowledge, is Van der Loon's (Van der Loon 1967) analysis and grammar reconstruction, which focused on the pronunciation, morphology, and syntax of this variety. Following this is Klöter's (2011) investigation of the variety in the Spanish-era *Arte*, where he argues that Early Manila Hokkien is distinct from the other Hokkien varieties spoken in mainland China (i.e., Amoy, *Zhāngzhōu*, *Quánzhōu*, and *Cháoshàn*) based on lexical and phonological evidence (see also ▶ Chap. 17, "Interactions Between Min and Other Sinitic Languages: Genetic Inheritance and Areal Patterns," by Ruiqing Shen's in this volume). The new variety, he claims, had emerged as a result of dialect levelling – a standardization process in which dialectal differences are "reduced" (Klöter 2011: 162). He uses the innovative second-person plural *lun* as an example and claims that it does not appear in any of the other Hokkien dialects (Klöter 2011). But while Klöter posits dialect emergence as a result of dialect contact here, he did not find interactions with Tagalog (Klöter 2011). Klöter's omission of Tagalog influence on Early Manila Hokkien is somewhat surprising, as its speakers, the Sangleys, were known to intermarry local women and interact with locals (Wickberg 1965).

Influences from Local Languages
Van der Loon (1967) did not highlight linguistic interactions in his study, but the data he described offers some insights into the situation of language contact involving Early Manila Hokkien. While he did not pinpoint explicit Tagalog influence, he documented loanwords from Spanish in Early Manila Hokkien. For example, in (1), the Spanish word for God, *Dios*, was borrowed into Hokkien as *Liosi/Diosi*. Religious terms, such as the word for Jesus Christ (i.e., *Sesu*) or that for the Holy Spirit (i.e., *Si Piritu Santo*), were also borrowed from Spanish into Hokkien (Van der Loon 1967). Despite the lack of oral data in Early Manila Hokkien, Van der Loon's study shows that borrowings from Spanish were commonplace. An initial look at the same data indicates no evidence of Tagalog borrowings, structural or functional transfer, confirming Klöter's initial observations (Klöter 2011: 157).

(1) **Diosi** u   chap si   kia   su-sit.
    God   have four ten CLF reality
    "There are fourteen facts about God."
    (Van der Loon 1967: 148; 1604, *Doctrina Christiana en letra y lengua china*, translation,
    Early Manila Hokkien, unknown)

Influences on Local Languages

Despite there currently being no evidence of Tagalog borrowings into Early Manila Hokkien, there is some evidence of the influence of Early Manila Hokkien on Tagalog. Residuals of Early Manila Hokkien on Tagalog exist in Filipino (Manila), traditionally characterized as a variety of standardized Tagalog with Spanish, Hokkien, and English influence, although historically, Filipino is a newly developed language with Tagalog as its base. It was formed as a response to Philippine nationalism in the 1930s (Thompson 2003: 28).

A large number of words in Filipino for cookery, cutlery, and trade-related expressions are considered to be Tagalog origin by locals, despite their origins in Hokkien (Chan-Yap 1980). In (2), for example, the word for a particular rice porridge dish cooked with ox tripe, referred to as *goto* "ox tripe," originates from Hokkien *gu to*. Other words include *taho* "bean curd" from Hokkien *taūhù* and *bilao* "device for winnowing rice" from *bí laū* (Chan-Yap 1980).

(2) *Ano bang pinagkaiba ng   lugaw,* **goto** *at   arroz-caldo?*
    what PRT   difference   LNK   porridge tripe   and   arroz caldo
    "What is the difference between rice porridge, ox tripe, and arroz-caldo?
    (Magbanua 2018; 2018, tabloid, text, Mainstream Filipino, unknown)

Some posit that these loanwords entered Tagalog in the seventh century (Chan-Yap 1980: 2). Others like Manuel (1949: 94) propose a timeline slightly before the period of Spanish colonization in the 1500s. Regardless of the exact time of introduction, what is clear is that there was already interaction between Hokkien and the local languages, Spanish, and Tagalog (at least in Manila), even in the early period – Hokkien was influenced by Spanish through the borrowing of Spanish religious lexicon; on the other hand, Tagalog was influenced by Hokkien through lexical borrowing of cookery and food-related terminology. Despite there being bi-directional contact between early Sinitic Hokkien and Philippine-based languages, there seems to be no evidence of structural or functional transfer of Spanish or Tagalog onto Early (Manila) Hokkien or vice versa.

Philippine Hokkien

The second variety of Hokkien to be discussed in this chapter is Philippine Hokkien or *Huīdīpīn Hōkkiên-uè.* It is a dialect of Hokkien used by the Lannangs which has drawn influence from other Southern Chinese Hokkien dialects, such as *Ēmúng*/Amoy/Xiamen and *Tsînkāng*/Jinjiang Hokkien. It is sometimes referred to as

Lánnang-uè "Our People speech," but I will reserve the use of this term to refer to a different language in this chapter.

Philippine Hokkien is typically used by the Lannangs in religious and cultural domains (e.g., traditional opera, funeral rituals, temple rituals, sermons, lineage, or clan association meetings) (Nicolas 2016; Uytanlet 2014). In terms of spheres of usage, the situation is complex: a small percentage of the Lannangs, particularly those in their 90s and above, use it across domains (e.g., home, peers, community, religion). Younger Lannangs are known to use Philippine Hokkien in restricted domains (e.g., religion). There are, however, some Lannangs who use this variety as their dominant and native language.

Generally, Philippine Hokkien is viewed by the community as an ancestral language and is held in high regard. Many Lannangs pride themselves in being able to speak the language fluently, even if some of them (particularly younger ones) cannot actually speak it, instead using a mixed language with Hokkien characteristics, a point I will return when I discuss Lánnang-uè later.

Research done on Philippine Hokkien is largely inadequate. One of them is Dy's (1972) description of Philippine Hokkien syntactic structures, perhaps the earliest work on the variety. The other is that of Tsai (2017), whose description of Philippine Hokkien is perhaps the most comprehensive. In her dissertation, she explored the phonology of this dialect and conducted surveys focusing on the language situation of the Lannang community in Manila. Her study, for example, found that the phonological system (e.g., tone) of Philippine Hokkien is distinct from other Hokkien varieties.

In the following sections, I describe two general processes of interaction – one where Hokkien influences other Philippine-based languages and the other where it is influenced by other local languages.

Influences on Local Languages

Mainstream Tagalog and Filipino (henceforth, Tagalog for simplification purposes) in Manila have borrowed words for relatively modern Chinese paraphernalia from Philippine Hokkien. The word *āngpaū* "red packets with money," for example, has been borrowed into Tagalog as *ampao*, with the velar nasal sound [ŋ] phonologically adapted as a bilabial nasal sound [m] through the process of assimilation, which is a sound process where two neighboring sounds become more similar to each other, and the loss of contrastive tone, as shown in (3).

(3) *Binigyan   ako   ni   kuya   ng   **ampao***
     give   1.SG   NOM   brother   LNK   red-packet
     "My brother gave me a red packet."
     (December 2019, unknown, elicited speech, Tagalog, Filipino)

The claim of borrowing from Philippine Hokkien is based on the fact that *ampao* did not appear in Chan-Yap's (1980) comprehensive list of early Hokkien borrowings into Tagalog. This section, thus, assumes that the borrowing is from Philippine Hokkien, and not from earlier Hokkien varieties.

As shown in this subsection, borrowing from Philippine Hokkien (henceforth, Hokkien) is present in Tagalog. There has so far been no evidence of linguistic transfer from Hokkien to it, though. There is, however, transference into the Tagalog used by the Lannangs within the community (henceforth, Lannang Tagalog).

