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Causatives and contacts in Chabacano

Abstract: This study examines Hispanization processes in the Philippines, with a special focus on causative serial verb constructions in Ternate Chabacano, a Spanish-lexifier Creole spoken in a Tagalog-dominant context in the Philippines. Based on a corpus of natural conversations and elicited structures collected in fieldwork as well as written materials, I provide a description of different causatives and related constructions that make use of the main causative verb *hasé*. I discuss their properties in relation to the different data types and the influence of the languages present in the formation of Chabacano and its current language ecology.

Keywords: causative, light verb constructions, Chabacano, Spanish, Tagalog

1 Introduction

This study examines causative constructions in Chabacano, a contact variety that was born during the Spanish colonial period in the Philippines. These Creole varieties have Spanish as the lexifier and Philippine languages as the adstrates. The Chabacano varieties are for the most part mutually intelligible but differ in their sociohistorical formation as well as the background and current linguistic situations of the communities (Lesho and Sippola 2013, 2014). The speakers of these Creole varieties live in multilingual environments, often speaking Chabacano, Tagalog or other Philippine languages, and English. The data for this study comes from Ternate Chabacano, which is one of the Chabacano varieties still spoken today, by approximately 3000 people in the town of Ternate in the Manila Bay region. The speakers are bilingual in Tagalog, and the variety's vitality status is threatened but relatively stable (Lesho and Sippola 2013). Ternate Chabacano was most probably formed sometime in the 17th century, and the present-day speaker population has very little contact with the lexifier language, Spanish. Most of the contact today is with Tagalog, the main language of the region, and English, which holds a prestigious position throughout the Philippines. The community in Ternate has been more isolated from the main urban centers than Cavite and Zamboanga, where Chabacano varieties are spoken with more lexifier traits in their lexicon and structure.

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As is to be expected in a Creole (Baxter 2009), the valency-changing operations in Ternate Chabacano are done by analytic means from serial verbs to periphrastic constructions. Causatives are formed with verb serialization with *hasé* ‘make’, *dáli*¹ ‘give’ or *mandá* ‘order’ as V1. These present an array of causative constructions adding a transitive subject (A) argument and causing the reassignment of the syntactic functions of the original subject (S) of an intransitive clause or the A and transitive object (O) of a transitive clause. In addition, both *hasé* and *dáli* function as full lexical verbs but are also frequently used to incorporate English and Tagalog loans into Ternate Chabacano transitive clauses. The study provides a description of causatives and related constructions and discusses their syntactic properties in relation to the different data types and the contact situation of the language, i.e. the contextual factors that may account for the strategies speakers adopt to express causation. Possible lexifier and adstrate influence will also be explored.

The analysis builds on language data from Sippola (2011) collected between 2003 and 2010 in Ternate. It features naturalistic conversations, sociolinguistic interviews and elicited structures from in total fifty-five participants aged 11–86. Additionally, selected written materials have been included (Nigoza 2007), as “complete ditransitive sentences are rare in non-elicited data types” (Sippola 2011: 32).

This paper is structured as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of the background on Hispanization in the Philippines and causatives in contact. Section 3 presents an array of causative constructions in Ternate Chabacano and compares them to the lexifier and adstrate languages, while Section 4 expands on related constructions. Sections 5 and 6 cover the discussion and the conclusions.

2 Background

2.1 Hispanization in the Philippines

The study is placed in the framework of studies focusing on Hispanization processes world-wide, and especially in Austronesia. Thomas Stolz and associates’ work in this area of research has been groundbreaking (cf. Stolz 1996, 2002, 2022; Stolz et al. 2008a,b; Stolz et al. 2021; Stolz and Levkovych 2022; Zimmermann and Stolz 2001). Various studies regarding Spanish contact situations around the world have explored questions of what is possible and what is exceptional or rare in language contact. The studies in this paradigm have added to our knowledge and understanding of language contact, as they allow us to compare the outcomes of contact

¹ *Dáli* is occasionally spelled as *dale*.

situations, identify persistent patterns and extrapolate on their basis, as well as formulate generalizations which go beyond the special case of Hispanization and are relevant for studies of language contact in general (Stolz et al. 2008b: vi).

