Zamboangueño Creole Spanish

John M. Lipski and Salvatore Santoro

Introduction
Zamboangueño (ZM) is a distinct dialect of Philippine Creole Spanish spoken in and around Zamboanga City, located on the southern tip of Mindanao island, and on the nearby Basilan island (Frake 1971:228). It is currently spoken as a native language by as many as 300,000 individuals (Lipski 1996:387), and it is used as a second language by many others. In Zamboanga and Basilan the majority of the residents are native speakers of ZM; many also speak Cebuano (known as Visayan), while Muslim residents may speak Tausug, Yakan, Samal, or other southern Philippine languages. Most urban residents know and use some English (an obligatory school subject and used extensively in the media). Pilipino (Tagalog), the nation’s other official language, is taught obligatorily in Zamboanga, but most residents are not fluent in this language and resist its use, due to resentment of the hegemony of Manila. There are many monolingual ZM speakers, particularly in rural areas. Pockets of ZM speakers are also found on the more distant island of Jolo.

Another significant pocket of Chabacano speakers is found in Cotabato, to the east. Although surrounded by speakers of Tagalog (the language of recent boom-town immigration) and central Philippine languages, Chabacano speakers in Cotabato are proud of their linguistic heritage, organize as groups, and maintain the language at home. Differences between Cotabato Chabacano and ZM are subtle, and mostly involve a few lexical items and pragmatic choices, e.g. of pronominal address; for all practical purposes they are the same language (Riego de Dios 1976, 1978, 1989). An undetermined number of Chabacano speakers is also found in Davao, the largest city in Mindanao. Whinnom (1956), who was unable to visit Davao, claimed Davaeno as a separate Chabacano dialect, but contemporary Chabacano speakers in Davao all speak the Zamboanga dialect and consider themselves—often with little factual information at their disposal—as part of the Zamboangueño diaspora.

Rural ZM is archaic, contains many Spanish items that have disappeared from urban varieties, uses almost no English (except for terms entering through official terminology) and does not freely borrow from central Philippine languages. This is the language of the folktales transcribed by Whinnom (1956), Forman (1972), Cuartocruz (1992), and Pérez-Semorlan (1984); this speech can still be heard among older residents even in the city. It is the urban variety, however, that boasts the largest number of speakers, that is used in radio and television, and in the large Zamboangueño diaspora; as a consequence, the following grammatical outline will include urban ZM constructions as much as possible. Many older rural Zamboanga residents are still somewhat fluent in Spanish, and do not clearly distinguish in their minds—or in their speech—between their “Spanish” and Zamboangueño Chabacano. Urban ZM borrows freely from
English, occasionally from Tagalog, and often from Visayan. Curious hybrid combinations containing non-creole Spanish elements are frequent (Lipski 1986a), including apparently conjugated verbs, gender and number agreement in noun phrases, and lexical items not found in normal ZM. The source of such items appears to be local radio and television, since Spanish is not widely spoken in Zamboanga and Chabacano speakers with no formal training in Spanish are unable to understand this language.

In addition to the resident Zamboangueño population, thousands of Zamboangueños have taken part in the massive Philippine diaspora. They can be found in Guam, Hawaii, and the continental United States, with the largest U. S. communities found in northern California and in Houston and Port Arthur, Texas. Thanks to the Internet, Zamboangueños now communicate via web sites and chat rooms, as do their Chabacano-speaking compatriots from Cavite and Ternate. As with other endangered or regional minority languages (e.g. Judeo Spanish), the use of Internet communication may actually fortify language retention away from the homeland.

Very different varieties of Chabacano are spoken in the cities of Cavite and Ternate, on Manila Bay. These Chabacano dialects—which are similar and largely mutually intelligible, but differ in many substantive grammatical features—have been influenced by Tagalog, but contain a much higher proportion of Spanish elements than ZM. A Chabacano variety was once spoken in Ermita, a barrio of Manila, but urban sprawl has overrun this area, and Ermiteno has completely disappeared. Ternateño is the most archaic variety of Chabacano, arguably a direct descendent of a proto-creole language brought by the Mardikas from Ternate, Indonesia in the 17th century (Molony 1973, 1977a, 1977b; Lipski 1986b). Both Caviteño and Ternateño have at most a few thousand speakers, all of whom are Tagalog-dominant bilinguals, and are probably endangered languages. Recently both communities have developed programs for the appreciation and retention of Chabacano, with as yet undetermined results.

Like many other creole languages, the name Chabacano/Chavacano (both spellings are used) stems from a derisive Spanish term meaning ‘clumsy, ill-formed, and vulgar.’ Although within the Chabacano-speaking communities this word has lost the negative connotation and refers only to the language, many enlightened community members avoid the term Chabacano and prefer instead the regional designations of Caviteño, Ternateño, and especially Zamboangueño. In the past decade, the term Chabacano has also been used as an ethnic designation, and not simply as the name of a language; thus a Caviteño might say chabacano nísos ‘we [are] Chabacanos,’ while the same phrase in ZM would be chabacano kitá.

The origin and formation of ZM is not entirely clear (nor for that matter is the formation of Caviteño and Ternateño). The Chabacano varieties of Cavite and Ternate (and the now-disappeared Ermita dialect) have existed at least since the early 17th century, whereas ZM was formed no earlier than the late 18th century and possibly even later. Zamboanga City began as a military outpost built to contain Moslem penetration of the southern Philippines. Fort Pilar, the main defense, was constructed in the 1630’s, but was abandoned some thirty years later due to repeated attacks. Spaniards returned to Zamboanga in 1719, and the subsequent Spanish presence in
that area was continuous until 1898. Most 19th century descriptions of Zamboanga, by travelers, military personnel and diplomats, refer only to “Spanish” as being spoken there, although in conjunction with the plethora of visitors’ accounts of the generally “bad” Spanish spoken in the Philippines from the early 19th century onward, it is unlikely that un-restructured Spanish was being described. However the first explicit reference to a creolized Spanish in Zamboanga comes only at the end of the 19th century (a time when the number of actual Spanish speakers in Zamboaga reached its zenith): Thus, Worcester (1898: 130) noted that “On account of the multiplicity of native dialects, Spanish became the medium of communication, but they have long since converted it into a Zamboangueño patois which is quite unintelligible to one familiar only with pure ‘Castellano.’” This can only have been a very recent form of ZM. Russell (1907:172), who visited Zamboanga in 1900, and who had considerable knowledge of Spanish, referred to “Zamboangganese” as “a mixture of Castilian, Visayan and Malay.” She also refers to Zamboangueños speaking “ unintelligible Spanish” in moments of excitement. The latter two descriptions are the exception rather than the rule, however, and the majority of 19th century descriptions of Zamboanga mention only ‘Spanish,’ without any suggestion that Peninsular Spanish coexisted with a Spanish-based creole. The available facts point not to a sharp break in the native transmission of Spanish which is a normal concomitant of creolization, but rather of the extensive coexistence of Spanish, structurally congruent Philippine languages with an increasingly high number of recognizable Spanish items, and the emergent creole itself. Contemporary fieldwork combined with historical reconstruction suggests that more than negative attitudes, outsiders’ ignorance, and terminological confusion underlie the impossibility of precisely fixing the emergence of Chabacano as a separate cluster of languages in the Philippines.

There are various theories regarding the formation of this language. According to Whinnom (1956:14), the formation of the PCS dialects, including ZM, was the result of linguistic and cultural mestizaje or mixing between Spanish-speaking garrison troops (soldiers from the lowest social classes) and speakers of diverse Philippine languages: “the intimate convivence of Spanish speakers with natives, isolated by a common enemy, and the intermarriage of illiterate troops with non-Spanish speaking women” could explain such a quick emergence of this creolized language.

Warren (1981) provides an alternative account of the formation of ZM, suggesting that from the 17th to 19th century, many of the slaves held on Jolo island in the Sulu Archipelago by Muslim pirates managed to escape to Zamboanga, where they were once more forced to labor by the Spanish military authorities. Coming from widely separated parts of the Philippines, they had no common language, hence “these degradados developed their own Spanish-Creole dialect -Chavacano- to communicate.” (Warren 1981:235).

Frake (1971) implicitly accepts Whinnom’s position regarding the military origin of this language:

[I]t seems reasonable to assume that Spanish military and naval units in the Philippines, known to have been composed of men speaking diverse Philippine languages and officered by Spaniards, used a Spanish-based
He claims, however, that geographically contiguous languages such as Tagalog and Visayan had less impact on its formation than Ilongo, in contrast with what has been suggested by Whinnom (1956).

The Philippines and the Moluccas were visited in 1521 by Magellan, who claimed them for Spain. The Portuguese were the first European power in this area, however, establishing a fort on Ternate to further their spice trading. After union with Portugal, the Spanish took control in the latter 16th century; Manila, founded in 1571, became a major commercial center, and Ternate was recaptured from the Dutch in 1606. Zamboanga was also garrisoned in order to contain Moslem penetration in the Southern Philippines. Fort Pilar was built on the south-western tip of Mindanao to interdict these raids. The Moro attacks, however, forced the Spanish to abandon this fort and Ternate in 1663 and escape to Manila, taking with them a group of Tagalog-speaking Ternateño Christians known as Márdikas (the product of contact with Portuguese and Spanish soldiers), who settled in Manila Bay and served in Spanish military forces around the region. It was not until 1719 that the Spanish returned, along with civilians from other sections of the Philippines and possibly the Márdikas. Whinnom (1956:9), Frake (1971:225) and Holm (1989:318) all speculate that the latter may have spoken a regional (Malayo-) Portuguese pidgin, possibly creolizing it, though Lipski (1986c:9) finds the evidence less compelling.

