


Fall 12-15-2017

The Chinese Cultural Influence on Filipino Cuisine

Brandon Chase Lantrip
bclantrip83@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: <https://repository.usfca.edu/thes>

 Part of the [Asian History Commons](#), [Asian Studies Commons](#), [Chinese Studies Commons](#), [Cultural History Commons](#), [Food Studies Commons](#), [Migration Studies Commons](#), [Race and Ethnicity Commons](#), and the [South and Southeast Asian Languages and Societies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Lantrip, Brandon Chase, "The Chinese Cultural Influence on Filipino Cuisine" (2017). *Master's Theses*. 256.
<https://repository.usfca.edu/thes/256>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, Capstones and Projects at USF Scholarship: a digital repository @ Gleeson Library | Geschke Center. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of USF Scholarship: a digital repository @ Gleeson Library | Geschke Center. For more information, please contact repository@usfca.edu.

The Chinese Cultural Influence on Filipino Cuisine

Brandon Chase Lantrip

**University of San Francisco - Master of Arts in
International Studies - December 2017**

Acknowledgements

First and foremost I would like to thank my wonderful wife Lin-Pei Chin for taking care of our two beautiful children, Kaia Madison and Logan Mason, as I tirelessly worked on my research paper. I would also like to thank my mother-in-law Bee Chin for her assistance as well. Secondly, I would like to thank Professor James Zarsadiaz for accepting the responsibility of becoming my adviser and keeping me focused throughout the writing process. I would also like to thank Professor Lucia Cantero for going out of her way to introduce me to Professor Mayo Buenafe-Ze, who significantly contributed to my research. Thirdly, I would like to thank LT Tim Werlinger (RET) for encouraging me to rededicate my pursuit of higher education while I served in the United States Navy. Last but not least, I would like to thank my parents Mark and Eileen Lantrip and my grandmother Juana Gania for their unwavering support.

Abstract

This paper illustrates the impact of the Chinese cultural influence upon the Philippines with the primary focus being on Filipino cuisine. It examines how the Chinese cultural influence not only contributed to the development of Filipino cuisine, but how Chinese culture has also influenced the everyday life and culture of the Philippines through language and customary practices for over a millennium. The first section of the paper analyzes the cultural connection between China and the Philippines. The second section illustrates the Chinese language influence and its effect upon Filipino cuisine and culture. The third section explores the contested origins of one of the most recognized dishes within Filipino cuisine. The final section explores how Chinese food items and their cultural significance have been infused into Filipino culture via Filipino cuisine.

Keywords: Chinese; Filipino; Hokkien; Cuisine; Culture

Table of Contents

Introduction 5

Methodology 6

Limitations 7

Impact 9

Literature Review 12

Chinese and Filipino Cultural Connection 18

Chinese Loanwords Within the Filipino Language 22

Chinese Food Within Filipino Cuisine: Integration, not Indigenization 36

Adobo: Is it Chinese, Filipino, Spanish? 52

Conclusion 75

Introduction

What exactly is Filipino cuisine? If speaking directly to the notion of a national Filipino culinary identity, then it is primarily considered a mixture of native Malay, Spanish, and Chinese influences blended into one. Therefore the national cuisine of the Philippines can be characterized as multicultural as it is a fusion of different culinary lineages blended into one. However, although Filipino cuisine is regarded as multicultural, this paper illustrates the ways in which Chinese culture in particular has influenced Filipino cuisine. Unlike the Spanish and Americans, who receive more recognition for their contributions to the Philippines, the Chinese remain known unknowns amongst these former colonizers. Therefore, this paper is divided into four sections of which highlight the cultural influence of the Chinese upon Filipino cuisine and culture. The first section of this paper analyzes the cultural connection between China and the Philippines. This section focuses on the precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial relationship and the cultural exchange that followed. The cultural exchange aspect also looks at Chinese migration to the Philippines and subsequent intermarriage between Chinese men and native women.

The second section of this paper delves into the influence of the Chinese language upon the Filipino language, specifically the Hokkien dialect, and how it shaped not only Filipino cuisine, but also daily Filipino life. The names of numerous individual food items, cooking methods, food ingredients, cooking terms, and cooked dishes within Filipino cuisine are of Hokkien origin. The third section investigates the origins of one of the Philippines most recognized dishes, *adobo*. While *adobo* is regarded by many

Filipinos as the national dish of the Philippines due to its seemingly multicultural blend of ingredients, this section illustrates that ingredients which were once believed to be introduced to the Philippines by the Spanish were actually introduced to the Philippines by the Chinese. The final section of this paper explores the assimilation of popular Chinese food items into Filipino cuisine. Unlike *adobo*, which displays the multicultural aspect of Filipino cuisine, as it is a blend of both native and Chinese contributions, the items discussed in this section have maintained their Chinese identity and have been openly embraced by the Filipino people. In addition to the adopting of these Chinese food items as their own, Filipinos have also adopted the Chinese superstitions or traditions associated with those food items. In summary, these four sections aim to successfully exhibit the significance of the Chinese cultural influence upon Filipino cuisine.

Methodology

Methods of data collection utilized for this research paper include both primary sources and secondary sources. In regards to primary source data collection, I conducted a series of interviews with individuals who have extensive backgrounds in working in one of the following fields: academia or the Filipino restaurant industry. Individuals associated with these particular backgrounds were selected due to their professional knowledge in these respective fields. Even though interviews with random subjects could have been conducted for the general purpose of data collection, due to the overall lack of literature concerning the Chinese cultural influence upon Filipino cuisine, the credibility of my subjects was extremely important to my overall research. In order to maintain a neutral position, all of the subjects interviewed for my research were asked the following

question, “In regards to the Chinese cultural influence upon Filipino cuisine, to what extent, percentage wise, has the Chinese cultural influence been?” I also collected data via newspaper articles and periodicals that focused on the Chinese cultural influence upon Filipino cuisine.

In regards to my secondary sources, a significant portion of my research involved referencing literature that focused on the history and subsequent globalization of Hokkien cuisine. Although my primary focus was centered around investigating the impact of Chinese cultural influence upon Filipino cuisine, it was equally important to briefly mention the Chinese cultural contributions in their entirety. From the research conducted, when investigating cultural practices, I discovered the inevitable overlap in regards to social practices, spoken language, and of course eating habits, all of which have been integrated into Filipino culture. For comparative purposes, while Filipino cuisine is the topic of discussion, it is important that I briefly mention the Chinese cultural influence upon the cuisines of both Indonesia and Malaysia due to the large Overseas Chinese presence in both countries. The comparison amongst the three cultures allowed for an overall comprehensive analysis of the significance of Chinese cultural influence throughout maritime Southeast Asia as well as the effect of Spanish colonization and its suppression of Chinese culture.

Limitations

The largest limitation faced in my research would be the overall lack of reputable data concerning the history of Filipino cuisine. While on the other hand, there seemed to be more substantial data in regards to the Chinese cultural contributions to the cuisines of

other Southeast Asian countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore. Due to the insufficient amount of data regarding the Chinese cultural contributions to Filipino cuisine, much of my research focused on Hokkien cuisine and the impact it had upon the cuisine of other Southeast Asian cuisines. Consequently, there was also an overwhelming reliance upon the work of authors who specialized in this particular field, which in turn brought about another dilemma of the repeated referencing of these same authors to support my argument of the Chinese cultural influence upon Filipino cuisine. As a byproduct concerning the lack of data in direct reference to Filipino cuisine, time also proved to be a limitation to my research.

Another limitation I encountered throughout my research was bias. However, for the sake of integrity concerning my research project, I personally tried to avoid bias throughout the entire process. Instead, I relied on the data collected on my primary sources and secondary sources to help illustrate the contributions of Chinese culture to Filipino cuisine. In consideration of my primary sources, there may have been internal bias on behalf of my interviewees in regards to where they may be situated along the cultural or culinary spectrum. However, it is difficult to determine the level of bias when conducting interviews. The same consideration of bias was taken into account when discussing my secondary sources. Whereas the level of bias concerning my primary sources was rather minuscule, the same cannot be said for my secondary sources. I identified ethnic, racial, or cultural bias amongst a couple of the authors. These biases are primarily due to the authors inserting their ethnic, racial, or cultural identity into their work. Therefore, I made extra efforts to question the data of some of these authors and

challenge their research. Nonetheless, although bias proved to be a limitation, it did not effect my overall ability to conduct effective research.

Impact

When evaluating the broader impact of my research, my intension is to analyze the cultural influence of the Chinese upon Filipino cuisine from a non-biased perspective and contribute to the rather scarce literature that does exist. The cuisine of the Philippines, much like its people, is multifaceted and multicultural. Therefore, because of multiculturalism within Filipino cuisine, I argue that in a general sense it is neither distinguishable or indistinguishable from its numerous influences, rather a culinary purgatory of sorts. What history does acknowledge is the Chinese, Spanish, Americans, and Indians via the Malays have all had their hand in the development of modern Filipino cuisine. While history makes this assertion, I argue that history does not accurately reflect the overall significance of the Chinese contributions to Filipino cuisine. The justification for this historical inaccuracy could be due to a myriad of reasons. Although hypothetical in rationale, I suggest the three following scenarios as reasons for this occurrence: integration, colonialism, and nationalism.

The first reason for the failure to accurately depict Chinese cultural contributions to Filipino cuisine would be due to centuries worth of borrowing and integrating of Chinese cultural practices by island natives.¹ Insufficient recording methods on behalf of the natives and the reliance upon oral traditions can lead to the embellishing of history

¹ The first recorded interactions between the Chinese and the natives of the Philippines occurred in the 10th Century. However, according to Otley Beyer, interaction occurred as early as BC 3000 dating back to the migration of people from Mainland China to the Philippine archipelago.

over time. Although the integration of Chinese cultural practices may have occurred over ten centuries ago, it does not dismiss the fact these borrowings are Chinese in origin. The second reason, and arguably the primary cause of the undervaluing of Chinese cultural influence was the colonization of the Philippines by the Spanish in the 16th Century. In order to obtain absolute power, it was imperative for the Spanish to assert their cultural dominance over the archipelago in lieu of the Chinese who the Spanish viewed as a threat to their colonization efforts. Additionally, although not last, with the creation of the Philippine nation-state, for socio-political purposes, it was imperative for the forefathers of the Republic of the Philippines to disassociate themselves from a perceived ethnic Chinese identity and adopt a Western influenced Filipino national identity.² These three factors add credence to the discussion of insufficient acknowledgement of the Chinese cultural influence on Filipino cuisine.

For the sake of history accuracy, it is important to bring to attention the significance of the Chinese presence within Filipino cuisine in order to dispel any misnomers of Filipino cuisine being more influenced by the Spanish vice the Chinese. As previously mentioned, although Filipino cuisine is indeed multicultural due to the immense outside cultural influences integrated into native culinary practices and eating habits, it is because of this multiculturalism that the Chinese cultural influence on Filipino cuisine has been repressed. Although the objective of multiculturalism, in all its intents and purposes, is to embrace all contributors equally, the fault of multiculturalism in the case of Filipino cuisine is that it subsequently downplays the contributions of the

² Tan, Antonio S. "The Chinese Mestizos and the Formation of the Filipino Nationality." *Archipel* 32, no. 1 (1986): 141-62. doi:10.3406/arch.1986.2316.

Chinese. Through the espousing of this multicultural culinary heritage by Filipinos, it places greater precedence on acknowledging Spanish cultural contributions at the expense of the Chinese. In the case of Filipino cuisine, culinary multiculturalism has proven to be an extension of colonialism, which has marginalized Chinese cultural contributions. While I am not downplaying the Spanish cultural contributions to Filipino cuisine, the Spanish influence was primarily superficial and has eroded over time while the Chinese influence has remained consistent.

Literature Review

The Chinese cultural influence upon Filipino cuisine is an interesting topic due to the fact that there is very little literature concerning this specific topic. To obtain a clear understanding of this research topic, the primary literature reviewed for this research paper focused upon three main fields of study: Chinese cultural influence in the Philippines, Chinese cuisine, and Filipino cuisine. Due to the insufficient amount of literature specifically focusing on the Chinese cultural influence upon Filipino cuisine, I combined these three main bodies of literature to fill in my research gaps. The Chinese cultural influence upon the Philippines is illustrated in the works of Maningning C. Miclat, Gloria Chan-Yap, and Filipino journalists such as Ray Ong. Miclat specifically focuses her research on the pre-Hispanic cultural interactions between China and the Philippines while Chan-Yap analyzes the significance of the Hokkien dialect upon the pre-Hispanic Filipino language.

The work of Ong exemplifies how the Lunar New Year has now become an important celebration amongst non-Chinese Filipinos. In regards to the literature concerning Chinese cuisine, I referenced the works of Carolyn Phillips and David Y.H. Wu and Sidney C.H. Cheung, all of whom respectively delve into the history of Chinese food items and the globalization of Chinese food. Lastly, for literature dedicated to Filipino cuisine, I reviewed the works of Doreen Fernandez, Adrian De Leon, Gloria Chan-Yap, Angelo Comsti, and Miki Garcia. The primary objective of the research conducted by Fernandez, De Leon, and Chan-Yap revolves around the genealogy of Filipino cuisine. This includes the historical analyses of Chinese and Spanish culinary

influences on Filipino cuisine. On the other hand, the purpose of the work conducted by Comsti and Garcia was to gather recipes from different regions of the Philippines for their respective cookbooks.

Chinese Cultural Influence in the Philippines

The arrival of the Chinese in the Philippines predates the arrival of the Spanish by at least five centuries. The research conducted by Micalat illustrates that according to official records, the natives of the Philippines willingly embraced the offerings of Chinese culture since at least the 10th Century. For example, Chinese motifs that symbolized imperial power, the dragon and the phoenix, were found in the trade ceramics discovered in the Philippines. In the Visayas, Chinese ceramic jars that bore the dragon were called *ihalasan*, which comes from the word *ihasa* or snake.³ For the Visayan people, the mythical qualities attached to the dragon were very similar to the beliefs they developed in regards to the snake. Thus making the adopting of the Chinese dragon into Visayan culture relatively seamless. The practice of borrowing from Chinese culture can also be applied to Guan Yin, the Chinese Goddess of Mercy. Inside of the San Agustin Church Museum complex lies a statue of the Virgin Mary in regalia reminiscent of Guan Yin.⁴

The Chinese cultural influence was also reflected in the languages of the Philippines, especially the Filipino (Tagalog) variation. As Chan-Yap points out in her research, the Filipino language borrows significantly from the Hokkien dialect. While the

³ Micalat, Maningning C. "Tradition, Misconception, and Contribution: Chinese Influences in Philippine Culture." *Humanities Diliman* 1, no. 2 (July - Dec. 2000): 100-08.

⁴ Yap, Gloria Chan. (1974). Hokkien Chinese borrowings in tagalog. Unpublished Ph.D dissertation. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University.

primary focus of this particular research paper is the Chinese cultural contribution to Filipino cuisine, Chan-Yap does illustrate that the Chinese influence on the Filipino language is much larger than just the borrowing of Hokkien words to describe certain food items. For example, in the Filipino language, words such as *kuya* (big brother), *ate* (big sister), and *po* (elder) were adopted by Filipinos from Hokkien speakers as ways of respectfully addressing someone.⁵ Although decimated by Spanish colonization, certain aspects of Filipino culture remain inherently influenced by Chinese culture, especially in the modern day. Over the last decade, as stated by Ong, there has been a dramatic increase in the amount of Filipinos who have started to celebrate Chinese New Year although they themselves are not of Chinese ancestry. Ong alludes this is probably due to the idea of good luck and prosperity which is traditionally associated with Chinese New Year. Although an indirect influence, this demonstrates that even Chinese-only cultural practices can be subject to Filipino borrowing.

Chinese Cuisine

There are several different regional variations of Chinese cuisine with their own distinct flavors and methods of preparation. In *The Globalization of Chinese Food*, Wu and Cheung address the significance of the Chinese culinary influence throughout Southeast Asia and the Western world, additionally adding how identifiable Chinese cuisine has become. The two main regional variations of Chinese cuisine that have made a profound cultural impact on the cuisine of the Philippines are the cuisines of the

⁵ Cui, Xuebo. "Hokkien Chinese Borrowings on Cookery in Tagalog." *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, vol. 2, no. 3, Jan. 2012, doi:10.4304/tpls.2.3.566-571.

Southern Chinese provinces of Fujian and Guangdong.⁶ However, the identifiability of Chinese cuisine between Southeast Asia and the Western world is quite different. For example, in the United States, Chinese food is simply identified as Chinese food with variations such as Szechuan and Cantonese, but they all encompass the Chinese culinary identity. On the contrary, in Southeast Asia, the Chinese culinary influence has become an integral part of national cuisines and the culinary lines have become blurred.

