

The Sociolinguistic Situation of the Manila Bay Chabacano-Speaking Communities

Marivic Lesho
The Ohio State University

Eeva Sippola
Aarhus University

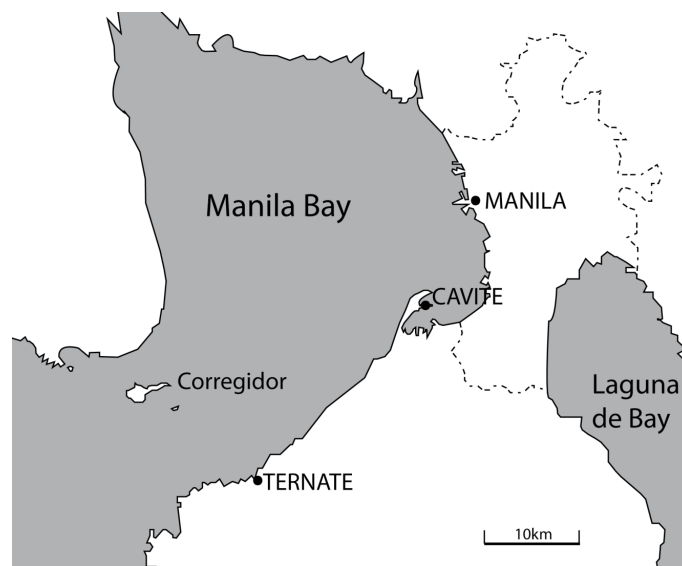
This study is an assessment of the vitality of the Manila Bay Chabacano varieties spoken in Cavite City and Ternate, Philippines. These Spanish-lexified creoles have often been described as endangered, but until now there has been no systematic description of how stable the varieties are. The evaluation of the vitality of Manila Bay Chabacano is made based on participant observation and interviews conducted in both communities over the past nine years, using the UNESCO (2003) framework. Comparison between the two varieties shows that the proportional size of the speech community, degree of urbanization, and proximity to Manila account for differences in the vitality of the creoles. In rural Ternate, Chabacano is more stable in terms of intergenerational transmission and the proportion of speakers to the overall community. In the more urban Cavite City, most speakers are of the grandparental generation, but the community is more organized in its language preservation efforts. This study sheds light on two creole varieties in need of further documentation and sociolinguistic description, as well as the status of minority languages in the Philippines. It also offers a critical assessment of a practically-oriented methodological framework and demonstrates its application in the field.

1. INTRODUCTION.¹ There is an urgent need in almost all countries for more reliable information about the situation of minority languages, to be used as a basis for language support efforts at all levels (UNESCO 2003). Starting from this statement, the present study compares the sociolinguistic situations of the Chabacano-speaking communities in Ternate and Cavite City in the Manila Bay region in Luzon, Philippines.

Chabacano is the common name for the different varieties of Philippine Creole Spanish. Besides Cavite City and Ternate, Chabacano varieties have historically been spoken in Zamboanga, Cotabato, and Davao in Mindanao in the southern Philippines, and in the Ermita district of Manila. The varieties are mutually intelligible to a great degree, but

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should not be considered dialects of a uniform language. There are substantial grammatical and lexical differences between them, owing to the different processes in the settlement and formation of the communities. In addition, the languages are first and foremost used in local contexts, and there is little contact between the speakers of the different varieties. The Chabacano creoles belong to the rare group of Spanish creoles,² and together with the Portuguese creole varieties spoken elsewhere in Asia, they form the group of Ibero-Asian creoles. These creoles present an interesting case in the Asian-Pacific region, where many pidgins and creoles that have received sociolinguistic attention in previous studies are actually widely spoken languages: for example, Bislama, Hiri Motu, and Tok Pisin are languages of national and areal communication.



MAP 1. Manila Bay

The Philippines is an ethnically diverse and highly multilingual country, where over a hundred local languages and two official languages, English and Filipino, are spoken. The national language, Filipino, is based on Tagalog, the main language of the Manila region. English is mainly the language of higher education, business, and media, while Filipino is generally employed for local communication, certain school subjects, and entertainment. Local languages are used for daily communication and in the home (Gonzalez 1998:503, 2003:3). In past decades, Chabacano has become a minority language in Cavite City and Ternate due to increased population movement both to and from these communities. Consequently, today the Chabacano varieties are in competition with the official languages, which both enjoy a high social status in the current climate and are instrumental for social advancement. In addition, as these communities are located right next to the national capi-

² Only two other Spanish-lexified creole languages are identified: Palenquero, spoken in Colombia, and Papiamentu, in the Netherlands Antilles.

tal, there are no great differences between the local culture of Cavite or Ternate and that of Manila, or between the local and national varieties of Tagalog/Filipino.

Most of the Chabacano varieties have been characterized as vestigial, endangered, or moribund in previous studies (e.g., Whinnom 1956; Llamado 1969; Lipski 1986, 1987), even though their situations have not been analyzed or evaluated systematically,³ other than Fortuno-Genuino's recent (2011) work on the domains of language usage in the Chabacano communities. For this reason, our study aims to provide a detailed, systematic description of the sociolinguistic situation of Cavite and Ternate Chabacano in the years spanning 2003–2012. Using UNESCO's (2003) Language Vitality and Endangerment evaluation methodology, we present a comparative analysis of the situations of these Chabacano varieties based on participant observation and interviews conducted in Ternate and Cavite City during fieldwork trips over the past nine years.⁴ This rubric identifies nine factors that characterize the viability of a language. The first six factors take into account the number of speakers, intergenerational transmission, and the social domains of language use. Other factors include language attitudes at both the community and institutional levels and the state of language documentation. Applying this methodology to both Manila Bay Chabacano varieties reveals similarities and differences in the social situations of the languages and allows for a more accurate estimate of the level of endangerment for each variety today. The present study also offers an assessment of the framework and methodologies used.

The paper is organized as follows: first, section two presents the sociolinguistic context of the Philippines and the historical background of similar research in the area. Section three presents and discusses the methodological framework. Section four presents and evaluates the situation in both communities, according to the factors presented in the methodological guidelines. Finally, we summarize and compare the findings and discuss their implications for research, language documentation, and current efforts to preserve Chabacano in the communities in question.

2. THE LANGUAGE SITUATION OF THE PHILIPPINES.

2.1. THE RISE OF ENGLISH AND FILIPINO AS OFFICIAL LANGUAGES. Estimates for the number of languages spoken in the Philippines range between 120 (McFarland 1993) and 171 (Lewis 2009). Of these languages, the 10 most widely spoken are Tagalog, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Waray, Ilocano, Kapampangan, Bicol, Pangasinan, Maranao, and Maguindanao (Gonzalez 1998:489). The official languages are English and Filipino, but Cebuano and Ilocano also serve as important regional lingua francas.

It was not until the rise of nationalism and the presence of the Americans in the 20th century that local languages in the Philippines, including Chabacano around Manila Bay, began to lose speakers or become restricted to private domains. For most of the Spanish period, the policy was for the priests to interact with Filipinos in the local vernaculars rather than teach Spanish, which was limited mostly to a small elite class. Once the Spanish

³ For more information on Chabacano, especially the Zamboanga variety and its history, see, e.g., Fernández (ed.) 2001.

⁴ Lesho has spent a total of six months from 2010–2012 conducting fieldwork in Cavite City, and Sippola has spent a total of one year in Ternate and Cavite City from 2003–2010.

established public schools in 1863, their language started to become slightly more widespread, but the change to American power in 1898 led to a significant language shift from Spanish to English.

During most of the first half of the 20th century, English was the language of instruction in public schools. Gonzalez (1998:495) reports that in 1898, only 2.6% of the population spoke Spanish and there were almost no English speakers. By 1939, 26.6% of the population spoke English. The plan was originally to teach in the local languages along with English, but this proved difficult for the American teachers due to the high number of Philippine languages; in addition, there was the idea that ‘local languages would not open doors to the world of knowledge’ (Thompson 2003:20). As for Spanish, the language was maintained by a small but elite minority, with only 1% of the population still speaking it by 1985 (Lipski, et al. 1996:272). Spanish influence persisted for some time after 1898, but it gradually waned over the course of the century. Attempts to officially require Spanish in Philippine schools after World War II were not enforced, and while students at the university level were required to take two to four years of the subject until 1987, there was pressure to scale back the requirements (Lipski, et al. 1996:274).

In 1933, Tagalog, Visayan, Ilocano, Bicol, Pangasinan, and Kapampangan were recognized as languages of instruction, but the policy changed in 1957 to limit local languages to the first and second grades as a transition to Tagalog and English (Anderson & Anderson 2007:128). Tagalog, being the language of Manila, was chosen as the *Wikang Pambansa* ‘National Language’ in 1939. This decision was met with much resentment on the part of speakers of the other major Philippine languages, particularly Cebuano and Hiligaynon (Gonzalez 1998:487-488). In order to be more inclusive of all Filipinos, the national language was renamed Pilipino in 1959 and Filipino in 1971, although the basis of this variety is still mainly Tagalog.

