

Cavite Chabacano Philippine Creole Spanish: Description and Typology

By

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Abstract

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This dissertation provides a grammatical description and sociohistorical account of the Cavite variety of Philippine Creole Spanish (PCS), also known as Cavite Chabacano (CC); and analyzes how this language informs standard typological characterizations of contact languages. CC is one of three surviving varieties of Chabacano, a Spanish-lexified contact language of the Philippines. The unique status of Chabacano as the only Spanish-lexified creole in Asia presents a number of typological challenges to standard views of colonial contact languages based on prototypical plantation creoles. Most work on Chabacano assumes that it is a creole language, and only a few recent works on the Zamboanga variety of Chabacano have questioned this classification. The current work reexamines the status of Chabacano as a creole language by providing linguistic data from an understudied Chabacano variety and examining it from a typological perspective.

On the descriptive front, the dissertation provides a sketch grammar that constitutes the most complete description of the language to this date. The linguistic description is supplemented with a sociohistorical reconstruction that proposes different stages in the development of CC: an initial period of *koineization*, a period of hispanization or ‘decreolization’, and a latter period in which more Tagalog forms were incorporated from the adstrate. Comparative linguistic evidence from CC and two other Chabacano varieties supports this account.

The latter part of the dissertation evaluates the CC using typological accounts of contact languages. It is argued that the language poses two main challenges to previous models of language contact outcomes; first, it shows continuity between the lexifier and the creole, and second, it shows that the language's classification into a category such as *koiné* or creole may shift during the development of the language. A model of radial categories (Lakoff 1987) is suggested as an alternative to more restrictive categorizations of language contact outcome

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Topics and aims of the dissertation

This dissertation focuses on the sociohistorical and linguistic features of the Cavite variety of Philippine Creole Spanish (PCS), also known as Cavite Chabacano (CC), a Spanish-lexified contact language spoken in Cavite City in the area of Manila Bay, Philippines. The language is one of several varieties that formed during the Spanish colonial period in the Philippines, which lasted from 1571 until the American invasion in 1898. Chabacano is one of three remaining Spanish-lexified creoles in the world; CC is furthermore atypical as it is the only Spanish-lexified creole language in Asia.

The dissertation has two main goals. First, it aims to describe the structural and sociohistorical factors of this language, with the goal of evaluating CC with respect to typological claims about contact languages. A second goal of this work is to document a language that is severely endangered (Lesho & Sippola 2013).

Typological claims about contact languages have been largely informed by colonial contact languages found in the Caribbean and the Atlantic. Much of the standard knowledge, especially about creole and pidgin languages, has been informed by the history and the structure of contact languages that originated as a result of the European expansion in the Caribbean. Specifically, these languages emerged as a result of contact between British, Dutch, and French languages with West African languages brought by the slaves. The contact of Spanish with African and indigenous languages, on the other hand, typically resulted on the latter learning the language of the Spaniards. For this reason, Spanish-based contact languages are scarce,¹ and with some exceptions, have been ignored for a long time. For this reason, the so-called ‘plantation creoles’ in the Americas have set the standard for what creole languages should look like.

The standard largely ignored not only Spanish-lexified languages, but also another group of Ibero-lexified colonial contact languages that emerged around the same time in Asia as the result of extensive trade in the area. As the only Spanish-lexified language in Asia, PCS or Chabacano is positioned as a particularly atypical creole language. This is true not only because of its sociolinguistic context, but also because of its structure. Instead of having input from African languages, it is largely formed by the contact of Spanish with Austronesian languages. In this dissertation I provide an overview of Ibero-Creole languages in order to evaluate the historical and typological relationship of Chabacano with its source languages.

As its name reveals, Chabacano is usually classified as a creole language despite its sociolinguistic and structural differences with more prototypical creoles. In recent years, however, this status has been disputed on the basis of grammatical observations about the distribution of the source languages. In particular, this work has focused on the Zamboanga variety of Chabacano, examining the effect that the ongoing incorporation of Filipino features has had on its typological class as a creole language (Steinkrüger 2006, Grant 2012, Vagel 2015). The grammatical description in this dissertation will facilitate comparisons with other varieties. It also aims to fill in some of the gaps in Chabacano documentation with data from Cavite Chabacano.

¹ The scarcity of Spanish-lexified creoles in the Americas has been related to differences between the colonial practices of Spanish and that of French, English, and Dutch (McWhorter 2000, Faraclas et al. 2007).

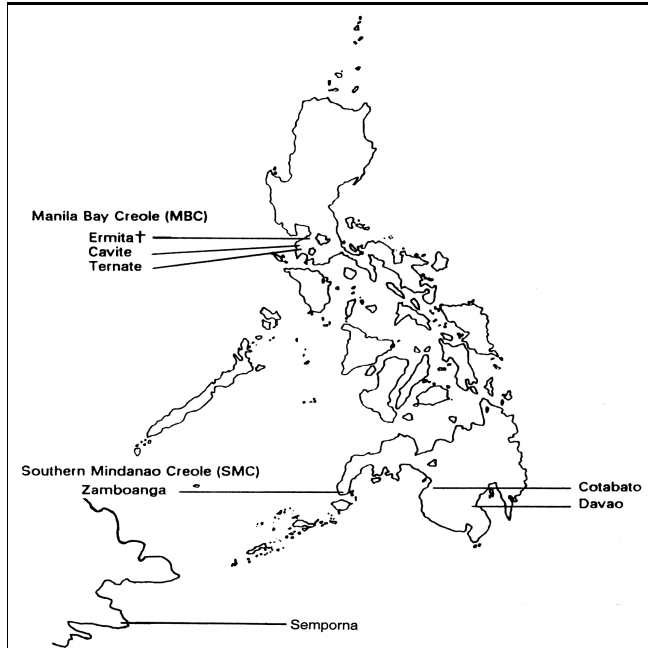
Given the fact that many typological classifications have been based on the languages of the Americas, the study of Cavite Chabacano offers a rich terrain to re-evaluate some of the typological claims about contact languages. The dissertation furthermore shows that its classification in a monolithic typological class fails to account for diachronic changes in CC structure. In this way, the study of CC also contributes to a re-evaluation of the current architecture of the typology of language contact outcomes.

1.2. Organization of the dissertation

This dissertation has two main components: a sociolinguistic component and a descriptive component. In the remaining sections of this chapter I present basic information of the language and include a historical sketch of Cavite City that shows the sociolinguistic setting in which Chabacano developed in Cavite. I also provide a summary of the state of Chabacano research. In order to compare CC with other Ibero-lexified contact languages, in Chapter 2 I describe some of the main typological features of this group of languages. In Chapter 3, I provide a description of the language focusing on the morphosyntactic domain. Chapter 4 addresses the origin of Chabacano as I review some of the main theories of its development and propose an alternative that is supported by historical and linguistic data. In Chapter 5 I discuss some of the challenges that CC presents to discrete typological categories like ‘Creole’ or ‘Mixed Languages.’ Finally, chapter 6 summarizes some of the main arguments of this dissertation in order to discuss broader implications of this work for the typological approach to contact languages.

1.3 Overview of the Chabacano varieties

Chabacano is mainly divided between the Manila Bay varieties in the island of Luzon, and the Southern varieties, also known as the ‘Southern Mindanao Creole’ (Steinkrüger ‘hispanization’). The Manila Bay varieties have about 4,000 speakers in Cavite (4%) and 3,000 speakers in Ternate (22%). The majority of Chabacano speakers, 450,000, (50% of the total population) are found in the cities of Zamboanga and Cotabato in the southern island of Mindanao. Varieties of Chabacano used to be spoken in Ermita in Manila and Davao until the second half of the 20th century, but these are believed now to be extinct. Map 1 below shows the main areas where Chabacano developed.



Map 1 Geographic distribution of Chabacano (from Riego de Dios 1989: 10)

Aside from Spanish the major input to the Manila Bay varieties comes from Tagalog. Tagalog also influenced the southern variety via the spread of the Manila Bay varieties in the 18th century (see 4.3), and more recently as Filipino (the national language, mostly Tagalog) has spread all over the Philippines. Other Filipino languages that have served as input for the southern varieties include Hiligaynon, and Cebuano, one of the most widely spoken languages in southern Philippines.

In Table 1 I present a basic summary of the major surviving varieties with information taken from the *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Structures (APiCS)* (Michaelis et al. 2013). Both of the Manila Bay varieties are endangered as the newer generations use Tagalog and English as the main means of communication. The Zamboanga variety is the healthiest but is receiving heavy influence from surrounding Filipino languages.

Table 1 Basic facts about Cavite, Ternate, and Zamboanga Chabacano

Variety	Location	Date of settlement	~ Current number of speakers	Functional domain	Endangerment Status
Cavite Chabacano (Sippola 2013a)	San Roque and Caridad in Cavite City, Cavite Province. 35km Southwest of Manila.	1641	4,000 (4%)	Oral, some texts part of a revitalization effort	Highly endangered, only spoken by older speakers
Ternate Chabacano (Sippola 2013b)	Ternate, Cavite Province	1600	3, 000 (15%)	Oral, informally used in primary school	Endangered
Zamboanga Chabacano (Steinkrüger 2013)	Zamboanga City, Easternmost part of Mindanao Island (southern Philippines)	1631-1662 1719	450,000 (300,000 in Mindanao) (50%)	Widespread (TV, Written Media, some public schools)	Not endangered; many English loanwords

All of the varieties are mostly mutually intelligible with some lexical differences between the Manila Bay variety and the Southern varieties, mostly because of the Visayan influence in the latter. For the most part, the three varieties have a high degree of grammatical similarity. Some of the commonly mentioned morphosyntactic differences include the plural pronominal system (e.g. *mihotro* in Ternate, *nisos* in Cavite and *kita* [inclusive] and *kami* [exclusive] in Zamboanga, and the irrealis marking (*ay* in Zamboanga and *di* in the Manila Bay varieties. In addition, Zamboanga Chabacano has incorporated a greater amount of Filipino morphology.

As will be further discussed in this work (Chapter 4), the varieties can also be distinguished on the basis of their approximation to Spanish. Cavite Chabacano (CC) and ZM (Zamboagueño) are relatively similar to Spanish. Most speakers assert that the Ternate variety is the one that departs the most from Spanish, in Grant's (2012: 335), words, Ternateño "is the most aberrant as, in addition to elements from Spanish and Tagalog which CC also contains, it includes small bodies of items from Portuguese, Moluccan Malay and the non-Austronesian language Bahasa Ternate." Riego de Dios (1989), shows that ZM contains more Philippine lexical elements than other forms of Chabacano. In fact, the amount of Philippine lexicon leads some (Steinkrüger 2010, Grant 2012) to argue that ZM is shifting to include more Filipino and

English loanwords, and shows more Filipino derivational morphology than the Manila Bay varieties (Steinkrüger 2008: 217). Cavite Chabacano may be the variety that most closely approximates the lexifier (Riego de Dios 1979).

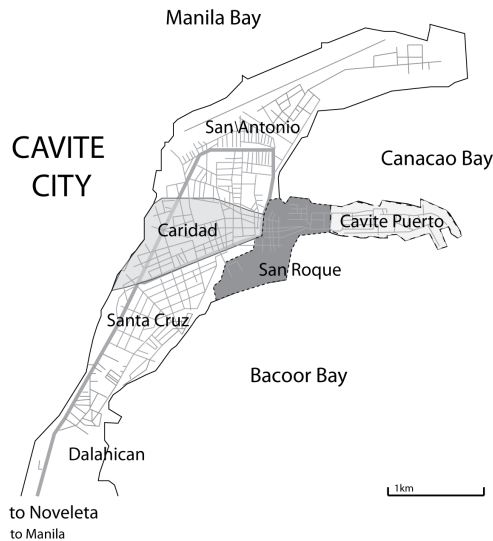
1.4. Cavite

As this dissertation focuses in part on the sociohistorical circumstances surrounding the emergence of CC, it is useful to example the history of Cavite City, where the variety is spoken. Most CC speakers in the Philippines are concentrated in Cavite City in the Cavite province. The province of Cavite is bounded in the north by the province of Manila, in the South by Batangas, in the East by Laguna, and in the west by Manila Bay and Corregidor. Its name comes from the Tagalog word *kawit* meaning “fish hook”, which describes the shape of the peninsula that is now modern Cavite City (shaded in Map 1). The province is divided between the highlands, or towns in the mountains, and lowlands, cities near the coast.



Map 2 Cavite Province

From the beginning, the strategic position and coastal features along Manila Bay made it the first line of defense of Manila, and a multicultural point of convergence as the center of the Manila-Acapulco Galleon trade route. Today, the city is divided into 5 districts: Dalahican, San Roque, Caridad, Santa Cruz and San Antonio. However, during Spanish colonial times cultures met in an area of barely 11km² that roughly corresponds to today’s Old Cavite Puerto and San Roque. The old port was situated in the lower side of the hook and was connected to San Roque and the rest of the peninsula by a narrow isthmus that in the 20th century was widened into a road.



Map 3 Cavite City

The port of Cavite City is today known as *Kawit na Matanda* or *Cavite el Viejo* (Old Cavite) and was once the seat of the governor of the Cavite Province.

1.4.1 Pre-Hispanic Cavite

During pre-hispanic Cavite, around 1000, the population was organized around multiple barangays,² a Filipino term used to denominate smaller social divisions akin to villages (Halili 2004). The *barangays* were not organized around any kind of centralized government, were hostile to each other, and had a great diversity of mutually unintelligible languages among them (Villiers 1987: 39). The arrival of Islam in the late 14th century brought along the centralization of settlements around the sultanate. At a more local level, the *barangays* were ruled by a *datu* ‘chief’. Still, compared to other Muslim sultanates, such as the one in Malacca, the population in the Philippines was more sparse and scattered (Ibid.). Right before the arrival of the Spanish in 1571, Cavite was ruled by the Muslim sultanate of Rajah Soliman in Manila.

Two events were fundamental to changing the demographic distribution and prompting population growth in Cavite: the Spanish settlement model based on *conquista y reducción*, and the activities related to the Manila Acapulco galleon trade route.

1.4.2 Early Settlements

By the time Legazpi arrived in the Philippines in 1571, Spain had already gained experience in South and Central America with their strategy of *conquista y reducción* which was fundamental to establish cities such as Lima, Havana, and Mexico City as centers of political, administrative and military authority, of commercial activity and of religious and cultural influence. In the Philippines, *reducción* was an integral aspect of the *conquista*, which in the Philippines included

² The word *barangay* refers to the embarkation used by family clans to migrate within the Philippines (Villiers 1987: 39).

the religious conversion of the local population.³ The *reducción* was a crucial resettlement policy mostly carried out by Franciscan missionaries who led a reorganization of the *barangays* around the Spanish Catholic Church, *bajo el son de la campana* ‘under the sound of the bell’ (Medina 2002: 28). This distribution allowed Spain to have political and religious control over the native inhabitants and facilitated the creation of *pueblos* or ‘towns’. Through the *conquista* and *reducción*, the Spanish conqueror Legazpi overthrew the sultan Sulayman and “systematically began to crush the independence of the surrounding *barangay* and to impose Spanish authority as widely as possible” (Ibid.). The *encomiendas* were another method of the *conquista* that was used to coerce and centralize the scattered Filipinos. Under the *encomienda* system grants of land that were seized from the indigenous population were made to the *encomenderos* who collected tribute from indigenous people who lived in the land.⁴ *Encomenderos* were also supposed to Christianize and educate the indigenous population under their charge. The system was often used to oppress and exploit the labor of the indigenous population.

Between 1595 and 1602 two forts, the Fort of Porta Vaga and the Fort of San Felipe were built in Cavite Puerto, the city formed around the second most important port in the Manila Bay. The construction of two forts in such a small area speaks to the military importance of Cavite City as the key to Manila. In 1614 the town of San Roque was established outside of the Porta Vaga walls for the Filipinos who constituted the labor force for Cavite’s Puerto arsenal and the galleon trade. Around this time, Cavite Puerto was established as the Cavite province seat or capital.

Even though San Roque was established to be an “exclusively” Filipino town (Medina 2002: 31), it became a center of Chinese and Chinese *mestizos* who had been born in the Philippines as the result of intermarriage between Tagalog women and Chinese traders. Many Chinese relocated to San Roque escaping from the Spanish hostility and destruction of their *parian* or markets in Manila. We assume that the numbers of Chinese fleeing to San Roque must have been significant given that Chinese constituted the largest ethnic group of Manila.⁵ Most of the Chinese that arrived in the early Spanish era in Manila and Cavite came from Hokkien-speaking areas.

The arrival of the Chinese in Cavite contributed to the growth of the province, and by 1620 there were 3 230 people: 2,400 natives, 430 Spanish (only 50 of whom were women (Lesho 2013), and 400 others (Borromeo 1974: 36, Doeppers 1972: 782). The population growth continued and the Chinese soon outnumbered the Spanish (Wickberg 2002: 4-6). Chinese men arrived without any women and married local *indias*, thus creating a new class of Chinese mestizos.

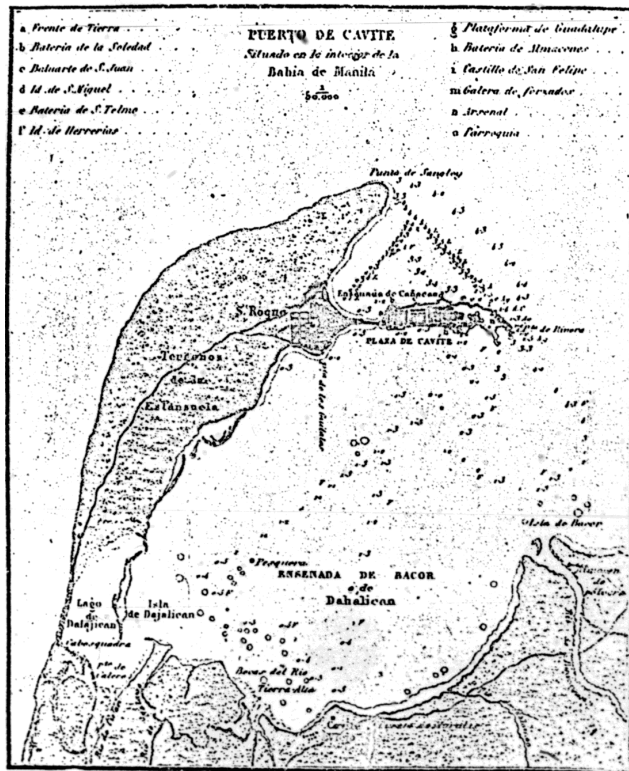
The ongoing *reducción* and centralization of the towns changed the pre-Hispanic social class structure from a three-tiered hierarchy that included the *datus*, *timawa maharlika* ‘free men’, and the *alipin* ‘slaves’, to a two-tiered hierarchy. In the new hierarchy, the Spanish were at the top followed together with the native elite that became the *principalia*. These were mostly administrators of the land owned by the different religious orders and included the *cabezas de barangay* and *gobernadorcillos*. At the bottom were the natives who worked the land

³ The Spanish *conquista* contrasts with contemporaneous Portuguese expansion practices. Unlike the Spaniards, the Portuguese were not interested in territorial annexation and only occasionally referred to the task of evangelization. (Villiers 1987: 41).

⁴ On the *encomienda* system in Latin America see Anne Jefferson & Paul Lokken *Daily Life in Colonial Latin America* (2011).

⁵ In 1600 the resident Chinese population in Manila had risen to 16,000, as against 3,000 Japanese, 2,400 Spaniards and 20,000 Filipinos (Villiers 1987: 53).

(Borromeo-Buehler 1985). Lesho (2013) observes that, as it was a common Spanish practice in Mexico and other colonies in the Americas, the split of the towns contributed to the further social segregation: the Spanish lived within the walls of Cavite Puerto and the *principalia*, Chinese and others lived in San Roque. Map 4 shows the Cavite Peninsula in 1852; San Roque and Cavite Puerto are connected by a narrow isthmus on the lower side of the hook.



142. Cavite (1852).

Map 4 Cavite Peninsula in 1852 (from Lesho 2013: 32 c.f Borromeo 1974: 26)

Christianization had direct linguistic consequences. Early education was supposed to comply with a royal decree of 1550 by which all *indios* had to be taught Spanish; however, in fact only local elites had access to education (Medina 2002: 179). The Jesuits were in charge of the education and catechism. The first school was founded in Cavite Puerto but was only accessible to the elites (Medina 2002: 179). In 1794 out of a general population of 6, 363 in San Roque, 1,988 Filipinos and 268 mestizos were enrolled in school (Medina 2002: 179). It is not clear what is encompassed by the category ‘Filipino’, but given the social segregation and little access to education it probably refers to the Filipino elite, usually descendants of heads of *barangays*. Most of the printed work included vocabularies and devotional books. Medina (2002) suggests that the majority of the Filipinos were Christianized in their local languages, stating that “even the grammars and vocabularies were printed not to teach the people the Spanish language but to acquaint the clergy with the dialects of those whom they ought to bring under the fold of the Church of Rome” (Medina 2002: 206).

1.4.3 The Manila-Acapulco galleon trade

Aside from the colonization and settlement practices, the Manila-Acapulco galleon trade was also fundamental to the formation of Cavite City. From 1565 to 1815, even before the launch of *la reducción*, and for most of the Spanish colonial period, the Spanish activities concentrated around the Manila–Acapulco galleon trade activities in the Cavite port. While the Philippines never generated the profits that the Spaniards coveted in the Spice Islands, with the Manila-Acapulco galleon trade, Manila became the center of trade that drew products from the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia, and China. On the other end, silver from Peruvian and Mexican mines was shipped to Asia through Manila. Since Cavite Puerto was the shipyard and the point of embarkation,⁶ the Manila-Acapulco galleon trade was also greatly responsible for great demographic shifts in Cavite.

The shipyard attracted over 1,400 workers at a time. In the shipyard, work was unequally assigned among the different ethnic groups. While Chinese carpenters performed the more skilled work of constructions, *indios* were used in large numbers⁷ for lumbering and other unskilled work at the shipyard (Schurz 1959: 197). Even though slavery had been abolished, the conditions of the unskilled labor force were those of slavery. Schurz explains the post-slavery labor system: “[T]hese Filipinos were generally impressed under a sort of *repartimiento* system, and their condition probably represented the most oppressive phase of the Spanish domination in the islands. Sometimes the natives were drafted as punishment for some local sedition or insurrection” (Schurz 1959: 197). *Indios* were further segregated from society as many were kept in warehouses known as *kamaligs*, where unskilled galleon workers slept (Medina 2002). Many *indios* decided to escape their situation embarking to the Americas (McCarthy 1995).

During the earlier years of the galleon trade, the Spanish had a difficult relationship with the Chinese. On the one hand, the Manila galleon mainly relied on Chinese intermediaries in the Philippines who were the main sellers and buyers of the merchandise from the 30 to 40 galleons that arrived per year (National Geographic 16). However, as the Chinese quickly outnumbered the Spanish and acquired more power as they dominated other areas of the commercial occupations, they posed a threat to the Spanish. The Spanish expelled them from the outskirts of the walled city of Manila in various occasions. As mentioned above, many of the expelled Chinese ended up in San Roque in Cavite City where they worked as skilled laborers (e.g. carpenters).

It is possible that a variety of Spanish emerged among these skilled laborers who later spread the variety as they were coveted for their skills in other parts of the Philippines:

“From the early days of the Spanish times the inhabitants [of San Roque] have been laborers, lively and determined; they were the ones who most propagated Castilian in various points of the archipelago. They used to be assigned to naval stations, in Spanish ships, in principal ports: Iloilo, Cebu, Zamboanga and Jolo. In these stations they worked as practitioners, clerks, teachers, armorers, firemen or stokers, provisions’ masters, practitioners, clerks, cooks, cannon or sea corporal and seamen. Thus, they spread the speaking of Castilian.” (Pangilinan 2001: 56).

⁶ Not all the ships built in Cavite were used for the trans-Pacific trade. Trips often include other outposts such as Ternate, Formosa, Macao, and Jakarta (McCarthy 1995: 154)

⁷ According to contemporary accounts, unskilled labor force had to be supplemented with people from other provinces: Tondo, Laguna, and Bulacan (Tagalog speakers), as well as from Pampanga (Kapampangan speakers) (Lesho 2013: 28).

The galleon activities also attracted a great number of Mexican men that arrived from the Mexican Pacific coast as ships' crewmembers (Grant 2009: 230). Mexicans were administrators, priests and soldiers (*guachinangos* or *hombres de pueblo*) (Bernal 1964: 188) many though, integrated into the peasant society, even becoming *tulisanes* 'bandits' who in the late 18th century "infested" Cavite and led peasant revolts (Medina 2002: 66). Meanwhile, in the Spanish garrisons, Spanish was used among administrators and priests. Nonetheless, there is not enough historical information on the social role of these men. In fact some of the few references point to a quick integration into the local society: "los hombres del pueblo, los soldados y marinos, anónimos, olvidados, absorbidos en su totalidad por la población Filipina." (Bernal 1964: 188).⁸

In addition to the Manila-Acapulco galleon, a complex commercial maritime system circulated European and Asian commodities including slaves. During the 17th century, Portuguese vessels traded with the ports of Manila and Cavite, even after the prohibition of 1644 (Seijas 2008: 21). Crucially, the commercial activities included the smuggling and trade of slaves: "from the Moluccas, and Malacca, and India... with the monsoon winds" carrying "clove spice, cinnamon, and pepper and black slaves, and Kafir [slaves]" (Antonio de Morga cf Seijas 2008: 21)." Though there is no data on the numbers of slaves in Cavite, the numbers in Manila suggest a significant fraction of the population had been brought in as slaves by the Portuguese vessels. By 1621, slaves in Manila numbered 1,970 out of a population of 6,110. This influx of slaves continued until late in the 17th century; according to contemporary cargo records in 1690, 200 slaves departed from Malacca to Manila (Seijas 2008: 21). Different ethnicities were favored for different labor; Africans were brought to work on the agricultural production, and skilled slaves from India served as caulkers and carpenters.

Within the multilingual panorama of the activities related to the Manila-Acapulco galleon trade, there is little evidence in Chabacano of the linguistic influence of these groups. In the case of Mexican Spanish, most of the unequivocal evidence of contact is found in the form of Nahuatl words in the lexicon of CC such as *sayote* 'chayote', *petaca* 'suitcase' (Bernal 1964). Regarding the African and Indian influence, the evidence is more obscure in part due to the fact that many of the slaves had already been exposed to a non-standard variety of Portuguese, possibly a Portuguese pidgin, by the time they arrived in the Philippines.

1.4.4 Social class and demographics in the late Spanish period

The 19th century brought great political changes to the Philippines. Before 1821, the islands had been governed from the Viceroyalty of New Spain in Mexico. This meant that the Philippines were "a colony within a colony" (Villiers 1987: 52) that depended economically and politically on a colony across the Atlantic. Most of the Spanish activities revolved around the galleon with minimal involvement in local government, which was left to *gobernadorcillos* and *cabezas de barangay*.

The war of independence of Mexico in the 19th century, along with the Napoleonic wars, turned the attention of Spain back to the Philippines. With the independence of Mexico, a wave of peninsular Spaniards came to the Philippines to take over the administration of the colony. In the second half of the 19th century, the Spanish introduced public education and Spanish became a compulsory school subject starting in elementary school (Medina 2002: 180).

With the independence wars in the Latin American colonies, the ports in Manila and Cavite become the major profitable ports of the Spanish empire. The new attention to the

⁸ Regional cuisine of Cavite City has Mexican derived dishes, such as rice *tamalis* (Span. 'tamales') that are not found anywhere else in the Philippines.

Philippines propelled a series of events that allowed for social mobility as Latin American immigrants and local mestizos started having access to political positions that were now open to non-insulars (Borromeo-Buehler 1985). According to Borromeo-Buehler (1985), the social structure in the Philippines changed during the 19th century from a two-tiered hierarchy composed of a *principalia* and a lower class of native peasants; to become a three-tiered hierarchy including a new class of *inquilinos*, land leasers of agricultural land owned by the *principalia*, which came to form a middle class of sorts.

In Cavite, much of the middle class was constituted of a group of Chinese mestizos who had lost the commercial monopoly to the Chinese (Wickberg 1964). Even though Chinese mestizos were never a majority, there was a significant amount of them in the Cavite province compared to other provinces. In 1810 Chinese mestizos made up 12% of the population of Cavite, a number only surpassed by the province of Tondo (15%) (Wickberg 1964). The Chinese mestizos held a different social status than the Chinese, who despite their commercial power did not hold the same rights as the rest of the population. In fact, the growing class of mestizos was a result of Spanish policies of encouraging intermarriage between *indias* and Chinese men as a means to control the growing Chinese population.

Wickberg (1964) describes the role of each group in the Philippine social life: “The Chinese was, first and last, a commercially-oriented money-maker. ... At the other extreme was the *indio*, whose concerns were chiefly agricultural; what he could best supply other than tribute grain, was labor. The Chinese mestizo was somewhere between — possibly engaged in agriculture, possibly in commerce, possibly in both” (Wickberg 1964: 64).

As for the cultural identification of this group, they were heavily hispanized, “more Spanish than Spanish, more Catholic than the Catholics” (Wickberg 1964). Mestizos played an important role in the movement for independence from Spain, many of the *ilustrados*, educated men who are considered ideologues of the revolution, were Chinese mestizos from Cavite.

Lipski (1987) argues that the new Spanish immigrants may have contributed to a new wave of relexification of Chabacano in Cavite and other areas where Chabacano is spoken. Nonetheless, and despite being the language of the *ilustrados* and literature at the end of the 19th century, Spanish never became an official language. In 1870 it was spoken by only 2.46% of the population (Lipski et. al. 1996: 272).

1.4.5 Cavite after the Americans

The Philippines gained their independence from Spain and declared the First Philippine republic in 1890. However, the United States never recognized the independence of the Philippines. In 1898 Spain sold the Philippines, along with Cuba and Puerto Rico to the US for \$20 million and in this way put an end to the Spanish-American War. After the war, the Americans established military bases in the Philippines including two major bases in Cavite at Cavite Puerto and Stangle Point where they stayed until 1971. The base in Cavite was a source of jobs where many of the inhabitants of Cavite City went to work. With the closure of the base in 1971, many Caviteños that were associated with the base activities were granted a permit to transfer to the base in San Diego CA, where there is now a large population of Cavite Chabacano speakers.

The arrival of the US and English also had a great impact on the health of local languages, including Chabacano. As may be recalled from above, under Spain, secularized teaching of Spanish did not arrive until late in the 19th century with the Spanish decree for public education. Nonetheless Spanish was not widespread among the population as even the priests used local languages to Christianize the population (Lesho & Sippola 2013). Most of the Spanish

speakers belonged to a small, educated elite. The Americans enforced a very different language policy. After their arrival, English quickly became the language of instruction and took over from the local languages.⁹ Nationally, English became one of the country's official languages. In 1901 it became the language of instruction, and it was spoken by 26.6% of the population by 1939. In the meantime, Spanish was taught for two years in at the secondary level but students never attained proficiency in the language (Lipski 1987). Spanish only maintained its influence in the legal and education system, but its influence decreased by the end of the 20th century (Lipski 1996). The Filipino language (mostly Tagalog) was proclaimed as the national language in 1939. In 1985 the percentage of Spanish speakers in the Philippines was down to 1% (Lipski 1996: 272).

1.5 Previous Chabacano research

As is common in the history of Creole languages (Meijer & Muysken 1977), Chabacano was not recognized as a separate language until long after its formation. Instead the language was described as a “corrupted” version of Spanish: “*los Filipinos hablan todos, aunque imperfectamente, español*” (Montero Vidal 1888 in Quilis 1992: 431). In fact, the language name *Chabacano* means ‘of poor quality’ in Spanish. Chabacano studies and descriptions did not start appearing until the end of the 19th century with the work of Schuchardt (1883), whose comparative work on creoles in Africa and India almost a decade earlier had led him to be the first to discuss creolization as a linguistic process. The author was probably the first substratist, since he classified Chabacano within the group of Malay languages. Other early work included rather fragmented documentation and descriptions, which include a compilation of texts and sayings from Cavite (Santos y Gomez 1924) and a collection of texts with a list of vocabulary of the Ternate variety (Tirona 1924). The earliest comprehensive work on all of the Chabacano varieties is Whinnom's (1956) work, which contained a historical account, sketch descriptions, and texts of the main varieties.

Most of the descriptive work on Chabacano emerged between the late 60's and early 70's and includes a sketch grammar of Zamboanga Chabacano by McKaughan (1954), a thesis within a generative framework on Cavite Chabacano (Llamado 1969, 1972), and some work on phonology and phonotactics in Cavite (Ramos 1963) and Zamboanga (Ing 1968). Lexical work includes the dictionary by Riego de Dios (1979), which includes Cotabato, Zamboanga, Ternate, and Cavite Chabacano. More recently Lesho (2013) published a dissertation in which she describes the phonetics and phonology of Cavite Chabacano and discusses its implications for the development of the language.

The first comprehensive grammar of a Chabacano variety was published by Frake (1972) on the Chabacano from Zamboanga. The only other comprehensive grammar of a Manila Bay variety of Chabacano is Sippola's (2011) grammar of Ternate Chabacano, and is to this date the most detailed description of any Chabacano variety.

A significant amount of work on Cavite Chabacano has been produced outside of linguistics. As part of a revitalization effort, pedagogical materials were produced that were used for some of the examples in this dissertation. These materials include a trilingual Chabacano-Tagalog-English dictionary published by the *Asociacion Chabacano del Ciudad de Cavite*. Also, Enrique Escalante, former school superintendent and one of the heads of the revitalization

⁹ For a short period between 1933 – 1957, Tagalog, Visayan, Ilocano, Bicol, Pangasinan and Kapanpangan were recognized as languages of instruction (Lesho, Sippola 2013: 4)

project, published a series of Cavite Chabacano textbooks (Escalante 2005, 2010, 2012). Romanillos has written about the Cavite Chabacano language as well as writing poetry in Chabacano (Romanillos 2005, 2006).

Most of the recent work on the Chabacano varieties has focused on the history of the language. Fernandez (2006, 2010, 2011, 2012) has conducted the most exhaustive archival research to clarify aspects about the origins of the different varieties (see 4.2.2). Lipski (1992) also proposes a diachrony of Zamboanga Chabacano. Work on particular features that has also contributed to the understanding of Chabacano's diachrony including research on the historical continuity between Chabacano and other Ibero-Asian varieties through comparative linguistic work (Steinkrüger 2006, Fernandez 2013b), studies of grammaticalization in Zamboanga Chabacano (Rubino 2012), and assessments of Portuguese elements in the structure of Chabacano (Hancock, Lipski 1988).

The typological work on Chabacano has been scarce despite the unique status of Chabacano as the only Spanish-lexified contact language in Asia. Recently, Grant (2012) and Lipski (2013) discuss the typological status of Zamboanga Chabacano and propose that the language is undergoing a typological shift from a creole to a mixed creole language. The only typological description of the linguistic structure of the language appears in the *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole language Structures* (APiCS) database (Michaelis et. al 2013), which was published in 2013 and contains data on Zamboanga Chabacano contributed by Steinkrüger, and data on Cavite and Ternate Chabacano contributed by Sippola.

The importance of the Chabacano varieties to typological studies is recognized in recent cross-linguistic research that has used the Zamboanga variety of the language as an example of atypical creole, or a creole with unexpected features, especially in relation to the morphology of contact languages (see Chapter 5). For example, Plag (2008, 2009) shows evidence from Zamboanga Chabacano to argue that Creole languages have morphology. Gardani (2012) and Seifart (2013) also show examples from the morphological system of Zamboanga Chabacano that seems to go against some general borrowing principles as they argue that the language borrows morphology without lexical borrowing. A recent paper by Pagel (2015) uses Zamboanga Chabacano to challenge existing autonomous models of contact-induced language change.

This brief review of some of the major work on Chabacano reveals that most of the linguistic work has been based on data from Zamboanga Chabacano. This is partly explained by the fact that before Sippola's (2011) grammar of Ternateño, most of the available Chabacano data came from Zamboanga Chabacano. Other varieties are in need of documentation especially due to their imminent extinction. Besides, other varieties may present different challenges for the typology of contact languages. Some of the research gaps in the Cavite variety are addressed with this dissertation.

Chapter 2: Ibero-Creoles Survey

2.1 Introduction

From the 15th to the 19th century, Portugal and Spain settled and expanded throughout the African, Asian and American continents. The mix of the European and local cultures created new communities with new colonial identities. The term *Ibero-Creole* languages refers to contact languages that emerged from the contact between the languages from these communities and Iberian languages. In spite of their large geographical extension, Ibero-creoles were for a long time ignored in most of the theory-building research on creole languages, which instead focused on the plantation creoles in the Atlantic.

This overview describes some of the main typological features of a number of Ibero-Creole languages. In addition, it seeks to investigate how Chabacano aligns with other Ibero-Creole languages. The latter is an interesting question given Chabacano's unique position as the only Spanish-lexified creole in Asia.

I decided to include here a representative group for which there has been more descriptive work. Section 1.2 includes the group of Portuguese creoles, also known as Luso-creoles. The group of Luso-Creole languages is divided by lexifier and geographical region, and include: Cape Verdean, Kryol, Sao Tomes, Fa d' Ambo, Principense, and Angolar in Africa (2.2.1); Kannur, Sri Lanka creole, Korlai, and Diu and Daman in Asia (2.2.2); and Kristang and Makista in South East Asia (2.2.3). Three Spanish-lexified creoles are discussed in section 1.3; these are Papiamentu and Palenquero in the Americas, and Chabacano in South East Asia.

2.2 Portuguese creoles

The history of Portuguese contact languages starts in Portugal in 1444, decades before the founding of the first Portuguese settlement in Africa. The first records of an African-based contact variety in Portugal point to contact between Portuguese and the first imported slaves from Sub-Saharan Africa. From then on, it is possible that up to 150,000 African slaves arrived in Portugal to replace a dwindling Portuguese labor force in the fields; these Africans made up about 10% of the population by 1550 (Saunders 1982). Portuguese Africans developed a non-standard variety of Portuguese, known as *lingua de preto*, (also: *lengua de negro*, *fala de guiné*) (Thornton, J. 1998, Kihm & Rougé 2013). Unfortunately, the only evidence of this incipient African-Portuguese creole is found in texts, such as plays and other art forms. Aside from speaking a contact language, some of the first group of African-Portuguese must have been fluent in Portuguese because many of them were later used as interpreters in further exploratory voyages in Africa (Ramos Tihorão 1997: 47 in J. Clancy Clements 2009).

The group of languages that we now know as Portuguese creoles developed in the ports established as part of the Portuguese eastward expansion. The chronology below shows that the expansion occurred quickly; by 1586 Portugal had expanded eastward and established settlements in Macao.

1444- Arrive in Cape Verde (Africa)

1460- Arrive in today's Sierra Leon and established the Benin Trade

1460- Cabo Verde is settled

1446-1593-Exploration of the Gulf of Guinea

1498- Da Gama reaches India

1505- First trading post in India (Cochin)
1505 to 1594- Settlement of India
1509- 1545- Exploration and Settlements of East Indies
1511- Arrive in Malacca
1512- Arrive in Ternate
1513- First Portuguese envoy arrives in China
1516- Portuguese arrive in Canton (South China)
1522- Construction of the first fort in the Spice Islands (current Indonesia)
1586- Settlement in Macao

In this way, by the end of the 16th century Portugal controlled two of the most important commercial networks: the slave trade in Africa, and the trading network to China and the Spice Islands. Correspondingly, the emerging Portuguese contact languages can be subdivided into an African group and the Luso-Asian creoles. Each group is characterized by different set of sociolinguistic features that reflect the contact languages' historical emergence.

As will be seen in this section, Luso-African contact languages, especially West African contact languages, are closely related to the commerce of slaves. The slave trade started with the importing of slaves to Portugal in 1444, but experienced a boom as Portugal became the main exporter of slaves to the Americas. Even though not all of the Portuguese colonies in Africa had the same importance within the slave trade, the contexts in which African Portuguese creoles evolved are all directly or indirectly linked to slavery, involving slave *entrepots*, plantation societies, and communities formed by maroons.

In Asia, on the other hand, the development of the Portuguese contact languages is defined by the practices linked to the Asian trade network. Many Portuguese-lexified languages developed around military forts where European men lived with local women, with whom they spoke a contact language, which was further nativized and expanded by their mixed offspring. Languages that developed in this setting have been called *fort creoles* (Hancock 1972, 1985; Rodney 1970). Crucially, fort creoles never lost contact with at least one of the input languages. As a result, their speakers were usually bilingual in the creole and the local language. The speakers' knowledge of one or more of the input languages could allow the transfer some of these features into the new creoles, which consequently produced linguistic features that are not associated with creole features (Bakker et al. 2011)

The status of Portuguese Creoles as the world's oldest European creoles together with their huge areal extension that includes the Americas (via the slave trade), places them at the center of the monogenesis hypothesis (Thompson 1961, Whinnom 1965). The monogenesis hypothesis states that there existed a single West African Portuguese Pidgin (WAPP) that was carried in Portuguese ships to all areas where these creoles are found and was used by traders, slave raiders, and merchants in the early years of the colonial societies. Whinnom (1956: 9-10) even suggested that the Portuguese pidgin might have had its origins in a Mediterranean contact language known as *sabir*. In this way, the Portuguese *jargon* or *pidgin* would have been adopted by other colonists who used it as a *lingua franca* and eventually relexified it with other European languages. According to supporters of this theory, monogenesis is the reason why Portuguese lexical items can be found in so many creoles, and why they share grammatical similarities. For example, in a 1957 paper, Taylor points out some features of Chabacano that are also found in Caribbean Creoles, for example the preposition *na*, compound prepositions, completive *kabá*, and other preverbal markers (see also: Hancock 1975). More recent versions of the monogenesis theory include McWhorter's (1999: 134) *Afrogenesis* hypothesis, according to which none of the creoles are born on plantations, but instead come from a common West African pidgin that

developed on the African mainland. Clements (2000) supports the monogenesis theory to some extent, but considers the areal similarities of Asian creoles to point to the genesis of the creoles starting from two varieties of a Portuguese pidgin, one general variety that influenced the African creoles, and a second Asian pidgin that was influenced by the general pidgin but that gave rise to the Asian creoles due to “reciprocal diffusion” (Clements: 185).

In more recent work, the monogenesis theory has lost popularity, giving way to theories of localized development. Most of the critiques point out that the monogenesis theory depends heavily on the proposed relexification processes (Bickerton 1998, Huber 1999). Also, historical and comparative evidence leads Ladhams (2006: 88) to conclude that there were at least three contemporaneous West African pidgins, and that WAPP was probably one of more than one contemporaneous variety. He states that the “pidgins arise separately in different places (with different inputs) and with different purposes” (Ladhams 2006: 97).

2.2.1 Africa

Largely because of their role in the development of the monogenesis hypothesis, African Portuguese creoles are the best-known Portuguese-lexified creoles. These languages are divided into the Upper Guinea Creole (UGC) group and the Gulf of Guinea Creoles (GGC). The first group includes Cape Verdean (*Kabuverdiano*) (CV) and Kriyol (K), while the second includes Sao Tome (ST), Principense (PR), Angolar (ANG), and Fa d’ Ambón (FA). In UGC the similarity within the group is attributable to the constant traffic between Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau, while in GGC the similarity within the group is attributable to the spread of a common contact language formed in Sao Tomé.

Among Portuguese Creoles, both of the two African groups more closely approximate the standard sociolinguistic characterization of creole languages; this is because of their relation to the slave trade and the related estrangement from their substrate languages. However, there are significant structural and sociolinguistic differences across UGC and GGC¹⁰ that place the GGC typologically closer to the prototypical plantation creole.

Linguistically, the two groups differ regarding the distribution of the parent languages. UGC substrate languages belong to the Atlantic and Mande languages spoken in the region, while GGC languages share Edo (Niger) grammar, which roughly corresponds to present day Yoruba in Nigeria, and also show Bantu elements in their lexicons. Regarding the grammatical impact of the lexifier, UGC exhibits more acrolectal features. These include inflectional morphology paradigms (number, gender and participle marking) (Hergemeijer 2011: 247, Ladhams 2006), and other similarities at the phonological and lexical levels (Parkvall 2000, Hagemeyer 2011:141). These differences in the weight of the lexifier language in UGC and UGG can be understood in the context of the socio-historical differences in the events that led to their emergence and development, specifically differences in settlement patterns and the length of the presence of the Portuguese. Some of these sociolinguistic variables are presented below.

2.2.1.1. Upper Guinea Creoles

Upper Guinea Portuguese creoles first emerged in Sotavento, the northern island of the previously uninhabited Cape Verdean archipelago. They arose from the mixing of Africans

¹⁰ Despite significant linguistic differences, some have argued for a proto-West African contact language (Smith, 1995, McWhorter, 2005). Softer versions to the “Proto West African pidgin” include Clement’s (2000) proposal of two different Pidgin Portuguese, one that influenced Atlantic creoles; and a second Asia pidgin, that may have had some influence of the more basic African pidgin.

brought from Portugal with *lançados*, Portuguese nationals who were considered outcasts because of their Jewish descent or criminal past (Baptista 2002: 17). From Cape Verde, some groups moved to Guinea Bissau, where they also had contact with surrounding local West Atlantic languages (Wolof, Fular, Serer) and Mande languages (Mandinka, Malinke) (Baptista 2002). Compared to CV, K shows many African features, as well as a less restricted use of Portuguese forms (Baptista 2007, 2011). Many of the differences between the two languages can be attributed to the fact that Guinea Bissau had less contact with the lexifier, as it never was an official Portuguese colony. In addition, while in Cape Verde the emerging languages were geographically isolated from African languages. In GB the contact language converged with surrounding African languages (Ladhams 2006).

Cape Verdean (Kabuverdiano)

The first Portuguese settlement was established in 1460 in Santiago, which is today the capital city of the Sotavento (Leeward) Islands. The Portuguese settled CV with the intention of developing a sugar plantation economy. However, local geographic and topographic conditions did not favor the growth of plantations, and the African islands were quickly replaced by Brazil as Portugal's center for sugar production. Since the Cape Verdean archipelago was previously uninhabited, it was populated mainly by Portuguese men together with women from the mainland who themselves spoke Atlantic languages (Wolof, Temne) and Mande languages (Mandinka). During the 16th century Cape Verde entered a period of isolation from Portugal and the other African colonies¹¹ when Portugal lost trading privileges to the Dutch and French, and halted the slave trade in the UGG. During this time, many Portuguese left the islands while many newly freed slaves arrived to settle in CV.

Cape Verde became a European-African intermediary of sorts as it served as a slave *entrepot* and an administrative center for matters of commerce in Guinea Bissau and other African colonies. The CV island of Barlovento remained uninhabited until the 18th century, when the Portuguese settled the island with a group of prisoners. In general this island's population contained a greater proportion of white Europeans. For this reason, Barlovento CV shows more acrolectal features (for example negation forms from Portuguese and some inflected verbal forms). The Sotavento variety remains more similar to the Kriyol language spoken in Guinea-Bissau (Holm 1988: 273). Other socio-historical events and topographical factors created further socio-demographic differences among the archipelago's islands (for example, the eruption of a volcano forced exodus or relative isolation on some islands). The linguistic effects of these factors place the Cape Verdean islands on a 'hypothetical continuum' of language features (Bartens 2000: 37).

Cape Verde has been independent from Portugal since 1975, and in 1981 separated from Guinea Bissau. Today, CV is spoken by about 1,200,000 people around the world, including 492,000 speakers in Cape Verde (Lewis et al. 2015). The public use of CV has increased, but Portuguese is still the only official language in CV and the language of formal schooling, writing, and most of the media. Compared to the ethnic composition in Guinea Bissau, Cape Verdeans are a multiethnic society that makes it seem "almost Caribbean in comparison to the very African culture of Guinea-Bissau." (Holm 1988: 273).

