Contact-induced grammatical change and independent development in the Chabacano creoles

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Abstract:

This study examines variation and change among three Chabacano varieties. While there has been considerable debate on how these Spanish-lexified creoles formed and how they are related, there has been no comprehensive comparison of their grammatical features. Based within frameworks of contact-induced grammaticalization (Heine & Kuteva 2003, Matras 2011), this paper compares three areas of Cavite, Ternate, and Zamboanga Chabacano grammar: modality, reciprocal marking, and argument marking.

While these creoles have typological similarities, they also have substantial differences due to variation in the grammaticalization of elements from Spanish and the different adstrates in each community. These different grammaticalization paths support theories that these varieties developed independently rather than directly from a single ancestor. Historical evidence suggests they developed under different sociohistorical circumstances during different time periods. Factors in their continuing divergence include their geographical distance, language endangerment in Cavite and Ternate, and the presence of Visayan L2 speakers in Zamboanga.

Resumen:

En este artículo estudiamos la variación y el cambio gramatical en las variedades chabacanas de Cavite, Ternate y Zamboanga. Aunque la formación y las interrelaciones de estas variedades criollas se hayan debatido considerablemente, todavía falta una comparación exhaustiva de sus

rasgos gramaticales. Basado en marcos de gramaticalización inducida por el contacto (Heine & Kuteva 2003, Matras 2011), este artículo compara la modalidad, la reciprocidad y la marcación de los argumentos en estas tres variedades chabacanas.

Si bien estos criollos tienen una notable similitud tipológica, se diferencian sustancialmente en cuanto a la variación en la gramaticalización de los elementos del español y de las diferentes lenguas de adstrato. La evidencia sobre las diferentes vías de gramaticalización apoya la teoría de un desarrollo independiente en vez de un origen común y único. La evidencia histórica sugiere que las variedades se desarrollaron bajo diferentes circunstancias sociohistóricas en diferentes momentos históricos. La distancia geográfica entre las comunidades, el peligro de desaparición en Cavite y Ternate, y la presencia de hablantes de lenguas bisayas que hablan chabacano como L2 en Zamboanga se identifican como los factores que causan la divergencia todavía en curso.

1. Introduction

In this paper, we examine grammatical variation and change among three Chabacano varieties spoken in Cavite City, Ternate, and Zamboanga, Philippines. Chabacano is the common name used for several creole varieties that have Spanish as the lexifier and Philippine languages as the adstrates.[1] They are for the most part mutually intelligible, but there are sociohistorical circumstances and linguistic differences that distinguish them (Lesho & Sippola 2013, 2014). The speakers of these creole varieties live in multilingual environments, often speaking Chabacano, Tagalog, other Philippine languages, and English.

There has been considerable debate on how these creoles formed and how they are

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[1] The term adstrate is also used to cover possible substrate languages, as in Asian contexts, the substrate often continues to be spoken as an adstrate alongside the creole.

related (e.g., Whinnom 1956, Lipski 1992, Fernández 2011). However, attempts at a comprehensive comparison of their grammatical features have only recently been initiated (Lesho & Sippola 2014: 6–16). Discussions of the historical relationships among the three varieties have commonly mentioned differences in the pronouns and aspect markers (e.g., Lipski 1992, Fernández 2011). However, there has been little comparison of other types of grammatical features across Chabacano varieties. Therefore, in order to expand on the previous documentation, we focus on variation in modal verbs, reciprocal constructions, and argument marking, which show differences due to the different grammaticalization processes and contact-induced change affecting both lexifier and adstrate forms. The examination of these processes in these areas of grammar offers vantage points to the development of the varieties, both historically and today.

Our study is situated within frameworks of contact-induced linguistic transfer and grammaticalization (Heine & Kuteva 2003, Matras 2011). First, for the purposes of this paper, we do not see language contact involving pidgins and creoles to be qualitatively different from contact involving other languages (Heine & Kuteva 2003). Second, language contact and change have communicative and/or sociolinguistic motivations. Speakers need to make the categories existing in the languages in contact mutually compatible and more readily intertranslatable, which has an effect on the linguistic outcomes of the contact situation (Heine & Kuteva 2003: 561). The external ecology of the contact situation and universal tendencies of grammaticalization also have an effect. In the Chabacano communities, these motivations are partly shared, but they also have some differences.

The analysis is based primarily on material from descriptive works (Sippola 2011b, 2013a, 2013b, Steinkrüger 2013) and fieldwork data from the three communities. The examples are thus drawn mainly from natural and elicited spoken language corpora, and occasionally supplemented with data from written sources (e.g., Escalante 2005).

