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Paloma Albalá

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Paloma Albalá

As an instance of lexical borrowing this article analyzes words proceeding from pre-Columbian Indoamerican languages that today form part of the lexicon of six autochthonous Philippine languages: Tagalog, Bikol, Cebuano, Ilokano, Pampango (or Kapampangan), and Pangasinan. This borrowing is shown to be the result of a wide-ranging process of contact between languages, starting with a series of sender languages (chiefly Náhuatl) in the Americas, continuing with the diffusion of loanwords by "bridge," or transmitter languages (chiefly Spanish, to a lesser extent French, Portuguese, and English), which were enormously influential in the nineteenth century, and ending with the adoption of loanwords by Philippine receiver languages.

KEYWORDS: Philippine languages; indigenous American languages; languages in contact; lexical borrowing; Spanish

In Philippine languages there are words which, while they are Hispanicisms, have their origin in some pre-Columbian Indoamerican language. Their presence in the Philippines is not a matter of Latin words hereditary to the Spanish language, but of words which were originally loanwords in Spanish. One example found in six major Philippine languages is the word *camote* "sweet potato" (*Ipomea batatas*) > Tagalog (Tag.) *kamóte*, Cebuano (Ceb.) *kamote*, Bikol (Bik.) *kamóte*, Ilokano (Il.) *kamoti*, *kamotit*, Kapampangan (Kap.) *kamúti*, Pangasinan (Pang.) *kamóte*, *camuti*. Spanish borrowed the Náhuatl word *camotli* and adapted it as *camote*, the original of the different words in the Philippine languages (Molina 1571; Simeon 1885).¹ Another example is *barbacoa* which entered

Spanish from Taíno and is present in some Philippine languages as Ceb. *balbakúwa* and Il. *barbakúa*.² That these words of Indoamerican origin—transmitted in Spanish—have taken their place in the lexicon of the Philippine languages is eloquent proof of a centuries-long historical relationship. Indeed these words are the trail left in the language of a series of historical events.

In 1492, when the Catholic monarchs lent their economic and strategic support to Christopher Columbus, they were actually giving their backing to a projected voyage to the spice-rich lands of the East that (and this was the novelty) would take a westerly route, based on the idea that the world was spherical. Spices to preserve foodstuffs were very highly sought-after in that period. As a result a trade of paramount importance developed around them and nations with economic power made ceaseless efforts to get in on the act. This explained why Spain kept an ongoing diatribe with Portugal, while various earlier treaties bore fruit in the agreement which prevented Spaniards from navigating freely towards the East.³ So confident was Columbus of his project's logic when setting sail that, once landed on American soil, he thought he had reached the East. Only later was it realised that a new continent had been discovered.

Thus America was almost a hindrance to Columbus's plans, the purpose of which was, and continued to be, to reach the spice-laden islands of the East in order to gain a footing in the spice trade. In fact, Columbus searched for the treasured spices in American lands and noted down his findings in his *Diario*.

It was not long before the need to discover the way to the other side of the Atlantic was felt, and to this end expeditions were chartered in search of a passage through to the other side of the American land mass. It was the expedition of Magellan and Elcano of 1519–1522 which discovered the straits that joined the Atlantic to the Pacific and were to be given Magellan's name. As a result, the route to the West was opened up, and from that time the Spaniards also threw themselves into the exploration of the Pacific, chartering many expeditions with this aim.

It was still some years before a nexus of union, a route that linked the American and Asian coasts of the Pacific, could be established, for

it proved difficult to find a way of returning to America, specifically to New Spain (or the Spanish viceroyalty of Mexico), from the western side of the Pacific. After many failed attempts, the great discovery was made by Urdaneta in 1565, who voyaged northwards as far as the Kuro Shivo current, which directed his course. This crossing was to be repeated for 250 years by the Manila galleon or Nao de Acapulco galleon and was a key element in diffusing the Indoamerican lexicon to westerly regions.

Spanish Adoption of Indoamericanisms in America

The arrival of Spaniards in the Americas saw the start of the adoption of loanwords from the Indoamerican languages. In his *Diario del Descubrimiento* Columbus (1976) was the first to use Indian words in Spanish. On several occasions the admiral bemoaned his ignorance of, or inability to give names to, the things those lands had to offer him, saying “there are trees of a thousand kinds, all with their own kind of fruit, and all are a marvel to smell; I am the most aggrieved man in the world for not knowing them.” Thus the need arose to name unknown parcels of reality, and the simplest way was the adoption of the Indian names.

When the writer of Genesis spoke of the creation of the world, he said that, once man had been created, God fashioned from clay the different animals, breathed life into them with his own breath, and showed them to man to give them a name. It was as if the creation of things was brought to completion on man’s naming of the animals. The comparison with what happened in the discovery of America seems to me a good one: The Spaniards did not authenticate the discovery until their language disposed of the words to designate the new parcels of reality which that vast new world set before their eyes.⁴ That is why the process got off to a quick start: Written testimony began with Columbus’s *Diario* and from Columbus onwards, all chroniclers, even those who wrote in Latin, did not neglect to use Indoamerican words in their accounts (*tomate*, *batata*, *cóndor*, *petaca*, *manatí*, and others). Indoamerican words gained a secure footing in the language of the

conquistadores and colonizers, while Spanish was permanently enriched by the Indian words of the newly discovered lands.