Unlike the Western world where Chinese cuisine has remained separate from the national culinary identities, the cuisines of Southeast Asia (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Myanmar [Burma], Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei, and the Philippines) have been heavily influenced by Chinese cuisine. Throughout the last ten centuries, noodles, one of the primary staples of Chinese cuisine, have been incorporated into the cuisines of the aforementioned countries. Through centuries of trade, migration, and intermarriage, world renown dishes such as Vietnamese *pho* (noodle soup), Thai *pad Thai* (stir-fried rice noodles in fish sauce), and the Singaporean, Malaysian, Bruneian, and Indonesian *mee goreng* (stir-fried wheat noodles) illustrate not only the profound influence of Chinese cuisine, but it's globalization and fluidity. The end result is the incorporation of Chinese cuisine into local cuisines, with Filipino cuisine being one of the many beneficiaries of Chinese culinary globalization.

Filipino Cuisine

Due to dissenting opinions, the history of Filipino cuisine remains a rather contentious topic. Fernandez argued that food becomes Filipino at its destination,

⁶ Wu, David Y.H., and Sidney C.H. Cheung. *GLOBALIZATION OF CHINESE FOOD*. Place of publication not identified: ROUTLEDGE, 2016.

regardless of the initial source.⁷ This practice remains consistent amongst Filipinos and it's illustrated in a plethora of Filipino food items such as *lumpia* (spring rolls), Filipino spaghetti, and even Filipino fried chicken. However, Fernandez's argument of food becoming Filipino or indigenized creates an issue of historical unawareness amongst Filipinos as they become unknowledgeable of the true origins of specific Filipino food items. Contrastingly, the practice of food indigenization in the Philippines is a faulty process compared to the food indigenizing process of Singapore. In the Philippines, food items that are ethnically Chinese are stripped of their Chinese ethnicity and replaced with a Filipino national identity.

Unlike Singaporeans, who are proud and knowledgeable of their Chinese influenced multiculturalism, Filipinos by in-large are unable to recognize the true origins of their nation's culinary heritage. Chan-Yap also illustrates this point in her research concerning the borrowing of Hokkien words in the Filipino language where the names of numerous food items especially vegetables and rice products are actually Hokkien words.⁸ Along the same lines, De Leon illustrates how *siopao* (pork buns) and *siomai* (dim sum) have become staples within Filipino cuisine although they are inherently Chinese.⁹ Lastly, the recipes within the cookbooks of *The Filipino family cookbook: recipes and stories from our home kitchen* and *Fuss-free Filipino Food: Quick & Easy*

⁷ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, and Doreen G. Fernandez. "Culture Ingested: On the Indigenization of Phillipine Food." *Gastronomica* 3, no. 1 (2003): 58-71. doi:10.1525/gfc.2003.3.1.58.

⁸ Yap, Gloria Chan. (1974). Hokkien Chinese borrowings in tagalong. Unpublished Ph.D dissertation. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University.

⁹ De Leon, A. "Siopao and Power: The Place of Pork Buns in Manilas Chinese History." *Gastronomica: The Journal of Critical Food Studies* 16, no. 2 (2016): 45-54. doi: 10.1525/gfc.2016.16.2.45.

Dishes for Everyday Cooking by Comsti and *The Filipino cookbook: 85 homestyle recipes to delight your family and friends* by Garcia display a variety of Filipino dishes that incorporate Chinese ingredients or are in fact also Chinese in origin.

Conclusion

The Chinese cultural influence upon the Philippines is much larger than just cuisine. While the focus of this research paper is the Chinese cultural influence upon Filipino cuisine, the literature reviewed illustrates how the Chinese also influenced the pre-Hispanic culture of the Philippines via non-food related language, spirituality, social practices, and folklore. Even with the introduction of Spanish colonialism, certain aspects of the aforementioned Chinese cultural contributions remained unchanged amongst Filipinos. Interestingly enough, even modern day Filipinos have begun to celebrate Chinese New Year, during which traditional Chinese New Year foods are consumed - a practice also adopted by non-Chinese Filipinos. Yet, Doreen Fernandez would argue that this is just indigenization on behalf of the Filipinos. However, within indigenization, there is the potential pitfall for the development of historical inaccuracies. As centuries pass, factual occurrences may become embellished to the point where they become folkloric and inadvertently omit essential information. Therefore, it is imperative to annotate the Chinese cultural influence upon Filipino cuisine so that we avoid accidentally overlooking the contributions of the Chinese.

Chinese and Filipino Cultural Connection

While the main focus of this research paper is the Chinese cultural contribution to Filipino cuisine, the cultural connection between Mainland China and the Philippine archipelago spans roughly five to six millennia. Acclaimed Philippine anthropologist Otley Beyer suggested a possible ethnic link between the ancestors of the Chinese and the ancestors of the people of the Philippines. In his analysis of the Chinese and Filipino cultural connection, Beyer broke down his analysis of the initial interactions between China and the Philippines into four distinct waves of migration: first, second, third, and fourth. Beyer suggests the first wave of migrants from Mainland China, by way of the area now known as the province of Fujian, arrived in the Philippines around BC 3000 and in the process they introduced an advanced culture and craftsmanship. In BC 1500, the second wave of migrants introduced the practice of dry agriculture and the cultivation of rice, taro, yams, and other food crops. For example, crisped rice, taro, and yams are a couple of the key ingredients used to make the Filipino dessert *halo-halo* (literally translates to mixed-mixed in the Filipino language). This of which displays some of the main components of *halo-halo* were introduced to the Philippines by the Chinese.

During the third wave, an estimated seven centuries later between BC 800-500, began the construction of rice terraces. The fourth wave of migrants from China (AD 300-500) brought with them the Jar-Burial culture where jars were used to bury the bones of ancestors - a practice that was identified with the migrants from Fujian province.¹⁰ As stated by Xuebo Cui, these early waves of migration helped establish the trade between

¹⁰ Beyer, H. Otley. Early history of Philippine relations with foreign countries, especially China. Manila: National Printing, 1948.

the Chinese and the ancestors of the Filipinos.¹¹ According to Maningning Miclat, this trade relationship between the Chinese and the natives of the Philippines was recorded in *The History of the Sung Dynasty*, which was published between AD 1343-1374. This official Chinese document illustrates that commercial trade between the two began in AD 982.¹² However, with the arrival of the Spanish in the 16th Century, direct trade between the natives and the Chinese would cease in 1521.

The Spanish Colonial Effect

Although there was no longer an official established trade relationship between the natives and the Chinese under Spanish colonial rule, the Chinese would continue to influence the culture of the Philippines - especially the spread of Catholicism. One of the primary Chinese contributions to the Philippines on behalf of the Spanish, courtesy of Chinese *mestizo* (a person with Chinese ancestry on their paternal side) Tomas Pinpin, was the printing press. The printing press utilized the Chinese wood block-based xylographic method, in the process publishing three books: *The Christian Doctrine in Spanish and Tagalog*, *The Christian Doctrine in Chinese Script and Language*, and *The Defense of the True Religion*.¹³ Perhaps the most important Chinese cultural contribution to the Philippines was their role in establishing the Filipino national identity. As stated by Antonio Tan, the Chinese *mestizos* played an important role in the formation of the

¹¹ Cui, Xuebo. "Hokkien Chinese Borrowings on Cookery in Tagalog." *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 2, no. 3 (2012). doi:10.4304/tpls.2.3.566-571.

¹² Miclat, Maningning C. "Tradition, Misconception, and Contribution: Chinese Influences in Philippine Culture." *Humanities Diliman* 1, no. 2 (July - Dec. 2000): 100-08.

¹³ Ibid

Filipino middle class, in the agitation of reforms in the 1898 revolution, and in the formation of the Filipino nationality.¹⁴

Since the inception of the First Philippine Republic in 1899, which also includes the time periods of American and Japanese occupation, Filipinos with Chinese ancestry have occupied important positions within the Filipino government, beginning with Philippine nationalist José Rizal. The list of prominent Chinese *mestizos* within the Philippine government includes Presidents Jose P. Laurel, Elpidio Quirino, Ramon Magsaysay, Ferdinand Marcos, Corazon Aquino, and Benigno Aquino III. This list of prominent Chinese *mestizos* is not strictly limited to presidents but many lower level politicians, businessmen, and entertainers throughout the Philippines are of Chinese ancestry.¹⁵ However, it is important to illustrate that there is a definitive separation between Chinese *mestizos* and Chinese Filipinos. While both groups are of Chinese ancestry, Chinese *mestizos* are paternally Chinese and maternally native. This is important because one's Chinese identity cannot be passed down maternally unless the woman marries a full-blooded Chinese or a Chinese *mestizo* man. Conversely, Chinese Filipinos are ethnic Chinese who live in the Philippines or claim Filipino nationality.¹⁶

Conversion to Catholicism, courtesy of Spanish colonialism, created a distinct socio-ethnic group which allowed Christianized Chinese to separate themselves from

¹⁴ Although comprised of Chinese ancestry and native, Chinese *mestizos* effectively recognize themselves as Filipino, sharing the novel concept of them being one in the same with the predominantly native population. Thus, Chinese *mestizos* are able to differentiate themselves from Chinese Filipinos who are predominantly ethnic Chinese.

¹⁵ Tan, Antonio S. "The Chinese Mestizos and the Formation of the Filipino Nationality." *Archipel* 32, no. 1 (1986): 141-62. doi:10.3406/arch.1986.2316.

¹⁶ Wickberg, E. "The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History." *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 5, no. 01 (1964): 62. doi:10.1017/s0217781100002222.

non-Christianized Chinese. Due to conversion, Christianized Chinese men were allowed to legally marry Christianized native women, thus creating offspring who would become known as Chinese *mestizos*.¹⁷ However, because of Spanish colonialism, the socio-ethnic chasm created between Chinese *mestizos* and Chinese Filipinos has contributed to the development of two different Chinese-based cultures: the Filipino-first Chinese *mestizo* culture that promotes a singular national Filipino identity and the Sinocentric-based Chinese Filipino culture which acknowledges its Chinese heritage and is responsible for contributions to the Filipino language and Filipino cuisine. This of which not only displays the remnants of Spanish colonialism, but an ongoing cultural war between Chinese *mestizos* and Chinese Filipinos, of which Chinese *mestizos* continue to propagate the notion of de-Sinicization.

¹⁷ Chirot, Daniel, and Anthony Reid. *Essential outsiders: Chinese and Jews in the modern transformation of Southeast Asia and Central Europe*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.

Chinese Loanwords Within the Filipino Language

One of the defining characteristics of being human, according to Andrew Littlejohn, is the use of language. Language allows for communication, which enables us to interact with those directly around us as well as society at large. In regards to how we classify ourselves as individuals as well as our placement within our respective societies, language is also used as an identification tool.¹⁸ For instance, in some circumstances, such as in the case of technological advancement, societies are forced to adopt non-native words in order to effectively communicate the name of an item in question i.e. computer¹⁹. This example demonstrates the fluidity of language and its ability to cross boundaries when vocabulary for foreign objects has yet been established. Additionally, as a result of this fluidity, language can be manipulated and transformed as necessary to correspond to the needs of its speakers i.e. *cochifrito*²⁰.

Nonetheless, for several centuries, language has facilitated the transmission of culture, as in the case of the Filipino language²¹. Due to centuries of cultural exchange as

¹⁸ Mehta, Sandhya Rao., and Andrew Littlejohn. *Language Studies: Stretching the Boundaries*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012.

¹⁹ The word computer, of English origin, is foreign to a significant segment of the world's languages. Therefore nations have adopted the word computer into their lexicons with spelling variations derived from the English spelling i.e. komputer in Malay and Polish or komputa in Igbo.

²⁰ The word *cochifrito* in Castilian Spanish refers to goat or lamb meat that is seasoned and fried. However, in Puerto Rican Spanish, *cuchifrito* (fried pork items or a food place that specializes in fried items) is a blend of the Spanish words *cochino* (pig) and *fruit* (fried). Hence the fluidity of words within the Spanish language fitting the needs of its constituency.

²¹ The Filipino language refers to the national language of the Philippines, which is primarily derived from Tagalog. For the remainder of this chapter, the Filipino language will be synonymous with the Tagalog language unless referenced otherwise.

well as colonialism, the Filipino language, an Austronesian language²², has incorporated vocabulary from the Chinese, Spanish, and English lexicons amongst others. Some words within the Filipino vocabulary display an obvious Chinese connection. This is most likely due to the fact that these words were incorporated into the Filipino language largely because of the lack of sufficient vocabulary and the inability to describe particular items within the Filipino language. While other words are less assuming as Filipino grammatical structures have masked the Chinese root words. In this chapter I will be analyzing the influence and the significance of Chinese dialects, particularly the Hokkien dialect, upon Filipino cuisine.

According to Xuebo Cui, PhD in Applied Linguistics and Head of the Department of English at Yanbian University in Yanji, China, the Filipino language in its current state is 58% Tagalog origin; 33% Spanish origin; 4% Malay origin; 3% Chinese origin; and the remaining 2% a combination of English, Sanskrit and Arabic.²³ While Spanish words now comprise an overwhelming third of the Filipino language, what should be taken into consideration is the amount of Hokkien loanwords in the Filipino language prior to the Spanish colonization of the Philippines. According to research conducted by Gloria Chan-Yap, she identified 163 Hokkien loanwords in the present-day Filipino language.²⁴ Considering the Spanish arrived in the Philippines during the first quarter of the 16th Century compared to the Chinese who were already trading with the Filipinos, the

²² The Austronesian language family includes a wide variety of languages including but not limited to Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Ilokano, Malay, Hawaiian, Samoan, Tongan, and Tahitian

²³ Cui, Xuebo. "Hokkien Chinese Borrowings on Cookery in Tagalog." *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, vol. 2, no. 3, Jan. 2012, doi:10.4304/tpls.2.3.566-571.

²⁴ Ibid

amount of Hokkien loanwords in the present-day Filipino language is rather insignificant.²⁵

Colonization and the Decline of Hokkien Loanwords

Unfortunately, there is very little information regarding the number of Hokkien loanwords in the Filipino language prior to Spanish colonization. However, in order to gain a perspective on what the Filipino language possibly looked like prior to the incorporation of the Spanish lexicon, we must analyze the amount of Hokkien loanwords in the Malay languages of the neighboring countries of Malaysia and Indonesia. Contact between the Chinese and the Malay-Indonesian people dates back several thousand years, as concluded by the discovery of excavated Chinese porcelain and earthenware in Indonesia.²⁶ This roughly corresponds to around the same time period (AD 300-500) where Chinese migrants from the province of Fujian introduced the Jar-Burial culture to the Philippines.²⁷ According to Kong Yuan Zhi, there are currently 507 Chinese loanwords in Malay. Of the 507 loanwords, 454 of them are derived from South Fujian dialects such as Hokkien. Thus South Fujian dialects represent an astounding 89.5% of Chinese loanwords in the Malay language.²⁸

²⁵ Pacho, Arturo. "The Chinese Community in the Philippines: Status and Conditions." *Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 1, no. 1 (1986): 76-91. doi:10.1355/sj1-1e.

²⁶ Zhi, Kong Yuan. "A study of Chinese loanwords (from South Fujian dialects) in the Malay and Indonesian languages." *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 143, no. 4 (1987): 452-67. doi: 10.1163/22134379-90003314.

²⁷ Beyer, H. Otley. *Early history of Philippine relations with foreign countries, especially China*. Manila: National Printing, 1948.

²⁸ Zhi, Kong Yuan. "A study of Chinese loanwords (from South Fujian dialects) in the Malay and Indonesian languages." *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 143, no. 4 (1987): 452-67. doi: 10.1163/22134379-90003314.

So why the nearly 300 Hokkien loanword discrepancy between the Philippines and its Malay language speaking neighbors? The answer suggests this is largely due to the method in which the Spanish colonized the Philippines. According to Edgar Wickberg, the Spanish believed it was their cultural mission to convert and transform the inhabitants of the Philippines, but this initially did not include the Chinese as the primary target of the Spanish initiative were the natives. Throughout Spanish rule, the Chinese were subjected to immigration limitations, restrictions on geographic mobility, and residential segregation. Nonetheless, due to the Spanish economic dependence upon the Chinese, opportunities for conversion were made available to the Chinese. The Chinese who did convert to Catholicism were considered of a higher status compared to those who did not. The Chinese who opted not to convert to Catholicism were relegated to the confines of the Parian (of the pariah), a segregated Chinese quarter, while the Christianized Chinese lived in Binondo (present-day Chinatown). Additionally, Christianized Chinese men were allowed to legally marry Christianized native women.²⁹

The offspring produced from the marriages between Christianized Chinese men and native women resulted in the creation of a social class within the Philippines categorized as Chinese *mestizos*.³⁰ To better assimilate with the Spanish colonizers, Chinese *mestizos*, such as nationalists José Rizal and Román Ongpin, characterized themselves as Filipino. For example, Ongpin, of Hokkien descent, had his children

²⁹ Chirot, Daniel, and Anthony Reid. *Essential outsiders: Chinese and Jews in the modern transformation of Southeast Asia and Central Europe*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.