2. Sociohistorical background

2.1 Theories of Chabacano formation

Chabacano varieties have historically been spoken in two Philippine regions (see Figure 1): Manila Bay in the north (including Ternate, Cavite City, and Manila), and Mindanao in the south (including Zamboanga City and surrounding areas, Cotabato, and Davao). The Manila Bay varieties have Tagalog as the adstrate language, and the Mindanao varieties have Hiligaynon and Cebuano as the main adstrates. Tagalog, Hiligaynon, and Cebuano are all in the Central Philippine language family, and the latter two are more closely grouped together in the Visayan subfamily.
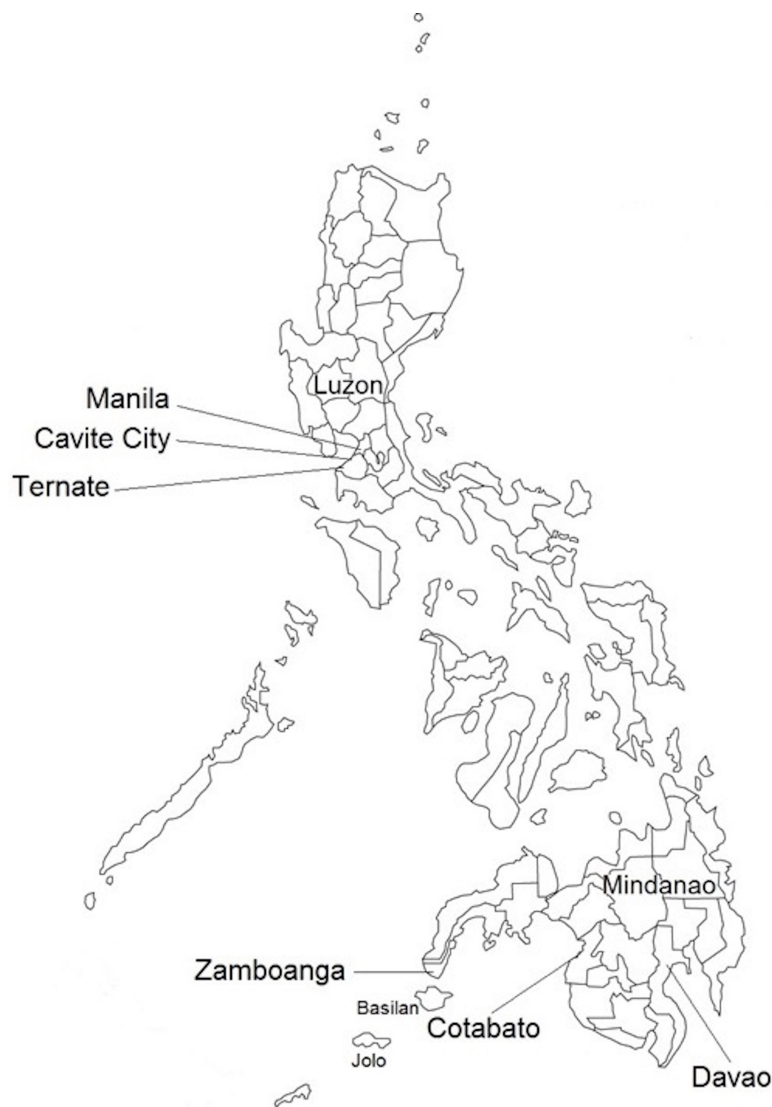
Figure 1. Historically Chabacano-speaking locations in the Philippines (Lesho & Sippola 2014:7).

According to Whinnom (1956: 17), the Chabacano varieties all descend "more or less directly" from Ternate Chabacano, which he believed to originate from a Portuguese-based contact vernacular spoken on the island of Ternate in the Moluccas. He claimed that this vernacular was brought to the Philippines around 1659 when 200 Christianized families, known as Mardikas, were transferred from Ternate to Manila before eventually settling in the town now also called Ternate. It is their contact variety, relexified with Spanish, that would

have spread to Manila as well as the towns of Cavite and San Roque (present-day Cavite City). It then would have spread to Zamboanga when Manila Bay soldiers were sent to the fort that was reestablished there in 1719, and eventually from Zamboanga to other parts of Mindanao.

However, this theory of Chabacano formation has since been challenged. First, there is slim evidence that Chabacano comes from an external Portuguese contact vernacular. While it is true that the Chabacano varieties have some shared lexical items with Portuguese (e.g., *prieto* 'black'), these can also be found in past and present varieties of Spanish (Lipski 1988, Fernández & Sippola 2017). If Ternate Chabacano were the parent of all the other varieties, we also might expect to find more linguistic similarity between them. However, they are quite distinct in some ways; for example, Ternate, Cavite, and Zamboanga Chabacano have different pronominal systems (Lesho & Sippola 2014: 14, Lipski 2013: 457).

Fernández (2011, 2012a) has shown that Whinnom's (1956) theory is not supported by historical evidence. For example, he argued (2012a: 19) that it is unlikely that indigenous Tagalogs would have looked to Mardikas to learn a new variety, because they already had intense contact with the Spanish before their supposed arrival. Instead, Fernández (2011, 2012a) proposed that Chabacano likely crystallized gradually in the Manila region around the late 18th to mid-19th centuries, as it came to be used as an identity marker among a growing class of wealthy Chinese-Filipino mestizos (see also Lesho 2018). The earliest known Chabacano texts date to quite late in the colonial era, in 1859 and 1860 (Fernández & Sippola 2017). Thus, according to this account, Chabacano developed locally in Manila, with no significant influence from Ternate Chabacano, and only after there were social motivations to do so.

The idea that the Mindanao Chabacano varieties descend from Manila Bay Chabacano has also been challenged (Lipski 1992; Fernández 2006, 2012b). According to Lipski (1992),

Zamboanga Chabacano developed through several stages of partial relexification from the mid-1700s to the 1900s. He argued that the variety first formed *in situ* as the intersection of grammatically similar Philippine languages that had already borrowed Spanish lexical items, with subsequent layers of input from Manila Bay Chabacano, Hiligaynon, another wave of Spanish, Cebuano, and then English. Fernández (2006, 2012b), on the other hand, argued based on historical descriptions that Spanish was the main language of Zamboanga during the early colonial period, and Chabacano developed there *in situ* only after a population expansion during the 19th century. In these scenarios, there was little to no direct influence from the Manila Bay varieties. Any linguistic similarities between the Manila Bay and Mindanao creoles can be explained not by direct contact but as a result of similar outcomes as Spanish came into contact with different but very closely related Philippine languages in each region.

2.2 Current status and documentation of Chabacano

Zamboanga Chabacano is a widely spoken language, but Cavite and Ternate Chabacano are both endangered (Lesho & Sippola 2013). The speakers of these varieties say that they can understand each other, but they consider their languages and communities to be distinct (Lesho & Sippola 2014).