Filipino and English were named as official languages in both the 1973 and the 1987 constitutions. The 1987 constitution also declared Arabic and Spanish to be voluntary languages, replacing the law requiring students to take 12 units of Spanish in college, and created the *Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino* ‘Commission on the Filipino Language’ (Gonzalez 1998:488). The purpose of the commission is to promote the development of the Filipino language and publish research on Philippine languages in general.

Today, Filipino and English continue to be the main languages of instruction in the school system, and are also taught as subjects in their own right beginning in the early grades. In instruction, English is used for math and science classes, while Filipino is used for other subjects. The bilingual Filipino and English education policy means that most children from minority language groups begin their schooling with no oral skills in either of the official languages, making the subjects foreign to them both linguistically and culturally (Dekker & Young 2005:183, 195). The regional languages continue to be permitted as auxiliary languages in the early grades and are often used informally to explain material first introduced in English or Filipino, but this strategy is generally not used after the second grade (Gonzalez 1998:497, Dekker & Young 2005:186).

There have been various attempts to use mother tongues as formal languages of instruction in the Philippines. After World War II, the government encouraged experimentation, and Hiligaynon was used in Iloilo as the medium of instruction in elementary schools (Sibayan 1985:163). The Summer Institute of Linguistics has been very active in docu-

menting Philippine languages and producing literacy materials since the 1950s (Sibayan 1985:185, Quakenbush 2008), and began a program for using the northern Philippine language *Lilubuagen* in schools in 1998 (Dekker & Young 2005). The national government has also recently offered some recognition of the importance of local languages in education. In 2001, Andrew Gonzalez, as Secretary of the Department of Education, Culture, and Sports, instituted a program for using regional *lingua francas* to build basic literacy skills before advancing to Filipino and English (Dekker & Young 2005:197). The Department of Education issued another order in favor of mother tongue education in 2009, and the Linguistic Society of the Philippines is holding a series of conferences and workshops on the matter. As of the 2012–2013 school year, Mother Tongue Based–Multilingual Education (MTB–MLE) has been implemented in all public schools, from kindergarten through third grade, in twelve regional languages: Tagalog, Kapampangan, Pangasinan, Ilocano, Bikol, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Waray, Tausug, Maguindanao, Maranao, and the Zamboanga variety of Chabacano (Muyot 2012). This program accompanies other sweeping changes to the Philippine educational system, and it remains to be seen how these efforts will bear out in terms of language preservation.

2.2. THE STATUS OF MINORITY PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES. Gonzalez (1998:518) argues that the major Philippine languages are in stable condition, maintaining vitality despite the dominance of Filipino and English in public domains. However, others do not have such a positive view of the situation. There are groups such as Defenders of Indigenous Languages of the Archipelago (DILA, cf. *dila* ‘tongue’ in various Philippine languages) and Save Our Languages Through Federalism (SOLFED) which view Tagalog/Filipino as imperialistic, and there is evidence that many of the major languages are in decline. For example, Kapampangan has seen some restriction in its use in various language domains, with Tagalog now being used even in the home by some Pampanga residents (Pangilinan 2009, Quakenbush 2011:10–11). Anderson & Anderson (2007:129–130) observe that Pangasinan is no longer the dominant language of its province, as only 48% of the population still speaks the language.

The situation is even more bleak for the minor Philippine languages. All 32 of the Agta languages spoken by the Negritos are endangered (Headland 2003), and at least 27 other Philippine languages have under 5,000 speakers (Anderson & Anderson 2007:126). Even if these communities are relatively stable in terms of continuing intergenerational transmission and positive language attitudes, there is still some risk because they are far outnumbered by speakers of Tagalog or dominant local languages like Ilocano or Cebuano. For example, although Quakenbush (2011:45) finds that Agutaynen is still stable in comparison to his previous (1989) survey, “the door is slightly ajar for the possibility of further language shift to Tagalog.”

Sibayan (1985:162) compares the use of different Philippine languages in the following domains: education, science and technology, government (administration, legislation, and the judiciary law), mass media (radio, newspapers, television, movies, and comics), home and community, and religion. In 1985, English was used in all domains except for comics. Filipino was used in all domains except for science and judiciary law. In contrast, the other major Philippine languages were used in only three or four domains: the radio, newspapers, the home, and religion. Minority languages are listed as belonging only to the

home and religion domains. Based on this comparison, Sibayan (1985:161) concludes that “it is evident from the foregoing discussion that the minor languages have no function in national life.” The situation that he describes seems to hold true today, particularly with the spread of mass media, which continues to be dominated by Filipino/Tagalog, English, and Taglish code-switching.⁵

Interestingly, Sibayan lists Chabacano as one of the major languages still used in four domains, presumably referring to the Zamboanga variety, which is widely spoken in Mindanao. Zamboanga Chabacano does have a strong presence in the media today. For example, it is used on one of the 15 regional *TV Patrol* broadcasts that the ABS-CBN television network uses to supplement its national news coverage. There are also many videos of rap and pop songs available in Zamboanga Chabacano on YouTube, one of which became a nationwide radio hit in 2011,⁶ with the verses translated to Tagalog but the chorus kept in Chabacano. The local government is also strongly encouraging the use of Chabacano in public domains, including in schools. During the 2011–2012 school year, selected elementary schools and daycares in Zamboanga City implemented a pilot program for teaching Chabacano, with the support of the city government and the Department of Education, as part of the MTB-MLE program (Garcia 2011). The city government distributed copies of a new Chabacano workbook to the schools and daycares, and provided training for the teachers on how to use them (Lim 2011). In contrast, Ternate and Cavite Chabacano have not received a similar level of support at either the national or local level.

There is one previous study that describes the domains of language use specifically in Chabacano-speaking communities: Fortuno-Genuino (2011) conducted one month of fieldwork each in Zamboanga, Ternate, Cavite City, Davao, and Ermita, although she did not find any Chabacano speakers left in the latter two sites. In her surveys about domains of language use, Fortuno-Genuino found that the majority of Zamboanga Chabacano speakers of all ages reported using all or mostly Chabacano in the family, neighborhood, and friendship domains, although the younger speakers reported having more of a mixture of Chabacano with other languages among friends. In Ternate, there was more of a difference between the oldest and youngest generations. The majority of people who were 70 and older reported using all or mostly Chabacano in the neighborhood and friendship domains, but the majority of the youngest group reported using little to no Chabacano in those domains. In the family domain, under half of all age groups reported using all or mostly Chabacano. The contrast between generations in Cavite City was even starker, with the majority of the oldest group reporting using all or mostly Chabacano in all domains, but almost no Chabacano use being reported by the youngest group.

Based on the survey data, other interviews with the participants, and the analysis of recorded conversations between pairs of people in each place, Fortuno-Genuino concluded

⁵ As in multilingual communication contexts in general, code-switching and code-mixing occur in many Philippine language situations. Taglish is the most prominent, as it is widespread in the media and carries some prestige because of its association with the educated upper class. However, Taglish is common across social classes, and in regions with other languages there is also code-switching between the local language and Tagalog and/or English. Trilingual code-switching of this type is common in Ternate and Cavite City.

⁶ ‘Porque’, by the Zamboanga band Maldita.

that Chabacano is stable but threatened in Zamboanga, and that it is dying in Ternate and Cavite City. However, while this data is useful and generally in line with our own observations in the field, there is still a need for a fuller picture of the language situations in each location. With the cases of Ternate and Cavite City, there are important differences between the situations in each community, which lead to different degrees of language endangerment. As analysis using the UNESCO (2003) framework will show, the situation in Ternate is much more stable than that in Cavite City. Detailed description of the current status of these two Chabacano varieties follows in sections four and five.

3. METHODS: DESCRIPTION OF THE UNESCO GUIDELINES. *Language Vitality and Endangerment* (UNESCO 2003) is a document prepared by an ad hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages for the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Unit in 2003. It details a set of determining factors that guide assessment of a language's vitality. The tool identifies nine factors that characterize the viability of a language:

- Factor 1: Intergenerational language transmission
- Factor 2: Absolute number of speakers
- Factor 3: Proportion of speakers within the total population
- Factor 4: Trends in existing language domains
- Factor 5: Response to new domains and media
- Factor 6: Materials for language education and literacy
- Factor 7: Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies
- Factor 8: Community members' attitudes toward their own language
- Factor 9: Amount and quality of documentation

The first six factors, taking into account intergenerational transmission, the number of speakers, and the social domains of language use, are considered to be the major factors in this framework, thus assigning them a greater weight. The rest of the factors include language attitudes at both the community and institutional levels as well as the state of language documentation. The scale for most of the factors is from 0 to 5, where 0 represents extinct and 5 represents safe. In other words, lower numbers represent shift to another language and higher numbers represent vitality of a language for that factor (Dwyer 2011:3). We have also included +/- signs to indicate if the characterization is generally valid, but weaker than (-) or stronger than (+) what is described in the UNESCO framework.