Significant grammatical differences between ZM and the Manila Bay Chabacano varieties suggest at best a multi-stranded genealogical relationship and at the outside an essential spontaneous formation of ZM in situ. According to Lipski (1992), ZM began not as a true Creole but as a natural common intersection of grammatically cognate Philippine languages which had already incorporated a lexical core of Spanish borrowings. It could be better described as a contact vernacular which has undergone numerous remakings by an ever-changing population who have never given up their native language. Lipski (1992:220) identifies six different stages, starting from the time this language arose in the Zamboanga garrison as the common language between Spanish and Filipino people up until contemporary ZM, which has been influenced by Visayan syntactic features and also shows heavy English transfer. 18th century ZM was characterized by the absorption of grammatical and lexical structures from Manila Bay PCS. In the 19th century Ilongo lexical elements were introduced, possibly as a result of the use of Iloilo (the main city in the Ilongo region) as a stopover for ships bound from Manila to Zamboanga. At the turn of the 20th century, large-scale immigration from the central Visayan region to south-western Mindanao determined an increase of Visayan items into the language. The word order began to shift towards a VSO sequence. After 1930, the increasing use of English in Zamboanga, not only in schools but even in casual conversations, resulted in growing incorporation of Anglicisms into ZM.

In spite of these contrasting hypotheses concerning the formation and the evolution of this language, linguists recognize that its lexicon is
overwhelmingly Spanish, indicating a decisive influence of the Spanish troops. On the other hand, syntactic features common to other Manila Bay PCS varieties (VSO word order, lack of a copula verb) are quite widespread. The morphosyntactic structure of ZM reflects four centuries of Philippine history: the immigration of different ethnic groups has determined cultural reorganizations with many linguistic repercussions.

The most complete study of ZM grammar to date is Forman (1972), from which many of the following examples are drawn. Camins (1989) is a recent grammar book and glossary, with useful examples, while Perez Samorlan (1984) contains a selection of legends in ZM (with translations in Tagalog), and Cuartocruz (1992) offers an ample collection of transcribed ZM folktales. Apostol (1962-67) also contain many key examples from actual ZM usage. Forman (1967) and Reyes (1967) are instructional manuals with a wealth of practical examples. In the following paragraphs, any example lacking a bibliographical reference comes from Lipski’s own field recordings. Although ZM has been written for at least a century, there is no standard orthography; some writers have preferred Spanish orthography, while others use spellings similar to those used for Philippine languages such as Tagalog. In the following text, all examples taken from written sources will retain the original spellings; examples taken from fieldwork will use the quasi-IPA orthography used, e.g. by Forman (1972).1

The sound system consists of five vowels: /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/ and /a/, and two semivowels: /y/ and /w/. Consonants are very similar to those of the superstrate except for a voiceless continuant /h/, a glottal catch /q/ and a velar nasal /ŋ/. An epenthetic /h/ usually occurs between the end of a stem ending in a vowel and any of the suffixes –in, –an, or –án. A contrastive /q/ can be heard between the preverbal marker and the stem of a verb in order to interrupt a vocalic sequence, as indicated in /taqentendí/ ‘understanding’ (Forman 1972:85). Similarly, this consonant may or may not be present after the derivational suffix man, as in /manqubán/ or /manubán/ ‘to accompany’ (ibid.:86).

Stress is a matter of syllable prominence (loudness and possibly length), and is significant at grammatical levels (nada ‘nothing’ vs nadá ‘swim’). Generally speaking, accentuation rules are those of standard Spanish. I have applied these rules to all ZM words, ignoring whether ZM orthography requires it. Accents, however, have been omitted where predictable.

1 Unmarked Verbs
Preverbal markers of tense and aspect variably occur with verbs. When a verb is unmarked in ZM, its time reference is often clear from elements in

---

1 Santoro wishes to acknowledge the native-speaker intuitions of Neile Martinez. He is also indebted to John Holm for his impeccably professional and sympathetic help with the manuscript. Lipski also thanks John Holm for stalwart leadership in creole studies, and acknowledges a deep debt of gratitude to the many Chabacano speakers (too numerous to name, but acknowledged in other publications) in Zamboanga, Jolo, Cotabato, Davao, Cavite, Ternate, Manila, and in the diaspora, who taught him their language and answered endless questions about usage. Lipski’s fieldwork in the Philippines was begun under the auspices of a Fulbright Fellowship in 1985 and has been augmented by subsequent visits and ongoing contact with Chabacano-speaking Internet correspondents.
the context such as: adverbs, adverbial phrases or narrative frames. Only stative verbs, however, have this possibility. Unmarked non-stative verbs, in fact, can only refer to the present. When they refer to the past, they require the use of the preverbal marker ya. In this respect, ZM is not very Creole-like, as the usual tendency in Creoles is for unmarked non-statives to take a past reading.

1.1 Statives with non-past reference
Stative verbs variably take the preverbal marker ta (indicating progressive or habitual aspect, §3.0). In (1) pwède ‘can’ is preceded by ta, while in (2) it is not. The default reading of an unmarked stative verb is to describe a recurring action.

(1) Komo ta pwède man ése bulé, andé alyí na réyno
Since HAB can PT DEM fly go there LOC kingdom

‘Since he knows how to fly, he goes there to the kingdom’

(2) Konése hïnte pwède élé komé
With-DEM people __ can he eat

‘With these people he can eat’

1.2 Statives with past reference
Stative verbs without preverbal past marker ya (§2.0) can refer to the past (3); they may also occur with ya (4).

(3) Tódo akél kyére ánda saká konése muhér
All DEM __ want go take with-that woman

‘They all wanted to go to take that woman’

(4) Awra, sabe ya le si onde ba el kasa de-ese muhér
Now know PAST 3s whether PT DEF house of-DEM girl

GLOSS

1.3 Non-statives with past reference
(5) kwándo sále afwéra ya muri
When leave outside PAST die

‘When [he] went outside, [he] died’

1.4 Non-statives with non-past reference
Unmarked non-stative verbs necessarily have non-past reference. They may also variably omit (6) or take (§3.1) preverbal ta.

(6) andá alyí na réyno
__ go there to kingdom

‘He goes there to the kingdom’

In the proper context, unmarked verbs may have a clear future reference:

(7) Planyá kitá dos un dia ánda pa alyá

---

2 Example from (Forman 1972:168). Henceforth Forman’s examples will be cited giving only page numbers. Examples from Neile Martinez (p c) will be cited as (NM); other sources will be cited as usual, e.g. (Forman 1993:pp).
plan 1p-incl. two one day go still there
'We (incl.) will make plans, one day [we] will go there'

(8) *muri bos si cae na ondura* (Cuartocruz 1992:122)
die 2s if fall LOC depth
‘You will die if you fall into the deep water’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 Unmarked Verbs: summary for Zamboangueño</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Statives with non-past reference +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Statives with past reference +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Non-statives with past reference +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Non-statives with non-past reference +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 Anterior (or past) tense
The preverbal marker *ya* indicates past rather than anterior tense, and generally has a punctual and perfective meaning, so that it can also indicate completive aspect (§5).

2.1 Statives with past reference
The occurrence of *ya* before a stative verb indicates simple past tense (6). Note that context can also give unmarked stative verbs past reference (§1.2).

(9) *Ya pwéde le saká konel princésa gayót* (186)
PAST can 3s seize with-DEF princess herself
‘He could seize the princess herself’

If the context is appropriate, *ta* can combine with stative verbs to produce past reference:

(10) *aseptá ya silá el primero impulso no kyére akabár ta kyére kyére ya* accept now 3p the first impulse NEG like then TMA like-like now
‘They accept [the first Bible in Chabacano] now; the first impression, [they] didn’t like [it], then, [they] got to liking [it]’

2.2 Non-statives with (past-before-) past reference
Non-stative verbs referring to the past usually take the preverbal marker *ya* (11), or the homophonous completive marker *ya* (12), which may precede or follow it (§5.1). Past-before-past reference may also be marked with preverbal past *ya* alongside postverbal completive *ya*; see §5.3.

(11) *Ya andá silá na Lamítan* (158)
PAST go 3p to Lamitan ‘They went to Lamitan’

(12) *De noč  ya silá ya-lyega* (181)
Of night COMP 3p PAST-arrive ‘They arrived at night’

When arbitrary impersonal subjects (*proarb*) are present, the preverbal particle *ta* itself an indication of *proarb* in the absence of the normally obligatory overt subject) can indicate past reference:
(13) \( \text{ta matá konéle aki na Zamboanga} \)
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{TMA kill with-3s here LOC Zamboanga} \\
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
[\text{pro_{arb}}] \text{ killed him here in Zamboanga'} \\
\end{array}
\]

Ta can have past reference when a definite null subject is present:

(14) \( \text{Byen borráco gat kamí, poréso ta man-pelyán} \) (Frake 1980: 309)
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{very drunk INTENS 1p-excl. therefore TMA recip-fight-recip} \\
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{‘We (excl.) were very drunk, that’s why [we] fought each other’} \\
\end{array}
\]

Ta can sometimes be used with past reference even with an overt subject; the past marker \( \text{ya} \) is usually present elsewhere in the same sentence:

(15) \( \text{ta kamína ki kamína yo no sabe ya yo dónde ya gindá} \)
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{TMA walk-and-walk 1s NEG know TMA 1s where PAST go} \\
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{‘I walked and walked, I didn’t know where [I] was going’ (Frake 1980: 299)} \\
\end{array}
\]

2.3 Anterior = counterfactual
Counterfactuals in ZM can be formed with \( \text{dol} ‘\text{as if’} \) and a bare verb; TMA particles are not used:

(16) \( \text{si ta conversa Chabacano na pueblo dol talla tu na México} \)
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{if TMA speak Chabacano LOC town as-if be-there 2s LOC Mexico} \\
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{‘If you speak Chabacano in town as if you were in Mexico’ (Cuartocruz 1992:52)} \\
\end{array}
\]

2.4 Anterior with adjective
Like stative verbs (§1.2), adjectives do not require preverbal \( \text{ya} \) to indicate past tense (though they may occur with it), nor do they take a copula:

(17) \( \text{Dáqan el salaqán} \)
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{old DEF strainer} \\
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{‘The strainer is/was old’} \\
\end{array}
\]

2.5 Anterior with locative
Locative phrases neither require \( \text{ya} \) to indicate past tense (though they may occur with it), nor take a copula:

(18) \( \text{El muçáça na kása} \)
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{DEF maid in house} \\
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{‘The maid is/was in the house’} \\
\end{array}
\]

Even when the locative copulas \( \text{taki ‘be here,’ talyi ‘be there (prox.),’} \) and \( \text{talyá ‘be there (dist.)} \) are present, no particle indicates past reference:

(19) \( \text{Mama talqy na bentana ta espera konmigo} \) (McKaughan 1954: 215)
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Mama COP-there LOC window TMA wait with-1s} \\
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{‘Mama was in the window [and she was] waiting for me’} \\
\end{array}
\]

3 Apostol (1962-1967) relates \( \text{dol} \) to the evidential particle \( \text{dau} ‘\text{it appears to be’} \). In this instance, \( \text{dau} \) is often pronounced \( \text{dol} ‘\text{it appears to be’} \).
3 Progressive aspect

The preverbal marker \( ta \) indicates non-punctual or durative aspect, referring not only to actions that are in progress but also to those that are habitual (§4.0).

