Philippine Journal of Linguistics 47 (2016) 106 - 128

Trilingual Code-switching Using Quantitative Lenses: An Exploratory Study on Hokaglish

Wilkinson Daniel Wong Gonzales
National University of Singapore
wdwgonzales@gmail.com

Abstract

Adopting a quantitative approach, this paper highlights findings of an exploratory study on Hokaglish, initially describing it as a trilingual code-switching phenomenon involving Hokkien, Tagalog, and English in a Filipino-Chinese enclave in Binondo, Manila, the Philippines. Departing from the (socio)linguistic landscape of the archipelagic nation, the discussion eventually leads to a frequency-based description of this phenomenon. Preliminary findings suggest that, in Hokaglish, code-switching from Hokkien to English appears to be the most frequent code-switching combination among the six possible ones and that it is typically found in religious institutions. From the investigation, Hokaglish yielded more attestations of intrasentential code-switching than intersentential ones in households particularly. Moreover, findings also indicate that switches in the word-level are very frequent and that morphological code-switching is virtually non-existent in Hokaglish conversations. The paper ends with a discussion that will more or less provide some justification for the findings.

Keyword(s): *Filipino-Chinese; Hokaglish; trilingual code-switching*

Culture and language are important aspects of society. Without them, a society would cease to exist. In the following sections, both of the aforementioned will be discussed in context of the study.

Multiculturalism in the Philippines

It is an indisputable fact that multiculturalism, a term denoting several cultural or ethnic groups in a society, exists globally. Relatively recent advances toward globalization seem to threaten the existence of mono-cultural societies and escalate the growth and presence of multicultural ones. Whether in the East or in the West, one can now rarely see a society with one culture, but instead encounter a multicultural melting pot of cultures.

An exemplary example of one would be that of the Philippines, a Southeast Asian country known for its diversity in culture. Asian Development Bank (2002) estimates that the population of the indigenous peoples in it is around 12 to 15 million and that the total number of ethnic and cultural groups in the archipelago is around 170. Based on Parekh's (2000) perspective, the Philippines is multicultural not only due to the presence of many cultures, but also because of the generally peaceful coexistence of these cultures in society. In fact, it can be identified as one of the many countries where multiculturalism is widely and positively embraced, which may be attributed to the exponential addition of foreign cultures to already existing indigenous and Austronesian cultures especially to this day.

Recommended citation:

Gonzales, W. D. W. (2016). Trilingual code-switching using quantitative lenses: An exploratory study on Hokaglish. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics, 47*, 106-128.

Published December 2016

Immigration could be said as one of the primary factors of the dramatically increasing number of cultures in the Philippines. A number of researchers and historians have attempted to document immigration patterns and trading in earlier periods of Philippine history (Ang See, 1997; Tan A. , 1986). Records from Philippine history also show that the country has also been under the colonial rule of the Spanish, Americans, and the Japanese, which influenced Philippine culture. Moreover, in the recent decades, incrementing immigration of foreign nationals to the Philippines is an indication of Philippine society gradually evolving to become a more multicultural country. According to a report released by the International Organization for Migration (2013), an additional 177,368 foreign immigrants were added to the total Filipino household population of 92.1 million in 2010. Despite the relatively small number of migrants compared to the existing Philippine population, results of the aforementioned report illustrate the exponential trend of migrants from 1978 to 2010 due to economic motivations (see Figure 1). The steep increment around the beginning of the second millennia seems to suggest that immigration numbers would continue to increase dramatically. This, along with evidence that foreign nationals have been immigrating even before the establishment of the First Republic as well as records of colonial rule, indicates that the Philippines is, has, and will continue to be multicultural.

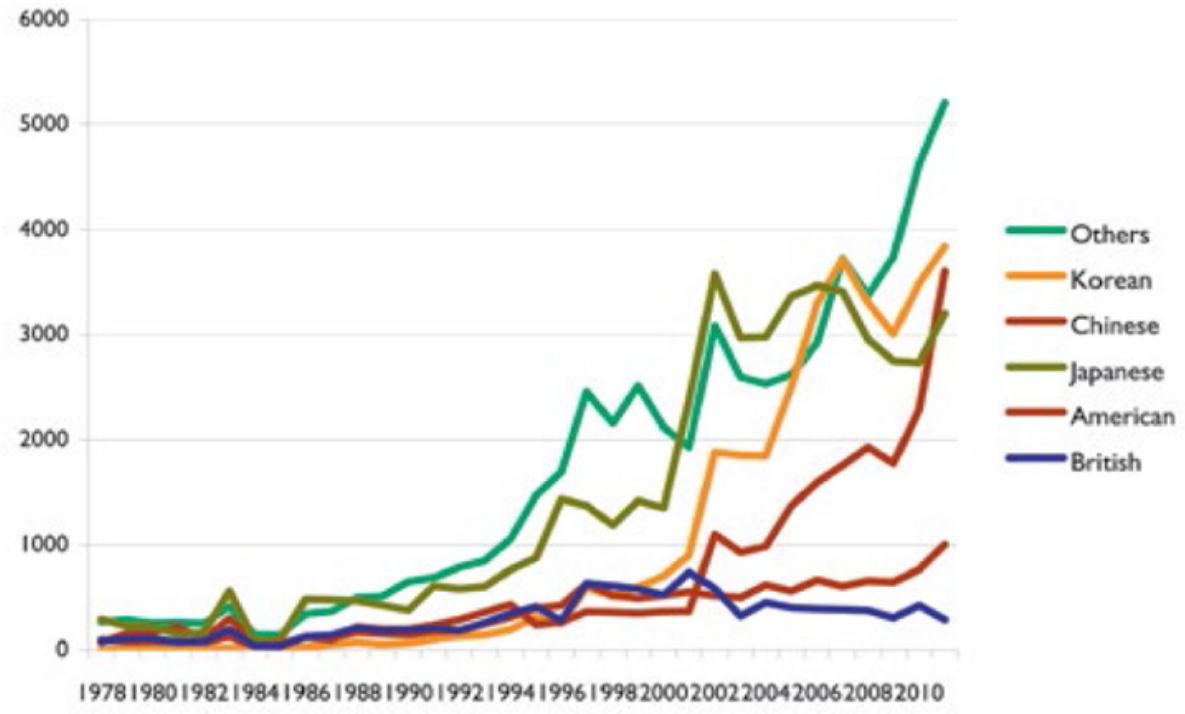

Figure 1: Alien Employment Permit holders by country of origin 1978-2011 (International Organization for Migration, 2013, p. 49)

Multilingualism in the Philippines

Thus, it can also be said that the Philippines is a multilingual country, attributing the diversity of its languages to the cultures of its people. This is supported by Mahadi & Jafari (2012), who, in their study, pointed out that language and culture are interconnected and that one has influence over the other— a reciprocal relationship between the both.

In the midst of a melting pot of cultures, a plethora of languages and dialects are naturally evident. Lewis, Simons, and Fennig (2014) reported that 185 indigenous and non-indigenous languages, four of which are extinct, can be found in the Philippines. Although the Philippine nation is divided into 7,107 islands, more efficient ways of travel as well as faster, instant communication through the Internet has made it possible for peoples of different indigenous and non-indigenous cultures to interact with each other, therefore increasing the chances for language contact. However, despite this, certain languages seem to be more salient than others.

Tagalog, one of the principal languages in the Philippines, is the national language of the Philippines. Despite controversies, it is supported by a constitutional mandate of the Philippine government (Art. XIV, Sec. 6 1986 Constitution) based on existing Philippine languages as well as other foreign languages, with the hopes of uniting the nation through a common language, thus becoming the national language (Rubrico, 1998). Lewis et al. (2014) describes Tagalog as a widespread language with 45,000,000 L2 users. According to the report, it is not used in all official domains as English, the official language of the country, is more commonly used. L2 English users rank second, amounting to around 50% of the Philippine population (40,000,000 users) (Lewis et al., 2014). Another salient finding from their report would be the emergence of Chinese as one of the two non-indigenous Philippine languages listed aside from English. Based on their report, a certain percentage of Filipinos speak Chinese, which is further divided into three varieties, particularly Mandarin, Min Nan or Hokkien and Yue. Each with 53,300, 592,000, and 9,780 users respectively.

