

## Modern Spanish once-removed in Philippine Creole Spanish: The case of Zamboangueno

JOHN M. LIPSKI

*Department of Hispanic & Classical Languages  
University of Houston*

### ABSTRACT

Philippine Creole Spanish, formed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, underwent partial decreolization toward the end of the Spanish presence in the Philippines, particularly in the city of Zamboanga. Following the American occupation of the Philippines, virtually all Spanish linguistic influence has disappeared, but contemporary Zamboangueno continues to exhibit continuing incorporation of elements of standard Spanish, in the nearly total absence of a pool of Spanish speakers. The present study explores the status of the Zamboangueno dialect, discusses the various stages of decreolization in the direction of Spanish, and suggests possible avenues for the continued introduction of elements from an acrolect which, for all intents and purposes, is no longer generally available to residents of Zamboanga. (Creole studies, contact vernaculars)

### I

Philippine Creole Spanish (PCS), known locally as Chabacano, was once spoken in several geographically distinct regions of the Philippines, including the now moribund dialects of Cavite and Ternate on Manila Bay, the defunct Ermita dialect of Manila, the virtually extinct dialect of Davao, and the vestigial Chabacano of Cotabato.<sup>1</sup> The only dialect to have survived the entire Spanish empire (including the last 100 years, when the Spanish language was finally taught intensively to the native population), the American occupation, the ravages of World War II, and the nationalistic campaigns in favor of Tagalog, is the Chabacano of Zamboanga (Zamboangueno), still spoken by several hundred thousand residents of Zamboanga del Sur province, Basilan Island, and by small groups on Jolo and other islands of the Sulu Archipelago. The Manila Bay dialects have been overrun by Tagalog, while those of Davao and Cotabato have been largely replaced by Cebuano/Visayan, as has occurred in the rest of Mindanao.<sup>2</sup> While Zamboangueno has absorbed enormous quantities of Visayan lexical and grammatical items, its essence as a variant of PCS remains unchanged, and as the primary language of a major cultural, commercial, and political center at

one geographical extreme of the Philippines, Zamboangueño Chabacano has assured a permanent place for itself in the Philippine linguistic mosaic.

Like other dialects of PCS, Zamboangueño came into contact with contemporary varieties of Spanish during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, resulting in an incipient decreolization and diglossia which, however, never got beyond the initial stages.<sup>3</sup> The present study will describe a curious facet of the current linguistic situation in Zamboangueño which results from these contacts: the incorporation of recent/contemporary Spanish elements which commenced several generations ago and which to a certain extent continues to take place, despite the fact that virtually no one in Zamboanga is truly proficient in Spanish.

Although the precise origins of Zamboangueño PCS are shrouded in uncertainty, this dialect evidently arose in Zamboanga following the Spanish reoccupation of this city in 1719, when the small Spanish detachment was augmented by mercenary soldiers brought from many parts of the Philippines, including in all probability the PCS-speaking military garrison of Cavite.<sup>4</sup> While Zamboangueño exhibits significant differences with respect to the Manila Bay PCS dialects, the structural similarities are more noteworthy and render the chances for completely spontaneous generation of Zamboangueño infinitesimal (Lipski in press d). A comparative analysis of the various PCS dialects yields the conclusion that the Ternate dialect is most probably the closest to the original contact vernacular formed in or transferred to the Philippines; the Cavite dialect is somewhat more evolved and also shows the results of more recent brushes with Spanish, and the Zamboanga dialect was apparently split off after the differentiation between the Cavite and Ternate dialects.<sup>5</sup>

Studies on Zamboangueño carried out in the early 1950s (e.g., McKaughan 1954; Whinnom 1956) gave the impression that this language was on the verge of extinction, but in all probability the population of PCS speakers is actually growing in Zamboanga (Frake 1971), given the net inward migration. Chabacano is the first language of nearly all natives of the city, except for some Moslems, and newcomers who have moved to Zamboanga City find they have to use at least some Chabacano in order to adequately carry out their activities. Among native Zamboangueños, Chabacano is the preferred language in nearly all informal situations, although liberally mixed with English, especially among professional and student groups. Spontaneous conversations inevitably begin in Chabacano except when the interlocutor is identified as or suspected to be a non-PCS speaker.<sup>6</sup>

In Zamboanga City, all the radio stations and local television productions broadcast in Chabacano (with constant code switching and introduction of English words and phrases), with a few newscasts in English and "public service" announcements in regional languages and Tagalog, as appropriate. The use of Chabacano in broadcasting is a relatively recent trend, since as late as ten years ago, most programming was in English (given the lack of acceptance of Tagalog materials), and it was only after the first experimental Chabacano programs were

received with unequalled enthusiasm that the broadcast media gradually shifted over to this language. In the schools, English is the official medium of instruction from the outset, with Pilipino (based on Tagalog) taught as an obligatory subject. Despite official disapproval of *halo halo* (i.e., mixed or code-switched) speech, in the classroom, most teachers use at least some Chabacano in presenting lessons, particularly in the lower grades, and also because the English abilities of many teachers are severely limited; for a general discussion of this type of situation, see Craig (1977:323). During the 1960s and 1970s, programs in "vernacular language instruction" were instituted for the first few grades, and while these have largely been suspended, some rural schools still implement the Chabacano textual materials, and *de facto* bilingual instruction is the rule in all public and many private schools.

