EDICIONES
COMPLUTENSE

Zamboanga Chavacano: A Survey on Written Practices, Reactions and Impact of its (Standardised) Orthography

Marcelo Yuji Himoro[1] ; Antonio Pareja-Lora[2]

Abstract. Zamboanga Chavacano is the most vibrant Philippine Creole Spanish variety. Since the implementation of the Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE) program in 2012, it has been taught as a subject and used as a medium of instruction in the public schools of Zamboanga City. Despite the approval of an orthography in 2014, it continues to be written using ad hoc spelling systems influenced by Filipino, English and Spanish to varying degrees. By means of a self-administered questionnaire distributed in social media, this study aims to investigate the level of awareness of the speakers to the orthography, their reactions to it, and show that it may be fairly complex for the average speaker. The results of this survey allowed us to preliminarily identify the contexts in which the language is usually written and devise a suitable corpus of written Chavacano for the study of the spelling errors made by the speakers.
Keywords: Chavacano; Zamboanga; questionnaire; orthography.

[cbk] Chavacano de Zamboanga: Un estudio na manera de escribida, maga opinion, y el efecto del (nuevo) ortografia

Abstract. El Chavacano de Zamboanga amo el de con todo vivo na todo clase de Chabacano o el que se llama "Philippine Creole Spanish". Del ya implementa con el programa del "Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education" (MTB-MLE) na 2012, ya queda este un asignatura y ta usa tambien na maga escuela publico del ciudad de Zamboanga. Masquin ya introduci ya el ta llama "Zamboanga Chavacano Orthography" del 2014, ta continua siempre el maga gente usa clase-clase de mezclao sistema de escribida base na Filipino, Ingles, y Español. Por medio de un cuestionario, que ya hace kalayat na social media, este estudio ta precura medi quilaya de familiar el maga gente ta conversa Chavacano con el ortografia pati el de ila maga opinion por causa con este. Ta dale mira tambien que bien complicao el nuevo ortografia para kanila. El resulta de este survey ya permiti identifica na preliminario manera na cosa situacion ta escribi con el lenguaje para puede crea con un corpus del Chavacano escribido. Con este ya usa na estudio del maga palabra que hende facil escribi o que otro el deletreada asegun na nuevo ortografia.
Keywords: Chavacano; Zamboanga; cuestionario; ortografia.

---

[1]   Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (Spain)
       E-mail: mhimoro1@alumno.uned.es
       ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7591-0354
[2]   Universidad de Alcalá (Spain), Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (Spain)
       E-mail: antonio.parejal@uah.es
       ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5804-4119

1. Introduction

The Republic of the Philippines, better known as the Philippines, is an archipelago situated in Southeast Asia comprising 7,641 islands, spread over a land area of 300,000 square miles (GOV.PH, 2014) and home to different ethnic groups speaking as many as 135 languages (Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino (KWF), 2015). In the course of its history, the Philippines was colonised by the Spaniards for over 300 years, followed by 48 years of U.S. rule. This has left a profound mark in the local languages and cultures. A by-product of this contact with the Spanish explorers and different local tribes is the so-called Philippine Creole Spanish (PCS), a group of closely related Spanish-based creole languages locally known as "Chabacano" or "Chavacano" and whose possible origins have been subjected to different theories and an intense debate (Fernández, 2015; Fernández & Sippola, 2017; Grant, 2013; Lipski, 1992; Whinnom, 1956).

Among its six known varieties, Zamboangueño is, as shown in Table 1, the most vibrant Chabacano variety to this date and the only one still enjoying natural growth. Spoken mainly in Zamboanga City and small pockets in Basilan, it ranks 16 among the languages of the Philippines in terms of its number of L1 (native) speakers, according to data from the Filipino 2010 Census of Population and Housing [CPH] (National Statistics Office (NSO), 2014a; Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA), 2014). These figures do not include the diaspora nor a considerable number of L2 (second language) speakers.

Variety	CPH 2000		CPH 2010	
	Households	Speakers	Households	Speakers
Zamboangueño	69.041	356.165	90.243	405.798
Davaoeño	810	3.938	580	2.616
Cotabateño	980	5.016	573	2.741
Caviteño	796	3.959	1.177	5.483
Ternateño	495	2.416		
Ermiteño	No data			

Table 1. Number of L1 speakers and households of Chabacano varieties in the whole Philippines according to the 2000 and 2010 Census of Population and Housing (CPH), estimated using data from National Statistics Office (NSO) (2003a, 2014a); Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) (2014). Caviteño and Ternateño were grouped under the label Caviteño-Chavacano in the 2010 CPH and Ermiteño is believed to be extinct (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig, 2020).

Zamboanga Chabacano, referred to as "Chavacano" (with a V) henceforth for simplicity, was once considered the lingua franca of the multicultural Zamboanga City. However, since the last decades, it has been experiencing the effects of successive demographic changes, multiglossia and the pressure of English and Filipino–official and national languages of the country, respectively–in education. The testimonials of many older Zamboangueños suggest (i) a declining use of the language in areas of daily life where it used to be heard and (ii) that it might no longer be the preferred language for socialisation among the young generations (Himoro, 2019). CPH data (see Table 2) seems to corroborate this issue, as it shows that, despite the still-growing absolute number of L1 speakers of Chavacano, their ratio to the Zamboanga City population has been continuously decreasing for at least four decades.

In the next two subsections, firstly, we will briefly discuss the reintroduction of Chavacano in the basic education and the development of a standardised spelling system (Zamboanga Chavacano Orthography); and secondly, we will describe the research goals of this work.

Year	%	No. of speakers	Population
1970	58.33%	116,611	199,901
1980	53.15%	182,701	343,722
1990	48.71%	215,490	442,345
2000	46.57%	280,252	601,794
2010	43.39%	350,240	807,129

Table 2. Ratio of L1 speakers of Chavacano in the population of Zamboanga City according to 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010 CPHs (National Census and Statistics Office (NCSO), 1974, 1983; National Statistics Office (NSO), 1992, 2003b, 2014b).

1.1. Zamboanga Chavacano Orthography

One of the biggest changes brought by the education reform that implemented the K-12 curriculum in the Philippines in 2012 was the nationwide introduction of the Mother-Tongue Based Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE) program. Accordingly, Chavacano was reinstated as a medium of instruction (the language was previously used as a medium of instruction during the 1960's), and it is since taught as a subject as well in the public schools of Zamboanga City from Grade 1 to 3 (GOV.PH, 2011). This has motivated the local government to take steps towards some degree of standardisation of Chavacano, resulting in the development of a standardised orthography (Zamboanga Chavacano Orthography) in 2014, followed by the publication of a basic grammar and a two-volume English-Chavacano dictionary.

The standardised orthography partially puts an end to heated debates around how to write the language, but not without issues. Its main principle establishes that words should be written according to their language of origin (DepEd, Division of Zamboanga City, 2016), thus prioritising etymology, though at the expense of reflecting its particular phonetic evolution. This creates two main problems: 1) it requires users to know what the language of origin of a given lexical item is and 2) be aware of the spelling rules of different language codes. Another controversial, worth mentioning issue that remains unsolved is the fact that as of now there is no consensus on how to spell its own glottonym (Fernández, 2021): a considerable part of its speakers' community seems to favour the more traditional spelling "Chavacano" over the Spanish-based etymological spelling "Chabacano", thus violating the very fundamental principle of the standardised orthography. As a result, different publications edited by the local Zamboanga City government (DepEd, Division of Zamboanga City, 2016; Yap-Aizon, 2018) employ the double denomination "Chavacano / Chabacano" so to avoid controversy.

Regarding (1), while most educated speakers are competent in at least English and Tagalog, just a small minority of them has any knowledge of written Spanish (source of most lexical items in Chavacano). Besides, Tagalog and Cebuano, just like all languages from the Philippines, share many Spanish borrowings with Chavacano, but spell them differently. On top of that, many cognates also exist between English and Spanish (and hence, Chavacano as well). Consequently, speakers might not always be aware that a word is of Spanish origin, thus making (2) difficult to apply.

Even when it is the case, they might need to look the word up in a dictionary to find out the correct spelling, as there might be multiple concurrent phonemes to represent the same sound, or the Spanish spelling deemed as correct does not always correspond to the phonetic realisation in Chavacano. In instances where more than one possible etymological source could be hypothesised and some room for subjectivity would be allowed, there is a clear bias towards prioritising the Spanish spelling, despite this is not explicitly stated in the guidelines. This situation is likely to create a barrier to the applicability of the new orthography, as it requires from its users prior study and memorisation work. For this reason, we believe that it is of utmost interest to analyse the speaker's attitude towards this new spelling system and verify if our concerns about it are valid or not.

In other words, Chavacano stands out among the creole languages with a standardised orthography for officially adopting a fully etymological orthography. Historically, many of these languages had among their competing (unofficial) writing systems some partially etymological candidates (usually applying the orthography of the lexifier language), but ultimately adopted a phonemic representation (to greater or lesser degrees, according to each case). Such is the case of Haitian Creole (Managan, 2008). In other cases, such as that of Hawaiian Pidgin, conflicts similar to those seen in Chavacano still exist to date: speakers often feel reluctant to accept a phonemic orthography over an etymological one (Romaine, 2005). However, something that makes Chavacano stand out once again is that it no longer is in direct contact with its lexifier (Spanish). Hence, adopting an orthography based on Spanish (or an etymological orthography with emphasis on the Spanish component, as in Chavacano's orthography) could be seen as a way to encode maximal distance from the languages that compete with it (especially Filipino and English), thus justifying this choice. Questions regarding the adequacy and acceptability of the Chavacano orthography are discussed in detail by Fernández (2021).

1.2. Research goals and hypotheses

Firstly, we are interested in investigating the following questions:

- Q1. In what contexts Chavacano is more likely to be written in daily life, including both formal and informal settings?
- Q2. How familiar are Chavacano speakers to the new standardised writing system of this language? Secondly, we would also like to validate the following initial hypotheses regarding the new, standardised writing system for Chavacano:
- H1. The new, standardised Chavacano orthography is too complicated for the average speaker, not equipped with enough knowledge of Spanish and/or its substrate languages.

- H2. Having some familiarity with Spanish is not enough to increase success in writing using the standardised new writing system.
- H3. The average Chavacano speaker would rather read texts written in non-standard spelling systems than in the standardised orthography.
- H4. There is a demand for a Chavacano spell checker.

As a means to validate and support these hypotheses (as well as a methodological approach), we proposed the development of a questionnaire to collect some appropriate data. This questionnaire was then distributed to Chavacano speakers through social media and/or networks. Its results have served as a preliminary study for the creation of a written corpus of Chavacano (Himoro & Pareja-Lora, in press). This corpus could be later used for the study of spelling errors found in different Chavacano registers and the development of spell-checking tools compliant with the standardised orthography (Himoro & Pareja-Lora, 2021).

The rest of this paper has been organised as follows: most relevant related works are discussed in Section 2; survey requirements and structure are presented in detail in Section 3; the actual population answering the survey is described in Section 4; and the results of the survey are discussed in Section 5. Finally, Section 6 revisits the initial hypotheses and summarises the main findings derived from this research.

2. Related works

In this section, we analyse some relevant works from the literature dealing with either (1) the local writing practices in Chavacano; or (2) the speakers' attitudes towards different aspects of the language and identity.

2.1. Practices around Chavacano writing systems hitherto

Like most languages of the Philippines, Chavacano does not have a very long and well-established written tradition. Only one study reported so far investigates the current practices on existing Chavacano writing systems, namely Tobar Delgado & Fernández (2019). These authors identify two main trends:

- *The etymological trend:* defends the retention of the spelling from the original language, thus highlighting the Spanish component of Chavacano as an identity symbol, though at the expense of (a) representing its phonetic innovations; and (b) the system predictability and regularity. The standardised orthography follows this trend.
- *The phonological trend:* defends the use of a phonetic spelling system, resulting in a more intuitive system for speakers with little to no knowledge of Spanish, but at the same time bringing it closer to Tagalog and Cebuano, which can raise negative attitudes from certain segments of the speakers' community.

Besides these two trends, albeit more aligned with the first one, we can also identify some partially etymological trends, such as those of people who choose to write etymologically only the Spanish lexical items and spell words of local origin using the Spanish alphabet. This habit may have stemmed from the use of the Spanish alphabet to write the language when it was used as a medium of instruction for a brief period of time during the 1960s or due to the influence of religious publications such as the two translations of the New Testament.

Etymological and partially etymological trends were followed by most existing non-scientific publications in Chavacano, generally written by and for native speakers. It is hard to determine whether this is the cause or the consequence of this tradition, but even prior to the approval of the standardised orthography, there was a generalised perception among different segments of the speakers' community that Spanish words should be spelt according to the Spanish rules.

This, alongside the prestige enjoyed by Spanish in the Zamboangueño collective imagery (Frake, 1971) might have motivated the preference for a writing system that emphasises the Spanishness of Chavacano. Besides, since the language is no longer in contact with its lexifier (Spanish), it conveniently allows for maximum distancing from its competitors, namely Filipino and English, even if practicality, maximum representation of speech and consistency have to be sacrificed.

Among those who oppose such a writing system, the most frequent counterargument is that Chavacano and Spanish are not the same language and that the different phonetic evolution of Chavacano regarding Spanish justifies writing it in a different way. It is, thus, a matter of decolonising the language by accepting its Filipinoness.

A phonetic orthography based on Abakada (the Filipino alphabet) would undoubtedly facilitate the transfer of knowledge between Filipino and Chavacano, as a large number of Spanish loans would be spelt the same

way in both languages. Most words would have a predictable spelling based on how it sounds, making it easier to write the language.

However, Filipino, unlike English, is frowned upon. On the one hand, there is a strong stigma against it due to the negative association of Filipino with the Tagalog ethnolinguistic group, the cultural and economic power of Manila and the reminiscences of the martial law period, especially among the older generations (60 and older) which witnessed the rapid growth in the use of the language in the city: in less than 40 years, the linguistic competence in Filipino saw a rise from 21.6% to 83.32% (Bureau of the Census and Statistics, 1963; Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA), 2000). On the other hand, the national language is generally not associated with the same economic rewards as English, which would help to increase the associated stigma.

It is worth mentioning that most writers, even those who subscribe to one of the tendencies here described, tend to unintentionally oscillate between both of them. The regular Chavacano speaker, however, continues to use a wide range of ad hoc writing systems even to this day, thus mixing up English- and local language-influenced spellings to varying degrees, along with well-established Spanish spellings for some specific lexical items. Publications following the standardised orthography are, at least by now, mostly limited to those edited by the local Zamboanga City government or DepEd (Philippines Department of Education).

2.2. Speaker's attitudes

When conducting this literature review, we noticed a certain lack of studies on folk perceptions and attitudes of/towards Chavacano regarding their language and identity.

Among the existing works, Lesho & Sippola (2014) show that speakers of different Chabacano communities do consider the language varieties to be separate, justifying the treatment given to the language in this and other works.

In addition, the works of Tobar Delgado (2014, 2016) report a digital ethnographic study, analysing different aspects of an online Chavacano community, including the participants' perception and attitudes of/towards the language, the speakers' proficiency, language shift, change and maintenance, etc.

