Two Englishes diverged in the Philippines?
A substratist account of Manila Chinese English

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Although World Englishes (WE) scholarship is concerned with the study of English varieties in different social contexts, there is a tendency to treat postcolonial ones as homogenous regional phenomena (e.g., Philippine English). Few researchers have discussed variation and social differentiation in detail with empirical evidence. Thus, in order to understand how layers of different varieties of WE operate within a specific group of speakers, this study takes an empirical intergroup approach from a substratist framework. This study explores distinctive features of a metropolitan Manila variety of Chinese English used in the Philippines, Manila Chinese English (MCE), an English contact variety used by Manila Chinese Filipinos. After comparing the frequencies of selected features observed in a 52,000-word MCE database with frequencies in Manila English and American English corpora, this study found that a distinct variety – MCE – most likely emerged in the 1960s due to the extensive contact between general Manila English and local tongues of Chinese Filipinos such as (Hybrid) Hokkien and Tagalog, which function as MCE's substrate languages. This study takes into account MCE's structure, sources, and genesis, and discusses MCE in relation to Philippine English as positioned in Schneider's dynamic model, to demonstrate how intergroup variations coexist but take divergent paths within a WE variety.

Keywords: Manila Chinese English, Sino-Philippine language contact, corpus linguistics, intergroup variation, world Englishes, Philippine Englishes

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1. Introduction

Ever since the International Committee of the Study of World Englishes was formed in 1988, world Englishes (WE)[1] studies have steadily expanded. The mainstream research in this field surveys a wide range of nativized English varieties spoken in postcolonial regions and beyond. Despite the field's goal to study the varied uses of English in various contexts around the world (Smith 1981), existing studies tend to take a fixed-label approach (e.g. 'Indian English', 'Nigerian English'), treating a variety of WE as monolithic phenomena attached to particular regions (Bruthiaux 2003; Jenkins 2009). The homogenization of WE varieties may have been inevitable, given the argument that postcolonial varieties are characterized by national features rather than departures from colonial norms. Going back to the roots of WE, this study adopts a variationist approach in investigating intergroup differences within a group of varieties widely known as Philippine English (PhilE) by focusing on the English used by a non-indigenous ethnic minority. The majority of residents in the Philippines are ethnic Filipinos, but within the PhilE-speaking population, there is an ethnic minority group of Chinese living in metropolitan Manila – the Chinese Filipinos. We examine four linguistic features in a variety of Chinese English they use, which we refer to as Manila Chinese English (MCE),[2] and demonstrate how these features are a result of contact-induced change. Ultimately, we show that MCE is evidence of intergroup variation within a larger PhilE domain, attesting to the heterogeneity of PhilE. Before delving into the study, we present relevant background information about the language ecology of the Philippines, highlighting English.

English was brought to the Philippines during the American colonial period (1898 to 1946). Several decades later, especially post-World War II, English in the Philippines has transformed dramatically. Both subtle and significant local characteristics can be observed in the English spoken in the Philippines. English was initially stigmatized by locals as a residue of American colonization; however, the negativity has been rapidly dissolving for at least two reasons. First, although

1. Even though we understand why some scholars distinguish between world Englishes and new Englishes, the difference is not pertinent to this study. As such, for reasons of convention, we will use the term 'world Englishes'.

2. We acknowledge that the English variety used by other Chinese groups in metropolitan Manila regions may structurally differ from the variety described here. We understand that by using 'Manila Chinese English' as a label to refer to the Manila variety, we appear to be homogenizing the English. But such is not the case. We are not claiming that MCE is a homogenous variety. We are simply using the term conventionally to demonstrate our examples based on the available data obtained.

Tagalog was declared a national language in 1937 and again, as 'Filipino', in 1987, English remained an official language and is used in official domains (e.g. the government, schools). Second, English gained recognition as a global lingua franca in the post-war world. The decline of negative views on English in post-war Philippine society is partially reflected in the amount of scholarly attention by scholars who have and continue to describe and theorize about PhilE even to this day (e.g. Bautista 2000, etc.). One of the more influential theories, Kachru's Concentric Circles model, identifies PhilE as an outer circle WE variety (Kachru 1985).

Schneider's (2003) dynamic model of postcolonial Englishes has also been used frequently to analyze PhilE. We refer to this model and framework for our analysis. This model identifies five different stages of the formation of a new English in a sequential, cyclic order. More specifically, Schneider (2003) argues that postcolonial Englishes share the same underlying processes, and that some of the synchronic differences among the Englishes can be regarded as consecutive stages in a diachronic process. He argues that the processes involved are related to two factors – (1) identity re-writing or reconstruction expressed through language, incorporating sociolinguistic aspects related to Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) notion of acts of identity, and (2) strands of communicative perspectives, or the communicative relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. Schneider claims that any convincing model of the emergence of these Englishes would need to incorporate both factors. His five-phase model begins with the first stage, 'foundation', where speakers of an indigenous variety come into contact with English-speaking settlers. In the second stage, 'exonormative stabilization', bilingualism increases within the indigenous group as English increases in prominence, as well as through the use of colloquial English. In the third stage, 'nativization', as the position of English becomes even more stable, the English-speaking settlers start accepting a newly-emerged indigenous English based on local realities. The fourth stage, 'endonormative stabilization', is characterized by the further acceptance of local English(es), while speakers' identities are still indexed by the Englishes of the settlers. The fifth stage, 'differentiation', is the endpoint of this model, where the dynamics of WE and speaker identity are less defined by the former colonial power. Several scholars have attempted to (re)locate PhilE's position in the dynamic model (Martin 2014; Borlongan 2016; Gonzales 2017a).

In fact, even before Schneider's (2003) model was used ubiquitously in PhilE research, and well before the idea of WE became widespread, Filipino researchers were already conducting studies on English spoken in the Philippines from both pedagogical and descriptive approaches. An example is Llamzon's (1969) pioneering work on 'standard Filipino English', which also influenced several other important works (e.g. Gonzalez 1986; Bautista 2000). The literature on PhilE

continued to flourish, and PhilE studies eventually merged into the broader stream of WE studies. Within the WE framework, a limited amount of research has mentioned variation in the context of PhilE (e.g. Bautista 1996; Tayao 2004). A few recent studies, however, have argued for the importance of recognizing internal variation across speakers of different sociodemographic and ethnic groups (e.g. Tupas 2004; Villanueva 2016; Gonzales 2017a). For example, Tupas (2004) provides a chronology of PhilE studies and points out that existing research largely ignores polycentricity and cultural diversities due to its treatment of PhilE as a monolithic entity under the WE paradigm.

The field of WE itself is founded on the premise that colonial varieties like PhilE are legitimate English types on their own. A departure from the (colonizers') native language norms has enabled WE research to explain non-standard features found in WE varieties by taking communities' local, global, gender, or ethnic identities into account (see Schneider 2003, 2007). Nonetheless, the majority of studies on PhilE do not often pay close attention to intergroup variation (Gonzales 2017a). Though commonly treated as insignificant, evidence of variation in PhilE or other dialects should not be disregarded. Linguistic variation is inevitable, especially when a group of speakers in a speech community is marked as having ethnic and/or sociohistorical differences, and is situated in a common geographical area with mainstream speakers for a prolonged period of time. This type of language ecology prompts the emergence of ethnolects and sociolects, among other hybrid contact varieties. However, only a limited number of studies discuss such variation in detail with empirical evidence when considering the linguistic status of WE varieties today. Therefore, we propose a more holistic approach to investigating WE by paying closer attention to intergroup variation within a WE variety. All the more, for this reason, do we believe that studying the local English variation among Chinese Filipinos can contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics of language ecologies and linguistic change, particularly in a Southeast Asian diasporic context.

2. Approaches to WE and MCE

Corpus-based analysis has remained an influential methodology from the earliest days of WE research, thanks to the availability of the International Corpus of English (ICE) that was initiated by Sidney Greenbaum in 1988. There are over 20 varieties of English available in the ICE today, with a systematically composed one-million-word corpus for each. According to the ICE coordinators, each file follows a common corpus design and a common annotation scheme, in order to ensure maximum comparability between the components (Greenbaum & Nelson

1996). While some corpora files were completed in the 1990s and have not been updated, ICE remains extremely useful for researchers for its superb cross-linguistic comparability.

Although corpus-based studies have brought about important works in the field, a rather limiting byproduct of such work is its inevitable tendency to frame a WE variety as a homogenous 'fixed-label' category (e.g. Bruthiaux 2003; Jenkins 2009; Sharma 2009; Leimgruber 2013). For example, Leimgruber (2013: 3) discusses a limitation in corpus-based studies of Singapore English concerning inter-speaker variation, even though he acknowledges the large contribution of the ICE in WE studies. As mentioned, in Schneider's (2003) dynamic model, the last stage is marked by intergroup variation within a particular WE variety.