The Philippines was under Spanish colonial rule from the late 1500s to 1898. Although the contact with Spain was never very intense and did not involve large Hispanic population groups, it led to different outcomes of Spanish in contact with local languages. This included the formation and later maintenance of a Philippine variety of Spanish (Quilis and Casado-Fresnillo 2008) and heavy borrowing from Spanish into local languages (e.g. Tagalog, Bisaya, Ilokano) (Bowen 1971; Stolz 1996; Wolff 2001). In addition, several Philippine-Spanish Creoles developed as a result of this contact, including in the Manila Bay region (in Manila, Cavite, and Ternate) and in Mindanao (in Zamboanga, Cotabato, and Davao) (cf. Sippola 2020). After the Spanish period, the Philippines were under American rule until the country gained independence in 1946. The influence of English has grown starting from the American period, replacing the Hispanic influence and creating yet another layer of contact for the Philippine linguistic reality. Another notable development is the creation and support of the national language, Filipino, which has been promoted in the education system throughout the independence (cf. Gonzalez 1998).

Chabacano varieties have historically been spoken in two Philippine regions, Manila Bay in the north (including Ternate, Cavite City, and Manila), and Mindanao in the south (including Zamboanga City and its surrounding areas, Cotabato, and Davao). There is no conclusive agreement on the history of the formation of these varieties (cf. Whinnom 1956; Fernández and Sippola 2018). According to Whinnom (1956), Chabacano developed out of a Portuguese-based contact variety in the island of Ternate in the Moluccas in Eastern Indonesia. From there, early Chabacano would have been transferred to the Philippines in the 17th century by *Mardikas*, local Christians who came to the Philippines with the Spanish. Whinnom's account has been challenged by both historical and linguistic evidence (Lipski 1988; Fernández 2012; Fernández and Sippola 2022). Instead, according to Fernández (2011, 2012), Chabacano could have crystallized and stabilized gradually from contact varieties in different locations of the Philippines. The differences between today's Chabacano varieties are connected with their local histories of formation and linguistic ecologies in different parts of the Philippines (cf. Sippola and Lesho 2020). As Sippola and Lesho (2020) report, Zamboanga Chabacano is a widely spoken language, but Cavite and Ternate Chabacano are both endangered (Lesho and Sippola 2013). The speakers of these varieties say that they can understand each other, but they consider their languages and communities to be distinct (Lesho and Sippola 2014).

Although the overall aim of the study of Hispanization is a comparative one, the Chabacano case study presented here will allow us to see how the linguistic

setting and social bilingualism are reflected in the causatives. This example provides some insight into how mutual compatibility, semantic and structural overlaps, as well as general tendencies in contact-induced change mold the causative constructions in Chabacano.

In line with many studies in the Hispanization paradigm, I take a general approach to contact-induced change and grammaticalization (or external vs. internal change): these are often framed as separate issues, but they often work jointly to trigger grammatical change (cf. Matras 2011). Furthermore, following Heine and Kuteva (2003: 561), I do not assume that language contact as observed in pidgins and creoles is qualitatively different from that observed in other languages. It is also known that universal processes of grammatical change are involved in the areal diffusion of linguistic features, which is especially relevant in social situations of large-scale bilingualism (Heine and Kuteva 2003), as in the Philippines, where Tagalog and other larger Philippine languages are in socially dominant positions. Contact-induced changes have communicative and/or sociolinguistic motivations, as the speakers aim to make the categories existing in the languages in contact mutually compatible and more readily intertranslatable (Heine and Kuteva 2003). The outcomes of contact are affected by the availability of resources for potential replication, which speakers as agents of change select and use.

2.2 Causatives in contact

Causative expressions denote a complex situation consisting of two component events (Comrie 1989: 165–166; Song 2001: 256–259):

- (i) the causing event, in which the causer does something or initiates something; and
- (ii) the caused event, in which the causee carries out an action, or undergoes a change of condition or state as a result of the causer's action.

Causation is typically viewed as a morphologically signaled process, which introduces an agent to the valency of verbs yielding verbs (and clauses) with $n+1$ arguments, but periphrastic causative constructions are also widely attested (Kittilä 2009; Song 2013). In many Ibero-Asian Creoles, causatives are expressed in serial verb constructions (SVCs) (Baxter 2009).

Verb serializations are complex predicates that contain a sequence of verbs within the same predicate. SVCs do not constitute a unique category, and they are identified by way of structural and semantic criteria (Aikhenvald 2006; Baxter 2009: 66–67). Semantically, two basic classes have been established for SVCs: an asymmetrical class and a symmetric class (Aikhenvald 2006: 22). The first is con-

stituted by a closed-class verb and an open-class one and the structure expresses a single event represented by the open-class verb modified by the closed-class verb. In contrast to this, the symmetric SVC, often known as linking or chaining, comprises two or more open-class verbs, expressing a single overall event (Baxter 2009: 67). Due to their monoclausality, the lack of conjunctions, coordination, subordination or other syntactic dependencies as well as the lack of pauses within the structure, SVCs display strong tendencies of lexicalization and grammaticalization, thus blurring the limits of the V1s as full verbs (Aikhenvald 2006).