Finally, Anudin (2018) analyses the language attitudes of 38 teachers using Chavacano in classrooms and reveals that most of them have negative attitudes towards its use as a medium of instruction.

However, none of these studies shows how Chavacano speakers are reacting to its new, standardised writing system, which is precisely the main aim of this work.

3. Methods

In this section, we describe the survey scope (target population) and procedure (distribution channels, participation incentive, language of the questionnaire and validation) used in its development. We also explain some of the choices made regarding the questionnaire design, question wording and types of questions asked. As for the resulting, full questionnaire, it is reproduced in Appendices A and B.

3.1. Target population

The target population for this study consisted of both L1 or L2 speakers of Chavacano. We decided not to restrict the participation to speakers living in Zamboanga City and surrounding Chavacano-speaking localities, thus accepting responses from anywhere on the planet, both in the Philippines and abroad.

3.2. Distribution channels

The questionnaire was distributed entirely online through different social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and Reddit. Respondents were also encouraged to forward it to other potential subjects, which was done through the same platforms, email or instant messaging.

3.3. Participation incentives

A link to download the Chavacano e-book edition of the children's book "What's in the pot?" (by Harley Alonzo, Crystal Warren and Rat Western, originally published in English by Book Dash under a Creative Commons License) was offered as a participation incentive to those who finished the questionnaire.

3.4. Languages of the questionnaire

Two equivalent versions of the questionnaire were simultaneously developed: one in English, and another one in Chavacano, which was cross-checked for grammar and wording by two L1 speakers from different generations. When distributing it, both versions were randomly shared. Respondents were also given the choice to switch back and forth between both versions at any point of the questionnaire without the need to start over.

3.5. Validation

Prior to the distribution of the questionnaire, it was evaluated and validated using a reduced number of experts and target respondents for consistency, clarity of instructions and completeness of alternatives, and (consequently) further refined.

3.6. Structure

The questionnaire was designed as a self-administered survey. It provides a basic demographic profile of the target population and information on the areas of interest for our research objectives, yet carefully avoids being too lengthy. The questionnaire was divided into four sections:

- *About you.* This section inquires about personal and demographic data.
- *About your use of Chavacano.* This section focuses on the use of Chavacano in different areas of private and public life, encompassing both formal and informal, physical and virtual settings.
- *About the Zamboanga Chavacano Orthography.* This is the most important section of the survey. It probes the respondent's familiarity with the standardised orthography, its readability in comparison to non-standard spellings and his/her interest in learning more about it.
- *About this survey.* This last section seeks to identify how the respondent found out about the questionnaire and allows him/her to freely leave a comment, if considered relevant.

3.7. Questions

The questions have been constructed to meet the research goals mentioned in Section 1.2. We used exclusively close-ended questions considering the most likely answers, in order to make the filling out of the questionnaire as straightforward as possible and reduce the need for typing. However, we made sure to add an option "other" whenever it was possible in case the respondent could not find an appropriate answer among the listed ones (see the full questionnaires in Annexes A and B).

In the first section, *About you*, we avoided asking some thorny questions that could be considered impolite and/or excessively intrusive, such as the respondent's income. When inquiring about the respondent's gender, an option "other" was given along with a not required field to specify it if the respondent felt like doing so. An extra required question is shown to those based outside Chavacano-speaking areas, inquiring about how much time has passed since they left. The list of industries in the question inquiring about the respondent's occupation was retrieved from CPH 2010 (National Statistics Office (NSO), 2014a). For the sake of unambiguity, in the question inquiring about the respondent's highest education level achieved, we used the old levels of education prior to K-12 curriculum, implemented since 2011.

In the second section, *About your use of Chavacano*, regarding the mediums of instruction, we added an option for people who have studied at Muslim or Chinese schools. In the questions inquiring about the respondent's use of different languages, we used the terms "Filipino" and "Visaya" to designate respectively the Tagalog-based national language of the Philippines and the variety of Bisayan language academically better known as "Cebuano", but locally more often referred to by that name in Zamboanga and in the neighbouring municipalities where it is spoken as a L1 language. An extra required question for those who did not select Chavacano as a written language in any of the proposed communicative contexts is also displayed.

In the third section, *About the Zamboanga Chavacano Orthography*, we cited a short explanatory excerpt extracted from DepEd, Division of Zamboanga City (2016) about the standardised orthography and inquired the respondents about their familiarity with the proposed writing system. Next, we showed an original short text written in both an ad hoc non-standard spelling system and the standardised orthography and asked the respondent to choose which of them had a higher degree of readability. We then asked several questions about the standardised orthography. We also attempted to evaluate directly (through an explicit question) and indirectly (through the respondent's performance on a spelling error identification task) whether it would be desirable to have a Chavacano spell checker available or not.

4. Conduction of the survey

The questionnaire was available online between May 21st and June 25th, 2018. After discarding incomplete questionnaire answers, the effective sample consisted of 1,659 [complete] answers. In this section, we analyse the characteristics of the actual population found in the collected data.

4.1. Population characteristics

4.1.1. Gender

The graph in Figure 1 shows a prevalence of female respondents (61.12%), while male respondents account for 38.1% of the people surveyed. 0.78% of the respondents selected "other" as a response, among which 30.6% chose not to specify their gender. Many of those who did, however, showed a clear confusion between the concepts of "sexual orientation" and "gender", as it can be deduced from the table in the same figure.

other	#
\<unspecified\>	4
lesbian	3
gay	2
bisexual	1
LGBT (unspecified)	1
transgender woman	1
transgender (unspec.)	1
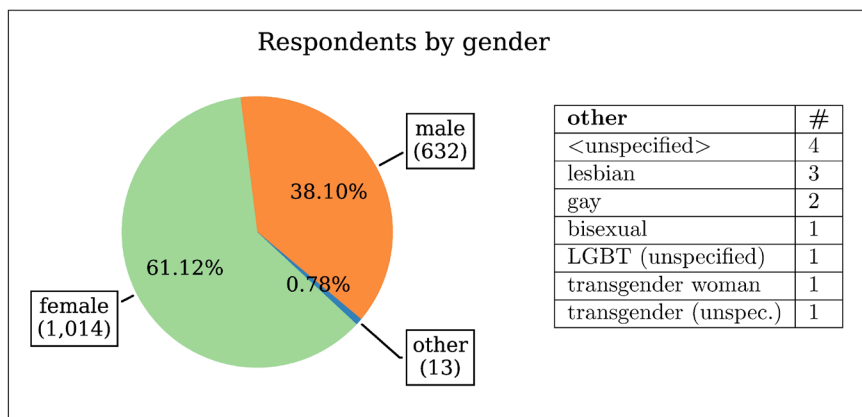
Figure 1. Number of respondents by gender.

4.1.2. Age groups

The graph in Figure 2 shows the respondents' distribution by age and gender. Values in the X-axis show the percentages of each age group in the total of respondents. Values over the vertical bars in the graph represent the percentages of each gender in the total of respondents of that specific gender group. We can observe that 68.42% of the respondents are between 20 and 39 years old. The low turnout of subjects between 10 and 19 years old, despite the Filipino population being quite young, is probably due to limitations of the channels of distribution chosen. Regarding the 40+ years old ones, the barrier may be mainly technological; nevertheless, people in this age are known to spend less time online than their younger counterparts.
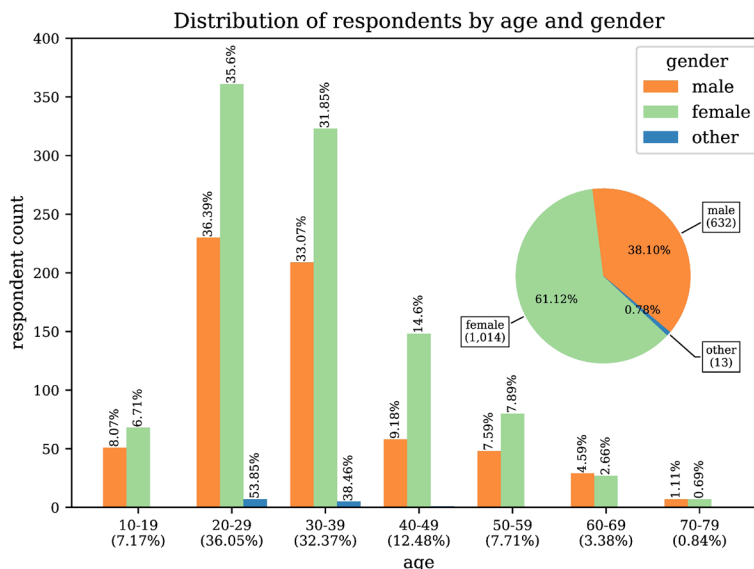

Figure 2. Respondents' distribution by age and gender.

Considering that, according to CPH 2010 (National Statistics Office (NSO), 2014a), there are only slightly more males than females in the Philippine population (1.02:1 ratio), there might seem at first glance that there is an imbalance in our sample. However, as later mentioned in Section 4.1.4, this is due to the fact that our sample mostly includes highly educated people. If we look only at the figures of those with college/academic degrees, again according to CPH 2010, females outnumber males, accounting for 56.1% and 43.9% of population, respectively. In short, these values are very close to those found in our sample.

4.1.3. Location

Regarding the place of residence of the respondents, as suggested by Figure 3, most of them are based in Zamboanga City (73.72%), while 7.29% are based in Basilan. Among the 18.99% ones that stated to live outside these two locations, 66.67% live in other locations in the Philippines, whereas 33.33% live abroad. In the same figure, a table includes the number of years these respondents have been living outside Chavacano-speaking areas. These figures suggest that those who leave have no plans to return for a long time, which might be due to the difficulty to find a job in certain industries in the area.
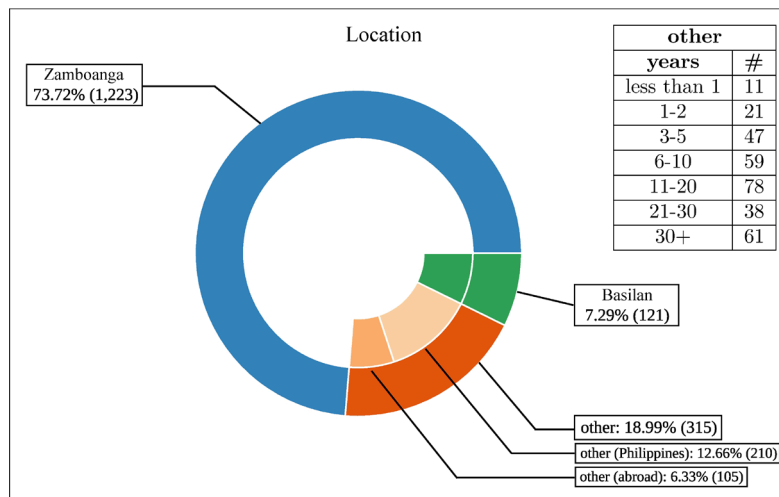

Figure 3. Respondents' distribution by location.

4.1.4. Education

According to the graph in Figure 4, most respondents (90.72%) have completed at least some kind of higher education, thus indicating that our sample mostly includes highly educated people. This bias might be either due to a higher cooperation rate from that group in this kind of studies, or because that part of the population originates most of the traffic from the social network pages and groups where the questionnaire was shared.
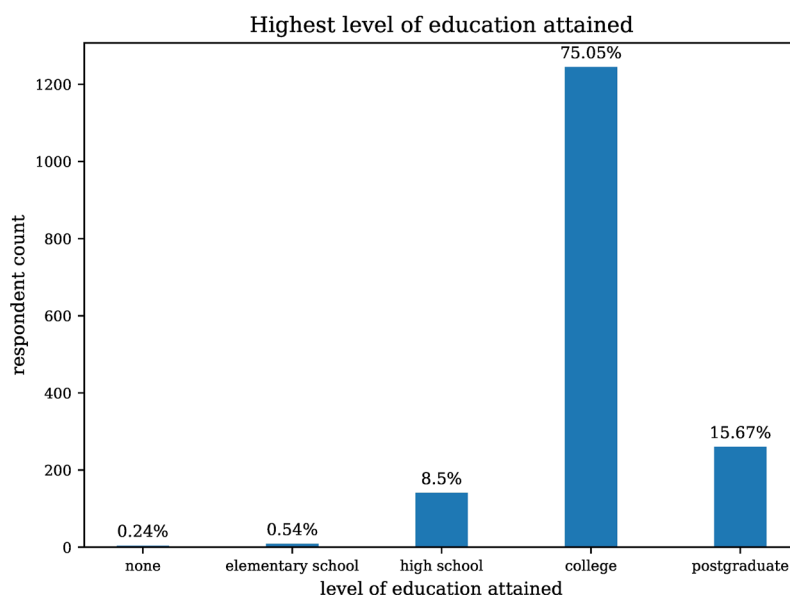

Figure 4. Respondents' distribution by highest level of education attained.

As previously mentioned in Section 4.1.1, our sample largely reflects the gender ratio found in the highly educated segment of the Philippine population, according to data from CPH 2010 (National Statistics Office (NSO), 2014a).

4.1.5. Industry

Regarding the industry the respondents belong to, the graph in Figure 5 shows that 20.25% of the respondents are engaged in "Health Care and Social Work" and 18.20% in "Education activities (including students)". 29.23% of the respondents chose "Other services".

Legend	
A01	Accommodation and Food Services
A02	Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing
A03	Arts, Entertainment and Recreation
A04	Construction
A05	Education (including students)
A06	Electricity, Gas, Steam and Air Conditioning Supply
A07	Financial and Insurance
A08	Health Care and Social Work
A09	Information and Communication
A10	Manufacturing
A11	Mining and Quarrying
A12	Professional, Scientific and Technical Services
A13	Real Estate
A14	Transportation and Storage
A15	Water Supply, Sewerage, Waste Management and Remediation Activities
A16	Wholesale and Retail Trade
A17	Other Services

Figure 5. Respondents' distribution by industry (categories retrieved from National Statistics Office (NSO) (2014a)).

5. Results and discussion

In this section, on the one hand, we discuss how our data answers our questions and supports our initial hypotheses: first, about the use of Chavacano (see Section 5.1), and then about the standardised orthography (see Section 5.2). On the other hand, we also present some additional reflections about (i) the language chosen to respond to the survey (see Section 5.3) and (ii) the constraints of this work deriving from the use made of this survey (see Section 5.4).

5.1. About the use of Chavacano

5.1.1. Medium of instruction

The graph in Figure 6 shows that English and Filipino were the medium of instruction in primary school for most respondents (83.54% and 75.35% respectively).

