

THE CHARACTER OF BORROWINGS FROM SPANISH AND ENGLISH IN LANGUAGES OF THE PHILIPPINES

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The influence of the Spanish and American colonial regimes on Philippine culture and languages is a matter of long-standing interest and the subject of innumerable studies. The question of Spanish borrowing in Philippine languages has been so often re-hashed that it is perhaps presumptuous to attempt to say something new. However, it may be worth taking another look at the data from the sociolinguistic point of view, for as we shall see, there are many interesting sociolinguistic insights which Spanish and English loanwords furnish. Even a casual inspection of the data will reveal that there are differences in the character of the borrowings from Spanish and from English. What is most interesting is that this difference in character closely reflects the strongly different influences which the Spanish and American colonial regimes had on Philippine life.

On the basis of the Spanish elements in Philippine languages there is a good deal that can be told about the nature of the Spanish-Philippine contacts: the uses to which Spanish was put, the amount and extent of bilingualism, the social status of Spanish vis-à-vis the Philippine languages, and especially, the attitudes of speakers of Philippine languages to Spanish. And similarly, we may draw parallel conclusions about the role and influence of English simply on the basis of a study of loanwords, an influence which is still strongly active in the Philippines at the current time. These data are all observable in other ways.

English still occupies an important role in the Philippines. Not only is it an official language used in business, governmental, educational, judicial and other formal situations, but also it is a code of communication among elite groups. English is used at meetings of the Rotary Club, in informal gatherings among members of high society, and on many purely social occasions even when all participants speak the same Philippine language. These roles which English plays may be observed on a first-hand basis at the current time.

Thus our study of English loanwords will serve to show how sociolinguistic factors observable at first hand reflect themselves in loanwords. In the case of Spanish our knowledge of the role of Spanish in the speech community is second hand. The use of Spanish has contracted greatly over the past two generations, to the point that Spanish has had a negligible role in the Philippine speech community for the past thirty years and also has had a negligible influence on Philippine languages in that time. However, memories, articles, and novels provide a good deal of sociolinguistic information on Spanish in the Philippines two and more generations ago, and our study of Spanish loanwords will again show that they closely reflect sociolinguistic factors about which we may or may not have independent information.

The study of borrowings, thus, can be an important source for determining sociolinguistic facts, and where we do not have first-hand knowledge or secondary data is spotty or non-existent borrowings are a way to recover information which would otherwise be lost. Our Spanish loanwords in Philippine languages will provide information on facts otherwise not recorded. Similarly, information on the role of Malay in the Tagalog speech

community in the years prior to the Spanish conquest can be gained from a study of the Malay loanwords in Tagalog.

For this essay we take as our example the Cebuano language (the language currently spoken in Cebu, Bohol, Western Leyte, Southern Negros, Northern Mindanao). Approximately one-quarter of the total lexical entries in a Cebuano dictionary published by the Linguistic Society of the Philippines are of Spanish origin¹ and somewhat less than ten percent of English origin. In this way Cebuano is probably representative of languages spoken by Christian Filipinos. Although much of the Cebuano-speaking population has been urban and in direct contact with Spanish or, later, English since the earliest colonial times, a good portion of the population has always lived in rural isolated areas with no direct or absolutely minimal contact with Spanish or English. There thus have been portions of the speech community which have lived under strong Spanish influence and portions for whom Spanish influence can only have come indirectly.² Similarly, Cebuano is representative for English contact as well. The present speech community ranges from the urban elite showing a high degree of bilingualism to a poor, rural population often living in isolated communities and almost entirely monolingual.

A comparison of the type of forms borrowed from Spanish as opposed to those borrowed from English will elucidate the difference between the nature of the Spanish and the English contact. We begin with technical vocabularies — that is, cultural items introduced in historical times. We follow with a description of the domains in which we find vocabulary of Spanish provenience as opposed to that of English provenience. An analysis of these domains indicates the roles of English and Spanish as communicative codes and is good corroboration of what we know independently about social changes which occurred in the Philippines following the demise of the Spanish colonial regime. Finally, we study forms which reflect the way in which English now functions in the Cebuano community and the way in which Spanish did function in former times.

