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ON THE REDUCTION OF /S/ IN PHILIPPINE CREOLE SPANISH IMPLICATIONS FOR HISTORICAL SPANISH DIALECTOLOGY

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Philippine Creole Spanish (PCS), known locally as Chabacano, provides a unique case of the survival of a major Spanish-based creole language,[1] in a world dominated by English-, French- and Portuguese-based creole dialects. Although several theoretical accounts suggest that PCS stems from an original Asian creole Portuguese base,[2] the contributions of such a hypothetical progenitor were evidently minimal in comparison with the high degree of integration of Spanish and indigeneous Philippine linguistic structures. In reality, the Spanish language made contact with the Philippines for more than 350 years, and although only a very small proportion of the Philippine population ever spoke (non-creolized) Spanish either natively or as a strong second language,[3] Spanish contributed heavily to the lexicon of many Philippine languages,[4] while the Spanish as spoken by Filipinos of varying social condition acquired a strong local flavor. The history of the Spanish-Philippine linguistic interface may be divided into several periods, each of which was characterized by different features and sociolinguistic parameters, and a comparative Hispano-Filipino linguistic study permits considerable insight into the development of the Spanish language outside of Spain from the 16th to the 19th centuries.

Although the first Spanish contacts with the Philippines occurred in the middle of the 16th century, it was not until nearly a century later that a Spanish military and civilian contingent left Ternate in the Moluccas Islands (Indonesia) to fortify the Spanish positions at Manila.[5] These Spanish quasi-refugees brought with them a number of local inhabitants, known as Mardikas, who, it has been suggested, spoke some form of creolized marine Portuguese, and perhaps creole Spanish as well.[6] These Mardikas soon left the Manila area for the shores of Manila Bay, and eventually settled around what is now the town of Ternate, in the province of Cavite. To this day, the Ternateño dialect of Chabacano continues to be spo-

ken, in conjunction with Tagalog, and comparative linguistic evidence points to this as the oldest of the many PCS dialects.[7]

Closer to Manila on the shores of Manila Bay, Cavite City occupies a hook-shaped peninsula pointing toward the city of Manila, which enabled this region (together with nearby Corregidor Island) to become a Spanish fortification guarding the entrance to Manila, and to contain the principal port facilities. Caviteño Chabacano is now in a moribund state, but until the last generation it was the primary language of Cavite City residents.[8] This dialect has been more extensively influenced by subsequent Spanish contacts, since Caviteños dealt with Spaniards on a daily basis in the port of Cavite City and later, until World War II, in the Intramuros and Ermita regions of Manila, where Caviteños sold fish and engaged in other commercial activities.

Both Ternateño and Caviteño share essential features demonstrating a common origin, and thereby differentiate themselves from the other major PCS dialect, that of Zamboanga City (Zamboangueño), where Chabacano is the first language of several hundred thousand inhabitants. The history of Zamboangueño is not as well known, but it appears that when the Spaniards reoccupied this area in 1719 and built a fort, they brought Filipino mercenaries and settlers from numerous areas, including the Manila Bay region. A local variant of Chabacano sprang up, more highly influenced by Philippine (Visayan) elements but structurally similar enough to the Caviteño/Ternateño dialects as to render the possibility of spontaneous generation highly unlikely.[9] The Zamboangueño dialect was subsequently carried to Cotabato City and Davao City, where it continues to survive in small groups to the present time,[10] and to neighboring Basilan and Jolo Islands in the Sulu Sea.

During and following the formation of the Chabacano dialects, non-creole Spanish continued to be spoken in the Philippines, in the major cities and on large plantations and estates owned by mestizo (Hispano-Filipino) families. A not inconsiderable number of Spanish speakers exists even today, although they are widely scattered and have a negligible linguistic impact, and the linguistic features of contemporary Philippine Spanish are quite different from those that gave rise to the PCS dialects. Currently spoken Philippine Spanish is essentially a continuation of late 19th-century Peninsular Spanish from the central regions of Spain (Castille).[11] Even the Caviteño and Zamboangueño dialects were influenced by

Spanish priests, schools and commercial contacts, and despite their definitively creole nature, these dialects exhibit lexical and phonological characteristics which have resulted from later Spanish-Chabacano interaction. However, the sum totality of PCS dialects preserves certain vestiges of 17th century Spanish which have long since disappeared from even the most archaic non-creole dialects of the Spanish-speaking world, and in this sense, Chabacano provides a sort of window into the past, permitting the refinement of proposals and hypotheses concerning the status of 17th century Spanish and its subsequent development. In the following remarks, attention will be directed toward a single feature of the PCS dialects, the realization of /s/ in syllable- and word-final position, since it is the behavior of /s/ which is one of the most significant diachronic events in Spanish, and a major dialectal differentiator of the contemporary language.[12]