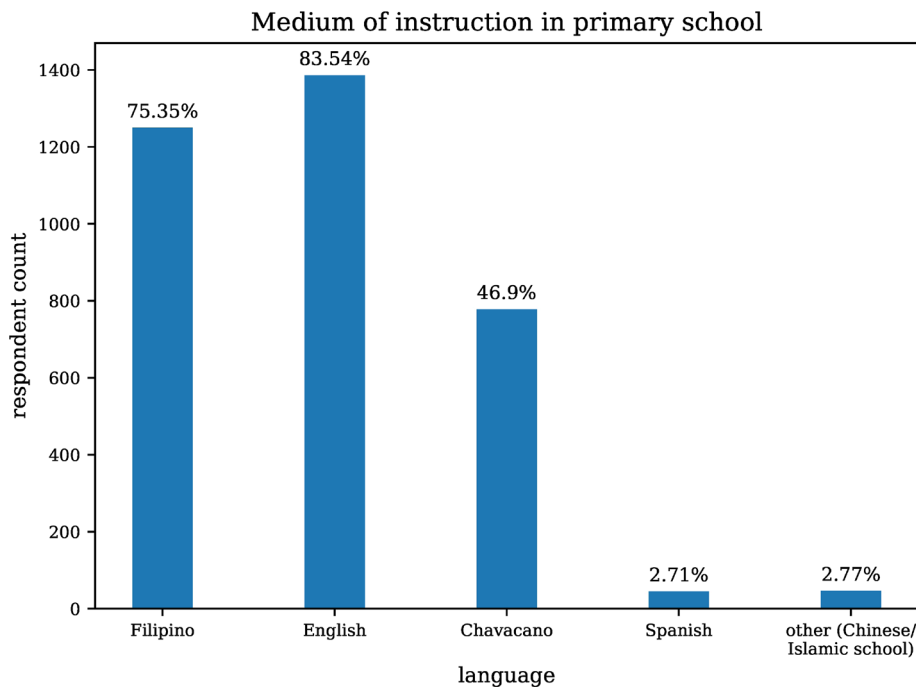**Medium of instruction in primary school**

Figure 6. Respondents' distribution for each medium of instruction.

Surprisingly, 46.9% of the respondents state that Chavacano was also a medium of instruction, despite the fact that it has only regained its role of medium of instruction in recent times. According to Zamboangueños in their late 20's and early 30's (see Example 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5; texts rewritten to comply with the standardised orthography and anonymised for the sake of privacy), Chavacano used to be informally used in classrooms by some teachers in the city (and, even now, it is still probably used beyond Grade 3), especially in public schools. This would explain why such a high number of respondents also included that language as a medium of instruction.

(1) Yup, almost all of my teachers speak (sic) Chavacano [in the classroom].
(2) Si na high school, tiene gad ansina.
'*In high school, there were indeed such [teachers].*'
(3) Ahm, hm, dol de mi teachers antes kay ta'n Chavacano man si ta enseña, especially gad 'quel Elementary.
'*Ahm, hm, I think my teachers used to speak Chavacano when teaching, especially those in elementary.*'
(4) Yes. Especially if it's a public school. I studied in a private evangelical school and we were prohibited to speak Chabacano. So the teachers only spoke Tagalog and English. But in private catholic schools like [NAME CENSORED] and [NAME CENSORED], I know the teachers spoke Chabacano. When I was in a public science high school, the teachers spoke in Chabacano, except the Filipino teacher. But the English teacher too spoke in Chabacano.
(5) Yes. I am from [NAME CENSORED]. Some teachers used Chavacano 'cause a lot of teachers are using it at home. But there was a point that time wherein the school needs (sic) to be placed on a strict English only policy for the accreditation purposes.

It is very likely that the situation is parallel to what has been documented by Osborne (2020) at some schools in Ilocos, where code-switch is reported to occur between English, Tagalog and Ilocano.

Respondents who supposedly had the chance to take Chavacano as a subject since the 2012 reform are those who were 12 years old or less when the questionnaire was administered. However, due to the extremely low turnout of subjects in that age group (only 2 out of 119 respondents in the 10-19 age group), no conclusions on the impact of the introduction of Chavacano in the first three years of primary school can be drawn from this data. Also, some of these respondents might have attended private schools and thus might not have been schooled in Chavacano.

5.1.2. Previous Spanish studies

As can be seen in the graph in Figure 7, only 27.67% of the respondents declared to have any kind of prior Spanish studies.
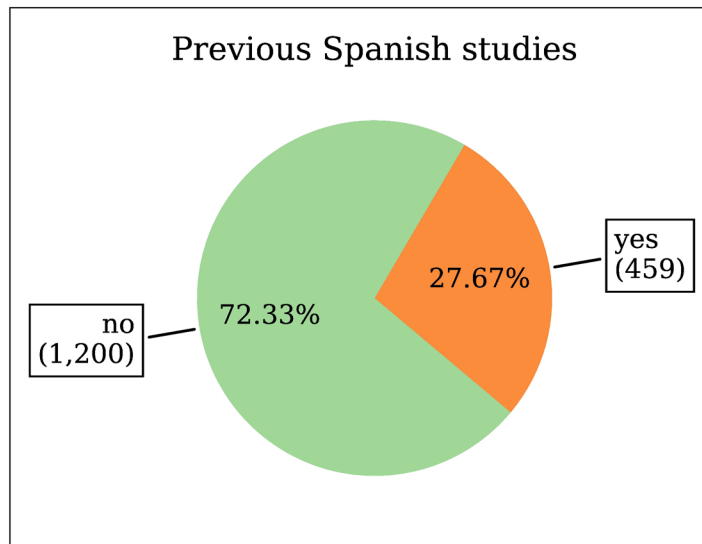

Figure 7. Distribution of respondents who declared to have previous Spanish studies.

5.1.3. Languages used in different life situations

The graph in Figure 8 shows the use of Chavacano and other languages in different types of communicative contexts.
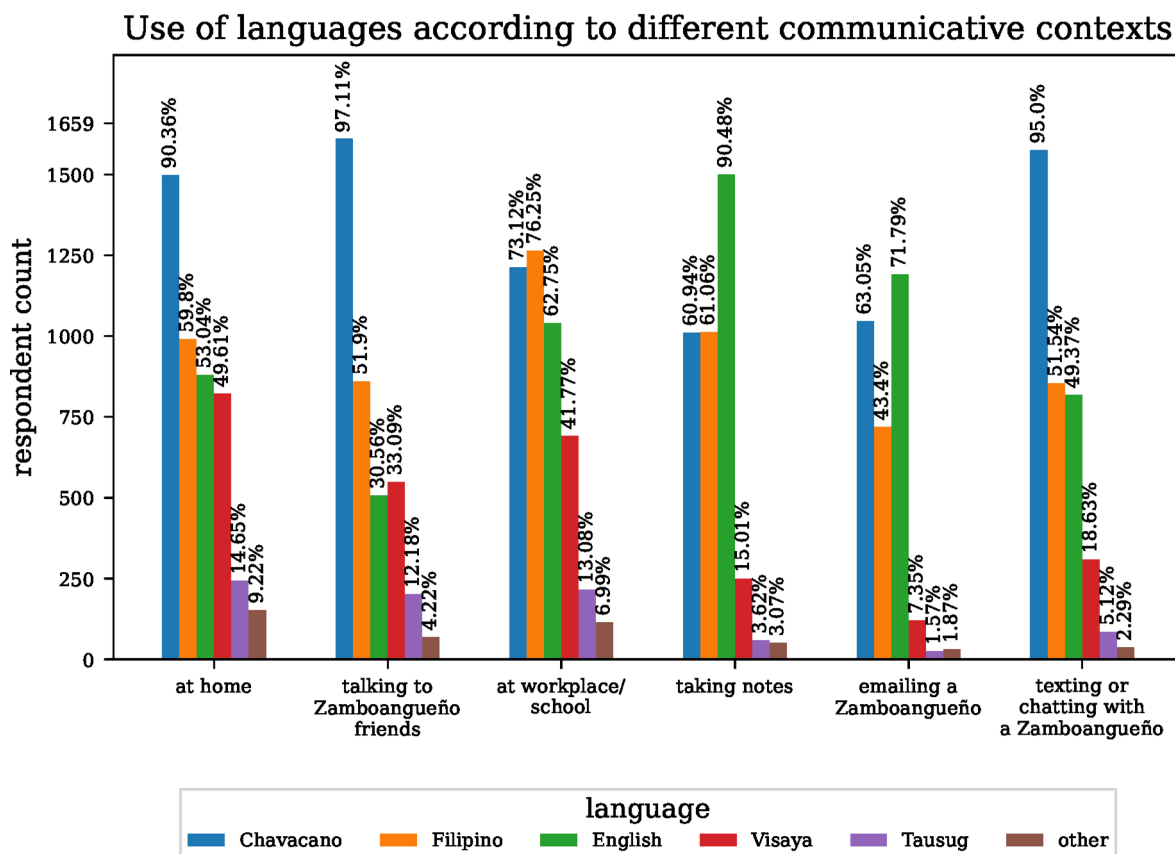

Figure 8. Use of languages according to different communicative contexts.

90.36% of the respondents indicated that they use Chavacano at home, followed by Filipino, English, Visaya, Tausug and other languages. 97.11% answered that they use Chavacano to talk to a Zamboangueño. In professional and academic settings, however, Filipino is the preferred choice, but closely followed by Chavacano and English. When taking notes, English is by far the preferred language. When writing emails to a Zamboangueño, the preferred language is English, followed by Chavacano. When writing text messages or chatting with a Zamboangueño, there is a clear preference for Chavacano.

This question was initially thought of as a way to elicit the respondent's mother tongue(s) without explicitly asking it. However, it is very unlikely that all respondents who have selected Chavacano as one of their home languages do speak it at home, especially if they have selected other languages at the same time. The fact is that even Zamboangueños who do not speak Chavacano on a daily basis are known to take great pride in the local language when talking to foreigners or people from other regions, trying this way to emphasise the uniqueness of Zamboanga City. Thus, this strikingly high figure obtained for Chavacano should be interpreted with extra caution.

In short, in formal settings, Filipino is the language most commonly spoken, while English prevails as the preferred language in written contexts, although Chavacano can also be used according to the situation (school or workplace). In informal contexts, Chavacano is preferred. This answers one of our initial questions, namely Q1.

Those who did not choose Chavacano in any written context (112 participants) were inquired as to why this happens. As the graph in Figure 9 shows, the most selected reason was that Chavacano is not their mother tongue, followed by the lack of clear spelling rules and not having studied the language at school. Among those who have chosen the option "other", the justification was their preference for other languages, having grown up outside Zamboanga and/or living abroad.
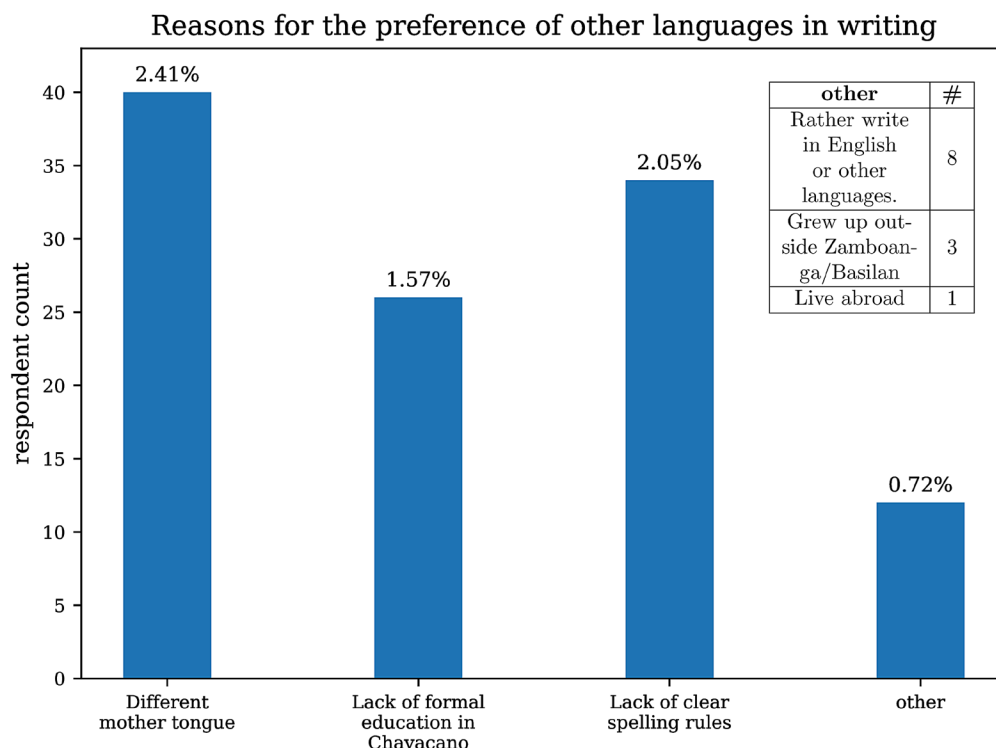

Figure 9. Main reasons why some of the respondents do not write in Chavacano.

Respondents choosing multiple languages in the same context might indicate not only that the code choice depends on the level of formality of the situation and the participants in the interaction, but also that code-switching and code-mixing extensively occur, as already documented in many parts of the Philippines for other languages.

5.2. About the standardised orthography

5.2.1. Awareness

The graph in Figure 10 shows that 38.4% of the respondents claim to be aware that a standardised orthography exists, as opposed to 61.6% who state otherwise. This answers our initial Q2.
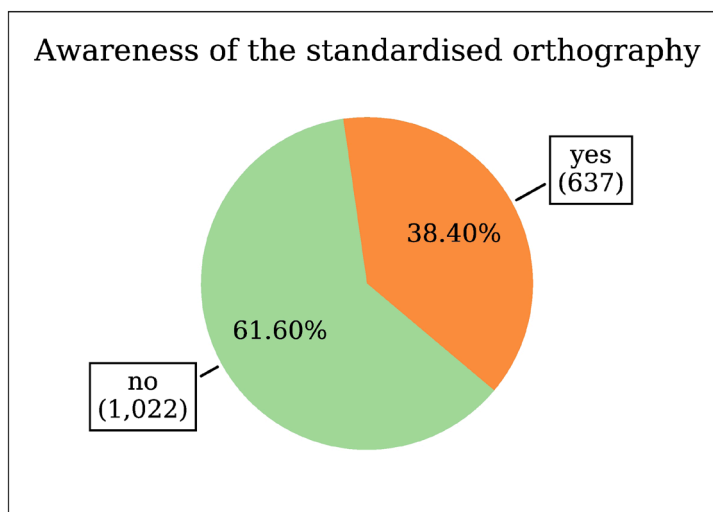
Figure 10. Respondents' distribution by awareness of the standardised orthography.

The relatively high degree of awareness of the standardised orthography can be attributed to the fact that the principles guiding it (etymology) were already part of the range of spelling choices Zamboangueños had available prior to its approval and not for a real awareness of it. As already mentioned in Section 2.1, it is also noteworthy that even before its development, those who defended an etymological position would often criticise and shame people who adopted other spelling trends, creating the impression that it was the correct spelling system since back then.

