

CEBUANO

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Language Name: Cebuano. **Alternates:** Visayan, Bisayan, Cebuano Visayan, Sugbuanon. **Autonyms:** *Binisayá?*, *Sibuwánu*, *sugbuʼánun*.

Location: Central Philippines (islands of Cebu and Bohol, and on the smaller islands in the vicinity).

Family: Bisayan subgroup of the Central Philippine group of the Western Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family.

Related Languages: TAGALOG, HILIGAYNON, BIKOL, and the other languages in the Philippine group. Cebuano is more distantly related to MALAY, outside of the Philippines.

Dialects: Cebuano is marked by a certain amount of dialectal variation which is regionally based. The dialect spoken in Cebu City is the most influential.

Number of Speakers: 12 million.

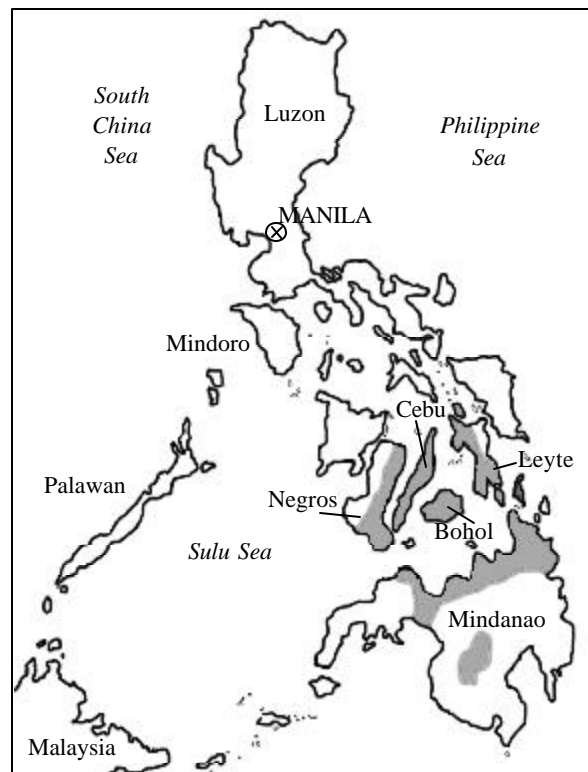
Origin and History

Cebuano or an ancestor of this language has probably been spoken in the Cebu heartland since Proto-Austronesian times, perhaps 6,000 years ago. This is not to say that Cebuano has likely passed in an unbroken tradition from the earliest times up to the present. Internal evidence and a study of ongoing developments of Cebuano and other languages of the Philippines reveals that Cebuano, like the other languages of the region, has developed by repeated processes of overlay, whereby a closely related language (or even a not so closely related language) comes to the area and replaces the language originally spoken and receives substantial substratal influence from the language replaced. Alternatively, the introduced language does not replace the original language but alters it significantly. Cebuano has spread from its base in Cebu to adjacent areas, probably in the last few hundred years, and has replaced closely related languages which were spoken there. Dialectal differentiation is largely due to the influence of languages which were replaced.

The first recorded text in Cebuano is a word list gathered in Cebu by Pigafetta, the chronicler who accompanied Magellan on his trip westward in search of the Spice Islands in 1521. The Spaniards returned to Cebu in 1564, and beginning a few years after this time, the first catechisms were prepared. The word lists and grammars date from the following century, although the printed versions of these materials appear only in the eighteenth century. None of the indigenous literature has survived in published form, although there is a certain amount of orally transmitted material which has an unbroken history predating the Spanish Conquest. There is almost no published literature prior to the twentieth century, and the only earlier specimens of the languages come from catechisms, or other religious texts, or sample sentences in grammars and dictionaries. Earlier grammars and dictionaries reveal that the language has undergone rapid changes in the course of the last four centuries. The sample sentences in the older sources show numerous grammatical forms which are not known nowadays. Many entries in the

earlier dictionaries are for words which no one seems to know today, and many of the old folk songs and older religious texts use grammatical forms which are not part of the colloquial language but, rather, are used in elevated literary styles.