A large portion of the loanwords from English and Spanish refer to technical terms and concepts which were introduced to the Philippines since the time of European contact. Forms which refer to technical innovations or inventions prior to 1920 or so are typically of Spanish provenience and those of recent times are of English provenience. Thus, terms

¹This figure is based on a random sampling of seventy pages or about 1/16 of the total number of pages. It contained 1,480 entries, of which 351 or 24% were forms of Spanish provenience and 130 or 8.9% were of English provenience. This figure does not represent the portion of forms of English and Spanish provenience in any given text. Most of the borrowings from Spanish and English are forms of extremely high frequency and the percentage of English- or Spanish-derived loanwords in any given text will be much higher.

²It would be worth studying the extent of Spanish-derived forms in texts of normal urban speech as opposed to texts of normal rural speech. One gets the impression, even nowadays, that the word count for words of Spanish derivation is higher in urban speech than in rural speech. E.g., the forms *piru* 'but', *pur-isu* 'therefore', *pur-ihimplu* 'for example', *antis* 'before', etc. of Spanish origin seem to be common and normal in Cebu City, whereas in many rural areas forms of native origin seem to be more common (*apan* 'but', *pananglitan* 'for example', *sa di pa* 'before'). Similarly, the extent to which English forms penetrate various types of Cebuano speech is worth studying. Clearly the language of school-girls, teachers, society matrons is replete with English borrowings as compared to the speech of market vendors, fishermen, truck drivers, in which one finds a smaller portion of English borrowings. However, we can only make impressionistic statements at this point. What is needed is good data based on spoken texts classified according to the relevant variables: origins of the speaker, addressee, persons listening, topic of discussion, situation in which text was uttered, ages, etc.

like³ *asiru* 'steel', *iskalba* 'brush', *ripu* 'faucet' which refer to old-time introductions are of Spanish provenience whereas *ilibitur* 'elevator', *ingkyubitur* 'incubator', *adyaks* 'ajax cleanser', *trak* 'truck' which refer to things introduced in recent times are of English origin. Interestingly enough we can see that Spanish influence outlasted the Spanish regime by a number of years: terms which refer to technical items widely introduced only in this century are often still of Spanish origin: *idruplanu* (or *idru*), *abiyun* 'airplane', *tillipuru* 'telephone', *awditibu* 'telephone receiver' (as opposed to *irpurt* 'airport', *dáyal* 'dial' of English origin). Similarly, *inggansa* 'shift gears', *intiriyur* 'inner tube' (as opposed to the more recent innovations: *istap* 'traffic sign', *rikap* 're-cap' from English). Terms referring to the movie industry are of Spanish origin: *pilikula* 'movie', *artista* 'actor', but forms referring to the broadcasting industry are purely of English origin: *distursiyun* 'distortion (in broadcasting)', *irpun* 'earphones', *ripli* 'replay'. By the time the broadcasting industry was established, Spanish had gone out.

Similarly, foods of recent introduction have names of English origin: *ispaghiti* 'spaghetti', *dyili rul* 'jelly roll', whereas forms of older introduction have Spanish names: *iskabitsi* 'fish with escabeche sauce', *sikwati* 'chocolate', *rimulatsa* 'brown sugar'. Again items introduced in the early years of this century still show Spanish names: *ibapurada* 'evaporated milk'. In the same way in the many other aspects of life in which new concepts and technologies have been introduced, the Spanish or English provenience of a borrowing indicates the era of the borrowing: sicknesses, medicines, and parts of the body not recognized in pre-Hispanic times show Spanish-derived vocabulary if they are not connected with recent advances in medicine: *alta prisiyun* 'high blood pressure', *alparisiya* 'infantile paralysis', *riniyun* 'kidney or kidney trouble', *ipiktar* 'effect', *risita* 'prescription'. For many of these concepts there are also synonyms of English origin, a reflection of the usage of English in hospital or medical contexts: *hayblad* 'high blood pressure' Vocabulary referring to recently recognized sicknesses and medicines is of English origin: *alirdyik* 'allergic', *iltur* 'el tor cholera'.

Weapons and military terms are mainly of Spanish origin: *ayudanti* 'adjutant' *ripli* 'rifle', *ritira* 'retreat', but terms associated with the American army in World War II and thereafter are of English origin: *dyiay* 'GI', *distards* 'discharge', *dugpayit* 'dogfight'.