As mentioned in the document, it is essential that no single factor alone can be used to assess the overall sociolinguistic situation of a language. The strength of this framework lies especially in the evaluation of these factors together for drawing an overall picture of its vitality or its need for documentation (UNESCO 2003:7). Other caveats that have been pointed out include the risk of oversimplification by considering only the quantitative results of the factors, or by assigning the factors equal weight in evaluating the vitality of the language (UNESCO 2003, Dwyer 2011). In fact, local conditions may cause one factor to be more crucial to language vitality than others. It is not possible to merely look at speaker numbers when comparing two or more varieties, because their relative numbers with regard to other languages spoken in the communities, as well as their degrees of bilin-

gualism, can be more significant. It is also important to bear in mind that, in many cases, we are dealing with continua rather than clear situations at the end points of a scale. When evaluating, for example, domains of language use, sometimes it is possible for characterizations to be valid to one degree or another, or for more than one language to be used in the same social domain. A detailed description of the situation given for each factor, combined with a more general discussion, will downplay these dangers of oversimplified analysis.

From a methodological point of view, the framework assumes that a small-scale language use survey has been conducted in situ, in addition to a national survey of language use (Dwyer 2011). The research conducted in Ternate and Cavite City over the past nine years is based on both qualitative methods, such as participant observation and interviews, and quantitative methods, in the form of questionnaire-based surveys. This first-hand material is complemented by statistical reports from the National Statistics Office and previous studies of the Philippine context. We have spent several months living in the communities, mainly with multilingual families that use Chabacano, Tagalog, and English in their daily communication. Townspeople with various backgrounds, teachers, and language activists have participated in the interviews. Using questionnaires and semi-guided interviews, Sippola has collected information on the language use, preferred language, and language attitudes of 54 Ternate Chabacano speakers aged 11 to 87, as well as some individuals in Cavite City. Lesho has interviewed 44 Chabacano speakers in Cavite City, collecting information about their personal backgrounds, language use, and language attitudes. The Cavite Chabacano speakers range from 20 to 87 years old, but are mostly over age 50. They come from different neighborhoods of the city where Chabacano has traditionally been spoken. In both Ternate and Cavite City, the self-reported language use and attitudes data has generally been checked against observations. A factor to keep in mind is that the data have not been evenly distributed by age, as the older speakers are overrepresented due to their competence in Chabacano.

For information on the national level, we rely on previous literature about the Philippine sociolinguistic situation (Sibayan 1985, Gonzalez 1998, 2003). In many cases, certain data are not available, and we have been forced to make an informed estimate on the basis of local and national sources. There are also some difficulties connected with interpreting census data in the Philippines, e.g., it is not a simple matter to ask people what language or languages they know, or to interpret their answers accordingly. The questions are often too vague for multilingual and multiethnic situations, and they tend to change from one census to another (Fasold 1984:113-116, Fernández 2001:vii). For example, Yap (2007:93, 99) lists 5,147 speakers of 'Caviteño' and 796 of 'Caviteño-Chavacano' according to the 2000 census, but lists 37,553 Caviteño-Chavacano speakers, with no Caviteño category, as of the 1995 census. Similar discrepancies in number and in the names of languages or ethnolinguistic groups exist for other Chabacano varieties and other Philippine languages in general (Yap 2007).

With this combination of quantitative and qualitative methods of evaluation, the UNESCO framework (2003) is quite suitable for assessing the vitality of Cavite City and Ternate Chabacano, and for making comparisons between the situations of the two different communities.

4. THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION OF CAVITE AND TERNATE.

4.1 FACTOR 1: INTERGENERATIONAL LANGUAGE TRANSMISSION. Intergenerational language transmission is a major factor of the framework. Going by the scale for this factor, Cavite Chabacano is severely endangered (level 2) because it is no longer being transmitted between generations. The majority of fluent speakers are of the grandparental generation or older. In contrast, intergenerational language transmission is stable yet threatened in Ternate, giving a very high level for this factor, at 5-. Today, Chabacano is spoken by all generations in several contexts with unbroken transmission in a large part of the community in Ternate.

In Cavite City, among the parental or even grandparental generation, it is common for only the eldest siblings of a family to still speak the language. Some of the parental generation do still use the language occasionally with their own parents, but many claim to only be able to understand it. During Lesho's fieldwork in Cavite City, it has been rare to meet a speaker under the age of 50. A few speakers interviewed by Lesho have reported having children or grandchildren who speak the creole, and a 20-year-old speaker reports having a few Chabacano-speaking friends in his neighborhood. However, it is clearly not the norm for people of the younger generations to speak Chabacano. Of the young children reported to still speak the creole, it remains to be seen whether they will retain fluency as they grow older and become socialized with their Tagalog-speaking peers. One speaker reports that her 14-year-old son once spoke the creole at home, but lost it once he was old enough to attend school.

In Ternate, all Chabacano speakers are multilingual in Chabacano and Tagalog, as well as other languages, such as English and Visayan languages. Mainly Tagalog and English dominate in many communication contexts. However, in most cases, the families are bilingual and use Tagalog at home together with Chabacano. Outside the home and the neighborhood, Tagalog and English prevail.

Children learn to speak Chabacano at home, and in some cases Tagalog is only introduced fully when starting school. Especially in the rural barangays⁷ of San Jose and San Juan, located close to the town center (see Map 2), Chabacano prevails as the language of the home and neighborhood in all age groups. However, some families systematically use Tagalog or English when speaking to the children, especially when new members from outside Ternate are included in the family group. In these cases, a growing number of children are dominant in Tagalog. Their Chabacano often reveals signs of incomplete acquisition and Tagalog influence, leading to structural and stylistic attrition (cf. Romaine 2010:325). Some characteristics of this kind of Chabacano are, for example, the use of predominantly Tagalog lexical items and heavily Tagalog-influenced pronunciation. Also, the loss of the intimate/formal distinction in the pronoun system and the incipient use of dual forms of pronouns reflecting the inclusive/exclusive distinction of Tagalog can be observed in some cases. Other signs include the use of the Tagalog politeness marker *po*, the expansion of object marking to inanimate definite objects, and the use of Tagalog conjunctions.

⁷ The *barangay* is the smallest level of government in the Philippines, about the size of a neighborhood.



MAP 2. Ternate

Despite these cases where Tagalog is gaining more strength among young people, intergenerational language transmission works in some cases where children born outside Ternate are raised in a Chabacano-speaking environment. Among the informants in Sipola's corpus, there are a couple of examples of people between 14 and 30 years of age that were born somewhere else to mixed couples and raised primarily by the Chabacano-speaking grandparents or other close family in Ternate, and who quite naturally claim Chabacano to be one of their best languages. In addition, older people of over 60 years of age, who have married into Chabacano-speaking families, have changed their principal language of communication from Tagalog to Chabacano. However, this rarely happens today.

4.2 FACTOR 2: ABSOLUTE NUMBER OF SPEAKERS. It is difficult to find accurate statistics on the number of Chabacano speakers in Cavite province. In Cavite City, a local survey estimates that 7% of the population speaks the creole, which would put the number of speakers over 7,000 out of a total population of 101,120 (NSO 2010). However, this is a generous estimate, as Romanillos (2006:12) cites a figure of only 3,316 speakers in 1995.

The latest official information about the number of Chabacano speakers in Ternate dates back to the national census of 1995, when 3,192 speakers declared Chabacano as their mother tongue. It is worth noting that according to the same census, some speakers of Zamboanga Chabacano and Cavite Chabacano also reside in Ternate.

Population estimates over the years show that the language has been in decline for quite some time in both communities. Whinnom (1956:12) reports an estimate of 18,000 speakers for Cavite, and predicts that English will become the language of the next generation. Llamado (1969:3) later notes that the Cavite Chabacano-speaking population "has dwindled to about 8,000," and that "after a generation or two the language may give way entirely to Tagalog." For Ternate, Molony (1973:40, 1977a:134) estimated the number of speakers to be 8,000 in the 1970s. Chabacano was then the first language of nearly the

whole population in Ternate, although Molony mentions that almost all of them were bilingual in Tagalog.