Of particular interest to me would be English, Tagalog, and especially Hokkien, which will form the main focus of the discussion in the following paragraphs since (1) it is the primary focus of the study and (2) I saw no need to include English and Tagalog as exhaustive studies in both of the aforementioned languages have been done but only little has been done on Hokkien in the Philippines, comparatively.

Hokkien in the Philippines or Philippine Hokkien

Hokkien, also known as Min Nan (閩南話), is one of the major Chinese vernaculars particularly native to the Hokkien people of Fujian province in China. Like many other languages, it is steadily evolving and spreading in the midst of sociopolitical and economic issues. As a matter of fact, several varieties of Hokkien or "Hokkiens" thrived particularly in the Southeast Asian region. Singapore Hokkien (Tan K. , 2010; Yen, 2006), Penang Peranakan Hokkien (Soon & Seong, 2007), Taiwanese Hokkien or Taiwanese (Wu, 2008; Xu, 2011; Lin, 2015), and Philippine Hokkien are examples of Hokkiens spoken by some Chinese in the region. I would like to focus on Philippine Hokkien, henceforth PhilH, or *lan nang oe* (咱人話) since little documentation has been made on PhilH in the past few decades.

According to Lin (2015), PhilH is a variant of the Quanzhou-accented Hokkien vernacular under Sino-Tibetian language. While no recent published studies document the orthography and phonology of PhilH, it can be hypothesized that PhilH is basically a six-tone language, arguably simpler than its Hokkien reference. Orthography-wise, some translators and textbooks may use Taiwan Hokkien's Romanization system *pe̍h-ōe-jī* with tone markings; however, most people

tend to forgo the complex marking system and intralingually translate spoken or written Hokkien to its Romanized counterpart as they hear it, simplifying it in the process (e.g., nasalized syllables or vowels). Nevertheless, this generalization has not been tested in other parameters except the 20-50 age group, so differences in PhilH use between generations may also be something that should be considered in future studies.

As mentioned earlier, its origins, like other Hokkiens, can be traced to the Fujian Province of China, where several Chinese businessmen immigrated to the Philippines in waves to escape conflict and famine from the 17th to mid-20th century with the hope of having a better life. Along with them, the immigrants brought the "hybrid" Hokkien vernacular because it had already undergone several changes before it reached Philippine shores, where it continued to evolve with the influence of peripheral languages (Zulueta, 2007, p. 6). Anchored on the theory that language and culture are interconnected, the culture that the immigrants brought also influenced Hokkien, and thus, emerged PhilH (Mahadi & Jafari, 2012).

Although there appears to be limited studies with regard to the syntax, semantics, lexical, and pragmatic structure of PhilH, some literature are available with respect to the influence of PhilH to Tagalog and Tagalog to PhilH (Cui, 2012; Zulueta, 2007). There are vast resources on other Hokkiens but none seem to be found in PhilH. While an influx of New Chinese Migrants is evident in the Chinese population, the lack of documentation, as well as the lack of use of the 'original' decades-old PhilH due to assimilation of the Filipino youth to Philippine society would suggest that PhilH is gradually fading into the background, but not necessarily dying. Evidence of this would be certain grandchildren's lack of interest to learn the language from their grandparents due to globalization, where international cultures such as the Korean K-Pop culture, seem to instigate the interest of the younger generation to learn Korean rather than Chinese (Volodzko, 2015). In addition, New Chinese Migrants have brought with them the more popular Mandarin, which can be seen as another interference in the learning of PhilH.

Despite the lack of primarily linguistic studies, one can see some selected individual features of PhilH in the midst of three other languages in the Filipino-Chinese, hence Fil-Chi, society. But in the recent decades, a more interesting phenomenon has emerged especially in the younger generation, where local languages do not only influence PhilH, but are used alternately with it along with other languages such as English.

Code-switching in Philippine Hokkien, Tagalog, and English

The effortless alternation between languages has been broadly defined by Bullock and Toribio (2009) as code-switching (hereafter CS). Gumperz (1982) furthers their definition of CS by defining it as a juxtaposition within same speech exchange of passages belonging to two different grammatical systems. Despite being commonly connoted as an indication of language degeneration and viewed as a "lack of linguistic control", it has arguably been the most dominant and interesting theme of bilingual and language contact studies by linguists (Bullock & Toribio, 2009; Bernardo, 2005). This is perhaps explained by reflective nature of CS as a topic of interest. In other words, CS can reflect the social constructs and cognitive mechanisms that control language switching. There are several kinds of code-switching. Examples relevant to the scope of this study is show below:

(1) PhilH-Tagalog
Haynako. *Bo3 thia3 tshui2!*
Oh no. NEG listen mouth
'Oh, no. You don't listen, do you?'

Note that, for example (1), the Tagalog and PhilH constituents are easily identified and that their combination does not violate the grammar of either language. Myers-Scotton (1993) describes this as classical CS while Muysken (2000) calls this alternational CS. Poplack (1980), on the other hand, coins this as intra-sentential CS. In contrast, example (2) below show inter-sentential CS, where alternation occurs in the lexical level.

(2) Tagalog-English
Pu- punta ka ba sa ***church*** *mamaya?*
FUT-go 2SG PRT PREP church later
'Are you going to church later?'

(3) PhilH-English
Di1 ***eat*** *tsin3 tsoe3 thng3 a1 lo2 a5!* ***Stop it****.*
2SG eat INT many sugar PRT PRT PRT! Stop it.
'You ate too much candy. Stop it.'

(4) English-Tagalog (Englog)
You know how to go there, ***'di ba****?*
You know how to go there, PRT PRT?
'You know how to go there, don't you?'

In his studies regarding bilingualism, Muysken (2000) identified the strategies used by bilinguals during CS: *alternation*, where a distinction and separation between the two languages still remain as seen in (1), *congruent lexicalization*, where both languages share a common grammatical structure from either language that can be filled by lexicon from either language as well, as seen in (3), and insertion, where a constituent from the first language is embedded in the grammatical structure of the other typically in the A-B-A pattern, as seen in (2). Apart from that, there is another CS strategy called *tag-switching*, as seen in (4) which may not necessarily exhibit the bilingual proficiency of a bilingual speaker, unlike other strategies used (Bullock & Toribio, 2009).

Poplack (1980) proposed three different criteria to determine the status of non-native material in bilingual utterances: (1) phonological integration, (2) morphological integration, and (3) syntactical integration. Moreover, she pointed out four possible combinations of integration as illustrated in Table 1. According to the approach, Types 2-4 are examples of CS because the foreign language is not fully integrated in what she calls the base language, while Type 1, where integration in all three levels are evident, constitutes a borrowing.

Table 1

Poplack's (1980, p. 584) Identification of Code-Switching Based on the Type of Integration into the Base Language

Type	Levels of Integration into Base Language			Code-Switching?
	Phonological	**Morphological**	**Syntactic**	
1	√	√	√	No
2	x	x	√	Yes
3	√	x	x	Yes
4	x	x	x	Yes

Many linguists investigated CS in English, Tagalog, and other Hokkiens. From Zulueta (2007) and Cui's (2012) study earlier, it was revealed that Filipinos and Chinese *borrowed* lexical elements from each other's language, which they assimilated into their own respective languages. In relation to CS, Treffers-Daller (1991) and Myers-Scotton (1993) place this kind of lexical *borrowing* in one end of a continuum and CS on the other end. This seems to suggest that borrowing and CS are related, which is true because both phenomena are not found in monolinguals. While this is true, borrowing will not be discussed in this study as it is not within the scope. Nevertheless, there are other CS research studies done in the aforementioned languages and vernaculars.

