THE PHRASE-STRUCTURE RULES OF CAVITE CHAVACANO

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This paper shall attempt to define the rules that generate the basic structures of Cavite Chavacano.1

1. Rules for Sentence Formation.

The basic Chavacano sentence is composed of an obligatory predicate phrase (Pred P), and an optional substantive phrase (Subst P) and adverbial phrase (Adv P), as expressed in the following rule:

P-1.
$$S \rightarrow \left(\begin{cases} Q \\ (Neg) (Imp) \end{cases} \right) Pred P (Subst P) (Adv P)$$

The substantive phrase is the topic of the sentence and the predicate phrase tells something about the topic. The constituents Q (Question), IMP (Imperative) and Neg (Negative) are elements which when chosen will result in transformations of the basic sentences into derived structures.

2. The Predicate Phrase

The predicate phrase is generated by P-2 below:

The following sentences exemplify these predicates which are underscored:

- (1) el doctor el hombre the doctor the man 'The man is the doctor.'
- (2) di mi este libro mine this book 'This book is mine.'
- (3) del maestro el lapiz of the teacher the pencil 'The pencil belongs to the teacher.'

¹There are two known theories concerning the origin of Chavacano. Alfredo German (1932) believes that Chavacano originated in Cavite City and is the result of the combination of Tagalog and Spanish. Whinnom (1956) however, asserts that the language arose as a result of contact of Spanish and a Portuguese-Malay pidgin in the Moluccas, in the island of Ternate, in the seventeenth century. This was brought to Ermita, Manila by the Ternateños and later spread to Cavite City, Ternate in Cavite, Zamboanga City, and eventually to Davao.

- (4) para na casa el curtina for house the curtain 'The curtain is for the house.'
- (5) taqui el libro here the book 'The book is here.'
- (6) inteligente el estudiante intelligent the student 'The student is intelligent.'
- (7) ta curri el muchacho running the boy 'The boy is running.'

2.1. The Noun Phrase

The noun phrase consists of a determiner and a noun, e.g., el hombre 'the man.' Optional elements may be added to these constituents resulting in such combinations as: (1) determiner + plural + noun: el manga libro 'the pl. book'; (2) determiner + plural + postdeterminer + noun: el manga primer llegada 'the pl. first arrival'; (3) determiner + postdeterminer + noun: el cinco casa 'the five house'. This is expressed in the rule below:

P-3.
$$NP \rightarrow D \left(\begin{cases} plural (postdet) \\ postdet \end{cases} \right) N$$

2.1.a The Determiner

The determiners are el, ϕ , and the demonstratives este, ese, and aquel. el marks [N, + Common] in the following positions:

- (a) definite nominal predicate
 - (8) el maestra el mujer the teacher the woman 'The woman is the teacher.'
- (b) substantive phrase
 - (9) guapa el muchacha pretty the girl 'The girl is pretty.'
- (c) definite complement
 - (10) ta escribi ele *el carta* writing he the letter 'He is writing the letter.'
- (d) adverbial phrase
 - (11) ta trabaja ele todo el dia works he all the day 'He works every day.'

 ϕ marks [N, - Common]. An example is:

(12) φ Bantay el perro di ilos Bantay the dog their 'Their dog is Bantay.' In the predicate and in the complement, there is an indefinite choice which when combined with el becomes ϕ , thus:

M-1. Indefinite + el $\Rightarrow \phi$

The indefinite occurs in the indefinite nominal predicate and the indefinite complement, exemplified in sentences (13) and (14) respectively:

- (13) φ maestra el mujer teacher the lady 'The lady is a teacher.'
- (14) ta escribi ele φ carta writing he letter 'He is writing a letter.'

Note the difference between sentence (8) with the definite predicate and (13) with the indefinite nominal predicate; and sentence (10) with the definite complement and (14) with the indefinite complement.

The postdeterminers are the cardinals and the ordinals. Either or both may occur after the determiner, thus:

- (15) aquel tres mujer el ultimo que di baila that three lady the last who will dance 'The last to dance are those three ladies.'
- (16) ese primer dos libro el nuevo that first two book the new 'The new ones are those first two books.'

If both cardinal and ordinal occur in a sentence, the ordinal precedes the cardinal after the determiner as shown in (16) above. An exception is the ordinal *ultimo* which always follows the cardinal, thus:

(17) el tres ultimo muchacho el manga estudiante the three last boy the pl. student 'The students are the last three boys.'

The determiner and the postdeterminers are generated by the following rules:

P-4.
$$D \rightarrow \begin{cases} \phi \angle [N, -Common] \\ el \\ Dem \end{cases}$$

- P-5. Postdet → (ordinal) (cardinal)
- P-6. Cardinal $\rightarrow un$, doz, etc.
- P-7. Ordinal $\rightarrow \begin{cases} primer, segundo, etc. \\ siguiente, ultimo \end{cases}$

2.1.b The Noun

Nouns are marked by determiners (see 2.1.a above) and can inflect for number. They are characterized by certain features which do not apply to other form classes.

One major feature specification for nouns is $[\pm \text{Common}]$. [N, -Common] takes the ϕ determiner and is further specified as $[\pm \text{Human}]$ to differentiate between the name of a person and that of an animal, thus: Jose is [N, -Common, +Human] and Bantay is [N, -Common, -Human].