It is also important to understand the stylistic appeal these words would have had for those who used them and which probably accounts for their particular success. As explained by Paciencia Ontañón (1979), they gave those who used them "the aura of a veteran, the stamp of someone who knew about things in the New World," which is why the words prospered and a high number of them took root in the Spanish of America and, to a lesser but still considerable extent, in standard Spanish.

The words entered Spanish from the American languages, and once installed in the lexical pool of Spanish they were able to be loaned to other languages. And that was what happened. Through Spanish, many Indoamerican words passed to many other of the world's languages. Words such as *tomate* "tomato," *patata* "potato," and *chocolate* "chocolate" are almost universal. From Spanish, indigenous American words spread into English, French, German, Italian, as well as into the languages of the Philippine Islands. The process which gave rise to this phenomenon may be best understood in the framework of a broad and complex situation of languages in contact. The process began on American soil, where there was a series of sender languages, some of whose words were disseminated by some "bridge," or transmitter, languages, above all Spanish, but also, albeit to a lesser degree, French, Portuguese, and English. The process would conclude in some receiver languages, in this case the autochthonous languages of the Philippines.

Among the American languages that gave words to the languages of the Philippines, Náhuatl stands out. It was the "general language" (*lengua general*) of Mexico from where many of the expeditions towards the Pacific departed, and from where the Philippine galleon set sail.⁵ I have studied the Indoamericanisms present in sixteen Malayo-Polynesian languages from the Pacific area comprised of the archipelagos of the Philippines, the Mariana Islands, the Caroline Islands, and the Palau Islands.⁶ Of the 111 Indoamerican etymologies I have found, fifty-five, just under half, are Nahuatl words, and this would seem to indicate that this language was not unknown to the sailors and passengers on the Acapulco galleon. The Spanish that reached the Pacific territory was

especially influenced by the Mexican languages, particularly Náhuatl. Once more, the linguistic facts reflect the historical reality that Mexico was the major center of activity and Manila was a dependent territory of the Mexican viceroys until Mexico's independence in 1820.

Adoption of Indoamerican Words in Philippine Languages

Sources

As suggested above, the present study considers six Philippine languages, all of which belong to the group of the so-called major languages on account of their diffusion, development, and number of speakers: Tagalog, Bikol, Cebuano, Ilokano, Pampango (or Kapampangan), and Pangasinan. To gather data about the words of Indoamerican origin which came to enter the lexical stream of these Philippine languages, the various studies detailed below were used.

For Tagalog the following sources were consulted:

Antonio Quilis's "Hispanismos en tagalo" (1973, 70–92), based on a survey carried out on two Tagalog speakers, for the purposes of which the *Cuestionario coordinado para el estudio de la norma lingüística culta... III Léxico* (1971) was applied. Of the 900 Hispanicisms in the surveys, only fifteen were of Indoamerican origin.

Teresita V. Ramos's *Tagalog Dictionary* (1971), containing around four thousand entries. Her sources were her earlier work *Tagalog for Beginners* and her own knowledge of the Tagalog lexicon. In her view her dictionary includes a sufficient number of words in order to communicate in Tagalog. The great number of Hispanicisms included in the work is striking. On some pages practically all the words are Spanish (see, for instance, pages 183 and 218).

Adolfo Cuadrado Muñiz's *Hispanismos en el tagalo. Diccionario de vocablos de origen español vigentes en esta lengua filipina* (1972), revised by Antonio Molina as part of the series "El idioma español en el mundo." It is an extensive work containing around forty thousand words.

The two complementary works of Leo James English, *English Tagalog Dictionary* (1977) and *Tagalog English Dictionary* (1986). These two thick volumes contain a total of around ninety-seven thousand entries.

I also consulted the following dictionaries:

Juan de Noceda and Pedro de Sanlúcar, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala* (1832).

Rosalío Serrano, *Diccionario de términos comunes tagalo-castellano* (Ramírez and Guiraudier 1858).

Pedro Serrano Laktaw, *Diccionario Hispano-tagalog* (1965 [1889]).

Eligio Fernández, *Vocabulario tagalog castellano*, 5^a ed. (1901).

For Bicol the following sources were consulted:

Malcolm Warren Mintz and José del Rosario Británico's *Bikol English Dictionary/Diksiyonaryong bikol-inglés* (1985). This dictionary is a revised and a much enlarged edition of the same authors' *A Bikol English Dictionary* (1971).

The body of the lexicographical work comprises fifteen thousand entries with their English equivalent and for most loanwords offers information about the language of origin. It includes a large number of Hispanicisms, many of which are indicated as archaisms. Of great importance for the present study is its inclusion of eighteenth-century lexicographer P. Marcos de Lisboa's *Vocabulario de la lengua bicol* . . . (1754).