Our analysis will be concerned with asymmetrical SVCs that involve valency modification in the sense of increasing the number of arguments of the major verb expressing cause. The minor verbs in asymmetrical SVCs represent a wide range of semantic relations, which tend to be grammaticalized, their main functions including the expression of direction/orientation, aspect, modality, complementation, and valency modification (Aikhenvald 2006: 22–28, 34). Valency modification SVCs have two functions; first, valency increasing and identification functions, including causative (with verbs such as *do*, *give*, *leave*, *say*, *put*, *undertake*), benefactive, instrumental, and comitative functions, and second, valency reduction functions, such as the passive.

In previous studies of Ibero-Asian Creoles, two types of causative SVCs have been attested: the *direct causative* and the *facilitative causative* (Baxter 2009). According to Baxter (2009: 69) truly causative SVCs contain the semantic component of control [+ control] whereas the facilitative causatives permit a non-causative reading. The control situation imposed by the fully causative SVC implies the realization of the caused situation, while the facilitative does not entail this implication. The Indo-Portuguese varieties of Diu, Daman, and Sri Lanka, the Malayo-Portuguese contact varieties of Malacca, Batavia, Tugu and Macau, as well as the Philippine Chabacano varieties of Cavite, Ternate, and Zamboanga present causative verb serialization (Baxter 2009).

Previous research on Chabacano has identified Zamboanga Chabacano SVCs² with causative functions for *ase* ‘make, do’, *manda* ‘order’, *dali* ‘give’, *lyiba* ‘take, carry’ and *deha* ‘let, permit’, *ase* being the most frequent one of them (Forman 1972: 210–211; Frake 1980: 292; Riego de Dios 1989). *Ase*, *manda*, *deha* and *lyiba* express direct causative functions, while *dali* expresses facilitative causative (Baxter 2009). For Cavite Chabacano, Llamado (1972: 80–82) mentions *haci* ‘make’ and *dale* ‘give’; and for Ternate Chabacano, Sippola (2011: 256–259) presents *hasé* ‘make’, *mandá* ‘order’ and *dáli* ‘give’. The analysis of the causatives is mostly descriptive in these

2 Forman (1972) calls the SVCs verbal chains, while Frake (1980) classifies them as verbal expressions.

works, but Baxter (2009: 75) explains their common occurrence based on the convergence of a number of semantic and structural precedents in the lexifier and the substrate languages, as well as, at least in the case of Kristang of Malacca, a tendency to form verbal complexes.

3 Causative constructions in Ternate Chabacano

3.1 Causative serial verbs with *hasé*, *dáli* and *mandá* in Ternate Chabacano

The valency-changing operations in Ternate Chabacano are done by analytic means from serial verbs to periphrastic constructions. These present an array of causative constructions adding an A argument and causing the reassignment of the syntactic functions of the original S of an intransitive clause or the A and O of a transitive clause.

Causatives in Ternate Chabacano are formed with verb serialization with *hasé* ‘make’ (realized as *tasé* with the imperfective marker and *asé* without the initial *h*) (1)–(2), as V1.

- (1) Ternate Chabacano (Sippola fieldnotes)

Tasé lótru prosesyón, tasé karakól, tasé
 IPFV.make 3PL procession IPFV.make caracol IPFV.make
beylá kon kel santo nínyo.
 dance ACC DEF holy child
 ‘They make a procession, they dance the caracol, they make the holy child dance.’

- (2) Ternate Chabacano (Sippola 2011: 106)

Asé rin éli pará kása riyál. . .
 PFV.make too 3SG stand casa real
 ‘He also built a casa real [= municipal hall]. . .’

Other verbs that are used in SVCs with causative and facilitative functions are *dáli* ‘give’ (3) or *mandá* ‘order’ (4). Also *dehá* ‘leave, allow’ and *yebá* ‘carry’ have been documented (cf. Forman 1972: 211).

- (3) Ternate Chabacano (Sippola 2011: 138)

Kabár dáli komé yo kon kel mi pábu.
 after give eat 1SG DAT DEF my turkey
 ‘Then I feed my turkeys.’

- (4) Ternate Chabacano (Sippola 2011: 258)

A-mandá matá Milin kel guyabánus.
 PFV-order kill NAME DEF soursop.tree
 ‘Milin ordered the soursop tree to be killed.’