³⁰ Wickberg, E. "The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History." *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 5, no. 01 (1964): 62. doi:10.1017/s0217781100002222.

educated to where Spanish was their first language and then Tagalog, but they did not speak Hokkien.³¹ Therefore, I argue that the practice of adopting Spanish social norms by the Chinese *mestizos* and natives was primarily responsible for the decline in the use of Hokkien loanwords. Instead of using Hokkien loanwords to describe items, it became customary amongst the non-Spanish speaking population to adopt Spanish words. While the present-state of the Filipino language is reflective of the large-scale borrowing of Spanish words, many of the Hokkien loanwords that remain in the Filipino language are mostly related to cookery as well as manners of address.

Table 1³²:

LIST OF FILIPINO LOANWORDS FROM HOKKIEN		
Tagalog	Hokkien	Meaning
apo	a-kong	grandchild/ren in Tagalog; Grandfather in Hokkien
ate	a-chi	eldest sister
bakya	bak-kiah	wooden sandals
batchoy	bah-chúi	pork in soup
bihon	bí-hún	rice vermicelli
bitsin	bī-cheng	monosodium glutamate
daw	tao	He said/she said/they said/it was said/reportedly/supposedly
ditse	dī-chí	second eldest sister
hikaw	hī-kau	earrings
jusi	hù-si	cloth made from pineapple fibers
ingkong	a-kong	grandfather

³¹ Suryadinata, Leo. *Southeast Asian personalities of Chinese descent: a biographical dictionary*. Singapore: Chinese Heritage Center, 2012.

³² Cui, Xuebo. "Hokkien Chinese Borrowings on Cookery in Tagalog." *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, vol. 2, no. 3, Jan. 2012, doi:10.4304/tpls.2.3.566-571.

LIST OF FILIPINO LOANWORDS FROM HOKKIEN		
kuya	keh-ya	eldest brother
lumpia	jūn-piá	spring rolls
mami	bah-mī	meat and noodles in soup
pancit	piān-ê-sit	noodles with sauce
petsay	peh-chhài	Chinese cabbage
pesa	sah	plain boiled
santse	san-chí	third eldest sister
siyansi	chian-sî	spoon-like kitsch turner/spatula
siyopaw/siopao	sio-pau	dough balls filled with pork/beef/carabao meat
sotanghon	so-tang-hun	cellophane noodles
tikoy	tih-ke	Chinese New Year's cake
tokwa	tāu-koa	soybean curd
totso	tāu-iû-chhò-hî	sautéed fish
toyo	tāu-iû	soy sauce
tausi	tāu-si	fermented black beans

Table 1 Analysis

Table 1 illustrates a handful of words within the modern Filipino language that are loanwords of Hokkien origin. Of note, the majority of the words listed refer to Chinese food items that have been incorporated into Filipino cuisine. It can be argued that a couple of the words listed are actually not of Hokkien origin, but instead they are of Cantonese origin. Loanwords of Cantonese origin, primarily food items, were introduced in the early 20th Century and later incorporated into the Filipino language. For Hokkien speakers, *Mami* is derived from *bakmi* which translates to meat noodles. On the other hand, for Cantonese speakers, *Mami* refers to a type of chicken noodle soup introduced to

the Philippines in the early 20th Century by a Cantonese immigrant name Ma Mon Luk.³³ *Mi* in itself translates to flour noodles in both Hokkien and Cantonese while Ma refers to the last name of the creator of the soup. Yet, *Mami* is typically made with *miki* (thick flour noodles) and not *miswa* (thin flour noodles). Therefore, *mi* refers to *miki*. Nevertheless, *Mami* is considered being of Cantonese origin. The incorporation of *siopao* into the Filipino language can also be attributed to being of Cantonese origin as Ma popularized both *Mami* and *siopao*. Thus, these loanwords have remained as neither the natives, the Spanish, or Americans have developed suitable replacements.

Table 2³⁴:

TAXONOMY OF TAGALOG COOKERY TERMS OF HOKKIEN ORIGIN				
Food	Raw	Meat	Pork cuts	<i>tito</i>
			Beef cuts	<i>goto</i>
			Fish & seafood	<i>tuwabak</i>
			Fowls	<i>ulikba</i>
		Vegetable	<i>petsay</i>	
		Soybean prod.	<i>tokwa</i>	
		Rice prod.	<i>bihon</i>	
		Flour prod	<i>miswa</i>	
	Cooked	Food preparation	toyo	
		Type of food	Meat	<i>goto</i>
			Vegetable	<i>petsay</i>
			Soy bean prod.	<i>taho</i>
			Rice prod.	<i>bihon</i>

³³ Suryadinata, Leo. Southeast Asian personalities of Chinese descent: a biographical dictionary. Singapore: Chinese Heritage Center, 2012.

³⁴ Yap, Gloria Chan. (1974). Hokkien Chinese borrowings in tagalong. Unpublished Ph.D dissertation. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University.

TAXONOMY OF TAGALOG COOKERY TERMS OF HOKKIEN ORIGIN				
			Flour prod.	<i>miswa</i>
		Manner of cooking	Fried	<i>ukoy</i>
			Boiled steamed	<i>siopao</i>
			Stewed	<i>humba</i>
			Soupy	<i>mami</i>
Instruments	<i>siyanse</i>			

Table 2 Analysis

Table 2 goes further in-depth in regards to Hokkien loanwords within the Filipino language. Displayed are either individual food items or dishes that are representative of their respective categories. The food items and dishes are broken down into the corresponding categories: raw (meat, vegetable, soybean products, rice products, and flour products); and cooked (food preparation, type of food, and manner of cooking). Meat items are divided into pork cuts, beef cuts, fish and seafood, and fowls. Pork, fish, and seafood were integral parts of the native diet prior to the influence of the Chinese and the Spanish. However, the Chinese introduced a variety of methods involved in the preparation of pork, fish, and seafood. The word *petsay* (Napa cabbage) is one of eight Hokkien derived words illustrative of the vegetable category. Thirdly, the word *tokwa* (tofu) is representative of the soybean product category. Unlike other Asian and Southeast Asian countries, tofu is not an integral part of the Filipino diet. The word *bihon* can refer to any type of uncooked rice noodle used in Filipino cooking such as the rice noodles used in *pancit palabok*, *pancit Malabon*, and *pancit luglug*. All of which are variations of

bihon. While *miswa* on the other hand refers directly to thin uncooked flour noodles and *miki* refers to thick uncooked flour noodles.

Cooked food items on the other hand are broken down even further based on the type of food item and the manner of cooking. Just as with the uncooked items, cooked food items are categorized as meat, vegetable, soy bean products, rice products, and flour products. All of the food items listed under raw food items fall under the classification of cooked food items as they do not undergo any changes in regards to the word itself. For example, *tokwa* (tofu) is categorized under raw soybean products. However, *tokwa* can also be categorized as a cooked soybean product as in the case of *tokwa't baboy*, a dish that combines fried pork and fried tofu. It can also be argued that *tokwa't baboy* should fall under the category of fried items, but it is not representative of the research conducted by Gloria Chan Yap. However, in Table 2, *taho* is listed as a cooked soybean product as it is a type of cooked food item. *Taho* refers to a Filipino dessert made with cooked silken tofu, brown sugar syrup, and tapioca pearls.

In regards to the manner in which food items are cooked, they are broken down into the following categories: fried, boiled steamed, stewed, and soupy. The word *ukoy* refers to a fried pancake-like item with shrimp thus it falls under the fried category. The previously mentioned *siopao* (steamed bun with meat filling) falls under the category of boiled and steamed items within Filipino cuisine that have been borrowed from either Hokkien or Cantonese. The word *humba* refers to a dish popular in the Eastern Visayas that is derived from the Hokkien word *hong ba*. The dish *humba* is practically identical to Filipino *adobo* as both dishes incorporate soy sauce, garlic, vinegar, laurel, and

peppercorns. The dish *humba* is even referred to as *adobong Visaya* or *Visayan adobo*.

The stewed method not only demonstrates that this particular method of cooking was possibly borrowed from the Chinese, but it also indicates that the dish *adobo* was not of Spanish influence. Finally, the previously mentioned *mami* is categorized under soupy cooked items as it is in direct reference to the manner in which the flour noodles are cooked.

Table 3³⁵

PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF HOKKIEN LOANWORDS IN EACH CULINARY CATEGORY			
Culinary Category	Total No.	No. of loanwords	Percentage
Pork cuts	63	4	6.3%
Beef cuts	63	4	6.3%
Fowls	63	1	1.6%
Fish and sea food	63	4	6.3%
Vegetables	63	8	12.7%
Flour products	63	2	3.2%
Soy bean products	63	6	9.5%
Rice products	63	2	3.2%
Fried	63	3	4.8%
Boiled and steamed	63	8	12.7%
Stewed	63	6	9.5%
Soupy	63	3	4.8%
Food preparation	63	7	11.1%
Instrument	63	5	8%
Total		63	100%

³⁵ Yap, Gloria Chan. (1974). Hokkien Chinese borrowings in tagalong. Unpublished Ph.D dissertation. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University.

Table 3 Analysis

According to Table 3, there are 63 words of Hokkien origin directly related to the naming of food or food related items in the Filipino language. The categories with the largest percentage of Hokkien loanwords are vegetables, boiled and steamed items, and methods of food preparation as they account for 23 of the 63 words or 36.5%. There are eight named vegetables within the Filipino language that are of Hokkien origin: *sitaw* (string beans), *upo* (bottle gourd), *utaw* (soybean), *toge* (bean sprout), *yansoy* (Chinese parsley), *kutsay* (green leek), *kintsay* (Chinese celery), and *petsay* (Napa cabbage).³⁶ Of the aforementioned vegetables, *sitaw* and *petsay* are used in a variety of dishes. Both of these vegetables are typically found in popular Filipino dishes such as *kare-kare* (oxtail stewed in a peanut butter sauce with or without shrimp paste), *pinakbet* (stewed vegetables in shrimp paste) and *nilaga* (beef soup with cabbage and string beans).

In addition to the eight vegetables, there are also eight boiled and steamed items that are Hokkien loanwords: *tikoy* (rice cake), *biko* (rice cake made with coconut milk and brown sugar), *siomai* (derived from dimsum and typically filled with either meat or seafood), *siopao* (steamed bun with meat filling), *pesa* (boiled), *batutay* (sausage), *tiim*, and *taho* (tofu with brown sugar and tapioca pearls).³⁷ Of the items listed, *biko*, *siomai*, *siopao*, and *taho* are popular food items amongst Filipinos. While *siomai* and *siopao* are snacks with more savory flavors, *biko* and *taho* provide the contrasting sweet largely due to the incorporation of brown sugar. Although the word *pesa* in the Filipino language now

³⁶ Cui, Xuebo. "Hokkien Chinese Borrowings on Cookery in Tagalog." *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, vol. 2, no. 3, Jan. 2012, doi:10.4304/tpls.2.3.566-571.

³⁷ Ibid

refers to something that is steamed or boiled such as *pesang isda* (steamed fish) or *pesang manok* (steamed or boiled chicken), its original Hokkien meaning referred to boiled fish.

The last category of items within Filipino cooking that reflect a significant borrowing of Hokkien words is in food preparation. Food preparation in regards to Filipino cuisine refers to the addition of seasonings or other ingredients in a dish. There are seven distinct methods of food preparation that are of Hokkien origin: *toyo* (soy sauce), *tawsi* (black bean sauce), *heko* (shrimp paste), *kelwa* (powdered mustard), *angkak* (red yeast rice), *sangke* (star anise), and *hibe* (dried shrimp).³⁸ In some circumstance there are dishes within Filipino cuisine that incorporate one or more of the listed ingredients. *Toyo* is one of the most important condiments within Filipino cuisine. It is used in a variety of dishes from the Hokkien derived *humba* (meat stewed in vinegar, *toyo*, peppercorn, laurel, and garlic a la the “standard” Filipino *adobo* but also incorporates *sangke*) to even the Spanish influenced *mechado* and *menudo*. *Tawsi* is frequently paired with fish that has either been fried or steamed and it is sometimes added to *tokwa’t baboy* along with *toyo* for additional flavoring.

On the other hand, *heko* is probably just as important of a condiment to Filipino cuisine as *toyo*. *Heko* or *bagoong* is typically used for additional flavoring in dishes such as *pinakbet* and *kare-kare*. However, in the case of *Bicol* express (pork and chilis stewed in shrimp paste), *heko* provides the base of the sauce for the dish. The condiment *kelwa* is rarely used within modern Filipino cuisine, but *angkak* has undergone a transformation in

³⁸ Cui, Xuebo. “Hokkien Chinese Borrowings on Cookery in Tagalog.” *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, vol. 2, no. 3, Jan. 2012, doi:10.4304/tpls.2.3.566-571.

its use. According to the Philippine Council for Health Research and Development, red yeast rice was used for food coloring in China and eventually became a remedy for indigestion. In the Northern Philippines *angkak* was used for preserving meat and fish, but now it is being analyzed by researchers for its cholesterol-lowering properties.³⁹ The use of *sangke* in Filipino cuisine is typically relegated to dishes that are of Hokkien origin such as *humba* and *pata tim* (pork leg or pigs feet stewed in *sangke*, *toyo*, hoisin sauce and oyster sauce). Lastly, *hibe* is generally used as an additive to vegetables dishes within Filipino cuisine such as *pinakbet* and *monggo* largely due to its sweet flavor. It is also sometimes used to add extra flavor to *pancit bihon*.

Table 4⁴⁰:

PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF HOKKIEN LOANWORDS DISTRIBUTED AMONG THE MAJOR CATEGORIES OF RAW, COOKED AND INSTRUMENTS			
Major Categories	Total No.	No. of loanwords	Percentage
1. Raw	63	31	49.2%
2. Cooked	63	27	42.8%
3. Instruments	63	5	8%
Total		63	100%

Table 4 Analysis

Of the 63 Hokkien loanwords in regards to Filipino cuisine, roughly half of the words are related to raw food items. However, all of the words from the raw food item category transcend both the raw food items and cooked food items categories. All flour

³⁹ Bongolan, Hope R. "Red yeast rice (Angkak) may lower cholesterol." HOME. Accessed November 07, 2017. <http://www.pchrd.dost.gov.ph/index.php/14-r-d-updates/3185-red-yeast-rice-angkak-may-lower-cholesterol>.

⁴⁰ Yap, Gloria Chan. (1974). Hokkien Chinese borrowings in tagalong. Unpublished Ph.D dissertation. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University.

products, rice products, soy bean products, vegetables, and meat cuts transcend both categories. It is only in the cooked food items category that there is an introduction of new words that are specific to how food items are prepared or are the names of cooked food items, as in the case of *taho*. *Taho* is not found under the raw food items category as *taho* refers to the name of a cooked *tokwa* (tofu) dish. Therefore, this explains why *tokwa* is found in both the raw food items and cooked food items category as *tokwa* exists regardless of it being raw or cooked. Cooked food items such as *siopao* are even more interesting as they are a combination of uncooked food items, cooked food items, food preparation methods, and manners of cooking. The exterior of *siopao* consists of a rice product (cooked or uncooked), the interior consists of a *toyo* marinated meat cut, and the combination of ingredients is steamed. This displays the intricacy of Chinese cuisine which was adopted and incorporated into Filipino cuisine.

Chinese Food Within Filipino Cuisine: Integration, not Indigenization

Despite the fact that some food items within Filipino cuisine have debatable origins or have been indigenized by Filipinos to the point beyond recognition, there is no denying that authentic Chinese food items have formed a niche within Filipino cuisine. In an interview conducted with Edna De Torres, Manager of Ongpin Restaurant in South San Francisco, CA, she disclosed that growing up, the best place to find authentic Chinese food items in the Philippines such as *tikoy*, *hopia*, *Mami*, *siopao* and *siomai* was in the Binondo district of Manila along Ongpin and Escolta streets.⁴¹ Binondo was founded as a Chinese town across the river from the walled city of Manila in 1594 by Spanish Governor Dasmariñas. Although a royal order for the expulsion of all Chinese was given, Dasmariñas realized the city of Manila was highly reliant on the services provided by the Chinese.

Thus Binondo, the world's oldest Chinatown was founded.⁴² Interestingly enough, Ongpin Restaurant is named after the famous street that runs through Binondo, which was named after Chinese Filipino nationalist and businessman Roman Ongpin. Ironically, in a weird twist of fate, Ongpin himself was anti-Chinese, partially due to his elevated status within society. Ongpin did not speak Hokkien, but rather spoke Spanish as his first language and insisted that his children speak Tagalog.⁴³ In this chapter I will be

⁴¹ de Torres, Edna. "Interview 3: Chinese Cultural Influence upon Filipino Cuisine." Interview by author. September 20, 2017.

⁴² Wickberg, E. "The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History." *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 5, no. 01 (1964): 62. doi:10.1017/s0217781100002222.