I have also consulted Mariano Perfecto's *Vocabulario de la lengua bicol con sus significaciones en castellano. Escrito por...para los niños, escuelas y estudiantes* (1897).

The list of Indoamericanisms in Cebuano draws on the following sources:

Antonio Quilis's *Hispanismos en cebuano. Contribución al estudio de la lengua española en Filipinas* (1976), which offers a compilation of this language's Spanish lexicon. The work is based on oral sources using the same questionnaire as for the author's aforementioned work on Tagalog. The author used, in addition, a complementary questionnaire in order to obtain material which the original was unable to yield. Quilis also revised the *Cebuano-Visayan Dictionary* (1971) of María Victoria R. Bunye and Elsa Paula Yap.

Rodolfo Cabonce's *An English Cebuano Visayan Dictionary* (1983) was also checked. A dictionary for missionaries compiled by a missionary and native speaker of the language, this work carries on the long tradition of missionary linguists.

Finally, María Victoria R. Bunye and Elsa Paula Yap's *Cebuano Grammar Notes* (1971) was consulted. The grammatical concepts and constructions contained in this work are illustrated with many examples, which were useful for documenting some Indoamericanisms in Cebuano.

The main sources for the list of Indoamericanisms in Ilokano were: Ernesto Constantino's *Ilokano Dictionary* (1971). A sizeable dictionary with seven thousand entries.

Gregorio C. Laconsay's *Iluco-English-Tagalog-Dictionary* (1993) was also consulted. In this work the author takes into account dictionaries, literary works, and his own experience as a native speaker of Ilokano.

Finally, the Augustinian friar Andrés Carro's *Vocabulario Iloco-Español* (1888) was consulted.

For the list of Indoamericanisms in Pampango, or Kapampangan, the following sources were used:

Michael L. Formann's *Kapampangan Dictionary* (1971). According to Formann's preliminary remarks, the dictionary is mainly based on oral sources gathered in the Cabalantian district of Bacolor, Pampanga, between October 1968 and April 1969.

The *Nuevo Vocabulario o Manual de conversaciones en español, tagalo y pampango de Eligio Fernández* (1901) was also taken into account.

For the list of Indoamericanisms in Pangasinan, the following sources were used:

Richard A. Benton's *Pangasinan Dictionary* (1971), containing 3,500 entries.

Anastasio Austria Macaraeg's *Vocabulario Castellano-pangasinan* (1898).

Words of Nahua Origin

Náhuatl, or Nahua, is a language spoken in Mexico, but divided into several dialects.

In my study, the Spanish words of Nahua origin that have taken root in the Philippines are:

- acapulco** “a certain bush” (*Cassia alata*) > Tag. *akapulko*, *kapurko*;
achote “a certain plant” (*Bixa orellana*) > Bik. *atsuéte*, Il. *assuete*, *atsuete*;
 Tag. *atsuete*, *atsuwete*, *atswete*;
- aguacate, abocado** “avocado, a certain tree and its fruit” (*Persea gratissima*) > Bik. *abokado*, Ceb. *abokádo*, *abokadu*, Il. *abokado*, Kap. *abukádu*,
 Tag. *abokado*;
- atole** “cornflour drink” > Bik. *atoli* “paste,” Ceb. *atuli* “paste,” Il. *atole* “starch for clothing,” Tag. *atole*, *atol* “atol” (drink made of maize flour) and “paste”;
- cacahuate** “peanut” (*Arachis hypogaea*) > Il. *kawkawati*, Tag. *kakawate*;
cacao “cocoa” (*Theobroma cacao*) > Bik. *kakám*, Ceb. *kakám*, Il. *kakaw*,
 (*madre*) *káku*,⁷ Pang. *cocoá*, Tag. *kakaw*, *kakau*;
- calosúchil** (calachuche) “a certain plant” (*Plumeria rubra*)’ > Bik. *kalatsútsi*,
 Tag. *kalatsusi*, *kalasusi*, *karatutse*, *kalanotse*, *kalasutsi*;
- camachile** (guamuchil) “a certain plant” (*Pithecelobium dulce*) > Il. *kamantiris*,⁸
 Kap. *kamacili*, Tag. *kamatsile*, *kamastile*, *kamatsili*;
- camote** “sweet potato” (*Ipomea batatas*) > Bik. *kamóte*, Ceb. *kamote*,
 Il. *kamoti*, *kamotit*, Kap. *kamúti*, Pang. *kamóte*, *camuti*, Tag. *kamóte*;
- chayote** “vegetable pear” (*Sechium edule*) > Bik. *sayóte*, Tag. *sayote*;
- chichigua** “nursemaid, nanny” > Il. *sisima*, Kap. *sisina*, Tag. *sisina*,
sisiva;
- chichirica** “a certain plant” (*Catharantus roseus*) > Bik. *sitsirica*, *tsitsirika*,
 Tag. *sitsirika*;
- chicle** “chewing gum” > Bik. *tsiklet*, Tag. *tsikle*;
- chico** (zapote) “a certain plant and its fruit” (*Zapota achras*) > Bik. *tsiko*,
tsiko-sapóte, Il. *tsiko*, *sapote*, Kap. *siko*, Pang. *chico*, Tag. *siko*, *tsiko*, *tsiko*
sapote, *sapote*;
- chile** “chili, pepper” > Bik. *sili*, Ceb. *sile*, *sili*, Il. *sili*, Kap. *sili*, Pang.
sili, Tag. *sile*, *sili*;
- chocolate** “chocolate” > Bik. *tsokoláte*, Ceb. *sikwate*, *tsokoláte* “liquid
 chocolate,” *tsókolet* “solid chocolate,” Il. *tsokoláte*, *tsukuláte*, Pang. *chocolate*,
 Tag. *sikuláte*, *tsikuláte*, *tsokoláte*, *sukuláte*;
- copal** “a certain type of resin” > Kap. *kúpal* “seedbed”;
- coyote** “coyote, prairie wolf” (*Canis latrans*) > Tag. *koyote*;
- epazote** “herb tea” (*Chenopodium Ambrosioides*) > Tag. *alpasote*, *alpasotis*,
apósotis, *pasotis*;