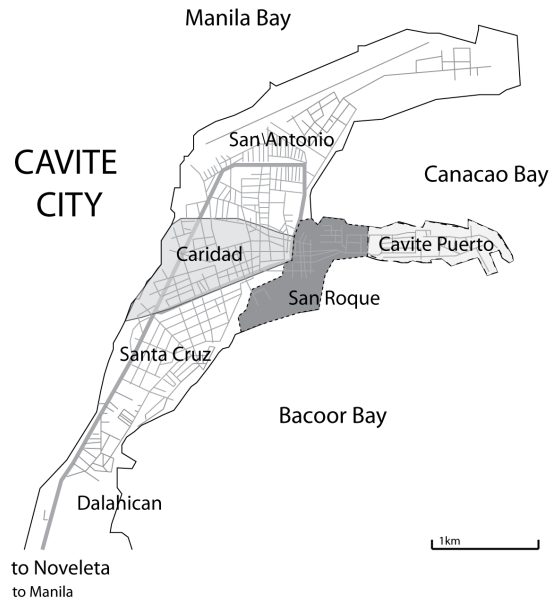
According to Lipski, et al. (1996:276), the American occupation, WWII, and the dominance of English and Tagalog have caused the near extinction of all Chabacano varieties other than the one spoken in Zamboanga. These historical events have had an especially strong effect in Cavite City, which was home to the American navy from 1898 until 1971, except for the occupation by the Japanese during WWII. The city was significantly damaged during the war. Even if the situation in Ternate is not as alarming as elsewhere, Lipski, et al. (1996:277) state that the total number of Chabacano speakers there is also steadily decreasing.

4.3 FACTOR 3: PROPORTION OF SPEAKERS WITHIN THE TOTAL POPULATION. The Cavite City population is 101,120 according to the 2010 census. Going by the more conservative estimate of 3,316 speakers, the proportion of Cavite Chabacano speakers is only 3%, rather than the 7% estimated by the local survey. By either count, the small proportion of speakers to the overall population means that Cavite Chabacano is critically endangered, or at level 1 on the scale for this factor.

Cavite City is an urban area, with the population concentrated in only 11 km² (see Map 3). The city is made up of five districts, which are further divided into 84 barangays. Although Cavite Chabacano speakers can be found throughout the city, the majority of them live in the districts of Caridad and San Roque, particularly in the neighborhoods of Calumpang, Cagayan, Ganglely, and San Jose. However, Cavite Chabacano speakers are a minority even within these areas. There is a total of 28,045 Cavite City residents in Caridad and 19,344 in San Roque (Cavite City Planning and Development 2010). The estimated 3,316–7,000 Chabacano speakers in the city would still make up only a small proportion of residents (6–15%) even if they were all concentrated within these two districts.

Earlier in the 20th century, there were also many Cavite Chabacano speakers in the San Antonio district and in Cavite Puerto, which was once separated by the old Spanish walls from neighboring San Roque. Cavite Puerto was taken over by the Japanese and then bombed during WWII, causing its Chabacano-speaking population to scatter. San Antonio and Cavite Puerto are now both home to the Philippine Navy, meaning that there is a great number of non-native Cavite City residents in these areas.

As home to Philippine naval bases and a local fishing industry, Cavite City attracts many workers who come in speaking Tagalog or other Philippine languages. During interviews, Chabacano speakers often mention the presence of immigrants from the south and central Philippines. Even as early as the 1960s, intermarriage between Caviteños and Filipinos from other areas was cited as a key reason for the dwindling number of Cavite Chabacano speakers (Llamado 1969:3). Cavite City has had a naval base ever since the time of the Spanish, but it seems to be only since WWII that outsiders moving to the city have stopped learning Chabacano. Some of the older speakers in Lesho's corpus report that they grew up speaking primarily the creole, despite having one or both parents from outside of Cavite. However, mixed households of the post-war generations do not tend to maintain Chabacano. The population dispersion of the war, in combination with the number of outsiders brought in to work for the Philippine Navy and the trend of overseas employment, is probably responsible for this generational change.



MAP 3. Cavite City

In Ternate, the situation is somewhat better, even if only a minority speaks the language in local, regional, and national contexts. The grade for this factor in Ternate is 2.

At the local level, the predominant language of the municipality of Ternate today is Tagalog, although the speakers of Chabacano represent the traditional speech community of the town. In the 1995 census, 74% of the inhabitants declared Tagalog as their mother tongue, while 22% indicated Chabacano as their mother tongue. According to the mayor's office, this is due to the fact that the town is located in the Tagalog region and the majority of the town's immigrants are speakers of Tagalog or other Philippine languages, for example, Visayan languages from the central Philippines. According to the national census of 1995, a total of 37 different languages are spoken in the municipality, which is a rather typical situation in the regions surrounding Manila.

When comparing this information and the numbers from over 15 years ago with the actual number of inhabitants of Ternate, which in the 2010 census was 19,297, the percentage of Chabacano speakers can be estimated to be even lower. The main developments that attract non-Chabacano-speaking immigrants are a better road connection to Metro Manila through the neighboring towns of Maragondon and Tanza, as well as a Philippine military base and the tourist areas at Puerto Azul and Caylabne Bay further down the coast.

At the regional level, the number of inhabitants of Cavite province was 2,856,765 in 2007 and 3,090,691 in 2010, showing the minority status and local character of Chabacano in the region of Cavite.

4.4 FACTOR 4: TRENDS IN EXISTING LANGUAGE DOMAINS. Cavite Chabacano is now only used in limited or formal domains, which places it at level 2 on the scale for this factor. Filipino and English are the dominant languages of public domains. Following national policy, these languages are taught in school as subjects, and they are also used for instruction in other courses. Filipino and English are also the languages of the local government and are dominant in both local and national media. Cavite Chabacano is restricted mainly to private domains. However, even in the home the use of Chabacano is quite limited, since there is a generation gap and only the eldest members of the household are still fluent in the language.

Four of the 44 speakers interviewed in Cavite City claim fluency in Spanish. These speakers are in their 70s and 80s and had older relatives who spoke Spanish, although they themselves had to study the language in school. Many speakers in their 50s or older also know Spanish to some degree, as it was once a required subject in college, but they do not consider themselves fluent speakers. While some report that Spanish was an easy subject for them because of the similar vocabulary, others report that they found the grammar very difficult.

Cavite Chabacano is only used in public domains in a limited capacity, usually restricted to ceremonial contexts or greetings. For example, there are occasionally signs with Christmas greetings in Chabacano. A few barangay entrances bear the greeting *bienvenida con todos* 'welcome everyone,' and some businesses have stickers on their doors saying *buenas, entra ustedes* 'good day, come in.' In terms of ceremonial use, the San Roque church used to hold mass in Chabacano every second Saturday of the month, but the priest who delivered the mass moved to another town. Local language activists have expressed interest in trying to start the mass again. Other ceremonial uses of Cavite Chabacano include naming street fairs or other cultural events in the language, such as the *Regada* (a water festival for San Juan), the *Comelona* (a Caviteño food festival), and the *Juego Caviteño* (a demonstration of traditional children's games), even if the events are actually conducted in Tagalog. There is also a *Dia de Chabacano* 'Chabacano Day' which is celebrated every September and falls near other culturally significant holidays in Cavite City, such as the days commemorating the founding of the city and the deaths of the Thirteen Martyrs of the Philippine Revolution. The *Dia de Chabacano* features events such as a Chabacano oratory contest for children. Although the pieces recited are not written by the children themselves, they are at least being exposed to the language and learning how it is tied to their heritage.

Another ceremonial function of Cavite Chabacano is its occasional use in the commemorative programs that are published for various events, such as the *fiesta* 'feast day' for the patron saint of Cavite City, anniversaries of various historical events, Easter, and the swearing in of new public officials. These programs contain not only a schedule of events, but also historical essays, letters of greeting from public officials, song lyrics and poetry, personal stories, and greetings or advertisements from sponsors of the programs. The programs are organized and written by prominent local citizens, many of whom are Chabacano speakers. While the dominant languages of the programs are English and Filipino, there is also some limited use of Chabacano and Spanish.

The programs for most events usually include Chabacano only in greetings, but it is used more extensively in the *fiesta* programs, highlighting the symbolic role that the language has taken in the community. In an analysis of 30 *fiesta* or other religious programs

dating back to 1984, Lesho finds that out of 1,545 pages of text,⁸ the vast majority of them are in English (1,115 pages) and Tagalog (343 pages). Most of the schedules, essays, and letters are in these two languages. There are 44 pages in Spanish, which consist mostly of reprinted song lyrics and poetry and are not usually original compositions. Only 41 pages are in Chabacano. While some of the Chabacano pages are traditional song lyrics or reprints of poetry from older programs, the bulk of them are original stories, essays, and poetry. There are two recurring columns that appear throughout the *fiesta* programs, 'Ñol Paco' by Paking Esguerra and 'Ñora Monang' by Pedro Bautista. Ñol Paco and Ñora Monang are fictional characters meant to represent traditional Chabacano values, and their stories are usually nostalgic reflections about growing up in Cavite City during the old days. Other Chabacano pieces in the programs include personal essays about religion and articles about Chabacano history.