[N, + Common] is specified as [± Count]. [N, + Count] are nouns which can take the cardinal or ordinal postdeterminers, e.g., tres Domingo 'three Sundays', el ultimo Lunes 'the last Monday,' or to which the plural rule below applies:

P-8. Plural
$$\rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{manga} - -s \angle [N, + \text{Count}, + -s] \\ \text{manga} \end{cases}$$

The rule states that [N, + Count] are further specified as [± -s]. This means that [N, + Count, + -s] nouns form their plural by the addition of *manga* and the affixation of -s or -es, thus:

vicino 'neighbor' → manga vicinos 'neighbors' mes 'month' → manga meses 'months'

[N, + Count, --s] form their plural by the mere addition of manga, thus:

libro 'book' → manga libro 'books' lapiz 'pencil' → manga lapiz 'pencils'

[N,-Count] are nouns that never occur with the plural manga or the cardinals and ordinals. Examples of these are the names of particular places such as Manila, Cavite.

[N, + Count] is further specified for [± Animal]. [N, + Animal] takes the con marker. Thus, we say:

- [N, + Animal] is specified as [± Human] to differentiate between nouns that occur with *ningun* and those that occur with *nada*. For instance, *maestra* 'teacher' is [N, + Human] and agrees with *ningun* in this context-
 - (20) nuay ningun maestra na escuela none at all teacher in school 'There is not a single teacher in school.'

whereas raton 'rat' which is [N,-Human] agrees with nada, thus:

(21) nuay nada raton na escuela none at all rat in school 'There is not a single rat in school.'

[N, \pm Human] nouns are specified for [\pm Marked]. [N, \pm Marked] is further specified as [\pm Masculine]. [N, \pm Marked, \pm Masculine] nouns take the -o ending in most cases, ϕ in some, but all have equivalent [\pm Masculine] forms with the -a ending. Examples are:

hijo 'son' hija 'daughter'

gallo'rooster' gallina 'hen' profesor 'professor' profesora 'professor'

[N. - Marked] are not overtly marked for gender, are generally specified as [+ Masculine], and usually have the -o ending, but have no equivalent [- Masculine] forms. These nouns transform into [- Masculine] by the addition of mujer 'female'. Examples are the following:

> piloto mujer 'female pilot' piloto 'pilot' caballo mujer 'mare' caballo 'horse'

Some [-Marked] nouns have equivalent [-Masculine] forms. These are the following:

hombre 'man' mujer 'woman' sastre 'tailor' modista 'dressmaker' tata 'father' nana 'mother'

[N, - Animal] is specified for [± Quantity]. [N, + Quantity] are nouns of quantity. They form part of the determiner when they occur with prearticles or with the regular determiners. Some nouns of quantity are pares 'pair', grupo 'group', and litro 'liter' which are in bold letters in the sentences below:

- (22) ya pirdi todo el cinco pares di ϕ sapatos lost all the five pairs of shoes 'All the five pairs of shoes were lost.'
- (23) di sali ya parejo el doz grupo del estudiante will leave already both the two group of the student 'Both of the two groups of students will leave soon.'
- (24) ta cumpra ele tres litro di ϕ mais buys she three liter of corn 'She buys three liters of corn.'

All [- Animal] nouns occur with [+ Masculine] adjectives, thus:

The names of the days and the months are specified as [N, - Animal] since they take the na, not the con marker in adverbial phrases, thus:

(26) di lliga ele na Domingo will arrive he Sunday 'He will arrive on Sunday.' The days and months take the *el* determiner in the definite nominal predicate and in the substantive phrase and as such are specified as [+ Common]. Thus we say —

- (27) el segundo Domingo el dia del fiesta the second Sunday the day of the feast 'The day of the feast is the second Sunday.'
- [N, Count] is specified for [± Verbal Idiom]. [N, Count, + Vbl Id] can combine with the verbs *haci* 'to make' or *dale* 'to give' to form verbal idoms. [N, + Vbl Id, + *haci*] are nouns that can form a verbal idiom with *haci*. Some such nouns are:

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compra 'shopping' → haci compra 'to shop'
fuerza 'force' → haci fuerza 'to force'
mintira 'lie' → haci mintira 'to lie'
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[N, + Vbl Id, -haci] are nouns which can form a verbal idiom with dale, not with haci. Some examples are:

Each noun may have several feature specifications as illustrated by the following:

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Carolina [N, - Common, + Human]
libro 'book' [N, + Common, + Count, - Animal, - Quant]
aguacero 'rain' [N, + Common, - Count, - Vbl Id]
gato 'cat' [N, + Common, + Count, + Animal, - Human, - Marked]
fuerza 'force' [N, + Common, - Count, + Vbl Id, + haci]
kilo 'kilogram' [N, + Common, + Count, + Quant]
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Below is a summary of these feature specifications:

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P-9. N → [± Common]

A. [-Common] → [± Human]

B. [+ Common] → [± Count]

C. [+ Count] → [± -s]

D. [+ Count] → [± Animal]

E. [+ Animal] → [± Human]

F. [± Human] → [± Marked]

G. [+ Marked] → [± Masculine]

H. [-Animal] → [± Quantity]

I. [-Count] → [± Vbl Idiom]
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J. $[+ Vbl Id] \rightarrow [\pm haci]$

Summary of features and criteria:

[± Common]		:	Occurrence with ϕ determiner
[± Count]	+	:	Inflection for number
[± -s]	+	:	-s ending in plural
[± Animal]	+	:	Occurrence with con
[± Human]	+	:	Occurrence with ningun in negative statements
[± Marked]	+	:	-o and -a endings for gender
[± Masculine]	+	:	-o ending
[± Quantity]	+	:	Occurrence as part of predeterminer
[± Vbl Idiom]	+	:	Occurrence with haci or dale
[± haci]	+	:	Occurrence with haci to form verbal idioms

2.2 The Pronoun

Pronoun refers to personal pronouns. Personal pronouns are marked for two lexical features, person and plurality, as expressed in these rules:

P-10. Pron
$$\rightarrow$$
 [\pm Person] [\pm Plurality]
P-11. [$+$ Person] \rightarrow [\pm S] [\pm H]

The $[\pm S]$ $[\pm H]$ features indicate reference or non-reference to speaker or hearer. $[\pm Plurality]$ indicates reference to one, [-Plural], or to others besides the speaker or hearer, [+Plural].