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Zamboanga City is one of the most thoroughly Hispanized cities remaining in the Philippines, and at one time, culminating in the first decades of the present century, some form of the Spanish language circulated rather widely in that city. Several Spanish-language newspapers were published until World War II, Spanish was used by (Spanish national) priests, and signs and announcements in Spanish were frequently seen about town. Although the general feeling among Zamboangueños is that Zamboanga was at least partially Spanish-speaking toward the end of the Spanish period and in the decades immediately following, it is more reasonable to suppose that what was really in use by most residents (except for a small group of Spanish-speaking *mestizos*) was a partially decreolized Chabacano, with occasional conjugated verbs, nominal concordance, and a high percentage of recent borrowings from Spanish.<sup>7</sup>

Traditionally, Zamboangueños have considered Chabacano to be "broken Spanish" (the term most frequently used by Zamboangueños themselves and by many Spanish-speaking foreigners) and have asserted that PCS "has no grammar," a sentiment commonly voiced in other creole-speaking areas (e.g., Craig [1977:315]; Tinelli [1983:69]). A concomitant to this feeling is the belief that any Chabacano speaker can completely understand Spanish and that perhaps only laziness and lack of practice prevents Zamboangueños from speaking "real" Spanish; at the same time, it is supposed that any native Spanish speaker can immediately and flawlessly understand and use Chabacano, simply by "degrading" his or her own Spanish.

On-the-spot observation and experimentation reveal all these suppositions to be essentially false. Most younger Zamboangueños are thoroughly baffled by a conversation attempted entirely in Spanish (as I demonstrated on numerous occasions), and even the oldest community members, who received some training in the Spanish language and/or recall the time when more Spanish speakers were to be found in Zamboanga, experience severe difficulties with Spanish grammar,

although the majority of individual words are correctly identified. In the schools (where two years of Spanish are still obligatory at the secondary level), many Chabacano-speaking students receive poor grades in Spanish, since while they can grasp the meaning of most sentences, they resist learning grammatical patterns, preferring to rely on their native intuitions and the feeling that no essential differences exist between the two languages. Their attitudes toward learning Spanish are quite ambivalent; they feel attracted to the language because of its obvious linguistic affinities with Chabacano, but at the same time they share the feeling, widespread across the Philippines, that the third national language should be removed entirely from the school curriculum, being a useless anachronism.

For newly-arrived Spanish speakers unaccustomed to Philippine language structures and vocabulary (and/or with no linguistic training), Chabacano is overwhelmingly odd (as may be easily demonstrated by playing tapes to Spanish speakers from other countries), and depending upon the colloquial level and choice of lexical items, it may not even be recognized as a Spanish derivative. Whereas the Spanish speaker has a significant advantage in learning Chabacano over native Philippine languages, attitudinal questions often produce paradoxical results in that individuals (for example, from other areas of the Philippines) knowing no Spanish more effectively learn Chabacano as simply a regional Philippine language.<sup>8</sup>

## III

Lexical borrowing into Zamboangueno Chabacano can be divided into four categories: early Spanish, Visayan, later Spanish, and English. Following the eighteenth-century formation of Zamboanga, Visayan words were incorporated in great numbers, replacing original Spanish words (some of which are still found in the Manila Bay dialects). During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, numerous Spanish words were borrowed or reintroduced into Zamboangueno; these may be identified by their modern forms (e.g., *ahora* vs. *agora* 'now', *antes* 'before' vs. *endenantes* 'earlier in the same day' – both forms are current in Zamboangueno – and/or modern semantic value (*auto* 'automobile', *aeroplano* 'airplane', *aeropuerto* 'airport'). The most telling such modern Hispanisms are the words *español* and *castellano*, which replace *castila* (< Sp. *Castilla/castellano*) for both the Spanish language and Spaniards; the latter term is found vestigially in the Manila Bay PCS dialects and is not unknown to the oldest Zamboanguenos. However, at least some of the Visayan elements in Zamboangueno appear also to be of late nineteenth or early twentieth century origin, since early Spanish forms are still found among the oldest, rural residents of Zamboanga and also in Cotabato Chabacano; examples include *chiquito* versus *diutay* 'small', *hijo-hija* versus *anak* 'son/daughter', *niño* versus *bata* 'small child', *nieto* versus *apó* 'grandchild'.

More recently, the predominant source of lexical borrowing has become English, as in all other Philippine languages; not only are individual words borrowed, but entire expressions may be introduced into Chabacano speech, and among those speakers reasonably fluent in English, code switching is common.<sup>9</sup> Nouns and some verbs may simply be given a Chabacano form, much as occurs in bilingual Spanish/English speech in the United States: *sacrificiá* 'sacrifice' (Sp. *sacrificar*), *compositá* 'compose' (Sp. *componer*), *dependable* 'dependable' (Sp. *confiable*), *dolyar* 'dollar' (Sp. *dólar*), *valuable* 'valuable' (Sp. *valioso*), *serioso* 'serious' (Sp. *serio*), *preliminario* 'preliminary' (Sp. *preliminar*), and so forth. These loan translations may arise spontaneously, in a conversation or a radio program, or may be widely used by large segments of the population. Chabacano also makes extensive use of the Visayan prefix *man-*; originally this prefix formed verbs from Spanish and Visayan nouns (*man-cuento* 'to chat', *man-encuentro* 'to meet', *man-ulan* 'to rain', *man-gulu* 'to make trouble'), but currently, any English word or expression (not necessarily a noun) may be converted into a Chabacano verb by means of this prefix: *man-relax*, *man-takeover*, *man-kidnap*, *man-turnover*, *man-public service* ('make a public service announcement'). This is an active process and any English word may be used, even when equivalent Chabacano words are readily available.

As noted earlier, active borrowing from Spanish has ceased in Zamboangueno, due to the lack of a pool of Spanish speakers. However, the current situation presents two interesting facets. The first consists of significant alternation between normally evolved Chabacano forms (including well-integrated borrowings from Visayan and English) and more or less standard Spanish equivalents. The second is a largely overlooked inclination toward the continued introduction of Spanish forms.