While some may argue that CS is an indication of lack of proficiency and linguistic control, some scholars challenge this sentiment (Sibayan & Gonzalez, 1996; Tollefson, 1991; Bernardo, 2005; Malakoff & Hakuta, 1991). Sibayan & Gonzales (1996) and Tollefson (1991) argue that each language serves a different function. For example, English has a foundational role as the language of learning in important subjects such as Mathematics while Tagalog/Filipino has the role of unifying other Philippine indigenous languages and the Philippine nation, in general (Bernardo, 2005). Certain researchers such as Malakoff and Hakuta (1991) have also indirectly argued against the negative connotations of CS by noting other useful functions such as signaling group boundaries, conveying emphasis, role playing, establishing sociocultural identity, redefine interaction, signal level of intimacy, and, finally, emotional charge. Adopting a meta analytical approach, Bernardo (2005), also challenges the common perception of CS signaling lack of language control. He believes that CS is a "rule-governed, linguistically complex, and functionally specific language behavior that can be applied to attain various types of communicative, social, personal, and even cognitive goals" (p.161). Moreover, he proposed that code switchers have complete non-fractional language competencies that "draw from two distinct language systems that share a common conceptual representation system" (p. 161).

Take, for example, one excerpt transcribed from a conversation among Fil-Chis utilizing CS between PhilH, English, and Tagalog. To distinguish PhilH (in regular text with no emphasis) from English and Tagalog, the former will be italicized and in bold, while the latter will be in bold only. Translations are in single quotes.

(5) Allison[2]: ***Hey, Ben***! [1]**Alam mo ba,** i1 ia5 ke3-po5[3]**.**
'Hey, Ben!* Do you know how nosey he is?'

Claire[1]: **Ano daw?**
'What did you say?'

Allison[1]: Ha-ha! I1 ka1 na1 hoah4 gong2 a3, boe6 hiau1 bieng3 piak8 lan1 le1 kong1 sia2!
'Ha-ha! Why is he so stupid? He can't understand what we are talking about!'

Ben[1]: ***Yeah.*** I1 boe6 hiau1 bieng3 piak8 lan5 lang3 oe2.
'Yeah. He doesn't know how to speak our language.'

From the conversation above, one can generally observe three things: (1) that the Fil-Chis in the conversations above appear to be capable of speaking fluently in the language of their choice under certain circumstances, (2) that they appear to converse quite naturally with no hesitation or unnecessary pauses, and (3) that they can be seen attempting to establish a sense of cultural identity and belongingness by trying to draw boundaries between their ethnic group (Chinese) and the other ethnic group (Filipino). These initial observations support Sibayan & Gonzales (1996), Tollefson (1991), and Malakoff and Hakuta's (1991) earlier arguments and possibly confirm that CS may be conceived as a "reasonable high-level linguistic skill" because the linguistic competencies that underlie CS behavior would involve systematic and complex skills and knowledge that would necessitate working across systems of languages (Bernardo, 2005, p. 160).

What is Hokaglish?

Yet another thing that can be observed in the earlier conversation is the co-existence of PhilH, English, and Tagalog in the conversation, where the Fil-Chis use 'Hokaglish' or popularly known as *Salamstam-oe* 'mixed language' (Gonzales, 2016a, 2016b). Fil-Chi communities, presumably excluding recent immigrants in the past decade, have ostensibly been using it for a long time.

As indirectly implied earlier, 'Hokaglish' is the term I will use for this phenomenon, which I initially hypothesize to be multilingual CS where only Tagalog, English, and PhilH is involved, with PhilH dominating the conversation. It should be noted that 'Hokaglish' is used instead of 'Taglikien' (Tagalog-English-Hokkien), which also involves the three aforementioned languages. Noticeably, Hokaglish is a combination of Hokkien (PhilH) + Tagalog (now Filipino) + English. The rationale behind this choice of terminology would be the word order. They key is in the semantics; for example, Taglish and Englog both refer to bilingual CS; however, Taglish refers to Tagalog spoken with a bit of English, while Englog refers to English spoken with a bit of Tagalog/Filipino.

[2] Not their real names
[3] ke-po or 雞婆 literally means "chicken's wife". Figuratively, it means being nosey.

Following this pattern, I decided to place the prefix *Hok-,* to represent PhilH, at the beginning to emphasize dominance. I also chose to retain the word segment *-ag-* from Tagalog because Filipinos may be more accustomed to referring Filipino as such. The suffix *-glish* from English would indicate that English is used least frequently among the other two languages.

To summarize, the major and dominant language in Hokaglish is PhilH, while Tagalog and English supplement it in its grammar, lexicon, etc. In simpler words, Hokaglish is PhilH-dominant CS with Tagalog and English, which the earlier conversation illustrated.

On code-switching perspectives and research

English-Tagalog CS

Some studies have been done on English CS with major Philippine languages such as Waray (Palines, 1981) and Cebuano (Abastillas, 2015); however, much more literature in bilingualism focused on CS between English and Tagalog, or in other words, Taglish, which is more popularly used, or Englog (Bautista, 2004; Labitigan, 2013; Smedley, 2006; Borlongan, 2009; Valerio, 2015).

Labitigan's (2013) study investigated the internal and external syntax of Tagalog-English CS in the nominal domain. Particularly, he focused on the two structural aspects of CS nominal phrases in Tagalog-English speech—nominal pluralization and case/subjecthood while utilizing Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix Language Framework Model as well as other supporting models. He observed that when one inserts a Tagalog noun into an English framework, the plurality marker 'mga' in Tagalog appears optional while '-s' is never allowed; however, when Tagalog is the matrix language, both English and Tagalog plurality markers are "independently optional" (p.21). He also observed that when Tagalog is the Matrix Language, English nominal phrases need to be marked by Tagalog nominal markers 'ang' or 'ng', while, on the other hand, when English is the Matrix Language, speakers or writers tend to insert the 'ang' nominal marker in place of what appears to be determiners in the English language such as 'the', 'this' and 'those' (p.34).

On the other hand, Smedley (2006) utilized corpus-based analysis in his study. He focused on Tagalog-English CS in personal weblogs made by Filipino bloggers ad discovered that 48% of the 6380 words in 25 weblogs are in Tagalog, while 52% are in English. Primary findings of Smedley's study also indicated that bloggers codeswitch (1) to take a more objective stance by switching to English, (2) to take a more personal and emotional stance by switching to Tagalog, (3) to contribute to a sense of narrative and personal coherence, (4) to "construct and position versions of self and others", and (5) to "style shift" (Smedley, 2006:70). The results imply that CS plays a crucial role in weblogs.

Adopting a mixed-approach, Borlongan (2009) looks at Tagalog-English CS practices of educators and students taking up English language classes in Metro Manila educational institutions. Results show that 11 of 14 teachers CS around 15 times in average for the entire class while students CS at least once during class.

Valerio (2015) utilized a similar setting like that of Borlongan (2009) and attempted to discover the attitudes of 607 freshman students toward English CS and code switchers. She also aimed to determine the rationale for the CS and find a relationship between this and academic performance. Adopting a mixed-approach anchored Jacoby's Psycholinguistics theory, she discovered that the respondents had positive attitudes toward CS and code switchers because the

respondents were also code switchers. Moreover, she discovered that there exists a relationship between CS and academic performance.

Perhaps one of the most influential and foundational studies of Tagalog-English CS was made by Bautista's (2004), who made a meta-analysis of Tagalog-English CS through the years. She generalized that Tagalog-English code-switching has gone a long way and continued saying that Tagalog-English CS began with assigning segments of Tagalog-English CS to one language or another and formulating rules for CS and advanced to describing uses of this CS in Philippine society.

Hokkien-English CS

Limited studies have been made with regard to Hokkien-English CS (Hong, 2011; Su & Zhu, 2006). Su and Zhu (2006) utilized an analytical approach in describing CS in the Singaporean movie "I Not Stupid". They pointed out three instances where Hokkien-English CS is observed in the movie, all of which are intra-sentential CS and are only lexical switches. They conclude by recommending the Singaporean government to not discourage "Singlish" (or Hokkien-Singlish) but to actively promote both.