¹¹ This is a period described by Lang (2011) as "system of tenancy with small tenants working for absentee landowners [which] most likely favored rural, basilectal varieties of the creole at the expense of urban acrolectal varieties" (65)

Kriyol

Kriyol (K) is a Portuguese-lexified language spoken in Guinea-Bissau and in Casamance, in the south of Senegal. The first fortification in Guinea Bissau was built in 1588, more than a hundred years after the start of trade activities in GB in 1446. Because the crown never issued an official colonization policy for GB, it remained relatively isolated from further waves of European migration. The lack of official colonization documents obscures the identity of Guinea Bissau's first inhabitants, but most of the work on Kriyol has attributed the language to a group of *lançados* from Cape Verde that lived with African wives and took over the slave trade in Guinea Bissau. An alternative to the CV origin theory maintains that *grumetes*, Christianized Africans, settled around the Guinea Bissau ports (Kihm & Rougé 2013; Kihm 1994: 4). *Grumetes* worked as ship crew and as intermediaries between Portuguese and Africans, possibly speaking a Portuguese pidgin.

In Guinea Bissau, K is the second language of two-thirds of the population who consider it an ethnic identifier of the indigenous group (Baptista 2002: 53) and the Christian population (Kihm 2011: 53). Contact with neighboring substrate groups continues to this date (Baptista 2002: 52), and even though there is some grammatical convergence, the language has survived thanks to its important role as an ethnic identifier¹² (Kihm 2011:11). The language was revitalized during and after GB independence, when it was also made a national language (Kihm 2011: 87). Portuguese continues to be the official language used in official government activities, but has almost no native speakers left (Kihm 2011: 81).

2.2.1.2. The Slave Trade and Gulf of Guinea Creoles (GGC)

The African slave trade had its center in the islands of the Gulf of Guinea, west of Gabon and Equatorial Guinea. Starting in the beginning of the 16th century, the number of Africans being traded by the Portuguese increased in great numbers due in part to the development of plantations in Africa. But the number of slaves traded reached its peak during the 17th century, when approximately 1.9 million slaves were shipped to plantations in the Atlantic and the Caribbean (Lovejoy 2011). Besides the Sao Tome variety (ST), other creoles in this group developed in Principe (PR), and Annobon (FA).

GGC languages share many lexical and grammatical similarities. To account for the similarities, Hagemerjeer (2011) proposes two stages of development: an early homestead period, and a later plantation period. In the homestead period, all of the GGC languages arise from a pidgin based on Edo, or “proto- GGC.” This language developed rapidly over the time span of two generations of Nigerian slaves who were part of the earliest African slave trade, also known as the Benin trade (Nigeria) by early Sao Tomé settlers.¹³ PGGC was then carried to the other islands by either settlers or escapees; on these islands the proto-GGC varieties underwent separate developments¹⁴ (Hagemerjeer & Parkvall 2001; Hagemerjeer 2011). During the plantation

¹² “Creolisation was actually a matter of restricting access in order to construct and preserve a separate community. Within that community, Kriyol was obviously necessary also as a common language between people of diverse origins, who could have communicated without it given generalized bilingualism, but did it even better through a medium where the practical and the symbolic functions were fully reconciled.” (Kihm in Lefebvre 2011:87).

¹³ For an alternative explanation, see Ferraz (1987) typological diffusion argument: by which similarities are the result of contact languages “that grew up together, with slaves and settlers introduced through the central administration in Sao Tomé” (Ferraz, 1987: 348).

¹⁴ The role of Sao Tomé within the Atlantic Slave Trade was supported by a genetic study that suggests that the peopling of Sao Tome may be the first example of the combination of different African groups with an European admixture that were brought together by the Slave Trade. (Lang, 2011)

period, the languages went through a second wave of contact when slave recruitment was expanded to Bantu-speaking areas. Most of the observed Bantu layer is found in the lexicon of the GGC.

The extent to which each creole was involved in the slave trade and the plantation economy is correlated with the ratio of Edo to Bantu elements. Since PR was isolated from the slave trade for a long period, it is the GGC with the lowest amount of Bantu elements (26%). Because many slaves escaped to Angola, ANG has the highest number of Bantu elements (76%)¹⁵ (Hagemijer 2011: 143). The grammars of ANG and ST show the most innovative grammatical patterns; while FA and PR are the most conservative GGC varieties, that is, the varieties that departed least from an original proto-GGC (Hagermeijer 2011: 143).

Linguistically, GGC are significantly different from UGC. Though the two groups share some Portuguese features, they underwent different phonological restructuring processes, and the GGC show a stronger substrate influence than UGC in all domains (Ferraz 1976). The similarities between GGC and UGC are either superficial or are common to many contact languages (Hagemijer 2011: 140). According to Ladhams, compared to the UGC languages, the GGC show a more radical creolization. However, as both groups are plantation creoles they both had the same rapid rate of development. The difference in the type of creolization was not the result of a longer presence of Portuguese as argued in Clements and Mahoob (2000: 464-5), but of differences in the plantation setting and the extent to which the creole became a community identifier (Ladhams 2009: 295).

Sao Tome

Sao Tomé (ST) is a Portuguese-lexified language spoken in the island of Sao Tome, the southernmost island of the San Tome and Principe Islands. In 1458 the first settlement was established on the previously uninhabited island. By 1507 there were about 2000 slaves and 1000 European settlers (Ladhams 2007: 4). The slaves were speakers of the Edo language brought from the Benin Kingdom, and many were later sent from Sao Tome to other colonies and to the Sao Jorge mines.¹⁶

A second wave of slaves from Bantú-speaking areas of Congo and Angola started to arrive in 1517 to work in the plantation system, which would serve as a model for plantations in Brazil and the Caribbean (Hagemijer 2011). Ladhams (2006: 93) points out that the greater amount of Edo elements in ST is evidence of a rapid creolization of the language, as it must have creolized before the arrival of the Bantu-speaking slaves.

The “basilectation” of the language is associated with the decline of a short-lived sugar economy in the first 20 years of the 16th century, accompanied by a temporary loss to Principe of Sao Tome's role as a slave-trade distribution center. This period of economic decline led to an exodus of the Portuguese population, which intensified after the Dutch invasion in 1640 when Sao Tome was completely cut off from Portugal and Portuguese. In the 19th and 20th centuries ST was influenced by immigrant languages coming from Cape Verde, Mozambique and Angola.

¹⁵ The Bantu ‘character’ of Angolar had some earlier researchers advance the hypothesis that ANG was a creolized Bantu language. But following work on African features in Caribbean creoles (e.g. Lorenzino, Sosa, Alvarez, & Granada, 1998) has shown that the maroon contact language has a significant amount of Nigerian lexical and functional items that groups ANG with the other GGC, additional data has supported a Bantu relexification process over an Edo-based maroon creole (Lorenzino 1998; Hagermeijer, 2011).

¹⁶ Benin-Sao Tomé- Mina Trade is described in (Vogt, 1973)

At present, Portuguese is the official language of Sao Tomé. ST has about 60,000 speakers (Hagemeyer 2013), but the number of native speakers is dropping as speakers switch to Portuguese.

Principense

Principense (PR) is spoken on Principe, the northernmost island of the Sao Tomé and Principe islands. The uninhabited island of Principe was unofficially settled in 1499 by famine refugees from Saint Tomé, and in 1500 it became part of the Portuguese empire by royal decree. From the start, the proportion of Africans versus Europeans was high, with about 10 Europeans and 500 slaves in 1607 (Ladhams 2007). For four years (1514-1518) Principe held a monopoly on the slave trade from the Niger Delta. After San Tome regained the central role in the slave trade, Principe became relatively isolated from the GG slave trade, and consequently missed the influx of Bantú languages. Principe's isolation is evidenced by the low number of Bantu lexical items compared with the other GGC.

The isolation of PR sparked the interest of linguists (e.g. Gunther 1973; Thiele, Boretzky, Enninger, & Stolz 1991) who found that aside from the lexicon, Principe also showed unique grammatical characteristics. More recently, Maurer (1997) examines Principe's TMA system, concluding that it shows functional expansions not found in ST or ANG (429).

Today, the language has merged with surrounding African languages and is spoken by less than 20 people (Maurer 2013c) on the island of Principe. It also has some speakers on the neighboring island of Sao Tomé, but "a totally homogeneous linguistic community does not exist anymore" (Maurer 2013c).

Fa d' Ambó

Fa d' Ambó (FA) is an offspring of ST that is spoken in the island of Annobón, the smallest island among the GG islands. It has about 5,000-6,000 native speakers (Michaelis et. al 2013). The language was discovered in 1500 and settlement began in 1503. By 1507 there were 9 white inhabitants, one of the lowest numbers in all of the Portuguese African colonies (Ladhams 2007). The island was settled between 1543 and 1565 after a royal decree (Hagermeijer in Aboh 2009: 44). Given this late settlement scenario Hagemeyer (2011) believes that the creole taken to Annobón during the peak of the plantation economy must have been "a form of the proto-GGC (=ST) that had already undergone influence from the Western Bantu layer" (Hagemeyer 2011: 114). Still, lexically and grammatically FA groups with PR as the two GGC with the least Bantu in its lexicon, and the least amount of grammatical innovations (Hagermeijer 2011).

In the later 18th century the island was transferred to Spain with great resistance by its inhabitants. Today Spanish is an official language of the government and education along with Portuguese, but it is not spoken by many women (Marike Post 2013) and contributes only a small part of the modern FA lexicon.

Angolar

Angolar Portuguese is a lexified African language spoken by about 5,000 people in the North- and Southwestern regions of the island of Sao Tomé in the Gulf of Guinea. This represents 3% of the total Sao Tomé population (Lorenzino 2007).

ANG is the only maroon slave language in the GGC group. Its first speakers who settled in the region were escaped slaves mostly coming from Sao Tome plantations (Arends: 388). Little is known about the ethnolinguistic composition of the maroon slaves, but the heavily

Bantu lexicon suggests that they belonged to the wave of slaves brought to the sugar mills in ST. The fact that they were maroon slaves also suggests that their contact with the lexifier might have been through a Portuguese contact variety already spoken in ST. Even though ANG is believed to have developed from an early contact variety of ST, today the two languages are not mutually intelligible.¹⁷

From the 18th century on Angolars integrated into Sao Tomé society and the trade economy (Guimares *ibid*). ANG is losing terrain to ST, and it is possible that it will not be spoken by the next generation (Philippe Maurer 2013a).

2.2.2 South Asia

While the spread of Portuguese in Africa was characterized by the slave trade and the plantation setting, in Asia, Portuguese was mostly spread through evangelization, trade, and political domination (Thomaz 2002). The term Indian Portuguese Creoles (IP) refers to a group of Portuguese-lexified contact languages that developed as a result of Portuguese activities in India, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. Some of the surviving varieties include: Sri Lanka Creole (Ian R. Smith 1979; Ian Russell Smith 1978), and Cannanore (*Kannur*) in the south; and Korlai (Clements 1996), Daman (J. Clancy Clements & Koontz-Garboden 2002) and Diu (Hugo Cardoso 2009) in the north.

With the establishment of the first trading post in 1505 in India, Portugal jumpstarted its European-Asian expansion and established a new spice trade route, a network that would extend from India all the way to the spice islands (Indonesia). Until then, the spice trade route in South Asia extended along the Indian Malabar Coast, which was controlled by Muslims, and Indians. At the time of the Portuguese arrival in Goa, the port was already a meeting point for different cultures with a dynamic socio-demographics and intense language contact (Kulkani 1989 in Clements 1996). The Portuguese took advantage of conflicts between Indians and Muslims to form an alliance with the Indians and enter the trade route. The first Portuguese trading post was built in Cochin in 1505 (Clements 2009: 59) and the first settlement in Goa was established in 1510. The group of Portuguese colonies in India became known as the *Estado da India*,¹⁸ which had its administrative center in Goa and stretched from Cape of Good Hope to the Far East. At the peak of the Portuguese trade, there were over 65 Portuguese trade posts, each with its own contact-language variety (Clements 1992).

Most trade posts and settlements did not have a considerable European population. In most cases they “consisted of a small number of *reinóis* (usually a *feitor* (the commercial agent of the crown) priests, merchants and possibly soldiers), some of these being *casados*, and a larger number of *mestiços*, native Christians and slaves” (Baxter 1996: 300). Given the minority status of Portuguese in this setting, Cardoso wonders about the motivation behind the development of a nativized contact variety in the Malabar Coast: “Why, then, would a Portuguese-lexified creole achieve an L1 speech community in the Malabar, in detriment of Portuguese or Malayalam?”

¹⁷ Holm (1988:280) argues that much of the lexical intelligibility is due to a recent relexification in ST.

¹⁸ The designation of the political unit comprising the Portuguese possessions of India, though originally 'the designation of _Portuguese India_ had a wider meaning during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, and included not just the territories of Goa, Daman and Diu but likewise the cities, factories and fortresses established from the western coast of Africa to the Middle East and also on the Indian continent, Ceylon, Malaysia, Moluccas and the several religious missions, including those of Japan, and still other commercial posts along the vast maritime trajectory described by the Portuguese. With its capital in Goa, the viceroys and governors had jurisdiction over those territories, which included Mozambique until 1752 and Macau, Solor and Timor until 1844.' (Morais 1997:9)[taken from: (Cardoso, 2009)] (my translation).

and concludes that it was linked to the creation of a *mestiço* identity through intermarriage, the marriage of Portuguese men with Indian women (n.d.: 6). This practice was particularly encouraged in India as a means to secure ports along the coast. Cardoso (n.d.) also considers another motivation for the adoption of the Portuguese contact language and suggests that it may have been related to the considerable population of African slaves that had been brought from Southeastern Africa:

“In principle, displaced Africans could have contributed in two ways: as carriers of an African-formed pidgin/creole (of which other non-Portuguese travellers of the Cape Route were equally likely diffusers) or as direct contributors to the formation of a pidgin/creole in Asia.” (n.d.: 6)

This scenario is supported by a number of studies that have found lexical items of African origin in Indo-Portuguese texts (see: Dalgado 1919, Tomás 1992b, Cardoso 2010).

In one of the first comparative works on IP, Shuchardt (1899) proposes that the IPs that developed around the trading posts and settlements can be typologically classified into one of two groups according to their Indian substrates: *Dravido Portuguese* (Dravidian adstrate, Malayalam), and *Gauro Portuguese* (Indo-Aryan substrate, i.e. Gujarati and Marathi). The first group is found along the Malabar Coast, a highly active commercial area which stretches along the Southeastern Indian coast and includes Sri Lanka. The second group, *Gauro Portuguese*, is found in what was called *Provincia del Norte*, which ran from Korlai to Chaul and included the island of Diu. Despite their classification as separate groups, current analyses of adstrate effects in IP often find little evidence differentiating the Dravidian from the Indo-Aryan groups.

One explanation for the typological similarities between the two groups is that there existed long-term convergence processes¹⁹ because of the close relationship between the different Portuguese trading posts. Under the Portuguese, many men of European origin found wives amongst converted South Asian women in neighboring communities. This phenomenon was part of a broader cultural exchange that included the transmission of local emerging languages through what Delgado (1913) called an “easterly and reciprocal interaction”. A similar description of the milieu is presented by Cardoso (2012) who pointed out that “the various Portuguese settlements in the region formed a network through which populations and culture flowed in multiple directions” (Cardoso 2012: 113). According to this theory of language spread, the interconnectedness of the contact languages resulted in the convergence and realignment of Dravidian and Indo Aryan features. This in turn accounts for the fact that all IP creoles exhibit a series of common linguistic features across typological boundaries. These features have been identified by several authors (e.g. Ferraz 1987; Holm 1989; Baxter 1996; Ansaldo & Cardoso 2009: 4):

- The typical structure of the possessive construction (Possessor + *su/s_* + Possessed);
- Noun-Modifier word order;
- Dative-Accusative case, expressed by an adposition derived either from Portuguese *para* ‘for’ or *por* ‘by’, or from Portuguese *com* ‘with’;
- The form of preverbal Tense-Aspect markers, normally derived from Portuguese *ja* ‘already’ (Past/Perfective), *está/ar* ‘is/to be’ (Non-punctual aspect) and *logo* ‘immediately, later’ (Future/Irrealis);
- Identity of form of existential/possessive/copular verbs;

¹⁹ Longstanding convergence processes between South Asian languages are notoriously discussed in Gumperz and Wilson (1971) and Sridhar S.N. (1980).

- A special future negator derived from Portuguese *não há-de* ‘shall not’;
- Certain lexical items, such as *ada/ade/adi* ‘duck’.

An alternative to a convergence theory of language contact is developed by Ferraz (1987: 349), who considers that the pervasive similarities must have originated in the formative period of the IP creoles. Historically this would mean that the features originated in the first southern Portuguese posts. Clements (2000) builds on Ferraz (1987) to elaborate a “Malabar Coast Pidgin Hypothesis” which states that IPs develop from the same (Malabar) contact language/ *lingua franca*, a kind of Portuguese pidgin that served as the target language and was fundamental to the formation of the IP and Southeastern contact varieties.

The differences between the creoles have been explained in terms of their contact with Portuguese (Table 2). In general, a correlation between the length of stay and the amount of lexifier features has been found in all of the IPs (Clements 2002, Cardoso 2013). Diu and Daman present examples of more acrolectal varieties, relative to Korlai and Sri Lanka creoles. Nonetheless, the latter show a great number of similarities with Diu and Daman despite shorter contact with the Portuguese (Clements 2012:23). Some of the historical reasons for language maintenance are discussed below.

Table 2 Portuguese presence in Diu, Daman, Korlai, Kannur and Sri Lanka from: (Clements 2012: 23)

	Strong Portuguese presence	Diminished Portuguese presence	Strongly reduced to absence of Portuguese presence
<i>Diu and Daman</i>	1540-1580 to around 1740	Around 1740 to 1961	1961 to present
<i>Korlai</i>	1520 to around 1640	1640-1740	1740- to present
<i>Kannur and Sri Lanka</i>	1505-1530 to the beginning of the 17 th c.	Beginning of the 17 th c. to 1658-1663	1658-1663

Kannur

Kannur is a Dravidian Portuguese-lexified contact language spoken in Cannanore in the province of Kerala. It is the oldest surviving Ibero-Asian creole, and the only living Malabar creole with remaining speakers. While it developed in contact with Malayalam (Indo-Aryan), the language has converged towards the Dravidian-adstrate languages, showing Dravidian word order and case markers (Cardoso 2006). There is little data on the language except for a short corpus collected by Schuchardt, published in 1889. The language is practically extinct with only 7 speakers in 2010, all members of the same family (Cardoso 2006).

Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole (SLP)

SLP is the IP contact language spoken in Sri Lanka in the Tamil- and Sinhala- (Dravidian) speaking regions. Smith (1979) estimates that IP was first spoken in Sri Lanka in 1517, just 9 years after the first Portuguese settlement. It is possible that the Sri Lankan creole was transferred from creoles in the Malabar Coast. Although at some point there were over 60 trading posts in Sri Lanka, not many of the SLP varieties survived, and today most of the remaining speakers are found in Batticaloa. Today the language is mostly surrounded by Tamil, SLP’s best-described substrate (see: Smith 1977, 1979). Nonetheless, Sinhala is the dominant language in the rest of Sri Lanka, and was the first local language in contact with Portuguese (Smith 1979). The Portuguese presence lasted until 1658 when Sri Lanka was taken by the Dutch. However, the Dutch (1658- 1796) did not leave any significant linguistic trace. They continued

the use of SLP in the domestic sphere, as many of them married *mestizo* women who had Portuguese fathers and Sri Lankan mothers (Smith 1979: 196). SLP continued to be used as a *lingua franca*, but lost ground to English towards the end of the 18th century.

The grammatical structure of SLP is unique within IP because while the rest of the IPs derive most of their features from one Indian adstrate, SLP shows significant grammatical input from more than one adstrate language. Some idiosyncratic structural features in SLP²⁰ link it to Malayalam spoken in the Malabar Coast. SLP also shows greater convergence with the surrounding Tamil and Sinhala adstrates. Convergence with local languages has added features atypical in creoles that are otherwise pervasive in South Asian languages, such as SOV word order, postpositions, and Asian-like case marking (Cardoso n.d. 11).

Korlai

Korlai is spoken by 780 inhabitants (as of 2010) of the coastal village of Korlai, located about 150km south of Mumbai in the state of Maharashtra (Clements 2013). The language is considered to be descended from a defunct Chaul variety spoken in the neighboring port of Chaul.

Korlai formed rapidly and was nativized by 1535 by the offspring of Portuguese sailors who had been brought to the fort and native Marathi women (Clements 2007). The Portuguese officially left Korlai early, in 1740. After that year, the Portuguese presence was reduced to the Portuguese priests remaining in scattered parishes, who provided some continuing Portuguese influence on the language (Clements 1996:15). Even though Marathi was used as the language of the church, the church did not admit native and mixed-blood Indians into the priesthood until the mid 1800's (Clements 1996). Portuguese was never taught in schools, which only started formally in the 20th century, and were conducted in Marathi.

One of the most striking features of Korlai is that the language has remained viable compared to other IPs, even though it was isolated for over 460 years from Portugal, and the speakers had very little exposure to Standard Portuguese. Moreover, the ratio of Korlai to Marathi speakers remained very disproportionate, for "there were never more than 1,000 Korlai speakers, and they were always surrounded by Marathi speakers" (Clements 1992: 48).

Clements & Koontz (2002) explain that the preservation of Korlai might be related to an emergence of a Christian caste within a strict caste system. The caste system among the Christian population existed parallel to the Hindu caste system. The model of organization was intended to preserve "purity of Portuguese blood" in the upper strata, while the lower strata were modeled after the Hindu system, which based the caste level on hereditary occupations. The hierarchy was as follows: *Reinol* (European-born Portuguese) > *Castiços* (European father, Eurasian mother) > *Mestiços* (Eurasian-Indian or Eurasian-Eurasian parents) > priests > warriors, merchants > menial laborers, peasants and artisans > landless workers and peasants (Clements & Koontz-Garboden 2002: 198). Crucially, pureblooded Portuguese were not allowed to marry high-class Hindu women, and thus ended up mixing instead with *mestiço* or *castiço* women (ibid). This helped to create a clearly defined Christian class. Besides religion and the caste system, Clements (1992) also emphasizes the important role of the community's agricultural self-sufficiency (Clements 1992: 48), which allowed for an independent economy that did not rely on the surrounding Marathis.

²⁰ e.g. causal subordinator containing the morpheme *vide* (in old Sri Lankan texts *videque* X 'because X' and in modern Sri Lanka creole X *wi:d_* 'because X', in modern Malabar creoles X-*su vid_* 'because X') or the temporal subordinator (in Sri Lanka creole *_r_s* 'when', in modern Malabar creoles *_rz_* 'when').

Only recently, (within the last 40-50 years (Clements 1992), did the contact with outside Indian varieties increase the linguistic pressure of Marathi on the Korlai grammatical structure. Currently the IP seems to be converging with Indo-Aryan structure, most notably in the shift from SVO language to an Indo-Aryan SOV word order (Clements 1991). The remaining Middle Portuguese elements in Korlai are mostly attested in the lexicon and its phonological inventory (Clements and Koontz-Garboden 2002).

Diu and Daman

Daman is spoken in a region approximately 150 km north of Bombay. In total, there are 4, 000 speakers, that amount to approximately 6% of its Christian population (Cardoso 2009). Across the bay from Daman, in an island called Diu, there are about 180 speakers of a closely related variety named after the island (Hugo C. Cardoso 2013).

The Portuguese settled Diu in 1535, and Daman was settled 20 years later around 1559 (Cardoso 2009). The Portuguese further expanded their presence through the mix of Portuguese men and local women that characterized all of the Asian expansion. The Diu and Daman varieties both share the same Gujarati adstrate. Diu speakers are multilingual and usually have native-like competence in Gujarati, while older speakers may also be standard Portuguese speakers. An “unmistakable Portuguese presence”(Cardoso 2009), remains in both Diu and Daman, where Portuguese as a second language is an optional subject in school (Cardoso *ibid.* 638). However, Portuguese is losing terrain to English, which is taking over church, education, and some government activities (Cardoso *ibid.*).

Diu and Daman share a large number of linguistic features due to their proximity, and to the practice of intermarriage. In fact, the Diu and Daman languages are used interchangeably in a variety of social settings:

“the two codes can coexist relatively stably within the same territory and small social circle, and also that families play a decisive role in transmitting language, even when their variety is not dominant in their environment.” (Cardoso 2009: 24)

Widespread intermarriage was allowed thanks to a flexible caste system. The caste system of Diu and Daman’ differentiated Christian Indians/Portuguese from other Hindus, but contrary to the caste system in Goa and Korlai, it did not have different castes for different types of Christians. As a result, all Christians, regardless of their economic status, were able to attend the same social functions and participate of the same activities. Clements (2002) adds that in the case of Diu and Daman, Christianity was not only an important ethnic identifier, but also provided a kind of social mobility for the ethnically diverse lower classes.

Although both Diu and Daman exhibit a wide range of variation associated with different positions in a Creole continuum, the long Portuguese presence, which officially ended in 1961 (see Table 2), provided them with an acrolectal character compared to other IP languages. They lack common IP features, such as the post-nominal genitive construction (Baxter & Bastos 2012), and Gujarati features are commonly found in variation with Portuguese-derived features (e.g. Cardoso 2012: 90)

2.2.3 South East Portuguese Contact languages

Before the arrival of the Portuguese in the beginning of the 16th century, Southeast Asia and the Pacific were already highly active trade zones. Southeast-Asian Ibero-Creoles developed in the zones where the Portuguese located their main trading posts with China and the Spice Islands

(Indonesia). Until the late 19th century Portuguese contact languages were spoken in these areas, including Shanghai, Java, Timor, and other Indonesian islands (Hancock 1975). Eventually, as the Portuguese lost trade terrain to the Dutch, British, and Spanish, the number of speakers decreased. Some of the surviving varieties include Malacca Creole or ‘Kristang’ in Malaysia, Makista in Macao, and other small contact languages that survive Hong Kong and Singapore.

When the Portuguese arrived at the Malacca strait, a body of water that separates northwestern Indonesia and the Malay peninsula, in 1511, they arrived at the administrative trade center of commerce with the Spice Islands (Indonesia), and a control point for the China-India trade network (Aye 2006: 4). At the time of the Portuguese arrival, the region had been ruled for almost 400 years by a series of Arab sultanates, and Islam had already spread in Malaysia and Indonesia. While Arabic was the politically dominant language, Malay was the language of the cultural and administrative center in Malacca. In the region, a standardized literary variety (High Malay) co-existed with local Malay varieties and other languages such as Javanese, Gujarati, Siamese, Burmese, Hokkien Chinese, Balinese, Makkasarese, and Bugis (Reid 1993). The main language used in the trade routes by Indians, Muslims and Chinese was *Bazaar Malay* (BM). BM showed contact-language characteristics that distinguished it from other Malay varieties including a restricted bound morphology and a significant amount of influence by southern Chinese languages, especially Hokkien (Ansaldo 2009). While BM never nativized, the language existed alongside other related languages that did nativize. Some of the nativized Malay varieties became associated with ethnic groups within Malaysia such as *Baba Malay* (Shellabear 1913), a creolized form used among people of mixed Chinese Malay descent; and South Indian *Chitty Malay* (Mohamed 2009), used among people of mixed Tamil and Malay descent. Other languages such as Singapore and Sri Lanka Malay were more circumscribed to a certain geographical region. The Malay varieties share a set of linguistic similarities from Malay and Hokkien, which include:

- Possessive constructions based on *punya* (‘owner’ > ‘to possess’) [possessor + *punya* + possessee]
- Very few productive morphological affixes compared to Literary Malay (i.e. isolating typology);
- Pronouns of Sinitic, Hokkien origin, especially first and second person;
- *Plural pronouns formed with singular form + Malay *orang* ‘person’;
- Reduced forms of demonstratives that precede the noun: *ini* ‘this’ and *itu* ‘that’
- Use of the Malay existential marker *ada* to indicate progressive aspect
- ‘give’ and ‘make’ causative constructions based on Malay *kasi* ‘to give’ and *buat* ‘to make’ preceding the verb
- polyfunctional preposition *sama*

[from: (Ansaldo 2009: 62)]

Adelaar & Prentice (2006) noted that these similarities are suggestive of the existence of a common trade pidgin known in the literature as Pidgin Malay Dialect (PMD), but point out that PMD does not correspond to one language in particular but rather provides a heuristic to explain the similarities between Malay contact varieties.²¹

PMD did not influence all the region involved in the trade network; the easternmost point of the Malay world was more influenced by Javanese traders (Paaw 2006), and some of the islands in

²¹ The Malay contact varieties did not influence all the region involved in the trade network; the easternmost point of the Malay world was more influenced by Javanese traders (Paaw, 2006), and some of the islands in the Moluccas did not even had contact with Malay, such as the Papuan contact language spoken in Ternate (Indonesia).

the Moluccas did not even had contact with Malay, such as the Papuan contact language spoken in Ternate (Indonesia).

The inclusion of Portuguese in the trade map influenced the linguistic landscape of the Malay territory in that after their arrival, the Portuguese-lexified varieties became the trade *linguas franca* of the region. The Portuguese-lexified *linguas franca* were used even after the decline of the Portuguese presence and the start of the dominance of the Dutch, who unlike the Portuguese, never spread their language in the zone. The contexts of creolization of two surviving Portuguese contact varieties are discussed below.

Kristang

Papia Kristang is a Portuguese-based creole spoken by approximately 800 people in Malacca, West Malaysia, by approximately one half to one third of the settlement's inhabitants (Baxter 2007: 16). and the language is found in literature and music, but is completely absent from newspapers and TV (Baxter 2005: 17). The language today is shifting towards English (as of 2007) and is considered "under threat, with most speakers in the 50-80 year old age range" (Baxter 2005: 17).

Malacca has been a cosmopolitan city from its inception. Situated by the strait that connects South Asia with Southeast Asia, it served as a hub in the colonial Asian trade network. Malacca was also on the border between the spheres of power of the Spanish in Manila and the Portuguese in South Asia. The Portuguese conquest of Malacca departed from Cochin in 1509, involving some 800 Europeans, including Eurasian *mestizos*, and 600 Indian troops (Wilkinson 1912: 73). The Portuguese expansion also resulted in a great influx of Christian slaves in Malacca from distant colonies in Africa and India.²²

There is some controversy over whether Kristang is a creolization of a Portuguese pidgin that arrived in Malacca from South Asia, or whether it is a purely local product. Baxter (1988) seems to suggest that it is unlikely that a stable Portuguese pidgin had arrived in Malacca with the Portuguese, given that the Portuguese were still new to India when Malacca was conquered. However, he accepts a theory of partial transmission in which a Portuguese pidgin that "would have been an autonomous reduced system" converged with other South East Asian languages, particularly Bazaar Malay (1988: 5).

The number of Portuguese and Portuguese descendants was dramatically reduced after the Dutch takeover in 1640. At the same time, the contrast between Catholicism of the Portuguese and the Protestantism of the Dutch may have helped solidify the ethnic identity of the remaining Kristang speakers in Malacca (Baxter 1988). The number of speakers remained relatively stable until 1979, when many started migrating to other states in Malaysia.

Makista

Makista/Macanese is spoken in Macao, a port on the Pearl River Delta in southeastern China. The port city was unofficially settled between 1513 and 1519 by traders who were attracted to Macao because of its strategic location and easy access to the Canton trade. The position also facilitated trade with Japan, and Macao was established as the center of Chinese silk and Japanese silver (Ansaldo 2009: 76).

²² Baxter mentions that some of the earlier slaves came from local tradeposts in Macao, Japan and China, from where they were exported to Malacca, Manila and Goa. Later in the 17th century there is evidence of slaves from India, Africa, Java, and Timor (Baxter 2013: 323).

The Chinese tolerated the Macanese presence in the Chinese soil (Ansaldo 2009: 76) but created restrictive measures against all of the non-Chinese residents, who were segregated by the construction of a fortified city²³ (Cardoso 2010). The walled city housed a multiethnic group of people that included Portuguese, Indians, Arabs, Africans, and Filipinos. The segregation from the rest of China furthermore created a “marriage problem”; since no Portuguese women accompanied the Portuguese to the Asian settlements, and the Portuguese were kept away from Chinese women, the female population had to be imported from other Portuguese colonies, such as the Indian colonies of Malacca and Goa (Ansaldo 2009: 76).

After the British entered the Canton trade in the 17th century, Macanese who knew Chinese worked for the British as interpreters. The use of several English dictionaries and phrasebooks could have been a source of relexification of the original Portuguese variety into Chinese Pidgin English (CPE) (Matthews and Li 2013). The transition to CPE also marks the gradual decline of Portugal and Portuguese in the Canton trade. Portugal reacted by enacting an ‘Europeanization’ program which included opening the first Portuguese schools and the use of Portuguese in the media (Pinharanda 2012). This period is responsible for the acrolectal features in Makista. At the same time it also resulted in a loss of prestige of the contact language in the face of an increase of exposure to standard Portuguese, which further contributed to decline in the number of MAC speakers.

Today, the Macanese identity is not necessarily bound to the language; while about 5,000 people identify themselves as Macanese, the language is critically endangered with less than 50 remaining speakers (Lewis et. al. 2015).

2.3 Spanish contact varieties

The high number of Portuguese-lexified contact languages contrasts with the low number of Spanish-lexified contact languages. There are only three Spanish-lexified creoles, Papiamentu and Palenquero in the Caribbean, and Chabacano in Asia. This low number is puzzling given that the Spanish, along with the French, British, Dutch and Portuguese, were a major imperial power between the 16th and the 19th centuries. As we know, Spanish instead became the main language of most of the Spanish colonies. Several sociohistorical characteristics of the Spanish colonization have been linked to this linguistic outcome.

Most of the explanations for this phenomenon have focused on contrasting prototypical Caribbean plantation creoles with the Spanish creoles. In general, all of the theories relate their lower incidence to a greater access to the European language. Some earlier theories proposed that compared with other colonizers, the Spaniards were “softer” in their treatment of slaves, thus allowing for more proximity to the European language. This is suggested by Lopez Morales when he says that:

“España trató a sus colonias como provincias del Reino; las demás potencias coloniales, como auténticas factorías. Concepciones tan disímiles como éstas produjeron, como era de esperar, diferentes patrones de contacto y mezcla de razas, intense en unas, nulo prácticamente en las otras.” (López Morales en: Munteanu & Joubert 1996: 28)²⁴

²³ According to Conim and Teixeira (1998:109) the number of Eurasians “famílias indo-portuguesas”, ascended to 600 by 1600. The mixed of ethnicities also included African slaves (Pinharanda: 314).

²⁴ [Spain treated its colonies like kingdom provinces; the other colonial powers like actual factories. Understandings as different as these produced, as one should expect, different patterns of contact and racial mix, intense in some cases and practically null in others.] (my translation)

McWhorter (2000) notes that beginning in the 19th century, Spanish colonial practices were as harsh as that of other European powers, and argues that other historical factors provide better explanations for the lack of Spanish creoles. He argues that plantation economy developed late in the Spanish colonies, which had subsisted until then from smaller crops. As a result, when slavery started to become a large industry on islands such as Cuba and Puerto Rico, there were already large numbers of Spanish speakers on the islands.

The African influence in the Spanish colonies has been linked to two different waves of migration. The first wave consisted of African slaves known as *ladinos* or *negros de Castilla o Portugal* who were brought from Spain and the Canary Islands. This group and probably already spoke some version of Afro-Portuguese acquired in the slave *entrepots* in western Africa (Alvarez Nazario 1974: 30). Some of the African features associated with the Caribbean dialects may be evidence of earlier contact languages in the Americas,²⁵ which may include extinct varieties of Cuba (Holm 1988: 307), and possibly Puerto Rico (Alvarez 1982: 27). A greater influx of slaves arrived in the second decade of the 16th century with the establishment of sugar plantations. These slaves were mostly Africans directly brought from West Africa (1982: 22).

More recent work has proposed a more nuanced description of the sociohistorical forces that motivated the genesis of contact varieties in the Caribbean colonies. Faraclas et. al. (2007) present a matrix of colonization and creolization based on Alleyne (1971) that describes the “Afro-Caribbean Creolization Space that typifies a particular Caribbean island society at a particular time in its history” (Faraclas et. al. 2007: 234). In this matrix Northern Europeans (Dutch, British) define one pole, Southern Europeans (Spain, and to a “lesser extent” Portugal) another pole. Some of the parameters that affect the creolization space include: intensity of labor (northern European +intensive, southern European –intensive), time of introduction of the plantation economy, interaction between Africans and others, spread of metropolitan culture, and evangelization practices. This matrix predicts that the contact varieties of different lexifier languages will differ in the amount and type of substrate influence, and is intended to account for the fact that Iberian-contact varieties in the Caribbean do not enter into dominant narratives of linguistic creolization. Overall, the authors argue that the difference between the Spanish contact varieties in the Caribbean and other Caribbean creoles can be explained in terms of different political economies.

As will be shown in this section, none of the Spanish-lexified creoles developed in a prototypical plantation setting. Papiamentu and Palenquero are directly linked to the slave trade in the Caribbean as they are respectively spoken in a hub for the slave trade, and a haven for maroon slaves. On the other hand, the context of emergence of Chabacano resembles that of other Asian and Southeast Asian creoles.

2.3.1 Papiamentu (PA)

Papiamentu is spoken on the Leeward Islands of the Netherlands Antilles just north of Venezuela; these include Curaçao, (141,000), Aruba (59,000) and Bonaire (7,800) (ABC islands) (Holm 1989). It is the first language of more than 70% of the population of the ABC islands,

²⁵ Caribbean creoles through a series of common features such as: merge of syllable final /l/ and /r/; realization of syllable final /s/ as zero or aspiration; and velar nasals replacing word-final /n/ (Holm, 1988: 308) Note that these features are also present in the Spanish dialects arriving to the Caribbean, particular Andalucia and and Canary islands (Alvarez Nazario 1982).

where only 1/6 speaks another language, usually Spanish. There are no major differences between the varieties, only some minor orthographical differences. (Kowenberg 2013). Papiamentu is the official language of Aruba along with Dutch, and in Bonaire and Curaçao it shares official status with Dutch and English.

Kowenberg (2013) recognizes three different lexifier languages for Papiamentu; (Afro) Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch; which correspond to three different historical stages of European presence. Even though a large percentage of the lexical items (around 60%) (Lipski 2008: 6) cannot be identified as pertaining exclusively to Spanish, I include Papiamentu in the list of Spanish-lexified creoles for historical reasons. The Spanish were the first Europeans to arrive in Curaçao in 1499, and it was officially settled by Spain beginning in 1527 when a small number of Spaniards, mostly missionaries, remained on the island and Christianized the native population. These Spaniards had little linguistic influence on the population as they had to escape to the mainland in 1634 when the Dutch seized Curaçao and Bonaire. Under Dutch colonization, Dutch was only spoken domestically and Portuguese was used as the *lingua franca* (Holms 1989). In 1649, the island became a slave *entrepot*, where many slaves were shipped to the Spanish colonies, and others remained on the island along with a growing Spanish population. The number of slaves passing through Curaçao was estimated to be 20,000 in 1685. From 1700 to 1715 the number of slaves imported from Africa was about 3,000 to 4,000 a year (Clements 2005: 34). Most of the Portuguese influence came about because of a group of Sephardic Jews who were traders from Brazil, and because of activities related to the slave trade. The formation of Papiamentu was led by Africans, mostly Bantu speakers from Congo and Angola, and Kwa speakers from Ghana, Togo and Benin (Jacobs 2009: 323). Holm (1989) points out that Papiamentu is unique among colonial contact languages in the Caribbean because its use is not, or never was, stigmatized.

2.3.2 Palenquero (*Lengua*) (*PAL*)

Palenquero is a Spanish-lexified creole spoken in Palenque, a village 50 miles South of Cartagena on the Caribbean coast of Colombia. Palenque has somewhere between 4,000 to 5,000 inhabitants where everyone above 10 years old has varying levels of proficiency in the language, and half are said to be completely proficient in the language (Schwegler 2011:2) .

Palenquero is considered a ‘maroon’ creole that formed among fugitive slaves who worked building the Spanish fortifications in Cartagena during the 16th and early 17th centuries. Once Palenque was founded by escaped slaves, it became a hub for other slaves.

The ethnic composition of the early escapees is largely unknown, but they were most likely Bantu speakers from the Congo area. Comparative work shows that in many grammatical domains, Palenquero shows Bantu features, especially from Kikongo, while the West Indies variety shows Kwe/Ijoid African features (Holm: 194). In addition, an early account of a Spanish-lexified contact variety in Palenque suggests that speakers were also fluent in a variety of Afro-Portuguese pidgin brought from the island of Sao Tome in West Africa.:

“Y los llamados criollos y naturales de San Thomé, con comunicación que con tan bárbaras y recónditas naciones han tenido el tiempo que han residido en San Thomé, las entienden casi todas con un género de lenguaje muy corrupto y revesado de la portuguesa, que llaman la lengua de San Thomé, al modo que ahora nosotros entendemos y hablamos con todo género de negros y naciones con nuestra lengua española

corrupta, como comúnmente le hablan todos los negros.”²⁶ (Alosno de Sandoval 1627. *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*. Cited in Megenny 1983: 72)

Lipski (2008: 9) mentions that some features associated with an African input most likely come from Sao Tome. These features include the plural subject pronoun, the syntax of negation, postposed possessives, and pluralization.

Palenque remained isolated from Cartagena until the late 20th century when the first road was built. Palenquero has mixed with Spanish in recent years, and has adopted features, such as gender/number affixation, that are not present in the earlier forms spoken by older generations (Schwegler 2011).

2.3.3 Philippine Spanish Creole (PCS) (Chabacano)

Some of the basic facts about Chabacano were already provided in the introduction, where I discussed the three main varieties (Caviteño, CC; Zamboagueño, ZM; and Ternateño, TE) along with some of their linguistic similarities and differences. These similarities include sharing the same lexifier and certain typological features, and also possibly that they may share a common origin. However, the different varieties developed in different sociolinguistic contexts. In Cavite and Manila, the language developed around military garrisons, but was also influenced by the languages used in the trade activities of the Manila-Acapulco galleon route, the only shipping route at the time that crossed the Pacific trading goods from Asia and the Americas. In Zamboanga, Chabacano also developed around a military garrison as an offshoot of the Cavite variety, while the Ternate variety was probably greatly influenced by a group of *Mardikas* from the Moluccas (Indonesia). The linguistic and historical relationships between the varieties are a contentious topic in Chabacano studies that will be further described in Chapter 3. It is important to note, however, that the difference in the sociohistorical variables between the Chabacano varieties has naturally led to linguistic differences so important that some have suggested differences in their typological status. For the purposes of this chapter some broad generalizations can be drawn about the three Chabacano varieties, in order to compare them with the Spanish-lexified creoles in the Americas.

As compared to other languages in the group of Spanish-lexified creoles, the three Chabacano varieties stand out because of three related factors: 1) they are not the result of the trans-Atlantic slave trade 2) they do not have the linguistic features associated with prototypical Atlantic creoles, and instead 3) they share linguistic features with other South- and Southeast-Asian creoles.

The African slave trade never extended to the Asian and Southeast Asian Portuguese colonies. After the mid 18th century the Portuguese slave trade was theoretically banned in the Philippines (Seijas 2008). This is not to say that slavery was absent from the European colonization in the Philippines. As described in section 1.4.3, in Cavite thousands of locals were recruited into slavery-like working conditions, while many others were imported from Portuguese strongholds in Africa and South Asia. But the Philippines never developed a plantation economy comparable to the ones in the Americas, which demanded a large volume of imported slaves.

²⁶ [And the so-called creoles and naturals from Sao Thome, given the communication that they have had with far away and barbaric nations during the time they have resided in Sao Thome, they understand almost all of them with a corrupt and Portuguese kind of language that they call the language of Sao Thome, of the kind that we now understand and speak to all kinds of black people and nations with our corrupt Spanish language, as it is commonly spoken by all the black people.] (my translation)

As a result, certain sociolinguistic variables were simply not present in the genesis of Chabacano. Unlike the slaves in the Americas and Africa who lost contact with African languages, Chabacano speakers kept continuous contact with the Filipino adstrate languages. This fact affected the rate of development of Chabacano. While in plantation creoles the estrangement from African languages led to the rapid formation of a pidgin that was nativized in one or two generations, it is not clear that Chabacano advanced through a clearly defined pidgin-to-creole path. In fact, although it is believed that the contact language developed sometime around the 17th century, in the mid to late 19th century there was still not a clear differentiation between most varieties of Chabacano and Spanish (Lipski 1992).²⁷

Aside from the Spanish lexicon, Chabacano shares a limited number of linguistic features with Palenquero and Papiamentu. Some of these similarities, such as subject pronominal forms and the imperfective marker *ta* have been linked to Ibero-creoles in general. Other similarities such as the preverbal particle system with uninflected verbs and a subject pronoun undifferentiated for genders are features found in many other contact languages.

The linguistic differences between Chabacano and the two Spanish-lexified creoles are predictable based on their different substrates and adstrates, most importantly the fact that Chabacano is the only Spanish-lexified creole without an African adstrate. Nasalization spreading in syllable final position is one distinctively Afro-Caribbean feature (Lipski 1992) that is not present in Chabacano. Morphosyntactic features, are harder to unequivocally attribute to an African substrate, as some of presumably African features may also be compatible with general tendencies of contact languages, this is the case for example of the difference in word order, Chabacano=VSO, PL/PP=SVO. Some other morphosyntactic features associated with African languages that are absent in Chabacano include serial verbs and predicate clefting (this last one is not attested in Palenquero either) (Holm 2001). Inasmuch as the linguistic features of African derived Atlantic creoles have been associated with the prototypical creole, Chabacano exhibits atypical creole features.

Moreover, Chabacano's continuous contact with its adstrate languages facilitated the incorporation of a considerable number of derivational affixes from Filipino languages such as *ika-* ORDINAL, *ma-* ADJECTIVAL, and *maka-* CAUSATIVE as well as lexical items from a variety of semantic fields, to the point that some have argued that Zamboanga Chabacano is on its way to becoming a mixed language (Steinkrüger) or a mixed creole (Grant). Chabacano also shows a significant amount of similarities when it is compared with other Ibero-Asian creoles. Some of these similarities are listed below (IP=Indian Portuguese creoles, K=Kristang).

Table 3 Ibero-Asian and Malay features attested in Chabacano

	<i>References</i>	<i>Chabacano</i>	<i>Kristang</i>	<i>IP</i>	<i>Bazaar Malay</i>
1. <i>Kilaya</i> 'how'	(Clements 2000)	x	x	x	
2. <i>Irrealis logo</i>	(Clements 2000)		x	x	
3. Negative irrealis marking <i>nohade</i>	(Ferraz 1987)	x (in ZM)	x	x	
4. post-nominal genitive	(Baxter 2012)		x	x	x
5. Concessive connector <i>maski</i>	(Schuchardt 1883, Whinnom 1956, Fernandez 2012)	x	x		x

²⁷ Arguably Ternate Chabacano is an exception to this claim, as in many accounts it was the only variety that is consistently described as different. However, this distinction may have been made for ethnic and not linguistic reasons since Ternate may have been populated mostly by people coming from the Moluccas (Sippola 2011).

6. polyfunctional preposition <i>sama</i>	(x)	(x)		x
7. Indefinite pronoun <i>angkoza</i> (Sippola 2012)	x	x	?	
8. Indefinite-Reduplication	x	x		x
9. 'give' and 'make' causatives	x	x		x
10. Completive marker	x	x	?	x

These similarities with South Asian features suggest that Chabacano plays into the historical continuity of Ibero-Asian creoles that from the days of Schuchardt (1883) has been a longstanding fascination among works on Ibero-Asian contact languages.