The pronouns are grouped into the el, con, and di forms. The el forms are pronouns that occur in positions where noun phrases with the determiner el occur; the con forms occur with the marker con, and di forms occur with the possessive marker di. The following charts show the pronouns:

[± S]	[± H]	[-Plural]	[+ Plural]
		I. el Pronouns	
+	+	nisos 'you and I'	nisos 'you and I and others'
+	-	yoʻl'	nisos 'I and others'
-	+	vo/tu/uste 'you'	vusos/ustedes 'you'
_	-	ele 'he/she'	ilos 'they'
		II. di Pronouns	
+	+	nisos 'our'	nisos 'our'
+	-	mi 'my'	nisos 'our'
_	+	vo/ tuyo/ uste 'your'	vusos/ustedes 'your'
-	-	ele 'his/her'	ilos 'their'
-	-	ele 'his/her'	ilos 'their'

[± S]	[± H]	[- Plural]	[+ Plural]
		III. con Pronouns	
+	+	nisos 'you and me'	nisos 'you and me'
+	_	-migo 'me'	nisos 'us'
_	+	vo/-tigo/uste 'you'	vusos/ustedes 'you'
-	_	ele 'him/her'	ilos 'them'

The pronouns in the el, di and con forms are italicized in the sentences below:

(27) di le *nisos* el libro will read we the book 'We will read the book.'

Will read you and I the book 'You and I will read the book.'

- (28) papel di tuyo este paper your this 'This is your paper.'
- (29) ya examina con ele el doctor examined him/her the doctor 'The doctor examined him/her.'

2.3 The Possessive Predicate

The possessive phrase is generated by the rule below:

P-12. Poss Phrase
$$\rightarrow di \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP \\ Pron \end{array} \right\}$$

The possessive marker di when combined with the determiner el forms del, thus:

$$M-2$$
. $di + el \rightarrow del$

Examples of the possessive phrase are the italicized portions below:

- (30) di ele ese camisa of her that dress 'That dress is hers.'
- (31) del pulis este pito of the policeman this whistle 'This whistle belongs to the policeman.'

2.4 The Reservational Phrase

The reservational phrase is generated by the following rule:

P-13. Reservational Phrase →

$$para \begin{cases} na \ (todo \left\{ \begin{array}{c} el \\ Dem \end{array} \right\} \) \ (\left\{ \begin{array}{c} Card \\ manga \end{array} \right\} \) \ [N, -Animal] \\ \left\{ (todo) \ NP \\ Pron \end{array} \right\}$$

The underscored portions below are examples of the reservational phrase in context:

- (32) para na todo el escuela el libro for all the school the book 'The books are for all the schools.'
- (33) para na pono el abono for plant the fertilizer 'The fertilizer is for the plant.'
- (34) $para\ na \left\{ \begin{array}{c} tres \\ manga \end{array} \right\} \ mesa\ el\ mantel$ 'The cover is for the $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} three\ tables.' \\ tables.' \end{array} \right\}$
- (35) para uste el regalo for you the gift 'The gift is for you.'

2.5 The Locative Phrase

The locative phrase is generated by these rules:

P-14. Locative Phrase
$$\rightarrow ta \left\{ \begin{array}{l} locative \\ deictic (locative) \end{array} \right\}$$

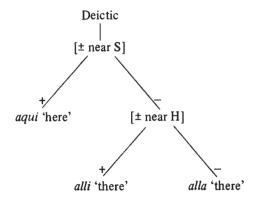
P-15. Locative
$$\rightarrow$$

$$\begin{cases}
na & \begin{cases}
todo \\
postdet
\end{cases} (postdet) [N, - Animal] \\
Prep + di + NP \\
con & \begin{cases}
todo \\
Dem
\end{cases} (postdet) NP
\end{cases}$$

P-16. deictic → [± near S]

P-17.
$$[-\text{near S}] \rightarrow [\pm \text{near H}]$$

The deictics are specified for the features $[\pm \text{ near } S]$, and [- near S] is specified further for $[\pm \text{ near } H]$. The diagram below shows the deictics:



The rule below generates these deictics:

P-18. [+ near S]
$$\longrightarrow$$
 aqui
[- near S, + near H] \longrightarrow alli
[- near S, - near H] \longrightarrow alla

When deictics are combined with the locative particle ta, they form taqui, talli, and talla, as expressed in the rule below:

M-3.
$$\begin{array}{c|c} aqui \\ ta + alli \\ alla \end{array} \longrightarrow \begin{array}{c} taqui \\ talli \\ talla \end{array}$$

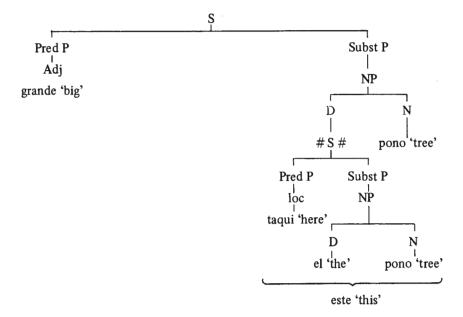
Examples of locative phrases are the italicized portions of the sentences below:

- (36) ta na primer piso el oficina di ele On first floor the office his 'His office is on the first floor.'
- (37) taqui conmigo el lapiz here with me the pencil 'I have the pencil.'
- (38) talla na escuela el supervisor there in school the supervisor 'The supervisor is in school.'