Similar lines of thought have indeed become popular in the past few decades, as manifested in several models proposed by diverse scholars. These include models based on such concepts as superdiversity (Blommaert 2010; Blommaert & Rampton 2011), translanguaging (Canagarajah 2007; Wei 2011), and metrolingualism (Pennycook & Otsuji 2015), which focus on the fluidity of language by treating English as a global phenomenon. These newer frameworks address issues concerning language and power in international Englishes, including postcolonial WE; rather than analyzing corpus data, they tend to use individual examples representing different speakers' global experiences (Park & Wee 2009; Pennycook 2016). Under this view, English as a global language functions as a medium of potentiality for non-native speakers because it can be 'a key for unlocking the hidden potential of the individual' to move them beyond their constraints in their rationalities and essentialized identity (Park 2016: 453).[3]

These studies enable us to understand how speakers orient to different linguistic varieties in different contexts; at the same time, their findings cannot always offer general contributions that apply to overall global English phenomena due to their interpretive nature.[3] In other words, this type of research does not provide immediately tangible and comparative tools to capture systematic differences between different groups of speakers, due to its lack of analytically categorized data. While we agree with Tupas' (2004) view that studies of WEs should go beyond the homogenizing paradigm, we believe that studies grounded in systematic categorization are beneficial in research concerning new English varieties. Taking into consideration the final stage of the dynamic model – differentiation – we suggest utilizing corpus-based data that highlight intergroup variations within

3. We thank Joseph Sung-Yul Park and Ruanni Tupas for pointing out some general tendencies of global Englishes studies to us. Their input is particularly reflected in the initial part of this paragraph.

a variety of WE. Our investigation of MCE also incorporates contact linguistics analytical mechanisms such as transfer and recombination.

3. Language contact, the Chinese Filipinos, and MCE

This investigation is novel in that it takes a systematic look into issues of substrate influence in Philippine English. This has not been done by researchers since previous studies on PhilE either lump speakers from different language backgrounds together or omit their social backgrounds. By combining the traditional corpus-based WE method with (substratist) theories in contact linguistics, particularly feature and/or system transfer (Bao 2005; Siegel 1999, 2015), imposition (Van Coetsem 1988), and feature recombination (Aboh 2015), we hope to provide systematic and robust comparisons of intergroup variations within the PhilE paradigm.

This study also stands out because it focuses on a different population in the Philippines – the Chinese Filipinos. Much of the existing contact linguistic work on Chinese influence in the Philippines has focused on earlier groups that immigrated during the Spanish era or before (Fernández & Sippola 2017). The Chinese Filipinos are not indigenous, at least in terms of our understanding of modern history, as they are largely descendants of Chinese immigrants who settled in the Philippines much later than those who are considered indigenous, such as ethnic Tagalogs, Ilocanos, or Bikolanos.[4] The Chinese Filipinos (known colloquially as Filipino-Chinese or *huīdīpīn lánnáng* 'Philippine Chinese') are mostly descendants of immigrants ranging from the latter post-Galleon trade era around the 1900s, the post-World War II era around the 1950s, and the post-suspension era in the 1970s (Gonzales 2018: 6). This group does not typically include those of Chinese mestizo ancestry, part of whom assumed the Filipino identity around the 1850s to the 1900s when the Chinese mestizo class dissolved (Wickberg 1965: 14). There are some people, however, that were 'reclaimed' back to the Chinese community (Wickberg 1965: 204). Along with intermarriages with the Chinese mestizo population, the reclamation suggests that the contemporary Chinese Filipino community might also have some Chinese mestizo roots going back to the Spanish era. We primarily use the term 'Chinese Filipino' to refer to the ethnic Chinese group that has not intermarried much with other groups until now and and is able to speak, or at least understand, (Hybrid) Hokkien, Tagalog, and English. Apart from these, most Chinese Filipinos can also be recognized by their Filipino citi-

4. The indigenous groups are generally divided by sociopolitical boundaries based on geographic borders (Tupas 2004; Borlongan 2016).

zenship, although this is not a necessary a criterion of being a Chinese Filipino. Today, the majority of Chinese Filipinos (around 1.2 to 1.8% of the total Philippine population) are concentrated in the metropolitan Manila region, particularly in the Banawe district in Quezon City as well as the Santa Cruz and Binondo areas where Hokkien (Southern Min), specifically the Manila variety of Philippine Hokkien (PH), Philippine Hybrid Hokkien (PHH),[5] Tagalog,[6] and English are used (Uytanlet 2014; Gonzales 2017a, 2017b).

With regard to the sociohistory of Chinese in the Philippines, Wilhelm Solheim (1964), an Austronesian anthropologist, pointed out that people from Southern China had been in contact with people in the Philippines from as early as 202 CE. Chinese people from this region have continued to engage in trading with the indigenous people throughout history, including during the Spanish colonization and American occupation periods. Chinese settlers in the archipelago experienced oppression and political maltreatment over the years, including massacres in 1603, 1639, 1663, 1762, and more recently, kidnappings in the 1990s (Tan 1993; Uytanlet 2014). The latter victims of oppression and maltreatment, the Chinese Filipinos, currently dominate the country's business sector, but they are still marginalized from the political arena mainly due to popular resentment and envy of their financial success from the dominant indigenous groups (Minority Rights Group International 2018). Nonetheless, ethnic, ideological, and political boundaries between Chinese Filipinos and the indigenous ethnic groups have become blurred over time for reasons such as corporate and cultural collaborations (e.g. the establishment of Kaisa Para Sa Kaunlaran, also known as the KAISA Heritage Center, in 1987) and intermarriages. Shifts in immigration, language, and education policies have also contributed to the gradual assimilation of the Chinese people into the larger Philippine society (Tan 1993; Uytanlet 2014). For instance, the 1975 Mass Naturalization Act allowed Chinese residents to acquire Philippine cit-

5. We use the terms Philippine Hokkien and Philippine Hybrid Hokkien loosely here, for reasons of convention. Although we understand that such terminology erases social variation within Hokkien, such is not our intention. Ideally, the languages should be referred to as Manila Hokkien and Manila Hybrid Hokkien to minimize erasure, but for this paper, we refer to them as PH and PHH, respectively. Both PH and PHH are distinct codes that involve Hokkien; while PHH has an observable Tagalog and English elements, PH typically does not. The two languages show an overlap in Sinitic features and could be characterized as points along a Hokkien-Tagalog/English continuum, that is, PHH can also be under PH. However, for the purposes of this paper, this overlap and relationship are ignored. 'PHH' is used to highlight the code that has innovative English and Tagalog lexical and morphosyntactic features, while 'PH' is utilized to refer to the Hokkien code without English and Tagalog elements, structure, and innovations.

6. We use Tagalog here also to refer to the Tagalog varieties that have mixing (e.g. Filipino). Filipino and Tagalog are typically interchangeable, at least for this paper.

izenship, something which they had been previously barred from. This act accelerated the assimilation of the Chinese community into mainstream society.

As a result of the close contact between the Chinese and the Filipino people throughout the centuries, a mixing of the two cultures can be observed, with one example being the manifestation of local linguistic practices in Manila. For one, Tagalog has several loanwords from Hokkien (Chan-Yap 1980) such as *bihon* 'rice noodle' and *susi* 'key', as attested in Modern Filipino. Moreover, in the context of contemporary Manila, the ancestral language of the majority of the Chinese, Hokkien (Southern Min), has been observed to exhibit morphological, syntactic, and phonological influence from modern Tagalog on top of, perhaps, other previous linguistic developments and/or nativization processes that date back to the 1700s, assuming that the 'reclaimed' Chinese continued to use their variety of Hokkien (Wickberg 1965: 204; Ang See 1990; Klöter 2011; Gonzales 2018). The first-generation Chinese who arrived from the Fujian province used Hokkien (Ang See 1990, 1997; Klöter 2011), and Hokkien users have remained the majority Chinese group. Chinese settlers who originated from Guangdong (Canton) also made Hokkien their lingua franca (Ang See 1997). The Hokkien varieties they brought (e.g. Jinjiang, Amoy dialects) are argued to be the varieties that form the bases of the 'nativized' Hokkien-related languages (e.g. PH, PHH) today. They have become the local lingua franca(s) and intragroup code among the Chinese population. To communicate with the non-Chinese Filipinos, members of the multilingual community use Tagalog/Filipino. English, on the other hand, is used by (ex-)Chinese (Tan 1993) primary and secondary schools today as the primary medium of instruction, except in Chinese language classes. Like other Filipinos in metropolitan Manila, Chinese Filipinos today mainly communicate in English in academic and formal contexts, as well as computer-mediated communication.