2.4 Conclusion of Chapter

This chapter presented an overview of the major Ibero-lexified contact languages that are still spoken. This included Ibero-Creoles in Africa, Asia and Southeast Asia. This division accounts for their geographical distribution as well as their immediate language ecology. A number of broad sociolinguistic patterns were identified with each geographical area. In Africa slavery played a central role in the development of Portuguese-lexified creole languages. Some of these sociolinguistic contexts also extended to the Americas and contributed to the development of Spanish-lexified contact languages. Another areal cluster of Ibero-Creoles with different linguistic and sociolinguistic features is found in Asia and Southeast Asia. Intermarriage practices characterized the settlement of Portuguese colonies in Asia where the emerging contact languages stayed in contact with their respective substrates. These languages show some linguistic similarities that are evidence of their historical interconnectedness.

In Africa, not all of the emerging contact languages cut ties with the African substrate languages; the maroon contact language developed in Angola kept contact with surrounding African languages (see Grant 2012). Because of this, Angolar may show some sociolinguistic parallels with the Asian varieties instead of with the prototypical plantation creoles, despite sharing the same substrate languages.

Chabacano is a special case within the group of Ibero-Creoles as the only contact language that is geographically separate from other languages that have the same lexifier. Chabacano developed under a very different sociolinguistic context than the other Spanish-lexified creoles, with a very different linguistic ecology. In this context, Chabacano had intense contact with other Ibero-Asian creoles as well as constant contact with the surrounding Filipino languages. Some of the linguistic effects were shown in this chapter. Chapter 5 will discuss the challenges that CC posits to its classification as a 'creole language'.

Chapter 3: Grammar Sketch

GLOSSES

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third Person
ADV	Adverb
COL	Collective
COMP	Complementizer
COMPL	Completive
CON	Contemplated
CONC	Concessive
DEF	Definite
DIM	Diminutive
DUR	Durative
EXH	Exhaustive
EXT	Existential
F	Feminine
FOC	Focus
GEN	Genitive
INFR	Inferred
INT	Intensifier
IPFV	Imperfective
LOC	Locative
MIR	Mirative
NEG	Negation
NMLZ	Nominalizer
OBJ	Object
OBL	Oblique
ORD	Ordinal
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
PTCP	Participle
PURP	Purposive
QUOT	Quotative
REC	Recipient
RECP	Reciprocal
SG	Singular
VOC	Vocative
VRB	Verbalizer

3.1 Methods

The methods used in data collection and the grammatical descriptions include interviews, linguistic elicitation, questionnaires, and recordings of naturally occurring conversations. For the examples, I transcribed, glossed and provided a free translation that was in many cases corroborated by a native Chabacano speaker. A collection of Cavite Chabacano texts compiled by Lesho (2011) was also used as a source of examples of this study.

3.1.2 Fieldwork and language consultants

Most of the linguistic data included in this chapter comes from my own fieldwork carried out during the span of 2 years between the July 27 of 2012 and August 25 of 2014. It was carried out in California in San Jose, San Francisco, Milpitas and the San Diego area. There is a particularly high concentration of Cavite Chabacano speakers in San Diego because of the migration of many Caviteños who arrived to work at the San Diego Navy yard (See 1.4). The Cavite Chabacanos from San Diego have formed a group called *Chabacanos de Cavite City* ('Chabacano from Cavite City'), which has the goals of preserving the culture of Cavite and connecting Cavite Chabacanos in the US.

Early in the research I conducted interviews and elicitation in English, but in time I was able to learn Chabacano well enough to conduct basic elicitation in the language. Tagalog was seldom used because of my lower proficiency in that language. Spanish was avoided during the elicitation sessions, but sometimes speakers would ask me to speak Spanish to them.

I collected a total of 20 hours of recording. Most of the grammatical description in the dissertation is based on elicitation guided by Payne (1997) and Dixon's (2010) *Basic Linguistic Theory*. I also used 'The Pear Stories' (Chafe 1980) with some participants. Spontaneous group speech was recorded on informal occasions, such as friends gathering in a house. This was later transcribed and translated with the assistance of the CC speakers. In addition I administered a series of three questionnaires that mostly consisted of translations of complex clauses.

All of the recordings were made using a ZOOM H4N Handy Recorder. Most of the recording sessions were carried out in quiet rooms in the consultants' homes. On some occasions I had to record in situations with some background noise such as in a mall and in a car, but the language was still intelligible.

3.1.3 Overview of the Language Consultants

Language consultant recruitment was done through the friend-of-a-friend method. Initial contact with the Caviteños was made through Josie Valentin del Rosario's blog of *Habla Chabacano*.²⁸ Valentin del Rosario connected me with family in the Bay Area of California, and to a Facebook group dedicated to preserving the language and history and connecting Chabacano speakers around the world, *Chabacano Siempre!* ('Chabacano Always!'). I was able to find speakers in the San Diego area through this group.

I recorded 11 language consultants (LC) whose personal history and linguistic background is presented in Table 4, which includes age, gender, and languages spoken at home. All speakers are 59 or older. The demographic similarities of the LC respond to the method of recruitment that I used, as people tended to refer me to others in the same social circle. Also, Cavite Chabacano is mostly spoken by older generations and the younger generations prefer to use Tagalog. In this sense, the demographic group is representative of the CC speaking

²⁸ <http://hablachabacano.blogspot.com/>

population. There are 5 males and 6 females. The details about the occupations of the LC are not included in the dissertation in order to ensure the LC's privacy, but most of the LC are now retired and about half hold professional degrees.

The first number of the citation of each example used in the grammatical description stands for a participant as assigned below.

Table 4 Demographic and sociolinguistic profile of the language consultants

#	Age	Gender	Languages (in order of use at home)
1	59	M	English, Tagalog, Chabacano
2	61	M	Tagalog, Chabacano, English
3	63	F	Tagalog, Chabacano, English
4	65	M	Chabacano, Tagalog, English
5	69	F	Chabacano, Tagalog, English
6	73	F	Tagalog, Chabacano, English
7	73	M	Tagalog, Chabacano, English
8	74	M	Chabacano, Tagalog, English
9	76	F	Tagalog, English, Chabacano
10	77	F	English, Tagalog, Chabacano
11	83	F	Tagalog, Chabacano, English

3.1.4 Transcriptions and orthography

Interlinear glossing follows the Leipzig Glossing Rules with some modifications used in order to describe the particular features of this language. In cases of polysemy, different glosses were used depending on the meaning of the utterance. For example, sometimes *na* was glossed as LOC and sometimes as OBL. Some of the adverbial particles are hard to translate so they may appear as PART, by their function as in the case of *raw* EPIS, or with a lexical translation as in the case of *rin* 'too' and *lang* 'only'.

The orthography used is that of Sippola (2011), which follows the Tagalog orthography for {ng}, {ny} and {ts}, and the Spanish orthography for {ch}. Only contrastive stress is marked. Phonetic free variation was recorded when it was easily perceptible; this was mostly found in the e/i and o/u alternations. More subtle differences were not represented.

Some examples include proper names. In these cases I replaced the names with other names used in the community in order to safeguard the privacy of the LC.

3.1.5 Texts

The examples gathered during linguistic interviews were complemented with a group of texts (Lesho 2011). The texts include stories about a wide range of topics related to Cavite's daily life. The texts also contained artistic genres such as songs and poems that I did not use in this dissertation.

I did not change the original orthography of the texts in order to preserve the integrity of the original documents. For this reason, many of the examples coming from the texts show inconsistencies in their orthography. Many of the examples use Spanish orthography e.g., 'c' for /s/ and /k/, or 'v' for /b/. There are some instances in which the Chabacano pronunciation is represented as in *timbla* 'to shake' < Span *temblar*, *ki* REL < Span *que*, and *puerte* 'strong' < Span *fuerte*. Some texts also incorporate Tagalog spelling *anyos* 'years' < Span *años*.

I also found grammatical variation across the different texts with some showing Spanish features that are rarely used by the LC, e.g. reflexive pronouns, inflectional morphology, and copula constructions. Many of these were excluded from the study, and I instead selected texts that more closely resembled the register more often used by the LC.

The examples that come from texts are differentiated from the elicitation examples by the use of a ‘T’ at the beginning of their citation.

3.2 Grammar Sketch

In the following sections I describe the main morphosyntactic features of the language with an eye on the historical source of the different linguistic constructions. As it will be further discussed in 3.3, CC does not seem to pull linguistic resources from its source languages in any systematic way. That is, the source languages do not seem to have a functional split in CC. Instead, we observe a significant amount of variation across constructions, and often within the same construction, where a speaker may use either a Spanish or a Tagalog expression to express the same meaning. Variation is noted when relevant.

3.2.1 Sound System

In her study of the sociophonetics of Cavite Chabacano, Lesho (2013) provides a recent comprehensive description of the sound system of Chabacano. Before Lesho, Ramos (1963) is the most detailed description of Cavite Chabacano. Other phonological descriptions are found in Lipski’s (1986, 1987) comparison with Spanish historical phonology, and Romanillo’s (2006) brief phonological sketch. The methods used in these works include informal observation, formal fieldwork, task-specific linguistic elicitation, and native-speaker intuitions. In this section I summarize some of the main similarities across these works along with my own observations in order to present an overview of the most salient features of the sound system in Chabacano in relation to its input languages.

The input languages of Chabacano both possess a 5-vowel system that also appears in Chabacano. Chabacano has five vowels presented in Table 5. The vowels are /a,e,i,o,u/, together with four diphthongs that Ramos (1963) transcribes as /ay,ey,oy,aw/.

One of the most salient features of some speakers of the Cavite variety is the raising of the mid vowels /e/ and /o/ to /i/ and /u/ respectively, in unstressed syllables and at the end of verbs (for example *disí* ‘to say’ < Sp. *decir*, *maridu* ‘husband’ < Sp. *marido*). This vocalic alternation is observed in certain Spanish dialects and is also a documented Malay feature of Filipino languages (Whinnom 1956).

Table 5 CC Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Mid	e		o
Open		A	

Most of Chabacano’s consonants also reflect the consonant inventory of the input languages. Chabacano has 20 consonants presented below in Table 6: /p, b, t, d, k, g, tʃ, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, r, R, s, h, j, w, l, ʎ/, with some of the orthographic conventions used in this work in Table 7.

Like Tagalog, Chabacano does not have a labiodental fricative /f/; this phoneme when inherited from input languages is replaced by the corresponding stop /p/ *príu* ‘cold’ Sp > *frío*. Another Tagalog feature present in Chabacano is the glottal stop. The affricate /tʃ/ present in Spanish is also attested in Chabacano instead of the Tagalog /ts/ (for example *atSote* ‘achiote’ < Sp. *achiote*). As attested in varieties of Spanish in the Caribbean and Southern Spain, Chabacano undergoes lateralization of /r/ in coda position (for example *ilbi* ‘to boil’ Sp. < *hervir*, *goldo* ‘fat’ Sp. < *gordo*) and neutralizes /s/ and /z/ which is known in these varieties of Spanish as (‘seseo’). Chabacano also reproduces the Spanish palatal nasal as in the words *Caviteño*, *señas* ‘signal’. Also as in Spanish, there are some words with intervocalic trill /R/ which is contrastive with /r/ as in *pero* ‘but’ *peRo* ‘dog’.

Table 6 CC Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p b	t d			k g		ʔ
Affricate			tʃ				
Nasal	m	n		ɲ	ŋ		
Trill		r				R	
Fricative		s					h
Approximant				j	w		
Lateral approximant		l		ʎ			

Table 7 Orthographic equivalents

IPA	Orthographic Equivalent
tʃ	ch
ɲ	ny
ŋ	ng
R	rr
j	y
ʎ	ly

3.2.2 Syllables

The syllabic structure consists of mostly open syllables, and Spanish words tend to be modified to have an open syllable structure, especially with verbs as in *subí* ‘to go up’ (< Sp. *subir*). CC tends to preserve laterals and nasals in coda position e.g. *acoldá* ‘to remember’ (< Sp. *acordar*), *golpeá* ‘to hit’ (< Sp. *golpear*).

3.2.3 Prosody/ stress

Stress may be on one of the last three syllables of a word. Most verbs have stress on the last syllable except for modals, which take their form from the third-person singular in Spanish. These forms have the stress on the second to last syllable e.g. *tyene* ‘have’ *pwede* ‘can’, and *kyeri* ‘want.’

Pairs contrasting in stress tend to replicate the contrast of the input languages. As in Spanish, contrastive stress in Chabacano may convey the difference between verbs, nouns or adjectives e.g. *kompra* ‘purchase’/ *komprá* ‘to buy’, *nada* ‘nothing’ / *nadá* ‘to swim’. In some instances stress patterns do not reproduce contrastive stress in Spanish e.g. *sáli* ‘to join’ / *salí* ‘to leave’, *débe* ‘debt’ / *debé* ‘to owe’. Contrastive stress is also attested in Tagalog forms, *káya* (Tag.) ‘ability’ *kayá* ‘therefore’, and in pairs where stress can be contrastive between words from the two input languages: *kasi* (Tag.) ‘because’ and *kási* (Span.) ‘almost’. Only contrastive stress is marked in this work.

3.2.4 Lexicon

Riego de Dios (1989) conducted the only quantitative study was carried on the Cotabato variety of Chabacano, a southern variety historically related to ZM. Based on an analysis of 6,542 entries, 82.49% of the words had an identifiable Spanish origin, 4.7% of Tagalog and about 2.5% of the words had English origin; the remaining words are divided between 4.9% from “local sources” (unspecified), 2.12% from Cebuano, 1.3% from foreign languages other than Spanish and English, and 1.27% from Hiligaynon (ibid. 188). Given the lexical similarities across the Chabacano varieties one would expect similar numbers in CC. At the same time CC seems to be the most hispanized variety of the surviving Chabacano varieties. Frake (1967) observes that in the ZM variety there is a split between related pairs of adjectives where positive attributes e.g. *limpyo* ‘clean’ have a Spanish form, and a the corresponding negative adjective has a Tagalog form e.g. *marusing* ‘dirty.’ However, this split is not observed in the Cavite variety where most pairs have Spanish forms for both members. Aside from differences among individual lexemes that show a preponderance of Spanish terms in Cavite (Molony 1974: 20), there are some paradigmatic differences that place Cavite as having the most hispanized lexicon. Some features of this lexicon are the paradigm of ordinal numbers e.g. *ika-dos* ‘second’ (ZM) *Segundo* ‘second’ (CC), and the absence in the Cavite dialect of the Filipino distinction between inclusive and exclusive 1st person plural pronouns (Steinkruger 2008: 217). The hispanization of the Cavite variety is further discussed in section 4.5.

Other source languages include Portuguese, which was possibly inherited via a previous Portuguese contact language. Portuguese forms include highly frequent words and particles such as *kilaya* ‘how’ < Port. *ke laia* ‘what kind’, *ele* < ‘s/he’ and *na* LOC (Batalha 1961). Some Mexican (Nahuatl) words are also found such as *kangge* > *tiange* ‘mini market’ (A Mexican word of Nahuatl origin); *petate* ‘a sleeping mat’; *chongo* ‘monkey’; *sakate* ‘grass’ (Steinkrüger 2008). These forms entered the language as a result of the significant number of Mexican mestizo soldiers stationed in the Spanish forts.

3.2.5 Word-formation processes

CC has two main word-formation processes: affixation and reduplication. Word formation shows different degrees of productivity between speakers. The use of Spanish suffixation shows great variation depending on the speaker’s knowledge of Spanish. The following sections describe some of the most productive processes found in the data.

3.2.5.1 Derivational morphology

Tagalog and Spanish morphology is used in CC with different degrees of productivity. Most of the Tagalog derivational morphology is in the form of prefixes. Among the most productive

include verbalizers that can be used with Tagalog, Spanish, and most recently English root words. Some of the most used are:

<i>ika-</i>	ordinal numbers	<i>ika-tres</i> ‘third’
<i>ka-</i>	group	<i>ka-klase</i> ‘classmate’
<i>ma-</i>	denominal adjectivizer	<i>ma-pwerte</i> ‘strong’
	verbalizer	<i>ma-kwento</i> ‘to tell’
<i>mang-</i>	denominal agentive	<i>mang-kakarne</i> ‘meat
	nominalization	vendor’
<i>pang-</i>	instrumental nominalization	<i>pang-limpia</i> ‘for cleaning’

Spanish affixation is less productive and is mostly applied to Spanish forms in the same way that they are used in Spanish. Most of the Spanish suffixes have the same functions found in Spanish. The suffixes *-dor/a*, *-ero/a* are used for agentive nominalizers e.g. *kosinero* ‘cook’ *hugadora* ‘player’; *-enyo/a* for place of origin *Kavitenyo* and *-ista* for professions *kontratista* ‘contractor’. The diminutive suffix seems to be restricted to humans. Besides being added to Spanish derived-nouns or adjectives as in *gwap-ito* ‘handsome-DIM’, it is also attested with Tagalog derived nouns as in *dalagita* ‘little girl’. The progressive participle suffix *-ndu* is found with the same function in CC verbs such as *yegandu* ‘arriving’, *kabando* ‘finishing’ and *parando* ‘stopping’. The Spanish past participle *-ado*, is also found in CC; it usually has an elided /d/ and is used to form adjectives such as *pasao* ‘past’ (< Span. *pasado* ‘past’) and *cansao* ‘tired’ (<Span. *cansado* ‘tired’).

Compounding is a common strategy to form words. In these cases, meaning is not transparent in that speakers usually do not know the meaning of the elements in the composition, for example *sin-kamas* ‘no-beds’ (homeless).

3.2.5.2 Reduplication

Reduplication is a shared typological feature of many creole languages as well as Austronesian languages. CC follows general typological patterns in that its reduplication has iconic functions such as expressing intensification, pluralization, continuity, and iterativity. Unlike Tagalog, CC does not allow partial reduplication. Only the whole word is reduplicated. Reduplication may affect adjectives and verbs. In the case of reduplication of adjectives, reduplication may be used to intensify the property conveyed by the adjective. The Tagalog marker *-ng* is added to the end of the first word as an intensifier as in (2), otherwise, reduplication will convey plurality as in (3). Examples (1) to (3) are from Escalante (2010: 32-33).

- (1) *altu~alto el gente na Europa.*
 INT~tall DEF people LOC Europe
 ‘The people in Europe are very tall.’
- (2) *pocong~poco el mga ingrediente*
 INT~few DEF PL ingredient
 ‘The ingredients are very few.’

- (3) *pocu~poco basya el ingredient*
 INT~little empty DEF ingredient
 ‘Pour the ingredients little by little.’

Verbal reduplication in Chabacano affects only main verbs and is used to convey increased intensity or pluractionality.

- (4) *Siempre ta subi~subi el mga precio del.*
 maybe IPFV CONT~raise DEF PL price GEN.DEF

mga compra

PL shop

‘Of course the prices of shopping keep going up.’

(T_16)

- (5) *ya mirá~mirá eli el relo na kahón*
 PFV CONT~look 3.sg the watch LOC drawer
 ‘He really looked for the watch in the drawer (and didn’t find it).’

(3_764)

3.2.6 The noun phrase

The noun phrase in Chabacano includes articles, demonstratives, numerals, modifiers (adjectives), non-numeral quantifiers, possessors, and relative pronouns. The structure of the noun phrase is shown below, followed by a description of each of the components of the noun phrase.

(QUANT) (ART)/(DEM)/ (POSS) (NUM) (PL) (ADJ) noun (ADJ) (DEM) (POSS)/(REL)

3.2.6.1 Definiteness

CC has two articles, the definite marker *el* and the indefinite *un*. Chabacano articles do not have gender or number distinctions except with some human referents and frozen Spanish expressions using the feminine definite form *la*, for example *la Birhen* ‘the Virgin,’ *la madre* ‘the mother’.

- (6) *ta andá eli hasí interbyu el manga*
 IPFV go 3SG do “interview” the PL

Chabakano

Chabacano

‘She goes to interview the Chabacanos.’

(11_277)

- (7) *ya buská yo un relo*
 PFV search 1SG a watch
 ‘I looked for a watch.’

(3_159)

A nominal may appear without a determiner if definiteness is recoverable from its semantics/context. In example (8) the church is interpreted as definite for being the only church in the town; in (9) the specificity of family is given by its relationship with the speaker.

- (8) *Ritira-ndo nisos di iglesia, di almusa nisos*
 retire-PROG 1PL GEN church IRR have.lunch 1PL
 ‘Leaving church, we have lunch.’
 (T_10)

- (9) *Ya para yo estudia kasi ya tini ya*
 PFV stop 1SG study because PFV have PUNC

yo familia.
 1SG family
 ‘I stopped studying because I already had a family.’
 (T_10)

As in Spanish, inherently plural and mass nominals may also be unmarked for definiteness:

- (10) *tyene arros*
 EXT rice
 ‘There’s rice.’
 (11_332)

- (11) *di elbi agua*
 IRR boil water
 ‘Boil water.’
 (11_332)

With the argument markers, *kon* OBJ, *na* LOC, and *di* POSS, the definite marker is ordered between the argument marker and the noun.

- (12) *Kosa ya pasa na el krematorio*
 what PFV happen LOC the crematorium
 ‘what happened at the crematorium’
 (3_185)

3.2.6.2 Number

Number is marked with the plural marker *manga* (also *mana*) which is derived from the Tagalog plural marker *mga*. The marker precedes plural nouns:

- (13) *kil manga linguahe*
 that PL language
 ‘those languages’
 (12_319)

(14) *el manga kriatura*
 the PL baby
 ‘the babies’
 (10_597)

(15) *ese mga tiempo*
 that PL time
 ‘those times’
 (T_02)

(16) *esti niso manga iho*
 these 1PL.GEN PL child
 ‘These are our children.’
 (T_02)

The marker is often omitted before numerals as in (17), but it is possible to find some examples where the marker is placed between a noun and a numeral as in (18). Before a numeral, however, the use of the marker with a numeral quantifier conveys an estimate or approximation as in (19).

(17) *treinta pedazo*
 thirty piece
 ‘thirty pieces’
 (Escalante 2010: 35)

(18) *kon el dos manga ermano*
 with the two PL brother
 ‘with the two brothers’
 (12_231)

(19) *manga cinco hombre*
 PL five man
 ‘around five men’
 (Escalante 2010: 36)

Similarly, the marker may follow non-numeral quantifiers, but as seen with the numeral quantifier, the marker is not used in every case. It is not used when the quantifier precedes an inherently plural noun in (21), even though it is possible to find inherently plural noun *hente* with the plural marking as in (22):

(20) *Ta-lli Rizal, Bonifacio, Luna, el 13 martirs di*
 is-there Rizal Bonifacio Luna the 13 martirs GEN

niso, y mucho pa mga revolucionario...
 1PL.GEN and many DUR PL revolutionary
 ‘There are Rizal, Bonifacio, Luna, our 13 martyrs, and even more revolutionaries.’

(T_02)

- (21) *poco hente*
 few people
 ‘a few people’

(Escalante 2010: 36)

- (22) *mucho bisio el mga gente...*
 many vice the PL people
 ‘The people have many vices.’

(T_10)

The particle can also be found with elided nouns, as in (23) with the elided noun ‘things’.

- (23) *ya graduá eli kab-ando eli todú esti manga pa*
 PFV graduate 3SG finish-PROG 3SG all this PL DUR

así eli
 do 3SG

‘She will have graduated when she’s done with everything she’s still doing.’

(12_314)

The Spanish plural affix appears in some frozen expressions, for example in nouns referring to objects that are usually found in pairs or groups such as *un sapatos* ‘a shoe’, *un tomates* ‘a tomato’. In these cases *manga* must be added to these nouns to convey plurality, for example *el mga sapatos* ‘the shoes.’

The plural marker is not obligatory if number can be deduced from context. Sippola (2011: 114) notes that the same optionality is observed in prototypical creole languages and in Tagalog.

3.2.6.3 Quantifiers

There are four main quantifiers derived from Spanish forms. Quantifiers are used as noun modifiers or head of a noun phrase to express quantity: *todo* ‘all’, *muchu* ‘many’, *poko* ‘a few’, and *kada* ‘each’. Unlike in Spanish, quantifiers do not show gender or number agreement with the noun. The use of the plural marker is more common with *todu* and *muchu* as these are the two quantifiers that are usually used with count nouns.

Aside from their noun-modifying functions shown in (25-28), non-numeral quantifiers can also function as adverbs as in (24):

- (24) *ta llama ilos ahora GG para un poco bonito uí*
 IPFV call 3PL now GG for a few pretty hear
 ‘They are now called GG so that they sound a little bit pretty.’

(T_01)

Todo/todu ‘all’ is a universal quantifier for count and mass nouns. It may be used with with articles (25), demonstratives (26), and the plural marker (27). In (28) *todu* is used as an indefinite pronoun and is the complement of the main verb.

- (25) *El patín ta komé todo el peskao.*
 The shark IPFV eat all the fish
 ‘The shark is eating all the fish.’
 (7_364)
- (26) *mirá todú kel manga kabitenyo*
 look all that PL from.Cavite
 ‘Look at all those Caviteños.’
 (12_283)
- (27) *todo el mga casa y pono*
 all the PL house and tree
 ‘all the houses and trees’
 (T_01)
- (28) *ta pudi esi intindí todú*
 IPFV can that understand all
 ‘that one can understand everything’
 (12_300)

Mucho/muchu ‘many’ is a quantifier that can be used with count nouns as in (29) and non-count nouns as in (30). With count nouns, the pre-nominal position of the plural marker is unaltered by the presence of the quantifier; it may precede the noun (31). *Mucho* is also found in existential constructions (32).

- (29) *di gisa muchu ~muchu ahos pelau*
 IRR cook INT~many garlic skinned
 ‘Cook a lot of skinned garlic.’
 (11_324)
- (30) *Esu ya asi mucho kaldu alya di*
 that PFV do many broth there IRR

sakal kaldu para palabok
 take.out broth for palabok
 ‘Once that has made a lot of broth, take out broth for the *palabok*.’
 (11_330)
- (31) *Muchu manga squatters*
 many PL squatters
 ‘many squatters’
 (12_801)
- (32) *Gora muchu Muslim, mucho ~muchu Muslim...*
 now many Muslim INT~many Muslim
 ‘Now there are many Muslims, a lot of Muslims.’
 (12_800)

Poko ‘few/little’ refers to a small quantity and in some instances it can be used to indicate a small scalar value. For example, on the scale of minor accident to severe accident, *poko* in (34) indicates that the severity of the accident is toward the former extreme. It is not frequent outside the lexicalized phrase *un poko*, unless it is used in an existential construction such as (35).

(33) *kabal echa un poko patis para tene sabol*
 then add a few patis PURP have flavor
 ‘Then add a little *patis* to have flavor.’
 (11_346)

(34) *ya tyeni eli un poko aksidente*
 PFV have 3SG a few accident
 ‘He had a small accident.’
 (7_607)

(35) *poco gente no mas que ya sabe aquel*
 few people NEG more REL PFV know that
 ‘There are only a few people who know that.’
 (T_33)

Kada ‘each’ is another universal quantifier that has a distributive meaning. Because of the plural entailment of the distributive, plural marking is unnecessary in expressions with this quantifier; *kada* is never used with a plural noun marker. It is often found with *uno* and is common with time expressions as shown in (38-39).

(36) *Kada uno del patin tyene un peskado en su*
 each one of.DEF shark have a fish in 3SG.GEN

boka
 mouth
 ‘Each one of the sharks has a fish in its mouth.’
 (7_371)

(37) *no dali eli un peras kada uno kon esto-s tres kon*
 NEG give 3SG a pear each one OBJ this-PL three OBJ

el grupo di tres muchacho-s
 the group GEN three boy-PL
 ‘He didn’t give a pear to each... to these three... with the group of three boys.’
 (7_618)

- (38) *Siguro si di risa yo el Rosario cada la*
 Surely COND IRR pray 1SG the rosary each the.F

noche ...

night...

‘Maybe I will say the rosary every night.’

(T_16)

- (39) *cabal del misa na primer Martes del*
 after of.DEF mass LOC first Tuesday of.DEF

cada mes...

each month

‘After mass, on the first Tuesday of each month...’

(T_54)

3.2.6.4 Numeral Quantifiers

Cardinal numerals have Spanish forms, as shown in (40-41). Ordinal numerals may have Spanish forms in numerals up to ten as shown in (42-43); to express higher ordinal numerals the Tagalog prefix *ika-* is usually added to the Spanish cardinal as shown in (44). The use of Spanish ordinals in numerals higher than *one* differentiates Cavite Chabacano from the Zamboanga and the Ternate varieties, which use the Spanish ordinal *primero* ‘first,’ but for other numerals prefer the Tagalog prefix *ika-* with Spanish numerals to express ordinals (Sippola 2011: 119).

- (40) *ta asi yo unido kon el dos barkada*
 IPFV like.this 1SG join OBJ the two gang
 ‘I reconciled the two gangs.’

(11_0808)

- (41) *No todo del kwatro patin tiene tres peskao*
 NEG all the.DEF four shark have three fish
 ‘Not all the four sharks have three fish.’

(7_366)

- (42) *el primer kosa ki ta hasi yo kwando ta*
 the first thing REL IPFV do 1SG when IPFV

desperta yo ta laba mi mano
 wake.up 1SG IPFV wash 1SG.GEN hand

‘The first thing I do when I get up is to wash my hands.’

(10_567)

- (43) *...kon kel segundo iha di Luisa*
 with that.one second daughter GEN Luisa
 ‘...with that one, Clarisa’s second daughter.’

(12_244)

(44) *Di celebra dici nisos el ika- four hundred nineteen*
 IRR celebrate QUOT 1PL the ORD- four hundred nineteen

anos

years

‘They say we’ll celebrate the 419th year.’

(T_02)

When the two numeral quantifiers modify the same noun, the ordinal numeral precedes the cardinal numeral:

(45) *ese primer dos libro*
 that first two book
 ‘those first two books’

(Llamado 1972: 69)

Cardinal quantifiers are in complementary distribution with the plural marker unless it is used to express approximation as in (46-47).

(46) *mga cinco hombre*
 PL five man
 ‘around five men’

(Escalante 2010: 36)

(47) *mga diez vez*
 PL ten time
 ‘more or less ten times’

(Escalante 2010: 36)

3.2.6.5 Demonstratives

The demonstrative paradigm consists of three contrastive terms: speaker-proximal *este~esti* ‘this’, addressee-proximal *ese~esi* ‘that’, and speaker- and addressee- distal *akel~kel* ‘that’. These forms appear as nominal modifiers as in (48) or by themselves as demonstrative pronouns as in (49).

(48) *Ta hasi yo esti todo para la nwestra senyora*
 IPFV do 1SG this all PURP the.F 1PL.GEN lady

de la Birhen de la Soledad de Porta Baga
 GEN the.F virgin GEN the.F Soledad GEN Porta Vaga

‘I am doing this all for our lady the Virgin de la Soledad of Porta Vaga.’

(3_189)

- (49) *Deha el perro na "leash" en kaso esi di 'si*
 Leave the dog LOC leash in case that IRR make
habol kon un gato.
 run.after OBJ a cat
 'Leave the dog on the leash in case it (that one) wants to go running after a cat.'
 (10_751)

Since CC does not mark gender, the Spanish masculine form is used across all the referents regardless of the gender as shown in (50-52). Similarly, the Spanish singular form of the demonstrative is used even with plural nouns as shown in (52).

- (50) *Con aquel mujer de negro y con lagrimas abundante.*
 with that woman of black and with tears abundant
 '...with that woman in black and with abundant tears'
 (T_57)

- (51) *esti maistra*
 this teacher
 'This one is a teacher.'
 (12_276)

- (52) *kwando ya mira eli kon esti tres muchacho ...*
 when PFV look 3SG OBJ this three boy
 'When he looked at these three boys...'
 (7_632)

3.2.6.6 Pronouns

Pronouns can be used in the place of a definite argument. Pronouns never co-occur with articles or other determiners. Forms of pronouns in Cavite Chabacano are derived from Iberian forms but do not show gender agreement.

Pronouns may be found standing for arguments in various semantic roles. Only the nominal/agent pronouns have distinct forms each for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular and plural. The object and possessive paradigms include compound forms with more than one grammatical element.

Nominative pronouns

Nominative pronominal forms in Cavite Chabacano are differentiated for number and person. The 2nd person pronouns in CC mark a formal/informal contrast (Brown & Gilman 1960, Silverstein 1976) that is also found in Spanish; *tu* is used informally, while *usted* is used to refer to older or people in higher social status. The Portuguese-derived form *bo* is seen as 'disrespectful' among most of the speakers interviewed and is rarely used. It is worth noting that the status of *bo* as a disrespectful pronoun is an idiosyncratic feature of the CC variety. In the Ternate variety, the form is the only form available in the 2nd-person singular. It is also shared between various Ibero-Asian creoles (Steinkruger 2009). In Cavite Chabacano the Tagalog difference between inclusive/exclusive 1st person plural is not marked, although it is marked in the ZM variety.

Table 8 Nominative personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>yo</i>	<i>nisos</i>
2 nd	<i>bo, tu, usted</i> (polite)	<i>ustedis</i>
3 rd	<i>ele/eli</i>	<i>ilos</i>

- (53) *kabal di echal tu achuete*
 then IRR add 2SG achiote
 ‘Then you add the achiote.’

(11_342)

- (54) *pwedi ba ustedis eksplika kilaya?*
 can Q 2PL explain how
 ‘Can you explain how?’

(6_647)

Accusative pronouns

Accusative pronouns are formed with the object marker *kon~kun* and the forms of the nominative pronouns. The two exceptions to this generalization are the 1st and 2nd person object pronouns, which correspond to Spanish comitative forms.

Table 9 Accusative personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>konmigo~kunmigo</i>	<i>konnisos~kunnisos</i>
2 nd	<i>kontigo~kuntigo</i>	<i>konustedi~kunustedi</i>
3 rd	<i>koneli~kuneli</i>	<i>konilos~kunilos</i>

- (55) *ya hablá yo koneli, komo no si kieri ilos*
 PFV talk 1SG 3SG.OBJ why NEG COND want 3PL
 ‘I told her, “why not? if they want to...”’

(12_209)

- (56) *ya yivá kunmigo esi kuando primer interview,*
 PFV bring 1SG.OBJ that when first interview
 ‘(She) brought me that at the first interview.’

(12_303)

- (57) *Ta buska yo kon-eli*
 IPFV look.for 1SG 3SG.OBJ
 ‘I am looking for him.’

(11_15)

Possessive pronouns

As is further discussed in 3.2.8, the possessive pronoun is usually found post-nominally functioning as a possessive adjective. The pronominal status of the form is evident when we find it as a complement of a preposition as in (58).

Table 10 Possessive personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>dimio (mi)</i>	<i>dinisos (nisos)</i>
2 nd	<i>dituyo (tuyo)</i>	<i>diustedis</i>
3 rd	<i>dieli (su)</i>	<i>Dilos</i>

58) *echal patis asta ke ke, asta kel bueno para di-tuyo*
 add patis until that that until that good for 2.POSS

i komportable,
 and comfortable
 ‘Add *patis* until it is good for you and comfortable.’

(11_347)

3.2.6.7 Indefinite reference

Haspelmath (1997:11) differentiates among various meanings of indefinite pronouns to include those that express an unknown referent, those that indicate free choice, and those that indicate non-existence. In CC, these different meanings are expressed by means of different constructions.

Unknown referent

An unknown referent is most commonly expressed in existential constructions. Usually, the verb *tyene* is followed by a generic noun such as *kosa* ‘thing’ (59) or *hente* ‘person/people’ (60). Sometimes the nouns are omitted in favor of a construction with the existential and a relative clause (61-62), these constructions tend to be used to express indefinite agents.

(59) *Tiene yo un-a cosa que no ta gusta con ellos*
 have 1SG one-F thing REL NEG IPFV like OBJ 3PL

disciplina
 discipline
 ‘I have something they don’t like, discipline.’

(T_56)

- (60) *Ora pa tiene mga hente ta pinsa ya si cosa*
 Now DUR EXT PL people IPFV think COMPL COND thing
ilos di si handa cun eli mga bisita na dia
 3PL IRR do prepare OBJ 3SG PL visitor LOC day
de-l fiesta.
 GEN-DEF party
 ‘Even now, there are people who are thinking of what they will prepare for their visitors to the fiesta.’

(T_32)

- (61) *Tyene ki ya poni insendio*
 EXT REL PFV put fire
 ‘Someone set (it on) fire.’

(3_162)

- (62) *Pins-aba yo tiene qui ta tira canon cumigo.*
 think-PST 1SG EXT REL IPFV shoot canon 1SG.OBJ
 ‘I thought someone was shooting a canon at me.’

(T_01)

Spanish indefinite terms *algo* ‘something’, *alguno* ‘somebody’, and *otro* ‘another’, are used by some speakers for human and non-human unknown reference. Forms that are marked for gender and number in Spanish such as *alguno* ‘some’, and *otro* ‘another’ are not marked in Chabacano.

- (63) *Aba antes de platica tu di bisa*
 but before of talk 2SG IRR let.know
muna yo algu contigo.
 first 1SG something 3SG.OBJ
 ‘Well, before you speak, I will tell you something.’

(T_15)

- (64) *ya susta esti ombre kon alguno del basket*
 PFV scare this man with some POS.DEF basket

desaparesio
 disappeared

‘The man got scared when some (of the things) from the basket disappeared.’

(7_612)

- (65) *ya habla yo kon eli no naman malo akel, total*
 PFV talk 1SG OBJ 3SG NEG please bad that anyway
- el trabaho di eli ta sakal rin eli otro*
 the job GEN 3SG IPFV get also 3SG other
- ‘I told him, that is not bad, a job, he’s getting another (one).’
 (12_209)

Free-Choice Indefinites

Interrogatives may be used to express indefinite meanings in different constructions. Reduplicated interrogatives express free-choice indefinite meanings as in (66). Any interrogative can also combine with the concessive *maski* to form indefinite pronoun of the form X-ever, such as *maski donde* ‘wherever’ as in (67), *maski cosa* ‘whatever’, and *maski kyen* ‘whoever’.

- (66) *El Iglesia masiao alegre porcasa mucho*
 The church very happy because much
- banda del musico ya arkila donde~donde*
 band POSS.DEF musician PFV rent RED~wherever
- lugar na probinsya del Cavite.*
 place LOC province POSS.DEF Cavite
- ‘The church is very happy because many music bands rented wherever places in the Cavite Province.’
 (T_45)

- (67) *Ansina el mga Cavit-eño, maski donde ta alla,*
 like.this the PL Cavit-GENT CONC where IPFV there
- no ta olvida el ciudad*
 NEG IPFV forget the city
- ‘That’s how the Caviteños are, no matter where they are, they do not forget the city.’
 (T_55)

Non-existence

The negative existential *nway* (Span. > *no hay* ‘there isn’t’) is the most common way to express negative indefinite meanings such as ‘nothing’ and ‘nobody’. As with the existential construction, in its negative form, the construction may be used with generics such as *hente* (68), and with interrogatives (69).

- (68) *No hay gente ta pensa malo con su projimo.*
 NEG EXT people IPFV think bad OBJ 3SG.POSS neighbor
- ‘There isn’t anybody that thinks bad about their neighbors.’
 (T_87)

- (69) *Si no tu di hablá, no hay quien di*
 COND NEG 2SG IRR talk NEG EXT who IRR
podé sabé.
 can know
 ‘If you don’t talk no one will be able to know.’
 (T_88)

Negative indefinites also include the Spanish forms *nada* ‘nothing’, *nunka* ‘never’, *nadie* ‘nobody’, and *ni uno/ninguno* ‘no one.’

- (70) *Chichang pens-aba yo este “Erap para sa mahirap”*
 Chichang think-IPFV 1SG this “Erap for the poor”

y cumo nuay naman ta haci nada para
 and how NEG.EXT FOC IPFV do nothing PURP

di ayuda el mga pobri.
 IRR help the PL poor
 ‘Chichang I was thinking bout this “Erap for the poor” and how there’s nothing being done for the poor.’
 (T_16)

- (71) *Nunca niso de olvida el contribucion de Espanya*
 Never 1PL IRRR forget the contribution GEN Spain

na niso cultura.
 LOC 1PL culture
 ‘We shall never forget the contribution of Spain to our culture.’
 (T_84)

In general Cavite Chabacano shows various possibilities for forming indefinite terms. Often, the existential construction is the most used in both positive and negative forms, while free-choice indefinites (‘-ever’ meanings) are formed with the concessive *maski*. Spanish forms are also used in Cavite Chabacano for both positive and negative indefinites and most of them exist in variation with other constructions.

3.2.6.8 Modifiers

Adjectives are used to express a property of a noun. Some of the properties expressed by adjectives in Chabacano include physical characteristics (big, small), value (good, bad), and age (young, old).

Adjectives can be found in predicate constructions, or as nominal modifiers. A predicate adjective (72) is formed by preposing the modifier element to the nominal in a zero-copula construction. In predicate adjectives, the adjective may take some verbal morphology, such as the adverbial completive marker *ya* and the Spanish participle form in (74). Unlike verbs, adjectives are not marked for aspect.

(72) *chikitin* *el* *muchacha,* *tres* *anyos* *lang*
 small the girl three years only
 ‘The girl is young, only three years old.’
 (12_245)

(73) *bonito* *el* *anilyo*
 pretty the ring
 ‘The ring is pretty.’
 (12_260)

(74) *kwando* *tostau* *ya* *el* *aho*
 when toasted COMPL the garlic
 ‘When the garlic is roasted...’
 (11_326)

Aside from their use as predicate adjectives, adjectives can also function as nominal modifiers in which case they usually follow the noun (75). They can also precede the noun with no significant change in meaning (76). In a nominal construction, the adjective is usually used to introduce or specify a referent:

(75) *peor* *aquel* *mga* *dalag-ita* *joven*
 worse that PL woman-DIM young
 ‘Those young women are worse.’
 (T_01)

(76) *ya* *dali* *eli* *el* *salado* *peskao* *kon* *el* *salbahe*
 PFV give 3SG the salty fish OBJ the wild
muchachu.
 boy
 ‘He gave the salty fish to the wild boy.’
 (7_411)

Some adjectives, usually those modifying humans, may agree in gender with the nominal as in (78). Adjectives may or may not show plural marking when the nominal is plural. If the adjective is marked with the plural marker, the noun must also be marked (79a-d).

(77) *solter-a-s* *byeh-a-s*
 single-F-PL old-F-PL
 ‘spinsters’
 (12_440)

(78) *gwap-a* *eli*
 beautiful-F 3SG
 ‘She’s beautiful.’
 (12_453)

- (79) a. *manga inteligente el manga estudyante*
 PL smart the PL student
 ‘The students are smart.’
- b. *inteligente el manga estudiante*
 smart the PL student
 ‘The students are smart.’
- c. *inteligente el estudiante*
 ‘The student is smart.’
- d. **manga inteligente el estudiante*

(Llamado 1972: 78)

As seen before, adjectives can be intensified by adding *mas* or the Tagalog prefix *pinaka-*.

- (80) *mas bwno el jeepney ke sana bus*
 more good the jeepney REL ADV bus
 ‘The jeepney is better than the bus’

(7_695)

- (81) *pinaka-grande aguinaldo*
 SUP-big carol
 ‘very big carol’

(T_59)

3.2.7 Comparatives and Superlatives

The basic comparison construction includes a quality and two objects of comparison. The object of comparison is followed by the standard of comparison, which is usually marked with the relative pronoun *ke/ki* in the following order:

mas [quality] [object of comparison] *ki* [standard of comparison]

- (82) *Mas alto mi hermano que yo*
 More tall 1SG.GEN brother REL 1SG
 ‘My brother is taller than me.’

(Escalante 2010: 53)

CC has grammaticalized Spanish prepositions *kon* (84) and *kontra* (83) into additional comparison markers. The latter is exclusively found in the CC dialect.

- (83) *ora ta mira yo mas mucho bisio tiene el mga*
 now IPFV see 1SG more much vice have the PL

joben de ora contra de antes
 young GEN now COMP GEN before
 ‘Now I see that the youth today have more vices than the previous ones.’

(T_33)

- (84) *mas bweno el jeepney kon el bus*
 more good the jeepney COMP the bus
 ‘The jeepney is better than the bus.’

(7_696)

Comparisons with *ke* and *kon* share the same structure of comparative constructions that appears in Tagalog, which usually contains the comparative marker *kaysa* (85). The Tagalog comparison can also be formed with *kay* before proper names (86) (examples from: Schachter & Otones 1972: 239-40, my glosses).

- (85) *Mabigat ang aso kaysa sa pusa*
 heavy the dog COMP OBL cat
 ‘The dog is heavier than the cat.’

- (86) *Mas matanda siya kay Juan.*
 More old 3SG COMP Juan
 ‘He is older than Juan.’

Most superlatives in CC are not expressed using the above comparative constructions. Instead, CC exhibits the Tagalog superlative prefix *pinaka-* as in (87). This prefix is affixed to the comparison quality and precedes the object of the comparison. This construction may optionally be followed with the standard of comparison expressed in a prepositional phrase. Example (88) shows a variation of the same sentence with the Spanish-derived superlative in a predicate-nominal construction.

- (87) *Pinaka-alto mi ermano di todo nisos.*
 SUP-tall 1SG.GEN brother GEN all 1PL
 ‘My brother is the tallest one of all of us.’

(Escalante 2010: 53)

- (88) *Mi hermano el mas alto de todos nisos*
 1SG.GEN brother the more tall GEN all 1PL
 ‘My brother is the tallest one of all of us.’

(Escalante 2010: 53)

In similitive constructions (Auwera, Haspelmath & Bucholtz 1998) *komo* can be used as in (89):

- (89) *no akel ya asi komo kel otro ta*
 NEG that PFV do like that other IPFV
 ‘That one didn’t do (it) like the other one.’

(12_233)

3.2.8 Possession

Possession in Chabacano is expressed through various attributive and predicative constructions.

Attributive possessive construction

The attributive possessive construction is formed with the possession marker *de/di* between the possessor (Pr) and the possessee (Pe): [POSSESSEE *de* POSSESSOR]. This construction is shown in (90) and (91):

(90) *el kwelpo di eli*
 the body POSS 3SG
 ‘his body’
 (12_328)

(91) *el kasa de nosotros*
 the house POSS 1PL
 ‘our house’
 (12_810)

As is expected given cross-linguistic trends, and as is the case with possession in Spanish/Portuguese the construction can also express a wide range of notional relationships between possessors and possessee. These relationships include whole-part, kinship, orientation, and general associations. Also as in Spanish/Portuguese, the possession marker can merge with the definite article of the possessor, as shown in (92-93).

(92) *el duenyo del En-En*
 the owner POSS.DEF En-En
 ‘the owner of En-En’
 (T_33)

(93) *el kaldo del uesto*
 DEF broth POSS.DEF bone
 ‘the bone broth, the broth of the bone’
 (11_329)

(94) *iha di Luisa*
 daughter POSS Luisa
 ‘Clarisa’s daughter’
 (12_244)

(95) *iglesia de San Roque*
 church POSS San Roque
 ‘church of San Roque’
 (T_16)

Pronominal Possession

Pronominal possession constructions in CC can be divided in two groups depending on the ordering of the possessor in relation to the possessee. The possessor may precede (PrePe) or follow (PostPe) the possessee. In the two groups we find an asymmetry between the singular and plural forms: only the singular forms show exclusive possessive functions, while the plural forms are the same as those of the the nominal pronouns.

Table 11 Pronominal possession

	Pre Pe		Post Pe	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>mi</i>	<i>niso</i>	<i>mio, di mio</i>	<i>di-niso</i>
2 nd	<i>tu</i>	<i>ustede,</i>	<i>tuyo, di tuyo</i>	<i>di-ustedi</i>
3 rd	<i>su</i>	<i>ilo</i>	<i>suyo, di suyo</i>	<i>di-ilo</i>

- (96) **mi** *mana aguela*
 ADJ.1SG.POSS PL grandmother
 ‘my grandmothers’
 (12_434)
- (97) **tu** *mga amigo*
 ADJ.2SG.POSS PL friend
 ‘your friends’
 (Escalante 2005: 72)
- (98) **su** *propesor*
 ADJ.3SG.POSS professor
 ‘her professor’
 (12_316)
- (99) **niso** *nuevo criaio*
 ADJ.1PL new maid
 ‘Out new servant’
 (Escalante 2005: 180)

The Cavite variety of Chabacano also has a second group of adnominal possessive constructions that may follow the Pe. These constructions are the same as those found in Spanish, where they are known as ‘adjetivos átonos’ (RAE), as in *Es una amiga mia* (=Es mi amiga) ‘Is a friend of mine.’