5.2.2. Readability

As can be seen in the graph in Figure 11, given the same text written in both a non-standard (ad hoc) writing system and in the standardised orthography, only 27.12% of the respondents chose the latter as more easily readable. This supports our hypothesis H3. Although this figure matches that of the respondents who have prior Spanish studies (graph in Figure 7, Section 5.1.2), both groups only overlap by approximately 10%.
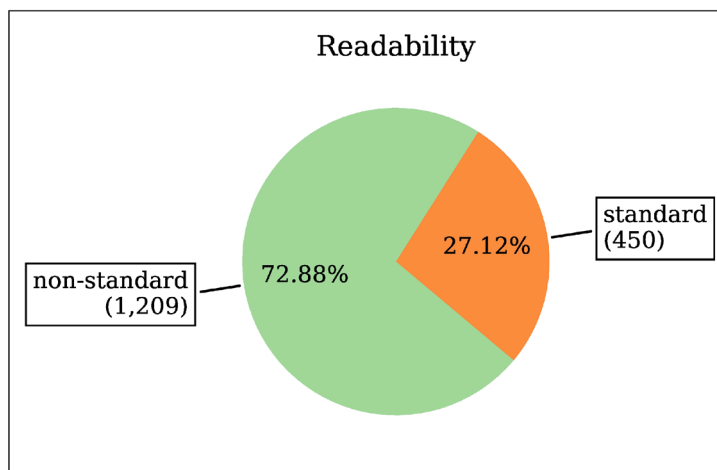
Figure 11. Readability of the standardised orthography compared to a non-standard writing system.

Some respondents who chose the non-standard orthography also pointed out that although the standard orthography makes words look "better" when written, it slows down the reading process. This perhaps brings up the idea of prestige due to a greater orthographic proximity to Spanish in opposition to the negative view that Chavacano would be a "broken Spanish".

Caution should be taken when interpreting this data as, when asked this kind of questions, some answers might be influenced by ideological dilemmas of language protection: in their collective consciousness, Filipino/ Tagalog represents a threat to the language, while Spanish means the lost connection to their roots. This implies that some respondents might not be completely frank in this case.

The graphs in Figure 12 show the reported readability of the texts according to demographic variables such as the respondent's age, location, gender and highest level of education attained.

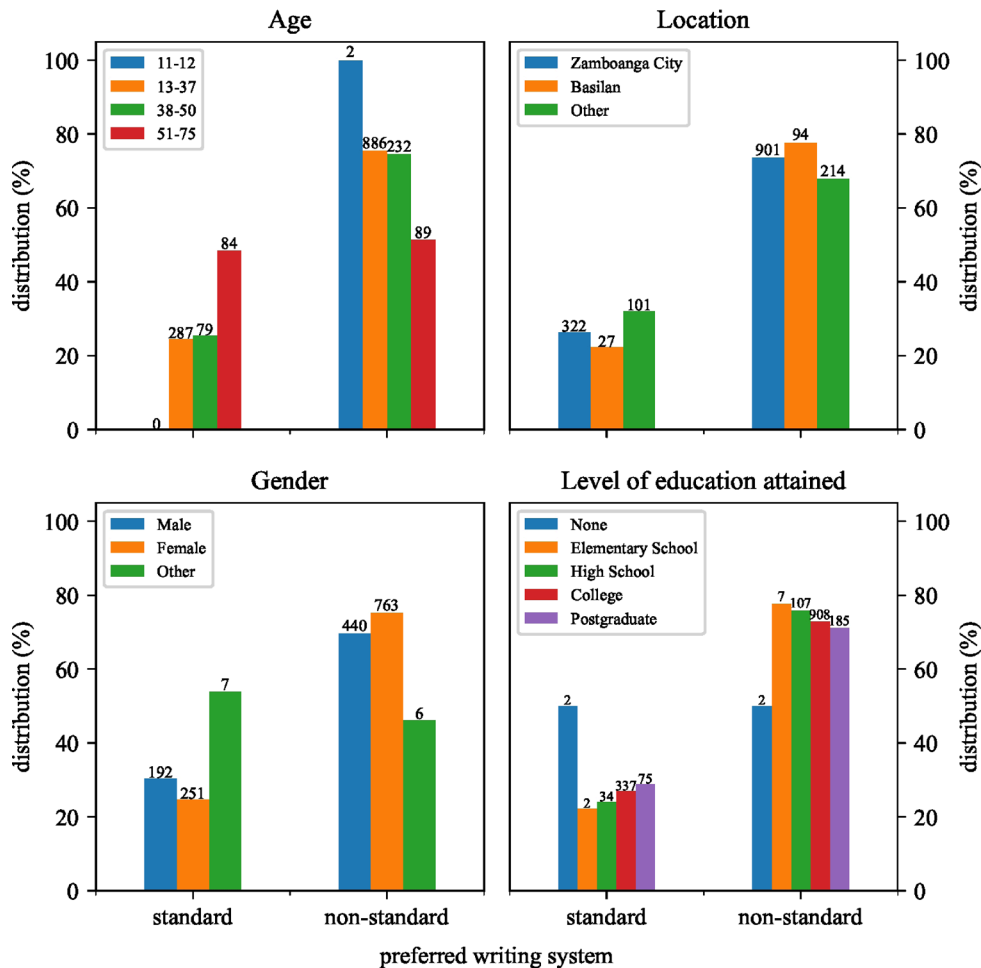**Readability according to different demographic variables**

Figure 12. Readability according to age, location, gender and highest level of education attained.

For comparison effects, respondents were grouped into age groups according to different events related to educational policies in the Philippines: 11-12 (K-12 reform: 2012-now), 13-37 (suppression of compulsory Spanish units in college: 1987 onwards), 38-50 (implementation of the Bilingual Education policy [in English and Filipino]: 1974 onwards), 51-75 (Vernacular Education: 1953-1974). Taking into account their age, the oldest age group (51-75) is the only one that exhibits a slightly different pattern. As previously mentioned in Section 5.1.1, the sample for the youngest age group is too small to be representative, and thus, will not be analysed for this and the subsequent graphs. Analysing the data more closely, as can be seen in Figure 13, a change of trend in their preferences occurs in our sample for respondents over 52 years old: just over half of the participants in that age group answered that they prefer the standardised orthography (this roughly matches the oldest group which had Chavacano as a medium of instruction in elementary school [51-75] and validates it as a distinct group).

No remarkable difference has been noticed when analysing the data by location. Nevertheless, we do observe a different pattern for genders other than the typical binary "male" and "female", and for the respondents who did not complete elementary school. This is most likely due to the small sample (13 and 4 respondents, respectively), thus our data may not be representative of these groups.

The graph in Figure 14 shows the reported readability according to the respondent's industry. The highest percentage of individuals who prefer reading in the (standard) orthography is found in A03 (Arts, Entertainment and Recreation), A07 (Financial and Insurance) and A14 (Transportation and Storage), with only A03 being significantly higher than the average (probably due to the small and non-representative sample). None of the respondents in A15 (Water Supply, Sewerage, Waste Management and Remediation Activities) prefer the orthography (in this case, once again, probably due to the limited size of the sample). Analysing the most populated professional classes (namely A05, A08 and A17), surprisingly, those in A05 (Education (including students)) are much less likely (almost 7% less) to prefer the orthography than those in A17 (Other services).
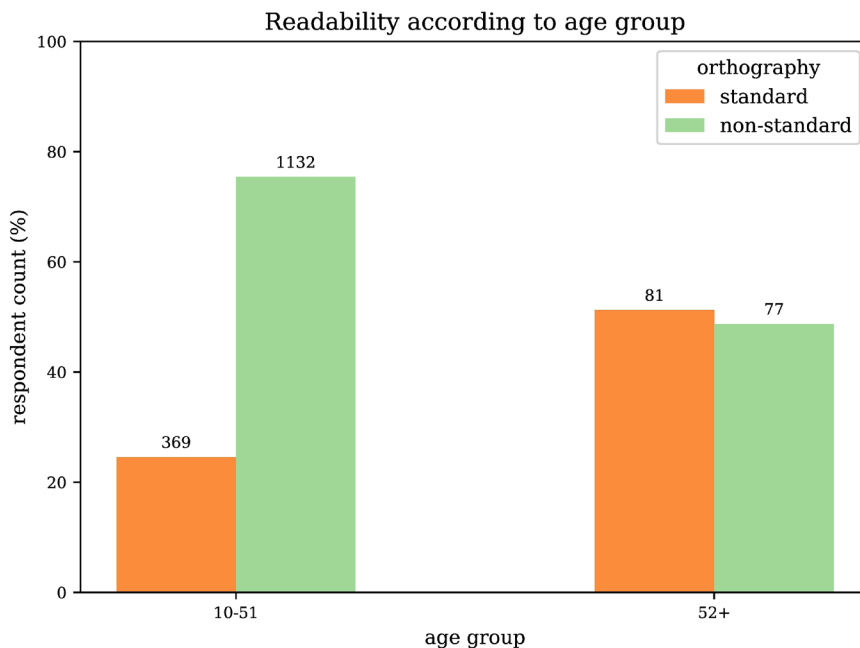
Readability according to age group

Figure 13. Readability according to the writing system and age.
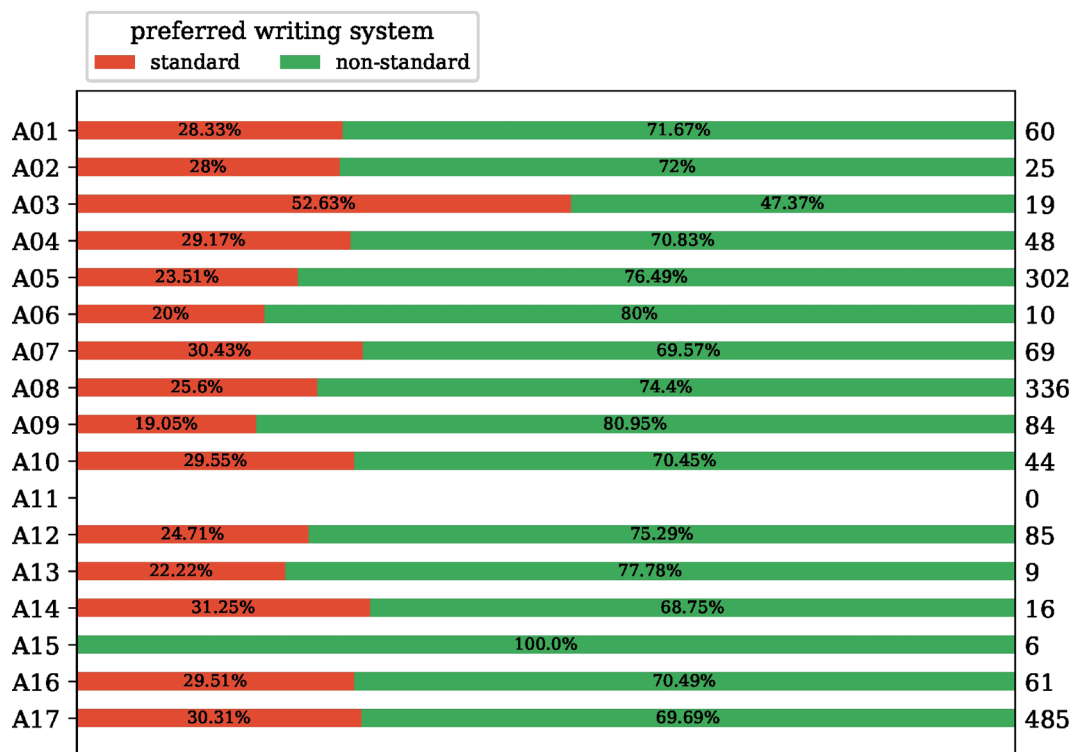
Readability by industry

Figure 14. Readability according to the respondent's industry (see Legend in Figure 5).

Finally, the graph in Figure 15 shows the reported readability by age group and whether the respondent had learned previously Spanish to some extent (ES) or not (non-ES). As shown, none of the respondents in the 11-12 age group had previous Spanish studies. Both the 13-37 and the 38-50 age groups show very similar distributions and a clear preference for the non-standard spelling system, regardless of their previously Spanish studies. For the oldest group (51-75), the scenario is a little more complex. While there is a higher likelihood for them to prefer reading texts in the orthography than for the other age groups, the non-standard is still the preferred one at least among those with no previous Spanish studies. As for the individuals who previously studied some Spanish, an ambivalence can be observed, with the exact same number of respondents choosing either of the two writing systems.

Readability according to previous Spanish studies (ES) by age group
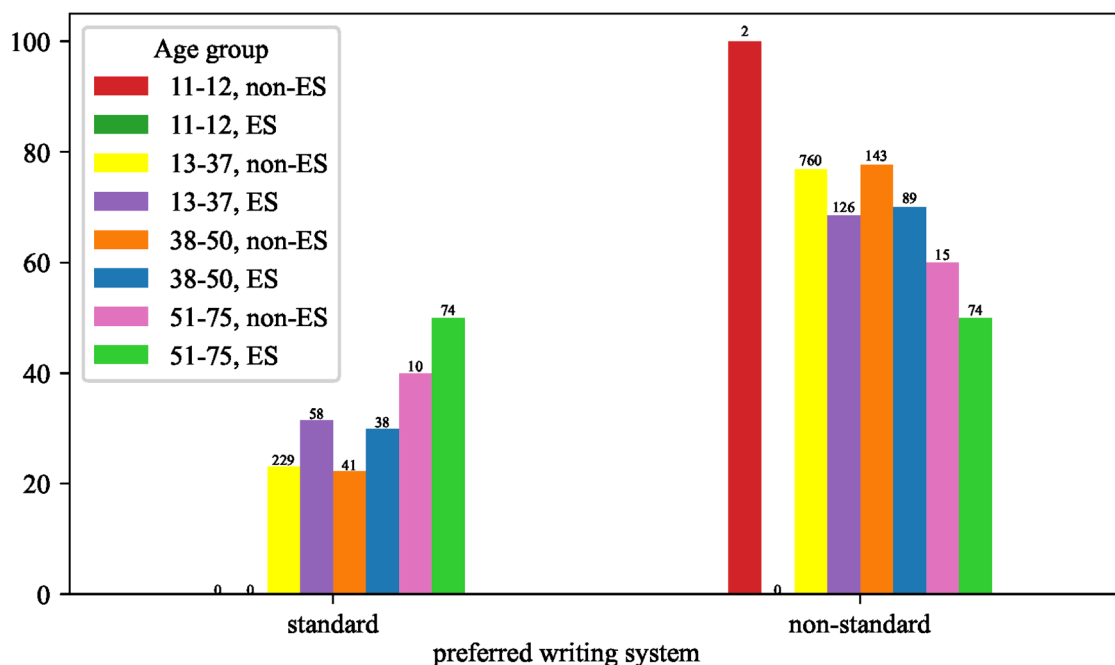

Figure 15. Readability according to previous Spanish studies (ES) and age group.