Not only did the Lannangs borrow vocabulary from Hokkien and English into their Tagalog; their Tagalog was also influenced by the structural features of Hokkien. For example, apart from the borrowing of "basic" Hokkien words like *takpai* ("always") and "technical" English words such as *protective*, there is the tendency for speakers not to use special clitic rules or morphological contrasts.

In Tagalog, the special second-person pronominal *-ka* is a clitic that should always succeed the first element of the sentence, such as *lagi* ("always") in (4).

(4) *Lagi*   *-ka*   *nalang*   *protective.*
      always   2.SG   PRT   protective
      "You're always protective"
      (2019, home, translation by native speaker, Tagalog, Filipino)

However, in Lannang Tagalog, *ka* can be located at the end of the sentence (5), potentially due to structural transfer or interference from Hokkien, a variety that does not allow the insertion of *ka* between adverb-adjective modifiers.

(5) *Takpai*   *protective*   *nalang*   **ka.**
      always   protective   PRT   2.SG
      "You're always protective."
      (2017, Lannang home recording # 001- LC Manila, spontaneous speech, Lannang Tagalog, Lannang)

Similarly, in mainstream Tagalog, the special politeness clitic *po*, if used, should typically be the second element of the sentence (Anderson 2008). In (6), *po* succeeds the first constituent *mahal na mahal* ("really loves").

(6) *Mahal*   *na*   *mahal -po*   *niya*   *tayo.*
      love   LNK   love POL   3.SG   1.PL.INC
      "He really loves us."
      (2020, home, translation by native speaker, Tagalog, Filipino)

However, in Lannang Tagalog, there is a tendency to place this politeness clitic at the end of the clause, perhaps due to a Hokkien-triggered reanalysis of the clitic as a particle (7).

(7) *Mahal*   *na*   *mahal niya*   *tayo*   **po.**
      love   LNK   love 3.SG   1.PL.INC   POL
      "He really loves us."
      (2019, LC Manila, spontaneous speech, Lannang Tagalog, 55-year-old female Lannang)

It is also common for speakers of the variety to ignore the subtle distinctions of Tagalog morphology marking. For example, mainstream Tagalog makes a

distinction between nonfinite and finite verbs by using different morphological markers. However, there is a tendency for Lannang Tagalog speakers to drop the distinction, since Hokkien does not have this morphological feature but uses sentence-final particles to relay information of verb finiteness. In (8), the perfective *nag-*, rather than the *mag-* prefix in Tagalog, is used as a morpheme marking a nonfinite state.

(8) *Pag   nag- start   na   ako   nag - thaktsheh this year...*
   COND   PERF start   PRT   1.SG INF   study   this year
   "When I start to study this year..."
   (2017, LC Manila, spontaneous speech, Lannang Tagalog, PC0152)

Apart from interacting with Tagalog, the Hokkien spoken in Manila also influenced (Philippine) English. I particularly focus on the variety used by some Lannangs – a Lannang variety of Philippine English used in Manila (hereafter, Manila Lannang English, MLE) (Gonzales and Hiramoto 2020).

Borrowings from Hokkien are present in this variety of English. For instance, in (9), the Hokkien word *chiong guan*, instead of *jackpot*, was used.

(9) *I like Dr.* [omitted]*'s suggestion of a laptop or Terabyte as the ultimate chiong guan **than** a TV.*
   (Gonzales and Hiramoto 2020; 2017, LC Manila, E-mail text, Manila Lannang English, PC0002)

There are also structural influences from Hokkien on this variety of English. Two of these are the lack of auxiliary inversion in *wh*-questions, as shown in (10), and the use of plain comparative *than*, as is the case in (9).

(10) *Why you did not answer?*
   (Gonzales and Hiramoto 2020; 2017, LC Manila, text message, Manila Lannang English, PC0002)

Both features have been attributed to Hokkien influence (Gonzales and Hiramoto 2020): the absence of an auxiliary inversion system for asking questions and optional use of a bipartite comparative marker in Hokkien (i.e., *pí + khâ*) in Hokkien seem to have influenced the English of the Lannangs, making both features innovations in the variety.

So far the discussion has focused solely on interactions between Hokkien and regional languages within the Manila context. However, there are also Hokkien-related interactions in other Philippine cities and provinces where Lannang and Filipino interactions are present, such as the central Philippine city of Iloilo. In addition to Tagalog, the Lannangs in Iloilo also use Hiligaynon, the regional language. Hokkien has also influenced the Hiligaynon that they speak, referred to here as Lannang Hiligaynon.

Lexical borrowings are observed in this variety of Hiligaynon. Example (11) shows the borrowing of Hokkien *boksu* ("pastor").

(11) *Daw   may   komplikasyon   bala   **boksu,***
     PRT   have   complication   PRT   pastor

teh   bata   niya   nag-   takeover   sa   [omitted].
so   child   3.SG.GEN   PERF   takeover   LOC   [omitted]

"I heard that they had a complication, pastor, so their child took over there."
(2018, LC Iloilo, spontaneous speech, Lannang Hiligaynon, PC0143)

Just as Lannang Tagalog has structural influences from Hokkien, Lannang Hiligaynon is also influenced by the structure of Hokkien. Whereas mainstream Hiligaynon typically follows the VSO constituent order (Wolfenden 1975: 69), Lannang Hiligaynon can follow the canonical SVO constituent order exhibited in Hokkien and English, as in (11) and (12). The phrase *în* "3.PL" in (12) also seems to have been transferred from Hokkien to Hiligaynon. Along with other features that will not be discussed here, the innovative word order and pronominal system show that the Lannangs in Iloilo both borrow and transfer structure from Hokkien onto Hiligaynon.

(12) *Ĩn   disagree   gid   ya   sa   ubra   nila.*
     3.PL   disagree   PRT   PRT   LOC   work   3.PL
     "They disagree with what they did."
     (2018, LC Iloilo, spontaneous speech, Lannang Hiligaynon, PC0143)

There is also an influence of Hokkien on the English variety the Iloilo Lannangs use (henceforth, Iloilo Lannang English), just as there is a Hokkien influence in Manila Lannang English. This is unsurprising, given that the Lannangs in Iloilo are knowledgeable in English, as well as in Hokkien and Hiligaynon. Structural transfer from Hokkien to English, for instance, is observed in the cases of Hokkien-sourced polysemy and in pro-dropping – or the dropping of the subject – in English below.

For example, the phrase *saw good* in (13) can be interpreted as "see well" in English, whereas in Hokkien, this phrase is ambiguous. This is because "to see" or *khuà* in Hokkien can mean "to read" or "to comprehend." In (13), it appears that the speaker intended to use *read well* but instead used the word *see*, as how they would in Hokkien, making the extended use of *see* – to read – an innovation in Iloilo Lannang English.

(13) *My face is Chinese but I cannot saw good in Chinese. I cannot speak in Chinese.*
     "My face is Chinese but I cannot read Chinese well. I cannot speak Chinese."
     (2018, LC Iloilo, spontaneous speech, Lannang English, PC0143)

Furthermore in (14), the subject can be dropped, like in Hokkien, whereas this is not considered grammatical in "standard" English.

(14) *Always change mind.*
     "He keeps changing his mind."
     (2018, LC Iloilo, spontaneous speech, Lannang English, PC0143)

Influences from Local Languages

The local languages have also influenced Hokkien. In (15), for example, a Lannang pastor facilitating a committal funeral service, a domain where the "unmixed" Hokkien is used, is observed to "code-switch" to English, as indicated by the lack of phonological adaptation (Grosjean 2010). He could have used Hokkien *āntsòng* [an^{33} tsoŋ^{52}] ("committal"); instead, he used English *committal* [koˈmital]. When asked why he switched to English, he explained that he did so to accommodate the audience who happened to be more dominant in Tagalog and English. He switched for the sake of those who could not understand the Hokkien word.