Zamboanga Chabacano has become a regional lingua franca and is well supported at the community and institutional levels. Other languages spoken in the area include the national language, Filipino (a standard register based mainly on Tagalog); the country's other official language, English; the creole's main adstrates, Hiligaynon and Cebuano; and other local languages, such as Tausug and Yakan. In contrast, Cavite and Ternate Chabacano speakers are now a minority in their communities. Tagalog/Filipino has become the main language of these communities, and English is also widely used. Cavite Chabacano is

severely endangered because most speakers are of grandparental age or older (Lesho & Sippola 2013). Ternate Chabacano, however, is still being learned by children, so it is threatened but relatively stable. Despite the proximity of Cavite City and Ternate, there is little interaction between these communities. Cavite is close to Manila and has historically had a strong cultural link to it, whereas Ternate has historically been more rural and isolated.

Until recently, linguistic comparisons of the varieties have focused on a relatively small set of features. A detailed summary of documented linguistic variation among the varieties was presented by Lesho & Sippola (2014: 9–16). First, while Zamboanga, Cavite, and Ternate Chabacano are lexically very similar, there is variation between them due not only to their different adstrates but also to differences in the Spanish lexical component; for example, 'to talk' is *platiká* (< Sp. *platicar*) in Cavite and Ternate, but *kombersá* (< Sp. *conversar* 'to converse') in Zamboanga. Phonological differences among the varieties include, for example, *lleismo* in Zamboanga and Cavite versus *yeismo* in Ternate, and the raising of unstressed final mid vowels in Cavite and Ternate but not in Zamboanga (Lesho 2013, Sippola 2011b).

Morphosyntactic variation is best described in the pronouns and aspect markers (e.g., Lipski 1992, Fernández 2011). For example, the first person plural is *mihotro* in Ternate (< Sp. *mis otros*), *niso* in Cavite (< Sp. *nosotros*), and *kamé* '1PL.EXCL' and *kitá* '1PL.INCL' (< Ceb., Hil.) in Zamboanga. It is also commonly noted that the future aspect marker is *ay* in Zamboanga but *di* in Ternate and Cavite (both from Spanish *ha de*; Fernández 2010). In addition, there are differences in the negation patterns between the Manila Bay and Mindanao varieties (Grant 2011, Sippola 2011a), and they have different distributions of indefinite pronouns and related constructions (Sippola 2012). Zamboanga Chabacano also has a number of grammatical particles from Hiligaynon and Cebuano that are not found in the Manila Bay varieties, such as the numerical classifier *bilug* (Rubino 2012) and the emphatic discourse

particles *gayod, gane*, and *gale* (Vázquez Veiga & Fernández 2006).

This previous work suggests that while the Chabacano varieties are very similar, there are a number of differences between them that should be further explored from a comparative perspective. A more comprehensive picture is needed in order to better understand the differences and similarities between the Chabacano linguistic systems, and the formation processes that have led to their current states.

3. Language contact and grammaticalization

In language contact situations, the model language provides the model for transfer, and the replica language makes use of that model. The linguistic material that is transferred from one language to another can be of various kinds.

In the case of Chabacano, most of the lexical forms are derived from Spanish. A comparison of the Cavite, Ternate, and Zamboanga varieties based on the 100-word Swadesh list results in 95% of shared entries, mainly from Iberoromance sources (Sippola 2011b: 27). Many meanings, both at the level of the semantics of a word and its grammatical functions, are from Philippine languages. For example, Cavite Chabacano *dice* (< Sp. *dice* 'say.3SG') follows the semantics of the Tagalog reportative enclitic *daw* (Llamado 1972: 84–85). Similarly, the order of meaningful elements follows Philippine patterns, as can be seen in the preference for the Philippine-type verb-initial word order.

A division into matter and pattern replication can be used to examine transfer processes (Matras 2011: 281). Matter replication implies the direct copying of lexifier word forms with their attached meanings, as in the case of many Spanish lexical items in Chabacano. Matter is in general more contextually stable or permanent and seen as belonging

to a certain language (Matras 2011: 290). Many Chabacano speakers are aware of the origins of the lexical items in their language, and some even consider Chabacano to be a form of Spanish (Lesho & Sippola 2014: 22).

Pattern replication is the mapping of lexifier forms onto the patterns and functions of the substrate language. An example of this in Chabacano is the item *tyeni* 'have, exist', which has both possessive and existential meanings, like the word *may* in Hiligaynon, Cebuano, and Tagalog.

A subtype of pattern replication and of meaning transfer is contact-induced grammaticalization (Heine & Kuteva 2003), the transfer of a concept from the model language to the replica language. In contact situations, substrate and adstrate languages often provide models for new categories in the area of personal pronouns. For example, cases of the replication of inclusive–exclusive and dual distinctions have been documented in areas of the Pacific where people speak contact languages as second languages. Tayo speakers, for instance, have grammaticalized the French numeral *deux* 'two' to a dual form *–de* following substrate patterns, as in *unde* 'we two' (Heine & Kuteva 2003: 534, citing Corne 1996). This process results in convergence at the level of the pronominal paradigm. Similarly, as mentioned earlier, we find the inclusive–exclusive distinction in first person plural pronouns in Zamboanga Chabacano, although the forms *kitá* 'we.INCL' and *kamé* 'we.EXCL' have been transferred from Philippine languages, and would therefore present a case of ordinary matter replication.

Finally, grammaticalization is generally unidirectional, evolving from more concrete to more abstract forms. This can be seen in the emergence of novel meanings, semantic bleaching, the blurring of existing meanings, phonetic reduction, etc. (Matras 2011: 285–287).