Dialects: The Cebu City dialect is spreading throughout the Cebuano speech area. Cebuano speakers note dialects which drop /l/ between two /a/'s, two /u/'s, between an /a/ and a /u/, or between a /u/ and an /a/, and dialects which retain /l/ in those environments. The isoglosses which mark these phono-



Cebuano is spoken on the islands of Cebu and Bohol as well as in areas of the surrounding islands (shaded areas).

Table 1: Consonants

		Bilabial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	Voiceless	p	t	c	k	ʔ
	Voiced	b	d	j	g	
Fricatives			s			h
Nasals		m	n		ŋ	
Liquids			l, r			
Glides				y	w	

logical features coincide with numerous other isoglosses involving lexical items or morphological features. The l-dropping dialects extend on the island of Cebu from an area immediately to the south of Cebu City northward throughout the island, over the island of Bohol, and over the areas of Leyte which are Cebuano-speaking. The Cebuano areas to the south of Cebu City and those on Mindanao and Negros are l-retaining. There are other dialectal differences which the community does not remark on overtly, but which are important phonologically and distinguish rustic dialects from sophisticated dialects. One of the most important is the merging of /e/ and /u/, which has taken place throughout the Cebuano speech area except in pockets or speech-islands which preserve /e/, although not necessarily in all forms which formerly had /e/. Also, there are areas in which /e/ is preserved in the speech of certain groups or classes. That is, in some areas, /e/ still remains in some words but is a stylistic marker.

Orthography and Basic Phonology

The Cebuano alphabet is based on the Roman one. All sounds are written, with the exception of the glottal stop /ʔ/, which is written with a dash (-), but only following a consonant. Some sounds are written with combinations of two letters: /ŋ/ is written *ng*, as in English; /c/ is written *ts*; and /j/, *dy*. The vowel /i/ can be written either *i* or *e*, and /u/ can be written either *u* or *o*. Stress is not indicated.

The palatals /c/ and /j/ are phonetically affricates [č] and [j].

Table 2: Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Low		a	

Dialectally there is a central vowel /e/ which is inherited from Proto-Austronesian *e, but in standard Cebuano /e/ has merged with /u/. The height of /i/ and /u/ is variable according to dialect. Also there is a tendency for lower allophones to occur in final syllables. /a/ tends to be pronounced centrally and quite low, although in some dialects there is a slight tendency to front /a/. Backing and rounding of /a/ is not known, except in the speech of speakers who affect an ENGLISH (American) accent.

Stress and Length. Where /l/ has been lost between like vowels (see *Dialects*, above), there is compensatory lengthening in the penult or final syllable (but not earlier in the word). Dialects with l-loss thus show contrast between long and short vowels in the penult or final syllable, although this does not have a high functional load. For example, in the l-dropping

dialects *nagdala* ‘brought’ is pronounced *nagdáa* (where writing two vowels indicates length), but if the /l/ is lost in an earlier syllable there is no compensatory lengthening: *ʔuluʔasáwa* ‘concubine’ is pronounced *ʔuʔasáwa* (with short /u/) in the l-dropping dialects. Since l-loss occurs between two /u/’s and two /a/’s but not between two /i/’s, there is no long /i/. There are only a long /u/ and a long /a/.

Every word has a stress, either on the final syllable or on the penult. All long vowels are stressed. If the penult is closed, the stress is automatically on the penult, except in the case of loan words. Stress on the open penult causes the vowel to be lengthened.