(15) *Diēn-aū*   *dân*   *tsiū*   *ū*   ***committal.***
    after   1.PL   ADV   have   committal
    "After this, we will have a committal."
    (2019, LC Manila, Cosmopolitan Memorial Chapels and Crematory, spontaneous speech/ funeral speech, Philippine Hokkien in Manila, PC0002)

Apart from code-switching, local influence on Hokkien is also reflected in loan words. Place names in the Philippines that cannot be originally found in Hokkien, for example, are borrowed from the regional language(s). For instance, in the speech of the same pastor, the term used to refer to the city of Manila, Manila [maˈni.la], is borrowed into Hokkien with suprasegmental and segmental modifications – [ma^{33}.ni^{33}.laʔ^{35}] (16). Older Lannangs loan the term differently, as [bien^{33}.ni^{33}.laʔ^{35}].

(16) *Mānīlá*   *kaûhuè*
    Manila   church
    "Church in Manila"
    (2020, home, spontaneous speech, Philippine Hokkien in Manila, PC0002)

There is also evidence of English borrowing into Hokkien (e.g., Pōló "Paul" and "Mádī-ā "Mary") in the domain of religion (e.g., sermons).

English is the source of a number of words here because there is evidence that American and British scholars were deeply involved in the publication of Hokkien dictionaries and ultimately in the Amoy Hokkien Bible in the 1800s that was used by Christian immigrants to the Philippines (Uayan 2014) in the 1900s. Some of these immigrants had the mission of establishing churches in the country.

However, unlike the borrowing of place names from regional languages, English borrowing in Hokkien does not seem to be a consequence of interactions within the Sino-Philippine language ecology. Instead, the aforementioned historical evidence suggests that religious terms in English were borrowed into (Amoy) Hokkien before its entry into the Philippines – before it competed with other Hokkien dialects during the formation of Philippine Hokkien.

Overall, only code-switching and regional language borrowing – not English borrowing – are innovations resulting from Sino-Philippine interactions. No instances of structural transfer from local languages to Hokkien were observed.

Mainland Hokkien Variety in Manila

This section focuses on the other co-existing variety of Hokkien of the contemporary Philippine Chinese population – the Mainland Hokkien variety in Manila, primarily used by the Mainland Chinese (the homeland Chinese).

Mainland Hokkien has linguistic features that distinguish it from Philippine Hokkien. Comparing the phonological systems, for instance, there is socially conditioned variation in the use of voiced alveolar onsets in some words. In Mainland Hokkien, the voiced alveolar lateral approximant [l] is generally used. In Philippine Hokkien, the voiced alveolar stop [d] is also used, particularly for words that have a high vowel succeeding the alveolar onset such as *di/li* "2.SG" and *duwe/luwe* "woman." Despite the variation, speakers of Philippine Hokkien can understand Mainland Hokkien speakers, and vice versa.

Unlike Philippine Hokkien that is used restrictively, Mainland Hokkien is used by its speakers in many other domains (e.g., home, with peers) and is used by both young and old generations ubiquitously, who regard it as their native tongue. Some Lannangs explicitly characterize the Mainland variety as "too Chinese" or *Intsik* "chink/Chinese."

To my knowledge, Mainland Hokkien in the Philippines has not been investigated by scholars, perhaps because of an assumption that this variety has not been influenced by the local languages. The assumption seems reasonable, at first glance, particularly for those who came from Southern China in the 2010s, as these Mainland Chinese may not have been extensively exposed to the local language; nor have they been educated in Tagalog or English, unlike the Lannangs. This does not necessarily mean, however, that they were not in contact with the Filipinos – the Mainland Chinese actually frequently interact with locals (e.g., with caretakers, with market vendors, etc.). With evidence of interactions such as this, it is problematic to discount the possibility of language contact and the role Mainland Hokkien plays in the Philippine language ecology.

Influences on Local Languages

So far, this Manila Mainland variety of Hokkien has not been observed to influence any of the local languages. No borrowing or instances of structural or functional transfer from Manila Mainland Hokkien to local languages can be observed.

Influences from Local Languages

There is evidence showing that Mainland Hokkien, as used by the Southern Chinese immigrants in Manila (henceforth, Manila Mainland Hokkien), has been influenced by local languages.

For instance, in (17), a 26-year-old male immigrant, who came to the Philippines when he was 21, borrowed the word *kābātū-ān* to refer to the town Cabatuan with phonological adaptations similar to Philippine Hokkien.

(17) *Guâ   tsētsùn tī   **kābātū-ān.***
    1.SG   now   LOC   Cabatuan.

"I am now in Cabatuan."
(December 2019, WeChat, spontaneous speech, Manila Mainland Hokkien, 35-year old male)

This is slightly different from the strategy used by some immigrant children. In (18), for example, a sentence spoken by the 7-year-old daughter of a Mainland Chinese immigrant in Binondo located in Manila shows the girl borrowed the English word *Shoppers* "Shoppers Mart" into her Hokkien, with some tonal modifications. The usage of *Shoppers* is similar to the use of *Shoppers* in Lánnang-uè used by the Lannangs.

(18) ***Shoppêrs***   *lî*   *−ē*   *thau*   *à!*
    Shoppers   2.SG   GEN   head   PRT
    "I don't agree that we should go to Shopper's Mart."
    (December 2019, Ongpin Street, spontaneous speech, Manila Mainland Hokkien, 7-year-old girl)

The use of *lî* ("2.SG") in (18) indicates that the borrowing is into Manila Mainland Hokkien and not into Philippine Hokkien, because of the lack of the *lî* [li^{55}] feature in the latter, which uses *dî* [di^{55}] for the second-person singular instead (Dy 1972:75).

Apart from English words, commonly used native Tagalog words, such as *yaya* ("female domestic helper"), are also borrowed into Manila Mainland Hokkien. Similar to the case of Early Manila Hokkien and Philippine Hokkien, cases of transfer from the local languages are, likewise, not observed in this variety of Hokkien.

Having looked at the interactions of Hokkien varieties with Philippine-based languages, I now turn to the dynamics of Cantonese varieties with the local languages.

Cantonese

Cantonese has been in the Philippines since at least the 1850s (Wickberg 1965: 38). It is one of the dominant languages of the Cantonese heritage groups in the Philippines, whose ancestors have historically engaged in hard labor (e.g., making roads) but eventually shifted to commercial and retail business (i.e., bakeries, restaurants, tailor shops) (Wickberg 1965; oral tradition, third-generation 57-year-old Taishanese descendant, 2019). It is not, however, a prominent language of the greater Philippine Chinese community because of the tendency of the Cantonese heritage groups to immigrate to Western countries, leaving only a relatively small, stable population of heritage speakers behind.

In contemporary Philippine society, Cantonese – particularly the Standard Cantonese and Taishanese dialects – is used in domains such as the home, in restaurant associations (*kong^{55} -ong^{44} than^{11} kon^{22} woi^{11} kon^{44}*), the Cantonese Association (i.e., *kong^{55}-ong^{44} woi^{11} kon^{44}*), ancestral lineage and locality associations, as well

as work and profession associations; it is regarded as identity markers of their Cantonese heritage. In the Lannang communities of Cantonese heritage, the Cantonese varieties are used alongside Philippine Hokkien and Lánnang-uè.

Although Cantonese presence in the Philippines is well-known in Philippine scholarly circles (Wickberg 1965; See and Teresita 1997), Cantonese heritage languages do not enjoy the same attention. The fact that Cantonese speakers have historically remained a minority population of Philippine Chinese society might have further discouraged work on them (See and Teresita 1997), even if they possess innovative features akin to other dominant Philippine languages.