5.2.3. Confidence in using the standardised orthography

When inquired about their level of confidence in writing in the standardised orthography, as we can observe in the graph within Figure 16, a strikingly high number of respondents (58.58%) claimed to be confident, while only a small minority (12,24%) stated having low or no confidence at all at it. 34.12% of the respondents remained neutral. When inquired if they would be keen to learn more about the standardised orthography, most respondents (84.21%) manifested positively, only 3.56% showed themselves indifferent, and 12.24% remained neutral.
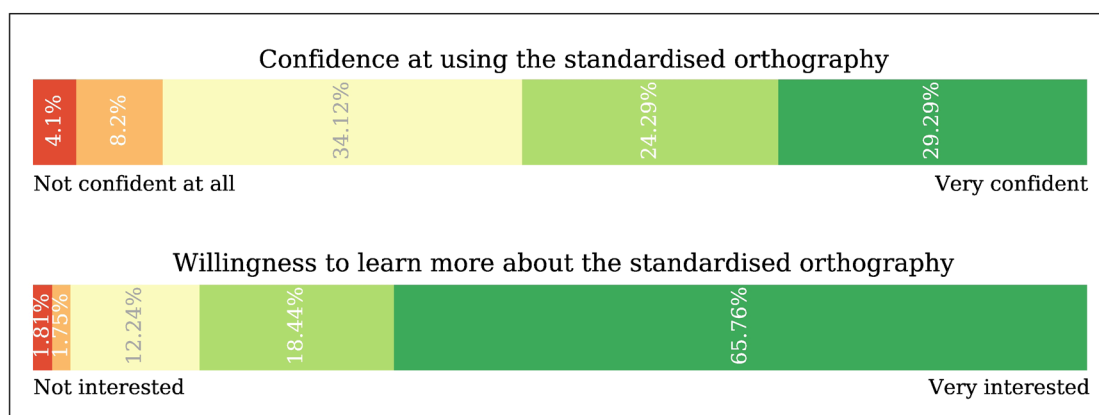
Figure 16. Level of confidence when writing in the standardised orthography, and willingness to learn more about it.

5.2.4. Performance on a spelling error identification task

The graph in Figure 17 shows the performance of the respondents in a spelling error identification task. Given a text written in the standardised orthography of Chavacano containing three highlighted (and incorrectly spelt) words, the respondents had to choose which of them had (some) spelling error(s). Only 5.67% managed to detect all three as spelling errors. This supports our hypothesis H1.
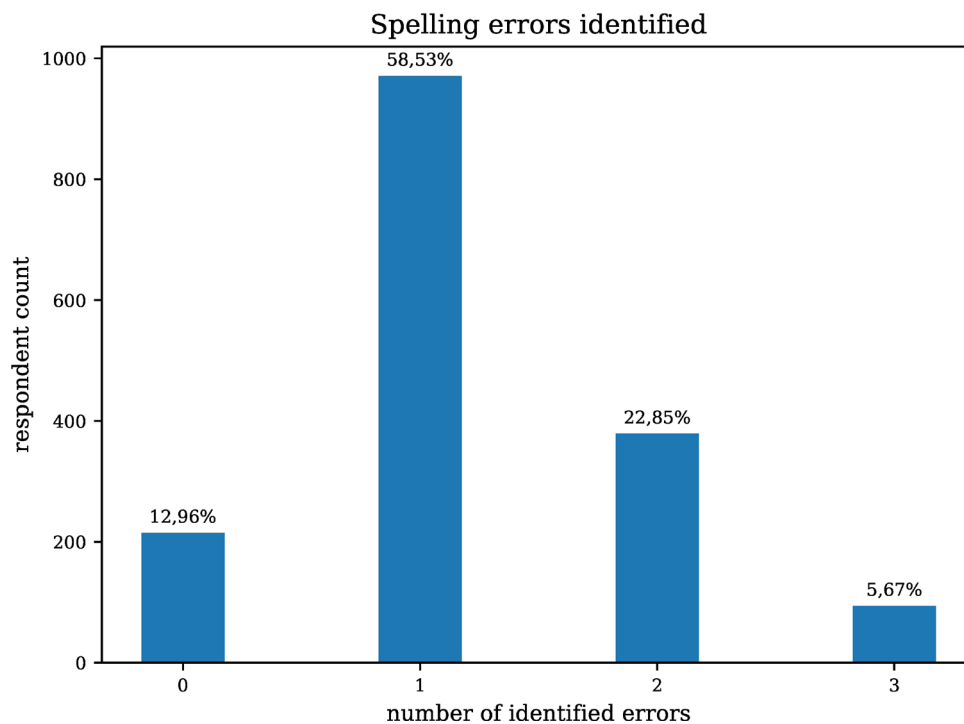
Figure 17. Respondents' performance on a spelling error identification task.

The graphs in Figure 18 show the performance of the respondents according to different demographic variables, such as age, location, gender and highest level of education attained. The oldest age group (51-75) was quite good at detecting the three errors in the task. The 13-37 and the 38-50 age groups show very similar distributions. Nevertheless, for all age groups, most respondents were able to spot only one of the errors.

As for gender, a higher number of male respondents (8.23%) than female respondents (3.85%) were able to identify all three errors. Besides, a higher proportion of female respondents (60.16%) identified only one error compared to males (56.33%). In contrast, a significantly higher proportion of the respondents who identify as neither "male" nor "female" was able to identify all three (23.08%).

Regarding the location, no substantial difference was found among those residing in Zamboanga City, Basilan or outside Chavacano-speaking areas.

Finally, concerning the level of education attained, the groups which performed best in the task were those with the highest levels of education ("college" and "postgraduate"); those who completed their studies up to high school had an average performance. Although those who had lower levels of education ("none" and "elementary school") performed relatively worse (100% identified only one error), due to the very small size of the sample (4 and 9, respectively) for these groups, we have once again the problem of the representativeness of the population.

The graph in Figure 19 shows the number of errors identified in the same task according to the respondent's industry. The highest proportion of respondents who were able to identify all three errors are found in A03 (Arts, Entertainment and Recreation), A10 (Manufacturing) and A13 (Real Estate), while none of the respondents in A02 (Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing), A14 (Transportation and Storage) and A15 (Water Supply, Sewerage, Waste Management and Remediation Activities) were able to find more than two errors. Besides, the respondents in A14 and A15 show a distinctive pattern in this task, as all of them either detected one or two errors (that is, none of them was unable to detect any errors or all of them). The sample in all these cases is smaller than 50 individuals, and thus, likely, it is not representative of these populations. Most respondents fall into A05 (Education (including students)), A08 (Health Care and Social Work), and A17 (Other Services), with about 5% of the respondents being able to identify all three errors.

Spelling errors identified by demographic variables
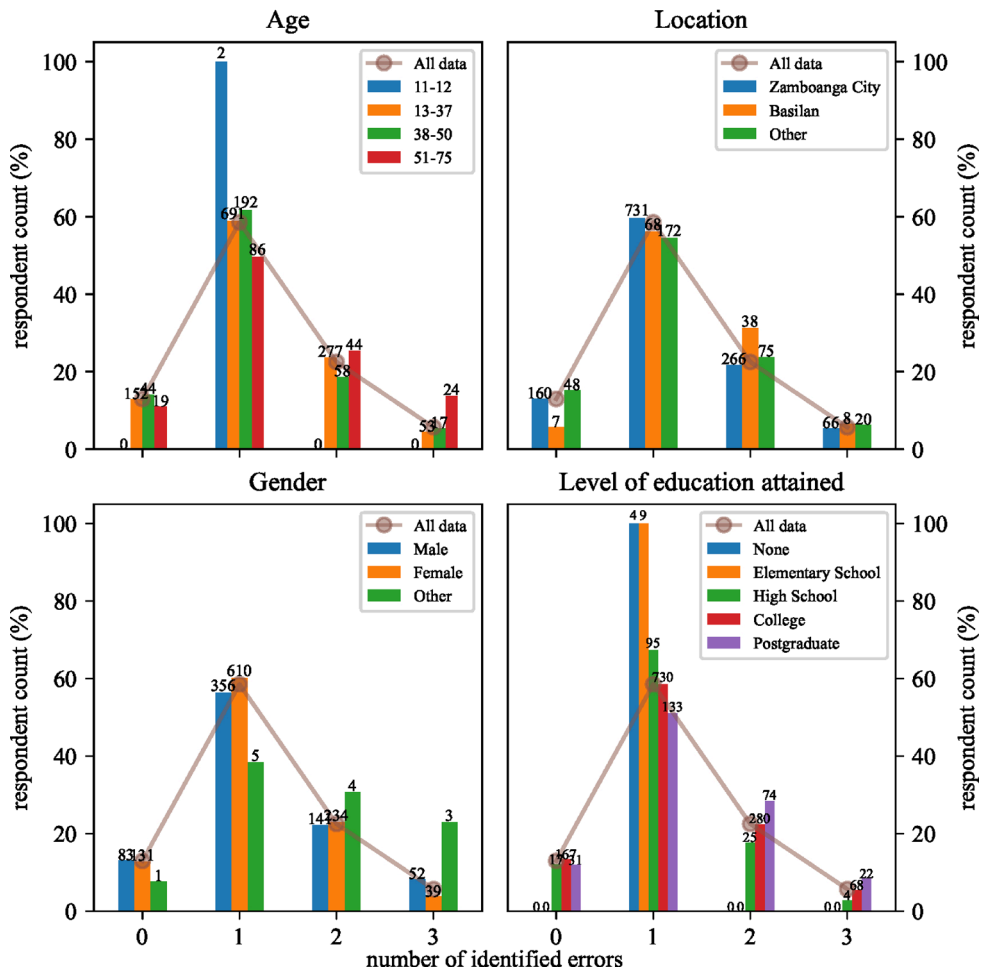

Figure 18. Respondents' performance on a spelling error identification task according to different demographic variables.
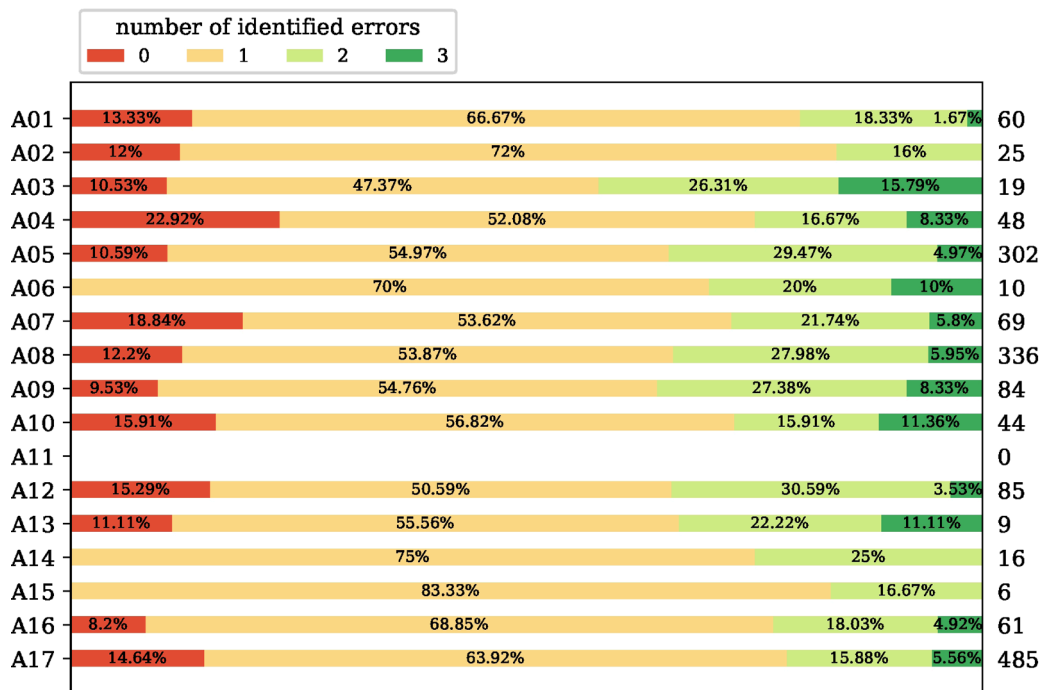
Spelling errors identified by industry

Figure 19. Respondents' performance on a spelling error identification task by industry (see Legend in Figure 5).

Likewise, the graph in Figure 20 shows the performance of the respondents according to their level of confidence in writing in the standardised orthography. Out of 889 respondents who claimed to be confident, only 67 (7.5%) of them managed to detect all three words. Considering those who identified 2 out of the 3 misspelt words, this figure increases to 22.16%, which is still a remarkably low percentage for a group that claims to be confident at using it.
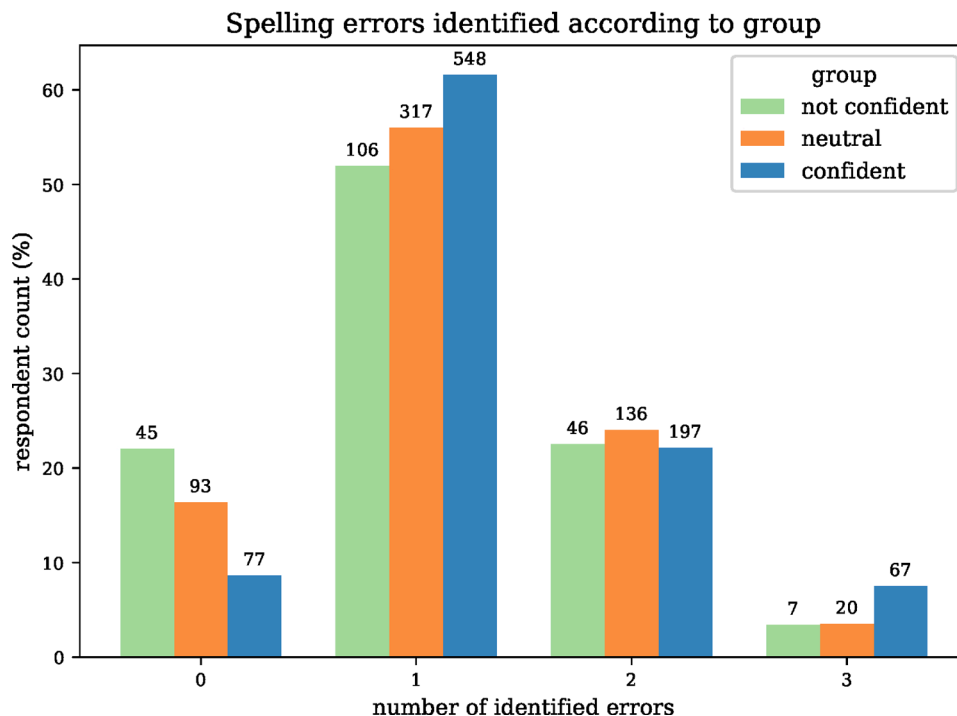

Figure 20. Respondents' performance on a spelling error identification task according to their level of confidence in Chavacano by group.