The serial verb constructions have single specification for TAM, negation and evidentiality, but pronouns and other clitics can appear in second position after the V1 as in (2), where the Tagalog origin adverbial particle *rin* and the 3SG pronoun occur in second position. In the causative serial verb constructions, the actor of the V2 is presented as an undergoer and marked with the accusative marker *kon* for human and animate objects, while inanimates do not present overt marking. The statue of the Holy Child in (1) can be interpreted as personified and human, and therefore marked with *kon*, while in (2), *kása* ‘house’ is not marked.

Some remarks are in order when considering these examples from a formal point of view. The first strategy, the use of *hasé* ‘make’ presents some variation and reduction on the phonological level, as forms *asé* and *sé* are also observed. When the V1 in the verbal construction is combined with the TAM markers, the variation makes it challenging to distinguish between the basic form *asé* ‘make’ and the form *a-sé* [PFV-make] ‘made’ where the aspect is marked. As is common for some frequent expressions in the Chabacano varieties, such as locative existential constructions, in causative constructions the preverbal markers combine with the verb, providing the following forms:

ta+(h)asé [IPFV+make] > *tasé*
 (y)a+(h)asé [PFV+make] > (y)*asé*
 di+(h)asé [CTPL+make] > *disé*

The initial /h/ in the Ternate variety sets it apart from the varieties spoken in Cavite and Zamboanga, as well as Philippine Spanish, and it can be seen as a trace of older or variable Spanish influence at the period of formation of the Ternate variety. Different forms may occur within a single turn, showing evidence of an ongoing process of negotiation where the item is seen as a lexical verb and as a grammatical

element. It is also worth noting that in verb chains, V1 can be accentuated, which casts doubts on its nature as a grammatical item.

Although in elicited structures adding causers (+A) to both intransitive and transitive clauses is possible and all arguments can be stated, natural data show that clauses generally occur with a maximum of two arguments, and that in causative constructions, causees are mostly implied and unstated, as in (4) and (5).

(5) Ternate Chabacano (Sippola 2011: 256)

Kabándu misa, disé salí ya el prosesyón.
after mass IRR.make go.out already DEF procession
'After mass, the procession will be taken out.'

According to Frake (1980: 293), *manda* in Zamboanga Chabacano is used in intransitives with an agentive subject as in (5), while Baxter (2009: 83) interprets *manda* as modifying a V2 that has a non-specific agent, or a specific experiencer, as in (4). This aspect of the unstated causees needs further explanation to which we will return later on in the discussion in Section 5.

3.2 Comparison to causatives in Spanish and Tagalog

In Spanish, causation can be expressed with lexical causatives, complex predicates or periphrastic constructions, as in Table 1.

Table 1: Causative Constructions in Spanish (after Zyzik 2014: 78).

Causation	Construction type	Example
direct	<i>lexical</i>	<i>quemar</i> 'burn', <i>matar</i> 'kill'
indirect	<i>complex predicate</i>	<i>hacer</i> -infinitive: <i>hacer reír</i> 'make laugh'
indirect	<i>periphrastic</i>	<i>hacer que</i> -subjunctive: <i>hacer que trabajen</i> 'make that they work'

In Spanish, causative verbs are formed through morphological causative derivation of adjectives using several affixes listed in Table 2 (Gonzalez Vergara 2004: 64; Serrano Dolader 1999).

Table 2: Causative morphological derivation in Spanish.

affix	Spanish adjective	Spanish verb
-ar	<i>limpio</i> 'clean'	<i>limpiar</i> 'to clean'
-ear	<i>blanco</i> 'white'	<i>blanquear</i> 'to whiten'
-izar	<i>central</i> 'central'	<i>centralizer</i> 'to centralize'
-ificar	<i>auténtico</i> 'authentic'	<i>autentificar</i> 'to authenticate'
-ecer	<i>húmedo</i> 'wet'	<i>humedecer</i> 'to dampen'
a-...-ar	<i>fino</i> 'sharp', 'fine'	<i>afinar</i> 'to tune'
a-...-ecer	<i>claro</i> 'clear'	<i>aclarecer</i> 'to clear up'
en-...-ar	<i>borracho</i> 'drunk'	<i>emborrachar</i> 'to make drunk'
en-...-ecer	<i>bello</i> 'beautiful'	<i>embellecer</i> 'to beautify'

The verbs in (6a) combine to form a complex verb, as the cause argument cannot be placed between *hacer* and the infinitive, and it is grammatically encoded as an object. In (6b), a periphrastic construction with a subjunctive clause is used to express causative meanings.