3.1 Indicating progressive

Non-punctual \( ta \) may be ambiguous between progressive and habitual readings (11), though discourse context or adverbials often disambiguate.

(20) Tyéne bes ta lyigá kasa di Yoni
    have time TMA arrive house of Yoni
    'There are times when [I] go to Yoni's house'

    Hey Juan Pusung what 2s TMA do there
    'Hey Juan Pusung what are you doing there?'

Due to the vestigial presence of Spanish elements, \( ta \) occasionally combines with the S gerund, as in true S progressive forms; the S gerund may also appear alone, with progressive meaning (Lipski 1986a):

(22) myéntras ta el óra andándo
    while TMA the hour going
    'while time is moving along'

(23) kontinwándo kitá
    continuing 1p-incl
    'we (are) moving along'

3.2 Indicating future;

The progressive marker \( ta \) can be used with future reference, particularly immediate future:

(24) si man-ulan, ta mohá
    if VERB-rain TMA wet
    'if it rains [he] will get wet'

3.3 Anterior plus progressive
John M. Lipski and Salvatore Santoro

(25) Mama talga na bentana ta espera konmigo (McKaugan 1954: 215)
    Mama be-there LOC window TMA wait with-me
    'Mama was in the window [and she was] waiting for me'

Ta may be used in past progressive constructions in secondary predicates, when ya accompanies the main verb:

(26) ele ya oí un bos ta habla (Cuartocruz 1992:104)
    3s PAST hear a voice TMA say
    'He heard a voice saying'

The fossilized S gerund occasionally appears with past reference (Lipski 1986a):

(27) suéndo ya lang ele
    being PAST only 3s
    'since it was only he'

(28) ya oí ele con este hablando (Cuartocruz 1992:104)
    PAST hear 3s with this-one speaking
    'He heard her speak(ing)'

Vestigial S estaba, the imperfective of estar 'to be located,' is sometimes used in ZM to indicate past progressive:

(29) Hende ba, estaba tu na monte? (Cuartocruz 1992:111)
    NEG QM, be-IMPF 2s LOC forest
    'Weren't you in the forest?'

3.4 Progressive with adjective = inchoative

No examples of these structures (§3.2-4) are attested for ZM. Indeed, ZM does not allow the co-occurrence of two or more preverbal markers, a feature which appears to distinguish ZM from the Atlantic Creoles (see §5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Progressive aspect: summary for Zamboangueño</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Indicating progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Indicating future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Anterior + progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Progressive with adjective = inchoative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 Habitual aspect

The durative marker ta can be used to indicate habituality (13), but ZM also has other ways of indicating habitual aspect.
4.1 Zero marker for habitual
Unmarked verbs can refer to habitual actions; see (1) in §1.1 and (5) in §1.4.

4.2 Progressive marker for habitual
The non-punctual marker *ta* can also convey habitual aspect, especially with appropriate time expressions.

(30) *Tódo el ányo ése dragón ta saká un hênte para lyibá alyá* (168)  
all DEF year DEM dragon HAB seize IND person for take there  
ta POSIS island  ‘Every year that dragon seizes a person to take to his island’

*Ta* as habitual marker can also refer to the past:

(31) *Antes kel kon Lakian ta trabaha, ta buta lang urinola* (Frake 1980: 284)  
before 3s with Lakian HAB work, HAB empty only urinal  
‘He used to work for Lakian; (he) just emptied urinals’

(32) *Cada ves el amo ta visita suyo rancho ta pregunta ele con Juan*  
Each time the master HAB visit his ranch HAB ask 3s with Juan  
‘Every time the master visited his ranch he would ask Juan’ (Cuartocruz 1992:131)

4.3 Marker for habitual only
ZM has no preverbal marker that exclusively indicates habituality.

4.4 Anterior plus habitual
This structure is not attested for ZM.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4</th>
<th>Habitual aspect: summary for Zamboangueño</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Zero marker for habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Progressive marker for habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Marker for habitual only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Anterior + habitual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 Completive aspect
Completive aspect is indicated by *ya*, identical to the preverbal marker *ya* of past tense (and the postverbal adverb *ya* ‘already’).

5.1 Completive only (before/after verb)
When pre-/post-verbal COMP *ya* occurs, pre-verbal *ya* is optional (33). This example can also have a past-before-past reading.

(33) *Lárga ya silá para na isla* (197)  
set-out COMP 3p for in island  ‘They had (already) set out for the island’
5.2 Completive + adjective

There are no adjectival verbs in ZM. Predicate adjectives and locative copulas can be used with completive meaning:

(34) Cuando talla ya le abajo, bien corre gayot él sin birar su cara
When be-there now 3s down well run intens. 3s without turn his face
‘When he (fell) down there, he ran away without turning around’ (Cuartocruz 1992:119)

(35) bien rabiao gayot el nana de Juan
very angry intens. the mother of Juan
‘Juan’s mother became very angry’

5.3 Anterior (or other preverbal markers) + completive

The past marker ya can appear with the completive marker ya (12). Again, however, (36) can also be an example of past-before-past marking.

(36) Kwándo ya subí el congo ariba, ya olbidá ya
when PAST climb DET monkey up-there PAST forget COMP/already
él konel tortuga
3s DET-OBJ turtle
‘When the monkey had climbed up, he had (already) forgotten the turtle’

5 Completeive aspect: summary for Zamboangueño

| 5.1 Completive only (before/after V) | 2+2 |
| 5.2 Completive + adjective | 0 |
| 5.3 Anterior (or other markers) + completive | 0 |

6 Irrealis mode

6.1 Future (= progressive marker?)

The irrealis marker ay can express either future or unreal events: they are predicted, promised, or hypothetical. The archaic variant ey is sometimes heard in rural areas and in folktales, but not in urban ZM. The semantically equivalent marker el is felt to be archaic and formal by most Zamboangueños.4 It is found in folktales, in Catholic and Protestant translations of the Bible, and in some more recent official documents written in ZM, but is not common in spontaneous urban speech:

(37) ohalá ey pwéde kitá konektá ese mága kamíno
hopefully FUT be-able 1p-incl. connect DEM PLUR road
‘Hopefully we will be able to connect those roads’

(38) Múču hénte ey prekúra ánda saká
many people FUT try go get ‘A lot of people will try to go get [her]’

4 Apostol (1962-1967)’s very complete didactic account of ZM for native speakers categorically insists that only ay marks the future. Camins’ (1989) more recent ZM grammar also lists only ay.
The irrealis markers require a special form of the negator, *hendéq*.

(39) *Hendéq éle ay dehá (asta ay kasá sila dós)*

NEG 3s FUT leave until FUT marry 3p two

‘He would not leave (until they two are married)’

6.2 Anterior + irrealis = conditional

Preverbal markers cannot combine (§3.4). Conditional or counter-factual meaning (§2.3) is expressed only by the irrealis marker *ay* or its allomorphs.

(40) *ay man-lúmus sila tódo*

IRR PT-drown 3p all

‘They all would have drowned’

_Era_ (apparently derived from S _era_ the 3s im perfect of _ser_ ‘to be’ but lacking this meaning) can combine with _ya_ to give a conditional perfect meaning; _era_ can occur either before _ya_ or between the verb and the subject:

(41) _éra ya andá yo/ya andá éra yo na merkádo ayer_

CTF PAST go 1s/PAST go CTF 1s LOC market yesterday

‘I would have gone to the market yesterday (but I didn’t)’

(42) _Ya anda era yo na Iglecia, si ya anda el di mio hermana_

PAST go CTF 1s LOC church if PAST go the of my sister

‘I would have gone to church if my sister had gone’ (Reyes 1967:VI-6)

_Era_ occasionally can give a counterfactual meaning:

(43) _si el diíño lolo éra abahá aki_

if the POSS-2p grandfather CTF descend here

‘if your grandfather had come down here’

_Era_ can also have a desiderative function in the present:

(44) _byéne éra le kanámon_

come CTF 3s with-1p-excl.

‘he should come with us’

6.3 Anterior + irrealis = future in the past

Future in the past is indicated by irrealis marker _ay_ in a past context given by preverbal _ya_; however they may not both precede the same verb.

(45) _Ya habla éle ay bené éle manyana_ (NM)

PAST say 3s FUT come 3s tomorrow

‘He said he would come tomorrow’

6.4 Anterior + irrealis = future perfect

This structure is not attested for ZM.
6 Irrealis mode: summary for Zamboangueño

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Future (= progressive marker?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Anterior + irrealis = conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Anterior + irrealis = future in the past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>Anterior + irrealis = future perfect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 Other combinations of verbal markers

The preverbal markers ta (durative or present), ya (past, perfective) and ay (irrealis) cannot combine with one another.

