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THE BISAYAN DIALECTS OF THE PHILIPPINES:  
SUBGROUPING AND RECONSTRUCTION

by

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While so many have put so much into this study, I assume full responsibility for any and all errors in judgement, citation, or interpretation.



### SYMBOLS USED IN THIS STUDY

- q glottal stop [ʔ] in current dialects and data; in reconstructions it is either PAN \*q (presumably a post-velar stop) or \*ʔ (glottal).
- ɾ a voiced-velar spirant (with only some friction) found in Aklanon.
- l a frontal-alveolar liquid (the tongue protrudes slightly between the teeth, and the critical articulation takes place between the blade of the tongue and the alveolus; the result sounds somewhat like a combination of l and ɣ) found in Virac Bikol, Kagayanen Manobo, and Boso-Caraga Mansakan.
- ´ primary accent (manifested as vowel length if on an open penult).
- ˘ secondary accent (as found on the antepenult in some dialects, e.g., qalibáŋbaŋ *butterfly*, or on a phrase-early marker, e.g., maŋà táwuh diversity marker + *person* = *people*). This secondary accent contrasts with primary accent in that secondary accented vowels are never long.
- Ǻ short vowel.
- (+) an affix affecting the accent such that the derivative is always accented on the penult (see 4.2.2.).
- (→) an affix affecting the accent such that the derivative is always accented on the ultima (see 4.2.3.).
- (↔) an affix affecting the accent such that the derivative is always accented on the opposite-number syllable from the base (see 4.2.4.).
- morpheme boundary, e.g., nag-sakáy = nag- prefix + base sakáy.
- <> infix, e.g., <in> = -in- infix, <um> = -um- infix.
- CV reduplication of the initial consonant and initial vowel of the stem, e.g., CV-bása = ba-bása, CV-qabút = qa-qabút.

- "is to be read as", e.g., CV-səl()d-an → səsədlan.
- > "became" (diachronically), e.g., PAN \*Z > PBS \*d.
- < "yields", "comes from" (diachronically), e.g., Akl matá < PAN \*maCa.
- \* a reconstructed form.
- () an optional element (in a reconstruction), i.e. \*ka(m)baŋ = both \*kabaŋ and \*kambaŋ are known to occur.
- [ ] an ambiguous or undetermined element (in a reconstruction), i.e., \*[qh]útek *brain* = \*qútek or \*hútek.

## ABBREVIATIONS OF DIALECT, LANGUAGE, AND SUBGROUP NAMES

In this study the convention is adopted of using two-letter abbreviations (the first capitalized, the second not) for language groups, e.g., Bs = Bisayan, Ph = Philippine. A single capital letter (usually standing for a location or direction) before such an abbreviation indicates a subgroup, i.e., CBs = Central Bisayan, SPh = Southern Philippine. Three-letter abbreviations, all capitalized, beginning with P, indicate a protolanguage, e.g., PAN = Proto Austronesian, PCP = Proto Central Philippine, PBS = Proto Bisayan.

Three-letter abbreviations are used for the Bisayan dialects involved in this study, and for the principal or standard dialects of the Tagalog and Bikol languages respectively. Since so many other dialects and languages are covered in this survey, all other such names are spelled out in full. With the exception of N-S and S-L, the abbreviations used begin with a capital letter and are followed by two small-case letters suggestive of the dialect name. A discussion of the location and distribution of these dialects, languages, and subgroups is found in Chapter 2.

|     |  |
|-----|--|
| Akl | Aklanon  |
| Ban | Banton, Bantuqanon; the Banton subgroup        |
| Bik | Standard Bikol (Naga-Legazpi dialect)          |
| Bk  | the Bikol language group                       |
| Blk | Bulalakawnon                                   |
| Boh | Boholano                                       |
| Bs  | Bisayan, Binisayáq, the Bisayan language group |
| Bty | Bantayan I. dialect                            |
| But | Butuanon                                       |
| Cam | Camotes Is. dialect, Porohanon                 |
| Cap | Capiznon                                       |

|     |   |
|-----|---|
| CBk | the Coastal Bikol subgroup  |
| CBS | the Central Bisayan subgroup  |
| Ceb | Cebuano, Sinugbahanun; the Cebuan subgroup  |
| CPh | the Central Philippine group of languages   |
| Dsp | Dispoholnon   |
| Dtg | Datagnon, Ratagnon  |
| Gub | Gubat dialect of Southern Sorsogon  |
| Hil | Hiligaynon, Ilonggo   |
| IBk | the Inland Bikol subgroup   |
| Jau | Jaun-Jaun   |
| Kan | Kantilan  |
| Kaw | Kawayan (a Hiligaynon dialect on Negros)  |
| Kin | Kinaray-a   |
| Kuy | Kuyonon   |
| Ley | Leyteño   |
| Lok | Looknon   |
| Mas | Masbateño   |
| Mk  | the Mansakan language group   |
| MPH | the Meso-Philippine group of languages  |
| Nat | Naturalis   |
| NPh | the Northern Philippine group of languages  |
| N-S | Northern Samareño (a northern Waray-Waray dialect)  |
| Odg | Odionganon  |
| Pan | Pandan  |
| PAN | Proto Austronesian  |
| PBS | Proto Bisayan   |
| PCP | Proto Central Philippine  |
| Ph  | a language of the Philippine type   |
| PHS | Proto Hesperonesian (the western branch of Austronesian)  |
| PMP | Proto Meso-Philippine (not to be confused with the standard abbreviation for Proto Malayo-Polynesian, now changed to PAN) |
| PNP | Proto Northern Philippine   |
| PPH | Proto Philippine  |
| PSP | Proto Southern Philippine (Dyen's Proto Sulic)  |
| Rom | Romblomanon   |
| SBs | the Southern Bisayan subgroup   |
| Sem | Semirara Is. dialect  |
| Sib | Sibalenhon  |
| S-L | Samar-Leyte (a central Waray-Waray dialect)   |

Snt Santa Teresa  
Sor Sorsogon, Northern Sorsogon  
SPh the Southern Philippine group of languages  
Sur Surigaonon  
Tag Tagalog (standardized Manila dialect)  
Tg the Tagalog language  
Tsg Tausug  
War Waray (southern dialect of Waray-Waray)  
WBs the Western Bisayan subgroup



[S]ubgrouping and reconstruction should be carried on simultaneously. . . . It would be quite difficult to imagine a scholarly endeavor to reconstruct a sub-*proto-language* that did not at the same time make a real contribution toward the reconstruction of the *proto-language* of highest order. (Dyen 1971:49)





# CHAPTER 1

## PURPOSE AND PLAN

This is a study of the current and the genetic interrelationships of 36 speech varieties commonly identified as (or historically associable with) with Bisayan dialects now spoken in the central and southern part of the Republic of the Philippines. Some of these dialects, particularly Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Samar-Leyte (Waray-Waray), have been used extensively in comparative work, or have otherwise been described or referred to in the literature.<sup>1</sup> Several others, such as Aklanon, Banton, Butuanon, Datagnon, Kinaray-a, Kuyonon, Romblomanon, Surigaonon (and its Kantilan dialect), are not unknown.<sup>2</sup> But no one has made any serious effort to show the relationships of the majority of these speech varieties to one another, or to other languages of the Philippines. Thus, for example, Bisayan is itself an immediate subgroup of Central Philippine (CPh), which includes the dialects of Bikol, Mansakan, and Tagalog. As Constantino has noted:

The Bisayan languages, i.e., Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Waray, and also Kinaray-a, and Romblomanon are regarded by some linguists and anthropologists as dialects of one language, called the Bisayan language, or simply Bisayà or Binisayà. However, no one, to the knowledge of this writer, has clearly shown this as being actually the case. (1971:115)

This chapter deals with an outline of the methodology introduced and used in this study, and a summary of the purpose of each subsequent chapter.

The problem of ascertaining the genetic relationship of these dialects has led to the establishment of three criteria which can be used to subgroup them:

(1) A modified version of the Swadesh 100-meaning list is employed to obtain a lexicostatistical classification of Bisayan and other Central Philippine speech varieties. While this method counts the sum

of the retentions and common innovations of the languages compared without distinguishing between them, it is at least a test of the synchronic if not the purported diachronic interrelationships of languages.

(2) Since the Swadesh list is primarily one of contentives (lexical items) based on language-universal meanings, and since no way had yet been developed for comparing function words in quantitative terms, a second list was devised consisting of 100 basic functors (grammar-based items) found specifically in Bs and other CPh languages. Despite the difference in composition of the two lists, the resultant subgrouping obtained by this newly-introduced<sup>3</sup> method is both similar and comparable to that of the lexicostatistical investigation. On the basis of the agreement of the scores obtained by the two methods, the speech varieties compared can be organised into six Bs subgroups: West, Banton, Central, Cebuan, South, and Tausug.

(3) From a comparison of cognate forms among the Bisayan speech varieties, the sound system of Proto Bisayan is reconstructed. On the basis of exclusively-shared features, probable innovations attributable to specific subgroups are isolated. Available data on other Philippine and Austronesian languages are searched to determine the status of the proposed phonological, grammatical, and lexical innovations. The subgrouping obtained from the lexicostatistical and functor classifications also permits the distinction between innovations and retentions on the basis of shared features limited to the established groups, in that exclusively-shared features are probable innovations attributable to each such group.

That the Bs dialects do form a chain is consistently revealed by: (1) a lexicostatistical score of 80% or more linking each dialect to at least one other (Chapter 6); (2) a score above 70% based on the new 100-functor comparison, again linking each Bs dialect to at least one other (Chapter 7); and (3) a significant number of shared innovations (Chapter 10). Bisayan is thus a single genetic subgroup.

The basic ties among these diverse speech varieties are revealed by a large core of shared vocabulary, morphology, and syntax, reflecting retentions from earlier proto-languages (e.g., Proto Southern Philippine, Proto Philippine, Proto Hesperonesian, or Proto Austronesian). But more important to the genetic issue, shared innovations indicate their descendancy from a single parent language (Proto Bisayan).

Although many innovations define smaller subgroups within Bs or other CPh languages, and can be characterized as having initiated in one area or another, in the course of time these forms have spread in such a way as to result in synchronic linking (transitional dialects)

throughout the Bs and CPh area, possibly even with the Bikol group to the north and the Mansakan group to the south (see 5.2.4. and note 59).

The chapters of this study are organized as follows:

Chapter 2 consists of an extended discussion of the dialects and languages involved (viz: Bisayan, Central Philippine, Meso-Philippine, etc.), their locations, subgroup membership, and by what other names they may be known in the literature. Maps and trees are presented to show how this author delineates the Bs community as opposed to other authors. The sources of data are presented, as well as a critique of previous works that have dealt with any of these dialects. The chapter ends with a discussion of the known history and conjectured prehistory of the Bisayan people, their name, and the myths surrounding their arrival and length of stay in the central Philippine area.

Chapter 3 consists of a comparative phonology of the modern Bs dialects. Chapter 4 consists of an outline and comparison of basic Bs function words, morphology (inflection), and grammar. These two chapters discuss the major synchronic isoglosses separating the various Bs speech varieties from one another, and lay the groundwork for later historical studies (Chapters 8ff).

Chapters 5-7 consist of classifications of the Bs community based on synchronically-derived criteria: mutual intelligibility testing, lexicostatistics, and functor analysis. The results of each are consonant with the others. A comparison of the methods and the results is made in 7.6.

Chapter 8 consists of a reconstruction of the phonemic system of PBS, and a discussion of some problematic correspondences.

Chapter 9 consists of the genetic evidence that Bs dialects as a whole are members of the Central Philippine subgroup (PCP being the immediate genetic ancestor to PBS).

Chapters 10-13 consist of the genetic evidence for Bisayan, and for the subgroups within Bs: West (Chapter 11), Central, Banton, and Cebuano (Chapter 12), and South including Tausug (Chapter 13).

Although this study centers on 36 Bs speech varieties, the proximity of some dialects, lack of data, and manageability require limiting the number to some extent. Thirteen dialects have been selected. Those speech varieties that are set off from all other communities by a significant number of isoglosses (viz: more than two phonological differences, more than ten basic functors, and more than ten basic vocabulary items from the Swadesh 100-meaning list) are regarded as **well-marked** dialects, a term introduced in and used throughout this study. Kuyonon, Aklanon, Romblomanon, Odionganon (as representative of the otherwise isolated Banton Group), Cebuano, Butuanon, and Tausug

are key or major dialects in this survey in that they are well-marked. In addition, Kinaray-a, Bulalakaw, Hiligaynon, Masbateño, Waray-Waray, and Surigaonon are included as linking dialects, in that they serve as centers of dialect complexes (5.2.4.) and as links between key dialects.

From this study emerges an improved picture of central Philippine dialect geography. A 100-functor list, such as that developed here, could, with appropriate revisions, be profitably used in subgrouping or classifying other languages of the Philippine or agglutinative type. Common innovations are shown to serve as more definitive indicators (than lexicostatistics or functor analysis) of subgroup membership in the case of indeterminate or suspect speech varieties (such as transitional dialects, or dialects that have become highly differentiated after separation; note the determination of Gubat as a member of Warayan in 12.2.3.). Lists of proposed innovations within specific subgroups can be used in a quasi-lexicostatistical manner to determine the subgroup membership of indeterminate speech varieties.

## CHAPTER 2

### BACKGROUND INFORMATION

#### 2.1. THE TERMS: VISAYAS, VISAYAN, BISAYAQ AND BINISAYÁQ

Bisayaq<sup>4</sup> is the local term describing simultaneously a region and a group of people in the central Philippines. 'Visayas' is the English term, adapted from the Spanish, denoting the region, while 'Visayan' refers to a person from that region. A Visayan will refer to himself, and be referred to, as bisayáq or bisáyaq: Sur, Ceb bisayáq qakú, Tag, Hil bisáyaq qakó *I'm a Visayan*; Sur, Ceb tagà bisayáq, Tag, Hil tagà bisáyaq *from the Visayas*.

Recent emigrants from the area, after even up to three or four generations in their new location, will maintain this description of themselves and their kin. However, pre-Hispanic emigrants in no way identify themselves with this basically regionalistic title, viz: the Kuyonons, the Sorsogonons, and the more distantly connected Tausugs.

The term bisayáq has come to mean *local, indigenous, native*, often with the implied warmth and pride of a phrase like 'home-grown' or 'home-made' in American English. Thus, a local breed of chicken is Ceb manúk bisayáq (Wolff 1972a:142) and a local variety of rice is simply Akl bisayáq (Zorc 1969:97). The name has also been applied to dances and recipes.

The dialects are numerous, yet all (except Kuy, Sor, Gub, and Tsg) are commonly identified by the name binisayáq. Often a local name is also used, derived from an idiosyncrasy of the grammar, vocabulary, or locale; e.g., waráy *there is none*, jaqùn-jaqún *a little over there*, kanáq *that one*, qilóngo *looks like a nose*, etc. Some dialects go only by the name binisayáq, but have been given names by linguistic observers based on the place name; e.g., Pandan, Gimaras, Santa Teresa.

Visayans occupy the greatest area of any single ethnic group in the

TABLE 1  
1960 CENSUS FIGURES

| Group | Claimed as Native Language | Population | Percent of Total Philippine Population† | Other Information  |
|-------|----------------------------|------------|---|--|
| Bs    | Cebuano                    | 6,529,800  | 24.2%                                   | (may include Sur, Jau, Kan, Nat, But and some Mansakan dialects) |
| CPh   | Tagalog                    | 5,694,000  | 21.1%                                   |  |
| NPh   | Ilokano                    | 3,158,500  | 11.7%                                   |  |
| Bs    | Hiligaynon                 | 2,817,300  | 10.4%                                   | (possibly includes Kin)  |
| CPh   | Bikol                      | 2,108,800  | 7.8%                                    | (probably includes Mas, Sor, Gub dialects of Bs)                 |
| Bs    | Waray<br>(Samar-Leyte)     | 1,488,600  | 5.5%                                    |  |
| NPh   | Kapampangan                | 875,500    | 3.2%                                    |  |
| NPh   | Pangasinan                 | 666,000    | 2.5%                                    |  |
| SPh   | Magindanao                 | 358,800    | 1.3%                                    | (uncertain as to whether or not Maranao included)                |
| Bs    | Tausug                     | 307,500    | 1.1%                                    | (may not include dialects on Palawan)                            |
| Bs    | Aklanon                    | 304,800    | 1.1%                                    |  |
| Bs    | Total                      | 11,448,000 | 42.4%                                   |  |
| CPh   | (Non-Bs)                   | 7,802,800  | 28.9%                                   |  |
| CPh   | Total                      | 19,250,800 | 71.3%                                   |  |

Source: Wernstedt and Spencer (1967).

† The 1960 census figures are based on a total population of 27 million. By 1970 the population had risen to over 36 million. However, there is no reason to believe that there was any significant change in the overall percentages of native speakers of the various languages represented in this table. There is no doubt that by 1975 the number of speakers of Tagalog (or Pilipino), including those that speak it as a second or learned language, outnumber the speakers of Cebuano. Since Tagalog is the basis of the national language, anyone who has received an elementary education after 1965 has studied Pilipino to some extent.

Philippines. They also outnumber the native speakers of any single comparable language complex in the archipelago. Cebuano alone has the greatest number of native speakers in the republic. If taken together with other members of the immediate family (Hiligaynon, Waray, Aklanon, Kinaray-a, Surigaonon, etc.), speakers of binisayáq come to over forty percent of the Philippine population (Table 1).

Bisayan is part of a larger subfamily which may be called Central Philippine (CPh). Its sister languages include the dialects of Tagalog, of Bikol, and of Mansaka. Taken together, these CPh languages account for well over two-thirds of the population of the nation (Table 1).

## 2.2. THE REGION

Certain confusion is apt to arise over the regionalistic meaning of the term bisayaq because of conflicting political, Hispanic, and linguistic ways of subdividing the Philippines.

### 2.2.1. Current Political Areas

The national policy of partitioning the country into provinces and regions has resulted in calling a region the Visayas which is smaller than the actual extent and spread of binisayáq. Within the central Philippine area, Cuyo, Agutaya, and the Calamian Island Group are included in Palawan Province; Mindoro and Marinduque are in the Southern Tagalog Region; Burias, Ticao, and Masbate are grouped within the Bikol Region (not the Bk language); and the northern coast of Mindanao is subdivided into several provinces. Otherwise all other islands of the central Philippines are considered the Visayan Region: from Negros Oriental and Cebu eastward, the East Visayas; from Negros Occidental westward, the West Visayas (see Map 1). These subdivisions affect numerous events in current Philippine life, from political conventions to Boy Scout jamborees, from regional school training programs to the language of the textbooks used during so-called vernacular education in the first two grades. These circumstances account for the current directions of linguistic change and borrowing among Bs dialects and other CPh and SPh languages (see 2.5.).

### 2.2.2. Hispanic Areas

The current political picture differs from the Hispanic in that the Spanish writers, such as Alzina, included Masbate, the southern part of Sorsogon, and the north-eastern part of Mindanao (viz: the Surigao peninsula) within the Visayan Region (see Map 2, adopted from Kobak 1969:21-22). The fact that the Surigao peninsula was considered part

of the Visayas is also attested to by other Spanish writers as quoted in Carroll (1960:520ff); for example, V. de Nápoles's account:

Thence we steered a course which brought us to the Island of Mindanao. That part where we reached it is called Bizaya, the name of the inhabitants.

### 2.2.3. Actual Distribution of Bisayan

The linguistic term *binisayáq* applies to the following islands and their respective provinces. Parentheses indicate the inclusion of the island within provincial jurisdiction, while dashes indicate the partitioning of an island into provinces: Bohol; Biliran; Cebu; Caluya (Antique); Dinagat (Surigao del Norte); Guimaras (Iloilo); Leyte-Leyte, Southern Leyte; Masbate; Negros-Negros Occidental, Negros Oriental; Panay-Aklan, Antique, Capiz, Iloilo; Romblon; Samar-Eastern Samar, Northern Samar, [Western] Samar; Semirara (Antique); Siargao (Surigao del Norte); Sibuyan (Romblon); Siquijor; Tablas (Romblon); Ticao (Masbate).

The following islands or provinces are not politically Visayan, but have had Visayan communities and speakers since pre-Hispanic times: Bikol-Sorsogon; Cuyo (Palawan); Mindanao-Agusan del Norte, Agusan del Sur, Bukidnon, Misamis Occidental, Misamis Oriental, Surigao del Norte, Surigao del Sur, Lanao del Norte, Zamboanga del Norte; Mindoro-Occidental Mindoro, Oriental Mindoro; Jolo. This distribution is outlined in Map 3.

There are also islands near or within the Visayan region that have speakers of non-Bisayan languages: Cagayan has Kagayanen, and Camiguin has Kinamigin, both are Manobo languages (Elkins 1974); Capul has Abaknon, a Samalan language; and Agutaya has Agutaynen, a Kalamian language. All of these languages have borrowed from their Visayan neighbours (see 2.5. below).

### 2.3. DIALECTS AND LANGUAGES USED IN THIS STUDY: RESOURCES AND LOCATIONS

The majority of my data was gathered during fieldwork (August 1971 through July 1972) covering 31 Bs dialects (among those listed in Table 2), and a number of other Philippine speech varieties (among those listed in Table 3).<sup>5</sup>

As often as possible, a full data set was collected, which consisted of: (1) a 500-meaning list containing all entries from the Swadesh 100- and 200-meaning lists, most entries from the SIL 372-meaning list, and a number of other meanings relevant to Philippine lexicons; (2) a 139-meaning addenda containing the culturally-oriented meanings found in

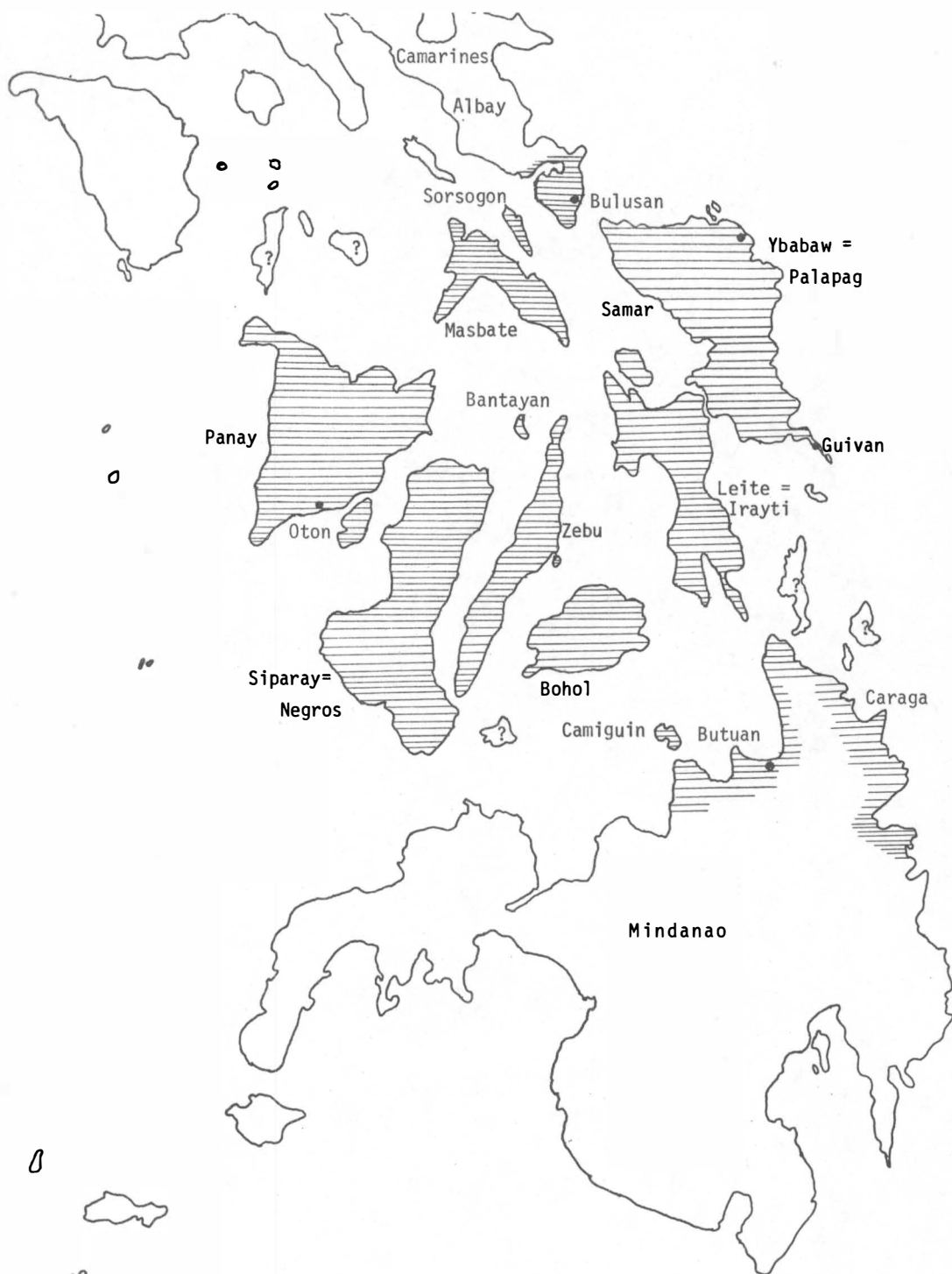


MAP 1

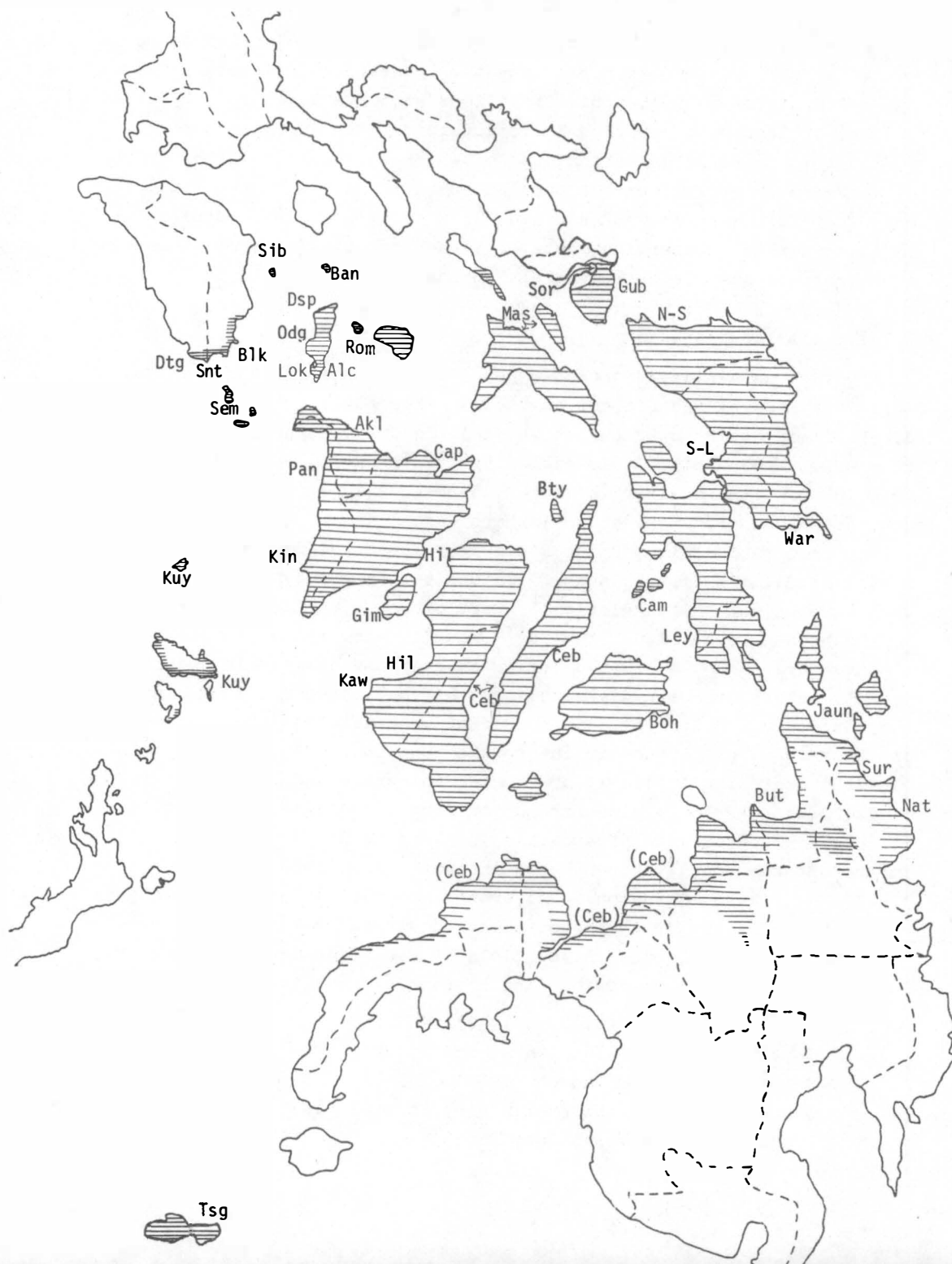
CURRENT POLITICAL PICTURE OF THE VISAYAN AND OTHER CPH REGIONS



MAP 2  
DISTRIBUTION OF BISAYAN ACCORDING TO ALZINA (1668)



MAP 3  
 CURRENT LINGUISTIC DISTRIBUTION OF BISAYAN.  
 (Dialects included in this study have been marked.)



the SIL list, and several important entries not included in other known lists, e.g., *accustomed to*, *ask (question)*, *to borrow*, *light-weight* etc.; (3) a 171-sentence grammatical questionnaire eliciting all basic pronoun and deictic sets, verb paradigms, case-marking and discourse particles, negatives, interrogatives, and adjective comparisons; (4) two precomposed paragraphs for translation, eliciting the operation of focus (verb-topic) relations within a given speech variety; and (5) at least two recorded narratives, in which informants told stories of their own selection, one of which was usually autobiographical. Where I have gathered a complete data set, it is marked full under Data Sources (in Tables 2 and 3); where I have an incomplete set, it is so marked. Otherwise, data obtained from the files or notes of other researchers are appropriately acknowledged.

### 2.3.1. Bisayan Dialects

The various binisayáq speech types are listed in Table 2. Included are: the name of the dialect as used in this study, the abbreviation of the immediate Bs subgroup to which it belongs, a phonemic transcription of what each dialect is called by its speakers, and the general area in which the dialect is spoken. The locations of the various dialects by subgroup are shown in Maps 4-6.

The information given under Links is related to judgments about mutual intelligibility (discussed in Chapter 5). A hyphen indicates that the dialect is linguistically very close to the dialects separated by the hyphen (e.g., Jau: Nat-Sur = Jaun is very close to both Naturalis and Surigaonon). A comma indicates that the dialect in question is closely related to both dialects, and that all three are in a single Bs subgroup (e.g., Blk: Kuy, Kin = Bulalakawnon is close to both Kuyonon and Kinaray-a, all three are in the WBs subgroup). A semicolon signifies the most linguistically-proximate dialect in another Bs subgroup (e.g., Alc: Akl;Rom = Alcantaranon is most closely related to Aklanon in the WBs subgroup, and thereafter is close to Romblomanon, which is in the CBs subgroup). Parentheses indicate a possible but very distant link (e.g., Tausug-Butuanon). Alternate names by which these dialects are known by report or in the established literature are also given.

Besides data collected in the field by myself or other researchers, I have consulted the following dictionaries and publications:

- Cebuano, Cabonce (n.d., c.1950)
- Cebuano, Wolff (1966, 1967a, and 1972a)
- General Bs Data, Llamzon (1969)
- General Bs Data, INL Preliminary Studies (1937-40)  
and Composite Vocabulary (1953)

Hiligaynon, Kaufmann (n.d., c.1939)  
Kinaray-a, Kaufmann (n.d., c.1939)  
Northern Samareño, I. Wolff (1970)  
Waray, Wolff (1967b)  
Waray, Macariola (1970)  
Tausug, Cowie (1893)  
Aklanon, Zorc (1968c and 1969)  
Western Visayan Dialects [Alcantaranon, Aklanon, Looknon,  
Ilonggo, Kinaray-a, Odionganon, Romblomanon], Zorc  
(1967 and 1968b)  
Bikol Area Bs Dialects [Sorsogon, Gubat, Masbateño],  
McFarland (1974).

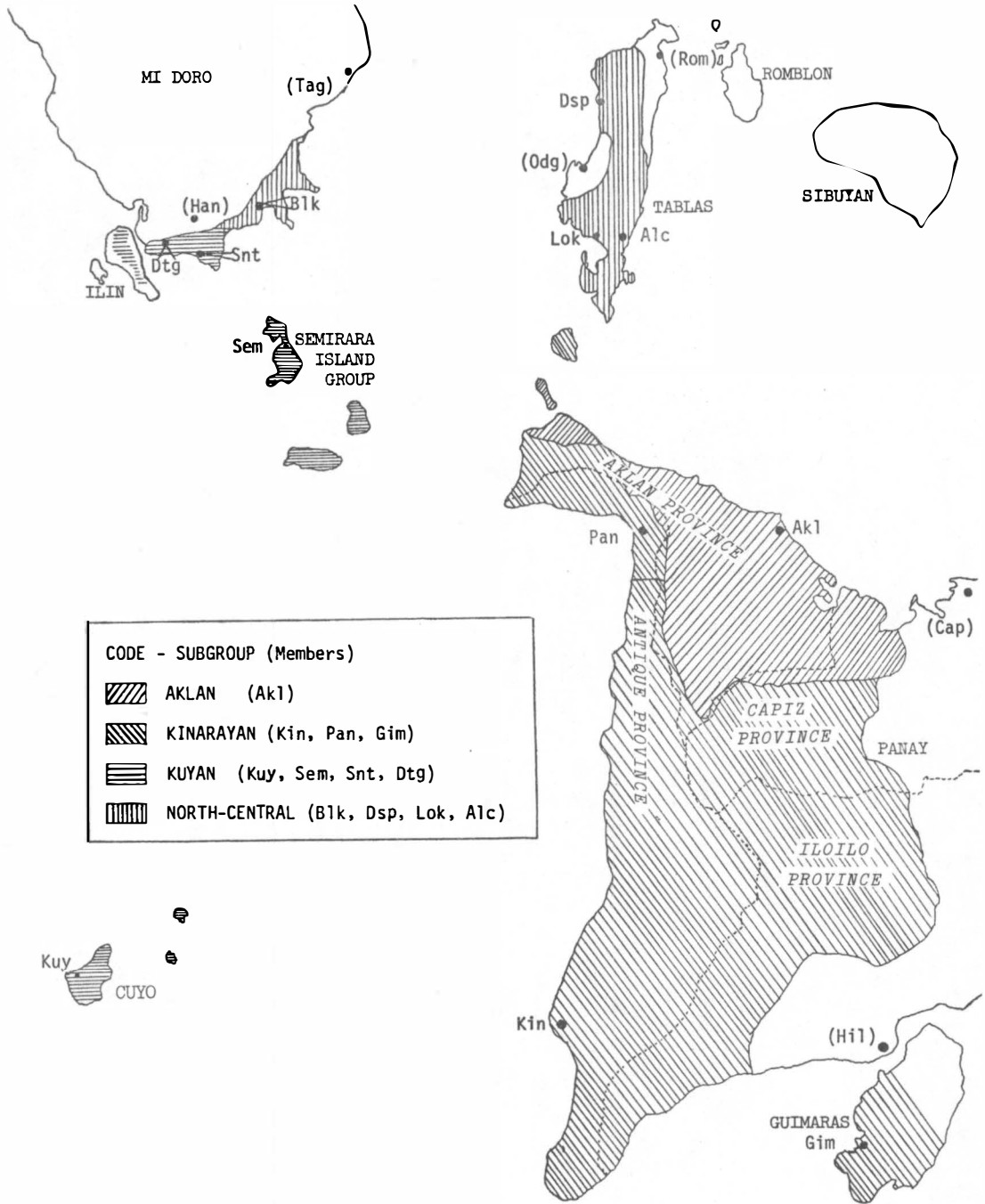
TABLE 2  
BISAYAN DIALECTS: NAMES AND LOCATIONS





| NAME (SUBGROUP)                         | [LOCAL NAME]  | LOCATION(S)   | LINKS                     | OTHER NAME(S)                                | DATA SOURCES   |
|---|---------------|---|---------------------------|--|----------------|
| 1. Aklanon (WBs)                        | qinaklanón    | Aklan & northern Capiz, Panay I.  | Pan;Cap                   | Aklano, Aklan                                | full; Zorc     |
| 2. Alcantaranon (WBs)                   | binisayáq     | Alcantara, Tablas I.  | Lok-Dsp<br>Akl;Rom        |  | full           |
| 3. Bantayan (CBs)                       | binisayáq     | Bantayan I.   | Cam,Mas                   |  | incomplete     |
| 4. Banton (Ban)                         | bantuqánun    | Banton I., Romblon  | Odg-Sib<br>(Rom)          |  | incomplete     |
| 5. Boholano (Ceb)<br>[several dialects] | binulqanún    | Bohol I.  | Ceb-Ley<br>(Jaun)         |  | full           |
| 6. Bulalakawnon (WBs)                   | bulalakáwnun  | Bulalacao (San Pedro), southern Or.<br>Mindoro  | Dsp-Dtg<br>Kuy,Kin        |  | full           |
| 7. Butuanon (SBs)                       | binùtwanún    | Butuan City, Agusan del Norte (area),<br>Mindanao   | (Jaun)<br>(Tsg)           |  | full           |
| 8. Camotes (CBs)                        | puruhánun     | Camotes Is., between Cebu and Leyte   | S-L;Ceb                   |  | Wolff          |
| 9. Capiznon (CBs)                       | kapísnun      | Capiz (area), Panay I.  | Hil                       | Ilonggo                                      | full           |
| 10. Cebuano (Ceb)<br>[several dialects] | sinugbuqanún  | Cebu I; Negros Oriental; eastern<br>Visayas and the coastal areas of<br>northern and eastern Mindanao | (Sur)<br>(But)<br>Boh-Ley | Sugbuanon,<br>Sugbuhanon,<br>Cebuan, Sebuano | full;<br>Wolff |
| 11. Datagnon (WBs)                      | dinatágnun    | Ilin I. and Magsaysay, Occidental<br>Mindoro  | Snt-Sem<br>Kuy            | Ratagnun,<br>Latagnun                        | full           |
| 12. Dispoholnon (WBs)                   | dinispuhúlnun | San Andres (Despujols), Tablas I.,<br>Romblon   | Alc-Lok<br>Akl;Rom        |  | full           |
| 13. Gímaras (WBs)                       | binisayáq     | Guímaras I., Iloilo   | Kin;Hil                   |  | incomplete     |
| 14. Gubat (CBs)                         | ginubátnun    | southern Sorsogon, Bikol  | Sor,N-S                   | Sorsogonon                                   | McFarland      |
| 15. Hiligaynon (CBs)                    | hiligáyynun   | Negros Occidental and coastal areas<br>of Iloilo from Oton to Estancia                                | Cap,Mas                   | Ilonggo                                      | full; Kaufmann |
| 16. Jaun-Jaun (SBs)                     | jaqúnjaqún    | Siargao I., Surigao del Norte   | Nat-Sur                   | Siargaanon                                   | full           |
| 17. Kantilan (SBs)                      | binisayáq     | Cantilan & Madrid, Surigao del Sur,<br>Mindanao   | Nat-Sur                   |  | Dyen           |

TABLE 2 (cont.)