Influences on Local Languages

Anecdotal observations show that Cantonese influence on contemporary English, Tagalog, and Hokkien used in the Philippines is limited to food item and phrase borrowings. For instance, Chinese New Year greetings in the Filipino and Lannang spheres typically are in Cantonese-origin *kung hei fat choi* ("Congratulations and wishing [you] prosperity"), rather than Hokkien *kiōng hî huât tsaí* or Mandarin *gōng xĭ fã caí*. Filipinos and Lannangs have, for example, also loaned Cantonese *hakaw* ("shrimp dumplings") into Tagalog and Hokkien, respectively.

Influences from Local Languages

Borrowing is common in the Manila variety of Standard Cantonese (henceforth, Lannang Cantonese), as well as in the Manila variety of Taishanese (henceforth, Lannang Taishanese). For instance, in (19), *TV* [ti^{55}vi^{55}] is borrowed from English into Lannang Cantonese, similar to how English *sorry* [so^{55}ɹi^{21}] is borrowed in Lannang Taishanese (20).

(19) *Ngó   m   thaí   **TV**   lò.*
    1.SG NEG   see   television   PRT
    "I don't want to watch television anymore."
    (2019, LC Manila, elicited speech, Lannang Cantonese, PC0002)

(20) ***Ay,***   *khui   kong,   "**Sorry**,   ngoi   hai   m   o   lo."*
    INT   3.SG   say   sorry   1.SG   see   NEG   CLI   PRT
    "Oh, it said, 'Sorry, I can't see it anymore.'"
    (2019, frog story – LC Manila, narrative, Lannang Taishanese, PC0002)

Functional transfer of Tagalog particles, such as *nga,* into Lannang Taishanese is also present, as seen in (21).

(21) *Ni   hiak   fan   lo   **nga.***
    2.SG eat   rice   PRT PRT

"Just eat rice."
(2019, LC Manila, elicited speech, Lannang Taishanese, PC0002)

Given that the speakers are also proficient in Lánnang-uè, a language with the clause-final *nga* feature, it is plausible that the feature has been borrowed from Lánnang-uè rather than from Tagalog or Filipino. But given the lack of data, I assume that the *nga* particle has been transferred from Tagalog. Likewise, it is also likely that the code described as Lannang Taishanese here is a Cantonese counterpart of the mixed language Philippine Hybrid Hokkien (Lánnang-uè). However, in this chapter, I refrain from using the term "Philippine Hybrid Cantonese" due to lack of evidence.

Mandarin

Of the three languages, Mandarin is arguably the latest addition to the Sino-Philippine linguistic ecology. Although the time of its exact introduction to Philippine society is unknown, due to the lack of linguistic documentation, socio-historical records show that it was most likely introduced after Hokkien and Cantonese (Wickberg 1965). Before the early 1900s, there were no existing records of Mandarin users – there seem to be only those of the Hokkien and Cantonese-speaking Chinese (Wickberg 1965). Compare this to accounts of modern Philippine Chinese society (1900s onward), where Mandarin, Hokkien, and Cantonese users are mentioned (Poa 2004). Both past and present accounts collectively provide evidence for the late entry of Mandarin in the Philippines.

While Mandarin is used in the Philippines, its use in the Philippine Chinese population is not homogeneous; that is, not everyone uses Mandarin frequently and proficiently. This is in part because three different populations use it – the Mainland Chinese immigrants, the Mainland Chinese sojourners, and the Lannangs. Each of these groups does not share the same relationship with Mandarin.

For most of the Lannangs, Mandarin is not their native language. In contrast to Hokkien and Cantonese, Mandarin is widely regarded as a school language only and is rarely used beyond the academic domain. It was said to be first introduced to the mainstream Lannang school curriculum around the 1950s (Poa 2004), making it one of the four languages used in school (i.e., Mandarin, Hokkien, English, and Tagalog). Despite Mandarin's inclusion in the curriculum and its status as a global language in modern Lannang society, the Lannangs, in general, did not adopt Mandarin as the community lingua franca (Poa 2004). And this continues to be the case even up to the present, although the domain of Mandarin use has slowly been expanding due to the increasing influence of China in recent years.

Proof of its increasing dominance can be found in evangelical church services held by a subgroup of Lannangs, which cater to elderly and middle-aged members. For example, Chinese hymns are now sung in either Hokkien or Mandarin, whereas they were previously only sung in Hokkien. There are also some reports of Catholic churches using Mandarin. These mostly cater to the new immigrants and sojourners.

Broadcasting companies (e.g., ChinoyTV, Chinatown TV) targeting the Philippine Chinese use Mandarin instead of Hokkien. Regardless of this, the use of Mandarin is still relatively restricted in the contemporary Lannang community.

However, this is not the case for the new immigrant and sojourner groups. Since they are from post-Cultural Revolution China – a society with Mandarin as its common language – Mandarin is one of their native languages. Unlike the Lannangs, the immigrant group can use Mandarin proficiently and use it ubiquitously among their peers and family members. However, most of the time, when conducting business or with peers, they choose to use Hokkien or a Tagalog Pidgin, which will be discussed later.

The Mainland Chinese sojourners, like the immigrant group, also have Mandarin in their linguistic repertoire. Mandarin is also their native language, as they have been exposed to Mandarin in formal schooling in China. However, in contrast to the Hokkien-using immigrants, the sojourners use Mandarin in most, if not all, domains of language use.

It is clear that the use of Mandarin is dominant among the Mainland Chinese, but not among the Lannangs. This is not to say, however, that no Lannang households would use Mandarin. Some families that have at least one Chinese parent from other Mandarin-speaking regions (e.g., Taiwan) do use Mandarin as their native tongue and home language. They do, of course, represent the minority in Lannang communities.

To my knowledge, published works that focus on the linguistic structure of Mandarin varieties in the Philippines do not exist, despite the increasing presence of Mandarin in contemporary Philippine society.

Influences on Local Languages

Mandarin in the Philippines has been observed to interact with Hokkien and English by functioning as a contributor of select (not necessarily basic) lexicon. In Lannang Mandarin, for example, Mandarin *pàng-pàng* ("fat") occurred in the Hokkien utterance of a young female Lannang speaker that is more proficient in Mandarin than Hokkien (22).

(22) *ū   tsīgē   **pàng pàng***
   have   one   fat   fat
   "There is a fat kid."
   (2017, LC Manila, interview, Philippine Hokkien, PC0155)

The word for *frog* in Mandarin, *qīngwā*, is also seen in the Lannang English of an old Lannang speaker in Manila (23).

(23) *The   boy   is   looking   at   **qīngwā.***
   The   boy   is   looking   at   frog
   "The boy is looking at the frog."
   (2019, frog story-LC Manila, narrative, Manila Lannang English, PC0125)

In both examples, the words are code-switched (Grosjean 2010) into the local languages because Hokkien-like tone was not applied to *pàng-pàng* in (22), and Mandarin tone was not modified in *qīngwā* in (23). Specifically, in the former, Hokkien-sourced phonological dissimilatory processes (e.g., tone sandhi) should have been observed in the word (e.g., *phângphàng* or *phāngphàng*) just as such a process can be observed in Lánnang-uè and Philippine Hokkien. For the latter, *qīngwā* should have acquired English-like stress.

Overall, the influence of Mandarin on the Philippine-based languages is observed to be limited to code-switching only. Borrowing and transfer from Mandarin to the local languages have not been noticed in my fieldwork.

Influences from Local Languages

Apart from affecting the local languages, Mandarin in the Philippines is observed to be influenced by these languages as well. The Mandarin used by the Mainland Chinese in Metropolitan Manila (henceforth, Manila Mainland Mandarin), for example, borrowed the technical or culture-specific Tagalog word *Pasay* [pa^{55}saj^{11}] ("Pasay City") (24).