Phonological Rules. With one exception all syllables in forms not recent borrowings from Spanish or English have the shape C₁(r)V(C₂). C₂ may be any consonant but /h/. Further, except in dialects C₂ may not be /ʔ/ except at the end of the word and in reduplicated roots—that is, roots with the shape C₁VʔC₁Vʔ. Phonetically sequences with Cy and Cw also occur, but these are phonologically analyzable as Ciy and Cuw respectively, for there is no contrast between [Cy] and [Ciy] and between [Cw] and [Cuw]. The canonical shape C₁(r)V(C₂) states that no syllable begins with a vowel. There is no contrast between word initial /ʔ/ and its absence, and words that are written with initial vowel do in fact have initial /ʔ/ phonemically and phonetically. The canonical shape C₁(r)V(C₂) also states that no sequences of vowels occur. When a suffix beginning with a vowel is added to roots ending with a vowel, /ʔ/ or /h/ is added to the root before the suffix. (Whether /h/ or /ʔ/ is added depends on the root. In some cases both may be alternatively added; e.g., *gustu* ‘like’ + *-an* yields *gustuhán* or alternatively *gustuʔán* ‘like something’.) Roots are typically disyllabic or occasionally trisyllabic. The exception to the canonical shape of the syllable is that names can be made diminutive and endearing by a morphological process which uses the a single syllable of the name and adds a suffix *-s*. This has produced syllables ending in Cs. /s/ is assimilated to preceding voiced consonants. For example, the name *ʔida* ‘Ida’ may be shortened to /ʔid/ and then made diminutive by adding *-s* forming /ʔids/ pronounced [ʔidz].

The stress pattern of a morphologically complex form is the same as the stress pattern of the root (except in the case of morphological formations in which the shift of stress from the penult to the end or from the end to the penult is part of the morphological process). Thus *bása* ‘read’ has penultimate stress, and when it adds *-un* the resulting form is *basáhun* ‘read it’ where the stress remains on the penult of the resulting word.

Historically, stress was forceful and tended to weaken the

Table 3: Primary Affixes

Voice (case)	Past	Future	Tenseless
active volitional	<i>mipalít</i> ‘bought’	<i>mupalít</i> ‘will buy’	<i>mupalít/palít</i> ‘buy’
active non-volitional	<i>nagpalít</i> ‘bought’	<i>magpalít</i> ‘will buy’	<i>magpalít</i> ‘buy’
active progressive	<i>nagapalít</i> ‘is buying’	<i>magapalít</i> ‘will be buying’	<i>magapalít</i> ‘be buying’
direct passive	<i>gipalít</i> ‘bought it’	<i>palitún</i> ‘will buy it’	<i>palitá</i> ‘buy it’
local passive	<i>gipalítán</i> ‘bought from it’	<i>palitán</i> ‘will buy from it’	<i>palití</i> ‘buy from it’
conveyance passive	<i>gipalít</i> ‘used it to buy/buy for him’	<i>?ipalít</i> ‘will use to buy, etc.’	<i>?ipalít</i> ‘use to buy, etc.’

vowel of a syllable preceding the stressed syllable, which became lost in rapid speech or in morphological processes. This feature reflects itself in the process whereby common forms (pronouns, deictics and the like) tend to lose the first syllable in colloquial speech. (E.g., *kamí* ‘we (not you)’ tends to be pronounced /mi/, with loss of the /a/ of the first syllable and loss of the initial /k-/ to avoid the resulting non-occurring consonant sequence; *ni?íni* ‘this (genitive)’ tends to be pronounced /?íni/, and so forth. In the morphophonemics of word formation, the same type of phonological rule applies: the vowel of an open penult is lost when the final syllable of the word is stressed, but earlier syllables in the word are not lost. Thus, when *-un* is added to *putúl* ‘cut’ the resulting form is *pútlun* ‘cut it’, where the penultimate vowel of the resulting word is lost. The stress then shifts from the final syllable to the penultimate, by the rule that closed penults must have the stress.

Metathesis is common in affixational processes, especially involving nasals, /s/, /ʔ/, and /h/. E.g. *tanúm* ‘plant’ plus *+an* produces *támnan* (with loss of the /u/ plus metathesis) ‘plant on it’; *putús* ‘wrap’ plus *-un* produces *pústun* ‘wrap it’; *gabí?i* ‘night’ plus *hi-án* produces *higabi?hán* ‘get overtaken by night-fall (on the road or the like)’ dialectally, and in the Cebuano of Cebu City produces metathesized *higabhi?án*.