These kinds of structural changes and processes are often motivated and constrained by social factors that influence the outcomes of language contact situations. The diffusion of

linguistic practices and processes depends on social interaction within and across speech communities and at the individual level. At the macro-level, the types of community settings and their linguistic characteristics influence these practices, along with demographic, historical, political, economic, and ideological factors (Winford 2013: 367). At the individual level, the speakers' engagement is central in the creative process of innovating new constructions, which ultimately makes them the agents of linguistic change. In a functional approach to language contact (Matras 2009), this creative process is motivated by the wish to make exhaustive use of the expressive potential of the multilingual speaker's linguistic repertoire as a whole. It is also constrained by the above-mentioned social causes and additional situational factors, such as listener expectations and the appropriate language choice for a given communicative situation.

Creole languages undoubtedly are an extreme outcome of contact situations. However, the basic questions about creolization are often difficult to answer with purely synchronic data. Moreover, in the case of the Philippine creoles, it is sometimes impossible to clearly distinguish periods of origin for certain features, as the varieties are relatively poorly described, and they continue to coexist with the Philippine languages that contributed to their initial formation. This situation is further complicated by the fact that Philippine languages themselves have a significant lexical contribution from Spanish. For example, the number of Spanish loans in Tagalog has been estimated to be about 20% (Bowen 1971).

In sum, linguistic change cannot be accounted for by one single factor, but rather includes complex and interconnected processes. The linguistic developments in a given contact situation can be due to both structural and social factors. Similarly, they can have been formed by processes emerging from linguistic contact and from language internal tendencies. Contact and social factors can often mix or strengthen tendencies already present in the linguistic ecology of a language (Chamoreau & Léglise 2012: 13).

4. Comparison

4.1 Modality

The modal verbs and adverbs of Zamboanga, Cavite, and Ternate Chabacano are typologically similar in the range of semantic notions they can express. However, the forms of the modals differ in two ways. First, there are cases where the varieties have grammaticalized different Spanish lexical matter. Second, the same Philippine patterns have sometimes been replicated using different adstrate forms. A summary of the modals of each variety is presented in Table 1.

	ZAM	CAV	TER
Deontic			
Permission	*pwéde* (< Sp. *puede*)	*pwéde, pudí* (< Sp. *poder*)	*pwéde*
Obligation	*ne(se)síta* (< Sp. *necesita*)	*débe* (< Sp. *debe*)	*dábli* (< Sp. *dable*)
Dynamic			
Ability	*pwéde*	*pwéde*	*pwéde, mári* (< Tag. *maaari*)
Non-intention	*pwéde*	*pwéde*	*pwéde, mári*
Epistemic	*pwéde, sigúro* (< Sp. *seguro*), *baká* (< Tag. *baka*), *bási* (< Hil. *basi*), *gahá* (< Ceb. *kaha*)	*pwéde, sigúro, baká*	*pwéde, sigúro, baká*

Table 1. Modal verbs and adverbs in Zamboanga, Cavite, and Ternate Chabacano.

For verbs of obligation, each variety replicated Spanish lexical matter but used three different forms. In Zamboanga Chabacano, obligation is expressed using *nesesíta* (< Sp. *necesita* 'need.3SG'), which is often phonetically reduced to *nesíta*, as in (1a). In contrast,

Cavite Chabacano uses *débe* (< Sp. *debe* 'owe, must.3SG'). *Débe* exists in Zamboanga Chabacano, but it is reserved for social obligation (e.g., *débe tu labá el mga pláto* 'you should wash the dishes'). The origin of the Ternate Chabacano verb *dábli* is less clear, but one possibility is the grammaticalization of a third source, Spanish *dable* 'possible, feasible'.[2] It is also possible that it was influenced by formal similarity with Spanish *debe* and Tagalog *dapat* 'should' (Sippola 2011b: 164). Examples contrasting the three different deontic verbs are shown in (1).

(1)   a. ZAM ***Nesíta*** *tu   labá el   mga pláto.*

                  must   2SG wash DEF PL   plate

                  'You must wash the dishes.' (Lesho field notes)

    b. CAV ***Débe*** *   tu   labá los   plátos.*

                  must   2SG wash   DEF.PL plate.PL

                  'You must wash the dishes.' (Lesho field notes)

    c. TER ***Dábli*** *úna   dindá   na   Naic para saká el   manga papéles.*

                  must first   CTPL.go LOC Naic to   get DEF PL   paper.PL

                  'One must first go to Naic to get the papers.' (Sippola 2011b: 134)

The verb *pwéde* 'can' (< Sp. *puede* 'can.3SG') was replicated from the same Spanish source in all three Chabacano varieties. As in Spanish, it is used to express dynamic

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[2] We thank a reviewer for suggesting that Spanish *dable* can also be extended to deontic contexts, as in the following example: *En sus Conventos, en día de fiesta no era **dable**, que ni por breve rato pusiessen sus Monjas manos en la labor* 'In their convents, on feast days it was not possible (i.e., allowed) for the nuns to put their hands to work for even a brief time' (Diccionario de Autoridades 1732).

possibility or ability ('can, able'), epistemic possibility ('could, might'), and deontic permission ('can, may'). However, there is still some variation in form, as shown in (2). In (2a–b), Zamboanga and Cavite Chabacano use the full form *pwéde*. In Ternate Chabacano, however, *pwéde* can be phonetically reduced to *pwe*, *pe*, or *pey*, as in (2c). This kind of phonetic reduction is often linked to grammaticalization. Similar forms can also be found in Cavite, but they do not seem to be quite as common.