In contemporary dialects of Spanish, /s/ is generally realized as a sibilant [s] except in syllable-final position, where greater variability is evidenced. Three main types of dialects may be distinguished, with respect to the behavior of /s/. In the phonologically most conservative dialects (central and northern Spain, most of Mexico and highland Central America, and the highland regions of South America--Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia), syllable- and phrase-final /s/ continues to resist modification in nearly all circumstances. In the second group of dialects, syllable-final /s/ is aspirated to [h] or even deleted [Ø], whereas word-final prevocalic /s/ and usually phrase-final /s/ remain as [s]. These dialects are spoken in south-central and southeastern Spain (La Mancha, Alicante, Murcia), Argentina (Buenos Aires) and Uruguay, coastal Peru (Lima), coastal Mexico (Tabasco, Acapulco) and many other areas, and produce alternations like estos amigos [ehtosamigos] `these friends.' The third, and most `radical' group of dialects extends the aspiration/deletion of word-final /s/ to include prevocalic and phrase-final positions: [ehtohamigo(h)]. Included are the dialects of southern and southwestern Spain (Andalusia and Extremadura), the Canary Islands, the Caribbean/Antillean dialects, Nicaragua, and most of the Pacific coast of South America, as well as Paraguay and bordering areas of Argentina and Bolivia.[13]

The internal history of the reduction of /s/ is difficult to trace;[14] the first written hints of such a reduced pronunciation come in the early 17th century or just before, but such indications may simply result from scribal confusion and/or the variable pronunciation of a

small number of individual lexical items.[15] Given the highly advanced state of reduction of /s/ in most contemporary Spanish dialects, it is nearly impossible to accurately determine the pronunciation of /s/ in 16th and 17th century Spanish by extrapolating from the current state of affairs; rather, recourse must be made to the traces left by popular Spanish of this time period on other languages and dialects which have not suffered the same subsequent phonological evolution.[16] A detailed study of the behavior of /s/ in these dialects will broaden the focus on the use of Philippine languages and dialects as tools for the diachronic investigation of Spanish dialectology.

Before pursuing the comparative study of Chabacano dialects, a word must be added about the behavior of /s/ in contemporary Philippine Spanish, still spoken by an ever-shrinking group of mestizo (Eurasian) families. Although the Spanish language was never implanted as a first or even a strong second language in the Philippines, there has always been a nucleus of Spanish- oriented landowning and business/commercial families who have sustained the use of Spanish at home and even in public life. Despite the varied demographic panorama of Hispano-Philippine contacts over more than 350 years, and in particular the strong Mexican influence, contemporary Philippine Spanish is dominated by features of late 19th century Spanish of central and northern Spain.[17] With respect to pronunciation of /s/, contemporary Philippine Spanish exhibits the same phonologically conservative treatment as north-central Spain; /s/ is realized as [s] in virtually all syllable-final contexts. Moreover, the interdental fricative /θ/ continues to be realized as [θ] in a significant number of cases, reflecting a feature found only in a small area of Spain (and, significantly, not found in any Chabacano dialect or even idiolect). Most Spanish borrowings in the Philippine languages also retain syllable- and particularly word-final /s/, even adopting the plural form ending with -s as a singular form: ang casillas (Sp. la casilla) `toilet,' ang plores (Sp. la flor) `flower,' etc. This behavior in contemporary Philippine Spanish is clearly a reflection of the last phrase of Hispano-Philippine linguistic contact; in the case of Hispanic borrowings into Philippine languages, the case is not as transparent, and further comparative evidence must be adduced. Some Hispanisms in Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilocano, etc. reflect words and pronunciations found several centuries ago, but in most instances, more recent contact with Spanish speakers has tempered the form of the borrowings. This is particularly true

with respect to the palatal lateral phoneme /ʎ/ (spelled ll), which was presumably already pronounced as [y] by the Andalusian and Mexican Spanish speakers of the late 16th and early 17th centuries, but which is generally pronounced as [ʎ] in both Philippine Spanish and in borrowed Hispanisms among the Philippine languages; this reflects the Castillian/aristocratic pronunciation used by Spanish speakers in the Philippines toward the end of the Spanish domination of that country. Pronunciation of /s/ in Philippine Hispanisms may similarly reflect the continuing pressure of successive waves of Spanish speakers living in the Philippines.[18]