For the situation in Ternate, this factor can be characterized as multilingualism with dwindling domains (level 3+). As pointed out earlier for Cavite City, Chabacano speakers are multilingual and fluent in Tagalog, or Filipino, which has been introduced to the community by native speakers that intermarry and/or move to Ternate, as well as by the media and the school system. Filipino is the primary language in all official domains, such as government, public offices, and educational institutions.

However, Chabacano in Ternate continues to be used at the local level, with family, friends, and fellow townspeople. Even though this kind of diglossia is common in multilingual contexts, it is important to note that Tagalog is also used in these informal domains and no member of the community uses Chabacano exclusively in these domains. As mentioned before, many parents have begun to use Tagalog in everyday interactions with their children and a growing number of children have become receptive bilinguals, understanding Chabacano but not speaking it. Young people's incomplete acquisition of forms typical of formal Chabacano (mostly forms closer to Spanish) is clearly related to the restriction of the language to the domestic sphere and informal in-group settings involving networks of family and friends (see also Romaine 2010:325).

Language use in the domains connected with the dominant culture, such as school, church, and politics, means switching almost entirely to Tagalog and partly to English, or at least filling the lexical content of Chabacano structures with the vocabulary of Tagalog or English. The language of the marketplace is generally Tagalog, as it is the central point of the town and provides various services, although the locals naturally speak Chabacano to their peers there, too. It is also the point to which the main road leads and the location of the terminal for tricycles to neighboring towns. The church services celebrated in the various churches of the town are held exclusively in Tagalog, because the priests sent to Ternate come from other parts of the Philippines. Some previous priests have taken interest in learning the language and including Chabacano prayers in the mass, but the rotating system of their assignment to different congregations has restricted these initiatives to mere isolated experiences.

Tagalog is also generally used in the political domain, but here, too, we find some exceptions. Some local politicians have opted to use Chabacano slogans in their campaigns

⁸ This total does not include the advertisements, which take up approximately half of each program and are written almost entirely in English, except for a few Chabacano greetings.

on posters and shirts distributed around Ternate during the elections. An example is *Barra carru yo* ‘I love Ternate’ on a trilingual municipal election poster from 2010, which has a Tagalog translation under the Chabacano slogan.

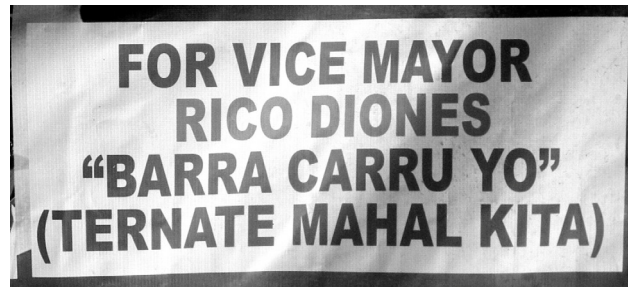


FIGURE 1. Municipal election poster, Ternate 2010

Many Chabacano speakers mention that they have forgotten proverbs, plays, and traditional songs because of the diminishing use of the language today, even within the family. They say that their parents’ and grandparents’ generations used the language more than it is used today. Thanks to the local activism of Evangelino Nigoza and the local historical society, the book *Bahra* (Nigoza 2007) recently appeared, containing many stories and proverbs collected and/or written by the author. The same group has also organized bilingual Tagalog and Chabacano plays at the local theater and historical parades.

Today it is rather difficult to find written samples of Ternate Chabacano in printed media, be they religious texts, publicity, notes, or any official writing, but it seems that personal letters and new media are one domain where the written form of the language can be found. Chabacano is written in different ways by different age groups. In a collection of elicited short written samples of school children in the primary school level, the Tagalog orthography prevails. Elicited samples from older speakers, on the other hand, are quite consistently written following the Spanish model. The reasons for these choices seem to be first and foremost practical ones. The children are not familiar with Spanish writing practices. For the older Chabacano speakers, on the other hand, using Spanish orthography seems to be a way of marking distance from Tagalog orthography and to highlight the local language identity as distinct from Tagalog.

Those with higher education, higher socioeconomic status, or who went to school during the US regime speak Philippine English, as it is, together with Filipino, the language of schooling. Some of the Chabacano speakers in Ternate also know Spanish, although there is some variation in levels of acquisition. Until 1987, Spanish formed part of the national curriculum in higher education, and some of the speakers in Ternate have said that it was easy to get good grades in these courses because of their fluency in Chabacano.

4.5 FACTOR 5: RESPONSE TO NEW DOMAINS AND MEDIA. On the scale for this factor, Cavite Chabacano ranks at level 1 for its minimal use in new domains. For Ternate Chabacano the level is 2, as it is used in some new domains. In both communities, the television and radio are constantly on in the home and sometimes even the workplace, but the most

popular programs are nationally broadcast and therefore use Tagalog, English, or Taglish. Neither Cavite nor Ternate Chabacano have any presence on the TV or radio.

However, Chabacano does have some presence on the internet. There is a website called *Chabacano: Lenguaje de Niso* (Santos 2001), which includes a number of Cavite Chabacano poems and essays in addition to some background information in English about the language. The website also has quite an extensive Chabacano-English glossary, which includes the Spanish origin of each word. There is also a blog called *Habla Chabacano* (Rimban & Valentin-Del Rosario 2007), which is written mostly in English, with occasional posts and comments in Chabacano and Tagalog. However, the posts are somewhat sporadic. In addition to these websites, the Cavite City Library and Museum website (Dela Rosa 2000) includes a page of useful Cavite Chabacano phrases and monthly issues of a newsletter called *Aviso* 'Announcement', written from 2003–2010, which are mainly in English but usually include at least one Chabacano piece and occasional codeswitching in other sections. As with the *fiesta* programs, the themes of the Chabacano pieces are usually nostalgic or religious. For example, there is a series called *Carta Para Mi Nieto/Nieta* 'Letter to my Grandson/Granddaughter', and the featured poetry is usually religious. As for Ternate, there are some web pages such as the *Ternate Cavite Website* (Huerto 2005) that include information about the language as well as local politics and happenings in the Ternateño community in the U.S. As with Cavite Chabacano, nostalgic and religious texts are included.

Cavite Chabacano can also be found on Facebook, and to a lesser extent, on YouTube. There are a few Facebook pages dedicated to the language and culture, the most active being 'Chabacano Siempre!', which is associated with the *Sociedad del Historia y Cultura del Ciudad de Cavite* 'Society of Cavite City History and Culture'. Although users sometimes post to the group in English, Tagalog, or Spanish, posts in Chabacano are quite frequent. This format has an advantage over some of the other Chabacano websites because people interested in the language can interact with each other and exchange messages in the creole, whether it is their first or second language. Users also often share interesting articles, websites, photos, and videos related to Chabacano culture, language, and history. On YouTube, there are a few videos related to Cavite Chabacano, including some recitations of a poem written by Eliodoro Ballesteros and the Chabacano version of the city anthem. As for Ternate Chabacano, there are also several Facebook pages named 'Ternate,' 'Cavite,' or something similar, but only a few have posts in Chabacano. However, it is interesting that these kinds of groups seem to give an opportunity for the different Chabacano communities to discuss and exchange opinions, as on many pages there are posts by people from Ternate, Cavite, and Zamboanga.

In Ternate, there is some development in terms of new media such as the internet and text messaging. For example, during the nine years that Sippola has been in contact with speakers of Chabacano in Ternate, she has come to see a change in the possibility of finding written samples of Chabacano. This change is due to new technology and local activism. Today Chabacano can be used in writing, especially in communication via mobile phones, internet, and e-mail. Young people in particular now write in Chabacano using these media, and the form reflects the spoken language quite closely. However, it is evident that Tagalog is clearly dominating, as even those who use Chabacano still also use Tagalog most of the time. Naturally, this communication occurs in the peer groups that would use the language

in their daily communication, including face-to-face.

English dominates Philippine newspapers at the national level, although some, especially tabloids, are published in Filipino. At the local level, in addition to *Aviso*, which now seems to be inactive, Cavite City recently had a newsletter produced by the ‘Chabacano Siempre!’ campaign which was distributed once a month and contained Chabacano proverbs, traditional recipes, and articles about Caviteño culture and history, some in English and some in Chabacano. The editors are currently planning to replace it with a weekly newspaper called *Chabacano Ahora* ‘Chabacano Now’. In addition, the local newspaper *Operation Exposé* publishes a weekly column in Cavite Chabacano by Enrique Escalante. The topics of the column vary between short lessons on Chabacano, commentary on local issues, and occasionally, poetry. In Ternate, there are no newspapers or newsletters published locally, although some schools occasionally include material such as Chabacano poems in their theme newspapers.

