

Zamboangueno Creole Spanish

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Introduction

Zamboangueno (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 Zamboangueno 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 Zamboangueno 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 Zamboangueno 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 Zamboangueno population, thousands of Zamboanguenos 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, Zamboanguenos 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 Zamboangueno. 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 nisós* '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 Zamboanga 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 "Zamboanganese" 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

pidgin for communication. Such a military pidgin could then have been creolized as the native language of certain permanent garrison communities. (1971:224)

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 languages. 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) *pwéde* ‘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 pwéde man ése bulé, andé alyí na réyno* (168)²
 Since HAB can PT DEM fly go there LOC kingdom
 ‘Since he knows how to fly, he goes there to the kingdom’
- (2) *Konése hénte pwéde éle komé* (170)
 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* (146)
 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 muher* (148)
 Now know PAST 3s whether where PT DEF house of-DEM girl
 GLOSS

1.3 Non-statives with past reference

- (5) *kwándo sále afwéra ya murí*
 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* (168)
 __ 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'

1 Unmarked Verbs: summary for Zamboangueno		
1.1	Statives with non-past reference	+
1.2	Statives with past reference	+
1.3	Non-statives with past reference	+
1.4	Non-statives with non-past reference	+

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 prinsésa 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 noče ya silá ya-lyega* (181)
 Of night COMP 3p PAST-arrive 'They arrived at night'

When arbitrary impersonal subjects (*pro_{arb}*) are present, the preverbal particle *ta* itself an indication of *pro_{arb}* in the absence of the normally obligatory overt subject) can indicate past reference:

- (13) *ta matá konéle akí na Zamboanga*
 TMA kill with-3s here LOC Zamboanga [pro_{arb}] killed him here in Zamboanga'

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

- (14) *Byen borráco gat kami, poréso ta man-pelyáhan* (Frake 1980: 309)
 very drunk INTENS 1p-excl. therefore TMA recip-fight- recip
 'We (excl.) were very drunk, that's why [we] fought each other'

Ta can sometimes be used with past reference even with an overt subject; the past marker *ya* is usually present elsewhere in the same sentence:

- (15) *ta kamína ki kamína yo no sábe ya yo dónde ya gindá*
 TMA walk-and-walk 1s NEG know TMA 1s where PAST go
 'I walked and walked, I didn't know where [I] was going' (Frake 1980: 299)

2.3 Anterior = counterfactual

Counterfactuals in ZM can be formed with *dol* 'as if' and a bare verb; TMA particles are not used:³

- (16) *si ta conversa Chabacano na pueblo dol talla tu na Mejico*
 if TMA speak Chabacano LOC town as-if be-there 2s LOC Mexico
 'If you speak Chabacano in town as if you were in Mexico' (Cuartocruz 1992:52)

2.4 Anterior with adjective

Like stative verbs (§1.2), adjectives do not require preverbal *ya* to indicate past tense (though they may occur with it), nor do they take a copula:

- (17) *Dáqan el salaqán* (161)
 old DEF strainer 'The strainer is/was old'

2.5 Anterior with locative

Locative phrases neither require *ya* to indicate past tense (though they may occur with it), nor take a copula:

- (18) *El mučáča na kása* (192)
 DEF maid in house 'The maid is/was in the house'

Even when the locative copulas *taki* 'be here,' *talyi* 'be there (prox.),' and *talyá* 'be there (dist.)' are present, no particle indicates past reference:

- (19) *Mama talya na bentana ta espera konmigo* (McKaughan 1954: 215)
 Mama COP-there LOC window TMA wait with-1s
 'Mama was in the window [and she was] waiting for me'

³ Apostol (1962-1967) relates *dol* to the evidential particle *dau*: "*Dau* could also mean 'it appears to be.' In this instance, *dau* is often pronounced *dol*."

2	Anterior: summary for Zamboangueno	
2.1	Statives with past reference	+
2.2	Non-statives with (past-before-) past reference	+
2.3	Anterior = counterfactual	0
2.4	Anterior with adjective	+
2.5	Anterior with locative	+

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'
- (21) *Hoy Juan Pusung cosa tu ta hace alli?* (Cuartocruz 1992:109)
 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

- (25) *Mama talya na bentana ta espera konmigo* (McKaughan 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 oi 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) *syéndo ya lang ele*
 being PAST only 3s
 `since it was only he`

- (28) *ya oi 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).