The demonstrative determiner (Dem) is generated by the following rule:

P-19. Dem
$$\rightarrow$$
 # S #

It rewrites as an underlying sentence, and may be diagrammed thus:



The predicate phrase of the underlying sentence is always a locative formed from ta + deictic. In the sentence above, the locative phrase taqui + the noun phrase el pono

are replaced by este. This is expressed by the transformational and morphographemic rules below:

Tob-1. + #
$$ta$$
 + deictic + Subst P # + N
+ \Rightarrow + es- + ta +
deictic + N +

where $\# S \# \leftarrow$ Dem, and N in Subst P is lexically identical to N.

M-4. es- +
$$ta$$
 + $aqui \Rightarrow este$
es- + ta + $alli \Rightarrow ese$
es- + ta + $alla \Rightarrow aquel$

The deictics are classified on the basis of the features [± near S] [± near H] as stated by P-16 and P-17. The demonstratives, being derived from deictics, are likewise specified.

The following sentences show the demonstratives:

- (39) guapa aquel nuevo maestra pretty that new teacher 'That new teacher is pretty.'
- (40) ya cumpra ele *ese* muñeca na Hapon bought he that doll in Japan 'He bought that doll in Japan.'

Sentences with demonstratives can optionally undergo a transformation which would delete the noun, and result in the nominalization of the demonstrative. Thus, the sentences above would convert into:

- (39.a) guapa aquel pretty that 'That is pretty.'
- (40.a) ya cumpra ele ese na Hapon bought he that in Japan 'He bought that in Japan.'
- 2.6 The Adjectival Phrase.

Adjectives are differentiated from other form classes by the following features:

- (1) They can be intensified.
- (2) But for a few exceptions, adjectives can be inflected for plural.
- (3) Certain adjectives inflect for gender.
- (4) Some adjectives can occur as adverbs of manner.

The adjectival phrase is generated by the following rules:

P-20. AdjP
$$\rightarrow$$
 AdjB (Intens)

P-21. AdjB
$$\rightarrow$$
 [\pm Plural] [\pm Gender] [\pm Manner]

An adjective base that is [- Plural] cannot be inflected for number. One that is [+ Plural] can be pluralized. [+ Plural] further specifies as [± Dup], thus:

P-22. [+ Plural]
$$\rightarrow$$
 [± Dup]

[+ Dip] adjectives form their plural by complete reduplication. Examples are:

AdjB [+ Plural]

goldo goldo-goldo 'fat' blanco blanco 'white'

The pluralizer for [- Dup] adjective bases is manga. Examples:

joven manga joven 'young'

inteligente manga inteligente 'intelligent'

The choice of [± Plural] requires agreement with the number in the substantive phrase. That is, if the noun or pronoun is [- Plural], then the adjective is [- Plural], and vice versa. However, it is possible for the plural noun to occur with a [- Plural] adjective, but not for a [- Plural] noun to occur with a plural adjective, thus:

- (41) inteligente el estudiante intelligent the student 'The student is intelligent.'
- (42) manga inteligente el manga estudiante intelligent the pl. student 'The students are intelligent.'
- (43) inteligente el manga estudiante intelligent the pl. student 'The students are intelligent.'
- *(44) manga inteligente el estudiante intelligent the student 'The student is intelligent.'

The following rule states this plural agreement between noun and adjective:

Tob-2 Plural Agreement:

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[Adj, \pm Plural]_{AdjP} + [N, -Plural]_{Subst P...} \Rightarrow

[Adj, -Plural]_{AdjP} + [N, -Plural]_{Subst P...}
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[± Gender] adjectives are specified for [± Masculine]. Like the noun, the adjective has the -o and -a ending for [+ Masculine] and [- Masculine], respectively. These features of [+ Gender] are stated in P-23 below:

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P-23. [+ Gender] \rightarrow [± Masculine]
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Like [± Plural], the choice of [± Masculine] also requires agreement with the substantive phrase, thus:

- (45) guapo el muchacho handsome the boy 'The boy is handsome.'
- (46.a) guapa el muchacha pretty the girl 'The girl is pretty.'

This gender agreement is stated in the rule below:

Tob-3 Gender Agreement

$$\begin{bmatrix} Adj, \pm \text{ Masculine} \end{bmatrix}_{AdjP} + \begin{bmatrix} N, + \text{ Masculine} \\ N, - \text{ Masculine} \end{bmatrix}_{Subst\ P} \dots \Rightarrow \\ \begin{bmatrix} Adj, + \text{ Masculine} \\ Adj, - \text{ Masculine} \end{bmatrix}_{AdjP} + \begin{bmatrix} N, + \text{ Masculine} \\ N, - \text{ Masculine} \end{bmatrix}_{Subst\ P} \dots$$

A [+ Manner] adjective can occur as an adverb when it modifies a verb. Some such adjectives are *bonito* 'nice', *sabroso* 'delicious', *bueno* 'good', and *plojo* 'slow'. These adjectives undergo no change in form when they occur as manner adverbs, thus:

- (46) **bonito** camina el modelo nicely walk the model 'The model walks nicely.'
- (47) bueno insiña mi profesor well teach my professor 'My professor teaches well.'