(6) Spanish (Mourelle de Lema 1981: 20)

- a. *Juan hizo beber el café a Antonio.*
 Juan made.3SG drink the coffee DAT NAME
 'Juan made Antonio drink the coffee.'
- b. *Juan hizo que Antonio bebiera el café.*
 Juan made.3SG that Antonio drank.SUBJ the coffee
 'Juan made Antonio drink the coffee.'

In Chabacano, subjunctive mode does not form part of the grammatical system, and instead of these two options, the causative SVC is used. In sum, the expression of causatives follows fairly similar paths in both Spanish and Chabacano, with the major differences focusing on the nature of the verbal constructions.

In Tagalog, different causative expressions are possible. First, causative-focus verbs are predicates that select as topics nominals expressing the cause of the action, as in (7) and (8) (Schachter and Otanes 1972: 313–314). These can be derived from transitive and intransitive verbs (of the groups *-um-*, *ma-*, *mag-* and *mang-*), and they are prefixed according to the verb group with the prefixes *i-*, *ika-*, *i(ka)pag-*, or *i(ka)pang-*.

(7) Tagalog (Schachter and Otanes 1972: 313)

- Ikinaluha ni Nena ang usok.*
 shed.tear.CF UA NAME T smoke
 'The smoke made Nena shed tears.'

- (8) Tagalog (Sippola fieldwork data)

Ikinaganda ni Jasmine ang talino niya.
 become_beautiful.CF UA Jasmine T intelligence her
 'Her intelligence made Jasmine beautiful.'

Another type of causative verbs in Tagalog is that of indirect action verbs (e.g. Schachter and Otnes 1972) which are formed with complex affixes that include the prefix *pa-*. The person(s) etc. designated by the actor topic or actor complement are not necessarily expressed as performing the action of the verb, but rather, as permitting or causing this action to be performed (McFarland 1984: 25; Schachter and Otnes 1972: 321). In total, there are eight different focus types of indirect action causative verbs and these verbs normally express actions whose occurrence is caused or permitted by some particular person. In sentences with causative indirect action verbs in predicate position, the sentence topic normally expresses the condition responsible for the occurrence of the action, while an indirect actor complement expresses the person responsible for it, as in (9) or (10). In other words, the causer is marked in the same way as the non-causative actor complement, and the causee is marked in the same way as the non-causative direction complement (McFarland 1984: 25).

- (9) Tagalog (Schachter and Otnes 1972: 321)

Nagpaluto ako ng adobo kay Rosa.
 IAF.COOK 1SG.FA OBJ adobo UA Rosa
 'I let/made/had Rosa cook some adobo.'

- (10) Tagalog (McFarland 1984: 25)

Pinabigyan ko siya ng pera.
 cause.give 1SG.FA she OBJ money
 'I had someone give her some money.'

From the point of deriving different indirect-action verbs there are several issues that we have to leave out of discussion at this point, but for the sake of clarity, it should be noted that when a causative-focus verb, as in (7) and (8), is transformed to an indirect-action verb, the topic of the causative-focus indirect-action verb expresses the cause of the action, as in (11):

- (11) Tagalog (Schachter and Otnes 1972: 330)

Ikinapagpabunot ni Eddie ng ngipin sa dentista ang sakit.
 IAF.CF.pull UA Eddie OBJ tooth UA dentist T pain.
 'The pain caused Eddie to have the dentist pull (his) tooth.'

Tagalog causative expressions are thus mainly formed by derivation on the verb, forming both causative direct-action verbs and indirect-action verbs expressed with verbal affixes. In comparison to Chabacano, the Tagalog system relies more on morphological marking on the verb in the expression of the causation, as well as the related marking of the core arguments.

4 *Hasé* in related constructions

In addition to SVCs, Ternate Chabacano has a number of constructions with *hasé* that can take a verb or a noun as the second component. Occasionally the same meaning can be expressed in either verbal or nominal component, as in *sé kaminá* [V1 make + V2 walk] or *asé pasyál* [V1 make + stroll] ‘go for a stroll’ (12).

- (12) Ternate Chabacano (Sippola 2011: 168)

Ta-andá mótru sé kaminá manga... ta-andá asé pasyál.
 IPFV-go 1PL make walk PL IPFV-go make stroll
 ‘We go and walk [around]. . . [We] go for a stroll.’

The resulting constructions are generally transitive, even though intransitive constructions are also possible, as in (13) (see also Table 3). The expression *asé handá* is modelled in the Tagalog prefixed verb *ipaghandá* ‘to entertain’.

- (13) Ternate Chabacano (Sippola 2011: 168)

Kába kasá asé handá éli.
 After marry make party 3SG
 ‘After getting married, he threw a party.’ [Past of context]

In these constructions, the second element can be of Spanish, Tagalog or English origin, as shown in (12), (13) and (14).