(2)   a. ZAM *Byén mapwérsa le.   Ta   **pwéde** le   alsá syénto kílos.*

                  INTF strong   3SG IPFV able   3SG lift hundred kilo.PL

                  'He's very strong. He can lift a hundred kilos.' (Lesho field notes)

       b. CAV *Un   ómbre muy pwérte. Ele **pwéde** llebá syén   kílos.*

                  DET man   very strong 3SG able   carry hundred kilo.PL

                  '[He's] a very strong man. He can carry a hundred kilos.' (Lesho field notes)

       c. TER *No   pa, no yo   masyáw **pe** entendé.*

                  NEG still NEG 1SG too.much able understand

                  'Not anymore, I can't understand very much.' (Sippola 2011b: 161)

Cavite and Ternate Chabacano also exhibit two other differences in how possibility is expressed. Alongside *pwéde*, Cavite Chabacano also has *pudí* (as in 3a), from the Spanish infinitive form *poder* 'to be able'; the latter tends to take aspect markers, while *pwéde* is usually (but not always) bare. In Ternate Chabacano, another alternative to *pwéde* is *mári*, which is a reduced form of Tagalog *maaari* /maʔaʔari/ 'can, able'. In fact, Tagalog also has

puwede (< Sp. *puede*) alongside *maaari* and uses them interchangeably in dynamic, deontic, and epistemic contexts, although *maaari* is somewhat more formal (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 261). Examples of *pudí* and *mári* are shown in (3).

(3) a. CAV *Anochi   no   ya   **pudi** yo   durmi*

last.night NEG PFV able 1SG sleep

'Last night I couldn't sleep.' (Bautista 1999)

b. TER *agóra mútsu manga abrówd tya... kayá   di-kel   ta-**mári**   sé góra.*

now   many   PL   abroad [xx] therefore like.that IPFV-able do now

'Now many people are abroad, so they can do things like that now.'

(Sippola 2011b: 164)

Rubino (2008) found that in addition to the range of meanings conveyed by Spanish *puede*, *pwéde* in Zamboanga Chabacano has been extended to mark non-intentional actions, as shown in (4a). Ternate Chabacano *pwéde* and *mári* and Cavite Chabacano *pwéde* and *pudí* can also be used this way, as shown in (4b–c). The use of these verbs in these contexts means not that the speaker was able to achieve the action, but that the action occurred without their volition.

(4) a. ZAM *Ya   **pwéde** yo   derramá pintúra na   su   kamiséta.*

PFV able   1SG spill   paint   LOC 3SG.POSS shirt

'I [accidentally] spilled paint on his shirt.' [The speaker stumbled while carrying a can of paint.] (Lesho field notes)

b. CAV *Ya **pudí** yo   puní pintúra na   su   kamiséta.*

          PFV able 1SG put   paint   LOC 3SG.POSS shirt

          'I [accidentally] got paint on his shirt.' [The speaker stumbled while carrying a can of paint.] (Lesho field notes)

c. TER *A-**pwédi/mári** miyá yo   na   mi   pánti.*

          PFV-able/able pee   1SG LOC 1SG.POSS underwear

          'I [accidentally] peed on my underwear.' (Sippola 2011b: 163–164)

This use of possibility verbs to mark non-intentional actions is a replication of Philippine patterns. *Pwéde*, *pudí*, and *mári* follow the models of the Cebuano, Hiligaynon, and Tagalog prefix *ma(ka)-*, which is used to mark both ability and a range of non-intentional notions, such as accident, surprise, coincidence, or meanings like "manage to" or "happen to" (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 330–333, Rubino 2008). Interestingly, the use of these verbs is more extended compared to their adstrate counterparts. In Tagalog, for example, *puwede*, *maaari*, and *ma(ka)-* all mark ability or possibility, but only *ma(ka)-* is used in non-intentional contexts (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 261, 330–333).

Another way that the Chabacano varieties follow adstrate patterns is that epistemicity is expressed almost entirely through adverbs. The only modal verb that can be used epistemically is *pwéde* (or *pudí* and *mári*) in contexts of possibility (e.g., in Zamboanga Chabacano, *pwéde ele saká kon el sen, kay ele ladrón* 'it could be him who took the money, because he's a thief'). There are several epistemic adverbs in each Chabacano variety. All three share the Spanish-based forms *posible* 'possible' (< Sp. *posible*) and s*igúro* 'possibly' (< Sp. *seguro* 'sure'), which indicates a weaker level of certainty compared to its Spanish source. However, there are differences between them in the use of adstrate forms. Ternate and

Cavite Chabacano have *baká* 'possibly' (< Tag. *baka*), and Zamboanga Chabacano has *bási* 'possibly' (< Hil. *basi*) and *gahá* 'possibly' (< Ceb. *kaha*), although *baká* is now also commonly used (and recognized by some speakers as a newer Tagalog borrowing). However, these adverbs function similarly in the same types of epistemic contexts, as shown in (5).

(5) a. ZAM ***Bási/baká/posíble*** *tyéne ladrón na   hotél.*

possibly   EXIST thief   LOC hotel

'Maybe there's a thief in the hotel.' (Lesho field notes)

b. ZAM *Tyéne **gahá/sigúro** ladrón na   hotél.*

EXIST possibly   thief   LOC hotel

'Maybe there's a thief in the hotel.' (Lesho field notes)

c. CAV ***Baká***   *na   kása ya   John óra.*

possibly LOC house already John now

'Maybe John is already home now.' (Lesho field notes)

d. TER *No   tédi   lebantá tempránu,**baká***   *tédi   tumbá dehgrasyá.*

NEG 2SG.POL get.up   early   possibly 2SG.POL fall   disgrace

'Don't stand up early, maybe you will fall and hurt yourself.' (Sippola 2011b: 210)

In summary, the modal systems of Zamboanga, Cavite, and Ternate Chabacano all function the same way, although there are some differences in form due to the grammaticalization of different elements from the lexifier as well as the adstrates. Zamboanga

Chabacano has different adstrates from Cavite and Ternate Chabacano, but the Philippine influence manifests the same way in all three varieties because Cebuano, Hiligaynon, and Tagalog are so closely related. In addition, the two Manila Bay varieties do not always share the same forms, even though they have the same adstrate.