> (24) *Zaì   Pasay*. . .
>   at   Pasay
>   "At Pasay."
>   (2019, house, spontaneous speech, Mainland Chinese Mandarin, 40-year-old male)

The local languages' influence on Mandarin can also be observed in the non-technical vocabulary present in the Mandarin variety used by the Metropolitan Manila Lannangs (henceforth, Lannang Mandarin). For example, in (25), the word *beībǐ* "baby" [peɪ^{55} pi^{21}] was used in place of *yīnger* ("infant").

> (25) *Kěnéng   jiùshì tāměn de   xiǎo   beībǐ.*
>   possible   that   3.PL GEN small   baby
>   "It is possible that that is their small baby."
>   (2019, frog story- LC Manila, spontaneous speech, Lannang Mandarin, PC0096)

In (26), the word *ōwl* [aʊl^{55}] ("owl") was used instead of *maōtoǔyīng* with English stress removed and Mandarin stress imposed, as in borrowing.

> (26) *Nà   gě   jiaò   ōwl   ma?*
>   DEM CLF call   owl   Q
>   "Is that called an owl?"
>   (2019, frog story- LC Manila, spontaneous speech, Lannang Mandarin, PC0125)

There is also code-switching between Mandarin and English, such as in (27), where the word *technology* [tekˈnoloˌdʒi] not only has English-like prosodic features

(unlike borrowing) but is also used intentionally with English features to fulfill a pragmatic function – to mark the word for translation.

(27) **Technology** *shì*   *shénme*   *yìsi?*
      technology COP what   meaning.
      "What does 'technology' mean?"
      (2019, LC Manila, elicited speech, Lannang Mandarin, PC0068)

In summary, the influence of the local languages on Mandarin in the Philippine context is not only limited to intra-clausal code-switching. Technical and non-technical lexical borrowing from the local languages exists. But while there is code-switching and borrowing in Mandarin, neither functional nor structural transfer from the local languages to Mandarin was observed.

Sino-Philippine Contact Languages

What has been presented so far has showed how the Chinese heritage and homeland speakers' languages were influenced by Philippine-based languages. Furthermore, it showed how the local languages also influenced their Sinitic languages. However, there are also cases where speakers create new (contact) languages, using the linguistic resources they have in their repertoire. This section focuses on two types of such languages – pidgins and mixed languages.

Pidgins

Chinese Spanish Pidgin

"Chinese Pidgin Spanish" (henceforth, Chinese Spanish Pidgin) is a language that has a Spanish lexifier and a Hokkien substrate (Fernández 2018: 137). Spanish provides most if not all of the vocabulary of the language, whereas Hokkien contributes to other non-lexical aspects of the language, such as the syntax.

Chinese Spanish Pidgin, first attested in 1718, was primarily used by the Sangleys (Chinese merchants) in business transactions with their customers (Fernández and Sippola 2017; Fernández 2018). Two distinctive features of this language include the subject pronouns *mia* ("1.SG"), *suya* ("2.SG") (28), and lack of preverbal marking, which are not present in Spanish, Hokkien, or Chabacano, a Spanish creole (Fernández and Sippola 2017; Fernández 2018). The use of the voiced alveolar approximant [l], rather than the Spanish alveolar tap [ɾ] in intervocalic condition, is another feature of this language, as seen in the use of *pala* [pala] in (28) (cf. *para* [paɾa]).

(28) *Suya* *tiene* *ba*   *comision*   *pala*   *pidi*   *pasapote*   *con*   *mia*
      2.SG   have   Q   commission   for   ask   passport   with   1.SG

      y   *pala*   *jase*   *buluca*   *aqui*   *na*   *calle?*
      CONJ   for   make   problem   here   REL   street

"Do you have a commission to ask for my passport and to make problems here on the street?"

(Tombo 1860: 284, in Fernández and Sippola 2017; 1860, article, text, Chinese Spanish Pidgin, unknown)

Chinese Tagalog Pidgin

Chinese Tagalog Pidgin is a pidgin with a Tagalog lexifier and Sinitic substrates (most likely Hokkien and Mandarin), primarily used by the contemporary Mainland Chinese immigrants. It emerged out of a need of a language to communicate with locals, particularly with customers and domestic helpers who speak Tagalog. To the best of my knowledge, it has not yet been documented by any scholar.

Chinese Tagalog Pidgin seems to have several features that are distinct from Tagalog. These include the absence of inflectional affixes, the verbal negation marker *wala*, and the generalized third-person pronoun *siya*. For example, in (29), Tagalog Pidgin speakers do not use the "undergoer voice" suffix *-in* (Latrouite 2011: 148), instead opting to use the bare verb *pindot* ("press"). Contrast this with (30) where Tagalog speakers used the suffix *-in*.

> (29) *Ako   din   kala   ko   kasi   siya   wala   pindot   ako.*
>   1.SG   ADV   thought 1.SG CONJ   3.SG   NEG   press   1.SG
>   "Me too, that's what I thought because they didn't help me press the button."
>   (December 2019, Ongpin Street in Manila, spontaneous conversation, Chinese Tagalog
>   Pidgin, 7-year-old boy)

> (30) *Ako   rin,   kala   -ko   kasi   hindi   -niya   ako   t<in>ulung-an*
>   1.SG   ADV   though   1.SG   CONJ   not   3.SG   1.SG   <PFV>help-UV
>
> *pindut-in   yung   button*
> press   DEM   button
> "Me too, that's what I thought because they didn't help me press the button."
> (July 2020, Manila, translation, Tagalog, native speaker of Tagalog)

Mainstream Tagalog speakers would also not use *wala* (29), a determiner typically used to modify a head noun; they would instead use the verbal negation marker *hindi* (30). Another difference between Mainstream Tagalog and Chinese Tagalog Pidgin is the use of pronouns. In Mainstream Tagalog, the pronominal and verbal inflection systems are tightly intertwined: the *-niya* "3.SG" in (30) should be used instead of *siya* because the verb has an undergoer voice affix. In Tagalog Pidgin, the pronominal system appears to be simpler and does not seem to interact with the verb phrase due to the Pidgin's lack of verbal inflectional affixes. In (29) and in other Tagalog Pidgin speech samples, *siya* is used in contexts where *niya* is supposed to be used (in Tagalog).

With regard to its stability in the new immigrant community, my preliminary observations from my fieldwork in Binondo in 2019 reveal that the features

described earlier are used not just by one speaker but by other new immigrants as well. This suggests some degree of conventionalization for the pidgin.

Mixed Languages

So far, there is only one documented Sino-Philippine mixed language in the Philippines – Lánnang-uè "Our People Speech" or Philippine Hybrid Hokkien. Lánnang-uè is a language that has features consistent with what Matras and Bakker (2003:1) refer to as "mixed languages," which are languages that systematically combine elements or (sub)systems from the source languages (Gonzales and Starr 2020). Lánnang-uè sources its vocabulary and grammar from the regional languages, English, and Hokkien in a systematic manner, as will be illustrated in this section.

Lánnang-uè does not seem to be mutually intelligible with Hokkien. Speakers of Lánnang-uè without proficiency in Philippine Hokkien report not being able to understand Mainland Hokkien speakers. Likewise, Mainland Hokkien users with no proficiency in Lánnang-uè cannot understand or produce Lánnang-uè utterances even with knowledge of the source languages. In other words, the grammar of Lánnang-uè (or the "proper" way of mixing) must be acquired.

Although Lánnang-uè behaves like a language, many of its native speakers – the Lannangs – perceive it as an "adulterated" variety of Hokkien (See and Teresita 1990: 14) or a failed attempt to acquire Hokkien (Gonzales 2021). Those who claim that it is an independent language from Hokkien are in the minority. Because some perceive it as Hokkien, it shares the name "Lánnang-uè" with Philippine Hokkien (Tsai 2017). In this chapter, the term "Lánnang-uè" refers exclusively to the mixed language.