Tracing the behavior of /s/ among PCS dialects is complicated by a number of factors, in addition to the temporal overlays of successive varieties of Spanish. In general, Chabacano exhibits no nominal inflection, using the singular form of nouns and the masculine singular (unmarked) form of adjectives, articles, possessives and other determiners. Pluralization is effected through use of the Philippine particle mga (pronounced variously [maga], [mana] and [maŋa]). Thus, whereas Spanish has el libro, los libros `the book(s),' la mujer, las mujeres `the woman(en),' Chabacano has el libro, el mga libro, el mujer, el mga mujer, respectively. To Spanish la mujer alta `the tall woman,' corresponds PCS el mujer alto, and so forth. However, complete neutralization of nominal gender and number has not occurred in Chabacano, or what is more likely, partial decreolization has taken place due to subsequent contacts with Spanish speakers. A not inconsiderable number of adjectives in the Caviteño and Zamboangueño dialects of Chabacano, exhibit gender inflection in a sporadic and non-systematic fashion, especially when referring to human beings. These include lindo, guapo, bonito `pretty, beautiful,' casado `married,' and so forth. A few noun pairs also retain the masculine/feminine distinction, such as *maestro*/maestra `teacher (m./f.),' cocinero/*cocinera* `cook (m./f.),' etc.[19]

In the realm of inflection for plural, the PCS dialects also exhibit a slight variabiliity; while use of completely marked Spanish plural NPs is rare, partial marking (using final -/s/ as the plural marker) does occur, and some fixed expressions entirely in Spanish have filtered into Chabacano, especially in Zamboanga: buenas noches `good evening,' buenas tardes `good afternoon,' buenas días (Sp. buenos días) `good day,' todos los demás `all the others,' ese dos mga jovencitos `those two young men,' quince minutos antes de a las diez `fifteen minutes before ten o`clock,' etc.[20]

Finally, although in theory all PCS dialects have eliminated verbal inflection in favor of the three-tiered system of temporal/aspectual particles and generally obligatory use of subject pronouns, a few cases of Spanish verbal inflection do occur, especially in Zamboanga, and some of these conjugated forms end in /s/: tenemos `we have´ (Chabacano tiene kitá/kamé), sabes tu `you know´ (Ch. sabe tu), no sé (Ch. no sabe yo) `I don´t know,´ digo (Ch, ta ablá yo) `I mean,´ etc.

The cumulative effect of the above cases is the difficulty of rigidly establishing a control grid for all occurrences of /s/ in Chabacano, due to the possibility for a Hispanized form occurring instead of a legitimate PCS variant. For example, while in the expression el mga jóvenes, the final /s/ could be lost without erasing the plural marking (since the singular form is joven, without final /e/), the same is not true for diez minutos, cincuenta pesos or cuarenta y cinco años, where only the final /s/ differentiates the Spanish (pluralized) word from the usual Chabacano form. Thus, a quantitative analysis of the behavior of word-final /s/ in Chabacano will be only approximate, since lack of /s/ may signal either a process of deletion or a creolized form in which /s/ is not present in the underlying representation, whereas an overt [s] may signal an implanted Hispanism, of questionable value in a quantitative study of Chabacano language behavior. In the quantitative analyses to be presented below, a compromise was reached regarding tabulation of word-final /s/. No cases of /s/ were included in the analysis if the /s/ signalled noun or adjective plurality or a conjugated verbal suffix; the only exceptions were time combinations with a las and the constructions todos los and todas las `all the,´ and the demonstratives estos `these,´ esos and aquellos `those,´ all well-attested in PCS dialects. All other instances of word-final /s/ are purely lexical, as are, of course, all cases of word-internal implosive /s/. Moreover, no cases of /s/ were tabulated for non-Spanish words. While this selection procedure does not preclude the possibility of an occasional recent Spanish borrowing with word-final lexical /s/, it does eliminate from consideration possibly decreolized forms exhibiting nominal concord, and therefore weights the data in favor of forms which in all probability have suffered the normal PCS phonetic and phonological developments.

Another aspect to be considered is the difference between a purely phonetically-motivated process of reduction of /s/, via the progression [s] > [h] > [Ø], and a morphologically-oriented elimination of redundant or

overlooked word-final /s/, in which the transition [s] > [Ø] does not include a stage of phonetic weakening such as aspiration. It is assumed that in most dialects of Spanish, reduction of /s/ is essentially a phonetically motivated phenomenon, which first began with syllable-final /s/, most probably only in preconsonantal positions. However, there is some evidence that suggests that even within this general category, the original processes reduced only word-final preconsonantal /s/ (as in los libros `the books´) and did not as often affect word-internal preconsonantal /s/ (as in estrella `star´).[21]