|   |                         |  |                     |   |                   |
|---|-------------------------|--|---------------------|---|-------------------|
| 18. Kawayan (CBs)                           | binisayáq               | Cauayan, Negros Occidental   | Hil                 |   | incomplete        |
| 19. Kinaray-a (WBs)<br>[several dialects]   | kinaráyqah              | most of Antique, Panay I.; most inland areas of Iloilo and Capiz; southern Guimaras I. off of Iloilo | Pan,Blk             | Antiqueño,<br>Hinaray-a,<br>Kiniray-a,<br>Sulud, Ati,<br>Panayano | full;<br>Kaufmann |
| 20. Kuyonon (WBs)<br>[several dialects]     | kuyunún                 | Cuyo Is., except Agutaya; coastal area around Puerto Princesa, Palawan; Culion and Busuanga Is.      | Sem,Dtg             | Cuyuno  | full;<br>de Vries |
| 21. Leyte (Ceb)                             | litínqun                | central western Leyte; immigrants to Dinagat I.  | (Jaun)              | Kaná,<br>Leyteño  | incomplete        |
| 22. Looknon (WBs)                           | linuqúnun               | Look & Santa Fe, Tablas I.   | Alc-Dsp             | Inunhan   | full              |
| 23. Masbate (CBs)                           | binisayáq               | Masbate and Ticao Is.  | Sor,Hil             | Masbateño   | full; McFarland   |
| 24. Naturalis (SBs)                         | binisayáq               | Tandag & Tago, Surigao del Sur, Mindanao   | Kan-Jau<br>(Kamayo) |   | incomplete        |
| 25. Northern Samar (CBs)                    | binisayáq               | northern Samar, within provincial boundary   | S-L,Gub             | Samareño,<br>Waray-Waray  | Ida Wolff         |
| 26. Odionganon (Ban)                        | qudyunánon              | Odiongan (area), Tablas, Romblon Province  | Ban-Sib<br>(Rom)    | Corcuera I.<br>dialect  | full              |
| 27. Pandan (WBs)                            | binisayáq               | Pandan (area) of Antique, including Buruanga, Aklan area of Panay                                    | Kin,Akl             |   | full              |
| 28. Romblomanon (CBs)                       | binisayáq               | Romblon & Sibuyan Is.; San Agustin (area), Tablas  | Cap,Mas             |   | full; Zorc        |
| 29. Samar-Leyte (CBs)<br>[several dialects] | binisayáq<br>waráywaráy | central Samar; northern half of Leyte  | War-N-S             | Samareño,<br>Sinamar,<br>Waray-Waray                              | full; Wolff       |
| 30. Santa Teresa (WBs)                      | binisayáq               | Barrío Santa Teresa of Magsaysay, Occ. Mindoro   | Dtg-Sem             |   | incomplete        |
| 31. Semirara (WBs)                          | binisayáq               | Semirara Island Group  | Dtg,Kuy             |   | full              |
| 32. Sibale (Ban)                            | sibalínhun              | Sibale (Maestre de Campo) I. off of central Or. Mindoro  | Ban-Odg             | Banton  | incomplete        |
| 33. Sorsogon (CBs)                          | sursugúnun              | northern Sorsogon, Bikol   | Mas,Gub             | Bikol   | McFarland         |
| 34. Surigaonon (SBs)                        | surigáwnun              | Surigao del Norte  | Jau-Nat             | Jaun Bisayá   | full              |
| 35. Tausug (SBs)                            | taqusu:g                | Jolo I.; southern and western Palawan  | (But)               | Moro, Taw Sug   | full; Ashley      |
| 36. Waray (CBs)                             | waráywaráy              | southern Samar I., Eastern Samar (province)  | S-L-N-S             | Samareño,<br>Binisayá   | full; Wolff       |

MAP 4  
LOCATION OF WBs DIALECTS

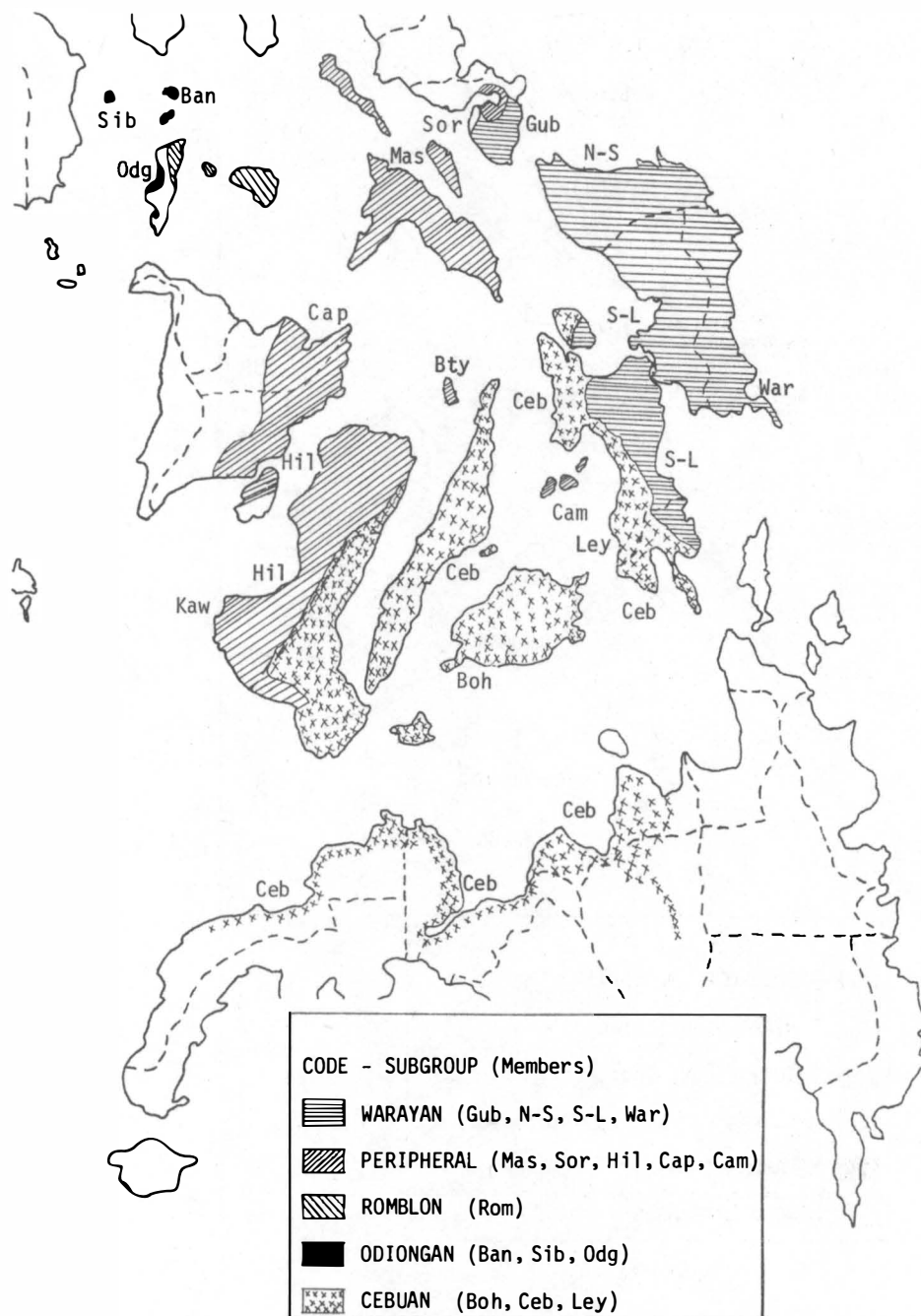


| CODE - SUBGROUP (Members)   |                                    |
|---|------------------------------------|
|  | AKLAN (Ak1)                        |
|  | KINARAYAN (Kin, Pan, Gim)          |
|  | KUYAN (Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg)         |
|  | NORTH-CENTRAL (Blk, Dsp, Lok, Alc) |

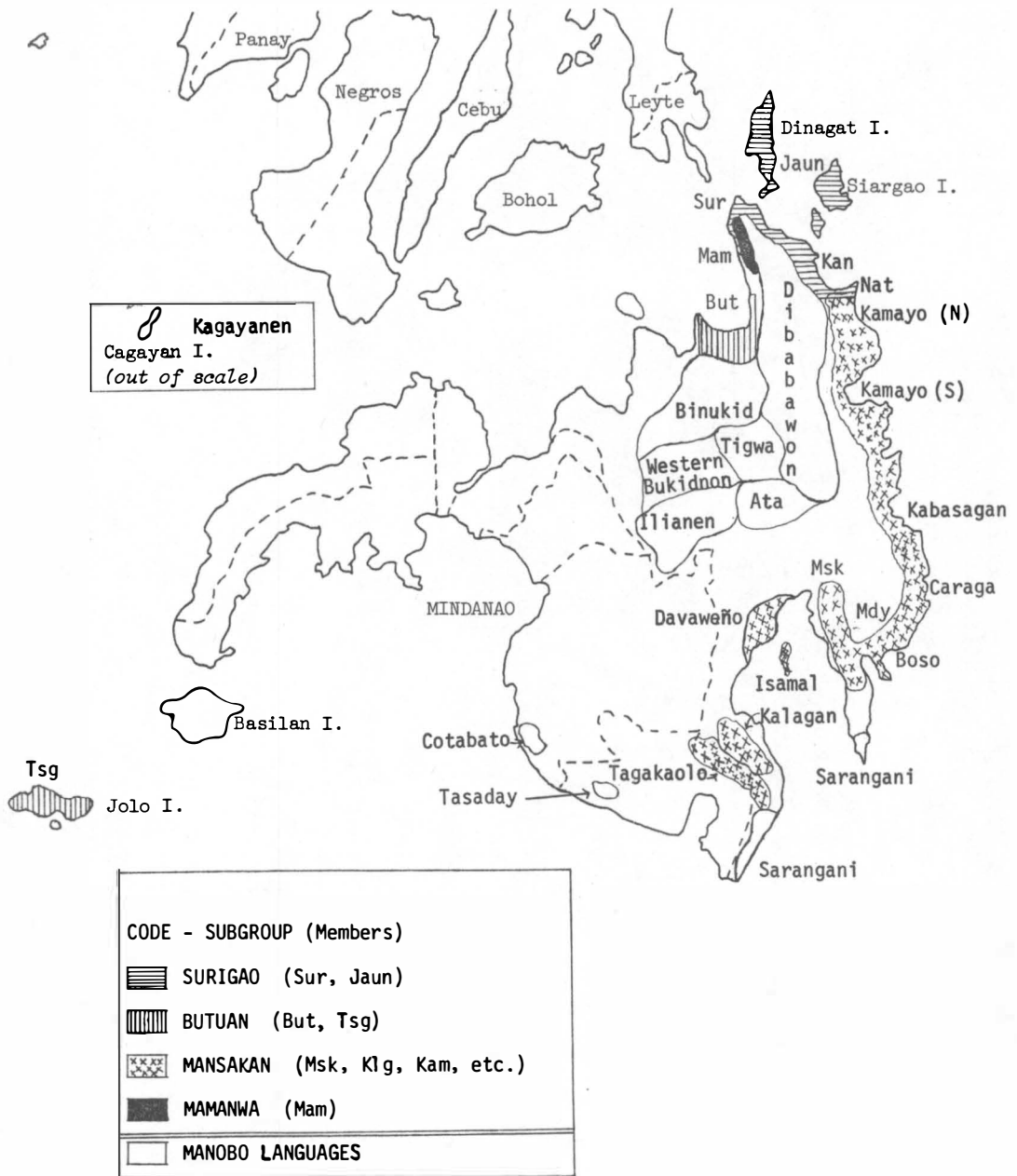




MAP 5  
LOCATION OF CBs DIALECTS



MAP 6  
LOCATION OF SBs AND Mk DIALECTS



### 2.3.2. Other Central Philippine Languages

Other speech communities important to this study include dialects of Mansaka, Bikol, and Tagalog (see Table 3).

Gallman (1974) treats several dialects of the Mansakan language community: Eastern Mansakan<sup>6</sup> includes Mansaka, Mandayan, Boso, Caraga, and Kabasagan; Western Mansakan includes Kalagan, Tagakaolo, and Isamal. To these can be added: Kamayo (northern and southern dialects), Davaw-eño, and the distantly related Mamanwa language (see Map 6).

McFarland (1974) identifies three subgroups within the Bikol language community: Inland Bikol, spoken in the vicinities of Daraga, Oas, Libon, Iriga, and Buhí; Coastal Bikol, spoken between Naga and Legazpi (Standard Bikol), and the dialect of Southern Catanduanes (e.g., Virac); and an independently-grouped dialect, Northern Catanduanes, such as that spoken in Pandan (see Map 7).

Besides a Manila-based dialect of Tagalog for which there is abundant data, two others were studied: that of Lubang and Marinduque islands, for which I have only incomplete data sets.

### 2.3.3. Other Philippine Languages

In ascertaining the distribution of linguistic features found among Bs dialects and CPh languages, it is necessary to check the wider circle of MPh, SPh, and NPh languages.

Among the MPh languages studied were dialects of Palawan, Kalamian, and South Mangyan;<sup>7</sup> among SPh, only Kagayanen-Manobo and three North Mangyan dialects. All of the remaining data were gathered from secondary sources, the most valuable of which was Reid (1971).<sup>8</sup>

Some recent studies have brought to light the heretofore unknown extent and internal relationships of various language groups, such as Manobo (Elkins 1971 and 1974), Igorot (Reid 1974), and Bashiic<sup>9</sup> (Yamada 1973b), although their external genetic relations have yet to be determined. Other sources were consulted for various non-Bs languages:

- Batak of Palawan, Warren (1959)
- Bikol (Standard), Mintz (1971a, 1971b, and 1973)
- Buhí (Bikol), Yamada (1972)
- Gorontalo, Machmoed (1973) and Little (1974 and personal files)
- Hanunoo, Conklin (1953)
- Ibanag, INL (1953), Llamzon (1968), Pascasio (1968)
- Ifugao (Batad dialect), Newell (1968)
- Ilokano, Vanoverbergh (1956a and 1956b)
- Isneg, Vanoverbergh (1972)

Itbayaten, Yamada (1966, 1973a, and 1973b)  
Magindanao, Juanmarti (1892a and 1892b)  
Manobo-Western Bukidnon, Elkins (1968)  
Mansaka, SIL (1955)  
Maranao, McKaughan and Macaraya (1967)  
Mongondow, Charles (1974 and personal files)  
Pampango, Bergaño (1860) and Forman (1971a)  
Pangasinan, Benton (1971a)  
Subanon, Christie (1908) and Churchill (1913)  
Tagalog, Bloomfield (1917) and Panganiban (1966 and 1972)  
Tboli (= Tagabili), Forsberg and Lindquist (1955)  
Tiruray, Schlegel (1971)

TABLE 3  
NON-BISAYAN DIALECTS AND LANGUAGES: NAMES AND LOCATIONS

| NAME (SUBGROUP)         | LOCATION(S)  | LINK(S)                      | DATA SOURCES                             |
|-------------------------|--|------------------------------|--|
| A. (BIKOL GROUP)        |  |                              |  |
| 1. Buhi (IBk)           | Buhi (area), Camarines Sur   | Libon, Iriga                 | McFarland; Yamada                        |
| 2. Daraga (IBk)         | Daraga, Camalig, Guinobatan, Jovellar, Pioduran (areas of) Albay; Donsol (area), Sorsogon  | Oas; Standard Bk             | McFarland; incomplete set for Guinobatan |
| 3. Iriga (IBk)          | Iriga City and town of Baao, Bato, and Nabua (Camarines Sur)   | Buhi, Libon                  | McFarland                                |
| 4. Libon (IBk)          | Libon (area), Albay  | Oas, Buhi                    | McFarland                                |
| 5. Oas (IBk)            | Oas, Ligao, Polangui (areas), Albay  | Daraga, Libon                | McFarland                                |
| 6. Pandan (PanBk)       | Pandan, Bagamanoc, Caramoran, Payo, Viga (areas of) northern Catanduanes   | (Virac)                      | McFarland                                |
| 7. Standard Bikol (CBk) | Naga and most of Camarines Sur; Legazpi and western Albay; Basud, Daet, Mercedes, San Vicente, Talisay (areas of) Camarines Norte; Bacon, Castilla, Magallanes, Pilar, Prieto Diaz (areas of) Sorsogon | Virac; Daraga; Sorsogon (Bs) | McFarland; Mintz                         |
| 8. Virac (CBk)          | Virac, Baras, Bato, Gigmoto, San Andres, San Miguel (areas of) southern Catanduanes  | Standard Bikol               | McFarland                                |
| B. (MANSAKAN GROUP)     |  |                              |  |
| 9. Boso (EMk)           | barrio Boso, Mati (area), Davao Oriental   | Mansaka, Caraga              | Gallman/SIL                              |
| 10. Caraga (EMk)        | Caraga (area), Davao Oriental  | Kabasagan                    | Gallman/SIL                              |
| 11. Davaweño (DavMk)    | Davao City (area) [native Mansakan dialect influenced by Tag and Ceb]  | (East. Mansakan)             | Wolff                                    |
| 12. Isamal (EMk?)       | Isamal Island, Davao Oriental  | (East Mansakan)              | Gallman/SIL                              |
| 13. Kabasagan (EMk)     | barrio Kabasagan, Boston (area), Davao Oriental  | Mandayan; Kamayo             | Gallman/SIL                              |
| 14. Kalagan (WMk)       | Digos (area), Davao del Sur  | Tagakaolo                    | Reid; Gallman/SIL                        |

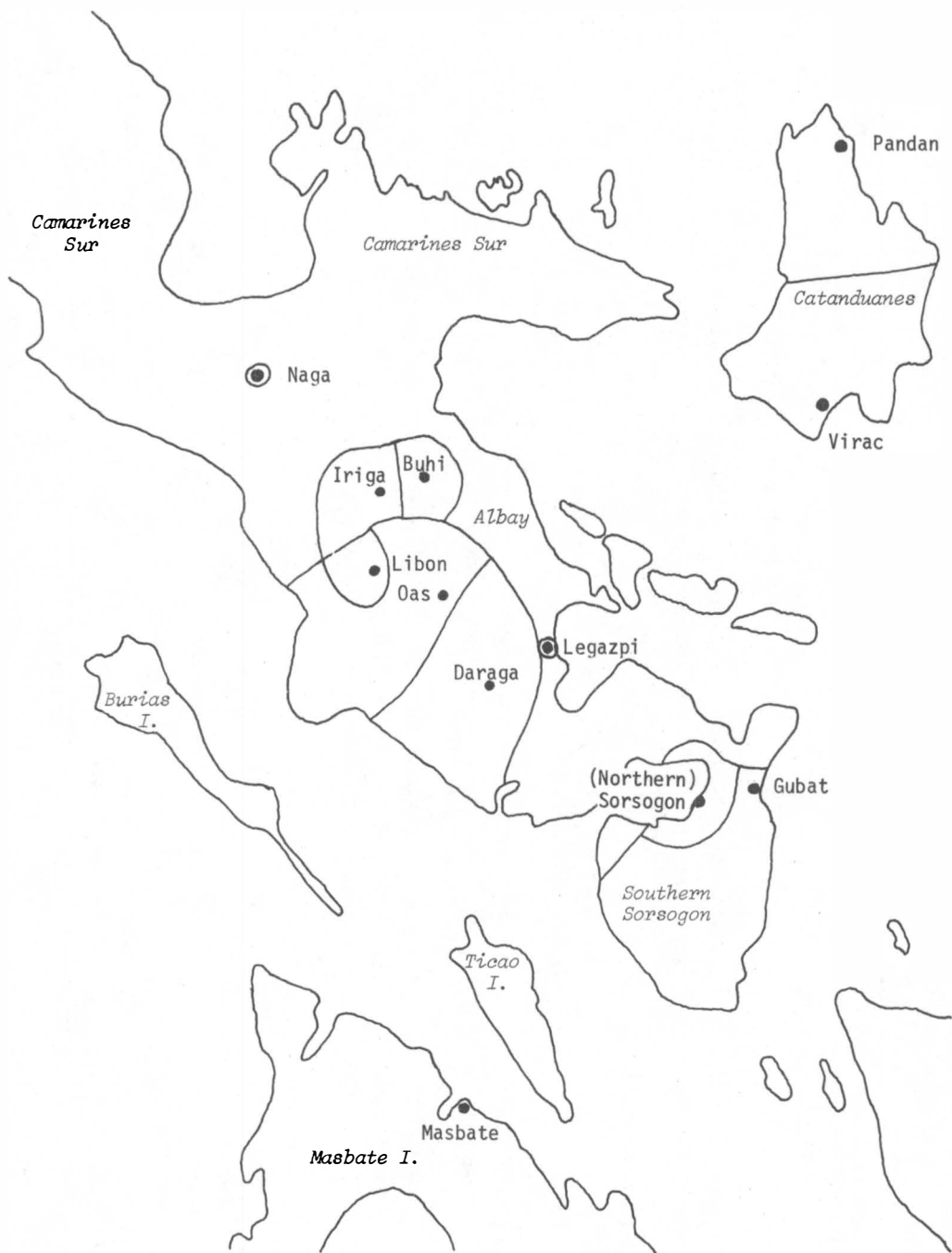
TABLE 3 (cont.)

| NAME (SUBGROUP)          | LOCATION(S)  | LINK(S)   | DATA SOURCES               |
|--------------------------|--|---|----------------------------|
| 15. Kamayo (NMk)         | Marihatag to Hinatuan [northern dialects], Bislig to Lingig [southern dialects], Surigao del Sur | (Kabasagan);(Nat)   | full; Wolff                |
| 16. Mamanwa (Mam)        | Lake Mainit (area), Agusan del Norte   | (Mansakan)  | Miller & Miller            |
| 17. Mandayan (EMk)       | Maragusan valley, Davao Oriental   | Boso-Mansaka  | Gallman/SIL                |
| 18. Mansaka (EMk)        | Tagum, Mabini, Pantukan (areas), Davao del Norte   | Mandayan, Boso  | Reid; Svelmoe; Gallman/SIL |
| 19. Tagakaolo (WMk)      | Lumabat and Mainit river areas, Malungon, Cotabato   | Kalagan   | Reid; Murray; Gallman/SIL  |
| C. (TAGALOG GROUP)       |  |   |                            |
| 20. Lubang (Tg)          | Lubang Island  | [Adequate study of Tag dialects has not been undertaken.] | incomplete                 |
| 21. Manila (Tg)          | Manila (area), southern Luzon  |   | full                       |
| 22. Marinduque (Tg)      | western Marinduque, eastern Mindoro  |   | incomplete                 |
| D. (KALAMIAN GROUP)      |  |   |                            |
| 23. Agutaynen            | Agutaya I., Cuyo Island Group  | Tagbanwa  | full                       |
| 24. Karamiananen         | Busuanga I., inland areas  | Tagbanwa-Agutaynen  | full                       |
| 25. Tagbanwa [Northern]  | Culion I., inland areas  | Karamiananen  | full                       |
| E. (PALAWAN GROUP)       |  |   |                            |
| 26. Aborlan [Tagbanwa]   | Aborlan (area), southern Palawan   | Palawano-Batak  | full                       |
| 27. Batak                | inland north-central Palawan   | Aborlan   | full                       |
| 28. Palawano             | Brookes Point (inland area), Palawan   | Aborlan   | full                       |
| F. (SOUTH MANGYAN GROUP) |  |   |                            |
| 29. Buhid                | inland areas around Roxas and Bongabon, Oriental Mindoro   | Hanunoo   | full; Conklin              |
| 30. Hanunoo              | inland from Magsaysay, Occidental Mindoro to north Mansalay, Or. Mindoro                         | Buhid   | full; Conklin; Postma      |

TABLE 3 (cont.)

| NAME (SUBGROUP)                    | LOCATION(S)  | LINK(S)  | DATA SOURCES                    |
|------------------------------------|--|--|---------------------------------|
| G. (NORTH MANGYAN GROUP)           |  |  |                                 |
| 31. Alangan                        | barrio Paitan (area) on the Nauhan side of Mount Halcon, Or. Mindoro   | Iraya-Tadyawan   | full                            |
| 32. Iraya                          | inland areas of north-east Mindoro                                     | Alangan  | full                            |
| 33. Tadyawan, Tagaydan             | small inland pockets around Pola and Victoria, Oriental Mindoro        | Alangan  | full                            |
| H. (MANOBO GROUP)                  |  |  |                                 |
| 34. Ata (CMB)                      | Mansalinao (area), Davao del Norte                                     | Tigwa  | Elkins; Reid                    |
| 35. Binukid, Bukidnon (NMB)        | inland areas, Agusan del Sur   | (Western Bukidnon)   | Elkins; Reid                    |
| 36. Cotabato (SMB)                 | inland Kalamansig (area), Cotabato                                     | (Tasaday)  | Elkins; Reid                    |
| 37. Dibabawon (EMB)                | eastern areas of Agusan del Sur and Davao del Norte along Agusan River | Agusan; Ata  | Forster & Barnard; Elkins; Reid |
| 38. Ilianen (WMB)                  | Kibudtungan (area), north-west Cotabato                                | Western Bukidnon   | Elkins; Reid                    |
| 39. Kagayanen (NMB)                | Cagayan I. [between Negros & Palawan]                                  | (Bukidnon)   | full; Elkins                    |
| 40. Sarangani (SMB)                | southern areas of Davao del Sur and Davao Oriental; Sarangani I.       | (Cotabato)   | Elkins; Reid                    |
| 41. Tigwa (CMB)                    | Tigwa River (area), Bukidnon   | Ata  | Elkins; Reid                    |
| 42. Western Bukidnon (WMB)         | Pangantocan (area), Bukidnon   | Ilianen  | Elkins; Reid                    |
| I. (SAMALAN GROUP, NON PHILIPPINE) |  |  |                                 |
| 43. Abaknon                        | Capul I. [west of northern Samar]                                      | [There is not enough comparable information for a reliable subgrouping of Samalan dialects.] | Wolff                           |
| 44. Jama Mapun                     | Cagayan Sulu I.  |  | incomplete                      |
| 45. Samal                          | Jolo and Siasi Islands   |  | Pallesen; Reid                  |
| 46. Sibtu                          | Tawi-Tawi and Sibtu Islands  |  | incomplete                      |

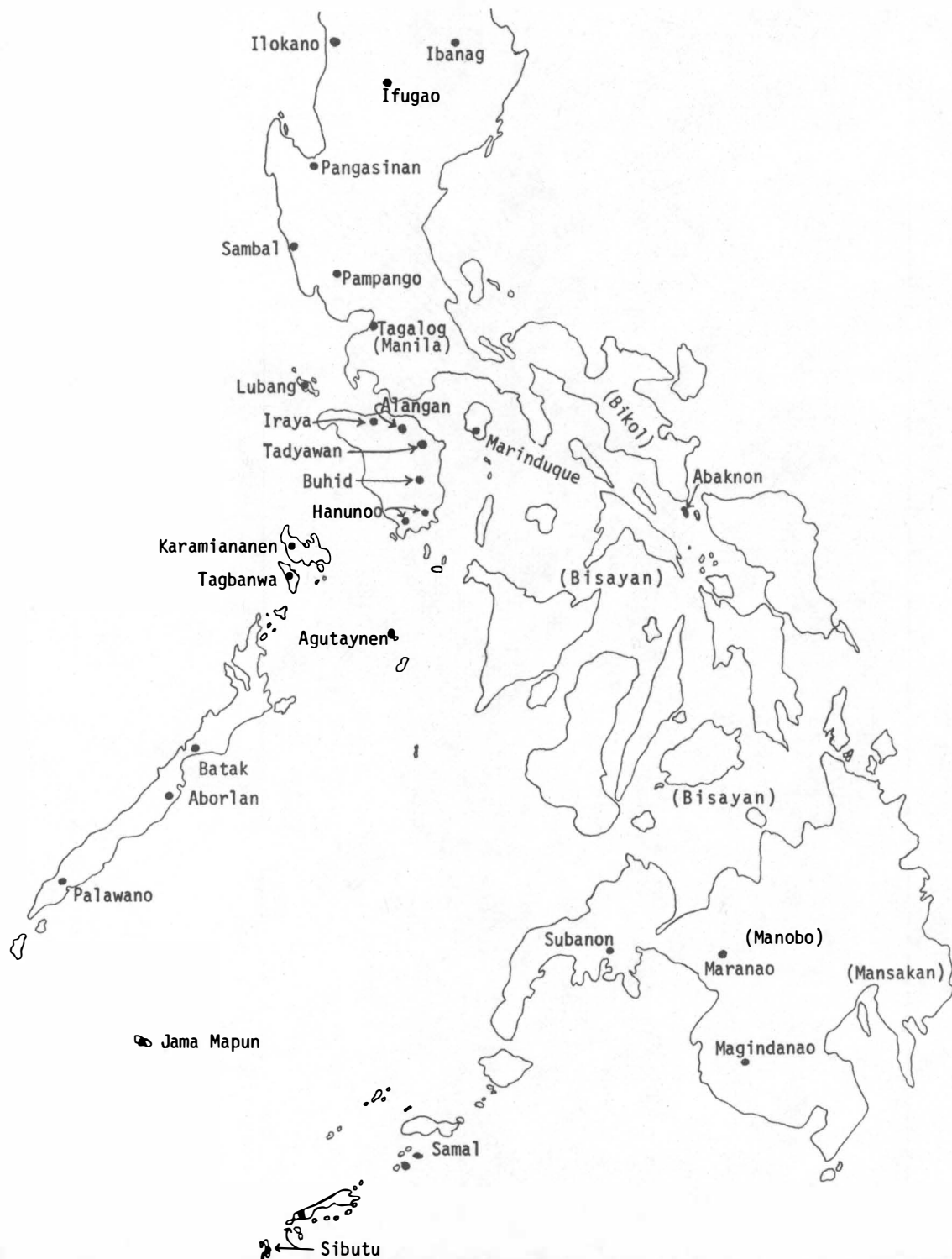
MAP 7  
DIALECTS OF THE BIKOL AREA ACCORDING TO McFARLAND (1974)



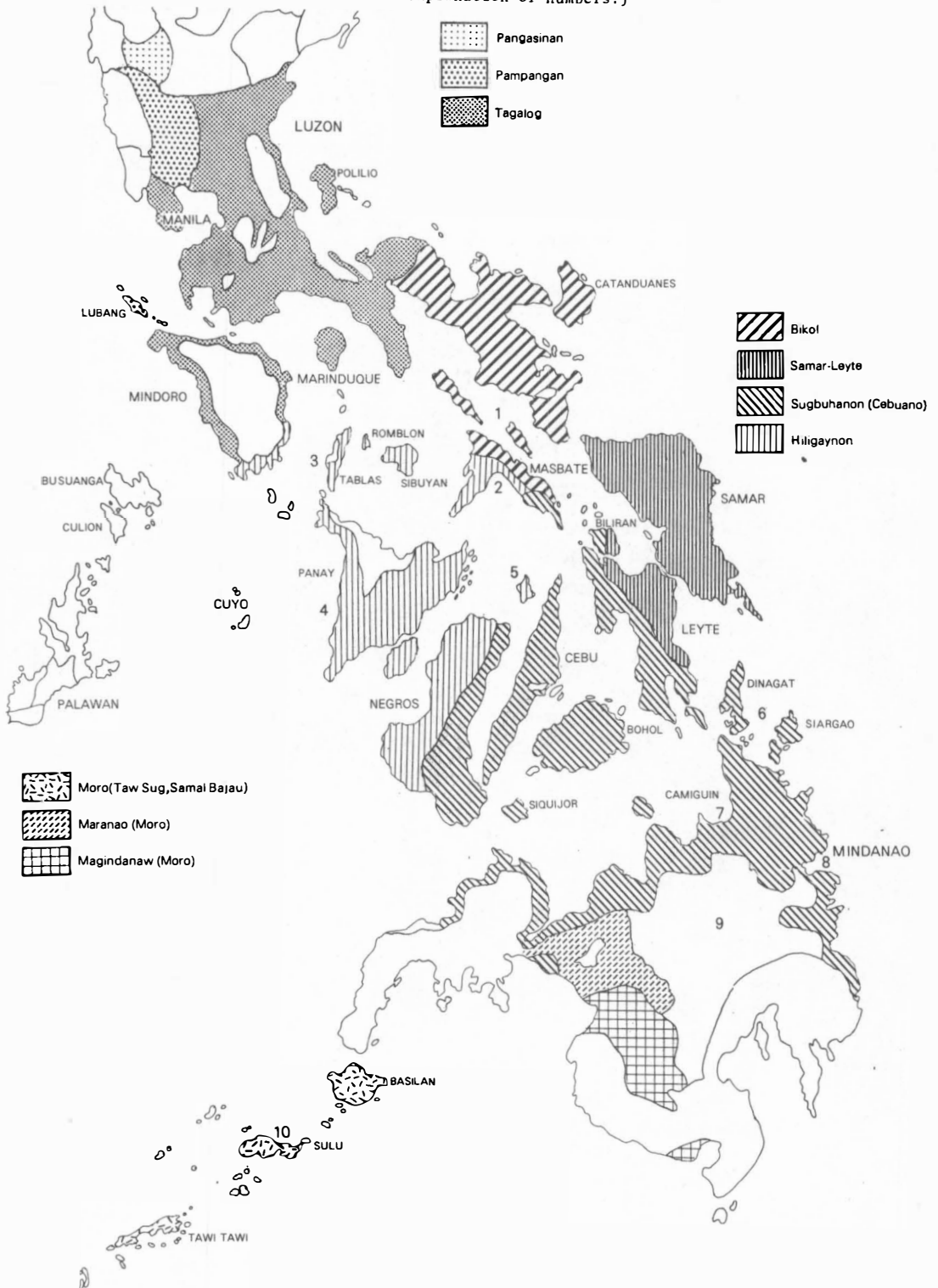


## MAP 8

LOCATION OF OTHER PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES REFERRED TO IN THIS STUDY.  
 (See previous maps for the location of Bisayan, Bikol, Mansakan,  
 and Manobo speech varieties.)



MAP 9  
 CORRECTIONS TO PHILIPPINE LINGUISTIC GEOGRAPHY  
 (Consult text for explanation of numbers.)



#### 2.4. CORRECTIONS TO SOUTHERN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTIC GEOGRAPHY

Based on the results of this study and those of other scholars various corrections can be made to existing language maps of the Philippines. One example of such a map is found in Panganiban (1972: viii-ix), reproduced here as Map 9. The following comments correspond to the numbers indicated on that map.

(1) The Bikol area is divided into eleven well-marked dialects (McFarland, *op. cit.*), three of which (Northern Sorsogon, Southern Sorsogon, and Masbate) are genetically Bisayan, not Bikol (see Map 7).

(2) While it is true that on Masbate there are immigrants from the Bikol, Cebuano, and Hiligaynon language communities, the native dialect throughout the island is Masbateño (see Map 5).

(3) Sibuyan I., Romblon I., Tablas, and southern Mindoro are marked as if Hiligaynon were the native language. Sibuyan, Romblon, and north-eastern Tablas actually have Romblomanon (Map 5); while western and southern Tablas and southern Mindoro have local dialects that belong to the North-Central group of WBs (Map 4).

(4) The predominant dialect of central and western Panay is Kinaray-a of the WBs subgroup (Map 4), not Hiligaynon.

(5) Bantayan I. has a native dialect which, although replete with loans from Cebuano, shows its closest linguistic affiliation with some members of the CBs subgroup (Map 5), particularly Mas and Hil.

(6) The native dialects of Dinagat and Siargao islands, as well as of the north-eastern Surigao peninsula are members of the Surigao subgroup of SBs (Map 6), and are quite distinct from Cebuano.

(7) The native dialect around the Butuan City area is Butuanon, which shows its closest affiliation to the Surigao subgroup and to Tausug (Map 6), rather than to Cebuano.

(8) Although there has been a heavy influx of Cebuano speakers into the eastern coastal areas of Mindanao, the native dialects in the area indicated are Kamayo and Kabasagan, which are members of the Mansakan group (see Map 6).

(9) Elkins (1974) has shown that the native dialects of central Mindanao are members of the Manobo subfamily of SPh (see Map 6). Map 9 rather indicates the recent intrusion of members of the Danao group (*viz.*, Magindanao and Maranao, consult Allison 1974), who have also brought with them the Muslim religion.

(10) The Samals, Sibusus, and Bajaus are members of the Sama subfamily of Indonesian languages; these groups have immigrated into and spread throughout the Sulu archipelago (going as far north as Capul I. off the northern coast of Samar). However, Tausug, the majority language on Sulu I., is most closely related to Butuanon (Map 6), and is

therefore quite remote, genetically-speaking, from Sama.

## 2.5. CONTACTS AMONG BISAYAN AND OTHER PHILIPPINE LANGUAGE GROUPS

Errors in Philippine linguistic cartography and in genetic subgrouping have often been the result of the undetected interinfluence of languages upon one another. Such direct or indirect influences of any but the most remote Philippine languages are the result of continuous contact among fishermen, traders, emigrants, and immigrants since pre-Hispanic times, accelerated by the advent of mass communication and the more rapid means of transportation in the past century.

Evaluation of scores from lexicostatistical comparisons and the consideration of the validity of proposed common innovations call for some knowledge of the geography, the culture, and the fishing-, trading-, and travel-routes of the communities involved.

Thus, for example, there are a number of Bisayan and of Manobo lexical innovations in Kagayanen (Zorc 1974a). Since most Manobos live far inland on Mindanao and are not seafarers, the numerous Manobo elements in the basic vocabulary of this language must be inherited, while the Bs elements must be a more recent overlay (Ibid.). This conclusion is supported by other information: the Bisayans have been fishermen and traders since pre-Hispanic times, and the island (Cagayan) is located on the fishing and trading routes of several Bs communities (Kuy, Kin, Hil). Knowing something about the geography and history of the area helps in determining the status of suspect forms in Kagayanen.

The Hanunoo have also been in contact with WBs dialects for a long time. This contact has led to the borrowing of a particular type of song, the *urú kay*,<sup>10</sup> which is WBs in form and content. Many of the WBs words in these songs have been incorporated in a native Hanunoo type of song, the *Ambahan*. Through these native songs the WBs words have been learned and have thence been borrowed into the language (see Chapter 11). In those cases where a word is clearly limited to songs, it may more readily be identified as a borrowing. In other cases, when the words have been fully assimilated into Hanunoo, it is difficult to determine if the form was a Bs or WBs innovation borrowed by Hanunoo, or a mutual retention of Bs and Hanunoo from PMP. Sometimes the limited distribution of a form may be a clue, that is, if it is widely distributed among Bs or WBs communities, but otherwise found only in Hanunoo, and not in any other language of Mindoro or elsewhere, it is more likely to be a Bs innovation later borrowed into Hanunoo.

The linguistic situation on north-eastern Mindanao is very complex. Several SBs dialects are located around the Surigao Peninsula, from Butuan Bay in the west to Lanuza Bay in the east. Between Butuan and

Surigao, around Lake Mainit, live the Mamanwas, who have borrowed rather heavily from the SBs dialects, particularly from Sur (cf. Dyen 1963a:60-1). To the south of Lanuza Bay live the Kamayos, who have also been under the influence of SBs and Ceb dialects. Both Mamanwa and Kamayo have a closer genetic relationship to Mansaka and Kalagan, and to each other, than to Bs.

Many language groups of Mindanao have borrowed extensively from Bs or Mk speech communities. In the hinterlands of the Surigao Peninsula live the Agusan and Dibabawon Manobos, and to the south of Butuan deep into Agusan and Bukidnon provinces live the Binukid Manobos (see Map 6); each of these groups has been in contact with and borrowed from the Bisayans. Maranao appears to have many doublets, one form inherited, the other borrowed from Bs (most probably Ceb); consult the English-Maranao index in McKaughan and Macaraya 1967.

However, Bs dialects are not always the donors. There are dialects of Ceb on Mindanao that have non-Ceb and non-Bs substrata (when speakers give up their native language in favor of the intrusive language but retain basic elements of their mother tongue) or superstrata (when immigrating speakers adopt certain localisms into their native speech). This has undoubtedly been the case when any Bs dialect spread to a new area.