⁴³ Suryadinata, Leo. *Southeast Asian personalities of Chinese descent: a biographical dictionary*. Singapore: Chinese Heritage Center, 2012.

discussing the aforementioned items of *tikoy*, *hopia*, *Mami*, *siopao* and *siomai*, and how they became fully integrated within Filipino food culture without compromising their Chinese identity. In addition, I will also analyze the importance attached to some of these food items and how their significance within Chinese culture was adopted by Filipinos.

Without question, certain dishes within Filipino cuisine (*pancit*, *adobo*, *lumpia*) illustrate a history of Hokkien influence either through cooking methods (boiling, steaming, stir frying) or ingredients (soy sauce, Chinese cabbage).⁴⁴ However, according to Olivia Zapanta-Mir, co-owner of Manila Eatery in Colma, CA, it is the combination of ingredients native to the Philippines coupled with the ingredients introduced by the Chinese, that make Filipino cuisine what it is, a hybrid.⁴⁵ This by no means is a diminishing of the Chinese influence upon Filipino cuisine, rather an acknowledgement of the contributions on behalf of the Chinese. This hybridization of cooking techniques and cooking ingredients displays not only the diversity of Filipino cuisine, but the ingenuity of the people cooking the food. The borrowing of Hokkien cooking techniques combined with Chinese and Filipino ingredients dates back centuries. Throughout the last couple of centuries, Hokkien food has undergone a metamorphosis as it has been indigenized throughout Southeast Asia (Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaysia, etc.).

During this evolution, the composition of some dishes were altered in order to acquiesce the native palate. Therefore, through the integration of Chinese cooking techniques and ingredients, coupled with the evolution and innovation of food recipes

⁴⁴ Yap, Gloria Chan. (1974). Hokkien Chinese borrowings in tagalong. Unpublished Ph.D dissertation. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University.

⁴⁵ Zapanta-Mir, Olivia. "Interview 2: Chinese Cultural Influence upon Filipino Cuisine." Interview by author. September 20, 2017.

throughout the centuries, some traditional Hokkien dishes, have lost their Chinese identity on the surface and have been replaced with a seemingly Filipino identity. As with the circumstance surrounding *pancit*. While *pancit* may have been indigenized by the native population i.e. *pancit palabok* or *pancit malabon*, what was not lost in translation by the Filipinos was the symbolism attached to the consuming of the noodles themselves. Although *pancit* has evolved from originally being a Hokkien dish to a Filipino dish, according to Doreen Fernandez, the noodles themselves are still ingested during celebratory occasions and still symbolize longevity.⁴⁶ Furthermore, as noted by Lady Marie dela Torre, the noodles are to be left uncut as cutting them symbolizes the shortening of ones life, which would be considered bad luck according to Chinese tradition.⁴⁷

Tikoy

Tikoy, according to Robert Go, is a traditional Chinese sticky rice cake also known as *nian gao*.⁴⁸ Moreover, according to Prime Sarmiento in an interview conducted with journalist Jennifer Ng, the Filipino name *tikoy* is derived from the Hokkien word *tee kueh* which means sweet cake.⁴⁹ A linguistic study conducted by Gloria Chan-Yap on

⁴⁶ Wu, David Y.H., and Sidney C.H. Cheung. *GLOBALIZATION OF CHINESE FOOD*. Place of publication not identified: ROUTLEDGE, 2016.

⁴⁷ dela Torre, Lady Marie. "Chinese culture among Filipinos remains intact," Philippines News Agency (Philippines), February 16, 2015, accessed September 21, 2017, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/15390EC36DD5F2A0?p=WORLDNEWS>.

⁴⁸ Lorenciana, Carlo S. "Tikoy selling like hotcakes: Lunar New Year boosts sales of Chinese traders." Philstar.com. February 19, 2015. Accessed November 09, 2017. <http://www.philstar.com/cebu-business/2015/02/19/1425392/tikoy-selling-hotcakes-lunar-new-year-boosts-sales-chinese-traders>.

⁴⁹ "Filipino Chinese celebrate Lunar New Year with sweet cakes and family reunions By Prime Sarmiento," Xinhua News Agency, February 12, 2010, accessed September 21, 2017, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/12DDA5144B3C82B8?p=WORLDNEWS>.

words within Tagalog cookery of Hokkien origin confirms that *tikoy* does indeed refer to a type of steamed rice cake brought to the Philippines by Hokkien migrants.⁵⁰ While the origin of when *tikoy* was incorporated into Filipino cuisine and culture is uncertain, what is widely recognized throughout the Philippines is that *tikoy* came to prominence during the early 20th Century courtesy of Chua Chiu Hong. In 1912, Chua established a simple stall along Ongpin Street in the heart of Manila's Chinatown. This stall specialized in selling traditional Chinese delicacies. Over a century later, this once small stall has blossomed into the now internationally renowned Eng Bee Tin Chinese Deli with 25 locations throughout the Philippines.⁵¹

While *tikoy* can be eaten during any time of the year, in the Philippines as well as China, it is typically eaten during Chinese New Year. Due to its traditionally round money-like shape, as stated by dela Torre, *tikoy* is a popular gift item amongst the Chinese during the New Year as it symbolizes wealth.⁵² Therefore the presentation of *tikoy* as a gift embodies bestowing wealth upon its recipient. Even the sticky nature of *tikoy* has a meaning behind it. According to Ng, the reason why *tikoy* is sticky is because it symbolizes that families will stick together.⁵³ Dela Torre also attests to the sticky nature

⁵⁰ Yap, Gloria Chan. (1974). Hokkien Chinese borrowings in tagalong. Unpublished Ph.D dissertation. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University.

⁵¹ "About Us." Eng Bee Tin Chinese Deli. 2015. Accessed November 9, 2017. <http://www.engbeetin.com/aboutus/>.

⁵² dela Torre, Lady Marie. "Chinese culture among Filipinos remains intact," Philippines News Agency (Philippines), February 16, 2015, accessed September 21, 2017, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/15390EC36DD5F2A0?p=WORLDNEWS>.

⁵³ "Filipino Chinese celebrate Lunar New Year with sweet cakes and family reunions By Prime Sarmiento," Xinhua News Agency, February 12, 2010, accessed September 21, 2017, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/12DDA5144B3C82B8?p=WORLDNEWS>.

of *tikoy* stating that it is sticky so that luck will stick to you and that it also brings in everything near and dear to you together. Additionally, the packaging for *tikoy* is red colored as it is believed to drive away evil, another Chinese custom.⁵⁴ In the opinion of Robert Go, the eating of *tikoy* is no longer just Chinese, but its has also become a trait amongst Filipinos. Lorenzo Sy of Cebu La Fortuna Bakery Inc validated the claim made by Go, as Sy reported an increase in sales of *tikoy* courtesy of not just Chinese Filipino customers, but Filipino customers as well.⁵⁵

The place of *tikoy* within Filipino culture and cuisine is interesting in that it displays the recent adoption of a Chinese custom by Filipinos instead of the Chinese Filipinos adjusting to the cultural norms of the Philippines. According to Ray Ong, a visit to Chinatown during the New Year will show that there are more Filipinos buying *tikoy* compared to ethnic Chinese Filipinos.⁵⁶ But why are Filipinos drawn to this traditional Chinese sticky rice cake? I refer to Ong who suggests a couple of reasons why *tikoy* has been incorporated by Filipinos into cuisine and culture. The first reason is most likely due to *tikoy's* association with good luck and wealth. In direct reference to what *tikoy* is believed to bring, Ong points to the belief amongst Filipinos of, "Nothing to lose if you believe".

⁵⁴ dela Torre, Lady Marie. "Chinese culture among Filipinos remains intact," Philippines News Agency (Philippines), February 16, 2015, accessed September 21, 2017, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/15390EC36DD5F2A0?p=WORLDNEWS>.

⁵⁵ Lorenciana, Carlo S. "Tikoy selling like hotcakes: Lunar New Year boosts sales of Chinese traders." Philstar.com. February 19, 2015. Accessed November 09, 2017. <http://www.philstar.com/cebu-business/2015/02/19/1425392/tikoy-selling-hotcakes-lunar-new-year-boosts-sales-chinese-traders>.

⁵⁶ Ong, Ray. "Philippine Gardens." PressReader.com - Connecting People Through News. January 3, 2015. Accessed November 09, 2017. <http://www.pressreader.com/philippines/the-philippine-star/20150103/281900181576940>.

This belief amongst Filipinos raises an important point that the emphasis of good luck and wealth associated with *tikoy* is contradictory to traditional Abrahamic beliefs. Since an overwhelming portion of the Filipino population is Christian, with a small Muslim minority, the embracing of what *tikoy* symbolizes, money, is contradictory to the faith-based beliefs of Christianity and Islam as the notion of attaining wealth and money has become priority.⁵⁷ The second reason for the mainstreaming of *tikoy* into Filipino culture has to do with the marketing strategy of the Chinese businesses that manufacture *tikoy*. There has been a more recent attempt by the Chinese in the Philippines to market *tikoy* towards a Filipino consumer base. This marketing genius on behalf of the Chinese includes *tikoy* modified to suit Filipino tastes such as *ube*, *pandan*, and strawberry flavors. The notion of good luck and wealth combined with flavors suited towards the native palate have made the traditional Chinese New Year rice cake an integral part of Filipino cuisine.

Hopia

Another pastry that has become an integral part of Filipino cuisine is *hopia*. According to Ker Bautista, *hopia*, a round, bean filled pastry, can be given as a gift to friends and family during special occasions or it can be eaten during any day.⁵⁸ Yet, she does not state that *hopia* is of Chinese origin and instead opts to promote *hopia* as a Filipino delicacy. While Bautista fails to mention the origin of *hopia*, *hopia* is derived

⁵⁷ Ong, Ray. "Philippine Gardens." PressReader.com - Connecting People Through News. January 3, 2015. Accessed November 09, 2017. <http://www.pressreader.com/philippines/the-philippine-star/20150103/281900181576940>.

⁵⁸ Bautista, K. (2013, Jan). 10 well-loved breads and pastries that filipinos fondly eat. *The Filipino Express* Retrieved from <http://0-search.proquest.com.ignacio.usfca.edu/docview/1319456331?accountid=14674>

from the Hokkien term that translates to “good pastry”.⁵⁹ Like *tikoy*, *hopia* was introduced to the Philippines by Hokkien immigrants from Fujian, China. Dr. Michael L. Tan stated that *hopia* can only be found in Indonesia and the Philippines. However, *hopia* can also be found in the neighboring countries of Malaysia and Singapore. While the consumption of *tikoy* is mostly associated with the Lunar New Year, according to Tan, *hopia* can trace its origins to the Chinese Mid-Autumn Festival, or the Mooncake Festival, which falls on the 15th day of the 8th lunar month. The mooncake, much like *tikoy*, was intended to symbolize a united family, as mooncakes were given to each other as gifts. However, Tan suggests that the creation of *hopia* may have been a way for overseas Chinese to make the mooncake a year-round pastry instead of an item only eaten on special occasions.⁶⁰ Perhaps Tan is correct in his assertion as the Chinese have made *hopia* a much more marketable item amongst Filipinos. *Hopia* is a rather convenient snack item due to its price, size, and relative ease of eating.

The integration of *hopia* into mainstream Filipino culture can largely be attributed to Chua Chui Hong, who founded Eng Bee Tin in 1912. Chua, is also responsible for his promoting of *tikoy*, which has become a staple item amongst Filipinos and Chinese alike during the Lunar New Year.⁶¹ According to Polland, fellow *hopia* maker and competitor of Eng Bee Tin, *hopia* is one of the “must have” items on the night before Chinese New

⁵⁹ Suryadinata, Leo. Southeast Asian personalities of Chinese descent: a biographical dictionary. Singapore: Chinese Heritage Center, 2012.

⁶⁰ Tan, Michael L. "Sense and Science: A brief history of mooncakes." GMA News Online. September 5, 2014. Accessed November 09, 2017. <http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/scitech/science/377920/sense-and-science-a-brief-history-of-mooncakes/story/>.

⁶¹ Suryadinata, Leo. Southeast Asian personalities of Chinese descent: a biographical dictionary. Singapore: Chinese Heritage Center, 2012.

Year. *Hopia* is to be placed on the dining table as an offering to the gods as it is a reflection of what you hope for and wish to have for the upcoming year. Therefore, items that have lucky symbols or meanings are deemed as good offerings by the gods. *Hopia*, due to its literal meaning of “good pastry” and roundness (similar to *tikoy* in that roundness symbolizes money), is considered a prime offering. In addition to *hopia* being a staple item amongst Chinese and Filipinos during the Lunar New Year, *hopia* is believed to bring good luck and a sweeter life ahead.⁶²

Hopia comes in a variety of flavors: mung bean, red bean, winter melon, *ube*, *buko pandan* (young coconut flavored with leaves from the pandanus tree), and *langka* (jackfruit). The more traditional *hopia* flavors of mung bean and winter melon are derived from the Chinese mooncake. However, according to Gerry Chua of Eng Bee Tin Chinese Deli, the most popular *hopia* flavors amongst Filipinos are the traditional *hopia mongo* (mung bean) and the *hopia ube* (purple yam) varieties. In 2009, Chua estimated that Eng Bee Tin sold around 8,000 packs of *hopia* per day, with *hopia mongo* and *hopia ube* accounting for roughly half of the *hopia* sales with 4,000-5,000 packs sold.⁶³ Purple yam, or *ube*, as referred to by Filipinos, is a staple crop of the Philippines. *Ube* is used in a variety of Filipino desserts such as *ube halaya* (mashed purple yam and coconut milk), *ube puto* (steamed purple yam muffins), and *ube* flavored ice cream.

The origin of *ube* flavored *hopia* is ironically one out of desperation. According to Chua, he created this flavor as his family business was beginning to fail. In order to

⁶² "The Beginner's Guide To Celebrating Chinese New Year." Polland. Accessed November 09, 2017. <http://pollandhopia.com/blog>.

⁶³ Suryadinata, Leo. Southeast Asian personalities of Chinese descent: a biographical dictionary. Singapore: Chinese Heritage Center, 2012.

revitalize the family business, Chua learned the art of *ube* making and experimented with various methods of incorporating *ube* into *hopia*. Thanks to this innovation out of desperation on behalf of Chua, *ube* flavored *hopia* has become a popular *hopia* flavor amongst Filipinos. Indeed, Chua was correct when he stated *ube* flavored *hopia* blends the best of both worlds of the Chinese and the Filipinos.⁶⁴ This blending of both worlds as referred to by Chua in regards to *ube hopia* has even inspired rival Filipino companies such as Polland and Goldilocks as well as California-based Valerio's Tropical Bakery, Philippine Delicacies, and California Bake Shop to create their own variations.

Mami

Amongst Filipinos, *Mami*, is the quintessential chicken noodle soup. According to Ian Ma, the great-grand nephew of Ma Mon Luk, the name *Mami* is a combination the word *mi* which translates to noodles and the family last name Ma.⁶⁵ However, according to Gloria Chan-Yap, *Ma* in *Mami* is a shortening of the Hokkien word *maq* which translates to meat.⁶⁶ Additionally, the word *mi* can apply to two varieties of noodles, Chinese wheat noodles and Chinese egg noodles. *Miki*, or Chinese wheat noodles, are similar in appearance to fettuccine or round spaghetti. On the other hand, *Mami*, or Chinese egg noodles, are similar in appearance to *miki*, but are slightly more yellow in

⁶⁴ Suryadinata, Leo. Southeast Asian personalities of Chinese descent: a biographical dictionary. Singapore: Chinese Heritage Center, 2012.

⁶⁵ Osmeña, Bea. "Pepper Guide: The Best Places in Binondo According to Masuki Kitchen's Ian Ma." Pepper. June 28, 2016. Accessed November 09, 2017. <http://www.pepper.ph/ian-mas-binondo/>.

⁶⁶ Chan-Yap, Gloria. "Hokkien Chinese Influence on Tagalog Cooking." *Philippine Studies* 24, no. 3 (1976): 288-302. Accessed June 20, 2017. <http://www.philippinestudies.net>.

color.⁶⁷ While *tikoy* and *hopia* were brought to the Philippines by Hokkien migrants from Fujian province, the roots of *Mami* can be traced back to a Cantonese migrant from Guangdong named Ma Mon Luk. In 1918, Ma Mon Luk, a schoolteacher in China who was struggling to financially support his fiancé, moved to the Philippines in hopes of seeking a fortune that was otherwise unattainable if he remained in China.⁶⁸

Walking the streets of Manila's Chinatown, Ma initially began selling *pancit*. However, due to the stiff level of competition, Ma began to experiment with different methods, and thus he came up with his chicken noodle soup recipe. Due to the prepared nature of the chicken and noodles, the dish was originally called *gupit*, the Tagalog word for cut. Luckily for Ma, a customer would offer him a space in Chinatown to sell his chicken noodle soup out of. By this time, the dish formally known as *gupit* had become known as *Mami*. Unfortunately for Ma, he did not patent the name of his dish. Riding on the coattails of the newfound popularity of *Mami*, numerous imitation noodle soups began to popup throughout Chinatown.⁶⁹ Although his innovation out of desperation became imitated, much like Gerry Chua and his *ube* flavored *hopia* several decades in the future, if it were not for Ma, Cantonese-style chicken noodle soup would not be the hallmark item it is today amongst Filipinos.