guachinango “a certain kind of fish from the Gulf of Mexico; astute person, flatterer” (in Cuba) > Tag. *guwatsinanggo* “astute”;

hule “rubber” > Il. *ules*, Tag. *ule, uli*;

jalapa “a certain kind of plant” (*Convolvus officinalis*) > Tag. *halapa*;

jícama “a certain edible tuber” (*Pachyrhizus angulatus*) > Il. *singkamas, kamás*, Tag. *hikama, singkamas*;

jícara “fruit of the calabash tree, similar to a pumpkin” (*Crescentia alata*); “small vessel for drinking chocolate made in the bowl of the pumpkin” > Tag. *híkara*;

metate “stone for grinding maize” > Bik. *mitáte*;

mole “thick chili sauce” > Tag. *mole*;

pachacate “small, short, stunted” > Il. *pasakuatit* “a certain tree”;

papalote “kite” > Tag. *paparó, paroparó, alíparó* “butterfly”;

petaca “box or case for keeping things” > Bik. *pitáka*, Ceb. *pitaka*, Il. *petaka, pitaka*, Pang. *pitaka*, Tag. *pitaka*;

petate “woven palm-matting” > Ceb. *petate*, Tag. *petate*;

quelite “edible herb” > Bik. *kulitis*;

tabasco “hot sauce originally from Tabasco, Mexico” > Tag. *tabasko*;

tamal “a kind of stew” > Il. *tamales*, Kap. *tamalis*, Tag. *tamal, tamales*;

tapanco “raised platform for storing lumber” > Kap. *tapánko*, Tag. *tapangko*;

tequila “mezcal liquor” > Tag. *tekila*;

tianguis “outdoor market” > Il. *tianggi*, Tag. *tiyangge, tiangi*;

tiza “chalk for writing on blackboards” > Bik. *tisa*, Ceb. *tisas*, Il. *tisa*, Kap. *tisaq*, Tag. *tisa*;

tocayo “a person’s namesake” > Bik. *tukáyo, tokáyo*, Ceb. *tokáyo*, Kap. *tukáyu*, Tag. *tokáyo, tukáyo, katukayu*;

tomate “tomato” (*Solanum Lycopersicum*) > Bik. *kamátis*, Ceb. *kamátis, tamátis*, Il. *kamatis*, Kap. *tamátis*, Pang. *kamátis*, Tag. *kamatis*;

tulis “robber, footpad” > Tag. *tulisan*;

zacate “fodder” > Bik. *sakáte*, Tag. *sakate*;

Plainly abundant among these words are the names of plants. It is perhaps in the lexicon of flora that loanwords are most to be found.

Words of Mayan Origin

Mayan languages are spoken in Mexico and Central America.

Two words of Mayan origin were discovered to have crossed the Pacific and taken root in the languages of the Philippine Islands. *Cancún*, which denotes a kind of plant similar to watercress and probably derives from the Mexican toponym, left the following successors in the Philippine languages: Bik. *kangkóng*, Il. *kangkong*, Pang. *káñgkoñg*, Tag. *kangkong*. The Spanish words of Mayan origin, *cigarro* and *cigarrillo*,¹⁰ “cigar, cigarette roll of tobacco leaves for smoking,” left numerous successors in the Philippine archipelago: Bik. *sigariho*; Ceb. *sigarro*, *sigariho*; Il. *sigarilio*; Pang. *sigariho*; Tag. *sigaro*, *sigariho*.

Words of Tarasco Origin

It should be remembered that Tarasco, or Purépecha, which today is spoken only in the Mexican state of Michoacán, was in the past spoken in a much larger area that included parts of the modern states of Guerrero, Jalisco, and others. It was one of the empire’s *linguae francae* in pre-Hispanic times and during the conquest (Manrique Castañeda 1988, 84–85). Nor should it be forgotten that the Spanish vessels set out to the Philippines from Acapulco, in Guerrero, that is to say, from the area of Tarascan influence.