- (100) *Huerfano aquel ka-escuela mio.*
 Orphan that.one COL-school 1SG.POSS
 ‘That classmate of mine is an orphan.’
 (Escalante 2005: 66)
- (101) *ya mira yo abajo del pono mio*
 PFV look 1SG under POSS.DEF tree 1SG.POSS
 ‘I looked under my tree.’
 (T_58)
- (102) *Bonito el cuento del sobrina tuyo*
 pretty the story POSS.DEF niece 2SG.POSS
 ‘The story of your niece is beautiful.’
 (Escalante 2005: 37)
- (103) *siguro novio suyo aquel castile*
 surely boyfriend 3SG.POSS that Spaniard
 ‘Surely that Spaniard is her boyfriend.’
 (T_36)

This group of adnominal possessive pronouns may also be preceded by *di* in a construction that resembles the Tagalog possessive construction with the marker *sa* as in (104):

- (104) *lapis na sa bata*
 pencil na OBL child
 ‘pencil that belongs to the child’

(Schachter 1972: 135)

Interestingly, in CC this construction is exclusively found with the group of pronouns listed above; other possessive pronouns result in ungrammaticality as in **el frutas de mi*.

- (105) *el frutas de mio*
 the fruit POSS 1SG.POSS
 ‘my fruits’

(T_58)

- (106) *ta na derecha de tuyo el comedor*
 IPFV LOC right POSS 2SG.POSS the dining.room
 ‘The dining room is on your right’

(Escalante 2005: 39)

- (107) *roto el television de ilos*
 broken the television POSS 3P
 ‘Their television set is broken down.’

(Escalante 2005: 158)

- (108) *Casi igual esi lapis como de mio.*
 Almostsame that pencil as POSS 1SG.POSS
 ‘That pencil is almost the same as mine.’

(Escalante 2005: 24)

The same construction may precede the Pe in the Ternate variety of Chabacano (Sippola 2011: 125), however, this construction was not accepted among CC speakers.

- (109) *Mi nay din tasé tyenda kel di*
 1SG.POSS.ADJ mother also IPFV.do store that POSS

eli kohída
 3SG fishing.
 ‘My mother also sells her catch of fish.’

The formation of adnominal possession constructions in CC diverges from the post-PR possessive constructions that have been described as an areal feature of Ibero-Asian creoles, such as the example taken from Kristang in (110). Though it is possible that the Ternateño construction in example (109) is related to the Ibero-Asian possession constructions, the Cavite variety exhibits formal similarities with those of Spanish and possibly Tagalog.

Kristang (Baxter 2012: 47 ex. 1)

- (110) *aké belu sa prau*
DEM old GEN boat
'the old man's boat'

Possession with saná

Another type of possessive construction involves the particle *saná*. The CC word *saná* contrasts with the Tagalog word *sána*, which is used as a desiderative in counterfactual constructions (see: *Counterfactuals* in 3.2.9.1). The CC word *saná* resembles the Tagalog pluralized nominative marker, *sina* (Schacter 1972: 113) 111). In CC, *saná* is found before conjoined proper nouns (111), and may also be used with a single noun to denote a group that includes the person named (112). In addition, the possessive meaning of the marker seems to have extended to cases in which the marker does not mark number. In (113) the marker is used together with the possessive *de*, and does not have the plural meaning.

- (111) *Ya llega temprano saná Loui y Joy*
PFV arrive early POSS.COLL Loui and Joy
'Louie and Joy arrive early.'

(Escalante 2010: 103)

- (112) *Saná Melita ya llega tarde.*
POSS.COLL Melita PFV arrive late
'Melita's group came late.'

(Escalante 2005: 162)

- (113) *Ta na jaula el mynah de saná Benjie.*
IPFV LOC cage the mynah POSS POSS Benjie
'Benjie's mynah bird is inside a cage.'

(Escalante 2005: 73)

Predicate possession

Chabacano exhibits two predicate-possession constructions: one formed with a lexical predicate *tyeni* 'have', and a one that consists of two juxtaposed NP's.

The first possessive predicate construction has the Pe in object position right next to the verb (VPePr) as in (114-116). As seen in other transitive constructions (see: 3.2.12), the order is reversed with a pronominal Pr: in (116) the pronoun follows the verb followed by the Pe (VPrPe). Aikhenvald & Dixon (2013: 29) explain the difference between *have* and *belong* constructions: the reversal in grammatical relations is based on a pragmatic distinction. The VPePr constructions are *have* constructions in that they give information about the possessor. The VPrPe constructions are *belong* constructions because they are about the possessee, which is definite and occupies topic (subject) position as in (116).

(114) *tieni nuevo revolver el mga pulis*
 have new revolver the PL police
 ‘The policemen have new guns.’
 (Escalante 2005: 157)

(115) *tieni gato grande mi vecino*
 have cat big 1SG.POSS neighbor
 ‘My neighbor has a big cat.’
 (Escalante 2005: 57)

(116) *Tieni ves tieni yo cumpañoero mga ka-escuela*
 have time have 1SG classmate PL COL-school
 ‘There was a time I had a classmate.’
 (T_02)

Aside from the basic ownership relation, a possessive verb can express other alienable relationships such as properties (117). The construction is also commonly found with emotion/cognition verbs (118), this combination is very Spanish-like in that (as in many languages) one does not ‘pity’ or ‘fear’²⁹ as a subject. The position of the pronoun after the Pe in (119) is a case of noun incorporation related to the frequency of the co-occurrence of these two words.

(117) *kabal echa un poko patis para tene sabol...*
 then add a little patis to have flavor
 ‘Then add a little *patis* for flavor.’
 (11_347)

(118) *tyeni yo lastima kon el pobre*
 have 1SG pity OBJ the poor
 ‘I feel bad for the poor.’
 (11_36)

(119) *Tyeni myedo yo kon el barkada*
 have scared 1SG OBJ the gang
 ‘I am scared of the gang.’
 (11_41)

As is the tendency in other languages such as Tagalog (Schachter & Otones: 274), where the existential and possessive verbs share the same form, in some cases the meaning may be ambiguous. This is usually the case in constructions where one of the arguments is not overt. Example (120) is ambiguous between a possessive and an existential construction. In (121) the missing Pe is interpreted as an indefinite (‘something’).

²⁹ Lev Michael p.c

- (120) *Aqui na San Roque Elementary School tieni*
 Here LOC San Roque Elementary School have

tiu-vivo

merry.go.round

‘Here in San Roque Elementary School there’s a merry-go-round/ San Roque Elementary School here has a merry-go-round.’

(T_01_02)

- (121) *tyeni yo di dale mirá kontigo*
 have 1SG IRR give look 3SG.OBJ

‘I have something to show you/ There’s something I will show you.’

(7_423)

In acrolectal varieties, the possessive predicates can be negated with the negative particle as in (122). However, the most common negative counterpart for the possessive predicate is the negative existential verb *nuay* (123-124).

- (122) *No ilo ya tiene hijo ni hija.*
 NEG 3SG PFV have son NEG.EXH daughter
 ‘They did not have any son or daughter.’

(Escalante 2005: 64)

- (123) *Antes no hasina kwando ya kedá grande yo*
 Before NEG like.this when PFV become big 1SG

nuay yo barkada .

NEG.POSS 1SG gang

‘Before it wasn’t like that; when I was growing up I didn’t have a *barkada*.’

(12_447)

- (124) *No hay mas niso mga criada.*
 NEG.POSS more 1PL PL maid
 ‘We do not have female servants anymore.’

(Escalante 2005: 33)

Other forms associated with existential constructions, such as *mucho* or *poko*, can be used to modify the Pe in a possessive predicate.

- (125) *mucho ustedes problema*
 many 2PL problem
 ‘You have lots of problems.’

(T_09)

Finally, predicate possession can also be expressed with juxtaposed NPs. The preposed Pe in the predicate nominal may be a calque from the parallel Tagalog construction given in (126).

Tagalog:

(126) *Sa nanay ang reloj*
 POSS mother the watch
 ‘The watch is the mother’s.’
 (Schachter 1972: 273)

(Tagalog)

(127) *de mio ese libro*
 POSS 1SG.POSS that book
 ‘That book is mine.’

(Escalante 2010 :48)

(128) *de tuyo el premio*
 POSS 2SG.POSS the prize
 ‘The prize is yours.’

(Escalante 2010: 48)

3.2.9 Simple Clauses

CC has simple and complex predicates that may be modified by preverbal TMA particles. In the verb phrase, the verb may be accompanied by adverbials, negative particles, or secondary verbs. Like other Austronesian languages, CC is a verb-initial language.

The simplest clauses exhibit only a single verb root, which takes its form from Spanish infinitives (127). CC verbs drop the final *-r* of the Spanish infinitive form. The stress falls on the last syllable. The following list of examples along with their Spanish equivalents is adapted from Escalante (2010: 57-8):

Spanish	CC	English
<i>-ar</i>		
<i>hablar</i>	<i>ablá</i>	‘to talk’
<i>estudiar</i>	<i>estudiá</i>	‘to study’
<i>llegar</i>	<i>yegá</i>	‘to arrive’
<i>llamar</i>	<i>yamá</i>	‘to call’
<i>-er</i>		
<i>comer</i>	<i>komé~ kumí</i>	‘to eat’
<i>tener</i>	<i>tené~ tini</i>	‘to have’
<i>poder</i>	<i>podé~ pudi</i>	‘to be able’
<i>querer</i>	<i>keré~ kiri</i>	‘to like’
<i>-ir</i>		
<i>escribir</i>	<i>eskribí~ iskribí</i>	‘to write’
<i>vivir</i>	<i>bibí</i>	‘to live’
<i>salir</i>	<i>salí</i>	‘to leave’
<i>sentir</i>	<i>sentí~ sintí</i>	‘to feel’

CC also exhibits a group of verbs that can be found in complex verbal constructions where they function as light verbs. Light verbs are verbs that do not embody the major conceptual relation, state, or activity expressed by the clause (Payne 1997: 84). These verbs convey modality and

may be distinguished from fully lexical verbs in that they take the form of the third person singular in Spanish. These verbs include: *pwede~pwedi* ‘can’ (129), *debe~debi* ‘should’ (130), and *kyere~kyeri* ‘want’ ; the latter may be also used with a nominal complement.

- (129) *El muchacho pwede golpea kon el perro pero mordé*
 the boy can hit OBJ the dog but bite

kon eli
 OBJ 3SG
 ‘The boy may hit the dog, but the dog (will) bite him.’
 (11_16)

- (130) *mi maridu debi yeba con eli aya na*
 1SG.POSS husband should take OBJ 3SG there LOC
eskwela na Freemont
 school LOC Freemont
 ‘My husband should take them there to school in Freemont.’
 (10_586)

Aside from modal verbs, a second group of light verbs that are usually used in complex verb constructions is comprised of verbs that are used with stative verbs to increase valence.

In this section I will first discuss the aspectual system of CC, followed by a description of unmarked clauses. The expressions of modality, aspectual, and adverbial information are also described. Valence verbs are described in section 3.2.16.2.

3.2.9.1 Tense, Mode, and Aspect (TMA)

Chabacano transitive and intransitive verbs are marked with one of three pre-verbal TMA markers: *ya* PFV, *ta* IPFV, *di* IRR. The form of the markers is derived from Iberian forms that also served as locus of grammaticalization of TMA markers for other Ibero-Creoles, including other Ibero-Asian creoles. The Manila Bay varieties of Chabacano share the same forms, and the southern varieties have a different form (*ay*) for the irrealis marker.

TMA marking is not obligatory; viewpoint aspect is often inferred via the defeasible lexical aspect of verbs. Moreover, the three markers are not the only particles with aspectual information, a pair of post-verbal particles (3.2.11.4) can also be used to express perfective and imperfective meanings. However, these three pre-verbal markers are grouped together because they all share the same morphosyntactic distribution and clitic-like properties not found in other Chabacano particles.

The two main aspectual distinctions made in CC these are:

ya (Span. *ya*): perfective

ta/ ø (Span. *está*; Port. *tá*) imperfective

di (Span. *ha de*) irrealis

Crucially, CC's TMA markers do not signal a specific point in the utterance time, meaning that they do not have the deictic meanings characteristic of tense markers. In the following example, the speaker uses the imperfective *ya* in a narration to mark the first item in a list of a habitual actions in the past, and then uses the contemplative *di* to mark a subsequent action.

(131) *Yiga -ndo di eskuela tá discansá yo un rato*
 Arrive PROG from school IPFV rest I SG a while

i después di pidi yo permiso kun mamang
 and then IRR request I permission OBJ mother

i papang para yo hugá.
 and father PURP I SG play

‘Arriving from school, I rested for a while and then I’d request permission from my mother and father to play.’

(T_10)

In this section CC aspectual distinctions are described in terms of based on Klein’s (1994) framework for analyzing tense and aspectual distinctions cross-linguistically. According to this framework, tense and aspect are distinguished in terms of 4 main analytical primitives, namely: ‘lexical content’ (LC), ‘utterance time’ (TU), ‘topic time’ (TT) and ‘situation time’ (TSit). LC refers to the situation described in the clause aside from its temporal information, while UT is mostly relevant to tense distinctions. The two most relevant primitives to describe CC’s aspectual system are TT and TSit. TT stands for the time about which a claim is being made, this information is usually found in the utterance context or it can be explicitly stated. TSit refers to the time for which the situation described by the LC holds.

The meaning of the imperfective aspect locates the TT within the TSit. That is, it marks that the event or situation is ongoing at the time that is being talked about. On the other hand, the perfective aspect locates the TSit partially within the TT; it means that the time that the situation and the time that is being talked about share an endpoint. The inclusion of the endpoint of the situation within the TT explains the intuition that often contrasts both aspects in terms of ‘boundness’ or ‘completedness’.

The sentence in (132) contrasts the use of the imperfective and perfective in CC, and demonstrates that these are independent of any meanings associated with tense. In (132) *ta mira* ‘to look/watch’ is in a typical imperfective clause that serves a background information by virtue of the relationship between the topic time (TT) and the time for which the situation holds (TSit). For the whole time that is being talked about (the burial) the ‘watching’ situation is ongoing. In the same example, the perfective marker in the construction *ya levanta* ‘got up/woke up’ expresses the fact that the TT (set up by the adverbial clause) includes the endpoint of the TSit.

- (132) *Aba cuando ta mira yo el TV durante el*
 EXCL when IPFV watch 1SG the TV during the
entierro del Princesa Diana y Madre Teresa
 burial of^{DEF} Princess Diana and Mother Teresa
ya levanta mi balahibo.
 PFV wake.up 1SGPOSS fine.hair
 ‘When I was watching the TV during Princess Diana and Mother Teresa’s burial, I had goosebumps.’

(T_23)

Ta – Imperfective

As it was previously mentioned, the imperfective marker is used when the event is ongoing at the time being talked about. When the lexical content combines with the imperfective aspect, the construction tends to yield present temporal implicatures, but *ta* is not a present-tense marker. In (133) the verb ‘recorda’ does not convey a change of state i.e. the remembering is not the target state of some event, instead it is a one state event and the TT is completely contained in the situation.

- (133) *tá kordá yo kon esi eroplano*
 IPFV remember 1sg OBJ that airplane
 ‘I remember that airplane.’

(11_01)

In (134) and (135), the verb *kida* ‘get’ is used to change a stative predicate to a telic predicate; in these two cases the imperfective is used to denote that the topic time is located in the midst of the event (situation), which is the event of changing sizes.

- (134) *El pan di sal, ta= kida chiquito,*
 The bread of salt, IPFV= become small,

ta pasá el tiempo
 IPFV= pass the time
 ‘The *pan de sal* is getting smaller and smaller as time passes.’

(T_01)

- (135) *Tá= kida grande niso población.*
 IPFV= become big 1SG population
 ‘Our population is growing.’

(T_07)

It is also used with habitual and continuous actions as in (136), where the speaker is describing a habitual activity in the past, ‘go to mass’.

- (136) *Niso antes, largo niso manga kamisa, lampas na rodiyas si tá andá*
 1PL before loose 1PL PL shirt down in knees if IPFV go

niso mass
 1PL *misa*.

'In the past, if we were going to mass, the skirts were loose, skirts down to the knees.'
 (T_01)

Like the English present progressive, the imperfective aspect can be used with events that will take place after the speech time if the action is relevant in the present:

- (137) *tá hasí sundó pá kon eli Karlos*
 PFV make pick.up DUR OBJ 3SG Carlos
 'Carlos is picking her up.'

(12_214)

As mentioned before, lexical content interacts with TMA marking. When *ta* precedes an inherently telic action the verb is interpreted as an iterative activity. In (138) 'go to the mall' and 'to look' are interpreted as recurring actions.

- (138) *Aba, no sabi yo ki andá palá tu na Amerika.*
 But NEG know 1SG COMP go SUR 2SG OBL America.
Kada ves tá andá yo na plasa tá buská kuntigo namán
 Every time PFV go 1SG OBL plaza IPFV look.up 2SG.GEN FOC

tá mirá kuntigu
 PFV= look 2SG.OBJ

'I didn't know you went to America. Every time I went to the mall I looked for you, I really searched for you.'

(T_21)

In (139) the imperfective marker is used with an adverbial *aora* 'now' to convey present temporal reference :

- (139) *Aora pa nu- más tá dale gracias ya yo kon*
 Now DUR no- more IPFV give thank COMP 1SG OBJ

akel manga di partisipá akí na programa de Navidad
 that PL DUR participate here OBL program GEN Christmas

'Now, I have to thank those that participated here in the Christmas program.'
 (T_60)

Ya – Perfective/ Completed

The perfective marker denotes that topic time includes the endpoint of situation time.

Perfective aspect is cross-linguistically preferred in verbs that express the main action of a clause, while the other verbs that serve as background information are often in the imperfective aspect. This tendency is seen in CC, as shown in example (140):

- (140) *Siguiente semana ya paseá nisos na entrada kon rubustu*
 Next week PFV stroll 1PL OBL side with robust
robles na dos lado donde tá diskansá i tá
 oak OBL two side REL IPFV rest and IPFV
asé kampestre algunos turista.
 make picnic some tourists.
 ‘The following week we took a walk on a road with strong oak trees on both sides where some tourists rest and have picnics.’

(T_71)

The perfective aspect expresses the endpoint of an action by virtue of the fact that for perfective aspect, the endpoint of the situation time is contained within the topic time. For this reason the perfective yields past temporal reference implicatures, especially when it is used with telic verbs as in (141).

- (141) *Sabi ba tu, ya murí eli el día di su kumpleanyos.*
 Know Q 2SG, PFV die 3SG the day of 3SG.GEN birthday.
 ‘You know, she died on the day of her birthday.’

(T_14)

Ya may be found denoting actions that occurred in an objective or relative past. In example (142), the speaker lists habitual activities in the past using the imperfective marker and switches to *ya* to refer to activities “*cosa y suseso*” ‘things and events’, as a group set of events occurring earlier that day. In (143) *ya* adds perfective aspect to an action which occurs in the future in relation to the speaker’s deictic center or utterance time.

- (142) *El sala es bastanti espasioso kon bentana*
 The living.room is very spacious with window
di espeho. Akí, tá diskansá yo muchu
 of mirror Here IPFV rest 1SG many
bes, tá mirá televisión, tá leé, o tá eskribí
 time IPFV look television IPFV read or IPFV write
sobre el manga kosa i suseso ki ya obserbá
 about the PL thing and sucess REL COMPL observe

yo

1SG.

‘The living room is pretty spacious with glass windows. Here I used to rest many times, watch TV, read, and write about things that I had observed.’

(T_73)

- (143) *yá graduá eli kabando eli todú esti manga pa así eli*
 PFV graduate 3SG finish.PROG 3SG every this PL DUR make 3SG
 ‘She will have graduated when she’s done with everything she’s still doing.’
 (12_314)

As seen with *ta*-marked imperfectives, not every action in the past is marked with *ya*; stative verbs in the past are usually left unmarked as in (144). In the first sentence before the verb *podé* ‘can’ conveys a punctual action. The difference between both clauses may be related to the fact that *dispilta* is a stative verb.

- (144) *Anochi no ya pudí yo durmí. Todú la nochi dispilta yo.*
 last.night NEG IPFV can 1SG sleep. All the.F night awake 1SG
 ‘Last night I couldn’t sleep. I was awake the whole night.’
 (T_14)

Di-irrealis

This section examines the morphosyntactic and semantic properties of irrealis marking in CC. The form of the irrealis marker is unique to the Manila Bay varieties of Chabacano. ZM uses the form *ay* presumably from *ha de* (Steinkrüger 2008), and other Ibero-Asian creoles have some version of the Portuguese form *logo* (‘then’) as an irrealis and future-tense marker. The origin of the Manila Bay *di* has been traced to Spanish *ha de* ‘will’ or *debi* ‘should’ (Steinkrüger 2008), and the marker is often found with this latter meaning, as in (145):

(145) *Eli habló konmigo* “*Di* *haci tu handá* *pero ya habló yo di*
 3PL talk 1PL.OBJ IRR make 2SG arrangements but PFV talk 1SG IRR

huntá muna yo sen.

first gather 1SG money.

‘You should get ready (they said), but I said I should have the money first.’

(12_239)

The status of ‘irrealis’ in the grammar is a subject of much controversy, in part because of the inconsistency in the semantic criteria associated with irrealis marking. For this reason, some have suggested that it is not a descriptively adequate category (Bybee 1994). On the other hand, the description of irrealis marking in CC might be guided by parameters that have been typologically related to irrealis marking (Michael 2014). It will be shown that CC meets some of the typological criteria. In many cases where the marker is optional, its use is determined by the general semantic properties associated with the irrealis mood (events that did not happen in the past or future).

The chart below summarizes the use of *di* in Cavite Chabacano across a group of constructions and shows that the stability of *di* varies across constructions. A class of constructions that grammatically triggers the irrealis always appears with irrealis marking; optional irrealis marking occurs in constructions where the marking depends on semantic; finally, a third class of constructions that never triggers the irrealis.

The chart is followed by a description of contexts that exhibit irrealis marking.

Table 12 Contexts of irrealis marking in Cavite Chabacano

Construction	Triggers irrealis marking	Optionally triggers irrealis marking	does not trigger irrealis marking
Temporal Reference (future)	x		
Agent oriented modality	x		
Epistemic	x		
Conditional	x		
Counterfactual	x		
Prospective		x	
Habitual			x
Speaker oriented modality-prohibitive		x	
Imperatives			x
Negative Polarity			x
Relative clauses		x	

Temporal reference

The earlier descriptions of Chabacano characterize *di* as a ‘future marker’ as in (146), and this is also the perception of most speakers. We find that this is the most stable use, especially in main clauses. Many times *di* appears with adverbs of time like *dispues* ‘then’.

- (146) *di sigí eli kunmigu ya na pag- arreglar el karro*
 IRR follow 3SG 1SG.OBJ COMPL LOC NMLZ- fix the car
 ‘She will follow me to the car arrangement.’
 (12_308)

Succession of steps-Imperatives

While speaker-oriented actions such as imperatives are unmarked in Chabacano, irrealis marking is found with directives that express a sequence of necessary steps as in (147-148):

- (147) *kabal de separa di echa naman tu el miki*
 finish GEN separate IRR put.in also 2SG the miki (sauce)
 ‘(After you’re) done separating (it) you should put in the *miki*.’
 (11_350)

- (148) *di saka tu lisensia di saka tu el otel*
 IRR get 2SG license IRR get 2SG the hotel

para hasel el donde el manga preparachion
 PURP do the where the PL preparation
 ‘(They) should get their license, should get a hotel to do all the preparations.’
 (12_199)

Succession of steps-Habitual

Habitual actions can be marked with the imperfective or can be unmarked. Habitual actions may also be marked with the *di* irrealis marker when they involve a series of steps. In examples (149-150), the main clause is marked with *di*. Since the speaker is talking about everyday chores, the marking may be related to the obligation meaning. In this case one could argue that instead of irrealis, *di* marks constructions with obligation or with a greater chance of realization.

- (149) *...después di trabahar yo na kasa, di limpiál*
 after IRR work 1SG LOC house IRR clean

kasa,
 house
 ‘...Then I work in the house, clean the house.’
 (10_574)

- (150) *ta sintá yo alyí, ta lee yo el periodiko*
 IPFV sit 1SG there IPFV read 1SG the newspaper

después di hasí yo mi “puzzles”
 then IRR do 1SG 1SG.POSS puzzles
 ‘I sit there, I read the newspaper, then I do my puzzles.’
 (10_515)

Conditional

The irrealis marker also co-occurs with other meaningful morphology such as the conditional *si* ‘if’. For conditionals that expressing temporal indefiniteness, *di* appears in the protasis while the apodosis is unmarked as in (151). To express hypothetical events, both the protasis and the apodosis can be marked as in (152).

- (151) *Si di habla contra eli, malu raw aquel para na*
COND IRR talk against 3SG bad QUOT that for LOC

economia.

economy

‘If you contradict him, it is said that it will be bad for the economy.’

(T₁₆)

- (152) *Siguro si di risá yo el rosaryo kada la noche*
Surely COND IRR pray 1SG the rosary each the.F night

i si di así yo actos de karidad siguro di
and COND CON make 1SG act.PL of charity surely IRR

salbá cunmigo i kon mi familya.
save 1SG.OBJ and OBJ 1SG.GEN familya.

‘Maybe if I prayed the rosary all night, and if I did charity work, me and my family would be saved.’

(T₁₆)

There is a general constraint against marking existential and modal verbs (see 7.3, 8.3). In conditional clauses these are also unmarked, and the irrealis marker may be moved to the other clause. In (153) the existential *tyeni* restricts the use of the marker in the apodosis, and the irrealis is marked in the protasis.

- (153) *si tyeni manga plato di labar yo el plato*
if EXT PL dish IRR wash 1SG the dish

si suchio mi sala di recohe yo el
if dirty 1SG.POSS living.room IRR pick.up 1SG the

manga tois

PL toys

‘If I have dishes I wash the dishes, if my living room is dirty I pick up the toys...’

(10₅₇₅)

Counterfactuals

In Chabacano counterfactuals are formed with the adverbial *sana* in the protasis when the prediction is a desired or expected result as in (154) and (155).

- (154) *Si yá andá eli na plasa sana di pudí*
 COND IPFV go 3SG OBL mall ADV IRR can
eli indá na mucho partis.
 3sg go LOC many parties
 ‘If you had gone to the mall, you would be able to go to many parties.’
 (3_766)

- (155) *Si tu ya kabá su estudyó, e di*
 COND 2SG PFV finish 3SG.GEN studies eh, IRR
sana tyene tu bwen trabaho.
 ADV have 2SG good job.
 ‘If you had finished school, you’d have a good job.’
 (3_767)

Purposive

Di is often found with *para* in purposive adverbial clauses, independently of when the action expressed in the clause takes place. In (156) the action occurs in the future, while in (157) the action is habitual and in (158) it is in the past. The marking of verbs after the preposition distinguishes the Cavite variety from Ternateño, which does not allow irrealis marking in purposive constructions (Sippola 2011:149).

- (156) *Mira tu, mi iha i swegro tá andá pá na*
 Look 2SG, 1SG.GEN daughter and father.in.law IPFV go DUR LOC
abroad para di trabaha, si tá kidá ilo na
 abroad PURP IRR work COND IPFV stay 3PL LOC
Filipinas hanap patay el resulta de su
 Filipinas road death the outcome of 3SG.GEN
trabaho
 job
 ‘Look, my daughter and father in law are going abroad to work, if they stay in the Philippines their job will be their road to death.’
 (T_22)

- (157) ‘...y *cumo nuay naman ta haci nada para*
 ‘...and how NEG.EXT also IPFV do nothing for
di ayuda el manga pobri.
 IRR help the PL poor.
 ‘He doesn’t do anything to help the poor.’
 (T_16)

(158) *Este mañana ya manda yo ensiguida cun mi*
 This morning PFV send 1SG soon OBJ 1SG.GEN
marido para di cubra el premio.

husband PURP IRR collect the prize
 ‘This morning I immediately sent my husband to collect the prize.’

(T_25)

Relative and adverbial clauses

Irrealis marking is only found in relative (159) and adverbial (160) clauses when the clause refers to an unrealized action in the present or the past. In (161) the verb in the relative clause is not marked with the irrealis because it refers to a completed event.

(159) *ya kebra mi nyeto el lampara di dale*
 PFV break 1SG.POSS grandson the lamp IRR give

konmigo mi iho
 1SG.OBJ 1SG.POSS son

‘My grandson broke the lamp that my son was going to give me.’

(JM_406)

(160) *Ya oi yo que el dia cuando di ritira*
 PFV hear 1SG COMP the day when IRR retire
tu na Filipinas ya cerrao el Philippine Airline.
 2SG LOC Philippines PFV closed the Philippine Airline.
 ‘I heard that the day that you were leaving to the Philippines, Philippine Airlines had closed.’ (and you were stranded)

(T_21)

(161) *no pa ta yega el lampara ke ya prometi*
 NEG DUR IPFV arrive the lamp REL PFV promise
mi iho
 1SG.POSS son

‘The lamp that my son promised hasn’t arrived yet.’

(7_404)

Abilitative Modality

The modal *pwede* ‘can’ may be preceded by *di* even though as a general rule modal verbs are left unmarked. In examples (162) and (163) *pwede* marks an event in the future and an unrealized event in the present. On the other hand, *di* is dispreferred with the modal verbs *kyeri* and *debi*; note that even though the epistemic construction in (164) refers to an event in the future, the verb is left unmarked.

(162) *Di puedi niso celebrá la misa en Kasteyano*
 IRR can 1PL celebrate the.F mass in Spanish

‘We should/will be able to celebrate the mass in Spanish.’

(T_15)

- (163) *Komu ba no di puedi nisos trabaha juntú~ juntú.*
 Why Q NEG IRR can 1PL work together~ COL
 ‘Why can’t we work together?’
 (T_15)

- (164) *Baka kyere ilos retirá temprano.*
 Maybe want 3PL leave early
 ‘They might want to go home earlier.’
 (1_850)

3.2.9.2 Unmarked clauses

It is not uncommon for a verb to appear without its preverbal marker, allowing aspectual information to be retrieved from the context. In (165) the speaker already specifies the perfective in the first sentence, and then in the second sentence the marker is omitted as she continues the narration. The repetition of *ayá na station* also helps contextualize the narration in time and place as a continuation of the previous one.

- (165) *Muchu yá hasí kon eli alya na station;*
 EXT.PL IPFV make OBJ 3SG there LOC station;

alya na station hablá kon eli esti ta- kí
 there LOC ‘station’ talk OBJ 3SG this is here

tá hasí kwarta hasí eli mirá todú kel manga
 IPFV make money make 3SG look all REL.DEF PL

kabitenyo.

from.Cavite.

‘Many were with her over there at the station, over there at the station (they) talked to her, to this one, she makes money that way, she studies all the caviteños’

(12_283)

In addition to these cases of optional verb marking, Chabacano exhibits other contexts where the verb is never preceded by any of the three pre-verbal markers. In some of these cases the construction inherently lacks any aspectual information, for example in the case of infinitives and imperatives. In other cases, the information may be retrieved from context, as in habituals, stative verbs, and modal verbs.

Infinitives

Infinitives do not have TMA information and are never marked for aspect, as shown in (166):

- (166) *Oo din na asi lwegu na prosesion eh para*
 yes too LOC do then LOC procession eh to
seguí eli mira eli
 continue 3SG look 3SG
 ‘Also go to the procession so that she continues to watch (the procession).’
 (CC_280)

Habitual actions

An unmarked verb is commonly interpreted as a habitual action such as in (167); this contrasts with (168):

- (167) *Taga Poland pero yá ilo ya star ya na Winnipeg alya*
 From Poland but PFV 3SG COMP are PFV LOC Winnipeg there
ilo hasí negosyo’.
 3SG make business.
 ‘They are from Poland, but they are not in Winnipeg, they do business there.’
 (12_222)

- (168) *tá nesesitá tu estudia bueno para pasa.*
 IPFV= need 2SG study good for pass
 ‘You need to study hard in order to pass.’

(Escalante 2005:117)

Stative verbs

Cross-linguistically, statives are amenable to be unmarked for aspect, this is particularly common among creole languages (Bickerton 1981). In Chabacano, many stative predicates appear in constructions with an unmarked verb, as in (169).

- (169) *Dwele mi kabesa.*
 Hurt 1SG.GEN head.
 ‘My head hurts.’

(3_768)

Modal verbs

Modality in CC is expressed by a group of verbs that are rarely marked for aspect.

In (170), the perfective marker *ya* is ungrammatical with *kyere*, but is grammatical with *prokurá* (171), which is a dynamic verb with a highly agentive argument. While modal verbs are inflected in Spanish, the group of CC modal verbs find parallel constructions in Tagalog like (172), which are formed with verbs such as *kailangan* ‘need’, *dapat* ‘ought, must’, and *gusto* ‘like’ *puwede* ‘can’. These verbs form a class of verbs known as pseudo-verbs that are never inflected for aspect (Schachter & Otnes 1972: 261).

(170) **yá kyeri yo no mirá kon Linda.*
 IPFV want 1SG NEG look OBJ Linda.
 Intended: ‘I don’t want to look at Linda.’
 (7_898)

(171) *yá prokurá yo no mirá kon Linda.*
 IPFV procured 1SG NEG look OBJ Linda
 ‘I procured not to look at Linda.’
 (7_899)

Tagalog:

(172) *Gusto ni John ang kotse.*
 Like VOC.OBJ John NOM car.
 ‘John likes the car.’

Imperatives

Imperative constructions use an unmarked verb. Some imperatives have a subject as in (173), but normally, imperatives either have no overt 2nd subject (174). Prohibitives are formed by placing a negator as the first element of the clause. Example (175) shows that the verb in the prohibitive is also left unmarked.

(173) *Usa tu el lapis y papel que ta na mesa*
 use 2SG the pencil and paper REL is LOC table
 ‘Use the pencil and paper on the table.’
 (Escalante 2005: 106)

(174) *Gisa el vegetables*
 Stew the vegetables
 ‘Stew the vegetables.’
 (11_328)

(175) *No mas tu mete allí na gulo.*
 NEG more 2SG go.into there LOC quarrel
 ‘You’d better not intrude in that quarrel.’
 (Escalante 2005: 106)

3.2.9.3 Modal verbs

Modal verbs are always found as the first verb in complex verb constructions [V₁-V₂]. Compared to a regular verb, modal verbs have reduced lexical content, and are usually used to express something related to the possibilities of realization of the event expressed by the main verb. Below, the two examples contrast a lexical use of the verb *kyere* ‘to like’ (176) with its modal use ‘want’ (177). As seen in 8.4, modal verbs are unmarked for aspect.

(176) *di lyegá el día kyeri yo kon eli*
 IRR arrive the day like 1SG OBJ 3SG
 ‘The day that I love him will arrive.’
 (11_35)

- (177) ... *quiere yo antes di dispidi aqui na mundo sabi*
 ... want 1SG before of say.goodbye here OBL world know
muna ustedes el estoria di mio...
 first 2PL the story of 1GEN
 ‘Before saying goodbye to this world, I want you first to know my story ...’
 (T_10)

The meaning of the verb, specifically the degree of modal strength expressed by the verb, seems to affect the organization of the two verbs in a complex verb construction. In general, there is a tendency for the modals with higher strength (*debi, tyeni*) to be more integrated to the verb allowing only pronominal forms between the two verbs (56). On the other hand, weaker modalities such as optative allow more material between the two verbs. In (177) above a whole adverbial phrase is inserted between the modal *kyeri* ‘want’ and the main verb *sabi* ‘know’.

The main modal verbs and adverbs are summarized below and discussed according to their functions.

Table 13 Modal verbs in Cavite Chabacano

Word	Modality	English gloss
<i>debe/ debi /dibi</i>	obligation	‘should’
<i>tiene/ tyeni</i>	obligation	‘has’
<i>pwede/ pwedi</i>	potential, epistemic	‘can’
<i>sabe/ sabi</i>	potential, epistemic	‘know’
<i>kieri/ kyere</i>	optative	‘like’

Obligation

CC has two modal verbs that can express obligation, *tyeni* ‘have’ and *debi* ‘should’. *Tyeni* is usually followed by the relativizer *ki/ ke*; the same modal construction with *que* is found in Spanish. As it was previously described in 3.2.9 above, modals are phonologically different from main verbs, which have a stressed final syllable and a single vowel in place of the diphthong found in the modals.

- (178) *anochi mi dos nyetos ya dormi aki kon*
 last.night 1SG.POSS two grandkid PFV sleep here OBJ

niso i mi maridu debi yeba kon eli alya
 1PL and 1SG.POSS husband should take OBJ 3SG there

na eskwela na Freemont
 LOC school LOC Freemont
 ‘Last night my two grandkids slept here with us and my husband had to take them to school over there in Freemont.’

(10_586)

(179) *Akabar la muerte de tu grand-Lola, Ester ya tyieni*
 finish the death of 2SG.GEN grand-grandmother Ester PFV have

ki adaptar tu grand-grand Lolo.
 COMP adopt 2SG.GEN grand-grand grandfather
 ‘After your grandmother’s death, Ester had to adopt your grand-grandfather.’

(T_56)

(180) *Nisos debi tini pwerte devosion kun nisos patrona.*
 1PL must have strong devotion OBJ 1PL patron
 ‘We must have a strong devotion towards our patron.’

(T_24)

Potential

The potentive mood is related to the abilitive modality.

(181) *si eli alya huntu di Luisa dale akel alkila akel*
 yes 3SG there together of Luisa give that.one rent that.one

su condominium para pwuede eli pagal todo akel...
 3SG.GEN condominium PURP can 3SG pay all that
 ‘yes, he he’s with Luisa, he rented his apartment so that he can pay all of that.’
 (12_207)

(182) *Siempre no pwede nisos olvida el ke ya dale*
 Always NEG can 1PL forget the REL PFV give

inspirasyon y entusiasmo na niso vida.
 inspiration and enthusiasm OBL 1PL life.
 ‘We can never forget the ones who give inspiration and enthusiasm to our lives.’
 (T_70)

The modal use of *sabe~sabi* has a related meaning as it also expresses abilitive modality. In (183) the modal verb is used with a main verb *contal* ‘to tell’. Note that *sabi* can also be used as a main verb as in (184).

(183) *Eli ta estudia Chabakano muchos anos ya para sabe*
 3SG IPFV study Chabacano many years COMP to can

eli platika akel bueno.
 3SG speak that good
 ‘She’s been studying Chabacano for many years so she can speak it well.’
 (12_750)

(184) *pero no sabi eli pero ya= pidiú, ya= pidiú*
 but NEG know 3SG but PFV= ask.for PFV= ask.for

el blessing kun Meri pidiú el blessing kon
 the blessing OBJ Mary ask.for the blessing OBJ

Karidad

Caridad.

‘She does not know it, but he asked Loli for her blessing, she (also) asked.’
 (12_230)

3.2.9.4 Adverbials

Adverbials can be divided in two classes, adverbs and adverbial particles. Both are optionally used to modify the action expressed by the verb. Adverbs are phonological words that show a flexible distribution as they may precede or follow the verb. Unlike adverbs, adverbial particles have a relatively fixed position, as they tend to follow the first element of the predicate, or the element under its scope. Most particles also have a preferred order relation among each other. When there is more than one modifier in the VP, the particles tend to be closer to the verb, followed by the adverb, and finally by the adverbial clauses.

Adverbs

Adverbs include adverbs of location *abaho* ‘under’, *detrás* ‘behind’, *lehos* ‘far’; temporal adverbs *aora* ‘now’, *manyana* ‘tomorrow’, *nunka* ‘never’; manner adverbs *bueno~bweno* ‘well’, *mal* ‘badly’ *ensegida* ‘right away’ *diansina* ‘like this’; and adverbs formed with frozen the adverbial Spanish affix *-mente seguramente* ‘surely’ *especialmente* ‘specially’.

The adverbs in this group can precede or follow the predicate without changing the basic meaning of the sentence. The unmarked order of adverbials tends to be post-verbal as in (185-187), but pre-verbal adverbs are also common as in (188).

(185) *ya subi bueno el agua del rio*
 PFV raise good the water GEN.DEF river
 ‘The water of the river came up good (came up a lot).’

(T_58)

(186) *ya mira eli bweno kon mi iho*
 PFV look 3SG good OBJ 1SG.POSS son
 ‘He took a good look at my son.’

(3_731)

(187) *Eli ta platika Chabakano bweno*
 3SG IPFV speak Chabacano good
 ‘He speaks Chabacano well.’

(10_748)

- (188) *bigla ya lang eli ya aprece*
 suddenly PFV only 3SG PFV appear
 ‘He appeared all of a sudden.’

(Escalante 2010: 79)

Adverbial Particles

One of the most salient Tagalog features in CC is the group of adverbial particles. This group consists of forms with a variable set of functions that add manner, temporal or pragmatic (modality) information. Some of the functions are described below but note that as in Tagalog, adverbial particles tend to be polysemous and have more than one related function. Some of the functions in the chart below are adapted from (Schachter 1972: 425) description of the adverbial particles in Tagalog

Table 14 Adverbial particles

Particle	Function	Origin
<i>ya</i>	COMPL	Spanish/Portuguese
<i>pa</i>	DUR	Tagalog
<i>nga</i>	‘please’	Tagalog
<i>ba</i>	Q	Tagalog
<i>pala</i>	MIR	Tagalog
<i>rin/din</i>	‘too’, ‘also’	Tagalog
<i>siempre</i>	‘always’	Spanish
<i>raw/daw</i>	QUOT	Tagalog
<i>dise</i>	QUOT	Spanish
<i>numa</i>	‘only’	Spanish ³⁰
<i>lang</i>	‘only’	Tagalog
<i>sana</i>	CONT	Tagalog
<i>kaya</i>	DEM	Tagalog
<i>naman</i>	‘instead/also’	Tagalog

Many adverbial particles are found after the main verb and thus tend to be the second element of the clause. However, since their place in the clause ultimately depends on the element that’s under the particle’s scope there are particles that can be found clause finally.

When the clause exhibits more than one particle, these are ordered in relation to each other in the order shown in Table 15. The particles in the same column are in complementary distribution either because they have complementary mutually exclusive/ complementary functions (e.g. *ya*, *pa*), or they are Tagalog and Spanish forms for the same function (e.g. *raw*, *dise*).

³⁰ From Spanish *nomás*, or *no más* ‘not more’.

Table 15 Ordering of adverbial particles (From Llamado 1972: 84)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>ya</i>		<i>ba</i>	<i>rin/din</i>	<i>raw/daw</i>	<i>numa</i>	<i>sana</i> <i>kaya</i>	<i>Naman</i>
<i>pa</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>pala</i>	<i>siempre</i>	<i>dise</i>	<i>lang</i>		

The post-verbal particles *ya* and *pa* are ‘temporal adverbials,’ which are ordered closest to the verb. Examples (189) and (190) show that *ya* precedes any other adverbial particle used in the clause.

- (189) *Mucho ya din qui numa niso ta mirá*
 Much COMPL too too REL anymore 1PL IPFV see
 ‘There’s a lot that we don’t see anymore.’
 (T_01)

- (190) *Pero no vale ya nga todo ese*
 But NEG worth COMPL EXCL all that
 ‘But all of that is not worth it.’
 (T_01)

As noted before, often particles are found in different orders depending on the scope of each of the particles. Therefore, the order shown above should be taken as a tendency. For example, the quotative particle *raw* has variable scope; in (191) the whole clause is under the scope of *raw*, while in (192) *raw* has scope only over the time adverbial:

- (191) *mabait el nobyo raw ya habla Loli*
 nice the boyfriend QUOT PFV talk Loli
 ‘Loli said that the boyfriend is nice.’
 (12_215)

- (192) *aora daw mucho mucho trabaho na opisina*
 now QUOT much much work LOC office
 ‘Now (he/she said) there a lot of work in the office.’
 (12_211)

Temporal adverbial particles

Aside from the aspect markers, CC exhibits two adverbial temporal particles that are also frequently used to add information related to the verb’s inherent temporality or aktionsart (Comrie 1976). In this work, I distinguish these particles from the group of adverbial particles based on their frequency and the fact that these modifiers tend to be used along with the aspect marker to express more nuanced aspectual information.

Table 16 Temporal adverbial particles

Word	Aspectual/temporal information	Origin
<i>pa</i>	continuative/progressive	Tag <i>pa</i>
<i>ya</i>	perfect	Span/Port <i>ya</i> (Tagalog <i>na</i>)

Their high frequency of use and distribution match that of the particles *na* and *pa* in Tagalog. However, they show higher usage in Chabacano, presumably due to a reduced inventory of temporal morphology.

The particles have opposite effects regarding the speaker's conceptualization of the time of the action expressed by the verb (Klein 1994).

The particle *ya* can be translated as 'already' or 'just' and may convey perfect-like meaning by marking the endpoint of the event (TSit). For this reason the use of *ya* is commonly found with telic verbs. The action 'to graduate' (193) uses the marker to convey that it is a recently finished event. Contrast (193) with the absence of the particle using the same verb in (194):

- (193) *ya graduá ya eli di el unibersidad*
 PFV graduate COMPL 3SG from the university
 'She graduated already from the university.'

(12_851)

- (194) *ya graduá eli, kabando eli todú esti manga pa así eli*
 PFV graduate 3SG finish 3SG all this PL DUR do 3SG
 'She graduated, she's finishing all of these (things) she's doing.'

(12_314)

The particle can also be used with other aspectual elements where it seems to refine the aspectual information. In (195) the prefix combines with the particles and adds perfect-like meaning, by conveying that the TSit precedes the TT; that is, at the time talked about, the situation is completed. In (196) the marker has a similar effect but this time it combines with the irrealis marker and the adverbial phrase 'by next month' marking the endpoint of an event that comes after the TT.

- (195) *Ya mang-platika-han ya nisos antes tu ya yegá.*
 PFV VRB-talk-RECP COMPL 1PL before 2SG PFV arrive
 'We had already talked before you arrived.'

(Escalante 2010: 65)

- (196) *Di mang-peleá-han ya ilos na otro mes.*
 CON VRB-fight-RECP COMPL 3PL OBL other month
 'They will have fought each other by next month.'

(Escalante 2010: 65)

Like 'just' in English, the marker may also be used to convey that the distance between the situation time and the topic time is very short. The difference between example (199) and *yeno yo* 'I'm full', relates to the relevance of being full at the moment of speech; it is uttered at the

moment when the speaker is done eating and is offered more food. Example (198) shows its use in an imperative, and the sentence in example (199) is uttered as the speaker finishes a sequence of instructions.

(197) *yeno ya yo*
 full COMPL 1SG
 ‘I’m full.’

(12_442)

(198) *kumi ya!*
 eat COMPL
 ‘Eat!’

(11_353)

(199) *kabau ya!*
 finish COMPL
 ‘Done!’

(11_355)

This use has developed into a series of non-verbal idiomatic uses such as its use to convey precision in telling the time as in example (200), which parallels the same idiomatic construction with *na* in Tagalog.

(200) *syempre todo ilos ke alya alas dies ya*
 always all 3SG REL there to.theF.PL ten COMPL

de la nochi tá ritirá
 of the.F night IPFV leave
 ‘Maybe all of them over there leave at 10 at night.’

(12_213)

On the other hand the post-verbal particle *pa* is the mirror image of *ya*, as it is a temporal adverb that denotes the ongoing nature of an event.

(201) *Ta= canta~canta pa yo despacio aquel mga cancion de ayer*
 IPFV= sing~CONT DUR 1SG slowly that PL song of yesterday
 ‘I am still singing those old slow songs.’

(T_01)

Comparing example (202) with (191) above, in (202) *pa* combines with an imperfective pre-verbal particle to convey that the action is still ongoing. When used with an achievement verb in example (203), *pa* is interpreted as an action that hasn’t been completed.

