



FLAVORS

THAT SAIL ACROSS THE SEAS

SABORES

QUE CRUZARON LOS OCÉANOS



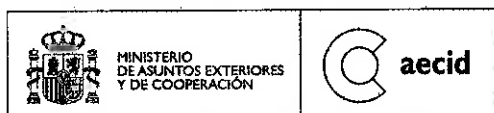
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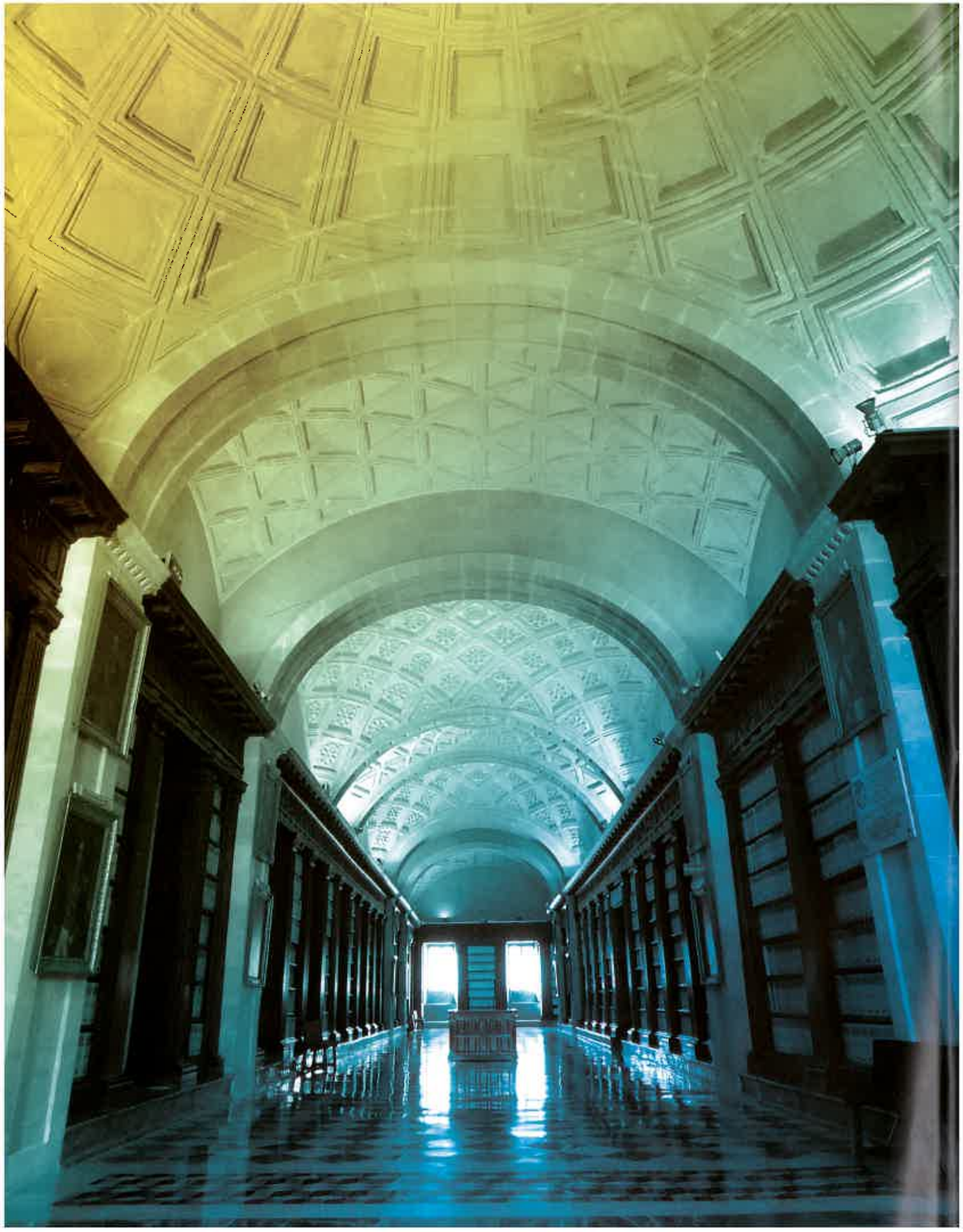
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THE EXPANSION OF LANGUAGE AND TASTES IN CONTACT

Spanish in Spain, America and the Philippines: the
lexicon of food and the art of gastronomy

Yolanda Conges

The discovery, conquest and colonization of new territories means not only the expansion of Spanish as language, but the meeting of languages, people and cultures of different natures and conditions. First was the discovery of America (1492) and shortly afterwards the islands of the West (1521).