⁶⁷ Aranas, Jennifer M., Brian Briggs, and Michael Lande. *The Filipino-American kitchen: traditional recipes, contemporary flavors*. Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing, 2015.

⁶⁸ Suryadinata, Leo. *Southeast Asian personalities of Chinese descent: a biographical dictionary*. Singapore: Chinese Heritage Center, 2012.

⁶⁹ Torres, Jose Victor Z. "The Legend of Ma Mon Luk." Rogue Media Inc. September 07, 2017. Accessed November 09, 2017. <http://rogue.ph/the-legend-of-mamonluk/>.

Unlike *tikoy* and *hopia*, which have traditional Chinese superstitions attached to consuming them, *Mami* was adopted by Filipinos primarily as a comfort food. *Mami* gained its popularity due to its relatively cheap price combined with the fact that it was a quick way to satiate ones appetite. The majority of customers Ma came across when he first began selling his chicken noodle soup on the streets of Chinatown were students, office workers, and ordinary pedestrians who were looking for a cheap, but quick and filling midday snack that was different from the standard American variety of that time period.⁷⁰ Almost a century later, this Cantonese-style chicken noodle soup has become an iconic item within Filipino cuisine and is still providing students and working class individuals with a cheap, quick, and filling meal. Even amongst the diasporic population of Filipinos in the United States, *mami* is never out of reach as instant variations are also available in Asian and contemporary grocery stores.

Siopao and Siomai

According to Adrian De Leon, *siopao* is a larger diasporic version of the Cantonese *char siu bao*, or steamed pork bun, which also happens to be a regional variation of the Chinese *baozi* (steamed bun).⁷¹ *Baozi* in itself is believed to have originated in Northern China during the Three Kingdoms period according to Carolyn Phillips.⁷² Although popular amongst Filipinos, as pointed out by De Leon, *char siu bao*

⁷⁰ Torres, Jose Victor Z. "The Legend of Ma Mon Luk." Rogue Media Inc. September 07, 2017. Accessed November 09, 2017. <http://rogue.ph/the-legend-of-mamonluk/>.

⁷¹ De Leon, A. "Siopao and Power: The Place of Pork Buns in Manilas Chinese History." *Gastronomica: The Journal of Critical Food Studies* 16, no. 2 (2016): 45-54. doi: 10.1525/gfc.2016.16.2.45.

⁷² Phillips, Carolyn J. *The dim sum field guide: a taxonomy of dumplings, buns, meats, sweets, and other specialties of the Chinese teahouse*. Berkeley: Ten Speed Press, 2016.

has become a staple item throughout the Pacific Islands. In Hawaii it is referred to as *manapua*, in Samoa it goes by the name *keke pu a'a*, and in Guam it also goes by the *siopao* due to the large Filipino population.⁷³ *Siomai* on the other hand, is a type of Chinese *dim sum* derived from the Cantonese *siu mai*, which refers to a pork filled dumpling. According to Phillips, *siu mai* was eaten as far back as the Yuan Dynasty (AD 1271-1368). *Siopao* and *siomai*, like *Mami*, are considered the ultimate comfort foods amongst the Chinese and the Filipinos.⁷⁴ They are relatively cheap, but they are also convenient foods to eat for individuals on the go. Although considered “convenient foods”, they both transcend the idea of being food items that are only eaten while on the move. *Siopao* and *siomai*, especially *siomai*, are also eaten in high end sit-down establishments.⁷⁵

However, the connotation of *siopao* and *siomai* being “convenient foods” has much to do with their origin and how they were introduced and later incorporated into mainstream Filipino cuisine. Ma Mon Luk, the inventor and originator of *Mami*, is also credited with introducing *siopao* and *siomai* to Filipino cuisine. Although he originally started his business by selling chicken noodle soup, he decided to expand his business by offering *siopao* and *siomai* as items to eat alongside his *Mami*. Compared to his chicken

⁷³ De Leon, A. "Siopao and Power: The Place of Pork Buns in Manilas Chinese History." *Gastronomica: The Journal of Critical Food Studies* 16, no. 2 (2016): 45-54. doi: 10.1525/gfc.2016.16.2.45.

⁷⁴ "Manila Standard: - Chinatown soul food," Manila Standard (Philippines), April 07, 2003, accessed October 04, 2017, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/0FA4B6ADED005BFF?p=WORLDNEWS>.

⁷⁵ De Leon, A. "Siopao and Power: The Place of Pork Buns in Manilas Chinese History." *Gastronomica: The Journal of Critical Food Studies* 16, no. 2 (2016): 45-54. doi: 10.1525/gfc.2016.16.2.45.

noodle soup, *siopao* and *siomai* proved to be items that were easier to eat as neither required the use of a bowl or eating utensils. As a result of their relative ease of transportation and consumption, Ma devised an ingenious marketing strategy surrounding his *siopao* and *siomai* recipe. To gain traction within the community, Ma would give away free samples of his *siopao* and *siomai*. The list of people who received free samples included prisoners, nurses, lawyers, reporters, teachers, and politicians - including Filipino Presidents Sergio Osmeña and Elpidio Quirino.⁷⁶ This strategy ultimately helped transcend the popularity of *siopao* and *siomai* amongst different social classes.

Not only are *siopao* and *siomai* no longer just Chinese food items introduced to the Philippines by a Cantonese immigrant, but they are now regarded as essentials to Filipino cuisine. While Ma Mon Luk may have been the originator of the *Mami* and *siopao* food establishment, throughout the 20th Century and early 21st Century, numerous competitors have emerged worthy of challenging or surpassing the once untouchable cornerstone of Chinese Filipino cuisine. According to Lydia Castillo, One of these primary competitors is the Hen Lin company, which is a 100% Filipino owned. The company was started in the early 1980s by Araceli and Mariano Manas. The husband and wife duo formed a friendship with a Chinese chef from Hong Kong who taught them how to make authentic Chinese *siopao* and *siomai*. Although the business may sound Chinese in name, the company name is actually derived from the names of their children, Henry

⁷⁶ Suryadinata, Leo. Southeast Asian personalities of Chinese descent: a biographical dictionary. Singapore: Chinese Heritage Center, 2012.

and Lin.⁷⁷ The fact that *siopao* and *siomai* franchises are being headed by Filipino entrepreneurs illustrates how Filipino cuisine has successfully integrated what is internationally recognized as a Chinese delicacy.

However, while *siopao* and *siomai* have become fully integrated food items within Filipino cuisine, there are some *siomai* businesses within the Philippines that are intent on returning *siomai* eating to its *dim sum* roots. The Cebu-based Harbour City Dimsum House Company Incorporated (HCDHCI) is one of them. According to Carolyn Phillips, *siu mai* is usually accompanied with a dipping sauce consisting of soy sauce and mustard.⁷⁸ However, as stated by HCDHCI business development manager Christopher Kokseng, Filipinos like to typically eat their *siomai* with calamansi and soy sauce. Although this indigenized practice amongst Filipinos has become the preferred method of eating *siomai* for roughly a century, its considered poor *dim sum* eating etiquette according to Kokseng. The drenching of *siomai* in calamansi and soy sauce according to Kokseng, “kills the natural flavor and deprives you of the real taste of the siomai”. Instead of this continued practice which makes every distinguishable bite taste exactly the same, Kokseng advocates for Filipinos to try using more traditional Chinese condiments such as ginger sauce for steamed dumplings and sweet chili sauce for the fried dumplings.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Castillo, Lydia D. "Siopao and Siomai through the years." Philstar.com. June 7, 2009. Accessed November 09, 2017. <http://www.philstar.com/starweek-magazine/474753/siopao-and-siomai-through-years>.

⁷⁸ Phillips, Carolyn J. *The dim sum field guide: a taxonomy of dumplings, buns, meats, sweets, and other specialties of the Chinese teahouse*. Berkeley: Ten Speed Press, 2016.

⁷⁹ Uy, Ed. "Cebu's finest Dimsum now in Manila," *Manila Times, The (Philippines)*, January 17, 2013, accessed October 04, 2017, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/143DBB0A11734900?p=WORLDNEWS>.

Although *siopao* and *siomai* originally gained their popularity amongst Filipinos due to their affordable cost, convenience, and in the case of *siopao*, the ability to hold ones appetite over until his next big meal, *siopao* and *siomai* also have traditional Chinese beliefs associated with them. Like the Hokkien food items *tikoy* and *hopia*, the Cantonese *siopao* and *siomai* are food items that are also consumed during the Lunar New Year by Chinese and Filipino families alike. However, like *tikoy* and *hopia*, the adopting of consuming or gifting *siopao* and *siomai* during the Lunar New Year by Filipinos is a more recent phenomenon. Norquiza Tapang, who does not have any Chinese ancestry, stated that she visits Binondo on the eve of the Lunar New Year to buy *siopao* and *siomai* to give to her children as gifts.⁸⁰ *Siopao* and *siomai*, like *tikoy* and *hopia*, are roundish in shape which signifies wealth and good luck. Therefore, *siopao* and *siomai* are considered essential Lunar New Year items.

Conclusion

There are more than just the five food items disclosed within Filipino cuisine that are distinctly Chinese. For the most part, besides *tikoy*, all of the items discussed have become emblematic of Filipino comfort foods. However, the dependence on Chinese food items as a means of comfort amongst Filipinos is nothing new nor is it specific to the Philippines. As mentioned by Adrian De Leon, along the west coast of the United States in the 1920s and 1930s, particularly in California, Chinese and Filipino workers lived side by side as Chinatowns and Little Manilas were adjacent to one another. During

⁸⁰ Parrocha, Azer N.. "(Feature) Filipinos embrace Chinese New Year spirit with charms, food and fireworks," Philippines News Agency (Philippines), February 19, 2015, accessed October 04, 2017, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/1539D3EBF2D48ED8?p=WORLDNEWS>.

this period, Filipinos found comfort in eating *char siu bao* as it was something they were familiar with.⁸¹ In the present-day, Asian supermarkets as well as Chinese bakeries serving Cantonese and Hong Kong style items have become bastions for these comfort foods amongst Filipinos in the Bay Area. While Filipinos without Chinese ancestry in the Philippines may have recently adopted the practice of consuming and gifting *tikoy*, *hopia*, *siopao* and *siomai* during the Lunar New Year for the purposes of good luck and wealth, the practice of eating *siopao* and *siomai* was already well established amongst Filipinos before the superstitious Chinese cultural associations were made. On the other hand, the consuming of *hopia* and *tikoy* evolved from foods that were meant to be eaten during the Lunar New Year and the Mid-Autumn Festival, to something that could be consumed daily.

⁸¹ De Leon, A. "Siopao and Power: The Place of Pork Buns in Manilas Chinese History." *Gastronomica: The Journal of Critical Food Studies* 16, no. 2 (2016): 45-54. doi: 10.1525/gfc.2016.16.2.45.

Adobo: Is it Chinese, Filipino, Spanish?

Perhaps the most recognized dish within Filipino cuisine would be *adobo*. An example of the level of celebrity surrounding Filipino *adobo* would be the level of attention it received from the American mainstream media in the form of an episode of Andrew Zimmern's *Bizarre Foods: Delicious Destinations, Manila*. In this episode, Zimmern traveled to the Commissary Kitchen restaurant owned by Nancy Reyes Lumen. Reyes Lumen, a food journalist, critic, food promoter, television host and radio personality, is also the self-proclaimed "*Adobo Queen*".⁸² When customers inside of her restaurant were interviewed concerning the essential ingredients of any Filipino *adobo*, the ingredients mentioned were soy sauce, garlic, and vinegar.⁸³ On the other hand, the *adobo* recipe shared by Nerissa Pacio of the Knight Ridder Tribune coincides with the three aforementioned ingredients but also mentions peppercorns and bayleaves/laurel as essentials to this national dish of the Philippines.⁸⁴ The *adobo* recipe shared in *Ethnic American Food Today: A Cultural Legacy* contains soy sauce, garlic, vinegar, peppercorns, and bayleaves/laurel.⁸⁵

⁸² Alpad, Christina. "The 'Adobo Queen' and the cooking millennials," Manila Times, The (Philippines), July 01, 2016, accessed September 24, 2017, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/15DD5432E9EC7BA0?p=WORLDNEWS>.

⁸³ Travel. Travel Channel. Accessed November 08, 2017. <http://www.travelchannel.com/videos/adobo-comfort-food-0248819>.

⁸⁴ Knight Ridder Tribune, Nerissa Pacio. "ALL ABOUT ADOBO - DISH OF PORK OR CHICKEN IS MUCH MORE THAN A MEAL: IT'S A RECIPE THAT HAS COME TO REPRESENT A NATION AND CULTURE," Tribune, The (San Luis Obispo, CA), July 28, 2004: B8, accessed September 24, 2017, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/10426D641DD1BEA1?p=WORLDNEWS>.

⁸⁵ Long, Lucy M. *Ethnic American food today: a cultural encyclopedia*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015.

However, throughout my research, the questions of from who and from where *adobo* originated remains an item of contention as there is no definitive history. Teresa Farney states that *adobo* is a mainstay of the Philippines, but she attributes the origins of the dish to the northern region of the country.⁸⁶ Nerissa Pacio on the other hand points to the shared Hindu and Muslim influenced precolonial Malay identity of Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines, for the origins of *adobo*.⁸⁷ While some Filipinos such as historian Doreen Fernandez as well as Carmen Guerrero-Nakpil suggest that the “standard” Filipino *adobo* was derived from the Spanish variation, others such as Chef Jason Ymson suggest a Chinese connection. Yet, Olivia Zapanta-Mir of Manila Eatery and Edna de Torres of Ongpin Restaurant share the same sentiments of Pacio as they both believe Filipino *adobo*, sans the soy sauce, is actually of indigenous origin.

Therefore, in order to resolve the seemingly unspoken issues concerning the politics of *adobo*, in this chapter I will be tackling a couple of different topics surrounding *adobo* and its place within Filipino cuisine. The first issue I will be discussing in regards to *adobo* is regionalism and how it directly challenges the concept of a “standard” *adobo* being recognized as the national dish of the Philippines. Regional variations of *adobo* are significant in that they expose the fallacious notion of a “standard” Filipino *adobo*. In some circumstances, these regional variations of *adobo* are

⁸⁶ Farney, Teresa J.. "ON FOOD," Gazette, The (Colorado Springs, CO), February 04, 2015: Food1, accessed September 24, 2017, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/15734106A7BD33D8?p=WORLDNEWS>.

⁸⁷ Knight Ridder Tribune, Nerissa Pacio. "ALL ABOUT ADOBO - DISH OF PORK OR CHICKEN IS MUCH MORE THAN A MEAL: IT'S A RECIPE THAT HAS COME TO REPRESENT A NATION AND CULTURE," Tribune, The (San Luis Obispo, CA), July 28, 2004: B8, accessed September 24, 2017, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/10426D641DD1BEA1?p=WORLDNEWS>.

strictly indigenous in that they do not incorporate any Chinese or Spanish influences in regards to ingredients. Yet, these regional variations are “standard” amongst their constituents.

The second issue I will be addressing in relation to *adobo* is the ingredient composition of the “standard” Filipino *adobo* and their respective origins. As previously mentioned by Nerissa Pacio, the nationalized variation of Filipino *adobo* is comprised of five ingredients (soy sauce, vinegar, garlic, peppercorns and bayleaves/laurel). Consequently, I will examine the origin of the preceding ingredients. In doing so, my examination of ingredient origin will determine which group was responsible for contributing the aforementioned ingredients to the “standard” Filipino *adobo*. This will allow me to attribute a percentage relative to the origin of the ingredients comprising the nationalized Filipino *adobo* recipe. The research provided will determine the genetic composition of the “standard” variation.

Regionalism and the Diversity of Adobo

Perhaps the most interesting fact surrounding Filipino *adobo* is that neither a “standard” recipe for the dish or a “standard” set of ingredients exist. Marvin Gapultos, author of *The Adobo Road Cookbook: A Filipino Food Journey*, speaks to the variation amongst *adobos* stating, “There’s a rich diversity, from soups to noodles to all kinds of *adobos*. From region to region and from household to household, there’s so much that Filipino food offers.”⁸⁸ A common saying amongst Filipinos is the best *adobo* is mom’s

⁸⁸ Almendrala, Anna. "Marvin Gapultos, 'Adobo Road' Cookbook Author, On Filipino Soul Food: My LA." The Huffington Post. April 18, 2013. Accessed November 08, 2017. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/04/18/marvin-gapultos-adobo-road_n_3104711.html.

adobo, which speaks to the diversity of the “standard” Filipino *adobo* from household to household. Additionally, such diversity can be witnessed from generation to generation by individuals within the same household.