3	Progressive aspect: summary for Zamboangueno	
3.1	Indicating progressive	+
3.2	Indicating future	+
3.3	Anterior + progressive	0
3.4	Progressive with adjective = inchoative	0

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 hénte para lyibá alyá* (168)
 all DEF year DEM dragon HAB seize IND person for take there
na disu ísla
 to POSS 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.

4	Habitual aspect: summary for Zamboangueno	
4.1	Zero marker for habitual	+
4.2	Progressive marker for habitual	+
4.3	Marker for habitual only	0
4.4	Anterior + habitual	0

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 ele 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 ahriba, ya olvidá ya* (148)
 when PAST climb DET monkey up-there PAST forget COMP/already
éle konel tortuga
 3s DET-OBJ turtle
 ‘When the monkey had climbed up, he had (already) forgotten the turtle’

5	Completive aspect: summary for Zamboangueno	
5.1	Completive only (before/after V)	??
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 Zamboanguenos.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* (43)
 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)* (164)
 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* (46)
 IRR PT-drown 3p all
 'They all would have drowned'

Era (apparently derived from S *era* the 3s imperfective 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) *é ra ya andá yo/ya andá é ra 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 Iglesia, 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 diño lolo é ra abahá akí*
 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 é ra 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 Zamboangueno	
6.1	Future (= progressive marker?)	0
6.2	Anterior + irrealis = conditional	0
6.3	Anterior + irrealis = future in the past	+
6.4	Anterior + irrealis = future perfect	0

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 *pwède* 'can' and *kyére* 'want' (also main verbs) can be considered modal auxiliaries.

- (46) *Kyen pwède librá kon-ése muhér kon-el dragón...* (46)
 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* (33)
 want EMPH 3s approach OBJ-DEM girl
 'He really wanted to approach that girl'

7	Other combinations of verbal markers: summary for Zamboangueno	
7.1	Irrealis + progressive	0
7.2	Anterior + irrealis + progressive	0
7.3	Other auxiliary-like elements	+

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.

- (48) *Sábe ya tú kombersá çabakáno* (24)
 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 muhêr para konosé...* (33)
 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) *ésos 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 vende el maga 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 çabakáno para entendé gat silá*
 HAB mix 1s a little of Chabacano COMP understand INTENS 3p
 'I mix in a little Chabacano so that they can understand'
- (55) *kyen ta sakrifiká disuyo sangre para los demás pwede 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 dále yo el address del diano mága amíga akí 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' (cfS *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* (210)
 PAST see 3s COMP have surprise house DEM woman
 'He saw that, surprisingly, that woman had a house'
- (59) *El aksyón di Abdúl ta demostrá gayót kel éle byen kyére* (201)
 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* (202)
 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 Fátima el disu nómbre* (201)
 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) *Mira usté ay kumprá pa yo esté ótro kláse* (200)
 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 dilhyérto*
 though PROG sleep PT DEF six heads DEF other six head awake
 'Even though these six heads are asleep, the other six heads are awake'

(65) *ta pwéde tu manehá máskin nway lisénsya?*
 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*, *kay* 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* (190)
 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 POSS 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 desidí 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 bisikléta* (207)
 PAST meet 1s IND police __ PROG ride on bike
 ‘I met a policeman who was riding on a bike’

9	Dependent clauses: summary for Zamboangueno	
9.1	Subordinate clauses (non-embedded)	+
9.2	Subordinate clauses (embedded)	+
9.3	Relative clauses (relative pronoun=subject)	+
9.4	Relative clauses (relative pronoun=direct object)	+
9.5	Relative clauses (relative pronoun=obj. of prep.)	+
9.6	Relative clauses (zero relative pronoun)	+

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

(76) *nway silá andá na karagásan* (163)
 NEG-PAST 3p go to Caragasan 'They did not go to Caragasan'

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

(77) *nway 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 *hendeq*.

(78) *Hendeq 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 *núnka* 'never', which occurs only with unmarked verbs.