In addition to such contact outside of Bs, there has been much contact among the Bs dialects themselves. Two Bs speech types (Ceb and Hil) have become major Philippine trade languages, which have been used by missionaries in their sermons and by teachers in the classroom. This state of affairs gives Ceb and Hil - and, hence, the forms in those dialects - a certain prestige which leads to the replacement of native forms by the more prestigious forms. Besides this, the fact that most Bs communities have engaged in trading and fishing leads us to conclude that the names of many items of trade and culture were carried to or brought from sister dialects and distant languages and have since spread throughout the Bs and CPh area. In cases of long-term contact this obscures either the distance between genetically remote languages or the proximity of genetically close dialects (if one has borrowed a foreign form while the other retains the inherited or innovated form).

The greatest amount of such distortion noted among the Bs dialects surveyed are the influence of Ceb upon Bty, Cam, Hil, Jau, Kan, Nat, S-L, Sur, and War, and of Hil upon Kin (and, to some degree, of Kin upon Hil). WBs dialects have both influenced and been influenced by Cap, Hil, Rom, and Odg. Bik has had a heavy influence upon Sor and Gub, and some influence upon Mas, due to the inclusion of these latter

three dialect areas within the Bikol political bloc. Tsg dialects, depending on location, have either Samalan substrata or superstrata.

## 2.6. GENETIC RELATIONSHIPS

### 2.6.1. Bisayan Dialects

The internal relationships of the 36 Bs dialects are illustrated in Tree Diagram 1. The determination that all these dialects are Bs, genetically closer to one another than to any other Philippine language, is based on the discussion in Chapter 10. The node marked 'South' is defended in Chapter 13; the nodes 'Cebuan, Central, and Banton' in Chapter 12; and 'West' in Chapter 11. The assignment of dialects to various subgroups under each node is also discussed in the respective chapters (e.g., 'Butuan-Tausug' in Chapter 13, 'Warayan' in Chapter 12, 'Kuyan' in Chapter 11, etc.). This tree is based on the genetic evidence of shared innovations; trees based on lexicostatistical evidence (p. 183) and functor analysis (p. 196) do not differ in assigning these dialects to a single parent language (Proto Bisayan) or to the five major subgroups (South, Cebuan, Central, Banton, and West). The overall agreement of these three different methods is therefore taken to be a confirmation of the genetic validity of a Bs subgroup of CPh languages, and of the five major subgroups within Bs itself. However, the weight of shared innovations is taken to be conclusive in the assignment of dialects to specific subgroups (e.g., Gub within Warayan rather than with Sor in the Peripheral CBs group, Cam within Peripheral rather than with S-L, etc.), because subsequent dialectal contacts can and have inflated both lexicostatistical and functor scores among dialect pairs, but wholesale borrowing of innovations (particularly among functors) has not been observed.

This tree is only a pictorial view of Bs interrelationships; it is not intended to represent an absolute subgrouping in terms of language splits (since we are dealing, for the most part, with dialects). The vertical arrangement of the dialects to the right of the tree can be taken as an alternate view of Bs interrelationships (similar to a wave theory diagram). Thus, Cebuan dialects share a significant number of qualitative innovations, justifying their membership together in a discrete Bs subgroup; but Cebuan is intermediate between CBs and SBs, and therefore shares some innovations with each of these latter groups. Similarly, members of the North-Central (WBs) subgroup share some innovations found in either the Kinarayan or Kuyan subgroups. While the overlapping of some innovations underscores the genetic and geographic proximity of these dialects, the quality and distribution of most innovations support the various subgroups as proposed herein.

### 2.6.2. Central Philippine Languages

Tree Diagram 2 is drawn on the basis of the results of my work on Bs, that of McFarland on Bikol (1974), and of Gallman on Mansakan (1974), with my addition of Kamayo and Davaweño. Tagalog<sup>11</sup> and Mamanwa are put at far ends of the CPh group on the basis of their lexicostatistical percentages with each other and with the other CPh languages. The genetic validity of CPh is taken up in Chapter 9.

### 2.6.3. Southern Philippine Languages

Tree Diagram 3 is included for interest; defending it is beyond the scope of this study. It is an eclectic view based on the following: Dyen (1965a) on Austronesian languages, Elkins (1974) on Manobo, Allison (1974) on Danao, Charles on Mongondow and other Ph languages (forthcoming dissertation), Yamada (1973b) on Bashiic [see note 9], Zorc (1974) on Mangyan; Dyen's work is based on lexicostatistics, the others' on shared innovations. The positions of the language families presented are intuitive on my part, and require further study. In putting Danao within SPh, rather than as a group coordinate with PSP, I follow Allison (1974) rather than Dyen (1965a:30); compare Tree Diagrams 3 and 5.

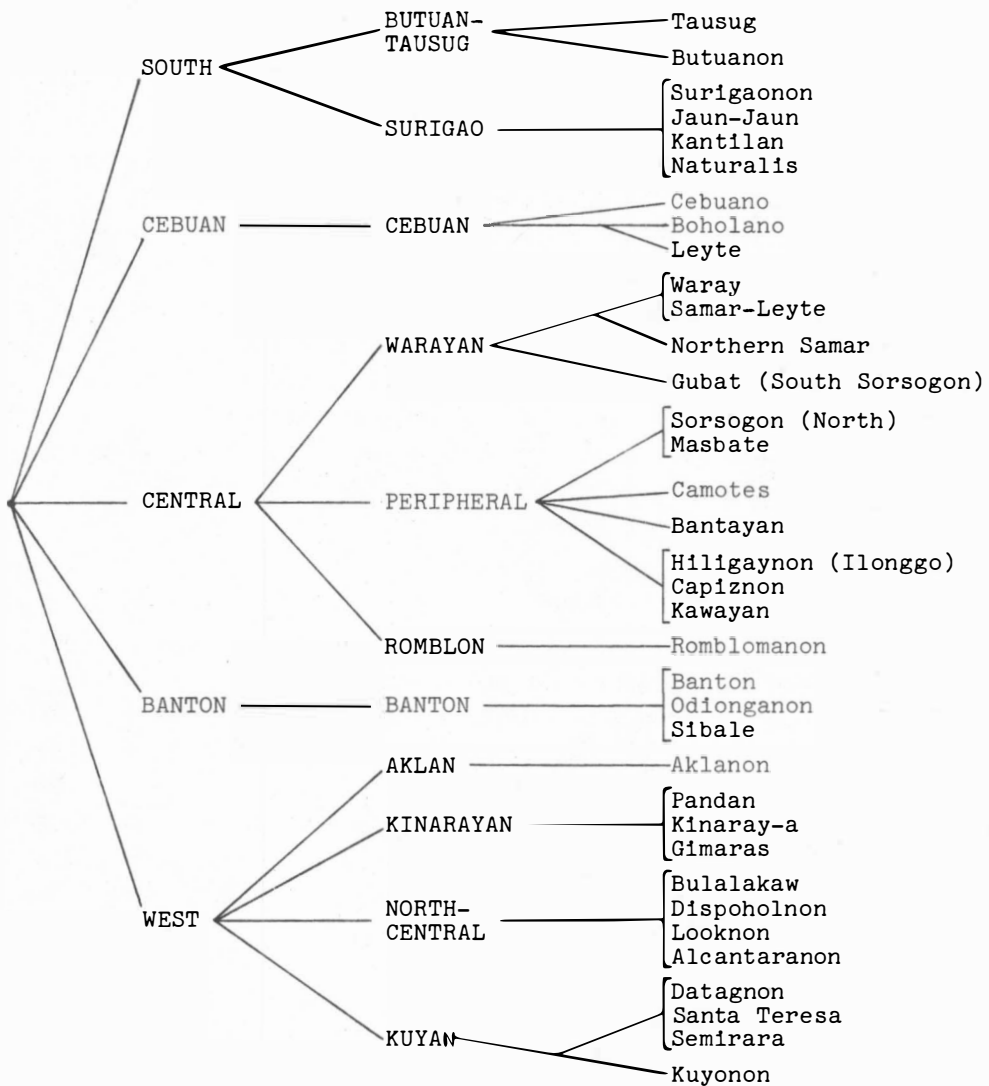
### 2.6.4. Other Philippine Languages

The position of Gorontalo, whether as a member of a group within PPH or coordinate with PPH, is not yet clear.

The position of various NPh languages with respect to one another has not yet been ascertained beyond the work of Reid (1974) on Igorot dialects, and is not relevant to this study. It appears that there are the following NPh groups: Ilokano, Pangasinan (including Inibaloi, Kallahan, and Ilongot), Igorot (including Isinai, Ifugao, Balangaw, Bontok, and Kankanay), and Negrito (Agta, Atta, Gaddang, Yogad). The position of Ibanag is unclear.

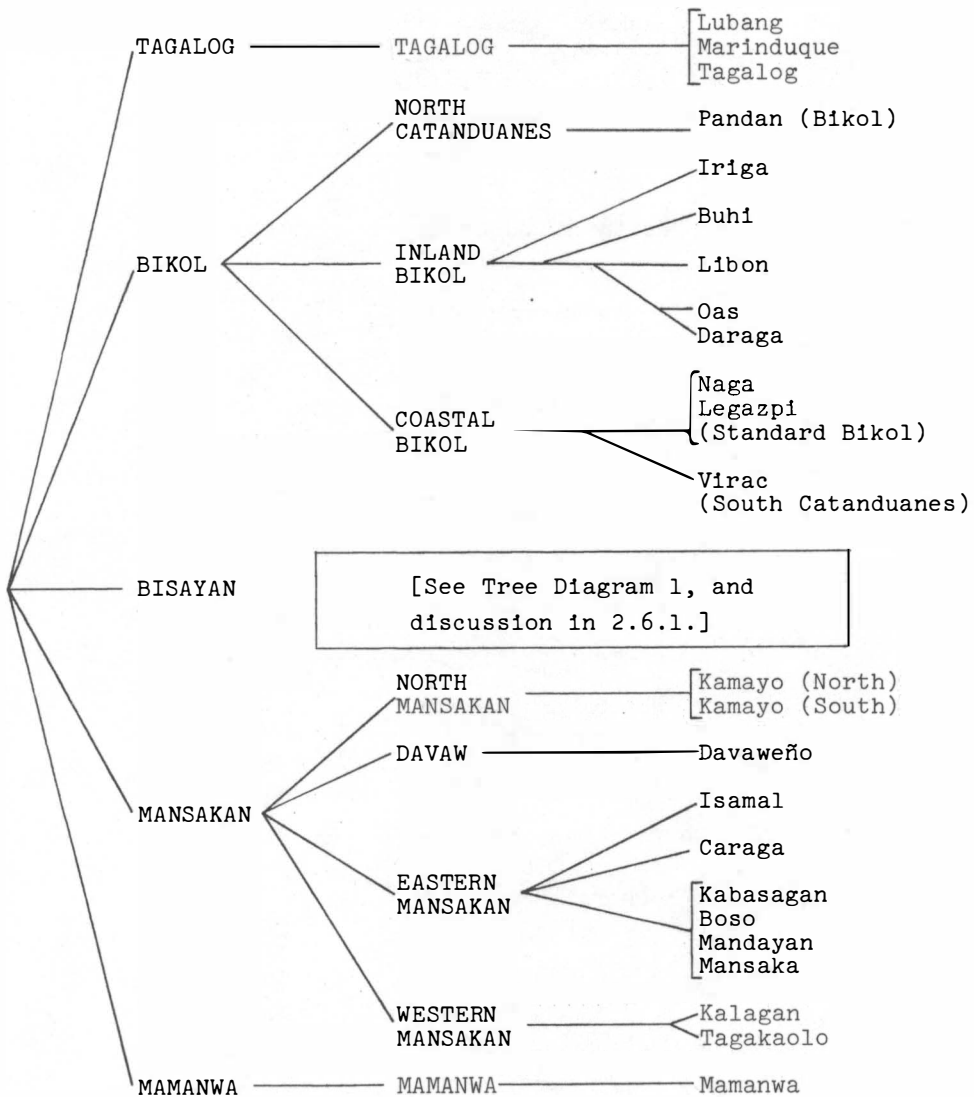
Reid and McFarland, working independently, have fairly conclusive evidence that Kapampangan and Sambal are genetically NPh languages, not SPh as treated in Tree Diagram 3. Hence, the node "North Extension" needs revision and would appropriately belong in a NPh genetic tree; its removal from Tree Diagram 3 in no way affects the conclusions of this study with regard to Bs or CPh languages. The position of Mangyan languages also would need serious re-evaluation.

TREE DIAGRAM 1  
GENETIC RELATIONSHIPS OF THE BISAYAN DIALECTS

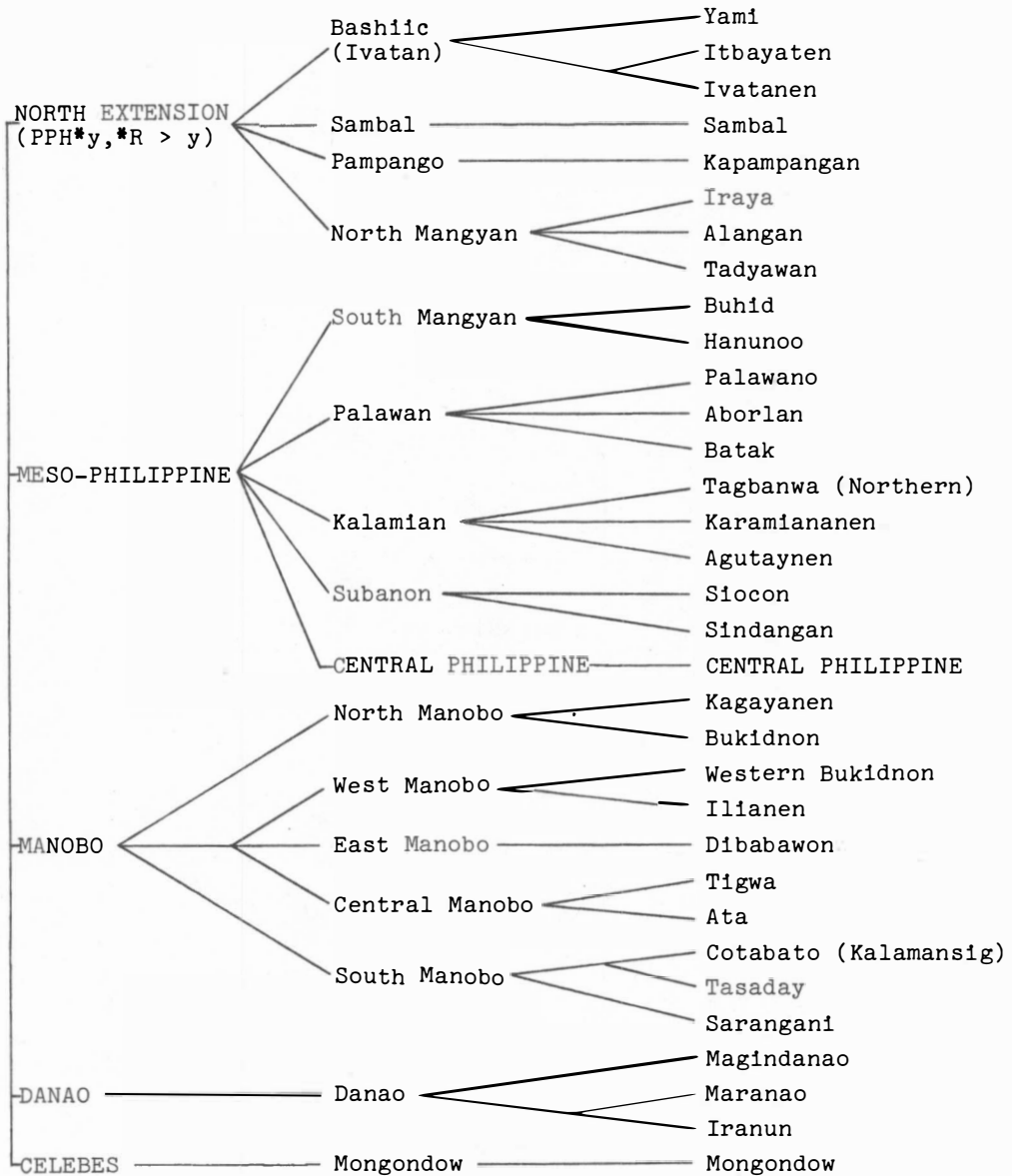




TREE DIAGRAM 2  
GENETIC RELATIONSHIPS OF CENTRAL PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES



TREE DIAGRAM 3  
GENETIC RELATIONSHIPS OF SOUTHERN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

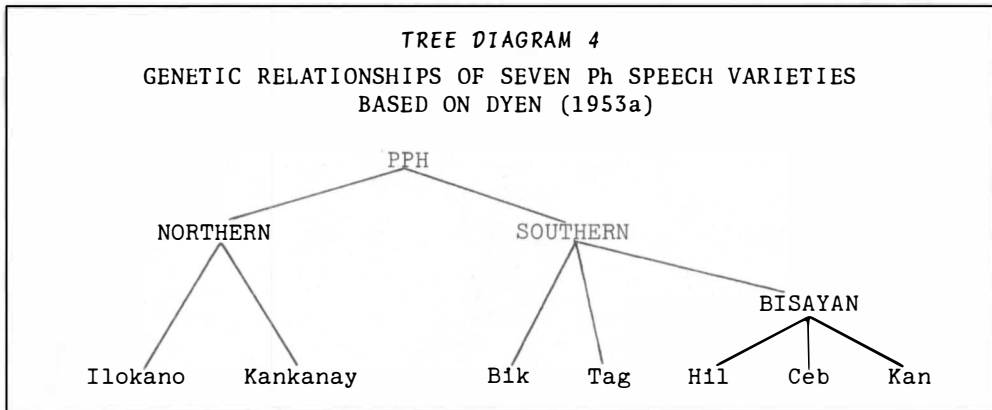


## 2.7. PREVIOUS SURVEYS THAT HAVE INCLUDED Bs OR CPh DIALECTS

An outline of the main points and obvious deficiencies of earlier efforts at subgrouping Bs and other CPh dialects is called for. Table 4 lists the dialects that have previously been treated.

| LANGUAGES   | THOMAS<br>HEALEY | DYEN<br>1953a | PITTMAN<br>& ASSOC | CHRÉTIEN | DYEN<br>1965a | LLAMZON |
|-------------|------------------|---------------|--------------------|----------|---------------|---------|
| Aklanon     |                  |               | X                  |          |               |         |
| Butuanon    | X                |               |                    | X        | X             |         |
| Cebuano     | X                | X             | X3                 | X        | X             | X       |
| Datagnon    |                  |               |                    |          | X             |         |
| Hiligaynon  |                  | X             | X                  | X        | X             | X       |
| Kantilan    |                  | X             |                    |          | X             |         |
| Kinaray-a   |                  |               |                    | X        |               |         |
| Kuyonon     | X                |               | X                  | X        | X             |         |
| Masbateño   |                  |               |                    | X        |               |         |
| Samar-Leyte |                  |               | X                  | X        |               | X       |
| Surigaonon  | X                | (X)           | X                  | X        | X             |         |
| Bikol       | X                | X             |                    | X        | X             | X       |
| Kalagan     | X                |               | X                  |          | X             |         |
| Mamanwa     |                  |               |                    |          | X             |         |
| Mansaka     | X                |               | X                  |          | X             |         |
| Tagalog     | X                | X             | X                  | X        | X             | X       |
| Tausug      |                  |               | X                  | X        |               |         |

2.7.1. Dyen 1953a. In a lecture before the Fourth Eastern Pre-History Congress, Dyen discussed the subgrouping of seven Philippine languages: three were Bs (Ceb, Hil, Kan); two formed a group along with Bs (Bik, Tag); and the other two formed their own group (Ilokano and Kankanay). Thomas and Healey reported the conclusions given in Tree Diagram 4 (1962:31):



The abstract mentioned the following tentative interpretation:

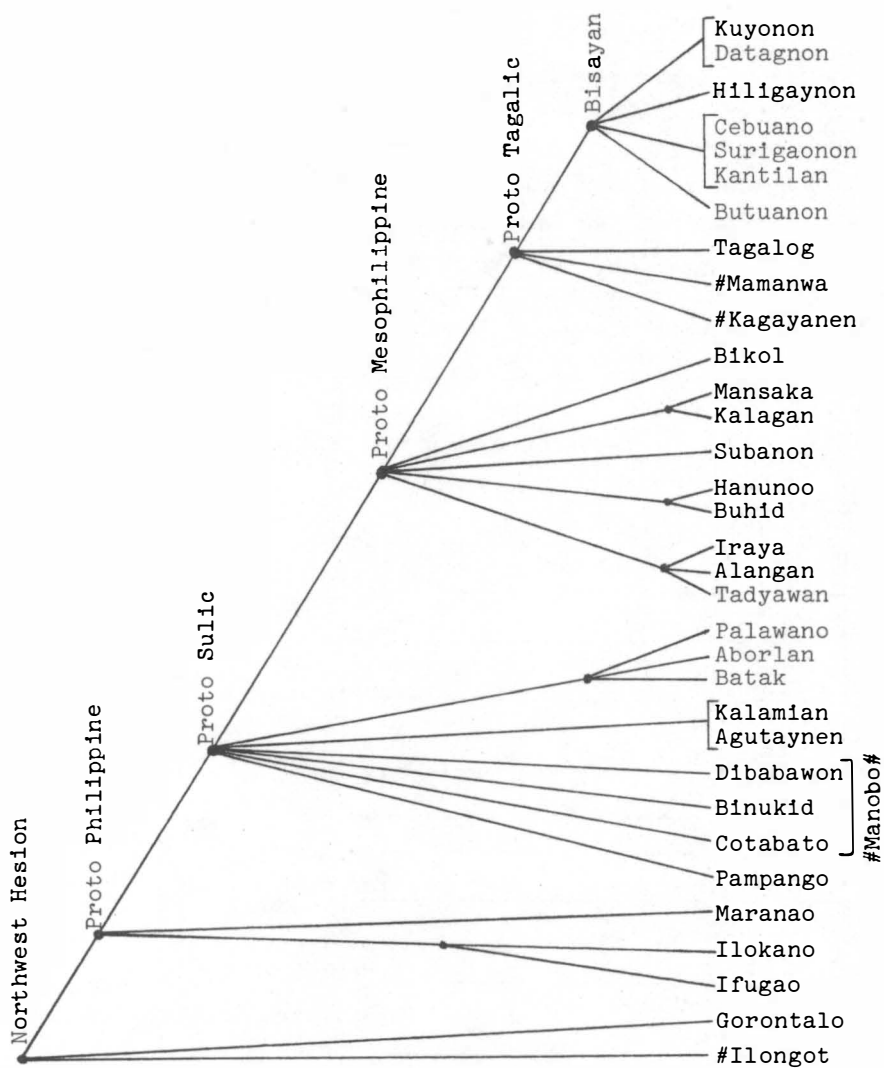
The proto-language was present on Luzon, the most likely point of dispersal, not less than 3100 years ago (1000 B.C.). The ends of the speech community began to diverge then and later other parts of the community which were not in direct contact. The result of this about 700 years later was five communities determined not by bounds but by differences from other non-contiguous sections of the same language area. (518)

Of course, Dyen cautioned that "as more information becomes available and more Philippine languages become available for treatment the notions presented here may be subject to correction." Dyen 1965a does give a more comprehensive survey, although the position of Bisayan remains essentially the same.

2.7.2. Dyen 1965a includes some 89 dialects or languages of the Philippines in his classification, based on 196 meanings from the Swadesh 200-meaning list. Although a chart drawn in tree form is not presented due to the complexity of his results, a tree showing most of the SPh languages compared can readily be drawn from his presentation (Tree Diagram 5). All members of his Sulic, Mesophilippine, Tagalic, and Bisayan branches are given here, but only a few sample languages from other branches of his Philippine Hesion and Northwest Hesion.

The symbol '#' indicates that the language has since been regrouped by Dyen. Thus, he noted the significant influence on Mamanwa of borrowings from Sur (1963a:61). From other evidence he has decided that Mamanwa belongs with Mansaka and Kalagan in the following relationship: Mamanwaic Cluster, having Mamanwa and Mansakan as members, the latter having Mansaka and Kalagan as members (personal communication). He has also observed that Kagayanen is a Manobo language with a heavy Bisayan overlay.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, Kagayanen, Binukid, Dibabawon, and Cotabato all form a Manobo subgroup (Tree Diagram 3).

TREE DIAGRAM 5  
 DYEN'S PHILIPPINE FAMILY TREE (1965a)



2.7.3. Thomas and Healey 1962 offer a subgrouping of some 37 Ph languages. They are careful in the evaluation of the importance of their preliminary presentation:

It should be emphasized that lexicostatistical studies such as these are no substitute for the thorough investigation of sound shifts and grammatical structures. Firm scientific establishment of the Philippine language groupings must await adequate studies in comparative phonology and comparative grammar, and the synthesis of these with the results of lexicostatistics.

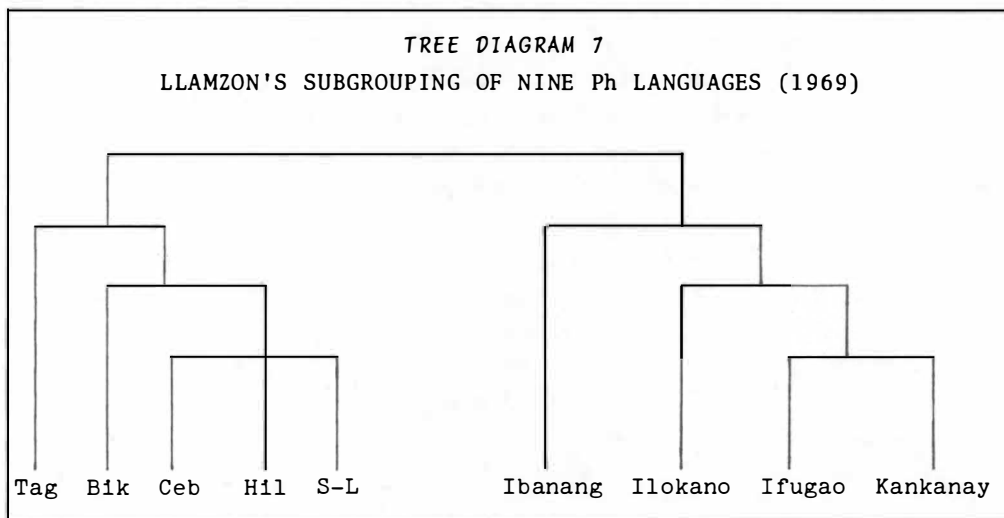
Their tree suggests a ten-way split of what they call the Southern Philippine Family (Tree Diagram 6). They apparently ignored or failed to detect a number of borrowings between Tagalog and Pampangan, which led them to group the two languages together. On the other hand, they attribute the high score (52.0%) of Kuy with Ceb to interaction (i.e., borrowing) and do not mention the possibility of a more intimate subgrouping of Kuy with Bisayan.

| TREE DIAGRAM 6   |  |
|--|--|
| SOUTHERN PHILIPPINE FAMILY (THOMAS AND HEALEY 1962:23) |  |
| SAMBAL   | Sambal   |
| 'TAGALIC'  | Tagalog<br>Pampangan   |
| BIKOL  | Bikol  |
| BISAYAN  | Cebuano<br>Butuanon<br>Surigao   |
| DAVAWENO   | Kalagan<br>Mansaka   |
| 'PALAWAN'  | Batak  |
| KUYUNON  | Kuyunon  |
| 'MUSLIM MINDANAO'                                      | Maranao<br>Magindanao  |
| MANOBO   | Bukidnon<br>Dibabawon<br>Western Bukidnon Manobo<br>Southern Cotabato Manobo |
| SUBANUN  | Subanun  |

2.7.4. Llamzon is the first scholar to my knowledge to have used shared features of lexicon as a means of subgrouping Ph languages (1969:48-95). He introduced

the concept of an exclusively shared linguistic feature, ESLF, a linguistic feature common to two or more of [the] languages under study, but not found in all of [the] study group, and not found in any outside language. (5)

From the point of view of our present study, he presents one significant change from Dyen's classification, namely the position of Bikol (rather than Tagalog) as genetically closer to Bisayan (Compare Tree Diagrams 5 and 7). After a detailed analysis of several criteria, McFarland found this to be the case between Daraga (IBk) and Northern Sorsogon (CBs), which are, however, very different dialects from the ones used by Llamzon. McFarland (1974:276-302) found both Tagalog and Standard Bikol (the dialects used by Llamzon) to be approximately equidistant from CBs, the group with which each scores higher than with any other Bs subgroup (see note 11).



Llamzon's presentation of many lexical items as ESLF's was ambitious, in that he relied on dictionaries and wordlists as his primary source of information,<sup>13</sup> or erroneous, since he sometimes missed cognate sets due to different sound correspondences.<sup>14</sup> He used three major Bs dialects (Ceb, Hil, S-L), but given the prestige of Ceb and Hil, many of the proposed ESLF's could easily be loans rather than shared innovations. Wolff finds a significant defect in Llamzon's reliance on the number of ESLF's as a criterion for subgrouping:

Since the items quoted by Llamzon are not of the sort which are unlikely to spread by borrowing (in fact many of them are flora, fauna, names of tools, names of sicknesses, and the like - i.e. of a type that tend to move rapidly from language to language), and since in any case it is practically impossible to determine that a given lexical item is an innovation and not an inheritance, the number of cognate lexical items can be no basis for subgrouping. (1972b:370)

Nevertheless, Llamzon's study has value in that several of his proposed innovations for Bs, for CPh, and for NPh still serve as criteria for

subgrouping the respective groups together, and may indeed be lexical innovations of those groups [for example, see Reid (1974)].

2.7.5. Pittman and Associates 1953 present a pioneering attempt at dialect geography for the Ph languages. Their survey includes eight Bs dialects: Akl, Hil, Kuy, War, Sur, and three Ceb dialects (Dumaguete, Gingoog, and Guihulngan).

The separate isogloss maps give a clear picture of the spread and interrelationships of forms, since numbers indicate identities between nonadjacent communities; but the master maps at the end of the book are acknowledged to have a major disadvantage in that "similarities between non-contiguous dialects do not appear" (v). The relative relationship chart presented by the authors was drawn up before lexicostatistics was developed, yet some of the basic principles of glottochronology are reflected therein. However, only twenty-five meanings were used, some of which are extremely culture-bound and subject to borrowing (e.g., *medicine*, *bridge*, *carabao*, *deer*, and *butterfly*).

The proximity of the Bs dialects to one another and to Tg are shown in the chart, but the interrelationships between the Bs dialects are not brought out clearly. For example, Kuy seems closest to Hil and Ceb<sub>1</sub>, and Akl to Ceb<sub>1</sub>, while in effect Akl and Kuy form a subgroup apart from Hil and Ceb. There are a number of computational errors in the chart and most of the languages of Mindanao are not included, especially Msk and Klg, which were added to the survey after the first edition.

However, I selected 50 of the 58 morphemes presented in Pittman's study, filling in any lacunae with data I had available. The resulting comparison (see Table 5) is similar to my lexicostatistical results (to be presented in Table 43) based on my use of the Swadesh 100-meaning list. The scores in the following chart indicate noncognate items, e.g., in a comparison of Kuy and Akl, 8 of the 50 morphemes are noncognate, so that Kuy and Akl share 84% of the 50-item vocabulary. Tag has been included to show that on closer inspection it is not as close to any Bs dialect as the chart of the Pittman book implies. The closeness of Tsg and Mansaka to some members of the Bs group is noteworthy, and will be under further investigation in this study. No other language described in Pittman was close to any Bs dialect.



TABLE 5  
NUMBER OF NONCOGNATE FORMS AMONG Bs AND CPh DIALECTS,  
BASED ON 50 MORPHEMES SELECTED FROM PITTMAN (1953)

|     |     |     |                  |                  |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |
|-----|-----|-----|------------------|------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--|
| Kuy |     |     |                  |                  |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |
| 8   | Ak1 |     |                  |                  |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |
| 12  | 9   | Hil |                  |                  |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |
| 16  | 11  | 8   | Ceb <sub>2</sub> |                  |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |
| 14  | 12  | 9   | 5                | Ceb <sub>1</sub> |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |
| 17  | 17  | 13  | 12               | 10               | War |     |     |     |     |     |  |
| 16  | 17  | 14  | 12               | 8                | 14  | Sur |     |     |     |     |  |
| 20  | 21  | 19  | 19               | 17               | 20  | 12  | Tsg |     |     |     |  |
| 16  | 17  | 16  | 17               | 17               | 19  | 15  | 14  | Msk |     |     |  |
| 21  | 22  | 19  | 21               | 22               | 23  | 22  | 22  | 12  | Klg |     |  |
| 22  | 22  | 18  | 18               | 19               | 20  | 19  | 19  | 21  | 25  | Tag |  |

2.7.6. Chrétien 1962 is based on data from the Philippine Institute of National Language's Composite Vocabulary (1953). He selected some 1904 meanings, which

constitute a representative survey of the activities and environment of everyday life, and hence give what may be legitimately regarded as a large sample of basic vocabulary, both cultural and noncultural. (485)

[The paper] is not a genetic classification, although all the languages . . . are genetically related. Rather it reflects (within a defined area of lexicon) the present-day relationship of these languages. It therefore employs not only elements which go back to original or early identity but also elements which result from subsequent contact. (505)

The INL corpus vocabulary has gaps which are then reflected in the accuracy of Chrétien's scores. Despite the INL's attempt to include basic vocabulary, 33 meanings from the Swadesh 100-meaning list alone are absent, including *all, body, big/large, blood, bone, die/kill, man/male, many, name, one, two, we, woman.*

Other types of error occur. For example, the Bukidnon list has many non-Bukidnon forms taken from the dialect of Ceb spoken in Bukidnon province. The inclusion of such forms results in the high score of Bkd with But, Sur, S-L, Ceb, and Mas, although Bkd is actually a Manobo language [see Reid (1971) and Elkins (1974)]. My reasons for believing that the INL Bukidnon list is in error are the result of my own research there. The Manobo dialect does have a number of Bs loanwords, but not an overwhelming number. The data listed as Binukid in the Composite

Vocabulary are predominantly Bisayan, but the following are Manobo items from the core vocabulary which cast serious doubt on the authenticity of the list's representing any real language spoken on Mindanao: gabon *cloud*, qimpis *egg*, suraq *fish*, paliman *listen*, pusun *heart*, huraq *none*, qahaq *look/see*, wahig *water*, qino *what?*, siran *they*, hindo *where?*, himba *why?*, and a linking particle ha. The Bs forms may have been supplied by a Visayan who was misinformed on the Manobo dialect, or by a Manobo who parroted more prestigious Bs forms.

Besides being the first study to deal with so many Bs dialects - eight (or nine, if the Bkd data is included) - Chrétien's work is the first to expose the close ties of Tausug with Bisayan through Butuan:

One language of the group is almost completely marginal: this is Tausug, which lies at a considerable distance to the southwest. It forms a climax only with Butuanon, a curious connection since both Sebu and Bukidnon are geographically closer. (501)

Chrétien concludes:

... Within a relatively homogeneous group of closely related languages occupying a limited geographical region (and this is the situation in the Philippines) the significant ties of relationship are the results of constant intercultural contact. . . . The obvious next step is to examine the contents of the groups and climaxes. By weighing the significance of the distributions of the morphemes we may possibly be able to reconstruct something of the history of the contacts between the Philippine peoples. This is the next task. (505-6)

I agree in principle with his conclusions. It is unfortunate that his data were not more carefully collected; a good deal more of important information could have been obtained by his methods.

## 2.8. WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT BISAYAN AND THE BISAYAS

Philippine archaeology, two medieval Chinese accounts, and a comparison of Philippine languages are at present the only valid pre-Hispanic source materials available for the study of Philippine history. (Scott 1968:139)

Speculation and debate have gone on for some time now about three seemingly unanswerable questions concerning the Visayans: (1) the etymology and meaning of the name bisayaq; (2) the origin and immigration of the Visayans; and (3) the duration of the Visayan occupancy of the central Philippine islands. This section addresses itself to a summary of and comments on the answers proposed to these questions.

### 2.8.1. Etymology and Meaning of Bisayaq

The word bisayaq is generally considered to be either an Indic loan-word or an Austronesian compound.

If Indic, theories have been offered that it derives from Sanskrit vijaya *victory*, *victorious* (Santamaria 1960:344-50), viṣaya *subject(s)*,

*dominion; territory, country, kingdom* (Francisco 1961:101-2); *vāiçya third caste*; or *sahāya companion, attendant* but Malay *sahaya slave* (Carroll 1960:504). Summaries of these theories can be found in Gomez (1967), Carroll (1959; 1960), and Francisco (1961).

Although each author tends to prefer one theory over another, none of these latter three authors takes a dogmatic stance. Gomez says: "The etymological meaning of the term Visayas has been widely debated, without any conclusive results." (81) Carroll confides: "The linguistic evidence provides no really helpful clue to the origin of the name Bisaya. Various explanations are possible, all based on the similarity of sounds." (1959:70)

Hassel (1953), Francisco, and Gomez state unequivocally that neither the Sri Vijaya nor the Madjapahit empires had any political dominion over any part of the Philippines. Therefore it is hard to find any corroborating historical evidence in favor of the Sanskrit *vijaya* etymon. Linguistic evidence also mitigates against Santamaria's theory since no Ph language would reflect the Sanskrit -j- as -s-, as either a borrowing or an internal development.

As to *vāiçya third caste* one must explain how one isolated term of the Hindu caste-system vocabulary came to name a region of the Philippines, and why there is no other evidence for Hindu caste names in the entire archipelago. Malay *sahaya slave* or southern Philippine Muslim *bisayaq slave* [cf. Tsg *bisayaq* (*Sulu Studies* 1972:30) and Maranao *bisaiq* (McKaughan 1958:13)] involve circular reasoning. The term could have been applied by these Muslims to the people living within their slave-raiding territory, and subsequently those people adopted that term as a name for themselves. But Carroll (1960:70) and Francisco (1961:106) point out that the Muslim word could have just as readily come to mean 'slave' because the people captured were from that area and because that was the name they had originally called themselves.

By the same reasoning Sanskrit *viçaya* in the meaning of *subjects* is ruled out. The primary meaning is *object of sensation* or *subject* or *topic of a discussion, article, etc.* It has a secondary or figurative meaning *the subjects or objects of one's rule* from the point of view of the rajah or powers that be. But the subjects of whose rule? and of what kingdom? Furthermore, what borrowings there are among Indonesian languages reflect the primary meaning, not the second; cf. Old Javanese forms in Gonda (1952:117) and in Juynboll (1923:545), e.g., *ka-wisaya-(a)n the objects of sense in their entirety.*

A fourth possible source from Indic is *vicara thought, thinking*, which in Javanese and Malay means *to speak, talk*: Indonesian *bicara*

to speak, to talk; opinion (Echols and Shadily 1968:59, under bitjara); Malay ber-bicara *deliberation, discussion, discourse* (Wilkinson 1959: 135-6); Kawí amicara *to speak; to reason out*, wicaranen *summons* (as to a court) (Juynboll 1923:536). This loan would have entered Bs with a developed final -q, as many borrowings do, and would have been re-analyzed as PBS \*bisádaq [cf. Kin bisáraq (archaic form) *to mention*; Akl bisátaq *to utter* ~ b<il>isádq-on *saying, maxim*; Ban, Odg, Sib, Sur, Kaw, Rom bisáyaq *to speak*]. While this form is generally an archaism in those languages that reflect it, it is the standard word for *speak* in current Ban, Odg, and Sib. Further, the possibility of the spread of a y-form from an original PPH \*-d- ~ \*-j- is tenable; witness Tag súyod *comb* < PPH \*sújud. The sound shift \*-j- > \*-d- > \*-y- clearly indicates a Bs dialect in which \*-d- > y, e.g., Sur, Rom súyud *comb for lice*. There are dialects reflecting PPH \*-d- > y scattered throughout the central Philippines (Kaw on Negros, Rom, Boh, Jau on Siargao and Dinagat islands) any of which could have affected or reinforced such a loan spread.