(202) *Ta= mang-escribi-han pa ilos asta aora.*
 PFV= VER-write-REC DUR 3PL until now
 ‘They have been writing to each other up to now.’

(Escalante 2010: 64)

(203) *ta haci sundo pa kon eli Luisa*
 IPFV make pick.up DUR OBJ 3SG Luisa
 ‘Renis is picking her up.’ (she hasn’t been picked up)

(12_214)

In (204) the marker is found with a participial form expressing an atelic action that is part of a story in which the speaker narrated her experience surviving a typhoon. The story is narrated using the perfective marker *ya*, and *pa* conveys that at the moment of the event, the speaker was ‘still’ doing the same action (hugging the tree).

(204) *Ya lliga mi kapit.bahay ya mira cumigo*
 PFV arrive 1SG.GEN neighbor COMPL look 1SG.OBJ

abras-ao pa yo el pono di coco
 hug-PRT DUR 1SG the tree of coconut

‘When my neighbor arrived, he saw me still hugging the coconut tree.’

(T_01)

The durative *pa* is also occurs outside of the predicate phrase as in (205) and with negation as in (206):

(205) *ya graduá eli kabando eli todú esti manga pa así eli*
 PFV graduate 3SG finish 3SG all this PL DUR do 3SG
 ‘She will have graduated after she’s done with all (things left) that she does.’

(12_314)

(206) *No pa ta lyegá el lampara ke ya*
 NEG DUR IPFV arrive the lamp that PFV
prometi mi’ho.
 promise 1SG.GEN.son

‘The lamp that my son promised hasn’t arrived yet.’

(7_403)

Unlike *ya*, *pa* is not found in Spanish nor is it an areal feature of Ibero-Asian Creole languages. The form seems to be a borrowing from Tagalog.

3.2.10 Basic constituent order

Constituent order is described in this section for four types of sentences: basic verbal predicates, nominal/adjectival predicates, locatives, and existentials. Verbal predicates consist of a simple or a complex verb with full semantic content, while the other constructions are distinguished by the absence of a verb and the presence of different relational elements. Overall, we find a high resemblance between word order in CC and word order in Tagalog in all of the constructions discussed in this section.

3.2.10.1 Verbal predicates

To be able to describe constituent order in verbal predicates, sentences with fully expressed arguments were selected. In these sentences the unmarked word order exhibits a verb-initial (VS/VAP) word order typical of Western Austronesian languages and Filipino languages.

- (207) *Ya yega ya el manga bisita.*
PFV arrive COMPL the PL visit
'The guests have arrived.'

(Escalante 2005_91)

- (208) *ya kai yo na eskaleras*
PFV fall 1SG LOC stairs
'I fell down the stairs.'

(3_174)

- (209) *Ya kebrá eli el platu*
PFV break 3SG the dish
'He broke the plate.'

(11_11)

Possibly as a functional compensation for Chabacano's relative lack of inflectional morphology, the order of the arguments in transitive sentences in CC is relatively fixed. This contrasts with Tagalog, where fully expressed arguments may occur in more than one order without any loss of grammaticality or meaning (Schachter 1972: 83).

In CC the basic order of a transitive sentence is VAP as in (208-209). This is mostly true in sentences with canonical As and Ps; that is, in sentences with a definite and animate A and an inanimate P. When both arguments have the same animacy and definiteness properties, the A tends to be found immediately after the verb as in (210- 211).

- (210) *Ya mirá el ninyo con mi hijo.*
PFV look the boy OBJ 1SG.POSS son
'The boy saw my son.'

(JM_378)

- (211) *di segi eli konmigo*
IRR follow 3SG 3SG.OBJ
'She will follow me.'

(12_308)

Note that although animacy and definiteness correlate with prototypical agents, marked information structure can result in VPA order regardless of whether A stands for a more prototypical agent. For example, an alternative to express the meaning of (212) may be (213) as an answer to the question "Who did the dog bite?"

- (212) *ya maská el perro kon el muchachu*
PFV bite the dog OBJ the boy
'The dog bit the boy.'

(213) *Ya maská kon el muchacho el perro.*
 IPFV bite OBJ the boy the dog
 ‘The dog bit the boy.’

(11_3)

Note however, that this change in constituent order when both arguments are animate is only possible with the object marker *kon*. Without it, the change in word order would result in the unlikely scenario of a boy biting the dog. More about grammatical role and argument marking is found in section (3.2.14.1).

Ps can also be found immediately after verb when the argument is a bare indefinite noun. Bare indefinite nouns in CC are always found next to the verb. These are nouns unmarked for and may denote properties of kind and indefiniteness. Llamado (1972: 95) provides an example of the effect of bare nominals on the constituent order of a transitive sentence. In (214) the object *mansanas* refers to a general class and thus may follow the verb. When the object is definite (215), it must follow the A, which is higher in the animacy scale. The same effect is observed in (217) where the object *leche* does not refer to one specific entity.

(214) *ya compra mansanas el muher*
 PFV buy apples the woman
 ‘The woman bought apples.’

(215) *ya compra el muher el mansanas*
 PFV buy the woman the apples
 ‘The woman bought the apples.’

(216) **ya compra el mansanas el muher*

(Llamado 1972: 95)

(217) *ta tomá leche el muchacho todo el día*
 IPFV drink milk the boy every the day
 ‘The boy drinks milk all day.’

(Escalante 2005: 82)

The P argument may also be placed immediately after the verb in AVP constructions. These constructions usually have an animate and definite A. Most of the AVP examples also have a definite P as in (218), although this doesn’t seem to be obligatory as shown in (219).

(218) *Mi amiga ya yama konmigo*
 1SG.POSS friend PFV call 1SG.OBJ
 ‘My friend called me.’

(10_753)

(219) *El patín ta comé pescao.*
 the shark IPFV eat fish
 ‘The shark eats fish.’

(JM_363)

Finally, Sippola (2011) observes that in TE pronouns generally occur after the verb, regardless of whether they are A or P as in (220) and (221). The preference for pronouns to be immediately after the verb is also attested in Tagalog (Schachter 1972: 83).

- (220) A-kambyá eli nombre
 PFV-change 3SG name
 ‘Cambió de nombre’ [s/he changed names]

(Sippola 2011: 182 ex. 353)

- (221) Ya-saká tamyén kon-mihotru mi tay
 PFV-sacar también OBJ-1PL mi padre
 ‘Mi padre nos sacó [de ahí] también.’ [My father got us out of there too.]

(Sippola 2011: 182 ex. 353)

In CC, there seems to be a constraint against VPA order when the A is pronominal. However, examples like the Ternateño (221), where a pronominal P precedes the A, are not produced naturally and are reluctantly accepted when they are elicited. In order to allow pronominal P to appear right after the verb, many speakers preferred constructions in which the A preceded the verb, and in which A had the properties of a prototypical agent.

In unmarked trivalent clauses, R arguments tend to follow T’s in the default VATR order (222), if R is pronominal it will be often found before the longer T argument (223), or immediately after verb when it is the only pronominal argument (224).

- (222) *ya dali yo todo mi sen kon mis*
 PFV give 1SG all 1SG.GEN money OBJ 1PL. GEN

sobрино-s
 nephew/niece-PL
 ‘I gave all my money to my nephews/nieces.’

(9_769)

- (223) *Al reterar, ta hace compra el conmigo muchas*
 At retire IPV make buy 3SG 1SG.OBJ many

manzanas, ubas y cajel.
 apple grape and cajel
 ‘When we leave, he buys me many apples, grapes and *cajel*.’

(T_57)

- (224) *ya hace compra conmigo tu grand-Papa Ding Halo*
 PFV make buy 1SG.OBJ 2SG grand-father Ding Halo
- Shampoo para mi pelo y muchas Rollers*
 Shampoo for 1SG.POSS hair and many rollers
- y polvo oloroso para adorna mi pelo*
 and powder fragrant for embellish 1SG.POSS hair
- ‘Your grandfather Ding bought me Halo Shampoo for my hair and many rollers and fragrant powder to embellish my hair.’

(T_56)

Even though verb-initial constructions are unmarked in CC, clauses with the agent in first position are not uncommon. SV/AVO order is in part influenced by the intermediary language used during elicitation, English. In isolated sentences where I obtained S/AV order, speakers would consistently prefer the verb-initial alternative if given the option. Also, S/AV word order would be preferred with highly salient agents, usually human. Finally, I have described constituent order for verbal predicates with fully expressed nominal and pronominal arguments; in natural discourse nominals are commonly omitted if they are retrievable from context.

3.2.10.2 Nominal/ adjectival predicate

Predicate nominals convey an equivalency relation between two nominals. In Chabacano, a zero-copula language,³¹ predicate nominals are formed by juxtaposing two nominal phrases with the predicated quality before the subject of predication, which can be a full nominal or a pronoun.

- (225) *amiga di eli Nonoy Rosas*
 friend GEN 3SG Nonoy Rosas
 ‘Nonoy Ansaldo is her friend’

(12_309)

- (226) *linguist eli, mestra eli, ta saká eli master*
 linguist 3SG teacher 3SG IPFV get 3SG master
 ‘She’s a linguist, she’s a teacher, she’s getting her masters.’

(12_279)

Adjectival predicates are formed in the same way, with two juxtaposed constituents as in (227). The attribute must precede the noun in order for it to be a predicate adjective. Note that if the adjective follows the noun, it is interpreted as a modifier in a noun phrase as in (228).

- (227) *bweno el hombre*
 good the man
 ‘The man is good.’

(Escalante 2010: 50)

³¹ Acrolectal varieties may use the Spanish copula *ser*

(228) *el hombre bwenó*
 the man good
 ‘the good man’

(Escalante 2010: 50)

(229) *mabait el ombre, tin mabait el nobyo*
 nice the man also nice the boyfriend
raw, ya habla Luli
 QUOT PFV talk Luli
 ‘The man is nice; the boyfriend is also nice, Luli said.’

(12_215)

(230) *Antes salbahe esi pero ora mabait eli.*
 Before wild that but now nice 3SG
 ‘That one was wild before, but he’s good now.’

(7_413)

3.2.10.4 Locatives

Spanish verb *estar* ‘to be’ may be used to express location, it is usually found in a phonologically reduced form *ta* or *star* (232) that is often merged with locative adverbs *aki* (233), *alya* (234) and *alyi*. There is a morphophonological restriction against contiguous locative verb and the aspect markers. The speaker may use adverbials to express time as in (235).

(231) *Basta, winter no yo pwedo estar winter alyi*
 Not winter NEG 1SG can be winter there
 ‘Not in the winter, I can’t be there in the winter.’

(12_54)

(232) *Taga Poland pero ya ilo ya ilo ya*
 From Poland but PFV 3PL PFV 3PL PFV

star ya na Winnipeg
 is COMPL LOC Winnipeg
 ‘(They are) from Poland but they are now in Winnipeg.’

(12_222)

(233) *t-aki eli*
 is-here 3SG
 ‘She is here.’

(12_295)

(234) *Ta subi pa yo na iscalera, casi t-alla*
 IPFV go.up DUR 1SG LOC stair because is-there

arriba el altar.

up the altar

‘I am climbing the stairs because the the altar is up there.’

(T_02)

(235) *t-aki yo manyana*
 is-here 1SG tomorrow
 ‘I will be here tomorrow.’

(12_896)

3.2.11 Existentials

Tyene is used without an aspect marker in existential and possession constructions. Existential constructions can refer to a concrete location such as in (236) where the demonstrative pronoun and the adverb indicate a specific location. It can also refer to the existence of an attribute or a state such as in (237).

(236) *Tieni casa alli en el calle.*
 EXT house there on the street
 ‘There’s a house there on the street.’

(JM_384)

Indefinite subjects are expressed with a construction consisting of the existential and null-headed relative clause (237). Note that the same construction does not apply for the object, if an argument is added it must be interpreted as the patient (238).

(237) *tyene ki ya poni insendio*
 EXT REL PFV put fire
 ‘Someone set (it) on fire.’

(3_162)

(238) *Tyeni ke ya poni insendyo el ombre*
 EXT REL PFV put fire the man
 ‘Somebody put/lit that man on fire.’

(3_163)

Nway and *muchu* may be used in place of the standard existential verb. *Nway* (Span. *no hay*) expresses a negative existential (239) and *mucho* is a quantity existential to express a plural number (240)

- (239) ...*tiene un muchacho y un muchacha, con mucho*
 ...EXT a boy and a girl with much
ambre por nuay que comer...
 hunger because NEG.EXT REL eat
 ‘There are a boy and a girl that are very hungry because there isn’t anything to eat...’
 (T_58)
- (240) **Mucho** *ya din qui no mas niso ta mira.*
 Many PFV also REL NEG more 1PL IPFV see
 ‘There are also many things that we don’t see anymore.’
 (T_01)

The existential shares form with the possessive (3.2.8). Unlike the existential constructions, possessives do have an expressed subject. Existentials and possessives are similarly construed in Tagalog. They are formed with a Tagalog pseudo-verb *may* or *merong*, which is used both in existential and possessive constructions as well (Schacter & Otones 1972: 274, 279-280). Similar forms are also attested in other Ibero-Asian contact languages such as Kristang (Baxter 1988).

- (241) *tyeni eli ora el Chabakano naman*
 have 3SG now the Chabacano FOC
 ‘Now she has (knows) the Chabacano (language).’
 (12_288)
- (242) *los muchachus tyene peras kada uno*
 the.PL boy.PL have pears each one
 ‘Each boy has pears.’
 (7_630)
- (243) *nway eli sen*
 NEG.have 3SG money
 ‘He doesn’t have money.’
 (7_638)

3.2.12 Interrogatives

CC has three main strategies to form interrogatives; rising intonation, the question marker *ba*, and question words. The first two are used in polar questions.

Polar questions are used to confirm previous information or as echo questions with rhetorical effects. Rising intonation marks yes/no questions, which are otherwise identical to declarative sentences.

- (244) *Kieri tu kapé?*
 want 2SG coffee
 ‘Do you want coffee?’
 (12_443)

Polar questions can also be formed using the Tagalog question particle *ba*. The particle is used the same way as in Tagalog as a second-position clitic. In (245) the clitic follows a verb, and in

(246) it follows an adverb; in complex predicates, the marker is placed after the first predicate (247).

(245) *Dale ba eso?*
 give Q that
 ‘Did he give that (away)?’

(6_617)

(246) *Temprano ba ya llegá Mama de plaza?*
 Early Q PFV arrive mom from plaza
 ‘Did mom arrive early from the market?’

(Escalante 2010: 28)

(247) *pwede ba tu hablá ki la kosa el itsura di esti*
 can Q 2SG say what the thing the form GEN this

ombre?

man

‘Can you say what he looks like?’

(6_649)

Note that the second position clitic is placed after the predicate in (248), which suggests that the perfective is bound to its associated verb.

(248) *ya komi ba eli?*
 PFV= eat Q 3SG
 ‘Did he eat?’

(6_622)

The particle is also commonly used in confirmation questions *no ba* ‘isn’t it’ which are calqued from Tagalog *‘di ba* (*hindi ba* NEG Q) as shown in (249- 250).

(249) *pero ya habla eli konmigo ‘pero no ba malas akel’*
 but PFV say 3SG 1SG.OBJ but NEG Q bad that
 ‘But he told me, ‘isn’t it bad?’

(12_200)

(250) *ya no ba?*
 COMPL NEG Q
 ‘Done, right?’

(7_626)

Chabacano also has a group of question words that are used in content-question constructions depending on the semantic category of the expected answer, much in the manner of English or Tagalog. All of the forms except *kilaya*, which is shared with Ibero-Asian creoles, come from Spanish (Lipski 1988). In CC content questions words are in the first position of the construction. Aside from marking the clause as a question, question words also indicate what information is being requested, which is in turn also indicated by a “gap” somewhere in the

clause, such as in (251) where *kosa* stands for the verb's object. Often, the verb follows the question word (254, 256, 258), unless there is a pronominal A such as in (251) (253), and (255).

Table 17 Content-questions words

<i>kien</i>	‘who’
<i>kwando</i>	‘when’
<i>donde</i>	‘where’
<i>kosa</i>	‘what’
<i>komo</i>	‘why’
<i>kilaya</i>	‘how’
<i>kwanto</i>	‘how much/many’
<i>kwál</i>	‘which’
<i>de kyen</i>	‘whose’
<i>kon kyen</i>	‘for whom/with whom’
<i>para kyen</i>	‘for whom’

- (251) *Kosa*³² *ustedes* *ya* *así?*
 What 2PL PFV= do
 ‘What did you do?’

(3_186)

- (253) *kosa* *eli* *ya* *usa* *para* *matar* *el* *ombre*
 what 3SG PFV use to kill the man
 ‘What did he use to kill the man?’

(3_679)

- (254) *Komo* *ya* *kebrá* *el* *plorero*
 why IPFV break the vase
 ‘Why did the vase break?’

(3_179)

- (255) *Como* *ustedes* *ya* *vení*
 why 2PL PFV come
 ‘Why did you come?’

(Escalante 2010: 30)

³² *Kosa* is also used in non questions with the same Spanish meaning ‘thing’

- (252) *el* *primer* *kosa* *ki* *ta* *hasí* *yo* *kwando* *ta*
 the first thing REL IPFV do 1SG when IPFV
desperta *yo* *ta* *laba* *mi* *mano*
 wake.up 1SG IPFV wash 1SG.GEN hand
 ‘The first thing I do when I get up is wash my hands.’

(10_567)

(256) *Quien ya gupia cun usted, mga hiju?*
 Who PFV hit OBJ 2PL PL child
 ‘Who hit you, my children?’
 (T_35)

(257) *Akel donde tu ta keda ora, ‘onde lugar?*
 that where 2SG IPFV stay now where place?
 ‘Where you are staying now, where (is it)?’
 (12_444)

(258) *Kilaya ta kuldá ?*
 how IPFV remember
 ‘What does he look like?’ (lit. how do you remember (him)?)
 (7_643)

The Spanish form *que* ‘what’ may not be used in questions; it’s use is limited to exclamative clauses, as in 259:

(259) *que caliente!*
 REL hot
 How hot!
 (Escalante 2009: 33)

3.2.13 Negation

Negation is conveyed through a set of constructions that include standard negation in main and subordinate clauses, negation in nominal and adjectival constructions, existential negation, adverbials, and negative indefinite pronouns. All of the forms used in negation construction are derived from Spanish, although some constructions, such as the existential negation, seem to be patterned on Tagalog negation structures.

Standard Negation

Chabacano has one negation particle, *no* (Span.*no*) for standard negation. This particle is also used to answer negative polarity questions:

(260) *eh no naman ano el kwelpo de eli no*
 eh NEG FOC what the body GEN 3SG NEG

naman grandi talaga ano pa
 FOC big really what DUR
 ‘Eh, no, what... her body is not really big, what else?’
 (12_238)

The negative particle *no* can be added to an affirmative declarative clause to form a negative. The negative particle in standard negation constructions in Chabacano shows the same distribution as the general pre-verbal negation element *hindi* in Tagalog (Schacter & Otones: 517). Pronouns and adverbial particles can come between the negation particle and the main

verb. Compared to affirmative constructions, the pre-verbal position of pronouns is more common in their negative counterparts.

Aside from the larger number of preverbal arguments in negation constructions, there are no significant morphosyntactic differences between affirmative and negative declarative clauses. In this sense, Chabacano shows a symmetric negation pattern to those found in Filipino languages.

(261) *Talagang la Virgen no di dija cuntigo.*
 True the.F virgin NEG IRR leave 2SG.OBJ
 ‘Really, the virgin will not abandon/leave you.’
 (T_25)

(262) *no yo ta buska kon mi maridu,*
 NEG 1SG IPFV look.up OBJ 1SG.GEN husband

ta buska yo kon mi ermana
 IPFV look.up 1SG OBJ 1SG.GEN sister
 ‘I am not looking for my husband, I am looking for my sister’
 (10_594)

(263) *no akel ya asi komo kel otro ta*
 NEG that.one PFV do like that other IPFV
 ‘He didn’t do it like the other one.’
 (12_233)

(264) *Pero no naman ta dale tristesa cun*
 But NEG FOC IPFV give sadness OBJ

niso esti pache-pache hierro
 1PL this pache-pache iron.
 ‘But this construction shouldn’t make us sad.’
 (T_07)

Modal verb constructions

Modal constructions show greater restriction against other intervening elements between the negation particle and the modal verb.

(265) *no pudi rekorda si eli ya komi pero ya*
 NEG can remember if 3SG IPFV eat but IPFV

mira yo ke eli limpia el peras en su
 see 1SG that 3SG clean the pear in 3SG.GEN

kamiseta
 shirt
 ‘I can’t remember if he ate, but I saw that he cleaned the pears on his T-shirt.’
 (7_624)

Tag questions

The combination of *no* with the question particle is commonly used in yes/no and and tag questions (266-268). The same construction is found in Tagalog with a reduced form of the negation particle *hindi* in ‘*di ba*, this is shown in (268) (Schacter & Otones: 520).

(266) *No ba dale eli sen kon cada uno?*
NEG Q give 3SG money OBJ each one
‘Didn’t he give money to each one?’
(7_633)

(267) *pero ya habla eli konmigo pero no ba malas akel*
but PFV say 3SG 1SG.OBJ but NEG Q bad that
‘He told me, “isn’t that bad luck?”’
(12_200)

(268) *Di ba-’t ginawa ko na iyon* (Tagalog)
‘Isn’t it obvious that I’ve done that already.’
(Schacter & Otones: 520).

Non-verbal clauses

Because Chabacano is a zero-copula language, nominal and adjectival predicates are formed by juxtaposing two elements that are in an equivalence or attributive relation, as shown in (269). The negation particle has scope over the constituent that forms the predicate of the clause (see 3.2.12).

(269) *no malo tomá bino*
NEG bad drink wine
‘Drinking wine is not bad.’
(T_27)

Constituent negation

The same particle can be used much in the same way as the English *not* before non-verbal elements to negate a constituent. In (270), negation has scope over the P’s complement.

(270) *Ta referi yo no con el ordinario cosa y*
IPFV refer 1SG NEG OBJ the ordinary thing and

suceso, sino con el natural belleza alrededor
event but OBJ the natural beauty around.
‘(When writing) I refer not to ordinary things and events but to the natural beauty around.’
(T_82)

Complex Clauses

Chabacano does not have a different negation marker for complex clauses. In subordinated clauses such as verbal complement (271), non-verbal complement (272), and relative (273) clauses, the negation marker has the same distribution as in main clauses.

(271) *Ademas qui ta dale gracia niso qui no ya afecta*
 also that IPFV give thanks 1PL that NEG PFV affect

el Filipinas...
 the Philippines . . .

‘Also, we give thanks that it didn’t affect the Philippines.’

(T_62)

(272) *ya habla yo kon eli no naman malo akel*
 PFV talk 1SG OBJ 3SG NEG FOC bad that

‘I told her that is not bad.’

(12_209)

(273) *No ba ta habló el hermano Mateo, que*
 NEG Q IPFV talk the brother Mateo that

no sabe cuntá mentira, que el Papa Sixto...
 NEG know tell lie that the Pope Sixto

‘Didn’t brother Mateo say, who doesn’t know how to lie, that Pope Sixto...’

(T_39)

Conditional

The protasis clause of conditional constructions is formed with the first-position conditional *si*. As shown in section 3.2.9.1, positive condition clauses may take irrealis marking unless they are formed with an unmarked verb such as a modal or existential verb. Their negative counterpart does not affect the realis/irrealis status of the clause as seen in (274-275).

(274) *Si no nisos di pidi el ayuda de Dios*
 COND NEG 1PL IRR ask.for the help GEN God

nuay nisos demasiao porvenir.
 NEG.EXT 1PL too.much future

‘If we don’t ask for help from God, we won’t have a lot of future.’

(T_21)

(275) *El mga durugista si no di ruba kuntigo di*
 The PL drug.dealer COND NEG IRR steal 2SG.OBJ IRR

mata cuntigo.
 kill 2SG.OBJ

‘The drug dealer, if he doesn’t rob you, he kills you.’

(T_25)

Exhaustive negation

The negation particle *ni* appears in ‘exhaustive negation’ constructions as in (276-277), where it may occur in combination with another negative particle to mean something like ‘not even’ as in (278).

- (276) *Ni* *cung* *mi* *carabao* *marido* *no* *yo*
 NEG.EXH OBJ 1SG.POSS carabao husband NEG 1SG
- ta* *abrasá* *así* *de* *pwerte*
 IPFV hug like.this of strong
 ‘I don’t even hug my husband this strongly.’

(T_01)

- (277) *el* *pobre* *biej-a* *nuay* *qui* *cumi* *y* *nuay*
 the poor old-F NEG.EXT COMP eat and NEG.EXT
- ni* *un* *centimos* *qui* *gasta* *tamien*
 NEG one centimos REL spend also
 ‘The poor old woman doesn’t have anything to eat and doesn’t even have one cent to spend either.’

(T_44)

- (278) *Ni* *sikiera* *eli* *dale* *un* *sen* *kon* *el* *manga* *pulubi*
 NEG even 3SG give a money OBJ the PL pulubi
 ‘He didn’t even give some money to the poor.’

(Escalante 2005: 167)

Contrastive negation

The conjunctive *sino* can be used to contrast two constituents as in (279).

- (279) *Ta* *referi* *yo* *no* *con* *el* *ordinario* *cosa* *y*
 IPFV refer 1SG NEG OBJ the ordinary thing and
- suceso,* *sino* *con* *el* *natural* *belleza* *alrededor*
 event but OBJ the natural beauty around.
 ‘(When writing) I refer not to ordinary things and events but to the natural beauty around.’

(T_82)

Imperative/ Prohibitive

Imperative constructions are generally left unmarked for aspect. When they are negated they exhibit irrealis marking. Since negated imperative constructions differ in realis/irrealis marking, they show a paradigmatic asymmetry of the A/NonReal type, in Miestamo’s (‘Standard Negation’ 2005) typology. This asymmetry is not observed in other constructions in CC.

(280) *no tu di kedá kun ambre*
 NEG 2SG IRR stay with hungry
 ‘Don’t remain hungry.’

(3_172)

(281) *No tu di hasí esi*
 NEG 2SG IRR do that
 ‘Don’t do that.’

(10_851)

Existential negation

Nway (Span. *no hay*) is the negative counterpart of the existential defective verb *tyene* and can be used in every context where the existential particle is used, including existential and possessive constructions. Note that *hay* (Span. ‘has’) is not elsewhere attested in the language:

(282) *Tyene kasa na el monte*
 EXT house LOC the hill
 ‘There’s a house on the hill.’

(7_385)

(283) *Nway kasa na el monte.*
 NEG.EXT house LOC the hill
 ‘There isn’t a house on the hill.’

(7_386)

(284) *Antes no hasina kwando ya kedá grande*
 Before NEG like.that when PFV become big
yo nway yo barkada basta kasa trabaho kasa
 1SG NEG.EXT 1SG group/gang only house work house
 ‘Before it wasn’t like that when I was growing up, I didn’t have a group/gang, only homework.’

(12_447)

Negative indefinites

The existential negation may precede question words to form negative indefinites as shown in 285- 287).

nway kyen- no one

(285) *Si no tu di hablá, no hay quien di podé sabé.*
 COND NEG 2SG IRR talk NEG EXT who IRR can know
 ‘If you don’t talk, no one will be able to know.’

(T_88)

nway que- nothing

(286) *Si no hay tu pacencia, no hay que di pasá.*
 COND NEG EXT 2SG patience NEG EXT what IRR happen
 ‘If you don’t have patience, nothing will happen.’

(T_88)

nuay dondi- nowhere

(287) *Todu el calli principal y adentro del iglesia*
 All the street main and inside of.DEF church

Llenong~lleno di genti y nuay dondi pasá
 Full~INT GEN people and NEG.EXT where go
 ‘All the main street and inside the church is full of people and there’s nowhere to go.’

(T_52)

Other indefinite negatives are shown below:

Nada- It is restricted to its use with the verb *kolda nada* ‘remember nothing’ and after the presence of a negative existential in *nway nada* ‘there’s nothing’:

(288) *No usted culda nada*
 NEG 2PL remember nothing
 ‘You don’t remember anything.’

(T_35)

(289) *y cumo nuay naman ta haci nada para di*
 and why EXT.NEG FOC IPFV make nothing to IRR

ayuda el mga pobri.
 help the PL poor
 ‘...and why is nothing being done to help the poor?’

(T_16)

nunca- ‘never’

(290) *Nunca niso di olvida cun ese mga heroe di niso.*
 Never 1PL IRR forget OBJ that PL hero GEN 1PL
 ‘We will never forget our heroes.’

(T_2)

*no mas/ numas*³³- ‘anymore’

- (291) *Ta recoji ya el mga decoracion y ta haci*
 IPFV pick.up IPFV the PL decoration and IPFV make
leña ya el Christmas tree qui nomas di
 firewood PFV the Christmas tree that anymore IRR
pudi usa el siguiente año.
 can use the following year
 ‘I am picking up the decorations and making firewood out of the Christmas tree that I
 won’t be able to use anymore next year.’

(T_46)

- (292) *Mucho ya din qui no mas niso ta mira.*
 Much PFV too that NEG more 1PL IPFV look
 ‘There’s much we can’t see anymore.’

(T_01)

Double negative

Double negatives are attested in Chabacano to express exhaustive negation (293-294).

- (293) *no bale no namán ta mirá si jaci byeha aki*
 NEG matter NEG FOC IPFV look if make old here
 ‘It doesn’t matter here if you are getting old.’

(T_01)

- (294) *no huntos no kon sana la hoya*
 NEG together NEG OBJ ADV La Jolla
 ‘It’s not close to La Jolla’

(12_431)

Table 18 Negators

Function	Negator	Grammatical Category
Descriptive	<i>no</i>	negates clauses negates constituents
Existential	<i>nway</i>	defective verb
Negative indefinite	<i>nway + Q</i> <i>nada</i> <i>nunka</i> <i>numas</i>	pronominal adverbial adverbial pronominal
Exhaustive	<i>ni</i>	conjunctive
Contrastive	<i>sino</i>	conjunctive

³³ It also has a discourse marking meaning: ‘only’ *Ta pregunta no mas nisos.*

3.2.16 Grammatical Relations

In CC grammatical relations are expressed through the ordering of the arguments and their marking with adpositions. As previously described, the basic word order in CC is VAP, but this order may be modified depending on animacy and definiteness properties of the arguments, and whether or not the arguments are pronominal. In this section I discuss grammatical relations with an emphasis on the semantico-pragmatic properties of the arguments of intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verbs. Valence operations such as causatives, reflexive, and reciprocal constructions are also discussed. In the last section (3.2.16.3) I discuss issues regarding voice alignment in CC.

3.2.16.1 Core arguments

Core arguments refer to three basic semantico-syntactic roles, namely S, A, and P, which are mostly expressed through word order. CC has one core argument marker *kon* that may be used with some Ps.

S refers to the only nominal argument of an intransitive clause. S arguments are never marked. In the prototypical intransitive sentence the single argument is found following the verb as in (295-296). S is often animate, although inanimate S can also be found in the experiencer role (298). In some cases, highly topical S may be found preceding the verb as in (299). Pre-verbal S tends to have the properties of a prototypical agent (animate and definite), and is in many cases a pronominal argument.

(295) *ya asustá Joselin*
PFV scare Joselyn
'Joselyn got scared.'

(12_261)

(296) *ta trabahá eli*
IPFV work 3SG
'She works.'

(12_264)

(297) *ya hinká eli*
PFV kneel 3SG
'He kneeled.'

(12_228)

(298) *di queda chiquiting na chiquiting ya el pan de*
IRR stay small PART small COMPL the bread POSS
sal
salt
'The *pan de sal* is getting very small.'

(T_107)

(299) *esi ta yegá di Berkeley*
that IPFV arrive from Berkeley
'That one comes from Berkeley.'

(12_272)

The prototypical transitive clause has two arguments, A and P, which stand respectively for the agent and the patient of the verb. Prototypical A arguments in a transitive sentence are animate and definite; they follow the verb to create the order VAP. Prototypical P arguments are affected by the action of the verb and may undergo a change of state as in (300). The A arguments are never marked. When they appear as S arguments, As can be pre-verbal especially when they are animate and definite as in (301). Inanimate and indefinite Ps may be left unmarked as in (302). Ps may be marked with *kon* when the argument is definite and animate as in (303). More on argument marking is elaborated below in 3.2.16.3.

- (300) *Ya kebrá mi nieto el lampara de dale*
 PFV break 1SG.POSS grandson the lamp IRR give
konmigo mi iho.
 1SG.OBJ 1SG.POSS son.
 ‘My son broke the lamp that my son would give me.’
- (3_470)

- (301) *El patín ta comé peskao.*
 The shark IPFV eat fish
 ‘The shark is eating fish.’
- (3_363)

- (302) *ta saká eli master*
 IPFV get 3SG master
 ‘She’s getting a masters.’
- (12_279)

- (303) *ta hasi sundo pa con eli Joy*
 IPFV make fetch DUR OBJ 3SG Joy
 ‘Joy is fetching her.’
- (12_214)

Ditransitive clauses have a third argument, a *recipient* (R), which tends to be animate and definite and is always marked with *kon*. Ditransitives have a theme argument (T) in place of a P argument; since Ts are usually inanimate, Ts are not marked in CC. The basic order of a ditransitive sentence is VATR as in (304), but pronominal R are often placed after the A as in (305).

- (304) *dali eli un peras kada uno con estos tres kon el*
 give 3SG one pear each one OBJ this three OBJ the
grupo di tres muchachos
 group of three boys
 ‘He gives a pear to each one of these, to the group of three boys.’
- (3_618)

(305) *debi ilos enseña con nisos el amor para nisos*
 should 3PL teach OBJ 1PL the love for 1PL

projimos.
 neighbor
 ‘They should teach us love for our neighbors.’

(T_15)

Note that core arguments are often elided in transitive and ditransitive clauses in CC, especially when they have been previously mentioned, or if they can be inferred from the linguistic or situational context. This is much more common among A arguments, as these tend to be pragmatic topics. In example (306), the speaker mentions the A in (a) and omits it in (b) when she continues the narration.

(306) a)—*ya biní eli bisitá konmigo pero ta así eli*
 PFV come 3SG visit 1SG.OBJ but IPFV make 3SG

interbiu manga Kabitenyo
 interview PL Caviteño
 ‘She came to visit me but she’s interviewing Caviteños.’

b)—*ya yiba kunmigo esi kwando primer interbiu*
 PFV bring 1SG.OBJ that when first interview
 ‘(She) brought me that at the first interview.’

(CC 302-303)

3.2.16.3 Argument marking: *kon*

One of the most distinctive grammatical features of Chabacano regards the use of *kon* to mark animate core arguments in P or R roles (307), while inanimate P arguments are usually unmarked (308). The definiteness of an argument may also affect whether or not it is marked with *kon*: definite animate arguments tend to be marked, while indefinite arguments tend to be unmarked.

(307) *ya maská el perro kon el muchacho*
 PFV bite DEF dog OBJ DEF girl
 ‘The dog bit the girl.’

(11_03)

(308) *ya kebrá mi nyeto el lampara*
 PFV break 1SG.POSS grandson the lamp
 ‘My grandson broke the lamp.’

(7_406)

Table 19 summarizes the relationship between animacy and definiteness properties of the argument and *kon* marking. It shows that only definite human arguments are consistently marked with *kon*. It seems like there is some variation among speakers regarding the use of *kon* in other contexts.

Table 19 Definiteness and animacy in P marking (from Sippola 2011: 251)

	Human	Animate	Inanimate
Definite	<i>kon</i>	<i>kon~ø</i>	<i>na~ø</i>
Indefinite	<i>kon~ø</i>	\emptyset	\emptyset

The distribution of *kon* is in part conditioned by the ambiguity in the grammatical relations of arguments in particular utterances. In those cases where, due to discourse context or world knowledge, it is unlikely for an error to be made in the construal of grammatical relations, *kon* is less likely to appear. In utterances where these forms of contextual knowledge are misleading or uninformative, *kon* appears with much greater frequency, to disambiguate the grammatical relations of the arguments. For example, since dogs usually bite people and not the other way around, the sentence in (307) is grammatical without *kon* (309a). On the other hand, *kon* must be used with a verb like *mirá* ‘to look’ in (309c) to disambiguate the two semantic roles.

- (309) a. *ya mordé el perro el muchacha*
 ‘The dog bit the girl.’
- b. *ya mordé el muchacha el perro*
 ‘The dog bit the girl.’
- c. *ya mirá el muchacho kon el muchacha*
 PFV look DEF boy ACC DEF girl
 ‘The boy looked at the girl.’
- d. ? *ya mirá el muchacho el muchacha*
 ‘The boy looked at the girl.’ (intended)
- e. **ya mira el muchacha el muchacho*
 ‘The boy looked at the girl.’ (intended)

(12_850)

This generalization correctly describes major patterns of distribution, but disambiguation alone does not predict all the instances of *kon*. The marker may be found marking inanimate nominals as in (310) where *kon* marks the definite patient *el puerta* ‘the door’. In this example, the speaker noted that the same sentence would be infelicitous without *kon*, as it would imply that the key, and not someone holding the key, opened the door.

- (310) *ya abrí el yabe kon el pwerta*
 PFV open the key OBJ the door
 ‘The key opened the door.’

(11_14)

Instances where *kon* marks inanimate objects have also been described for ZM (Fernandez 2010, Nolasco 2005), where they appear to be more frequent than in CC. These contexts show that in constructions with inanimate patients, *kon* ‘s main function is not as a disambiguation device: its

omission would not motivate an interpretation where *el yabe* ‘the key’ is the patient. Instead, disambiguation seems to be an epiphenomenon of the role of *kon* within the CC voice system. In 3.2.13.3, I discuss how the use of *kon* in sentences like (310) may suggest that CC,—and Chabacano in general—may be sensitive to voice-alignment patterns found in Tagalog.

The origin of the multifunctionality of *na* and especially *kon* has been the subject of some controversy that hinges on theories about the genesis of Chabacano. On the one hand, one potential account for the polyfunctionality of these markers is presented by Fernandez (2007: 472), who provides a local explanation for the development of the markers as he associates the functions of *kon* and *na* with the Tagalog markers *kay* and *sa*. In Tagalog, the *kay* and *sa* are used prepositionally as well as with P and T arguments. The functional and formal similarity of *kon* and *kay*, argues Fernandez (2007: 476), would explain the polyfunctionality of *kon* and *na*. Fernandez does not explain whether the CC marker are calques of the Tagalog ones, but argues that the speakers who adopted the markers in Chabacano were replicating syntactic patterns found in the Filipino languages (*ibid.*). The low degree of isomorphism between *kon* and *kay* on the one hand, and *na* and *sa* on the other presents a challenge to Fernandez’s theory.

An alternative to the Fernandez account is proposed by monogenetists who argue that the presence of functionally parallel forms in other Asian-Portuguese creoles points to a common origin in an Indo-Portuguese (Whinnom 1956), or Portuguese Pidgin (Koontz-Garboden & Clements 2002). The monogenetists find support in a typological universal proposed by Croft (1991) that states that comitative and instrumental roles are rarely merged with recipient and instrument. Koontz-Garboden et al. propose that since *kon* is found marking all four roles in more than one Ibero-Asian creole, it would be highly unlikely that the functions respond to local, independent developments. More on the different theories of the development of Chabacano is found in Chapter 4.

3.2.16.3 Non-core grammatical relations/Prepositions

Prepositions in Chabacano are pre-nominal forms that mark the semantic roles of non-core elements. All of the prepositions except for the Tagalog, or possibly Portuguese, form *na* are also found in Spanish. The three examples below show the markers for beneficiaries *para* (311), instruments *kon* (312) and locations *na* (313).

(311) *ya* *kosí* *yo* *almuelso* *para* *mi* *marido* *i*
 PFV cook 1SG breakfast for 1SG.GEN husband and

mis *dos* *nyetos* *i* *para* *mi*
 1PL.GEN two grandkids and for 1SG.OBJ

‘I made breakfast for my husband, my two grandkids and for me.’

(10_587)

(312) *su* *pala* *ya* *tupa* *na* *un* *tibol* *qui* *ya* *quibra*
 3SG.GEN shovel PFV LOC a REL PFV crack

con *el* *golpe* *de-l* *pala.*
 with the hit GEN-DEF shovel

‘His shovel hit a *tibol* which broke because of the force of the shovel.’

(T_45)

- (313) *ya ta anda eli na Bonita*
 COMPL IPFV go 3SG LOC Bonita
 ‘She goes to Bonita.’

(12_292)

The chart below summarizes the main prepositions used in Chabacano along with their functions. As the chart shows, most prepositions have only one function.

Table 20 Marking of semantic roles (Adapted from (Sippola (2011: 252))

	<i>kon</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>para</i>	<i>junto</i> (<i>con/na</i>)	<i>di</i>	<i>como</i>	<i>por</i>	<i>sin</i>
a. Benefactive	x		x					
b. Cause			x				x	
c. Comitative	x			x				
d. Negative comitative								x
e. Direction		x						
f. Source	x	x			x			
g. Instrument	x	x						
h. Manner	x					x		
i. Location		x						

As seen above, only *kon* and *na* are multifunctional. Some of the functions of *kon* are exemplified in the sentences below:

Comitative:

- (314) *kyeri eli hugal kon akel kryatura*
 want 3SG play with that child
 ‘He wants to play with that child.’

(10_771)

Beneficiary:

- (315) *Ya kanta eli el Bayan Magili kon eli*
 PFV sing 3SG the Bayan Magili OBJ 3SG
 ‘He sang the Bayan Magili for her.’

(11_28)

Source:

- (316) *Tyeni myedo yo kon el eroplano*
 EXT fear 1SG OBJ the airplane
 ‘I’m scared of the airplane.’

(11_42)

Instrument:

- (317) *Ya pega yo kon eli kon un martiyo*
PFV hit 1SG OBJ 3SG with a hammer
'I hit him with a hammer.'

(13_852)

3.2.16.4 Valence

CC has various means to change the relationships between semantic roles and grammatical relations in the clause, which the use of pronouns, lexemes, complex verbs, and argument ellipsis. This section describes constructions associated with valence-increasing operations (causatives and verbalization), and merging (Payne 1997: 172) operations (reflexive, reciprocals).

Causatives

Causation in CC may be expressed lexically with verbs that encode inherently causal events such as *mata* 'to kill' (318) and *kebrá* 'to break' (319).

- (318) *Un noche el mga drugista ya mata cun eli.*
One night the PL drug.dealer PFV kill OBJ 3SG
'One night the drug dealers killed him.'

(T_25)

- (319) *Ya kebrá mi nyeto el lampara ke*
PFV break 1SG.POSS grandson the lamp REL
mi iho di dale konmigo.
1SG.POSS son IRR give 1SG.OBJ
'My grandson broke the lamp that my son was going to give me.'

(7_406)

CC also expresses causation analytically by using one of three causative verbs and combining it with nouns, adjectives or other verbs. The verbs that are used to express causal events are *así* 'to make', *dale* 'to give', and *mandá* 'to order'. When they are combined with verbs, the causative construction has two distinct predicates, a CAUSATIVE verb followed by a BASE verb that encodes the action caused by the CAUSER. Together, these verbs form a single clause with a complex verb as only the *causative* predicate may be marked for aspect.

Causative verbs affect the semantic role of the arguments. Example (320) below shows that the S argument of an intransitive base verb *ilbi* 'to boil' becomes the P in the causative construction (in this imperative sentence the agent is the addressee). In example (321), the agent of the base verb, *Juan*, is realized as a direct object in a construction with the causative *manda*.

- (320) *dali ilbi dali ilbi el uesu muchu muchu*
give boil give boil the bone much much
'Boil the bone a lot (for a very long time).'

(11_332)

(321) *Un dia, ya manda compra sal*
 One day PFV order buy salt

con Juan de suyo nana.
 OBJ NAME POSS 3SG.POSS mother
 ‘One day Juan’s mother asked him to buy salt.’

(Nolasco:427 ex. 65)

The causative verbs differ in their productivity, the kinds of constructions that they derive, and the semantic properties of their arguments. Each causative verb is discussed below.

Asi/ase ‘to make’ is usually found with adjectives and some adverbs, although it is also possible to find it with stative verbs (Examples from Escalante 2010: 69-72). The form is highly productive and may be found with English and Tagalog verbs forming prototypical causative verbs.

Table 21 Verbs with *asi*

<i>asi</i> +	
<i>alto</i> ‘high’	‘raise’
<i>ancho</i> ‘wide’	‘widen’
<i>bigla</i> ‘sudden’	‘surprise’
<i>kalenta</i>	‘heat’
<i>match</i>	‘match’
<i>myedo</i> ‘fear’	‘scare’
<i>pronto</i> ‘soon’	‘hurry’
<i>susta</i> ‘to scare’	‘surprise’

Dale

In the form *dale* the indirect pronoun *le* from the Spanish form has been lexicalized into a form that is often used with non-stative verbs in causative constructions. Compared to the causative sentences formed with *asi*, in this construction the agent seems to have less control over the action expressed by the base verb and mostly enables things to happen:

Table 22 Verbs with *dale*

<i>dale</i> +	
<i>banya</i> ‘bathe’	‘bathe someone’
<i>bebe</i> ‘drink’	‘make one drink’
<i>kome</i> ‘eat’	‘feed’
<i>konose</i> ‘meet/know’	‘introduce’
<i>kolda</i> ‘remember’	‘remind’
<i>entende</i> ‘understand’	‘make one realize’
<i>sabe</i> ‘know’	‘inform’
<i>bende</i> ‘sell’	‘sell’

Most constructions with *dale* exhibit a human agent and a human causee, which tends to be marked with *kon*, as in (322-323):

(322) *Ahora quiere yo que dale sabe contigo...*
 now want 1SG COMP give know 2SG.OBJ
 ‘Now I want to tell you (let you know)...’
 (T_56)

(323) *Sultera ya yo ta dale bañar pa conmigo*
 Single COMPL 1SG IPFV give bath DUR 1SG.OBJ
grand- grand Lola Turing con javon de cuerpo.
 grand-grand grandmother NAME with soap of body.
 ‘(When I was) young your great grandmother Turin bathed me with body
 soap.’
 (T_56)

Asi and *dali* may be combined to add a beneficiary in a benefactive applicative construction. In these cases, presented in (324) and (325), *asi* precedes *dali*:

(324) *asi dale beso*
 make give kiss
 ‘to kiss someone for someone else’
 (Llamado 1972: 81)

(325) *asi dale kumi*
 make give eat
 ‘to feed someone for someone else’
 (Llamado 1972: 81)

Manda

Manda may be used with a base verb in very limited instances. Example (326) shows a cause-omission construction, in which the agent of the lexical verb is omitted. The speaker switches from *hasi* to *manda hasi* to specify that she did not do the ‘fixing’ herself but instead ‘caused’ (hired) someone to fix the water heater.

(326) *ya hasi repair ya manda hasi repair kel*
 PFV VRB repair' COMPL make VRB repair' that
 ‘I repaired, I had that repaired...’
 (12_241)

Given that *mandar* implies some sort of control, the causer tends to be human, nonetheless there are some examples with inanimate causers such as in (327).

(327) *Tambien, un buen noticia con mucho gracia*
 Also a good new with much grace

puede manda sinti con nisos activo y lleno de vigor.
 can send feel OBJ 1PL active and full of vigor
 ‘Also good news with grace can make us feel active and full of vigor.’
 (T_69)

In some cases the addition of *manda* does not result in an increase in valence, but instead may be related to the realization of the arguments and notions such as patient affectedness, telicity, and intentionality. For example, in (328) below without *manda* the agent would be teasing the patient, who might or not be affected. With *mandá* there is no ambiguity regarding the speaker's affectedness.