The occurrence of modern or metropolitan Spanish forms instead of evolved PCS forms stems from one of three sources: (1) preservation of Spanish forms since the formative period of PCS; (2) introduction of Spanish forms during the last period of Spanish influence in Zamboanga; (3) conscious or semiconscious introduction of Spanish elements during the contemporary period, spurred by a desire to "preserve," "purify," "standardize," or "enrich" Zamboangueno.

*Preservation of Original Spanish Forms.* Only a few Spanish words survived the creolization process totally unchanged; these include some adjectives which have retained gender inflection and which, given their existence even in the isolated Ternateño dialect and also in Caviteño, have probably been used in this fashion all along: *bonito/a* 'pretty', *guapo/a* 'good looking', and so on. Some masculine/feminine noun pairs also occur, such as *maestro/a* 'teacher', *viudo/a* 'widower/widow', *cocinero/a* 'cook', *difunto/a* 'dead person', and so on. Some Chabacano plural nouns appear to have retained the Spanish plural /s/, usually in conjunction with the plural particle *mga*, pronounced variously [maga], [mana], and [maña]: *vecinos* 'neighbors', *barcadas* 'friends'.<sup>10</sup> A few

cases of feminine articles and adjectives have also survived as unanalyzable fossil remains, both in Chabacano and in the Philippine languages: Time is told with the combination *a las* (e.g., *a las seis* 'six o'clock'), and fixed expressions like *buenas tardes* 'good afternoon', *buenas noches* 'good evening', *buenas días* (Sp. *buenos días*) 'good morning' are found in all Chabacano dialects.

*Later Spanish Introductions.* The more recent Spanish presence in Zamboanga was significant in altering the Zamboangueno dialect, although little true decreolization took place. In particular, none of the essential Chabacano syntactic structures was modified, and Spanish gender and number concordance was not reestablished except in isolated lexical items which do not form part of an integrated system.

*Contemporary Spanish Introductions.* In a number of cases, the current Zamboangueno dialect exhibits alternation between normal Chabacano forms and Spanish variants, with the latter deriving in all probability from the most recent contacts with the Spanish language.

*Use of "conjugated" verb forms.* All PCS dialects employ a verbal system consisting of a stem (usually derived from the Spanish infinitive minus final /r/) plus three temporal aspectual particles: *ta* – present/imperfective, *ya* – past/perfective (the variant *a* exists in Ternate), *di* (Manila Bay) and (Zamboanga) *ay* (with older variant *el*<sup>11</sup>) – future/irrealis. In Manila Bay PCS there are no exceptions to this verbal system, and the Zamboangueno dialect has also maintained the creole verbal system. In contemporary Zamboangueno, however, it is possible to note a few largely fixed forms which derive from Spanish conjugated verbs and which are not described in earlier studies; these items are not always used by younger and/or rural speakers, and frequently pass unnoticed by Zamboanguenos themselves. The forms in question are not part of an integrated system of verb conjugation, may not be given a polymorphemic analysis within Zamboangueno, and represent isolated incursions of Spanish combinations evidently stemming from their use in the latter language as tag phrases or in other frequent syntagmatic patterns. These include *tenemos* (Ch. *tiene kita/kame*) 'we have', *no vaya* (Ch. *ojalá no, mas bueno era si no . . .*) 'may it not happen', the occasional use of *digo* (Ch. *ta ablá yo*) 'I mean' to correct a verbal slip, and so forth. Some of these forms may represent syntactic calques of Philippine combinations; for example, Zamboangueno frequently employs the Spanish-derived tag *nose* or *nosay* < Sp. *no sé* 'I don't know' in alternation with Chabacano *no sabe yo*. *Nose* may only be used in isolation to indicate lack of knowledge on the part of the speaker; when a verb follows, indicating lack of ability, *no sabe* must be used: *no sabe le conversá* 'he/she doesn't know how to speak [Chabacano]'. Frake (1980:299) analyzes *nose* as a calque of Philippine monomorphemic expressions such as Tagalog *aywan*, Cebuano *ambut*, and so on; however, while it is true that *nose* does not form part of a conjugated verbal paradigm, it is equally

true that many Zamboanguenos do not use this expression at all, preferring *no sabe yo* in all instances. Among those speakers who do use *nose*, most of the ones questioned by the present investigator considered the form "Spanish" as opposed to *chabacano lehitimo* "real Chabacano," and regardless of their own usage, indicated that *nose* does not "really" belong to Chabacano.

In the category of fossilized forms derived from Spanish conjugated verbs, we may also include *puede ser* (Ch. *siguro*) 'it may be', in which the Spanish copula *ser*, nonexistent in the PCS dialects, appears, and *como se llama* (Ch. *cosa ta llamál/quimodo ta ablá*) 'what is it called/how does one say', in which a Spanish reflexive construction is found. A similar combination is *que se vaya* (Ch. *anda era le*) 'may he/she go away', which occasionally appears in the present corpus. Although the Spanish copula *ser* is absent in PCS (either simple juxtaposition or the Visayan *amo* is used in Zamboangueno; e.g., *ese amo/amo* 'se el solución' 'that is the answer'), use of *es* 'is' occurs from time to time in spoken Zamboangueno: *si Maning es un cebuano* (Ch. *cebuano si Maning*) 'Maning is a Cebuano'.<sup>12</sup> Once more, *es* may not be analyzed as a conjugated verb in Zamboangueno, since no other paradigmatic variants of Spanish *ser* are used with copulative force, but within Chabacano, *es* clearly follows Spanish and not Philippine syntactic patterns. After observing this form on several occasions as used by individuals with no knowledge of Spanish, I questioned numerous informants as to the status and usage of *es*; all indicated that it was *chabacano hondo* "old-time language," and indeed this word was never detected among younger (<30) speakers. Spanish infinitives with final /r/ also appear in the common expressions *quiere decir*<sup>13</sup> 'which means, that is to say', *a ver* 'let's see', *agua e beber* (Sp. *agua de beber*) 'drinking water', and *hay que ver* 'you should see that', as well as in *acabar* (often pronounced *cabar*, from the Spanish verb meaning 'to finish'), which has become relexicalized as an adverb meaning 'afterwards, next'. Spanish gerund forms, normally absent in the PCS dialects, make an occasional appearance in Zamboangueno: *continuando kitá* 'as we are continuing [moving right along]', *siendo ya lang ele* 'being only him [since it was only he]' – whose gerund is based on the "nonexistent" copula *ser*; *ehtando yo durmido* 'since I was asleep'. On rare occasions, what appears to be a Spanish progressive based on *estar* + gerund may be heard: *mientras ta el hora andando* 'as time is moving along'.