The plausibility of such a name is seen in the derivation of many dialect names from idiosyncrasies of that dialect (see 2.1.). Thus, the early Bs area could have been divided into two or more parts, one where speakers used a form of \*bisádaq for *to speak*, as opposed to another where the speakers used \*sadítaq (cf. Tag salítaq, Malay cërita). In the case of \*bisáyaq, the y-dialects may have enjoyed some prestige at the time, so that the y-form stuck.

No convincing Malayo-Polynesian etymology has yet been discovered. Some authors suggest an \*-aya root, meaning *chap, person* (Carroll 1959: 48, 70 and Harrisson 1956:46) - actually \*daya *inland, upriver*. In fact, Salazar opts for the root \*daya in the names of the Tasaday and Tiruray groups of the Philippines (1971:34-5).

The PCP root \*sayá[q] *happy, carefree* has been suggested by Alzina (Kobak 1969:18), but there are too many morphological and semantic difficulties to make this etymon worthy of consideration.

In summary, bisayaq may be an Indic or an indigenous word which lost its original meaning as the group spread throughout the central Philippines. It has since come to characterize the group as a whole and the region in which they dwell. Dyen has pointed out that Sanskrit viṣaya had a further meaning of *district*, and, regardless of how this word may have found its way into the Philippines, this regionalistic meaning is the meaning of the term today, was also at the advent of the Spanish, and - from all we know from the evidence of Muslim languages - had been for a long time before (personal communication). The fact that the Kuyonons and Sorsogonons speak dialects that are clearly

Bisayan, yet do not call themselves Visayan because they dwell outside the area, underlines the regionalistic meaning of the term. The fact that there is a group in Borneo with an identical name is probably fortuitous, as there are also Tagals, Paluans, and Malanaws. A similar coincidence is noted with regard to the group of Bataks on Palawan who have no especially close genetic relationship to groups of the same name in Sumatra.

### 2.8.2. The Place of Origin of the Bisayans

The discovery of several groups in Borneo called *bisayaq* stirred considerable interest there and in the Philippines, as evidenced by occasional articles in the *Sarawak Museum Journal* and the *Sabah Society Journal* (1952-1962).

Araneta and Bernad (1960) were among those who responded to this flurry of enthusiasm. Unfortunately, the authors' knowledge of the Panay folk-legends prejudiced their survey.<sup>15</sup> They were impressed by "considerable similarity in vocabulary," which was only 26 words out of the hundred studied. Furthermore, none of the agreements were among exclusively shared features or innovations; all cognates could be traced to Proto Austronesian or Proto Hesperonesian etyma, such as PHS \*pájəy *unhusked rice*, \*bəRás *husked rice*, or PAN \*maCá *eye*, \*qa(l)jaw *day*, \*inúm *to drink*, etc.

Prentice (1970:377) has shown that Borneo Bisayaq belongs with Dusun to form a Dusunic group, and, more distantly, with other Borneo languages of two groups that he calls Murutic and Paitanic.

Philippine Bisayaq, on the other hand, is more closely related to adjacent Philippine languages (Bikol, Tagalog, Mansakan, Subanon, etc.) and then to some languages on Celebes (e.g., Mongondow).

Although ultimately all of the languages of Borneo and all those of the Philippines are related, no subgroup of either shows any lexicostatistical, morphological, or grammatical evidence of an especially close genetic relationship to any subgroup of the other.

Thus, the most probable place of origin for the various Bs communities was within the Philippines itself. Judging from the high order of diversity of the CPh dialects in the east (in the Bikol and Samar-Leyte areas), as opposed to the low order of diversity of those dialects in the west, the origin of the western dialects (Akl, Kin, Kuy, Hil, Rom, etc.) was probably from some eastern part of the Visayas, although not necessarily from the same island. For example, Alzina recorded the fact that the Hiligaynons of Oton (and elsewhere on Panay) traced their origin to Leyte (Kobak 1969:22). Further, since the languages that are

most close genetically to the Bs group have such a high order of diversity,<sup>16</sup> it is more probable that the initial settlers of the Visayas came from Mindanao, not from Borneo.

### 2.8.3. The Duration of the Bisayan Occupancy of the Central Philippines

Since no writings of any pre-Hispanic historical import have survived and none are referred to by Spanish historians, it came as some surprise when this century saw the production of Monteclaro's well-intended *Maragtas* and Jose Marco's fabrications. As Scott (1963) points out in his conclusions, ever since Philippine independence there has been an intense search for national identity and for connections with the pre-Hispanic past.

[There is] a considerable discrepancy between what is actually known about the prehispanic Philippines and what has been written about it. The popular texts present a picture of law codes, membership in Asian empires, and political confederations projected against a background of 250,000 years of migrating waves of Filipino progenitors, almost complete with their points of departure, sailing dates, and baggage. (1968:139)

After dismissing these legends, we are left with only linguistic and archaeological evidence. However, it must be underscored that linguistic evidence shows the interrelationships only of languages, not necessarily of the people who speak them. The current speakers of many of the Bs dialects could have given up their original tongues long ago in favor of an intrusive or more prestigious language, or in favor of the language already spoken in the region that they invaded and conquered. Likewise, although archaeology shows where settlements have been, and, with the help of carbon-14 techniques, can date those settlements with relative accuracy, lack of an archaeological site shows nothing. The fact that we can date Masbate sites back to 2710 B.C. and Samar sites to 800 A.D. does not mean that Panay or Negros did not have equally ancient inhabitants. Nor does that early date on Masbate imply that speakers of Bisayan (or of Mangyan?) were then living there.

In summary, we have no solid evidence for dating the migrations of the Visayans and hence do not know the length of their stay on any of the islands.<sup>17</sup>

## CHAPTER 3

### SYNCHRONIC PHONOLOGIES OF BISAYAN DIALECTS

#### 3.1. PHONEMIC INVENTORIES

Synchronically, the phonological inventories of most Bs dialects are quite similar. All dialects have in common three vowels /i, u, a/, distinctive vowel length, and fourteen consonants /p, t, k, q, b, d, g, m, n, ŋ, s, l, r, w/; although the distribution, frequency of occurrence, and correspondences vary considerably. These similarities are the result of interinfluence and foreign (Spanish and English) loans which have introduced phonemic contrasts to what were allophonic variations.

##### 3.1.1. Vowels

Based on similarities in inventory except for the vowel system, most dialects can be set into one of three groups (see Table 6). Group A dialects have a simple three-vowel system: Bantayan, Bulalakawnon, Butuanon, Cebuano, Gubat, Masbate, Naturalis, Sorsogon, Tausug,<sup>18</sup> and Waray.

Group B dialects have a four-vowel system, adding /ə/ to the inventory. These dialects are: Kinaray-a, Gimaras, Pandan, some inland Cebuano and Samar-Leyte dialects.

Group C dialects have a five-vowel system, based on the phonemicization of the original allophonic distinction between [u] and [o], [i] and [e] due to the borrowing of foreign words which came to be in minimal contrast with native words, e.g., lúlu (girl's name), lólo *grandfather*; pína- past causative passive prefix, péna *punishment*. Such dialects are: Alcantaranon, Banton, Capiznon, Dispoholnon, Hiligaynon, Kawayan, Looknon, Odionganon, Romblomanon, and Sibale.

TABLE 6  
SYNCHRONIC PHONOLOGIES OF BISAYAN DIALECTS

| Pho-<br>neme | Phonetic Description           | GROUP<br>A | GROUP<br>B | GROUP<br>C | Akl | Cam | Boh<br>Sur | Kuy<br>Sem | Dtg<br>Snt |
|--------------|--------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|-----|-----|------------|------------|------------|
|              | <b>VOWELS:</b>                 |            |            |            |     |     |            |            |            |
| i            | High, front                    | X          | X          | X          | X   | X   | X          | X          | X          |
| e            | Mid, front                     | -          | -          | X          | X   | -   | -          | -          | -          |
| u            | High, back, rounded            | X          | X          | X          | X   | X   | X          | X          | X          |
| o            | Mid, back, rounded             | -          | -          | X          | X   | -   | -          | -          | -          |
| ə            | High, back, unrounded          | -          | X          | -          | -   | -   | (X)        | X          | -          |
| a            | Low                            | X          | X          | X          | X   | X   | X          | X          | X          |
| :            | Vowel length (C <sup>́</sup> ) | X          | X          | X          | X   | X   | X          | X          | X          |
|              | <b>CONSONANTS:</b>             |            |            |            |     |     |            |            |            |
|              | <b>STOP: Voiceless</b>         |            |            |            |     |     |            |            |            |
| p            | Labial                         | X          | X          | X          | X   | X   | X          | X          | X          |
| t            | Apical                         | X          | X          | X          | X   | X   | X          | X          | X          |
| k            | Velar                          | X          | X          | X          | X   | X   | X          | X          | X          |
| q            | Glottal                        | X          | X          | X          | X   | X   | X          | X          | X          |
|              | <b>STOP: Voiced</b>            |            |            |            |     |     |            |            |            |
| b            | Labial                         | X          | X          | X          | X   | X   | X          | X          | X          |
| d            | Apical                         | X          | X          | X          | X   | X   | X          | X          | X          |
| g            | Velar                          | X          | X          | X          | X   | X   | X          | X          | X          |
|              | <b>NASAL:</b>                  |            |            |            |     |     |            |            |            |
| m            | Labial                         | X          | X          | X          | X   | X   | X          | X          | X          |
| n            | Apical                         | X          | X          | X          | X   | X   | X          | X          | X          |
| ŋ            | Velar                          | X          | X          | X          | X   | X   | X          | X          | X          |
|              | <b>FRICATIVE:</b>              |            |            |            |     |     |            |            |            |
| s            | Apical, voiceless              | X          | X          | X          | X   | X   | X          | X          | X          |
| z            | Apical, voiced                 | -          | -          | -          | -   | X   | -          | -          | -          |
| j            | Apico-palatal, voiced          | -          | -          | -          | -   | -   | X          | -          | -          |
| h            | Laryngeal, voiceless           | X          | X          | X          | X   | X   | X          | -          | -          |
|              | <b>LIQUID: Lateral</b>         |            |            |            |     |     |            |            |            |
| l            | Apical                         | X          | X          | X          | X   | X   | X          | X          | X          |
| ɭ            | Velar (Spirant)                | -          | -          | -          | X   | -   | -          | -          | -          |
|              | <b>LIQUID: Tap</b>             |            |            |            |     |     |            |            |            |
| r            | Apical                         | X          | X          | X          | X   | X   | X          | X          | X          |
|              | <b>GLIDE:</b>                  |            |            |            |     |     |            |            |            |
| y            | Front                          | X          | X          | X          | X   | (X) | (X)        | X          | X          |
| w            | Back                           | X          | X          | X          | X   | X   | X          | X          | X          |

Symbols: X = occurs, (X) occurs dialectally or in loanwords, - does not occur.



### 3.1.2. Consonants

Some dialects have consonant inventories different from those of Groups A-C. Thus, Aklanon is basically a Group C dialect with a velar spirant *ɣ* in contrast with *l*: Akl *lána wool*, *lána vegetable oil*, *bulág blind*, *bulág to separate*, *bálsa (wood)*, *bálsa raft*, *bukál vowel*, *bukál to boil* (intransitive). Although Akl /*ɣ*/ corresponds to /*l*/ in most other Bs dialects, and many of the words with /*l*/ are of recent introduction, /*l*/ is clearly a phoneme in modern Akl.

Camotes (Porohanon) is a Group A dialect with the addition of /*z*/, corresponding to /*y*/ in the other dialects. In native words *y* is the word-final allophone of /*z*/: Cam *sakáy to ride*, but *gi-sákz-an was ridden*; *báybay shore*, *baybáz-un beach*; *dúgay long (time)*; *nánay mother*; *záwaq devil*; *dázun consequently*; *háŋzuq to request*; *kápzut to hold, cling*.

Some dialects of Boholano and Surigaonon are Group B dialects (i.e., have /*ə*/), but otherwise Boh, Leyte, Sur, Jaun, and Kantilan are Group A dialects with the addition of /*j*/, corresponding to /*y*/ in most other Bs dialects. In native words, *y* is the word-final allophone of /*j*/: Boh, Ley, Sur, Jau, Kan *sakáy to ride*, but *sakaj-án (boat)*; *jáwaq devil*; *dájun consequently*; *patáy to kill*, *pátj-un will be killed*; *dúgay long (time)*; *tátay father*.

Members of the Kuyan group do not have /*h*/; otherwise Kuyonon and Semirara are like Group B dialects, Datagnon and Santa Teresa like Group A dialects.

Members of the Banton subgroup (Banton, Sibale, and Odionganon) have consonant inventories identical to those of dialects in Groups A-C, but the correspondences and frequencies of occurrence differ considerably. Ban, Odg, Sib /*d*/ corresponds to general Bs /*y*/: Ban, Odg, Sib *dútaq*, Hil, Ceb *yútaq earth* (not the correspondence of Sor, Mas, Rom *dútaq*, which would be Ban, etc. \**rútaq*, see below); Ban, Odg, Sib *sidám*, Akl, Kin, Hil, Ceb *siyám nine*; Ban, Odg, Sib *pádoŋ*, Akl, Kin, Hil *páyŋ umbrella*; Ban, Sib, Odg *yúdqah*, Kin, Hil *luyqa ginger*; Ban, Odg, Sib *putdókan*, Akl, Kin, Hil, War, Ceb, Tsg *putyúkan bumblebee*. Ban, Odg, Sib /*y*/ corresponds to general Bs /*l*/: Ban, Odg, Sib *yádag*, Kin, Ceb *láyag sail*; Ban, Odg, Sib *qúyu*, Kin, Hil, Mas, Ceb *qúlu head*; Ban, Odg, Sib *búybuy*, Mas, Ceb, But *búlbul pubic hair*; Ban, Odg, Sib *qápyur*, Hil, Mas, Tsg *qáplud acrid, astringent (flavour of unripe banana)*. And, Ban, Odg, Sib /*r*/ corresponds to most Bs /*d*/: Ban, Odg, Sib *rílaq*, all other dialects *dílaq tongue*; Ban, Odg, Sib *púsur*, other dialects *púsud navel*; Ban, Odg, Sib *qápru*, all other dialects *qápdu bile*.

Outside the Banton Group final *r* has a low frequency of occurrence, the only universally-distributed forms being the name of Samar I., and

Spanish loans, e.g., *tukár* *play an instrument* from *tocar*.

In 17 dialects, including the Banton Group, the standard intervocalic allophone of /d/ is r: Akl, Ban, Bty, Boh, But, Cam, Cap, Ceb, Hil, Jau, Kaw, Ley, Odg, Rom, Sib, Sur, Tsg *tuburán* *spring, watersource*; in the other 19 dialects it is d: Alc, Blk, Dtg, Dsp, Gim, Gub, Kan, Kin, Kuy, Lok, Mas, Nat, N-S, Pan, Sem, S-L, Snt, Sor, War *tubudán* (Id., from *tubúd* *to flow, trickle* + locative suffix -an).

In Kuyonon the phoneme /q/ has a low frequency of occurrence:

Any utterance initial glottal stop is a noncontrastive feature of vowel onset. It drops utterance medial except when it occurs in roots beginning with double-ə [naga-qəət 'getting tighter', pa-qəən-i 'to say "yes" to']. . . Note that in na-ə-əlam-an there is no medial glottal stop, since the root is əlam 'to know'.

Likewise, utterance final glottal stop drops when it occurs utterance medial. . . . There are relatively few words that end in a vowel in utterance final position and only a few minimal contrasts have been found; baiq 'great grandmother' and bai 'leave it alone', ara tana iloaq 'he did not go out' and ilo-a 'poison him', ara tana ikasalaq 'he did not sin' and ara tana ikasala 'he did not get married'. (deVries and Roe 1967:272)

Within a single morpheme, there are only a few instances of preconsonantal q: Kuy *taqləb* *cover*, *bəqna* *stutter*; none have been observed in postconsonantal position.

### 3.1.3. Accent

In most dialects of Kuy and Tsg, vowel length can be interpreted as the result of coalescence; it does not coincide with stress: Kuy *ka:pún* ~ *kaapún* *yesterday* : *kapún* *castrate*, Tsg *qi:pún* ~ *qiipún* *slave* : *qipún* *tooth* (see 8.10. and 8.10.1.).

The accentual systems of all other Bs dialects have phonetic details involving both vowel length and stress. The vowel in an accented open penult (C<sup>́</sup>V) is long: all dialects (but Kuy and Tsg) *bá:taq* → *bá:taq* *young*. The vowel in an unaccented (C<sup>̂</sup>V) or closed (CVC) syllable is short: all dialects *manúk* → *mănúk* *chicken*. Except for cases of compensatory lengthening, the vowel in the ultima is short: Ceb, But *băy* *friend* : *ba:y* ~ *baáy* *house*, Nat *dă* *now, already* : *da:* ~ *daá* *bring*. In all dialects studied (except Kuy) stems or derivatives with a closed penult [CVC.CV(C)] are accented on the penult (see 10.2.1.).

In all dialects stress is a syntactic feature, a means of counting the full words in a clause, informing the hearer how many full words the speaker utters; it does not always coincide with length.

The typical stress pattern of a word can be overridden by certain intonation patterns. If one were to elicit the word for *outrigger* (*of*

a canoe) he will be given [ká:tíɡ] in all dialects but Kuy and Tsg. In a sentence of great surprise or anger, like 'What? Was he standing on the outrigger?' the length will remain, but the stress will shift due to the exclamatory intonation pattern, as in Akl [na:nó↑ nàɡ-tíndog qimáw sa ka:tíɡ↑].

Depending on context and affixation, both length and stress patterns can shift. Shifts in the stress pattern are bound up with pitch contours, all the details of which are still only poorly understood.<sup>19</sup> Shifts in length are morphological phenomena and will be discussed in the next chapter (4.2.).

### 3.2. DISTRIBUTION

#### 3.2.1. Unrestricted Occurrences

The following consonants occur in initial, intervocalic, and final position in all known Bs dialects; since the examples are found in all 36 Bs dialects, they can be considered Pan-Bisayan:

|     |   |
|-----|---|
| /p/ | pitú seven, nípaq (palm), qísip to count, think                   |
| /b/ | batú stone, qabút to arrive, sábsab to graze                      |
| /t/ | táguq to hide, gatús hundred, qabút to arrive                     |
| /d/ | dílaq <sup>20</sup> tongue, badín "Billy", lid lead (metal)       |
| /k/ | kútu louse, sakáy to ride, manúk chicken                          |
| /g/ | gatús hundred, táguq to hide, qutúg erect penis                   |
| /m/ | mamáq chew quid, limá five, lim "Lim" (family name)               |
| /n/ | nípaq (palm), manúk chicken, qasín salt                           |
| /ŋ/ | ŋaŋá open-mouth, saŋá branch, báwaŋ garlic, onion                 |
| /s/ | sakáy to ride, wásay axe, adze, gatús hundred                     |
| /l/ | limá five, qulíq to return, pilápil dike in ricefield             |
| /r/ | rabanús radish, púru pure; completely, tukár to play (instrument) |
| /y/ | yábi key, bayulít violet, sakáy to ride                           |
| /w/ | wásay axe, adze, báwaŋ garlic, onion, qádlaw day                  |

A number of the above forms are borrowings from Spanish or English. Such unassimilated loans account for the phonemic status of /r/ in many Bs dialects (where it would otherwise be an intervocalic allophone of /d/), or of /y/ in Cam, Boh, Ley, Sur, etc.

The vowels /a, i, u/ can occur as the nucleus of any syllable: most dialects qasáwa- wife, nípaq (palm), qumáh- cultivated field, táqi faeces, bisayáq native Visayan, pilápil dike in ricefield, qulíq to return, qági- to pass by, qumágad son-in-law, kútuh- louse, pitú- seven, batúh- stone, etc.

## 3.2.2. Restrictions on Occurrence: /q/ and /h/

Initially, all stems that do not have any other consonant begin with a glottal catch, i.e., there are no vowel-initial stems in any Bs dialect: all dialects *qágaw* to *grab*, *snatch*, *qikáw* *thou*, *qúbi* *purple yam*. When a prefix is added, this glottal catch is retained in all dialects except Kuy: Kuy *nag-abut*, all other dialects *nag-qabút* *arrived* (with the aforementioned exception of Kuy stems which begin with *qəə-*).

Intervocally within a stem there is no restriction on the occurrence of *-q-*, except in Kuy and Dtg. Kuy has no glottal catch; in Dtg glottal catch is found only between like vowels, otherwise before or after *u* or *i*, *-q-* is replaced by the respective semivowels, *w* or *ɣ*. Kuy *tuu*, Dtg, Sem *tuqú* most other dialects *tuqúh* *right (side)*; Kuy *ma-pait*, Dtg *ma-payít*, all other dialects *ma-paqít* *bitter*; Kuy *kaən*, Dtg *káwun*, Sem, Kin, Pan, S-L, Boh, Sur *káqəən*, all other dialects *káqun* to *eat*.

In final position, *q* is found in all dialects, except in Kuy where it can only occur utterance-final (phrase-final): most dialects *kítaq* to *see*, *dugúq* *blood*. If a suffix is added, Kuy drops *-q*, but it is retained in the other dialects: *d<in>ugúq-an* → Kuy *dinuguan*, other Bs *dinuguqán* *blood pudding*.

Outside of very recent loanwords, no dialect in the Kuyan group has an *h* in any position. In all other dialects studied, *h* occurs freely initially and medially: Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg *qáwak*, other Bs *háwak* *waist*; Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg *qiláw*, other Bs *hiláw* *unripe, raw, green*; Kuy *kauy*, Sem, Snt *káquy*, Dtg *káwuy*, other Bs *káhuy* *tree, wood*; Kuy *baaq*, Sem, Snt, Dtg *baqáq*, other Bs (except But) *baháq* *flood*.

At least one of the Bs dialects has a phonemic stem-final *-h*: Akl. Many dialects have a phonetic *-h* which is in free variation rather than in contrast with final zero, viz: Blk, Rom, Hil, Sur, But. The Banton group dialects also appear to parallel Akl in having *-h* in contrast with final zero, but not enough data were obtained and cross-checked with informants to be certain. Akl idiolects are not always consistent in distinguishing *-h* and zero on a number of vocabulary items, due to influence from neighboring dialects and analogical levelling. Some forms, however, are clear: Akl *qíbah* to *join in with (someone)* vs *qíbaq* (*sour fruit*) *Averrhoa bilimbi*; *qági* to *pass by* vs *qagíq* *effeminate*; *butó* *blister* vs *bótoq* *penis* vs *bótoh* to *vote*; *tubóh* *sugarcane* vs *túboq* to *grow*. These pairs establish a three-way contrast in Akl among final zero, *-q*, and *-h*. All other dialects (except those in the Kuyan group) have a morphophonemic final *-h*, discussed below (3.3.2.).

### 3.2.3. Consonant Clusters

In discussing the restrictions upon occurrence of various consonant clusters, it is necessary to distinguish between doubled monosyllables (words of the shape  $C_1VC_2C_1VC_2$ ) and any other kind of word. A wider range of clusters appear in the former than in the latter.

A full study of the phonotactic rules for all dialects is impossible due to lack of data; however, it is clear that not all consonants can occur in a cluster with one another. For example, all dialects appear to prohibit the sequence  $*nm$ <sup>21</sup> in stems, among other such clusters.

#### 3.2.3.1. Geminate Clusters

With the exception of Tsg,<sup>22</sup> no Bs dialect allows geminate consonant clusters, unless across a morpheme boundary, e.g., all dialects *nag-gámit used* (active); Akl, Cap, Hil, Kin, Mas *gin-nús nus was rubbed*.

#### 3.2.3.2. Clusters with /q/

In doubled monosyllables, a cluster qC may occur in any dialect but the Kuyan group where the q is lost: Kuy, Sem *babáq*, Dtg, Snt *bábaq*, all other dialects (except Ban, Odg, Sib) *báqbaq mouth*. In all other kinds of words, only Cq sequences are found, except in members of the Kuyan group which again lose the q; any such sequence would be metathesized: *káq(ə)n + -ən* → Kuy, Sem *kánən*, Dtg, Snt *kánun*, Pan, Kin, S-L, Boh, Sur *kánqən*, all other dialects (except Mas) *kánqun staple food, cooked rice*. Wolff reports that in the Argao area of Cebu qC sequences are allowed, thus Argao *\*kaqnun* or *\*kaqnən*; however, these dialects were not included in my survey.

#### 3.2.3.3. Clusters with /h/

Ch clusters are also found: Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg *bíniq*, all other dialects (except Mas) *bínhiq rice seed*; Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg *gináwa*, other dialects *ginháwa breathe*. Clusters with qh occur in Ceb dialectally, e.g., *báqhun will sneeze*, otherwise Ceb *bahaqún*. Some dialects allow hC clusters in doubled monosyllables, while many metathesize such clusters: Akl *múhmuh*, Kin, Hil, Mas, Ceb *múmhu rice crumbs (fallen off table)*; Akl, N-S, S-L *kákhah*, Ceb *kákha to scratch the ground (like fowl or bull)*; Sur *ḡáhḡah hard dirt in nose*. In derivation when an hC cluster might result, the cluster is metathesized: *bíh(ə)d roe + -an(an)* → Ceb *bídhan*, Akl *bidhánan*, Kin, Hil *bidhanán having roe, full of fish eggs*.

3.2.3.4. *Clusters with /l/*

A number of Cl clusters are found in the data: all dialects (except War, Gub, N-S, Sor) qítlug *egg*; Kuy, Sem qadlæk, Kin, Pan, Boh, S-L, Sur hádlæk, other dialects hádluk *afraid*; Akl, Odg, Rom, Ceb bánlaw *to rinse*, Kin, Kuy, Hil, Ceb, But búnlaw *to rinse*. An IC cluster (where C is another apical consonant) is generally limited to doubled monosyllables: Kuy, Sem qinælsæl, Kin, Pan hinélsæl, Hil, Mas, S-L, Ceb hinúlsul *to repent* (hiN- + sælsæl); such IC [apical] clusters arising in derivation are metathesized: {future} + sæl(ə)d *enter* + -an → Akl, Rom, Hil pagasúdlan, Ban, Odg, Sib qasúdlan, Mas, War susúdlan, Ceb, Jau, But súdlan, Pan sádlan, Kin qisédlan *will be entered*; CV- + tæl(ə)n *swallow* + an → Kin təténlan, Akl, Hil, Mas, Ceb, But tutúnlan *throat*. One ly cluster was observed: Mas, War, Ceb, Blk bályuh- *to exchange, barter* (but Akl, Kin, Dsp, Rom, Hil, Ceb (alt), Sur, But bályuh- Id.). However, in roots and derivatives l precedes q and h, rather than \*ql or \*hl: Kin, Hil, Mas, S-L, Ceb dúlquŋ *to bring, escort*; Kin, S-L délhæg, Hil, Ceb dúlhug *to go downhill (to town, market, etc.)*.

3.2.3.5. *Dialect Variations*

Phonotactic rules often vary from dialect to dialect. Thus, bg clusters do not appear in Akl, Kin, Blk, Hil, but do in Ceb and Boh: Akl, Kin, Blk, Hil lígbus, Ceb, Boh líbgus (*mushroom*); pa- + lib(ú)g + -a → Akl, Kin, Hil pa-lígb-a, Ceb pa-líbg-a *confuse (him)!* The sequence ls is normally prohibited (see 3.2.3.4. above), but it occurs in at least one derivation in Akl: kil(f)s + -i → Akl kíls-i, Hil, Ceb kísl-i *wash out (the rice)!*; however, note bál(ə)s + -i → Akl, Kin, Hil, Ceb básl-i *repay (him)!*

All native (i.e., inherited) consonant clusters occur intervocally and are split by a syllable boundary (CVC.CV-). Many dialects have loanwords with syllable-initial or syllable-final clusters: most Bs prublíma *problem*, kwártu *room*, tits *teach*, dyads *judge*, nars *nurse*, qikspiryínsya *experience*. It is not uncommon in some idiolects or dialects for such foreign clusters to be broken up by epenthesis: Akl borúha *witch* (Spanish *bruja*), Dtg kuwárta *money* (Spanish *cuarta quarter*), many Bs idiolects yunáytid *qistít United States*.

## 3.3. MORPHOPHONEMES

## 3.3.1. N

A number of prefixes end in the morphophoneme N, e.g., paN-, maN-, naN-, hiN-, kasiN-, etc. The phonemic value of N depends on the point

of articulation of the first consonant of the base and whether or not that  $C_1$  is lost (as shown in Table 7).

|                        |   |             |
|------------------------|---|-------------|
| -Np-, -Nb-, -Nm-       | → | -m-         |
| -Nt-, -Nd-, -Nn-, -Ns- | → | -n-         |
| -Nk-, -Nq-, -Nŋ-       | → | -ŋ-         |
| -Nl-                   | → | -ŋl- ~ -nl- |
| -Nr-                   | → | -ŋr- ~ -nr- |
| -Ng-                   | → | -ŋg-        |
| -Nh-                   | → | -ŋh-        |
| -Nw-                   | → | -ŋw-        |
| -Ny-                   | → | -ŋy-        |

Thus, maN- + bakál *to buy* → Kin, Pan, Blk, Sem, Kuy, Hil, Mas mamakál *to buy extensively*; paN- + qadyíq *pray* → Akl, Kin, Hik, Mas, War, Ceb paŋadyíq *prayer*; hiN- + kútuh- *louse* → Blk, Pan, Odg, Rom, Hil, Mas, S-L, Ceb, Jau hiŋútu- *delouse*; paN- + gábut *to pull* → Akl, Hil, Ceb paŋgábut *to pull out (roots, weeds)*; naN- + húyqab *yawn* → Akl, Kin, Blk, Hil, Mas, Ceb naŋhúyqab (*he*) *yawned*; paN- + yámqid *pout* → Ceb paŋyámqid *to pout*; paN- + súdlay *comb* → Akl, Blk, Sem, Pan, Mas, S-L, War, Ceb, Boh, Sur, Jau, But, Tsg panúdlay *to comb one's hair*.

### 3.3.2. H

Outside of Kuy and some Tsg dialects, Bs dialects do not allow vowel sequences without intervening consonants. Thus, when a stem ending in a vowel is inflected with a vowel-initial suffix, an h is inserted between the two vowels: símba *to worship* + -an → Akl, Blk, Dsp, Kin, Ban, Odg, Sib, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, War, Ceb, Sur, Jau, Nat, But simbáhan *church, place of worship*. This h even appears in derivations that have syncopated one of the vowels: ka--an + qibáh- *to accompany* → Akl, Kin, Rom, But kaqibáhan, but Ban, Odg, Sib kaqibhánan *companion*; ka--an + tubúh- *sugarcane* → Akl, Kin, Hil katubohán, but Ceb katúbhan *sugarcane plantation*; kukúh- *claw, fingernail* + -an or -un → Akl kukuhún, but Ceb kúkhan *having claws*. Such stems are therefore marked as símbah-, qibáh-, tubúh-, kukúh-, etc.

### 3.3.3. Ø

In many dialects another derivational process prevents the occurrence of vowel sequences, leading to the establishment of a final

morphophonemic zero. For example, some vowel-final stems are separated from vowel-initial suffixes by *q*, even if one of the vowels is syncopated: Ceb *qági-* *to pass by* + <al> + -an → *qalagíqan path*; Ceb *matá-eye* + -an → *mátqan having eyes, cunning*; Ceb *tulú- three* + -a → *tuluqá make (it) three!* However, in Akl and Hil in similar derivations, final *i* or *u* become the semivowels *y* or *w* respectively, while final *a* (even if syncopated) is separated from the following vowel by *q*: Akl, Hil *qági-* *to pass by* + <al> + -an → Akl *qalágyan*, Hil *qalágyan path*; Akl, Hil *pa-* causative + *butú- hatch* + -i → *pabútwi let (them) hatch!*; *gin--an past local* + *matá- eye*; *to watch over* → *ginmátqan was watched over*. Such stems must then be marked *qági-*, *matá-*, *butú-*, etc. according to the derivation in each dialect; in many instances the dialects do not agree, so that there is Akl, Hil *pitúh- seven*, as in Akl, Hil *pituhá*, Ceb, But *pituqá make (it) seven!*, i.e. Ceb, But *pitu- seven*.

#### 3.4. MORPHOPHONEMIC ALTERNATIONS

In a number of cases the changes involved when suffixation occurs require the establishment of an alternate form rather than a single morphophoneme which can account for all shapes of the base in various derivations.

##### 3.4.1. *d* ~ *r*

In all Bs dialects, regardless of what the intervocalic allophone of /*d*/ is (see 3.1.2.), when an *r* abuts on a consonant (through syncope), that *r* changes to *d*: Kin, Pan, Dsp, Blk, Mas, Sor, Gub, S-L, War *na-waráq was lost*, but Kin, Pan, Dsp, Blk, Mas, Sor, Gub, S-L *na-wádq-an suffered the loss of*; Akl, Hil, Ceb, Sur *turús to crush (lice) with fingernails*, but Akl, Hil, Ceb, Sur *túds-a crush (them)!* In such cases the base form and its respective alternant would be: Kin, S-L, etc. *waráq* ~ *wadq- lose*, Akl, Ceb, etc. *turús* ~ *tuds- crush*.

##### 3.4.2. *d* ~ *l*

In many Bs dialects, when a *l* (or its corresponding phoneme)<sup>23</sup> abuts on a consonant, that *l* sometimes changes to *d*: Hil *hi-baló- to know (how)*, but *bádw-an practical knowledge*; Ceb *saláq sin*, but *sádq-an guilty*; Akl *małáh-*, but *mádq-an dried out*. Such alternations lead to the establishment of Hil *baló- ~ badw- know*, Ceb *saláq ~ sadq- sin, error*, and Akl *małáh- ~ madq- dry*. The inverse has also been noted; Akl, Hil, Ceb *súgid to tell*, but Akl, Hil, Ceb *sugil-ánun story*, Ceb *búkid mountain*, but *ka-bukíl-an mountains*, establish the alternations Akl, Hil, Ceb *súgid ~ sugil-*, Ceb *búkid ~ búkil-*.



3.4.3.  $n \sim q, \emptyset$ 

What is normally an automatic alternation has apparently, by analogy, influenced the sporadic alternation of forms within the Bs community. The ligature,  $\eta$  (in WBs dialects, Rom, Hil, Ceb, Boh, Ley, and But) or  $na$  (in Sur, Jau), has an alternate  $-\eta$  which occurs after forms ending in vowels (e.g., Ceb *ma-qáyu good* +  $\eta$  + *búntag morning* + *maqáyu  $\eta$  búntag good morning*), glottal catch (e.g., Akl *dugúq blood* +  $\eta$  + *putíq white* + *dugú  $\eta$  putíq white blood*), or  $n$  (e.g., Sur *dahún leaf* +  $na$  + *bírdi green* + *dahú  $\eta$  bírdi green leaf*). Note the shape of the possessive pronoun bases *qákun my*, *qámun our* (exclusive), *qátun our* (inclusive) in Akl, Bsp, Blk, Hil, Rom, Mas, and War, but *qákuq*, *qámuq*, *qátuq* respectively in Ban, Odg, Sib, Gub, Ceb, Ley, and Jau. It was probably the use of these pronouns with the ligature (e.g., Akl *qákun* +  $\eta$  + *baíáy house* + *qáku  $\eta$  baíáy my house*) that brought about such a change by false analogy "since a word with final  $n$  would have an alternant indistinguishable from that of a word with final  $q$  before the non-syllabic alternant of  $\eta \sim -\eta$ " (Dyen 1970:8). Further evidence of this alternation includes the following: within a single dialect, Akl *qádtu to go*, but *qadtún-an place to go*; across dialect boundaries, Akl, Kin, Blk, Rom, Hil *halín*, but Mas *halíq to leave, go elsewhere*, Mas, Sor *báyhun*, but But, Tsg *báyhuq face*; across language boundaries, Hil, Mas, War, Ceb, Jau *kúhaq to take* +  $-un$  + *kuháqun to be taken*, but Tag *kúha* +  $-in$  + *kúnin* [ $< *kuh()n-\text{en}$ ].

## 3.5. MORPHOPHONEMIC MECHANISMS

Among Bs dialects there are both regular and sporadic morphophonemic mechanisms of change. In many cases they are straightforward, and can be ordered according to a logical succession of occurrence in derivation.

## 3.5.1. Syncope

The loss of a vowel from bases in derivations is a very common phenomenon among Bs dialects: *punúq full* +  $-a$  passive imperative + *pun()q-a* + Akl, Dsp, Blk, Kin, Pan, Hil, Mas, S-L, Ceb, Sur, But *púnqa fill (it)!* Corresponding forms in different dialects also reveal syncopation, e.g., Kin *quríhi*, S-L *qúrhi late*, Ceb *balahíbu*  $\sim$  *balhíbu body hair*. The loss of a vowel results in some consonant clusters in sequences which can trigger other morphophonemic changes, such as assimilation, metathesis, etc.

### 3.5.2. Assimilation and Dissimilation

Sometimes one member of a consonant cluster becomes more like or unlike its neighbouring consonant in phonemic shape, e.g., Ceb *halúk* ~ *hadk-* to *kiss* + *-an* → *hádkan* → *hagkan* *will be kissed* (assimilation of *d* to point of articulation of *k*); Akl *pa-* causative + *qatubáñan* *front* + *-a* → *\*paqatubañ()*na → *\*paqatubañda* → *paqatubadña* *face (it) forward!* (with change of *n*, which may not occur in a cluster with *ñ*, to homorganic stop *d*, and subsequent metathesis). Corresponding forms exhibit both kinds of change: Ceb *qádtu* (dissimilation), Tsg *qattu* (assimilation) *to go*.

### 3.5.3. Metathesis

Some forms are identical except that two parts have been interchanged; this happens dialectally as in Akl *hañugáq* ~ *ñahugáq* *loose*, and across dialect boundaries as in Hil *háiqu*, Ceb *qáihu* *pestle*. Syncope often leads to consonant sequences that must be metathesized: *qinúm* *drink* + *-a* → *\*qin()*m-a → all Bs dialects *qíma* *drink (it)!*; *taháp* *winnow* + *-i* → *\*tah()*p-i → Akl, Kin, Hil, Rom, Mas, S-L, Ceb, Sur *táphi* *winnow (it)!* Other examples of metathesis have been presented in 3.2.3.ff.

### 3.5.4. Shimmer<sup>24</sup>

Shimmer is a convenient label in that it describes (not explains) the differences between a number of doublets found in Bs and other CPh languages. The following forms differ in one segment by one phonological feature:

- (1) War *búgtuq*, Pandan Bk *pugtúq* *sibling*
- (2) Akl *dúmdum*, Tsg *tuntum* *to remember*
- (3) But *gaqína*, Akl *kaqína* *earlier (today)*
- (4) Bik *qúbak*, Akl *qúpak* *to peel*
- (5) Pan *kudín*, Ceb *kutín* *cat*
- (6) Blk *higút*, Sur *hikút* *to tie (up)*
- (7) Sur *sílib*, Tag *sílip* *to peer, peep*
- (8) Ceb *búklad* *to open (as blossom)*, Tag *buklát* *to open (book)*
- (9) Ceb *láhug*, Tag *lahúk* *to mix (into)*
- (10) Ceb *kúmut*, Akl *kúmus* *to squeeze, crumple*
- (11) Kin *qítək*, S-L *kítək* *to tickle*

Most of the examples show initial (1-3), medial (4-6), and final (7-9) stops which differ in voicing; other features involved include the alternation of a stop and a sibilant (10), or a glottal catch and a

voiceless velar stop (ll).

Only a careful analysis of much more data can reveal the various analogies that have operated to produce such doublets. In stem-initial position, many alternations can be accounted for by the morphophonemics of an N-final prefix (3.3.1.), so that a form such as \*panápat could be reanalyzed as if it contained the prefix paN- and a base \*dápat, \*tápat, \*sápat, or \*nápat. In stem-medial or stem-final position, the juxtaposition of two consonants through syncope could lead to assimilation or dissimilation, reanalyzed as a new root, e.g., PCP \*qúbak to *peel* + -an → \*qub()kan → \*qupkan (assimilation to voicelessness of k) → Akl qúpak to *peel*, or PCP \*sílip to *peep* + -an → \*sil()pan → \*silb-an (assimilation to voice of l) → Sur sílib to *peep*.