Terms referring to furniture, constructions and dwelling places are of Spanish origin, with the exception of simple constructions of light-weight material (for which the vocabulary is of native origin): *rihas* 'iron grates', *aparadur* 'dresser', *andana* 'storey', *asutiya* 'open porch'. But typically modern constructions and types of furniture have names of English origin: *bunggalu* 'bungalow', *dayban* 'divan', *andir grawun* 'cellar'. And, as predictable, names of clothing and ornaments introduced in Hispanic times have names of Spanish origin: *ingkahi* 'lace', *karsunis* 'trousers', *rilu* 'watch', *agwa* 'perfume', whereas styles and types of clothing introduced since Spanish times have names of English origin: *irpap* 'ear puff (hair style)', *isliblis* 'sleeveless', *ismagul* 'rubber slippers' (so-called because originally only smuggled ones were available).

The provenience of vocabulary often provides evidence of when certain aspects of Philippine life were introduced. Card games with other than Spanish cards have largely English-derived vocabulary: *blakhart* 'spades', *dyak* 'jacks', *rami* 'rummy' (as opposed to

³We can give only a small number of examples for any rubric. In almost every case the examples can be multiplied ten- or even a hundred-fold. Our transcription follows that adopted in the dictionary by J. Wolff (see bibliography) which is phonemic but follows as much as possible the current conventions of spelling Cebuano.

the forms of Spanish origin referring to Spanish cards *súta* 'jack in the Spanish cards' *hungkayang* 'conquian'). Terms for boxing, basketball, volleyball, tennis, ping pong have a purely English-derived vocabulary, whereas terms for mahjong, dominoes, marbles, pool, chess, checkers have a Spanish-derived vocabulary. Mahjong in addition has many terms of Chinese origin and also of English origin, as discussed below.

The contrast in domains covered by Spanish-derived and English-derived loans in many cases provides good evidence of social changes that have come about since the end of the Spanish era. The character of English-derived terms which refer to schooling, school-related activities and subjects which range from ordinary to post-graduate and vocational education contrasts with terms of Spanish derivation which refer almost entirely to primary education (with the exception of *abugasiya* 'law course'): *inrúl* 'enroll', *ispáing* 'spelling', *iskram* 'cram for an exam', *absin* 'absent', *diklám* 'declaim', *dintistri* 'dentistry'. This difference reflects the well-known fact that Filipinos had minimal contact with schools beyond the primary level prior to American times. The large English vocabulary also reflects the use of English as a communicative code in the schools.

The names of businesses and business practices are of Spanish origin, but terms which refer to office activities, white-collar occupations, or anything having to do with the day-by-day conduct of business are of English origin. The lack of Spanish-derived vocabulary for office practices and day-by-day conduct of business reflects the fact that Filipinos rarely held white-collar jobs in Spanish times. Terms of Spanish provenience: *alkila* 'rent', *ahinsiya* 'pawnshop', *alkansi* 'loss', *diriksiyun* 'management', *aksiyun* 'share of stock', *diswildu* 'salaried'. English-derived terms: *apláy* 'apply for a job', *dyuti* 'be on duty', *inbuysis* 'invoice', *dyablis* 'unemployed', *in* 'hired', *dilitayim* 'daily time record', *ubirtayim* 'work overtime'. These English-derived forms corroborate the widespread use of English as a communicative code in the office.

Similarly, many other terms reflect the use of English in everyday life. The use of English in signs is reflected in forms like *pur-adult* 'movies restricted to adults', *dúnat intir* 'one-way street', *istanding* 'standing-room only', *diin* 'the end'. Similarly, English is widely used by doctors and nurses, and this fact is reflected in the large number of English borrowings in hospital-related shop talk: *akumpaniing* 'family member or servant who stays with a patient in the ward to care for him', *priward* 'charity ward'. The English loans in mahjong vocabulary have a similar explanation. English is widely used in the elite society which plays mahjong, and thus for many mahjong terms (which are of Spanish or Chinese origin) there are English synonyms: *ist* (also called *isti*) 'east wind piece in mahjong', *mírur* (also called *ispíhu*) 'the white dragon piece'.