Intensification of adjectives is done by reduplication, or by the addition of que 'how', or masiao 'too'. This is stated in the following rules:

P-24. Intens
$$\rightarrow$$

$$\begin{cases} dup + linker \\ masiao \\ que \end{cases}$$
M-5.
$$linker \rightarrow$$

$$\begin{cases} ng / V_{--} \\ na / C_{--} \end{cases}$$

Examples are:

alto 'tall'	altong-alto	'very tall'
	masiao alto	'too tall'
	que alto	'how tall'
joven 'young'	joven na joven	'very young'
	masiao joven	'too young'
	que joven	'how young'

2.7 The Verb Phrase.

The constituents of the verb phrase are an obligatory aspect and verb, and an optional preverb and complement. The rule below expresses this:

P-25. VP
$$\rightarrow$$
 aspect (prev) verb (Comp)

Aspect refers to the initiation or non-initiation, and completion or non-completion of the action expressed by the verb. There are three aspect markers in Chavacano: the perfective-aspect marker ya indicates action that has been initiated and completed; the imperfective-aspect marker ta denotes on-going action, and the contemplated-aspect marker di indicates action that has not been initiated.

Aspect is generated by the following rules:

P-28. [Aspect, + begun, + finished]
$$\rightarrow ya$$

[Aspect, + begun, - finished] $\rightarrow ta$
[Aspect, - begun] $\rightarrow di$

Underscored in the sentences below are verbs in the different aspects:

- (48) ya camina nisos walked we 'We walked.'
- (49) ta le el estudiante reading the student 'The student is reading.'
- (50) di lliga el alcalde will arrive the mayor "The mayor will arrive.

The preverb is *pudi*. *Pudi* denotes ability and translates as 'can' or 'able to'. The preverb is generated by the following rule:

P-29. prev
$$\rightarrow pudi$$

Aspect always precedes the verb except when the optional preverb occurs in the sentence. The preverb then comes immediately before the verb, thus:

(51) ya pudi cumpra yo aquel neuvo libro able buy I that new book 'I was able to buy that new book.'

The Verb.

The verb is generated by the following rules:

P-30. Verb
$$\rightarrow \begin{cases} V_1 \\ V_2 \end{cases}$$
P-31. $V_1 \rightarrow [\pm \text{ Transitive}] [\pm \text{ Vbl Idiom}]$
P-32. $[+ \text{ Transitive}] \rightarrow [\pm \text{ loc}]$
P-33. $[+ \text{ loc}] \rightarrow [\pm \text{ NP}]$
P-34. $[+ \text{ Vbl Idiom}] \rightarrow [\pm \text{ haci}]$
A. $[+ \text{ haci}] \rightarrow [\pm \text{ dale}]$
B. $[-\text{ haci}] \rightarrow [+ \text{ dale}]$

$$P-35. V_{2} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} haci + & [N, + Common, + haci] \\ [V_{1}, + haci] \\ \\ (haci) \, dale + & [N, + Common, + dale] \\ [V_{1}, + dale] \end{array} \right\}$$

The verb is classified into V_1 and V_2 . V_2 are the verbal idioms which are formed from:

- (1) haci 'to make' + a noun with the features [+ Common, + haci]: haci + miedo 'fear' ⇒ haci miedo 'to scare'
- (2) haci + a verb with the [+ haci] feature: haci + cumpra 'to buy' ⇒ haci cumpra 'to buy something for someone'
- (3) dale 'to give' + a [N, + Common, + dale]: dale + beso 'kiss' ⇒ dale beso 'to kiss'
- (4) dale + a [+ dale] verb: dale + conoci 'to know' ⇒ dale conoci 'to introduce'
- (5) haci + dale + [N, Common, haci]: haci + dale + beso ⇒ haci dale beso 'to kiss someone for someone else'
- (6) haci + dale + [V₁, + dale]:
 haci + dale + kumi ⇒ haci dale kumi 'to feed someone for someone else'

 V_1 are specified for the features [\pm Transitive] and [\pm Vbl Idiom]. [+ Vbl Idiom] is specified further for [\pm haci], and [+ haci] rewrites as [\pm dale]. This means that V_1 that can occur with haci may or may not occur with dale to form a verbal idiom.

Examples:

A [-haci] verb rewrites as [+dale]; that is, a [+Vbl Idiom] verb that cannot occur with haci can occur with dale, thus:

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[+ dale]

dale + baña 'to bathe someone'
muda 'to dress someone'
conoci 'to introduce'
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escribi bira A $[V_1, + Transitive]$ is a verb that takes a complement (Comp), or complements. It may or may not have an adverbial complement (Adv). The constituents of the complement are stated in the following rule:

P-36. Comp
$$\longrightarrow \begin{cases} loc/-[V_1,+loc]((predet)(indef)NP) \\ (predet)(indef)NP \end{cases}$$

In the sentence below, the complement is italicized, and the adverb is enclosed in parentheses:

(52) ya cumpra ele *el vestido* (na plaza) bought she the dress (in market) 'She bought the dress (in the market).'

A $[V_1, + loc]$ is a verb that takes a locative complement as shown in (53) below:

(53) di anda el hombre na Manila will go the man to Manila 'The man will go to Manila.'

Other transitive verbs take the noun phrase complement, as in (52) above; some require both a noun phrase complement and a locative complement as in (54) and (55).

- (54) ya dale mira ele el retrato conmigo showed she the picture to me 'She showed me the picture.'
- (55) di dale Rosa el flores con el maestra will give Rosa the flower to the teacher 'Rosa will give the flower to the teacher.'

The noun phrase complement may have predeterminers aside from the regular determiners and postdeterminers. Predeterminer is generated by the following rules:

P-37. Predet
$$\longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Preart} \\ \text{(Preart)} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} el \\ \text{Dem} \end{array} \right\} \text{ Postdet ([N, + Quan]) } di \end{array} \right\}$$

P-38. Preart
$$\rightarrow \begin{cases} todo \\ parejo \end{cases}$$

Examples of possible combinations of predeterminers with the noun phrase complement are the italicized portions below:

Prearticle

(56) ya mira ele parejo el doz felicula saw he both the two film 'He saw both of the two films.'