7.1 Irrealis + progressive

This structure is not attested for ZM.

7.2 Anterior + irrealis + progressive

This structure is not attested for ZM.

7.3 Other auxiliary-like elements

The verbs pwéde ‘can’ and kyére ‘want’ (also main verbs) can be considered modal auxiliaries.

(46) Kyen pwéde librá kon-ése muhér kon-el dragón...

who can free OBJ-DEM girl OBJ-DEF dragon

‘Who is able to free that girl from the dragon…’

(47) Kyére gat le atraká kon-ése muhér

want EMPH 3s approach OBJ-DEM girl

‘He really wanted to approach that girl’

8 Complementizers

In addition to complementizers ke ‘that’ and para ‘for’, a zero complementizer is also possible (48).

8.1 Zero infinitive marker

ZM, like Spanish, does not have an infinitive marker comparable to English to. In the following structure, the second verb (which corresponds to an English infinitive) must refer to a realis action.
Zamboangueño Creole Spanish

(48) Sábe ya tí kombersá čabakáno
know already 2s speak Chabacano
‘You already know how to speak Chabacano’

8.2 ‘For’ as infinitive marker

Infinitive marker para ‘for, in order to’ need not take a realis verb:

(49) Kyére gat le atraká kon-ése muhér para konosé...
want EMPH 3s approach OBJ-DEM girl COMP know
‘He really wanted to approach that girl in order to know...’

Para can introduce a clause with null copula and a predicate adjective:

(50) ohalá ke nway problema pára alegre kitá
hopefully COMP no-be problem COMP happy 1p-incl.
‘Hopefully there are no problems so that we (can be) happy’

Para can introduce a subordinate clause that modifies a nominalized infinitive:

(51) éosos mága estudiá pára kedá madre
those PLUR study COMP become mother
‘Those (women who are) studying to become mothers’

Unlike “control” structures in Spanish (and English), in ZM in subordinate clauses introduced by para in which the subject of the second unmarked (infinitive) verb is identical to the subject of the main clause, either null (PRO) or overt subjects can appear:

(52) Na su ancias para puede le venda el maqá cosas, ya tumba le
LOC his eagerness COMP able 3s sell the PLUR thing PAST fall 3s
‘in his eagerness to be able to sell the things, he stumbled’(Cuartocruz 1992:172)

(53) ay pagá hénte pára sembrá kon akél
FUT pay people COMP plant with that
‘people will be paid to plant that (land)’

Para can also combine with a subordinate verb and an overt subject distinct from the subject of the main clause; textbook Spanish would require para que and a subjunctive form of the subordinate verb, but many Spanish dialects permit the “personal infinitive” with para and an overt subject (Lipski 1991), as do other Ibero Romance-derived creoles such as Papiamentu, Palenquero, and most Portuguese-derived creoles:

(54) ta mesklá yo un poco de čabakáno para entendé gat silía
HAB mix 1s a little of Chabacano COMP understand INTENS 3p
‘I mix in a little Chabacano so that they can understand’

(55) kyén ta sakrifíká disuyo sangre para los demás puede bibí
who FUT sacrifice their blood COMP the others able live
‘Who will sacrifice his/her blood so that others may live?’
8.3 ‘For’ as a (quasi-) modal; and

8.4 ‘For’ introducing a tensed clause

Para occasionally combines with clauses containing a preverbal particle, hence “tensed”:

(56) *ya đále yo el address del diamo mága amíga aki para kay áblele*

  PAST give 1s the address of our-excl. PLUR friend here COMP tell-her
  ‘I gave her the address of our friends here so (she) could tell them’

Para can also introduce a reciprocal verb with the reciprocal suffix –*han*:

(57) *ay aprendé byen kitá para ayudáhan uno kon otro*

  FUT learn well 1p-incl. COMP help-recip. one with other
  ‘We will learn well to help one another’

8.5 Subordinator from superstrate ‘that’

The subordinator *ke* ‘that’ (*cf* $S$ *que idem*) with its variant forms *kel* and *kay*, can be used to introduce a subordinate clause:

(58) *Ya mirá le ke tyéne galeq kása ése muhér*

  PAST see 3s COMP have surprise house DEM woman
  ‘He saw that, surprisingly, that woman had a house’

(59) *El aksyón di Abdúl ta demonstrá gayót kel éle byen kyére*

  DEF action of Abdul PROG show EMPH COMP 3s indeed love
  kon-el muhér
  OBJ-DEF girl ‘Abdul’s actions were showing that he really loved that girl’

(60) *No sabe yo kay nwáy galéq réyls*

  NEG know 1s COMP not-exist surprise rails
  ‘I did not know that, to my surprise, there were no rails’

8.6 Distinct subordinator after verb of speaking

ZM has no distinct complementizer after illocutory verbs to introduce subordinate clauses; *ke* or its allomorphs are used.

(61) *Ya ablá el muhér ke Fiatíma el disu nómbre*

  PAST say DET woman COMP Fatima DET POSS name
  ‘The woman said that her name was Fatima’

8.7 Zero subordinator

Some subordinate clauses can occur without a subordinator.

(62) *Míra usté ay kumprá pa yo esté ótro kláse*

  see 2s __ FUT buy still 1s DEM other kind
  ‘You will see that I will still buy this other kind’

(63) *ta esperá aóra el kompletá este kamino*

  PROG wait now FUT complete this road
  ‘One is waiting for this road to be completed’
8 Complementizers: summary for Zamboangueño

8.1 Zero infinitive marker +
8.2 ‘For’ as infinitive marker +
8.3 ‘For’ as a (quasi-) modal 0
8.4 ‘For’ introducing a tensed clause 0
8.5 Subordinator from superstrate ‘that’ +
8.6 Distinct subordinator after verb of speaking 0
8.7 Zero subordinator +

9 Dependent clauses

9.1 Subordinate clauses (non-embedded)
Non-embedded subordinate clauses have many functions, from temporal to concessive, hypothetical or causative, depending on the subordinate conjunction. They most commonly occur with asta ‘but that, except’, baka ‘lest’, desde ‘since, when’, kasi ‘because’, kwando ‘when’, para ‘so that’, si ‘if, whether, that’ or maski(n) ‘even though’; cf (29), (Forman 1972:147).

(64) Maskin ta dormé tamén el sáys kabésa, el otro sáys kabésa dihgyéto though PROG sleep PT DEF six heads DEF other six heads awake
‘Even though these six heads are asleep, the other six heads are awake’

(65) ta pwéde tu manehá máskin nway lisénnya?
HAB able 2s drive although NEG-have license
‘Do you know to drive even though (you) don’t have a license?’

9.2 Subordinate clauses (embedded)
Embedded subordinate clauses serve various functions; clauses introduced by ke, kai or kel often function as the object of the verb of the main clause:

(66) Ya abisá le kon(el maga estujánte ke nwáy galép eksám
PAST reveal 3s OBJ-DEF PLUR student COMP not-exist surprise exam
‘She revealed to the students that there would be no exam’

Kay and ke can occur in the same sentence:

(67) ya reklamá ke el disúyo mismo esposo ya amenasá
PAST denounce COMP the POS same husband PAST threaten
kay ay matá daw kon éle
COMP FUT kill REP with 3s
‘(She) denounced that her own husband allegedly threatened that (he) would kill her’

9.3 Relative clauses (relative pronoun = subject)
Relative clauses are usually introduced by the relative pronoun ke or kyén ‘who, whom, which, that’, which can be the subject, direct object, or object of a preposition, taking animate or inanimate objects. No distinction is
made between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses as in English. Null relative pronouns can occur (69).

(68) *El mana hénte kyén ya man tunúk na gargánta* (219)
DEF PLU people who PAST PT be-prick-by-thorn in throat 
‘people who have gotten fish spines caught in their throat’

(69) *Tyéne sábe, tyéne no sábe*
Have know have NEG know 
‘There are (those who) know, there are (those who) don’t know (Chabacano)’

### 9.4 Relative clauses (relative pronoun = direct object)
Relative pronouns serving as object of the main verb may also be omitted.

(70) *El hombre, ke ya man enkontrá tu, mi hermano* (NM)
DEF man REL PAST PT meet 2s POSS brother 
‘The man [whom] you met is my brother’

### 9.5 Relative clauses (relative pronoun = object of a preposition)
ZM has what appears to be Spanish-influenced pied-piping, although in (71) *kon* seems more likely to be an oblique case marker rather than a true preposition, whatever its etymology.

(71) *El persona, kon-kyen ta kombersá tu, byen bwéno gayót* (NM)
DEF person OBJ-REL PROG talk you very nice EMPH 
‘The person you are talking to is very nice indeed’

*Kyen* can also combine with the accusative marker *kon*:

(72) *Tyéne ko n kyen ya tirá akí na Brigade* 
exist with who PAST shoot here LOC Brigade 
‘There is someone who was shot here in the (Philippine Constabulary) Brigade’

(73) *no pwéde desidi kon kyen gat el poné* 
NEG able decide with who INTENS FUT put 
‘(he) can’t decide whom to nominate’

In (74), *dónde* ‘where; in/from which’ is a locative relative pronoun:

(74) *Esté byénto dónde ta sumí el sól...* (219)
DEM wind where HAB set DEF sun ‘This wind from where the sun sets...’