The Mexican Spanish word *ates*, or *abate*, which denotes a variety of custard apple, is the etym of the Philippine words: Bik. *atis*, Il. *atis*, Kap. *anatis*, Pang. *atis*, Tag. *atis*.¹¹ The word *gangoche* “multipurpose bag,” proper to the Spanish of America and also present in the Spanish of the Canary Islands (Álvarez 1993), and of the same origin, appears in several Philippine languages with different forms: Il. *langgusti*, *langgutsi*; Kap. *langgoci*, *linggotci*; Pang. *langóche*. The word *guaracha*, which denotes “a certain kind of dance,” appears in two Philippine languages: Pang. *curácha*, Tag. *guwaratsa*, *kuratsa*, *kuratsá*.

Words Originating in the Languages of the Antilles

The legacy of the languages of the Antilles was vast and, chronologically, the first. Words from the Antilles were rapidly adapted to the

Spanish phonological system and penetrated general Spanish in large numbers. A high number also reached the Philippine languages, even if, as the region was primarily under Mexican influence, in smaller quantities than Nahuatl words. These languages of the Antilles, now extinct, were Taíno and Carib languages.

I found the following words with an origin in the Antilles in the Philippine languages:

anona “various species of custard-apple plants and their fruit” (*Annona squamosa*, *A. reticulata*, *A. lutescens*) > Il. *anonas*, *anonang*;

barbacoa “grill” > Ceb. *balbakúwa*, Il. *barbakúa*;

bejuco “rattan reed, liana; name of various tropical creepers” > Bik. *bihúko*, Tag. *behuko*, *bihuko*;

butaca “armchair” > Bik. *butaca*, Ceb. *butaka*, Il. *butaka*, Pang. *botaka*, Tag. *butaka*;

cabuya “rope” > Tag. *kabuyá*;

cacique “Indian lord over vassals, chief” > Tag. *kasike*;

caimán “species of crocodile” (*Cocodrilus acutus*) > Tag. *kayman*;

caimito “a certain tree and its fruit” (*Chrysophillum caimito*) > Bik. *kaymito*, Ceb. *kaymito*, Il. *kaimito*, Kap. *kaymitu*, Tag. *kaimito*, *kainito*, *kaymito*, *kayimito*;

canibal “cannibal” > Bik. *kanibál*, Tag. *kanibal*;

canoa “canoe” > Tag. *kanoa*;

caoba “mahogany” > Tag. *kaoba*, *kauba*, *kaubana*;

carey “tortoiseshell” > Tag. *karey*;

cazabe “cassava bread, cassava flour” > Tag. *kasaba*;

enaguas “petticoat, women’s garment worn beneath the skirt” > Ceb. *enágwas*, *nagwas*, Tag. *enagwas*, *nagwas*, *enagwíyas*, *nagwíyas*;

guanábana “custard-apple fruit” (*Annona muricata*) > Bik. *gyabano*, Il. *guayábano*, Kap. *gwenabaya*, Tag. *guayabano*, *gyabano*, *gayabano*;

guayaba “guava (*Psidium guayava*)” > Bik. *bayabas*, Ceb. *bayábas*, Il. *bayabas*, *bayyabas*, Kap. *bayabas*, *biabas*, Pang. *bayáwas*, Tag. *bayabas*, *byabas*, *gyabas*, *tayabas*;

guayacol “substance extracted from the guayaco” > Tag. *guwayakol*;

habano “cigar” > Bik. *abáno*, Il. *abano*, Tag. *abano*;

hamaca “hammock, net or canvas which is fixed at its ends and suspended, serving as a bed” > Tag. *hamaka*;

huracán “hurricane, tropical wind of great strength” > Ceb. *urakán*, Pang. *burakán*;

loro “parrot” > Ceb. *loro*, Tag. *loro*;

maguey “maguey, a certain kind of fibre-producing plant” (*Agave americana*) > Ceb. *magay*, Il. *magey*, Tag. *magey*;

maíz “maize, corn” (*Zea mays*) > Bik. *ma’ís*, Ceb. *maís*, Il. *maís*, Kap. *maís*, Pang. *maís*, Tag. *maís*;

maní “peanut” (*Arachis hypogaea*) > Bik. *maní*, Ceb. *maní*, Il. *maní*, Kap. *maniq*, Pang. *maní*, Tag. *maní*;

papaya “papaya, pawpaw” (*Carica papaya*) > Bik. *kapáyas*, *papaya*, *tapayas*, Ceb. *kapáyas*, *papaya*, Il. *papaya*, Kap. *kapáya*, *kapáyag*, *papayaq*; Pang. *apayas*, Tag. *papaya*;

patatas “potato” > Bik. *patatas*, Ceb. *patatas*, Il. *patatas*, Pang. *patatas*, *batata*, Tag. *patatas*, *papas*;

sabana “savannah” > Tag. *sabana*; *sabaneta*;

tabako “tobacco, a certain solanaceous plant” (*Nicotiana tabacum*) > Bik. *tabáko*, Ceb. *tabako*, Il. *tabaku*, *tabáko*, Kap. *tabákuq*, Pang. *tabaco*, Tag. *tabako*.