The use of English in newspapers and in radio reports about current events is reflected in forms like *dimunstrit* 'demonstrate against', *dayalug* 'dialogue between demonstrators and administration', *iditur* 'editor', *asusyit* 'associate (editor, director, etc.)', *ismágul* 'smuggle', *unasis* 'rich like Onassis', *rakit* 'racket', *istikim-up* 'stick-up', *alyas* 'alias', *blusil* 'blue-seal (smuggled) cigarettes'. Many other borrowings reflect the use of English on the radio: *didikit* 'dedicate a number', *instrumintal* 'instrumental number'. The use of English for carrying out the business of government and politics is also reflected in English-derived vocabulary: *dayhard* 'die-hard follower of a politician', *ilik* 'vote', *disbar* 'disbar', *diskuwalipayid* 'disqualified', *dyank* 'dump a candidate', *istrit* 'vote a straight ticket', *ridyun* 'region (defined for governmental purposes)', *inbiay* 'the NBI, National Bureau of Investigation', *ispikir* 'speaker of the house', *ilidyibul* 'civil service eligible'. On the other hand, terms referring to government as a law-enforcing, taxing, or prosecuting authority are of Spanish origin: *asuntu* 'court case', *mandamintu* *diaristu* 'arrest warrant', *akusádu* 'the

accused', *abluwasiyun* 'tax assessment', *istápa* 'felony', *istádu* 'civil status'. The character of the English and Spanish loanwords in these domains bears out beautifully the difference in the relations between Filipinos and the government in olden times as opposed to more recent times. Political titles of offices which antedate the influence of English have Spanish-derived names: *arkaydi* 'mayor', *kabísa* 'village head'. The only Cebuano forms which have an origin other than English or Spanish come from languages of Mindanao. That Spanish was still influential in the early days of the Commonwealth is indicated by forms like *riprisintanti* 'representative', *lidirátu* 'leadership'. The fact that many of the Spanish-derived forms have English-derived synonyms reflects the extent to which English is a communicative code even on the level of local government.

For many of the domains in which there is an extensive English- or Spanish-derived vocabulary, the extent of the influence is clearly reflected. Terms which refer to entertainments not connected with school, radio, or movies tend to be very largely of Spanish origin. This fact reflects the extent to which Spanish forms of entertainments drove out native forms: names of dances, many (but not all) musical instruments, verse forms, drama forms and the terminology connected with them: *intabládu* 'stage', *insáyu* 'performance', *abirtu* 'seventh chord', *kumpúsu* 'ballad'. The Hispanic influence on folk literature is striking. Not only do many of the genres have Spanish-derived names but there is a huge poetic vocabulary cognate with ordinary forms of native derivation which consists of words used only in poetry: *nakaturmintu niining kurasun* 'tortured this heart', *pagkatristi nga pinsahun* 'how saddening to contemplate', and the like. Terms which refer to religion or religious life are very largely of Spanish origin: *diyus* 'God', *insinsu* 'censer', *impirmu* 'Hell', *rusaryu* 'rosary', *dubla* 'ringing of church bells'. Even words which refer to supernatural beings are of Spanish origin, although native words which refer to ceremonies, beliefs and beings inherited from pre-Hispanic religions also survive: *impaktu* 'kind of demon', *dimunyu* 'kind of demon', *ingkantú* 'kind of supernatural creature of the trees'. These forms are testimony to the strong religious influence of the Spanish conquest. As opposed to Spanish, English is the origin of almost no religious or supernatural terms, mute testimony to the fact that English-speaking missionaries outside of teachers and doctors largely used Cebuano for their work.

Terms which refer to time, numbers, measurements, dates, are largely of Spanish origin: *tris anyus* 'three years old', *Abril* 'April', *dyisiutsu písus* 'eighteen pesos', *alas unsi impuntu* 'exactly eleven o'clock'. The borrowing of Spanish terms for prices and measurements may reflect an earlier use of Spanish for trade. The use of Spanish-derived terminology for dates and ages (for which there are also native-derived synonyms) probably can be explained from the fact that dates and ages were typically discussed in the Philippine society of Spanish times with government or church officials with whom Spanish would have been used.

That Spanish had a role in speech centered on intellectual activities is reflected in the borrowing of forms like *aktitud* 'attitude', *idiya* 'idea', *animu* 'consciousness', *dipara* 'notice', *dibúhu* 'sketch', *rikísa* 'examination', *idruhina* 'hydrogen', *rasun* 'reason'.

The terminology referring to transport, the sea, geographical locations and directions consists heavily of Spanish borrowings: *arays* 'skipper', *arastri* 'loading', *angkla* 'anchor', *ida ibwilta* 'round trip', *istribur* 'starboard', *pagádu distínu* 'fare to be paid on arrival', *rumbu* 'head straight for', *disilya* 'to the left', *isla* 'islet'. English borrowings in this domain are very few.

