

# Austronesian Elements in Philippine Creole Spanish

Aireen L. Barrios

Ateneo de Zamboanga University

One of the theories of creoles is that the superstrate or lexifier language contributes to its vocabulary, while its grammar comes directly from the substrate(s) (Crowley 1997). A look at the lexicon and grammar of Philippine Creole Spanish (PCS) or Chabacano shows that this theory works specifically for its variant Zamboangueno, which is spoken in Zamboanga City and is the only surviving PCS.

It is easy to see that Zamboangueno words are predominantly derived from Spanish. Terms for numbers, days of the week, months, and body parts are obviously derived from Spanish. Some number words are *uno* 'one', *dos* 'two', *tres* 'three', *mil nueve cientos setenta y seis* '1976'; days of the week are *Lunes* 'Monday', *Martes* 'Tuesday', *Viernes* 'Friday', *Domingo* 'Sunday'; terms for months are *Enero* 'January', *Febrero* 'February', *Agosto* 'August', *Diciembre* 'December'; and terms for body parts include *ojos* 'eyes', *voca* 'mouth', *nariz* 'nose', and *cara* 'face'.

Some properties of its grammar, on the other hand, show obvious traces of Austronesian influence, particularly that of Tagalog and Cebuano. These grammatical properties include basic constituent order, pronominal system, nominative noun marking *el* and *si*, and the use of the particle *mga*.

Like Tagalog and Cebuano, as well as many other Philippine languages, Zamboangueno exhibits a prototypically Philippine-type verb-initial word order, different from the SVO pattern characteristic of Spanish. A sentence in Zamboangueno consists of a verb phrase followed by noun phrases. The verb phrase consists of a temporal aspectual marker (*ya*-past/perfective, *ta*-present/imperfective, and *ay*-future irrealis) and a stem which is usually derived from the Spanish infinitive without the final /r/.

The influence of Cebuano on Zamboangueno is conspicuously manifested in its pronominal system, particularly in the plural pronoun series in all the three basic cases: nominative, which functions as the subject of both transitive and intransitive clauses; accusative, serving as the direct object; and possessive (or genitive, to use the Latinate term), as a possession marker. These three cases of pronouns correspond to the *si*-type, *kon*-type, and *di*-type pronouns, respectively. The *si*-type plural pronouns are *kita* (1P.INCL.), *kame* (1P.EXCL.), *kamo* (2P), and *sila* (3P). Zamboangueno has also created the *kon*-type and *di*-type forms based on the Cebuano genitive pronouns *amo* (1P, EXCL.), *ato* (1P, INCL.), *inyo* (2P), and *ila* (3P), resulting in the accusative case pronouns *kanamon* (1P.EXCL.), *kanaton* (1P.INCL.), *kaninyo* (2P), and *kanila* (2P), and *diamon* (1P.EXCL.), *diaton* (1P.INCL.), *diinyo* (2P), and *diila* (2P) in the genitive case.

The Zamboangueno noun marking *el*, which marks phrases whose heads are common nouns or place names, and *si* which marks phrases whose heads are personal names correspond to the non-personal *ang* and the personal

*si*, respectively, in Tagalog and Cebuano. In all three languages, these markers are used in nominative noun phrases. A common noun is preceded by *ang* in Tagalog and Cebuano and *el* in Zamboangueño, while *si* precedes a name of a person in all three languages.

Finally, like Tagalog and Cebuano, the Zamboangueño plural marker *mga*, which is pronounced variously as *maga*, *mana*, and *maña*, is used when the noun it precedes is explicitly plural. It is, in some instances, optional, especially when the noun is marked by the plural marker *-(e)s* suffix.

In summary, traces of Austronesian elements, particularly those of Tagalog and Cebuano, can be found in the grammatical properties of Zamboangueño, particularly in its verb-initial word order, plural pronominal system, nominative noun marking, and plural noun marking.