Based on a preliminary analysis of interview data with old and young Lannangs, Lánnang-uè most likely emerged from code-switching between Hokkien, English, and the regional languages (e.g., Tagalog). During the interviews, the older, Hokkien-dominant Lannangs (those in their late 80s and early 90s) code-switched from Hokkien to English and with the regional languages. When asked why they switched from one language to another, they said that it was to accommodate to the younger Lannangs who were more dominant in English and the regional languages. Contrast this with the responses of the younger Lannangs who generally did not have any specific motivation to switch to English or the regional language(s). Among some of the words they used to characterize the switches or, rather, mixing were "regular," "normal," and, for some, even "conventionalized." This suggests that it is possible that Lánnang-uè originated from code-switching between the languages mentioned above.

Lánnang-uè is used in at least three cities – Iloilo, Cebu, and Manila – where Lannangs are known to be dominant (Doeppers 1986). The regional Lánnang-uè varieties all have linguistic features from Philippine English, Philippine Hokkien, and at least one regional language.

Lánnang-uè: Manila (Luzon Island, Luzon Region)

Manila Lánnang-uè has a composite lexicon that originates systematically from Hokkien, Tagalog, English, and Mandarin. 46.1% of its "basic" vocabulary exclusively comes from Hokkien, 3.7% from Tagalog, and 17.8% from English (Swadesh 1972; Gonzales and Starr 2020). "Technical" words can be sourced from these languages as well. Examples include *distinguîsh* [dis^{33}tiŋ^{33}guɪʃ^{55}] and *bâse* [beɪs^{55}] in (31).

(31) *Dî   tsiûwâ distinguîsh   na   î   sī   Taīdiókláng a*
    2.SG how   distinguish   REL 3.SG COP   Chinese   PRT

    from bâse on   î   −e láng?
    from base on   3.SG   GEN person

    "How do you distinguish that he is Chinese based on his personhood?"
    (December 2019, LC, interview, Manila Lánnang-uè, PC0068)

Words of English and Tagalog origin undergo phonological modifications in Lánnang-uè. They have acquired tone-like properties, as exemplified above.

Manila Lánnang-uè also has a composite structure or grammar, based on initial observations of the Lannang Corpus. Like its lexicon, many of its grammatical properties can be systematically traced back to the four languages. The aspect, negation, copula, and pronominal system, for example, are generally of Hokkien origin. The language's plurality marking, complementizer, and derivational affixation (e.g., like *pāng-khùn* "for sleeping" or *tagā-taīdiók* "person from Mainland China") systems are generally from Tagalog (Gonzales 2018). Phrasal conjunctions (e.g., *ānd sō* "and so," *āt leâst* "at least") in Manila Lánnang-uè originate from English, while the *wh*-question system of the language seems to be derived from Mandarin (Table 2).

Lánnang-uè: Cebu (Cebu Island, Visayas Region)

Outside the context of Metropolitan Manila, explorations on Lánnang-uè have historically not been given emphasis in linguistic research. This certainly does not mean however that Lánnang-uè is not used by the Lannangs outside Manila. Like the Manila Lannangs, the Lannangs of Cebu also use Lánnang-uè (henceforth, Cebu Lánnang-uè).

Similar to the Manila variety, Cebu Lánnang-uè has a composite vocabulary and grammar. Cebu Lánnang-uè words like *cûte* ("cute") in (32) and *squirrèl* ("squirrel") in (33), for instance, are sourced from English, whereas words like *kaû* ("dog") in (33) are from Hokkien. The conjunction *nya* in (33) is sourced from Cebuano, whereas the preposition *tī* ("at") is sourced from Hokkien.

(32) *Yá   cûte   mân.*
    very cute   PRT
    "It's cute."
    (2019, frog story - LC Cebu, narrative, Cebu Lánnang-uè, PC0019)

Table 2 Distribution of selected Lánnang-uè elements by source language

Linguistic components		Hokkien	Tagalog	English	Mandarin
Lexicon (basic)	Origin	70.8%	21.0%	42.5%	0%
	Exclusive	46.1%	3.7%	17.8%	0%
Grammar		• Aspect system • Negation • Copula • Pronominal system	• Plurality marker • Complementizers • Most derivational affixes • Approximators • Conjunctions • Adverbials • Interjections • Yes-no question system	• Phrasal conjunctions • Most prepositions	• *Wh*-question system (?)

(33) *Nya   tsî   tsiâh   kaû   guāntsaī   tī   tsiá   tsâ   squirrèl   tī-tsiá.*
     then   DEM CLF   dog   still   PREP   here   then   squirrel   here.
     "Then, the dog continued to be here and the squirrel is here."
     (2019, frog story - LC Cebu, narrative, Cebu Lánnang-uè, PC0019)

Lánnang-uè: Iloilo (Panay Island, Visayas Region)

The Lánnang-uè spoken in Iloilo City (henceforth, Iloilo Lánnang-uè) has a lexicon sourced from multiple languages. But instead of having Hokkien, English, and Cebuano as primary source languages, Iloilo Lánnang-uè has the regional language Hiligaynon, English, and Hokkien. (34) shows an example where English-sourced *equipmênt* ("equipment") and Hokkien-sourced *huāngtshiā* ("car") are used in Iloilo Lánnang-uè.

(34) *Taīdiók   -e   nā   sī   ū   huāngtshiā   o,   khâ   bo   siâ*
     China   GEN   if   COP   have   car   PRT   COM   NEG   as

     kwan   bala   ho   pero   taīdiók –e   mga   heavy equipmênt   o,
     PRT   PRT   PRT   but   China –GEN   PL   heavy equipment   PRT

     tsîtsùn   malakàs.
     now   strong
     "If we are talking about China's car industry, they are not as good; however, their heavy equipment business is strong."
     (2018, car - LC Iloilo, spontaneous speech, Iloilo Lánnang-uè, PC0144)

The grammar of Iloilo Lánnang-uè also seems to be systematically sourced from its source languages. For example, the pluralizer *mgā* ("PL") in (35) is acquired from Hiligaynon, whereas the pronominal system originates from Hokkien (e.g., *î* "3. SG"). Iloilo Lánnang-uè, like the variety of Cebu, also has pragmatic particles sourced from the regional language Hiligaynon, as seen in particles like *bala* in (34).

(35) *Pero* *î* *–e* *mga* *dust* *ūm* *tsaī* *tolóh* *a*
    but   3.SG GEN PL   dust   NEG know where PRT
    "But [I] don't know where his/her remains are."
    (2018, car – LC Iloilo, spontaneous speech, Iloilo Lánnang-uè, PC0143)

Inter-clausal Code-Switching

The discussion so far seems to characterize the interactions of Sinitic languages and Philippine-based languages (including contact languages) as happening only within the clause, but interactions of this nature also happen at levels higher than the clause, such as via inter-clausal code-switching (Gonzales 2016).

    Several scholars have highlighted the existence of such macro-level interactions in the Lannang community (Chuaunsu 1989; Zulueta 2007; Gonzales 2016). In these types of interactions, a Lannang speaker may opt to switch languages within a single utterance, usually when a new phrase or clause is introduced. For instance, in a conversation in Manila, a speaker switches among four languages – Hokkien, Tagalog, English, and Lánnang-uè (36).

(36) *hindi* *niya* *b<in>ayad,*   (Tagalog)
    NEG   3SG   <PFV>pay

    î   *tsiāgēh*   *diāpdì*   *ū*   *siá*   *cheke*   *hó*   (Lánnang-uè)
    3.SG   January   twenty two   have write cheque PRT

    î   *lāktsāp*   *kuí*   *tshiēng*   *huán*   *ì*   *kô*   *ó*   (Hokkien)
    3.SG   sixty   around thousand   return 3.SG PRT   PRT

    It's   *because*   (English)
    It's   because

    nag- *bigay* *siya* *ng* *clearance.*   (Tagalog)
    PERF give   3.SG PRT clearance

    "She/he didn't pay. he wrote a check on January returning him/her 60,000.
    It is because she/he gave him/her clearance."
    (2017, house - LC Manila, spontaneous speech, code-switching, PC0153)

    In Iloilo, the switching among English, Hiligaynon, and Lánnang-uè is observable (37).