As shown in the graph in Figure 21, having prior knowledge of Spanish did not necessarily lead to a significantly improved performance on the spelling error identification task (see Question C11 of the questionnaire in the Appendixes). For this group, we only had 9.15% of completely correct answers compared to 4.33% from the people who claim not to have studied any Spanish.
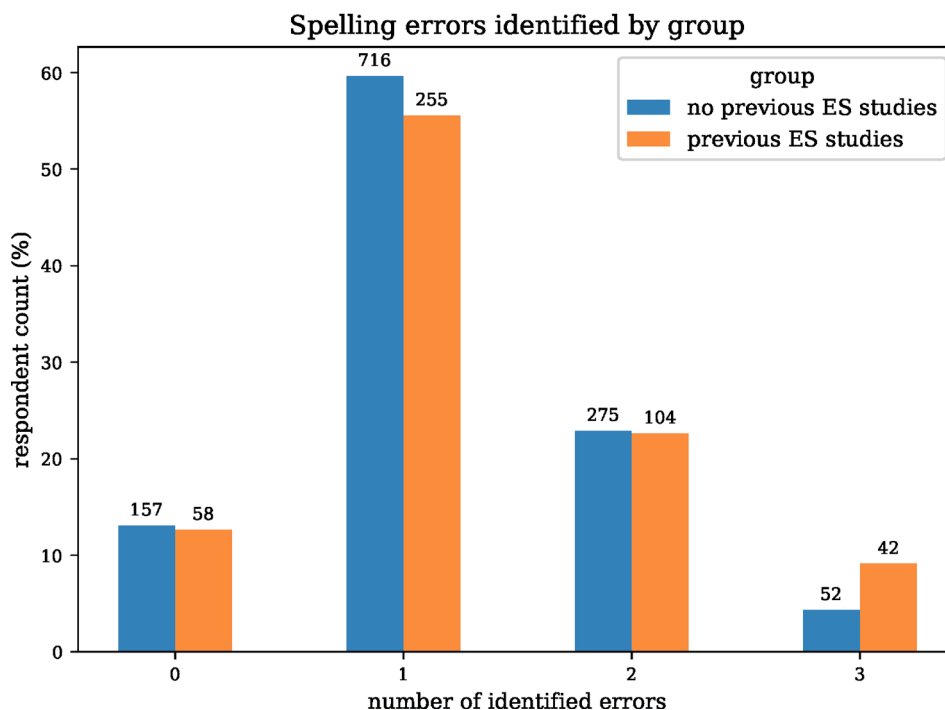

Figure 21. Performance of respondents with prior Spanish (ES) studies on a spelling error identification task by group.

The graph in Figure 22 shows the influence of previous Spanish studies on the performance in the error detection task for each age group. As shown, none of the respondents in the 11-12 age group declared having studied Spanish previously. This age group shows a different trend compared to the other age groups, probably due to the limited size of the sample. In the next two age groups (13-37 and 38-50), those who previously studied Spanish seem to perform better than those who did not. Surprisingly, in the oldest age group (51-75), proportionally more respondents who had not studied Spanish were able to detect all three errors at the same time that fewer of them were unable to detect any errors.
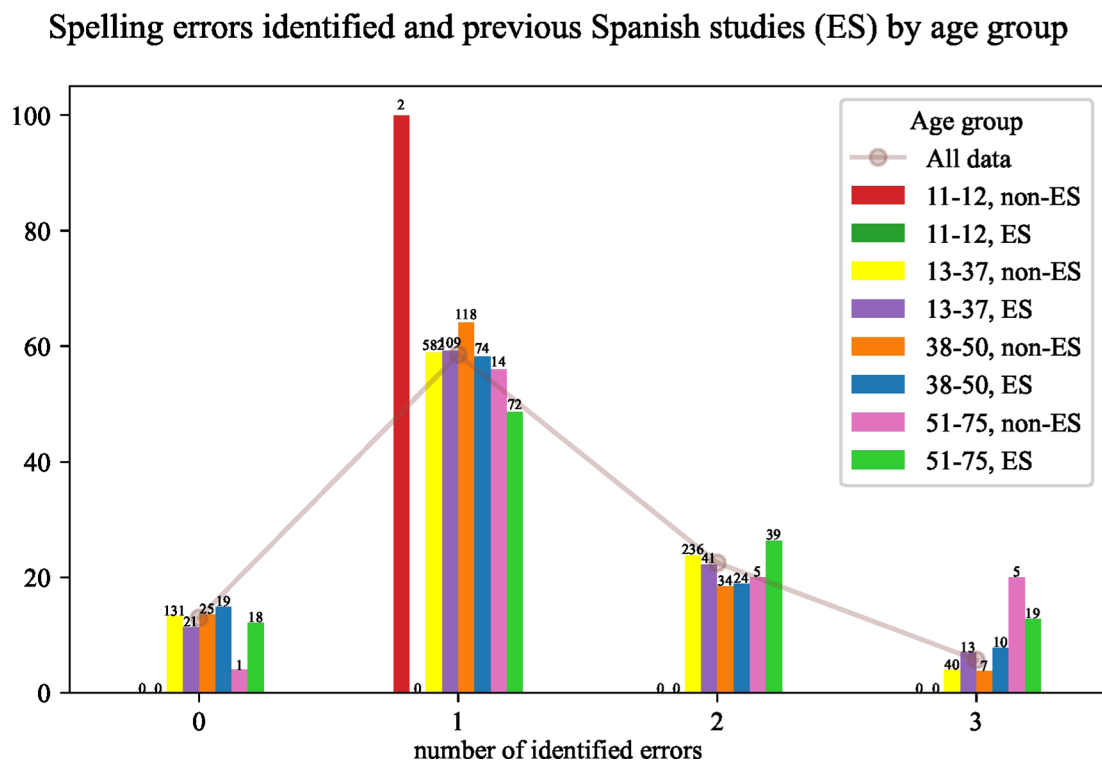

Figure 22. Respondents' performance on a spelling error identification task and previous Spanish studies (ES) by age group.

What sets the 51-75 age group apart from the other ones is that they attended school when Chavacano was a medium of instruction in the first two grades of elementary school. As seen in the graph in Figure 23, medium of instruction in elementary school seems to be a better predictor of improved performance for this specific age group than previous Spanish studies. Despite that, it is worth noting that more people aged 51-75 who only had other languages as a medium of instruction in elementary school were able to detect all three errors when compared with people in the other age groups (who, likewise, did not have Chavacano as a medium of instruction). Due to the limited size of this subsample, it was not possible to study the interaction of other variables and the medium of instruction to determine possible causes for this difference.

The choice of words for the task was not random, as these words are representative of three different cases of misspelling: 1) words which have been borrowed from Spanish into the local languages with a different spelling ("seguro", which is usually spelt as "siguro"); 2) words containing sounds that could be represented by multiple graphemes ("vene", which is often spelt as "bene"); and 3) high-frequency lexical items in Spanish whose use in Chavacano is usually limited to the older generations or formal texts ("izquierda", which could be spelt as "esquierda"). While performing suboptimally in an error identification task does not make someone a bad speller, the results obtained do suggest that (i) speakers are scarcely able to correctly spell many words in standard Chavacano; (ii) assuming they would use a similar spelling while writing on their own, they would have a corresponding rate of errors in any text they write. With all that in mind (including some rather unexpected results shown in some of the graphs in this section), we could imply that simply having some familiarity with Spanish might not necessarily produce a better outcome. Studying Spanish, unlike what is deemed by some Zamboangueños as the solution to address the spelling deficiencies of Chavacano speakers, would thus not be the most convenient way to solve the problem, unless perhaps these people reached a very high level of proficiency in Spanish. This at least partially supports hypothesis H2.

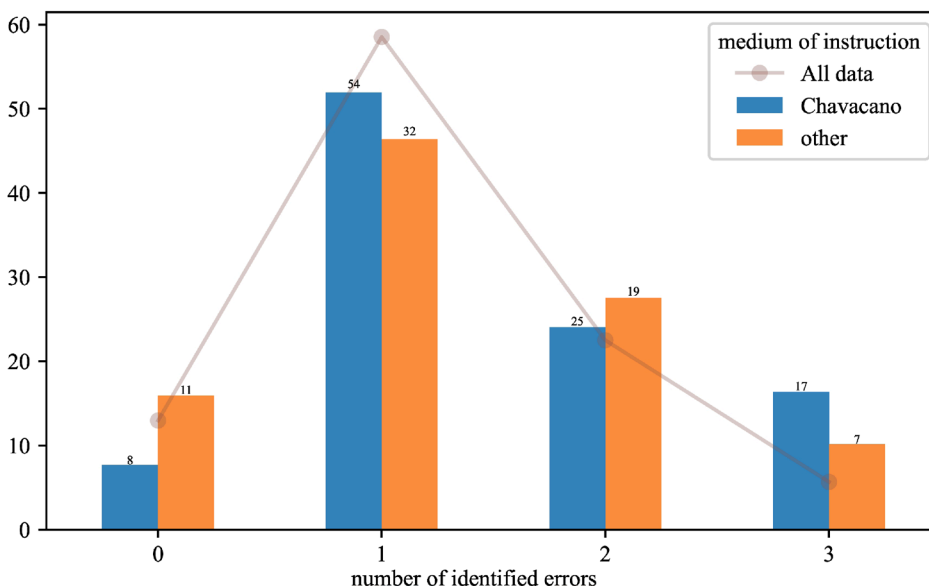Spelling errors identified by people aged 51-75 and medium of instruction

Figure 23. Performance of respondents of the oldest age group (51-75) on a spelling error identification task by médium of instruction.

5.2.5. Importance of the standardised orthography

As can be seen in Figure 24, the vast majority of the respondents (97.53%) believe that having a standardised orthography is important for Chavacano. This validates the efforts made by the local government so far to adopt a standardised spelling system and shows that the process is fully supported by the community of Chavacano speakers.
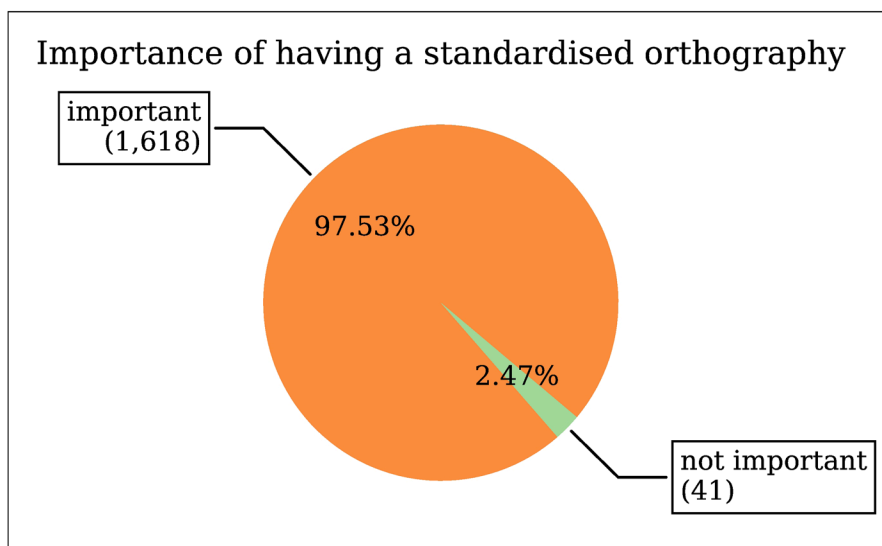

Figure 24. Distribution of respondents who believe it is important to have a standardised orthography for Chavacano.

5.2.6. Usefulness of a spell checker

Figure 25 shows that a vast majority of the respondents (96.20%) thinks that having a Chavacano spell checker would be useful. This supports our hypothesis H4.
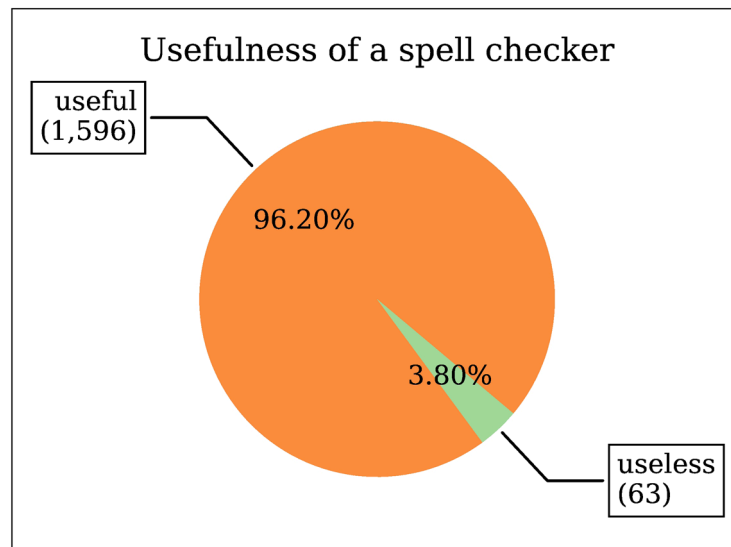
Usefulness of a spell checker

useful
(1,596)

96.20%

3.80%

useless
(63)

Figure 25. Distribution of respondents who believe that having a spell checker for Chavacano would be useful.

5.3. Response language

As mentioned above, although the language in which the questionnaire was distributed was randomly selected, respondents were free to switch back and forth to any of the languages at any point of the questionnaire. The vast majority of the respondents (90.6%) answered the questionnaire in whatever the language they received it was, be it English or Chavacano. As can be seen in Figure 26, those who decided to change the survey language from Chavacano to English account for 2.41% of the respondents, while those who changed from English to Chavacano account for 6.99%.

Language switch rate

2.41%   6.99%   90.6%

Chavacano → English   English → Chavacano   no changes
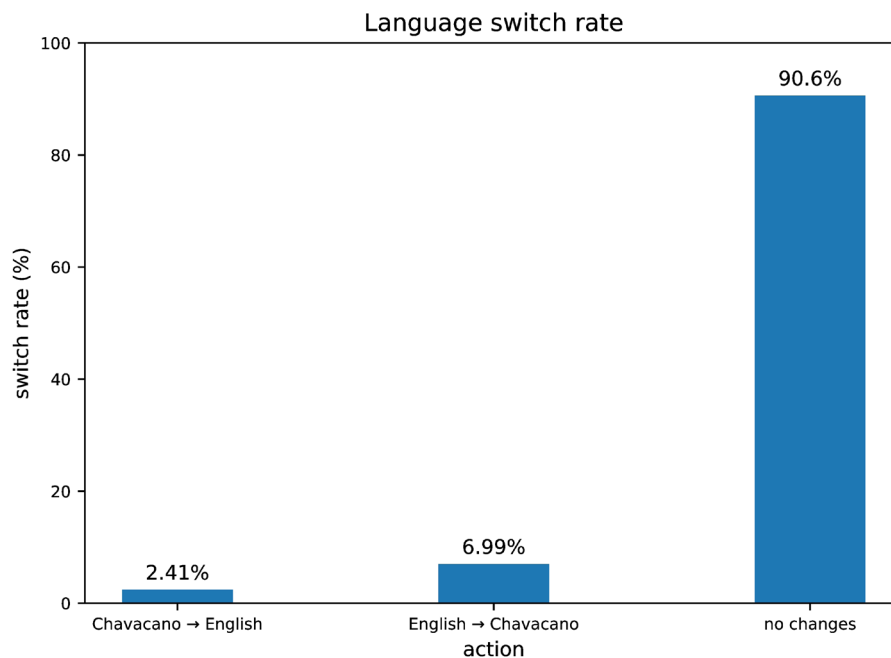   action

Figure 26. Questionnaire language switch rate.