Basic Morphology

Noun (and Adjective) Morphology. There is no inflectional noun or adjective morphology—that is, there is no inflection for number, case, agreement, or gender in nouns and adjectives. There is an extensive and productive system of affixes which derive nouns and adjectives from roots of given semantic classes. All forms in the sentence are marked for case: nominative, genitive or dative/locative. In all classes of words except for the pronouns case is indicated by separate particles which precede the word marked. E.g. *babáyi* ‘woman’ *?a? babáyi* (nominative) and *sa babáyi* (genitive); *Huwán* ‘John’ *si Huwán* (nominative), *ni Huwán* (genitive), *ka? Huwán* (dative). The pronouns mark case inflectionally—that is, by special case forms, e.g. the first person singular ‘I’ *akú* or *ku* (nominative), *ku* or *náku?* (genitive), *áku?* (preposed genitive), and *kanáku?* or *náku?* (dative). Case relations are additionally expressed by verbal inflection (see directly below).

Verb Morphology. Verb morphology is elaborate, as is the case of all the Philippine languages, and the Cebuano verb system is in many ways similar to that of other Philippine languages. There is a small series of primary (inflectional) affixes and a fairly large number of productive secondary affixes. Secondary affixes indicate things like causation, potentiality,

mutual action (involving two agents whose activities devolve on one another), plurality, accidental action, and other categories not describable in some simple way. The primary affixes indicate tense, aspect (or lack thereof), volitionality or inchoativeness, and case (the relation between the verb and a word to which it is oriented as the location, the direct object of the action, the time of the action, the place of the action, the beneficiary of the action, the thing conveyed in a direction away from the speaker, and other semantic relations not easily characterizable in simple terms). Table 3 above shows the primary affixes added to an unaffixed root. The tense meanings conveyed by the translations here only approximate the Cebuano meanings. The tenseless forms are used when the verb is preceded by another form which shows time or tense (e.g. the deictics, as shown below). We take *palít* ‘buy’ as our paradigm.

These affixes undergo complicated morphophonemic changes when added to stems which consist of a root plus some of the derivative affixes (but in the case of other derived stems, the inflectional affixes are added agglutinatively; they do not undergo morphophonemic alternations). Tables 4 and 5 on the next page show the paradigm of *papalít* ‘cause to buy’ (consisting of *pa-* plus *palít*, in which the inflectional affixes are added in an agglutinative way) and the root plus a potential derivative affix (in which the inflectional affixes combine with the derivational affixes with complex morphophonemics, so that neither is recoverable).

Other Information on Morphology: The deictics (particles meaning “here, there, where”) are inflected for tense and motion. When following the phrase modified, the deictics distinguish the meaning “motion” from “non-motion” and for expressing the meaning “non-motion” use the form which is the same as the past tense form. When preceding the phrase modified, the deictics have tense meaning, but the meaning “motion” is not distinguished in this position, and the motion form does not occur preceding the word modified:

	Past	Present	Future	Motion
here (near me)	<i>dirí</i>	<i>dí?a</i>	<i>arí</i>	<i>ngarí</i>
here (near you and me)	<i>dinhi</i>	<i>ní?a</i>	<i>ánhi</i>	<i>ngánhi</i>
there (near you)	<i>dihá?</i>	<i>ná?a</i>	<i>ánha?</i>	<i>ngánha?</i>
there (far)	<i>dídtu</i>	<i>tú?a</i>	<i>ádtu</i>	<i>ngádtu</i>
where	<i>dí?ín</i>	<i>há?in</i>	<i>?ása</i>	(none)

Basic Syntax

The syntax of Cebuano, as is the case of all Philippine languages and in fact most of the Austronesian languages, is such that every word is free to occur in every grammatical construction—that is, there are subjects, predicates, and modifiers