Like Chua (2008), Hong's (2011) study is conducted in a Singaporean household; however, Hong focused on Singaporean Hokkien (SingH) rather than Mandarin, and how the family utilizes CS between SingH and English. Results show that the use of SingH in CS is limited to lexical items, verbs and sentence-final particles and that intra-sentential CS was evident in the conversations. No instances of inter-sentential CS were observed during Hong's study and a relationship between CS and educational level seem to emerge from Hong's study— the higher the educational level, the less Hokkien one speaks. Hong (2011) concludes that Hokkien-English CS typically occurs as insertional CS and that the fluent non-CS version of Hokkien may be limited to the older generation. Though small-scale, results are indicative of what trend may arise when conducted longitudinally in a large-scale setting.

PhilH-Tagalog CS

Perhaps of equivalent importance to this study are studies of PhilH CS with Tagalog. As mentioned earlier, it appears to be that there is an absence of linguistic studies done on the topic. Nevertheless, some researchers have investigated into the lexicon of PhilH. Zulueta (2007) in her descriptive study, pointed out Tagalog-influenced PhilH words as well as PhilH-influenced Tagalog words. Examples have already been pointed out in the earlier sections of this paper. This would suggest that CS between PhilH and Tagalog is predominantly word-level and intra-sentential rather than inter-sentential. Moreover, Zulueta reveals that Fil-Chi youth have the tendency to CS when with their co-ethnic peers to instigate a sense of community, belongingness, and cultural identity. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) and Skiba (1997) support this claim through their belief that one of the goals of CS is to establish rapport.

Multilingual CS other than Bilingual CS

A handful of CS researchers have attempted to study the interplay of multiple languages in different settings (Bakar, 2009; Sarkar & Winer, 2006). Bakar's (2009) study described CS in Bahasa Rojak, hereafter BR, which is actually a metaphorical term referring to mixed-language consisting of the English, Cantonese, Hokkien, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and many more languages. He differentiated it from Kuala Lumpur Malay, hence KLM, and even described the relationship between both of them as a "good-bad dichotomy" (Bakar, 2009:100).

Comparatively, Sarkar and Winer's (2006) study focused on multilingual CS in Quebec raps. They identified the following languages simultaneously used by Quebec rap artists in their songs: French, English, Haitian Creole, Jamaican Creole, and Spanish. Moreover, results of their study show that this multilingual CS phenomenon has pragmatic, vocative, discourse-marking, and poetic functions.

Some research studies in multilingual CS are specifically focused on trilingual CS, though they appear relatively few in number (Pittman, 2008; Kyuchukov, 2002; Konidaris, 2004). Adopting Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame Model, Pittman (2008) investigated the bilingual and trilingual CS patterns of a family who speaks Hungarian, Romanian, and eventually English after moving to North America. Findings of Pittman's (2008) study revealed that trilingual CS is significant and differences between bilingual and trilingual CS and different language combinations are evident due to social and cultural backgrounds. Similarly, Konidaris (2004) focused on discourse analysis. She studied Montrealers' trilingual CS among French, English, and heritage languages of minority groups in Quebec. Utilizing audio-taped then transcribed conversations, she discovered that English was the more frequent language prioritized, then Greek, and finally, French. On the other hand, Kyuchukov's (2002) study examined Myers-Scotton's framework by analyzing trilingual CS in Bulgaria between Turkish-Romani speakers utilizing the said framework. She argued that the framework is not applicable to trilingual CS as trilinguals acquire the three languages as a single code and are therefore not aware of CS processes.

Synthesis

In the earlier sections, I have attempted to provide several literature on bilingual CS. The number of literature available would suggest that bilingual CS is a fairly familiar phenomenon, primarily due to advances towards globalization. Like the literature available on English-Tagalog, Chinese-English, and PhilH-Tagalog CS provided earlier, one can see that conceivably exhaustive documentation has already been done on bilingual CS. Although the field of bilingualism may still quite have a plethora of research opportunities, trilingualism and multilingualism may be a more interesting field for linguists and other researchers due to the fact that language contact of three or more languages, instead of solely two, is getting more frequent, such as the case of Hokaglish. Thus, with the lack of linguistic documentation, it interested me to understand the interplay of Hokkien-based CS with other languages, especially with Tagalog and English as well as discover the linguistic features of Hokaglish. This will serve as the gap that I wish to address through this study. In other words, I will attempt to answer the following questions:

1. In Hokaglish, what code switch combination do Filipino-Chinese frequently use?
2. What level of code-switching is more evident in Hokaglish – morphological, word, phrase, clause, or sentence level?
3. Are there more intersentential or intrasentential switches?
4. With respect to Myers-Scotton's matrix language framework, what language is frequently used in Hokaglish as the matrix language and in what setting?

Method

Research Design

A descriptive and analytical quantitative approach was adopted to answer the research questions of the current study.

Study site

The current paper focused on the Fil-Chi enclave in Binondo, Manila, The Philippines. Commonly referred to simply as 'Chinatown' by Manila residents, the Binondo Chinatown, located near Intramuros and situated beside the Pasig River, was established in 1594 by Spanish colonizers and considered the oldest of its kind in the world (Gonzales, 2016a, 2016b). Based on the statistics provided by the Philippine Statistic Authority as of 2010, out of the 92 million people in the Philippines, 12,985 people reside in Binondo, more than half of which are ethnically Chinese.

Description of data source

Following Bautista's (1982) research, the data of this study only come from oral conversations because Hokaglish is seemingly prevalent only in spoken texts. The sources of the conversation have been living in the Philippines for at least five (5) years, know how to speak in Hokkien with at least native or bilingual proficiency, and must be between 20-50 years old.

In order to accomplish the objectives of this study, a mono-stereo recorder tuned at 17000 Hz was used to record conversations anonymously in the following domains: (1) academic institutions (2) houses, (3) phone conversations (mobile and Internet-based), (4) religious institutions, and (5) restaurants.

More specifically, data from academic institutions are recorded during casual classmate-to-classmate talk as well as the more formal classmate-to-teacher and teacher-to-classmate conversations. Similarly, recordings from houses are collected during casual conversations between family members while data from the phone conversations domain are between friends and family members. Recorded conversations from religious institutions would, at this point, refer to both casual and sermon-related conversations between congregation members or those attending church whereas in the restaurant domain, the recording was carried out during the meal. It should be noted that the rationale for the choice of these settings would be the likeliness to encounter Hokaglish in these areas.

A total of three conversations for each setting were recorded, summing up to a total of 15 conversations. Each conversation is approximately 25 minutes long and is transcribed using a word processing software called TextEdit.

The recording transcripts were then presented to the respondents, who were given an option to omit anything they find uncomfortable releasing to me for study purposes. After that, the respondents were asked to sign confidentiality forms and waivers. Following this, the transcripts were edited and prepared for further analysis. On editing, all repetitions, repairs, and other problematic instances were included to preserve the integrity of the data; however, not all of these occurrences are used towards obtaining the quantified finding (except for the total word count) as some of these occurrences are not related to the discussion or the topic.

The data bank has a total of 11,841 words. Since the the number of words per setting is not equal, normalization to words per million (wpm) was done. More specifically, the words in each

of the five settings was normed to 200,000 words, which give a total of 1,000,000 words (See Table 2).

Table 2

Number of words (normed)

Corpus Set	Domain	Hokkien	English	Tagalog	Others	TOTAL
A	*Academic Institutions*	103000	48400	32200	16300	200000
B	*Houses*	131300	30700	36500	1400	200000
C	*Phone conversations*	131800	36600	31000	700	200000
D	*Religious Institutions*	101400	86700	10900	1000	200000
E	*Restaurants*	139000	31900	28700	400	200000
	Total	606500	234300	139300	19800	1000000

Data analysis

AntConc 8.5.9 for the Macintosh made by Laurence Anthony was used to obtain the frequency of code switches while Microsoft Excel 15.0 for the Macintosh was utilized to organize the data. Manual analysis was done to determine whether the switches were done in the morphological, word, phrase, clause, or sentence level. Moreover, determining the matrix language and type of language used during Hokaglish code-switching was also done manually.