- (328) *Maski ya ta gusta yo koneli, tyene beses*
 even.though COMPL IPFV like 1SG 3SG.OBJ EXT times
- ta manda fastidia eli konmigo.*
 IPFV order tease 3SG 3SG.OBJ
- 'Even though I like him there are some times that he annoys me.'
- (10_757)

Dale and *asi* may be also combined with nominals to form verbs. When they are found with nominals, *asi* and *dali* constructions resemble Spanish verb phrases such as *darle gracias* 'to thank' or *hacer caso* 'pay attention'. But unlike Spanish VP constructions, the CC construction shows higher level of syntactic/semantic integration. For example, while in Spanish it is possible to insert a determiner before the noun as in *dale un beso* 'give a kiss,' in CC other elements are rarely allowed between the verb and the nominal. In these two examples the pronominal agent either follows the verb phrase (330), or is preposed after a modal verb (329).

- (329) *kyeri eli dali beso koneli*
 want 3SG give kiss 3SG.OBJ
- 'He wants to kiss her'
- (11_24)

- (330) *Ya hasí bate eli kon el muchachu...*
 PFV VRB shake 3SG OBJ the boy
- 'He greeted the boy.'
- (7_418)

Even with nominals the causative verbs exhibit some causal semantic effects. Examples (296a, b) from Nolasco (2005: 425 ex. 59,60 [my glosses]) show the difference between a simple verb and the *asi* construction with a nominal; in example (331b) *yama* 'to call' simply means to call while (331a) *ase yamada* conveys indirect causation (cf. *manda asi*, above). That is, in (331a) the agent is causing an action that will be ultimately performed by another participant.

- (331) a. *ya ase le yamada kon todo manga animal*
 PFV make call OBJ all PL animal
- 'We had all the animals called.'
- b. *ya yama el rey con kabau*
 PFV call the king OBJ turtle
- 'The king called the turtle.'

There are some inconsistencies in the literature regarding the grammatical status of constructions with *asi*, *dali* and *manda*. Since they can be combined with verbs, causative verbs have been previously classified as ‘serial verbs’ and they are classified as such in APiCS (Michaelis et. al 2013). However, their combination with nominal and adjectives challenges this classification. As shown above, their use with nominal is not unrelated to their use with verbs; in both cases the addition of a causative verb adds participants to the clause. In all cases they are valence-increasing—in the case of nouns $0 > 1$.

These causative verbs are also found in some of CC’s adstrates. As is further discussed in Chapter 4, both *dali* and *asi* are found to have parallel constructions in Kristang’s *da* and *faze* (Baxter 1988: 214, 217). However, in this language there are no examples of causative verbs with nominal or adjectivals. The fact that in CC they can be combined with non-verbal elements suggests that they may share functional features with highly productive verbal affixes of ‘Causative-focus verbs’ in Tagalog. The most common causatives are *ika-*, *ikapag-* and *i-*. Table 23 shows examples provided by Schachter (1972: 314) show the derivation of causatives from ‘actor-focus’ verbs; some of these examples are:

Table 23 Causatives

AF Verb		CF Verb	
<i>pumunta</i>	‘go’	<i>ikapunta</i>	‘cause to go’
<i>tumakbo</i>	‘run’	<i>ikatakbo</i>	‘cause to run’
<i>magalit</i>	‘get angry’	<i>ikagalit</i>	‘cause to get angry’
<i>magturo</i>	‘teach’	<i>ikapagturo</i>	‘cause to teach’
<i>gumanda</i>	‘become beautiful’	<i>iganda/ ikaganda</i>	‘cause to become beautiful’

Reflexives

In a reflexive construction both the agent and the patient are the same entity. In Chabacano, reflexive actions can be expressed analytically with the Tagalog word *sarili* ‘self’. Inserting *sarili* in place of the affected argument is the most common mechanism to form reflexive constructions as in (332), and it is used in the same way as Tagalog. In (333) it is prefixed with *pan-*, a Tagalog derivational morpheme regularly used to mark actor-focus verbs (Schachter and Otnes 1976: 355).

- (332) *Ya maská eli kon su sarili.*
 PFV bite 3SG OBJ 3SG.GEN self
 ‘It bit itself.’

(11_10)

(333) *Mira tu, muchu di ilo manga pansarili*
 Look 2SG many of 3PL PL REFL

lang el ki ta= asikasu.

only the REL IPFV= pay.attention

‘Look, many of them are only looking/paying attention to their own person only (their own needs.)’

(T_16)

Many reflexive actions are found in existential constructions with *tyene*. In these constructions the existential is used to introduce a new event, and reflexivity is conveyed by the object marker:

(334) *Tyeni lastima yo konmigo*
 Have pity 1SG 1SG.OBJ
 ‘I feel bad for myself.’

(11_37)

Spanish *mismo* is typical of higher register and rarely found in spoken Chabacano.

(335) *Ya= habla el bieja kon su mismo*
 IPFV= talk the old-F OBJ 3SG.GEN REFL
 ‘The old woman talked to herself.’

(T_44)

Reciprocals

Reciprocals are formed using Tagalog affixation as in (336) where is used with a Spanish form.

(336) *No mas nisos mang-pelea-han.*
 Neg more 1PL REC-fight-REC
 ‘We didn’t fight anymore.’

(T_34)

3.2.16.3 *Voice Alignment*

Filipino languages are typologically notorious for challenging established grammatical categories like subject (Kroeger 1993, Schachter 1996), and the traditional characterization of languages based on their voice-alignment systems, such as nominal/accusative or ergative/absolutive alignment (Foley 2008). Instead, Filipino languages have a large inventory of verbal morphology that marks semantico-pragmatic nuances of the event encoded by the verb. This results in an expansion of the thematic roles that may determine the grammatical organization of the clause.

Given the relatively “poor” morphological system of Chabacano, the language must use other means to express grammatical relations. The distribution of the object marker *kon* has been at the center of the discussion regarding of voice alignment in Chabacano. The different positions on this question are mainly distinguished by the weight that the given to the Filipino substrate. After presenting a brief description of voice alignment and definiteness in Tagalog, in this section I discuss the two main theories of voice alignment in CC.

Definiteness and the Tagalog voice system

The voice system in Tagalog is based on the correferentiality of verbal morphology with the marking on the verb's NP arguments. In Tagalog only one argument may be the clause's *pivot*.³⁴ *Pivots* are marked with *ang* while other argumental NPs are marked with *ng*³⁵ or *sa*. These markers have characteristics of determiners and prepositions.³⁶

The semantic role of the *pivot* is marked on the verb in this way: if the actor is the pivot, the verb takes *actor-voice*, if the location is the pivot, the verb takes *location-voice*, etc.

Schachter's (1972:69, 79) examples (337a - d³⁷) below show the basic coreferentiality between the verb affixation and *pivot* marking. In the basic intransitive construction (a) the *pivot* marker precedes the only argument. In (b), a transitive *actor-voice* construction assigns the marker to the agent. In (c) the change in verb affix forms a *patient-voice* construction where the *pivot* marker is placed before the P argument. In (d) *ang* marks the location in a *location-focus* construction.

- (337) a. **<Nag>hi~hilik** **ang lolo.**
 <ACTFOC>IPFV~snore TOP grandfather
 'Grandfather is snoring.'
- b. *B<um>ili* *ng libro sa tindahan ang*
 <ACTFOC>buy NG book DAT store TOP
 maestro
 teacher
 'The teacher bought a book from the store.'
- c. *B<in>ili* *ng maestro sa tindahan*
 <PATFOC>PFV.buy NG teacher DAT store
 ang libro.
 TOP book
 'The teacher bought the book from the store'
- d. *B-<in>-ili-han* *ng maestro ng libro*
 <DIRFOC>PFV.buy<DIRFOC> ng teacher ng book
 ang tinda-han.
 TOP store-LOC
 'The teacher bought a book from the store.'

Voice-marking interacts with definiteness of the arguments and word order. The *pivot* is always definite. If the verb has *actor-voice* morphology, the patient is interpreted as a non-specific indefinite as in (338). Note that inherently definite NPs are infelicitous in this position as shown in (339). All of the examples and glosses below are from Collins (2015).

³⁴ The term *pivot* from Foley and Van Valin (1984) is neutral as to whether or not this argument is a subject.

³⁵ See Foley (2008) for a core-argument analysis of *ng*

³⁶ There is little terminological agreement on these non-personal markers, categories include *articles/determiners*, *prepositions*, *case markers* and *relation markers* (Reid 2002: 286f)

³⁷ The glosses used are from Schachter, who labels as *focus* what we call *pivot*.

- (338) *k<um>ain* *ang* *lalaki ng* *isda*
 <AV.PERF>=eatPIVOT man NPIVOT fish
 ‘The man ate fish.’
- (339) *#t<um>awag* *ang* *lalaki ni* *Juan*
 <AV.PERF>=call PIVOT man NPIVOT Juan
 ‘the man called Juan’

If the transitive verb has *patient-voice* morphology, it picks out the thematic patient as the definite *pivot*.

- (340) *k<in>ain* *ng* *lalaki ang* *isda*
 <PV.PERF>=eat NPIVOT man PIVOT fish
 ‘The man ate the fish.’

So, transitive verbs in *agent-voice* morphology are associated with indefinite patients. Word order may alter this tendency. When there is a pre-verbal actor, the transitive patient NP may be interpreted as either definite or indefinite, despite the *actor-voice* morphology.

Even though for simplicity here I have used canonical transitive sentences to present the effect on definite patients, word order as well as interactions with other voice morphology may further affect the definiteness interpretation of the arguments.

Chabacano: Nominative/ Accusative

By claiming that Cavite Chabacano is basically a nominative/accusative language, Nolasco (2005) differentiates Cavite Chabacano from the voice-alignment system of Filipino languages. The argument that Chabacano is a nominative/accusative language is based on the distribution of *kon*. As it was shown before, *kon* is only found before animate and preferably definite P/T/R arguments, or before non-agents with prototypical patient features, specifically ‘affectedness’. On the semantic-pragmatic effect of the marker on the nominal argument, Nolasco observes that “informants aver that a patient-like argument marked by *kon* is construed as more individuated and wholly affected than patients marked by just *el* or *un*” (Nolasco 2005: 409). Given the distribution of the only case marker in Chabacano (summarized in Table 24), S/A are different from P/T/R in that only the second group can be potentially marked with *kon*. The claim then, is that in Chabacano S/A appears only in nominative case (unmarked), while P/T/R can potentially receive the accusative case.

Table 24 Distribution of *kon* (From Sippola 2011: 251)

	Personal Pronouns	Proper Names	Common Nouns		
			Human	Animate	Inanimate
S	-	-	-	-	-
A	-	-	-	-	-
P	<i>kon</i>	<i>kon</i>	(<i>kon</i>)	(<i>kon</i>)	[<i>na</i>]
T	<i>kon</i>	<i>kon</i>	(<i>kon</i>)	(<i>kon</i>)	-
R	<i>kon</i>	<i>kon</i>	<i>kon</i>	<i>kon</i>	[<i>para</i>] <i>na</i>

However, Nolasco does not completely disassociate Cavite Chabacano from its Filipino adstrate and shows how Cavite Chabacano uses other means to express semantic and pragmatic “factors” which are expressed by the voice system in Filipino languages (Nolasco 2005: 429). One of these means is the use of complex verb constructions such as the one presented in section 3.2.16.2, which can be used to express the degree of control the agent, or the direction of the action, meanings that are expressed by verbal affixes in Tagalog.

Despite these similarities, she argues that the voice-alignment system is entirely nominative/accusative. For this reason, she concludes that “Chabacano inherited its accusative phenotype from its Iberian father and its pragmatic and semantic genotype from its Philippine mother languages” (Nolasco 2005: 432-433).

Chabacano: Split voice-alignment system

Within a split voice-alignment system analysis (Fernandez 2010), *kon* has the opposite effect as that presented above. In the first theory, *kon* marks highly affected and individuated P’s. The alternative theory is that *kon* is used in Chabacano to grammatically demote a P argument to oblique status in an antipassive construction, and thus the construction is modeled on Tagalog’s *actor-voice* sentences. In this way, argues Fernandez, *kon* patterns are like the Tagalog marker *sa*, which is used to mark specific oblique arguments.

Since *kon* only marks definite NPs, this would mean that the *pivot* of sentences with definite P will always be on the P (when P is inanimate), or on the S argument. On the other hand, when the P is indefinite, the P is not demoted, since the *pivot* is unambiguously on the A argument. Table 25 summarizes the basic alignment according to the definiteness of the patient according to Fernandez:

Table 25 Effects of patient's definiteness and the basic alignment of the arguments

Pivot Argument	+def	-def
S	x [+ <i>kon</i>]	
A/P		x
A/P	x	

In this way, Fernandez argues, Chabacano preserves the split voice alignment system of Filipino languages “*acusativo, orientado hacia el agente, cuando el tema/ paciente es indeterminado, y*

ergativo cuando el paciente es determinado” [accusative, agent-oriented when the theme/patient is indefinite; and ergative when the patient is definite] (Fernandez 2010: 427). His claim is based on the assumption that in Filipino languages, sentences in the actor voice are intransitive and that to obtain a transitive sentences the patient voice must be used. So, actor voice would be obligatory in sentences that contain two arguments with the same agency potential (definite/animate). The P voice would be used in sentences where the theme/patient is definite but cannot be semantically an agent.

To further prove his point, Fernandez argues that this analysis can help explain restrictions in Chabacano word order. Recall from section 3.2.10 that in CC the object may follow the verb when it is not referential in VPA constructions as in (341a). This is the preferred word order even though VAP is possible as in (341b). On the other hand, P is placed after the A of transitive verbs when P has a definite marker. For Fernandez this is evidence that the *pivot* (the “*sujeto*” ‘subject’) coincides with the P argument *uvas* when the NP argument is definite as in (341c). Thus, it has to be in the last position, which is the unmarked subject position in Tagalog. In other words, every time the P is definite, it will be the default subject unless it is demoted with a *kon* argument.

- (341) a) *ya compra uvas el muchacho*
 PFV buy grapes the boy
 ‘The boy bought grapes.’
- b) *ya compra el muchacho uvas*
 ‘The boy bought grapes.’
- c) *ya compra el muchacho el uvas*
 PFV buy the boy the grapes
 ‘The boy bought the grapes.’
- d) **ya compra el uvas el muchacho*

The author recognizes that variation in the contexts of *kon*-marking presents a problem for his proposal, but suggests that variation may be symptomatic of the fact that the Chabacano voice-alignment system might be in an intermediate stage of development that results from contact between the ergativity of Filipino systems and the accusative system of Spanish (Fernandez 2010: 434).

Discussion

The two theories presented above reflect very different views on the role of the Filipino adstrate languages on the voice-alignment system of Chabacano. For Nolasco, the marker *kon* is similar to the *pivot* marking in Tagalog, which tends to mark pragmatically salient arguments, always definite and usually animate. This comparison makes sense when the properties of the *kon* marked arguments in Chabacano are analyzed and compared to the properties of *ang* arguments in Tagalog. Nolasco stays away from claims about subjecthood, but argues that Chabacano is sensitive to the semantico-pragmatic variables that determine the argument that is the *pivot*. On the other hand, Fernandez proposes that the same argument is actually a demoted argument syntactically marked as an oblique. In this way, he argues, is that *kon* resembles *sa* and the

author is able to relate the Chabacano voice alignment system against the Filipino argument marking and alignment system. Moreover, for Fernandez subjects are core arguments that are definite and found in the last position in unmarked constructions.

The comparisons with the substrate languages run into various problems that mostly revolve around the fact that there is no consensus among Filipinists regarding voice alignment in Filipino languages. There are various analyses that are divided between asymmetrical and symmetrical analyses. The asymmetrical analyses include: Active/Passive analysis (Schachter & Otnes 1972), Ergative/Antipassive analysis (Cena 1977, De Guzman 1979, Gerds 1988), and Unergative/Unaccusative (Kroeger 1990). More recently Foley (2008) has proposed that Tagalog instead shows a symmetrical voice pattern in which no NP is preferred for pivot choice and consequently there is no need for marked voice operations as in asymmetrical voice languages (Foley: 42). Given this indeterminacy in the literature, one must wonder how useful would it be to determine whether CC is ergative or not, at least for the purposes of this work.

Other grammatical comparisons with Tagalog found in Fernandez (2010) are also problematic. The parallel between *kon* and *sa* runs into problems when in CC *na*, and not *kon* is found in prepositional phrases where it is common to find *sa* in Tagalog. Also, while Fernandez allocated *sa* as a marker of non-core arguments, *sa* can also be found before core arguments, which would represent a problem for the oblique analysis of *kon*. Moreover, while in Tagalog *sa* arguments can be topicalized, in Chabacano *kon* marked arguments are very rarely found clause initially. In fact, Fernandez does not provide evidence that *kon*-marked arguments are obliques.

A Tagalog explanation of Chabacano based on voice relationships that are not completely clear among Filipinists is problematic because the whole analysis is based on assumptions about the grammatical identity of the arguments. Moreover, similarities would be expected in other constructions such as topicalization.

On the other hand, as Nolasco notes, the marking of arguments in Chabacano does seem to be sensitive to semantico-pragmatic variables that are grammatically marked in Tagalog. Note that the pragmatic properties of the *kon* marked argument in CC are compatible with those of a patient in a constructions where the patient is the ‘pivot’. In this sense, Nolasco’s description offers a simpler account that does not rely on assumptions about grammatical categories in Tagalog. However, it is not necessary to assume that the distribution of the marker in Chabacano is modeled after the Iberian NOM/ACC alignment, especially given that there is a universal tendency for the asymmetric marking of A and P, by which P’s tend to be the marked argument.

More work is needed on CC’s other strategies of argument marking such as ellipsis and other word-order operations. This work would potentially benefit not only our knowledge about grammatical relations in voice alignment in Chabacano, but also it could shed light on the variables that affect the intricate system of grammatical relations in Filipino languages.

3.2.15 Clause Combination

This section examines the grammatical means that Chabacano uses to represent a group of functional relations between clauses. The descriptive approach follows Dixon & Akihenvald (2009) and divides clause combination into three types: complement clauses, relative clauses, and a third group that will be referred to as ‘adverbial clauses’ even though it includes coordination and other constructions that are usually not included in the group of adverbial clauses. This typological approach differs from others that focus instead on the level of grammatical integration (see Payne 1997: 307). According to these other approaches, clauses linked by coordination are not as grammatically integrated as an adverbial clause with the main

clause. On the other hand, according to the current approach the clauses are semantically distinguished between a focus clause and a supporting clause. In this way, the category of adverbial clauses includes a large variety of semantic linking including temporal, cause and purpose. Relative clauses are used to modify a noun phrase of an NP, while in complement clauses function as complements of the verb in the main clause.

3.2.15.1 Complements

Complement clauses are formed with a restricted group of lexical verbs that may take a complement clause. The complement clause is in the position of one argument of the verb. Verbs that commonly take clausal complements include verbs of saying *hablá* ‘to say’ *rispondé* ‘to answer’; verbs of cognition *sabi* ‘to know’ *pensa* ‘to think’; verbs of desire *kyeri* ‘to want’ *resa* ‘to pray’; and verbs of perception *oi* ‘to hear’ *mirá* ‘to see’.

The complement clauses may be marked with a complementizer *ke* ‘that’, but it is common to find them without a complementizer as in (345) and (346).

- (342) *pidi niso cun Dios que este niso mga hijo tieni*
ask 1PL OBJ God COMP this 1PL.POSS PL son have

juicio

judgement

‘We ask God for our children to have sense (intelligence)’

(T_02)

- (343) *Sabe ba tu qui el cambio de un dollar 45*
Know Q 2SG COMP the change GEN one dollar 45

pesos ya?

pesos COMPL

‘Do you know that the change for the dollar is already 45 pesos?’

(T_21)

- (344) *ta jura Maria que verdad el que ta habla eli*
IPFV swear Maria COMP true the REL IPFV say 3SG
‘Maria swears that she is telling the truth.’

(Escalante 2005: 75)

- (345) *Bigla ya lang ya sinti yo ta minya*
Suddenly COMPL only PFV feel 1SG IPFV move

el tierra abajo de mis pies.
the ground under GEN 1PL.POSS feet

‘Suddenly I felt that the ground beneath my feet was moving.’

(T_01)

(346) *ya habló yo swerte ya ese mabait el ombre*
 PFV say 1SG luck COMPL that nice the man
 ‘I said luckily that man is nice.’
 (12_235)

Complement clauses can be linked to the main clause with the complementizer *ke/ki*, or *kon* if the object is human as in (347). While the main clause tends to be verb-initial, complement clauses have an AVO order.

(347) *Ta esperanza yo kon Linda kantá el National Anthem*
 PFV hope 1SG OBJ Linda sing the National Anthem
 ‘I hope Linda sings the National Anthem.’
 (7_860)

Complement clauses with the same subject may have an unmarked verb as in (318).

(348) *ya olbida yo yama kontigo ayer*
 PFV forget 1SG call 2SG.OBJ yesterday
 ‘I forgot to call you yesterday.’
 (1_124)

Indirect interrogatives are formally similar to direct questions, sometimes they can be preceded by *si* (320-321).

(349) *ya pinsa~pinsá ele cosa quiere jabla aquel puelco*
 PFV CONT~think 3SG what want say that pig
 ‘And she kept thinking what was it that the pig wanted to say.’
 (T_44)

(350) *ya tene mga visita que ya quere mira si quilaya*
 PFV EXT PL visit REL PFV want see COND how

nisos ta enseña Chabacano.
 1PL IPFV teach Chabacano
 ‘We’ve had visitors that wanted to see how we teach Chabacano.’
 (T_33)

(351) *Ta taranta bo, nu sabi bo si cosa qui di*
 IPFV crazy 2SG NEG know 2SG COND what REL IRR

haci.
 do
 ‘You are crazy, you don’t know what to do.’
 (T_1)

3.2.15.2 Relative

In the canonical relative clause construction there are two clauses, a main clause (MC), and a modifying relative clause (RC). Both clauses share an argument, the common argument (CA) which is the modified argument of the main clause (Dixon 2010: 314).

In Chabacano, most RCs appear preceded by *ke/ki* as in (352). The RC may also be left unmarked. When it is unmarked (in brackets below), the RC is juxtaposed to the MC as in (354). For relativized arguments Chabacano has a gap in the position where the NP would be if it were overtly expressed, see (353).

- (352) *El lampara ke ya prometi mi iho no pa*
 The lamp REL PFV promised my son NEG DUR
ta yega.
 IPFV arrive.
 ‘The lamp that my son promised has not arrived yet.’
 (7_404)

- (353) *Sobra el cambio que ya dale*
 too.much the change REL PFV give
el tinder-a.
 the storekeeper-F
 ‘The salesgirl gave excess change.’
 (Escalante 2005: 168)

- (354) *Oo ya así interbiu kon akel [ya mira ya*
 Yes PFV this interview OBJ that PFV look COMPL
na eli alya na anoche alya]
 LOC 3SG there LOC last.night there
 ‘Yes, (she) interviewed those that she saw over there last night.’
 (12_311)

As seen in the example above, the relative clause follows the CA. We do not find RC preceding an MC,³⁸ but preposed RC have been reported in the Ternate variety of Chabacano:

Ternateño:

- (355) *Esti~esti kel [ta-buská mótru] iglesia.*
 DEM.RD DEM IPFV-look.for 1PL church
 ‘Esta misma es la iglesia que buscamos.’ [This same one is the church we are looking for]
 (Sippola 2011: 281)

Chabacano complies with Keenan and Comrie’s (1977, 1979) Accessibility Hierarchy (AH) in that relativization strategy applies to a continuous segment of the AH. Positions that can be

³⁸ Preposed RC is reported in the Ternate variety of Chabacano (Sippola 2011: 281)

relativized in Chabacano are restricted to those arguments encoded in the verb, namely: S, A, P, and IO.

- (356) [...] *reminisendo de vez en cuando mga momento*
 reminiscing once.in.a. while PL moment
que nunca de volvi mas.
 REL never IRR return again
 (T_70)

- (357) *Y mientras ta prepara para este ocacion alli*
 and while IPFV prepare for this occasion there
de mira nisos el tropa naman del trabajador
 IRR look 1PL the group EXCL POSS.DEF
que ta planta el carnaval.
 that IPFV plant the carnaval
 (T_11)

- (358) *Ya sacá Norma el retazo que tu ya deja*
 PFV get Norma the scrap REL 2SG PFV leave
para eli.
 for 3SG
 ‘Norma took the piece of cloth you left for her.’
 (Escalante 2005: 157)

- (359) *El muchacho kon kyen ya yo tiré el manga*
 The boy OBJ REL.P PFV 1SG throw the mango
ya hasi bate kon el muchacha.
 PFV do greet OBJ the girl.
 ‘The boy to whom I threw the mango greeted the girl.’
 (7_419)

Question words *kyen* and *donde* may be used as relativizers for human and place arguments respectively. It is more common to find *kyen* preceded by *kon* before P arguments:

- (360) *Di anda yo bisita un doktor Portasio akel kyen*
 IRR go 1SG visit a doctor Portacio that who
ke ya ayuda kon nisos prepara esti parti
 REL PFV help OBJ 1PL prepare this party
 ‘I will visit Dr. Portacio who helped us organize the party.’
 (3_839)

(361) *Noma eli di anda alya na iglesia donde eli ya*
 NEG.more 3SG IRR go there LOC church where 3SG PFV

dale sen para ayuda.
 give money to help

‘He will stop attending the church that he gave money to.’

(3_840)

(362) *ya dale el mga medallion cun aquel mga alumni*
 PFV give the PL medallion OBJ that PL alumni

cun quien ya dale reconocion.
 OBJ who PFV give recognition

‘(They) gave the medal to those alumni that were recognized.’

(T_55)

(363) *todo el manga bisinos ta jabla qui tiene suerte*
 all the PL neighbors IPFV talk REL have luck

disi aquel bieja religioso, con quien el maña
 say that old.F religious OBJ who the PL

parienti no quiere mantini maña mal
 relative NEG want keep PL bad

conciencia.
 conscience

(T_45)

Other constructions with the relativizer *ke* include cleft constructions that resemble Spanish inverted pseudo-cleft constructions:

(364) *Aba agora mi carabao maridu el qui*
 EXCL now 1SG.POSS bull husband the REL

ta anda na plaza.
 IPFV go LOC plaza

‘But now my damn husband is the one going to the plaza.’

(T_15)

(365) *No esi el que quiere niso hace.*
 NEG that the REL want 1PL do

‘That is not what we wanted to do.’

(Escalante 2005: 150)

(366) *Eli akel kon kyen ya maska*
 3SG that.one OBJ who PFV bite
 ‘He is the bitten one.’

(11_8)

Aside from possession and existential constructions, *tyene* is also used in headless relative clauses. This is the most common mechanism to form sentences with an unknown or omitted agent, and is the only equivalent of the indefinite reference ‘something’ or ‘somebody’. In this construction it is not possible to suppress the object, in (369) ‘the lighter’ is obligatorily interpreted as an object.

(367) *Tyeni ke ya poni insendio kon el kasa*
 EXT REL PFV put fire OBJ the house
 ‘Someone set the house on fire.’

(3_163)

(368) *Tyeni ke ya poni insendio el ombre*
 EXT REL PFV put fire the man
 ‘Somebody lit that man on fire.’

(3_844)

(369) *Tieni ke ya poni insendio kon el laiter*
 EXT REL PFV put fire OBJ the lighter
 ‘Somebody lit the lighter on fire.’

(3_845)

3.2.15.3. Clause-linking constructions

Unlike relative clauses and complement clauses, clause linking constructions (CLC) do not modify a NP or serve as an argument of the main verb. In this section I focus on the semantic dimension of CLC in CC (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2009). Most CLC involve two clauses, which Dixon (2009: 3) identifies as:

- **Focal Clause (FC)**- refers to the central activity or state of the clause
- **Supporting Clause (SC)**-sets a temporal mileau, condition, or presupposition for the FC

In CC, most clause linkers (CL) come from Spanish. In some instances Tagalog CL are in free variation with the Spanish forms. CL are listed in Table 26 according to their function. Some examples are provided below.

Table 24 Clause linkers

Linking type	SC	FC
I. Temporal		
Sucession	first clause (apposition)	second clause (apposition) <i>i, (i) despues</i> ‘(and) then’, <i>kabando</i> ‘then’, <i>akabal</i> ‘then’
Relative Time	<i>desde</i> ‘since’, <i>kwando</i> ‘when’, <i>myentras</i> ‘while’, <i>asta</i> ‘until’, <i>despues de</i> ‘after’, <i>pag-</i> , <i>antes</i> ‘before’, <i>bago</i> ‘before’, <i>kabando</i> (<i>de</i>) ‘after’	
Conditional Counterfactual		<i>si</i> ‘if’
II. Consequence		
Cause	<i>por kausa</i>	
Result	<i>kayá</i>	<i>por eso, entonses,</i>
Purpose		<i>para</i>
III. Addition		
Unordered		
Same Event	Second Clause	First Clause
Elaboration	First Clause	Second Clause
Contrast		<i>pero/ maski</i>
IV. Alternatives		
Disjunction		
Rejection	<i>imbés</i>	
Suggestion	<i>imbés</i>	
V. Manner		
Real	<i>komo/ kilaya</i>	
Hypothetical	<i>komo</i>	

I. Temporal

Temporal sucession The sequence of time is often marked with apposition when both clauses share the same subject, in these cases the subject is not repeated in the second clause as in (370). Besides apposition, Chabacano may employ a marker at the beginning of the clause with the successive event, or Focal Clause (FC). A CL is more common when each clause has a different subject. Example (371) uses *i* ‘and’ and (342) is an example with *dispues* ‘then’, which may optionally be preceded *i* to mean ‘and then’.

- (370) *Mi maridu ya desperta ya mas*
 1SG. POSS husband PFV wake.up COMPL more
konmigu, ta sali na alya na fuera
 1SG.OBJ IPFV exit LOC there LOC outside
para saka el periodiko
 to get the newspaper
 ‘My husband gets up earlier than me, goes outside to get the paper.’
 (10_570)

- (371) *kwando tostau ya el aho kita i charse*
 when toasted COMPL the garlic take and add
para na manteka
 to LOC lard
 ‘When the garlic is roasted, take it out and add it to the lard.’
 (11_326)

- (372) *ta sinta yo alyi, ta lee yo el periodiko i*
 IPFV sit 1SG there IPFV read 1SG the newspaper and
dispues di hasi yo mi puzels
 despues IRR do 1SG 1SG.POSS puzzles
 ‘I sit there, I read the newspaper and then I do my puzzles.’
 (10_573)

The form (*a*)*kaba(l)* ‘then’ (Span. > *acabar* ‘to finish’) (373) or the progressive *kabando* (374) is usually found joining two clauses in a succession of events relation. The form derived from the infinitive is more common when the speaker is giving a list of steps such as in the narration of a recipe as in (373). Note that other forms such as *kabaw* and *kaba* are also employed with verbal functions (375)-(376).

- (373) *gisa el sibuyas, gisa el vegetables, akabal kita*
 stew the onion stew the vegetables then take.out
ya na un nakarahai akabal akel ora el
 COMPL LOC a pot after that now the
kaldo del uesto
 broth POSS.DEF bone
 (11_328)

- (374) *Na mismo fiesta di nisos patron-a ta anda niso na*
 LOC same party POSS 1PL patron-F IPFV go 1PL LOC
misa cabando na ala noche di sigui niso na
 mass then LOC at night IRR continue 1PL LOC
prusisyon del Virgen.
 prosession POSS.DEF virgin
 (T_2)

- (375) *kwando kabau ya el sibil, kasa otra*
 when finished COMPL the civil marry another
bes ilos na simbahan
 time 3PL LOC church

‘When the civil (ceremony) is over, they will marry again in the church.’
 (12_204)

- (376) *al caba di risa ya cumpra yo billete de “lotto”*
 when finish of pray PFV buy 1SG ticket POSS lotto
 ‘After praying, I bought the lotto ticket.’
 (T_25)

Relative time

Relative time is marked with a CL at the beginning of the supporting clause (SC) that provides the temporal perspective. Temporal CL may be divided in two groups, those that mark a specific point in time, and those that refer to the duration of the events.

CL that mark a specific point in time are shown in the following examples. Some meanings such as ‘before’ and ‘when’ may employ Tagalog (*bago* ‘before’) and Spanish forms. Note that to convey a point of time in Spanish (vs. succession of events) *antes* and *despues* are followed by the preposition *de*.

- (377) *Antes de culga el parol na afuera del*
 Before of hang the lamp LOC outside POSS.DEF
ventana del sala, ta puni adentro
 window POSS.DEF living.room IPFV put inside
di este un bombilla chiquito.
 POSS this a light.bulb small
 ‘Before hanging the lamp outside the window, a small lightbulb is put inside.’
 (T_46)

(378) *ya poni eli bago ta así eli transleit na ingles*
 PFV put the before IPFV this 3SG translate LOC English
 ‘She transcribes it before she translates it into English.’ (Lit. ‘She puts is before she translates into English.’)

(12_298)

(379) *kil hombre ya asusta kwando no no ma eli*
 that man PFV scare when NEG NEG more 3SG

ya pudi mira el basket
 PFV can look the basket

(7_614)

(380) *Mi mana agueta ta hasi pinchi*
 1SG.POSS PL grandmother IPFV do pinch

pag no ta platika Chabakano
 when NEG IPFV speak Chabacano

‘My grandmothers pinched me when I didn’t speak Chabacano.’

(12_437)

(381) *Pero despues de pasa todo este fuerte viento y*
 But after of pass all this strong wind and

aguacero si no hay daño, el mga planta y arbol
 rain if EXT.NEG harm the PL plant and tree

ta queda fresco y lleno de frutas.
 IPFV stay fresh and full POSS fruit

‘But after all the strong wind and rainfall passes, if there’s no harm, the plants and the trees get fresh and full of fruits.’

(T_76)

There are two uses for *kabando*, I have previously presented a discussion of its use to convey a succession of events, where the linker marks an event that precedes an event in the SC. In the succession construction the posterior event is usually marked for the irrealis as in (374). In the second use, *kabando* may be optionally followed by the preposition *de*. Contrary to its use in the succession of events, the clause marked with *kabando* in this construction conveys a period in time that precedes the event in the second clause. In the relative anteriority construction, the verb is unmarked for the realis/irrealis.

(382) *ya toma niso kapé kabando di il a la iglesia*
 PFV drink 1PL coffee after of go to the.F church
 ‘We drank coffee after we went to church.’

(12_296)

- (383) *ya graduá eli kabando eli todú esti mga pa*
 PFV graduate 3SG after 3SG all this PL DUR
así eli
 do 3SG
 ‘She graduates after she’s done with everything she’s doing.’
 (12_314)

The next set of examples shows CL that refer to a period of time. To express relative anteriority Chabacano employs the CL *desde* ‘since’. It is also common to find *kwando* ‘when’ with a similar meaning; in this case the meaning of *kwando* is given by the context as in (355). In (356) the speaker combines both forms. The same combination could be found in Spanish.

- (384) *Di celebra dici nisos el ika 419 anos cuando*
 IRR celebrate QUOT 1PL the ORD 419 years when

ya descubre el mga Espanol este niso ciudad
 PFV discover the PL Spanish this 1PL city

y 50 anyos desde niso ya quida Ciudad
 and 50 years since 1PL PFV RFLX city

de Cavite.
 POSS Cavite
 ‘We will celebrate the 419th year of the Spanish discovery of our city and 50 years since it became Cavite City’
 (T_02)

- (385) *Jon ta pinsa~pinsa desde kwando ya saka eli el*
 John IPFV CONT~think since when PFV get 3SG the

eksamen.
 exam
 ‘John has been worrying since he took the exam.’
 (10_742)

- (386) *Un dia, myentras no hay tu grand-grand Lola*
 One day while NEG.EXT 2SG grand-grand grandmother
- Turing ya hila yo el silla enfrente del*
 Turing PFV pull 1SG the chair in.front POSS.DEF
- ventana.*
 window.
 ‘One day while your great-grandmother Turing wasn’t (here), I pulled the chair in front of the window.’

(T_56)

- (387) *Y el bieja ya bibi felisamente asta cuando ele*
 and the old.F PFV live happily until when 3SG
- tamien ya murio.*
 also PFV die
 ‘And the old woman lived happily until she also died.’

(T_45)

Table 25 Relative time CL

Point in time	Length of time
<i>antes de, bago</i> ‘before’	<i>desde, kwando</i> ‘since’
<i>kwando, pag</i> ‘when’	<i>myentras</i> ‘while’
<i>dispues de, kabando</i> ‘after’	<i>asta</i> ‘until’

Conditional

The conditional *si* ‘if’ is employed in the SC to mark the temporal condition of the event in the MC. Note that the FC in temporal conditionals (388) is not marked with the irrealis marker as it is the case in hypothetical conditionals (389).

- (388) *Si Fiesta lang o Semana Santa ta anda yo na*
 If Fiesta only or week holy IPFV go 1SG LOC
- Iglesia*
 church
 ‘Only if it’s fiesta or Holy week I go to church.’

(T_01)

(389) *Si vivo el difunto Padre Pero, di Haci sermon*
 If alive the late Father Pedro IRR do sermon

cun ilos.

OBJ 3PL

‘If Father Pedro were alive, he’d make a sermon for them.’

(T_01)

Aside from the conditional particle, the adverb *kwando* ‘when,’ can also be used with a similar meaning. However, it does not have a conditional meaning. For example, in (360) the speaker talks about a habitual action. The speaker in (358) may be talking about a habitual action, one that occurs every Fiesta or Holy Week, but the clause is construed as a conditional in that it is only during those dates that the speaker will go to church.

(390) *Kwando sábado ta anda yo na mal.*
 when Saturday IPFV go 1SG LOC mall
 ‘When it is Saturday, I go to the mall.’

(3_715)

Counterfactual

In counterfactual constructions the SC expresses a condition that was not met in the past and so the verb in the SC is usually marked with the irrealis.

(391) *Si di quida naman ilo aqui nuay naman porvenir.*
 COND IRR stay 3PL here NEG.EXT future
 ‘If they had stayed here, they wouldn’t have a future.’ (there is no future)
 (T_22)

II. Consequence

Chabacano employs the compound word *porkausa* ‘because’ in the SC to express a cause. Similar forms are found in Kristang *kauzu* (Baxter 1988) and Tagalog *kasi*, which is used to express cause in informal speech, (the forms *dahil* and *sapagka’t* are preferred in writing (Schachter & Otones 1972: 426)).

(392) *ya serra yo puerta porkausa di yubya*
 PFV close 1SG door because POSS rain
 ‘I closed the door because of the rain.’

(3_709)

Result

Result sentences use the Tagalog word *kayá*, which is used in the FC, it is anaphoric. A Spanish forms *poreso* and *entonces* may also be found in the FC.

(393) *Eli ya pari na syudad de Kabite, kayá ta*
 3SG PFV born LOC city POSS Cavite thus IPFV

platiká eli Chabakano bweno.
 speak 3SG Chabacano good

‘He was born in Cavite City, thus he speaks Chabacano well.

(10_749)

(394) *Parte ya del cultura di niso el devoción*
 part COMPL POSS.DEF culture POSS 1PL the devotion

di niso cun el La Virgen de la Soledad, poreso
 POSS 1PL OBJ the the.F virgin POSS the.F Soledad thus

ta invita yo cun todo para participa na mga
 IPFV invite 1SG OBJ all for participate LOC PL

programa y actividad para na su fiesta.
 program and activity for LOC 3SG.POSS party

‘The devotion to the Virgin de la Soledad is part of our culture, thus I invite everyone to participate in the programs and activities in her honor (fiesta).’

(T_59)

(395) *Tieni vez ta pudí mira rama y ram-itas flot-ando*
 EXT time IPFV can look branch and branch-DIM float-PROG

con hojas marchitando, el agua sucio con fuerte viento,
 with leaves wither the water dirty with strong wind

parece ta vini mal tiempo, entonces no debe
 appears IPFV come bad wather therefore NEG should

dura afuera del casa.
 remain outside POSS.DEF house

‘Branches and little branches are seen floating with withering leaves, dirty water with strong wind, it looks like there’s bad weather coming, therefore you shouldn’t stay outside.’

(T_64)

Purpose

Chabacano has one purpose CLC, *para* ‘for’, which is marked in the FC. Even though this is originally a Spanish form, the same form is used in Tagalog where it also expresses purpose.

(396) *ta sali eli na alya na fwera para saka el*
 IPFV leave 3SG LOC there LOC outside to get the

periodiko
 newspaper

‘He goes outside to get the newspaper.’

(10_570)

Possible consequence

Chabacano also has one compound CL that expresses a possible consequence; in this case, the clause linker is marked in the SC.

(397) *Deha el perro na “leash” enkaso esi di si*
 Leave the dog LOC leash in.case that IRR make

habol kon un gato.
 run OBJ a cat

‘Keep the dog on the leash in case it wants to go running after a cat.’

(10_751)

III. *Conjunction*

Unordered conjunction is expressed with *i*, while same-event conjunction or elaboration of the same event are expressed through apposition of two clauses.

Unordered conjunction

(398) *Velday qui debi niso ayuda cuno y otro para*
 True REL should 1PL help with.one and other to

preserva y propaga el Chabacano de niso
 preserve and spread the Chabacano of 1PL.POSS

ciudad.
 city

‘It is true that we should help each other to preserve and spread our city’s Chabacano.’

(T_34)

Same-event conjunction

(399) *Mari ya kaba primero na su karrera, ya*
 Mary PFV finish first LOC 3SG.POSS race PFV

gana el premio.
 win the price

‘Mary came first in her race, winning the price.’

(10_871)

Elaboration of the same event

- (400) *Mi amiga ya yama konmigo, eli ya imbita*
1SG.POSS friend PFV call 1SG.OBJ 3SG PFV invite
konmigo para anda na Iglesia.
1SG.OBJ to go LOC church
'My friend called me, she invited me to go to church.'
(10_875)

Contrast

Contrast clauses are generally introduced by *pero* 'but'. *Maske/maski* 'even' can also be used with a concessive meaning:

- (401) *La Princesa Diana rica y guapang-guapa pero*
The.F princess Diana rich and INT~pretty but
no naman alegre.
NEG also happy
'Princess Diana is rich and very pretty, but she's not happy.'
(T_23)

- (402) *Maske resio el byento bueno el tiempo.*
CONC strong the wind good the weather.
'Even though the wind is strong, the weather is good.'
(10_757)

IV. Alternatives

Alternative constructions include disjunction and rejection. In disjunctive CLC there is no distinction between FC and SC, while in rejection constructions the CL *imbes* is placed in the SC.

Disjunction

- (403) *Mari di baila o Mari di kanta.*
Mary IRR dance or Mary IRR sing
'Maria will dance or Maria will sing.'
(10_759)

Rejection

- (404) *John di baila imbes Maria ta kantá.*
John IRR dance instead Maria IPFV sing
'John will dance instead of Mary singing.'
(10_760)

V. Manner

The interrogative particle *komo* ‘why’ can also mean ‘like’ or ‘as if.’ It is used as a clause linker in a SC as in (375). The interrogative particle *kilaya*, ‘how’, is used adverbially especially to mean ‘in the way that’.

- (405) *no akel ya haci como quel otro ta*
NEG that PFV do like that other IPFV
‘That one didn’t do it like that other one is doing.’

(T_233)

- (406) *ta baila eli kilaya ya ensenya kon eli su*
IPFV dance 3SG how PFV teach OBJ 3SG 3SG.POSS

mestra
teacher

‘She dances like her teacher taught her.’

(10_762)

Hypothetical

Hypotheticals are formed with *komo*. The interrogative *kilaya* is not grammatical in hypothetical constructions.

- (407) *ta kuri el muchachu como ta bolá*
IPFV run the boy like IPFV fly
‘The boy runs like/ as if he’s flying.’

(3_703)

- (408) *alla entre manga sacate ta-si suncal qui*
there between PL grass IPFV-do dig that

ta-si suncal como qui queiere bisa qui tiene
IPFV-do dig like REL want tell REL have

alguna cosa gualda alla.
some thing hide there

‘There among the grass (the pig) is digging-and digging as if it wants to tell that it has something hidden there.’

(T_44)

3.3. Conclusion of Chapter

The grammatical description provided in Chapter 3 illustrates the main grammatical systems of CC with particular attention to the role of the source languages in the grammar of CC. In general, the findings of the grammatical description do not support the theories such as Whinnom (1956), which argue that the language shows a split in which Spanish provides the lexicon while Filipino languages are the ‘soul’ of the language. That is, the source languages in CC do not show a

systematic split in their functional roles; e.g. Spanish is not merely the lexifier, while the Tagalog does not always provide the ‘pattern’.

Instead, the function of the source languages depends on the grammatical object under observation. There are some aspects of the grammar that indeed show Spanish forms that seem to be fitting into Tagalog constructions such as standard negation (3.2.13) and some possessive constructions (3.2.8). But, in other domains, the constructions are Spanish-based, for example contrastive and exhaustive negation, prepositions (3.2.16.1), and relative clauses (3.2.15.2). On the other hand, most of the Tagalog forms are found among particles; adverbial (3.2.9.4), question (3.2.12), plural (3.2.6.2), aktionsart (3.2.9.4). Some constructions share Spanish and Tagalog forms e.g. clause linkers (3.2.15.3), question words (3.2.12).

In many cases typological similarities blur the origin of the constructions such as in the case of existentials (3.2.11), which share pattern with both Tagalog and PP. In other cases, such as the valence increasing constructions (3.2.13.2), the split is not clear, could’ve started as a lexicalization of commonly occurring Spanish phrases now show functional similarities with Tagalog causative morphology.

It could be argued that CC shares a good number of structural features with typical creoles, some of these features are: zero-copula in equative and adjectival constructions, pre-verbal aspectual markers, and the use of the same form *tyene* ‘have’ in existential and possessive constructions. On the other hand, Chabacano also shows some atypical creole features including VAO word order of basic constructions, a large inventory of adverbial particles, case marking, and an unusual amount of productive derivational morphology.

Chapter 4: The genesis and development of Cavite Chabacano

4.1. Introduction of the chapter

In this chapter I review the two main theories about the genesis and development of Cavite Chabacano and present an alternative account. The established theories about the origin of Chabacano present two extremes in creole genesis; specifically, while one is consistent with the general monogenesis theory, the other explains the development of Chabacano as a series of local developments. An alternative account offers a middle ground, as I argue that even though the language developed locally, it is the product of leveling with a widely-diffused Portuguese pidgin. I also argue based on evidence from lexical studies and typological descriptions that the Cavite variety has undergone a greater degree of decreolization and Spanish relexification than either Zamboanga or Ternate Chabacano.

In section 4.2, I review the two main theories on the genesis of Chabacano. Section 4.3 present an alternative account and sections 4.4 and 4.5 discuss some of the linguistic evidence that supports it. Section 4.6 summarizes some of the main arguments made in this chapter.

4.2. Theories of the development of Chabacano

Because of the lack of diachronic documentation of the language, studies of the genesis of Chabacano are scarce. The two existing theories are Whinnom's (1956) monogenesis theory, and Fernandez's (2010, 2011, 2012) polygenesis theory. Whinnom's theory was influenced by monogenetic theories popular at the time and has been adopted to different degrees in most of the work on Chabacano, despite the more general decrease in support for monogenetic theories of creole languages. Fernandez's work is the work to actually question the main points expressed by the monogenesis hypothesis.

4.2.1. *Whinnom (1956) and the monogenesis theory*

Whinnom (1956) provides the first comparative study of the Chabacano varieties. He presents a sketch description along with some texts of the main surviving varieties at the time, Ermita (Manila), Cavite, Zamboanga, and Davao Chabacano. He also proposes a unifying theory of the development of the Chabacano varieties that traces all of the varieties to a single origin. His contention is that Chabacano did not originate in the Philippines; instead, it was born among Spanish garrison troops in Ternate, an island of the Moluccas archipelago (Whinnom 1956: 4). According to the author, all the Chabacano varieties found in the Philippines descend from the Ternate variety.

During the 16th and 17th centuries, Ternate was an important trade center and a point of dispute between European powers and local Islamic sultanates that sought to take control of the Spice Islands.³⁹ Below I summarize some of the main events in the history of Ternate according to the information presented in Whinnom (1956).