Table 4: The Causative Paradigm with *pa-*

Voice (case)	Past	Future	Tenseless
active	<i>nagpapalít</i> 'had someone buy'	<i>magpapalít</i> 'will have someone buy'	<i>magpapalít/papalít</i> 'have someone buy'
direct passive	<i>gipapalít</i> 'had him/her buy'	<i>papalitún</i> 'will have him/ her buy'	<i>papalítá</i> 'have him/her buy'
local passive	<i>gipapalítán</i> 'had someone buy from'	<i>papalítán</i> 'will have someone buy from'	<i>papalítí</i> 'have someone buy from'
conveyance passive	<i>gipapalít</i> ' 'had it bought'	<i>?ipapalít</i> 'will have it bought'	<i>?ipapalít</i> 'have it bought'

Table 5: The Potential Paradigm

Voice (case)	Past	Future	Tenseless
active	<i>nakapalít</i> 'managed to buy'	<i>makapalít</i> 'can buy'	<i>makapalít</i> 'can buy'
direct passive	<i>napalít</i> 'happened to buy it'	<i>mapalít</i> 'can buy it'	<i>mapalít</i> 'can buy it'
local passive	<i>napapalítán</i> 'happened to buy from'	<i>mapalítán/kapalítán</i> 'can buy from'	<i>mapalítán/kapalítán</i> 'can buy from'
conveyance passive	<i>gikapalít</i> 'managed to use it to buy'	<i>?ikapalít</i> 'can use it to buy'	<i>?ikapalít</i> 'can use it to buy'

of various sorts and each word is free to occur in all three of those types of constructions without undergoing any morphological process. For example, a verb may modify a noun and when it does so it is not morphologically marked (that is, the verb is not transformed into something like a participle, as would be the case in Indo-European languages). There is no morphology which marks case, gender, number, or agreement, except that there are special verb derivations which refer to plural stems of various semantic types.

Cebuano has full words and particles which mark or modify full words. The markers are a small number which show grammatical relations (e.g. case, see above). Other particles are words which precede the full word they modify and those which follow them. Those which precede are the words meaning 'no' *díli?* and *walá?* and auxiliaries such as *kinahánglan* 'must', *mahímu* 'can', *gústu* 'want to', and a few others. Post-posed modifiers carry time or aspectual meanings or kinds of meanings carried by intonation in English. A sample list of some of these: *pa* 'still', *na* 'completed action', *gayúd* 'for sure', *man* 'because', *bítaw* 'you're right', *lagí* 'it is so the case', and so forth. Full words can only be modified if they are in the predicate.

Case Marking of Major Constituents. Full words can occur in any of the six types of construction which occur in Cebuano sentences: subject or theme, predicate (subject, theme, and predication are marked by the nominative case), attribute or appositive (marked by a linking particle *ña* (alternatively *η*), complement (marked by *sa* for specific complements and *lug* for nonspecific complements), genitive (marked by *ni* in the case of proper nouns or *sa* for all other forms) and dative/locative (marked by *kan* in the case of the proper nouns or *sa* for all other forms).

The **order of constituents** is free except that length of constituent influences the word order and complements and genitive

follow the forms they are in a phrase with. (There is also an alternative genitive which is placed immediately preceding the forms it is in a phrase with). However, there is a normal unmarked order, and other word orders thematicize or topicalize. The normal basic order is predicate + subject +dative/ locative/time phrase: *gipalít ni Huwán ?añ líbru gahápun* (bought-it GEN John NOM book yesterday) 'John bought the book yesterday.'

The other alternative orders are also possible, but they thematicize the element put first: Time Predicate Subject, Time Subject Predicate, Subject Predicate Time, Subject Time Predicate, and Predicate Time Subject (although the latter two are unusual). Further, modifying particles and all pronouns except dative forms must occur immediately following the first word of the predicate or a time/location/dative form which comes ahead of the predicate. Thus for example, the above sentence could also have the Time phrase first (with an appropriate change in the verb form): *gahápun palítá ni Huwán ?añ líbru* (yesterday bought-it GEN John NOM book) 'Yesterday John bought the book.'