*Use of Spanish plural subject pronouns ustedes and vosotros.* In general, Zamboangueno replaced the entire Spanish plural pronoun series by Visayan equivalents: *kitá* (1st pl., inclusive), *kamé* (1st pl., exclusive), *kamó* (2nd), *silá* (3rd).<sup>14</sup> More recently, however, *kamó* has been relegated to the status of [-respect], being used with children, intimate friends, and in condescending speech (see Frake 1971). For [+respect], *ustedes* is used, with the Spanish *vosotros* being used interchangeably although with reduced frequency. Since *vosotros* early ceased to be used among the Mexican and other Latin American Spanish dialects which formed the original bases for the PCS dialects, while

being retained in the Castillian dialects which influenced the last stages of Philippine Spanish and Chabacano, the use of *vosotros* in Zamboangueño is evidently a nineteenth-century phenomenon, which may also have been aided by the frequent use of this pronoun in ecclesiastical language. Some Zamboangueños assert that *vosotros* is more formal and solemn than *ustedes*, and observation tends to bear this out, since the former is heard more frequently in speeches and in radio broadcasts (where the possessives *vuestro/a* may occasionally be heard, instead of the Chabacano pattern *di vosotros*). But it is not unusual to hear *vosotros* used in private conversations, where the degree of intimacy or informality does not justify use of *kamó*, or even in apparent free variation with the latter pronoun.

In the singular series, Zamboangueño employs *bos* (*ebos* in sentence-initial position) as [-respect], *tu*, and *osté*, with the latter being [+respect]. *Bos* is clearly an original form, also found in most other Iberian-based creoles; *osté* also points to original Spanish usage, particularly in view of its pronunciation as different from Spanish *usted*. *Tu* may well be a recent introduction, since even a contemporary teachers' manual (Apostol 1967) makes no mention of this form, which in practice is the most commonly used second person singular pronoun in modern (urban) Zamboangueño. Among rural speakers, *osté* predominates, with *bos* being used as the familiar variant.

*Gender/number inflection.* Although the PCS dialects have essentially no gender/number inflection, several cases of inflected nouns and adjectives appear in Zamboangueño, often in alternation with normal Chabacano forms, in which plurality is signaled by means of *mga*. Unlike the case of Zamboangueño verbs derived from Spanish conjugated forms, it may be possible to analyze marginal gender/number concord in terms of semiactive morphological processes, since many (particularly older) Zamboangueños are aware of Spanish-based concordance patterns, and some even go so far as to attribute part of the "broken Spanish" connotation of Chabacano to nonuse of "correct" agreement. Frequently observed cases include *estas horas del noche* (Ch. *este mga horas*) 'this time of night', *otras cosas* (Ch. *otro mga cosa*) 'other things', *todas las cosas* (Ch. *todo el mga cosa*) 'all the things', *el mga estudiantes* (Ch. *el mga estudiante*) 'the students', *una vez* (Ch. *un vez*) 'one time', *el mga jóvenes* (Ch. *el mga joven*) 'the young people', and so on.<sup>15</sup> It is unlikely that these forms are carry-overs from the earliest period of PCS, since they do not occur in the Manila Bay dialects, except occasionally in the speech of Spanish-Chabacano bilinguals. Moreover, Iberian-based creoles are characterized by wholesale elimination of gender/number concord, and only in partially decreolized varieties (urban Papiamentu, contemporary Colombian *palenquero* – see Andersen [1974]; Friedemann and Patiño Roselli [1983]) is such agreement partially restored.

*Lexicon.* One significant area of Chabacano-Spanish alternation in the Zamboangueño dialect is the lexical dimension, where modern Spanish words co-

occur with traditional PCS variants or Visayan forms which have become integrated into the Zamboangueño dialect. A representative selection includes: *pequeño* (Ch. *diutay*, from Visayan, or *chiquito*) 'small', *calle* (Ch. *camino*) 'street', *cualquiera* (Ch. *maskín*) 'whatever', *padre/madre* (Ch. *tata/nana*) 'mother/father', *estómago* (Ch. *barriga*) 'stomach, belly', *hijo/hija* (Ch. *anak*, from Visayan) 'son/daughter', *empezá* (Ch. *pricipiá*) 'to begin', *pared* (Ch. *dingding*, from Visayan) 'wall', *vergüenza* (Ch. *huyá*, from Visayan) 'shame', *mañana* (Ch. *aga*, from Visayan) 'morning', and so on. In many cases, the differences reflect a Chabacano form which has undergone phonetic erosion, versus a preserved Spanish form: *también* (Ch. *tamén*) 'also', *luego* (Ch. *lego*) 'later', *pescado* (Ch. *pescao/pehcao*) 'fish', *después* (Ch. *depé*) 'after', and so on.