In contrast to the assumed phonetic development of word-final /s/ in Peninsular Spanish, under differing circumstances of bilingualism and multilingual contact, Spanish /s/ has undergone other modifications which hint at non-phonetic factors. For example, in the Spanish as spoken by African slaves recently arrived from that area (bozales) in the 15th-18th centuries, we have evidence that word-final /s/ was frequently eliminated, not through purely phonetic reduction but rather because this morphological pattern did not conform to the African languages spoken by the slaves.[22] Currently in the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea, the only Spanish-speaking nation in black Africa, syllable- and word-final /s/ is quite resistant, similar to the situation for Philippine Spanish, but in those situations where /s/ does fall, it never passes through a stage of aspiration [h], and is usually found in a morphologically redundant position.[23] A similar behavior pattern is in evidence among the Afro-Ecuadorian population of the Chota Valley, a unique Afro-Hispanic group living in highland South America.[24] In zones of bilingualism involving Spanish and one or more Amerindian languages, word-final /s/ may also be reduced in a purely morphological fashion, at times to signal redundancy within a noun phrase, and at times on a more random basis.[25] Finally, popular variants of Brazilian Portuguese are well known for the massive elimination of word-final /s/ in nouns and adjectives within the noun phrase, usually leaving at most one /s/ to signal the plurality of the entire NP.[26]

Turning now to the behavior of /s/ in the various PCS dialects, we consider first the data from the Ternateño dialect, which conserves a high proportion of elements from the first Hispano-Philippine linguistic contacts.[27] In this case, as with the other Chabacano dialects, a detailed quantitative analysis of the behavior of word-final /s/ is problematic, and even though some elementary quantitative data will be presented below, these should be evaluated with due caution.

Noteworthy in the Ternateño dialect is the total loss of /s/ from the end of the original Spanish subject pronouns: mihotro (< nosotros), buhotro (< vosotros), lo(h)otro (< los otros), ustede (< ustedes), and bo(h) (< vos). It is worth mentioning that in contemporary popular Spanish of those areas where word-final /s/ is reduced (and even in some areas where it resists effacement, such as in most of Mexico), the word nosotros is frequently pronounced [nohotro(s)], and is written as nojotros in dialect literature. Similarly, los otros 'the others' may be pronounced as [lohotroh] in these same dialects, ustedes is realized as [uhtede(h)], and in those Latin American Spanish dialects where vos is still retained as a subject pronoun (predominantly Central America and the Southern Cone region), the most usual pronunciation is with aspirated or deleted final /s/. Given the accurate recognition of Spanish word-final /s/ in many other Ternateño words evidently borrowed during the first stage of the formation of Chabacano, the pronunciation of the subject pronouns strongly suggests that in the Andalusian/coastal Mexican Spanish of the late 17th century word-final /s/ was already being aspirated, at least in some words. That implosive /s/ was also subject to this process is indicated by words like embihtada 'fist fight' (< Sp. embestada), ehti 'this' (<ehte), imprehtá 'to borrow' (< prestar), inanti 'before' (< pop. Sp. enantes/endenantes), a lah sei 'six o'clock' (< a las seis), mah 'more' (< mas), mahki(n) 'even/although' (< Sp./Port/ mas que), and several others.

The Caviteño dialect contains many of the same forms as the Ternateño dialect, although the pronominal system is slightly different.[28] Although the Caviteño plural pronouns are usually written and sometimes pronounced nisos, vusos and ilos, and the second-person singular form is given as bos, a pronunciation without final [s] is much more common in spoken Caviteño, and this was probably the prevailing pronunciation until the last century, when the presence of Spanish-speaking teachers and clergy implanted an awareness of modern Spanish among Chabacano-speaking residents of Cavite. Since Cavite was in linguistic contact not only with 19th century Spanish but also with the evidently more modernized Chabacano dialects of the city of Manila (Ermita, Malate and San Nicolas areas), the presence of implosive [s] in many Caviteño words cannot definitely be attributed to the formative stages of that dialect.

In is in the Zamboangueño dialect of Chabacano, being the largest and most vigorous of the PCS dialects, that the reduction of syllable- and word-final /s/ may be most clearly observed. In the pronominal system, only bos (normally pronounced [bo(h)] and usté (pronounced [ohté] or [uhté])/ustedes [uhtedes] exhibit reduced /s/ in informal Zamboangueño speech, since the remaining Spanish pronouns ending in /s/ have been replaced by Visayan forms ending in a vowel. The final /s/ of vosotros is rarely weakened in this dialect, but the form itself appears to be a 19th-century Spanish reintroduction into Chabacano, rather than a carryover from the earliest stages; even today it has a distinctly formal or literary flavor, being used most extensively in radio broadcasting and in solemn language. In the quantitative analyses, the final /s/ of both ustedes and vosotros have been tabulated, despite the distinct possibility that at least the latter term may be a recent reintroduction. The reduction of word-internal syllable-final /s/ is much more far-reaching in the Zamboangueño dialect, potentially affecting all words that exhibit the [s$C] configuration, without regard to the specific words. Certain lexical items have extraordinarily high frequency of reduced implosive /s/ in informal speech;[29] these include maskin [mahkin] 'whatever,' después [de(h)pwe(h)] 'after,' dispertá [dihpertá] 'to awaken,' este [ehte] 'this,' pescao [pehkao] 'fish,' hasta [ahta] 'until,' and many others. All words exhibiting syllable-final /s/ are subject to the aspiration and occasional deletion of the /s/, with frequencies approaching 100% in the more popular speech styles.