For sewing the vocabulary is almost entirely of Spanish origin: *apúru* 'facing', *alundris* 'thread', *aguhilya* 'needle', *didal* 'thimble', *ritásu* 'remnant'. Evidently much of the sewing

technology was introduced at the time of the conquest, as opposed to the weaving terminology which for the most part reflects pre-Hispanic forms.

The Hispanization of the Philippines also seems to have had an influence on sexual mores and relations between the sexes if we are to judge from loanwords. A good portion of the forms which refer to sexual conduct, conduct becoming to a woman, and relations between male and female are of Spanish provenience⁴: *dunsilya* 'virgin', *disgrasyáda* 'woman who has had a baby out of wedlock', *malisya* 'awareness of sex', *byúda aligri* 'widow who is out to get a second husband', *bahu disisiyun* 'bound by one's husband's will'. There is no comparable group of English borrowings.

Again much of the terminology of the master-servant relations, exhortations or curt commands are of Spanish origin: *abi* or *abir* 'give me', *anda* 'go get and give me', *ratsáda* 'everybody do', *alibanta* 'heave', *apurádu* 'in a hurry', *aprita* 'rush someone', *ámu* 'boss', *itsa puyra* 'kick out'. Terms which refer to conduct for which one is to be scolded can be explained in the same light. Most of these terms are of Spanish origin, and further these forms are of the shape in which they would occur in direct exclamations in Spanish. We conclude that these terms originate as words used in scolding an inferior by a Spanish-speaking (or quasi-Spanish-speaking) superior: *aturgádu* 'taking on something one is not asked to do', *atribídu* 'daring to do something one has no right to do', *abusádu* 'taking advantage', *ignuranti* 'ignorant, fool', *istupidu* 'stupid', *ritubádu* 'giving back talk', *ási* or *ísi* 'there you go putting on again', *paasiasi* 'not staying in one's place'. There is little of English origin which parallels these forms.

This is not to say that Spanish borrowings which refer to personal characteristics are invariably terms of abuse. There are also numerous forms which refer to positive or negative characteristics but which are not terms of abuse. These terms usually refer to characteristics which are typically ascribed to Spaniards: *asyúsu* 'finicky, hoity-toity', *aristukráta* 'snooty', *dignidad* 'dignity', *riprisintasiyun* 'front to keep up', *mutsu diníru* 'rich', *bunítu* 'good-looking (like a Spaniard)'.

It is interesting to compare English borrowings which refer to personal characteristics with the Spanish terms. The English terms show to what extent English functions as a communicative code in the speech community. A good portion of these English forms have a humorous flavor to them, and their use can be explained as a sort of euphemism. In Philippine society one cannot make negative judgments directly without putting oneself in a bad light; people do in fact make negative judgments, but in order to be convincing and avert a negative reaction to their criticism, they make a witticism at the same time. Many of the English borrowings which refer to personal characteristics can be explained as forms which begin as jokes that have become clichés and entered Cebuano, and they still retain an air of humor about them: *as-ip* 'put on, act as if one were something', *ui* 'over-act, put on' (an acronym on over-acting), *rágid* 'coarse in manners', *intimasyunal* 'having had children by more than one man', *biri anádir* 'very unnice' (a loan translation of *lain kaáyu* 'very different' or 'very unnice'). English is a handy way of saying some-

⁴Of course, we are not forced to conclude that the concepts which these forms refer to were introduced in Spanish times. An alternative explanation is that the native equivalents of these forms existed and that the Spanish forms came in as a sort of euphemism and eventually replaced the native forms. It is interesting to note, however, that where there are native terms which are close in meaning to Spanish-derived terms they tend to differ in meaning precisely in point of the sexual morality implied: for example, *dalága* 'unmarried woman' refers strictly to marital status or to a girl who has reached an age where she could be married (and may well refer to a woman who has had children out of wedlock), whereas *dunsilya* refers strictly to whether or not a woman has been touched.