Words of Quechua Origin

Quechua is spoken in Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia. It is divided in several dialects.

Of Quechua origin are to be found:

alpaca “alpaca, a certain kind of ruminant and its wool” (*Auchenmia pacos*) > Ceb. *alpaca*, Tag. *alpaka*;

coca “coca, a certain bush” (*Erythroxylon coca*) > Tag. *koka*;

cóndor “condor, a certain kind of vulture” (*Sarcorrhampus gryphus*) > Tag. *kóndor*;

gaucho “gaucho, cowboy, herder” > Tag. *gautso*;

guano “excrement of sea birds used as manure” > Bik. *guano*, Tag. *guano*, *guwano*;

jipijapa “fibre extracted from the leaves of the palm tree to make hats; the hat made of this material” > Tag. *hipihapa*;

pampa “prairie” > Tag. *pampa*;

papa “potato” > Tag. *papas*;

quinina “quinine, febrifugal substance extracted from the bark of certain trees” > Bik. *kinina*, Ceb. *kinina*, Tag. *kina*, *kinina*.

Words of Tupí-Guaraní Origin

Tupí-Guaraní is a group of languages spoken in Brazil and Paraguay.

Of Tupí-Guaraní origin are:

ipecacuana “ipecacuanha, ipecac, certain kind of creeper” (*Iomidium strictum*) > Tag. *ipekakwaná*;

jaguar “jaguar, a certain class of feline” > Tag. *haguwar*;

tapioca “tapioca, manioc or yuca starch, used in cooking” > Ceb. *tapyoka*, Tag. *tapiyóka*, *tapyoka*.

Words of Algonquin Origin

Algonquin is a group of languages spoken in Canada and United States.

A small group of words has been found that proceed from these languages, through Spanish and English and French:

caribú “caribou, wild Canadian reindeer” (*Rangifer caribou*) > Tag. *karibú*;

mocasín “moccasin” > Ceb. *mocasín*, Tag. *moccasin*, *mókasin*;

tobogán “slide” > Tag. *tobogán*;

totem “totem, totem pole, object from the nature world used by man as an amulet” > Ceb. *totem*, Tag. *totem*.

Words of Other Origins

From Mapuche, spoken in Chile, comes probably: **carí** “pepper” > Tag. *carí*.

From Chibcha (of Colombia and Panamá), comes: **chicha** “maize liquor, corn liquor” > Tag. *sitsa*.

Transmission and Diffusion of Indoamericanisms

The fundamental link was forged, as we saw above, by the Acapulco galleon. Metaphorically, we could say that the words travelled on board the galleon and crossed the sea with the men who spoke a lan-

guage which was not diffused uniformly across the Philippines, but some of whose words oddly took firm root in the different languages. The galleon transported a whole way of life and a series of cultural goods, the diffusion of which took place largely by means of words.

It is extraordinarily difficult to know what was spoken on board the galleon. We do not know what language was used by the galleon's motley crowd of sailors, missionaries, colonizers, soldiers, functionaries, adventurers, and servants from all parts of Europe, America, and Africa. Of course, Spanish would have been spoken, but perhaps some argot of the boat's own would have been used, too, some mix of languages, as is usually to be encountered in situations where people of many different origins congregate; certainly, there would have been some people speaking Indoamerican languages. Probably some of the travellers were bilingual in Spanish and an American language, while others would have been monolingual.

The chronicles tell us the story of a Mexican Indian who went to Cebu in the fleet of Villalobos (1543), was cut off there, became assimilated and lived for years with tribes in the region. Some time later, Legazpi's expedition (1565) heard reports of him and sailed off to his rescue. He had practically forgotten Spanish and his own Mexican language:

He was an Indian, a native of Mexico, born in Santiago de Tlatrelusco, who arrived in the fleet of Villalobos and was cut off there together with some Spaniards from a frigate which ran aground on that island.¹² And although he was not Spanish, since he was baptised a Christian, the camp rejoiced at his delivery. . . . He spoke very little Castilian, still less his Mexican tongue, which he had forgotten. The tongue of these islands he knows and speaks well. . . . He says that he was a lad when he came to these islands, and that he came with a soldier who called himself Juan Crespo. He says that he was married to a daughter of a chieftain in Tendaya and that he has two young daughters, one called Catalinica and the other Juanica, to whom he gave these Christian names, although they are not Christians.

This passage makes it clear, in the first place, that there were some bilingual speakers of Spanish and Náhuatl in the expedition who tried

to communicate with that Indian and were able to tell that he had forgotten both languages; and, secondly, that the American and Philippine languages came into direct contact. There must have been others like this Indian from Tlatelolco, some perhaps with a better memory for languages, who contributed to establishing this linguistic legacy.

However that might be, these contacts would only have been sporadic. The real contact came about through Spanish, which was really the language that transmitted the greatest proportion of Indoamericanisms to the Philippine languages. Nevertheless, to see the complete picture we should consider other languages.