Significantly, in Zamboanga, the aspiration of implosive /s/ is found more frequently among older residents of the rural areas, i.e. where later influence of the Spanish language was least effective. Aspiration of /s/ is immediately noted by city dwellers, whose own speech also presents the same process, although to a lesser extent, and by individuals from other, non Chabacano-speaking provinces who move to Zamboanga. Among Cotabato Chabacano speakers, the reduction of /s/ in the Zamboangueño dialect is frequently commented on, since this process does not as often occur in the Cotabato variety, which was transplanted from Zamboanga towards the end of the 19th century. In the Tamontaka area of Cotabato City where Chabacano has traditionally been spoken, the presence of Spanish priests and teachers well into the present century may have counteracted a pronunciation which was in all probability inherited from the Zamboangueño dialect.

Even remaining within the urban population of Zamboanga City, reduction of /s/ is sociolinguistically stratified, being significantly more frequent among mem-

bers of the lower working classes, who once more were not in such close contact with contemporary Spanish speakers at the end of the Spanish period in Zamboanga. There is also a significant age grading, among speakers of all three groups, in that the youngest generation exhibits much lower rates of reduction of /s/; this may well reflect the influence of public education, which unlike in the past now reaches all residents of Zamboanga City and its environs, and the recent (last 10 years) use of somewhat normative Chabacano by the local radio stations and in the schools. This presents an apparent paradox, in that older Zamboangueños exhibit reduction of /s/ consistent with the period immediately preceding the last period of Spanish influence; these pronunciation patterns were evidently learned from previous generations of speakers, before incipient phonetic decreolization began. The youngest Zamboangueños, on the other hand, have comparatively little linguistic contact with the oldest speakers, who frequently reduce syllable-final /s/, and are influenced by the speech of teachers, radio announcers and their own parents, whose speech exhibits reduced rates of reduction of /s/. Among younger speakers, aspiration of /s/ is less common than deletion, indicating that an earlier, active process of aspiration has been imperfectly perceived as a simple non-phonetic deletion. It should also be noted that in urban Zamboangueño speech, aspiration of /s/ is no longer an active process, in that newly borrowed or coined Chabacano or English words containing syllable-final /s/ are not ordinarily affected; in rural speech, on the other hand, this reduction of syllable-final /s/ usually carries over to newly introduced Chabacano terms and English words, all of which suggests lack of phonetic decreolization in the rural areas.

Table 1 gives an approximate view of the behavior of syllable-final /s/ in the various PCS dialects, where quantitative data from six sociolinguistic/age groups in Zamboanga are compared, together with data from Ternate and Cative.[30] The Caviteño data for word-final /s/ have been subdivided; the gross figures have been supplemented by the figures in parenthesis, which indicate behavior of words other than the subject pronouns nisos and ilos, which account for the majority of cases of loss of word-final /s/, given the highly variable pronunciation of these words. The Ternateño data show higher rates of retention of /s/, since aspiration or loss of /s/ has been lexicalized in the subject pronouns and many nouns, and has therefore not been tabulated in this study, which deals only with currently variable pronunciation.

Table 1: syllable-final /s/ in Chabacano dialects (in %)

group	/s/$C			/s/#C			/s/##		
	[s]	[h]	[Ø]	[s]	[h]	[Ø]	[s]	[h]	[Ø]
Z. urb. prof. (<35 yrs.)	96	2	2	96	3	1	96	2	2
Z. urb. prof. (>35 yrs.)	68	25	8	69	25	6	83	6	11
Z. urb. work. (<35 yrs.)	84	15	1	88	10	2	93	2	5
Z. urb. work. (>35 yrs.)	72	24	4	75	16	9	91	2	7
Z. rural work. (<35 yrs.)	56	40	4	70	27	3	91	5	4
Z. rural work. (>35 yrs.)	16	77	7	23	66	11	61	21	18
Cavite	99	1	0	41 (71)	6 (12)	53 (17)	61 (98)	1 (0)	38 (2)
Ternate	56	39	5	57	17	26	93	3	4

Legend: C = consonant; $ = syllable boundary; # = word boundary; ## = phrase boundary