If a pronoun is substituted for *ni Huwan*, e.g., *níya* 'he (genitive)', then *níya* must come immediately after *gahápun* 'yesterday' or as close after it as possible: *gahápun níya palítá ?añ líbru* 'Yesterday he bought the book.'

If a modifying particle comes with the predicate, it is placed next to the preceding time-phrase or as close after it as possible: *gahápun pa níya palítá ?añ líbru* (yesterday already bought-it he.GEN NOM book) 'Yesterday he bought the book.' If a pronoun is substituted for *?ang líbru* 'the book', e.g., *na?* 'that (nominative)', then *na?* must come immediately after *gahápun* 'yesterday' or as close after it as possible: *Gahápun na? níya palítá*. 'It was yesterday he bought that.'

Head Initial or Head-final Nature. For appositions or ad-

jectival constructions there is no set order, and it is impossible to say which of the two or more forms in the phrase is the head. For example, in a phrase meaning ‘the big house’, the form meaning ‘big’ can come first or second: *?aŋ dakú ŋ baláy* ‘the big thing that is a house’ or *?aŋ baláy ŋ dakú?* ‘the house that is big.’ Another example: for ‘the book I asked him to buy’, the phrase meaning ‘I asked him to buy’ can come first or second: *?aŋ gipapalít náku? níya ŋ líbru* ‘the thing which I had him buy which was a book’ or *?aŋ líbru ŋ gipapalít náku? níya* ‘the book which I asked him to buy.’

Numerals must precede the words they modify, however. In the following phrase the word for ‘two’ *duhá* must come first: *duhá ka líbru* /two linker book/ ‘two books.’

Negation. There are two negatives: *walá?* (past, present verbs and location) and *díli?* (future verbs, adjectives, and nouns). Since *walá?* with verbs indicates past time, the tenseless form of the verb follows all verbs modified with *walá?*, as for example the form *palítá* ‘buy’ which is tenseless in the following example: *walá? palítá ni Huwán? aŋ líbru* (NEG–PAST buy–it GEN John NOM book) ‘John didn’t buy the book.’

Common Words

water:	túbig	sun:	?ádlaw
fish:	?ísda?	big:	dakú?
long:	ta?ás	good:	ma?áyu
bird:	lánggam	dog:	?irú?
tree:	káhuy	woman:	babáyi
yes:	?ú?u		
no:	walá? (past tense, there is not), díli? (otherwise)		
man:	laláki (male), táwu (human)		
small:	gamáy (in size), jútay (in amount)		

Contact with Other Languages

Cebuano is in contact with Tagalog, the language of the capital city of the Philippines and one of the national languages of the Philippines, and this language exercises an influence on Cebuano greater than any other. The strongest influence is felt in urban areas, especially where there is a considerable population of Tagalog speakers, immigrants from Luzon or their descendents, as is the case in Davao City. In these areas both Tagalog and Cebuano are widely spoken, and much of the Cebuano-speaking population is bilingual in both languages. Further, Tagalog exercises a strong influence on the Cebuano in urban areas indirectly even where the Tagalog-speaking population is small, as the Tagalog speakers who come to Cebuano areas invariably form the top stratum of society: they are the best off and have the best jobs, and they are thus seen as prestigious. These Tagalog speakers learn Cebuano, because it is the only language in which one can socialize, but their grammar is always strongly influenced by Tagalog, either in that they fail to make distinctions lacking in Tagalog but present in Cebuano or in that they substitute Tagalog forms for Cebuano. The new forms which arise from this foreign Cebuano get imitated by the local population, as those who speak this way make up the most highly regarded stratum of the community. In this manner urban Cebuano has changed substantially in its grammar over the past forty years.

In comparison with Tagalog, English has had a much more superficial influence. English is widely used in many domains and has the function of the high code in the diglossic situation, so that in social situations its use is confined to code switches. Further, English as spoken in the Philippines has lost much of English phonology and in some ways has been accommodated to Philippines grammar or semantic categories. Thus English influences Cebuano primarily at the lexical level—that is, Cebuano is replete with loan words from English, but there has been no influence from English on any other plane.