### 9.6 Relative clauses (no relative pronoun)
Subject and object relative pronouns can also be omitted:

(75) *Ya enkontrá yo uno polís ta muntá na bisiklèta* (207)
PAST meet Is IND police __ PROG ride on bike 
‘I met a policeman who was riding on a bike’
Zamboangueño Creole Spanish

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>9</th>
<th>Dependent clauses: summary for Zamboangueño</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>Subordinate clauses (non-embedded) +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>Subordinate clauses (embedded) +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>Relative clauses (relative pronoun=subject) +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>Relative clauses (relative pronoun=direct object) +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>Relative clauses (relative pronoun=obj. of prep.) +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>Relative clauses (zero relative pronoun) +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10 Negation
ZM negates existential and locational predicates in one way, equational predicates in another, and verbal predicates in yet another way.

10.1 Single negation (verbal)
The verbal negator *mway* is also a TMA marker corresponding to *ya*, indicating punctual/perfective (or past) as well as negation (76). Note that the negative TMA marker *mway* cannot cooccur with its corresponding affirmative TMA marker, unlike the verbal negator *hended* (78).

(76) *mway* silá andá na karagásan (163)
NEG-PAST 3p go to Caragasan

They did not go to Caragasan

Note the idiomatic use of *mway* with *kyen* in (37):

(77) *mway* éle kon kyen man-enkontrá na fiesta (NM)
NEG-PAST 3s OBJ REL PT meet in party

He met nobody at the party

Generally, predications with durative *ta* or future/irrealis *ay* (or its allomorphs) are negated by the addition of *hended*.

(78) *Hended* éle ay-dehá (ásta ay kasá sila dos) (164)
NEG 3s FUT-leave until FUT marry 3p two

*He will not leave (until they two are married)*

Those predications could also be negated by *minka* ‘never’, which occurs only with unmarked verbs.

(79) *Minka* yo keré kombós (225)
NEG 1s like OBJ-2s

*I will never love you*

No, instead, signals negation with imperatives and timeless sentences, and modal verbs such as *pwéde, kyére,* and *sábé* in the absence of TMA markers.

(80) *No* bos andá! (164)
NEG 2s go

‘Don’t go!’

(81) *No* pwéde yo combersá
NEG able 1s speak
Occasionally pwéde can be negated by hendéq, especially if other words intervene:

(82) hendé yo con uste puede mata (Cuartocruz 1992:140)
    NEG 1s with 2s able kill
    ‘I cannot kill you’

ZM nway (< S no hay ‘there is not’) can replace the existential predicates tyéne ‘something exists’ and máčo ‘something exists in quantity’. Nway can also replace the locational copulas taki ‘be here’ (< S está aquí idem) and talyí ‘be there [nearby]’ and talyá ‘be there [far away]’ (§12.3).

(83) nway si Pedro (162)
    NEG PT Pedro
    ‘Pedro is not here’

In some locational predications, nway may replace only the initial t- of affirmative forms like taki etc., and the remaining locational deixic may take the position of an adverb:

(84) nway más éle (akí) (163)
    NEG anymore 3s (here)
    ‘She is not here anymore’

Equational predications are negated by the addition of hendéq:

(85) Hendéq esté lédyen (163)
    NEG this legend
    ‘This is not a legend’

10.2 Discontinuous double negation
This structure does not occur in ZM.

10.3 Negative concord
ZM has negative concord (44), as in its superstrate language, where:

nondefinite subjects as well as nondefinite VP constituents must be negated, as well as the verb, in negative sentences (Bickerton 1981:65)

(86) No sábe ningúno (Forman 1972: 226)
    NEG know nobody
    ‘No one knows/knew’

The verb sábe ‘have knowledge, know a fact or someone’, like other modals, takes the negator no.5 However,

5 With sábe, keré, and pwéde (with more Spanish-infinitive-like variants sabé, keré, pwédépoda), some ZM speakers claim to make a 2-way or even 3-way distinction, among, e.g. no sábe ‘not know,’ hendéq sábe ‘not know how to,’ and hendéq ta sábe ‘not be informed about.’ Such putative distinctions are difficult to verify in spontaneous speech.
unlike the imperative no, the neutral negative is not a full word; post-initial adverbs and pronouns cannot follow it. (Frake 1980:298)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>10</th>
<th>Negation: summary for Zamboangueño</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>Single negation (verbal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>Discontinuous double negation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>Negative concord</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11 Passive

11.1 Passive construction

No European-derived passive construction exists (Whinnom 1956:93).

11.2 Passive equivalent

The influence of ZM’s Romance superstrate is seen in a construction with a similar meaning to the passive, with impersonal ‘they’ as subject:

(87) *Un kláse de peskáw ta* hýamá silá palít

A kind of fish  HAB call  3p palít ‘A kind of fish they call palít’

Frequently ZM uses arbitrary null subjects (proarb), often in combination with TMA markers (especially TA) to produce an essentially passive meaning:

(88) *Kon ése, débe ya kon ese kuhi*

with that ought PAST with that catch

[proarb] should have caught him/he should have been caught already'

(89) *Ta matá konéle aki na Zamboanga*

TMA kill  with-3s here LOC Zamboanga

[proarb] killed him/he was killed here in Zamboanga'

(90) *si ábla kamé el berdát, ay matá kanámon*

if speak 1p-excl. the truth  FUT kill  with 1p-excl.

‘If we (excl.) tell the truth, [proarb] will kill us/we will be killed.’

(91) *hendéq ta ablá “ta estába”*

NEG  TMA say …

[proarb] doesn’t say “ta estaba”/“ta estaba” isn’t said'

(92) *Ta mandá kortá kon ese paláy,*

TMA order  harvest with that rice

*ta asé kamaring gránde, alyá ta huntá paláy*

TMA make pile big, there TMA gather rice

[proarb] has the rice cut/the rice is cut, [proarb] makes big piles/big piles are made,

[proarb] gathers the rice up/the rice is gathered up there'
11 Passive: summary for Zamboangueño

| 11 | Passive construction | 0 |
| 11.2 | Passive equivalent | + |

12 Adjectives: verbs?
Adjectival verbs do not occur.

12.1 Preverbal markers before adjectives
Predicate adjectives do not take a copula (§13.3), but they do not take preverbal markers, either. Despite ZM's usual VSO order, adjectives are fronted and then followed by the subject NP, as in (17).

12.2 Preverbal markers before nouns
Predicate nouns do not take either a copula (§13.1) or a preverbal marker.

12.3 Preverbal markers before locatives
The locational/existential copulas takí/talyí/talyá (§10.1) are used with locative predicates. Note ZM's VSO word order in (47): the copula occurs in the initial position normally taken by the verb - right after the initial time adverbial (if any) - followed by the subject and the locative complement.

12.4 Predicate clefting: adjective or adjectival verbs;
12.5 Predicate clefting: other verbs; and
12.6 Comparison with 'pass'
None of these structures (§12.4-6) is attested for ZM.

12.7 Comparison as in superstrate
The comparison of adjectives or adverbs is partially similar to that in Spanish, e.g. Juan es más inteligente que Felipe, 'John is more intelligent than Philip.' In ZM the adjective compared may (48) or may not (49) be preceded by the adverb más 'more'. The second NP may follow either ke or kontra in the sense of 'than' (cf S que only); this NP also takes the object-marking prefix kon- or one of its allomorphs. There is, however, no copula.

| 11 | Passive summary for Zamboangueño | 0 |
| 11.2 | Passive equivalent | + |

12 Adjectives: verbs?
Adjectival verbs do not occur.

12.1 Preverbal markers before adjectives
Predicate adjectives do not take a copula (§13.3), but they do not take preverbal markers, either. Despite ZM's usual VSO order, adjectives are fronted and then followed by the subject NP, as in (17).

12.2 Preverbal markers before nouns
Predicate nouns do not take either a copula (§13.1) or a preverbal marker.

12.3 Preverbal markers before locatives
The locational/existential copulas takí/talyí/talyá (§10.1) are used with locative predicates. Note ZM's VSO word order in (47): the copula occurs in the initial position normally taken by the verb - right after the initial time adverbial (if any) - followed by the subject and the locative complement.

- (93) Soltéro el aník disíyog bachelor DEF son POSS 'His son is a bachelor'

- (94) Ese díya, talyá tamén el muhér na kása that day COP PT DEF girl in house 'That day the girl was there in the house'

12.4 Predicate clefting: adjective or adjectival verbs;
12.5 Predicate clefting: other verbs; and
12.6 Comparison with 'pass'
None of these structures (§12.4-6) is attested for ZM.

12.7 Comparison as in superstrate
The comparison of adjectives or adverbs is partially similar to that in Spanish, e.g. Juan es más inteligente que Felipe, 'John is more intelligent than Philip.' In ZM the adjective compared may (48) or may not (49) be preceded by the adverb más 'more'. The second NP may follow either ke or kontra in the sense of 'than' (cf S que only); this NP also takes the object-marking prefix kon- or one of its allomorphs. There is, however, no copula.

- (95) Tú el más bwéno subí ke ko-mígo 2s DET more good climb than OBJ-1s 'You climb better than I do'
- (96) Si Hwán alto kontra kon-el muhér PT John tall than OBJ-DEF girl. 'John is taller than the girl'
12 Adjectives: verbs? Summary for Zamboangueño

12.1 Preverbal markers before adjectives  
0

12.2 Preverbal markers before nouns   
0

12.3 Preverbal markers before locatives  
0

12.4 Predicate clefting: adj. or adjectival verbs  
0

12.5 Predicate clefting: other verbs  
0

12.6 Comparison with ‘pass’  
0

12.7 Comparison as in superstrate  
0

13 The copula
Equative predicates do not take copulas.

13.1 Equative copula (with NP)
Predicate nouns do not take a copula. Despite ZM’s VSO order, predicate nouns are fronted and then followed by the subject NP; see §12.2.

13.2 Locative copula (with expression of place)
Locative and existential predicates require the copula *talyá*; see §12.3.