- (14) Ternate Chabacano (Sippola fieldwork data)

Nung sábi yo kung kwánda éli disé ritáy.
 NEG know 1SG if when 3SG CTPL.make retire
 ‘I do not know when she will retire.’

A non-exhaustive list of formations of this type without a causative meaning is given in Table 3.

Table 3: *Hasé*-constructions in Chabacano.

<i>hasé</i> construction	transitivity	Etymological origin of the element containing meaning
<i>hasé kombersá</i> ‘talk’ > <i>platiká</i>	–	Sp. <i>conversar</i> ‘to talk’, ‘to converse’
<i>hasé tyénda</i> ‘sell’ > <i>bendé</i>	+	Sp. <i>tienda</i> ‘shop’
<i>hasé ritáyr</i> ‘retire’	–	Eng. <i>retire</i>
<i>hasé bakasyón</i> ‘go on holiday’	–	Sp. <i>vacación</i> / Eng. <i>vacation</i>
<i>hasé bíru</i> ‘to joke’	–	Tag. <i>birò</i> ‘joke’
<i>hasé akit</i> ‘persuade’ / ‘seduce’	+	Tag. <i>umakit</i> ‘seduce’
<i>hasé ingát</i> ‘take care’	–	Tag. <i>ingat</i> ‘care’
<i>hasé kwéntu</i> ‘tell stories’	+	Sp. <i>cuento</i> ‘story’
<i>hasé pála</i> ‘excavate’	+	Sp. / Tag. <i>pala</i> ‘shovel’
<i>hasé sepílyo</i> ‘brush’	+	Sp. / Tag. <i>cepillo</i> ‘brush’
<i>hasé supórt</i> ‘support’	+	Eng. <i>support</i>
<i>hasé text</i> ‘send an sms’	+	Eng. <i>text</i>
<i>hasé wítnes</i> ‘testify’	+	Eng. <i>witness</i>

From these examples, a complex picture emerges of Chabacano constructions including *hasé* with different options for analysis. First, *hasé* combines with a base that can be a noun or a verb. It can be analyzed as a light verb, as it has little or no semantic content of its own. It clearly forms part of the verb, as the preverbal markers attach to it. Second, it functions as a verbalizer that allows for the incorporation of items that do not conform to the canonical Chabacano verb form with an accentuated final vowel, as in *kantá* ‘sing’, *beylá* ‘dance’, etc. In this manner, verbs can also be borrowed from diverse languages including English into Chabacano. Thirdly, as already mentioned in Section 3.1, the verb is sometimes expressed in a contracted form, thus making it more affix-like. This might be connected to a diachronic cycle in which full verbs become auxiliary and light verb-like, then clitics and finally affixes.

When comparing these constructions to light verb constructions in the lexifier (Spanish *verbo ligero* or *verbo de apoyo*), it becomes clear that Spanish presents very similar patterns. Spanish light verb constructions include a construction with *hacer* ‘to make’ among other verbs such as *dar* ‘give’, *echar* ‘throw’, *tener* ‘have’ and *tomar* ‘take’ that generally takes an abstract noun as a complement (Piera and Varela Ortega 1999: 4415–4418). *Hacer* is used with action verbs in general (Sanromán Vilas 2011), and it forms both transitive and intransitive constructions, as in (15):

(15) Spanish (own competence)

<i>hacer mención</i>	<i>mencionar</i>	‘mention’
<i>hacer falta</i>	<i>ser necesario</i>	‘to be necessary’
<i>hacer presente</i>	<i>comunicar</i>	‘communicate’
<i>hacer un descanso</i>	<i>descansar</i>	‘take a rest’
<i>hacer uso</i>	<i>usar</i>	‘use’

In Chabacano, there seem to be some differences with the Spanish construction, because the complementing verb or noun is often not abstract (see Table 3).

If a Chabacano light verb construction (16a) is translated into Tagalog, the resulting construction is expressed in (16b) with the verb *pinagtawanan* ‘laughed at’ in the undergoer voice.

(16) Ternate Chabacano (Modified from Vibar and Navarro 2006: 15)

- a. *Yasé risáda kel prinsipál kung kel maéstra.*
 PFV.make laughter the principal OBJ the teacher
- b. *Pinagtawanan ng principal ang maestra.*
 Laughed UA principal T teacher.
 ‘The teacher was laughed at by the principal.’