Some of the above Spanish forms may have carried over from the Spanish-speaking population found in Zamboanga at the turn of the century, although my interviews conducted with older bilingual Chabacano-Spanish Zamboangueños revealed no higher proportion of these Spanish forms in spoken Chabacano than among monolingual Chabacano speakers of Zamboanga City. On the other hand, whereas many older rural residents of Zamboanga del Sur province know some Spanish, the use of modern Spanish forms is considerably less in the rural areas, even in the speech of the oldest residents (some of whom are even able to recite Spanish prayers and songs from memory), who may be able to carry out a conversation partially in Spanish. Attitudes of city dwellers toward the speech of rural residents are in general quite negative; not only do the former express frequent inability to understand words used by the latter group, but they are nearly unanimous in regarding the speech of aged rural dwellers as "backward" and not to be imitated. At the same time, Spanish language abilities of younger Zamboangueños are minimal, and what little is taught in school is not readily assimilated and integrated into locally spoken Chabacano. We must therefore search for other sources for the introduction of more or less contemporary Spanish words and constructions into the Zamboangueño dialect.

## IV

It was noted earlier that English is currently the principal source for new lexical borrowings into Zamboangueño. However, a general awareness of Spanish phonotactics and morphology continues to subsist, particularly among Chabacano intellectuals and professionals and those involved in education and the public media, and as often as not, attempts are made, consciously or unconsciously, to coin new "Chabacano" words using Spanish patterns. Sometimes this results in transparent Anglicisms, such as *medical* 'medical', *compositá* 'to compose', *mayer* 'city mayor', *political* 'political', and the other examples given earlier. However, the fact that these options are utilized at all, instead of the superficially easier pattern using *man-* or simply unassimilated English words, indicates an

awareness of the basic patterns of Chabacano (i.e., Spanish) word formation and a perhaps only subconscious desire to use such forms instead of transparent borrowings from English. On other occasions, newly introduced "Chabacano" words coincide exactly with modern Spanish equivalents, except perhaps in low-level phonetic detail: *ciencia* [šeńša] 'science', *tecnología* 'technology', *biología* 'biology', *echor* [Sp. *hechor*] 'author of a deed', *aeropuerto* 'airport', *autoridad* 'authority', *consejal* 'city council member', *cuerpo legislativo* 'legislative body', *gramática* 'grammar', *dialecto* 'dialect', *vocabulario* 'vocabulary', *requisito* 'requirement', *entrevista* 'interview', *carestía* 'scarcity', *micrófono* 'microphone', *pistola* 'pistol', *peseta* 'money' [a modern monetary unit in Spain], *apagón* 'power blackout' [*brownout* in Philippine English], *estupidez* 'stupidity', and many more. Some of these words could be fortuitous Anglicisms which coincide with the respective Spanish words, but most are indisputedly derived from Spanish, and in all likelihood did not figure in the lexicon of the earliest Spanish speakers brought to Zamboanga. The present investigation uncovered no trace of these forms in Manila Bay Chabacano, despite the considerable recent Spanish influence on the Caviteño dialect, nor in the residual Chabacano of Cotabato and Davao, which results from immigration from Zamboanga in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, respectively. Even the vestigial Chabacano of Jolo, which is in much closer contact with Zamboanga, did not display such patently Spanish forms.

Within Zamboanga, four groups may be singled out as the source of the majority of Hispanisms introduced into contemporary Chabacano: the clergy, school teachers, public media personalities, and political figures. At present, few members of these groups are fluent or even conversant in Spanish, but in general, the groups share two common characteristics: concern for language usage and impact on the public-at-large.

Spanish-speaking clergy have traditionally been influential in Zamboanga, and even after World War II, masses were being said in Spanish by Spanish priests. Although many of these priests learned Chabacano quite well, their parishoners requested them to use Spanish rather than the "dialect," which many felt was unsuited to the task of religion. In personal conversations, these priests usually used whatever Chabacano they could muster, in conjunction with Spanish and English, but it was only after vernacular language usage became more widespread in the Philippines, in the 1960s and 1970s, that Chabacano language religious services became widely available, even in the rural regions where the population is monolingual Chabacano-speaking.<sup>16</sup> Those Spanish priests remaining in Zamboanga City now use Chabacano exclusively, although their speech inevitably contains more Spanish elements than that of the average Zamboangueno; at times these priests have been consulted on language matters, although their participation in the Chabacano translation projects was merely advisory. Liturgical elements are inevitably given the Spanish form, and in the

prayer meetings and informal discussions which I observed and in which a deliberate effort was made to conduct the proceedings in Chabacano, there was a great reliance on such forms, particularly among the older generations, who still recall the Spanish liturgy.

The linguistic influence of school teachers on the Chabacano language is more diffuse and difficult to trace, but is nonetheless a potent force. Education in Zamboanga has normally been carried out via English as the sole official medium of instruction, although in practice teachers have been forced to use the Zamboangueno dialect extensively. When the "vernacular language education" policies were implemented in the 1960s and early 1970s, the urgent need was felt not only for beginning-level text materials, which could be easily written locally, but for a sense of Chabacano grammar, structure, and usage, in the face of the widespread belief that "Chabacano has no grammar." Several teachers produced original grammatical materials (e.g., Apostol 1967), which, like so many first-time creole "grammars," organized the materials following traditional Spanish grammar. The latter work also enjoined teachers and students to use "good" language, and the same author wrote a weekly column on the Chabacano language in a now defunct local newspaper (Apostol 1963-67), containing grammatical explanations, comments on individual words, the admonition to use "proper" language, and examples of "incorrect" usage. A group of perhaps a dozen influential teachers offered impromptu and informal comments on Chabacano grammar to at least two generations of Zamboanguenos, and nearly the entirety of the current intellectual community and media personalities of Zamboanga City are alumni of one or more of these venerable ladies. These teachers provided an educational continuity across large segments of the city's population, and their Spanish-influenced concepts of Chabacano grammar (although few of them are truly fluent in Spanish) continue to be felt among younger teachers, journalists, and radio announcers.