A recent observation is that one variety of English used by Chinese Filipinos is distinctive from PhilE due to Hokkien influences apart from Tagalog. When the ancestors of the Chinese Filipinos today arrived in Manila, Tagalog was the dominant indigenous variety. However, English was also dominant, since their arrival period coincided with the American occupation; it became an official language. English and Tagalog thus became possible contact languages for the Chinese newcomers. Considering that the ancestors of the Chinese Filipinos were exposed to English (and Tagalog) upon contact, it would not be inconceivable that their English would be different from non-Chinese Filipinos, as it would bear influences from PH and PHH apart from Tagalog.

4. Data and methodology

We investigate characteristics of one English variety used by the metropolitan Manila Chinese Filipinos (MCE) by utilizing a combination of descriptive, quantitative, and comparative approaches. Gonzales collected English data from 12 Chinese Filipino Manila residents in 2016 and 2017. The data comprise oral (spontaneous speech) and written (text messages, email correspondence, and academic writing) genres. The participants included, but were not limited to, Gonzales' family and friends ranging from 21 to 75 years old (average age of 50). These data were compiled into a mini-corpus of approximately 52,000 words (hereafter, the MCE corpus).

A survey of literature on Chinese-influenced English, particularly China English (He and Li 2009; Sung 2015), Hong Kong English (Bolton 2000; Hiramoto 2015), and Singapore English (Bao 2005; Hiramoto 2012) guided us in our identification and selection of Sinitic features (e.g. clause-final already, lack of auxiliary inversion, etc.). Later, we compared the token frequencies and normalized values (i.e. percentage) of features in the MCE and other relevant corpora, one of which is the Philippine component of the ICE corpus (ICE-PH), which is Manila English (ManE)-centric (Bautista 2004).

While we consider PhilE to be a general umbrella term that covers MCE, for the data analysis we treat (ICE-PH) PhilE as ManE and consider it to be different from MCE. Methodologically, this is valid for two reasons: first, the MCE data come solely from Chinese Filipino speakers; second, although ICE-PH does not distinguish data contributors according to ethnic or language background information, we take it that the majority of the data come from ethnic Filipinos in Manila. This is based on the fact that the ICE-PH data were collected from unidentified Filipino residents; from the overall population distribution of ethnic Filipinos and non-ethnic Filipinos, it is logical to consider the data to be largely from ethnic Filipinos, particularly those who have been raised in metropolitan Manila (Bautista 2004).

Concerning the time difference in the data collection between the MCE corpus and ICE-PH, we do not believe it to be problematic. As today's MCE speakers are likely to have increased rates of communication with non-MCE or non-Chinese Filipino speakers compared to before (e.g. the 1990s, when the ICE-PH corpus data were collected), our observation of MCE features will be a conservative one in terms of usage rate. That is, if the MCE corpus data were gathered before ICE-PH, there would be a danger of comparing the features that are used less actively among today's MCE speakers. Thus, although the periods of the data collection differ by approximately two decades, we can be sure to avoid danger in

terms of assessing accuracy regarding the MCE features, as they are used by the speakers at present.

The other two corpora include the written component of the ICE-US (as the spoken component has not been completed) and the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBCSAE), which will represent American English (AmE).[7] AmE is the English variety that MCE and PhilE (henceforth ManE if we are referring to the Manila variety of English) are developed from, and we concluded that a three-way comparison would allow us to highlight the differences and similarities of both MCE and ManE features.

In summary, the data for the analysis come from four different corpora, as listed in Table 1. For representation, we decided to look at five registers – one for spoken and four for written – across said corpora. With regard to sampling of the other non-MCE data, we first collected the MCE data. Note that we have acquired more written data compared to spoken. Then, after compiling the MCE corpus, we randomly sampled the ManE and AmE corpora to match the register composition of the MCE corpus in terms of size. Shown in Table 1 is a breakdown of the total number of words in the four corpora. For our analysis, Chi-square tests[8] were employed to test the significance of differences in frequency of the features of interest across the corpora.

Table 1. Word count and breakdown of corpora used to analyze MCE, ManE, and AmE; Conv. = conversational, Acad. = academic, Crea. = creative, Lett. = letters, and Stud. = student writing

		Spoken	Written				
English variety	**Corpus**	***Conv.***	***Acad.***	***Crea.***	***Lett.***	***Stud.***	**Total**
MCE	MCE	11,164	18,604	4,580	17,140	570	52,058
ManE	ICE-PH	11,191	18,589	4,572	17,176	595	52,123
AmE	ICE-US	–	18,588	4,550	17,155	688	52,665
	SBCSAE	11,684	–	–	–	–	

7. The corpora are relatively variable in nature, size, and distribution of modes, as well as purposes. It should be noted that the corpora were not built in the same time period. For instance, ICE-PH was collected between 1990 and 2004; it was compiled to serve as a comparison to other WE corpora (Bautista 2004). On the other hand, the SBCSAE was compiled in 2000 to represent spontaneous speech from a variety of people from different social backgrounds, and ICE-US was compiled beginning in the 1990s. However, we do not think the difference in time is relevant to our analysis, as we consider both spoken and written media.

8. We acknowledge that such tests are not ideal given the limited amount of data, so we remain cautious about our results and any interpretations we make.

5. Linguistic features of MCE

5.1 Plain comparative marking using *than*

One of the noticeable features in MCE is the use of the plain comparative marker *than*. In MCE, the comparative marker *than* is used to mean 'rather than, more/less than, etc.', as exemplified in (1) below.

(1) MCE
I like Dr. [name omitted]'s suggestion of a laptop or Terabyte as the ultimate chiong guan ***than*** *a TV.*
'I like Dr. [name omitted]'s suggestion of a laptop or a Terabyte hard drive as the jackpot rather than (instead of) a TV.'

We compared all instances of *than* in the MCE, ManE, and AmE data. While the total is not strikingly high in raw numbers, *than* used as a plain comparative is only evident in MCE (see Table 2 and Figure 1).

Table 2. Comparative *than* and other comparative markers across corpora. Each data cell shows, from top to bottom, the raw frequency, the raw frequencies in spoken (S) and written (W) data represented as (S, W), and the percentage value. (Chi-square test for plain *than* across varieties: $\chi^2 = 17.235$, $df = 6$, $\chi^2/df = 2.87$, $p = 0.0085^*$)

Token	MCE	ManE	AmE
than only	7* (2,5)	0 (0,0)	0 (0,0)
	11.9%	0%	0%
more/less … than	26 (4,22)	28 (1,27)	32 (3,29)
	44.1%	62.2%	68.1%
adj + *-er … than*	16 (5,11)	14 (1,13)	11 (1,10)
	27.1%	31.1%	23.4%
rather than	10 (1,9)	3 (0,3)	4 (2,2)
	17.0%	6.7%	8.5%
Total	**59 (12,47)**	**45 (2,43)**	**47 (6,41)**
	100%	**100%**	**100%**

* (significant at $p < 0.05$)

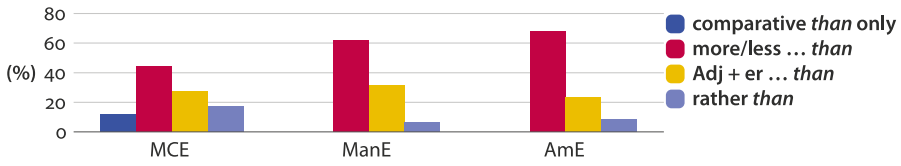

Figure 1. Comparative *than* and other comparative markers across corpora

As seen in Figure 1, 11.9% of all the comparative marking involving *than* in MCE is plain, significantly contrasting with 0% in both ManE and AmE ($p = 0.0085$). Indeed, this particular use of *than* is deemed unacceptable in PhilE (at least in Manila English) and AmE.

The plain comparative marker *than* feature in MCE can be explained as a result of substrate transfer from PH. In PH, a comparison of two grammatical objects is formed with the word *pi* 'than', as in the 'XP + *pi* + XP (+ *kha*)' structure, while another comparative marker such as *kha* 'more' is optional. If *kha* is used, *pi* should precede it. In contrast, the use of two comparative markers in a non-elided sentence is obligatory in English or Tagalog because the word *than* (in English) and *kaysa* 'than' (in Tagalog) must be preceded by another word such as *more* (in English) and *mas* 'more' (in Tagalog).

(2) PH (Gonzales' data)
   a. *Miau* ***pí*** *ti* ***khâ*** *tshiengkhì.*
      cat than pig more clean
      'Cats are cleaner than pigs.'
   b. *Î* ***pi*** *guâ tuà nuhng pè.*
      3SG than 1SG big two times
      'He is twice as big as me.'