Finally, the graph in Figure 27 shows that the number of questionnaires submitted through the English version was almost the double of that in Chavacano (1,038 answers against 621). Since we do not have control over what version was shared by the respondents, it is hard to trace back the reason why this happened or whether the English version was in fact shared more times than the cbk-PH-09 one. Some Zamboangueños we have consulted hypothesised about a possible rejection from potential respondents to answer a questionnaire written in Chavacano, assigning a lower status to the language, seeing it as suspicious or lacking credibility, in particular compared to an English or Tagalog version. The idea of the supremacy of English or that the local languages (Tagalog included in some instances) are less suitable for sciences and technology is still predominant in the Filipino society.
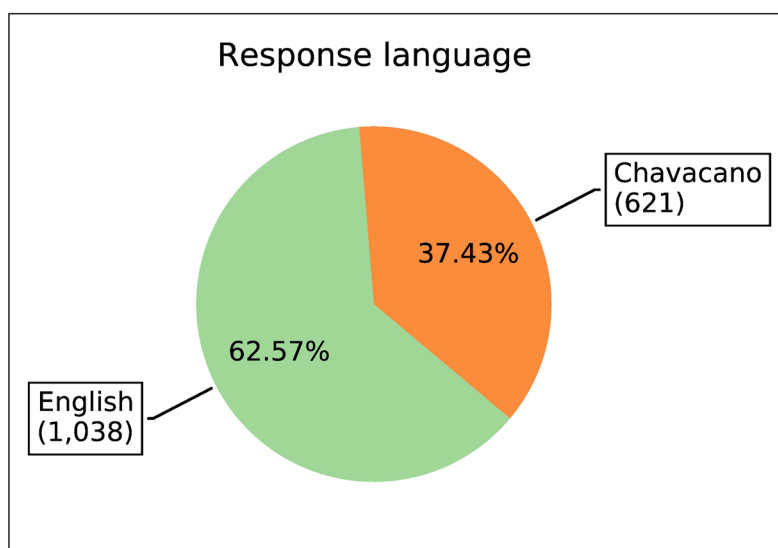
Figure 27. Respondents' distribution by response language.

5.4. About the generalisability and limitations of the results

Concerning this research and its results, the potential limitations of dealing with a self-administered questionnaire should be considered.

The first of them is related to the generalisability of the data. Considering the channels of distribution chosen (social media), we had no control whatsoever over the representativeness of the sample obtained. In fact, the graph in Figure 4 (see Section 4.1.4) shows that most respondents have a high degree of instruction, thus representing only a slice of the Chavacano-speaking population. Hence, the results obtained can only be extrapolated for that specific segment.

However, considering that all our initial hypotheses hold true for the highly educated elite, we could infer that it should be even more likely to be true for the average speaker, at least regarding hypotheses H1 (the standardised orthography is too complicated for the average speaker), H2 (having some familiarity with Spanish is not enough to increase the success in writing using the standardised orthography) and H3 (the average speaker would rather read a text written in non-standard spelling systems). The same applies to question Q2, regarding the speaker's familiarity with the standardised orthography.

The second limitation has to do with the quality of the data and the very own nature of self-administered questionnaires. Since most questionnaires are known to have been filled out using mobile devices, errors in some of the answers could be expected. Also, considering that the questionnaire was openly available online, eventual falsehood in some of the answers cannot be completely discarded. Nonetheless, a sample screening of the data did not detect the existence of any suspect or obvious cases.

This section has analysed the data collected and discussed its implications. Thus, to conclude, Section 6 revisits our initial questions and hypotheses and wraps up our conclusions.

6. Conclusions

In this paper, we have first presented a quick overview of the current situation of Zamboanga Chavacano, the writing practices in the speaker's community and the implications of the introduction of a standardised orthography–the so-called "Zamboanga Chavacano Orthography". We have then formulated some hypotheses and described the methodology used to assess them, namely to design a questionnaire in order to obtain quantitative data to refute or confirm them. Finally, we have analysed the data obtained and discussed how they answer our initial hypotheses.

The results of our questionnaire showed that Zamboanga Chavacano is the preferred written language only in informal settings where it somehow emulates the spoken language, such as text messages or chatting (Q1), and that there is a low-intermediate degree of awareness (38.4% of the respondents) of the existence of the standardised orthography (Q2). We have also validated and confirmed all our initial hypotheses:

- H1. The new, standardised Zamboanga Chavacano orthography is too complicated for the average speaker, not equipped with enough knowledge of Spanish and/or its substrate languages.
- H2. Having some familiarity with Spanish is not enough to increase success in writing using the standardised new writing system.

- H3. The average speaker of this language would rather read texts written in non-standard spelling systems than in the standardised orthography.
- H4. There is a demand for a Zamboanga Chavacano spell checker.

Besides, regarding the share of the speakers' community who participated in the survey, we can also conclude that:

- Although most speakers declare feeling prepared to use the standardised writing system, their performance is far from satisfactory without prior [and maybe even thorough] study;
- The standardised orthography is backed by the community of Zamboanga Chavacano speakers, who believe that it is important for the language to have an official writing system and are willing to learn more about it.

We are aware that the findings of this study might be limited or biased by the natural constraints imposed by online self-administered questionnaires. As a limitation of generalisability, we consider that these conclusions may only be applicable to the highly educated segment of the speakers' community, but it seems reasonably safe to extend these conclusions for at least Q2, H1, H2 and H3 to the lesser educated speakers as well.

Acknowledgements

References

Anudin, A. G. (2018). Six years of MTB MLE: Revisiting Teachers' Language Attitude towards the Teaching of Chavacano. *Asian Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies* 1(3), 68–79. https://asianjournal.org/online/index.php/ajms/article/view/133

Bureau of the Census and Statistics (1963). *Census of the Philippines: 1960 Population and Housing – Zamboanga del Sur Volume 1*. Bureau of the Census and Statistics.

DepEd, Division of Zamboanga City (2016). *Revised Zamboanga Chavacano Orthography (Guia para na Enseñanza de Chavacano)*. Local Government of Zamboanga City.

Eberhard, D. M., Simons, G. F. & Fennig, C. D. (Eds.) (2020). Chavacano. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World. Twenty-third edition*. SIL International. Retrieved April 10, 2020, from https://www.ethnologue.com/language/CBK

Fernández, M. A. (2015). La emergencia del chabacano en Filipinas: pruebas, indicios, conjeturas. In J. M. S. Rovira (ed.), *Armonía y contrastes: estudios sobre variación dialectal, histórica y sociolingüística del español*, 175–196. Editorial Axac.

Fernández, M. A. & Sippola, E. (2017). A new window into the history of Chabacano: Two unknown mid-19th century texts. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 32(2), 304–338. https://doi.org/10.1075/jpcl.32.2.04fer

Fernández, M. (2021). Del chabacano 'hondo' al 'recto' chabacano / chavacano: Reflexiones sobre un proceso de estandarización forzada. In Narvaja de Arnoux, E., Becker, L., Del Valle, J. (eds), *Reflexiones glotopolíticas desde y hacia América y Europa*. Peter Lang Verlag. https://doi.org/10.3726/b17929

Frake, C. O. (1971). Lexical origins and semantic structure in Philippine Creole Spanish. *Pidginization and creolization of languages*, 223-242.

GOV.PH (2011). DepEd develops learning supplements using mother- tongue. *Official Gazette*. https://www.officialgazette. gov.ph/2011/11/28/deped-develops-learning-supplements-using-mother-tongue/

GOV.PH (2014). About The Philippines. *GOV.PH*. Retrieved November 26, 2017, from https://www.gov.ph/about-the- philippines

Grant, A. P. (2013). On the (dis)unity of the Manila Bay Creoles: some lexical strata in Ternateño. *Revista de Crioulos de Base Lexical Portuguesa e Espanhola* 4(2), 26–47. http://www.acblpe.com/revista/volume-4-2013/on-the-disunity- of-the-manila-bay-creoles-some-lexical-strata-in-ternateno

Himoro, M. Y. (2019). *Hacia un corrector ortográfico para la nueva ortografía del chabacano de Zamboanga* (Master's thesis). Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Madrid, Spain. http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/view/ bibliuned:master-Filologia-TICETL-Myhimoro

Himoro, M. Y. & Pareja-Lora, A. (in press). Construcción de un corpus escrito y una ontología de errores ortográficos del chabacano zamboangueño. *Revista Española de Lingüística Aplicada/Spanish Journal of Applied Linguistics*.

Himoro, M. Y. & Pareja-Lora, A. 2021), 101–123. https://cvc.cervantes.es/lengua/eaesla/pdf/07/07.pdf Construcción de un corrector ortográfico híbrido para el chabacano de Zamboanga. *e-Aesla* 7 (2021).

Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino (KWF) (2015). Mapa ng mga Wika ng Filipinas. *Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino*. Retrieved June 6, 2022, from https://kwf.gov.ph/mapa-ng-mga-wika-rehiyon/

Lesho, M. & Sippola, E. (2014). Folk perceptions of variation among the Chabacano creoles. *Revista de Crioulos de Lexical Portuguesa e Espanhola* 5 (5), 1–46. http://www.acblpe.com/revista/volume-5-2014/folk-perceptions-of- variation-among-the-chabacano-creoles

Lipski, J. M. (1992). New thoughts on the origins of Zamboangueño (Philippine Creole Spanish). *Language Sciences* 14(3), 197–231. https://doi.org/10.1016/0388-0001(92)90005-Y

Managan, K. (2008). Anthropological linguistic perspectives on writing Guadeloupean Kréyòl: Struggles for recognitio of the language and struggles over authority. In Dalila Ayoun (ed.), *Studies in French Applied Linguistics*, 223-253. John Benjamins Publishing Company. https://doi.org/10.1075/lllt.21.12man

National Census and Statistics Office (NCSO) (1974). *1970 Census of Population and Housing, Final Report – Vol. 1 – Zamboanga del Sur*. Manila: National Census and Statistics Office. https://psa.gov.ph/content/census-population- and-housing-report

National Census and Statistics Office (NCSO) (1983). *1980 Census of Population and Housing, Volume 1, Final Report – Zamboanga del Sur*. Manila: National Census and Statistics Office. https://psa.gov.ph/content/census-population- and-housing-report

National Statistics Office (NSO) (1992). *1990 Census of Population and Housing, Report No. 3 – 86 I - Socio-Economic and Demographic Characteristics, Zamboanga City*. Manila: National Statistics Office. https://psa.gov.ph/content/ census-population-and-housing-report

National Statistics Office (NSO) (2003a). *2000 Census of Population and Housing, Report No. 2 Vol. 1 – Demographic and Housing Characteristics*. All vols. Manila: National Statistics Office. https://psa.gov.ph/content/census-population- and-housing-report

National Statistics Office (NSO) (2003b). *2000 Census of Population and Housing, Report No. 2 Vol. 1 – Demographic and Housing Characteristics - Zamboanga City*. Manila: National Statistics Office. https://psa.gov.ph/content/census- population-and-housing-report

National Statistics Office (NSO) (2014a). *2010 Census of Population and Housing, Report No. 2B – Population and Household Characteristics (Sample Variables)*. All vols. Manila. https://psa.gov.ph/content/census-population-and- housing-report

National Statistics Office (NSO) (2014b). *2010 Census of Population and Housing, Report No. 2B – Population and Household Characteristics (Sample Variables) – Zamboanga City*. https://psa.gov.ph/content/census-population-and- housing-report

Osborne, D. (2020). Codeswitching practices from "other tongues" to the "mother tongue" in the provincial Philippine classroom. *Linguistics and Education* 55(2020). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2019.100780

Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) (2000). *Household Population 5 Years Old and Over by Age Group Who Were Able to Speak Filipino in Zamboanga City*. Unpublished table.

Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) (2014). *Statistical Tables on Sample Variables from the Results of 2010 Census of Population and Housing*. https://psa.gov.ph/population-and-housing/statistical-tables/2010

Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) (2020). *Statistical Tables on Overseas Filipino Workers*. https://psa.gov.ph/statistics/ survey/labor-force/sof-index

Romaine, S. (2005). Orthographic practices in the standardization of pidgins and creoles: Pidgin in Hawai'i as anti- language and anti-standard. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 20(1), 101-140. https://doi.org/10.1075/ jpcl.20.1.07rom

Tobar Delgado, E. (2014). Estudio de lingüística popular en redes sociales online en chabacano zamboagueño: una visión panorámica. *Revista de Crioulos de Base Lexical Portuguesa e Espanhola* 5(2), 47–86. http://www.acblpe.com/ revista/volume-5-2014/estudio-de-linguistica-popular-en-redes-sociales-online-en-chabacano-zamboangueno-una- vision-panoramica

Tobar Delgado, E. (2016). *Comunidades 'online' y revitalización lingüística: el ejemplo de Zamboanga de Antes*. A Coruña: Universidade da Coruña dissertation. https://ruc.udc.es/dspace/handle/2183/17782

Tobar Delgado, E. & Fernández, M. A. (2019). Hacia una ortografía para el chabacano zamboangueño. *Language Problems and Language Planning* 43(1), 32–54. https://doi.org/10.1075/lplp.00031.tob

Whinnom, K. (1956). *Spanish Contact Vernaculars in the Philippine Islands*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Yap-Aizon, J. G. R. (dir.) (2018). *Chabacano / Chavacano Lexicography: English-Chabacano / Chavacano*. Local Government of Zamboanga City.

Appendix A. Survey on the use of Zamboanga Chavacano

(Si quiere tu contesta con este survey na Chavacano, favor man click aqui)

This survey is part of my thesis for **Master's degree in Information Technologies and Communication in Language Education and Processing** at **National University of Distance Education** (Madrid, Spain).

Purpose of this study: Identify how Chavacano de Zamboanga speakers use the language and know more about their attitudes towards it.

Confidentiality: All answers are anonymous. The information collected will be used solely for research purposes.

By answering this survey, you will receive a FREE gift! If you have friends or relatives who can speak Chavacano, please take some time to share this link to help us reach as many people as possible. It will remain open until June 12th only.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me:

Marcelo Yuji Himoro
mhimoro1@alumno.uned.es

Muchas gracias!

A. About you
1. What is your age?*

_____ [6; 100]

2a. What is your gender?*

♀	♂	⚥
Female	Male	Other

2b. (Optional) How do you define your gender?

_____

(NOTE: This question is only displayed for those who have selected "Other" in question 2a.)