Nonetheless, there is a residue of forms for which there is no known analogical basis within standard morphophonemic theory, although sociolinguistic phenomena may offer some explanations, such as wordplay (Conklin 1959), speech disguise (Conklin 1956), taboo<sup>25</sup> (e.g., Mas putáy ~ pudáy *vagina*), nursery forms (S-L qudín, Pan kudín, Ceb kutín, Akl kurín, Gub kuyín *kitty cat*), etc.

### 3.5.5. Epenthesis

When loans with initial consonant clusters receive a prefix or infix, an epenthetic a is often inserted to break the consonant sequence, e.g., Akl, Ceb tránka *bolt, lock* + paN- → panaránka to *lock (oneself) in*; Akl, Hil trabáhoh- *job, work* + <in>-an → tinarabahúhan *place of work*. In some cases this epenthetic a, rather than an irregular vowel correspondence, accounts for dialectal developments, e.g., Ceb qulahí [< PBS \*qudahí > pre-Ceb \*qurhi > \*qul(a)hí] *late*.

### 3.5.6. Haplology

The loss of one or two identical sequences of phonemes has not been observed frequently in the data, but does occur in the N-S prefix doublet: nakàka-saká ~ na:ka-saká *can climb* (with compensatory lengthening).

### 3.5.7. Metanalysis, Contamination and Reshaping

Some forms are reanalyzed or reinterpreted, thereby forming a new base. Thus, from the common sequence [Noun] + na + tanán *all* [Noun]s, the word for *all* has been reshaped as Warayan natanán. On the basis of an analogy with the l ~ d alternation (3.4.2.), as in Ceb waláq ~ wadq- *lose* (< PBS \*waráq), Ceb has saláq ~ sadq- *sin* (< PBS \*saláq), although the unreshaped alternant salq- is found in Ceb ka-salq-ánan *wrongdoings*.

It is probable that reshaping has influenced many dialectal variants and doublets far beyond the corpus treated herein; consult, for example, Charles (1974: §5 "The problem of words of similar shapes and meanings influencing each other.").

### 3.5.8. Contraction

Contracted forms abound among Bs dialects; particularly in rapid speech among function words, n, q, h, and vowels are frequently dropped: Ak1 ro qímo ŋa ~ r-i-ŋ *your* [nominative X]; Ceb dídtu sa baláy ~ dídtu-s baláy *there in the house*; Ceb dághan qug kwárta ~ dágha-g kwárta *has a lot of money*; Ak1 sa kamałáyran qit tanán ~ sa kamałáyra-t-anán *for the good of all*; etc.

## CHAPTER 4

### OUTLINE OF BISAYAN GRAMMAR: MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

A *part of speech* is a form-class of stems which show similar behaviour in inflection, in syntax, or both. The *part of speech system* of a language is the classification of all its stems on the basis of similarities and differences of inflectional and syntactical behaviour. Since every whole word contains, by definition, just one stem, a part-of-speech system can also be interpreted as a classification of whole words . . . . (Hockett 1958:221)

Because of the various productive inflectional and derivational systems into which a stem may enter among Bs dialects, words are classified on the basis of their inflectional behaviour. Stems inflected for case are nominals (with subclasses of pronouns, deictics, personal-names and common-nouns); for intensity, adjectives; for aspect and voice, verbs. In addition, Bs dialects have a number of semantic affixes associated with one or another of the parts of speech. Thus, Akl *qáslum sour* [semantically an adjective stem, which does not occur in isolation] + *ma-* productive adjective prefix → *maqáslum sour* [adjective]; + *nag-* past active → *nagqáslum became sour* [verb]; + *ka-* productive noun prefix → *kaqáslum sourness* [noun]; + *na--an* stative circumfix → *naqaslumán considered (it) sour* [stative verb]; etc. Ceb *qinúm drink* [semantically a verb stem which may also occur alone as an active imperative *drink!*] + *<il>-an* noun place circumfix → *qilímnan place where one habitually drinks* [noun]; + *pala(+)*- adjective prefix denoting habitual action → *palaqínun habitually-drinking* [adjective]; + *gi-* past passive → *giqinúm was drunk* [verb].

Syntactic position also determines or changes the part of speech of forms in a given context. Thus Ceb *qan* nominative common-noun marker + *giqinúm* (above) → *qan giqinúm that which was drunk* is a noun phrase composed of *qan* plus a verb. Akl *káqon qit mayád* can mean *eat well*, in which case *qit mayád* functions as an adverbial phrase composed of

the marker *qit* plus the adjective *mayád good*; or, in another context, the Akl example could mean *Eat something good*, where *qit mayád* is a noun phrase serving as object complement of the imperative verb *káqon eat*.

Forms that do not fall into any of the above-mentioned parts of speech, and which are not affixes, are markers or particles; they can be classified on the basis of their function (e.g., case-markers or ligatures), their meaning (e.g., temporal or attitudinal particles), or the environments in which they occur (e.g., enclitics, conjunctions).

In the following summary of major Bs inflectional and syntactic patterns, forms are specified by sentence examples from Ceb (the most widely-known Bs speech variety) and from Akl (the dialect best known by me). Forms with the same function and meaning are presented in various tables; if dialects have forms or constructions that differ significantly from Ceb or Akl, sentence examples from representative dialects are also given.

In discussing each part of speech, I will adhere to the following order of presentation: (1) the major forms or subclasses based on inflection or syntax (e.g., under nominals: all pronouns and deictics, which are inflected for case, and common-nouns and personal-names, which are marked for case by sets of particles); (2) the major syntactic constructions into which that part of speech enters; (3) any further subclasses based on syntactic or semantic criteria (e.g., under nominals: locationals, temporals, numerals, quantifiers, etc.); and (4) a list of some of the more common derivational or semantic affixes associated with that part of speech.

#### 4.1. AFFIXATION

4.1.1. Prefixes are of the shape CV- or CVC- (or combinations of either). Since many prefixes co-occur, they can be ordered according to a nine-member hierarchy that indicates their position before the base (Table 8). In general: -9 are the basic tense and voice prefixes for verbs, class prefixes for nouns and adjectives; -8 is an imperfective action prefix bound to some -9 prefixes (e.g., *mag+a-*, *nag+a-*, *qig+a-*, etc.); -7 is the subordinate verb prefix (see 4.6.3.2.) or gerundive and instrumental noun prefixes; -6 is the causative prefix; -5 are distributive- or local-action prefixes; -4 individual- or stative-action prefixes; -3 reciprocal- or mutual-action prefixes; -2 intensive-action prefix bound to some -4 or -3 prefixes (e.g., *si+g- ~ si+pag-*, *paki+g- ~ paki+pag-*, etc.); and -1 reduplications (see 4.1.2. below).

TABLE 8  
ORDERING OF SOME Bs PREFIXES

| -9   | -8  | -7                 | -6                | -5                | -4   | -3    | -2                 | -1    |
|------|-----|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------|-------|--------------------|-------|
| mag- | +a- | pag <sub>1</sub> - | pa <sub>1</sub> - | paN-              | si-  | paki- | +g-                | CV-   |
| qig- |     | paŋ-               |                   | maN-              | siN- | maki- | pag <sub>2</sub> - | Curu- |
| nag- |     | maŋ-               |                   | naN-              | ka-  | naki- |                    | Culu- |
| gin- |     | naŋ-               |                   | pa <sub>2</sub> - |      |       |                    | CVrV- |
| gi-  |     |                    |                   |                   |      |       |                    |       |
| na-  |     |                    |                   |                   |      |       |                    |       |
| ma-  |     |                    |                   |                   |      |       |                    |       |

The prefix with the lowest number is put closest to the stem; that with the highest number, furthest away. Akl gin- past passive [-9] +a- progressive [-8] + pa- causative [-6] + kítaq *see* → ginapakítaq *is being shown*; Ceb nag- past active [-9] + paN- distributive [-5] + ka- stative [-4] + búhiq *life* → nagpaŋabúhiq *earned a living*; Akl gin- past passive [-9] + pa- causative [-6] + man- plural [-5] + si- individual [-4] + g- intensive [-2] + káqon *eat* → ginpamànsigkáqon (*sanda*) (*They*) *were requested to eat one at a time*; Hil na- perfect passive [-9] + pa- causative [-6] + si- individual [-4] + paki- mutual [-3] + pag- intensive [-2] + kítaq *see* + -an local → napasipakipagkitáqan (*they*) *were asked to go and individually see (the judge)*.

4.1.2. Reduplications. There are three major kinds of reduplication among Bs dialects: (1) CV- reduplication involves the first consonant and vowel of the stem (not necessarily the root), e.g., Akl, Hil, Ceb búhat *to make* + CV- → bubúhat, as in magbubúhat *creator*; Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, War nag- + CV- + báyard *pay* → nagbabáyad *is paying*; N-S, S-L, War maka- potential + CV- + sakáy *ride* → makákasakáy *can ride* (stem is kasakáy); S-L gin--an local past + CV- + pa- causative + hulát *wait* → ginpápahulatán *is being made to wait for* [X] (stem is pahulát *make wait*); N-S, S-L, War naki- mutual + CV- + pag- durative + sánkay *friend* → nakíkipagsánkay *is making friends with* (stem is kipagsánkay). (2) Cùru- (or the corresponding Ceb, Hil Cùlu-, Akl Cuļu-, etc.) involves the reduplication of the first consonant of the stem, as in Cùru- + búlig *help* → S-L burúbilig, Kin bùrubúbilig, Ceb, Hil bùlubúbilig, Akl bùlubúbilig *to help out*. This prefix often undergoes contraction or syncope, yielding forms like Ceb lùlamísa [<\*Cù(ru)- + lamísa *table*] or Akl lùlamísa [<\*Cùr(u)-] *toy table*. (3) <Vr> (or the corresponding

Ceb, Hil <Vl>, Akl <Vl̥>, etc.) involves the reduplication of the first vowel of the stem, e.g., *básah- read* + <Vr> → Kin, S-L *barásah-*, Ceb, Hil *balásah-*, Akl *bałásah* [plural subjects] *read*; *nag(+)* past reciprocal + <Vr> + *qáway quarrel* → Kin, S-L *nagqaráway*, Ceb *nagqaláway*, Akl *nagqałáway* [X] *fought and fought*.

4.1.3. Infixes have the shape <VC> and are put immediately after the first consonant of the stem. The three most common infixes among all Bs dialects are <um>, <in>, and <Vr>; when they co-occur they appear to have the order listed, e.g., <um> + <in> → Sor, Bik <umin>, S-L <u:m> or <i:n> (with compensatory lengthening), War <imn> (metathesis);<sup>26</sup> <um> + <Vr> → <umVr>(↔) noun formative denoting occupation or duty + *sunúd follow* → Akl *sumułúnud*, Hil *sumulúnud follower*, + Hil *tátap take care of* → *tumalatáp caretaker*.

4.1.4. Suffixes have the shapes -V, -VC, -VCVC, or -CVC. The most common among Bs dialects are: -a, -i, -ən (or the corresponding Akl, Hil, Ceb, Mas, etc. -un), -an, -anən, -anan, -ay, and -nən. Suffixation often triggers syncope (3.5.1.) and other morphophonemic changes, requiring the establishment of morphophonemic alternants for a number of bases, e.g., Akl, Ceb *káqun* ~ *kanq eat*, *qinúm* ~ *qimn drink*, *punúq* ~ *punq fill*, etc. In one way or another, all suffixes influence the accent of derivations (see 4.2.1.ff below).

4.1.5. Circumfixes (I. Wolff 1970:18) are affixes that consist of any combination of prefix, infix, or suffix, e.g., *ka--an*, <Vr>-ən, *qig-<Vr>*, <Vr>-ən(+), <Vr>-énən, *mag-CV--an(↔)*, *mag-<in>-ay(↔)*, *gin--an*, *paga--i*, etc.

## 4.2. MORPHOLOGICAL USE OF ACCENT

Following Steven's treatment of accent in Bikol (1969:175-82) and Bloomfield's of Tagalog (1917: passim § 342-523), there are five affix types involving the shift of the accent of bases or derivations. Therefore, each affix must be assigned to one or another of these accent types. Thus, addition or subtraction of length can be regarded as both an inflectional and a derivational process in Bs.

### 4.2.1. Same-accent Affix

Many affixes do not affect the accent of derivations. Prefixes (such as *nag-*) and infixes (such as <um>) of this type leave the accent as it is: Akl *nag-sakáy* or *s<um>akáy (actor) rode* (base: *sakáy ride*),



Akl nag-tápus or t<um>ápus (*actor*) *finished* (base: tápus *finish*). Suffixes of this type leave the accent the same number of syllables from the end of the derived form as it is in the underlying form: Akl, Ceb sakay-án (*boat*), Akl, Ceb tapús-un *will be finished*. That is, derived forms made up of bases accented on the ultima, when receiving a suffix, still wind up accented on the ultima; forms originally accented on the penult wind up accented on the penult.

#### 4.2.2. Penult-accent Affix: (+)

Some affixes involve a shift in the accent pattern of base forms stressed on the ultima, so that all derivatives with such an affix are accented on the penult: Akl, Ceb ka(+)- mutual action + sakáy ride → kasákay *fellow passenger*. With a prefix such as ka(+)-, bases that have penult accent undergo no change.

In some cases there are dialect- or subgroup-specific affixes of this sort, thus, the Warayan subgroup has ha(+)- adjective prefix for bases denoting height, length, depth, distance, etc., so that N-S, War, S-L ha(+)- + rayúq *far* → haráyuyq *far*. Akl has manòg(+)- noun prefix denoting one's occupation or duty, e.g., Akl manòg(+)- + sakáy ride → manògsákay *rider*, + samít *taste* → manògsámit *taster*, + búlig *help* → manògbúlig *helper*. These dialect-specific affixes help account for what might otherwise be interpreted as anomalous accent patterns [such as Mas, Sor, Bik harayúq : N-S, War, S-L haráyuyq (above) *far*].

There are the suffixes Ceb, But -an(+) and Akl, Hil -anan(+) *having the quality of [X]*, as in Ceb, But buqútan, Akl, Hil butqánan *good, well-behaved* (base: buqút *good, kind*). There is also the circumfix ma-<in>-anən(+) *having the quality of [X]*, as in Ceb, Hil, Akl mapaqinubsánun *humble* (base: pa-qubús *to put oneself beneath*); or ma--ən(+) *Ibid.*, as in Ceb, Hil, Akl mahigugmáqun *loving* (base: hi-gúgma- *love*), malibákun *given to backbiting or detracting* (base: libák *backbite, detract*).

#### 4.2.3. Ultima-accent Affix: (+)

There are affixes that operate in such a manner that any derivative is accented on the last syllable. With this type of prefix, a base that is accented on the penult will be accented on the ultima, as in Akl manòg(+)- *about to, on the verge of* + tápus *finish* → manògtapús *about to finish*, + húlaw (*of rain*) *let up* → manòghuláw *about to stop raining* [compare with Akl manòg(+)-, above in 4.2.2.]; Ceb nag(+)- *imperfective active* + káqun *eat* → nagkaqún *is eating*; Warayan qi(+)- *location* + dáləm *deep, under* → Mas qidalúm, S-L qilarém, War qilarúm

(metathesis) *below*. The Pan-Bs <in> infix to *speak language [X]* is also of this type: Hil, Ceb *tinagalúg*, Akl *tinagaľúg to speak Tagalog*, Hil, Ceb, Akl *binisayáq to speak Bisayan*.

With this kind of suffix, the suffix itself will be accented, regardless of the base form, such as Hil, Mas, War, Ceb, Sur *túgnaw cold* + -ən(→) *affected by [X]* → *tugnawún feel cold*; Ceb *karsúnis trousers* + -un(→) → *karsunisún cloth to be made into trousers*.

#### 4.2.4. Reverse Affix: (↔)

Some affixes introduce a reverse effect on the regular accent pattern of the base: if the base has penult accent, the derivative will be accented on the ultima; if the base has accent on the ultima, the derivative will be accented on the penult. Bs *para(↔)-* [Ceb, Hil *pala(↔)-*, Akl *paľa(↔)-*, etc.] *habitually doing [X]* shows this effect: Akl *paľa(↔)-* + *káqon eat* → *paľakaqón always eating*, + *taqó give* → *paľatáqo always giving things away*; Ceb *pala(↔)-* + *hubúg drunk* → *palahúbug drunkard*, + *qáway quarrel* → *palaqawáy quarrelsome*. War, S-L *ti(↔)-* *intend to, about to [Verb]* + *palít buy* → *tipálit intend to buy*, + *búlig help* → *tibulíg about to help*. There is a reciprocal-action circumfix that falls into this class: Akl *nag-<Vł>-an(↔)* + *suľat write* → *nagsuľuľátan wrote to each other*, + *súgid tell* → *nagsuľugirán told on each other*; Ceb *mag-<in>-(an)ay(↔)* + *suľát write* → *magsinulátay will write to one another*, + *sábut come to an agreement* → *magsinabtanáy will understand each other's viewpoint*.

#### 4.2.5. Zero Accent Suffix as a Stative Morpheme

Certain forms are identical except for accent. In these cases, the position of the accent on the ultima can be thought of as a zero suffix which moves the accent to the right: *\*-(→)#* (i.e., an ultima-stressing suffix with no phonemic shape of its own; "#" = zero). In meaning this parallels the stative prefix: But *mi-*, other dialects *na- accidentally got [X]-ed*: Akl, Ceb *tápus finish* : *tapús finished*, *báyad pay* : *bayád paid*, *qánad accustom* : *qanád accustomed to*, Ceb *túlug*, Akl *túľug sleep* : Ceb *tuľug*, Akl *tuiúg sound asleep*. Those stems that have accent on the ultima, but can also stand alone as statives, can also be considered as having this zero suffix: Akl, Ceb *patáy kill* : *patáy dead*, *dakúp catch* : *dakúp caught*, *humán complete* : *humán completed*, Ceb *matáh-waken* : *matá awake*, Akl *bukáq open up* : *bukáq opened*.

This feature of stress placement helps explain forms that appear to have anomalous accent patterns. SBs *panít skin* appears irregular alongside *pánit* in the other (WBs and CBs) dialects. It can be ex-

plained as a synchronic doublet: Sur pánit is a verb *to skin (fruit or animal)*, panít is the stative *peeled off, skinned*; by extension it is used as the noun *skin*. In fact, the SBs dialects may reflect an original accent pattern, while the other Bs dialects have changed or regularized the accent to the penult.

#### 4.2.6. Summary Paradigm of Accent-Determining Affixes

Since it is not yet possible to classify all of the affix-types among all Bs dialects, Table 9 has been drawn up to indicate how some of the known affixes currently operate. None of the examples are Pan-Bs; however, representative forms of each affix-type can be found throughout the Bs community, so that the asterisk used in the table signifies only that the paradigm has been devised as a summary of the affix-types, not necessarily of the forms (derivations) presented.

The affixes discussed help to explain some minimal pairs in Bs: Hil, Mas, Ceb, Sur, But hatágan *will be given to* [base: hátag *give* + -an] : Cap, Rom, Kamayo hatagán *give (it)!* [Id. + -an(+) imperative]; all dialects qatubáñan *front* [base: qatúbañ *face, forward* + -an] : Akl, Kin, Hil, Ceb, Sur, Kamayo qatubañán *genitals* [Id. + -an(+) locational noun formative].

#### 4.2.7. Enclitics

Stevens (1969:181) treats enclitics as a further influence upon accent patterns in Bik. A careful study of the morphophonemic changes brought about by enclitic particles, and the subsequent changes in accent that are triggered off, has not been done in all Bs dialects surveyed herein. Nonetheless, it seems clear that no Bs dialect has the kind of compensatory lengthening found in Tag hindíq *no* + pa *yet* → hindí:pa *not yet* or Bik má- *future* + dumán *go* + na *now* + qakú *I* → má:dumá:n akú *I'm leaving now*.

The influence of an enclitic can be seen in Ceb wa(l)áq *none* + na *now* → wánqa *no more*, where the enclitic is treated more like a bound than a free form, so that metathesis of q and n takes place. However, the resulting accent is due to the reshaping of the form (viz., the closed penult), and not because of the presence of an enclitic per se.

#### 4.2.8. Form Classes with Fixed Accent Patterns

Certain accent patterns are based on analogies within form classes, where groups of words are part of a semantic or grammatical paradigm, and therefore receive the same suprasegmental markers.

TABLE 9  
 HYPOTHETICAL EXAMPLES OF SOME B<sub>s</sub> ACCENT-DETERMINING AFFIX CLASSES

| TYPE:                                | CV:CVC           |                             | CVCVC            |  |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|--|
| BASE FORM:                           | *qá:way          | <i>fight, quarrel</i>       | *sunúd           | <i>follow, obey</i>                              |
| 1. SAME                              |                  |                             |                  |  |
| prefix                               | *nag-qáway       | <i>fought</i>               | *nag-sunúd       | <i>followed</i>                                  |
| infix                                | *q<in>áway       | <i>was fought</i>           | *s<in>unúd       | <i>was followed</i>                              |
| suffix                               | *qawáy-an        | <i>will be fought over</i>  | *sunud-án        | <i>will be obeyed</i>                            |
| 2. PENULT (+)                        |                  |                             |                  |  |
| prefix                               | *ka-qáway        | <i>enemy, rival</i>         | *ka-súnud        | <i>co-follower</i>                               |
| circumfix                            | *ma-q<in>awáy-ən | <i>quarrelsome</i>          | *ma-s<in>unúd-ən | <i>obedient</i>                                  |
| suffix                               | *qawáy-an        | <i>place of fighting</i>    | *sunúd-an        | <i>(one's) following</i>                         |
| 3. ULTIMA (+)                        |                  |                             |                  |  |
| prefix                               | *manùg-qawáy     | <i>about to fight</i>       | *manùg-sunúd     | <i>intend to follow</i>                          |
| suffix                               | *qaway-án        | <i>reason for fighting</i>  | *sunud-án        | <i>reason for following</i>                      |
| 4. REVERSE (↔)                       |                  |                             |                  |  |
| prefix                               | *para-qawáy      | <i>fond of fighting</i>     | *para-súnud      | <i>fond of following</i>                         |
| circumfix                            | *nag-qaway-án    | <i>fought each other</i>    | *nag-sunúd-an    | <i>followed each other</i>                       |
| 5. ZERO-ACCENT<br>SUFFIX<br>[*-(→)#] | *qawáy-#         | <i>(already) was fought</i> | *sunúd-#         | <i>(already) was followed,<br/>complied with</i> |

(1) PRONOUNS. Nominative pronouns are usually found in the topic or emphatic position of a clause and are stressed on the ultima. The rise in pitch associated with emphasis (see 3.1.3.) probably affected the placement of stress. All other pronoun sets (genitive and oblique) are accented on the penult, e.g., S-L qakú *I* : qákən *my*, qikáw *thou* : qímu *thy*, siyá *he/she* : qíya *his/her*, kamí *we (exclusive)* : qámən *our*, kitá *we (inclusive)* : qátən, kamú *you* : qíyu *your*, sirá *they* : qíra *their*. Corresponding forms in all other Bs dialects agree with these S-L forms (see Tables 10a-d, and section 4.3.1.).

(2) DEICTICS. Many deictics are morphologically complex, yet the simplest forms (bases) show a preponderance of stress on the ultima, thus: Akl qiyá *here*, qináq *there (near addressee)*, ritó *there (far)*; Ceb kirí *this (nearest)*, kiní *this*, kanáq *that (near addressee)*; S-L qadí *this (nearest)*, qiní *this*, qitún *that (near addressee)*; Odg kalíh *this*, kináq *that (near addressee)*, katóh *that (yonder)*. Even some of the complex forms have stress on the ultima: But di-sa-qún *over there (near addressee)*, Jau nan-jaqún *of that one*, Akl ku-ra-tó *of that one (yonder)*, Hil subòh-siní *like this*, Rom tiyàd-qató *like that*, Ley ma-ŋa-rí *to come here*, etc.

(3) INTERROGATIVE AND NEGATIVE PARTICLES usually occur in clause-initial position, and are therefore emphatic; most of them are accented on the final syllable (unless the form has a closed penult): Kin, Pan, Sem, Tsg bəkón, Akl, Dsp, Rom bukón, Odg bukóq *not so*; Kin, Pan, Blk, S-L waráq *did not*; most dialects qayáw *don't!*; Kin, Pan, Blk, Sem, Mas, N-S, S-L, War pirá *how many?*; Kin, Pan, Blk, Sem, Dtg, Hil, Rom, Mas, Sor, N-S, S-L, War, Ceb, Boh, Sur, Jau, Nat, But, Tsg diqín *where?*

(4) NUMERALS. The numerals 'one' through 'nine', as well as 'hundred' show stress on the ultima: Kin, Sem, Blk qisará, Akl qisařá, Hil, Rom, Jau, Nat, But, Tsg qisá, Mas qusád, N-S, Gub sayúq *one*; Rom, Hil, Mas, N-S, S-L, Ceb duhá, Sor, Gub, But, Tsg duwá *two*; all dialects limá *five*, pitú *seven*, gatús *hundred*; Kin, Sem, Blk, Hil, Mas, S-L, Ceb walú, Akl wařóh *eight*; Odg, Ban, Sib sidám, Cam sizám, Sur, Jau, Boh, Ley sijám, other dialects siyám *nine*. The ultimate stress on forms corresponding to S-L qesá *one*, təlú *three*, qəpát *four*, and qənəm *six* is adequately explained by the ə in the penult (see 8.10.2., #2), although analogy may have operated to make all of these numerals alike.

#### 4.3. NOMINALS

The case system of Bs nominals includes three categories: nominative, genitive, and oblique. Pronouns and deictics are inflected by means of bound prefixes, personal names and common nouns are marked by means of

particles. Nominative forms occur primarily as topic of a clause; the form, meaning, distribution, and use of the genitive and oblique depend on the type of nominal (viz: pronoun, deictic, personal name, or common noun), and will be discussed in detail below (section 4.3.5. ff), after the types and forms of each nominal (4.3.1-4.).

4.3.1. Pronouns are nominals that show reference in terms of the speaker-addressee relationship. Bs dialects distinguish three persons and singular or plural number, making a further distinction between first person plural inclusive and exclusive. Tsg alone distinguishes between a first person inclusive dual as opposed to plural. All of the distinctive pronominal forms of the various Bs dialects are given in Tables 10a-d. Note that the inclusive forms are treated as a combination of first and second person (Table 10b). For the sake of economy, each box represents the greatest number of differences found among all 36 Bs dialects in terms of person, number, and case; thus, for example, only two differences obtain among all Bs dialects for the second person singular nominative, either *qikáw + kaw* or *qikáw + ka*, represented by only Tausug and Aklanon (in Table 10c). However, in the second person plural genitive, some 13 differences occur among all Bs dialects, and any one of the unlisted 23 dialects agrees with one of the example dialects (used in Table 10c). The greatest number of differences are found in the oblique forms, due to the same kind of peculiarities which affect the pronominal paradigms as a whole. Phonological (1) *u : o*, e.g., Ceb *qakú* : Akl *qakó I*, (2) *ə : u : o*, e.g., Kin *qákən*, Mas *qákun*, Rom *qákon my* [see 3.1.1.], (3) *j : z : d : y*, e.g., Boh *níja* : Cam *níza* : Odg *nída* : Ceb *níya his, her* [3.1.2.], (4) *r : l*, e.g., N-S *sirá* : Ceb *silá they*, (5) *d : r*, e.g., Mas *sínda* : Odg *sínra they*; morphophonemic (6) *Vh# : VØ#*, e.g., Tsg *qakúh* : Ceb *qakú I* [3.3.2-3], (7) *-n# : -q#*, e.g., Akl *qákon* : Odg *qákoq my* [3.4.3.], (8) *-k- : -h-*, e.g., Boh *qáhəq* : Sur *qákəq my*, (9) *s- : h-*, e.g., N-S *sirá* : War *hirá they* or Mas *saqámun* : War *haqámun to us (excl)*, (10) *-CuØ# or -Cəq# : C#*, e.g., Ceb *qakú* : N-S *qak I*, Dtg *qímu* : N-S *qim thy*, Sur *qákəq* : N-S *qak my*; (11) accent shift or loss, e.g., N-S *sirá* : Gub *síra they*, N-S *kanirá* : Gub *kaníra their*, Dtg *qákən* : Kuy *qakən [qákkén] my*; formational (12) preposed genitive: Tsg *ka-*, Sor *saq-*, other dialects *q- + base*, except N-S and Gub *kan- + base* in third person forms; (13) oblique: Akl *k-*, Tsg *ka-*, Ceb *kan-*, Hil *saq-*, Cam *d- + base*; (14) second person plural genitive base: S-L *íyu*, Ceb *ínyu*, Sem *índu*; (15) first person inclusive plural: Tsg *-ñu*, other dialects # (none); (16) third person plural base: N-S *irá*, Mas *índa*, Kin *ánda*; suppletive (17) nominative third person singular: Hil *siyá*, Kin *tána*, Akl *qimáw*; (18)

genitive third person singular base: Hil íya, Kin ána; syntactic (19) no enclitic genitive forms [Odg, Ban, Sib], (20) no postposed genitive forms [Dtg, Kuy], and (21) enclitic nominative forms (except third person plural) [Ceb; War, S-L, N-S].

With regard to pronoun syntax, there is another range of variation among Bs dialects in the meaning *I* (non-nominative actor)...*to thee* (topic): Sor, Gub ku-qikáw : Akl, Kin, Sur kitá : Ceb tiká, tikáw, taká : Akl, Mas, N-S, S-L ta-qikáw : Kin, Kuy, Jau, But, Tsg ta-káw : Hil ta.

TABLE 10a  
BISAYAN FIRST PERSON PRONOUNS

|                     | N O M I N A T I V E |           |          | G E N I T I V E |          |           | O B L I Q U E |     |           |          |
|---------------------|---------------------|-----------|----------|-----------------|----------|-----------|---------------|-----|-----------|----------|
|                     |                     | Basic Set | Enclitic |                 | Preposed | Postposed | Enclitic      |     | Basic set | Enclitic |
| <i>I</i>            | Tsg                 | qakúh     | -        | Tsg             | kákuq    | -         | kuh           | Tsg | kákuq     | -        |
|                     | Akl                 | qakó      | -        | Akl             | qákon    | nákon     | ko            | Akl | kákon     | kaŋ      |
|                     | N-S                 | qakú      | qak      | N-S             | qak      | nak       | ku            | N-S | saqák     | -        |
|                     | Ceb                 | qakú      | ku       | Ceb             | qákuq    | nákuq     | ku            | Ceb | kanákuq   | nákuq    |
|                     |                     |           |          | Boh             | qáhəq    | náhəq     | ku            | Boh | saqáhəq   | -        |
|                     |                     |           |          | Gub             | qákuq    | -         | ku            | Gub | saqákuq   | -        |
|                     |                     |           |          | Odg             | qákoq    | nákoq     | -             | Odg | saqákoq   | -        |
|                     |                     |           |          | Cam             | qákuq    | nákuq     | ku            | Jau | dákuq     | -        |
|                     |                     |           |          | Dtg             | qákuq    | -         | ku            | Cam | dákun     | -        |
|                     |                     |           |          | Kin             | qákəŋ    | nákəŋ     | ku            | Dtg | kanákuq   | -        |
|                     |                     |           |          | Sor             | saqákuq  | -         | ku            | Kin | kanákəŋ   | -        |
|                     |                     |           |          |                 |          |           |               | Sor | saqákuq   | -        |
|                     |                     |           |          |                 |          |           |               | War | haqákuq   | -        |
|                     |                     |           |          |                 |          |           |               | Hil | saqákuq   | -        |
| <i>we</i><br>(excl) | Tsg                 | kamíh     | -        | Tsg             | kámuq    | námuq     | -             | Tsg | kámuq     | -        |
|                     | Akl                 | kamí      | -        | Akl             | qámon    | námon     | -             | Akl | kámon     | -        |
|                     |                     |           |          | N-S             | qam      | nam       | -             | N-S | saqám     | -        |
|                     | Ceb                 | kamí      | mi       | Ceb             | qámuq    | námuq     | -             | Ceb | kanámuq   | námuq    |
|                     |                     |           |          | Boh             | qáməq    | náməq     | -             | Boh | saqáməq   | -        |
|                     |                     |           |          | Gub             | qámuq    | -         | mi            | Gub | saqámuq   | -        |
|                     |                     |           |          | Odg             | qámoq    | námoq     | -             | Odg | saqámoq   | -        |
|                     |                     |           |          | Cam             | qámun    | námun     | -             | Jau | dámuq     | -        |
|                     |                     |           |          | Dtg             | qámun    | -         | -             | Cam | dámun     | -        |
|                     |                     |           |          | Kuy             | qaməŋ    | -         | məŋ           | Dtg | kanámun   | -        |
|                     |                     |           |          | Kin             | qaməŋ    | náməŋ     | -             | Kuy | kanaməŋ   | -        |
|                     |                     |           |          | Sor             | saqámun  | -         | mi            | Hil | saqámon   | -        |
|                     |                     |           |          |                 |          |           |               | Sor | saqámun   | -        |
|                     |                     |           |          |                 |          |           |               | War | haqámun   | -        |



TABLE 106  
BISAYAN FIRST AND SECOND PERSON (INCLUSIVE) PRONOUNS

|                          | N O M I N A T I V E   |         |          | G E N I T I V E               |           |          | O B L I Q U E                 |     |          |       |
|--------------------------|---|---------|----------|-------------------------------|-----------|----------|-------------------------------|-----|----------|-------|
|                          | Basic set   |         | Enclitic | Preposed                      | Postposed | Enclitic | Basic set                     |     | Enclitic |       |
| <i>I and<br/>thou</i>    | Tsg   | kitáh   | tah      | Tsg                           | kátuq     | nátuq    | tah                           | Tsg | kátuq    | -     |
|                          | [other Bs dialects do not distinguish dual from plural inclusive] |         |          | [other Bs dialects see below] |           |          | [other Bs dialects see below] |     |          |       |
| <i>we all<br/>(incl)</i> | Tsg   | kitáñuh | -        | Tsg                           | katúqñuh  | natúqñuh | -                             | Tsg | katúqñuh | -     |
|                          | Akl   | kitá    | ta       | Akl                           | qáton     | náton    | ta                            | Akl | káton    | -     |
|                          | N-S   | kitá    | kit      | N-S                           | qat       | nat      | ta                            | N-S | saqát    | -     |
|                          | Ceb   | kitá    | ta       | Ceb                           | qátuq     | nátuq    | ta                            | Ceb | kanátuq  | nátuq |
|                          |   |         |          | Boh                           | qátəq     | nátəq    | ta                            | Boh | saqátəq  | -     |
|                          |   |         |          | Gub                           | qátuq     | -        | ta                            | Gub | saqátuq  | -     |
|                          |   |         |          | Odg                           | qátoq     | nátoq    | -                             | Odg | saqátoq  | -     |
|                          |   |         |          | Cam                           | qátun     | nátun    | ta                            | Jau | dátuq    | -     |
|                          |   |         |          | Dtg                           | qátun     | -        | -                             | Cam | dátun    | -     |
|                          |   |         |          | Kuy                           | qatən     | -        | ta                            | Dtg | kanátun  | -     |
|                          |   |         |          | Kin                           | qátən     | nátən    | ta                            | Kuy | kanatən  | -     |
|                          |   |         |          | Sor                           | saqátun   | -        | ta                            | Kin | kanátən  | -     |
|                          |   |         |          |                               |           |          |                               | Sor | saqátun  | -     |
|                          |   |         |          |                               |           |          |                               | Hil | saqátun  | -     |
|                          |   |         |          |                               |           |          |                               | War | haqátun  | -     |

TABLE 10c  
BISAYAN SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS

|             | N O M I N A T I V E                     |   |                                   | G E N I T I V E   |  |  | O B L I Q U E  |  |  |  |
|-------------|---|---|-----------------------------------|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|
|             | Basic set                               |   | Enclitic                          | Preposed  | Postposed  | Enclitic   | Basic set  |  | Enclitic   |  |
| <i>thou</i> | Tsg<br>Akl                              | qikáw<br>qikáw                                | kaw<br>ka                         | Tsg<br>Akl<br>Odg<br>N-S<br>Ceb<br>Dtg<br>Sor   | káymuh<br>qímo<br>qin ~ qímo<br>qim<br>qímu<br>qímu<br>saqímu  | -<br>nímo<br>nímo<br>nim<br>nímu<br>-<br>-   | muh<br>mo<br>-<br>mu<br>mu<br>mu<br>mu   | Tsg<br>Akl<br>Odg<br>N-S<br>Ceb<br>Dtg<br>Sor<br>War<br>Cam                          | káymuh<br>kímo<br>saqímo<br>saqím<br>kanímu<br>kanímu<br>saqímu<br>haqímu<br>dímu  | -<br>kiŋ<br>-<br>-<br>nímu<br>-<br>-<br>-<br>-                   |
| <i>you</i>  | Tsg<br>War<br><br>Jau<br><br>Ceb<br>Akl | kamúh<br>kamú<br><br>kamú<br><br>kamú<br>kamó | -<br>kam<br><br>ju<br><br>mu<br>- | Tsg<br>War<br>Sor<br>Mas<br>Jau<br>Cam<br>Ceb<br>Akl<br>Dtg<br>Kuy<br>Sem<br>Odg<br>Rom | kányuh<br>qíyu<br>saqíyu<br>qíyu<br>qíju<br>qínzu<br>qínyu<br>qínyo<br>qínyu<br>qíndu<br>qíndu<br>qínro<br>qíndo | níyuh<br>níyu<br>níyu<br>níyu<br>níju<br>nínzu<br>nínyu<br>nínyo<br>-<br>-<br>níndu<br>níndu<br>nínro<br>níndo | ñuh<br>-<br>-<br>nyu<br>-<br>-<br>-<br>nyo<br>-<br>-(i)ndu<br>-<br>-<br>-<br>- | Tsg<br>War<br>Sor<br><br>Jau<br>Cam<br>Ceb<br>Akl<br>Dtg<br>Kuy<br>Sem<br>Odg<br>Rom | kányuh<br>haqíyu<br>saqíyu<br><br>díju<br>dínzu<br>kanínyu<br>kínyo<br>kanínyu<br>kaníndu<br>kaníndu<br>saqínro<br>saqíndo | -<br>-<br>-<br><br>-<br>-<br>nínyu<br>-<br>-<br>-<br>-<br>-<br>- |

TABLE 10d  
BISAYAN THIRD PERSON PRONOUNS

|                | N O M I N A T I V E |           |          | G E N I T I V E |          |           |          | O B L I Q U E |           |          |
|----------------|---------------------|-----------|----------|-----------------|----------|-----------|----------|---------------|-----------|----------|
|                |                     | Basic set | Enclitic |                 | Preposed | Postposed | Enclitic |               | Basic set | Enclitic |
| <i>he, she</i> | Tsg                 | siyá      | ša       | Tsg             | kánya    | níya      | ña       | Tsg           | kánya     | -        |
|                | Ceb                 | siyá.     | sya      | Ceb             | qíya     | níya      | -        | Ceb           | kaniya    | níya     |
|                | Boh                 | sijá      | -        | Boh             | qíja     | níja      | -        | Boh           | saqíja    | -        |
|                | Cam                 | sizá      | -        | Cam             | qíza     | níza      | -        | Cam           | díza      | -        |
|                |                     |           |          |                 |          |           |          | Jau           | díja      | -        |
|                | Odg                 | sidá      | -        | Odg             | qída     | nída      | -        | Odg           | saqída    | -        |
|                |                     |           |          | Sor             | saqíya   | níya      | -        | Sor           | saqíya    | -        |
|                |                     |           |          | Gub             | kaniya   | níya      | -        | Gub           | sakaníya  | -        |
|                |                     |           |          | N-S             | kánya    | níya      | -        | N-S           | sakánya   | -        |
|                | War                 | hiyá      | -        |                 |          |           |          | War           | haqíya    | -        |
|                | Kuy                 | tana      | -        | Kuy             | qana     | -         | na       | Kuy           | kanana    | -        |
|                | Dtg                 | tána      | -        | Dtg             | qána     | -         | na       | Dtg           | kanána    | -        |
|                | Sem                 | tána      | -        | Sem             | qána     | nána      | -        | Sem           | kanána    | -        |
|                | AkL                 | qimáw     | -tqána   | AkL             | qána     | nána      | na       | AkL           | kána      | kaa      |
| <i>they</i>    | Tsg                 | silá      | -        | Tsg             | kanilá   | nilá      | -        | Tsg           | kanilá    | -        |
|                |                     |           |          | Ceb             | qíla     | níla      | -        | Ceb           | kaníla    | níla     |
|                |                     |           |          |                 |          |           |          | Hil           | saqíla    | -        |
|                |                     |           |          |                 |          |           |          | Cam           | díla      | -        |
|                | N-S                 | sirá      | -        | N-S             | kanirá   | nirá      | -        | N-S           | sakanirá  | -        |
|                | Gub                 | síra      | -        | Gub             | kaníra   | níra      | -        | Gub           | sakaníra  | -        |
|                | War                 | hirá      | -        | War             | qíra     | níra      | -        | War           | haqíra    | -        |
|                | Sor                 | sindá     | -        | Sor             | saqindá  | nindá     | -        | Sor           | saqindá   | -        |
|                | Mas                 | sínda     | -        | Mas             | qínda    | nínda     | -        | Mas           | saqínda   | -        |
|                | Odg                 | sínra     | -        | Odg             | qínra    | nínra     | -        | Odg           | saqínra   | -        |
|                | AkL                 | sánda     | -        | AkL             | qánda    | nánda     | -        | AkL           | kánda     | -        |
|                | Kuy                 | sanda     | -        | Kuy             | qanda    | -         | -(n)da   | Kuy           | kananda   | -        |
|                |                     |           |          |                 |          |           |          | Kin           | kanánda   | -        |
|                |                     |           |          |                 |          |           |          | Blk           | saqánda   | -        |

4.3.2. Deictics are nominals which show reference in terms of the spatial relationship to the speaker or addressee. All Bs dialects distinguish three persons: 'this (near speaker)', 'that (near addressee)', and 'yon (far from speaker and addressee)' [third]; 15 of the dialects under study further distinguish a form meaning 'this (near speaker and addressee)' [first-and-second] - Akl, Kin, Kuy, Cam, N-S, S-L, War, Ceb, Boh, Ley, Sur, Jau, Nat, Kan, and Tsg. All of the distinctive deictic forms are given in Tables 11a-b, representing 20 of the dialects; those dialects not listed agree with one or another of the paradigms presented. Forms in the oblique columns either are or additionally serve as adverbs, i.e., 'here', 'there', 'yonder'.