(3) AmE
   a. *I am tall-**er** **than** you.*
   b. *I am **more** experienced **than** you.*

(4) Tagalog
   a. ***Mas*** *matangkad ako* ***kaysa*** *sa iyo.*
      more tall 1SG than LOC 3SG
      'I am taller than you.' (Barrios & Camagong 2014: 49)
   b. (?) *Malaki siya* ***kaysa*** *sa akin ng doble.*
      big 3SG than LOC 1SG LIG twice
      'He is twice as big as me.' (Gonzales' data)

Though PH allows for comparative marking with the plain *than*-marker, *pi*, as in (2b), the equivalent structure is questionable in Tagalog, even in colloquial speech, as shown in (4b). This means that the MCE use of the plain *than* comparative marker is likely to be a mapping of the PH (Sinitic) structure onto the English comparative system. Particularly, it is likely that the comparative system of Hokkien has been transferred to (or imposed on) English (Bao 2005; Siegel 1999; Van Coetsem 1988). Furthermore, the fact that the same plain comparative marking with *than* is also found in Hong Kong English due to a Sinitic substrate influence, in this case from Cantonese (Wong 2013), supports the idea that this MCE feature is motivated by Hokkien.

5.2 Non-standard relative clause marking in restrictive contexts

The next MCE feature that we found in the data is the non-standard use of commas (in written data) or prosodic breaks/pauses (in spoken data) in restrictive relative clauses. Standard American English typically distinguishes between restrictive and non-restrictive clauses preceding relative pronouns, with the former explained as parenthetic comments that describe but do not further define the antecedent, and the latter as comments that do (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik 1985: 366). Non-restriction is usually distinguished by a separate intonation marking or prosodic break in speech (Quirk et al. 1985: 1076). Non-restrictive clauses are conventionally marked with a comma in writing when postposed and headed by relative pronouns such as *who, whom*, or *which*. On the other hand, restrictive clauses are connected to the antecedent or the head with a relative pronoun without a comma (Quirk et al. 1985: 366). As the English curriculum in the Philippines is based on AmE (e.g. spelling conventions), we assume that AmE writing standards or rules are generally accepted in PhilE.

We quantified instances of the relative pronoun *which*[9] heading non-restrictive and restrictive clauses separately from other possible uses of *which* such as interrogative phrases, *that which* constructions, and prepositional phrases (e.g. *of which*). The results show that MCE tends to use prosodic breaks/pauses or commas[10] (i.e. orthographic marking of prosodic breaks or pauses) in relative clauses even in restrictive contexts. For instance, (5) presents a context that requires restrictive relative clauses with a relative pronoun *which* that further defines the antecedents, namely the word *section*. That is, MCE shows a non-standard usage; in Standard American English, prescriptively, the commas would not be used because the given context is restrictive.[11]

9. According to the Oxford Living Dictionaries (n.d.), restrictive *which* clauses are accepted in British English, but as pointed out earlier, AmE has been the most influential standard variety in the Philippines. In AmE, restrictive *which* is not considered prescriptively 'standard'. However, the reviewers note that it is very common in speech and writing. For the current paper, we subscribe to the prescriptive notion of nonstandard-ness for the restrictive *which*.

10. We acknowledge that commas often but do not necessarily always correspond to a prosodic break in English. We thank the reviewers for pointing this out.

11. We understand that this is true prescriptively, however, as pointed out by the reviewers, it is common to put commas in restrictive clauses or to not put them in non-restrictive ones. For the purposes of this analysis, we subscribe to the prescriptivist definition of (non)restriction.

(5) MCE
The section, ***which got the highest average score****, was paired with the section,* ***which got the lowest score.***
'The section that/which got the highest average score was paired with the section that/which got the lowest score.'

The results are shown in Table 3 and Figure 2.

Table 3. *Which* in restrictive clauses across corpora. Each data cell shows, from top to bottom, the raw frequency, the raw frequencies in spoken (S) and written (W) data represented as (S, W), and the percentage value. (Chi-square test for non-standard *which* across varieties: $\chi^2 = 44.789$, $df = 2$, $\chi^2/df = 22.39$, $p = 0.000^{***}$)

which **tokens in restrictive clauses as per prescriptive usage**	**MCE**	**ManE**	**AmE**
non-standard use (with prosodic breaks/commas)	20*** (5,15)	3 (2,1)	0 (0,0)
	62.5%	6.7%	0.00%
standard use (without prosodic breaks/commas)	12 (1,11)	42 (12,30)	28 (0,28)
	37.5%	93.3%	100%
Total	**32 (6,26)**	**45 (14,31)**	**28 (0,28)**
	100%	**100%**	**100%**

*** (significant at $p < 0.001$)

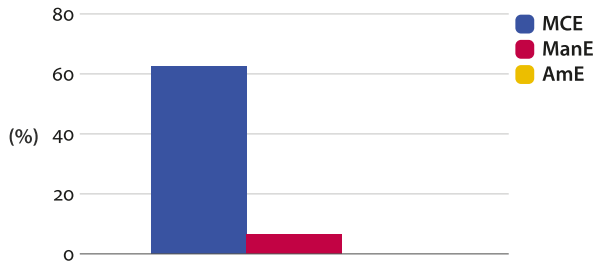

Figure 2. Comparison of numbers of commas (non-standard breaks) used in restrictive contexts with the relative pronoun *which* across corpora (percentages)

A Chi-square test indicates that MCE has a significantly higher percentage of non-standard relative clause marking in restrictive contexts compared to ManE and AmE ($p = 0.000$).

We claim that MCE's non-standardness in marking restrictive relative clauses with commas or pauses is motivated by Hokkien (PH), which does not distinguish between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses (Lin 2015). In fact,

this feature has been observed in Hong Kong English (Wang 2011; Sung 2015) as well as Colloquial Singapore English (Alsagoff & Ho 1998), where it has been explained as a result of Sinitic language influence on the structure of relative clauses. However, unlike PH, Tagalog has a restrictive-non-restrictive contrast with regard to relative pronoun phrases, similar to English (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 131). Based on these facts, we propose that the use of non-standard markers in MCE is motivated by the lack of a restrictive-non-restrictive contrast in PH. Like the plain *than* marker, the PH relative clause system appears to have been imposed or transferred to English (Bao 2005; Siegel 1999; Van Coetsem 1988). Since the lack of a contrast is only salient in PH, we argue that PH is the only source of this feature.

5.3 Lack of auxiliary inversion and *do*-support in *wh*-questions[12]

The third MCE feature we identified is a lack of auxiliary inversion and *do*-support in *wh*-question constructions. In *wh*-questions in 'standard' English, auxiliary inversion, including *do*-support where applicable, is required (Quirk et al. 1985). For example, in sentences like *what did you eat?* (vs. *what you ate?*) and *when does he eat?* (vs. *when he eats?*), both auxiliary *do*-support and inversion are manifested. On the other hand, MCE has the tendency not to invert the auxiliary, as shown in (6a), or not to have *do*-support, as shown in (6b).

(6) MCE
   a. *Why **you did** not answer?*
      'Why didn't you answer?'
   b. *How we pay?*
      'How do we pay?'

As Table 4 and Figure 3 demonstrate, MCE has statistically higher rates of non-use of auxiliary inversion and non-use of *do*-support compared to ManE and AmE. All instances of *wh*-questions in the ManE and AmE data have inverted auxiliaries or *do*-support ($p = 0.0063$); only MCE shows the non-use of these obligatory constructions in *wh*-questions, albeit at a relatively low rate.

In Hokkien (both PH and perhaps PHH) and Tagalog, unlike in English, *wh*-question constructions do not make use of auxiliary systems (Schachter & Otanes 1972; Lin 2015). The lack of such features in both substrate languages can

12. We acknowledge that auxiliary inversion and do-support are two distinct linguistic phenomena. However, we conflate these two in line with the convention used by Kortmann and Lunkenheimer (2013), who treat these two phenomena a single category in the Electronic World Altas of Varieties of English.