Given the limitations noted earlier, the figures on the behavior of /s/ in word- and phrase-final position are only approximate; in particular, the [Ø] variant cannot be entirely differentiated from the absence of /s/ as a carryover from the creolization process. Only in the case of well-established lexicalized final /s/ (e.g. endenantes `before,' después `after,' rábanos `radish,') is the presence of [Ø] a clear indication of deletion of /s/, rather than of an unaltered creole variant. On the other hand, the higher rate of reduction of /s/ among older rural Zamboangueños who had less contact with Spanish speakers during the 19th and early 20th centuries points to this pronunciation as an earlier variant which has

been partially suppressed in the slightly decreolized (at least in the phonetic dimension) urban Zamboangueño dialect. Also of significance is the fact that the reduction of /s/ more often gives an aspiration [h] than total elision [Ø] among older speakers, thereby suggesting an earlier model of Spanish pronunciation in which reduction of /s/ was phonetically motivated. Among older urban speakers, the rates of reduction of /s/ are essentially the same regardless of social class, reflecting earlier periods when no normative Chabacano existed, in the schools or in the public media. Once more, the figures for word-final /s/ may contain some decreolized forms, despite the selection process described above. This is most likely responsible for the higher apparent rate of reduction of word-internal preconsonantal /s/ as compared with word-final preconsonantal position, since in most other Spanish dialects reduction of /s/ is more frequent in the latter context. In most Spanish dialects, phrase-final /s/ is more resistant to reduction and effacement than preconsonantal /s/, and the PCS data are consistent with this trend.

In order to place the above data in a more adequate comparative perspective, it is also necessary to consider the behavior of /s/ in key Spanish dialects, including contemporary Philippine Spanish, Mexican Spanish, Castilian (Central Spain) Spanish, and the dialects of Andalusia and the Canary Islands which provided the basis for generalized Caribbean Spanish beginning early in the 17th century. Within the Mexican dialect zone, we shall consider data from Mexico City, the national prestige standard and representative of most interior regions of the country, and from Acapulco, since it was from this port that the Spanish galleons left for Manila. In Spain, the Madrid/Castilian data are given to represent the final phase of the Spanish linguistic presence in the Philippines, which is largely responsible for the phonetic features of Philippine Spanish. Table 2 gives comparative quantitative data for a number of important Spanish dialect zones:[31]

Table 2: behavior of /s/ in key Spanish dialects (in %)

dialect	/s/$C			/s/#C			/s/##		
	[s]	[h]	[Ø]	[s]	[h]	[Ø]	[s]	[h]	[Ø]
Philippines	100	0	0	96	2	2	98	0	2
Mexico City	96	4	0	65	32	3	95	2	3
Acapulco	15	82	3	2	87	11	10	20	70
Madrid	94	6	0	69	29	2	82	12	6
Seville	0	95	5	0	91	9	5	2	93
Las Palmas	2	85	13	0	89	11	2	17	81

Legend: C = consonant; $ = syllable boundary; # = word boundary; ## = phrase boundary

Even such coarse quantitative data are sufficient to discern general tendencies. The urban Zamboangueño data and those of Caviteño and even Ternateño Chabacano fall in line with those of contemporary Philippine Spanish, and with the speech of north-central Spain and highland Mexico. The behavior of /s/ in rural Zamboangueño speech and to a much lesser degree Ternateño is more closely aligned with the behavior of Acapulco, although not reaching the nearly categorical reduction of /s/ as found in Andalusia and the Canary Islands.

Subject to the limitations noted during the course of the preceding discussion, the following tentative conclusions may be suggested based on the behavior of /s/ in the various PCS dialects.

(1) Assuming, as all available evidence suggests, that the Ternateño dialect reflects the earliest form of Chabacano, then implosive and/or word-final /s/ was already weakened to [h] in the Spanish dialects brought to the Philippines as early as the end of the 17th century.

(2) This reduction, while it may not have affected the entire Spanish lexicon in the earliest stages, evi-

dently affected the pronominal system and other elements with high frequencies of occurence.

(3) Both the Caviteño and the Zamboangueño dialects of PCS were strongly influenced by subsequent contacts with the Spanish language, representing the speech of north-central Spain; these contacts are indicated not only by such comparatively recent lexical innovations as aeroplano `airplane,' auto `automobile' and policía `police,' but also by phonetic characteristics. These include the presence of the palatal lateral phoneme /ʎ/, the low level of neutralization of syllable-final /l/ and /r/, the alveolar pronunciation of word-final /n/, and most especially, the retention of the sibilant allophone [s] for the majority of cases of syllable- and word-final /s/.

(4) The differential behavior of /s/ between rural and urban Zamboangueño speakers reflects the greater overlay of Spanish influence among the latter group, and the partial decreolization that has occurred in urban Zamboangueño phonetics.

(5) In general, the behavior of /s/ in contemporary Chabacano dialects complements data derived from isolated Spanish-speaking enclaves in other parts of the word, and provides a window into Spanish phonetic patterns of previous centuries. The PCS data suggest, among other things, (a) that word-final /s/ was affected by elision somewhat earlier than word-internal preconsonantal /s/, while in the latter case aspiration was evidently more common ; (b) that the Spanish dialects filtered through Mexico to the Philippines at the beginning of the Spanish presence in the latter area contained significant Andalusian phonetic traits; and (c) that these traits included reduction of /s/ as early as the first decades of the 17th century.