Apart from phonological or morphophonemic differences (which are, for the most part, identical to those discussed for pronouns in 4.3.1.), there are 37 differences among Bs deictics, either in base elements or formation. Certain base elements overlap in the category of person: (1) -ni and (2) -ya are used in both first and first-and-second person forms, (3) -an, (4) -un, (5) -tun, and (6) -naq in both first-and-second and second person; otherwise, (7) -di, (8) -gi, and (9) -ra or -da are exclusively first person bases, (10) -dan, (11) -daq, and (12) -haq are second person, and (13) -tu or (14) -dtu third person; there are no exclusively first-and-second person bases. Among the formatives are: (15) i-, (16) a-, or (17) u-. In the nominative are: (18) q-, (19) k-, (20) y-, or (21) d- ~ r- case-markers, yielding such forms as Ceb ni [1], Ley kari [19+16+7] *this*, Cam zanáq [20+16+6], War qitún [18+15+5] *that*, or Blk datú [21+16+13] *yon*. In the genitive are: (22) ka-, (23) t-, (24) s- or h- (#9 in 4.3.1.), (25) ni-, (26) #(+)-, or (27) a dialect-specific genitive common-noun case marker (see 4.3.4.), yielding War hitún [24+15+5], Blk tan [23+3] *of that*, Ceb niqíri [25+15+7], Akl kará [22+9], Ley qáni [26+16+1] *of this*, or Sur nanjádtu [27+20+16+14] *of that*, etc. Oblique: (28) di-, (29) dV-, (30) rə- ~ də-, (31) da-, (32) qu-, (33) qi-, (34) #(+)-, (35) ɲa-, (36) sa-, and (37) +h+, as in Cap ditó [28+13], Kin régtu [30+14, with dissimilation of dt to gt] *yonder*, Ceb ɲánhi [35+37+1, with usual metathesis of hC clusters (3.2.3.3.)] *here*, Gub duqún [29+4], But disaqún [28+36+4] *there*. Despite these recurring elements and formatives, there are a few deictic derivatives that appear to be unique in distribution, e.g., Akl rúyon [21+\*úyon, or 21+17+20+4?] *that*, Kin riqá [21+\*iqá] *that*, or Kuy dutya [29+ut+2] *here*.

Deictics have been subject to several idiomatic or dialectal developments. Thus, most dialects have a verb-of-motion system formed from the deictic bases with either qa- or ka- (see Table 12). These verbs

usually mean: 'come here (nearest speaker)', 'come here (near speaker and addressee)', 'go there (near addressee)', or 'go there (yonder)'; one of the latter two has come to mean 'to go (in general)', e.g., Akl *qádto*, Blk *qayán*, Hil *kádto*, etc. Furthermore, a number of dialects have predicative or existential deictics using the formatives *ha-* or *ya-*, generally meaning: 'here it is' ~ 'this is it' (nearest speaker), 'there it is' ~ 'that's it' (near addressee), etc. (Table 13).

In Akl, as well as other dialects, there is a discourse-oriented deictic paradigm referring to the status, intimacy, or psychological distance between interlocutors besides the actual distance of the objects under discussion, e.g., 'that (near you) which I have been talking about' [speaker-oriented], 'yon which we both know about' [speaker-addressee-oriented], 'this (near me) which you keep referring to' [addressee-oriented] (Table 14).

Ceb and S-L have a time-oriented deictic system (see Table 15). S-L dialects distinguish past and nonpast deictics, although various bases can be used in verb inflection, e.g., *má- didí* paradigm = future, *ná- + didí* or *kadí* paradigm = past. Ceb deictics, on the other hand, make a three-way distinction: past, present, and future.<sup>27</sup>

It should be noted that many of the deictic paradigms serve more than one function. Thus, the Akl *hará* set is both predicative (Table 13) and discourse-oriented (Table 14). The Ceb *dirí* and S-L *didí* sets are standard oblique forms (Table 11), but also indicators of past time (Table 15). The Ceb *qarí* paradigm is used as the verb-of-motion set (Table 12) and as the future time-oriented set (Table 15). Generally, syntactic position or context indicates which particular sense or use is intended:

Ceb *dídtu silá sa sibú gahápun*. *They were in Cebu yesterday.*

Ceb *dághan kaqáyun táwu dídtu*. *Many people will be there.*

Akl *hará ro qímon huáy*. *This is your share over here.*

Akl *hará ñun qimáw*. *Well (as I was saying), here he is.*

TABLE 11a  
BISAYAN DEICTIC PRONOUNS

| GLOSS   | DIALECT(S)  | NOMINATIVE    | GENITIVE         | OBLIQUE         |
|---|-------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|
| <i>this</i><br>nearest<br>speaker<br>[first<br>person]                                | 1 Ceb       | kirí ~ ri     | ni-qíri ~ qíri   | dirí ~ narí     |
|   | 2 Ley       | karí          | ni-qári ~ qári   | dirí            |
|   | 3 Odg       | kalíh         | qit-kalíh        | rilíh           |
|   | 4 Cam       | zarí          | sarí             | dirí            |
|   | 5 S-L       | qadí ~ qad    | sadí ~ sad       | didí            |
|   | 6 War       | qadí ~ qad    | hadí ~ had       | didí            |
|   | 7 Rom       | qiní          | naḡ-qiní         | dirí            |
|   | 8 Hil       | qiní          | siní             | dirí ~ *dínhi   |
|   | 9 Sor       | qiní          | saní             | didí            |
|   | 10 Gub      | qiní          | saní             | diní            |
|   | 11 Tsg      | qiní          | haní             | di              |
|   | 12 But      | qiní          | haní             | dínhi           |
|   | 13 Sur      | qiní          | nan-qiní         | dínhi           |
|   | 14 Akl      | ráyá ~ ra     | ku-raya ~ kará   | riyá ~ qiyá     |
|   | 15 Blk      | d(Y)yá        | *t(Y)yá          | dugí            |
|   | 16 Sem      | dya           | kadya            | digí            |
|   | 17 Kin      | dya           | kadya            | rэгya ~ rédya   |
|   | 18 Dsp      | ya            | #                | qúdya           |
|   | 19 Lok      | ya            | #                | qodí            |
|   | 20 Kuy      | dagí          | #                | digí ~ didí     |
| <i>this</i><br>near<br>speaker<br>and<br>addressee<br>[first and<br>second<br>person] | 1 Ceb       | kiní ~ ni     | ni-qíni ~ qíni   | dínhi ~ ḡánhi   |
|   | 2 Ley       | kaní          | ni-qáni ~ qáni   | dínhi           |
|   | 4 Cam       | qiní          | siní             | dínhi           |
|   | 5 S-L       | qiní ~ qin    | siní ~ sin       | dínhi           |
|   | 6 War       | qiní ~ qin    | hiní ~ hin       | dínhi           |
|   | 11 Tsg      | qiyán         | hayán            | yan             |
|   | 13 Sur      | qitún         | nan-qitún        | ditún           |
|   | 14 Akl      | rúyon ~ ron   | ku-rúyon ~ karón | rúnaq ~ qúnaq   |
| 17 Kin  | * run       | * karún       | ruqún ~ duqún    |                 |
| 20 Kuy  | daya        | #             | dutya            |                 |
| <i>that</i><br>near<br>addressee<br>[second<br>person]                                | 1+2 Ceb+Ley | kanáq ~ naq   | ni-qánaq ~ qánaq | dínhaq ~ ḡánhaq |
|   | 3 Odg       | kináq         | qit-kináq        | raháq           |
|   | 4 Cam       | zanáq         | sanáq            | diráq           |
|   | 5 S-L       | qitú(n) ~ qit | sitú(n) ~ sit    | didáq           |
|   | 6 War       | qitún ~ qit   | hitún ~ hit      | didáq           |
|   | 7 Rom       | qináq         | naḡ-qináq        | diráq           |
|   | 8 Hil       | qináq         | sináq            | diráq           |
|   | 9 Sor       | qináq         | sanáq            | didáq           |
|   | 10 Gub      | yuqún         | suqún            | duqún           |
|   | 11 Tsg      | yaqún         | haqún            | duqún           |
|   | 12 But      | qiyán         | haqún            | disaqún         |
|   | 13a Sur     | jaqún         | nan-jaqún        | dídqun          |
|   | 13b Nat     | yaqún         | nan-yaqún        | dídqun          |
|   | 14 Akl      | ranáq ~ naq   | ku-ranáq ~ kanáq | rináq ~ qináq   |
|   | 15 Blk      | dan           | tan              | d(Y)yán         |
|   | 16 Sem      | dan           | #                | d(Y)yán         |
|   | 17 Kin      | riqá          | kariqá           | rэгyan ~ diyán  |
| 18 Dsp  | ran         | #             | qúdyan           |                 |
| 19 Lok  | ran         | #             | qiyán            |                 |
| 20 Kuy  | dan         | #             | dian             |                 |

TABLE 11b  
BISAYAN DEICTIC PRONOUNS

| GLOSS            | DIALECT(S)   | NOMINATIVE   | GENITIVE         | OBLIQUE       |
|------------------|--------------|--------------|------------------|---------------|
| <i>yon, that</i> | 1+2 Ceb+Ley  | kádtu ~ tu   | ni-qádtu ~ qádtu | dídtu ~ nádtu |
| most remote      | 3 Odg        | katóh        | qit-katóh        | rotóh         |
| [third           | 4 Cam        | zádtu        | sádtu            | dídtu         |
| person]          | 5 S-L        | qádtu ~ qat  | sadtú ~ sat      | dídtu         |
|                  | 6 War        | qádtu ~ qat  | hádtu ~ hat      | dídtu         |
|                  | 7 Rom        | qádto        | nan-qádto        | dídto         |
|                  | 8 Hil~Cap    | qádto ~ qató | sádto ~ sató     | dídto ~ ditó  |
|                  | 9+10 Sor+Gub | qídtu        | sádtu            | dídtu         |
|                  | 11 Tsg       | yadtú        | hattu            | dídtu         |
|                  | 12 But       | qídtu        | hádtu            | dídtu         |
|                  | 13a Sur      | jádtu        | nan-jádtu        | dídtu         |
|                  | 13b Nat      | qádtu        | nan-qádtu        | dídtu         |
|                  | 14 Akl       | rató ~ to    | ku-rató ~ kató   | ritó ~ qídto  |
|                  | 15 Blk       | datú         | tántu            | datú          |
|                  | 16 Sem       | datú         | #                | dútu          |
|                  | 17 Kin       | qádtu        | karágtu          | rágtu         |
|                  | 18 Dsp       | to           | #                | qúgtu         |
|                  | 19 Lok       | to           | #                | qitó          |
|                  | 20 Kuy       | datu         | #                | dutu          |

SYMBOLS: # = form unelicited or unknown; ~ = alternate or dialectal form; \* = an archaic or seldom-used form.

TABLE 12  
BISAYAN DEICTIC-VERBS

| PERSON:    | [first]          | [first + second] | [second]        | [third]            |
|------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| GLOSS:     | <i>come here</i> | <i>come here</i> | <i>go there</i> | <i>go (yonder)</i> |
| DIALECT(S) |                  |                  |                 |                    |
| Akl        | qaríya           | qarúnaq          | qarínhaq        | qádto              |
| Blk        | #                | #                | qayán           | #                  |
| Odg        | malíh            | -                | -               | págtuh             |
| Sib        | paqalíh          | -                | *pagináq        | paqágtuh           |
| Hil        | karí             | -                | karáq           | kádto              |
| Mas        | kadí             | -                | kadáq           | kádtu              |
| N-S        | kadí             | kánhi            | kaqún           | kádtu              |
| S-L        | kadí             | kánhi            | kadáq           | kádtu              |
| Sur        | kánhi            | kátun            | kádqun          | kádtu              |
| Tsg        | karí             | #                | *kaqún          | qádtu              |
| Ceb        | qarí             | qánhi            | qánhaq          | qádtu              |

TABLE 13  
 PREDICATIVE OR EXISTENTIAL DEICTICS IN SOME Bs DIALECTS AND Tag

| PERSON:    | [first]                                | [first + second]                       | [second]                                | [third]                                 |
|------------|--|--|---|---|
| GLOSS:     | <i>this is it</i><br><i>here it is</i> | <i>this is it</i><br><i>here it is</i> | <i>that is it</i><br><i>there it is</i> | <i>yon is it</i><br><i>yonder it is</i> |
| DIALECT(S) |  |  |   |   |
| Akl        | hará                                   | harón                                  | hanáq                                   | ható                                    |
| Odg        | halíh                                  | -                                      | hináq                                   | hágtoh                                  |
| Tag        | *halí                                  | héto                                   | hayán                                   | hayón                                   |
| Hil, Rom   | yári                                   | -                                      | yáraq                                   | yádto                                   |
| But        | yaní                                   | -                                      | yaqún                                   | yádtu                                   |
| Tsg        | yarí                                   | yan                                    | yaqún                                   | yádtu                                   |
| Tag        | yarí                                   | -                                      | qayán                                   | yaqún                                   |

TABLE 14  
 AKLANON DISCOURSE-ORIENTED DEICTICS

| PERSON:               | [first]   | [first + second] | [second] | [third]   |
|-----------------------|-----------|------------------|----------|-----------|
| ORIENTED TO:          |           |                  |          |           |
| speaker               | hará      | harón            | hanáq    | ható      |
| speaker-<br>addressee | rondáya   | rondúyon         | rondanáq | rondató   |
| addressee             | mawrá(ya) | mawr(úy)on       | mawranáq | maw(ra)tó |

TABLE 15  
 CEBUANO AND SAMAR-LEYTE TIME-ORIENTED DEICTICS

| PERSON: |     | [first] | [first + second] | [second]       | [third] |
|---------|-----|---------|------------------|----------------|---------|
| TIME:   |     |         |                  |                |         |
| Past    | Ceb | dirí    | dínhi            | diháq ~ dínhaq | dídtu   |
|         | S-L | didí    | dínhi            | didáq          | dídtu   |
| Nonpast | S-L | qáqadí  | qáqánhi          | qáqadáq        | qáqádtu |
|         | S-L | qa:di   | qa:nhi           | qa:daq         | qa:dtu  |
|         | Cam | qa:ri   | qa:nhi           | qa:raq         | qa:dtu  |
| Present | Ceb | qadíqa  | qaníqa           | qanáqa         | qatúqa  |
| Future  | Ceb | qarí    | qánhi            | qánhaq         | qádtu   |



4.3.3. Personal Names, i.e., names of people, pets, deities,<sup>28</sup> or personified objects, are marked for case and number by a set of proposed particles. A plural marker before one name indicates a group associated with that person or being, e.g., Akl *sánday pédro Peter and his friends*, or *Peter's group*, Ceb *silá si huwán ~ silá η huwán John's associates, John and his family*, etc.

There are only a few differences among the singular markers: two each for the nominative and genitive respectively, four in the oblique (see Table 16). There are as many as 15 differences among plural markers (in the nominative), but no fewer than 11 (in the oblique). Among the Bs dialects 19 differences in formation are found: nominative (1) s-, genitive (2) n-, oblique (3) k- (all singular, most plural), (4) saq- (Ceb, Ley, Hil plural), (5) kan- (Dtg, Ban, Odg plural), (6) d- (Jau plural); singular (7) -i (in all nominative and genitive, Dtg and Kuy oblique), (8) -an ~ -aη (in most oblique), (9) -ay (in some oblique); plural (10) -ira, (11) -inda (nominative and genitive only), (12) -anda (oblique and in WBs general plural), (13) -ina (Rom, Sib), (14) -a (Ban, Odg); additional elements or suffixes (15) +y (WBs), (16) +η (Ceb, Ley), (17) +ni (Hil nominative, Hil, Ceb, Jau genitive and oblique), (18) +si (Ceb, Jau nominative); structural (19) Tsg genitive forms are identical to the nominative. Note the similarity of many of the plural markers to the respective third-person plural pronouns in several dialects (especially Mas, S-L, War, Dtg, Boh, Ceb, and Akl). The various phonological and morphophonemic differences are the same as in 4.3.1.

4.3.4. Common Nouns are nominals that can be preceded by a particular set of case-marking particles (Table 17). The most general meaning of a common-noun case marker is: (a) its respective case, and, depending on its degree of definiteness, (b) 'a ~ the [one that (predicate X)]'. Akl *súksuk qit pu<sup>h</sup>áh wear a [one that is red] or wear a red one*, Ceb *gi-palít sa ma<sup>h</sup>ñí<sup>h</sup>sdaq bought by the [one that is a] fisherman*, S-L *pirá qin ma-qúpay how much is a [one that is good]? or how much is a good one? : pirá qit ma-qúpay how much is the good one?*

The case markers of the 36 dialects can be arranged into 22 sets (see Table 17), which can be further organized into seven groups based on the shape and number of nominative markers and the number of genitive markers. Tsg, Sem, Snt, Sur, Nat, Kan, Jau, and But have only one marker for each case, which therefore serve as general nominative, genitive, and oblique markers respectively. Other dialects have markers expressing varying degrees of definiteness, specificity, or anaphora in

TABLE 16  
BISAYAN PERSONAL-NAME MARKERS

|   | DIALECT(S)   | NOMINATIVE | GENITIVE   | OBLIQUE |
|---|--|------------|------------|---------|
| SINGULAR  | Tsg  | hi         | hi         | kan     |
|   | War  | hi         | ni         | kan     |
|   | Mas, Sor, Gub,<br>N-S, S-L, Jau                                | si         | ni         | kan     |
|   | Ban, Odg, Sib,<br>Ceb, Boh, But                                | si         | ni         | kaŋ     |
|   | Akl, Dsp, Lok,<br>Pan, Kin, Blk,<br>Snt, Sem, Hil,<br>Cap, Sur | si         | ni         | kay     |
|   | Kuy, Dtg   | si         | ni         | ki      |
|   | PLURAL   | Tsg        | hinda      | hinda   |
| Mas   | sínda  | nínda      | kánda      |         |
| Sor, Gub, N-S                                     | sirá   | nirá       | kánda      |         |
| S-L   | sirá   | níra       | kánda      |         |
| War   | hirá   | níra       | kánda      |         |
| But   | síla   | níla       | kánda      |         |
| Kuy   | sanda  | nanda      | kanda      |         |
| Dtg   | sánda  | nánda      | kanánda    |         |
| Akl, Dsp, Lok,<br>Pan, Kin, Blk,<br>Snt, Sem, Cap | sánda  | nánda      | kánda      |         |
| Boh, Sur  | síla   | níla       | kaníla     |         |
| Ceb, Ley  | siláŋ  | nílaŋ      | sa-qílaŋ   |         |
| Ceb   | silá-si  | níla-ni    | sa-qíla-ni |         |
| Hil   | silá-ni  | níla-ni    | sa-qíla-ni |         |
| Jau   | síla-si  | níla-ni    | díla-ni    |         |
| Rom   | siná   | niná       | kiná       |         |
| Sib   | sína   | nína       | kína       |         |
| Ban, Odg  | sa   | na         | kaná       |         |

the nominative and genitive. Most dialects have only one oblique marker (corresponding to Akl, Ceb sa, War, Tsg ha) which is therefore ambiguous as to reference: Akl *gústo qakó mag-pa-ligós sa subáq* I like to bathe in the river [specific] ~ in rivers<sup>29</sup> [indefinite or general, not in bathtubs or showers] ~ in a river [indefinite or unspecified, which one is closer?]

War and S-L have three nominative and genitive markers each: War, S-L *qin* indefinite nominative (a/an); *qit* (a) definite but unspecified, or (b) nonpast nominative; *qan* (a) specified or anaphorically-known, or (b) past nominative; War *hin*, S-L *sin* indefinite genitive; War *hit*, S-L *sit* both (a) nonpast and (b) definite genitive; War *han*, S-L *san* either (a) past or (b) specific, anaphorically-known genitive. In some constructions *qit* and *qin* may be used alternatively as nominative markers, e.g., with an interrogative predicate and an adjective (example #7), or if followed by *pirá* a few or a numeral (example #5), or in sentences that have non-active verbal predicates where the goal of the action is unspecified (example #6). The genitive markers *hit* ~ *sit* cannot be used interchangeably with *hin* ~ *sin*. The nominative marker *qin* never occurs clause initial.<sup>30</sup> The following examples are from the Tacloban S-L dialect and illustrate the above points:

- 1a *qanú man qit qíya ginbibilín*  
What is he looking for? [nonpast definite]
- 1b *qanú man qan qíya ginbibilín*  
What was he looking for? [past definite]
- 2a *tagpíra qit mánga?*  
How much are mangoes? [nonpast, unspecified]
- 2b *tagpíra qan mánga?*  
How much were (the) mangoes? [past, (specified)]
- 3a *qámu qiní qit qákun gasáwa.*  
This is my wife. [definite, but unknown to you]
- 3b *qámu qiní qan qákun gasáwa.*  
This is my wife (whom I told you about). [anaphorically known]
- 4a *díriq mapápalít dínhi qit bulkswágin.*  
One cannot buy Volkswagens here. [unspecified]
- 4b *díriq ku mapápalít qan qímu bulkswágin.*  
I cannot buy your Volkswagen. [specific]
- 5a *nag-qági qin ~ qit pirá ka maṅà qádlaw.*  
A few days went by. [unspecified]

- 5b nag-qági qan duhá ka qádlaw.  
*(Those) two days went by.* [specific]
- 6 gin-lútuq níya qin ma-rása na suráq.  
*He cooked good food.* [indefinite or general]
- 7 pirá qin ma-qúpay ku na qihátag.  
*How much would be appropriate for me to give?*  
 [indefinite interrogative]
- 8a qanáq hiyá hin ríku na táwu.  
*He is the son of a rich man.* [indefinite, unspecified]
- 8b qának hiyá hit qak sánkay.  
*He is the son of my friend.* [definite, unknown to addressee]
- 8c qanáq hiyá han qat sánkay.  
*He is the son of our friend.* [definite, known to addressee]
- 9a má-palít pa-k hin malíta.  
*I still have to buy a suitcase.* [indefinite, any suitcase will do]
- 9b má-palít qak hit malíta.  
*I'm buying a suitcase ~ the suitcase.*  
 [nonpast, unspecified, unknown to you]
- 9c p<in>alít ka na han qímu malíta?  
*Have you already bought your suitcase?* [past, specific, known]

N-S and Cam make two distinctions in the nominative and genitive: indefinite and definite. In Akl, Ceb, Ban, Odg, and Sib the use of the indefinite nominative -y is limited to set expressions, usually after pronouns, interrogatives, or existentials.

- Akl qímo-y bakód? *Is a five-cent piece yours?* [indefinite]  
 : qímo ro bakód? *Is the five-cent piece yours?* [definite]
- Ceb dúna-y mánqa sa salúg. *There's a mango on the floor.* [indefinite]  
 : na-húlug qag mánqa sa salúg. *The mango fell on the floor.*  
 [definite]
- Ceb kínsa-y mañutána? *Who will (be one to) ask?* [general]  
 : kínsa qan mañutána. *Who will be the one to ask (they might get angry if you do)?* [specific]

All dialects that have two genitive markers can make a distinction between definite and indefinite:

- Akl ma-bakáŕ ka qit qísdag? *Will you buy (a) fish?* [indefinite]  
 : ma-bakáŕ ka ku qísdag? *Will you buy the fish?* [definite]
- Hil k<in>agát siyá sin qidóq. *He was bitten by a dog.* [indefinite]  
 : k<in>agát siyá san qidóq. *He was bitten by the dog.* [definite]

TABLE 17  
BISAYAN COMMON-NOUN CASE-MARKING PARTICLES

| DIALECT(S)            | N O M I N A T I V E |                              |     | G E N I T I V E |                              |     | O B L I Q U E<br>future |
|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|-----|-----------------|------------------------------|-----|-------------------------|
|                       | indefinite          | --definite--<br>past nonpast |     | indefinite      | --definite--<br>past nonpast |     |                         |
| Akl                   | -y                  | ro <sup>o</sup> do           |     | qit             | ku                           |     | sa                      |
| Ceb                   | -y                  | qag                          |     | qug             | sa                           |     | sa                      |
| Sib                   | -y                  | kag                          |     | qit             | qitkag                       |     | sa                      |
| Ban, Odg              | -y                  | kag                          |     | qit             | qitton                       |     | sa                      |
| Tsg                   | qin                 |                              |     | sin             |                              |     | ha                      |
| War                   | qin                 | qan                          | qit | hin             | han                          | hit | ha                      |
| S-L                   | qin                 | qan                          | qit | sin             | san                          | sit | sa                      |
| Cam                   | qin                 | qan                          |     | sin             | san                          |     | sa                      |
| N-S                   | qi                  | qa                           |     | si(n)           | sa(n)                        |     | sa                      |
| Mas, Sor, Gub         |                     | qan                          |     | sin             | san                          |     | sa                      |
| Hil, Cap, Kaw,<br>Bty |                     | qaŋ                          |     | siŋ             | saŋ                          |     | sa                      |
| Kin, Gim              |                     | qaŋ                          |     | ti              | kaŋ                          |     | sa                      |
| Pan, Dsp              |                     | qaŋ                          |     | qit             | kaŋ                          |     | sa                      |
| Blk, Lok, Alc         |                     | qaŋ                          |     | qit             | taŋ                          |     | sa                      |
| Kuy                   |                     | qaŋ                          |     | qiq             | qiqqaŋ                       |     | sa                      |
| Dtg                   |                     | qaŋ                          |     | #               | qaŋ                          |     | sa                      |
| Rom                   |                     | qaŋ                          |     | niŋ             | naŋ                          |     | sa                      |
| Boh, Ceb, Ley         |                     | qaŋ                          |     | qug             | sa                           |     | sa                      |
| Sem, Snt              |                     | qaŋ                          |     |                 | kaŋ                          |     | sa                      |
| Sur, Nat, Kan         |                     | qaŋ                          |     |                 | naŋ                          |     | sa                      |
| Jau                   |                     | qan                          |     |                 | nan                          |     | sa                      |
| But                   |                     | qaŋ                          |     |                 | huŋ                          |     | sa                      |

There are sixteen differences in formation: base elements (1) -a general, definite, or past, (2) -i indefinite or nonpast, (3) -u general or specific; <sup>31</sup> nominative (4) r- (Akl), (5) k- (Ban, Odg, Sib), (6) q- (other dialects); genitive (7) k-, (8) s- ~ h-, (9) n-, (10) t- (some WBs), (11) qiq (Kuy), (12) #, i.e. no marker (Dtg); other formatives (13) -t (S-L, War nonpast, unspecified), (14) -g (Ceb, Ban, Odg, Sib), (15) -n ~ -ŋ (most dialects); compound: (16) indefinite genitive + definite nominative = definite genitive, as in Kuy qiq + qaŋ → qiqaŋ, Dtg # + qaŋ → qaŋ, Sib qit + kag → qitkag, Blk qit + qaŋ → taŋ. Since the oblique marker sa ~ ha is found in all dialects, it is not counted as a difference.

Note the relationship of these markers to the deictics. S-L, War qin and qit correspond exactly to the short form of the nominative deictic; S-L sin and sit, War hin and hit to the genitive (Table 11a). The widely-distributed nominative, qaŋ ~ qaŋ, is possibly related to the second-person deictic base (#3 in 4.3.2.); only Akl (ro) and the Banton group (kag) do not have corresponding forms, probably due to analogy with the respective nominative deictics, viz: Akl r-áya, r-úyon, r-anáq, r-ató : r-o; Ban, Odg, Sib k-alíh, k-ináq, k-atóh : k-ag. Many other formatives are similar to deictic formatives, e.g., s- ~ h- genitive (#24 in 4.3.2.), k- (see #22 in 4.3.2.), n- (#25), the q- nominative (#18, also in 4.3.2.), etc.

#### 4.3.5. The Syntax of Nominal Expressions

Nominals enter into several constructions within a clause or sentence; they can serve as topics, predicates, or verb complements. Note that the case-marking particles nominalize any elements with which they stand in construction: Akl si qamoq na ma-~~lanás~~ Naughty Monkey [the personal-name marker personifies the phrase, which is otherwise a common noun (qamóq monkey) followed by an adjective (ma-~~lanás~~ naughty)]; Ceb qaŋ qíya-ŋ gi-bílin díñhi the (things) that he left here [the common-noun marker nominalizes the entire phrase, the center of which is the verb (gi-bílin left behind)].

##### 4.3.5.1. Topic

Any nominal in the nominative case can serve as topic of a sentence.

|              |  |            |                 |
|--------------|--|------------|-----------------|
| Akl ma-búqot | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{qimáw}} \quad \underline{\text{He}} \dots \\ \underline{\text{ron}} \quad \underline{\text{That (one)}} \\ \underline{\text{ro}} \quad \underline{\text{dalága}} \quad \underline{\text{The girl}} \dots \\ \underline{\text{si}} \quad \underline{\text{huwán}} \quad \underline{\text{John}} \dots \end{array} \right.$ | } is kind. | [pronoun]       |
|              |  |            | [deictic]       |
|              |  |            | [common noun]   |
|              |  |            | [personal name] |

|     |          |  |          |                 |
|-----|----------|--|----------|-----------------|
| Ceb | buqút-an | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{siyá}} \quad \underline{\text{He . . . .}} \\ \underline{\text{kiní}} \quad \underline{\text{That (one)}} \\ \underline{\text{qan dalága}} \quad \underline{\text{The girl .}} \\ \underline{\text{si huwán}} \quad \underline{\text{John . . . .}} \end{array} \right\}$ | is kind. | [pronoun]       |
|     |          |  |          | [deictic]       |
|     |          |  |          | [common noun]   |
|     |          |  |          | [personal name] |

## 4.3.5.2. Predicate

Nominals can serve as predicates in a sentence; common nouns can stand alone (i.e., without any marker), but the remaining three nominal types are in the nominative case.

|     |   |                            |
|-----|---|----------------------------|
| Akl | $\left. \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{sánda}} \\ \underline{\text{ráya}} \\ \underline{\text{(ro) bukirís}} \\ \underline{\text{sanday maríya}} \end{array} \right\}$ | ro gin-hibáyg-an ni pédro. |
|     |   |                            |
|     |   |                            |
|     |   |                            |

|     |  |                            |
|-----|--|----------------------------|
| Ceb | $\left. \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{silá}} \\ \underline{\text{kiní}} \\ \underline{\text{(qan) bukidnun}} \\ \underline{\text{silá-ŋ maríya}} \end{array} \right\}$ | qan gi-katáwq-an ni pídro. |
|     |  |                            |
|     |  |                            |
|     |  |                            |

What Peter laughed at was . . .

|  |
|--|
| $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{them.}} \\ \underline{\text{this.}} \\ \underline{\text{a (~ the) bumpkin.}} \\ \underline{\text{Mary and her friends.}} \end{array} \right.$ |
|  |
|  |
|  |

As in the above example, the use of a common-noun marker makes the phrase specific or definite; without the marker the phrase is indefinite or general.

When two nominal-expressions stand in a topic-predicate relationship, the first serves as a coreferential predicate to the second (which serves as topic).

|     |  |                      |
|-----|--|----------------------|
| Akl | $\left. \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{qakó}} \\ \underline{\text{dató}} \\ \underline{\text{ro pfskor}} \\ \underline{\text{si hénri}} \end{array} \right\}$ | ro makà-b<in>isayáq. |
|     |  |                      |
|     |  |                      |
|     |  |                      |

|     |  |                       |
|-----|--|-----------------------|
| Ceb | $\left. \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{qakú}} \\ \underline{\text{kádtu}} \\ \underline{\text{qan pfskur}} \\ \underline{\text{si hínri}} \end{array} \right\}$ | qan makà-b<in>isayáq. |
|     |  |                       |
|     |  |                       |
|     |  |                       |

It is . . .

|  |                        |
|--|------------------------|
| $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{I}} \\ \underline{\text{yon (one)}} \\ \underline{\text{the PCV}} \\ \underline{\text{Henry}} \end{array} \right\}$ | who can speak Visayan. |
|  |                        |
|  |                        |
|  |                        |

## 4.3.5.3. Verb Complements

When nominals co-occur in a clause with a verb-head, and those nominals are not the topic (i.e., in the nominative), they serve as verbal complements in either the genitive or oblique case. Six such verbal complements can be distinguished formally on the basis of the distribution of case for each of the four nominal types.

(1) ACTOR COMPLEMENT: all nominals are in the genitive case; if a dialect has more than one genitive common-noun marker, the definite is usually chosen.

|     |         |  |          |  |
|-----|---------|--|----------|--|
| Akl | bákì-on | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{mo} \\ \underline{kará} \\ \underline{ni\ lóliq} \\ \underline{ku\ quqáq} \end{array} \right\}$ | ro reló? | <p>[pronoun]<br/>[deictic]<br/>[personal name]<br/>[common noun]</p> |
|-----|---------|--|----------|--|

|     |          |  |           |
|-----|----------|--|-----------|
| Ceb | palit-ún | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{mu} \\ \underline{niqáři} \\ \underline{ni\ lúliq} \\ \underline{sa\ bátaq} \end{array} \right\}$ | qaḡ rilú? |
|-----|----------|--|-----------|

|             |  |                       |
|-------------|--|-----------------------|
| <i>Will</i> | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{you} \\ \underline{this\ (one)} \\ \underline{Lily} \\ \underline{the\ child} \end{array} \right\}$ | <i>buy the watch?</i> |
|-------------|--|-----------------------|

(2) OBJECT COMPLEMENT: common nouns and deictics are in the genitive, pronouns and personal names are in the oblique.<sup>32</sup>

|     |                  |   |         |
|-----|------------------|---|---------|
| Akl | naka-kítaq qimáw | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{káton} \\ \underline{kanáq} \\ \underline{kay\ tomás} \\ \underline{qit\ dyis} \end{array} \right\}$ | kaqína. |
|-----|------------------|---|---------|

|     |                 |  |         |
|-----|-----------------|--|---------|
| Ceb | naka-kítaq siyá | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kanátuq} \\ \underline{niqánaq} \\ \underline{kaḡ\ tumás} \\ \underline{quq\ diyís} \end{array} \right\}$ | ganíha. |
|-----|-----------------|--|---------|

|               |  |                       |
|---------------|--|-----------------------|
| <i>He saw</i> | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{us\ (incl)} \\ \underline{that} \\ \underline{Thomas} \\ \underline{ten\ cents} \end{array} \right\}$ | <i>earlier today.</i> |
|---------------|--|-----------------------|



(3) INSTRUMENT COMPLEMENT: common nouns and deictics are in the genitive case; pronouns and personal names have not been observed in these constructions.

Akl gin-kíwaq ko ro kárne { kuráya.  
qit sandúkoq.

Ceb gi-híwaq ku qan kárni { niqári.  
sa súndaq.

*I cut the fish with* { this.  
a bolo.

(4) DIRECTION COMPLEMENT: common nouns, personal names, and pronouns are in the oblique, deictics in the genitive or the oblique.

Akl na-buqól nánda ro kwárta { kámon.  
kará ~ ríya.  
kay monáq.  
sa páriq.

Ceb na-kúhaq níla qan kwárta { kanámuq.  
dínhi. [oblique deictic]  
kan munáq.  
sa páriq.

*They got the money from* { us (excl).  
here ~ this.  
Mona.  
the priest.

(5) BENEFACTIVE COMPLEMENT: the prephrasal particle *pára for, on behalf of* is put before a common noun, personal name, or pronoun in the oblique, or a deictic in the genitive.

Akl gina-taqó nána ráya { pára kímó.  
pára karón.  
pára kay lúsi.  
pára sa méyor.

Ceb gi-háttag níya kiní { pára kanímu.  
pára niqáni.  
pára kan lúsi.  
pára sa mayúr.

He is giving this { for you.  
for that (one).  
for Lucy.  
for the mayor.

(6) LOCATION COMPLEMENT: all nominals are in the oblique case.

Akl nag-qádto sánda { kámon.  
ritó.  
kay tátay.  
sa bánwa.

Ceb ni-qádtu silá { kanámuq.  
dídtu.  
kan tátay.  
sa lúnsud.

They went { to us (excl).  
there (yonder).  
to Daddy.  
to (the) town.

#### 4.3.6. Noun Phrases: Other Kinds and Uses of Marking Particles

##### 4.3.6.1. Co-ordinate Attribute<sup>33</sup>

The Bs dialects have a linking particle, or ligature, which serves as an attributive-appositive marker. The shape of this marker in the various dialects differs only slightly (Table 18). The morphophonemics of the  $-ŋ$  alternate were discussed in 3.4.3., viz., it occurs instead of  $ŋa \sim na$  after forms ending in  $-\emptyset$  (i.e., vowel-final),  $-h$ ,  $-q$ , or  $-n$ . Note that some CBs dialects do not have this  $-ŋ$  alternate.<sup>34</sup> Tsg has no equivalent marker.