The latter, particularly radio personalities (since little Chabacano is used in the newspapers), are extremely influential, given their high visibility in a city where nearly all residents listen to the three major radio stations, which broadcast predominantly in Chabacano.<sup>17</sup> In addition to the usual programs of news (English and Chabacano), musical dedications, and public service announcements, the Zamboanga radio stations host a large number of talk shows and commentaries, whose announcers and protagonists enjoy great popularity. Several of these individuals profess an interest in the conservation of the Chabacano language, and consciously or unconsciously introduce Spanish elements into the program language in higher proportions than in everyday spoken Zamboangueno. For example, the use of *tenemos* (Ch. *tiene kitá/kame*) 'we have', *digo* (Ch. *ta ablá yo*) 'I mean', *cualquiera* (Ch. *maskín*) 'whatever', *pequeño* (Ch. *diutay*) 'small', *largámono* (Ch. *anda/larga ya kitá*) 'let's go', *noh vamos pa otro public service* (Ch. *tiene kitá . . .*) 'let's go to another public service announce-

ment', and so forth, is found almost exclusively in the speech of radio announcers, many of whom also use these forms in their off-the-air speech, perhaps through having formed the habit. The high frequency of use of *vosotros* instead of *ustedes* or *kamó* as the second person plural subject pronoun is also characteristic of radio speech, as is the free alternation between *vosotros* and *ustedes* in the course of a single conversation. As part of each broadcast, news items and newspaper clippings are read in English, then successively "translated" or "interpreted" into Chabacano. For these purposes, the announcers frequently improvise, invent words, and stretch the semantic value of other words. The overall effect is a markedly Hispanic flavor for the neologisms required for adequate translation of news items.

Another popular format among the Zamboanga stations involves the "anchor-man" in the studio and a group of "mobiles," roving reporters with walkie-talkies who report from strategic points. Between news items, the announcers frequently comment on language usage, usually on something one of them has just said, and whereas this commentary is nonscholarly and often nonserious, the totality of such remarks not only indicates awareness of language usage among Zamboangueños, but also the potential for a small nucleus of radio announcers to project their personal views to a large audience, which includes not only rural and city workers, but also all of the city's influential figures.

In Zamboanga City and its environs, nearly all local level politicians come from the region and speak Chabacano as a first or strong second language. Even those political figures who have emigrated from other areas of the Philippines feel the need to learn and use Chabacano as they carry out their job, particularly at the neighborhood unit (*barangay*) level. Public speeches by higher-ranking political figures are made in English when prominent non-Zamboangueños may be expected to be in the audience. However, for maximum effect, especially during political campaigns, Chabacano is the language in which speeches and exhortations are made. In Zamboanga City, the presence of non-Chabacano-speaking national government and military officials in the public spotlight highlights the incipient nationalist feelings of Zamboangueños, and any government official who addresses an audience in Chabacano is assured of the loyalty of significant sectors of the population. Naturally, the language usage of these political figures is not lost on the audience, given that the region is dominated by political personalism, preference for charismatic leaders over abstract ideologies, and a strong sense of regional loyalty. Being aware of the impact not only of their political message but also of the language in which this message is couched, Zamboanga politicians often strive to purify their Chabacano, avoiding unassimilated Anglicisms and reaching for "authentic" sounding Chabacano equivalents. These often approximate or are identical to the equivalent Spanish forms, thereby reflecting the influence of the school teachers, the impact of Spanish- and Chabacano-speaking clergy, and the prominence of Chabacano language and commentary in the public media.

Among Zamboangueños themselves, feelings are split as regards the current state of Chabacano, the importance of exercising some control over its evolution, and its future prospects. The first group, which has been identified with the conscious and unconscious introduction or preservation of Hispanisms, feels that the Zamboangueño dialect is losing its purity, becoming contaminated by English and to a lesser extent by Visayan; they believe that unless corrective measures are taken, Chabacano will degenerate into a hopeless *halo halo*, which, while containing elements of many languages, will be completely unintelligible to speakers of English, Visayan, Spanish, and "legitimate" Zamboangueño. The recommended corrective actions include wider use of Chabacano in the public domain and, above all, a normalizing effort, the writing and use of grammatical treatises, and (usually hinted at only implicitly) free access to the Spanish lexicon as a source of new borrowings into Chabacano.

The second group takes a more *laissez faire* attitude, feeling that the Zamboangueño dialect is by definition whatever its speakers make of it; they accept the incorporation of English and Visayan elements and do not have strong feelings in favor of normalization or even the written use of Chabacano. Given their feelings, the second group believes that the Chabacano language will exist as long as the Zamboangueños themselves do, and is not perturbed about partial or total loss of intelligibility across a gap of several generations, or with putative mutual intelligibility with Spanish or other languages. This group as a whole knows little or no Spanish and does not regard the incorporation of Spanish words into the modern Zamboangueño dialect as a truly desirable process, often thinking of Spanish as the language of "old-timers" and "old-fashioned" people.

Despite the existence of two relatively well-defined sets of attitudes as regards Chabacano usage in Zamboanga, it is difficult to classify the types of individuals associated with each group. It would be simplistic to assert that the "Hispanic/puristic" position is held only by older residents, while younger people tend to regard the linguistic question with indifference. However, the first position does represent a conscious awareness of language usage, arrived at through observation and experience, while the latter viewpoint is most often simple disinterest rather than an active "hands-off" posture. In this dimension, then, one finds a higher percentage of proponents of Chabacano usage and standardization among older residents, who have survived the winds of change that brought English and then Tagalog into Zamboanga life; some of the oldest even recall the final days of the Spanish period. At the same time, there is a definite bifurcation along intellectual lines, since the "pure" Chabacano position is largely favored by those persons with some academic or professional training. Among the lower working classes, vague attitudes about language usage may exist, but these are rarely articulated in specific terms. Finally, it is possible to discern a correlation

with political and social ideology, in that individuals who favor increased political autonomy for Zamboanga together with recognition of regional ethnic features often express resentment at the dilution of Chabacano by English and Philippine languages. Since each parameter divides the population of Zamboanga along different lines, the relative importance of each factor at an individual level determines the attitude of each person toward Chabacano usage. Moreover, there are numerous exceptions to the cases just mentioned, given the multiethnic and politically volatile environment of Zamboanga, such that only general trends may be established. Clearly, potential for influencing language usage is not equivalent to pro-Hispanic attitudes, since not all influential Zamboanguenos favor such positions or even profess specific viewpoints on language usage.