The result of this cultural and linguistic symbiosis is present in the current Spanish language: that of Spain, that of America and that of Asia, as varieties of the same language, which without surrendering, navigates freely.

A common language, the result of a common history, which has faithfully been contained in texts as a living testimony of that *of yesterday* which lives on today. The Archivo General de Indias in Seville is a direct witness to this happening, hence the importance of its documentary background: not only for the history of mankind, but also for the history of the Spanish language in the world. The wealth contained on its shelves and its historical legacy is truly immeasurable.

The central theme of this work takes us into the lexicon of food and gastronomy, probably one of the areas that best reflects and shows traces of the Spanish language in America and South-east Asia, and especially in the Philippines. But before get fully into it, as an introduction, let's briefly and swiftly analyse the state of the Spanish language in the Age of Discovery.

THE SPANISH LANGUAGE IN THE MODERN AGE AND ITS EXPANSION INTO THE NEW WORLD

The discovery of America marks a new stage in the history of Spain and the Spanish language. Its spreading in the New World created *not only a new geographical*



social-space but also a new mental space within which slow, difficult and sometimes contradictory signs of a new linguistic identity were being drawn¹.

Just in the same way as the Catholic Monarchs and later the Spanish Habsburgs pursued territorial and religious unity of Spain and the expansion of the Crown by overseas lands, Castilian began its path overseas in 1492, becoming Spanish language and *lingua franca*.

It is really a language which is still in evolution, and changes that have been forged throughout the Middle ages are still consolidating within it. Changes in the Spanish language that are affecting directly to a phonetic-phonological level, and determine, from this perspective, a bifurcation into two sub-systems. One of these is more conservative and tense in its articulation —the northern Spanish— and the other is more evolved and relaxed —the meridional Spanish— but which also involves the morpho-syntactic level and specially lexical-semantic one, as we shall see below. A varied and diverse language, as well as it was in Spain from a historical, geographical, social and cultural point of view. Similarly, as a direct consequence of the events, a language in continuous expansion (from the outset), now in its first instance throughout the Atlantic Ocean, then across the Pacific.

The encounter with the new realities made it grow to further levels, enhancing its development because it had to adapt to the New World set before its eyes. A different world until then in terms of depth and form, and was permanently there to stay.

The expansion was swift. First through the islands (The Spanish or Isla de Santo Domingo, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Jamaica and minor Antilles) and then through all

¹ RIVAROLA 2004: 799.



the Continent. The conquest of the great empires of Meso-America (a whole mosaic of languages and ethnic groups which occupied part of Central America and Mexico) and the Andean region of the subcontinent (Inca civilization) will be followed by countless expeditions meant for exploring carefully different territories.

Spaniards took many terms, especially those related to flora and fauna as well as those relating to everyday life, traditions and customs from their contact with the natives of the West Indies. Voices from the Arawak languages (Tainos and Caribs), Nahuatl and Quechua, mainly, but also from other language families like the Aymara, Mayan-Quiche, Chibcha, Mapuche or Araucaria and Tupi-Guarani, which will be adjusted phonetically and morphologically into Spanish to be completely assimilated and felt as their own. On the other hand, they also adapted their patrimonial lexicon, using the language resources that the Spanish could offer as a language, creating new voices.

However, despite all the achievements, there was still world to discover and conquer. The process of geographic expansion, and consequently language, had not yet come to an end.