13.3 Zero copula with adjective?
Predicate adjectives take no copula; see §2.4, §12.1.

13.4 Highlighter with question words; and

13.5 Highlighter with other structures
Neither of these structures (§13.4-5) is attested for ZM. In ZM vestiges of the Spanish copula *ser* and the locational copula *estar* occasionally appear; this is more common in formal speech but can be found from time to time in all registers. These forms are used by Zamboangueños who do not speak Spanish:

(97) *el* Rotary Club *es* un organisasyún pribádo
the Rotary Club COP a organization private

(98) este budget di mio *es* pro-barangáy
this budget of mine COP pro-barangay

(99) ése *es* lo ke ta obserbá
that COP that COMP PROG observe

(100) áse bos el kosa bos ta pensá ke es amó
do 2s the thing 2s HAB think COMP COP correct

(101) un número puvéde ser un kansyón un báyle
a number can COP a song a dance

23
The form *está*, from S *estar* or *está*, can sometimes be used as a locative copula, together with or without TMA particles:

(104) *está na kása*

COP-LOC LOC house

`(he) is at home`

(105) *ónde ehtá el doktór*

where COP-LOC the doctor

`Where is the doctor?`

(106) *pára kósá kamé está na rádyo na periódiko*

for thing 1p-excl. COP-LOC LOC radio LOC newspaper

`Why are we (reporting) on the radio and in the newspapers?`

(107) *mas buénó está na kása*

more good COP-LOC LOC house

`It’s better to be at home`

(108) *esta lang uste aquí na un cueva* (Cuartocruz 1992:140)

COP-LOC only 2s here LOC a cave

`Just stay here in a cave'`

(109) *ónde tu ta está?*

where 2s TMA COP-LOC

`Where have you been?`

Some Zamboangueños assert that *ta está* is equivalent to *ta kedá* `to live, be residing.' *Estába* is sometimes used with predicate nominates, similar to Spanish *ser* and unlike *estar*.

(110) *éste estába Zamboanga*

this COP-PAST Zamboanga

`this was Zamboanga`

(111) *miyémbo estába yo aki*

member COP-PAST 1s here

`I was a member here'

Although none of these uses of *es, está/estába* or *ser* form part of “canonical” ZM grammar, they are used frequently and consistently enough to be considered integral components of the language.

As noted in 6.2, *éra*, apparently from the S imperfective of *ser*, is frequently used in ZM to express counterfactual or desiderative expressions, but never in its original sense as copula:

(112) *si gána éra tu na sweepstakes*

if win CTF 2s LOC sweepstakes

`If you were to win the sweepstakes'
'It would be good if I had the time'

Amó ‘correct, proper,’ used typically as a predicate adjective (e.g. amó gat ése ‘that is correct’), can also be used as an equative copula, particularly in formal speech. Both the Catholic and Protestant translations of the New Testament in Chabacano make frequent use of this expression:

(114) kyén amó pa lang nasé
who COP just only born

~(he) who has just been born

(115)amó se el awardee
COP that the awardee

‘That one is the awardee’

(116)amó ya se embwélto alyí
COP COMP that involved there

‘he is the one involved there’

(117)Si Abraham amo el tata di Isaac
DET Abraham COP the father of Isaac

‘Abraham was the father of Isaac’

(118)Este amo el maga palabra del Hijo de Dios
This COP the PLUR word of the Son of God

‘These are the words of the Son of God’

13.6 Existential (‘have’ = ‘there is?’)
Existence is indicated by tyéne (< S tiene ‘[3s] has’):

(119) tyéne burúhu
exist witch

‘There are witches’

A nonverbal predicator is also used to indicate abundance: ZM múco ‘[something] exists in quantity’ (< S mucho ‘much’):

(120) múco komída
exist [a lot] food

‘There is a lot of food’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>13</th>
<th>The Copula: summary for Zamboangueño</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>Equative copula (with NP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>Locative copula (with expression of place)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>Zero copula with adjective?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>Highlighter with question words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>Highlighter with other structures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>Existential (‘have’ = ‘there is?’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14 Serial verbs

Muysken (1986) claims that ZM has no instances of serial verb constructions. Forman (1972; 1993), to the contrary, has shown that within one clause there may occur sequences (either continuous or discontinuous) of up to five verbs, even though not all chains can be considered authentic examples of serialization. The first verb is the only one that takes TMA marking; the others are its complements. Two-verb combinations are extremely common (121); they often correspond to parallel “control verb” constructions in the superstrate (in which the subject of the second—infinitive—verb is the obligatorily null PRO, coindexed with the subject of the main verb). ZM also permits constructions like (122) where the two verbs may take aspect markers. These structures have been identified as “tensed serials” where the action is perceived to occur not sequenced but simultaneously. Most of these combinations are directly traceable to Romance combinations, at times augmented by optional loss of coordinating conjunctions; only in a few cases do true serial verb constructions exist.

(121) El reyls del pwente, todo ya-(a)kabá káy
DEF rails of-DEF bridge all COMP-finish fall
‘As for the rails of the bridge, (they) had fallen completely’

(122) Ya-bolbe le na kasa ta-kaminá
COMP-return 3s in house PROG-wallking ‘He returned to the house walking’

14.1 Directional with ‘go’

This construction is not attested for ZM. ZM uses structures like ánda (para) saká, which are purposive (cf E go get) rather than directional.

(123) Anda silá saká kon-ése
go 3p get OBJ-DEM ‘They go to get that’

The use of null relatives can create apparent serial verb constructions:

(124) ta busca yo comida cae de mio nana talli na cueva
PROG search 1s food because of-my mother LOC-there LOC cave
no puede camina (Cuartocruz 1992:141)
NEG able walk ‘I’m looking for food because my mother is there in the cave (and) can’t walk’

14.2 Directional with ‘come’;

(125) ya bene lang yo para saca un penca (Cuartocruz 1992:139)
PAST come only 1s for take a branch
‘I’ve only come to gather a bunch (of bananas)’

(126) vene ya sintá (Reyes 1967:IV-1)
come now sit ‘Come and sit now’

14.3 Serial ‘give’ meaning ‘to, for’;
This combination does not occur in ZM. Dále 'give' can enter into serial verb constructions with demonstrative force:

(127) sigue ya Juan dale ya mira canamon (Cuartocruz 1992:115)
    okay now Juan give now see with 1p-excl
    'Okay now Juan show (it) to us'

(128) bueno man tamen si dale tu baña conmigo para queda yo limpio
    good INTENS also if give 2s bathe with-1s COMP become 1s clean
    'It would be good for you to give me a bath so that I can get clean' (Cuartocruz 1992:120)

14.4 Serial ‘say’ meaning ‘that’; and
14.5 Serial ‘pass’ meaning ‘more than’
None of these structures (§14.2-5) is attested for ZM.

14.6 Three serial verb construction
Three-verb chains are not uncommon in ZM:

(129) Nesesita ánda prúba saká el kárt ditúyo ermána
    need go try get DEF card POSS sister
    'It is necessary to go try to get your sister’s card'

14.7 Serial verb constructions with four or more verbs
Serial constructions of up to five serial verbs are not attested for ZM, though verb chains of that length were quite common.

(130) Nesesita mandá ánda prúba saká el kárt ditúyo ermána
    need tell go try get DEF card POSS sister
    'It is necessary to tell [someone] to go try to get your sister’s card'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Serial verbs: summary for Zamboangueño</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Directional with ‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>Directional with ‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>Serial ‘give’ meaning ‘to, for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>Serial ‘say’ meaning ‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>Serial ‘pass’ meaning ‘more than’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>3 serial verb constructions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>Construction with 4 or more serial verbs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15 Noun phrase

15.1 Bare nouns (generic? definite?)
When an NP has generic reference to an entire category, no article is used (131). The definite article is omitted after the preposition na (<P na ‘in the [FEM]’); see example in §5.1.
15.2 Indefinite article
Like the definite article *el*, the indefinite article *un* is invariable for gender and number (132). It is never used where Spanish would use *unos* or *unas* ‘some’. ZM, in fact, entirely omits the pluralized indefinite article form. Unlike the definite article, the indefinite article is not omitted after *na* (133).

(132) Yo *un* dalága
    1s IND young-girl  ‘I am a young girl’

(133) Ya andá éle koné na un restauran
    PAST go 3s eat in a restaurant  ‘She went to dine in a restaurant’

15.3 Definite article (from superstrate deictic?)
The ZM definite article *el* is not derived from a superstrate deictic (< *S* el ‘the’ [MASC-sg]). It is invariable for gender and number (134); however, some remnants of Spanish inflections can be found in set phrases such as *todos los días* ‘every day’ (< *S* los ‘the’ [MASC-plural]), due to what Whinnom (1956:78) called “contamination by contact with correct Spanish.” Instances of ZM *la* (< *S* la ‘the [FEM-sg]’) are encountered, but synchronically they may in fact constitute part of a single morpheme including the following noun (135). Lipski (1986a) has documented other remnants of Spanish gender and number inflection commonly used in ZM, including *estas óras del noče* (ZM *este mga óras*) ‘this time of night,’ *otras kosas* (ZM *otro mga kosa*) ‘other things,’ *todas las kosas* (ZM *todo el mga kosa*) ‘everything,’ *el mga estudiantes* (ZM *el mga estudyante*) ‘the students,’ *una bes* (ZM *un bes*) ‘once,’ *el mga hóbenes* (ZM *el mga hoben*) ‘the young people,’ and so forth.