4.6 FACTOR 6: MATERIALS FOR LANGUAGE EDUCATION AND LITERACY. Cavite Chabacano (2+) ranks somewhat better than Ternate Chabacano (2) on the scale for this factor. While there are some written materials available for instruction that can be used in both communities, they are focused mainly on second language acquisition, and none of them are exclusively for L1 educational or literacy purposes. In Ternate the availability of the materials is even weaker than in Cavite City, where most of the educational materials are produced.

Literacy education in Chabacano is not part of the school curriculum, but in Ternate some teachers of the early grades use Chabacano unofficially in order to help the children succeed in their studies. In Cavite City, Chabacano was recently made an official auxiliary language of instruction in schools, but there are few children who would need lessons in Chabacano and no materials or training for the teachers to give instruction in this language.

L1 Chabacano speakers have generally not been educated to be literate in their language, although the literacy rate in general is high among Cavite City and Ternate residents of all backgrounds. There is no well-established standard orthography shared by Chabacano speakers, although recent textbooks on Cavite Chabacano (Escalante 2005, 2010) promote an etymological orthography that is close to that of Spanish for items of Spanish origin, and to Tagalog for the items of Philippine origin. During reading tasks and Chabacano classes, both native Chabacano speakers and L2 learners seem to be confused by Spanish-style spellings, although for the learners this will likely improve if they become more advanced in their study of the language.

Sippola (2010) provides an overview of the educational programs and materials that have been created by local groups in Cavite City, such as the *Movimiento para el Preservación del Lenguaje Chabacano* (MPLC) and the *Asociación Chabacano del Ciudad de Cavite* (ACCC). In 2008, the ACCC published the *Diccionario Chabacano del Ciudad de Cavite*, edited by native speaker linguist Librada Llamado, among others. The dictionary includes sections with entries in Chabacano-English-Tagalog, English-Chabacano, and Tagalog-Chabacano. Enrique Escalante, a member of the MPLC with experience as a former English teacher and superintendent, also published a dictionary in 2005, a textbook in 2010, and a conversational guide in 2012. The dictionary, *Chabacano... for everyone*, has useful example sentences for each entry. It also contains a short grammatical description,

short readings, and word lists focused on various topics (e.g., body parts, months, types of food, etc.). The textbook, *Learning Chabacano: A handbook*, includes an easily accessible description of the grammar, as well as a small section of exercises and word lists. The third work is a textbook called *Let's talk Chabacano – a conversation guide to real-life situations* (Escalante 2012). Attempts to offer Chabacano classes in Cavite City have been sporadic. Sippola (2010:66) describes various attempts to offer them throughout the 1990s as well as in 2003 and 2007. More recent attempts include the *Escuela Chabacano* 'Chabacano School' established by Escalante in 2010, as well as classes taught by Soledad Santa Ana at Manuel Rojas Elementary School in San Roque, the Alternative Learning System (ALS) program hosted at Manuel Rojas for continuing adult education, and the Cavite City Rotary Club. The E. Claris Prep School in Caridad also advertises Chabacano classes, along with classes in cooking, computers, and art.

The Escuela Chabacano is no longer active, but it lasted for over one year, consisting of free weekly lessons for both children and adults. About 10–15 students usually attended each class, which were held in the Cavite City Tourism Council office near the area called PN ('Philippine Navy,' formerly Cavite Puerto) and at Garita Elementary School in San Roque. One major reason the lessons are no longer being offered is the lack of resources available. Although the recently published instructional texts are useful, most students did not own copies and there is still a shortage of materials for teaching the language. Escalante still has some readings and exercises that are unpublished, and he has had to modify some picture books and educational posters by adding Chabacano translations. He has also been translating Tagalog proverbs and nursery rhymes into Chabacano. Without financial support and the assistance of other teachers, Escalante's efforts have essentially been a one-man operation. He is currently planning to begin offering classes again in the summer of 2013.

The ALS class taught by Santa Ana had only two students enrolled in the summer of 2012, but her Rotary Club class had about 11 students. Both of these classes are for adults. She does not currently teach classes for the children at Manuel Rojas. The materials that Santa Ana uses for her lessons are drawn from an unpublished textbook called *El primer libro del chavacano* 'The first Chabacano book', written by another teacher who previously offered Chabacano lessons, Norma Cástor Bersabe. Like Escalante, Santa Ana is also a retired teacher and appears to be working alone. And as in the Escuela Chabacano, her students do not have their own copies of the materials. Besides the problem of funding and resources, there is difficulty in finding other Chabacano teachers, since those who are fluent and have teaching experience are fast approaching retirement age or have already passed it.

In Ternate, there are no organizations that work solely for the promotion of Chabacano. The local historical association has organized occasional plays and *fiestas*, and has collected writings, rhymes, and songs in Chabacano for their publication (Nigoza 2007). The language-related activities of the historical association clearly have a cultural function and carry symbolic meaning for the community. The municipal library has some copies of the language materials produced in Cavite City, donated by the researchers who have visited Ternate. The materials have a symbolic significance to some, mostly educated, people in Ternate.

4.7 FACTOR 7: GOVERNMENTAL AND INSTITUTIONAL LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND POLICIES. The institutional attitudes toward Cavite Chabacano can be characterized as differentiated support, level 4 on the scale for this factor. The local government seems to have a generally positive attitude toward maintaining Chabacano alongside Filipino and English, although there is a sharp separation between the use of the three languages in public and private domains. As previously described, Chabacano does still have some prestige in Cavite City, as evident in its frequent use in ceremonial contexts.

Cavite Chabacano speakers are not discouraged from using the language in private domains. Even in City Hall, there are many employees who use the language with each other in the workplace, even though official business (e.g., paperwork, meetings, and transactions with the public) is conducted in English or Filipino. The current mayor, Romeo G. Ramos, does not consider himself fluent in Chabacano, although he has written letters of greeting in past editions of the annual *fiesta* program.

In terms of official action, there are encouraging signs that the local government is interested in preserving the language. Romanillos (2006:126) reports that former Mayor Timothy Encarnación, Jr., who is a native speaker, petitioned the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sports to allow the language to be included in the curriculum of Cavite National High School. In January 2011, Mayor Ramos and the city council unanimously approved an ordinance to promote the revival of Chabacano. The ordinance is modeled after a similar one passed in Zamboanga City. It calls for changing public signs to Chabacano and using it as an auxiliary language in schools, although so far it is unclear to what extent these changes will be implemented, and what kind of financial support there will be for them.

In addition to legislative action, the Cavite City Tourism Council has also been working with Escalante and others interested in preserving the language, alongside an overall effort to promote Cavite's history and culture. For example, the council provided assistance in running the Escuela Chabacano and promotes the use of the language in cultural events. It is also involved in planning the annual *Día de Chabacano* 'Chabacano Day'. It is hoped that the promotion of Chabacano language and culture will help boost tourism to the city, similar to how Zamboanga City has been marketing itself as 'Asia's Latin City.'

Somewhat differently, Ternate is at level 3 for this factor. The national government encourages assimilation to Filipino, and there is no official protection for minority languages at the national or local level. The mayor's office has always been supportive of research on Chabacano and supportive on the level of discourse, and in September 2011 the town council approved an ordinance to preserve and promote the local variety of Chabacano. The language will be taught in schools in the municipality, and public signs in the area will be in Chabacano. Up until today, only a few symbolic signs in the town are in Chabacano, for example, the welcoming arch on the Maragondon road, which says *Ta recibi mihotro con ustede con todo corazon* 'We welcome you with all our hearts'. Most of the mayors of Ternate have been fluent Chabacano speakers and respected members of the traditional community of the town. However, at the municipal level, priorities are generally placed on regional, national, and international economic cooperation, with English and Filipino as the media of communication, and as in Cavite, it remains to be seen how the 2011 ordinance will be put into practice.

4.8 FACTOR 8: COMMUNITY MEMBERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD THEIR OWN LANGUAGE. Cavite Chabacano is at 2 or 3 on the scale for this factor. While many people support maintaining the language, many others are indifferent. Cavite City residents generally have a positive attitude toward the language, and there does not seem to be any negative stigma attached to those who still speak the creole. It is not associated with any particular class of people, since speakers of all socioeconomic backgrounds can still be found in different areas of the city.

Some younger residents refer to those who speak Chabacano as the 'real' Caviteños and often express regret at not being able to speak the language. However, community support for the language seems to be mostly passive. Though the adult Chabacano classes that Lesho observed in the Escuela Chabacano and ALS consisted mainly of people in their 20s, the classes were quite small, and there are few young people who take an active role in any of the preservation movements. People do not seem to support the loss of Chabacano, and they might view the language with some nostalgia, but many do not seem to view it as relevant to their own lives.