4.2. Reciprocal constructions

Reciprocal constructions are another area where there are notable differences between the varieties, and where Chabacano departs from the Spanish model and shows the replication of adstrate patterns. Reciprocity, the expression of reciprocal actions, follows different strategies in the Chabacano varieties, but the use of the Spanish reciprocal and reflexive pronoun clitic *se* is not attested. Three different strategies are identified: a Philippine-origin verbal circumfix, Spanish *uno a otro* 'one another', and a serial verb construction.

In Cavite and Zamboanga Chabacano, reciprocity can be expressed with the verbal circumfix *man*-V-*han*, as in (6a–b). This strategy is well known from the Philippine languages (e.g., Shkarban & Rachkov 2007: 890 for Tagalog, which uses the prefix *mag*- and the suffix –*an* as one strategy for expressing reciprocity). The form-meaning unit of this grammatical element has in this case been transferred completely and employed in the Chabacano verb phrase.

(6)   a. ZAM   *Yanmatáhan.*

          Ya-man-matá-han.

          PFV-RECP-kill-RECP

          'They killed each other.' (Steinkrüger 2013)

      b. CAV   *Ta   **mang**-golpea-**han** el   mga   muchacho.*

> IPFV   RECP-hit-RECP   DEF PL   boy
>
> 'The boys are hitting each other.' (Sippola 2013a)

In Ternate Chabacano, this construction can occasionally be heard, but mostly in speech with frequent codeswitching to Tagalog.

In addition, in these same varieties, we find occasional fossilized Spanish forms, as in (7). It seems that these can be found especially in more formal lects. Here we are looking at a partial transfer of the reciprocal meaning from Spanish with a non-verbal element. In comparison with the Spanish pronominal clitic *se*, the more transparent form-meaning element *uno a otro* 'one another' has been transferred from Spanish to the creole varieties in the same from or another with a different linker, *uno'y otro*.[3]

(7)   a. ZAM   *Ta-amá   silá **úno a   ótro.***

IPFV-love 3PL one   to   other

'They love each other.' (Steinkrüger 2013)

b. CAV   *Servicial el   mga website qui ta   asi   Tatang, por casa aquel*

useful   DEF PL   website that IPFV make Tatang for cause DET

*mga Caviteño na   otro lugar ta   pudi comunica   **uno'y   otro***

PL   Caviteño LOC other place IPFV can   communicate one.and other

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[3] The Spanish preposition *a* does not exist in Chabacano beyond fossilized constructions.

'The websites that Tatang makes are useful, because the Caviteños in

different places can communicate with each other' (Picache-dela Rosa

2003)

Finally, Ternate Chabacano has the reciprocal verbal construction *hugá* 'play' + V, as shown in (8). Unlike many other verbal chains, the construction does not generally permit other elements, such as second position clitics or pronouns, between the verbs (Sippola 2011b: 140, 261).[4] The verb *hugá* 'play' (< Sp. *jugar* 'play') exists in the Chabacano varieties as a lexical verb as well.

(8)   TER   *Ta **hugá**   keré lótro dos.*
         IPFV play.RECP love   3PL   two
         'The two of them love each other.' (Sippola 2013b)

This construction thus seems to be an example of independent grammaticalization in Ternate Chabacano, as no traces of a similar construction have been reported for other varieties. The origins of the construction are somewhat unclear, although the form is clearly derived from Spanish. The use of *hugá* to express reciprocity somewhat parallels the use of social verbs in Tagalog, which can be derived from verbs with prefixes, although it does not reproduce their functions directly (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 333–334).

In summary, Cavite and Zamboanga Chabacano have similar reciprocal constructions replicating matter from both Philippine and Spanish forms. In contrast, Ternate Chabacano has followed an independent grammaticalization path.

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[4] Other verbs that behave similarly are *asé* (< Sp. *hacer* 'to do'), which functions as a transitivizer for non-prototypical verb bases, and the causatives *mandá* (< Sp. *mandar* 'to order, send') and *dáli* (< Sp. *dale* 'give it').

4.3 Object marking

The Chabacano varieties have been described as having an accusative-nominative system, like the lexifier Spanish, in which the grammatical roles are marked with preposed particles (Sippola 2011b, 2013b, Steinkrüger 2013). These include *kon* (*<con>* in Hispanized orthography) and *na* for objects in all the varieties. The origin of these forms is the Spanish comitative marker *con* and the Philippine oblique markers *kan, kang, kay,* and *sa* (Fernández 2004, 2007). The exact functions of each marker within these systems have not been described comprehensively for any of the varieties, but based on the available documentation, it is evident that there is variation within and between them, as shown in Table 2.

Human			Animate			Inanimate		
CAV	TER	ZAM	CAV	TER	ZAM	CAV	TER	ZAM
kon	*kon*	*kon / -*	*kon*	*kon / na / -*	*kon / na / -*	*kon / -*	*na / -*	*kon / -*

Table 2. Object marking in the animacy scale in Cavite, Ternate, and Zamboanga Chabacano.

The marking of direct and indirect objects depends on factors such as animacy, specificity, and definiteness. In the following, we will focus on full noun phrases for reasons of space, although pronoun marking seems to follow similar patterns.

There is a strong tendency to mark specific animate objects with *kon* in all three varieties, as with the human patients in (9a–c).

(9) a. CAV *Ya   coge   el   mga pulis   **con** el   ladron.*

PFV catch DEF PL   police OBJ DEF thief

'The policemen caught the thief.' (Escalante 2005: 79)

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    b. TER   *Kel péhro a-murdé **kung** kel   muhér.*

                    DEF dog   PFV-bite OBJ   DEF woman

                    'The dog bit the woman.' (Sippola 2013b)

    c. ZAM   *Un   diya **si** Barbara ya   atraka   **kon** su   tata*

                    One day a Barbara   PFV approach OBJ 3SG.POSS father

                    'One day, Barbara approached her father…' (Miravite et al. 2009: 87)

There is some variation in the form of the animate object marker in Ternate Chabacano, where we can find the velarized form *kong* or *kung*, as in (9b). Also, (9c) shows the use of the Philippine agent marker *si*, which is used with proper names in Zamboanga Chabacano.