The Philippine Creole Spanish data are not in themselves sufficient to warrant definitive claims as to the status of 17th century Spanish pronunciation, but they are quite suggestive when taken in conjunction with philological and contemporary dialect evidence from other areas of the Spanish-speaking world. Chabacano phonetic patterns have usually been studied from the standpoint of interference from native Philippine languages on received Spanish. The remarks contained in the present work suggest a wider dimensionality for Chabacano studies, in order to delve further into the dialectal varieties of Spanish which crisscrossed the world in the 16th and 17th centuries, and which left different traces in each port of call.

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NOTES

1 Minor Spanish-creoles still exist, or have existed up until recently. These include Colombian palenquero (Friedemann and Patiño Rosselli 1983, Friedemann and Cross 1979, Bickerton and Escalante 1970, Escalante 1954, Ochoa Franco 1945); the speech of the negros congos of Panama (Lipski a, b; Drolet 1980; Joly 1981); Cuban and Puerto Rican bozal (Africanized) Spanish (Granda 1969, 1978; Otheguy 1975); and earlier Afro-Ecuadoran speech (Lipski c, d). Partially creolized (or decreolized) Spanish continues to be spoken in parts of the Dominican Republic (González and Benavides 1982), on the Caribbean island of Trinidad (Moodie 1973, a; Lipski e), and reportedly in parts of northwestern Colombia (Granda 1977, 1978). Papiamentu, spoken in the Netherlands Antilles, is often considered as a Spanish-based creole, although its creole Portuguese element is much more prominent.

2 In particular Whinnom (1956, 1965); also Hancock (1973, 1975); for a slightly different view, cf. Batalha (1960).

3 Cf. Whinnom (1954, 1956), Quilis (1980, 1984), Lipski (f), Bowen (1971), Gonzalez (1980: 31), Hayden (1947: 603), Phelan (1959), Retana (1921), Sibayan (1971), Frake (1971).

4 Quilis (1973, 1976); Morales Goulet (1971), Wolff (1973-4), López (1965), Oficina de Educación Iberoamericana (1972).

5 Whinnom (1956), Frake (1971), Molony (1973), Saulo and Ocampo (1985).

6 This was suggested by Whinnom (1956) and reinforced by Frake (1971) and Molony (1973). However, see Tirona (1923) for other information on early Mardika speech; also cf. Batalha (1960).

7 Whinnom (1956), Frake (1971), Molony (1973), Riego de Dios (1978).

8 Cf. Santos y Gomez (1923), Miranda (1956), Whinnom (1956), Llamado (1972), Germán (1932).

[9] Frake (1971), Whinnom (1956), Forman (1972), McKaughan (1954), Evangelista (1972), Maño (1963), Domingo (1967).

[10] Riego de Dios (1976a, 1976b, 1978), Whinnom (1956).

[11] Cf. Bowen (1971), Lipski (f), Whinnom (1954, 1956).

[12] Cf. Lipski (1984a), Terrell (1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1983).

[13] See, in addition to the sources cited in fn. 12, Canfield (1981), Lipski (1985b).

[14] Some attempts have even been made to attribute this phenomenon in Latin America to the presence of large numbers of African slaves who spoke Spanish only imperfectly. A more probable hypothesis is that such speakers merely extended popular tendencies which were already documented for southern Spain and the emerging Spanish American colonies at the same time period. Cf. Otheguy (1975); for a more cautious view, cf. Alvarez Nazario (1974) and Lipski (g).

[15] Cf. Boyd-Bowman (1975), Lapesa (1980).

[16] The study of such offshoots of earlier Spanish pronunciation has at times been attempted with Papiamentu, spoken in the Netherlands Antilles; with the Afro-Colombian creole dialect known as palenquero, with several major Philippine languages, and at times, also with PCS. In the latter two cases, significant differences have been found between the earliest contacts, such as those reflected in Ternateño Chabacano and some Ilocano and Cebuano borrowings, and later Spanish borrowings which more generally hint at 19th century pronunciation patterns. Cf. Molony (1973), Riego de Dios (1978), Whinnom (1956), Quilis (1970, 1980, 1984).

[17] Cf. Lipski (f), Whinnom (1954, 1956), Bowen (1971). Even those Hispano-Filipinos whose parents or grandparents came from Andalusia or other non-Castilian speaking areas of Spain speak the same homogenized Philippine Spanish dialect, in which only a handful of lexical items (most of which are also found in the major Philippine languages) suggest the Mexican or earlier Spanish influences.

[18] Cf. Quilis (1973, 1976, 1980, 1984); Wolff (1973-4).

[19] Cf. Riego de Dios (1976a, b), Llamado (1972), Batausa (1965), Domingo (1967), Evangelista 1972), Macansantos (1971), Maño (1971), McKaughan (1954). Despite considerable scholarly attention, no pattern to such variable use of nominal inflection has been discovered to date.