THE SPANISH IN THE PACIFIC

The adventure of the Spaniards, and Spanish Language, does not end, in fact, with the conquest of America. The above mentioned lucrative business of the spices and the ability to interconnect America, Asia and Oceania, as are today three continents, with the port of Seville, hub of such great historical (and linguistic) task, and Europe, was considered quite some challenge, which was completed in just ten years (1519-1529): The first circumnavigation of the Earth by Ferdinand Magellan and Juan Sebastian Elcano, the arrival in the Moluccas, the discovery of the

Marianas, the Philippines, the Admiralty islands and the Caroline islands; great deeds all carried out by expert sailors and restless explorers of great value.

It will therefore be, according to this new historical event, in which the Spanish language takes a step further in his pilgrimage to reach new horizons and tries to merge into the new reality after putting his banner on the ground for the second time.

The largest Hispanic heritage in this territory was deposited in the Philippine Islands and the Mariana Islands, where the Spanish, colonizing language, coexisted with natives languages (and varieties), though not on an equal basis². Circumstances such as remoteness, scarcity of settlers of peninsular origin, the absence of a truly fruitful and lasting miscegenation (perhaps more fruitful in the Marianas than in the Philippines), linguistic and geographical islands fragmentation, difficult terrain, amalgam of cultures and races, or even the lacking of concern by the agents involving into the process, made it impossible. Over time, the Spanish would result in being displaced and relegated to status of *lengua vestigial* or residual language, as called by John M. Lipski. Then United States dominance over the region would do the rest by imposing English as official language.

All of the above was decisive for the Spanish, even only being the official language until early 20th century in the Philippines and used in almost all fields —political, cultural, religious, educational and economic— in both archipelagos, never got to reach the status of national language, nor the *lingua franca*. It was prevented by its position as a high-quality variety and the *diglosia* held with indigenous languages, limited to orally expression and to family.

However, despite this, almost four centuries of shared history were not in vain and it was time enough for the Spanish cultural and social mark to be reflected in native languages with the important presence of Hispanisms as well as in the formation of contacting vernacular languages —pidgin, Creole or mixed languages— including the Chavacano in the Philippines and Chamorro language in the Marianas³.

SPANISH IN A MULTICULTURAL AND MULTILINGUAL SPACE: THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

We could say that the cultural and linguistic landscape of the Philippine Islands is composed of three main elements: the native languages, languages from the colonizing people, and the Creole languages. As regards indigenous languages, although we do not have exact information about how many or what their linguistic

²For further information about Spanish language in the Philippines, see QUILIS (1992, 1996) and LIPSKI (1987a and b); for location in The Marianas, RODRÍGUEZ-PONGA (1996).

³MOLINA MARTOS, 2006, pp. 2-3.

conditions were, it is known that they belonged to the Malay-Polynesian family. Of all these, the most important or principal were those of the most representative ethnic groups: Cebuano, Tagalog, Ilocano, Hiligaynon, Bikol, Varai-Varai, Pam-pango and Pangasian. Meanwhile, the languages used by the settlers peoples were Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Portuguese, Spanish and finally, English. Concerning creoles languages, it is noted the different ways taken by the language as result of the Hispanic Filipino contact, that is, the different varieties of Chavacano: Caviteño, Ermitaño, Ternateño, Zamboangan, Davawenyo and Cotabato; the first three spoken in Manila Bay in the west of the island of Luzon, and the last three on the island of Mindanao and Basilan.

And so to analyse the role played by the Spanish language in this ethnic melting pot, a cultural and linguistic one called the Philippines, involves addressing the issue from three different perspectives and evaluations: 1) the presence of Spanish as first language in the archipelago; 2) the incorporation of Spanish voices to indigenous languages; and 3) the formation of hispano creoles dialects.