## APPENDIX

### Word Order

(1) ZAMBOANGUEÑO

Ya come el perro con el pescao.  
PAST eat DET dog OBJ.MARKER fish

'The dog ate the fish.'

(2) TAGALOG (Schachter and Otones 1972:294, in Reid and Liao 2004:441)

Humawak=siy ng libro.  
hold=NOM.3S GEN book.

'He held a book.'

(3) CEBUANO (Dryer 1977:1)

Nag-palit ang babaye sa saging.  
ACTOR-buy TOPIC woman NON-TOPIC banana

'The woman bought the bananas.'

### B. Pronominal System

(4) ZAMBOANGUEÑO

Ay anda kita na aplaya mañana.  
FUT go 1P.INCL. PREP beach ADV

'We will go to the beach tomorrow.'

(5) CEBUANO

Kita ang muadtu sa balay ugma.  
1P go LCV house ADV

'We will go to the house tomorrow.'

(6) ZAMBOANGUEÑO

Ta pasya kame na pueblo ahora.  
PRES stroll 1P.EXCL. PREP town ADV

'We are strolling around town now.'

(7) CEBUANO (Bell 1976:59)

Mo'ani kami ug humay sa bulan sa Nobyember.  
ACT.harvest we.NOM OBL rice OBL month GEN November

'We harvest rice in the month of November.'

(8) ZAMBOANGUEÑO

entra kamo na casa, pronto!  
enter 2P PREP house ADV

'Enter the house, hurry!'

(9) CEBUANO (Dryer 1978:9)

Sumonod kamo kanako!  
ACTOR.FOCUS.follow you.TOPIC me.NONTOPIC

'Follow me!'

(10) ZAMBOANGUEÑO (Forman 1972:158)

Ya anda sila na Lamitan.  
PAST go 3P.NOM PREP Lamitan

'They went to Lamitan.'

(11) CEBUANO (Dryer 1978: 38)

Sila nanag-lakaw sa lungsod.  
3P.ACTOR FOCUS-walk NONTOPIC town

'They walked in the town' or 'They walked to the town.'

### C. Noun Marking

(12) ZAMBOANGUEÑO

Ta olestia el comida adentro aparador.  
PRES smell DET.NOM food ADV cabinet

'The food smells inside the cabinet.'

(13) TAGALOG (Reid and Liao 2004: 467)

Pumasok ang babae.  
entered DET woman

'The woman entered.'

(14) CEBUANO (Wolf, pers. comm., in Reid and Liao 2004:448)

Kanang mga artista, pulus artipisyal ang lihok.  
that DET.PLRL artist total artificial DET behavior

'Those artists, their behavior is totally artificial.'

(15) ZAMBOANGUEÑO

Ya kema si Conching con el letrato.  
PAST burn NOM Conching OBJ.MARKER picture

'Conching burned the picture.'

(16) TAGALOG (Bell 1978:6)

Si Fidel ang bumili sa kotse ko.  
NOM Fidel NOM ACT.buy ACC car my

'The one who bought my car was Fidel.'

(17) CEBUANO

Higala naku si Rowena.  
friend GEN.1s NOM Rowena

'Rowena is my friend.'

### D. Plural Marking

(18) ZAMBOANGUEÑO

Ya ri el maga miron konele.  
PAST laugh DET PLRL.MARKER onlookers 3s

'The onlookers laughed at him.'

(19) TAGALOG (Akil 2000:77)

Wala sa bahay ang mga dalaga.  
NEG PREP house DET PLRL.MARKER maiden

'The maidens are not in the house.'

(20) CEBUANO (Bell 1978:3)

Ni'adtong panahona, lima ka kinhasong daw salamin  
 OBL.that=LN time.SPEC five LN seashell=LN like mirror

Nakaplagan sa mga batang nagdula sa babayon.  
 find.REF GEN PL child=LN ACT.play REF beach

'At that time, five shining seashells were found by children  
 who were playing on the beach.'

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