Prearticle + el + postdeterminer + [N, + Quan] + di

(57) ya cumpra yo todo el tres clase di φ tela bought I all the three kind of cloth 'I bought all the three kinds of cloth.'

el + postdet + di

(58) ya saca nisos el cinco del diez retrato (59) ta gusta yo el tercero di ese cinco libro got we the five of the ten picture 'We got five of the ten pictures.'

like I the third of that five book 'I like the third of those five books.'

Some [+ Transitive] verbs can optionally occur without a complement. Some such verbs are cumi 'to eat', le 'to read', fuma 'to smoke', almusa 'to eat breakfast', paita 'to shave', as shown in the sentences below:

- (60) ta cumi (hamon) el hombre eating (ham) the man 'The man is eating (ham).'
- (61) ta le (novela) Julia reading (novel) Julia 'Julia is reading (a novel)'.

[V₁, - Transitive] never takes a complement, but it may optionally occur with an adverbial, thus:

(62) ta durmi el cratura (na kama) sleeping the child (on bed) 'The child is sleeping (on the bed).'

Some verbs can occur both as [+ Transitive] and [- Transitive], as exemplified below:

- (63) ya buta el muchacho el leche spilled the boy the milk 'The boy spilled the milk.'
- (64) ya buta el leche spilled the milk 'The milk spilled.'

In verbal sentences which include certain adverbs of time and location, the verb is optionally deletable. The substantive phrase in such sentences are nouns that denote events, activities, or natural phenomena.

Examples:

3. The Substantive Phrase.

The constituents of the substantive phrase are an optional predeterminer and an

obligatory nout phrase, or a pronoun, as expressed in the following rule:

P-39. Subst
$$P \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (predet) \ NP \\ Pronoun \end{array} \right\}$$

Examples of substantive phrases are italicized here:

- (66) ta na escuela todo su tres hermano in school all her three brother 'All her three brothers are in school.'
- (67) oloroso el manga flores fragrant the pl. flower 'The flowers are fragrant.'
- (68) ta estar ilos na Laguna Stay they in Laguna 'They stay in Laguna.'

4. The Adverbial Phrase.

Chavacano adverbs may be differentiated into seven classes: the enclitics, direction adverbs, locational adverbs, time adverbs, manner adverbs, adverbs of cause, and adverbs of mood, as expressed in the following rule:

P-40. Adv Phrase
$$\longrightarrow$$

$$\begin{cases}
Enclitics \\
Direction \\
Location \\
Time \\
Manner \\
Cause \\
Mood
\end{cases}$$

Enclitics never occur sentence-initially, and generally follow the first complete constituent of the sentence. A complete constituent can be either a word or a phrase that makes up a part of the sentence.

Adverbs of location and direction answer the question "Where?" and are made up of almost the same constituents. There are, however, restrictions on the verbs they may modify.

A time adverb answers the question "When?"; a manner adverb tells how; and an adverb of cause tells why.

4.1. The Enclitics.

The Chavacano enclitics are:

ya pa mas	nga	ba pala	rin/din siempre	raw/daw/	numa/ lang	sana kaya/ sera nose	muna naman dinabe
							dinace

Rin, din and siempre alternate with one another; so do raw, daw and dice; numa and lang; and kaya and sera.

If more than one enclitic occurs in a sentence, the above ordering is usually followed, although others are also allowed as illustrated in the sentences below:

- (69) lejos *naman pala* el escuela aqui far after all so the school here 'So the school is far from here, after all.'
- (70) lejos din naman pala el escuela aqui far also after all so the school here 'So the school is quite a distance from here.'

Enclitics that appear together in a slot cannot occur immediately next to each other in a sentence. For instance, ya appears only in an affirmative sentence, while mas is always preceded by the negator nuay or no, thus:

- (71) ele ya el jues alla he now the judge there 'He is the judge there now.'
- (72) no mas ele el jues alla not anymore he the judge there 'He is no longer the judge there.'
- 4.2 Adverb of Location.

The rule below generates adverb of location:

P-41. Adv Loc
$$\rightarrow$$

$$\begin{cases} na + [N, + Common, - Animal] \\ Deictics \\ (na) \text{ Prep } + di + NP \end{cases}$$

The prepositions are the following:

arriba	'up or above'	afuera	'outside'
abajo	'under or below'	adentro'	'inside'
cerca	'near'	insima	'on top'
law	'side'	tras	'back of'
orilla medio	'side' 'middle or center'	delante	'front'

The prepositions are specified for $[\pm na]$. The italicized prepositions in (73) are [-na]; those in (74) are [+na].

there the cat
$$\begin{cases} \text{upstairs under } \\ \text{near outside } \\ \text{inside on top} \end{cases}$$
 of the house
$$\begin{cases} \text{up under } \\ \text{near outside } \\ \text{inside } \\ \text{on top of} \end{cases}$$
 the house.'
$$\begin{cases} \text{law medio } \\ \text{or illa tras } \\ \text{delante} \end{cases}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{side} \\ \text{middle} \\ \text{side} \\ \text{back} \\ \text{front} \end{array} \hspace{-0.5cm} \begin{array}{c} \text{of the garden} \\ \end{array}$$

4.3 Adverb of Direction.

P-42 generates adverb of direction:

Examples are the italicized portions of the sentences below:

- (75) ya bini yo di Manila came I from Manila 'I came from Manila.'
- (76) ya baila ele con el doctora danced he with the doctor 'He danced with the doctor.'