(79) *Núnka 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 *sábe* 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

‘I can’t speak (English)’

Occasionally *pwéde* can be negated by *hendéq*, especially if other words intervene:

- (82) *hende 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 *múčo* ‘something exists in quantity’. *Nway* can also replace the locational copulas *takí* ‘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 *takí* etc., and the remaining locational deictic 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*, *kyére*, and *pwéde* (with more Spanish-infinitive-like variants *sabé*, *keré*, *pwedé/podé*), 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 sabé* ‘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)

10	Negation: summary for Zamboangueno	
10.1	Single negation (verbal)	+
10.2	Discontinuous double negation	0
10.3	Negative concord	+

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 lyamá silá palít* (219)
 A kind of fish HAB call 3p palít 'A kind of fish they call *palít*'

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

- (88) *Kon ése, débe ya kon ese kuhí*
 with that ought PAST with that catch
 `[pro_{arb}] should have caught him/he should have been caught already'
- (89) *Ta matá konéle akí na Zamboanga*
 TMA kill with-3s here LOC Zamboanga
 `[pro_{arb}] 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, [pro_{arb}] will kill us/we will be killed.'
- (91) *hendéq ta ablá "ta estába"*
 NEG TMA say ...
 `[pro_{arb}] 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 kamaríng grânde, alyá ta huntá paláy
 TMA make pile big, there TMA gather rice
 `[pro_{arb}] has the rice cut/the rice is cut, [pro_{arb}] makes big piles/big piles are made,
 [pro_{arb}] gathers the rice up/the rice is gathered up there'

11	Passive: summary for Zamboangueno	
11.1	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.

- (93) *Soltéro el anák disúyo* (161)
 bachelor DEF son POSS 'His son is a bachelor'

12.3 Preverbal markers before locatives

The locational/existential copulas *taki/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.

- (94) *Ese díya, talyá tamén el muhér na kása* (35)
 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* (186)
 2s DET more good climb than OBJ-1s 'You climb better than I do'
- (96) *Si Hwán alto kontra kon-el muhér* (NM)
 PT John tall than OBJ-DEF girl. 'John is taller than the girl'

12	Adjectives: verbs? Summary for Zamboangueno	
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 Zamboanguenos who do not speak Spanish:

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

(98) *este budget di mio es pro-barangáy*
 this budget of mine COP pro-barangáy
 'this budget of mine is pro-*barangay* (a regional administrative division similar to townships)'

(99) *ése es lo ke ta obserbá*
 that COP that COMP PROG observe
 'that is what is being observed'

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

(101) *un número pwéde ser un kansyón un báyle*
 a number can COP a song a dance
 'a number can be a song, a dance'

- (102) *akél mága estába na sebú ta usá sebwáno*
those PLÜR COP-PAST LOC Cebu HAB use Cebuano
`those who have been in Cebu use Cebuano’
- (103) *hesús estába kon rebélde*
Jesus LOC-PAST with rebel
`Jesus was with rebels’

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 kósa kamé está na rádyo na peryódiko*
for thing 1p-excl. COP-LOC LOC radio LOC newspaper
`Why are we (reporting) on the radio and in the newspapers?’
- (107) *mas bwéno 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 Zamboanguenos 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) *myémbro estába yo akí*
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’

- (113) *bwéno éra si tyéne yo tyémpo*
 good CTF if have 1s time
 '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* (Rivas 1982, *Buen Noticia*, p. 7)
 DET Abraham COP the father of Isaac
 'Abraham was the father of Isaac'
- (118) *Este amo el maga palabra del Hijo de Dios* (*Nuevo Testamento* p. 953)
 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* 'has'):

- (119) *tyéne burúhu* (162)
 exist witch
 'There are witches'

A nonverbal predicator is also used to indicate abundance: ZM *múço* '[something] exists in quantity' (< S *mucho* 'much'):

- (120) *múço komída* (162)
 exist [a lot] food
 'There is a lot of food'

13	The Copula: summary for Zamboangueno	
13.1	Equative copula (with NP)	0
13.2	Locative copula (with expression of place)	+
13.3	Zero copula with adjective?	+
13.4	Highlighter with question words	0
13.5	Highlighter with other structures	0
13.6	Existential ('have' = 'there is?')	+

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 pvente, todo ya-(a)kabá káy* (Forman 1993:177)
 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* (ibid.172)
 COMP-return 3s in house PROG-walking ‘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* (206)
 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 sinta* (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) *Nesesíta anda pruba saká el kárt ditúyo ermána* (205)
 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) *Nesesíta mandá anda pruba saká el kárt ditúyo ermána* (205)
 Need tell _ go try get DEF card POSS sister
 'It is necessary to tell [someone] to go try to get your sister's card'

14	Serial verbs: summary for Zamboangueno	
14.1	Directional with 'go'	0
14.2	Directional with 'come'	+
14.3	Serial 'give' meaning 'to, for'	0
14.4	Serial 'say' meaning 'that'	0
14.5	Serial 'pass' meaning 'more than'	0
14.6	3 serial verb constructions	+
14.7	Construction with 4 or more serial verbs	0

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.