5 Discussion

5.1 Causes and consequences of contacts

From the examples presented in the previous sections, it is possible to see some semantic and structural overlaps between Chabacano and its main lexifier, Spanish. The use of *hasé* and other causative verbs in serial verb constructions is a clear case of matter replication from Spanish, as the form of the causativizing verbs is clearly derived from their Spanish counterparts: *hacer*, *dar*, *mandar*, etc. However, although the form is derived from Spanish, it is restructured in Chabacano serial verbs, as in Spanish causative expressions can be bi-clausal. Another clear example of the Spanish matter replication can be seen in the related constructions with *hasé* + V or N, which express a variety of meanings close to Spanish light verb constructions. The case of causatives and related expressions making use of *hasé* thus provides a clear case of lexifier influence that has been adapted to the Chabacano grammatical structure. However, as Table 4 shows, Chabacano has not derived its causative verbs directly from Spanish in all cases but uses SVCs to express many

meanings that are expressed with derivational affixes in Spanish. The resulting semantic and structural overlaps are not completely compatible, as the independent developments and general structural tendencies of the languages compared have influenced the outcome.

Table 4: Causative morphological derivation in Spanish and the corresponding Chabacano causatives.

affix	Spanish adjective	Spanish verb	Chabacano verb
-ar	<i>limpio</i>	<i>limpiar</i> ‘to clean’	<i>limpyá</i>
-ear	<i>blanco</i>	<i>blanquear</i> ‘to whiten’	<i>hasé blánku</i>
-izar	<i>central</i>	<i>centralizer</i> ‘to centralize’	-
-ificar	<i>auténtico</i>	<i>autentificar</i> ‘to authenticate’	-
-ecer	<i>húmedo</i>	<i>humedecer</i> ‘to dampen’	<i>hasé muháw</i>
a-...-ar	<i>fino</i>	<i>afinar</i> ‘to tune’	<i>apiná</i>
a-...-ecer	<i>claro</i>	<i>aclarecer</i> ‘to clear up’	<i>hasé kláru</i>
en-...-ar	<i>borracho</i>	<i>emborrachar</i> ‘to make drunk’	<i>embohračá</i>
en-...-ecer	<i>bello</i>	<i>embellecer</i> ‘to beautify’	<i>hasé koryósu</i> <i>hasé áyus</i>

For its part, Tagalog (or Philippine) influence is perhaps more indirect. Naturally, semantic overlaps can be found, but as Tagalog makes use of morphological voice marking to express causatives in causative-focus and indirect-action-focus verbs, its influence is not as directly comparable as the Spanish one. But when examining cases where *hasé* is used in its contracted form *se*, seemingly losing its status as a lexical verb and turning more clitic- or affix-like, the morphological precedent of the Tagalog patterns becomes evident. For bilingual speakers of Chabacano and Tagalog (or other Philippine languages), it would not be surprising to reanalyze the first verb of the serial verb to an affix following the patterns of the dominant language in their surrounding environment. This is further supported by the fact that *hasé* is used as a verbalizer to incorporate borrowings from other languages that do not follow the canonical Chabacano verb stress pattern. Overall, these uses might point towards a grammaticalization process from full verbs and V1s in serial verbs to general verbalizing affixes with parallels in Tagalog prefixation, as in Tagalog *ipinag-away* [cf-fight] ‘cause to fight’. Furthermore, universal tendencies can be observed in the close association between transitivity and causativization that is seen in different uses of *hasé*.

The causatives and related constructions have provided some insight into how semantic and structural overlaps, as well as universal tendencies, mold the causative constructions in Chabacano.

5.2 Unsolved cases: Unstated causees and social motivations

Another interesting phenomenon is presented by unstated causees. When *hasé* or *mandá* occur with transitive verbs, as in *hasé kambyá* ‘make change’ or *asé kitá* ‘make take away’, it modifies generally a V2 that has a non-specific agent or a specific experiencer, as in (1) (see also Baxter 2009: 83). This can be found also in lexical causatives in (17):

- (17) Ternate Chabacano (Sippola 2011: 264)

Kayá lang a-matá kun-éli.
Therefore just PFV-kill OBJ-3SG
‘That is why he was killed.’

It is common that the causee is left to inference in causativized transitive clauses, and in fact, there are very few or no examples found in naturalistic data and none in the spoken natural corpora collected in fieldwork. In elicited structures and in written data, causees can also occur when transitive sentences are modified, as in (18):

- (18) Ternate Chabacano (Sippola fieldwork notes)

Su mádri a mandá kuneli kasá kun quel ómbri de
her mother PFV order 3SG.OBJ marry OBJ DEF man of
bisínu pwéblu.
neighbour village
‘Her mother made her marry the man from the neighbouring village.’