thing obliquely and thus English terms have found their way into many types of discussions which cause difficulty of personal relations. The names of rhetorical devices used in interpersonal relations or the terms which refer to these relations themselves are commonly of English origin: *dyúkir* 'faux pas, goof', *istrayik* 'unpleasant allusion', *inding* 'face-saving joke', *ispiking* 'line handed to someone', *isplít* 'be on palsey-walsey terms', *piar* 'way of dealing with others' (acronym on 'public relations'). Some of the English borrowings of this type are strictly for humor's sake and not to avoid embarrassment: *dristukil* 'dressed to kill', *ánis* 'be earnest', *alirdiyik sa manga gwápa* 'easily affected by beautiful women', *istáring* 'center of attention', *ayhab* 'menstruate' (loan translation of *náa na* 'have' or 'is here now – said euphemistically of one's period'). The use of English-derived forms for humorous or euphemistic effect is corroboration of the extent to which English functions as a communicative code among Cebuano speakers: in the midst of a Cebuano utterance speakers make a joke basing themselves on the presupposition that the interlocutors also speak English, and these jokes become cliches and work their way into the Cebuano vocabulary.

Many of the forms of English origin which refer to personal attributes refer to some characteristic which typically talked about by English speakers and for which a good native term did not exist. Again the borrowing of these forms can only be explained from the use of English as a communicative code: *ispuwil* 'spoil a child', *islindir* 'slender (and pretty, not skinny)', *ispurt* 'be a good sport about something', *aptudít* 'au courant', *indyuy* 'have a good time'.

The character of borrowed forms gives other corroboration as to the status of English in the Cebuano speech community. The use of English-derived forms in language used to small children shows the use of English as a prestige code: people say things in English to small children to teach them some English while they are growing up. Examples are forms like: *ayis-ayis* 'blink the eyes', *bábay* 'bye-bye', *dál* 'doll (term of endearment)'. Similarly, terms of address for older relatives which come from English derive from language used for children: *anti* 'aunt', *dádi* 'daddy', *mámi* 'mommy'.

Perhaps the strongest evidence for the extent to which English functions as a prestige code in the Cebuano speech community is the rather large number of English-derived forms synonymous with a nonborrowed form whose meaning is such that it most typically would occur in ordinary, everyday contexts – that is, in utterances produced by speakers who would have no particular reason to use English and in contexts in which there is no particular reason to use English. These forms are especially common in the speech of of people who can speak English, but they have now become perfectly good Cebuano words and are found also in the speech of monolinguals: *islayis* 'slice', *islayid* 'slide', *bakwid* 'be bent backwards', *istak-ap* 'plugged up', *rilak* 'relax', *ridi* 'ready', *rás* 'rush'. The borrowing of words of this character from English corroborates the extent to which English is used as a code in everyday situations. The only function of English in everyday situations seems to be prestige-giving, since in the contexts in which these forms occur and for the speakers who use them Cebuano is available as well.⁵ English has been used to

⁵The non-Cebuano-speaking population in Cebuano areas has until recently been very small, and traditionally non-Cebuano speakers have tried to learn Cebuano. Thus, Cebuano has always been available for communication among almost all of the population in areas that are Cebuano-speaking. This situation is rapidly changing, particularly in parts of Mindanao where there has been a heavy influx of population from Luzon. Tagalog is almost universally known to the under-thirty generation and enjoys a good deal of prestige (being the language of the Manila area), so that there is an ever-increasing tendency for Tagalog to be the language used when the conversation involves non-Cebuano-speakers. Even in Cebu City, the heart of the Cebuano region, recent immigrants from Luzon who already know Tagalog tend not to learn Cebuano, especially among the upper classes. The younger generation is finding that a knowledge of Tagalog is sufficient for social as well as business purposes.

such an extent for normal situations that there are speakers whose control of much of the ordinary, everyday vocabulary of English is better than their control of the ordinary, everyday non-borrowed vocabulary of Cebuano (or at least they make this pretense); and thus when they speak Cebuano the non-borrowed Cebuano form escapes them (or they make this pretense). In fact, now a whole generation of Cebuano speakers has grown up which has had little occasion to hear or use the non-borrowed Cebuano vocabulary which refers to many common, everyday items and for whom the non-borrowed vocabulary is actually only vaguely known. English functions in the current Cebuano speech community much as French did for the Russian nobility in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the borrowings from English bear this out.