This attitudinal split among Zamboanguenos has impeded the full-scale lexical re-Hispanization of Chabacano in accordance with the patterns outlined or implicitly suggested by teachers, media personnel, and other individuals in a position to affect the destiny of the language. On the other hand, the latter group has evidently been instrumental in preventing the unrestrained Anglicization of the Chabacano lexicon, which would move it ever further from its Hispanic roots. The peripheral Hispanization of Zamboanga Chabacano will probably never progress beyond its current state, in view of both official and unofficial de-emphasis of Spanish. Nonetheless, the linguistic situation of Zamboanga stands as a unique case, not only in the Philippines, but in general among modern creole languages, in which there is introduction of lexical items and occasional non-creole morphosyntactic variants from a former metropolitan language that is for all intents and purposes currently unavailable.

## NOTES

1. An essential minimal bibliography would include the following: Batalha (1960); Batausa (1969); Domingo (1967); Evangelista (1972); Forman (1972); Frake (1971, 1980); Germán (1932); Llamado (1969, 1972); Macasantos (1971); Maño (1963); McKaughan (1954); Miranda (1956); Molony (1973, 1977a, 1977b, 1978); Nigoza (1985); Quilis (1970, 1980, 1984); Riego de Dios (1976a, 1976b, 1978); Santos y Gomez (1924); Schuchardt (1884); Tirona (1923); Whinnom (1954, 1956, 1965). For additional historical background, see Bauzon (1980); Bernal (1965:109-25); Chau-nu (1960); Phelan (1959); Warren (1975).
2. All materials and observations reported below were collected in the Philippines in 1985, thanks to the support provided by a Fulbright advanced research fellowship.
3. See, for example, Forman (1972); Frake (1971); Molony (1973).
4. Frake (1971); Molony (1973); Orendain (1984); Phelan (1959); Saulo and Ocampo (1985); Whinnom (1956).
5. This was first suggested by Whinnom (1956); later comparative work by Frake (1971) and Molony (1973) tend to confirm these hypotheses. For remarks on the Chabacano verbal system and its possibly Asian Portuguese creole origin, see Hancock (1973, 1975); Taylor (1971); Whinnom (1956, 1965); for possibly different approaches, see Batalha (1960); Lipski (in press b, in press c, in press e); Muysken (1981). The Chabacano dialects of Davao, Cotabato, Jolo, and so on, are late nineteenth- and twentieth-century transfers by immigrants from Zamboanga and do not enter into the PCS genealogical puzzle.
6. In situations where Chabacano is not an appropriate language, most Zamboanguenos prefer

English as an opening gambit, given their generally negative attitudes toward Tagalog and in particular its obligatory status as a school subject; Tagalog may be used with natives of the Tagalog-speaking areas of the Philippines. This is in contrast with most other urban areas of the Philippines, where use of English rather than Tagalog or the local language as an opening gambit is considered unusual and, in the current situation, frankly presumptuous and/or unpatriotic (see the discussion in Bautista [1975a, 1975b]; Gonzalez [1980, 1982]; Morales Goulet [1971]; Pascasio [1978]; Sibayan [1971]; Wolff [1973-74]). In the rural regions around Zamboanga City, abilities in English and Tagalog range from minimal to nonexistent, so that questions of language attitudes are subordinated to actual linguistic abilities.

7. My interviews with numerous older Zamboanguenos, whose lives span the time periods in question, confirm this hypothesis, and only a tiny handful of *mestizos* (Eurasian) Zamboanguenos can speak Spanish with reasonable fluency (and none without at least occasional carryovers from Chabacano), the same group that clings to the last vestiges of Spanish throughout the Philippines; see Bowen (1971), Lipski (in press a); Lopez (1965). A good feeling for earlier life in Zamboanga City is provided by the articles in the anthology of Orendain (1984).

8. Currently, the Peace Corps language training program in Chabacano teaches this language the same as any other Philippine language, quickly transferring from English to the target language, and makes no use of contrastive Spanish-Chabacano structures, despite the fact that a large number of the (American) volunteers know at least some Spanish. The end product is a group of reasonably fluent Chabacano speakers, most of whom either never developed or have lost the assumption that Chabacano is a form of Spanish, and who increase their proficiency by observation and questioning, rather than by recourse to previously learned Spanish words. I gratefully acknowledge the generous assistance of the Peace Corps representatives in the Philippines, particularly Mr. Elpidio Bajao, chief language training officer, who provided me with copies of their training materials. Thanks are also due to the volunteers in the Zamboanga region who took time out from their activities to answer my inquiries.

9. The English used in Zamboanga follows the general trends of Philippine English: There is a strong Philippine phonetic accent; many words are given spelling pronunciations since they are recognized only from reading; bookish and stilted expressions may be juxtaposed with colloquial and regional English usage; and there is some violation of English grammatical rules (Llamzon 1969). For some rudimentary quantitative data on the incorporation of English and Philippine lexical items into the various PCS dialects, see Molony (1977b).

10. This may be a case of faulty morphological analysis, since in the Philippine languages, many Spanish singular nouns have been borrowed with plural /s/: *plores* (Sp. *flor*) 'flower', *casillas* (Sp. *casilla*) 'toilet', *rábanos* (Sp. *rábano*) 'radish', and so forth.