This requires further study. One possible reason could be the tendency for subject omission in general in spoken discourse. Sippola (2011: 262) mentions that subject omission is common in Ternate Chabacano, although the identification of the element depends on the context, such as the previous discourse or shared information (see also Lipski 1994). For example, Ternate Chabacano allows null subjects in sequential verbal structures when the subject referent is available in the immediate discourse context or is of shared knowledge, as in (19).

- (19) Ternate Chabacano (Sippola 2011: 263)

Yo namán... lebantando na durmí, de-labá kára, disé
1SG only waking PREP sleep CTPL-wash face CTPL.make
totbrash... kabándo, di-prepará akél para komé na almwésu.
toothbrush after CTPL-prepare that for eat PREP lunch

‘Well, I, when getting up, I will wash my face, brush my teeth, after, I will prepare that [food] for lunch.’

Another motivation could be found in the influence of the Philippine voice system. In Philippine languages, accusative clauses are intransitive, and transitive clauses are in patient voice. Also, the syntactic alignment of the Philippine languages is accusative, oriented towards the agent, when the theme or the patient is indeterminate, and ergative, oriented towards the patient, when the theme or the patient is determinate (Fernández 2007, 2009: 427; Payne 1982; Nolasco 2005). As we notice in the previous examples, the patients seem to be determinate, pointing towards the fact that the orientation is towards the patient in these clauses. However, the Chabacano verb shows no inflection that would allow for the expression of the voice, while in the Philippine languages the verb expresses the focused element and the voice of the predicate. In addition, argument marking seems to be influenced by the adstrate influence of oblique marking to different degrees in the Chabacano varieties (*kan*, *kang*, *kay* and *sa*) (Fernández 2007, Forman 1993). For reasons of space and problems with the current data, these are only initial observations that might explain the case of unstated causes for Chabacano. Again, an external reason for this would be the bilingualism of the speakers who could resort to the Philippine system in the expression of the Chabacano causative sentences. Future research should compare the frequency of unstated causees with subject omission in other types of clauses.

In addition to the general statements of societal bilingualism facilitating convergence and replication of grammatical matter, it is difficult to pinpoint specific social motivations for the expression of causatives in Chabacano. Sippola and Lesho (2020) connect differences in grammaticalization processes of Chabacano varieties to sociolinguistic reasons, highlighting fossilization of Spanish forms and the adstrate influence from Philippine languages that cause more Tagalog-like patterns. Language endangerment and the shift to Tagalog are noticeable, as is the historical remoteness of Ternate Chabacano from Spanish centers of power in the Philippines. However, the expression of causatives and related constructions, the affix-like behavior of *se-*, and the unstated causees as a result of Philippine influence remains at most conjectural for the time being.

6 Conclusions

In this article, I have presented an overview of causative constructions and related expressions in Chabacano in order to shed light on the valency changing operations in the Hispanization process in the Philippines. The overview has shown

that matter and pattern replication can be observed to different degrees between Spanish and Chabacano, as well as between Tagalog and Chabacano. Chabacano causative constructions draw on Spanish expressions with the verbs *hasé*, *dáli* and *mandá* (among others), although the Spanish derivational mechanisms have been somewhat lost in contact. This is not surprising as we know that much of the morphological productivity is not carried on to the new contact varieties formed at language contact.

Ternate Chabacano shows both matter and pattern replication of the Spanish elements. Causative markers like V1 express direct causation and their occurrence as a light verb in complex predicates with nouns and verbs is an example of this. It is not all lexifier influence, though, as the variation in the occurrence of the form *hasé*, *asé* and *se* would indicate. The semantic parallels with causative-focus and causative indirect-action-focus verbs in Tagalog seem to set a morphological precedent for the transformation of the accented verb *hasé* towards a prefix *se*.

Universal tendencies can be observed in the close association between transitivity and causativization, although the use of *asé* as a verbalizer is an example of the typologically non-prototypical functions that are not confined to the causative prototype and agent introduction. Other internal developments due to Philippine influence such as the relationship between subject omission, unstated causees and Philippine-type voice and argument systems remain to be explored in future studies.

Abbreviations

1/2/3	first/second/third person
A	transitive agent/subject
ACC	accusative
CAUS	causative
CF	causative focus
CTPL	contemplative
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
Eng.	English
FA	focs actor
IAF	indirect action focus
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
N	noun
NEG	negation
O	transitive patient/object

OBJ	object
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PREP	preposition
S	intransitive subject
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive
Sp	Spanish
SVC	serial verb construction
T	topic
TAM	time, aspect, mode
UA	undergoer actor
V	verb

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