- (131) *Hénde yo ta komé hénte* (153)
 NEG 1s HAB eat — people 'I do not eat people'

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* (196)
 1s IND young-girl 'I am a young girl'
- (133) *Ya andá éle komé na un restauran* (NM)
 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 estudyantes* (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 ĉabakáno antigwa* (221)
 DEF Chabacano ancient 'The ancient Chabacano'
- (135) *La bírhen del pilár* (154)
 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 Zamboanguenos use only *mana*, 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* (112)
 PLUR criminal 'criminals'

After numbers, nouns take no plural marker, e.g. *syéte muhér* 'seven girls', *kwátro 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 *akélyos* 'that + plural; those' (< S *aquellos idem*).

- (140) *ése prinsésa no pwéde salé* (146)
 DEM princess NEG can leave 'That princess couldn't leave'
- (141) *...desde el primér díya ya mirá le kon-ése* (146)
 ...since DEF first day PAST see 3s OBJ-DEM '...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 bíblya*
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* (221)
DEF big problem ‘the big problem’

(145) *el muhér póbre* BUT *el póbre muhér* (NM)
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* (221)
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* (220)
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 *ermáno* ‘brother’ versus *ermána* ‘sister’ or *amígo* ‘boyfriend’ versus *amíga* ‘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. *gwápa* ‘beautiful’, *prenyáda* ‘pregnant’), even though the adjective *gwapo* ‘handsome’ also occurs.

15	Noun Phrase: summary for Zamboangueno	
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* 'of the' [*di* + *el*]:

- (148) *Ya birá le oléq na kása del muhér* (216)
 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*, *ínyo*, and *íla* are infrequent in modern ZM.

- (149) *dimío, mío* 'my'
debós 'your [singular, intimate]'
ditúyo, túyo 'your [singular]'
diusté 'your [singular, formal]'
disúyo 'his, her, its'

	<i>diámon</i>	'our [exclusive]'
	<i>diáton</i>	'our [inclusive]'
	<i>diínyo</i>	'your [plural]'
	<i>diustédes</i>	'your [plural, formal]'
	<i>diíla</i>	'their'
(150)	<i>dimí, mí</i>	'my'
	[no form]	'your [singular, intimate]'
	<i>ditú, tú</i>	'your [singular]'
	[no form]	'your [singular, formal]'
	<i>disú</i>	'his, her, its'
	<i>ámon</i>	'our [exclusive]'
	<i>áton</i>	'our [inclusive]'
	<i>ínyo</i>	'your [plural]'
	[no form]	'your [plural, formal]'
	<i>íla</i>	'their'
(151)	<i>el disúyo profesyón, el disú nombre</i>	(182)
	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)	<i>Ese péhro diáton</i>	(NM)
	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.

16	Possession: summary for Zamboangueno	
16.1	Nouns: juxtaposition [possessor+ possessed]	0
16.2	Nouns: preposition [possessed (of) possessor]	+
16.3	Nouns: poss. adj. [possessor <i>his</i> possessed]	0
16.4	Possessive adjectives: pronominal?	+
16.5	Possessive pronouns: distinct?	+
16.6	Possessive pronoun as emphatic poss. adj.	0

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 *kanámon*, *kanáton*, *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 *konámon*, *konáton*, and *koníla*, by analogy with the transparently analytic singular series *komígo*, *koniígo*, *kon élé*, 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* / *ko(n)mígo* ‘I / I / me’
- (154) *Ya pwéde yo kimá el disúyo máno* (209)
 PAST can 1s burn DEF POSS hand ‘I accidentally burned his hand’
- (154) *Takí komígo el sén* (185)
 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]’
tú / ___ / *-kontígo* ‘you’
usté / ___ / *-konusté* ‘you [formal]’
- (156) *Nunka yo keré kombós* (201)
 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 Zamboangueños 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?’

(158) *kónyo bo nána*
vulva 2s mother

‘go to hell’ (approx.)