The deictics, the prepositional phrases, and the na + [N, + Animal] phrases occur as both location and direction adverbs, and the use of these results in ambiguity as illustrated by the sentences below:

(77) ya curri el gato
$$\begin{cases} abajo \ del \ mesa \\ na \ casa \end{cases}$$

ran the cat $\begin{cases} there \\ under \ the \ table \\ in \\ toward \end{cases}$ house \end{cases}

'The cat ran $\begin{cases} there.' \\ under \ the \ table.' \\ in \\ toward \end{cases}$ the house.'

Ya curri el gato alla can mean either 'the cat ran towards the place' in which alla is a direction adverb, or 'the cat ran in that place' in which alla is a location adverb. This applies also to the phrases abajo del mesa and na casa.

Location and direction adverbs can occur with other adverbs, but never together, in a sentence.

4.4 Adverb of Time.

Adverbs of time denote past time, future time, or general time. They are generated as:

P-43. Adv Time
$$\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Past} \\ \text{Future} \\ \text{General} \end{array} \right\}$$

4.4.1 Past Time is generated by the rules below:

P-44. Past
$$\rightarrow$$

$$\begin{cases}
di + el [N, + Common, - Animal] (Past Time Phrase) \\
Past Time word (Past Time Phrase) \\
di aquel \begin{cases} vez \\ dia \end{cases}
\end{cases}$$

$$\begin{cases}
por la \begin{cases} mañana \\ tarde \\ noche \end{cases} \\
a las + Cardinal \\ (ante) pasao
\end{cases}$$

P-46. Past Time Word
$$\rightarrow \left\{\begin{array}{l} ayer, indinante, anoche, \\ anteayer, antenoche \end{array}\right\}$$

Past Time adverbs are made up of the following constituents:

1. del + the months or the days or words indicating time divisions, + time phrase.

When del occurs with the days or months, pasao is optional. With mes, semana, and año, however, pasao is obligatory.

2. Past Time word + Time Phrase

Examples:

The por la... and a las... time phrases can only occur with the names of the days, and with the time words ayer and anteayer and indinante. Only a las... phrases can go with anothe and antenoche.

3. Di aquel translates as 'then'. It can optionally occur with vez 'time' to mean 'time was when', or with dia 'day' to mean 'long ago' or 'once upon a time'.

4.4.2 Future Time

Future time is generated by the following rules:

P-47. Future →
$$\begin{cases} na & \{ [N, + Common, - Animal] \text{ (Time Phrase)} \\ \text{Future Time idiom} \\ \text{Future Time word (Time Phrase)} \end{cases}$$
P-48. Time Phrase →
$$\begin{cases} por \ la & \{ mañana \\ tarde \\ noche \} \end{cases}$$
 (a las + Cardinal)

The constituents of future time adverbs are almost identical with those of Past Time, except that na is used instead of del. The nouns that go with na are the names of the days and the months. A time phrase can likewise be added to the noun.

The Future Time idioms are

b. otro dia 'another day'

The above idioms occur with na. Those following do not occur with na.

- c. algun dia 'someday'
- d. pasao mañana 'day after tomorrow'

e. siguiente
$$\begin{cases} dia \\ tarde \\ noche \end{cases}$$
 'next
$$\begin{cases} day' \\ afternoon' \\ evening' \end{cases}$$

4.4.3 General Time.

The constituents of General Time are stated in the following rules:

P-49. General Time
$$\longrightarrow$$

$$\begin{cases}
Gen Time Idioms \\
Gen Time Word \\
Gen Time Phrase
\end{cases}$$

$$\begin{cases}
todo el (Ord + [N, + Common, - Animal] del \\
cada + Cardinal \\
Cardinal + veces + el
\end{cases}$$
[N, + Com, - Animal]

The Gen Time idioms are the following:

a veces 'sometimes'

un dia sin otra 'every other day'

de vez en cuando 'once in a while'

General Time phrases are listed below:

a. todo el (ordinal + [N, + Common, - Animal] del) [N, + Com, - Animal]:

b. cada + Cardinal + [N, + Common, - Animal]

c. Cardinal + veces + el + [N, + Common, - Animal]

The General Time words are *pirmi* 'always' and *nunca* 'never'. *Nunca* can occur with any of the three aspect-markers of the verb, and is always in sentence-initial position. *Pirmi* can only occur with the imperfective and the contemplated aspect-markers of the verb.

Examples:

4.5 Adverb of Manner.

Chavacano adverbs of manner may be differentiated into manner words, idioms and phrases. Some manner words are ansina 'like this/that', and enseguida 'immediately/ at once'. The manner idiom is de repente 'suddenly'. Manner phrases are formed by de, con, or como and a [N, + Common, - Animal]. Examples are de coche 'by car', de sombrero 'with a hat on', con cuchillo 'with a knife' and como pajaro 'like a bird'. An adverb of manner may also be an [Adj, + Manner]. Examples bueno 'well', recio 'fast', and bonito 'nicely'.

These rules generate Adverb of Manner:

P-51. Adv. Manner
$$\rightarrow$$

$$\begin{cases}
Manner Word \\
Manner Idiom \\
Manner Phrase \\
[Adj, + Manner]
\end{cases}$$
P-52. Manner Phrase \rightarrow

$$\begin{cases}
de \\
con \\
como
\end{cases}$$
[N, + Common, - Animal]

The Chavacano sentence follows this word order:

Sentences with manner adverbs derived from adjectives, however, have to undergo a word order transformation which permutes the adverb to sentence-initial position. The trans-

formation is stated thus:

T-Word-order:

Pred P + Subst P + Adv_{Manner} \Rightarrow

Adv_{Manner} + Pred P + Subst P

Obligatory if adverb of manner is derived from an adjective.