Table 4. Use of *wh*-questions across corpora. Each data cell shows, from top to bottom, the raw frequency, the raw frequencies in spoken (S) and written (W) data represented as (S, W), and the percentage value. (Chi-square test for uninverted/no auxiliary across varieties: $\chi^2 = 10.120$, $df = 2$, $\chi^2/df = 5.06$, $p = 0.0063^*$)

Token	MCE	ManE	AmE
Uninverted/No auxiliary	7* (0,7)	0 (0,0)	0 (0,0)
	14.0%	0%	0%
Inverted auxiliary	43 (6,37)	12 (4,8)	56 (24,32)
	86.0%	100%	100%
Overall	**50 (6,44)**	**12 (4,8)**	**56 (24,32)**
	100%	**100%**	**100%**

* (significant at $p < 0.05$)

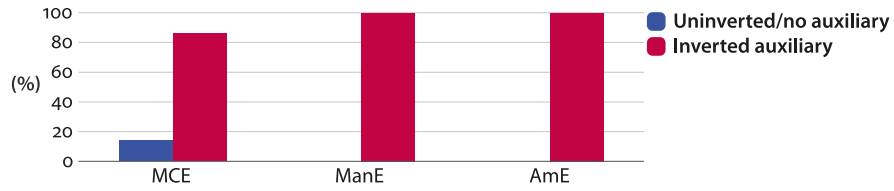

Figure 3. Auxiliaries across corpora

explain the lack of auxiliary inversion and *do*-support in *wh*-question constructions in MCE. The imposition and system transfer account of the previous features also applies in this case.

5.4 Clause-final adverbial clitics

The last MCE feature to be discussed concerns the frequent occurrence of three specific clause-final adverbs, namely, *already, also*, and *only*. According to Quirk et al. (1985: 580), declarative sentences in Standard English usually take the adverb (or subjunct) at the pre-verbal position. However, in MCE, these three adverbs occur clause-finally significantly more compared to the other two varieties, as in (7), which is a pattern that has been noted in other English varieties with Sinitic input like Colloquial Singapore English and Hong Kong English (e.g. Bao & Hong 2006; Hiramoto 2015).

(7) MCE
  a. *Are you able to sell* ***already?***
  'Have you already sold it?'

b. *I think her family was lower middle class, not well off, but not really poor **also.***
'I think her family was lower-middle class, not that well-off, but not that poor either.'
c. *Because only limited persons per day **only.***
'Because they only allow limited persons per day.'

The clause- or sentence-final *already* in Colloquial Singapore English has been widely discussed as a product of substrate transfer from Singapore Hokkien *liao* (and Mandarin *le*) (e.g. Platt & Weber 1980; Kwan-Terry 1989; Bao 1995). This same process of transfer applies to MCE provided that PH is its substrate, and that the clause-final perfective marker is a pan-Sinitic linguistic characteristic. Clause-final *only* is explained as a substrate influence in Colloquial Singapore English from the Hokkien particles *ni*(*a*) (and Mandarin *er yi*), and in Hong Kong English from an equivalent particle in Cantonese, *zaa* (Hiramoto 2015). While there is no PH clause-final marker that maps to MCE clause-final *also*, it still occurs in sentence-final position at a statistically significant higher rate in our MCE data as compared to ManE and AmE. This kind of adverb finality could be a general tendency in Chinese-influenced Englishes. We will further discuss our findings with respect to the individual adverbs in detail below. In Table 5 and Figure 4, we show the selected adverbs' distributions across the corpora.

Table 5. Selected adverbs and their varying positions across corpora. Each data cell shows, from top to bottom, the raw frequency, the raw frequencies in spoken (S) and written (W) data represented as (S, W), and the percentage value. CF = clause-final. (Chi-square test for CF *already* across varieties: $\chi^2 = 2.011$, $df = 2$, $\chi^2/df = 1.01$, $p = 0.365$; for CF *also*: $\chi^2 = 8.759$, $df = 2$, $\chi^2/df = 4.38$, $p = 0.0125^*$; for CF *only* $\chi^2 = 9.352$, $df = 2$, $\chi^2/df = 4.68$, $p = 0.009^*$)

Token	***already***			***also***			***only***		
Position	**CF**	**Non-CF**	**Total**	**CF**	**Non-CF**	**Total**	**CF**	**Non-CF**	**Total**
MCE	22	50	**72**	19*	167	**186**	9*	41	**50**
	(0,22)	(22,28)	**(22,50)**	(7,12)	(27,140)	**(34,152)**	(0,9)	(8,33)	**(8,42)**
	30.6%	69.4%	**100%**	10.2%	89.8%	**100%**	18%	82%	**100%**
ManE	8	31	**39**	2	87	**89**	1	29	**30**
	(2,6)	(11,20)	**(13,26)**	(1,1)	(34,53)	**(35,54)**	(0,1)	(5,24)	**(5,25)**
	20.5%	79.5%	**100%**	2.3%	97.8%	**100%**	3.3%	96.7%	100%
AmE	3	14	**17**	2	75	**77**	0	32	**32**
	(0,3)	(7,7)	**(7,10)**	(1,1)	(5,70)	**(6,71)**	(0,0)	(0,32)	**(0,32)**
	17.7%	82.4%	**100%**	2.6%	97.4%	**100%**	0%	100%	**100%**

* (significant at $p < 0.05$)

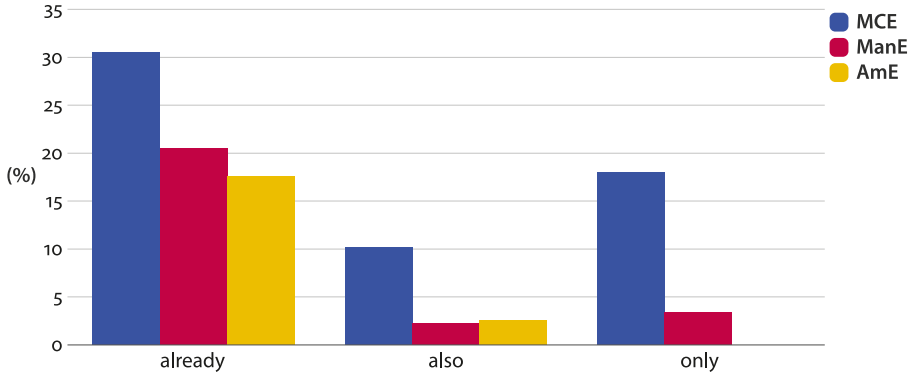

Figure 4. Selected adverbs in clause-final position

When quantifying the tokens, we excluded irrelevant usages (e.g. single word instances of *already*, non-verbal modifier *only* as in *the only person*, and constructions involving the adverbs such as *not only* ~ *but also* ~). Overall, MCE had the highest frequency of clause-final adverb occurrences compared to ManE and AmE, as made clear in Figure 4. For *only* ($p = 0.009$) and *also* ($p = 0.0125$), the differences were statistically significant.

Now we shift our discussion to each of these three clause-final adverbs in turn. In PH, there are two expressions to mark the meaning of 'already': one is an adverb, *îkieng*, and the other is a perfective marker, *lò*. These are not interchangeable as *îkieng* only occurs in clause-medial position (i.e. preverbally) while *lò* is usually positioned towards the end of the clause.

(8) PH (Gonzales' data)
Gûn ***îkiēng*** *tôkhî tshû laī* ***lò.***
2PL already return house inside PFV
'We already returned home.'

The rough equivalent for 'already' in Tagalog is the adverbial clitic *na*, which often appears phrase-finally, but it is not fixed to that position, as in Hokkien. Several scholars have noted that the order of *na* and other clitics is syllable-dependent (Schachter & Otanes 1973: 412; Kaufman 2010; Anderson 2008); that is, in cases where there is a pronominal clitic that is monosyllabic, (e.g. *ka* '2SG'), adverbial clitics like *na* succeed it, which often results in them appearing clause-finally (10). However, *na* precedes multisyllabic pronominal clitics (e.g. *siya* '3SG', *kami* '2PL') and noun phrases (9). In addition, in cases like (10), *na* functioning as an adverbial clitic to mean 'already' could be followed by an additional phrase, such as the locative phrase *sa bahay* 'LOC house'.

(9) Tagalog (Gonzales' data)
Um- uwi ***na*** *kami sa bahay.*
PFV- return already 2PL LOC house
'We already returned home.'

(10) Tagalog (Schachter & Otanes 1973: 172)
Um- alis ka ***na.***
PFV- go 2SG already/now
'You have already left./Leave now.'

Based on the characteristics of the substrate languages of MCE, clause-final *already* is most likely a product of feature recombination (Aboh 2015), and not simply substrate transfer. MCE *already* could have acquired the phonological feature [ɔl.ɻɛ.di] from (Manila) English, the clause-final perfective marker from Hokkien *lò*, and the semantic feature or the perfective function from Tagalog. The fact that ManE also shows higher rates of clause-final *already* compared to AmE may be evidence of influence from clause-final Tagalog *na* 'already' on Englishes spoken in the Philippines. Apart from recombination and transfer, MCE clause-final *already* could have also been motivated by a potential mapping onto the functions of English words that can occur finally, namely, *now* (10).