[20] Unless otherwise noted, all cited examples were collected by the author during a period of field work in the Philippines in 1985, sponsored by a Fulbright Research Fellowship. During this period it was possible to study in situ Chabacano-speaking groups in Cavite, Ternate, Manila, Zamboanga, Basilan, Jolo, Cotabato and Davao.

[21] Cf. Lipski (1984a), Terrell (1980, 1983). Conditions of paradigmatic regularity subsequently extended the reduction of word-final /s/ to phrase-final and still later to prevocalic positions (los amigos `the friends') in the phonologically most advanced dialects, and the current state of affairs is characterized by such high rates of aspiration and deletion of /s/ in all positions that it is impossible from purely synchronic evidence to reconstruct earlier stages in the evolution of /s/.

[22] Cf. Lipski (g), Alvarez Nazario (1974).

[23] Cf. Lipski (1984b, 1985), Granda (1985).

[24] Cf. Lipski (c, d), Granda (1978).

[25] Cf. for example, Granda (1977), Montes Giraldo (1974), for a description of one such area in Colombia.

[26] Cf. Azevedo (1984), Rodrigues (1974), Amaral (1955).

[27] Cf. Tirona (1923), Nigoza (1985), Molony (1973), Whinnom (1956).

[28] Cf. Santos y Gómez (1923), Miranda (1956), Germán (1932), Molony (1973), Whinnom (1956), Llamado (1969, 1972), Riego de Dios (1976a).

[29] For example, cf. the comments offered by Apostol (1963-7) on the pronunciation of popular Zamboangueño Chabacano. Currently, the aspiration of implosive /s/ in Zamboangueño leads to occasional hypercorrection; in the present corpus, másquina for máquina `machine' was observed, evidently influenced by the pronunciation of maskin `although, whatever' as [mahkin].

[30] In each category, 5 informants were interviewed for an average of 30 minutes, and the recorded interviews were analyzed for instances of /s/. In Cavite and Ternate, it is not linguistically significant to divide the

sample along sociolectal parameters; the 5 Caviteño informants included men and women (ages 47-79) from the working class to the professional class. The Ternateño informants (ages 38-80) were clustered around the middle working class, although two would be adequately classified as semi-rural in origin. The Zamboangueño urban professional group consisted of men and women whose ages ranged from 21 to 63; the urban working class sample had an age range from 19 to 55; the rural working class sample had an age range from 22 to 74.

[31] Collection and anlysis of these materials is described in Lipski (1983, 1984a, 1985b, 1985c).

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SUMMARY

Philippine Creole Spanish ('Chabacano') continues to be spoken in several areas of the Philippines and offers a useful perspective on the development of Spanish during the 17th and 18th centuries. The present study traces the development of syllable-final /s/ in Chabacano, using a variational model. A comparative investigation of the principal Chabacano dialects, those of Manila Bay (the original forms) and the dialect of Zamboanga (a later transplantation, partially decreolized) reveals the continued existence of a process of reduction of implosive /s/. By including additional data on the behavior of /s/ in comptemporary dialects of Spain, Mexico, and Latin America, it is possible to arrive at the conclusion that Philippine Creole Spanish is a legitimate tool in historical Hispanic dialectology, and that the reduction of /s/ most probably was well under way at least by the middle of the 17th century, in the Spanish dialects brought to the Philippines via Mexico.

RÉSUMÉ

Le créole espagnol des Philippines (le 'Chabacano') est encore parlé dans certaines régions de ce pays; il offre une perspective utile sur le développement de l'espagnol pendant les XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Le présent travail retrace le développement du /s/ dans la position finale d'une syllabe en Chabacano en se servant d'un modèle 'variationnel'. Une étude comparative des dialectes principaux du Chabacano, à savoir ceux de la Baie Manila (les formes originales) et celui de Zamboanga (une transplantation ultérieure, partiellement décréolosée), laisse voir l'existence continue d'un procès de réduction de l'implosive /s/. En incluant des données additionnelles sur le comportement du /s/ dans les dialectes contemporains de l'Espagne, du Mexique et de l'Amérique latine, il est possible d'arriver à la conclusion que le créole espagnol des Philippines est un outil légitime en dialectologie historique hispanique et que la réduction du /s/ fut probablement en cours au moins vers le milieu du XVIIe siècle dans les dialectes espagnols apportés aux Philippines via le Mexique.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Das spanische Kreol der Philippinen (das sog. 'Chabacano') wird noch heute in verschiedenen Gegenden des Landes gesprochen; es bietet uns eine nützliche Perspektive zur Entwicklung des Spanischen während des 17. und des 18. Jahrhunderts. Die vorliegende Arbeit, auf einem Variationsmodell aufbauend, untersucht die Entwicklung des /s/ in End-