The status that the Spanish has as a mother tongue in the islands has always been associated with the local elite of Hispanic origin or Hispanized, both the colonial era and today. From a linguistic and dialectal point of view, this is not entirely uniform, because its configuration responds to two different historical moments, which correspond to the two great Spanish language standards: southern and northern. The fact that Seville was the starting point in first instance, the main protagonist of the American and Asian task, meant its linguistic features were projected on the new territories. Demographic data on Spanish emigration to America between 1493 and 1600 confirms⁴ and highlights that the features of the Spanish language in America and Asia were setting during ocean crossings in contact with migrants, and especially on American soil, moving from there to the Eastern islands⁵. The contact between two places was always performed through Mexico and the Manila galleon from Acapulco, with an already marked language by the indigenous stamp and the majority presence of Mexican / Spanish. The second stage begins in the early nineteenth century by the hand of the upper class, bearer of Spanish a with more conservative features specific to the Northern-Castilian Spanish. According to Quilis, in the late 20th century only 3% of the Filipino population had Spanish as a mother tongue, ie, about two million people.

However, despite the precarious situation of the Spanish language on these islands, the number of Hispanic lexicons in the main indigenous languages far exceeds the figures recorded among the indigenous languages of Latin America. According to Quilis, the influence of Spanish on indigenous languages of Philippines has been

⁴BOYD-BOWMAN, 1972 y 1983.

⁵CONGOSTO MARTÍN, 2002a y b.



important: Hispanisms in Tagalog represent 20.4% and 20.5% in Cebuano. Most of it entered through the Spanish missionaries while using native languages, not the Spanish learned by Filipinos. These include Nahuatlisms like, *petate*, *tamal*, *camote*, *cacao*, *copal*, *tiza*, *mecate*, *petaca*; Taínosims *batata*, *bejuco*, *sabana*, *nagua*, *huracán*, *cabuya*, *maguey*, or Antilleansims *iguana*, *barbacoa*, *manglar*.

As for the Spanish-Creole language varieties known collectively as Chavacano, they are widely recognized as languages other than Spanish, equipped according Lipski with their own grammatical structures and, especially in the case of Zamboangan, are of a very limited understanding for hispano-speaking people. It is spoken in Ternate and Cavite, in Manila bay, in the west of the island of Luzon; in the south, on the island of Mindanao, in Zamboanga and Cotabato and Basilan island, opposite Zamboanga. El Chavacano spoken in the Manila Bay has influence of Tagalog and Southern Cebuano. According to Quilis in the Chavacano of Cavite the Spanish lexicon accounts for 94% of the total; the rest is Tagalog. In the Zamboangan, the Spanish lexical base is also very wide: 86.3%; the rest are indigenous elements. In Cotabato Chavacano there is an 82.49% of Spanish lexicon; the rest comes from the indigenous languages. In short, the Spanish lexicon in all varieties of Chavacano represents a 91.77% and 2.22% native lexicon; the remaining 6% corresponds to particles and native morphemes.

THE LEXICON OF FOOD AND THE ART OF GASTRONOMY IN THE HISPANIC-FILIPINO CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

The 16th to 18th centuries are especially fruitful in what refers to lexicon. The contact between the American and Asian reality, both geographically, socially and human, awakens in the Spanish people the irrefutable impulse to assimilate everything



around them, that is, the urgent need to integrate into their universe a whole new world, material and immaterial, for which they have no words and must name.

Indeed, as noted by Isaza Calderon: language carrying the conquistadors had extraordinary vocabulary limitations to face the greatly surprising spectacle offered to his eyes. Thus, the language, displaced from their world, needed to acclimate and adapt to its adopted land. On some occasions the creative act affected only the level of meaning, in others however also the signifier. That is why in this way, the speaker uses different linguistic procedures that their language offers and starts the process of lexical creation and the acquisition of new voices.

Under these circumstances, the first step leads them to the comparison, to seek a known benchmark, like the new one, with which to establish lexical-semantic relations. It is what makes Fernandez de Oviedo(1526) when he wants to present and describe avocados, which he called *perales*, even knowing that they are not such:

In mainland there are trees that are called perales, but not pear trees such as Spain, although they are other no less esteem; They bear such fruit, which have many of the advantages of pears here. These are some large trees and broad leaf and quite similar to bay, but is larger and greener. It gives this tree's pear a weight of one pound, and very old, and some less; but commonly they are of a pound, more or less; and the colour and shape is true pears, and somewhat thicker crust, but softer, and in the middle has a nugget as a grafted chestnut, peeled; but it is bitter, as before was called mamey, unless it is one piece, and mamey three, but it is like that, bitter and in the same shape, and the top of this nugget there is very fine layer, and between her and the first crust it is what it is eaten, that is fully, and a liquor or paste that is very similar to butter [...]