(37) *At* *least* *you* *celebrate* *Father's Day with* [omitted] (English)
    At   least you celebrate   Father's Day with [omitted]

    hò *khâ* *siammíh* *khâ* *hose* *na* *nah.*   (Lánnang-uè)
    yes COM what   COM good PRT PRT

    Oo *gane.*   (Hiligaynon)

yes PRT

Bīnná	*nalang*	*boksu*	*e*	(Lánnang-uè)
Tomorrow	PRT	pastor	PRT	

Boksu,	*maniláh*	*tsādít*	*lohhō*	*bá?*	(Lánnang-uè)
pastor	Manila	yesterday	rain	Q	

"At least you celebrated Father's Day with [omitted]. It is better that way. Yeah. Let's do tomorrow. Pastor, did it rain in Manila yesterday?"
(2018, car – LC Iloilo, spontaneous speech, code-switching, PC0143)

The exact nature of the inter-clausal mixture depends on the situation and the region where the code-switched utterances are used.

Discussion

Summary

The previous sections have explored Hokkien, Cantonese, and Mandarin and highlighted the interactions among these three languages and other neighboring languages in the Philippine context. Using Haugen's (1971) ecolinguistic framework, these sections bring forth the interrelationship among these languages (organisms) in the Philippine environment. In summary, three broad processes were explored – Filipinization, where the local languages influenced the Sinitic ones instead (e.g.. English code-switching in Philippine Hokkien); Sinicization, where Sinitic languages influenced the local languages (e.g., food-related borrowings in Filipino from Early Manila Hokkien); and language creation, where independent new codes were formed (e.g., Lánnang-uè).

From the languages and varieties that emerged as a result of these three main processes, three general contact mechanisms were identified and discussed: code-switching (inter-clausal vs. intra-clausal) (Grosjean 2010), borrowing (Thomason 2001; Grosjean 2010), and transfer (Siegel 1999, 2003).

A summary of most of the languages discussed in the previous section in relation to the said contact mechanisms is provided below. To facilitate comprehension, this is split into two tables – the first highlights the Sinitic languages and the influence from other languages (Table 3).

The second puts historically indigenous languages at the center and focuses on how they are influenced by other Philippine-based languages, including Sinitic ones (Table 4). Tables 3 and 4 do not summarize the contact languages that emerged as a result of Sino-Philippine interactions.

The presence of these mechanisms and interactions – as manifested in the cornucopia of varieties and languages in Tables 3 and 4 – indicates that the role that Sinitic languages play is not a static one, that is, Sinitic languages can take the active role of a feature or lexical contributor, but can also be receivers of linguistic elements. The present survey also shows that the Filipinization, Sinicization, and

Table 3 Chapter summary of Sinitic languages/varieties and interactions with other languages

Language	Variety	Code-switching (lexical)	Borrowing (technical)	Borrowing (basic)	Transfer
Mandarin	Mainland (Manila)		T		
	Lannang (Manila)	E		E	
Cantonese	Lannang (Manila)		E		
	Lannang Taishanese (Manila)		E		T/L
Hokkien	Mainland (Manila)	M	ET	T	
	Early Manila Hokkien		S		
	Lannang (Manila)	E	T		

(H, Hokkien; C, Cantonese; E, English; T, Tagalog; G, Hiligaynon; Ce, Cebuano; L, Lánnang-uè; M, Mandarin; S, Spanish; H*, Early Manila Hokkien)

Table 4 Chapter summary of indigenous languages/varieties and interactions with other languages

Language	Variety	Code-switching (lexical)	Borrowing (technical)	Borrowing (basic)	Transfer
English	Lannang (Manila)	M	H		H
	Lannang (Iloilo)				H
Tagalog/ Filipino	Mainstream (Manila)		H*H		
	Lannang (Manila)		E	H	H
Hiligaynon	Lannang (Iloilo)		H		H

H, Hokkien; C, Cantonese; E, English; T, Tagalog; G, Hiligaynon; Ce, Cebuano; L, Lánnang-uè; M, Mandarin; S, Spanish; H*, Early Manila Hokkien

language creation processes co-exist in the Sino-Philippine linguistic ecology and demonstrates the complexity and dynamism of the Sino-Philippine linguistic landscape.

A natural question arises: what caused these interactions? Based on the descriptions of the Chinese heritage and homeland groups earlier, it is clear that the processes of Filipinization, Sinicization, and language creation are likely to have been triggered by contact between the Sinophone and Philippine language-speaking groups. However, as hinted earlier, the consequences of contact are asymmetric, that is, language varieties in the Sino-Philippine ecology do not necessarily need to "impose" and "receive" the same degree of Sinitic or Philippine influence from each other. Speaker groups also do not necessarily need to create new (contact) languages.

Patterns of Asymmetric Contributions

Three general patterns of asymmetric contributions pertaining to language interactions in the Sino-Philippine sphere can be identified, each of which can be accounted for by the dynamics between the speaker groups involved, as well as specific social motivations.

Sinitic Over Philippine

The first pattern of asymmetry relates to cases where Sinitic influence is greater than local Philippine influence. Influence here is measured by how much a language contributes to another language.

   One such case involves Early Manila Hokkien used by the Sangleys. The current data indicate that Early Manila Hokkien provided technical lexicon for Tagalog (and modern Filipino) but not the other way around. Sinitic influence was greater perhaps because of the Sangleys' dominant role as economic brokers in early Philippine society. Considered the middlemen between the *Indios* (locals) and the Spaniards, the Sangleys dominated the economy. The economic power they wielded is reflected in the Filipinos' tendency to borrow lexical items that relate to their business or trade activities (e.g., food-related terms). The Hokkien used by the Sangleys might have been influenced by the *Indios*' Tagalog, but currently there is no evidence to support this. Regardless, the lack of foreign influence on the Sangleys' Early Manila Hokkien might be due to this power dynamic: in other words, there is no need or pressure for them to "compromise" their language, as they are in a position of power.

Philippine Over Sinitic

A reversed pattern is also observed, one in which Philippine influence is more salient than Sinitic influence. Influence here is measured by how much a language is "resistant" to foreign influences.

   The pattern of asymmetric contribution, for one, is evident in the Lannang and Filipino community mixed codes – Lánnang-uè and Filipino, respectively. While Lánnang-uè has vocabulary and features almost equally sourced from both Sinitic languages and regional languages like Tagalog and English, Filipino generally does not source linguistic elements from Sinitic languages, apart from select lexical items. This is not surprising given the Lannangs' historical attempt to assimilate to larger Philippine society – an action that requires one to be "Filipinized" by learning the languages and associated norms of the community they are trying to assimilate to, not the reverse. As the majority of the Philippine population, the Filipinos have no motivation to assimilate to the Lannangs.

   Note that, unlike the Sangleys, the Lannangs are not economic brokers. They are dominant in retail and other businesses, but do not monopolize them and, as such, do not hold the kind of power that would pressure locals to assimilate or adjust to them. Another crucial point is the fact that Lannangs identify more as Filipino rather than Chinese, in contrast to the Sangleys. So even if they did monopolize businesses, they used other languages apart from Hokkien; they employed Tagalog and English (in Manila). In both situations, there was simply no incentive for locals to assimilate

to the Lannangs, as seen in the lack of Hokkien features in Filipino. For the Lannangs, however, there is a need to retain aspects of their heritage but also identify with Philippine society. A result of this negotiating act, I argue, is reflected in their mixed language Lánnang-uè with features sourcing from both Philippine-based and Sinitic languages.