Christina Alpad of the *Manila Times* speaks to this notion that although the people of the Philippines are one in nationality, they are also varying in subcultures and traditions, just like *adobo*.⁸⁹ Yet, the attempted national standardization of *adobo* poses an issue in concern to regionalism within the Philippines. The most significant factor that must be taken into consideration in regards to the diversity of *adobo* is regionalism. The proponents of *adobo* deriving from either Spanish or Chinese origin are somewhat implying that the indigenous population did not have a method of preparing an *adobo*-like dish already established. The advocates of *adobo* being of Chinese or Spanish origin are also overlooking the significance of regionalism within the Philippines as not all of the regions throughout the archipelago were equally influenced by the Chinese and Spanish. This assumption essentially disregards any other variation of *adobo* as the “standard” and therefore inaccurately generalizes the Chinese and Spanish influences to the entire archipelago.

In an interview conducted with Mayo Buenafe-Ze, a lecturer at the University of San Francisco, she disclosed that there is not just one way of preparing the dish, thus *adobo* in itself is open to the interpretation of the individual preparing the dish. She also noted that each region has a particular way of preparing the dish, which relies on the

⁸⁹ Alpad, Christina. "The 'Adobo Queen' and the cooking millennials," *Manila Times*, The (Philippines), July 01, 2016, accessed September 24, 2017, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/15DD5432E9EC7BA0?p=WORLDNEWS>.

ingredients that happen to be readily available. To illustrate the diversity of *adobo* in regards to regionalism and personal preference, she gave a couple of examples. The first example given was an *adobo* recipe from the Cordilleras Region on the island of Luzon located in the Northern Philippines. This particular recipe is nearly identical to the “standard” *adobo* recipe as it includes the base components of soy sauce, garlic, vinegar, peppercorns, and bayleaves/laurel. The only major difference is the incorporation of potatoes.⁹⁰

The incorporation of potatoes can be due to a couple of reasons. The first reason being that the major potato production in the Philippines is concentrated in the high elevations particularly associated with the Cordillera Region, according to the research of Ines Gonzales, Cynthia Kiswa, and Arlene Baustista.⁹¹ An article by Larry Fabian of the SunStar in May of 2017 illustrated that the Cordillera Region was responsible for 85.9% of the total potato produce marketed in the Philippines.⁹² The second reason for the incorporation of potatoes, as alluded to by Buenafe-Ze, is that they act as a filler.⁹³ The addition of potatoes allows for the stretching of the dish, which is quite important, especially for households that are trying to feed larger families or have budgetary

⁹⁰ Buenafe-Ze, Mayo. "Interview 1: Chinese Cultural Influence upon Filipino Cuisine." Interview by author. September 6, 2017.

⁹¹ Ines C Gonzales, Cynthia G. Kiswa, and Arlene B. Bautista. "Sustainable Potato Production in the Philippine Cordillera Region." *International Journal of Engineering and Applied Sciences (IJEAS)* 3, no. 6 (June 2016): 29-37.

⁹² Fabian, Larry. "Cordillera still top veggie producer." SunStar. May 08, 2017. Accessed November 08, 2017. <http://www.sunstar.com.ph/baguio/local-news/2017/05/08/cordillera-still-top-veggie-producer-540739>.

⁹³ Buenafe-Ze, Mayo. "Interview 1: Chinese Cultural Influence upon Filipino Cuisine." Interview by author. September 6, 2017.

constraints. Thus, the incorporation of potatoes into *adobo* by Filipinos in this region demonstrates what Buenafe-Ze classified as, “making do with what you have around you.”⁹⁴ Therefore, in the case of the Filipinos of the Cordillera Region, it is “standard” to incorporate potatoes into their *adobo*.

Another variation shared by Buenafe-Ze and seconded by Zapanta-Mir is *adobong manok sa gata* (chicken and coconut milk *adobo*). This particular variation of *adobo* is believed to have originated in the Bicol Region of the Philippines located on the southeastern portion of the island of Luzon. Similar to the “standard” Filipino *adobo* and the the *adobo* recipe of the Cordillera Region, the base for *adobong manok sa gata* is comprised of the same exact primary ingredients. Where the Bicolano version differs is the incorporation of coconut milk and sometimes the addition of *siling labuyo* (chili peppers).⁹⁵ In some circumstances the peppercorns are removed altogether and *siling labuyo* is used as a substitute, all of which depends on the individual preparing the dish.

The ingredients of coconut milk and chili peppers are also commonly used throughout much of Bicolano cooking. Similar to the inclusion of potatoes in the Cordillera Region, the addition of coconut milk into this Bicolano version can be largely attributed to the geographical landscape. The southeastern portion on the island of Luzon, much like the Visayas and Mindanao, is highly suitable for the production of coconut

⁹⁴ Buenafe-Ze, Mayo. "Interview 1: Chinese Cultural Influence upon Filipino Cuisine." Interview by author. September 6, 2017.

⁹⁵ General, Honesto C. *The coconut cookery of Bicol*. Makati, Metro Manila: Bookmark, 1994.

trees due to its wet environment.⁹⁶ Therefore, do the abundance of coconut throughout the region, this would explain why coconut milk is an integral ingredient in the *adobo* of Bicol. While an argument can be made that this version of *adobo* is influenced by Malaysian cuisine because of the use of coconut milk, history suggests otherwise considering precolonial Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines were all occupied by Malay people well before the nationstate of Malaysia existed.

The third and final variation of *adobo* mentioned by Buenafe-Ze is *adobong puti* (white adobo). It has been well established throughout this research paper that all of the mentioned *adobo* recipes contain the five basic ingredients of soy sauce, garlic, vinegar, peppercorns, and bayleaves/laurel. The two aforementioned variations have added ingredients indigenous to their respective regions to compliment the “standard” *adobo* ingredients. In the Cordillera Region of Northern Luzon potatoes are added to some *adobo* recipes, while in the Bicol Region of Southern Luzon coconut milk and chili peppers. While these two regional recipes separate themselves from the “standard” *adobo* due to their incorporation of ingredients indigenous to their respective regions, *adobong puti* differentiates itself by subtracting two of the main ingredients from the “standard” *adobo* ingredient mixture.

So why the name *adobong puti*? To begin with, the use of the word *puti* is not in direct reference to the color of the dish because while the dish cooks, as with any meat dish, the juices from the meat combined with the vinegar turns the sauce a light brownish

⁹⁶ Republic of the Philippines. Department of Agriculture. Philippine Coconut Authority. Coconut Industry Production Status, Growing Zones, Productivity and Potential to Increase Nut Supply in Coconut Farms through Practical and Efficient Farming Technologies (PEFT). Quezon City: Diliman. 1-21.

color. Nevertheless, one reason for the name *adobong puti* is in direct reference to the fact that this particular variation does not contain soy sauce. Additionally, this version of *adobo* does not contain bayleaves/laurel. The incorporation of soy sauce naturally gives the “standard” *adobo* a darker tinge. Therefore, no soy sauce, no darker coloring of the dish. The second reason for the use of the word *puti* is the fact that white is symbolically synonymous with purity. In the case of *adobong puti*, purity refers to the fact that this variation is believed to be the closest semblance of indigenous cooking prior to the incorporation of Chinese and Spanish ingredients according to Buenafe-Ze.⁹⁷

The “Standard” Filipino Adobo

In order to quell any further controversy surrounding the origins of the “standard” Filipino *adobo*, the following sections are devoted to researching the history of the five primary ingredients that comprise the “standard” Filipino *adobo*. The first ingredient analyzed is soy sauce. While there is no dispute that it originated in China, the research analysis provided supports that soy sauce was incorporated into Filipino cookery well before the arrival of the Spanish in the 16th Century. The second ingredient analyzed is garlic. Garlic is an essential ingredient in Mediterranean cooking as well as Asian cooking. The research provided illustrates that garlic was an ingredient used by both the Chinese and Filipinos prior to the colonization of the Philippines.

The third item is vinegar. For centuries vinegar has been used as a method of preservation. The practice of vinegar distilling is not restricted to one part of the world as nearly all societies have created vinegars from products indigenous to their regions. The

⁹⁷ Buenafe-Ze, Mayo. "Interview 1: Chinese Cultural Influence upon Filipino Cuisine." Interview by author. September 6, 2017.

fourth component is peppercorns. Although considered an item brought to the Philippines by the Spanish, the research conducted supports that peppercorns were already utilized throughout Asian cooking prior to the arrival of the Spanish. The fifth and final ingredient researched are bayleaves/laurel. While bayleaves/laurel are essential to Spanish cooking, the research provided supports that bayleaves/laurel were used in indigenous cooking prior to the arrival of the Spanish in the Philippines. In conclusion, the research provided in this section illustrates and argues that the “standard” Filipino *adobo* is Chinese and indigenous in genetic composition and only Spanish in name.

According to Doreen Fernandez, the “standard” Filipino *adobo* is derived from the Spanish *adobado*, but the ingredients are chosen in accordance with the native palette (vinegar, garlic, peppercorns, and bayleaves/laurel) and eventually Chinese influences.⁹⁸ Yet, as disclosed in the previous section, three of the four ingredients mentioned by Fernandez were already essential condiments comprising the indigenous *adobong puti*. This then begs the question, how can *adobo* be *adobado* if the natives of the Philippines were already using these ingredients to prepare a vinegar-based stew prior to contact with the Spanish? Yes, the name *adobo* in itself suggests a Spanish origin. The Spanish variation, as described by Carmen Guerrero Nakpil is a pickling sauce utilizing olive oil, vinegar, garlic, thyme, laurel, oregano, paprika, and salt that nowhere near resembles Filipino *adobo*.⁹⁹ Additionally, the cooking technique utilized in Filipino *adobo*,

⁹⁸ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, and Doreen G. Fernandez. "Culture Ingested: On the Indigenization of Philippine Food." *Gastronomica* 3, no. 1 (2003): 58-71. doi:10.1525/gfc.2003.3.1.58.

⁹⁹ Ibid

according to Mayo Buenafe-Ze, illustrates a Chinese technique which the natives found to be highly efficient.¹⁰⁰

As alluded to earlier, the “standard” variation of *adobo* is comprised of soy sauce, garlic, vinegar, peppercorns, and bayleaves/laurel. Soy sauce is the obvious Chinese contribution to the “standard” Filipino *adobo* while vinegar is considered to have been an item already in use by the indigenous population as both a cooking ingredient and preservative. The incorporation of garlic into Filipino cuisine has been attributed to the Spanish. However, this is highly debatable and most likely erroneous considering garlic existed in the Philippines prior to the arrival of the Spanish. While some of the ingredients utilized in the “standard” Filipino *adobo* are similar to the Spanish variation in that both recipes contain garlic, vinegar, and bayleaves/laurel as primary components, the method in which the “standard” Filipino *adobo* is prepared compared to the Spanish variation is quite different.

According to Jason Ymson, Assistant Chef at Twin Creeks Steakhouse inside of the Silverton Casino in Las Vegas, what we have come to accept as the “standard” Filipino *adobo* in actuality is a common derivative of Chinese soy sauce chicken.¹⁰¹ As mentioned beforehand, the “standard” Filipino *adobo* incorporates a cooking technique introduced to the natives by the Chinese. This highly spiced meat stewing technique, as

¹⁰⁰ Buenafe-Ze, Mayo. "Interview 1: Chinese Cultural Influence upon Filipino Cuisine." Interview by author. September 6, 2017.

¹⁰¹ McKibben, Sue Halpern and Bill. "Filipino Cuisine Was Asian Fusion Before “Asian Fusion” Existed." Smithsonian.com. May 01, 2015. Accessed November 08, 2017. <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/filipino-cuisine-asian-fusion-180954947/>.

stated by Gloria Chan-Yap, is referred to as *humba* in the Filipino language.¹⁰² The word *humba* is derived from the Hokkien *hong ba* which translates to red braised meat. Ironically, in the Eastern Visayan islands of Samar and Leyte, there is a variation of *adobo* that is referred to as *adobong Visaya* or *humba*. This variation of *adobo* also utilizes the five core ingredients of the “standard” Filipino recipe, but instead of incorporating potatoes or coconut milk and chili peppers, this variation utilizes black bean sauce and brown sugar.¹⁰³ Perhaps Ymson is correct in his assertion of *adobo* being a derivative of soy sauce chicken.

In my interview with Olivia Zapanta-Mir, she shared with me that her family is originally from Pampanga but she herself was raised in Manila.¹⁰⁴ During my research on Filipino cuisine, I went to a handful of Filipino restaurants throughout San Francisco, Daly City, and Colma. Incredibly, the majority of restaurants I visited were owned by Filipino families with Pampangan roots. The province of Pampanga is centrally located on the island of Luzon in the Northern Philippines. In regards to Pampanga’s proximity to Metro Manila, it is only separated by the province of Bulacan, which is located directly between the two. As previously stated by Miclat, documented evidence provided by the Song Dynasty indicate interactions between the Chinese and the Philippines dating back to the 10th Century.

¹⁰² Yap, Gloria Chan. (1974). Hokkien Chinese borrowings in tagalong. Unpublished Ph.D dissertation. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University.

¹⁰³ Garcia, Miki, Luca Invernizzi, and Theo Domini O Zaragoza. *The Filipino cookbook: 85 homestyle recipes to delight your family and friends*. Rutland, VT: Tuttle Publishing, 2016.

¹⁰⁴ Zapanta-Mir, Olivia. "Interview 2: Chinese Cultural Influence upon Filipino Cuisine." Interview by author. September 20, 2017.

According to Edgar Wickberg, by the 19th Century, roughly 90 percent of the Chinese *mestizo* (Filipinos of Chinese ancestry) population resided on the island of Luzon while over 60 percent of them resided in the provinces of Pampanga, Bulacan, and what is now known as Metro Manila.¹⁰⁵ Thus, the Chinese had established themselves throughout the Philippines, particularly Central Luzon, centuries before the arrival of the Spanish and subsequently further embedded themselves during the colonial period. Therefore, centuries worth of Chinese cultural influence is prevalent throughout Filipino cuisine, especially in the “standard” Filipino *adobo*. After all, Teresa Farney does point to the origins of the “standard” Filipino *adobo* residing in this particular region.

Part 1: Soy Sauce

In this section I will give a brief description of the history of soy sauce and how it eventually made its way to the Philippines and consequently became one of the five primary ingredients in the “standard” Filipino *adobo*. According to Stephen Jack, food historian and contributor to *The Wall Street Journal*, *National Geographic*, and *Bizarre Foods*, the soybean, native to Northeast China in the Manchurian region, was first cultivated around three millennia ago.¹⁰⁶ William Shurtleff and Akiko Aoyagi, historical bibliographers of soy, state that very little is known about the origins of soy sauce in China, but it is known that *jiang* and *chi* (soy nuggets) are the two predecessors of soy sauce. While the first mentioning of *jiang* appeared in *Chou-li* (Rituals of Chou) and the *Analects of Confucius*, both of which date to around the 3rd Century BC, it was not until

¹⁰⁵ Wickberg, Edgar. *The Chinese in Philippine life, 1850-1898*. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2002.

¹⁰⁶ Jack, Stephen. "Soy Story." *Eating China*. Accessed November 08, 2017. <http://eatingchina.com/articles/soystory.htm>.

AD 683 in Korea and AD 775 in Japan that the first mentioning of liquid soy sauce appeared as all indications suggest this liquid soy sauce was derived from a Chinese ancestor.¹⁰⁷ As stated by Jack concerning the context surrounding the word *jiang*, it was during the period of the Song Dynasty (AD 960-1279) that *jiang* became synonymous with soy sauce.¹⁰⁸ The timeframe referencing the spread of soy sauce from China to the aforementioned countries ironically coincides with the spread of Buddhism.¹⁰⁹

However, as mentioned by Shurtleff and Aoyagi, other than the dissemination of soy sauce to the neighboring countries of Korea and Japan, the information regarding the distribution of soy sauce throughout Southeast Asia is rather scarce.¹¹⁰ Although researchers have been unable to pinpoint an exact date of when soy sauce first made its way throughout Southeast Asia, the most logical embarkation point is somewhere in Southern China, probably Fujian province. In relation to the spread of soy sauce throughout Southeast Asia, the Philippines has *toyo*, Indonesia and Malaysia have *kecap*, Thailand has *see-ew*, and Vietnam has *tuong* - all regionalized variations of the Chinese derived soy sauce. Additionally, the research conducted by Shurtleff and Aoyagi subjectively suggests that the best known soy sauce has come from the town of Guantou located in the province of Fujian.¹¹¹ Linguistic research conducted by Gloria Chan-Yap

¹⁰⁷ Shurtleff, William, and Akiko Aoyagi. *History of Miso, Soybean Jiang (China), Jang (Korea) and Tauco (Indonesia) (200 BC-2009)*. Lafayette, CA: Soyinfo Center, 2009.