    In addition, in Ternate and Zamboanga, we find that the specific human or animate object is occasionally left unmarked, as in (10a–b). In both varieties, *konosé* 'to [get to] know' appears without the object marker *kon*, but otherwise it is quite uncommon to leave specific human objects unmarked.

(10)   a. ZAM   *Kwándo ya-konosé   tu   el   marído del   ditúyu   anák?*

                  when   PFV-know 2SG DEF husband of   2SG.POSS child

                  'When did you get to know the husband of your child?' (Steinkrüger 2013)

    b. TER   *Ya-matá ya   ba lótru el pwérku?*

                  PFV-kill already Q   3SG   the pig

                  'Did they already kill the pig? (Sippola 2011b: 245)

In general, non-specific animate or human objects are not marked in Ternate and Zamboanga Chabacano, as in (11).

(11) a. TER   *Ta-buská   yo   un alíla   para mi   kása.*

                  IPFV-search 1SG a   helper   for   1SG.POSS house

                  'I was looking for a helper for my house.' (Sippola 2011b: 246)

     b. ZAM   *Ya-mirá tu   un   muhér, kwátro ómbre.*

                  PFV-see   2SG one woman four   men

                  'You saw one woman (and) four men.' (Steinkrüger 2013)

At the other end of the continuum from human to animate and inanimate, inanimate objects are not marked in the Chabacano varieties, as in (12).

(12) a. CAV   *Ya   cumpra el   mujer   el   mansanas.*

                  PFV buy   DEF woman   DEF apple

                  'The lady bought the apple.' (Llamado 1972: 95)

     b. TER   *Kel   hénti ta-gahrá   kel   kwélyo di kel   kamíseta di mi ermána.*

                  DEF   person IPFV-took DEF collar   of DEF   shirt   of   my sister

                  'The person grabbed the neck of my sister's shirt.' (Sippola 2011b: 244)

     c. ZAM   *Ya-prepará   el   ómbre un   baróto.*

                  PFV-prepare   the man   a   baroto

                  'The man prepared a small boat (baroto).' (Steinkrüger 2013)

The picture is complicated, however, by the fact that inanimate objects can be marked with *kon* in Cavite and Zamboanga or *na* in Ternate, as in (13) (and see, e.g., Fernández 2007: 465). Here the difference between the varieties is in the form of the marker.

(13)   a. CAV   *Mira   tu   **con**   el   hechura   de   aquel   mujer*

           look   2SG   OBJ   DEF   form   of   DET   woman

           'Look at the form of that woman.' (Escalante 2005: 63).

      b. ZAM   *Ta-uyí   yo   **konel**   kansyón.*

           IPFV-hear   1SG   OBJ.DET   song

           'I am listening to the song.' (Steinkrüger 2013)

      c. TER   *Ta-myédu **na**   koryénti   kel,   **na**   kel   klaridad del   koryénti.*

           IPFV-fear OBJ   electricity DEM   OBJ   DEF   light   of   electricity

           'That one is afraid of electricity, of the electric light.' (Sippola 2011b: 248)

In addition, Ternate and Zamboanga Chabacano can occasionally show variation between the markers *na* and *con*, especially when the semantic roles are non-prototypical (Fernández 2007: 465, Sippola 2011b: 248). This kind of variation is not present in our corpus of Cavite Chabacano.

Fernández (2007) explains this variation and the differences in object marking as due to Philippine adstrate influence. In the Philippine languages, the corresponding markers express oblique case (e.g., Tagalog *kay* for proper nouns and kinship nouns, and *sa* for others, such as the locative; Cebuano *kang/sa*; and Tausug *kan/ha*). Fernández (2007: 468–469) therefore suggests that the argument marking system in Zamboanga Chabacano is currently undergoing a reorganization between the Philippine and the Spanish model. *Kon* marks all animate nouns and inanimate nouns when determinate and specific to express that they are the

oblique argument and not the one in focus (which would correspond with our notion of subject). In Ternate Chabacano, *kon* marks human and animate nouns, while *na* is reserved for inanimates. To some degree, the functions of *na* have expanded from inanimate to non-specific animate nouns, especially in cases where the subject of the verb is an experiencer and the verbs express states. In Cavite Chabacano, object marking seems more stable than in its sister varieties. However, the functions of *kon* have expanded from human and animate objects to determined and specific inanimate objects, as in Zamboanga.

These patterns can be analyzed as contact-induced grammaticalization motivated by the oblique markers in the adstrate languages. This grammaticalization has developed to different degrees in the Chabacano varieties, with Ternate Chabacano and Zamboanga Chabacano showing more adstrate influence in their current systems, while Cavite Chabacano remains closer to the Spanish object marking model.

5. Discussion

The lexical and typological similarities between these three Chabacano varieties is a natural outcome of the contact situations in Ternate, Cavite, and Zamboanga, which involved Spanish plus a number of closely related Philippine languages. However, our comparison has shown that they have often followed different grammaticalization paths and show variation in the distribution and functions of the studied elements. There are also many differences between the creoles in form rather than function.

The differences between the varieties arose not only due to the transfer of different lexifier elements (e.g., the three different deontic verbs in each creole) but also different adstrate elements (e.g., the reciprocal circumfixes) and independent innovations (e.g., the

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reciprocal *hugá* in Ternate Chabacano). Even in the case of shared adstrates, there are still differences in which items were replicated (e.g., *mag-V-han* is used for reciprocals in Cavite but not in Ternate). There are also cases where all varieties have replicated the same Spanish matter, but with slight differences in form, indicating that grammaticalization may have occurred to different degrees (e.g., the frequent phonetic reduction of *pwéde* to the more abstract forms *pwe*, *pe*, or *pey* in Ternate). We argue that these grammatical differences support the theories that the Chabacano varieties formed and developed independently of each other during different time periods (Lipski 1992; Fernández 2006, 2011, 2012a, 2012b), rather than descending directly from a single parent variety.