These such detailed and accurate descriptions set clearly and accurately the nature of the designated object and shape their lexicographical definition, in an attempt to integrate both worlds by linking the term heritage with the new reality. In this regard, various formulas are used when identifying or establishing equivalences: *que es, que llaman, que parece ser, como, a la manera de, con hechura de*, etc. The testimonies of missionaries, writers, military or sailors who explored and settled in the Philippines give good accounts of this procedure. Antonio de Morga himself in his work *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*(1609) uses them when refers to the red sea bream and states *que llaman bacocos, or lau-lau* of those who say they are *tan menudo como pejerreyes*. Also, Father Alzina, in his work *Historia natural de las islas e indios Bisayas* (1668) presents the nanca (also called lanca) *each fruit as big as the biggest melons of Castile,⁶ the macupa which is a fruit of apple shape, although these are very redder and longer, and seem a mixed of apple and pear of Castile, the santole that imitate much quinces of Spain, or mongos, greenish and something grey-brown like lentils; they serve them instead and are even tastier*. Sometimes only a mere disjunctive separates one term from another, as in the case of *tanguigues or mackerels* which also mentions Antonio de Morga in his work.

However, they do not always have the possibility of knowing the indigenous term, so they just have the patrimonial. This forces them to resort to other linguistic mechanisms that allow them to avoid ambiguity and clearly distinguish the new reality of the familiar. We refer to the use of certain syntactical procedures such as, for example, progressive and hierarchical adjectives, with which some characteristics, properties, utilities, shapes, or simply information about the new product were disclosed: *lots of tuna, not as large as those of Spain, but of the same make, meat and flavour*. This is what Juan Bautista Román also makes (already mentioned in this work) when speaking of rice, when he says that this cereal was *el pan de la tierra*. Indeed, preposition complements origin, such as *wine of Castile, saffron of the land, cheese of Flanders, oil of Castile, wine of Jerez, cocoa of Maracaibo, cocoa of the coast, brandy of Hendaya, or tocinos of Toluca* allowed to know the geographical origin, or the plant from which they came, as in *palm of sagú* (palm of Malay origin) or *coconut wine* (tuba or extracted from coconut liqueur), or complements matter such as we find in *wax bread* (meaning *panes 'sheets or thin sheet'* of the material that mention), etc. In other cases just the presence of the adjective delimited with a particular reference to the designation that carried out the noun, as with *pinagua rice, carlon wine* (the wine from Valencia and whose production was incorporated, as we know, cooked must to facilitate preservation), *Chinese noodle* or *black beans* which were tastier. The rest of the time the accumulation and hierarchy of elements had to come to, as in *vino blanco de la tierra* (where the common noun is accompanied by two allusive restrictions on their colour and origin) open pipes *de vino de Madeira* (noun + complement + complement source material). There was also one more

⁶ First part, Book I, cap 11; ed. cit., p. 71-75.

option, to let one's imagination and intuition run riot in order to get unique supplements as found in the record of the schooner *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, led by Francisco Casten, who arrived in Manila from Malaysia and Java in 1769 carrying bottles of *Soy of Japan*, the name that received as it happens, soy sauce.

Comments as evocative as made by Antonio de Morga, the Spanish officer who arrived at the archipelago in 1595, referring to the chickens by expressing that there was a great abundance, *some are similar to Spanish ones, some indigenous and others very tasty brought from Asian continent [...]* demonstrate the existence of a non-stop transfer of goods between the different sea ports. The system established by the Spanish Crown treasure Fleet and Galleons had a lot to do with it. Firstly with America and then Asia via the Manila Galleon, which not only guaranteed the exchange of products between three continents through a regular and secure route, but also the exchange of voices, encouraging the integration of many lexicons of different languages in contact in the patrimonial lexicon, often accompanied by semantic changes as result of the adaptation process.