Findings and Discussion

In Hokaglish, what code-switching combination do Filipino-Chinese frequently use?

With 59,400 instances, it can be said that Filipino-Chinese, particularly in Binondo, code switch from Hokkien to English more frequently than any other combination (Table 3 and Figure 2). It should be noted that this CS combination is particularly found in religious institutions and then in houses. Example 6 below is an excerpt from a conversation in a church.

(6) *Tioh3 pang3 tsan2. M6 si6 kong1 condemn.*
MOD help lend. NEG COP say condemn
'You have to help. I'm not saying you have to condemn.' <D-001>

One possible reason for the frequent switches from Hokkien to English would be that, in the religious context, speakers who use Biblical terms may prefer to say them in English. If we expand the scope to other contexts, the same could also be said. Paolillo (1996), who studied English and Punjabi speakers in India and Pakistan, discovered that speakers show a preference to English due to its prominence in South Asia. In addition, Sperlich's (2005) results suggest that English is favored over indigenous or minority languages. Moreover, in a survey administered to

280 public and private high schools in Ormoc City, Philippines, Durano (2009) discovered that Filipinos also tend to have a generally positive attitude towards English and English CS.

The unfamiliarity of the term(s) in Hokkien would form another reason. For example, in the earlier conversation, after saying 'm6 si6 kong1' [I'm not saying you have to], the speaker abruptly switches to English. The speaker appears to be unfamiliar with the word 'condemn' in Hokkien and instead uses the more familiar term 'condemn' in English, which is a term usually connected with religious discourse.

In other cases, code switches from Hokkien to English may be attributed to structural convergence. For example, the noun phrase 'very many people' can be directly translated to 'ia5 tsoe3 lang5'.

The next most frequent CS combination would be that of English to Hokkien (55,300 instances) while the least frequent combination would be that of Tagalog-English (19600 instances) (See Figure 2 and Table 3). The latter is shown in example 7.

(7) *U6 sunog. Then, u6 nng6 e3 lang5 le1 panic.*
EXIST fire Then, EXIST two CLF person PROG panic.
'There was a fire. Then, there were two people panicking.' <A-002>

Table 3

Absolute and normed frequency of inter-language switches

	Academic Institutions		**Houses**		**Phone Conversations**		**Religious Institutions**		**Restaurants**		**Total**	
	f	*nf*	*f*	*nf*	*f*	*nf*	*f*	*nf*	*f*	*nf*	*f*	*nf*
Hokkien-English	94	9100	192	14100	81	9400	192	14700	165	12100	724	59400
Hokkien-Tagalog	63	6100	137	10100	53	6200	39	3000	119	8700	411	34100
English-Hokkien	87	8400	172	12700	78	9100	177	13500	159	11600	673	55300
English-Tagalog	60	5800	81	6000	35	4100	24	1800	54	4000	254	21700
Tagalog-Hokkien	63	6100	151	11100	53	6200	41	3100	123	9000	431	35500
Tagalog-English	54	5200	67	4900	36	4200	20	1500	52	3800	229	19600
Total	421	40700	800	58900	336	39200	493	37600	672	49200	2722	225600

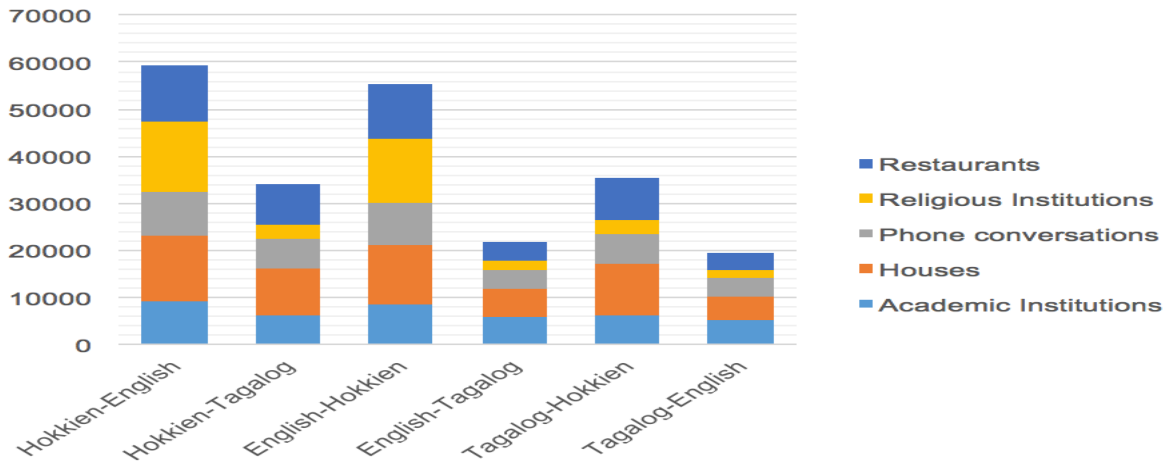

Figure 2. A bar chart of the normed frequency of inter-language switches

What level of code-switching is more evident in Hokaglish – morphological, word, phrase, clause, or sentence level?

Table 4 and Figure 3 show the frequency of code switches in different levels. Based on the data at hand, switches at the word level appear to be the most dominant compared to other levels. In the case of Hokkien-Tagalog and Tagalog-Hokkien CS, this could most likely be explained by the increased borrowing of lexical elements from Hokkien to Tagalog for a period of time that extends until now (Cui, 2012, & Zulueta, 2007). Although Cui (2012) and Zulueta (2007) only focused on words related to food and cutlery, they still provide much insight on word-level switches. From the data, it is also interesting to note that switches in the word level typically happens in households, which somehow corroborates the study of Cui (2012) and Zulueta (2007) because food and cutlery can also be found at home (See Table 4). An excerpt that best exemplifies can be found in example 8.

(8) *Lu~ luto sila kiam6 png2, mah4 ki6, spaghetti.*
FUT~cook 3PL salty rice , meat gruel, spaghetti
'They will cook glutinous rice, sticky meat soup, spaghetti.' <B-003>

Furthermore, among the different CS levels, it is, not surprisingly, the morphological level that has the least number of occurrences to the point where they almost do not exist, a likely factor here being the complexity of CS in the said level such as the case of Tagalog, English, and Hokkien code-switching where you have three different morphological systems.

English, Tagalog, and Hokkien morphologies are already complex on their own. In English, for example, inflections are part of the English morphological system and can be manifested through the use of prefixes, infixes, and suffixes otherwise known as affixes (e.g., *beautiful* where *–ful* is the suffix). Although it is still relatively complicated, the English morphological system can already be considered simpler compared to what it used to be before all the gradual system transformations took place.

As for the case of Tagalog, many scholars deem its morphological system very sophisticated and too complex compared to other languages because of the number and variety of affixes and duplication of words or syllables (Juffs, 1996, & McWhorter, 2011). For example, the word nakakapagpabagabag (*something causing disturbance*) has the root word bagabag

(*worry*) and the prefix *na-* and the duplication of the first syllable *ba-* to indicate the imperfect aspect; it is further complicated by the infix *-ka-* repeated twice to indicate something causing that worry.

The morphology of Chinese languages such as Hokkien, on the other hand, is controversial as it can correspond to the orthographic character, thus, identifying the roots and affixes in the 'word' would be problematic. Packard (2000) believes that the notion of the 'word' in Chinese is hard to define and without this, studies of derivation or inflection would almost be impossible. The situation of morphology in the said languages is further complicated in the context of CS.

Also, another probably reason why only few morphological switches are found in the conversations may have something to do with junctures. Appel and Muysken (1987) argue that switching and mixing happens at clearly determined junctures. Since they are less likely to appear in between morphemes, code-switching in this level would most probably be unnatural, particularly in CS involving Hokkien, where the place of morphemes in its syntax is still a matter of debate. Two excerpts exemplifying this are given in example 9 and 10 below.