³⁹ The Moluccas, also known as the 'Spice Islands', where the most coveted islands in the East during the 17th century because spices—in particular clove—were found there. For nearly a century and a half, the islands were disputed between Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch and English who battled to gain control of the clove production. For more on the Molucca islands see: (Andaya 1993, Donkin 1997)

1521- The Portuguese reach Ternate
1522- Portuguese build a fort
1574- The Portuguese are driven out by conflicts with a local sultanate
1606- Spaniards destroy the Ternate sultanate and occupy the island
1615- Dutch fail to take Ternate
1655- Dutch destroy clove trees in Ternate and Spaniards begin their withdrawal
1660- 200 Ternate families are evacuated from Ternate to the Philippines
< 1663- complete Spanish evacuation from ternate

Whinnom establishes that Ternate had the conditions for the development of a contact language. In Ternate, a section of the local population—often referred to as the *Mardikas*—had been Christianized during the Portuguese occupation between 1521 and 1574. At the time, it is possible that the local population was exposed to non-standard varieties of Portuguese;⁴⁰ in Whinnom’s words: “Portuguese, not always of the purest variety, was the common language of the European traders” (Whinnom 1956: 7) In a footnote the author suggests that these varieties may have included a Portuguese trade language. The Christian Portuguese-speaking people of Ternate welcomed the Spanish troops and acquired some form of Spanish spoken by the Spanish troops, presumably facilitated by their knowledge of Portuguese. Also, Whinnom hypothesizes that after the Spaniards' arrival, the conditions in the garrison encouraged the mixing of Spanish and Mexican soldiers with local Christian women:

“It is easy, giving the imagination free rein, to picture the circumstances on Ternate which could have given birth to a Spanish contact vernacular—the Spanish garrison, a group of lonely, semi – literate men, without the collective training to learn easily the native language, and probably without individual linguistic inclination, is left for a number of years on a lush tropical island; the officers may have kept to themselves, but the men would be sure to mix freely with the local population, an especially with the local women; they would then, inevitably, attempt to teach the natives Spanish, not correct grammatical Spanish, but merely a vocabulary sufficient for elementary communication...” (Whinnom 1956: 8).

He characterizes this emerging language as a simplified variety with a minimum of “particles and flexions” from Spanish (Whinnom 1956: 8). This creolization process occurred rapidly within two generations on the island of Ternate (1956: 10). In this way, the Spanish contact variety is mostly formed by the time it reaches the Philippines: “one fact is certain: that the first of the Spanish contact vernaculars in the Eastern Seas arose in Ternate, and had already achieved creolization before the evacuation of the island by garrison and Christian inhabitants” (Whinnom 1956: 11).

He explains that this contact variety spread to the Philippines in 1660, when the Spanish abandoned Ternate to protect the fort in Manila, taking with them 200 families who spoke the contact vernacular (Whinnom 1956: 11). Upon their arrival in the Philippines, the Ternate families stayed in Manila, but they had to leave quickly due to disagreements with the local Tagalog population (Whinnom 1956: 11). During the same year, in 1660,⁴¹ the Ternateños moved to the Cavite province where they concentrated around the dockyards of Cavite City and in the new Ternate, named after the island of

⁴⁰ In fact, in the 16th century there was not a ‘standard’ form of Portuguese until 1536, when Fernao de Oliveira published his *Grammatica da longoagem portuguesa*, the first Portuguese grammar.

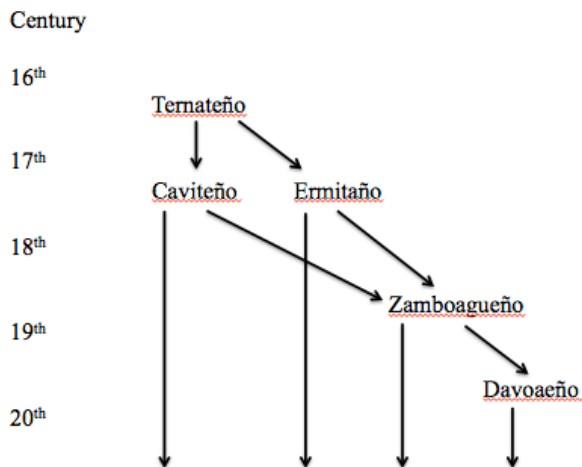
⁴¹ Other sources put the settlement in Ternate at a later date (Rafael 1978, Fernandez 2011)

Ternate (Whinnom 1956: 12). In this way, the movement of the 200 families within the Philippines established the Spanish contact language in each of the places where it is now spoken.

Whinnom considers Cavite Chabacano to be the “modern descendant” of the contact variety language spoken in the Moluccas. The Zamboanga variety developed later around 1719, when the Spanish built a new garrison in Zamboanga to protect the southern port from pirate attacks. The troops were mostly made up of Mexican and Tagalog soldiers who were brought from Cavite. Within the monogenesis hypothesis, Whinnom admits some degree of “semi-independent” development of ZM as a result of the mixing of the soldiers with local women. But based on ZM’s similarities with the other dialects, Whinnom also concludes that that the troops must have spoken a Spanish contact variety imported from Cavite (Whinnom 1956: 14). The Davao variety is straightforwardly described as a 20th-century variety that was brought to Davao by a colony of settlers from Zamboanga.

Whinnom illustrates the tree structure of Chabacano with the diagram in Figure 1. Ternateño refers to the language spoken in the Moluccan island.:

Figure 1: Affiliation of the Chabacano varieties (Whinnom 1956: 17)



Whinnom is the sole author to explicitly advance a monogenetic theory for the origin of Chabacano. Nonetheless, the monogenesis theory has been accepted, or at least has been tacitly assumed, in later work on particular varieties. In his work on the semantic structure of ZM, Frake (1971) presents comparative work on other Chabacano varieties that supports the theory of a semi-independent development for ZM. However, he adopts Whinnom’s basic theory of a Moluccas origin of Chabacano. Molony’s (1973, 1974) comparative work also assumes that most of Whinnom’s theory is true. In Molony’s account, however, there are 200 Christians—not families—that move to the new Ternate before moving to Cavite and Ermita (Molony 1973: 6). By placing the Mardikas first in the new Ternate, she can explain why there are more Portuguese, Malay and Bahasa Ternate words in the Ternate variety. She states that her lexical findings give “mild support” to a theory of a Moluccas’ origin for the Spanish variety (Molony 1973: 49).

The monogenesis theory has a clear advantage in that it provides a straightforward explanation for the similarities across the Chabacano varieties: the varieties are similar because they all descend from the same Spanish contact proto-language developed in the Moluccas. At the same time, the theory also leaves some room for a semi-independent development of ZM. Furthermore, by proposing a Portuguese pidgin origin, the theory also accounts for features of Chabacano that cannot be attributed to either Spanish or Filipino languages.

4.2.2. Polygenesis

Most alternatives to Whinnom's monogenesis theory have focused on explaining the development of the southern varieties of Chabacano rather than on the genesis of the Manila-Bay varieties. Frake (1971) examines a group of Filipino lexical items in ZM and observes that they do not come from the Visayan languages spoken around Manila Bay, but instead from Hiligaynon (Ilongo), which is spoken in the central Philippines. He mentions that many of the garrison troops may have come from Ilongo-speaking areas. However, the linguistic similarities between ZM and the other Chabacano varieties keep him from accepting a totally independent development (Frake 1971: 225).

Lipski's (1992) account of a series of relexification processes provides a hypothesis for the development of Chabacano in Zamboanga that departs from accounts in which ZM is explained as an extension of the Manila Bay varieties. He argues that originally ZM developed during the 18th century as a garrison contact language "not as a true creole, but as a natural common intersection of grammatically cognate Philippine languages which had already incorporated a lexical core of Spanish borrowings" (Lipski 1992: 220). Although he admits some influence from Cavite Chabacano soldiers, Lipski attributes the similarities between ZM and the Manila Bay varieties to similarities in the contact situations. He proposes that in both areas the Chabacano varieties arose gradually "as the common denominator of several Philippine languages brought together in military garrisons and trade settings" (Lipski 2001: 1). Nonetheless, and even though Lipski's account emphasizes that Zamboanga had the conditions for the development of a Spanish-lexified contact language, he contends that "it is not possible to accept that ZM arose *ab ovo* in Zamboanga or anywhere else in Mindanao." (Lipski 2001: 16).

A theory of separate development has been proposed from non-linguistic perspectives; Warren (1981) gives a historical account that challenges the theory that ZM is derived from Manila Bay. He attributes the genesis of the language to the slavery in the Sulu Sea in order to deny any connection between the language and the Manila Bay varieties. From the 17th to the 19th century, Muslim pirates from islands in the Sulu Sea attacked many parts of the Philippines and enslaved Filipino captives. Many of these slaves were then rescued by the Spanish and sent to work around the Zamboanga garrison, where they entered into contact with Spanish-speaking soldiers. Given this scenario, Warren hypothesizes that ZM developed among this group of slaves.:

The fugitives established themselves with impoverished Chinese and vagrants in a community situated some distance from the *presidio* [prison]. Originating from different parts of the Philippine archipelago and lacking a common language, these *degradados* [degraded] developed their own Spanish-Creole dialect —Chavacano — to communicate. (Warren 1981: 235-6)

Lipski (2001) cites an excerpt from an 1898 description of Zamboanga in which the author's view is similar to Warren's:

... certainly a very considerable portion [of the Zamboagueños] are the offspring of slaves who have contrived to escape from the Moros... the result has been that representatives of most of the Philippine coast-tribes have found their way to Zamboanga, where their intermarriage has given rise to a people of decidedly mixed ancestry. On account of the multiplicity of native dialects, Spanish became the medium of communication, but they have long since converted it into a Zamboagueño patois... (Worcester 1898: 129-30 in Lipski 2001: 16)

While the structural similarities between ZM and the Manila Bay varieties suggest that they did not develop completely separately, the multilingual setting described above suggests that the Manila Bay varieties were not the sole input to ZM Chabacano.

Fernandez (2011, 2012) presents yet another alternative to Whinnom's (1965) Manila Bay theory of the genesis of the Chabacano varieties. Instead of placing the Ternateños at the center of the genesis of the language, he proposes that Chabacano developed among a class of Chinese-Tagalog *mestizos*, not among the *Mardikas*. These *mestizos* were also responsible for spreading Chabacano to different parts of the Philippines. The author argues that Chabacano thrived and survived in places with large concentration of these Chinese-Tagalog who were in close contact with the Spanish. In mestizo towns, prominent *mestizos* knew Spanish, especially after the education reforms in the XIX century. However, in their everyday activities they spoke a contact vernacular that came to be acquired by non-mestizos: "En las zonas en las que el chabacano se había convertido en el vernáculo del sector hegemónico entre la población local (mestizos chinos e indios acomodados), el pueblo llano también lo aprendió y lo hizo suyo, por emulación social"⁴² (Fernandez 2011: 212).

Fernandez's evidence consists of 19th-century documents and testimonials that contain or refer to Chabacano varieties outside of the Chabacano locus mentioned in Whinnom. Fernandez (2011: 215) presents as a piece of evidence an excerpt from a late 19th-century Spanish ethnography of Tayabas, a city in the Quezón province that is 142km away from Manila and over 940km away from Mindanao. This excerpt is taken to be representative of the speech of the Chinese-Tagalog *mestizos* or of Filipinos. The excerpt consists of a dialogue that is intended to show the practices of popular medicine in Tayabas. While the ethnography is written in standard Spanish, the dialogue is written in a non-standard variety of Spanish that Fernandez identifies as Chabacano. The text chosen by Fernandez indeed shows some similarities to Chabacano such as verb-initial word order, the object marker *kon*, the locative *na*, and the pre-verbal TMA markers. However, the text also shows additional Spanish features that are not associated with Chabacano. These features include the 2nd-person plural pronoun *ustedes*, gender distinctions, derivational morphology, and a greater use of the relative pronoun in relative clauses.

Nonetheless, the Tayabas document along with extensive historical research leads Fernández (2011, 2012) to theorize that the target language of the non-*mestizo* Filipinos was not Spanish, which was only spoken by the peninsulars, but Chabacano (Fernandez 2011: 212). The theory proposed by Fernandez has the advantage of providing

⁴² [In the zones where Chabacano had become the vernacular of the hegemonic sector among the local population, regular people also learned it and made it theirs through social emulation.] (my translation)

sociolinguistic motivations for the spread of Chabacano among the local population. It attributes the growth of Chabacano to a Chinese *mestizo* class that had the cultural and economic capital to motivate the spread of a Spanish contact variety among non-*mestizos*.

4.2.3. Weaknesses of the monogenesis theory

As shown above, Whinnom's theory has been taken as the standard theory of the development of Chabacano. Placing all the responsibility for language spread on the *Mardikas*, however, poses a series of problems that include: 1) lack of evidence for the existence of the 200 *Mardika* families, 2) exaggeration of their linguistic influence 3) evidence of endogamy among the *Mardikas*. These issues are discussed below. Much of the evidence is based on the historical work carried out by Fernandez (2010, 2011, 2012) who has conducted the most extensive historical research on Chabacano.

1. Whinnom's (1956) entire monogenesis hypothesis hinges on the existence of a group of 200 *Mardikas* from the Moluccas, however, his account of the *Mardikas* is full of conjectures. The origin of the families, as stated by Whinnom, is questionable. There are two groups of *Mardikas* mentioned in documents from that era. Aside from the 200 families mentioned by Whinnom, there were also *Mardikas* accompanying the Spanish troops starting in the early 17th century. Fernandez casts doubt on the existence of the 200 families by pointing out that while there is documentation of *Mardika* soldiers in the troops from early on, there is only a later reference—almost a hundred years after their alleged arrival—to the 200 families described in Whinnom. If little is known about the 200 families, less is known about the nature of their Spanish vernacular. Whinnom himself admits that there are no early references to a 'pidgin Spanish' spoken in the Moluccas (Whinnom 1956: 4). Despite this acknowledgment, he goes on to affirm that "The first of the Spanish contact vernaculars in the Eastern Seas arose in Ternate, and had already achieved creolization before the evacuation of the island by garrison and Christian inhabitants"(Whinnom 1956: 11).

2. The monogenesis theory overestimates the influence of the *Mardikas* while it discounts the importance of inter-cultural and inter-lingual contact situations. According to Whinnom, the *Mardikas* creolized a Portuguese pidgin during the 54 years that the Spanish were in the Moluccas. One of Whinnom's main contentions is that the "circumstances in the Philippines, and certainly in the areas where these languages [contact vernaculars] are found, are such that it is extremely unlikely that any contact vernacular would have arisen without the example of Ternateño"(Whinnom 1956:11). However, before the arrival of the *Mardikas* there had already been 100 years of Spanish contact with trade languages such as Portuguese Pidgin and Hokkien. Therefore it is not hard to imagine that some contact language had emerged from that context.

Early colonial trade in Manila Bay led to a multicultural milieu that could have fostered the development of a contact language. By 1582, the Cavite shipyard was operative. Once the galleon-building activities stabilized in 1593,⁴³ the vessels became

⁴³ The magnitude of the galleon enterprise provided an unprecedented setting; 1,400 men were needed just to man the Cavite yard at full capacity, and it took as many as 6,000 men and three months to haul the masts for a single galleon. Among the men associated with the galleon there was a hierarchy related to the jobs each performed, usually correlated with ethnicity; there were Muslim foremen, Chinese and Indian

the colony's most important product and remained so until the expansion of sugar and tobacco production in the late 18th century. Given this context, it is hard to imagine what led Whinnom to say that the first contact of the Spaniards with a "Portuguese-Malay pidgin" happened in the Moluccas in 1606 (Whinnom 1956: 4). A 1630 testimony of a Spanish priest in Manila, by the last name of Medina, describes how Tagalogs and poor Spaniards lived together in the outskirts of the walled city:

"Adminístranse aquí [en la parroquia de Santiago] todos los españoles que viven fuera de la ciudad de Manila, que pienso que son mas que los que viven dentro; mas toda gente pobre, casados con naturales o mestizos o negras; gente mucha de la mar..." (Medina 1893 [ca. 1630]: 151 in Fernandez 2012).⁴⁴

Contact also must have occurred around the garrison and military activities in the Philippines. According to Whinnom, this is the context of contact in the Moluccas, and also the context of contact in Zamboanga. It is not clear from his account what made the conditions of the garrisons in the Manila Bay different from the ones in Zamboanga.

3. The *Mardikas* spoke their own language. Whinnom's account proposes that the mixed (Spanish/Ternateño) Mardika families shifted from their vernacular languages to the contact variety (Whinnom 1956:10), a proposal that is consistent with an abrupt creolization theory. However, there is evidence that they still spoke their language almost 90 years after their alleged departure from the Moluccas. Murillo Verlarde (1749 §668 in Sippola 2011) reports that in 1749, the *Mardikas* still spoke a distinct language of their own and continued to pass it to their children:

"...usan tres lenguas, la Española, en que hablan con el Padre, y los Españoles, la Tagala, en que se entienden con los Indios, y la suya propia, que hablan entre sí, y la comunican, y enseñan a sus hijos. Tan amantes son de su idioma, acción digna de gente mas política."⁴⁵

Little is known about this language, but non-Iberian lexical items found in the Ternate variety of Chabacano suggest that the Moluccas' language may have influenced it. Molony (1974) identifies a group of 85 words that traced to a group of related languages that were spoken in the Moluccas. These include *kuning* 'yellow' and *muda* 'young plant', from Malay; *bay* 'uncle' (<Moluccan Malay *pai* 'father') and *yay* 'aunt' (<Moluccan Malay *mai* 'mother'); and from Bahasa Ternate, *badju* 'dirty' and *churi-churi* 'chat, idle talk'. These Ternateños kept their language from the Moluccas until the second half of the 19th century (Fernandez 2011: 192).

artisans, and at the bottom local "indios" who usually worked in conditions similar to slavery (Borromeo 1974: 29, Schurz 1959).

⁴⁴ [Administer here [in the Santiago parish] all the Spaniards that live outside of Manila city, who I think are more than those who live in it; but all poor people, married with local or *mestizos* or black, people of the sea...] (my translation)

⁴⁵ [... They use three languages, Spanish, which they speak with the Priest and the Spaniards, Tagalog, in which they are understood by the indians, and their own, that they speak among them, and its communicated and taught to their children. So much they love their language, action belonging to more political people.] (my translation)

4.2.4. Weaknesses of the polygenesis theory

Though many have suggested problems with the monogenesis theory proposed by Whinnom (1956), Fernandez (2010, 2011, 2012), has been the only one who has elaborated an alternative. His polygenesis theory, however, raises a different set of questions, including: 1) the lack of clarity regarding the vector by which the varieties spread; 2) how to account for the similarities across varieties; 3) the nature of the evidence in support of this alternative account; and 4) its inability to account for the clear Portuguese pidgin influence in the development of the Chabacano language.

1. Fernandez's main proposal is not clear; on the one hand, the focalized spread of Chabacano is questioned in favor of a polygenesis theory of development. The polygenesis theory is supported by the fact that the first records of a Spanish contact variety are from the 17th century; while in Ermita, a (possibly different) contact variety arrives in the late 19th century, brought by *mestizos* of the neighboring barrio of Bagunbayan. If this is true, then Chabacano spread during the span of over 300 years, to many distant points of the Philippines.

But the same time, the author identifies the Chinese *mestizos* as a local vector for the spread of Chabacano:

“La hipótesis que propongo es, pues, que fue a través de los *mestizos* chinos como se extendió el español de tienda desde la capital a algunos pueblos de diversas provincias: Ilocos, Pampanga, Bulacan y alguna otra al norte de Manila; al sur de Cavite naturalmente, Laguna, Tayabas y tal vez otras; Cebú y Panay en las Bisayas. Pudieron también haber sido los *mestizos* chinos quienes desde las Bisayas lo llevaron a Mindanao.”⁴⁶ (Fernandez 2011: 208)

This suggests that the alternative to a *Mardika* story simply replaces the *Mardikas* with a group of local, itinerant, Chinese *mestizos* and others in the higher social strata, as they become the numeric or economic majority. That is, that Fernandez's theory is a monogenesis theory as well, but with a different locus.

2. If the development of Chabacano occurred gradually in more than one place, it is not clear how the varieties ended up having so many similarities. A polygenesis theory must account for the linguistic similarities across the varieties. Instead, the similarities across the varieties are ignored to focus on the differences, including those among the Manila Bay varieties. It is because of these differences, according to Fernandez, that Chabacano “*exige otro tipo de historia más compleja, menos localizada en un barrio concreto, menos centrada en un grupo humano tan delimitado como el de los márdikas*”⁴⁷ (Fernandez 2012: 43).

⁴⁶ [The hypothesis I put forward, is, then, that it was through the Chinese *mestizos* that store Spanish was extended from the capital to some of the towns in the provinces: Ilocos, Pampanga, Bulacan, and some other to the north of Manila; south of Cavite, naturally, laguna, Tayabas, and maybe others; Cebú and Panay in the Visayas. It could have also been the Chinese *mestizos* who from the Visayas took it to Mindanao.] (my translation)

⁴⁷ [demands a different kind of story more complex, less localized in a concrete neighborhood, less concentrated on a human group so delimited as the *Mardikas*] (my translation)

However, beyond the paradigm of plural personal pronouns and some phonological differences such as the Cavite raising of /e/ and /o/, no other difference is discussed between the Manila varieties to help justify the individual development of these varieties. As we will see in section 4.5, many of the differences between the Manila Bay varieties can be attributed to processes of decreolization.

3. At times the polygenesis theory relies on some levels of speculation.

Most of the arguments for the gradual and parallel development of Chabacano come from extensive historical research. As with any reconstruction there are some information gaps that admit some level of speculation. The problem arises when the very core of the theory is built on unsupported claims. For example, the lack of documentation of the 200 *Mardikas*: “*no hay la menor referencia a un poblado foráneo y cristiano en la barra del río*”⁴⁸ (Fernandez 2011: 193). The fact that there is no record of them until 100 years after their arrival is reason to argue that they were never present in Cavite or Manila because “*si esto fuera cierto, sería difícil explicar que no haya el menor rastro de ello ni en las cartas anuales ni en ningún documento jesuítico anterior a 1749.*”⁴⁹ (Fernandez 2012: 19). Similarly, the claim that Chabacano did not develop in Cavite and Ermita until the 19th century requires disregarding evidence of a trade contact language spoken in the region before as early as the 17th century. The author clarifies that the lack of evidence refers to Chabacano’s adoption as a vernacular by the indigenous population, and not to the use of the vernacular use as a trade pidgin. In any case, it is worth asking at what point the Chabacano, as a vernacular, was distinguished from other contact varieties. Fernandez does not address this question.

4. In Fernandez's theory there is great emphasis placed on the local development of separate varieties and little mention of the linguistic influence of a Portuguese pidgin. This theory is in stark contrast to Whinnom’s hypothesis in which Chabacano has its origins in a Portuguese pidgin. Fernandez's theory therefore seems to require a disconnect with other Luso-Asian creoles. In fact, Fernandez (2007, 2012) has argued that some results of contact involving Spanish and Filipino (Austronesian) languages are potentially similar to those of Portuguese in a Malay (Austronesian) setting and thus is not necessary to propose a Luso-Asian connection that gave rise to a Spanish contact vernacular in the Philippines.

It is highly probable, however, that speakers of a Portuguese Pidgin were present in the setting where Chabacano developed. Just among the Chinese, who came to dominate trade in the 19th century, there was a considerable population of Macanese and others who had had contact with the Portuguese (Fernandez 2012). Together with the Chinese, we also know of groups of *Mardikas*, Indians and Africans that would have spoken Portuguese or some version of it (Borromeo 1974: 29).

4.3 Revisiting the origins and development of Chabacano

⁴⁸ [There isn’t the slight reference to a town of Christians and foreigner by the river bank.] (my translation)

⁴⁹ [If this were true, it would be hard to explain that there is not the slightest trace of it either in the annual letter or in any Jesuit document previous to 1749.] (my translation)

In this section I attempt to develop a story of Chabacano that contains some of the main advantages of each of the theories discussed above. On the one hand, the monogenesis hypothesis has the virtue of taking into account the existence of a Portuguese Pidgin, which cannot be ignored in the context of trade in Manila and Cavite. On the other hand, Fernandez's theory has the virtue of focuses addressing the local conditions for the development of a contact variety.

I propose that the Portuguese Pidgin (PP) was indeed one of the languages in contact that led to the genesis of Chabacano. However, unlike Whinnom, I do not associate PP with a particular group but instead argue that it was a prevalent trade language in the ports of Manila and Cavite City. At the same time, I agree with Fernandez in that the Chinese *mestizos* in the 18th and 19th century played a fundamental role in the further development of Chabacano. In fact, the influence of the *mestizos* was key to differentiating Chabacano from other closely related Spanish varieties. However, it is not necessary to propose that Chabacano developed everywhere that there were Chinese *mestizos*. This group may have led a linguistic hispanization, but the process did not only affect Chabacano, but also other contact and non-standard varieties of Spanish elsewhere.

An early form of Chabacano started out in the 17th century as a Portuguese pidgin that was used in the trade setting and underwent leveling with non-standard varieties of Spanish. When Spain entered into the Asian trade with the Philippines, it entered into a Chinese-Portuguese network. Converging contact varieties of Portuguese and Malay (possibly Bazaar Malay from Malacca) were used as *linguas franca* of commerce and related activities. It is likely that the same languages that were used in Malacca, Macao and China were also used around the Manila Bay. As these trade contact varieties were spoken thorough the trade period, it is likely that the contact variety would have started a relexification process in the Spanish territory. At this point, being used by speakers of various linguistic origins, the early contact language would have been variable in structure, but would have shared features common to these various contact varieties.

The mixing of Spanish with PP was facilitated by the similarity between Spanish and Portuguese in the 17th century. The mix of typologically similar languages formed a Spanish-lexified *koiné* that is called here *Proto-Chabacano* (PC). In its earliest stages of development, this emerging *koiné* was confined to specific activities and locations, mostly to activities in the ports and the military garrisons.

Proto-Chabacano had also been influenced by the contact variety of the group of *Mardikas* discussed above, who had already relexified some variety of Portuguese Pidgin with Spanish in the island of Ternate in the Moluccas. Whether the main *Mardika* linguistic influence came from the 200 families who arrived in the mid 17th century, or from the *Mardikas* accompanying the military troops starting in the early 17th century is unknown. Either way, they used a contact variety that shared with the *Proto-Chabacano* many of the trade-language features that would later become Chabacano features, such as verbal and argument markers.

PC was by no means the only Spanish-lexified contact variety at the time. Aside from the *Mardikas* variety, *Proto-Chabacano* must have co-existed and leveled with other varieties of non-standard Spanish such as Mexican Spanish, local varieties that had been in contact with Filipino languages, and the Spanish variant attributed to Chinese merchants. An important question concerning the structural characterization of

Chabacano emerges from this scenario, namely; how is Chabacano distinguished from non-standard varieties of Spanish, or how did Chabacano begin to coalesce in a defined speech community within the group of contact and non-standard Spanish varieties? And relatedly, when did Chabacano diverge historically in order to become a separate language?

Fernandez singles out the Chinese *mestizos* from the heterogeneous group in the cities as a possible locus for vernacularization and what he calls “spread” of Chabacano. Indeed, they occupied a social role that would have exposed them to Proto-Chabacano. This group already had close contact with Portuguese and Malay pidgins through commerce and trade, which lends support to an earlier scenario for the development and spread of a Spanish contact variety. Moreover, in Manila, the *Mardikas* lived in close proximity to the *mestizos*. An Augustinian document from the 17th century cited by Fernandez (2011: 194) locates them from Bagumbayan to Malate passing through Ermita. Likewise, some *Mardikas* were displaced from Manila to San Roque in Cavite, a town with one of the largest concentrations of *mestizos* (Gealogo 2005: 316). In addition, as seen in 1.4.4. the *mestizos* formed a tributary ‘class’ that paid more taxes than the *indios* and less than the Chinese. Therefore, starting in the 18th century the *mestizos* also had the social and political motivation to distinguish themselves from other ethnic groups.

In Chapter 1 I discussed how the 19th century brought a series of political and educational reforms that led to a period of hispanization that particularly affected the *mestizo* class. During this time, CC was partially relexified with Spanish, and differentiating it from other Chabacano varieties. Along with partial relexification came the adoption of Spanish grammatical structures.

The Zamboanga and Ternate varieties are the result of the displacement of Chabacano speakers from Cavite and Manila. The Chabacano from the town of Ternate was, in turn, formed by a group of *Mardikas* who resettled in Ternate. The *Mardikas* had leveled Chabacano with other Iberian varieties during their stay in Cavite and Manila. Still, their variety was closer to the original variety brought from the Moluccas because they were relatively isolated and therefore less affected by the decreolization processes that occurred later in the late 18th and 19th centuries. By the time the Zamboanga garrison was rebuilt in 1719, Chabacano was spoken all across Cavite City and in many of the barrios in Manila where the relexification process continued. Chabacano was brought to Zamboanga by a group of soldiers and families that came from Cavite City to populate the city (Borromeo 1974).

4.4 Similarities between Chabacano and Kristang

The theories presented above differ from each other in the weight that each assigns to a Luso-Asian substrate. For Whinnom, Chabacano is basically a relexification of a Luso-Asian pidgin spoken in the Moluccas. For Fernandez, separate varieties developed locally and were influenced by Spanish and Tagalog. I propose that a Portuguese contact variety played a significant role in the formation of Chabacano in the Philippines. In what follows I present some similarities between Kristang and Chabacano as evidence for a greater role of a Luso-Asian adstrate in Chabacano. Some of these similarities point to deeper contact than just relexification.

As has been noted before (Hancock 1975, Lipski 1988, Baxter 1996), not all the similarities between Chabacano and Luso-Asian contact languages can be used as evidence of a common adstrate. Similarities such as the scarcity of inflectional morphology and the use of the same form for the possessive and existential are common not only to Ibero-Asian creoles but also to creoles in general. They may stem from common language-contact processes. Other similarities such as the form of the imperfective *ta* and perfective *ya* pre-verbal particles can be explained through similarities between their Iberian lexifiers. While these features may have been transmitted to Chabacano from a Luso-Asian pidgin rather than from the Iberian languages themselves, there is no way of distinguishing between these two possibilities.

Only a small set of features that Chabacano shares with Luso-Asian contact languages may be used as evidence that the two groups acquired features from a single source. These features include the locative marker *na*, the concessive connector *maski*, the question word *kilaya*, and the object marker *kon* (Lipski 1988). Other Luso-Asian features, such as the post-nominal genitive (Baxter 2012), are not present in Chabacano. As will be discussed below, in forms and constructions where Chabacano does not share Luso-Asian features, the language usually takes the form or the construction from Spanish.

This section focuses on a comparison between Chabacano and Kristang because Chabacano shares more features with Kristang than it does with other Luso-Asian creoles. This is not unexpected given Kristang's geographical proximity to Chabacano, as Malacca was closer to the Philippines than any other Portuguese colony at the time. Also, Malacca served as the main trade center of Portugal in the Pacific, and as a result, much of the contact with the Portuguese pidgin likely occurred with the variety spoken in Malacca. Furthermore, Kristang is one of the best-described Luso-Asian creoles (Baxter 1988), and the availability of these materials facilitates the comparison.

The lexical similarities are usually due to the lexical similarity of the source languages; only a few items in Cavite Chabacano are unequivocally Portuguese in origin. These include *parí* 'be born', *sen* 'money' (*pesu* in ZM), and the causal connector *kausu* 'because' (also in Tagalog). The languages also share a number of structural similarities that go beyond those usually described for creole languages.

Many of the similarities between Kristang and Chabacano find parallel structures in Bazaar Malay, which speaks to its widespread use in the area, including in during the time and place of the formation of Kristang. These correspondences locate Kristang and Bazaar Malay as a Malay sub-group within the general group of Ibero-Asian creoles. However, of the two languages in this sub-group, Kristang is much closer to Bazaar Malay than it is to Chabacano. In cases where Chabacano and Kristang are different, Kristang shows more features associated with creole languages, such as a morphological simplicity, while Chabacano approximates to one of its adstrates. This difference is seen in inflectional morphology (Spanish and Tagalog) and word order (Tagalog).

In Chapter 2, Table 3 (repeated here as Table 28) I illustrated the similarities between Chabacano and other related South- and Southeast Asian languages in order to show the continuity between the Ibero-Asian creoles. The table shows that many of the similarities between Kristang and Chabacano also find parallel constructions in Bazaar Malay (marks in parentheses stand for functional but not formal similarity). On the other hand, Kristang shares more features with Indian Portuguese (IP) than with Chabacano.

This is not unexpected given the geographical proximity of South India and Malacca, and the fact that there was exchange between Malacca and India because they were both Portuguese colonies. Below, I detail other similarities between Chabacano and Kristang in the domains of argument marking, indefinite reference, aspect marking, and valence verbs. All of the Kristang examples are taken from Baxter’s (1988) grammar.

Table 26 Lusio-Asian and Malay features in Chabacano, Kristang and Indian Portuguese Creoles

	<i>Chabacano</i>	<i>Kristang</i>	<i>IP</i>	<i>Bazaar Malay</i>
1. <i>Kilaya</i> ‘how’ (Clements 2000)	x	x	x	
2. Irrealis <i>logo</i> (Clements 2000)		x	x	
3. Negative irrealis marking <i>nohade</i> (Ferraz 1987)	x (in ZM)	x	x	
4. post nominal genitive (Baxter 2012)		x	x	x
5. Concessive connector <i>maski</i> (Schuchardt 1883; Whinnom 1956, Fernandez 2012)		x		x
6. polyfunctional preposition <i>sama</i>	(x)	(x)		x
7. <i>angkoza</i> (Sippola 2012)	x	x	?	
8. Indefinite-Reduplication	x	x		x
9. ‘give’ and ‘make’ causatives	x	x		x
10. Completive marker <i>kaba/kabau</i>	x	x	?	x

Multifunctionality of kon:

The object-marking function of the comitative preposition *kon* is a distinctive feature of Ibero-Asian creoles that is also present in Chabacano and Kristang. As described in Chapter 3, an object marker, *kon*, is preferably placed before animate and definite objects. In general, the marker is dispreferred before inanimate and indefinite objects. However, in Cavite Chabacano and Kristang the marker may be used in these dispreferred contexts with certain pragmatic effects that are conceptually derived from the context.

The marker may be used to increase the object's identifiability. In (1) the speaker allows the use of *kon* before an inanimate object instead of the expected marker *na* if she is pointing to the house. In Kristang the marker before an indefinite noun may be used to refer to an indefinite set of people from a definite group e.g. “members of the kind of people who are likely to pass by” (Baxter 1988 156). In these uses, *kon* seems to add identifiability. In Chabacano using a grammatical means of identifiability, such as demonstrative pronouns, is rendered ungrammatical when the argument is marked with *kon*.

A similar effect is observed in Kristang; when *kon/ku* marks a verb like *sabé* ‘to know,’ its use may signify greater knowledge or acquaintance with the object. In (3) *kon* is used to convey a greater degree of acquaintance between the subject and ‘the elder sister’.

A. Chabacano

- (1) *tyene ke ya pone insendio (con) el casa*
 EXT REL PFV put fire OBJ the house
 ‘Someone set the house/ the house (pointing) on fire.’
 (7_63)

- (2) **ya pone insendio (con) este casa*
 PFV put fire OBJ this house
 ‘Someone set this house on fire.’

B. Kristang

- (3) *eli sabe ku yo sa susi*
 3s know A 1s G sister
 ‘He knows my elder sister.’

(Baxter 1988: 156 ex. 8b)

In both Chabacano and Kristang the presence of *ku* with the verb ‘to see’ implies ‘seeing in close proximity’, an exchange of glances and perhaps even an exchange of words (4-7). The absence of *ku* implies less proximate or more detached ‘seeing’.

A. Chabacano

- (4) *ya mira eli akel reloj ki kieri eli na mall*
 PFV look 3SG that watch that want 3SG LOC mall
 ‘He saw the watch he wanted at the mall’
 (7_30)

- (5) *ya mira eli bueno con el reloj que quieri eli*
 PFV look 3SG good OBJ the watch REL want 3SG
alya na mall
 there LOC mall
 ‘He observed (took a good look at) the watch he wants there at the mall.
 (7_32)

B. Kristang

- (6) *eli ja olá (ku) ngua jenti*
 3s PF see A 1 people
 ‘He saw someone/ a person.’

(Baxter 1988: 157 ex. 11a)

- (7) *yo ja olá (ku) Maria sa pai.*
 1s PF see A Maria G father
 ‘I saw Maria’s father.’

(Baxter 1988: 156 ex. 8a)

It is difficult to trace the source of these functions of *kon* in Chabacano and Kristang. Similar functions of the marker (accusative marking, definiteness, and ‘intentionality’) have been attested in Bazaar Malay, Hokkien, Indian languages, and even in certain Portuguese verbs (Baxter 168-169). Moreover, its extended functions are common developments in accusative markers (Givon 1978). It is possible that all of these converging factors facilitated the development of the marker. However, we find another use of *kon* in both Kristang and Chabacano that suggests a closer relationship with Bazaar Malay.

In Bazaar Malay the accusative marker *sama* may also be found in equative comparison constructions. The same extension is attested in equative constructions in Kristang and less commonly in general comparative constructions in Chabacano, where the Spanish construction with *ke* is more common (see 3.2.7).

Indefinite reference

Both Chabacano and Kristang use the common noun derived from *kosa* ‘thing’ in existential constructions with *tyene*, which in both languages expresses indefinite non-human reference (‘something’). The existential can also be used with the word *jenti* to express indefinite human reference. In Chabacano *koza* may be preceded by an indefinite article *una* as in (8) while in Malacca creole the compound form *ankoza* (P. *alguma coisa*) (Sippola 2012 171) is used as in (9):

A. Chabacano

- (8) ***Tiene yo un-a cosa que no ta gusta con ellos***
 have 1SG one-F thing REL NEG IPFV like OBJ 3PL
disciplina
 discipline
 ‘I have something they don’t like, discipline.’

(T_56)

B. Malacca Creole

- (9) ***teng ankoza na rentu***
 BE thing L inside
 ‘There is something inside.’

(Baxter 1988: 55 ex. 16)

I agree with Sippola (2012: 161) when she notes that this could have the same meaning as ‘there is a thing’. The construction is the principal means of expressing indefinite terms and there is no alternative; thus it should be considered a grammatical/indefinite pronoun construction.

Another common feature within the domain of indefinite reference is the use of reduplication to express free-choice indefinite meaning. Reduplication is a common Malay feature that is present in both Tagalog and Chabacano with other functions including use as an intensifier or number marker. Its use to express indefiniteness is not attested in Tagalog.

While it is possible in Chabacano to reduplicate any *wh-* word to convey indefiniteness, Kristang only has reduplicated forms of the interrogative *ki* ‘what’ and *keng* ‘who’ to convey indefiniteness (*ki ki* ‘anything’ and *keng keng* ‘anybody’):

A. Chabacano

- (10) *El Iglesia masiao alegre porcasa mucho*
 The church very happy because much
banda del musico ya arkila donde~donde
 band POSS.DEF musician PFV rent RED~where
lugar na probinsya del Cavite.
 place LOC province POSS.DEF Cavite
 ‘The church was so festive because of the many marching bands that they hired everywhere (any place) in the province of Cavite.’

(T-45)

B. Malacca Creole

- (11) *keng keng pun pudi bala*
 anyone anyone also can dance
 ‘Anyone can dance.’

(Baxter 1988: 54 ex. 13)

Kaba

In Chabacano and Kristang the verb *kaba* usually occurs with dynamic verbs, but it may also be used with change-of-state adjectives as in the examples below. In Chabacano it is more common to find the marker in the participle form *kabau*. The completive marker has a parallel in Malay, *habis* (Baxter 1988: 132).

A. Chabacano

- (12) *kwando kabau ya el sibil, kasa otra.ves*
 when finish COMPL the civil marry again
ilos na simbahan
 3PL OBL church
 ‘When they are done with the civil (ceremony), they marry again in the church.’

(CC_204)

B. Kristang

- (13) *yo ja prenya, ja kaba prenya olotu pun ja mudá*
1s PF pregnant PF finish pregnant 3pl too ja
move
beng aki
come here
'I was already pregnant; when my pregnancy was over they too shifted houses\
and came here.'

(Baxter 1988: 132 ex, 48)

Causative with 'give' and 'make'

Both Chabacano and Kristang use two verb constructions to form causative verbs. The verb *dale/da* generally means 'give;' however, when followed by a clausal object it may mean 'allow'. In Chabacano, the verb lexicalized with the indirect pronoun, which is not productive in Chabacano.

The causative constructions have parallel constructions in Bazaar Malay *kasi* 'give, allow' as well as in Hokkien (pg. 214-215 Baxter)

A. Chabacano

- (14) *dale conocé*
give meet
'to introduce'

(Escalante 2010: 68)

- (15) *dale sabé*
give eat
'to inform'

(Escalante 2010: 68)

B. Kristang:

- (16) *da + mpustá* 'loan' (*mpustá* 'borrow')

e ja da mpustá ku yo aké langgiang
3s PF give borrow R 1s that push.net
'He loaned me that push net.'

(Baxter 1988 pg. 214 ex. 47)

(17) *da + sabé* ‘inform’ (*kumí* ‘know’)

<i>eli</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>sabé</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>John</i>	<i>teng</i>	<i>akí</i>
3SG	PF	give	know	R	1s		BE	here

‘He informed me John was here.’

(Baxter 1988 pg. 214 ex. 50)

The similarities described above may not all be evidence of the same language contact process. For example, some of the similarities, such as the multifunctionality of the accusative marker *kon*, show a deeper level of contact than lexical borrowing. The multiple levels of language contact are related to the fact that contact with a Portuguese pidgin could have had different pathways. Some of these may be direct contact with Kristang speakers from Malacca that came to the Philippines as slaves; contact with a Portuguese pidgin spoken by Indian workers or African slaves; or contact with a Portuguese pidgin spoken by Chinese merchants from Macao and China. The source of many Luso-Asian features could also have been a group of *Mardikas* that arrived in the Philippines decades before the *Mardikas* in Whinnom’s account. The *Mardikas* served as soldiers during a time that the Spanish had to periodically defend Portuguese possessions against the Dutch, including the Moluccas in 1605 (Schurz 139). In any case, if the similarities suggest that some version of a Portuguese contact language was part of the formative stages of Chabacano, then the 200 *Mardika* families proposed in Whinnom (1956) would be only one of various potential language-contact possibilities.

4.5 Relexification and ‘decreolization’ of Cavite Chabacano

Although the Chabacano varieties share enough similarities to propose a common origin, they also exhibit some differences. Some of the commonly cited grammatical differences such as differences in the pre-verbal marking and plural personal pronouns, together with lexical differences, have been used to justify placing CC and T under the label of Manila Bay Creoles to distinguish them from the southern varieties. Regarding the relationship of each individual variety with its source languages, Ternate Chabacano is the variety that most closely approximates an earlier variety spoken in the Moluccas (Steinkrüger 2008). On the other hand, ZM was affected by surrounding languages and especially in the recent decades has incorporated a significant amount of Filipino (Tagalog) (Grant 2012, Steinkrüger 2008). When the Cavite variety is compared to the other two, it shows more Spanish-derived features both at the lexical and typological levels. This could be because of differences in the formation of the language, or because of later processes of decreolization. Here I will suggest that the greater similarity of CC to Spanish is the result of a later period of decreolization. It is important to note, however, that I am using the term ‘decreolization’ loosely to refer to a general process by which more Spanish forms and constructions were introduced in the language. Further details regarding the challenges that CC poses to standard typological terms such as ‘creole’ and ‘decreolization’ will be covered in Chapter 5.

Lexical evidence supports the grouping of the Chabacano varieties into two main groups, and for considering Cavite Chabacano as the variety with the highest number of unique lexical items. In her comparative dictionary of the variety spoken in the southern

province of Cotabato, Riego de Dios (1979) lists 6,542 main entries along with its equivalencies in ZM, CC, and TE. The data supports the split between the Manila Bay varieties and the southern varieties. In instances when TE and ZM are in perfect correspondence with each other, CC and TE register no equivalents 11% of the time. In general, the number of lexical items exclusive to one of the languages was low, but CC had a significantly highest percentage of unique Cavite Chabacano forms with 6% of the lexical items appearing exclusively in CC.⁵⁰ Some of these unique forms are listed in Table 29:

Table 27 Lexical items exclusively attested in CC (from: Riego de Dios 1979)

CT	ZM	TE	CC	English
<i>ilo</i>	<i>ilo</i>	<i>panahi</i>	<i>algodon</i>	‘thread’
<i>sen</i>	<i>sen</i>	<i>sen</i>	<i>kwalta</i>	‘money’
<i>ihadu</i>	<i>ihadu</i>	<i>ihadu</i>	<i>intenada</i>	‘Godchild’
<i>tangkugu</i>	<i>ombrura</i>	<i>batuk</i>	<i>selebro</i>	‘nape of neck’
<i>tyangge</i>	<i>tyangge</i>	<i>planeki</i>	<i>plasa</i>	‘market’
<i>amonesta</i>	<i>amonesta</i>	<i>amonesta</i>	<i>konseha</i>	‘advise’
<i>altanera</i>	<i>altanera</i>	_____	<i>suplada</i>	‘arrogant’
<i>anteohos</i>	<i>anteohos</i>	<i>gapas</i>	<i>antipara</i>	‘eyeglasses’
<i>basin</i>	<i>basin</i>	_____	<i>sentadera</i>	‘toilet training seat’
<i>bibi</i>	<i>bibi</i>	<i>bebe</i>	<i>toma</i>	‘drink’
<i>bibido</i>	<i>bibido</i>	<i>bebiw</i>	<i>tomaw</i>	‘drunk’
<i>bingglit</i>	<i>bingglit</i>	<i>bingglit</i>	<i>anchuelo</i>	‘milled rice’

This suggests that CC might have undergone some relexification in which CC substituted a number of its lexical items, of Tagalog and Spanish origin, with Spanish words. Nonetheless, this process was not significant enough to change the overall similarities with the other varieties. When Riego de Dios looks for differences across the four varieties, she finds that CT, ZM, TE, and CC showed different forms the 1.02% of the time (e.g. ‘nape of neck’ in Table 29). On the other hand, Riego de Dios estimates the number of “perfect equivalency” of forms between all the varieties at only 47%, this low number however reflects the fact that the author only counts words that are phonetically identical.

Of course, there might have been relexification in other languages besides Cavite Chabacano. It is possible that Zamboanga Chabacano also underwent multiple relexification periods. Lipski (1992: 220-221) proposes a series of “partial relexification processes” in Zamboanga Chabacano, and identifies the three historical stages in which ZM received the greatest influence from Spanish. The first stage corresponds to the mid-1700s when ZM arises in the Zamboanga garrison “as the common intersection of Spanish-laden Philippine languages. In the second stage, ZM “absorbs” grammatical and lexical structure from the Manila Bay PCS, as the Spanish military presence in

⁵⁰ The approximate percentage of the number of exclusive forms of the other varieties are 4% for TE; .77% for ZM, and 2.7% for CT. (Riego de Dios 1979: 168-9)

Zamboanga is consolidated. The third and final stage of Spanish influence occurs in the 19th century with the increased presence of Spanish civilians. It is in this third stage, Lipski argues, that ZM's differences with non-standard Spanish variety reached "their all-time low point" (ibid. 221).

A typological comparison between the three varieties provides further evidence to analyze the development of these languages. Specifically, it points to a decreolization process in Cavite Chabacano that did not occur in the other varieties. To gauge the level of typological similarities I compared 21 typological features as listed in APiCS (Michaelis et. al 2013). To limit the comparison, and since T and CC are expected to share many typological similarities, I started out by selecting typological features for which TE and CC did not show any similarities. TE is the most conservative variety; common forms between CC and TE may be associated with early stages of the language. In this way, finding common features between them would not yield unequivocal information about separate developments in each variety.