From its inception, the Spanish language always knew how to make room in their system for new voices from different cultures to which it related, words such as *aceite, alcaparra, azúcar, arroz* assimilated as arabism, which had to add now, at this time, those that together with new realities were newly added to the language such as *tamarindo* (Ar. vg. *támra* híndi Indian date), with which *very funny* vinegar was made or *menjuí* (benjuí. Ar. *lubān gāwī* or 'incense of Sumatra' an island where the purest one was produced, and the Arabs named Java').

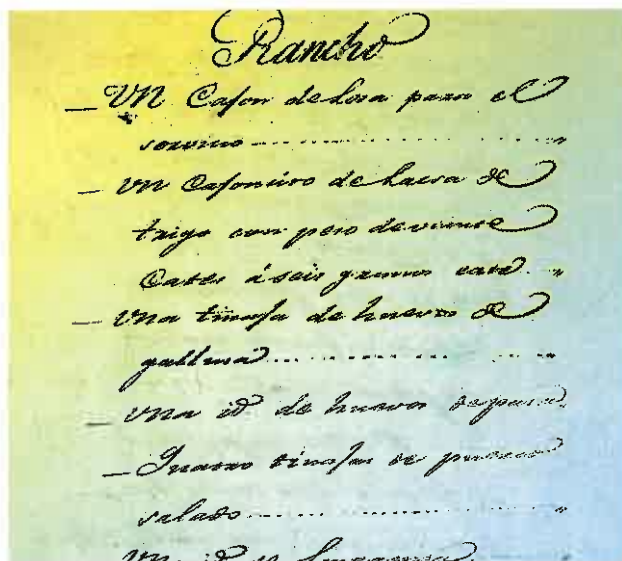
A special relevance has been acquired now by the American indigences, perfectly integrated already in the lexicon heritage of Spanish people, as the products designated, regardless the short time elapsed, were in the gastronomy. So much so that as such were felt in the Philippines: Taino voices as *maíz* (from *mahís*), *yuca*, [also called *mandioca*, in Guarani *mandióg*], *batata* (best known for *camote*, in Nahuatl *camotli*) or *ají* [also called *chile*, from Nahuatl *chilli*, or *pimiento*, as Columbus named it for its flavour, similar to black pepper used in Europe]; more Nahuatl voices, added to those already mentioned, such as *cacahuete* (from *cacáhuatl*), *jicama* (from *xicamatl*), tomato (from *tomatl*), *jitomatoes* (from Nahuatl *xictli* 'navel' and *tomatl* 'tomato') or as defendant *cacao* (of *cacáhua*). And others that posed at those, such as *frijol*, generic name given to the bean, beans or Spanish bean (lat. *Faseólus*, through the Galician-Portuguese *Freixó*, and perhaps partly Mozarabic), being often used from Mexico and the West Indies to Peru. Also some Arawak voices, like *guayaba*, or Guarani, as *ananás* (which came through the Portuguese) also called *piñas americanas*, as it is, according to descriptions by Cristobal de Acosta, *a kind of fruit, like fruit-pine, but that is extremely sweet and exquisite taste*.



— Uma tinafa de arbo
 — Tres tinafas de morosa en
 Salmeran
 — Dos franqueras de aguardiente
 — Um Refonero de varios reatas,
 — Juince tabaceros de varios
 vales salada
 — Dos tinafas de yajete
 — Dos tinafas de chocolate
 — Cinco Bayones de mango

All these fruits, vegetables, cereals, condiments and other products became mixed with those of the area: cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg or ginger, essential ingredients in stews of meat and fish, led to a whole gastronomy Creole (and language). The collection of recipes of the 15th and 16th century and the current cookery are a strong evidence of this. An example is found in the emblematic *morisqueta*, rice cooked with water and salt, typical of the Philippines, whose name comes from the term *morisco* plus the suffix *-eta*, in correspondence with the *marquesotes*, which is the name given to a cake made with rice flour or corn, among other ingredients, and baked, typically in Honduras and Nicaragua, created from the voice *marqués* over augmentative *-ote*. As the *guisado* (also *guisa*, *gisado* o *ginisa*), which the Filipino cuisine named the fact of sauté stews with garlic, onion and tomato; *chorizos de Bilbao*, a kind of dry sausage used for their stews; or *picadillo*, which is the name given a dish of minced meat with garlicks, tomatoes and sautéed onions, which aims to honour the *picadillo*, typical Andalusian, likewise made of tomatoes, onions, peppers and other ingredients, indeed, chopped very fine, hence its name, but unlike the previous without being sautéed.