(9) *Goa1 m6 tsai6. Di ko alam kung paano* ***i-describe***
1SG NEG know. NEG 1SG know if how to-describe
'I don't know. I don't know how this should be described.' <A-005>

(10) *nung* ***nag-kong*** *oe2 tayo, ti6 hia5 la2.*
When PER-talk words 1PL, LOC DIST PRT
'When we talked, he was there.' <C-001>

In the first example, the word in bold, a case of Tagalog-English morpheme-level CS, is considered quite normal in the Philippines whereas in the second example the Tagalog-Hokkien word may still be uncommon.

In summary, results of the current study reveal the following ranking with regard to frequency of CS by level from highest to lowest: word level (103,500); phrase level (72,700); sentence level (29,800); clause level (18,700), and morphological level (1,200) (See Figure 3). It should be highlighted that particles like discourse markers are not included in this count.

Table 4

Absolute and normed frequency of code switches by level

	Academic Institutions		**Houses**		**Phone Conversations**		**Religious Institutions**		**Restaurants**		**Total**	
	f	***nf***	***f***	***nf***	***f***	***nf***	***f***	***nf***	***f***	***nf***	***f***	***nf***
Morphological	1	100	7	500	3	300	2	200	2	100	15	1200
Word/Lexical	186	18100	400	29500	138	16100	203	15500	332	24300	1259	103500
Phrase	133	12900	290	21400	89	10400	169	12900	206	15100	887	72700
Clause	36	3500	55	4100	41	4800	67	5100	17	1200	216	18700
Sentence	65	6300	48	3500	65	7600	52	4000	115	8400	345	29800
Total	421	40900	800	59000	336	39200	493	37700	672	49100	2722	225900

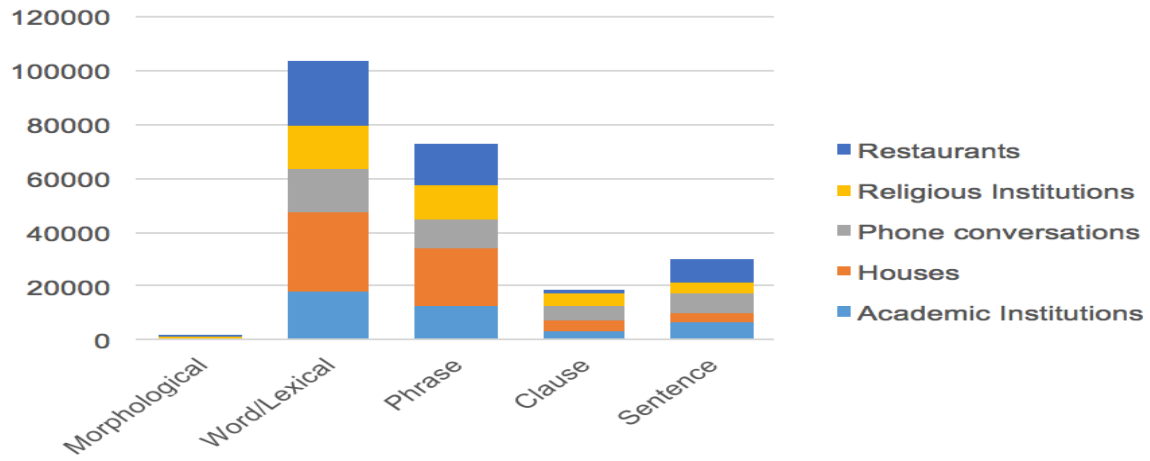

Figure 3. A bar chart of the normed frequency of code switches by level

Are there more intersentential or intrasentential switches?

From the summarized frequencies of CS based on Poplack's (1980) study in Table 5 and Figure 4, it appears that intrasentential switches are more commonly used by Filipino-Chinese compared to intersentential switches (196,000 instances compared to 29,800). As a matter of fact, the gap between the both switches is significant and consistent across the five settings. It is worth highlighting that high levels of intrasentential switches are evident in households as opposed to other settings while intersentential switches are more common in restaurants. The high levels of intrasentential CS is supported by Hong (2011), who discovered that insertional or intersentential CS occurs more often than intersentential ones especially in oral conversations in Singapore Hokkien, the rationale for it being the speaker's knowledge deficiency of the syntactic constructions in Hokkien as well as his or her limited vocabulary. Hong (2011) further explains that the inserted words are easier to learn and use without knowledge of Hokkien syntax.

Table 5

Absolute and normed frequency of code switches based on Poplack (1980)

	Academic Institutions		**Houses**		**Phone Conversations**		**Religious Institutions**		**Restaurants**		**Total**	
	f	*nf*	*f*	*nf*	*f*	*nf*	*f*	*nf*	*f*	*nf*	*f*	*nf*
Intrasentential	356	34600	752	55400	271	31500	441	33700	557	40800	2377	196000
Intersentential	65	6300	48	3500	65	7600	52	4000	115	8400	345	29800
Total	421	40900	800	58900	336	39100	493	37700	672	49200	2722	225800

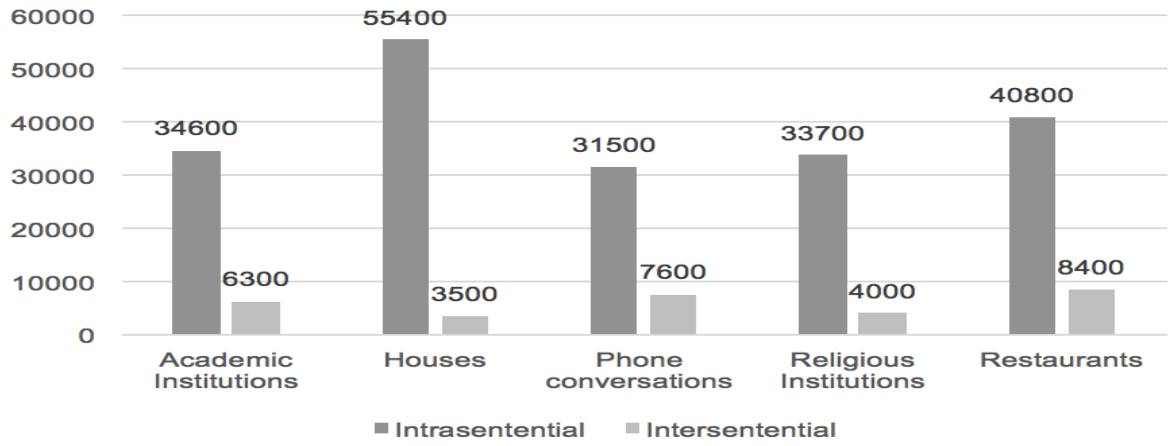

*Figure 4***.** A bar chart of the normed frequency of code switches based on Poplack (1980)

With respect to Myers-Scotton's matrix language framework, what language is frequently used in Hokaglish as the matrix language and in what setting?

According to the MLF framework, which was devised to explain intra-sentential CS, an individual that is code-switching uses a dominant language or the Matrix Language (ML) and the other language, or the Embedded Language (EL). Although well-formed on its own, the EL is still constrained by the ML grammar, based on MLF. As Table 6 and Figure 5 reveal, Hokkien is the most frequently used matrix language, usually found in restaurant conversations like in example 11.

(11) *Shang-ri-la e5 u6 bacon din la1 kap4 coleslaw.*
Shang-ri-la PRT.GEN EXIST bacon PRT PRT CONJ coleslaw.
'Shang-ri-la's has bacon and coleslaw, too.'

The matrix language is Hokkien because the sentence largely follows the Hokkien/Chinese syntactical structure with the exception of the Tagalog enclitic particle *din*, whose use may be considered a feature of Hokaglish.