There is evidence that Spanish in its day functioned as a prestige code in a way very similar to English in the current time. There are terms of address of Spanish origin: *tiyá, tiyú* 'aunt, uncle', *máma, pápa* 'mother, father', *mána, mánu* 'elder sister, brother'. There are terms from children's language: *kingkiri?* – *yukayu* 'who wants it?' – 'I do'. Much of the vocabulary referring to the entertainment and receiving of guests and other social graces is of Spanish origin: *disibi, asikásu, istima, dipara, antindir* 'take care of visitors', *imbitar* 'invite', *dispidida* 'going away party'. These terms all point to the use of Spanish as a language of high society, much as English is today. There is a huge vocabulary of forms of Spanish provenience which refer to common everyday things and contexts in which there was no special reason to use Spanish: *apartár* 'be at a distance from', *atripisyu* 'what one is occupied with', *ariglár* 'arrange, settle', *asir* 'turn out all right', *alsá* 'raise', *apíki* 'inadequate in space, finances', *amur* 'liking', *abunda* 'be abundant', *abli* 'open', *nutisya* 'noise', *impisar* 'begin', *intíru* 'complete', *istár* 'stay somewhere', *piligru* 'danger'. The number of such ordinary items is legion, and their existence shows that there must have been an influential population which controlled Spanish vocabulary to a considerably better extent than Cebuano. These forms attest to the widespread use of Spanish as a linguistic code in the Cebuano speech community.

In fact, the Spanish loanwords show a much deeper penetration of Cebuano than English, and their character is such that we can only conclude that there was a population in the Cebuano speech community whose control of Cebuano was minimal and whose Cebuano was heavily tinged with Spanish, and that this population was widely imitated. This is the only conclusion which we can draw from the existence of Spanish-derived forms in the most basic part of the vocabulary: conjunctions: *piru* 'but', *adisir* 'before', *myintras* 'while', *kay* 'because'; connecting phrases: *adimas* 'besides', *dimúdu* 'therefore', adverbial phrases: *awra misumu* 'right now', *alumínus* 'at least', *isti* 'particle of hesitation', *káda rátu* 'each time'; modals: *puydi* 'can', *gustu* 'want'. Many of these Spanish-derived forms of high frequency have a special grammar. They occur in construction with unaffixed verbal roots in a sentence type otherwise anomalous in Cebuano and not parallel to sentence-types in any other Philippine language: *dúru* 'do hard', *sigi* 'keep on doing', *pirmi* 'always do', *káda* 'each time (so-and-so) is done'. E.g. *Dúrung katáwa si Huwan* 'John laughed hard', *Siging katawa si Huwan* 'John kept on laughing', *Káda katáwa ni Huwan* 'Each time John laughed'. These anomalous sentence types can only be explained as deriving from some sort of pidgin Cebuano.

In morphology as well, the affixes *-du, -dur,* and *-íru* have become naturalized Cebuano adjective-forming affixes (with a somewhat different meaning from their meaning in Spanish) and *-siyuni,* as a noun former. These affixes have become productive so that they occur with new formations (although the tendency is to use them with words of Hispanic or Hispanic-sounding shape): *abandunádu* 'neglectful' (not, as in Spanish

'neglected'), *agwantádu* 'long-suffering', *absinĩru* 'one who is absent all the time', *babaỹru* 'a Don Juan' (from *babayi* 'woman', a form of Proto-Austronesian etymology), *istimasiyun* 'reception accorded', *dimunstrasiyun* 'political demonstration'. To many adjectives and nouns which end in *-u*, and also to a few ending in consonants, a feminine affix *-a* occurs (replacing the *-u*, just as the Spanish *-a* replaces the *-o* masculine ending). These forms are mostly of Hispanic origin and usually refer to bad characteristics: *intrimitidu* – *intrimitida* 'meddling', *ritubáda* 'giving back-talk', *iskandalúsa* 'scandalous in behavior', *ingkitadúra* 'snoopy'. This kind of deep influence can only have come about if there had been a population which commanded Spanish expressive resources better than Cebuano and used a Cebuano heavily interlaced with Spanish items. These speakers, however, commanded enough prestige that their language was widely imitated, with the result that morphological and syntactic features of a Hispanized Cebuano became part of the language spoken by the entire speech community and lexical items were imported into sections of the vocabulary covering forms of the highest frequency. The contrast with English is instructive. Although English is widely used as a prestige code there is little or no native-born population which is primarily English-speaking and whose Cebuano is heavily Anglicized. And as a result there is no English parallel to the Spanish in-depth penetration of Cebuano.

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