In PH, the word for 'also' is the adverb *masi* (11). Like the adverb *îkieng* 'already', *masi* 'also' cannot be used in clause-final position. Like other Sinitic languages, it is only typically the clause-final particles (e.g. *là, lò*) that can be located in said position.

(11) PH (Gonzales' data)
Gûn ***māsī*** *tôkhî tshû laī.*
2PL also return house inside
'We also returned home.'

In Tagalog, a word that mean 'also' is the adverb *din* (or its variant *rin*). Like the adverb *na* 'already', the position of *din* 'also' is syllable-dependent. If the clause has a clitic and it is mono-syllabic, *din* is placed after it (12), otherwise, it is placed before (13). Similar to the case of *na* 'already', clause-finality is not necessary for *din* 'also'.

(12) Tagalog (Gonzales' data)
K<um>ain ka ***din.***[13]
<PFV>eat 2SG also
'(You) eat also!'. (lit., 'You also ate.')

(13) Tagalog (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 401)
Nagkaroon ***din*** *sila ng pera*
obtain also 3PL LNK money
'They also got money.'

In the mainstream Manila variety of PHH (henceforth, for this paper, simply PHH), *din* 'also' must be clause-final where it is not necessarily a requirement in Tagalog (see (14) to (17)). Interestingly, this pattern is parallel to MCE (7b). Unlike MCE clause-final *already*, we propose that MCE clause-final *also* is not a product of feature recombination. Instead it is a product of feature transfer not from Hokkien or Tagalog, but from PHH. This proposal is motivated by the absence of a mandatory clause-final 'also' in Tagalog or Hokkien (it is medial *masi* in Hokkien, and not necessarily clause-final in Tagalog), which is present in PHH. Thus, this process is likely a case of analogy, with PHH extending the general Sinitic tendency toward clause-final particles to *din*, and then that feature being transferred to MCE *also*.

(14) PHH (Gonzales' data)
Guâ u buê ***dîn.***
1SG have buy also
'I also bought them.'

(15) Tagalog (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 420)
B<in>ili ko ***rin.***
<PFV>buy 2SG also
'I also bought them.'

(16) PHH (Gonzales' data)
În u tsí ***din.***
3PL have money also
'They also have money.'

(17) Tagalog (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 401)
May pera ***din*** *sila.*
have money also 3PL
'They also have money.'

In an attempt to explain this further, we note that Chinese Filipinos use Tagalog more widely than they do English (Gonzales 2018). This reflects the fact that

13. Angled brackets are used to enclose infixes and their counterparts in the glosses, conforming to Rule 9 of the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology 2015).

the minority Chinese Filipinos have assimilated into larger Tagalog-using Manila (Philippine) society today. Based on the frequency of Tagalog use and the acculturation of the Chinese Filipinos, we would expect to see the effects of contact between Tagalog and Hokkien first, as manifested in the emergence of PHH. It is then reasonable to hypothesize that the clause-final 'also' construction emerged in PHH first, as shown in the previous examples. This could then have triggered the clause-final *also* in MCE as an indirect transfer from Tagalog to MCE via PHH.

The clause-final *only* in MCE can be explained by both Hokkien and Tagalog influences, similar to the case of MCE *already*. In Hokkien, the adverb *tsí* 'only' always occurs clause-medially (pre-verbally), like the other adverbs discussed above. In the case of *already*, the Hokkien adverb *îkiēng* has the corresponding sentence-final perfect particle *lò*. Similarly, the adverb *tsí* 'only' may either occur alone or with a corresponding sentence-final particle *ni* 'only'. If used in conjunction, the two expressions meaning 'only' – the adverb *tsí* and the particle *ni* – are not interchangeable in a sentence (18).

(18) PH (Gonzales' data)
Gûn ***tsí*** *ū* *tsiah pùhng* ***ni.***
1PL.EXC only have eat rice only
'We only ate rice.'

(7c), repeated here as (19), shows the MCE use of *only* twice in a sentence: once clause-medially, and once clause-finally.

(19) MCE
Because [they allow] ***only*** *limited persons per day* ***only.***
'Because they only allow limited persons per day.'

The existence of the *tsí…ni* structure in PH and the *only…only* structure in MCE suggests a process of mapping from a PH substrate to MCE. In Tagalog, the adverb *lang* 'only' can appear in either clause-final (20b) or non-clause-final positions (20a).

(20) Tagalog (Gonzales' data)
a. *K<um>anta* ***lang*** *siya.*
<PFV>sing only 3SG
'He/she only sang.'

b. *S<in>abi niya* ***lang.***
<PFV>say 2SG only
'He/she only said.'

As with Tagalog *na* 'already', the availability of clause-final *lang* 'only' (20b) appears to directly influence or reinforce the clause-final use of *only* in MCE. A transfer of the particle system for 'only' from PHH to English is also probable, as PHH typically has its 'only' particle *lang* in the clause-final position (21). This is somewhat similar to MCE *also*, which is indirectly influenced by Tagalog through PHH.

(21) PHH (Gonzales' data)
Î tshiûkhua lang.
3SG sing only
'He/she only sang.'

Already occurs clause-finally in ManE more often than the other adverbs do, which can be explained by the fact that the same is true for AmE.[14] In short, this adverb is the most prone among the three to occur in this position, which may be why there is no statistically significant difference in the clause-final use of *already* among the three varieties. Regardless, the results for *already*, as well as *also* and *only*, exhibit differences in frequency when compared to ManE and AmE. We account for these differences by highlighting possible substrate transfers from PH, PHH, and Tagalog in MCE. All in all, we conclude that their high rates in MCE prove clause-final adverbs to be a distinguishable feature of this variety.

6. Summary and discussion

In summary, we used corpus data of MCE, ManE, and AmE in order to understand the structural and functional characteristics of MCE based on the following grammatical constructions in this paper:

1. plain comparative marking using *than*
2. nonstandard relative clause marking in restrictive contexts
3. lack of auxiliary inversion and *do*-support in *wh*-questions, and
4. clause-final adverbs: (a) *already*, (b) *also*, and (c) *only*

We identified structural and, to some extent, functional parallels between these selected MCE features and other linguistic varieties in the Manila Chinese Filipino language ecology, namely, PHH (Manila), PH (Manila), and Tagalog. Through this comparison, we argue that MCE acquired the four linguistic features

14. We note that clause-final *already* is marked in AmE. This is partially because ManE often uses it when AmE would have 'now' at the end of the sentence (e.g., *He's so tall already* vs. *He's already so tall* or *He's so tall now*). We thank the reviewers for pointing this out.

from said languages/varieties through feature transfer, system transfer/imposition, or feature recombination processes. Features (1) and (2) show influence only from Hokkien/PH, whereas (4a) show influence from PH and Tagalog. (4b) appears to be a transfer resulting not from Hokkien and Tagalog independently, but rather a combined feature via a mixed language (not necessarily an 'intertwined' language) involving Hokkien, Tagalog, and English which has been labelled PHH in our explanation. Finally, (3) and (4c) seem to have sources from Hokkien, Tagalog, and PHH. A summary of the findings is presented in Table 6.

Table 6. Summary of the sources of the MCE features

		Source languages		
MCE available substrate features		**Hokkien**	**Tagalog**	**PHH (Manila)**
1	plain comparative marking using *than*	√		
2	nonstandard relative clause marking in restrictive contexts	√		
3	lack of auxiliary inversion and *do*-support in *wh*-questions	√	√	√
4	a clause-final *already*	√	√	
	b clause-final *also*			√
	c clause-final *only*	√	√	√

As mentioned at the outset of this paper, the English used in the Philippines is not homogenous, so it is important to look into possible variations based on speakers' linguistic ecology. We focused particularly on MCE, an English variety of the Chinese Filipinos. Using a 52,000-word mini-corpus composed of both written and spoken texts, we characterized MCE by highlighting linguistic features that reflect the Chinese Filipino speakers' linguistic practice – one that is neither Filipino nor Chinese, but a fusion of both, reflected in the use of English. Investigating four features that characterize MCE and drawing on the grammatical features of Tagalog and Hokkien, we posit that the distinctive features can be attributed to the influence of these languages as a result of language contact, albeit at varying degrees depending on the grammatical structure and availability of structural and functional features in the source languages.