On the other hand, English is the most common language used in monolingual clauses, typically found in conversations in religious institutions. Earlier it was mentioned that speakers of Hokaglish either tend to avoid religious terms in lieu of English ones. It was also noted that, instead of avoiding, some speakers might prefer to switch to English possibly because of the prominence of the English Bible compared to the Chinese Bible. In the following excerpt from a conversation in a church (example 12), the monolingual English clauses are in bold.

(12) *Siong6 teh2 helps on the way pero* ***you have to do your part*** *kha1*
up king helps on the way CONJ you have to do your part like
'God helps you on the way but you have to do your part. For example,

lang1 hi1 ge3 Jordan River hi1 ge3… ***priest have to step*** *into the into the sia6 mi1 ko1*
DIST CLF Jordan River DIST CLF... priest have to step into the into the what PRT
'In the Jordan River, the priest has to step into the what

o5, goa1 tsah4 ho6 di1 khua2 hi1 ge3 hi1 ge3 verse.
PRT, 1SG ADV.FUT give 2SG look DIST CLF DIST CLF verse.
'I will show you the verse later.'
<D-005>

In the beginning of this study, it was expected that Hokkien matrix languages in private settings would be more frequently used than in public settings since there is less need for an affective filter and thus, the speaker can be more free in switching from one language to another while the listener can be more lenient with the switches. However, it appears that, in this case, more Hokkien matrix language clauses are almost equally used in public (restaurants) and private settings (households), contrary to expectations.

Hughes, Shaunessy, Brice, Ratliff, and McHatton (2006) indicated that one of the reasons why speakers code switch is so that they can establish themselves as part of a particular group. Interestingly, Zulueta's (2007) study highlighted that Filipino-Chinese have the tendency to CS when with their co-ethnic peers to instigate a sense of community, belongingness, and cultural identity. There appears to be a connection between the studies and the significant number of Hokkien matrix languages clauses used by Filipino-Chinese in public settings. Taking off from Zulueta's (2007) study, results suggest that the respondents CS from Hokkien with the presumed Filipino-Chinese speakers to 'test the waters' to see if they share the same Chinese culture or speak the same language.

Table 6

Absolute and normed frequency of clauses by Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix Language

	Academic Institutions		**Houses**		**Phone Conversations**		**Religious Institutions**		**Restaurants**		**Total**
Languages	f	nf	f	nf	f	nf	f	nf	f	nf	(nf)
As Matrix Language											
English	21	2000	6	400	8	900	22	1700	5	400	5400
Tagalog	31	3000	50	3700	25	2900	6	500	30	2200	12300
Hokkien	68	6600	172	12700	78	9100	118	9000	176	12900	50300
Total	120	11600	228	16800	111	12900	146	11200	211	15500	68000
As Sole Language											
English	50	4900	22	1600	28	3300	104	7900	27	2000	19700
Tagalog	21	2000	33	2400	13	1500	7	500	34	2500	8900
Hokkien	89	8600	77	5700	75	8700	62	4700	105	7700	35400
Total	160	15500	132	9700	116	13500	173	13100	166	12200	64000
Total	280	27100	360	26500	227	26400	319	24300	377	27700	132000

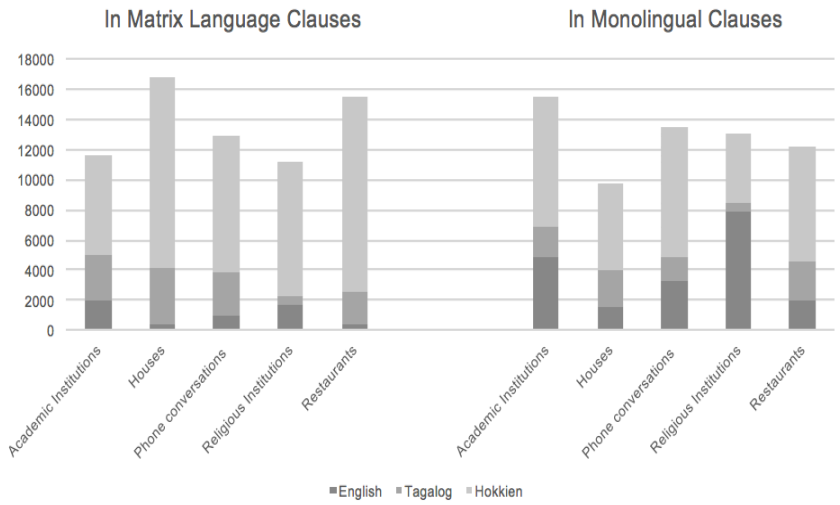

Figure 5. A bar chart of the normed frequencies of clauses by Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix Language

Conclusion

This paper reports observations, investigations, and evidences of Hokaglish, which, as of this point, I identify as a trilingual code-switching phenomenon between Hokkien, Tagalog, and English that is typically used in oral conversations across different domains in Manila.

I investigated CS frequencies and discovered that CS from Hokkien to English is the most frequent CS combination among the six possible ones and that it is typically found in religious institutions. Findings of my study also revealed more instances of intrasentential CS than intersentential ones particularly in households. Also, in Hokaglish, word-level switches are most common while morphological CS almost do not exist in conversations, as results indicate. Possible reasons for these results have already been discussed earlier.

The explorations and evidences of Hokaglish in Binondo, Manila are certainly not disappointing. In addition to Singlish, a basilectal form of Standard Singaporean English that involves Malay, Hokkien, Mandarin, and other languages, Hong Kong Cantonese, which may involve CS with Mandarin and even English, and other multilingual CS phenomena, Hokaglish is definitely an interesting addition to existing research in language contact. Preliminary work done through this study also provides interesting insights about Philippine Hokkien using the multilingual approach; it is a stepping stone to future studies, including translingual ones.

However, despite positive initial results on Hokaglish, many questions remain unanswered. How do we classify Hokaglish? Is it just a mere code-switching phenomenon or a normative language? Is it a pidgin, creole, or a mixed language? Can it be classified as another type of language? Can it a manifestation of the stabilization and differentiation of Philippine English? With the new wave migrants from China and Mandarin gradually replacing Hokkien as the medium of instruction in Chinese schools, what is the future of Hokaglish?

Despite a plethora of them, these unanswered questions can certainly give us more opportunities for vibrant discourse, which will eventually determine the course of Hokaglish and related research in language contact in the Philippines.

References

Appel, R., & Muysken, P. (1987). *Language contact and bilingualism.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Abastillas, G. (2015). *Divergence in Cebuano and English code-switching practices in Cebuano speech communities in the central Philippines* (Unpublished Master's Thesis). Georgetown University.

Ang See, T. (1997). The Chinese in the Philippines: Continuity and change. *Asian Studies, 33*, 69-82.

Asian Development Bank. (2002). *Indigenous peoples/ethnic minorities and poverty reduction: Philippines.* Manila, Philippines: Asian Development Bank.

Bakar, H. (2009). Code-switching in Kuala Lumpur: The "Rojak" phenomenon. *EXPLORATIONS: A Graduate Student Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, 9*, 99-107.

Bautista, M. (1982). Yaya English. *Philippine Studies, 30*(3), 377-394.

Bautista, M. (2004). Tagalog-English code-switching as a mode of discourse. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 5*(2), 226-233.

Bernardo, A. (2005). Bilingual code-switching as a resource for learning and teaching: Alternative reflections on the language and education issue in the Philippines. In D. Dayag, & J. Quakenbush (Eds.), *Linguistics and language education in the Philippines and beyond: A Festschrift in honor of Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista* (pp. 151-169). Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.

Borlongan, A. (2009). Tagalog-English code-switching in English language classes: Frequency and forms. *TESOL Journal, 1*, 28-42.

Bullock, B., & Toribio, A. (2009). Themes in the study of code-switching. In B. Bullock, & A. Toribio (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of linguistic code-switching* (pp. 1-18). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chua, L. (2008). Language shift and language maintenance in a Singaporean Chinese family. *Thammasat International Journal of Science and Technology, 21*(1), 73-90.

Cui, X. (2012). Hokkien Chinese borrowings on cookery in Tagalog. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies, 2*(3), 566-571.