Yet another case where Philippine influence is noticeably greater than Sinitic influence is in the genesis of pidgins. Here, a language is more influential if it gets chosen as a lexifier. As indicated in the chapter, the Mainland Chinese immigrants (in Manila, at least) have created Chinese Tagalog Pidgin, which has a Tagalog lexifier. However, no such counterpart of a pidgin, a Hokkien-lexifier pidgin (e.g., "Philippine Hokkien Pidgin"), can be observed among the locals. The reason is probably due to an economic need on the part of the Mainland Chinese immigrants. In order to establish a successful business in the Philippines, the Mainland Chinese immigrants have to cater to, and in some cases rely on, Tagalog language-speaking customers. This meant having to accommodate them by communicating in a created Tagalog-based code that does not necessarily have to be identical to mainstream Tagalog. Contrast this with the Filipinos who do not rely on the Hokkien-speaking Mainland Chinese immigrants for their needs and, consequently, have less of a need to communicate in Hokkien (or a Hokkien Pidgin). This one-sided need explains the asymmetry found in pidgin emergence. In both cases of asymmetry, pidgin genesis and feature selection in mixed languages, the pattern is clear – Philippine influence is greater than Sinitic influence.

Southern Over Non-southern

Within the Sinitic languages, a different pattern of asymmetric contributions has emerged. The grammar of Southern Sinitic languages like Hokkien tends to either influence or be influenced by Philippine-based languages. This contrasts with non-southern Sinitic Mandarin, whose grammar appears to neither influence nor be influenced by them. While the Mandarin used by Lannangs is only limited to lexical borrowing and code-switching ("lower-order" mechanisms), there is evidence of southern Taishanese, for example, also being involved in other "higher-order" contact mechanisms such as transfer (e.g., transfer of the discourse particle system). Non-southern Mandarin also does not seem to influence the regional languages' grammar as much as southern Hokkien.

Perhaps the chronological entry of Sinitic languages into the Philippine linguistic ecology can account for this imbalance in contributions or influence. As pointed out earlier, Mandarin is the latest addition among the Sinitic languages discussed in the chapter. This is in contrast to the southern Sinitic languages that have been in the Philippines during the Spanish colonial time (or even before that period in the case of Hokkien). Since Mandarin was introduced later than Hokkien and Cantonese (as a school language), it is not surprising that Mandarin is not as explicitly involved in the observable interactions compared to Hokkien or Cantonese.

In the Lannang context, another possible reason why Mandarin does not interact as much with the regional languages compared to Southern Sinitic languages could have something to do with heritage. Mandarin was never a heritage language in the Philippines, whereas Hokkien and Cantonese are. In other words, the languages that

mark the Philippine Chinese identity are Hokkien and Cantonese (Chuaunsu 1989), the latter particularly for the Cantonese heritage Lannang community.

Mandarin's arguably late entrance into the linguistic ecology and its lack of an index for group identity are two possible reasons for the asymmetric influences. The small number of Mandarin speakers (e.g., Mainlanders with non-Southern Chinese heritage) in relation to Hokkien speakers, as well as relative social distance between Mandarin speakers and other groups that speak Philippine-based languages, could also account for this other pattern of asymmetric contributions.

Summary

Overall, what is emerging from this discussion is that dynamic interactions between speakers of Sino-Philippine languages display asymmetric contributions. There are cases where Sinitic influence is greater than local influence, some where the reverse is true, and other cases where Southern Chinese influence prevails over non-Southern influence. And we see that these asymmetries can be partially accounted for if we direct our attention to the dynamics between different social groups (Table 5).

It goes without saying that one should not simply rely on a single sociohistorical account of language contact phenomena (like the ones offered earlier) and use it to predict the outcomes of similar contact situations. It is naturally impossible to account for all social factors and conditions affecting contact-induced change (Thomason 2000). That is, other unreported or non-observable factors can also affect the result of such interactions. For instance, innovative features may be deliberately inhibited or introduced in a linguistic variety due to speaker attitudes (Thomason 2007). Given this, the accounts and social factors used to explain the patterns of asymmetric contributions in this chapter are not predictive at all. This discussion is only meant to help us understand observable linguistic interactions within the Sino-Philippine language ecology.

Conclusion

With the goal of highlighting the complex and dynamic nature of Sinitic languages in the Philippine context, this chapter has primarily explored three Sinitic languages. It has demonstrated how their speakers interact with speakers of Philippine-based languages through the processes of Filipinization, Sinicization, and language creation. This study has not only shown the complex dynamics between Sinitic languages. It has also illustrated that the ways in which these languages influence one another are not always symmetric, partly due to differences in the dynamics between the groups in contact. It could also be partly due to other social motivations. Beyond that, this chapter has shown the relevance of these linguistic varieties to the broader Philippine society. It does so by identifying (new) Philippine languages that have

Table 5 Summary of patterns of asymmetric contributions Asterisks (*) here mean 'not'

Pattern	Asymmetry	Social group(s) involved	Motivation
Sinitic > Philippine	*Borrowing* Early Manila Hokkien → Tagalog *Tagalog → Early Manila Hokkien	Sangleys versus *Indios* (locals)	Economic power
Philippine > Sinitic	*Feature selection* Philippine + Sinitic → community mixed code (Lánnang-uè) Philippine + *Sinitic → community mixed code (Filipino)	Lannangs versus Filipinos	Minority assimilation
	Pidgin genesis Chinese Tagalog Pidgin *Philippine Hokkien Pidgin	New immigrants versus Filipinos	Economic need
Southern Sinitic > non-southern Sinitic	*Higher-level interactions* Philippine Hokkien, Cantonese *Mandarin	Lannangs versus mainlanders with non-Southern Chinese heritage	Chronological order, heritage, identity

emerged out of Sino-Philippine contact. The chapter also highlights the ways in which Philippine features have enriched Sinitic languages.

It should be clear that the present discussion is obviously an oversimplification of the complex linguistic ecology in which these languages evolve and continue to develop. Throughout this chapter, I have had to simplify some categories present in the contact varieties under study, although we know all too well that language categories are not always clear-cut (Thomason 2001; Matras and Bakker 2003). For example, Lánnang-uè was characterized in this chapter as a mixed language, but it also shares some characteristics with "indigenized varieties" (Winford 2020: 4). This could potentially challenge the notion of contact languages fitting into specific "types" and support instead the theory of a continuum of contact varieties (Thomason 2001; Baptista 2015; Winford 2020). Future research may consider investigating more linguistic features for each variety with the aim of testing whether these languages can be viewed as "types" or rather exemplify a continuum of contact varieties.

Outside of these issues, I have also not discussed interactions beyond the second order (defined here as interactions involving the contact varieties themselves) in detail. There are some cases of transfer in Manila Lannang English, for example, that were attributed to Tagalog and Hokkien influence in the discussion but can theoretically be attributed to Filipino and Lánnang-uè as well (Gonzales and Hiramoto 2020). Such cases of second-order transfer are, indeed, possible, but fall beyond the scope of this chapter, which aims to provide a *descriptive* overview of the dynamics between Sinitic and Philippine-based languages in the Philippines. Other potential

interactions that involve the contact varieties described in this chapter could be further explored in future work.

The overall objective of this chapter is modest: it is meant to provide scholars and interested individuals a snapshot of the Sino-Philippine language ecology. Being the first large-scale survey and description of its kind in the field of Sino-Philippine linguistics, spanning varieties past and present, this chapter takes a much-needed step in providing readers with a more holistic introduction to Sino-Philippine and, consequently, to the broader Philippine linguistic landscape.

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