TABLE 18

THE LINKING PARTICLE IN Bs DIALECTS

|               |    |   |
|---------------|----|---|
| $ŋa \sim -ŋ$  | in | Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok, Blk, Pan, Kin, Gim, Sem, Snt, Dtg, Kuy, Rom, Cap, Hil, Kaw, Ceb, Boh, Ley, But. |
| $na \sim -ŋ$  | in | Sur, Jau, Kan, Nat.   |
| $na$          | in | Mas, Sor, Gub.  |
| $ŋa$          | in | Cam, N-S, S-L, War.   |
| $nak \sim -ŋ$ | in | Ban, Odg, Sib.  |

Two nominals may co-occur, separated by this ligature, in which case one is head (usually inflected for case) and the other is attribute or modifier (usually an uninflected base). Although the favoured order appears to be head *na* attribute, common nouns, personal names, and some deictics (usually enclitic forms) can occur in attribute *na* head configurations.

| HEAD - LINK-ATTRIBUTE |           |                 | ATTRIBUTE-LINK - HEAD |                 |                       |
|-----------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| { Ak1                 | mañiñsda  | η báyi          | báyi                  | η mañiñsdaq     | <i>lady fisherman</i> |
| { Ceb                 | mañiñsdaq | na babáyi       | babáyi                | η mañiñsdaq     | [common noun]         |
| { Ak1                 | si féli   | na-tó           | rató                  | na si féli      | <i>that Fely</i>      |
| { Ceb                 | - - - - - | - <sub>35</sub> | kádtu                 | si fli          | [personal name]       |
| { Ak1                 | ráya      | η bałáy         | balay                 | na-rá           | <i>this house</i>     |
| { Ceb                 | kiní      | η baláy         | - - - - -             | - <sub>35</sub> | [deictic]             |
| { Ak1                 | kitá      | η maqéstra      | - - - - -             | -               | <i>we teachers</i>    |
| { Ceb                 | kitá      | η maqístra      | - - - - -             | - <sub>35</sub> | [pronoun]             |

Other examples from different dialects:

|     |                      |                                 |                 |
|-----|----------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| Mas | kamú na magmaráñhud  | <i>you brothers-and-sisters</i> | [pronoun]       |
|     | qan bátaq na patáy   | <i>the dead child</i>           | [common noun]   |
| War | qádtu na bátaq       | <i>yon child</i>                | [deictic]       |
|     | si huwán na qulitáwu | <i>John the bachelor</i>        | [personal name] |
| Odg | kiná η qísraq        | <i>that fish</i>                | [deictic]       |
|     | si qélmer nak patáy  | <i>deceased Elmer</i>           | [personal name] |

Tausug uses no ligature in such constructions, and is thereby distinguished from all other Bs dialects:

|     |                   |                     |                 |
|-----|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| Tsg | baáy qiní         | <i>this house</i>   | [common noun]   |
|     | hi saripúl yaqún  | <i>that Sarifol</i> | [personal name] |
|     | qiní kutíñ        | <i>this cat</i>     | [deictic]       |
|     | kamí magtaymáñhud | <i>we siblings</i>  | [pronoun]       |

As a result all nominals are limited to the head-attribute order, so that in *baáy qiní* (above), *baáy* serves as head; in *qiní kutíñ*, *qiní* is head, etc. The Tsg examples are taken out of context; as a corollary to the fact that Tsg has no ligature, each sequence recorded above may be a sentence composed of a subject and a predicate: 'This is a house', 'That is Sarifol', 'This is a cat', and 'We are siblings'. However, it is in appropriate contexts that they serve as nominal attributes, e.g., Tsg qiní kutíñ na-lumús *This cat drowned*, hi saripúl yaqún nag-súmbay *sin kaabáw* *That Sarifol butchered the carabao*, etc.

4.3.6.2. Possessive Attribute<sup>36</sup>

Two nominals may stand in a construction in which one serves as head and the other as possessive attribute. The favoured order is head followed by a genitive nominal:

|     |                    |   |   |       |
|-----|--------------------|---|---|-------|
| Akl | ba <sup>1</sup> áy | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{nákon} \sim \underline{ko} \\ \underline{kurúyon} \\ \underline{ni} \underline{félik} \underline{s} \\ \underline{ku} \underline{méyor} \end{array} \right.$ | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{[pronoun]} \\ \text{[deictic]} \\ \text{[personal name]} \\ \text{[common noun]} \end{array} \right.$                             |       |
| Ceb | ba <sup>1</sup> áy | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{nákuq} \sim \underline{ku} \\ \underline{niqáni} \\ \underline{ni} \underline{fflíks} \\ \underline{sa} \underline{mayúr} \end{array} \right.$               | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{my} \\ \underline{this} \underline{one's} \\ \underline{Felix's} \\ \underline{the} \underline{mayor's} \end{array} \right.$ | house |

If the possessive attribute precedes the head, all dialects have a preposed genitive pronoun set (Tables 10a-d), which in Sor and Tsg is the same as the oblique set, while in the other dialects it is a simple base. For other nominals, Akl has a special preposed possessive construction; some dialects (e.g., Ceb, Hil) use oblique forms; while other dialects (e.g., Tsg) do not permit a preposed possessive.

|     |  |                    |   |                                |
|-----|--|--------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| Akl | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{qáku-ŋ} \sim \underline{qákuŋ} \underline{ŋa} \\ \underline{qána} \underline{kurúyon} \underline{ŋa} \\ \underline{qay} \underline{félik} \underline{s} \underline{ŋa} \\ \underline{qána} \underline{ku} \underline{méyor} \underline{ŋa} \end{array} \right.$ | ba <sup>1</sup> áy | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{my} \\ \underline{this} \underline{one's} \\ \underline{Felix's} \\ \underline{the} \underline{mayor's} \end{array} \right.$ | house                          |
| Ceb | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{qáku-ŋ} \sim \underline{qákuq} \underline{ŋa} \\ \underline{niqáni} \underline{ŋ} \\ \underline{kaŋ} \underline{fflíks} \underline{ŋa} \\ \underline{sa} \underline{mayúr} \underline{ŋa} \end{array} \right.$  | ba <sup>1</sup> áy | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{my} \\ \underline{this} \underline{one's} \\ \underline{Felix's} \\ \underline{the} \underline{mayor's} \end{array} \right.$ | house                          |
| Hil | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{qákon} \sim \underline{qákon} \underline{ŋa} \\ \underline{siní-ŋ} \sim \underline{siní} \underline{ŋa} \\ \underline{kay} \underline{félik} \underline{s} \underline{ŋa} \\ \underline{saŋ} \underline{méyor} \underline{ŋa} \end{array} \right.$              | ba <sup>1</sup> áy | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{[pronoun]} \\ \text{[deictic]} \\ \text{[personal name]} \\ \text{[common noun]} \end{array} \right.$                             | (same translations as for Akl) |

In constructions involving a preposed genitive pronoun, note that in the Akl and Ceb examples the ligature is used, while in Hil it is optional. In all dialects treated herein as belonging to the Banton and CBs subgroups (except for Hil and Cap), the ligature is not used; in Cap, Hil, Blk, Dsp, Dtg, Kin, and Jau its use is optional:<sup>37</sup>

Ban  
Odg qákoq bayáy my house  
Sib

|            |              |   |
|------------|--------------|---|
| Rom<br>Kaw | <u>qákon</u> | baláy   |
| Mas<br>War | <u>qákun</u> | baláy   |
| N-S        | <u>qákəq</u> | baláy   |
| S-L        | <u>qákən</u> | baláy   |
| Blk<br>Dtq | <u>qákun</u> | baláy ~ <u>qáku</u> η baláy ~ <u>qákun</u> ηa baláy |
| Cap<br>Dsp | <u>qákon</u> | baláy ~ <u>qáko</u> η baláy ~ <u>qákon</u> ηa baláy |
| Kin        | <u>qákən</u> | baláy ~ <u>qákə</u> η baláy ~ <u>qákən</u> ηa baláy |
| Jau        | <u>qákuq</u> | bayáy ~ <u>qáku</u> η bayáy ~ <u>qákuq</u> ηa bayáy |

#### 4.3.6.3. Local Attribute

Nominals in the oblique case can serve as local attributes; they are identical to location complements (p.90), except that they may themselves serve as heads or predicates.

|     |                                     |  |
|-----|-------------------------------------|--|
| Akl | présko <u>sa</u> <u>báybay</u> .    | <i>It is refreshing <u>at the beach</u>.</i> |
| Ceb | prísku <u>sa</u> <u>báybay</u> .    | [common-noun predicate]                      |
| Akl | <u>kay</u> <u>tátay</u> ro kwárta.  | <i>The money is <u>with Daddy</u>.</i>       |
| Ceb | <u>kaη</u> <u>tátay</u> qaη kwárta. | [personal-name head]                         |
| Akl | <u>qíya</u> si qínday.              | <i><u>Here's</u> Inday.</i>                  |
| Ceb | <u>níqa</u> si qínday.              | [deictic head]                               |
| Akl | qíya <u>kákon</u> ro serbésa.       | <i>The beer is here <u>with me</u>.</i>      |
| Ceb | díqa dirí qaη bir <u>kanákuq</u> .  | [pronoun predicate]                          |

4.3.6.4. *Locationals* are a subclass of common nouns that occur in a construction: [oblique marker] + [locational] + [genitive marker] + [noun], e.g., Ceb sa qibábaw sa búkid *on top of the mountain* or Akl sa pihák qit baáy *on the other side of the house*.

Where data are available on the forms that enter into such constructions, they are given in Tables 19a-b. A horizontal vs vertical frame-of-reference appears to distinguish some forms in Table 19b. While some dialects have only one form in a single meaning, most dialects have two (differing in plane). Thus, something that is 'down' can be 'at the bottom of' or 'under' something else [horizontally], or it can be 'below' something else, or 'downstairs' [vertically]; someone that is 'on the other side of' something may be across a flat or vertical plane (river, street, field, etc.), or a horizontal or obstructing plane (mountain, wall, fence, house, etc.).

TABLE 19a  
BISAYAN LOCATIONALS

| DIALECT (S)                  | <i>near</i>       | <i>far</i>   | DIALECT (S)                  | <i>left</i>                                 | <i>right</i>    |
|------------------------------|-------------------|--|------------------------------|---|-----------------|
| Akl                          | ma- <i>lapít</i>  | ma- <i>layóq</i>   | Akl                          | wa <i>lá</i> h                              | toqóh           |
| Alc, Lok, Rom                | ma- <i>lapít</i>  | ma- <i>layóq</i>   | Ban, Odg, Sib                | wayá <i>h</i>                               | toqóh           |
| Dsp, Cap, Hil                | (ma) <i>lapít</i> | (ma) <i>layóq</i>  | Rom, Sur, Jau, Kan           | wayá <i>h</i> -                             | tuqú <i>h</i> - |
| Blk, Dtg, Snt                | ma- <i>rapít</i>  | ma- <i>rayúq</i>   | Dsp, Lok, Alc, Cap, Hil      | wa <i>lá</i> h-                             | toqóh-          |
| Sem, Kin, Pan                | ma- <i>rapít</i>  | ma- <i>rayéq</i>   | Pan, Kin, Blk, Mas, Sor, Ceb | wa <i>lá</i> h-                             | tuqú <i>h</i> - |
| Kuy                          | qamp <i>ir</i>    | raye <i>q</i>  | Gub, S-L, War                | wa <i>lá</i> h-                             | túqu <i>h</i> - |
| Ban, Odg, Sib                | yú <i>ñot</i>     | yadó <i>q</i>  | Boh                          | waá <i>h</i> -                              | túqu <i>h</i> - |
| Mas, Sor, Gub                | ha- <i>raní</i>   | ha- <i>rayúq</i>   | Nat                          | kaliwaá <i>h</i> -                          | túqu <i>h</i> - |
| N-S, S-L, War                | ha- <i>ráni</i>   | ha- <i>ráyúq</i>   | But                          | kawaá <i>h</i> -                            | tuqú <i>h</i> - |
| Ceb                          | duqú <i>l</i>     | layú <i>q</i>  | Tsg                          | lawá <i>h</i>                               | tuqú <i>h</i> - |
| Boh, Ley                     | duqú <i>l</i>     | lajú <i>q</i>  | Kuy                          | wala <i>q</i>                               | tuu <i>q</i>    |
| Nat, Kan                     | qapí <i>ki</i>    | hi- <i>lajúq</i>   | Dtg, Sem, Snt                | wa <i>lá</i> -                              | tuqú <i>-</i>   |
| Sur, Jau                     | ma- <i>suqúd</i>  | ma- <i>lajúq</i>   |                              |   |                 |
| Tsg                          | ma- <i>súquk</i>  | ma- <i>ayúq</i>  |                              |   |                 |
| But                          | dáq <i>ig</i>     | ha- <i>ayúq</i>  |                              |   |                 |
| DIALECT (S)                  | <i>inside</i>     | DIALECT (S)  | <i>middle</i>                | DIALECT (S)                                 | <i>(be)side</i> |
| Akl                          | su <i>lód</i>     | Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok, Blk, Dtg, Snt, Rom, Cap, Hil, Cam, Bty, Ban, Odg, Sib, Mas, Sor, Ceb, Ley, Boh, Jau, Kan, Nat, But | tu <i>ñáq</i>                | Akl, Dsp, Blk, Kin, Hil, Mas, S-L, War, Ceb | kí <i>lid</i>   |
| Rom, Kaw                     | suyó <i>d</i>     | Pan, Kin, Sem, Kuy, Boh, Sur   | tu <i>ñáq</i>                | Ban, Odg, Sib                               | kí <i>lir</i>   |
| Ban, Odg, Sib                | suyó <i>r</i>     | Gub, War   | bú <i>ñaq</i>                | Tsg   | ki <i>id</i>    |
| Sur, Jau, Kan                | suyú <i>d</i>     | N-S, S-L   | bé <i>ñaq</i>                | Akl   | luyó <i>h</i>   |
| Boh, But, Nat                | suú <i>d</i>      | Tsg  | ti <i>ñáq</i>                | Hil, Rom                                    | luyó            |
| Pan, Kin, Sem                | səl <i>éd</i>     |  |                              | Gub   | tuqú <i>d</i>   |
| Kuy                          | səl <i>əd</i>     |  |                              | Sor   | tá <i>ñud</i>   |
| Dsp, Cap, Hil                | suló <i>d</i>     |  |                              |   |                 |
| Mas, Sor, Gub, Blk, Dtg, Ceb | sulú <i>d</i>     |  |                              |   |                 |
| S-L, War                     | sakú <i>b</i>     |  |                              |   |                 |
| Tsg                          | laú <i>m</i>      |  |                              |   |                 |

TABLE 19b  
BISAYAN LOCATIONALS WITH A HORIZONTAL/VERTICAL FRAME OF REFERENCE

| DIALECT (S)                                       | (H) - - DOWN - - (V)          |                                   | DIALECT (S)  | (H) - - UP - - (V)        |                                 |
|---|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
|   | <i>bottom</i><br><i>under</i> | <i>downstairs</i><br><i>below</i> |  | <i>top</i><br><i>over</i> | <i>upstairs</i><br><i>above</i> |
| Akl   | qi-dárum                      | qubús                             | Akl, Alc, Lok,                                     |                           |                                 |
| Dsp, Blk, Dtg,<br>Snt, Cap, Hil                   | qi-dárum                      | qubús                             | Dsp, Pan, Kin,<br>Blk, Dtg, Snt,<br>Sem, Cap, Hil, | qibábaw = qibábaw         |                                 |
| Mas   | qi-dárum                      | qubús                             | Ban, Odg, Sib,<br>Kaw, Rom                         |                           |                                 |
| Rom   | qi-dárum                      | qubús                             | Mas, Sor   | qibabáw                   | qitáqas                         |
| Ban, Odg, Sib                                     | qi-ráyom                      | qubús                             | Gub  | qibabáw                   | qitaqás                         |
| Sem, Kin, Pan                                     | qi-dáləm =                    | qi-dáləm                          | N-S, S-L, War                                      | báwbaw                    | qígbaw                          |
| Kuy   | qi-daləm                      | qəbəs                             | Ceb, Ley   | qibabáw                   | qitaqás                         |
| N-S, S-L  | qi-larəm                      | qəbəs                             | Ceb, Boh   | qibábaw                   | qitáqas                         |
| War   | qi-larúm                      | qubús                             | Sur, Jau   | táqas =                   | táqas                           |
| Boh   | qi-dárum                      | qubús                             | Nat, But, Tsg                                      | taqás =                   | taqás                           |
| Ceb, Ley  | dárum                         | qubús                             |  |                           |                                 |
| Sur, Jau  | qi-láyum                      | qubús                             |  |                           |                                 |
| Nat   | qi-lárum                      | qubús                             |  |                           |                                 |
| But   | lárum                         | qubús                             |  |                           |                                 |
| Sor   | qi-rárum                      | qi-babáq                          |  |                           |                                 |
| Gub   | qi-rarúm                      | qi-babáq                          |  |                           |                                 |
| Tsg   | babáq =                       | babáq                             |  |                           |                                 |
| DIALECT (S)                                       | (H) - FORWARD - (V)           |                                   | DIALECT (S)  | (H) - BACKWARD - (V)      |                                 |
|   | <i>front</i>                  | <i>ahead</i>                      |  | <i>back</i>               | <i>behind</i>                   |
| Akl, Dsp, Pan,<br>Kin, Blk, Cap,<br>Hil, Rom, Kaw | qatúbəŋ                       | qunahán                           | Akl, Dsp, Lok,<br>Rom, Cap, Hil                    | likód                     | qulíhi                          |
| Ban, Odg, Sib                                     | qatubáŋ-an                    | qunahán                           | Blk, Pan   | likúd                     | quríhi                          |
| Rom, Mas, Sor                                     | qatubáŋ-an                    | qunahán                           | Kin  | likúd                     | hudyánan                        |
| Ceb, Boh  | qatubáŋ-an                    | qunáhan                           | Gub  | likúd                     | qurhiqán                        |
| Gub, S-L, War                                     | qatubáŋ-an                    | qúnhan                            | Ban, Odg, Sib                                      | likór                     | hulí                            |
| Tsg   | qalúpan                       | qunahán                           | Ceb  | luyú                      | qulahí                          |
|   |                               |                                   | Boh  | likúd                     | quwahí                          |
|   |                               |                                   | S-L, War   | luyú                      | qurhiqan                        |

TABLE 19b (cont.)

| DIALECT (S)   | (H) - -ACROSS- - (V)<br>'the other side' |             | DIALECT (S)                     | (H) - -OUTSIDE- - (V) |               |
|---------------|--|-------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
|               | <i>across</i>                            | <i>over</i> |                                 | <i>abroad</i>         | <i>out of</i> |
| Akl, Kin, Hil | tabúk                                    | pihák       | Akl                             | líwan                 | guwáq         |
| Blk           | sályu                                    | pihák       | Kin, Hil, Mas,<br>Gub           | luwás                 | guwáq         |
| Dtg           | luyú                                     | piyák       | Sor                             | lúwas                 | guwáq         |
| Sem           | luyú                                     | piqák       | Blk, Sem, Dtg                   | luwáq                 | guwáq         |
| Mas           | luyú                                     | kapíhak     | Ban, Odg, Sib                   | liwás                 | guwáq         |
| Ban, Odg, Sib | yudó                                     | pihák       | Boh, S-L, War,<br>Sur, Jau, But | gawás                 | guwáq         |
| Rom           | luyó                                     | kabúqak     | Ceb                             | gawás                 | guláq         |
| S-L, War      | qátban                                   | luyú        | Kuy                             | luaq                  | guaq          |
| Ceb           | tabúk                                    | píkas       | Tsg                             | guáq                  | = guáq        |
| Boh           | lujú                                     | pákas       |                                 |                       |               |
| Sur, Jau      | lujú                                     | píkas       |                                 |                       |               |
| Tsg           | liúh                                     | sipák       |                                 |                       |               |
| But           | duqút                                    | = duqút     |                                 |                       |               |
| Kuy           | luyuq                                    | = luyuq     |                                 |                       |               |

## 4.3.6.5. Temporal Attributes

The names of hours, days, months, or years when preceded by the common-noun oblique marker can indicate future time:

Akl sa máyo *in May, next May*  
Ceb sa máyu

Akl sa sułód qit tátlo η qádlaw *within three days*  
Ceb sa sulúd qug tulú ka qádlaw

Akl sa qalàs dóse *at twelve o'clock noon*  
Ceb sa qalàs dúsi

The same kind of nouns can indicate past time when preceded by the definite common-noun genitive marker:

Akl ku pag-qabút nána qídto  
Ceb sa pag-qabút níya dídtu *when he arrived there*  
S-L san pag-qabút níya dídtu  
Hil san miyèrkolés  
Kin kan mfrkulis  
Odg qitton miyèrkolés *last Wednesday*  
Tsg sin jumaqát



Since the Ceb oblique and definite genitive markers are homophonous (sa), past-time phrases are disambiguated by the use of a genitive deictic:

Ceb niqádtu ŋ bírnis  
Boh qádtu ŋ bírnis     *Last Friday*

In several dialects the remote genitive deictic is used in idiomatic constructions indicating past events: Akl kató qánay, Kin karágtu qánay, Hil sádtu qánay, S-L hádtu pa, Ceb kaniqádtu long ago, once upon a time. In some dialects the same expression consists of the definite genitive and the form qúna once: Kin kaŋ qúna, Blk taŋ qúna, Hil saŋ qúna, Sib toŋ qúna, Boh sa qúna pa once upon a time.

Temporal expressions of high text frequency are presented in Tables 20a-b. Note that all dialects agree, regardless of the shape of the forms, in having a fixed-time division, e.g., morning, noon, afternoon, etc. (Table 20a), and a relative-time division going in either direction from now, e.g., earlier vs later-on (same day), yesterday, tomorrow<sup>38</sup> (Table 20b).

4.3.6.6. Numerals and Major Quantifiers are a further subclass of common nouns. As in the case of common-noun predicates, they are not inflected for the nominative unless definiteness or specificity is indicated; however, they are inflected for the genitive or oblique.

|     |                              |   |
|-----|------------------------------|---|
| Akl | <u>tátlo</u><br><u>tanán</u> | } gina-káŋay sa prográma.<br><br>[indefinite] |
| Ceb | <u>tulú</u><br><u>tanán</u>  |   |

|  |   |                           |
|--|---|---------------------------|
|  | <u>Three are</u><br><u>Everybody is</u> | } invited to the program. |
|--|---|---------------------------|

|     |   |
|-----|---|
| Akl | nag-qágto ro <u>qisaǎá</u> . <i>The one went; (the other didn't).</i> |
| Ceb | ni-qádtu <u>qaŋ qusá</u> . [definite or specific]                     |

In Warayan, numerals used predicatively undergo CV- reduplication:

S-L tú-tulú qit qak sánkay sa qamiriká.  
Literally: *My friends in America are three.*

War pí-pitú laq kamí dínhi.  
*There are only seven of us here.*

Outside of such predicative constructions CV- reduplication is optional:

S-L p<inm>alít hi qíntuy hin tú-tulú ~ tulú ŋa malíta.  
*Intoy bought three suitcases.*

TABLE 20a  
BISAYAN TEMPORALS: FIXED-TIME DIVISION

| DIALECT(S)  | <i>morning</i> | DIALECT(S)   | <i>noon</i>  | DIALECT(S)  | <i>afternoon</i> |
|---|----------------|--|--------------|---|------------------|
| Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok  | qagáhon        | Akl  | truqádlaw    | Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok, Rom, Cap, Hil, Kaw, Ban, Odg, Sib   | hápon            |
| Pan   | qagáhen        | Kin, Pan   | tuqádlaw     |   |                  |
| Blk, Dtg, Sem, Snt, Kin, Gim, Cap, Hil, Kaw, Rom, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L | qága           | Kuy  | qugtuñadlaw  | Pan, Kin, Blk, Mas, Sor, Gub, Boh, Ceb, Ley   | hápun            |
| War   | qumúga         | Alc, Dsp, Lok, Hil, Ban, Odg                               | qúgto        | Sem, Snt, Dtg   | qápun            |
| Boh, Ceb, Ley, Sur, Jau   | búntag         | Blk, Sem, Snt, Dtg, Tsg                                    | qúgtu        | Kuy   | qapun            |
| But   | hináqat        | Cap, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, War, Boh, Ceb, Ley, Sur, Jau | qúdtu        | N-S, S-L  | kəlap            |
| Tsg   | mahináqat      | Rom, Sib, Sur  | qalàs dóse   | War   | kulúp            |
| Kuy   | timpranuq      |  |              | Sur   | maridəyəm        |
|   |                | DIALECT(S)   | <i>day</i>   | Jau   | marđuyum         |
|   |                | N-S  | qádlaw       | Tsg   | mahápun          |
|   |                | all others   | qádlaw       |   |                  |
|   |                | DIALECT(S)   | <i>month</i> |   |                  |
|   |                | Akl  | bútan        |   |                  |
|   |                | Rom, Ban, Odg, Sib, Sur, Jau, Kan                          | búyan        | DIALECT(S)  | <i>year</i>      |
|   |                | Boh, Ley, Nat, But   | búwan        | Akl   | dágqon           |
|   |                | all others   | búlan        | Pan, Blk  | dáqqun           |
| DIALECT(S)  | <i>night</i>   |  |              | Sem, Dtg  | dágun            |
| Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok, Blk, Pan, Kin, Gim, Cam, Boh, Ceb, Ley                | gabíqi         | DIALECT(S)   | <i>week</i>  | Snt, Kuy  | dagún            |
| Cap, Hil, Kaw, Ban, Odg, Sib, Rom, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L                | gábqi          | Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok, Ban, Odg, Sib                          | domíngo      | Alc, Dsp, Lok, Kin, Cap, Hil, Kaw, Rom, Cam, Ban, Odg, Sib, Mas, N-S, S-L, War, Boh, Ceb, Sur, Jau, Nat, Kan, But | túqig            |
| Sem, Snt, Dtg   | gabí           | Pan, Kin, Cam  | dumíngu      | Sor, Gub  | taqún            |
| Kuy   | gabiq          | Cap, Hil, Rom, Mas, Sor, Gub, S-L, War, Ceb, Boh, Sur, Jau | simána       | Tsg   | tahún            |
| Sur   | dəyém          | Tsg  | hanka pitú   |   |                  |
| Jau, Kan  | duyúm          |  |              |   |                  |
| Nat, But, Tsg   | duúm           |  |              |   |                  |

TABLE 20b  
BISAYAN TEMPORALS: RELATIVE-TIME DIVISION

| DIALECT(S)  | <i>now</i>     | DIALECT(S)   | <i>later on</i>  | DIALECT(S)   | <i>tomorrow</i> |
|---|----------------|--|------------------|--|-----------------|
| Akl   | makarón        | Akl  | hindúnaq         | Akl  | hinqágah        |
| Ceb, Boh, Ley   | karún          | Alc, Lok, Dsp,<br>Blk, Pan, Kin                                | kárqun           | Alc, Dsp, Lok,<br>Pan, Blk                         | qinága          |
| But   | duqún          | Dtg, Snt, Sem,<br>Cap, Hil                                     | karún            | Kin  | sarémqan        |
| Tsg   | bihaqún        | Gub  | duqún            | Sem, Snt, Dtg,<br>Kuy                              | qarumán         |
| Pan   | kayá           | But  | ñaqún            | Ceb, Boh   | qéhmaq          |
| Dsp, Lok, Sem,<br>Snt   | kadyá          | Ban, Odg, Sib  | qiság            | Ceb, Ley   | qúhmaq          |
| Blk, Sem  | ñadyá          | Mas, Sor   | didáq            | Ban, Odg, Sib                                      | qinsulíp        |
| Kin   | tə̀lə̀dkadyá   | Rom, Mas, S-L  | niyán            | Rom, Cap, Hil,<br>Mas, Sor, Gub,<br>N-S, S-L, War, | buwás           |
| Cap, Hil  | subón          | N-S, S-L, War  | qunína           | Kaw, Cam, Bty                                      |                 |
| Rom, Mas, Sor,<br>Gub, S-L  | niyán          | Ceb  | qúnyaq           | Sur, Jau   | silúm           |
| Mas, N-S, S-L,<br>War   | yanáq          | Boh, Ley   | qúnjaq           | But  | kunsuúm         |
| Cam   | zanáq          | Sur, Jau   | ñájqan           | Tsg  | kunsúm          |
| Sur, Jau  | kumán          | Sem, Blk, Rom  | lagàtlagát       |  |                 |
| Kuy, Dtg  | dadí           | Kuy  | lagaqlagat       |  |                 |
|   |                | Tsg  | ganagana         |  |                 |
| DIALECT(S)  | <i>earlier</i> | DIALECT(S)   | <i>yesterday</i> |  |                 |
| Akl, Alc, Dsp,<br>Lok, Blk, Snt,<br>Sem, Dtg, Pan,<br>Kin, Gim, Cap,<br>Hil, Rom, Jau | kaqína         | Akl, Alc, Dsp,<br>Lok, Rom, Cap,<br>Hil, Kaw                   | kahápon          |  |                 |
| Kuy, Tsg  | kaina          | Pan, Kin, Blk,<br>Mas, Sor, Gub,<br>N-S, Sur, Jau,<br>But, Tsg | kahápun          |  |                 |
| Hil   | kagína         | Sem, Dtg   | kaqápun          |  |                 |
| Gub   | kaqíná         | Snt, Kuy   | kápun            |  |                 |
| Mas, Sor, N-S,<br>S-L, War, Sur   | kanína         | Boh, Ceb, Ley  | gahápun          |  |                 |
| Mas, Ceb  | kaganína       | Ban, Odg, Sib  | qitahápon        |  |                 |
| But, Ceb  | ganína         | S-L  | kakə̀lə̀p        |  |                 |
| Cap, But  | gaqína         | War  | kakulúp          |  |                 |
| Boh, Ceb, Ley   | (ka)ganíha     |  |                  |  |                 |
| Ban, Odg, Sib   | kumán          |  |                  |  |                 |

Note the use of the genitive marker to show the object complement in the last example.

When numerals co-occur with deictics, nominals, and adjectives in a phrase they take the order: [deictic] + [numeral] + [adjective] + [noun]:

|     |              |   |            |    |            |    |            |
|-----|--------------|---|------------|----|------------|----|------------|
| Akl | rató         | η | qánqom     | ka | ma-támbuk  | ηa | łáki       |
| Ceb | kádtu        | η | qunúm      | ka | támbuk     | ηa | laláki     |
|     | <i>those</i> |   | <i>six</i> |    | <i>fat</i> |    | <i>men</i> |

#### 4.3.6.7. The Enumerative Marker

In all dialects except the Banton group and Tsg the particle *ka* marks noun phrases that follow numerals (including the interrogative Akl, Ceb *pilá*, S-L *pirá* *how many?*); in Ban, Odg, Sib the ligature *na* is used; <sup>39</sup> Tsg has no equivalent marker.

|                |      |           |        |                                       |
|----------------|------|-----------|--------|---------------------------------------|
| Ban, Odg, Sib  | limá | <u>na</u> | batág  | <i>five bananas</i>                   |
| Tsg            | limá | <u>__</u> | saiη   |                                       |
| Other dialects | limá | <u>ka</u> | ságiη  |                                       |
| Sur            | pilá | <u>ka</u> | lúmun  | <i>how many brothers and sisters?</i> |
| Akl            | pilá | <u>ka</u> | máηhud |                                       |
| Tsg            | pilá | <u>__</u> | maηhud |                                       |

In Akl, Dsp, Blk, Cap, Hil (and an undetermined number of other dialects) the ligature *na* is optionally used before such *ka*-phrases:

|     |       |                          |           |            |                                   |
|-----|-------|--------------------------|-----------|------------|-----------------------------------|
| Akl | tátlo | ( <u>η</u> ~ <u>na</u> ) | <u>ka</u> | dágqon     | <i>three years</i>                |
| Hil | waló  | ( <u>η</u> ~ <u>na</u> ) | <u>ka</u> | magqulútud | <i>eight brothers and sisters</i> |

In S-L this enumerative appears to be limited to marking nominals referring to measurements or lengths of time (e.g., glassful, pack, piece, sack, day, month, etc.); in other instances the ligature *na* is used:

|     |      |           |          |    |       |                          |
|-----|------|-----------|----------|----|-------|--------------------------|
| S-L | duhá | <u>ka</u> | sáku     | ηa | bugás | <i>two sacks of rice</i> |
|     | qusá | <u>ka</u> | básu     | ηa | kuk   | <i>one glass of coke</i> |
|     | tulú | <u>ka</u> | túqig    |    |       | <i>three years</i>       |
|     | limá | <u>na</u> | karumáta |    |       | <i>three carts</i>       |
|     | pitú | <u>na</u> | malíta   |    |       | <i>seven suitcases</i>   |

#### 4.3.6.8. The Diversity Marker

Unlike pronouns and personal names, the category of number is unspecified for common nouns and deictics. Thus, the sentences

|     |        |       |       |        |        |
|-----|--------|-------|-------|--------|--------|
| Akl | may    | ságiη | sa    | lamésa |        |
| Ceb | qadúna | y     | ságiη | sa     | lamísa |

could be translated as either *There is a banana on the table* or *There*

TABLE 21a  
BISAYAN NUMERALS

| DIALECT(S)  | <i>one</i>   | DIALECT(S)  | <i>two</i>     | DIALECT(S)   | <i>three</i> |
|---|--------------|---|----------------|--|--------------|
| Akl   | qisaʔáh      | Akl   | dáywah         | Akl  | tátloh       |
| Kin, Pan, Gim, Blk  | qisaráh-     | Kin, Pan, Gim, Blk  | dárwah-        | Kin, Pan, Gim, Blk   | tátluh-      |
| Sem, Snt, Dtg, Kuy  | qisará-      | Sem, Snt, Dtg, Kuy  | dárwa-         | Sem, Snt, Dtg, Kuy   | tátlu-       |
| Lok, Alc  | qísyah-      | Lok, Alc  | dálwah-        | Dsp, Lok, Alc, Cap, Hil, Kaw, Ban, Sib   | tátloh-      |
| Rom, Dsp, Cap, Hil  | qisáh-       | Rom, Cap, Hil, Kaw  | duháh-         | Rom, Odg   | tuyóh-       |
| Kaw, Jau, Nat, Kan, But, Tsg  | qisá-        | Ban, Odg, Sib   | ruháh-         | Sur, Jau, Kan  | tuyú-        |
| Sor   | qisád        | Bty, Cam, Mas, N-S, S-L, War, Ceb, Boh, Ley, Sur, Jau, Nat                | duhá-          | Bty, Cam, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, War, Ley   | tulú-        |
| Mas   | qusád        | Sor, Gub, But, Tsg  | duwá-          | S-L, Boh, Ceb  | təlú-        |
| Boh, Ceb, S-L, Sur  | qesa-        |   |                | Nat, But, Tsg  | tuú-         |
| Ban, Odg, Sib   | qusáh-       | DIALECT(S)  | <i>six</i>     | DIALECTS   | <i>five</i>  |
| Cam, Bty, War, Ley, Ceb   | qusá-        | Akl, Alc, Lok, Dsp, Ban, Odg, Sib   | qánqom         | Akl, Alc, Lok, Dsp, Kin, Pan, Gim, Blk, Rom, Cap, Hil, Kaw, Ban, Odg, Sib      | limáh-       |
| Gub, N-S  | sayúq        | Cap, Hil, Kaw   | qánom          | other dialects   | limá-        |
| DIALECT(S)  | <i>four</i>  | Blk, Snt, Dtg   | qánom          | DIALECTS   | <i>seven</i> |
| Akl, Alc, Lok, Dsp, Ban, Odg, Sib   | qáppat       | Kin, Pan, Gim, Sem  | qánem          | Akl, Alc, Lok, Dsp, Rom, Cap, Hil, Kaw, Ban, Odg, Sib                          | pitóh-       |
| Blk, Snt, Dtg, Cap, Hil, Kaw, Kin, Pan, Gim, Sem                          | qápat        | Kuy   | qanem          | Kin, Pan, Gim, Blk   | pitúh-       |
| Kuy   | qapat        | S-L, Boh, Ceb, Sur  | qeném          | other dialects   | pitú-        |
| S-L, Boh, Ceb, Sur  | qəpát        | Rom, Mas, Sor, Gub, Bty, Cam, N-S, War, Ceb, Ley, Jau, Nat, Kan, But, Tsg | qunúm          | DIALECT(S)   | <i>ten</i>   |
| Rom, Mas, Sor, Gub, Bty, Cam, N-S, War, Ceb, Ley, Jau, Nat, Kan, But, Tsg | qupát        | Ban, Odg, Sib   | sidám          | Akl  | napútoq      |
| DIALECT(S)  | <i>eight</i> | Boh, Ley, Sur, Jau, Kan   | sijám          | Rom, Kaw   | napúyoq      |
| Akl   | waʔóh        | Cam   | sizám          | Sur, Jau, Kan  | napúyuq      |
| Rom, Ban, Odg, Sib  | wayóh-       | other dialects  | siyám          | Boh, Nat   | napúuq       |
| Sur, Jau, Nat, Kan  | wayú-        | DIALECTS  | <i>hundred</i> | Alc, Lok, Dsp, Cap, Hil  | napúloq      |
| Boh, But  | waú-         | Akl, Alc, Lok, Dsp, Rom, Cap, Hil, Kaw, Ban, Odg, Sib                     | gatós          | Kin, Pan, Gim, Sem, Blk, Snt, Dtg, Bty, Cam, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, War, Ceb | napúluq      |
| Alc, Lok, Dsp, Cap, Hil, Kaw  | walóh-       | other dialects  | gatús          | Ban, Odg, Sib  | sampúyoq     |
| Kin, Pan, Gim, Blk  | walúh-       |   |                | Kuy  | sampuluq     |
| Sem, Snt, Dtg, Kuy, Bty, Cam, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, War, Ceb, Ley, Tsg | walú-        |   |                | But  | sampúuq      |
|   |              |   |                | Tsg  | hanpuuq      |

TABLE 21b  
BISAYAN NUMERALS AND MAJOR QUANTIFIERS

| DIALECT (S)   | <i>thousand</i> | DIALECT (S)                     | <i>all</i>  |
|---|-----------------|---------------------------------|-------------|
| Akl, Alc, Lok,<br>Dsp, Cap, Hil,<br>Kaw, Rom, Ban,<br>Odg, Sib      | líboh-          | Jau                             | hurút       |
| Kin, Pan, Gim,<br>Blk   | líbuh-          | Gub                             | qintíru     |
| Sem, Snt, Dtg,<br>Bty, Cam, Ceb,<br>Boh, Ley, Sur,<br>Jau, Nat, But | líbu-           | Tsg                             | katán       |
| Tsg   | qíbuh           | N-S, S-L, War                   | ñatanán     |
| Mas, Sor, Gub,<br>N-S, S-L, War                                     | ríbu-           | all others                      | tanán       |
| Kuy   | ribuq           |                                 |             |
| DIALECT (S)   | <i>few</i>      | DIALECT (S)                     | <i>many</i> |
| Akl   | sanjurót        | Akl, Alc, Dsp,<br>Lok           | qabóq       |
| Alc, Dsp, Lok,<br>Kin, Gim, Rom,<br>Ban, Odg, Sib                   | qisút           | Blk                             | hángud      |
| Pan   | qístut          | Sem                             | dúruq       |
| Blk, Dtg, Sem,<br>Snt   | qístan          | Dsp, Snt, Dtg                   | dúru        |
| Kin, Gim  | qikíq           | Kin, Kuy                        | durú        |
| Ceb, Boh, Ley,<br>Sur, Nat, Jau,<br>Cam, But                        | gamáy           | Kin                             | rakéq       |
| Ceb, Mas  | diyút           | Pan, Gim, Kuy                   | dakéq       |
| Ceb, Boh, Ley,<br>Cap, Hil, Kaw,<br>Mas, Kan                        | dyútay          | Cap, Hil, Kaw,<br>Rom, S-L, War | dámuq       |
| Ceb, Gub  | diyúq           | Mas, Sor, N-S,<br>Bty, Cam      | damúq       |
| N-S   | dítuq           | Ban, Odg, Sib                   | rámoq       |
| Sor   | díqít           | Ceb, Boh, Ley,<br>Gub, Kan      | dághan      |
| S-L, War  | gutíqay         | Sur, Jau                        | hamúk       |
| Tsg   | qasíbiq         | Nat                             | maqaráñ     |
|   |                 | But, Tsg                        | mataqúd     |

are bananas on the table. The marker *maṅà*, found in all the dialects, has often been considered a plural marker, but is more appropriately a variety or diversity marker (similar in meaning to the addition of the English -s plural to mass nouns, e.g., rices = types of rice). Thus,

Akl may *maṅà* ságin sa lamésa

Ceb qadúna y *maṅà* ságin sa lamísa

mean *There are (several types of) bananas on the table* (e.g., Akl *buṅúñan*, Ceb *bulúñan*; Akl, Ceb *sábqa*; Akl, Ceb *lakatán*, Ceb *báñan*; Akl *kalatúnday*, Ceb *qalitúndan* - all different species of banana).