Similarly, many other dishes, ingredients and customs of Spanish and Mexican cuisine have been integrated into the Filipino cuisine, but perhaps apparently hidden under the spelling sieve, phonetic and linguistic of the native language, as is the case Tagalog *adobo* / *inadobo*, name given the stew meat marinated in vinegar, oil, garlic and soy sauce; *busa* / *pabusa*, toast with garlic and a small amount of cooking oil; *Daing* / *dinaing* / *dadaing*, spiced with garlic, vinegar and black pepper; *guinataan* / *sa gata*, cooked with coconut milk; *kinilaw*, seasoning with vinegar or calamansi juice with garlic, onion, ginger, tomato, chilli and pepper; *lechón* / *litson* / *nilechon*, roasted on a spit (unlike Spanish); *pinakbet*, cooked with vegetables such as green beans, pumpkin, aubergine and bitter melon *relleno* / *relyeno* stuffing, *tosta* / *tinosta* / *tostado*, toast, *torta* / *tinorta* / *patorta*, eggs cooked in the same way that cooking an omelette *totso* / *totcho*, cooked with black fermented beans.



COLOPHON

Our past, closely linked to sea and sailing, has left a fascinating legacy of knowledges and legendary stories. But the historical routes that crossed the Atlantic [Pacific] to the conquest of the New World were also the source of a large vocabulary that, in many cases, still survives in our everyday conversations [...] In the microcosm created by the ships not only travelled people and goods, but a whole immaterial heritage: of culture, ideas and words⁷.

If the *registros de navíos*⁸ witnessed a story of encounters and emphasised the importance of a legacy in which current nations are rooted, the *crónicas* and the *historias naturales* written by the missionaries are living testimonies of nature and culture of the Filipino people of that time and of cultural and linguistic symbiosis which took place there. Within their works a myriad of terms related to all walks of life are collected, including the food and the art of gastronomy. The work by Father Francisco Ignacio Alzina (1668) attests to this. In it the author tells us, for example, about *the many differences of oranges that there are out here, big and abundance, the palms called cocos and very useful, age and other properties of this palm, and its differences, especially with those of nipa and lumbia, and also they*

⁷ This quote is taken from the film *Tesis* (Canal Sur TV, Documentales CEDECOM), about the research project *Los fondos documentales del Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla y su interés para la lexicografía histórica española. I. Nuevas aportaciones al léxico de la navegación y la gente de mar (ss. XVI-XVIII)*, Ref.: P12-HUM-1195, Granted as a project of excellence by Junta de Andalucía with a period of execution of four years (2014-2018). This Project Is Directed by who subscribes these pages and it has the support of researchers of Universidad de Sevilla, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED) and Universidad Carlos III of Madrid, and among them, Mr. José Antonio Pascual, Assistant Director of the Real Academia Española de la Lengua. <https://youtu.be/wSVU22i7JYg>

⁸ For an exhaustive explanation of what records of ships represent as documentary testimony of the society of the moment. cfr. Congosto Martín (2002a y b).

call buri and bonga, about bejucos (voice of Caribbean origin) which he said here is named like that by the Spaniards, which are kind of palms, and others like wicker, trees and aromatic plants on these islands, and their properties, big fish like labinduyon, swordfish and others, and way to catch them over here, etc.

Today, when the world is undergoing a process of global scale cultural globalization *contacts and varieties of language are not momentary events but dynamic processes that continue emerging as a natural consequence of the restlessness of the human being*⁹. Bilingual communities in which the Spanish coexists with other languages are present on five continents. Philippines is one of them. Do not let Spanish, a historical language as rich and cultivated, finally disappear in this territory.

⁹ LIPSKI, 2007.