Transmission of Indoamericanisms through Languages Other than Spanish

The last century saw how English made an effective entry into the whole of the Philippine territory with the aid of all the political means necessary, together with the modern mass media. English presently enjoys the status of an official language in the Philippines, influencing other languages with unlimited powers. And, indeed, these languages contain a considerable quantity of Anglicisms.

Compared with Spanish, the number of Indoamerican words transmitted by English to the Philippine languages is very small. These words have normally entered the English language via Spanish.

In some cases there has been a double (Spanish and English) transmission to one and the same language, thus generating the confluence of two words that in principle should designate the same parcel of reality. A good example is "chocolate." In Cebuano, semantic specialization occurs: the Hispanicisms *sikwate* and *tsokolate* designate "liquid chocolate," the most usual way of preparing chocolate during the Spanish period, while the Anglicism *tsókolet* is "solid chocolate."

Another word for which English has acted as the language of transmission is cocoa > Pang. *cocoá*.

French never came into contact with the Philippine languages, but it does play a part in the transmission of Americanisms to those languages. Since France possessed and continues to possess territories in the Americas, the French language has some words that have been taken

directly from the Algonquin languages of North America (U.S.A. and Canada). Later, some of them passed later into the Spanish (*caribú, tobogán*) and from there reached the Pacific (Tag. *karibú, tobogán*).

The same is true of the Portuguese and the words it adopted from the Tupí-Guaraní in the region occupied by present-day Brazil. These are words which the Spanish took from the Portuguese and later transmitted to other languages, including those of the Philippines.

Some of the Portuguese words taken from Tupí-Guaraní were transmitted to the Spanish, for example, *ananás* and *ipecacuana* “a certain kind of creeper” (*Inodium strictum*) which surfaces in Tagalog as *ipekakwaná* (Salvador 1967, 250n. 51).

Thus, Portuguese is also a language that has transmitted Americanisms to the languages of the Philippines. Although never in direct contact with those languages, it was in contact with other Malayo-Polynesian languages in territories that now form part of Malaysia, Indonesia, and East Timor, where Portuguese is still a lively force.

Adoption of Indoamericanisms by the Languages of the Philippines

We are nearing the journey’s end for the “traveling words” I have been considering. The process came to an end when the Philippine languages adopted this linguistic legacy and incorporated it into their respective lexicons. Not only did Indoamericanisms make it into the Philippine languages, but they were diffused by all those languages in the area that were in contact with the Spanish. Some of these words appear in all the Spanish possessions of Oceania: in Chamorro, spoken in the Mariana Islands (Guam and Northern Marianas) and in the different languages of the Caroline Islands we may find Indoamericanisms.

The most heavily influenced languages are those that came into greatest contact with the Spanish. In the Philippines, where the linguistic variety was immense, the so-called major languages stood a better chance of being influenced, that is to say those languages of most importance in terms of development and number of speakers. Among these languages are Tagalog, Cebuano, Bikol, Ilokano, Kapampangan, Pangasinan and, in all of which, as we have seen, there is a considerable

number of words whose remote etyma are to be sought in a pre-Columbian Indoamerican language.

Some loanwords enjoyed great success in the Philippines and took root in the different languages of the archipelago, with some small variations with respect to adaptation. Our data permit a division, depending on the ideological field to which they belong, into three distinct groups of Indoamericanisms which prospered enough to be spread widely throughout the archipelago's languages. The first group, where most Indoamerican loans are to be found, is that of plant names (*aguacate, cacao, caimito, camachile, camote, cancún, chile, guanábana, guayaba, maíz, maní, papaya, patata, tabaco, tomate*); the second, much smaller, group is that of names of prepared foods (*ate, atole, chocolate, tamal*); the third group is that of utensils or objects imported from Indoamerican cultures (*butaca, cigarro, gángoche, habano, hule, petaca, tapanco, tiangue, tiza*).

The Philippine languages also subjected these words to a process of adaptation before incorporating them into their lexical stream. Such phonemes that sounded strange were substituted or adapted in a variety of ways.

With respect to phonetics, the loanword is subjected to an adaptive mechanism that differs from one language or group of languages to the next. As an example, we may cite the fluctuation in the posterior and anterior vowels, with the result that the Spanish phonemes /o/ /u/ and /e/ /i/ are neutralised (*atole* > Bik. *atoli*; Il. *atole*). In the Austronesian languages, the adaptation of the Spanish phoneme /c/, which they lack, finds two solutions: It is either substituted by the consonantal sequence /ts/ (*caucho* > Tag. *kautsó*; *chicle* > Bik. *tsikelet*, Tag. *tsikéle*), which is in fact the same consonantal group without palatalizing or it is simplified and confused with /s/: *chocolate* > Ceb. *sikwate*, Tag. *sikuláte*.

As for morphology, we might mention that many words are adapted with the morpheme of the Spanish plural devoid of any semantic value. This normally happens in the case of objects that are usually to be encountered in groups or pairs (*anona* > Il. *anonas*; Tag. *anonas, anunas*). We may also see how some of these words are transmitted with the article agglutinated: *laguaná*.