¹⁰⁸ Jack, Stephen. "Soy Story." *Eating China*. Accessed November 08, 2017. <http://eatingchina.com/articles/soystory.htm>.

¹⁰⁹ Shurtleff, William, and Akiko Aoyagi. *History of Miso, Soybean Jiang (China), Jang (Korea) and Tauco (Indonesia) (200 BC-2009)*. Lafayette, CA: Soyinfo Center, 2009.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*

¹¹¹ *Ibid*

concerning the borrowing of Hokkien terms within Filipino cooking confirms that *toyo* does indeed refer to a method of cooking food using soy sauce.¹¹²

Therefore, at least in the case of the Philippines, we can conclude that soy sauce was introduced to the native population by Hokkien merchants from Fujian province. However, this does not necessarily answer the question of when soy sauce was imported to the Philippines. Concerning the timeframe of when soy sauce may have been introduced to the archipelago, I refer to Maningning Miclat who stated that it was in the 10th Century as recorded by *The History of the Sung Dynasty*, that trade between China and the Philippines began.¹¹³ The timeframe (Song Dynasty) of trade being established between China and the Philippines given by Miclat coincides with the timeframe given by Jack concerning the synonymy of *jiang* and soy sauce. Based upon the given evidence, I conclude that soy sauce was first introduced to the Philippines by Hokkien merchants from Fujian province in China sometime during the Song Dynasty (AD 960-1279) and incorporated into indigenous cuisine prior to the arrival of the Spanish.

Part 2: Garlic

Garlic, in addition to the aforementioned soy sauce and vinegar, is one of the five main ingredients comprising the “standard” Filipino *adobo*. While there is no disputing that the Chinese brought soy sauce to the Philippines, the origins surrounding the introduction of garlic into Filipino cuisine is quite convoluted. In reference to the Spanish variation of *adobo*, according to Real Academia Española, as translated from Spanish,

¹¹² Chan-Yap, Gloria. "Hokkien Chinese Influence on Tagalog Cooking." *Philippine Studies* 24, no. 3 (1976): 288-302. Accessed June 20, 2017. <http://www.philippinestudies.net>.

¹¹³ Miclat, Maningning C. "Tradition, Misconception, and Contribution: Chinese Influences in Philippine Culture." *Humanities Diliman* 1, no. 2 (July & aug. 2000): 100-08.

adobo is defined as the following, “Broth, and especially the compound of vinegar, salt, oregano, garlic and paprika, which serves to season and conserve meats and other things.”¹¹⁴ As previously mentioned, Carmen Guerrero Nakpil referenced a similar *adobo* concoction comprised of olive oil, vinegar, garlic, thyme, laurel, oregano, paprika and salt.¹¹⁵ Although garlic (as well as vinegar) is a primary ingredient in the Spanish *adobo* marinade, while it is suggested, there is no actual evidence indicating that garlic was introduced to the Philippines by the Spanish.

According to Richard Rivlin, the origins of garlic can be traced back to Asia around BC 2000 where it was used as both a food and medicinal agent. His research is significant in a historical context in that it illustrates the use of of garlic amongst the Chinese predated the use of garlic amongst the Ancient Egyptians and Ancient Greeks by five centuries at the most. It was determined that during this timeframe the Chinese not only consumed garlic together with raw meat, but the Chinese also used garlic as a food preservative.¹¹⁶ In the case of the Spanish, it is unknown exactly when garlic was incorporated into their diet. However, it can be assumed that its integration into Spanish cuisine was a carryover from the Ancient Roman period where according to Rivlin it was fed to both soldiers and sailors to enhance strength and endurance - a practice likely

¹¹⁴ Real Academia Española. Accessed August 12, 2017. <http://dle.rae.es/?w=diccionario>.

¹¹⁵ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, and Doreen G. Fernandez. "Culture Ingested: On the Indigenization of Phillipine Food." *Gastronomica* 3, no. 1 (2003): 58-71. doi:10.1525/gfc.2003.3.1.58.

¹¹⁶ Rivlin, Richard S. "Historical Perspective on the Use of Garlic." *The Journal of Nutrition* 131, no. 3 (March 1, 2001): 951S-54S.

adopted from the Ancient Greeks.¹¹⁷ Also, similar in practice to the Chinese and other ancient societies, garlic was also used for medicinal purposes by the Ancient Romans.

Fast forwarding one millennia to the colonial era, as chronicled by Bernal Diaz del Castillo, the Spanish arrived in Mexico on February 10, 1519, where they sequentially introduced a plethora of items to the native population.¹¹⁸ It must be noted, that prior to the introduction of garlic to Mexico by the Spanish, according to Rivlin, the only other documented evidence of garlic or a garlic-like vegetable being consumed in North America belonged to Native American tribes who drank a tea containing a garlic-like bulb.¹¹⁹ Nonetheless, it was from Mexico where the Spanish launched the Manila galleons in 1565, presumably introducing spices and garlic.¹²⁰ By virtue of the galleon trade, perhaps this is why some Filipinos, such as historian Carmen Guerrero-Nakpil and Doreen Fernandez suggest that Filipino *adobo* is derived from the Spanish.¹²¹ Although there is a strong case on behalf of the Spanish suggesting that they were responsible for introducing garlic to the Philippines, there is contradictory evidence that perhaps indicates otherwise.

¹¹⁷ Rivlin, Richard S. "Historical Perspective on the Use of Garlic." *The Journal of Nutrition* 131, no. 3 (March 1, 2001): 951S-54S.

¹¹⁸ Castillo, Bernal Díaz del, and J. M. Cohen. *The conquest of New Spain*. London: Folio Society, 1974.

¹¹⁹ Rivlin, Richard S. "Historical Perspective on the Use of Garlic." *The Journal of Nutrition* 131, no. 3 (March 1, 2001): 951S-54S.

¹²⁰ Javellana, Sj Rene. "Global Exchange: Glimpses of an 18th century Colonial Kitchen in Manila." *Kritika Kultura*, no. 25 (2015). doi:10.13185/kk2015.02403.

¹²¹ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, and Doreen G. Fernandez. "Culture Ingested: On the Indigenization of Phillipine Food." *Gastronomica* 3, no. 1 (2003): 58-71. doi:10.1525/gfc.2003.3.1.58.

As previously mentioned, the use of garlic was prevalent amongst the Chinese dating back to BC 2000. According to Otley Beyer, around BC 1500 migrants from China introduced the practice of dry agriculture as well as the cultivation of rice, taro, yams, and other food crops to the Northern Philippines.¹²² It is also quite possible that the incorporation of potatoes into the Cordilleran *adobo* recipe stems from the introduction of yams by the Chinese from this time period. Despite the fact that Beyer does not specifically mention garlic as one of the items brought to the Philippines by the Chinese, it is highly likely that it was introduced by the Chinese as one of the products of dry agriculture.¹²³

According to the Philippine Statistics Authority, in the second quarter of 2017, the Cagayan Valley produced 33% of the country's total garlic population.¹²⁴ What is significant about the Cagayan Valley is that it is located in the Northern Philippines, the same region that the Chinese introduced dry agriculture and other methods of food production in BC 1500. While the records concerning the introduction of garlic to the Philippines are scarce in reference to the Chinese, a couple of facts do remain. The Chinese were consuming garlic as early as BC 2000 and the Chinese introduced dry agriculture around BC 1500 - which garlic is considered a byproduct of. Therefore, based

¹²² Beyer, H. Otley. *Early history of Philippine relations with foreign countries, especially China*. Manila: National Printing, 1948.

¹²³ "Common misconceptions and key points about dry farming: Case study of dry farmer with more than 40 years of experience." *Common misconceptions and key points about dry farming: Case study of dry farmer with more than 40 years of experience | Small Farms Programs*. Accessed November 08, 2017. <http://smallfarms.oregonstate.edu/sfn/su14dryfarming>.

¹²⁴ Republic of the Philippines. Philippine Statistics Authority. *Major Vegetables and Rootcrops Quarterly Bulletin*. 2nd ed. Vol. 11. Quezon City, 2017.

upon historical migration patterns and geographic proximity, the Chinese, not the Spanish, introduced garlic as a food ingredient.

Part 3: Vinegar

Vinegar is one of the oldest known methods of food preservation and a key ingredient to a number of dishes within Filipino cuisine. As a result of the tropical climate of the Philippines, without the technology of refrigeration, the natives used vinegar as a method of keeping meat from spoiling. According to Marvin Gapultos, not only was vinegar used by the natives because of its preservation powers, but Filipinos also happen to enjoy the extra level of sourness that vinegar adds to Filipino cuisine.¹²⁵ However, the origin of vinegar production and usage in the Philippines is unknown. In comparison to soy sauce and garlic, there is zero documentation illustrating if the production of vinegar was an indigenous practice or if it was adopted by natives courtesy of seafarers from neighboring countries.

Nevertheless, concerning the history of vinegar and its incorporation into the Filipino diet, particularly Filipino *adobo*, according to Margaret Magat, “the use of vinegar as part of the cooking process was being employed by the indigenous natives long before Spanish arrival in the Philippines.”¹²⁶ She also mentions how *kinilaw* (a type of food preparation that involves cooking in vinegar or a souring agent, like lime or calamansi) was described in a 1613 dictionary by Pedro San Buenaventura to be *adobo*

¹²⁵ "I'm Gonna Git You Suka." Burnt Lumpia: Filipino Food | Filipino Recipes | Culinary Hijinks. Accessed November 08, 2017. http://burntlumpia.typepad.com/burnt_lumpia/2009/05/suka-filipino-vinegar.html.

¹²⁶ Long, Lucy M. *Ethnic American food today: a cultural encyclopedia*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015.

de los naturals (the native adobo).¹²⁷ Therefore, this statement by Magat contradicts the claim by Doreen Fernandez that Filipino *adobo* is Spanish *adobado* but in condiments chosen by native taste. To begin with, vinegar was already incorporated into native cooking, therefore it was not chosen in accordance with taste. Secondly, the method of preparation borrows from the Hokkien people, not the Spanish. However, the incorporation of vinegar is a native contribution and not Spanish.

Part 4: Peppercorns

The fourth component of the “standard” Filipino *adobo* are peppercorns. The incorporation of peppercorns into Spanish cuisine can be traced back to centuries of Moorish occupation. The Moorish influence is evident in dishes such as *Caldereta de Cordero* (Spanish Lamb Casserole) and *Estofado de Ternera Madrileña* (Madrid Beef Stew).¹²⁸ Ironically, the Filipinos have a *caldereta* dish of their own, which is based off of the Moorish/Spanish version, but additionally incorporates soy sauce. However, in regards to *adobo*, the “standard” Filipino *adobo* is only one of a handful of dishes throughout Filipino cuisine that actually incorporates peppercorns as an ingredient. One such dish that is similar to the “standard” Filipino *adobo* is *lechon paksiw* or roast pork in liver sauce. Like *adobo*, *lechon paksiw* shares a similar base in regards to core components. While soy sauce is replaced by liver sauce, the other four core ingredients of garlic, vinegar, peppercorns, and bayleaves/laurel are incorporated.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Comsti, Angelo, Melissa Tham, and At Maculangan. *The Filipino family cookbook: recipes and stories from our home kitchen*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Cuisine, 2014.

¹²⁸ Newton, James. *Espana Cuisine*. Springwood Emedia, 2012. April 5, 2012.

¹²⁹ Comsti, Angelo. *Fuss-free Filipino Food: Quick & Easy Dishes for Everyday Cooking*. Marshall Cavendish International (Asia) Private Limited, 2016.

While peppercorns are used throughout Spanish cuisine courtesy of the Moors, the Spanish were not responsible for introducing peppercorns to the Philippines. Peppercorns were most likely introduced to the natives of the Philippine archipelago by Malay settlers from Indonesia. These Malays were introduced to black pepper by Hindu colonists from India between AD 100 and BC 600.¹³⁰ As stated by Barbara Pickersgill, pepper comes from the Sanskrit word *pippali* which was originally applied to fruits of long pepper from Northern India. Black pepper originates from a climbing vine that produces fruits that are harvested green or ripe. Green peppers are the unripened fruits from the vine, which are preserved in brine or vinegar, or dried, which results in the production of black peppercorns.¹³¹ According to P.N. Ravindran and Johny Kallupurackal, while pepper is now grown throughout Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam, and Cambodia, the origins of the spice can be traced to the Western Ghats regions of Southwest India.¹³² Therefore, while peppercorns are a condiment used throughout Spanish influenced cuisines and Filipino cuisine, the incorporation of peppercorns into Filipino cuisine can be attributed to Hindu Malay settlers by way of India.

Part 5: Bayleaves/Laurel

The fifth and final ingredient of the “standard Filipino *adobo* is bayleaf/laurel.

Laurus nobilis is a bay tree native to the Mediterranean and is commonly used in Spanish

¹³⁰ Prance, Ghilleen T., and Mark Nesbitt. *The cultural history of plants*. New York: Routledge, 2005.

¹³¹ Ibid

¹³² Peter, K.V. *Handbook of herbs and spices*. Cambridge: Woodhead Publishing, 2012.

cooking as the aromatic leaves of the *laurus nobilis* are cherished for their flavoring properties.¹³³ Bayleaves have also been used as a method of food preservation as the essential oils contain anti-fungal properties which slow the deterioration process.¹³⁴ In the case of the Spanish explorers, who traveled for months on end by ship, the incorporation of garlic, vinegar, and bayleaves into Spanish cuisine proved to be for preservation purposes in addition to being used as flavoring agents. While the incorporation of bayleaf/laurel into Filipino cuisine, especially *adobo*, has been attributed to the Spanish, according to Mayo Buenafe-Ze, although not exactly *laurus nobilis*, the indigenous people of the Philippines were already incorporating native laurel into their cooking prior to the arrival of the Spanish.¹³⁵ This is evident in dishes such as *paksiw* as well as *adobong puti*.

As stated by Jane Renfrew and Helen Sanderson, there are actually numerous variations of bayleaves/laurel cultivated throughout the world. Southeast Asia is home to a vast array of leaves that are utilized for their preservation properties and flavoring. Some of the leaves incorporated into Southeast Asian cooking are *murraya koenigii* (curry leaf), *syzygium polyanthum* (Indonesian bayleaf), and *antidesma bunius* (Chinese laurel).¹³⁶ Of the three, the leaves of the *antidesma bunius*, additionally referred to as *bignay*, are known to be consumed with rice throughout the Philippines and Indonesia or

¹³³ Prance, Ghilleen T., and Mark Nesbitt. *The cultural history of plants*. New York: Routledge, 2005.

¹³⁴ Peter, K.V. *Handbook of herbs and spices*. Cambridge: Woodhead Publishing, 2012.

¹³⁵ Buenafe-Ze, Mayo. "Interview 1: Chinese Cultural Influence upon Filipino Cuisine." Interview by author. September 6, 2017.

¹³⁶ Prance, Ghilleen T., and Mark Nesbitt. *The cultural history of plants*. New York: Routledge, 2005.

used to make tea in China as stated by T.K. Lim. According to Lim, the natural geographic distribution of *bignay* is difficult to determine, except for Malaysia where the species is absent. However, the tree is cultivated throughout Southern China, Southeast Asia, numerous islands throughout the Pacific, and of course the Philippines where it has become an invasive species.¹³⁷ With consideration to the Spanish, based upon closeness in proximity between Indonesia and the Philippines combined with the abundance of naturally growing *bignay*, it is highly likely that the native population was incorporating any of the three aforementioned leaves into stewed dishes before the incorporating of *laurus nobilis*.

Conclusion

Based upon the information collected from interviews, periodicals, cookbooks, and academic journals, the origins of *adobo* remain an item of contention. There are numerous factors involved which have contributed to the conflicting theories of from where *adobo* originated. Within the Philippines, regionalism has allowed for the creation of *adobo* variations that utilize regional specific ingredients. Even the “standard” Filipino *adobo* should be viewed as regionally specific to Central Luzon. However, another core aspect of regionalism is the demographics of the local population. As previously mentioned, the indigenous population borrowed Chinese cooking techniques as well as the Hokkien words associated with those techniques. Amongst the Chinese cooking techniques introduced to the natives was the incorporation of soy sauce. The Filipino dish, *humba* or *adobong Visaya* (Visayan *adobo*), is actually a Hokkien variation of

¹³⁷ Lim, T. K. Edible Medicinal And Non-Medicinal Plants Volume 4, Fruits. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2012.

Chinese soy sauce pork. *Humba* is the Filipino pronunciation of the Hokkien term *hong ba*. Be that as it may, evidence does suggest that prior to the arrival of the Spanish, the natives of the Philippines were already utilizing a cooking method that involved the simmering of meat in a vinegar based sauce that would sometimes include laurel, garlic, and peppercorns or other aromatics. These dishes have been referred to as *kinilaw* or *paksiw* by the natives.