In the past, starting with the period of the first Spanish contacts in the sixteenth century until approximately World War II, Cebuano was in contact with SPANISH. There was a influential population of native speakers of Spanish present in the Cebuano-speaking areas, the mestizos, who were natively bilingual with Cebuano as well. This population had considerable money and power and to be known to be or thought to be Spanish-speaking was a source of great pride. This led to considerable importation of Spanish words, including some of the most intimate and frequently occurring forms, for one could give the impression of being a Spanish speaker by brief code switches into Spanish or by borrowing Spanish words where possible. As a result Cebuano has heavy borrowing from Spanish, especially in the urban dialects, and unlike English, which developed no mestizo community, Spanish provides Cebuano with words for some of the forms which are most frequent in occurrence and most important for the flow of the discourse. As is the case with English, Spanish in the Philippines lost much of its original phonology and was accommodated in some ways to Philippine grammar or semantic categories. Thus the influence of Spanish, like that of English, was mainly in the area of the lexicon.

Cebuano is also in contact with smaller languages because Cebuano is a lingua franca in many of the multi-lingual areas of Mindanao. The smaller languages seem to have exercised little influence on Cebuano, but it is likely that Cebuano has influenced them. The extent of Cebuano influence on these languages has not been studied. In many areas of Mindanao Cebuano immigrants have moved into areas where the population speaks minority languages, and some of these languages have lost a large portion of their speakers to Cebuano.

Cebuano currently borrows from Tagalog and English. Beginning with the first Spanish contacts in the sixteenth century, Cebuano borrowed heavily from Spanish. Prior to the Spanish influence there was influence from Malay via Tagalog and SANSKRIT via JAVANESE, Malay, and Tagalog. There also has been a small amount of borrowing from Hokkien CHINESE.

The earliest Spanish borrowings reveal that Cebuano had a simpler phonology than it currently has, e.g. the phoneme /r/ did not exist. Thus we get *húdnú?* ‘stove’ from Spanish *horno*. (This also shows that the Spanish /h/ was pronounced.) Another example showing the lack of /r/ is *ámbi* ‘give me’ (from Spanish *a ver* ‘let me see’). Later borrowings also tend to be naturalized, but the language now has /r/, /c/, and /j/ which have developed in Cebuano through phonological changes in historical times. Loanwords are also naturalized into the inflectional and derivational system of Cebuano. For example Spanish *maldito* ‘naughty’ is borrowed into Cebuano as *maldítu*. This borrowed root can be affixed to form a verb stem like any adjective of a similar semantic class, e.g. with the infix *-in-* plus shift of stress

to form a verb stem *minaldítú* ‘act naughty’. The verb stem can then have the inflectional affixes added to it, e.g. *nagminaldítú* ‘is being naughty’. The loan words are also naturalized into the Cebuano semantic system—that is, they are understood to cover the meanings of equivalent native words and often veer strongly from the original range of meanings in the donating language. For example Cebuano *lá? in* ‘another’ can also mean ‘bad.’ When the English word ‘another’ is borrowed into Cebuano, it can mean ‘different, another’ or it can mean ‘bad’: *bíri ?anádir na? si Bíñbiñ* (very different[bad] that NOM Bingbing) ‘That Bingbing woman is not very nice.’