Reciprocal Influences

It should finally be added that the cultural transfer was in two directions. In Mexico, the most highly prized variety of mango is known as *mango de Manila*. In America, too, the arrival of the galleon and the items it transported (silk, ivory, porcelain, among others) were eagerly awaited. And that, too, left a trail in the languages concerned, the tracing of which would call for another study. Let two examples serve for the present purposes: *pantalán* "causeway built over the sea" or *tuba* "fermented drink from the palm tree" are both Philippinisms, the first of which is present in general Spanish while the second is only to be found in some regions of Mexico.

Notes

This article was translated from the original Spanish by Jonathan Sell.

1. The Philippine languages I have studied are Tagalog (Tag.), Cebuano (Ceb.), Bikol (Bik.), Ilokano (Il.), Kapampangan (Kap.), and Pangasinán (Pang). See Albalá 2000.

2. *Barbacoa* possesses various meanings in Spanish according to the different linguistic areas. It passed into the languages of the Pacific with the meaning "grill." It is this meaning which Fernández de Oviedo documents: "Barbecues, a kind of grill made of sticks and canes" ("*Barbacoas* ques una manera de parrillas fechas de palos e cañas...": apud *Friedericci* [1960] s.v. *barbacoa*).

3. For the purposes of this article I use "America" and "American," to refer to all the Americas.

4. See Navarro Tomás 1974, 177: "Communication with nature and the Indian peoples of America called for an extraordinary linguistic effort on the part of the explorers and colonisers. In his writings Columbus lamented the fact that he did not know how to name the infinite species of unknown trees, fruits, birds, and fishes which the Antilles set before his eyes. Gradually, the attention and ingenuity of a host of anonymous people supplied the need that the Admiral had pinpointed. The discovery was not truly completed so long as the animals and objects of the New World were not incorporated into the stream of the language with their own names. The paths taken in this endeavor consisted variously in the adoption of Indian names, in the adaptation of Spanish names for similar objects, in the semantic extension of words, and in the invention of new names."

5. During the American stage of the conquest, the category of "general language" (*lengua general*) was created for those Indian languages that were of greatest

importance in terms of number of speakers and development. It is strange that some of the languages that attained the status of "general" enjoyed greater diffusion and development in the colonial period than in the pre-Hispanic age. Antonio Tovar (1984, 192) defines the concept as: "general languages were those that were recognised as such by the *conquistadores*, in acceptance of a state of affairs that predated the conquest itself" (*Catálogo de las lenguas de América del Sur* [1984], 192).

6. The Pacific languages I have studied are Bikol, Carolinian (Northern Mariana Islands), Cebuano, Chamorro (Mariana Islands), Ilokano, Kusaian (Federated States of Micronesia), Marshallese (Marshall Islands), Mokilese (Federated States of Micronesia), Palauan (Palau Islands), Kapampangan, Pangasinan, Ponapean (Federated States of Micronesia), Tagalog, Trukese (Federated States of Micronesia), Woleian (Federated States of Micronesia), and Yapese (Federated States of Micronesia). In this paper, I refer specifically to words of Indoamerican origin in six major Philippine languages. As this paper considers only the contact between Spanish and Malayo-Polynesian languages, I have excluded the Spanish of the Philippines and Chabacano.

7. Forman (1971) does not include any cognate with *cacao*, although the word *madrekaku*, meaning "mother of cacao" and denoting the bush planted beside the cacao sapling to give it shade, is recorded.

8. The relation between *kamantiris* and *camachile*, though not totally proven, seems highly likely.

9. It is not entirely clear whether these forms may be considered Americanisms in Tagalog, but it seems highly likely that they are related to the Náhuatl word.

10. I consider the most probable origin of the Spanish words *cigarro* and *cigarillo* to be American, *pase* Corominas (1980), who derives them from the Spanish word *cigarra* "cicada"—a hypothesis rejected by all other lexicographers (Corominas 1980).

11. This word seems to have been introduced to the Philippines at a very early stage, since the fruit it denotes was already considered native to the islands in the second half of the seventeenth century (see Guzmán Rivas 1960, 198). In Mexican Spanish the word *ate* also exists with another meaning. It does not denote *Annona squamosa* but is rather the "generic name with which is designated a class of jellies, especially fruit jellies; by aphaeresis, suppressing the name of the fruits: *guayabate*, *duraznate*, *membrillate*, etc." (Santamaría 1983, s.v. *ate*). As proven by Juan M. Lope Blanch (1978, 296–97) this other word "ate" is of Latin origin.

12. The Indian, whose name was Juanes, was a native of what is today Tlatelolco (Mexico, D.F.); the church dedicated to Santiago still exists. He was therefore a Nahuatl Indian, the mother tongue he had forgotten being Náhuatl. The fact that the chronicler points out that Juanes no longer spoke the Mexican language leads one to think that there were Náhuatl speakers among the members of Legazpi's expedition who, on trying to communicate with him in that language, were able to tell that he had forgotten it.

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