17.3 Personal pronouns: third person singular

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

(158) *éle/ -lé*
konéle

‘he/she/it’
‘him/her/it’

(159) *Ya pwéde tú mirá konéle?*
PAST can 2s see OBJ-3s

(209)
‘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
kitá/ ___
kanáton

‘we [exclusive]’
‘us [exclusive]’
‘we [inclusive]’
‘us [inclusive]’

(161) *Ta kombersá kitá*
PROG converse 1p

(NM)
‘We [you and I] are conversing’

Very occasionally Spanish *nosotros* is used – by Zamboanguenos not fluent in Spanish and without the Spanish verb inflection – but this is not systematic:

(162) *kósa man el kamíno de nosotros*
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 *ustédes*. *Kamó* is informal, corresponding to singular (*ebos*). In Cotabato and Davao, *kamó* is still considered neutral, but most Zamboanguenos find *kamó* offensive if used to adults (they call it *chabacano bastos* ‘vulgar Chabacano’), and use *kamó* and related forms only with children. *Ustédes* is the preferred formal variant in Zamboanga. In very formal language, especially in public speeches and radio announcements, S *bosótro*s is heard (165-6):

(163) *kamó/ ___/kanínyo*
ustédes/ ___/kon-ustédes

‘you [plural]’
‘you [plural, formal]’

(164) *Sínta kamó man kwénto*
sit 2p PT talk

(219)
‘You all sit around talking’

- (165) *ta ui yo kon bosótro dos*
 PROG hear 1s with 2p two
 'I'm listening to both of you'
- (166) *pabór daw bosótro dále sen*
 please POL 2p give money
 'Please be so kind as to give money'

17.6 Personal pronouns: third person plural

- (167) *silá/___* 'they'
kaníla '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 kulgá éle desuyo kwérpo* (NM)
 PAST hang 3s POSS body 'She/He hanged her-/himself'
- (169) *Ay áse yo mismo éste* (NM)
 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* 'whose'
dónde 'where'
ketál 'how (health)'
(pa)kimodo 'how'
kon-kyén 'whom'
kósa 'what'
kósa-kósa 'what-all, whatsoever'
kyén 'who'
kyén-kyén 'who (among all these)'
kwándo 'when'
kwánto 'when, how much'
porké 'why'

17.9 Relative pronoun: distinct form?

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

- (171) *kyén* 'who'
di-kyén 'whose'

<i>kon-kyén</i>	'(to) whom'
<i>dónde</i>	'where'
<i>ke</i>	'that, which, who(m)'

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', *péro* 'but', and *ni* 'neither'.

- (172) *Prónto aprendé i prónto tamén olbidá* (148)
 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 sángre de sambwánga* (172)
 1s IND bachelor of twenty years sweat and blood of Zamboanga
 'I am a twenty-year-old bachelor, [with the] sweat and blood of Zamboanga'
- (174) *Ya andá yó pati María na sine* (NM)
 PAST go 1s with Maria 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?'

18	Coordinating conjunctions: summary for Zamboangueno	
18.1	'And' joining sentences	+
18.2	'And' joining sentence parts: distinct?	0

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* (196)
 PAST fall 1s from bridge 'I fell from the bridge'
- (177) *Kyére lé salé na ágwa* (197)
 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 Zamboangueno	
19.1	General locative preposition (or postposition)	+
19.2	Zero preposition after motion verb + place?	0

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?* (NM)
 PAST go to market 'Did you go to the market?'
- (179) *Kósa ba tu nómbre?* (24)
 what QM POSS name 'What is your name?'
- (180) *Kósa pwéde tú kumprá kon-el sinkwénta sén?* (157)
 what can 2s buy with-DEF fifty centavos
 'What can you buy with the fifty centavos?'

- (181) *Donde tu ta queda?* (Camins 1999:17)
 where 2s HAB stay
 ‘Where do you live?’
- (182) *Cosa kita come?* (Camins 1999:18)
 what 1p-incl. eat
 ‘What will we eat?’
- (183) *ónde tu ya poné el básó*
 where 2s PAST put the glass
 ‘Where did you put the glass?’
- (184) *cosa ta compra si Gloria?* (Reyes 1967:IV-5)
 what PROG buy DET Gloria
 ‘What is Gloria buying?’

20.2 Sentence final -o

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

20	Miscellaneous: summary for Zamboangueno	
20.1	Word order: questions SVO?	+
20.2	Sentence-final -o	0

21 Conclusion

In outlining some salient features of Zamboangueno 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 undeniably 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.

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