11. Frake (1980:279) considers *ey* and *el* as "less formal stylistic variants" of *ay*, and indicates that the pronunciation as *ay* is considered "old fashioned," with current speakers preferring *ey* or *el* (1980:283). These observations do not correspond to the results obtained in the present investigation, which discovered use of *el* only among older (>40) speakers. Young (<25) Zamboanguenos questioned about use of *el* frequently were not even aware of its existence, and those who recognized the form considered it definitively "old fashioned" and "rural." Older speakers responded in like fashion; many who actually used *el* from time to time claimed not to be aware of doing so. The variant *ey* results from the frequent change [e] > [aj] in Zamboangueno (e.g., *seis* > *sais* 'six'), for which the present investigation was unable to discern any negative connotation or even a high degree of conscious awareness of the process. Forman (1972:160) mentions the existence of *el*, while Apostol (April 1963) states that use of *el* instead of *ay* is slightly more "emphatic." The Claretian translation of the New Testament, *El buen noticia na chabacano*, occasionally uses *el* to mark futurity, apparently in free variation with *ay*. Obviously, the matter is far from settled. At the same time, *ey* was previously used at least in Caviteño; this is mentioned by Miranda (1956:28-31 and personal communication), and use of *ey* is recalled by the oldest Chabacano speakers in Cavite. On the other hand, Whinnom (1956:73) claims to have heard only *di* and not *ay* in Zamboanga, which does not correspond with the results of any other study, including the present one, in which absolutely no use of *di* was observed in Zamboanga.

12. The form *era*, apparently derived from the imperfect indicative of the Spanish copula *ser* but perhaps derived from the imperfect subjunctive *fuera* (used with conditional force in colloquial Spanish), is widely used in Zamboangueno but with conditional/subjunctive force: *si holiday lang era, nuay clase* 'if it were a holiday, there would be no class'; *bueno era si ansina* 'it would be better



that way'; *andá era tu allá* 'you should go/should have gone there'. This is evidently not a true copulative construction but rather a calque of Philippine conditional particles, such as Tagalog *sana*, used at times in the Manila Bay PCS dialects (Molony 1978:412), although the future/irrealis particle *di* is more common. A few other Spanish past tense forms have been integrated into the Zamboangueno dialect, although it is not possible to analyze them as stem + past tense morpheme(s). These include *estaba*, used as the past form of the stative verb (in the present, *taquí* 'to be here', *tallá* 'to be there', from Spanish *está aquí/allá* – see Frake [1980:307–08]); *tenía* as the existential verb in the past (*tiene* in the present, with negative *nuay* > Sp. *no hay*): *tenía mucho mga gente* 'there were many people'. Frake (1980:303–06) analyzes these usages as possible calques of Philippine existential expressions, since the parallels are striking; on the other hand, use of *tener* as an existential verb (but not negation with *no hay*) is frequent in creole and colloquial Portuguese worldwide, and is also found in vestigial Spanish (Lipski in press e). Occasionally heard in Zamboangueno is *pensaba yo* (Ch. *ta/ya pensá yo*) 'I thought/was thinking', and even less frequently *pensaría* (Ch. *pensá era yo*) 'I would think' (see Frake 1980:308).

13. Frake (1980:300) mentions *quiere decir* as a Spanish "retention," noting that *decir* does not appear elsewhere in Chabacano and that there is no corresponding simple verb. In fact the marginal form *digo* 'I mean' is used to correct verbal slips, as has been mentioned.

14. Whinnom (1956:90) states that only *kamó* is used in Zamboanga, although in fact *ustedes* and *vosotros* are quite common and apparently have been so for at least two generations. McKaughan (1954:205) gives a similar impression, although he apparently never visited Zamboanga, relying for his texts on an informant living in Manila. Whinnom (1956:88) also mentions that the Tagalog/Visayan first person singular pronoun *siyá* was used in Zamboangueno, an assertion repeated by Mugler (1983:54). The present investigation discovered no use of *siyá* in Zamboangueno, Caviteño or Ternateño; however, Molony (1977a:157) notes *siyá* as an occasional variant in Ternateño, along with most other Tagalog subject and object pronouns.

15. Among all Zamboanguenos, plural demonstratives (*estos, esos, aquellos*) freely coexist with singular forms plus *mga*.

16. The introduction of Chabacano services was hampered by the lack of written materials in that language, and the recent translations of the New Testament (one by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, the other by the Catholic Claretian Fathers) initially met with considerable resistance, as did the Catholic prayer books and other supplementary materials. Of the two Bible translations, the Catholic version (*El buen noticia*, 1982) tends more toward popular rural Chabacano, whereas the SIL version (*El nuevo testamento*, 1981) is somewhat more Hispanized; Zamboanguenos familiar only with the Claretian version often accuse it of being too "Spanish," although they may rebel at beginning the Pater Noster *tata diamon, na cielo* (the SIL version has the more traditional *diamon padre na cielo*) or referring to Jesus Christ as *el Anak del Hombre* 'the Son of Man' (SIL *el Hijo del Hombre*). Currently in Zamboanga, masses are said in Chabacano, English, and Visayan, and the Chabacano masses are becoming more popular, as individual prayer groups are formed.

17. Particular thanks are due to Mr. Romy Enriquez of radio station DXLA (program "tienda na gulud") and the Office of Media Affairs. Mr. Enriquez is at once host of the region's most popular evening talk show and the most knowledgeable expert on local media and Chabacano usage. Local newspapers are still published in English, with very occasional columns in Chabacano. From time to time, attempts have been made to publish Chabacano newspapers, but these have never been successful, largely because Zamboanguenos feel uncomfortable about reading a language which has no standard written tradition or format, despite several proposed normalizations.

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