From the perspective of world Englishes, our findings draw attention to the developmental processes of PhilE. As stated earlier, Schneider (2003: 255) categorizes postcolonial English varieties to reflect their different developmental stages. The latest proposal is that PhilE is at the final stage – differentiation, with it meeting parameters for this stage (Gonzales 2017a). The current linguistic environment on which PhilE exists is one indication of it meeting the first parameter (i.e. internal differentiation in a socio-politically stable nation). General PhilE is

used in a politically stable, self-reliant nation where internal socio-political differences exist (cf. Muslims Filipinos vs. Non-muslim Filipinos; elite vs. non-elite, Chinese vs. non-Chinese). Indications of it meeting the second parameter – a greater emphasis on group-specific identities than a collective identity (Schneider 2003: 253) also exist, at least in the case of the Chinese Filipinos vs. non-Chinese Filipinos. This is illustrated in two excerpts from two Chinese Filipinos during interviews about their use of language and identity (22) and (23):

(22) PC0090 (Female, 50-year-old, December 2018, Gonzales' data)
U tsige mixed feeling inui guâ tsaiâ guâ si tiongkôk láng kô uhmkôh guâ u tsige feeling din na bo choice là inui born in the Philippines, tuâ tsiá tshutsi soyi si tsige tsienghiéng inui, tuâ tsiá tshutsì kô u huitsiák-e dibák kô ó, so ingkai tioh kiô tsuê Filipino din là.
'There is a mixed feeling because I know I am Chinese but I also have a feeling that I don't have a choice because I was born in the Philippines. There is a situation – I am born here with Filipino citizenship so I should also be called Filipino.'

(23) PC0072 (Female, 50-year-old, December 2018, Gonzales' data)
Guâ e kai kông guâ si khia huidipin, tansi guâ e kai în kông guâ uhmsi huidipinláng. Guâ si lánnáng khia ti huidipin… Guâ uhm si taidiokláng, guâ si îkieng ân tsiá tshûtsì e huá-ì. Guâ uhmsi kiôtsuê taidióke lánnáng a uhmsi huidipin e láng. Guâ ti tiongkan. Guâ u lánnáng huîh uhmkôh guâ masi u kâp huidipinláng aî tsiáh e mingkia… sienguáh sitkuàn îkieng sáng lò. In ui guâ ân tsiá tuahàn.
'I will tell them that I live in the Philippines but I will tell them that I am not Filipino. I am a Filipino-Chinese [Chinese Filipino]. I am not Chinese. I am a Chinese born here. I am not a Mainland Chinese nor a Filipino. I am in the middle. I have Chinese blood but I also have the same food preferences and lifestyle with Filipinos. This is because I am born here.'

This is supported by the increasing amount of literature, perhaps including this paper, that emphasizes group-specific social identities (e.g. Chinese Filipino) over the collective Philippine identity (Ang See 1990, 1997; Uytanlet 2014). Likewise, the third parameter – the construction of community-internal networks after a period of perceived homogeneity (i.e. collective Filipino identity) – is also met. The majority of Chinese that assimilated to larger Filipino society, distinguishes itself on the basis of ethnicity and hybrid culture through another distinct identity subsumed under a collective Filipino identity – that of the Chinese Filipino (Uytanlet 2014). The focus shifts from being simply Filipino to being Chinese Filipino; individual identity narrows from that of the national scale to that of the community (Schneider 2003). Finally, there is evidence of dialect birth, or

the emergence of group-specific varieties (Schneider 2003) – the fourth parameter. Along with existing studies that acknowledge the distinctiveness of ethnogeographic and social Englishes with PhilE (Villanueva 2016; Gonzales 2017a), MCE's distinctiveness as an English used by Chinese Filipinos with its own unique set of linguistic features, as shown in this paper, seems to fulfill this criterion. Schneider (2020, personal communication), however, points out a caveat – the newly differentiated varieties should acquire indexical value after the group becomes aware of these linguistic differences. In this respect, the individuals' awareness of their use of PhilE sub-varieties like Conyo English,[15] an English variety that indexes a certain socio-economic identity, can be used as evidence for the said differentiation. We, however, remain cautious about the use of MCE (and ManE) as evidence for this stage, due to conflicting responses. While preliminary data show that Chinese Filipinos generally do not seem to be aware of, much more identify with, the distinctiveness of their English variety/varieties (24 and 25), ethnographic observations indicate that some Chinese Filipinos are aware of it (ethnographic notes, summer 2019). A similar situation can be said for the Tagalogs and ManE – there are mixed responses on whether ManE indexes their Tagalog Filipino identity (ethnographic notes, summer 2019). Regardless, the presence of other Englishes that index group identities (e.g. Conyo English) and the fact that most of the parameters are met deem it safe to characterize PhilE at being at the early stages of differentiation.

(24) PC0091 (Male, 20-year-old, 2018, Gonzales' data)
but i dont see any difference, since english is still universal, it only varies in the diction, pronounciation, comprehension depending on level of experience/exposure of an individual to the english language.

(25) PC0087 (Male, 40-year-old, 2018, Gonzales' data)
I don't think we speak differently from them kasi ['because'] so far nobody's complaining or saying anything. If we speak in a different manner we will hear from them.

Although it is still unclear whether MCE (nor ManE) itself can be used to argue for PhilE differentiation despite other parametric evidence, it is clear that its developmental trajectory differs from that of ManE. Unlike ManE, MCE is not a direct derivation of AmE, that is, it did not differentiate or develop from AmE directly like ManE, but instead is a post-colonial contact variety that has a developmental process different from it. For one, MCE emerged out of a different set of sociohistorical conditions that distinguish it from ManE. The latter began form-

15. This is a variety of Philippine English that is typically associated with individuals that have higher socio-economic status

ing at the advent of the American occupation (around the 1900s), around the time when the non-Chinese Filipinos were directly taught English by American teachers. It emerged in a time when they began to navigate the colonizer-colonized relationship and (re)construct their identity. In contrast, MCE, emerged later than ManE. One possible account would be that it emerged around the 1940s when English subjects began to be taught (by Filipino teachers). Prior to that, classes were taught only in Hokkien.[16] The Chinese (Filipinos) at that time were most likely not involved in this reconstruction of identity as they were more concerned with preserving their Chinese-ness than their Filipino-ness. A more likely time period for MCE's emergence, however, would be the 1960s or 1970s, when Filipinization policies were implemented. Before this period (1898-1940s), the Chinese (at least the ones in Binondo) had minimal contact with English. Contact with the Americans was also limited, if not non-existent (Gonzales' interview data with 90-year-old Chinese). Although English was already being used in schools in the 1940s, data shows that English was limited to the school domain. The language of most community members beyond the school (i.e. home, community) was Hokkien (and/or perhaps early PHH). Moreover, this period was characterized by the Exclusion Act of 1902, following anti-Chinese movements where Chinese were marginalized (at least in the media and press) and hence more communal. During this period, the Chinese were considered aliens and had their own formal education system, associations, and press. In relation to language, Gonzales (2018) found evidence of the community's lack of assimilation with respect to language – in Hokkien, people aged 80 to 89 that represent the community in the 1940s (Sankoff 2006) have been shown to significantly differ from people in their 70s and younger with regard to affix-mixing acceptability. Although they were already exposed to English in school, the older people did not accept English or Tagalog affix borrowing, while the younger generations (70s and below) did. Very cautiously generalizing this to other linguistic practices, we believe that this provides some evidence that the Chinese community in the 1940s had not linguistically unassimilated, perhaps related to their maintaining of Chinese identity. It is not likely for MCE to have emerged during the 1900s to 1940s, because unlike Tagalog, contact with English[17] was limited, and the (marginalized) Chinese seemed to be resistant outside influence, to a certain extent. Moreover, MCE did not emerge out of Filipino identity construction, as its speakers were more concerned with maintaining their own Chinese (Filipino) identity.

16. Based on an interview with a pioneer-generation 90-year old Chinese in the Philippines.

17. The reason why there is more contact with Tagalog is because the Chinese (Filipinos) do not use English to converse with locals during their limited interaction. Tagalog is still the language of greater society despite communalism.

However, when the Filipinization policies were introduced and the pressure to assimilate increased, the situation changed. The policies changed how the Chinese ran their community (e.g. schools and churches). Before this period, most Chinese schools did not have English or Tagalog as the primary and dominant media of instruction. Churches, particularly Protestant ones for example, held their services in Hokkien. However, after the policies took place, (Manila) English[18] and Tagalog began to play more crucial roles in schools and religious institutions. For example, the bilingual English-Tagalog education curriculum that was implemented in non-Chinese schools has been adopted by the 'ex'-Chinese schools (Tan 1993). Chinese subjects were forced to become optional. Churches began to have services held in Tagalog and English. These increased the amount and intensity of contact between the Chinese and the Filipinos, particularly the younger generation, and consequently between English, Tagalog, and Hokkien. At this point, the Chinese (Filipinos) were most likely knowledgeable in PH (and perhaps an early variety of PHH that had less English influence), and more proficient in Tagalog compared to English, so select Tagalog and Hokkien structures could have been imposed on or transferred to (Manila) English as the Chinese (Filipinos) began to use more English, marking the emergence of MCE. MCE then developed and perhaps conventionalized with the popularization of computer-mediated-communication around the 1990s. Note here that English was only primarily used by Chinese Filipinos as an attempt to assimilate to the greater Philippine society (e.g. accommodating to Philippine educational policies), in contrast to ManE, where the primary catalyst for emergence was colonization and potentially Filipino identity (re)construction. We illustrate key differences between MCE and ManE in Table 7 below.