Table 30 shows the selected list of typological features along with their APiCS reference number (Michaelis et. al 2013). For each feature I marked the two languages that share the same strategy. When all the three languages showed different strategies the row was left blank, for example co-occurrence of demonstrative and definite article (feature 31) (Michaelis et. al 2013). It is important to note that in some cases the languages use the same strategy with varying frequency. TE, for example, exhibits two strategies to express generic NPs in subject (A) position (feature 30); this may be expressed with a plural NP with a definite article, or a singular NP and a definite article. In TE the former strategy is preferred over the latter. On the other hand, CC seems to prefer the use of singular NP with definite articles to express a generic subject, although it may also be expressed with a plural NP. In these cases I grouped the languages that shared a higher frequency of use of the same strategy. So, for the previously mentioned feature, ZM aligns with TE because it has the same preferred strategy; again, plural NP with definite articles. Since CC prefers the converse alternative, CC is not marked.

Table 28 Typological comparison between CC, TE, and ZM

Typological Feature	CC	TE	ZM
Interrogative Pronouns (19)		x	x
Pronoun conjunction- NP (20)		x	x
Indefinite pronouns- (21)		x	x
Reduplication- (26)	x		x
Definite articles- (28)	x		x
Generic NP in subject function (30)	x		x
Co-occurrence of demonstrative and definite article (31)			
Ordinal numerals (35)		x	x
Marking of pronominal possessor (37)		x	x
Comparative standard marking (42)		x	x
Aspect marker and inchoative meaning (52)	x		x
Suppletion according to tense and aspect (54)		x	x
Ability to express epistemic possibility (55)		x	x
Prohibitive (56)			
Marking of patient NP (57)			
Order of ditransitives (61)		x	x
Motion to/from (81)		x	x
transitive motion verb “pull” (83)		x	x
Reflexive (87)			
Complementizer with ‘say’ (95)	x		x
complementizer with ‘think’ and ‘want’ (98)	x		x

Note that when the three languages are compared for a feature these could align in one of four ways: (1) all languages are different (represented by blank rows in Table 30); (2) ZM and CC show correspondences in contrast with T; and (3) T and ZM show correspondences in contrast with CC. Given these alternatives, (1) would provide little information regarding the diachrony of these features, while (2) could be explained by historical reasons as the result of the transfer of a military contingent from Cavite to Zamboanga. Only the third option would give information regarding a possible decreolization of CC. Out of the 21 selected features, 4 showed pattern (1); 6 showed pattern (2); and 11 showed pattern (3); the results are summarized in Table 31:

Table 29 Alignment of typological similarities across the Chabacano varieties

Alignment of typological similarities	# of instances
1. CC vs. TE vs. ZM	3
2. CC & ZM vs. TE	6
3. TE & ZM vs. CC	11

In other words, when CC and T are different, ZM tends to align with TE. The relationship between ZM and TE despite their geographical distance can be explained by the fact that soldiers from Ternate in the Moluccas were first brought to Zamboanga before settling in Ternate (see 4.2.1). When CC and ZM aligns, TE shows simpler structures that may be related to the Portuguese pidgin (e.g. lack of complementizer, no distinction between

demonstrative and definite articles). This gives further support to its status as the oldest, most conservative variety.

Since TE is believed to be the most conservative variety (see 1.3), the difference between ZM and TE, and CC suggests a later, separate development of CC. In fact, in the instances where CC does not align with either ZM or TE, it shows more Spanish structures than the other two varieties (e.g. use of the complementizer, paradigm of interrogative pronoun). This suggests that the separate development of CC approximated a more “Spanish” variety; that is, that CC could have been undergoing a decreolization process.

A decreolization account is supported by what we know about Cavite in the 19th century. During the 19th century there were significant changes in the political situation of the Philippines that had repercussions on the linguistic composition of Chabacano. As seen in section 1.4.4, in 1863 Spanish became the official language of education. Also, the wars of independence in the Americas provoked an exodus of Spanish peninsulars to the Philippines. Much of this influence was concentrated in Manila where the wave of hispanization contributed to the disappearance of Manila contact varieties such as Ermiteño. In Cavite City a class of Chinese *mestizos* rose to gain more political power and occupy positions in the government. Furthermore, we know that in Cavite the new upper-middle class was well educated and many even went to Spain to study. These groups of *mestizos* furthermore played an important role in the Philippine Revolution that originated in Cavite City. This unique combination of sociohistorical factors came together to bring about the decreolization of Chabacano. This decreolization process was interrupted by the American invasion and occupation in 1898.

4.6. Filipinization

The ‘Filipinization’ of Chabacano refers to the incorporation of elements from Filipino languages in the grammar of the Chabacano varieties. This process has not occurred in all of the varieties at the same rate.

In Zamboanga Chabacano, the ‘filipinization’ of the language has brought up the possibility that the language might be undergoing a typological shift to a Mixed Creole, which is defined as a creole language for which at least 10% of the Swadesh list derives from languages other than the chief lexifier (Grant 2012: 327). Aside from the number of lexical items derived from Filipino languages, Grant also points to the adoption of certain *patterns* or structural reshaping in Zamboanga Chabacano which include the use of ‘personal articles’ with personal names; absorption of Hilligaynon material for most plural pronouns; the use of the Central Philippine negator *hindi*; the use of *kon* to indicate direct object in the manner of a Philippine-style object marker; and the ‘filipinization’ of the structure of numerous semantic fields (Grant 2012: 333-334).

Cavite Chabacano has been less affected by the surrounding Tagalog. The fact that much of the derivational morphology from Tagalog (see 3.2.6) exists in variation with Spanish constructions suggests the relatively recent incorporation of these Tagalog elements. This is confirmed by the speakers, among which exists the general perception that CC has gotten more like Tagalog in recent years. When CC speakers make a distinction between “true” Chabacano and Chabacano “pamparol”, they mostly focus on lexical and morphological borrowings that have “contaminated” a hispanized ideal of

Chabacano that is today spoken by the older generations. Romanillos (2006: 10) also noted this shift and identifies the Spanish American War as the event that promoted the Tagalization of CC. He divides CC into “peacetime” and “postwar” CC and shows examples of the changes such as the incorporation of reduplication, and the loss of the object pronoun.

Word order and grammatical relations affords a second domain of comparison that may provide more information regarding the role of Tagalog in earlier stages of the formation of the language. Given that the Chabacano varieties are the only Ibero-Asian creoles with VSO word order, it is possible to conclude that unmarked word order in CC is unequivocally Filipino. Nonetheless, neither variety of Chabacano inherited the correferential verbal and argument marking morphology associated with the Tagalog voice system⁵¹ even though as seen before (3.2.16.3), Cavite Chabacano does seem to be sensitive to some of the semantico-pragmatic properties of word order and argument marking in Tagalog. More comparative work on grammatical relations and word order in Chabacano is needed to understand how much CC and other varieties of Chabacano, replicate the patterns found in Filipino languages, and thus determine the importance of Filipino languages in the formation of Chabacano.

4.7. Conclusion of Chapter

In this chapter I addressed some of the main historical and linguistic processes leading to the emergence of Cavite Chabacano. I started out by reviewing the two main theories of the development of Chabacano; a monogenesis theory that proposes that all of the varieties sprang from a sole Portuguese contact proto-language in the Moluccas, and a second theory that proposes polygenesis led by a group of Chinese *mestizos* in different cities of the Philippines. After discussing some of the shortcomings of these theories, I proposed an account by which Chabacano emerges in the Philippines as the leveling of a Portuguese contact language with Spanish. Similarities with Kristang were presented as evidence of the linguistic relationship between Chabacano and Luso-Asian creoles. A lexical and typological comparison between varieties further showed that compared to Zamboanga and Ternate Chabacano, the Cavite variety may have undergone greater hispanization processes. This linguistic hispanization process is consistent with the historically documented emergence of a hispanized mestizo class in Cavite. Filipinization of CC took place in more recent times, as attested in the borrowing of Tagalog derivational morphology.

⁵¹ Interestingly, voice-related morphology is used with English words in “Taglish” see: Tangco, R. D., & Nolasco, R. M. " Taglish" Verbs: How English Loanwords Make it into Philippine Languages.

Chapter 5: Language Contact Outcomes

5.1 Introduction

The term Philippine Creole Spanish (PCS) was first coined by Frake (1972: 223) who claimed that: “Philippine Creole Spanish shares enough in common with the classic creoles of the Caribbean that no one, whatever his position in the various controversies on the subject, would, I think, challenge its assignment to the category ‘creole language’.” Frake’s view implies that creole languages as a class are different from the rest of the languages of the world. Specifically, that they have a set of characteristics that is uniquely found in creole languages.

I focus in this chapter on the typological status of CC as a *creole* language, including the challenges that CC posits to established characterizations of contact languages. Traditionally, creole languages have been discussed as a special category of languages that did not develop regularly and thus did not share a genetic link with the source languages (Thomason & Kaufman 1988). In other words, creoles are the result of some sort of rupture with the regular development of the languages in the mix. According to this characterization of creoles, the languages in the mix tend to take on specialized functions in the formation of the emerging contact language. A European *superstrate* functions as a lexifier, and a local/indigenous *substrate* provides grammatical structure. As was discussed in chapter 4, the early development of CC, differs from this pattern in that it developed through to the convergence of (mostly) non-standard varieties of Spanish and a Portuguese Pidgin. This process posits a problem to proponents of genetic discontinuity inasmuch as the new language does not necessarily show significant typological departure from its lexifier as is expected in a creole language.

Standard views of creole languages are further challenged by the fact that CC underwent several language contact processes motivated by different historical and demographic shifts that affected its structure. Therefore, CC also forces us to re-examine typological definitions of contact languages based on the assumption that the structural features of a language always correspond to one and only one contact language type.

In this chapter I present the two main challenges CC poses to some of the main assumptions about contact language: first, that they show a discontinuous development from their lexifier language; and second, that they can be classified in discrete types. I then argue that it is possible, along the lines of Mufwene (2008), to understand outcomes of language contact without making a sharp distinction between contact languages (including creoles and the category known as mixed languages) and other contact-induced linguistic outcomes. Mufwene’s (2008) notion of ‘language ecology’ provides an alternative model to the vertical inheritance model traditionally used by substratists and superstratists inasmuch as it allows for multiple synchronic and diachronic influences in a creole’s formation. In Mufwene’s view, creoles generate complexity as they interact with the language ecology; thus, the emergence of a new contact language is not different from regular language change. In this view, typological categories such as creole or mixed language are ‘prototypical heuristics’ (Mufwene 2008: 33) based on overlapping characteristics of different language-contact outcomes. The particular ecology of CC fits into Mufwene’s characterization of creole languages better than it fits into the other models. CC is consistent with the view that creole languages, as well as other contact language ‘types’, cannot be understood through autonomous categorical boundaries that set them apart from other linguistic diversification processes. A typology of contact languages should allow for overlap and change between different language-contact outcomes.

This chapter is divided in three main sections; first, in 5.2., I evaluate CC with respect to some of the standard views of creole and mixed languages. In section 5.3 I argue that variation in CC challenges established characterizations of creole languages and provides us with the opportunity to examine the diachrony of language change. In 5.4. I review the shortcomings of a set of discrete language-contact outcomes categories and propose that a ‘radial structure’ (Lakoff 1987) could better account for the observations about the relation between different types. Section 5.5 offers a conclusion.

5.2. Language contact outcomes: the standard view

Winford (2003: 23-24 in Pagel 2015: 149) classified language-contact outcomes into three main types: language maintenance, language shift, and language creation. These are shown in Table 32 below, in which the three basic types of change are understood as autonomous phenomena. In addition, notice that each outcome has only one result; for example, situations of language shift always result in some degree of substratum influence on the Target Language (TL). Remarkably, cases of ‘language creation’ only include three outcomes that furthermore seem to be completely independent from each other.

Table 30 Major outcomes of language contact: (Pagel 2015: 149) based on Winford (2003: 23-24)

<p>(A) Language maintenance I. Borrowing situations 3 degrees of contact (gradual, ranging from <i>casual</i> to <i>intense</i>)</p> <p>II. Convergence situations 4 types of contact (not overtly connected)</p>	<p>results ranging from <i>purely lexical</i> to <i>moderate structural borrowing</i></p> <p>results ranging from <i>moderate structural</i> to <i>heavy lexical and/or structural diffusion</i></p>
<p>(B) Language shift 3 types of shift (implicitly gradual with regard to the shifting group size and prestige)</p>	<p>results ranging from <i>little or no</i> to <i>heavy substratum interference in TL</i></p>
<p>(C) Language creation (new contact languages) 3 types of contact languages (not connected): Bilingual mixed languages Pidgins Creoles</p>	<p>different characteristics (not connected): “Akin to cases of maintenance...” “Highly reduced lingua franca...” “Akin to cases of both maintenance and shift...”</p>

In what follows I discuss the three contact-language types, namely pidgins, creoles, and mixed languages, and evaluate how CC compares with their standard characterizations.

5.2.1 Pidgins and creoles

According to the standard definition, creoles develop from pidgins, which are created by a group of speakers with no shared language (Bloomfield 1933: 474). Crucially, pidgins do not have native speakers and are used only as a second language. A pidgin adopts the limited lexicon from one of the languages in the mix and its structure is considered “simple” as it lacks many of the syntactic structures and inflectional morphology found in its source languages. The development of a pidgin grammar has been linked to the simplification typical of 2nd language-learning use, namely the generalization of unmarked grammatical structures (Hock 1991, Thomason 2001). Thomason describes the structure of a pidgin as “a kind of cross language compromise of the grammar of the languages in contact” and states that it is determined by the speakers' demand for ease of learning (Thomason 2001: 159).

When a pidgin begins to be used by a generation of speakers as a first language, the language has undergone “depidginization” (Hock 1991) or creolization.⁵² Many of the standard accounts of creole languages are based on a group of languages that are identified as ‘prototypical creoles’. How these languages emerged has been related to a breakage of the transmission of the lexifier in the dramatic circumstances of the plantation setting. Therefore, prototypical creoles tend to concentrate around the Caribbean and the Atlantic, and usually have English or French lexifiers. Most creoles are the outcome of European imperialism, as Europeans arrived into new territory where the establishment of plantations required the labor of African slaves from different linguistic backgrounds that outnumbered the Europeans. It is in this multilingual setting that most of the “extreme” language mixture emerges. The resulting creoles are based on the economical and political dominant European language but influenced by the African languages.

During the pidgin-to-creole development, the pidgin’s grammatical structure as well as its vocabulary expands as the language is used in broader contexts. Nonetheless, creoles have been described as lacking some of the features that distinguish “regularly formed” languages. In McWhorter’s (1998, 2011) description of the “creole prototype” the prototypical creole is described in terms of the absence of features. He argues that Creoles have:

- I. Little or no inflectional affixation
- II. Little or no use of tone to lexically contrast monosyllable, or encode syntax
- III. Little or no derivational non-compositionality.

His main argument is that these features are not present in creole languages because they emerge over time (McWhorter 2001: 86). The (unattested) prototypical creole would have all three of McWhorter’s proposed characteristics while all other creoles will be merely approximations to the prototype. That is, ‘creoleness’ is a matter of degree. According to this reasoning, Haitian Creole is a prototypical creole⁵³ (not surprisingly the creole McWhorter knew best), while

⁵² Thomason & Kaufman (1988) describe a creole that does not undergo a pidgin state instead they “at once become the primary language of the community and is learned as a first language[...] the contact language therefore expands rapidly into a creole rather than stabilizing as a functionally and restricted pidgin” (150), these “abrupt creoles” would have been typical of plantation settings and African slave trade.

⁵³ De Graff (2005) argues against “Creole exceptionalism” and presents data on inflectional morphology in Haitian Creole to argue that McWhorter’s prototype is not supported by the data.

Palenquero's complex structure—which includes inflection to mark plural, gerund, and participle forms (Lorenzino 2000, Schwegler & Green 2007)—places this Spanish-based Colombian creole further from the prototypical creole. The simplicity claim clearly stands out in these criteria: the best examples of creoles are the simple ones.

The idea that creoles can be measured in terms of their approximation to a prototype based on “linguistic complexity” inspired comparative studies such as Parkvall (2008). Parkvall conducts a typological survey of 150 languages to determine their ranking in terms of “linguistic complexity”. His criteria to measure complexity are 80 binary complexity features. He only includes two creoles in the sample, Nadyuka (Suriname) and Sango (Central African Republic), which rank in the bottom six languages (the simpler languages), with only 4 languages that are not typologically or aurally related below them. He argues that the presence of “complex” features correlates with language age. Parkvall's results suggest that McWhorter's account and other “simplicity”-based accounts are indeed *partially* right in that compared to other languages, creoles show some structural similarities. This work still presents creoles as “exceptional” languages that developed in a shorter time: “This is precisely what is predicted by a scenario in which creoles emerge through *broken transmission*, and where complexity accretes over time” (Parkvall 2008: 283).

Aside from simplicity, another general tenet of pidgin and creole language studies is that while in the average creole the European language provides the lexicon, the structure is mostly formed from the non-European languages. In this view pidgins and creoles represent an extreme of rupture with their lexifier and therefore are considered exceptional languages.

One extreme of a discontinuity view is presented in Lefebvre's (1998) theory of relexification. The author examines the structure of Haitian Creole and proposes that the European language is merely a lexifier of African, specifically Fongbe, structures. In this view the main difference between the African language and the creole is that the lexicon of the latter has been replaced by the European language (French). The relexification theory has been disputed mostly on the basis of the finding of lexifier features in Haitian Creole (Chaudenson 1992, 2001, 2003 and De Graff 2002) and generally insufficient sociohistorical evidence to understand what determines the transfer of some features as opposed to other. (Mufwene 2009: 158). Bickerton's (1984) language bioprogram hypothesis is another example of a theory that is coherent with a breakage in transmission. According to this hypothesis the structure of a language is completely determined by universal language rules that contain the grammatical structures to transform an adult pidgin to a stable creole; the lexifier does not have a great impact on the creole's structure.

For Thomason and Kaufman (1988) “ [the] genetic relationship can be established as long as systematic correspondences can be found, to a comparable degree, *in all* grammatical subsystems.” (Thomason & Kaufman 200, my emphasis). Within this view, the best example of the interruption in genetic transmission are the ‘abrupt creoles’ which include creoles that formed as a result of the slave trade in Africa and the Caribbean. These creoles developed in multilingual contexts that demanded the rapid replacement of different languages with a common shared language. The European language became the target language (TL) of the slaves, but it was never completely acquired. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) (henceforth T&K) relate the breakage in transmission to the lack of access of the speakers to the European language in a typical plantation setting:

“The slaves had no opportunity for social integration into the TL community, and for many or most of them the TL was only minimally (i.e., lexically) available: field slaves on large plantations, in particular, typically had little access to native speakers of the TL. Moreover, unlike two-language shift situations, the slaves’ greatest need was for a medium of communication to use among themselves. Under such circumstances, neither the motivation nor the opportunity to learn the TL as a whole—grammar as well as lexicon—was likely to be present.” (T & K 1988: 152)

The breakage in transmission affects the creole independently of further decreolization (T & K 1988). So, even if in time the creole starts to resemble the lexifier more, its genesis context determines its relationship with the source languages. Despite the difference in the social circumstances of creoles when compared with other languages in contact, the authors claim that the mechanisms by which creole speakers acquire features of the TL are the same as the mechanisms employed in any other language contact situation. Namely, that speakers make the “right guesses” based on typological similarities between their language and the TL (T & K 1988: 154).

Mufwene (2008: 47) directly challenges the view that pidgins and creoles show a genetic interruption with their target languages. He argues that the discontinuity results from comparing the creole language with standard varieties of the European languages. More similarities would be found if instead creoles were compared with the non-standard varieties that were more likely to be present in the contact setting. In fact, non-standard varieties lead to language shift not only in an exogenous situation like that of creoles, but also in endogenous language shift cases such as the shift from Latin to Romance languages (Mufwene 2008). Ultimately, for Mufwene the difference between external and internal change is sociolinguistic, as all languages undergo the same language shift processes.

5.2.1.1 CC as a creole language

By standard accounts, creoles are ‘simple languages’ that derive much of their grammatical structure from their substrate languages. Regarding CC, we see that on the one hand, CC exhibits some of the features traditionally associated with creole languages, such as reduced morphological system, preverbal TMA particles, complex verb constructions (causatives in CC 3.2.16.4), and no systematic copula. However, since many of these features characterize Portuguese Pidgin and some are also found in Austronesian languages, they cannot necessarily be attributed to the simplification processes of creole languages.

In addition to the creole-type features, unambiguously Filipino features can also be found. Some seem to be recent acquisitions such as the derivational prefixes (3.2.5.1), and others exist in alternation with Spanish forms, such as the adverbial particles (3.2.9.4). At a deeper structural level CC also exhibits Filipino constructions such as the comparatives (3.2.7) and predicate possession with juxtaposed NP (3.2.8). Beyond the lexicon, CC also has many features associated with Spanish, such as most clause-combination strategies. It also shows other features that seem to be even more characteristic of Spanish such as the preservation of synthetic possessive pronouns *dimio*, *dituyo* (3.2.8) and a possessive predicate where ‘sorrow’ and ‘pity’ (for example) can be owned (3.2.8).

Still, CC shows more simplicity than either Austronesian or Spanish. For example, it doesn’t exhibit the voice system of Filipino languages, nor does it show Spanish gender and number agreement.

Evidently, the structure of CC presents some unexpected features for a creole language.

The ‘layered’ effect of CC grammar is further related to the fact that it has undergone different periods of relexification as it was under pressure from Spanish and more recently Tagalog. In fact, one of the challenges presented by CC is how to understand these relexification processes in the context of a traditional account of creole languages by which relexification only occurs once, during the genesis of the language.

A second challenge comes from an account of the genesis of CC that proposes that the language develops from a *koiné* formed by two typologically similar languages (Spanish and PP). Even though PP contributed to the formation of CC, that does not mean that CC shows the traditional pidgin-to-creole evolution. First, the creole is not simply a ‘nativization’ of the PP, but instead PP participated in leveling with Spanish varieties. Also, the typological similarities of non-standard varieties of Spanish and Portuguese complicate an account by which the resulting contact language represents a rupture with the source languages. In this way CC does not show the expected discontinuity between its structure and the structure of its lexifier.

Two alternatives to the pidgin-to-creole account are found in Thomason & Kaufman (1988) and Mufwene (2009). Specifically, the authors agree in that creoles did not emerge from pidgins. However, they have different ways to account for the observed simplicity and substrate effects. According to T&K, creoles emerge abruptly and thus do not have time to develop complex structures. According to Mufwene, creole languages are preceded by a *koiné* that results from a convergence between colonial non-standard varieties of the lexifier during the homestead phase in a plantation setting (Mufwene 2009: 33). Unlike ‘abrupt creolization’ theories, Mufwene allows for a period in which the European and non-Europeans had regular contact. The *koiné* gradually acquires substrate features as it loses contact with the lexifier during a basilectation process (Mufwene 2009).

Mufwene contrasts creole languages with pidgins, in that the latter have less contact with the lexifier as they develop in the context of trade. The pidgin develops a simple grammar because it had to crystallize and complexify without the presence of the lexifier. This also explains an increased presence of substrate features. T&K seem to allow for more complexity in the pidgin, as they argue that the lexifier is not the target language in the pidgin context. Simplification is in the hands of the speakers of the lexifier who are the ones who know the language and could therefore modify it in order to make it easier for others to understand. According to this theory, substrate influence is the result of an accommodation process between speakers and listeners of varying linguistic backgrounds.

When we compare CC to these theories we find that they could only partially account for what is known about Chabacano. The Chabacano situation cannot be explained using T&K’s abrupt creolization account because of the great degree of intelligibility between the languages in the mix. CC may look like a creole in the *koinization* process as described by Mufwene. However, it is not clear that CC underwent an uninterrupted basilectation process, nor that it lost contact with its lexifier. In fact, continuous contact with its lexifier also explains why even though CC developed in a trade context, it cannot be accounted for by Mufwene’s pidginization theory. On the other hand, T&K’s ‘period of accommodation’ involves two typologically distinct languages. This could allow for more substrate influence in the genesis of the language, which could explain marked features in CC such as VSO. In fact, T&K argue that once the pidgin is “nativized or creolized [it] will present essentially the same sorts of evidence for historical interpretation as an abrupt creole.” (T & K 1988: 211).

In general, if we assume a setting with continuous influence of the lexifier, Mufwene’s (2008) account of creole genesis better describes what we observe in CC. It provides a

theoretical alternative to classic pidgin-to-creole accounts. Moreover, the leveling of typologically similar languages in CC resonates with the proposal that creoles start out as colonial *koinés* formed from the overlap of non-standard varieties of the lexifier. Furthermore, some of the departure from the lexifier can be explained as an adoption of non-standard features and not as particular ‘creolization’ outcomes. CC furthermore broadens the set of sociolinguistic settings that Mufwene considered for the emergence of creole languages, as well as his set of geographical settings which according to the author concentrate in the Americas, the Atlantic, and the western African islands.

5.2.2 Mixed Languages

Another language type that is usually grouped with creole languages as an example of ‘interrupted transmission’ is the group of languages known as mixed languages. Linguistically, mixed languages (ML) differ from creole languages because they show a more systematic and stable functional division between the two input languages of a bilingual population. The characterization of the division, however, varies in the degree of systematicity assigned to the distribution of the input languages. The idealized structure of a mixed language is described as having two distinct sub-systems, a lexical and a grammatical sub-system, each inherited from two different languages so that “[If] someone had a dictionary and grammar of two quite distinct languages, he or she could then take alternate words and grammatical morphemes first from one and then the other” (Greenberg 1999: 632). The closest ML to the perfect split is perhaps Media Lengua (Muysken 1981). 95% of the words in ML come from Spanish, while the functional words come from Quechua so that “linguistically speaking Media Lengua is essentially Quechua” (Adelaar & Pieter Muysken 2004: 602).

Myers-Scotton (2003) presents a different definition of ML in which the grammatical structure must also be split between the two languages, specifically the verb phrase elements are associated with the indigenous language while the nominal system takes the language of the ‘target’, usually European, language. Michif, in Canada, is the prototypical example of a V-N split system as the indigenous language, Cree, is the source of the verbal system, and the colonial language, French, is the source of the nominal system (Bakker 2003). The distribution is constrained by features such as markedness and the similarities between the languages, but in general there is a functional split (Bakker: 132).

Grant (2012: 343) presents a more flexible definition of ML that admits some innovation:

“[ML are] distinguished by having two source-languages: one providing most of the basic lexicon, the other most of the inflectional morphology, in a set of structural subsystems which may be regularized and generalized somewhat but which is largely a carryover or transmission of the productive parts of the other source language’s bound inflectional morphology.”

As is the case with determining whether or not CC is a creole language, the classification of CC as a ML depends on how ML are structurally defined. As described above, this issue is far from settled, as each structural characterization of ML seems to be formulated to describe a particular language. Nonetheless, the definitions do share two features in common: two input languages and a systematicity in their distribution.

Matras and Bakker (2013: 11 in Steinkrüger 2006: 9), formulate the following ML characterization of Zamboanga Chabacano. Note that the authors solve the two-language input problem by positing a ‘Mixed Creole’ category. As a ‘Mixed Creole’ Zamboanga Chabacano has

the input of a Spanish creole (instead of Spanish), which presumably comprises the features that I have attributed to the Portuguese Pidgin:

There are languages that justify a type of ML comprising mixed creoles. An example is Chavacano, also known as Zamboagueño or Mindanao Creole Spanish [...] The source of most lexical and grammatical morphemes is Spanish Creole, but the syntactic framework and relations between categories (for instance animacy and definiteness, aspect) tend to follow an Austronesian blueprint. Austronesian grammatical morphemes include plural markers, animate definite articles, past-tense existential verbs, and transitive derivation markers, while the pronoun system is mixed: The singular pronouns are all based on Spanish Creole. In the plural Austronesian forms seem to co-exist with Spanish Creole forms (e.g. second person *kamo* alongside *ustedes*), but the first person plural, Austronesian forms, which mark the exclusive/inclusive distinction (*kami/kita*) seem to be preferred. (Matras & Bakker 2003:11 in Steinkrüger 2006: 9)

In fact, at times, the linguistic distribution of the languages in a ML does not differ much from other language contact processes, such as extreme borrowing, or linguistic diffusion. Thomason calls it ‘extreme borrowing.’

For this reason ML are ultimately distinguished from other similar language contact process phenomena on the basis of their sociolinguistic context. Aikhenvald (2006: 10) proposes that the main characteristic of ML is that it is “semi-conscious language engineering” created by its speakers.

According to the authors this may reflect either:

“(a) split allegiance to two parental communities, in cases where the parental generation’s women and men have distinct origins, and the young generation forms a new ethnic group, or
(b) maintenance of ethnic awareness in non-territorial minorities,’ often nomadic cultures—such as Para-Romani speakers in Europe (from: Matras 2003: 151–3).”

(Aikhenvald 2006: 11)

5.2.2.3 CC as a Mixed Language

ZM could present a structure more similar to ML. The changes and incorporation of features from Filipino languages in recent years could approximate ZM to the prototypical mixed languages. This has been noted in the literature (see: Grant 2002; Matras and Bakker 2003), and ZM's hybridity is implicit in different characterizations of this variety:

“Zamboagueño began not as a true creole, but as a natural common intersection of grammatically cognate Philippine languages which had already incorporated a core of Spanish borrowings” (Lipski 1992: 220)

“The case of Chabacano is still an interesting challenge for contact linguistics and its structure can only be explained by a multidimensional approach.” (Steinkrüger 2006: 10)

A brief comparison between CC and ZM shows that CC is in this sense less ‘mixed’ than ZM. Table 33 below lists a set of features in CC and ZM, which shows that CC does not exhibit the Tagalog features that in Zamboanga Chabacano serve as evidence to classify it as a Mixed Creole Language.

Table 31 Mixed forms in ZM and CC

	Zamboanga Chabacano	Cavite Chabacano
Causatives	T	S
Plural Marker	T	T
Animate definite articles	T	S
Past Tense existential verbs	T	S
Transitive derivation markers	T	T/S
Pronoun system	T/S	S

CC could look more like a ML if we adopt Grant’s definition by which a ML shows a split between the lexical material and inflectional morphology. CC seems to exhibit a number of productive Tagalog affixes, which preserve most of the functions and productivity of the original language. Meanwhile, inflectional morphology from Spanish is mostly reduced to number and gender marking and has very limited productivity as it is only used with Spanish lexemes. In this sense, it could be argued that CC may resemble a ML. Nonetheless the amount of Tagalog productive morphology is still much lower than the amount of productive morphology attested in Zamboanga Chabacano. Zamboanga Chabacano causatives are formed with the Tagalog prefix *maka-* (Steinkrüger 2006); in CC causatives are formed with the Spanish verb *asi* (3.2.16.4). In general, Zamboanga Chabacano has more Tagalog (Austronesian) morphology than CC.

Even if sociolinguistic features trump linguistic features, it is still difficult to assess the similarity of CC with mixed languages since it depends on the historical period that is being examined. It is possible to imagine that some time in the past CC served as an ethnic identifier for the Chinese-Tagalog *mestizo* class. If this is true, it would be necessary to assume that the *mestizos* abandoned Chinese languages in favor of some contact variety of Spanish so that the “split allegiance” referred to by Aikhenvald in (a) is not to Tagalog and Chinese, but to Tagalog and some form of Spanish. This is a plausible hypothesis given that in (4.3) I argued that the *mestizo* class in the 19th century led what was called in Chapter 4 the ‘decreolization’ of the language. On the other hand, neither (a) nor (b) above is sustained by the current sociolinguistic conditions of CC. Today CC is not a mixed language as there is nothing—aside from the language—that distinguishes Chabacano speakers from others around. In this case CC is unlike Zamboanga Chabacano, as speakers of the latter continue to be a Christian enclave within a non-Christian majority.

5.3. Accounting for variation in CC

One of the functions of a contact language typological category is to establish a correlation between linguistic structure and the sociolinguistic variables of the genesis of a language. If the model succeeds, a typological category should be able to predict the sociolinguistic variables of contact based on the linguistic features of a contact language. For example, a balanced grammar denotes a stable contact situation among bilinguals (mixed language), while a less systematic grammar with a great deal of innovations characterizes languages that arose from a multilingual situation with limited access to the high-status language, resulting in an *interlanguage* (creoles).

One correlation that seems particularly dependable is identified by Thomason (2001). She shows a correlation between the overwhelming presence of substrate features in the structure of a language, and the co-existence of a creole with its substrates during the genesis of the

language. However, these correlations are not predictive, as it is possible to find exceptions. For example, Haitian Creole has many substrate features and did not co-exist with its African substrates (Thomason 2001: 188).

CC shows a tremendous amount of instability where the same vocabulary item or grammatical function often shows Spanish, Tagalog, and innovative forms. This is observed not only across speakers—where some degree of variation within a creole continuum is expected—but also within a single speaker. Inasmuch as it calls into question the relative contributions of the input languages, such variation may confound typological and historical analyses that examine the linguistic structure to understand the development of the language.

Aside from the fact that variation in Chabacano complicates a correlation between linguistic and historical variables, a related challenge derives from the fact that the chronology of the elements in variation is usually established based on a purely synchronic analysis of one Chabacano variety. This is understandable given the lack of written records of contact languages; however, an example from CC shows how it can lead to the wrong analysis. Given the fact that Spanish is no longer spoken in the Philippines, the alternation between functionally equivalent Spanish and Tagalog forms could suggest that the Spanish features were present in the formation of the language, and thus that Spanish was available to a group of bilingual speakers during the early stages of Chabacano. However, as shown in chapter 4, there is a significant number of Spanish features in CC that are not present in the other varieties. This suggests a decreolization period in CC that was halted after the American invasion. Therefore, the Spanish constructions are not necessarily remnants of an early period of formation, but were later incorporated into the language in a different contact stage.

Differences between the Chabacano varieties present an advantage for the study of their diachrony that is usually not present in other creoles. Through their comparison, it is possible to arrive at some conclusions about the motivations behind variation, including assessing whether a feature is an innovation or was attested from a very early period in the language. The structural differences across the three varieties also suggest that the apparent arbitrariness in the distribution of a feature in one variety can be explained as an intermediate stage in a process of grammaticalization.

The object marker *kon* presents a rare example of a general Ibero-Asian feature that exhibits differences in its distribution in each of these languages. Unlike other Portuguese Pidgin features such as *kilaya* ‘how’, or the TMA markers, *kon* does not seem to be a stable feature across Ibero-Asian creoles. In fact, the marker does not even show the same distribution across the three Chabacano varieties.

As it previously described, *kon* in CC is often found before animate objects, but it may also appear preceding some inanimate objects with some pragmatic effects related to referentiality (see 4.4). The other two Chabacano varieties show a different distribution; in Zamboanga Chabacano the marker is commonly found before inanimate objects (Nolasco 2005), and in Ternate Chabacano the marker is never found before inanimate arguments (Sippola 2011).

Though more research is needed to understand the distribution of *kon* in Zamboanga Chabacano, the generalized use of the marker before inanimate arguments suggests that the marker has expanded its functions in this variety, perhaps influenced by some Filipino semantico-pragmatic pattern that determines voice marking in Filipino languages. Specifically, *kon* could be interacting with the verb’s semantics to convey notions of definiteness and referentiality that could affect word-order and argument marking.

The expansion of contexts of *kon* from the contexts of appearance in other Ibero-Asian creoles is confirmed by a comparison with the distribution of the marker in Kristang. In Kristang the marker *ku* shows some of the pragmatic effects as those in CC, but only appears before animate objects. In this sense, Ternate Chabacano is the most conservative variety. The distribution and functions of *kon* are summarized in Table 34 below:

Table 32 Comparison of the distribution of object argument marker in the Chabacano varieties and Kristang

	Before animate objects	Pragmatic effects	Before inanimate object	Voice marking
T	x	?	–	–
CC	x	x	x	–
ZM	x	x	x	?
Kristang	x	x	–	–

Variation across varieties shows the importance of the language ecology in the evolution of creole languages. The differences in the distribution of the marker also relate to the fact that the sociolinguistic conditions of each area will determine their different timing, speed of spread and resistance to contact. Some preliminary explanation could relate to the social context of each Chabacano variety. In Ternate, a long period of isolation may have helped lead to the crystallization of its grammar, which shows less variation. On the other hand, ZM is widespread in Zamboanga where it coexists with Tagalog and has thus received greater influence from it. Cavite Chabacano is also a particular case as it shows a more diglossic situation that may have shielded Chabacano from Tagalog influence. This may help explain the variation between different forms. Nonetheless, understanding the different contact patterns of the three varieties would entail exhaustive historical and comparative research.

The expansion of the context of the object marker shows that—at least for this feature—these languages share a language area that is diachronically layered. In the traditional view, synchronic phenomena in creole languages do not reflect diachronic development (Bruyn 1996 in Mufwene pg. 163):⁵⁴

With regard to creole languages, however, there are reasons to question the assumption that synchronic phenomena reflect a diachronic development in the way in which grammaticalization is normally conceived, namely proceeding gradually and language-internally.

The example with *kon* shows that variation across the Chabacano varieties also sheds light on processes of grammaticalization in creole languages. It shows that the languages undergo internal processes of grammaticalization and that there is no need to characterize it as a special process of ‘creolization’.

⁵⁴ “With regard to creole languages, however, there are reasons to question the assumption that synchronic phenomena reflect a diachronic development in the way in which grammaticalization is normally conceived, namely proceeding gradually and language-internally.” (Bruyn 1996 in Mufwene 163) evolution of *ben* as a shortcut form the English participle *been* suggesting that internal dynamics had no role to play. Instead, the functions of lexifier forms in the creole language are somehow a direct result of the creolization process.

5.4. Revisiting a typology of language-contact outcomes

CC forces us to re-examine structural assumptions about the typology of language contact outcomes. According to the standard view, represented in Table 1, contact languages such as pidgins, creoles and mixed languages are presented as autonomous categories that are distinguished from other language-contact processes. As mentioned before, this is problematic because it suggests that speakers somehow act according to the type that will be the outcome of contact. On the other hand, CC shows different stages of contact that could be associated with different types of outcomes, including an early stage that includes the formation of a *koiné*, and later stage during which it added Filipino morphology, changing its character to resemble that of a mixed language. Since CC combines characteristics of at least two of these types, a model of the typological outcomes of language contact would ideally represent the fact that languages may vary during their diachrony.

Instead of conforming to traditional categories, language contact outcomes seem to be better understood using Lakoff's (1987) 'radial categories'. Radial categories are a conceptual model that offers an alternative to traditional models of categorization in which categories are discreet and their members are predicted by a series of features. Lakoff (1987: 91) characterizes *radial categories* in the following way:

“ There is a *central* subcategory, defined by a cluster of converging cognitive models (the birth model, the nurturance model, etc.); in addition, there are *non-central extensions* which are not specialized instances of the central subcategory, but rather are variants of it (*Adoptive mother, birth mother, foster mother, surrogate mother*, etc.). These variants are not generated from the central model by general rules; instead, they are extended by convention and must be learned one by one [...] As we saw in the case of *mother*, radial structure within a category is another source of prototype effects. Within radial categories in general, less central subcategories are understood as variants of more central categories.”

Crucially, there are no rules to generate a category; these have to be learned and are cultural dependent. Therefore radial categories are not predicted, they are *motivated* by the central sense (Lakoff 1987: 96). *Non-central extensions* can themselves be the basis for further extension via category chaining (Lakoff 1987: 108). In this way, the model offers a center-periphery taxonomy by which some categories are closer to the central sense.

The model of radial categories could also be helpful in understanding the relationship of language types with major language-contact outcomes such as shift, maintenance and language creation. In this model, each outcome would represent a central sense, related to all the types. So for example, mixed languages, creoles, and pidgins will each be an extension of the central sense of 'language creation'. The central sense could also motivate other extensions such as *koinés* and *linguas franca* as well as variations to the established categories, for example extended pidgin, abrupt creole. The more distant extensions from the central sense would be cases that are not directly motivated by the central case but by one of the non-central cases. In this way, for example, *koinés* may be further from the central sense than abrupt creoles.

Categories may be interrelated for different motivations. For example, 'time' may be a kind of motivation that links extended pidgins together with pidgins; the same kind of motivation may link *koinés* to creole languages. Other plausible kinds of motivation may include: typological distance of the languages in contact, intensity of contact, and simplicity of the linguistic outcome.

Under this model, it could be argued that the language-contact outcome types constitute another layer of radial categories in which each type is a central sense configured by specific languages. In this layout, Jamaican creole would be closer to the central sense of creole languages than CC, which could in turn be found somewhere between creoles and mixed languages.

The fact that radial categories are not predicted by a set of features but instead are motivated by the central sense is particularly relevant to the configuration of specific contact languages in relation to contact language types. This is because the properties of the category of contact language are in great measure defined by the grouping of similar languages under the same category. Also, this means, that the categories are mutable; the addition of new contact languages may alter its configuration.

Note also that radial categories do not have the discrete boundaries attributed to standard categories, instead they show fuzzy boundaries. Therefore, aside from overlap between types of outcomes, a radial category could also model the seeming continuity between some of the central senses such as the fact that mixed languages could seem at times to be a case of language maintenance.

The exact architecture of this model still needs to be refined, and would include establishing plausible motivations for extensions across categories, as well as establishing the relationships between them. Nonetheless, radial categories has the potential of dealing with the two main problems raised by CC: first, it describes the relationship between ‘language creation’ and other language contact outcomes, and also, it allows for the fact that one contact situation may show features of two language outcomes at different points of its diachrony.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter examines some of the standard views on contact language genesis and development with a focus on the typological characterization of creoles and Mixed Languages. It is shown that CC challenges traditional accounts inasmuch as it shows continuity with its source languages. Also, CC shows a ‘layered’ effect, the product of subsequent periods of increased contact with Spanish and Filipino languages. This effect results in a structure that superficially resembles a mixed language, but does not show the systematicity that characterizes this group of languages. Nonetheless, CC resembles creole languages as defined under an ecological model of language contact outcomes (Mufwene 2008) by which the contact language shows continuity with its source language. Moreover, under this model, the layered effects are predicted as CC interacts with its immediate ecology. Nonetheless, Mufwene’s social parameters should be expanded in order to be able to include CC under his characterization of creole languages. A model based on radial categories was also presented as an alternative to typologies with discrete categories. The main advantage of this model is that the categories are not predicted by a series of features, they are instead motivated by a central sense. Therefore it allows for more permeability between the categories, which could account for diachronic changes.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Conclusion

This dissertation provided an overview of a lesser-known variety of Chabacano in order to gauge its place in the contact language typology. This is an interesting question because Cavite Chabacano shows many features in its development and grammatical structure that distance it from prototypical creole languages that emerged in the plantation context. In this way CC provides an ideal way to revisit classic typological characterizations of creoles. In order to locate CC in relation to a contact language typology, several aspects of its grammar and history were investigated, including its relation with other Chabacano varieties.

Below I list a summary of the research outcomes of this dissertation that were developed in chapters 2-4:

1. The ecology of CC is very different from other Spanish-lexified creoles. The linguistic and social variables in CC's ecology place it typologically closer to Luso-Asian in spite of having a different lexifier. The broader area of Ibero-lexified contact languages was presented in order to understand CC's ecology compared to the areal class of Ibero-contact languages. Chabacano stands as a special case within the group of Spanish-lexified creoles because it is the only one that developed in Asia. Moreover, CC developed under very different sociolinguistic and linguistic ecologies than the other Spanish-lexified creoles, which resembled more the trade setting of neighboring Luso-Asian creoles. In this context, Chabacano had intense contact with other Ibero-Asian creoles as well as with surrounding Filipino languages.
2. Chabacano's mostly Spanish lexicon can be used in Spanish-based constructions, but can also be used in Tagalog-based constructions. For many grammatical functions, both a Spanish-based and a Tagalog-based construction is available. In this respect, the grammatical structure of CC shows an uneven distribution of the source languages. Most of the Tagalog forms are found among particles, and some constructions share Spanish and Tagalog forms. CC shares a good number of structural features with typical creoles. Some of these features, such as the absence of a copula, are also shared with Austronesian languages and related creoles. On the other hand CC also shows some atypical creole features including VAO word-order, and a significant amount of productive derivational morphology that comes from Tagalog.
3. CC emerged in the Philippines when a Portuguese contact language experienced leveling and relexification with non-standard varieties of Spanish. Linguistic similarities with Kristang are evidence of contact between Chabacano and Luso-Asian creoles.
4. CC may have undergone a more intense hispanization (decreolization) process than the other two varieties (TE and ZM), which correlated historically with the emergence of a hispanized mestizo class in Cavite. This theory is supported by a lexical and typological comparison between the languages. Much of the Filipinization of CC seems to be a more recent process.

The relevance of these findings for the typological status of CC are discussed in the last chapter of the dissertation. It is argued that CC cannot be classified as either a creole or a pidgin under standard categories of language-contact outcomes. Regarding its grammatical structure, it

does not show the simplicity attributed to creole languages; instead, CC exhibits a significant number of Spanish affixation as well as marked features such as VAO word order. Furthermore, the relatively recent incorporation of derivational morphology further distances CC from the prototypical creole. CC cannot be classified as a mixed language either, because the distribution of the source languages in the CC grammar does not show the systematic split shown in other ML, including ZM.

Traditional accounts of the genesis and development of creole languages also seem insufficient to describe CC. In particular, the classic pidgin-to-creole account is complicated by the typological proximity of the languages in the mix. Instead, it was suggested that the typological proximity facilitated the relexification of PP and the creation of a *koiné*.

It was proposed that that CC could be considered a creole language under Mufwene's (2008) account in which creoles start out as colonial *koinés* and undergo gradual basilectalization. However, his account had to be modified to include processes of increased contact with the lexifier after the initial crystallization of the creole. That is, Chabacano shows that the 'segregation' of the creole speakers from the European language may be interrupted by increased contact with the lexifier. This however is predicted under his ecological view of language contact by which changes in the linguistic ecology are expected to produce linguistic changes such as linguistic restructuring and diversification (Mufwene 2008: 57).

The characteristics of CC have broader implications for our understanding of language contact outcomes. First, the continuity that it was proposed between CC and its lexifier challenges notions of creoles as examples of 'interrupted' transmission. Also, the classification of a language under one, and only one, type of contact language seems insufficient to describe diachronic changes in contact patterns.

In order to account for these two observations—namely, that creole languages show genetic continuity, and the language contact types may change over time—it was suggested that contact language outcomes conform a structure of radial categories. The base model has two levels of radial categories. The first includes main outcomes of language contact (language shift, language maintenance, and language creation). These give rise to a second level where the categories stand for language-contact types (e.g. creoles, mixed languages, *koinés*) A radial structure can describe the difference between prototypical language contact outcomes as well as allowing for approximations to the prototype. Furthermore it is a more dynamic model where categories are related through different *motivations*. In this way, categories are not discrete and can shift with the introduction of additional data.

6.2 Broader implications

Typological studies on Chabacano have been relatively rare, and no previous study in Chabacano has included an account of the origins of Chabacano supported by comparative linguistic evidence. The relationship between the different Chabacano varieties is unclear, and work on these areas can shed light on this issue. This work provides a detailed grammatical description of Cavite Chabacano that can potentially serve as the basis for future comparative studies across Chabacano varieties.

Beyond Chabacano studies, this dissertation also contributes to research on Ibero-Asian creoles, the history of Iberian languages, and the Filipino grammatical relations. The data on the Spanish lexicon provides insight on the diachrony of Iberian languages, and may shed light on the split between Portuguese and Spanish that occurred around the time in which Chabacano was

being formed. Also, while CC does not have the coreferential argument-marking morphological system of Filipino languages, it was suggested that word order and argument-marking may be determined by semantico-pragmatic properties that underlie the Filipino system of voice alignment. In this case, CC would make these processes more transparent.

Finally, this dissertation is added to other work that contributes to the preservation of the language. This is particularly important in the case of CC, which will probably die with the next generation of speakers. It is my hope that future generations will find in this a link to the history of the language.

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