There are a number of factors related to the perception that Chabacano is not relevant to the younger generations, including the dominance of Filipino and English in schools, the media, the government, and the job market. Like other Filipinos across the country, many young Caviteños leave to become Overseas Filipino Workers, and depending on where they go, sometimes they acquire another language. During Lesho's fieldwork, one man in his early 40s even reported that from his point of view, "Arabic is easier than Chabacano"; when he works in the Middle East he has to practice using Arabic on a daily basis, but when he is back home it is easier to fall back on Tagalog and English rather than practice Chabacano.

As for those in the older generations, there seems to be a lack of cohesion among the different Chabacano-speaking pockets of the city. There is also some disagreement among the various groups working to preserve the language, as both Sippola (2010:68) and Lesho have noticed during participant observation in the city. There are differences of opinion in how to go about standardizing and promoting the language, which are likely related to historical and sociolinguistic factors. There is fairly substantial dialectal variation within Cavite City, perhaps owing to the fact that the areas of Cavite Puerto, San Roque, and Caridad were once separate towns, despite their proximity to each other. According to Doeppers (1972), this kind of planned separation was characteristic of the Spanish colonial era, with the Spanish and elite Filipinos living within the walls of Cavite Puerto, and the native laborer class living in San Roque. There is evidence that this social stratification persisted until Cavite Puerto was destroyed during WWII. Cordero-Fernando (1992) notes that residents inside the old Cavite Puerto walls were considered *de clase* 'high class' in comparison to those in San Roque or elsewhere, quoting one Cavite City resident who claims to still be able to hear 'fisherman's intonation' in the Chabacano of those raised outside of Cavite Puerto. Although Cavite Puerto was destroyed during WWII, according to Whinnom (1956:12), many residents later resettled in Caridad. Variation in Cavite Chabacano could also be a reflection of the influence of Spanish during different time periods.

Because of differences in dialect and social history, speakers from different districts or neighborhoods do not always closely identify with each other. Some speakers seem to think of the Chabacano spoken in other districts as quite different from their own speech,

referring specifically to variation in pronouns, vowel pronunciation, and intonation. These social and linguistic differences can make it difficult to decide how to write or teach the language, or they may keep people from getting involved with projects started by another group.

Ternate is at level 2–3 for this factor. The language is valued by many members, but the attitudes are twofold. On one hand, Chabacano has the status of a traditional local language, with identity functions for the speakers that belong to the old Ternate families. According to oral tradition, these families belong to the original settlers of the community that came from the Spice Islands⁹ in Eastern Indonesia during the Spanish colonial era. The settlers were soldiers known for their bravery who served among the Spanish troops defending Manila Bay. Perhaps in connection with this, speakers mention that outsiders often perceive them to be arguing or fighting when they speak Chabacano. Another function of the language is to represent a connection to the Spanish, who used to represent the upper class in Philippine society. Speakers sometimes mention that knowing Ternate Chabacano is an advantage, as outsiders cannot understand it and secrets can be shared in public, for example, during market days. Especially in the past, it used to be a general rule that strangers marrying Chabacano speakers in Ternate and moving to live in the town learned to speak the language, and even today, many learn at least the greetings and a few basic sentences.

On the other hand, today Ternate Chabacano is often characterized as the language of the poor. It has not been taught or learned at school and it has no functions outside the town in the regional context, although many consultants in Ternate mention that knowing Chabacano is an advantage for the overseas workers that intend the Spanish or Romance language-speaking world as their destination. In many sociolinguistic studies, this kind of local versus extra-local orientation has been given particular weight in small communities, where economic opportunities may be limited (Fought 2010:290).

No programs of language maintenance exist, even though some respected members of the community have expressed an interest in developing them. There is general agreement on the highest authority on Chabacano in Ternate, and both local administration and community members point to Evangelino Nigoza as the person who knows most about the language and the history of the town. Nigoza's activism has resulted in the publication of *Bahra*, the book mentioned earlier.

The attitudes toward English, Spanish, and Tagalog are very positive in general, because to know and to speak these languages means better opportunities for employment and education, which lead to social advancement.

4.9 FACTOR 9: AMOUNT AND QUALITY OF DOCUMENTATION. Currently the level of documentation is at 2 (fragmentary) on the scale for this factor in both communities. There is still urgent need to document Chabacano in Cavite City. Some descriptions of the grammar exist, but most are out of date and difficult to access. There are also some recordings of natural speech, but none are publicly available in either audio or transcribed form. Quilis & Casado-Fresnillo (2008) include a few recordings and transcriptions of read speech. Lesho has so far recorded 84 hours of word lists, read speech, picture description tasks, songs,

⁹ The isle of Ternate in the Moluccas.

sociolinguistic interviews, perceptual dialectology tasks, and spontaneous speech, but this corpus is still in the transcription and analysis phase.

There have been five theses written on Cavite Chabacano. Santos y Gomez (1924) documents a number of sayings and folk tales. German (1932) contains a grammatical description, along with a small collection of poems, song lyrics, and stories, including a few pieces written in Ermita Chabacano. Ramos (1963) compares the phonology of Chabacano and English, and Llamado (1969) is a description of the syntax. The latter three theses also contain word lists with transcriptions. In addition, Sayas (1999) also wrote a thesis focusing on Cavite and Ternate Chabacano. However, these are all unpublished works and are difficult to find outside of Cavite City and Manila.

Other documentation specifically of Cavite Chabacano includes a grammatical description by Miranda (1956), the instructional texts described above (Escalante 2005, 2010, 2012; ACCC, 2008), some description of literature in the language (Romanillos 2006), and linguistic articles (Llamado 1972, Ogiwara 2002).

For Ternate Chabacano, there are some grammar sketches (Sippola 2006, Steinkrüger 2007), vocabulary lists and texts (Tirona 1924, Nigoza 2007, Ocampo 2007), and annotated recordings (Sippola's fieldwork), as well as scientific articles (Molony 1973, 1977a, 1977b; Lipski 1986; Sippola 2010, 2011a). The first descriptive grammar of Ternate Chabacano was published recently (Sippola 2011b) with the first annotated texts of the language. The material collected for Sippola (2011b) includes word lists, grammar elicitation, description tasks, songs, sociolinguistic interviews, and spontaneous speech.

Both Cavite and Ternate Chabacano are also discussed in works including other Chabacano varieties more generally (e.g., Whinnom 1956, Lipski 1987, Riego de Dios 1989, Bartens 2002).

There are still significant gaps in the research on both Chabacano varieties. No modern, comprehensive grammar of Cavite Chabacano exists, and the sociolinguistic, phonetic, and phonological aspects of both varieties remain largely unexplored. It is urgent to continue documentation of the Manila Bay Chabacano varieties, not only for theoretical linguistic purposes, but also for the purposes of developing more instructional materials and raising awareness of the language situation in these two communities.

5. DISCUSSION. The UNESCO (2003) framework has proven to be a useful tool for the practically-oriented evaluation and comparison of the sociolinguistic situations of these two communities. Most of the factors were easily applicable to the description, but the assessment of the factors concerned with language attitudes could be further refined. Participant observation over a considerable period of time, together with more formally structured interviews, proved to be effective methods for evaluating intergenerational language transmission (factor 1), trends in existing language domains (factor 4), and response to new domains and media (factor 5), as well as materials for language education (factor 6) and amount and quality of documentation (factor 9).

Participant observation is a particularly valuable tool in evaluating language vitality, because by becoming more integrated into the community over a longer period of time, the researcher is not limited to the information provided by only a few select language activists, but has access to more unguarded language-use situations in which people are not necessarily trying to promote one view of their language over another. Participant observation

can also help the researcher to actually learn the language or languages of the community, allowing more natural interaction with the speakers and opportunities to get to know them better. Long-term participant observation also provides a perspective on the changes in the sociolinguistic situation over time, as can be seen in the descriptions for factors 5 and 6. For example, from a brief visit in 2010 or 2011, we could have concluded that efforts to teach Chabacano in Cavite City were a great success, given the number of recent publications, the opening of the Escuela Chabacano, and the passing of the city resolution to use Chabacano as an auxiliary language in schools. However, by participating in classes for several months, getting to know the organizers, and following up with later visits, we are able to more accurately assess the many challenges that promoters of Chabacano still face.

The absolute numbers of speakers (factor 2) were challenging to estimate, due to a lack of reliable census data and the general difficulty of assessing multilingual situations involving diglossia and language attrition. However, in this particular case, this did not affect the estimates of the proportion of speakers within the total population (factor 3), because the great differences in the numbers allow us to form a reliable picture of the general situation. Interviews and participant observation also allowed us to assess language attitudes at both the community level (factor 8) and the institutional level (factor 7) to some extent, but studies over a longer period of time, using several methods, could help us to define more precisely the differences between these two communities.