Recent borrowings reflect the status of English and Tagalog as widely-spoken, over-arching languages. Forms are borrowed not only for items and concepts which have been introduced but also as a reflection of the use of English and Tagalog as communicative codes for much of the population or English as the language of public signs. Thus we get *inrúl* ‘enroll (in school)’ *ispíliñ* ‘spelling, make sense of something’, *blákhart* ‘spades (in cards)’ *báskit* ‘basketball’, etc., from cultural or technical domains and *dúnat íntir* ‘one-way street’ (from ‘Do Not Enter’), *di?ín* ‘the end’ etc. from signs and *istrít* ‘vote a straight ticket’, *didikít* ‘dedicate (a musical number on the radio)’, *ríjun* ‘region’, *ilijibúl* ‘civil service eligible’, *?akampani?íñ* ‘family member or servant who stays with a patient in the hospital ward’ etc., reflecting the use of English in public life. We also have borrowings from English and Tagalog which are used where native forms exist as well, usually to create a humorous tone or key, as for example *bíri ?anádir* ‘not nice’ quoted above, where the native *lá?ínka?áyu* is also available or Tagalog *waláñ takwal* ‘flat broke’, *sirá?* ‘crazy’ and so forth. All of these forms set a joking key. The use of English and Tagalog as communicative codes among much of the Cebuano-speaking population is beginning to affect the phonology. Cebuano has added consonant clusters with /l/ and /r/ from English borrowings with these clusters, e.g. *blákhart* ‘spades (in cards)’, which show a cluster with /l/ and /rC/, formerly not occurring in Cebuano. Tagalog may possibly be affecting Cebuano in a major way: there is some evidence that the Tagalog distinction between /u/ and /o/ and between /i/ and /e/ is being carried over in Tagalog loans used in Cebuano by some younger speakers, at least sporadically, but this matter has not been investigated in detail.

Although Spanish did not have as wide a currency in Cebuano society as English and Tagalog now have, Spanish loan words show analogous characteristics—that is, they reflect not only words in certain technical or cultural domains, but also the fact that Spanish was spoken a second language in certain circles of the Cebuano speech community. Thus we have technical or introduced cultural terms: *dúbla* ‘ringing of church bells’ *tilipunú* ‘telephone’, *intabládu* ‘stage’ *turbinádu* ‘granulated brown sugar’, *dunsílya* ‘virgin’ *disgrasyáda* ‘woman who had a baby out of wedlock’ *báhu disisiyún* ‘bound by one’s husband’s decision’, and we also have words for which there existed Cebuano words and which show that Spanish was a second language in some circles: *asyúsu* ‘finicky, hoity-toity’, *múcu diníru* ‘rich’, *bunítu* ‘good looking’, and the adjective formers *-ádu* and *-íru*, which occur in numerous words of Hispanic origin referring to negative personal characteristics and have become productive and added to roots of native origin as well, e.g., *palikíru* ‘womanizer’ (of Hispanic origin)

and *babayíru* ‘womanizer’ (with a native root). Further, there was a mestizo community in Cebuano areas which spoke Philippine Spanish natively as well as Cebuano. The existence of this group has led to the borrowing of forms of high frequency and high importance for the discourse like *píru* ‘but’, *pur?ísu* ‘therefore’, *miyíntras tántu* ‘in the meantime’, *ísti* ‘hesitation particle’, etc.

From Malay: *putlí?* ‘pure’ (<Malay *putri* ‘honorable woman’, ultimately <Sanskrit), *pangádyi?* ‘pray’, *bárang* ‘kind of sorcery involving bugs’, *salátan* ‘south wind’

From Spanish: *dubla* ‘ringing of church bells’, *tilipunú* ‘telephone’, *intabládu* ‘stage’, *turbinádu* ‘granulated brown sugar’, *dunsílya* ‘virgin’

From English: *báywan tikwan* ‘buy one, get one free’, *imbúyis* ‘invoice’, *dúnat qíntir* ‘one-way street’, *didikít* ‘dedicate (a number on the radio)’

From Chinese (Hokkien): *husí* ‘ramie cloth’, *búyisit* ‘bad luck’, *púthaw* ‘iron’, *bákya?* ‘wooden slippers’

Efforts to Preserve, Protect, and Promote the Language

Cebuano has traditionally had little prestige and few proponents. There is one Cebuano-language weekly periodical, *Bisaya*, which has had a commercial success over the past forty years, and there has always been a small number of intellectuals who have been committed to developing and preserving Cebuano and have published in this periodical. Most of what is published in this periodical, however, is commercial in nature and aimed at the amusement of the uneducated groups who do not read English easily. The majority of Cebuano intellectuals publish in English, and few in the population have much interest in Cebuano as a language or see its importance as a vehicle of the native culture.

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