Durano, F. (2009). *Attitudes towards English and Fil-English code-switching amongst high school students in Ormoc City, Philippines* (Unpublished Master's Thesis). Malmö University.

Gonzales, W. D. W. (2016a, May). *Exploring trilingual code-switching: The case of 'Hokaglish'.* Paper presented at the 26th Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistic Society (SEALS), Century Park Hotel, Manila, the Philippines.

Gonzales, W. D. W. (2016b, November). *The language ecology of post-colonial Manila and Hokaglish.* Paper presented at the English Language and Literature Research Day, National University of Singapore, Singapore.

Gumperz, J. (1982). *Discourse strategies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hong, Y. (2011). Code-switching and vitality. *Unpublished Course Paper*.

Hughes, C., Shaunessy, E., Brice, A., Ratliff, M., & McHatton, P. (2006). Code-switching among bilingual and limited English proficient students: Possible indicators of giftedness. *Journal for the Education of the Gifted*, *30* (1), 7-8.

International Organization for Migration. (2013). *Country migration report: The Philippines 2013.* Manila: International Organization for Migration.

Juffs, A. (1996) *Learnability and the lexicon: Theories and second language acquisition research.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Konidaris, E. (2004). The code-switching among trilingual Montrealers: French, English, and a heritage language. *Journal of the National Council of Less Commonly Taught Languages, 1*, 19-67.

Kyuchukov, H. (2002). Code-switching among trilingual Turkish-speaking Roma children in Bulgaria. *Psychology of Language and Communication, 6*(1), 75-84.

Labitigan, R. (2013). *Tagalog-English code-switching: issues in the nominal domain.* Unpublished Bachelor's Thesis, Yale University.

Lewis, M., Simons, G., & Fennig, C. (2014). Ethnologue: Languages of the world, seventeenth edition. Dallas, TX.

Lin, P. (2015). *Taiwanese grammar: A concise reference.* Durnham, NC: Greenhorn Media.

Mahadi, T., & Jafari, S. (2012). Language and culture. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, 2*(17), 230-235.

Malakoff, M., & Hakuta, K. (1991). Translation skill and metalinguistic awareness in bilingual. In E. Bialystok (Ed.), *Language processing in bilingual children* (pp. 141-166). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

McWhorter, J. (2011). *Linguistic simplicity and complexity: Why do languages undress?* Boston: Walter de Gruyter.

Muysken, P. (2000). *Bilingual speech: A typology of code-mixing.* Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1993). *Duelling languages: Grammatical structure in code-switching.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Myers-Scotton, C. (2002). *Contact linguistics: Bilingual encounters and grammatical outcomes.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Myers-Scotton, C., & Jake, J. (2000). Four types of morpheme: Evidence from aphasia, code-switching, and second-language acquisition. *Linguistics, 38*(6), 1053-1100.

Packard, J. L. (2000). *The morphology of Chinese: A linguistic and cognitive approach.* Cambrige: Cambridge University Press.

Palines, G. (1981). *An analysis of shifts from Waray to English in the oral speech samples of Eastern Samar teachers* (Unpublished Master's Thesis). Philippine Normal University.

Paolillo, J. (1996). Language choice on soc.culture.punjab. *Electric Journal of Communication , 6* (3).

Parekh, B. (2000). *Rethinking multiculturalism: Cultural diversity and political theory.* Boston, MA: Harvard University Press.

Pavlenko, A., & Blackledge, A. (2004). *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts.* Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.

Pittman, I. (2008). Bilingual and trilingual codeswitching between Hungarian, Romanian and English in the speech of two Transylvanians living in North America. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 5*(2), 122-139.

Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en Español: Toward a typology of code-switching. *Linguistics, 18*(7-8), 581-618.

Rubrico, J. (1998). *The metamorphosis of Filipino as national language*. Retrieved November 28, 2015, from Language Links: http://languagelinks.org/oldsite/pdf/fil_met.pdf

Sarkar, M., & Winer, L. (2006). Multilingual codeswitching in Quebec rap: Poetry, pragmatics and performativity. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 3*(3), 173-192.

Sibayan, B., & Gonzalez, A. (1996). Post-imperial English in the Philippines. In J. A. Fishman, A. W. Conrad, & A. Rubal-Lopez (Eds.), *Post-imperial English: Status change in former British and American colonies* (pp. 1094-1990). New York, NY: Mouton de Gruyter.

Skiba, R. (1997). Code-switching as a countenance of language interference. *The Internet TESL Journal, 3*(10). Available online: http://iteslj.org/Articles/Skiba-CodeSwitching.html

Smedley, F. (2006). C*ode-switching and identity on the blogs: An analysis of Taglish in computer mediated communication.* Unpublished Master's Thesis, Auckland University of Technology.

Soon, L., & Seong, T. (2007). Malay lexicalized items in Penang Peranakan Hokkien. *SEALSVIII: papers from the 8th meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society* (pp. 149-165). Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Sperlich, W. (2005). Will cyberforums save endangered languges? A Niuean case study. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language , 172*, 51-77.

Su, R., & Zhu, Q. (2006). Multiethnic influences in lexicon of Singlish and the dilemma of "Speak Good English Movement". *Zhongzheng Xuebao 中正學報 'Zhongzheng Journal', 7*, 39-46.

Tan, A. (1986). The Chinese mestizos and the formation of the Filipino nationality. *Archipel, 32*(1), 141-162.

Tan, K. (2010). *Singapore Hokkien adjectives* (Unpublished Master's Thesis). Payap University.

Tollefson, J. (1991). *Planning language, planning inequality: language policy in the community.* London: Longman.

Treffers-Daller, J. (1991). Towards a uniform approach to code-switching and borrowing. In *Papers for the workshop on contraints, conditions and models* (pp. 259-279). Strasbourg: European Science Foundation.

Valerio, T. (2015). Filipino-English code-switching attitudes and practices and their relationshi to English academic performance among freshman students of Quirino State University. *International Journal of English Language Teaching, 2*(1), 76-98.

Volodzko, D. (2015). *Globalisation spells the death of minority cultures*. Retrieved from South China Morning Post: www. scmp.com/lifestyle/family-education/acticle/1742863

Wu, K. (2008). *Taiwan Minnanyu Zhi Yuanyuan yu Zhengming* 臺灣閩南語之淵源與正名 'Taiwan Southern Min origins and evidences'. *Taiwan Xue Yanjiu 臺灣學研究 'Taiwan Studies Research'*, 54-73.

Xu, H. (2011). Yi ziran yuliao guancha zipin yu yuyin bianhua de guanxi: Yi Tainan Taiyu schwa yuanyin weili 以自然語料觀察字頻與語音變化的關係: 以台南台語 schwa 元音為例 'Using natural language to observe phonological variation: The case of the schwa in the Taiwanese spoken in Tainan area'. *Taiwan Xuezhi 台灣學誌 'Taiwan Journal' , 4*, 87-107.

Yen, C. (2006). The role of Chinese Hokkien in the history of Malaysia and Singapore. *Journal of Malaysian Chinese Studies, 6*, 79-104.

Zulueta, J. (2007). "I speak Chinese but..." Code-switching and identity construction among Chinese-Filipino youth. *Caligrama, 3*(2).

Appendix A. Glossing abbreviations

1SG	–	first person singular
2SG	–	second person singular
3SG	–	third person singular
1PL	–	first person plural
2PL	–	second person plural
3PL	–	third person plural
ADV	–	adverb
AFX	–	affix
CLF	–	classifier
CONJ	–	conjunction
COP	–	copula
DEM	–	demonstrative
DET	–	determiner
DIST	–	distal marker
EXIST	–	existential
FUT	–	future tense
GEN	–	genitive marker
INT	–	intensifier
LK	–	linker
LOC	–	locative marker
MOD	–	modal auxiliary
NEG	–	negative marker
PER	–	perfective marker
PLU	–	plural marker
PREP	–	preposition
PROG	–	progressive marker
PRT	–	particle