(134) El Čabakáno antigwa
    DEF Chabacano ancient  ‘The ancient Chabacano’

(135) La birhen del pilár
    DEF virgin of-DEF pillar  ‘The Virgin of the Pillar’

15.4 Plural marker (= ‘they’?)
The third person plural pronoun is not used as a plural marker. Like articles, nouns and adjectives are usually not inflected for number. The plural is formed as in Tagalog, by placing the plural marker *maga, mana, or manga* before the noun (cf Tagalog *mangá* or *mga idem*). Forman reports (1972-96) that the three ZM forms are associated with distinct speaker groups or varieties: *maga* with older Filipinos, *mana* with Spanish, and *manga* with younger Filipinos. Lipski has found that younger Zamboangueños use only *maga*, while rural residents seldom do so. *Maga* predominates among rural residents, while *mana* can be heard among
older speakers of the urban dialect, with or without knowledge of Spanish.\(^6\) This bears out Forman’s observations, although few speakers when explicitly questioned draw this distinction; most simply feel that the forms are in free variation, and some speakers use more than one variant in their own speech.

(136) **Maga kriminál**

PLUR criminal

‘criminals’

After numbers, nouns take no plural marker, e.g. *syète muhér* ‘seven girls’, *kwåtro pálo* ‘four sticks’. There is, however, a subset of common nouns ending in -(e)s (< S plural suffix -s/–es). They mainly correspond to Spanish words usually heard in the plural (*plores* ‘flowers’, *ohos* ‘eyes’). These words constitute a single morpheme in ZM (the –(e)s has no semantic force), and can be used with either singular or plural reference.

15.5 Personal noun plus plural marker

To refer to the entire family, surnames can occur with the definite article *el* and the plural marker *maga* or -(e)s:

(137) *el maga Réyes* ‘the Reyes family’

*el Lakastesántos* ‘the Lacastesantos family’

15.6 Demonstrative

Demonstratives have 3 syntactically-determined forms (138): an *el*-type (usually subjects), a *di*-type (usually possessives), and a *kon*-type (usually objects). There is also a *na*-type (139) which can substitute locative NPs (Forman 1972:108).

(138) *el*-type: *(e)*sté, *(é)*se, *(a)*kél ‘this (here), that (near), that (far)’

*di*-type: de-esté, de-ése, di-akél, ‘this (here), that (near), that (far)’

*kon*-type: kon-esté, kon-ése, kon-akél ‘this (here), that (near), that (far)’

(139) *na*-type: akí, alyí, alyá ‘this (here), that (near), that (far)’

The demonstrative adjectives can also be used as pronouns. They are not marked for number or gender, even though there are rare occurrences of forms such as *akélvos* ‘that + plural; those’ (< S *aquellos* idem).

(140) *ése* **prinsésa no** puvéde salé ‘That princess couldn’t leave’

(141) *...desde el primér diya ya mirá le kon-ése* ‘...since the first day he saw her’

---

\(^6\) Apostol (1962-1967) and Camins (1989) give only *maga* in their authentic Chabacano grammar compilations.
15.7 Demonstrative plus definite or plural
This structure is not attested for ZM (but see §15.6).

15.8 Relative clauses followed by definite or plural marker
This structure does not occur in ZM. An entire relative clause can be pluralized:

(142) el mága ya eskribí el biblya
    the PLUR PAST write the Bible
    'those who wrote (translated) the Bible'

(143) akél mága estába na sebú
    that PLUR LOC-PAST LOC Cebu
    'those who have been in Cebu'

15.9 Prenominal adjective
By default, adjectives occur after the noun they modify (146), even though instances of prenominal adjective are not lacking (144). However, as in Spanish, placing certain adjectives before the noun is possible and may signal a metaphorical rather than literal meaning (145).

(144) el gránde próblema
    DEF big problem
    'the big problem'

(145) el muhér pôbre BUT el pôbre muhér
    DEF woman poor DEF poor woman
    ‘the poor woman’ [without wealth] BUT ‘the poor woman’ [arousing pity]

15.10 Postnominal adjective

(146) na ágwa saláw
    in water salty
    ‘in the salt water’

15.11 Gender agreement?
Adjectives are invariable, and not inflected for gender or number. ZM generally borrowed the form corresponding to the masculine singular form of the Spanish adjective:

(147) el nwébo lúna
    DEF new moon
    ‘the new moon’

However, distinctions of natural gender in Spanish nouns, indicated by the final vowel (S -o MASC versus -a FEM), have been partly retained in pairs of words such as ermano ‘brother’ versus ermana ‘sister’ or amigo ‘boyfriend’ versus amiga ‘girlfriend’. There are also set phrases which retain the feminine form of the adjective, e.g. el birhen santísima ‘the Holy Virgin’). The feminine form is also kept for some adjectives referring to characteristics considered feminine (e.g. guápa ‘beautiful’, prenýada ‘pregnant’), even though the adjective guapo ‘handsome’ also occurs.
15 Noun Phrase: summary for Zamboangueño

15.1 Bare nouns (generic? definite?) +
15.2 Indefinite article +
15.3 Definite article (from superstrate deictic?) 0
15.4 Plural marker (= ‘they’) 0
15.5 Personal noun plus plural marker +
15.6 Demonstrative +
15.7 Demonstrative plus definite or plural 0
15.8 Relative clause followed by def. or pl. marker 0
15.9 Prenominal adjective +
15.10 Postnominal adjective +
15.11 Gender agreement? 0

16 Possession

16.1 Nouns: juxtaposition [possessor + possessed]
This structure does not occur in ZM.

16.2 Nouns: preposition [possessed (of) possessor]
The structure [possessed di possessor] is the most usual way of expressing possession. Note that di ‘of’ is combined with following determiners, pronouns and demonstratives in forms such as del [di + el]:

(148) Ya birá le oléq na kása del muhér
PAST return 3s again in house of-DEF woman
‘He returned again to the woman’s house’

16.3 Nouns: possessive adjective [possessor (his) possessed]
This structure does not occur in ZM.

16.4 Possessive adjectives: prenominal?
Possessive adjectives are generally formed by prefixing di (< S de ‘of’) to the personal pronouns. One set of forms can occur either before or after the noun they modify (149), while a second set can occur only before (150); see Forman (1972:107). Unlike modern Spanish (but like Portuguese), in ZM possessive adjectives are preceded by the definite article. The “short” bound possessive forms ámon, áton, inyo, and ila are infrequent in modern ZM.

(149) dimío, mio
debós
‘my’
dítito, títío
‘your [singular, intimate]’
disté
‘your [singular]’
disítío
‘your [singular, formal]’
‘his, her, its’
di món
‘our [exclusive]’
di áton
‘our [inclusive]’
dínyo
‘your [plural, formal]’
diustédés
‘your [plural, formal]’
díla
‘their’

(150) dimí, mí

‘my’

[no form] ‘your [singular, intimate]’
ditú, tú
‘your [singular]’
[no form] ‘your [singular, formal]’
disú ‘his, her, its’
ánmon
‘our [exclusive]’
átón
‘our [inclusive]’
ínyo
‘your [plural]’
[no form] ‘your [plural, formal]’
íla
‘their’

(151) el disúyo profesyón, el disú nombre

DEF POSS profession DEF POSS name

‘his profession, his name’

16.5 Possessive pronouns: distinct?
Possessive pronouns take the form of the first set of possessive adjectives, (149) in §16.4; they occur without a noun, often as predicates.

(151) Ese péhro diáton

DEM dog POSS ‘That dog is ours’

To disambiguate the functions of possessive predicate adjective and possessive pronoun, the latter can be placed before the noun phrase: diáton ese péhro.

16.6 Possessive pronouns as emphatic possessive adjectives
This structure does not occur in ZM.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>16</th>
<th>Possession: summary for Zamboangueño</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>Nouns: juxtaposition [possessor+ possessed]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>Nouns: preposition [possessed (of) possessor]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>Nouns: poss. adj. [possessor his possessed]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>Possessive adjectives: pronominal?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>Possessive pronouns: distinct?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>Possessive pronoun as emphatic poss. adj.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17 Pronouns: case distinctions?
The personal pronouns are marked for case in that they have three syntactically determined forms: a si-type or nominative case for subjects, complements, etc., which can occur as a free form used in emphasized
positions (topic, predicate, vocative), or as a phrasally-bound form; a di-
type or genitive case for possessives (§16.5); and a kon-type or oblique case
for objects of verbs and prepositions. ZM kon can also have the meaning of
‘with’ (80); it appears to be related to both S/con/P com ‘with’ and the object
marker ku in Malayo-Portuguese (Holm 1989:293). The forms kanánon,
kanátö, kanínyo, kaníla are Visayan objective constructions. In many
Visayan languages, object pronouns are synthetic elements formed of an
inseparable prefix plus elements similar or identical to -amon, -aton, -ninyo, -nila. The ‘prefixes’ include sa-, na- and ka-, with the latter, in
speech, sounding very similar to unstressed Spanish con ‘with.’ It is
probably due to this fortuitous similarity that in all dialects of Philippine
creole Spanish, as well as in the many varieties of pidginized Spanish once
spoken in the Philippines—by Filipinos, Chinese, and Spanish colonists—
direct objects are marked with con (Lipski 2001). In contemporary urban
ZM, it is not infrequent, especially among younger speakers, to hear the
plural object pronouns pronounced as konánon, konátö, and koníla, by
analogy with the transparently analytic singular series komígo, koníigo,
kone, etc. This variant pronunciation usually passes unnoticed, and may
eventually lead to a restructuring of the ZM pronominal paradigm. Below,
the free nominative form is given first, followed by the bound, and last the
oblique.

17.1 Personal pronouns: first person singular

(152) yo/-yó / komígo
‘I / I / me’

(154) Ya pwéde yo kimá el disúyo máno
PAST can 1s burn DEF POSS hand
‘I accidentally burned his hand’

(154) Takí komígo el sén
LOC-here with-1s DEF money
‘The money is here with me’

17.2 Personal pronouns: second person singular

ZM, like some regional American varieties of Spanish, has three degrees of
intimacy in the 2s pronoun: bos [intimate], tú [neutral], and usté [formal].