Overall, we show the similarities between ManE and MCE – both varieties have speakers that either identify with the varieties or remain oblivious of their existence. In the case of ManE and the Tagalogs, there is some evidence of Filipinos using it to index their Tagalog identity, but there are some that are not aware of the distinction of ManE and other regional or social Englishes. In the case of MCE and the Chinese Filipinos, some Chinese Filipinos are aware that they have a distinct English and identify with it, but most do not. After all, it was not primarily English, but a mixed language comprising of Hokkien, Tagalog, and English (i.e. PHH) that was used to negotiate and index the Chinese Filipino identity (26). Then we emphasize that, despite this similarity, both varieties have diverging development trajectories that reflect the different sociohistorical events its speakers have undergone. In light of such, we suggest that MCE not be used as evidence for claims of differentiation in general PhilE, until further evidence

18. Note that Chinese Filipinos were already taught by Filipino teachers, not Americans.

Table 7. Key differences between ManE and MCE

Points	Manila English *(referred to as PhilE in previous literature)*	Manila Chinese English
Primary 'source' English	American English	Manila English
Users	Primarily Filipinos	Primarily Chinese Filipinos
Substrate languages/ varieties	Primarily Tagalog, no evidence of other regional languages	Primarily Tagalog, Hokkien, and PHH
Genesis	Began forming at the advent of American occupation (around the 1900s)	Earliest date: 1940s but most likely to have emerged at 1960s to 1970s in the Filipinization process (particularly in schools and churches) and developed even further with the popularization of CMC
Primary catalysts for emergence	Colonizer-colonized relationship, identity (re)-construction	Introduction of bilingual educational system (English-Chinese), Filipinization, cultural assimilation, language acquisition
Type of English	Contact variety of English Post-colonial English New English	Contact variety of English; non-traditional post-colonial English; ethnolect for some
Domains of use	Education, media, law, academia, formal gatherings, CMC, etc.	Restricted: CMC (including social media); formal gatherings (e.g. religious); academia
Characteristics of continuum	Basilect-acrolect, based primarily on social class	Basilect-acrolect, based primarily on proficiency of Hokkien, Tagalog, and English

warrants such inclusion. We, however, recommend taking caution in conflating ManE and MCE in future research, as the conditions under which MCE is formed are still distinct from those of ManE.

(26) PC0002 (Male, 50-year-old, 2018, Gonzales' data)
Dî u tshām Tagalôg tsaīsî mā ū Filipinò lo. Chinêse tsâ ū kông Filipinò diaû tsâ iēngbún tsaīsî māsī Chinese Filipinò. Pattiâh-ē láng a buē kóng Filipinò.
'If you mix Tagalog, of course it [PHH] will have a Filipino component. Using Chinese and then Tagalog and English is indeed also a hallmark of Chinese Filipinos. People [Chinese] from other places don't use Tagalog/Filipino.'

We also note that MCE is itself prone to social (internal) variation. In relation to contact language continua (cf. Platt 1975 for Colloquial Singapore English, Winford 1997 for Caribbean creole continua), MCE too can be analyzed as a spectrum instead of a monolithic variety. That is, an acrolectal variety, which

is primarily used by English-educated Chinese Filipinos on a daily basis, can exist on one end. Simultaneously, a basilectal MCE used typically by older, non-English educated Chinese Filipinos on a non-daily basis can exist. Between the two extreme lectal varieties is a range of mesolectal varieties. We base this hypothesis on our corpus,[19] where we note that use of MCE features does not apply across the board. This is complemented by our ethnographic data (e.g. interviews), such as (27).

(27) PC0087 (Male, 50-year-old, October 2018, Gonzales' data)
But our parents and grandparents are another matter. Sila ang iba mag salita. ['They speak differently.'] *Tayo* ['We'] *on the other hand can speak the language of our Filipino friends without any trace of our ethnocity. Kasi* ['because'] *during their time they do not mingle too much with non chinese. Feeling nila superior sila compared to Filipinos. And pinagbabawal nila kami noon mag Tagalog* ['They feel that they are superior to other Filipinos and they prohibit us to use Tagalog'], *some even doscourages their kids to watch Pinoy films/tv shows. Kaya syempre di nasanay* ['That's why they aren't used to it.']. *And of course, most of our grandparents are immigrants from China. When they arrived, it was too late for them to learn a new language*[s], *specially one they see as inferior.* [the broken English] *hindi* ['not'] *intentional. They just dont care.*

In other words, free variation exists within the application of the MCE features. The Chinese Filipinos code-switch between Tagalog, Hokkien, and English very frequently, especially within, but not limited to, their community (see previous interview examples) (Gonzales 2016). This suggests that there is not one Chinese Filipino that exclusively speaks MCE; however, the switching can be explained from the viewpoint of speaker accommodation. Several of the Chinese Filipinos who participated in the MCE corpus data collection mentioned that they were aware of code-switching, and that the switching depended on their interlocutors' socio-ethnic groups, as shown in the following excerpt from one of the participants:

(28) PC0069 (20-year-old, 9 April 2018, Gonzales' data)
I talk differently depending on the accent of the people talking to me… To be more similar… to conform, to Filipinos, to Americans…

Concerning the future of MCE, all things being equal, we could predict that it will continue towards linguistic stabilization and further become distinct from ManE and AmE, as predicted in Schneider's model. This development may be enhanced

19. We acknowledge the limitations of our corpus in accounting for the proposed continuum. We supplement our analysis by including interview data. While it cannot fully account for the proposal, it offers a piece of evidence for the claims we made here.

by the noticeable dominance of Mandarin among younger Chinese (Filipinos) through the use of pan-Sinitic linguistic features instead of PH, which is on a steady decline, especially after World War II. As mentioned earlier, while there is evidence of cultural assimilation, some Chinese Filipinos still remain in their own closely-knit community and Chinese Filipino social networks (e.g. endogamy is still being practiced). Many feel strongly about their non-Filipino ethnicity and are aware of the boundary between the Filipino indigenous group and the Chinese Filipinos (see 22 and 23). These social factors could result in them favoring the use of their own codes – PHH and MCE. At the same time, we could also predict the opposite scenario – the reversal of differentiation. That is, MCE may level with, if not merge towards the local English (e.g. ManE) as the Chinese Filipinos further assimilate into the larger Filipino society. This would be especially plausible once Chinese Filipinos collectively integrate with the pan-Filipino community and generally identify with their Filipino identity over their Chinese Filipino identity. This prediction keeps in mind that prior government policies (e.g. the Exclusion Act during the American period) which differentiated the two groups were mitigated by the 1975 Mass Naturalization Act, allowing Chinese Filipinos to acquire Filipino citizenship. In time, while acknowledging their minority status, the younger generation of Chinese Filipinos may become less conscious about the political boundary that once existed between non-Chinese and Chinese Filipinos, perhaps causing MCE to merge towards the local English (ManE).

7. Conclusion

In this paper, we presented MCE as a product of intergroup variation within PhilE using corpus and ethnographic methods from a language contact perspective and illustrated that it is a contact variety distinct from ManE and AmE based on its structure, source English(es), and genesis. Referring to Schneider's (2003) dynamic model, we cautioned against the use of MCE in arguing for PhilE differentiation with the current lack of evidence but demonstrate, nonetheless, that MCE takes on a divergent developmental path from ManE despite the similarities and proximity of both Englishes in the Philippines. From what we have shown, we hope to have contributed to broadening our understanding of how speakers orient towards different linguistic varieties in multi-layered linguistic contexts. As the analysis is performed using both qualitative and quantitative approaches, ambiguities inherent to interpretive findings are mitigated. All in all, we hope that our investigation of MCE through the lens of contact linguistics and language variation has demonstrated the systematic and robust dynamics of the intergroup variants within PhilE. Ultimately, this paper hopes to have contributed towards

further substantiating the theory of English plurality in the Philippines by exploring the nexus of the WE paradigm and language contact.

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Glossary

1	(first person)	LOC	(location/locative marker)
2	(second person)	LIG	(ligature)
3	(third person)	PFV	(perfective)
SG	(singular)	EXC	(exclusive)
PL	(plural)	LNK	(linker)

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