Furthermore, these sentences undergo an aspect-deletion transformation, stated thus:

T-Aspect-deletion:

$$Adv_{Manner} + asp + V \dots \Rightarrow Adv_{Manner} + V \dots$$

Obligatory if adverb of manner is derived from an adjective.

This is illustrated by the following sentence:

ta canta el hombre bonito

sings the man nicely

The word-order transformation permutes bonito before the verb, thus:

bonito ta canta el hombre

The aspect-deletion transformation finally reduces the sentence to:

(80) bonito canta el hombre nicely sings the man 'The man sings nicely.'

4.6 Adverb of Cause.

Adverb of cause is generated by the following rule:

P-53. Adv Cause
$$\rightarrow$$

$$\left\{ \begin{cases} que \ laya \\ casi \\ por \ caso \end{cases} \right\} S \\ por \ caso + di \left\{ \begin{cases} NP \\ Pron \end{cases} \right\}$$

The Chavacano adverb of cause is introduced by any of the following: que laya, casi, or por caso 'because'. All three precede a sentence, thus:

(81) ya sali ele
$$\begin{cases} casi \\ por caso \\ que laya \end{cases}$$
 alboroto nisos

left he because noisy we 'He left because we were noisy.'

Por caso may also occur with di and a noun phrase, or with the di form of the pronoun as in:

- (82) ya sali ele por caso del guerra left he because of the war 'He left because of the war.'
- (83) ya bini ele por caso di tuyo came he because of you 'He came because of you.'

4.7 Adverb of Mood.

Adverbs of mood denote speculation, obligation, or certainty. The rule below generates adverb of mood:

P-49. Adv Mood
$$\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} baka/seguro~(debe)\\ debe\\ fijo/segurao \end{array} \right\}$$

Seguro and segurao occur in the usual adverb position; that is, at the end of the sentence, as in (84) below:

'It will surely rain.'

They may be moved to sentence initial or medial position, thus:

di lluvi
$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} seguro \\ segurao \end{array} \right\}$$
 luego

'Maybe it will rain later today.'

'It will surely rain later today.'

Baka, debe, and fijo have to undergo a word order transformation to put them in sentence-initial position, thus:

'Maybe the student has written his lesson.'

'The student should have written his lesson.'

'The student has surely written his lesson.'

When the verb is in the contemplated aspect, and the adverb is baka or debe, the sentence also undergoes the aspect-deletion transformation, thus:

*di bini ele mañana
$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} baka \\ debe \end{array} \right\}$$

'He
$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} might \\ should \end{array} \right\}$$
 come tomorrow.'

Movable Adverbs

Except for the general time adverb nunca 'never', the manner adverbs derived from adjectives, and the adverbs of mood baka 'maybe', debe 'should' and fijo 'surely' which always occur sentence-initially, and the enclitics which have fixed positions in the sentence, all adverbs are movable, with an accompanying change in the meaning of the sentence. By optional transformation, they may be moved to sentence-initial position, or immediately after the predicate phrase if the substantive phrase is a noun phrase. The following sentences exemplify this:

- (87) di lliga el presidente mañana mañana di lliga el presidente di lliga mañana el presidente will arrive tomorrow the president 'The president will arrive tomorrow.'
- (88) ya haci el baile na capitollo
 ya haci na capitollo el baile
 na capitollo ya haci el baile
 in capitol building held the dance
 'The dance was held in the capitol building.'

When the adverb is in sentence-initial position, emphasis is shifted to the adverb, and the above sentences would have the following translations:

- (1) 'It is tomorrow that the president is coming.'
- (2) 'It was in the capitol building that the dance was held.'
- 5. The Topicless Sentence.

Topicless sentences are those which are obligatorily without substantive phrase. Such sentences refer to weather or time conditions. The predicates in these sentences are adjectives, verbs, or noun phrases that indicate time.

Examples:

- (89) temprano pa early still 'It's still early.'
- (90) ta truna (ya naman) thundering (again) 'It's thundering (again)'.
- (91) Lunes (ya) (mañana)

 Monday (already) (tomorrow)

 'It's Monday (already) (tomorrow)'.
- (92) a las nueve { ya (pala) numa (pala) }

 nine o'clock { already (so) only (so) }

 '(So) it's already nine o'clock.'
 - '(So) it's only nine o'clock.'

Noun phrases that indicate time never occur alone in topicless sentences. The days of the week, and the months must be accompanied either by an enclitic or enclitics, or by another time phrase as in (91). Clock time is always followed by an enclitic, or enclitics as in (92).

Word Order.

The Chavacano sentence follows this basic word order: Predicate phrase + Substantive phrase + optional adverb, as shown below:

- (93) taqui el libro here the book 'The book is here.'
- (94) di bini Ramon ahora will come Ramon today 'Ramon will come today.'
- (95) inteligente el estudiante intelligent the student 'The student is intelligent.'

A rearrangement of the components of each sentence will result in the following:

a. an ungrammatical sentence:

*el libro taqui

b. a shift in emphasis from the subject to the adverb due to the permutation of the adverb to sentence-initial position:

ahora di bini Ramon
'It's today that Ramon will come.'

c. an adjectival phrase:

el estudiante inteligente 'the intelligent student'

The verbal sentence follows this word order:

Verb phrase + Complement + Substantive Phrase

Example:

(96) ya cumpra mansanas el mujer bought apple the lady 'The lady bought an apple.'

The indefinite noun phrase complement may also occur after the substantive phrase, thus: ya cumpra el mujer mansanas. The definite noun phrase complement, however, always occurs after the topic, not in any other position.

Thus:

ya cumpra el mujer el mansanas bought the lady the apple 'The lady bought the apple.'

Not:

*ya cumpra el mansanas el mujer el mansanas ya cumpra el mujer