In theory, it is quite possible that what we have come to accept as the “standard” Filipino *adobo* in actuality is a hybrid of the native *kinilaw* or *paksiw* combined with the Chinese *hong ba*. However, that still does not answer the repeated emphasis by Filipinos of *adobo* having Spanish roots while stating the only Chinese contribution to *adobo* was soy sauce. Perhaps, in order to understand why there is such an emphasis by Filipinos to associate *adobo* as being of Spanish origin, we must also investigate the effects of colonialism upon the native population. In conclusion, my research supports the fact that *adobo* is indeed multicultural. Depending on the ingredients used, *adobo* can be indigenous in origin, derived from a Chinese recipe, or a hybrid of indigenous and Chinese recipes. However, what Filipino *adobo* is not in regards to its genetic composition is Spanish. While the name may imply the dish is of Spanish origin, the research provided illustrates that certain ingredients previously believed to be introduced to the natives by the Spanish were actually brought to the Philippines by way of the Chinese and Indians.

Conclusion

Throughout this paper I have illustrated how Chinese culture has influenced Filipino cuisine. The first section of this paper concentrated on centuries worth of cultural interaction between China and the Philippines. Early interaction between the two, dating back to BC 3000, showcased how early settlers from Southern China migrated to the Philippines and introduced advanced craftsmanship. The subsequent wave of migrants from China would then introduce the practice of dry agriculture. The food items introduced by the Chinese to the natives, such as rice, taro, and yams, have become staple food items within the Filipino diet for over three millennia. Even the famed rice terraces of the Northern Philippines exhibit the footprint of Chinese influence as it was migrants from China who introduced the natives to the construction of rice terraces. However, the Chinese cultural influence does not stop at food and landmarks. The Chinese also introduced the natives to the Jar-Burial culture for the practice of burying ancestors as well as Chinese symbols such as the dragon and the phoenix which symbolize power.

The second section analyzed how the Chinese language, particularly the Hokkien dialect, influenced the food culture of the Philippines. Numerous words, cooking terms, cooking items, ingredients, and cooking techniques from the Chinese were adopted by the natives and utilized to formulate what we know today as Filipino cuisine. However, due to centuries of indigenization, many of these contributions on behalf of the Chinese were assumed to be of Filipino origin. However, this section also displayed how Chinese Filipinos remained cognizant of their own history and cultural contributions to Filipino

cuisine and culture. If anything, the language influence is indicative of centuries of amicable relations between the natives of the Philippines and the Chinese.

The third section of this paper discussed how over the last century a number of Chinese food items have been incorporated into Filipino cuisine but have retained their Chinese identity instead of being indigenized. This is significant, especially for Chinese Filipinos, as it displays the infusion of their traditional food items into Filipino cuisine and culture without compromising their cultural individuality. While these Chinese food items have been recognized as such and embraced by Filipinos, Filipinos have also adopted the customary traditions and superstitions attached to some of these food items. Although this adopting of Chinese food associated cultural practices by Filipinos encourages healthy intercultural interaction between ethnic Filipinos and Chinese Filipinos, there also comes the risk of the indigenization of millennia-old Chinese customs. As long as these customs maintain their Chinese identity, the chance of traditional Chinese customs and superstitions becoming indigenized by Filipinos is nonexistent.

The fourth and final section of this paper examined the contentious history of one of the Philippines most iconic dishes, *adobo*. While the word *adobo* may be of Spanish origin, the ingredients combined to create Filipino *adobo* were utilized by the natives centuries before the arrival of the Spanish colonizers. Understanding that these ingredients were already in place before the Spanish arrived indicated that the natives in the Philippines had access to these ingredients either due to trade with the Chinese and Indians or because these ingredients were produced indigenously. However, the most

revealing aspect of this section is how the Chinese influenced *adobo* by more than just their contribution of soy sauce as the Chinese were also responsible for introducing garlic to the natives. The Chinese also introduced numerous variations of soy sauce pork and soy sauce chicken which were adopted and incorporated by the natives. So not only were Chinese ingredients borrowed by Filipinos to create variations of *adobo* throughout the Philippines, but the entire method of preparation as well.

The Chinese cultural influence upon the cuisine of the Philippines is embedded not only in the food items themselves, but also the language of the Philippines and the daily cultural practices of Filipinos. Through the exploration of the history of cultural exchange between China and the Philippines, we discovered how Chinese contributions to agriculture assisted in shaping the native Filipino diet. Through analysis of the Filipino language, we discovered how a significant portion of Hokkien words borrowed by the Filipinos were food related. This also highlighted how the Chinese introduced foreign food items which were then integrated into Filipino cuisine. The dissection of *adobo* displayed how the Chinese contributed more than just soy sauce to the world renown dish. Finally, the examination of Chinese food items introduced to Filipinos in the 20th century and their incorporation into Filipino cuisine is a summation of how over three millennia the Chinese have culturally influenced the Philippines through food.

Works Cited

"About Us." Eng Bee Tin Chinese Deli. 2015. Accessed November 9, 2017. <http://www.engbeetin.com/aboutus/>.

Almendrala, Anna. "Marvin Gapultos, 'Adobo Road' Cookbook Author, On Filipino Soul Food: My LA." The Huffington Post. April 18, 2013. Accessed November 08, 2017. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/04/18/marvin-gapultos-adobo-road_n_3104711.html.

Alpad, Christina. "The 'Adobo Queen' and the cooking millennials," Manila Times, The (Philippines), July 01, 2016, accessed September 24, 2017, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/15DD5432E9EC7BA0?p=WORLDNEWS>.

Aranas, Jennifer M., Brian Briggs, and Michael Lande. *The Filipino-American kitchen: traditional recipes, contemporary flavors*. Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing, 2015.

Bautista, K. (2013, Jan). 10 well-loved breads and pastries that filipinos fondly eat. *The Filipino Express* Retrieved from <http://0-search.proquest.com.ignacio.usfca.edu/docview/1319456331?accountid=14674>

Beyer, H. Otley. *Early history of Philippine relations with foreign countries, especially China*. Manila: National Printing, 1948.

Bongolan, Hope R. "Red yeast rice (Angkak) may lower cholesterol." HOME. Accessed November 07, 2017. <http://www.pchrd.dost.gov.ph/index.php/14-r-d-updates/3185-red-yeast-rice-angkak-may-lower-cholesterol>.

Buenafe-Ze, Mayo. "Interview 1: Chinese Cultural Influence upon Filipino Cuisine." Interview by author. September 6, 2017.

Castillo, Lydia D. "Siopao and Siomai through the years." Philstar.com. June 7, 2009. Accessed November 09, 2017. <http://www.philstar.com/starweek-magazine/474753/siopao-and-siomai-through-years>.

Chan-Yap, Gloria. (1974). *Hokkien Chinese borrowings in tagalong*. Unpublished Ph.D dissertation. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University.

Chan-Yap, Gloria. "Hokkien Chinese Influence on Tagalog Cooking." *Philippine Studies* 24, no. 3 (1976): 288-302. Accessed June 20, 2017. <http://www.philippinestudies.net>.

Chirot, Daniel, and Anthony Reid. *Essential outsiders: Chinese and Jews in the modern transformation of Southeast Asia and Central Europe*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.

"Common misconceptions and key points about dry farming: Case study of dry farmer with more than 40 years of experience." *Common misconceptions and key points about dry farming: Case study of dry farmer with more than 40 years of experience | Small Farms Programs*. Accessed November 08, 2017. <http://smallfarms.oregonstate.edu/sfn/su14dryfarming>.

Comsti, Angelo, Melissa Tham, and At Maculangan. *The Filipino family cookbook: recipes and stories from our home kitchen*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Cuisine, 2014.

Comsti, Angelo. *Fuss-free Filipino Food: Quick & Easy Dishes for Everyday Cooking*. Marshall Cavendish International (Asia) Private Limited, 2016.

Cui, Xuebo. "Hokkien Chinese Borrowings on Cookery in Tagalog." *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 2, no. 3 (2012). doi:10.4304/tpls.2.3.566-571.

dela Torre, Lady Marie. "Chinese culture among Filipinos remains intact," *Philippines News Agency (Philippines)*, February 16, 2015, accessed September 21, 2017, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/15390EC36DD5F2A0?p=WORLDNEWS>.

De Leon, A. "Siopao and Power: The Place of Pork Buns in Manilas Chinese History." *Gastronomica: The Journal of Critical Food Studies* 16, no. 2 (2016): 45-54. doi:10.1525/gfc.2016.16.2.45.

de Torres, Edna. "Interview 3: Chinese Cultural Influence upon Filipino Cuisine." Interview by author. September 20, 2017.

Díaz del Castillo, Bernal, and J. M. Cohen. *The conquest of New Spain*. London: Folio Society, 1974.

Fabian, Larry. "Cordillera still top veggie producer." *SunStar*. May 08, 2017. Accessed November 08, 2017. <http://www.sunstar.com.ph/baguio/local-news/2017/05/08/cordillera-still-top-veggie-producer-540739>.

Farney, Teresa J.. "ON FOOD," *Gazette, The (Colorado Springs, CO)*, February 04, 2015: Food1, accessed September 24, 2017, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/15734106A7BD33D8?p=WORLDNEWS>.

"Filipino Chinese celebrate Lunar New Year with sweet cakes and family reunions By Prime Sarmiento," Xinhua News Agency, February 12, 2010, accessed September 21, 2017, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/12DDA5144B3C82B8?p=WORLDNEWS>.

Garcia, Miki, Luca Invernizzi, and Theo Domini O Zaragoza. *The Filipino cookbook: 85 homestyle recipes to delight your family and friends*. Rutland, VT: Tuttle Publishing, 2016.

General, Honesto C. *The coconut cookery of Bicol*. Makati, Metro Manila: Bookmark, 1994.

Gonzales, Ines C., Kiswa, Cynthia G., and Bautista, Arlene B. "Sustainable Potato Production in the Philippine Cordillera Region." *International Journal of Engineering and Applied Sciences (IJEAS)* 3, no. 6 (June 2016): 29-37.

"I'm Gonna Git You Suka." *Burnt Lumpia: Filipino Food | Filipino Recipes | Culinary Hijinks*. Accessed November 08, 2017. http://burntlumpia.typepad.com/burnt_lumpia/2009/05/suka-filipino-vinegar.html.

Jack, Stephen. "Soy Story." *Eating China*. Accessed November 08, 2017. <http://eatingchina.com/articles/soystory.htm>.

Javellana, Sj Rene. "Global Exchange: Glimpses of an 18th century Colonial Kitchen in Manila." *Kritika Kultura*, no. 25 (2015). doi:10.13185/kk2015.02403.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, and Doreen G. Fernandez. "Culture Ingested: On the Indigenization of Phillipine Food." *Gastronomica* 3, no. 1 (2003): 58-71. doi:10.1525/gfc.2003.3.1.58.

Knight Ridder Tribune, Nerissa Pacio. "ALL ABOUT ADOBO - DISH OF PORK OR CHICKEN IS MUCH MORE THAN A MEAL: IT'S A RECIPE THAT HAS COME TO REPRESENT A NATION AND CULTURE," *Tribune, The* (San Luis Obispo, CA), July 28, 2004: B8, accessed September 24, 2017, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/10426D641DD1BEA1?p=WORLDNEWS>.

Lim, T. K. *Edible Medicinal And Non-Medicinal Plants Volume 4, Fruits*. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2012.

Long, Lucy M. *Ethnic American food today: a cultural encyclopedia*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015.

Lorenciana, Carlo S. "Tikoy selling like hotcakes: Lunar New Year boosts sales of Chinese traders." Philstar.com. February 19, 2015. Accessed November 09, 2017. <http://www.philstar.com/cebu-business/2015/02/19/1425392/tikoy-selling-hotcakes-lunar-new-year-boosts-sales-chinese-traders>.

"Manila Standard: - Chinatown soul food," Manila Standard (Philippines), April 07, 2003, accessed October 04, 2017, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/0FA4B6ADED005BFF?p=WORLDNEWS>.

McKibben, Sue Halpern and Bill. "Filipino Cuisine Was Asian Fusion Before "Asian Fusion" Existed." Smithsonian.com. May 01, 2015. Accessed November 08, 2017. <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/filipino-cuisine-asian-fusion-180954947/>.

Mehta, Sandhya Rao., and Andrew Littlejohn. *Language Studies: Stretching the Boundaries*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012.

Miclat, Maningning C. "Tradition, Misconception, and Contribution: Chinese Influences in Philippine Culture." *Humanities Diliman* 1, no. 2 (July & aug. 2000): 100-08.

Newton, James. *Espana Cuisine*. Springwood Emedia, 2012. April 5, 2012.

Ong, Ray. "Philippine Gardens." PressReader.com - Connecting People Through News. January 3, 2015. Accessed November 09, 2017. <http://www.pressreader.com/philippines/the-philippine-star/20150103/281900181576940>.

Osmeña, Bea. "Pepper Guide: The Best Places in Binondo According to Masuki Kitchen's Ian Ma." Pepper. June 28, 2016. Accessed November 09, 2017. <http://www.pepper.ph/ian-mas-binondo/>.

Pacho, Arturo. "The Chinese Community in the Philippines: Status and Conditions." *Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 1, no. 1 (1986): 76-91. doi: 10.1355/sj1-1e.

Parrocha, Azer N.. "(Feature) Filipinos embrace Chinese New Year spirit with charms, food and fireworks," Philippines News Agency (Philippines), February 19, 2015, accessed October 04, 2017, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/1539D3EBF2D48ED8?p=WORLDNEWS>.

Peter, K.V. *Handbook of herbs and spices*. Cambridge: Woodhead Publishing, 2012.

Phillips, Carolyn J. *The dim sum field guide: a taxonomy of dumplings, buns, meats, sweets, and other specialties of the Chinese teahouse*. Berkeley: Ten Speed Press, 2016.

- Prance, Ghilleen T., and Mark Nesbitt. *The cultural history of plants*. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Real Academia Española. Accessed August 12, 2017. <http://dle.rae.es/?w=diccionario>.
- Republic of the Philippines. Department of Agriculture. Philippine Coconut Authority. Coconut Industry Production Status, Growing Zones, Productivity and Potential to Increase Nut Supply in Coconut Farms through Practical and Efficient Farming Technologies (PEFT). Quezon City: Diliman. 1-21.
- Republic of the Philippines. Philippine Statistics Authority. *Major Vegetables and Rootcrops Quarterly Bulletin*. 2nd ed. Vol. 11. Quezon City, 2017.
- Rivlin, Richard S. "Historical Perspective on the Use of Garlic." *The Journal of Nutrition* 131, no. 3 (March 1, 2001): 951S-54S.
- Shurtleff, William, and Akiko Aoyagi. *History of Miso, Soybean Jiang (China), Jang (Korea) and Tauco (Indonesia) (200 BC-2009)*. Lafayette, CA: Soyinfo Center, 2009.
- Suryadinata, Leo. *Southeast Asian personalities of Chinese descent: a biographical dictionary*. Singapore: Chinese Heritage Center, 2012.
- Tan, Antonio S. "The Chinese Mestizos and the Formation of the Filipino Nationality." *Archipel* 32, no. 1 (1986): 141-62. doi:10.3406/arch.1986.2316.
- Tan, Michael L. "Sense and Science: A brief history of mooncakes." GMA News Online. September 5, 2014. Accessed November 09, 2017. <http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/scitech/science/377920/sense-and-science-a-brief-history-of-mooncakes/story/>.
- "The Beginner's Guide To Celebrating Chinese New Year." Polland. Accessed November 09, 2017. <http://pollandhopia.com/blog>.
- Torres, Jose Victor Z. "The Legend of Ma Mon Luk." Rogue Media Inc. September 07, 2017. Accessed November 09, 2017. <http://rogue.ph/the-legend-of-mamonluk/>.
- Travel. Travel Channel. Accessed November 08, 2017. <http://www.travelchannel.com/videos/adobo-comfort-food-0248819>.
- Uy, Ed. "Cebu's finest Dimsum now in Manila," Manila Times, The (Philippines), January 17, 2013, accessed October 04, 2017, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/143DBB0A11734900?p=WORLDNEWS>.

Wickberg, Edgar. *The Chinese in Philippine life, 1850-1898*. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2002.

Wickberg, E. "The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History." *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 5, no. 01 (1964): 62. doi:10.1017/s0217781100002222.

Wu, David Y.H., and Sidney C.H. Cheung. *GLOBALIZATION OF CHINESE FOOD*. Place of publication not identified: ROUTLEDGE, 2016.

Zapanta-Mir, Olivia. "Interview 2: Chinese Cultural Influence upon Filipino Cuisine." Interview by author. September 20, 2017.

Zhi, Kong Yuan. "A study of Chinese loanwords (from South Fujian dialects) in the Malay and Indonesian languages." *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 143, no. 4 (1987): 452-67. doi: 10.1163/22134379-90003314.