The data analyzed here shows that Ternate Chabacano is the most divergent from the other varieties. It is the one with the most formal differences in terms of both lexifier and adstrate influences. Cavite Chabacano, on the other hand, seems to be closer to the lexifier than Ternate Chabacano. Finally, Zamboanga Chabacano shows both the replication of Spanish matter and strong Philippine patterns.

There are a few different reasons for the grammatical variation between Zamboanga, Cavite, and Ternate Chabacano. First, the communities have historically had limited contact with each other from the colonial period to the present day. Ternate was historically an isolated community, and direct contact with Spanish was stronger in Cavite and Zamboanga throughout the colonial period. Based on the available census data (Buzeta & Bravo 1850–1851: 537), there were not many Spanish or Chinese people in Ternate. In contrast, the presence of the fort and the galleon trade in Cavite attracted an ethnically diverse population, including the Spanish, Tagalogs and other indigenous Filipinos, Chinese, Chinese-Filipino mestizos, and other smaller groups (Borromeo 1974). Similarly, 19th-century records and missionaries' descriptions show that Zamboanga had a mixed Spanish, indigenous, and Chinese population and that Spanish was used in Zamboanga by peninsular and Philippine

speakers alike (Fernández 2006), especially in official and public settings (e.g., education was only in Spanish).

These historical facts would indicate that the more modern, standard Spanish varieties that were spoken in the Philippines during the mid to late 19th century were an integral part of the linguistic input of the Chabacano speakers in Cavite City and Zamboanga. It is therefore not surprising that we find more matter replication from Spanish in these varieties, as is the case with, for example, the reciprocal construction *uno a otro*. These grammatical patterns are also consistent with phonological evidence that Cavite and Zamboanga Chabacano became more oriented to standard Spanish during the late 1800s (Lipski 1986, Lesho 2018).

Second, there is still ongoing divergence between the communities, as we have argued here for the case of object marking. The widespread use of Zamboanga Chabacano as a lingua franca has led to new transfer and grammaticalization processes as L2 speakers impose features from Cebuano and Hiligaynon (Grant 2011). For example, Lipski (2013) has documented the use of the 2SG pronoun *ikaw* in Zamboanga Chabacano, showing that Tagalog/Filipino influence is also leading to new changes as the national language gains more ground in the southern Philippines. In addition, Sippola (2012) described variation in the indefinite constructions, where Cavite and Zamboanga Chabacano show a greater variety of lexifier and adstrate-derived forms than Ternate Chabacano, and the forms are used differently.

Third, the endangered status of Ternate and Cavite Chabacano has led to increased adstrate influence, which speakers in both communities perceive as a threat (Lesho & Sippola 2014). In Ternate, for example, Tagalog influence can be observed in the language of the younger generation, especially in possessive pronouns and alterations to the frequency of use of relative pronouns or the position of relative constructions (Sippola 2016: 161–162).

One could further argue that the Chabacano varieties have developed some features

not through contact influence but rather through language-internal grammaticalization. However, these processes often work jointly to trigger grammatical change, as universal processes of grammatical change (=internal change) are involved in the diffusion of linguistic features (=contact). This is especially relevant in social situations of large-scale bilingualism (Heine & Kuteva 2003), as in the Philippines, where large parts of the population use several languages in their everyday communication. The speakers seem to be less restricted by the concept of the "purity" of a certain variety and are very open to codeswitching and borrowing, resulting in variation and change. Lesho & Sippola (2014: 38–39) explain that Chabacano speakers rely not only on one variety but on their repertoires of multiple languages that share the same typologically Philippine set-up. In this type of contact situation, both native speakers and second language learners can trigger the process of replication (Matras 2011: 285). Speakers may import a construction into their own language based on an external model of imitation, by borrowing new items from other languages, and second language learners can reflect patterns of their native languages into the target language.

One limitation when working with synchronic creole descriptions is that it is difficult to pinpoint when or from which sources grammatical features developed, especially in cases like Chabacano where the adstrates themselves have a great deal of Spanish influence. In Zamboanga, however, it seems that many of the Hiligaynon and Cebuano features crystallized in the creole quite late. For example, Lipski (1992: 211, 2013: 467) has argued that the pronominal system of Zamboanga Chabacano was once much closer to Spanish, and that the Visayan-based inclusive–exclusive pronouns were introduced only around the turn of the 20th century. Earlier Chabacano varieties probably had considerable internal variation as well, as seen in the earliest available texts (Fernández & Sippola 2017).

For these reasons, the features studied in this paper do not shed much light on the initial language contact or creolization process of these varieties. In our data we have no

evidence for pidginization; the analysis rather supports the idea of gradual development and diversification with changing L2 influences, as already suggested by Lipski (1992) and Fernández (2011, 2012a).

6. Conclusions

The comparison of the modal systems, reciprocal constructions, and argument marking in these three Chabacano varieties shows that while these creoles have typological similarities, they also have substantial differences due to variation in the transfer, grammaticalization, and use of elements from both Spanish and the different Philippine adstrates in each community.

The evidence of the different results of contact-induced change found in each Chabacano variety supports theories that these creoles developed independently rather than directly from a single ancestor. This variation reflects the different sociohistorical settings of each community during their respective periods of creole formation and later development. Factors in the continuing divergence of the varieties include the lack of interaction between the communities, the endangerment of the Manila Bay varieties, and the presence of second language Chabacano speakers in Zamboanga.

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