(155) ébos / -bós / -kombós
‘you [intimate]’

(155) tú / ___ / -kontígo
‘you’

(155) usté / ___ / -konusté
‘you [formal]’

(156) Nunka yo keré kombós
never 1s love OBJ-2s
‘I will never love you’

Usté is evidently a recent addition to ZM; not all speakers use it (it is rare in
rural areas), and some Zamboangeños describe learning and adopting this
form only after some exposure to the study of Spanish. As in Spanish, the
familiar pronoun (e)bos is always used in moments of anger or when
insulting or cursing; in such cases the final /s/ usually disappears:

(157) kósa man bo kyére?
what INTENS 2s want
‘What the hell do you want?’
17.3 Personal pronouns: third person singular

Like many Atlantic Creoles ZM does not distinguish gender in 3s pronouns.

(158) éle/-lé
   konélé
‘he/she/it’
‘him/her/it’

(159) Ya pwède tú mirá konélé?
PAST can 2s see OBJ-3s
‘Could you see her?’

17.4 Personal pronouns: first person plural

Like other Creoles influenced by an Austronesian substrate (e.g. Tok Pisin, Seychellois CF), but unlike the Manila Bay Chabacano dialects of Cavite and Ternate, ZM distinguishes between two forms of the first plural: one excluding the person addressed (kamé) and another including that person (kitá). The latter also has the ‘I to you’ meaning of Tagalog kitá, as in Súmbong kitá, ‘I’ll tell on you.’

(160) kamé/
       kanámon
‘we [exclusive]’
‘us [exclusive]’

kitá/
       kanátón
‘we [inclusive]’
‘us [inclusive]’

(161) Ta komersá kitá (NM)
PROG converse 1p
‘We [you and I] are conversing’

Very occasionally Spanish nosótros is used—by Zamboangueños not fluent in Spanish and without the Spanish verb inflection—but this is not systematic:

(162) kósá man el camino de nosótros
what INTENS the path of 1p
‘What is our route?’

17.5 Personal pronouns: second person plural

ZM has two forms for second [plural]: kamó and ustédés. Kamó is informal, corresponding to singular (e)bos. In Cotabato and Davao, kamó is still considered neutral, but most Zamboangueños find kamó offensive if used to adults (they call it chabacano bastos ‘vulgar Chabacano’), and use kamó and related forms only with children. Ustédés is the preferred formal variant in Zamboanga. In very formal language, especially in public speeches and radio announcements, S bosótros is heard (165-6):

(163) kamó/kanínyo
       ustédés/kon-ustédés
‘you [plural]’
‘you [plural, formal]’

(164) Sínta kamó man kwénto (219)
sit 2p PT talk
‘You all sit around talking’
17.6 Personal pronouns: third person plural

(167) silá/ kaníla
‘they’
‘them’

17.7 Reflexive pronoun: distinct form?

Reflexive constructions are rarely used in ZM, as compared with Spanish. Many constructions that would be reflexive in Spanish are intransitive in ZM, or employ a null subject with or without TMA markers. Reflexive pronouns are formed by using the appropriate possessive adjective with kwérpo ‘body’ (168). To form emphatic reflexives, mismo is added to the personal pronoun (169).

(168) Ya kulga éle desuyo kwérpo
PAST hang 3s POSS body ‘She/He hanged her-/himself’

(169) Ay áse yo mismo éste
FUT do 1s same DEM ‘I will do this myself’

17.8 Interrogative pronouns: some bimorphemic?

Most question words are derived from the superstrate, although the reduplication of kósa-kósa and kyén-kyén suggests substrate influence; none appears to have a question-marking morpheme.

(170) di-kyén
dónde
kétál
(p)akimodo
kon-kyén
kósa
kósa-kósa
kyén
kyén-kyén
kwándo
kwánto
porké
‘whose’
‘where’
‘how (health)’
‘how’
‘whom’
‘what’
‘what-all, whatsoever’
‘who’
‘who (among all these)’
‘when’
‘when, how much’
‘why’

17.9 Relative pronoun: distinct form?

Some of these interrogatives also serve as relative pronouns (§9.3-6):

(171) kyén
dí-kyén
‘who’
‘whose’
17 Pronoun case distinctions? summary for Zamboangueño

17.1 Personal pronouns: first person singular +
17.2 Personal pronouns: second person singular +
17.3 Personal pronouns: third person singular 0
17.4 Personal pronouns: first person plural +
17.5 Personal pronouns: second person plural +
17.6 Personal pronouns: third person plural 0
17.7 Reflexive pronoun: distinct form? +
17.8 Interrogative pronouns: some bimorphemic? +
17.9 Relative pronouns: distinct form? 0

18 Coordinating conjunctions

18.1 ‘And’ joining sentences

Sentences can be joined by the coordinating conjunctions i ‘and’, pati ‘including’, o or u ‘or’, pero ‘but’, and ni ‘neither’.

(172) Pronto aprendé i pronto tamén olbidá
Quickly learn and quickly also forget
‘(I) learn quickly and also forget quickly’

18.2 ‘And’ joining sentence parts: distinct?

The same conjunctions listed in §18.1 can be used in joining sentence parts as well as sentences. However, pati as ‘with, including’ is used with personal names to indicate group participation. It has the comitative sense ‘together with’ or ‘accompanying’. It would not, for example, be used to indicate the instrumental sense of ‘with’; that would be kon. Instead i ‘and’ is generally used with nonhumans (Forman, p.c.). Patí can also be used with non-humans, but only in the sense of ‘and’ and without the sense of purposeful accompaniment (175).

(173) Yó un soltero de beynte ányos, sudór i sangre de sambwánga
‘I am a twenty-year-old bachelor, [with the] sweat and blood of Zamboanga’

(174) Ya andá yó pati María na sine
PAST go 1s with María to movies
‘Maria and I went to the movies’

(175) Donde puede compra artículos para regalo pati souvenirs? (Camins 1999:18)
where able buy articles for gift and souvenirs
‘Where can (I) buy articles for gifts and souvenirs?’
19 Prepositions

19.1 General locative preposition (or postposition)
There is a general locative preposition *na* which has a wide range of meanings including ‘in’, ‘into’, ‘at’, ‘to’, ‘from’ and ‘out of’. It is never followed by the definite article *el*.

(176) *Ya káy yo na pwénte*  
*PAST fall 1s from bridge*  
‘I fell from the bridge’

(177) *Kyére lé salé na ágwa*  
*want 3s out-of of water*  
‘He wants to get out of the water’

19.2 Zero preposition after motion verb + place?
Prepositions are required after the verbs of motion and before expressions of place.

19 Prepositions: summary for Zamboangueño

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>General locative preposition (or postposition)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20 Miscellaneous

20.1 Word order: questions SVO?
ZM generally follows VSO word order. Subjects, in fact, appear immediately after verbs, especially pronominal subjects, which can never occur preverbally. Statements are made into yes/no questions through intonation (178) or by the insertion of the question marker *ba* (179). VSO word order is also maintained in questions with interrogatives (180). However, ZM “occasionally permits preverbal subjects, but only when a highly focused reading is intended” (Lipski 1996:394). In questions with interrogative words, VSO word order is maintained with full NP subjects, while pronominal subjects normally occur pre-verbally.

(178) *Ya andá na pwéblo?*  
*PAST go to market*  
‘Did you go to the market?’

(179) *Kósa ba tu nóbbre?*  
*what QM POSS name*  
‘What is your name?’

(180) *Kósa pwéde tú kumpřá kon-el sinkwénta séna?*  
*what can 2s buy with-DEF fifty centavos*  
‘What can you buy with the fifty centavos?’
20.2 Sentence final -o

This structure does not occur in ZM. *Este-o* is used as a pause-filler, coming from *este* ‘this,’ used in a similar fashion.

21 Conclusion

In outlining some salient features of Zamboangueño morphosyntax, it has become clear that ZM’s lexicon and morphosyntactic features come from both its superstrate and substrate. While the grammatical facts of Spanish are easily available for comparison, the present study makes clear the need for systematic grammatical comparison of ZM with its substrate languages.

The way ZM combines lexical items (nouns, adjectives, verbs) with particles to express various syntactic relations often follows patterns found in other Creoles, at least in part. The ZM verbal system, in fact, shares many features with other Philippine Creole varieties, such as Ternateño, Caviteño and Tagalog. In these distinct dialects verbs are usually uninflected, generally derived from the Spanish infinitive minus the final /r/. They also combine with similar TMA markers: *ta* (present/imperfective), *ya* (past/perfective) and *ay* (future/irrealis). By the same token, the total absence of copulas, the marking of plurality by the particle *mana* or its allomorphs, the use of the pronominal case system – all these syntactic patterns follow those of Philippine languages.

On the other hand, almost the entire lexicon and even some suffixes like -o and -a to distinguish nouns with referents having natural gender are undeniable of Spanish origin. ZM’s remnants of plurals marked with -s, however unsystematic, are another vestige of its superstrate.

This analysis of ZM morphosyntax leads to the conclusion that both superstrate and substrate languages have made major contributions to this Creole’s identity.
References


Cuartocruz, Orlando 1992 Zamboangy Chabacano folk literature. Zamboanga City: Western Mindanao State University.


----- 1991 In search of the Spanish 'personal infinitive.' Dieter Warner, Douglas Kibbie (eds), New analyses in Romance linguistics, papers from the XVIII Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 201-220.


Pérez-Semorlan, Teresita 1984 Mga legendaung chavacano. Iligan City: MSU-Iligan Institute of Technology.
Reyes, Delfin 1967 *Useful dialogs and patterns in Chavacano*. Lucena City: Language Program, Joint St. John’s College-San Jose State College In-country Training Program.


Whinnom, Keith 1956 *Spanish contact vernaculars in the Philippines Islands*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.


About the authors:
John M. Lipski is Professor of Spanish and Linguistics at the Pennsylvania State University.

Salvatore Santoro is a native speaker of Italian married to a Spanish speaker. He is a lecturer in Italian at Queensborough Community College in New York City.