3. Where do you live?*
  □ In Zamboanga City
  □ In Basilan
  □ Other*: _____

3b. Approximately how many years have you been living away?*
  □ less than 1 year
  □ 1-2 years
  □ 3-5 years
  □ 6-10 years
  □ 11-20 years
  □ 21-30 years
  □ 30+ years

4. What industry do you belong to?*
  □ Accommodation and Food Services
  □ Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing
  □ Arts, Entertainment and Recreation
  □ Construction
  □ Education (including students)
  □ Electricity, Gas, Steam and Air Conditioning Supply
  □ Financial and Insurance
  □ Health Care and Social Work
  □ Information and Communication
  □ Manufacturing
  □ Mining and Quarrying
  □ Professional, Scientific and Technical Services
  □ Real Estate
  □ Transportation and Storage
  □ Water Supply, Sewerage, Waste Management and Remediation Activities
  □ Wholesale and Retail Trade
  □ Other Services

5. What is the highest level of education you have attained?*
  □ None
  □ Elementary School
  □ High School
  □ College
  □ Postgraduate

B. About your use of Chavacano
1. What were the mediums of instruction when you were in Elementary School?*
⚠ **Choose all that apply**
  □ Filipino
  □ English
  □ Chavacano

    □ Spanish
       □ I studied at a Muslim or Chinese school

2. Have you ever studied Spanish?*
    □ Yes
    □ No

3. What language(s) do you speak...?*	**Chavacano**	**Filipino**	**English**	**Visaya**	**Tausug**	**Other**
a. at home	□	□	□	□	□	_____
b. when talking to your Zamboangueño friends	□	□	□	□	□	_____
c. at your workplace / school	□	□	□	□	□	_____

⚠ **Check all that apply**

4. What language(s) do you use...?*	**Chavacano**	**Filipino**	**English**	**Visaya**	**Tausug**	**Other**
a. to take down notes	□	□	□	□	□	_____
b. to email a Zamboangueño	□	□	□	□	□	_____
c. to text or chat with a Zamboangueño	□	□	□	□	□	_____

⚠ **Check all that apply**
4d. Please choose the reasons why you feel more comfortable writing in other languages:*
    □ Chavacano is not my mother tongue
    □ I did not have a chance to study Chavacano at school
    □ I have a hard time writing in Chavacano because it does not have clear spelling rules
    □ Other*: _____
(NOTE: This question is only displayed for those who have not selected "Chavacano" in at least one of the items of question 4.)

C. About the Zamboanga Chavacano Orthography
Since 2014, an official orthography (*Zamboanga Chavacano Orthography*) has been implemented at the schools in Zamboanga City. It establishes as a general rule that:

> *Chavacano words of Spanish origin are written following the original Spanish form. Chavacano words of local origin are likewise spelled according to its origin.*
> (Department of Education: Division of Zamboanga City & Local Government of Zamboanga City (Eds.). (2014). Revised Zamboanga Chavacano Orthography. Zamboanga City, Philippines: Local Government of Zamboanga City, 15.)

5. Did you know about the official orthography?*
    □ Yes
    □ No

Now try to read the paragraph below:
    TEXT A
    Bien flojo gayod este mio marido. Todo'l dia ya lang ta'n tomahan junto con de suyo maga amigo. Ni no quiere anda busca trabajo. Falta gad juicio. No hay 'le cosa sabe sino maga fanfarronadas. Cuando ya habla yo con ele kay ya coge yo con ele junto na otro mujer, ya re que re lang 'le conmigo. Habla 'le kay loca ya daw yo. Yo pa ahora el loca. Pero no hay yo cosa puede hace. Tres ya el anak de amon. No puede yo con ele deja.
    TEXT B
    Bien ploho gayot este miyo marido. Todol dia ya lang tan tomahan hunto con disuyu maga amigo. Ni nukere anda busca trabaho. Palta gat wisyo. Nuay le cosa sabe sino mga pamparonadas. Cuando ya abla yo conele kay ya kuhi yo cunele huntu na otro muher, ya rikiri lang le kumigo. Abla le kay loka ya daw yo. Iyo pa ara el loka. Pero nuay io kosa pwede ase. Tres ya el anak diamun. No puede yo kunele deha.

6. In your opinion, which one is easier to read?*
    □ Text A
    □ Text B

7. Do you feel confident enough about applying the official orthography when writing in Chavacano?*
    Not confident at all □—□—□—□—□ Very confident

8. Would you be willing to learn more about the official orthography?*

I am not interested □—□—□—□—□ I would love to

9. In your opinion, is it important for Chavacano to have an official orthography?*

□ Yes
□ No

10. Do you think a spell checker for Chavacano would be useful?*

□ Yes
□ No

 A spell checker is a software that automatically attempts to identify possible spelling mistakes and suggest corrections to them.
Try to read the following joke and look at the highlighted words.

> Ta porfia si Juan con su maga uban tomador por causa del color del luna.
> JUAN: El color del luna ahora como yellow y tiene un poco colorao.
> UBAN: Hende, el color del luna ahora yellow green.
> JUAN: Mali ustedes, sobra ya **siguro** el vino na cabeza de ustedes. Bien claro gayod kay yellow el color del luna y tiene un poco colorao.
> UBAN: Basta ya 'se porfiahan. Taqui ya si Pedro. Ele el puede habla kanaton cosa el verdadero color del luna kay hende 'le tomao. **Bene** daw anay aqui, Pedro.
> JUAN: Pedro, favor habla kanamon cosa el color del luna ahora?
> Enseguidas ya man tanga para arriba, y ya habla:
> PEDRO: El donde? El na derecha o el na **esquierda**?
> (Adapted from the text by Franklin Cañizares Alibasa)

11. Can you identify which of the words above are incorrectly spelled?*
⚠ **Check all that apply**

□ siguro
□ bene
□ esquierda
□ I do not know

 Please refrain from using dictionaries or online translators. This is <u>NOT</u> an exam.

D. About this survey
1. How have you found out about this survey?*
⚠ **Check all that apply**

□ friends or relatives
□ Facebook groups
□ Twitter
□ blogs
□ forums
□ Other*: _____

2. (Optional) If you have any comments, opinions or anything you would like to add, feel free to use the comments box below:

_____
_____

Thank you for taking time to answer our survey.
<u>Please click here to download your free Chavacano ebook!</u>
"Cosa adentro del caldero?" is the Zamboanga Chavacano edition of the children's book "**What's in the pot?**", written by Hayley Alonzo, Crystal Warren and Rat Western for <u>Book Dash</u> and licensed under <u>Creative Commons Attribution licence</u>.
The Chavacano edition was produced by <u>Colorin Colorao</u>, a non-profit initiative that aims at spreading literacy in Chavacano by providing its young speakers with reading materials in their own mother tongue. This is just the first of many books we plan to publish. If you want to know more about us, please <u>click here</u>.

Appendix B. Survey acerca del usada del Chavacano de Zamboanga

(If you wish to answer this survey in English, please <u>click here</u>)

Parte este survey del mio thesis del **Master's degree in Information Technologies and Communication in Language Education and Processing** na **National University of Distance Education** (Madrid, España).

   Objetivo del estudio: Identifica que laya el maga sabe conversa Chavacano de Zamboanga ta usa con ese y aumenta el de aton saber acerca na de ila actitud con el lenguaje.

   Confidencialidad: Secreto todo el maga contestacion. Para lang na research kame usa con el maga colectao informacion.

   Contesta con este survey, acabar tiene kame cosa ay dale contigo LIBRE! Si tiene tu maga amigo o familia sabe conversa Chavacano, ta roga kame que ay man share tu con este link para puede este llega na mas mucho gente. Abierto este hasta na <u>12 de Junio</u> lang.

   Si tiene tu cosa quiere pregunta, no tu tiene huya man email conmigo:
   Marcelo Yuji Himoro
   mhimoro1@alumno.uned.es
   Muchas gracias!

A. Acerca contigo
1. Cuanto año ya tu?*
   _____ [6; 100]

2a. Cosa de tuyo gender?*

♀ Mujer	♂ Hombre	⚥ Otro

2b. (Opcional) Que laya tu ta defini con el de tuyo gender?

_____

(NOTE: This question is only displayed for those who have selected "Other" in question 2a.)

3. Donde tu ta queda?*
 □ Na Zamboanga City
 □ Na Basilan
 □ Otro*: _____

3b. Maga cuanto año ya tu ta queda afuera?*
 □ No hay pa 1 año
 □ 1-2 año
 □ 3-5 año
 □ 6-10 año
 □ 11-20 año
 □ 21-30 año
 □ 30+ año

4. Na cosa industry tu ta trabaja?*
 □ Accommodation and Food Services
 □ Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing
 □ Arts, Entertainment and Recreation
 □ Construction
 □ Education (entrao maga estudiante)
 □ Electricity, Gas, Steam and Air Conditioning Supply
 □ Financial and Insurance
 □ Health Care and Social Work
 □ Information and Communication
 □ Manufacturing
 □ Mining and Quarrying
 □ Professional, Scientific and Technical Services
 □ Real Estate
 □ Transportation and Storage
 □ Water Supply, Sewerage, Waste Management and Remediation Activities
 □ Wholesale and Retail Trade
 □ Other Services

5. Cosa de con todo alto level of education que tu ya puede alcanza?*
 □ No hay
 □ Elementary School
 □ High School
 □ Colegio
 □ Postgraduate

B. Acerca na de tuyo usada del Chavacano
1. Cosa-cosa el maga medium of instruction cuando na Elementary School pa tu?*
⚠ Man check el todo deverasan para contigo
 □ Filipino
 □ Ingles
 □ Chavacano
 □ Español
 □ Ya estudia yo na un Chinese o Muslim school

2. Ya puede ba tu estudia Español antes?*
 □ Si
 □ Hende

3. Cosa-cosa lenguaje tu ta conversa...?*	Chavacano	Filipino	Ingles	Visaya	Tausug	Otro
a. na de ustedes casa	□	□	□	□	□	_____
b. si ta'n cuento na de tuyo maga amigo Zamboangueño	□	□	□	□	□	_____
c. na de tuyo trabajo / escuela	□	□	□	□	□	_____

⚠ Man check el todo deverasan para contigo

4. Na cosa-cosa lenguaje tu ta escribi...?*	Chavacano	Filipino	Ingles	Visaya	Tausug	Otro
a. si ta escribi tu notes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
b. ta escribi email na un Zamboangueño	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
c. si ta'n text o si ta'n chat na un Zamboangueño	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____

⚠ **Man check el todo deverasan para contigo**

4d. Favor escoge el razon porque mas quiere tu escribi na otro lenguaje:*
    ☐ Hende mio mother tongue el Chavacano
    ☐ No hay yo puede estudia Chavacano na escuela
    ☐ Malisud escribi na Chavacano kay no hay este maga claro reglamento na deletreada (spelling)
    ☐ Otro*: _____
(NOTE: This question is only displayed for those who have not selected "Chavacano" in at least one of the items of question 4.)

C. Acerca na Zamboanga Chavacano Orthography
Del año 2014, tiene ya un oficial ortografia (Zamboanga Chavacano Orthography) que ta implementa na maga escuela del ciudad. Este ta establece como reglamento principal kay:
> *Chavacano words of Spanish origin are written following the original Spanish form. Chavacano words of local origin are likewise spelled according to its origin.*
> (Department of Education: Division of Zamboanga City & Local Government of Zamboanga City (Eds.). (2014). Revised Zamboanga Chavacano Orthography. Zamboanga City, Philippines: Local Government of Zamboanga City, 15.)

5. Ya puede ya ba tu oi por causa del oficial ortografia?*
    ☐ Si
    ☐ Hende

Ahora proba tu lee con el paragraph abajo:
> **TEXTO A**
> Bien flojo gayod este mio marido. Todo'l dia ya lang ta'n tomahan junto con de suyo maga amigo. Ni no quiere anda busca trabajo. Falta gad juicio. No hay 'le cosa sabe sino maga fanfarronadas. Cuando ya habla yo con ele kay ya coge yo con ele junto na otro mujer, ya re que re lang 'le conmigo. Habla 'le kay loca ya daw yo. Yo pa ahora el loca. Pero no hay yo cosa puede hace. Tres ya el anak de amon. No puede yo con ele deja.
> **TEXTO B**
> Bien ploho gayot este miyo marido. Todol dia ya lang tan tomahan hunto con disuyu maga amigo. Ni nukere anda busca trabaho. Palta gat wisyo. Nuay le cosa sabe sino mga pamparonadas. Cuando ya abla yo conele kay ya kuhi yo cunele huntu na otro muher, ya rikiri lang le kumigo. Abla le kay loka ya daw yo. Iyo pa ara el loka. Pero nuay io kosa pwede ase. Tres ya el anak diamun. No puede yo kunele deha.

6. Para contigo, cosa el mas facil lee?*
    ☐ Texto A
    ☐ Texto B

7. Ta senti ba tu que ay puede tu usa el oficial ortografia si ay escribi tu na Chavacano?*
    Hende gayod ☐—☐—☐—☐—☐ Puede gayod

8. Quiere ba tu aprende mas acerca del oficial ortografia?*
    Hende yo interesao ☐—☐—☐—☐—☐ Bien quiere yo aprende

9. Ta mira tu, importante ba tiene un oficial ortografia del Chavacano?*
    ☐ Si
    ☐ Hende

10. Bueno ba gaha tiene un spell checker de Chavacano?*
    ☐ Si
    ☐ Hende
⚠ **El spell checker un software que ta precura identifica pati corregi automaticamente con el maga posible mali na deletreada (spelling).**

Lee daw tu con este broma y pone tu atencion na maga highlighted palabra.

> Ta porfia si Juan con su maga uban tomador por causa del color del luna.
> JUAN: El color del luna ahora como yellow y tiene un poco colorao.
> UBAN: Hende, el color del luna ahora yellow green.
> JUAN: Mali ustedes, sobra ya siguro el vino na cabeza de ustedes. Bien claro gayod kay yellow el color del luna y tiene un poco colorao.
> UBAN: Basta ya 'se porfiahan. Taqui ya si Pedro. Ele el puede habla kanaton cosa el verdadero color del luna kay hende 'le tomao. Bene daw anay aqui, Pedro.
> JUAN: Pedro, favor habla kanamon cosa el color del luna ahora?
> Enseguidas ya man tanga para arriba, y ya habla:
> PEDRO: El donde? El na derecha o el na esquierda?
> (Adaptao estaba na texto de Franklin Cañizares Alibasa)

11. Puede ba tu habla cosa-cosa palabra arriba el tiene kamali na deletreada (spelling)?*
⚠ **Man check el todo deverasan para contigo**
> □ siguro
> □ bene
> □ esquierda
> □ No sabe yo

⚠ **Favor no usa maga diccionario o maga traductor na internet. HENDE este un exam.**

D. Acerca con este survey
1. Que laya tu ya puede encontra con este survey?*
⚠ **Man check el todo deverasan para contigo**
> □ maga amigo o familia
> □ maga grupo na Facebook
> □ Twitter
> □ maga blogs
> □ maga forums
> □ Otro*: _____

2. (Opcional) Si tiene pa tu maga comento, opinion o cosa quiere aumenta, favor escribi abajo:
_____
_____

Gracias na tuyo contestacion y tiempo.
Favor man click aqui para man download tuyolibre Chavacano ebook!
"Cosa adentro del caldero?" amo el version na Chavacano de Zamboanga del libro "**What's in the pot?**", escribido de Hayley Alonzo, Crystal Warren and Rat Western para na Book Dash y distribuido bajo de un licencia Creative Commons Attribution.
El edicion na Chavacano ya produci Colorin Colorao, un iniciativa sin ganancia que el objetivo amo produci maga historia na Chavacano para ay tiene el maga bata el costumbre lee na de ila nativo lenguaje. Este el primero lang na mucho pa otro libro ta planea kame publica. Si quiere tu sabe mas acerca kanamon, favor man click aqui.