Methodologically speaking, the differences between surveys and participant observation became clear from many examples collected during the fieldwork periods. In initial surveys, Sippola received information that was revealed to be inaccurate later on. A typical example: in an initial language use questionnaire, a speaker claims to have lived all his life in the Chabacano-speaking town, but later on during an interview he tells lively stories about his teenage years in Manila. Occasionally, some speakers even denied knowing Chabacano, but proved to be fluent speakers when the researcher had gained more trust by spending more time living in the community and overheard them speaking the language several times. These discrepancies that arise in using the questionnaires, interviews, and participant observation do not pose problems with evaluating the vitality of the language, but rather provide interesting insights into the situation of the community. By combining and contrasting these methods and analyzing the contradictions, the researcher can access relevant information on language attitudes.

Table 1 draws together the comparison of the current state of Chabacano in Cavite City and Ternate. Overall, Ternate Chabacano can be characterized as a language in a relatively safe situation, while Cavite Chabacano is severely endangered.

As we have seen, both varieties are still spoken as a first language by some thousands of speakers, but they are a small minority in proportion to the general populations of Ternate and Cavite City. One major difference between the two towns is in terms of intergenerational transmission. In Ternate, there are children still learning Chabacano as a first language, whereas in Cavite City there are few speakers under age 50. When the data are arranged by the age of the speakers, a shift to Tagalog becomes visible, even if Chabacano is maintained to some degree. In both communities we encounter a decline of Chabacano as a first language and an increase in Tagalog. Chabacano is mostly used at home and in local communication, but even in these informal domains, codeswitching with both Tagalog and English is common. These factors have often been connected to language shift (Fasold

1984:217). However, some Chabacano speakers do seem to be taking advantage of new social domains and local media, such as the internet, text messaging, and local newspapers. The language also has symbolic value in both communities, as it is often used in ceremonial contexts and is considered part of being an authentic resident of Cavite City or Ternate.

The two varieties are at about the same level of language documentation, although the studies on Ternate Chabacano are more recent. Both Cavite and Ternate Chabacano are in need of further study, especially in the areas of sociolinguistics, phonetics, and phonology.

In Cavite City there are two different groups making efforts to preserve the language, both of which have published Chabacano language-learning materials. In Ternate, there is a historical association that has published a book and shown plays in Chabacano. However, as Sippola (2010) observes, there is little coordination between the groups, and local actors would surely benefit from stronger cooperation.

FACTOR	CAVITE	TERNATE
1. Intergenerational language transmission	2	5-
2. Absolute number of speakers	3,000–7,000	~3,000
3. Proportion of speakers within the total population	1	2
4. Trends in existing language domains	2	3+
5. Response to new domains and media	1	2
6. Materials for language education and literacy	2+	2
7. Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies	4	3
8. Community members' attitudes toward their own language	2–3	2–3
9. Amount and quality of documentation	2	2

TABLE 1. The sociolinguistic vitality of Cavite Chabacano and Ternate Chabacano

There are many reasons that both Ternate and Cavite City are undergoing language shift. In general, bilingualism alone is not a sufficient condition for language shift to take place. It does not often happen that speakers completely give up the use of a language and substitute it with another one in their own lifetime (cf. Fasold 1984:216-217). Bilingualism is crucial in that it constitutes a risk in intergenerational transmission, as one of the languages might not be passed on to younger generations. However, many communities remain bilingual for decades or centuries, as has historically been the case in Ternate and Cavite City, although to different degrees.

While language attitudes are generally positive toward Chabacano, an assimilation policy prevails in the Philippine context. Chabacano speakers are not faced with discrimination, but education policy, the mobility of the Philippine population, and other socio-

economic factors have strongly affected the Ternate and Cavite City communities, just as they have in other minority language communities elsewhere in the country. Both Ternate and Cavite City have attracted large numbers of people from elsewhere in the Philippines, while at the same time many native residents have left in search of work elsewhere in the country or abroad.

Although both communities have recently recognized Chabacano as an auxiliary language to be used in elementary schools, there is not yet much support in the way of materials or teacher training. Based on a review of different education and standardization projects in creole communities, Bartens (2001:49) notes that the adoption of a coherent orthography is the first step in corpus planning for language promotion and preservation. It should further be complemented with different language tools, such as dictionaries and primers, and a coherent implementation by trained teachers. Also, Bartens notes that corpus and status planning measures have to be preceded by a campaign of language reevaluation, which is most likely to succeed if the language is promoted alongside with other cultural phenomena such as oral traditions. When it comes to the efforts in Ternate and Cavite, at present the necessary coordinated educational strategy is still lacking. It does not seem likely that the step of officially recognizing Chabacano as an auxiliary language will outweigh the dominance of English and Filipino at the national level in higher education, the job market, and the media. As one Caviteño puts it, such measures are *todo de boca* 'all mouth' and do not achieve much without more concrete support.

The factors of language policies in education, government pressures, migration to and from the communities, and industrialization or urbanization are all among the causes that Fasold (1984:217) presents for language shift. In the case of the Manila Bay Chabacano varieties, the communities seem to be affected by these factors to differing degrees. Cavite City is more urban compared to Ternate, and it is part of the continuous chain of development that extends from Metro Manila in the east to Tanza in the southwest. From Cavite City it is only a 30-minute trip by ferry, car, or bus to Metro Manila, while the travel from Ternate to Manila by public transport can easily take more than two hours. Cavite City is home to a variety of national and international business chains, a fishing industry, various small businesses and skilled craftsmen, and industrial work in the naval yards (Cavite City Planning and Development 2010). Ternate, on the other hand, is clearly a rural town, in which fishing and small-scale entrepreneurship are the main livelihoods. The tourism industry in Ternate is in great part located outside the town in a closed terrain, and the guests rarely visit the town. Even though the communities are only 30 km away from each other, it is clear that Cavite City is more integrated into the greater Metro Manila area.

Education is also very strong in Cavite City, as it is home to multiple colleges offering vocational or advanced professional degrees. In contrast, in Ternate there are fewer schools and only one college in the town. Overall, in both communities, many young people choose to attend college in nearby towns or in Manila and tend toward studies that lead them to the national or international job market.

However, the factors mentioned above do not necessarily lead to language shift without a change in the sociocultural identity of a group (Fasold 1984:240). Local identities tied with the symbolic value of the language remain rather strong in both Cavite City and Ternate, but negative attitudes are also present. Not all members of the communities support language maintenance; some are indifferent or may even support language loss.

As has been shown, the situation of Chabacano in the Manila Bay area is not unique in the context of the Philippines. Like other minority Philippine languages, and even some of the major languages such as Pangasinan, the Chabacano varieties in these communities have seen a considerable decline in speaker numbers and domains of use that coincides with the rise of the Philippines as an independent nation. The Philippine government has been promoting the Filipino language as the *Wikang Panlahat, Ilaw at Lakas sa Tuwid na Landas* 'Language for Everyone, Light and Strength on a Straight Path'.¹⁰ With English as the other official language, and its association with socioeconomic opportunity, languages like Chabacano do not always have a clear place in local or national culture. As Romaine (2010:321) observes, this kind of situation is also common worldwide. During the process of nation-building, the languages of minority groups are often threatened as dominant ethnic groups take precedence in the name of creating national unity, and the younger generations speak the languages associated with social opportunity. Without further support at both the national and local level, which the more robust Zamboanga Chabacano is now receiving, it is unclear what the future of the Manila Bay Chabacano varieties will be.

6. CONCLUSION. The UNESCO framework is a useful tool for first-hand evaluations and comparisons of the sociolinguistic situations in multilingual communities. However, if reliable results are to be expected, it requires a wide range of methods and often a commitment to fieldwork over a long period of time.

In the case of the Manila Bay Chabacano varieties, observations during fieldwork conducted over a span of nine years reveal that intergenerational transmission and relative speaker numbers are decisive factors when evaluating the language situations of these two communities. The importance of these factors makes the situation less threatened in Ternate, but the community in Cavite City is more organized and prepared when it comes to educational materials and political support in general. The situation in Ternate could face a rapid change if several other factors on the scale used in this study decline. What remains to be seen is whether these closely situated communities can benefit from collaboration and shared resources, or if they continue on their relatively isolated paths.

These findings have shed light on the current sociolinguistic situation of these communities in particular, and on the situation of creoles as minority languages in the Philippines and the Asian Pacific region in general. The study also corroborates other evidence (Headland 2003, Anderson & Anderson 2007, Quakenbush 2008) that minority Philippine languages are losing vitality in the face of Filipino and English dominance at the institutional level. We hope that the results of this comparison can also be utilized as a tool by those concerned with local language policies or language documentation in the Chabacano-speaking communities.

¹⁰ This was the slogan for the *Buwan ng Wika* 'Language Month' in 2011, which is sponsored every year by the Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino.

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lesho@ling.osu.edu
emsippola@gmail.com