However, with common nouns that refer to people, races, occupations, and the like (which are semantically similar to personal names), the use of *maṅà* is similar to the English indefinite plural, e.g., Akl *táwoh*, Ceb *táwu person, human being* : Akl *maṅà táwoh*, Ceb *maṅà táwu persons, human beings, several people, some people*; Akl, Ceb *maṅiníśdaq fisherman* : *maṅà maṅiníśdaq fishermen*.

#### 4.3.7. Common Semantic Affixes

The majority of Bs nominals are single morphemes, e.g., Akl *bałáy*, Ceb *baláy house*, Akl *qáyam*, Ceb *qirúq dog*, Akl, Ceb *páriq priest*. However, there are several widespread derivational affixes associated with nominals.

(1) MUTUAL: *ka(+)*- *one who does [X] with, one who shares [X] relationship with*, e.g., Akl, Ceb *kasákay fellow passenger (sakáy ride)*, *kaqáway rival, enemy (qáway quarrel)*, *kaklási classmate (klási class)*, Akl *kahámpan*, Ceb *kadúlaq playmate (Akl hámpañ, Ceb dúlaq play)*.

(2) CAUSE: *pa-* *that which causes [X], that which is involved with [X]*, e.g., Akl *pahúmot*, Ceb *pahumút perfume (ma-humút fragrant)*, Akl, Ceb *paqínit heater, something to warm oneself with (ma-qínit hot)*.

(3) GERUND: *pag-* forming nouns from verb bases, e.g., Akl, Ceb *pagqabút arrival (qabút arrive)*, *pagkáqun food (káqun eat)*.

(4) INSTRUMENT: Ceb, Hil *qig-<VI>*, Akl *pañ-* *something used or associated with a place or activity*, e.g., Ceb, Hil *qigsilímiba*, Akl *pañsímbah church-clothes (símbah- worship)*, Ceb *qigtratabáhu*, Akl *pañtratabáhu work-clothes (trabáhu job)*, Akl *pañbałáy something used or worn in the house (bałáy house)*.

(5) OCCUPATION: Ceb, Hil *maNVN(+)*-, Akl *maNVN(+)*- *one's occupation or livelihood*, e.g., Akl, Ceb, Hil *mamalfgyaq merchant (balfgyaq sell)*, Ceb, Hil *mananagát*, Akl *mananágat fisherman (dágat sea)*, Akl, Ceb, Hil *mananáhiq tailor, seamstress (tahf q sew)*, Hil, Ceb *mañañahúy*, Akl *mañañáhuy wood-gatherer (káhuy wood)*.

(6) OCCUPATION: Ceb, S-L CumV(↔)-, Hil <umVl>(↔)-, Akl <umVl>(+) -, e.g., Ceb, S-L sumusúnud, Hil sumulúnud, Akl sumuʔúnud *follower, disciple* (sunúd *follow*), Ceb, S-L pumipilíq, Hil pumililíq, Akl pumilíliq *elector* (píliq *select, choose*).

(7) COLLECTION: ka--an *collection or group of [X]*, e.g., Akl, Ceb kanipáqan *nipa swamp* (nípaq *nipa palm*), Akl kabaʔayán, Ceb kabalayán *group of houses*.

(8) STATIVE: ka- *state of being* [Adjective], e.g., Akl, Ceb kaputíq *whiteness* (ma-putíq *white*), Akl, Ceb katámqis *sweetness* (támqis *sweet*).

(9) OWNER: tag- *owner, master (of)*, e.g., Akl tagbaʔáy, Ceb tagbaláy *homeowner, master of the house*, Akl tagqána, Ceb, Hil tagqíya *owner, possessor* (Akl qána, Ceb, Hil qíya *his*).

(10) PRODUCER: tag- *producer or doer (of)*, e.g., Akl tagsuʔát, Ceb, Hil tagsulát *author* (sulát *write*).

(11) LOCATION: -an, e.g., Akl, Ceb tindáhan *store* (tíndah - *sell*), Akl buʔáhan, Ceb, Hil bulaʔán *cockpit* (bulaʔ *fight cocks, bulaʔ gaff, cockspur*).

(12) PLACE OF ORIGIN: taga-, e.g., Akl, Ceb tagamanílaq (*someone*) *from Manila*, Ceb tagadínhi, Mas tagadidí, Akl, tagaríya (*someone*) *from this place, local resident* (Ceb dínhi, Mas didí, Akl ríya *here*).

(13) LEVEL OR HEIGHT OF: Ceb taga(+)-, Akl, Hil taga-, e.g., Akl, Hil tagatúhud, Ceb tagatuhúd *up to the knees* (túhud *knee*).

(14) SEASON, TIME: Ceb (tiŋ(+)-, S-L kat(+)-, Akl tig-<Vl>(+) -, e.g., Ceb tiŋqulán, S-L katqurán, Akl tiŋquʔúʔan *rainy season* (qurán *rain*), Ceb tiŋqaní, S-L katqaní, Akl tiŋqaʔánih *harvest time* (qanih-*harvest*).

(15) THINGS TO [X]: Ceb <Vl>-ún(un), Akl <Vl>-ún(on), e.g., Ceb palitúnun, Akl baʔakʔúnun *things to be bought* (Ceb palít, Akl bakáʔ *buy*), Ceb kalánqun, Akl kaʔanqúnun *things to eat* (káqun *eat*), Ceb talanqáwun, Akl taʔanqáwon *sights to see* (tánqaw *look at*), Ceb, Akl qilímnun *things to drink* (qinúm *drink*).

#### 4.4. INTERROGATIVES

Bs interrogatives have an affinity to nominals in their formation (e.g., deictics, personal-name markers, locationals, temporals, etc.), even if they serve as other parts of speech: verbs, adverbs, etc. (see below). Syntactically, interrogatives usually occur clause initial in topic position.



4.4.1. Nominal Interrogatives include forms that translate as 'what?', 'which?', 'who?', and 'whose?' (Table 22a).

#### 4.4.1.1. *What?*

The most widespread interrogative element among Bs dialects is nuh. In forms meaning 'what?' there are the formatives: (1) qa(+)-, (2) qu(+)-, and (3) na(+)-. The Banton dialects differ in having the element qóh (Ban, Odg, Sib na-qóh), while the Cebuan dialects have a frozen suffix -sa (i.e., preCeb \*qúnuh- + -sa > Ceb, Boh, Ley qúnsah-). In But the form ḡáan, literally *name*, is used instead of any of the above.

- Akl qanó ráya? ~ náno ráya? *What is this?*  
 Ceb qúnsa kiní?  
 But ḡáan ba qiní?

Besides being used as common nouns, all forms can also be used as verb bases meaning *do what?* In this regard, Akl has an alternate base qalín, and But uses qunúh- (But ḡáan is strictly a noun).

- Akl naga-qalín ka? ~ Akl, Hil, Rom naga-qanó ka?  
 Ceb nag-qúnsa ka? *What are you doing?*  
 Boh ga-qunú ba kaw?  
 Akl na-qalín mo? *What did you do (to it)?*  
 But mi-qunú mu ba?  
 Ceb na-qúnsa mu?

#### 4.4.1.2. *Which?*

Only Mas, Sor, and Gub have a special form meaning *which? (of two or more things)*, qarín. All other dialects use the general or past word for *where?*, corresponding to Ceb diqín or Akl, Ceb siqín (see Table 22c and 4.4.3. below).

- Akl siqín d i ḡ gústo? *Which one do you want?*  
 Ceb diqín man qan gústu mu?  
 Mas qarín qan gústu mu?

#### 4.4.1.3. *Who?, Whose?*

The personal name interrogative has only a nominative and oblique form in most dialects. The nominative is formed with si- + qanú ~ qúnu (with syncope of the penult vowel and metathesis of the qn cluster); the oblique with the ki-, kaḡ-, or kay- markers (compare with Table 16 and section 4.3.3.). Only Akl was observed to have a full set:

nominative *sínqo*, preposed genitive *qányo*, postposed genitive *nányo* and oblique *kányo*. The nominative in the Cebuan group differs in that it has a *k-* formative (probably based on analogy with the nominative deictics with *k-*); the oblique in the Mas and S-L dialects differs in that it has a new base element *áy* (i.e., *kan-* + *áy*).

|     |                                  |                                      |
|-----|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Akl | <u>sínqo</u> ro nag-pánaw?       | <i>Who left?</i>                     |
| Ceb | <u>kínsa</u> qan mi-lakát        |                                      |
| Akl | <u>qányo</u> ra?                 | <i>Whose is this?</i>                |
| Ceb | <u>kan kínsa</u> ni?             |                                      |
| S-L | <u>kanáy</u> ni?                 |                                      |
| Akl | <u>kányo</u> nákon qi-taqó?      | <i>To whom shall I give it?</i>      |
| Ceb | <u>kan kínsa</u> nákuq qi-hátag? |                                      |
| Akl | baáy <u>nányo</u> rató?          | <i>Whose house is that (yonder)?</i> |

4.4.2. Temporal Interrogatives are used to inquire 'when (in the past)?' and 'when (in the future)?'. Syntactically, they serve as preverbs and require special aorist verb forms.

Forms for *when* (past)? consist of the prefix *ka-* or *ga-* plus one of the forms for *what?* Hil, Mas, etc. *kasánqu* may be explained as the past prefix *ka-* plus the future form (*sánqu*) as base; Cebuan *kanúsqa* may be the result of metathesis (i.e., Ceb \**kanqu* + *-sa*).

Forms for *when* (future)? show a number of formatives: (1) *sa-* in many dialects, (2) *hin-* in Akl, (3) *Kuy*, *Snt*, and *Nat* <*in*> (4) *ku-* in the SBs group. Cebuano *qanúsqa* may be the result of dissimilation and metathesis (i.e., preCeb \**sanqu* + *-sa* > *qanúsqa*), or yet another future formative (i.e., preCeb \**qa-* + *q(ú)nuh-* + *-sa*). (See Table 22b.)

|     |   |                             |
|-----|---|-----------------------------|
| Akl | <u>kánqo</u> man qimáw <u>maq</u> -qabót?   | <i>When did he arrive?</i>  |
| Ceb | <u>kanúsqa</u> man siyá <u>mu</u> -qabút?   |                             |
| Akl | <u>hinqunó</u> man qimáw <u>maq</u> -qabót? | <i>When will he arrive?</i> |
| Ceb | <u>qanúsqa</u> man siyá <u>mu</u> -qabút?   |                             |

Note the use of the same aorist verb affixes (Akl *maq-*, Ceb *mu-*) since the temporal interrogative preverb denotes the time-value of the action.

4.4.3. Locational Interrogatives are formed with the element *qin*, and one of the following prefixes: (1) *di(+)-* general or past, (2) *ha(+)-* present or predicative, (3) *ka(+)-* future or verbal, (4) *qa(+)-* future. In some dialects the oblique locational *sa* is also used; in Tsg the future form has an additional *pa-*. Cebuan *qásqa* may be further evidence of an *qa-* future formative (see 4.4.2. above) with the usual Cebuan *-sa*

interrogative (see 4.4.1.1.). Both Akl and Ceb have a form *siqín*.

Cebuan, Warayan, and the SBs dialects have a time-oriented system similar in form and function to the time-oriented deictics (Table 15); the remaining dialects (WBs, Banton, and several CBs) only have a general interrogative for 'where?' (See Table 22c.)

|     |                               |   |
|-----|-------------------------------|---|
| Akl | <i>siqín</i> ka ga-qádto?     | <i>Where are you going?</i>             |
| Akl | <i>siqín</i> do síne kahápon? | <i>Where was the movie yesterday?</i>   |
| Sib | <i>hiqín</i> ka ma-págtó?     | <i>Where are you going?</i>             |
| Sib | <i>hiqín</i> kamó naka-raqóy? | <i>Where did you go swimming?</i>       |
| War | <i>diqín</i> hiyá kanína?     | <i>Where was he a while ago?</i> [past] |
| Ceb | <i>diqín</i> siyá ganíha?     |   |
| War | <i>háqin</i> hi pídrú?        | <i>Where is Peter?</i> [present]        |
| Ceb | <i>háqin</i> man si pídrú?    |   |
| War | <i>raqín</i> ka?              | <i>Where will you (go)?</i> [future]    |
| Ceb | <i>qása</i> ka?               |   |

These interrogatives can be used as verbs in the meaning 'go where?':

|     |                                       |   |
|-----|---------------------------------------|---|
| Akl | <i>naga-siqín</i> ka?                 | <i>Where are you going?</i>             |
| War | <i>ti-káqin</i> ka?                   | <i>Where do you intend to go?</i>       |
| Ceb | bisa-g <i>mahi-qása</i> ku, ma-búhiq. | <i>Wherever I may go, I'll survive.</i> |

The general or past-time forms are also used with *taga-* (4.3.7., #12):

|     |                          |                             |
|-----|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Akl | <i>taga-siqín</i> sánda. | <i>Where are they from?</i> |
| Ceb | <i>taga-diqín</i> silá?  |                             |

4.4.4. Interrogative Numerals are formed from the base *piráh-* (or the corresponding *piláh-*). The base alone is used in questions asking 'how many?':

|     |                                   |  |
|-----|-----------------------------------|--|
| Akl | <i>pilá</i> kamó magmaíáñhud?     | <i>How many brothers and sisters are</i> |
| Ceb | <i>pilá</i> mu ka buqúk magsúqun? | <i>you?</i>                              |
| Mas | <i>pirá</i> kamú ña magmaráñhud?  |  |

Questions asking 'how much?' (price) are generally formed with a *tag(+)-* ~ *tag-* or *tig(+)-* ~ *tig-* prefix; although Akl has a special form (*mánqo*) alternating with both *tagpilá* and *tigpilá*, while Ceb has *píla* alternating with *tagpíla*; in Tsg full-word reduplication occurs. (See Table 22d.)

|     |   |                               |
|-----|---|-------------------------------|
| Akl | <i>mánqo</i> ~ <i>tagpilá</i> ~ <i>tigpilá</i> ro reló? | <i>How much is the watch?</i> |
| Ceb | <i>píla</i> ~ <i>tagpíla</i> qan rilú?                  |                               |
| Tsg | <i>pilapila</i> qin riluh?                              |                               |
| War | <i>tagpíra</i> qit rilú?                                |                               |

4.4.5. Adverbial Interrogatives consist of forms translated as 'why?' and 'how, in what manner?'. The former tend to vary considerably from dialect to dialect; the latter generally consist of the formatives pa- or -ən (-un) plus qanúh- or qúnuh- (Table 22e).

- Akl hamqan na nag-paṅutána ka? *Why did you ask?*  
 Ceb ḡánu ḡ naṅutána ka?  
 S-L kay qanú nag-pakiqána ka?  
 Akl maqunó mo hambáŕ-on da? *How do you say this?*  
 Ceb qunsáqun mo qaṅ pag-súlti...  
 Mas pánqu qan pag-sábi...

TABLE 22a  
 BISAYAN INTERROGATIVES: NOMINALS

| DIALECT (S)                            | what?   | DIALECT (S)  | who?   | DIALECT (S)             | whose?    |
|--|---------|--|--------|-------------------------|-----------|
| Akl, Alc, Lok, Dsp, Rom, Hil, Cap, Kaw | qanóh-  | Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok, Rom, Cap, Hil, Kaw, Odg                | sínqo  | Akl                     | qányo     |
| Pan, Kin, Gim, Blk, S-L, War           | qanúh-  | Pan, Kin, Gim, Blk, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, Sur, Jau, But | sínqu  | Alc, Dsp, Lok           | kínqo     |
| Sem, Snt, Dtg, Kuy                     | qanú-   | Sem, Snt, Dtg, Kuy   | sínu   | Blk, Dtg                | kínqu     |
| Akl, Cap, Hil                          | nánoh-  | War  | hínqu  | Sem                     | kaqínu    |
| Mas, Sor, Gub, Cam, N-S                | nánuh-  | Ban, Odg, Sib  | siqóh  | Snt                     | káynu     |
| Ban, Odg, Sib                          | naqóh   | Tsg  | hisiuh | Kuy                     | kínu      |
| Sur, Jau, Nat, Kan, Tsg                | qúnuh-  | Ceb, Boh, Ley  | kínsa  | Rom, Odg                | kanínqo   |
| Ceb, Boh, Ley                          | qúnsah- |  |        | Sor, Sur, Jau, Nat, But | kanínqu   |
| But                                    | ḡán     |  |        | Ban, Odg, Sib           | kaniqó    |
|  |         |  |        | Hil, Cap, Kaw           | kay-sínqo |
|  |         |  |        | Pan, Kin, Mas           | kay-sínqu |
|  |         |  |        | Ceb, Boh, Ley           | kaṅ-kínsa |
|  |         |  |        | Tsg                     | kan-siuh  |
|  |         |  |        | Mas, Gub, N-S, S-L, War | kanáy     |

TABLE 22b  
BISAYAN INTERROGATIVES: TEMPORALS

| DIALECT(S)         | <i>when</i> (past)? | DIALECT(S)   | <i>when</i> (future)? |
|--------------------|---------------------|--|-----------------------|
| Akl, Alc, Lok, Dsp | kánqo               | Akl  | hinqunó               |
| Pan, Kin, Blk, N-S | kánqu               | Snt, Kuy   | qinurú                |
| Snt, Dtg, Kuy      | kánu                | Alc, Dsp, Lok, Cap,<br>Hil, Odg                                  | sánqo                 |
| Sem                | kaqanú              | Pan, Kin, Gim, Blk,<br>Dtg, Mas, Sor, Gub,<br>N-S, S-L, War, Cam | sánqu                 |
| Rom, Odg           | kaqunó              | Sem  | saqanú                |
| Ban, Odg, Sib      | kagqunó             | Rom, Ban, Odg, Sib   | saqunó                |
| S-L, War           | kakánqu             | Sur, Jau, But  | kúnqu                 |
| Sur, Jau, Nat, Kan | kagánqu             | Tsg  | kúqnu                 |
| But                | gánqu               | Nat  | kinqúnqu              |
| Tsg                | kaqnu               | Ceb, Boh, Ley  | qanúsqa               |
| Hil, Cap, Kaw      | kasánqo             |  |                       |
| Mas, Sor, Gub      | kasánqu             |  |                       |
| Ceb, Boh, Ley      | kanúsqa             |  |                       |

TABLE 22c  
BISAYAN INTERROGATIVES: LOCATIONALS

| TIME-ORIENTED SETS:  |  | GENERAL INTERROGATIVE:  |                |
|--|--|---|----------------|
| DIALECT(S)   | <i>where</i> (past)?, <i>whence</i> ?    | DIALECT(S)  | <i>where</i> ? |
| Cam, N-S, S-L, War,<br>Ceb, Boh, Ley, Sur,<br>Jau, Nat, Kan, But,<br>Tsg | diqín                                    | Akl, Ceb  | siqín          |
| DIALECT(S)   | <i>where</i> (present)?                  | Alc, Dsp, Lok, Blk,<br>Pan, Kin, Gim, Dtg,<br>Sem, Snt, Cap, Hil,<br>Kaw, Mas, Sor, Gub | diqín          |
| Cam, N-S, S-L, War,<br>Ceb, Boh, Ley, Sur,<br>Jau, Nat, Kan, But,<br>Tsg | háqin                                    | Lok, Dtg, Snt, Sem,<br>Kin, Cap, Hil  | sadiqín        |
| DIALECT(S)   | <i>where</i> (future)?, <i>whither</i> ? | Kuy   | sadín          |
| Cam, N-S, S-L, War,<br>Sur, Jau, But                                     | kaqín                                    | Ban, Odg, Sib   | riqín          |
| S-L, War   | ḡaqín                                    | Ban, Odg, Sib   | hariqín        |
| Tsg  | pakaqín                                  | Sib   | hiqín          |
| Ceb, Boh, Ley  | qása                                     |   |                |

TABLE 22d  
BISAYAN INTERROGATIVES: NUMERALS

| DIALECT (S)   | <i>how many?</i> | DIALECT (S)                               | <i>how much?</i> |
|---|------------------|---|------------------|
| Pan, Kin, Blk, Mas,<br>Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L,<br>War                             | piráh-           | Akl                                       | mánqo            |
| Sem, Snt, Dtg, Kuy  | pirá-            | Ceb, But, Kan                             | píla             |
| Akl, Rom, Tsg, Ban,<br>Odg, Sib   | piláh            | Tsg                                       | pilapila         |
| Alc, Dsp, Lok, Cam,<br>Cap, Hil, Kaw, Ceb,<br>Boh, Ley, Sur, Jau,<br>Nat, But | piláh-           | Sem, Mas, S-L, War                        | tagpíra          |
|   |                  | Ceb, Boh, Sur, Jau                        | tagpíla          |
|   |                  | Pan, Kin, Gim, Blk,<br>Dtg, Kuy, Mas, Gub | tagpirá          |
|   |                  | Akl, Lok, Hil, Cap                        | tagpilá          |
|   |                  | Ban, Odg, Sib                             | tigpíla          |
|   |                  | Akl, Alc, Lok, Rom                        | tigpilá          |
|   |                  | Dsp, Blk, Snt, Sor                        | tigpirá          |

TABLE 22e  
BISAYAN INTERROGATIVES: ADVERBIALS

| DIALECT (S)        | <i>why?</i>      | DIALECT (S)                | <i>how? (manner)</i> |
|--------------------|------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| Akl                | hámqan<br>pámqan | Akl                        | maqunóh<br>paqunóh   |
| Pan                | mánhaw           | Kuy                        | mauru                |
| Kin                | wánhaw           | Alc, Lok, Rom              | paqanóh-             |
| Blk, Sem, Rom      | básiq            | Pan, Kin, Gim, Mas,<br>Gub | paqanúh-             |
| Alc, Dsp, Lok, Dtg | basíq            | Dtg                        | paqanú-              |
| Kuy                | qayamuq          | Ban, Odg, Sib              | paqunóh              |
| Ban, Odg, Sib      | qásiq            | Mas, Sor                   | pánquh-              |
| Cap, Hil, Kaw      | ḡáqa (man)       | Dsp, Blk                   | paqiwán              |
| Cam                | náman            | Snt, Sem                   | paqíwan              |
| Ceb, Boh, Ley      | ḡánu (man)       | Cap, Hil, Kaw              | qánhun               |
| Sur, Jau           | qunú (man)       | War                        | qáqánhun             |
| Mas, Sor, Gub      | kay nánu         | N-S, S-L                   | (pag) qáqánhen       |
| N-S                | nánu kay         | Sur, Jau, Nat, But         | qúnhun               |
| S-L, War           | kay qanú         | Ceb, Boh, Ley              | qunsáqun             |
| But                | ḡánsi ba         | Tsg                        | biaq diqín           |
| Tsg                | maytaq           |                            |                      |

#### 4.5. ADJECTIVES

Formally, Bs adjectives are inflected by means of affixes or particles for five degrees of intensity: basic, comparative, superlative, intensive, and diminutive. Syntactically, adjectives serve in some eleven different constructions.

##### 4.5.1. Inflection for Intensity

###### 4.5.1.1. Basic Form

There are three classes of basic adjectives: *ma-*, *ha-*, and affixless forms.

(1) The productive prefix *ma-* occurs on a large number of forms: Akl, Ceb *matámqis* *sweet*, *mapaqít* *bitter*, *malisúd* *difficult*, *madulúm* *dark*, *mabúgqat* *heavy*, *maputíq* *white*, *makusúg* *strong*, *madalíq* *fast*, *quick*, *mahumút* *fragrant*, etc.

(2) The prefix *ha-*, Warayan *ha(+)-*, occurs on a limited number of adjectives of measure in most CBs, Ceb, and SBs dialects: N-S, S-L, War, Mas *haráni*, Hil *haláni(q)*, Ceb *haduqúl* *near*; N-S, S-L, War *haráyuyq*, Mas *harayúq*, Ceb, Hil *halayúq*, But *haayúq* *far*; N-S, S-L, War, Hil *halábaq*, Mas *halabáq*, But *haabáq*, Ceb *hataqás* *long*; N-S, S-L, War *halíput*, Mas, Hil *halípqut*, Ceb *hamubúq* *short (not long)*; N-S, S-L, Hil *hataqas*, Mas, Ceb, But *hataqás* *tall, high*; War *habábaq*, Mas, Ceb *hamubúq*, Hil *(ha)nubúq* *short (not tall), low*; S-L, War, Hil *halápad*, Ceb, Mas, But *halapád* *wide, broad*; N-S *halígut*, Mas, But *hasiqút*, Hil *(ha)kitíd* *narrow*. An allomorph *hi-* has also been observed: Hil, Mas *hilapít* *near*, Hil *hilayúq*, Kan *hilajúq* *far*. Dialects not listed (WBs, Ban, Rom) use the *ma-* prefix, e.g., Akl *manabáq* *short (not tall)*, *matáqqod* *short (not long)*, *matáqas* *tall, high*, etc.

(3) Many adjectives have no affix: Akl *báqqoh*, Ceb *báqquh-* *new*, Akl, Ceb *dáqan*, Akl *íági* *old (of things)*, Akl *saíaq*, Ceb *sayúp* *wrong*, Akl *gwápo*, Ceb *gwápu* *handsome*, etc. In Ceb, Hil, and the SBs dialects, most adjectives, even those that may take the *ma-* or *ha-* prefixes, occur without any affix; the use of the *ma-* or *ha-* forms is considered fancy.

###### 4.5.1.2. Comparative

In most dialects the comparative may be expressed in any of three ways:

(1) The prephrasal *mas* is used with the basic form: Akl *mas mayád*, Ceb *mas maqáyu* *better*, Akl *mas matáqas*, Ceb *mas taqás* *taller*.

(2) The enclitic *pa* is put after the basic form: Akl *mayád pa*, Ceb *maqáyu pa* *better*, Akl *matáqas pa*, Ceb *taqás pa* *taller*, etc.

(3) The root undergoes full or Curu- reduplication; in S-L ma-roots undergo Curu(+)- reduplication, other roots CVru(+) reduplication: Akl mayàdqayád, Ceb maqayùqáyu, S-L maquruqupáy *better*, Akl mataqàstáqas, Ceb taqàstaqás, S-L haruhataqás *taller*, etc. (but see 4.5.1.5. below).

#### 4.5.1.3. Superlative

The superlative may also be expressed in any one of three ways:

(1) The prephrasal particle labì-η, Akl ɫabi-η is put before the basic form: Akl ɫabì η mabahóɫ, Ceb labì η dakúq *biggest*. Many dialects alternatively use the prefix pinakà-, which is considered a borrowing from Tag: Akl pinakàmabahóɫ, Mas pinakàdakúq, But pinakàdákwaq *biggest*.

(2) The base receives a circumfix, Ceb, Sur kina--an(+), S-L giCV--i(+), most other dialects ka-an(+): Ceb kinadákqan, S-L gidadakúqi, Akl kabahóɫán *biggest*, Ceb kinatigulaṅán, S-L gititiguráṅi, Akl kaguṅaṅán *oldest, eldest*.

(3) The enclitic particle gayúd, Akl gid, Ceb giyúd, S-L gud, is put after the basic form: Ceb dakúq gayúd, Akl mabahóɫ gid *biggest*, Ceb lamíq giyúd, Akl manámit gid *most delicious*, etc.

#### 4.5.1.4. Intensive

In all dialects the intensive is formed by the prefix ka- attached to the simple root; in Sib and But the allomorph pagka- is also used. The intensive forms are often used in exclamatory expressions, i.e., *How* [Adjective]!: Akl kabahóɫ, Ceb kadakúq, Sib pagkarakóq, But pagkadákwaq *very big* or *how large!*

#### 4.5.1.5. Diminutive

Either full word reduplication, or, with bases of two or more syllables (particularly if there is a closed penult), Curu- reduplication (see 4.1.2.) signifies *somewhat* [Adjective]: Ceb bulubántuk, Akl tuɫtígqa *somewhat firm*, Ceb tùtámqis ~ tàmqistámqis, Akl matùɫtámqis ~ matàmqistámqis *somewhat sweet*. The above forms also serve as comparatives (viz: *firmer, sweeter*, etc.) or as diminutive comparatives (viz: *a litter firmer, a little sweeter*).

#### 4.5.2. The Syntax of Adjectival Expressions

Adjectives may occur in any of the following constructions:

(1) SENTENCE PREDICATE (compare with 4.3.5.2.):

|     |               |     |         |                                     |
|-----|---------------|-----|---------|-------------------------------------|
| Akl | <u>ɫábqas</u> | ro  | qísdaq. | } <i>The fish are <u>fresh</u>.</i> |
| Ceb | <u>lábqas</u> | qaṅ | qísdaq. |                                     |







Akl qimáw ro pinakamangaránon na háriq sa bilóq na kalibótan.  
 Ceb siyá qan kinadatuqán na háriq sa tibuqúk na kalibútan.  
*He is the richest king in the whole world.*

#### 4.5.3. Pluralisation of Adjectives

Although the category of number is unspecified for common nouns (see note 29 and 4.3.6.8.), adjectives standing in construction with such nouns can be pluralised. Although this phenomenon has not been studied in detail in all Bs dialects, the following observations can be made:

(1) Cebuan dialects may optionally pluralise certain adjectives referring to measurements (viz., the *ha-* class and other adjectives indicating size or quantity) by inserting a <g> infix after the first consonant and vowel of the base, e.g., Boh, Ceb, Ley duqúl na lubí a nearby coconut tree : dúgqul na lubí nearby coconut trees; dakúq na manúk a large chicken : dágkuq na manúk large chickens; taqás na káhuy a tall tree : táqqas na káhuy tall trees.

(2) In S-L dialects any full adjective may be pluralised by adding <g> after the first vowel, e.g., haráni near : hagráni near (plural), maqúpay good : magqúpay good (plural), dákuq big : dágkuq big (plural), gutíqay small : gudtíqay small (plural) [assimilation].

(3) Mas, Sor, and Gub insert a <rVg> infix after the first consonant and first vowel of adjective bases referring to measurements (see #1 above), e.g., Mas, Sor, Gub dakúq na batú a large stone : daráqkuq na batú large stones; Sor, Gub sadáy na háyup a small animal : saráqday na háyup small animals.

(4) Kuy and members of the Banton group use CV- reduplication to indicate plurality, e.g., Kuy matas na lalaki a tall man : matatas na lalaki tall men; Ban, Odg, Sib mayáman nak háriq a rich king : mayayáman nak háriq rich kings.

(5) Blk, Sem, and Snt use <Vr> reduplication, e.g., Blk, Snt matámbuk na babáyi, Sem matámbek na babáqi a fat lady : Blk, Snt matarámbuk na babáyi, Sem matarámbek na babáqi fat ladies; Blk bahúl na baláy a big house : barahúl na baláy big houses.

(6) But uses the prefix *paŋa-*, e.g., bagáq na líbru a thick book : paŋabagáq na líbru thick books.

(7) Hil has an irregular mixture of forms, e.g., gamáy na puyá a small child : gáqmay na puyá small children (cf. #1 above); dakúq na qidóq a big dog : daláqkuq na qidóq big dogs (cf. #3 above).

(8) Akl and Kin have suppletive plural forms, e.g., Akl maqisót na qunáq a small child : maqíntok na qunáq small children; mabahól na qamóq a large monkey : mařágkoq na qamóq large monkeys; Kin qikíq na bátaq a small child : maqíntuk na bátaq small children; bahól na baláy a large house : daráqkoq na baláy large houses.

#### 4.5.4. Common Semantic Affixes Associated with Adjectives

(1) para(+)- *fond of [X], always doing [X]* : Akl *pařahíloř drunkard, always drinking*<sup>40</sup> (*hilón drunk*); Ceb *palasamúk always making a nuisance of oneself* (*sámuk disturb*); S-L *parakaturúg always sleeping* (*ka-túrug sleep*).

(2) *maki-* *fond of [Noun], quick to [Verb]* : Akl *makikwárta money-hungry* (*kwárta money*), *makibárus quick to revenge oneself* (*bárus revenge*); Ceb *makiságin fond of bananas* (*ságin banana*).

(3) *-an characterized by [Noun]* : Akl, Ceb *qutúkan smart* (*qútuk brain*), Ceb, S-L *buqútan well-behaved* (*ma-búqut good*).

(4) *<in>(+) doing the way [X] does, acting like [X]* : Ceb *minatarún acting honestly* (*ma-táruř right, honest*); Akl *qinánwař hard-working, work like a carabao* (*qánwař carabao*); S-L *dinaragá acting like a young lady* (*darága maiden, young lady*).

(5) *ma--ən(+)* *characterized by [X]* : Akl, Ceb, Hil *malipáyun joyful, happy* (*lípay happy*), Ceb, Hil *malibákun detracting, backbiting* (*libák backbite*).

(6) *ma-<in>-ən(+)* *characterized by [X]* : Ceb *matinabágun, Hil mabinulígun helpful* (Ceb *tábař, Hil búlig help*); Akl *matinahúron respectful* (*táhod respect*); Kin *matinumánen obedient* (*túman obey*).

(7) *makaCV(+)-* or *maka-<Vr>(+) making one become [X], causing [X]* : Ceb *makahahádluk, Kin, S-L makaharádlək, Akl makahařádlək fearful, inspiring fear* (*hádlək afraid*); Ceb *makabubúsug, Kin, S-L makaburúsug, Akl makabuřúsug filling* (*busúg satisfied, full after eating*).

#### 4.6. VERBS

Bs verbs are inflected for the following categories: four voices (active, instrumental, passive, local); three modes (general, potential, imperative); three tenses (actual, contingent, aorist); Aspect I (perfective and imperfective); and Aspect II (punctual and durative). Several of these categories intersect and may be described in simpler terms, e.g., actual perfective = past, aorist perfective = imperative. Most affixes are portmanteau, expressing several categories, e.g., Akl

qika- instrumental + future + potential, Ceb -i local + aorist + punctual.

Not all dialects agree on the number of inflectional categories or affixes: S-L dialects have 72 categories<sup>41</sup> with 83 affixes (i.e., there are alternate morphemes: <ɪn> = <inm> active past punctual, mahíhi- = mahaCǂ- = maháha- instrumental future potential); Ceb dialects have only 36 categories<sup>42</sup> with 32 affixes (i.e., there are several homomorphs: gi- instrumental and passive actual punctual, mu- active contingent and aorist punctual, etc.); while Akl has 66 categories<sup>43</sup> but only 50 affixes. Since all Bs dialects do agree in having the same number of categories as S-L, Ceb, or Akl, these three dialects will be discussed in detail before comparing the forms found in the remaining dialects.

#### 4.6.1. Categories of Verb Inflection

In selecting labels for the various verb categories, I follow Hockett:<sup>44</sup>

Voice-distinctions apply to verbs, and have to do with the relationship between the subject and the verb, the verb and its object, or the verb and some other noun tied to it in an intimate way. . . . *Tenses* typically show different locations of an event in time. . . . *Aspects* have to do, not with the location of an event in time, but with its temporal distribution or contour. . . . *Modes* show differing degrees or kinds of reality, desirability, or contingency of an event. (1958:236-7)

##### 4.6.1.1. Voice<sup>45</sup>

All dialects agree in marking verbs for four different voices:

(1) The active voice focusses attention on the actor in an action or process; if expressed, the actor is the topic (in the nominative case).

Akl naka-batíq ka qit balítaq? *Have you heard the news?*

Ceb ni-qádtu si huwán sa buhúl. *John went to Bohol.* [action]

S-L mag-má-matá qan paraqdáqat hit qalàs kuwátru.

*The fisherman wakes up at four o'clock.*

Akl ga-buká? ro túbiq. *The water is boiling.* [process]

Ceb mi-dalág qan kamisín. *The T-shirt turned yellow.*

With most meteorological verbs no actor is expressed:

Akl nag-quán kabíqi. *It rained last night.*

Ceb ni-dáqqum na. *It has already grown cloudy.*

S-L má-bágyu. *There will be a typhoon.*

TABLE 23  
SAMAR-LEYTE VERB INFLECTION

|   | I M P E R F E C T I V E              |                               |                                 | P E R F E C T I V E       |                                   |                                   |
|---|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
|   | ACTUAL                               | CONTINGENT                    | AORIST                          | ACTUAL                    | CONTINGENT                        | AORIST                            |
| ACTIVE  |                                      |                               |                                 |                           |                                   |                                   |
| punctual  | ná-                                  | má-                           | CV-                             | <imn><br><ín>             | <um>                              | ∅-                                |
| durative  | nagCV-                               | magCV-                        | pagCV-                          | nag-                      | mag-                              | pag-                              |
| potential   | nakáka-<br>náka-                     | makáka-<br>máka-              | pakáka-                         | naka-                     | maka-                             | paka-                             |
| INSTRUMENTAL  |                                      |                               |                                 |                           |                                   |                                   |
| punctual  | qiCinV-                              | qiCV-                         | qiCV-<br>†CV--an                | qi-<in>                   | qi-                               | qi-<br>†-an                       |
| durative  | qiginCV-                             | qigCV-                        | qigCV-                          | qigin-                    | qig-                              | qig-                              |
| potential   | nahíhi-<br>qikinaCV-<br>nahaCV-      | mahíhi-<br>qikaCV-<br>mahaCV- | †maCV--an<br>qikaCV-<br>mahaCV- | nahi-<br>qikina-<br>naha- | mahi-<br>qika-<br>maha-           | †ma--an<br>qika-<br>maha-         |
| PASSIVE   |                                      |                               |                                 |                           |                                   |                                   |
| punctual  | CinV-                                | CV--ən                        | CV--a                           | <in>                      | -ən                               | -a                                |
| durative  | ginCV-                               | pagCV--ən                     | pagCV--a                        | gin-                      | pag--ən                           | pag--a                            |
| potential   | naCV-                                | maCV--ən                      | kaCV-                           | na-                       | ma--ən                            | ka-                               |
| LOCAL   |                                      |                               |                                 |                           |                                   |                                   |
| punctual  | CinV--an                             | CV--an                        | CV--i                           | <in>-an                   | -an                               | -i                                |
| durative  | ginCV--an                            | pagCV--an                     | pagCV--i                        | gin--an                   | pag--an                           | pag--i                            |
| potential   | naCV--an                             | maCV--an                      | kaCV--i                         | na--an                    | ma--an                            | ka--i                             |
| USES:   | present,<br>progressive,<br>habitual | future                        | with<br>future<br>preverbs      | past,<br>perfect          | infinitive,<br>polite<br>commands | with past<br>preverb,<br>commands |
| <p>† = Form is limited to N-S dialect.</p> <p>Note: The acute accent denotes vowel length, e.g., palít + &lt;ín&gt; → pi:nalít <i>bought</i>, + CV--an → pa:palitán <i>will be bought from</i>. This lengthening is not found in the N-S dialect, except in the actual active potential form na:ka-, e.g., náka- + palít → na:kapalít <i>can buy</i>.</p> |                                      |                               |                                 |                           |                                   |                                   |

TABLE 24  
AKLANON VERB INFLECTION

|  | I M P E R F E C T I V E              |            |                             | P E R F E C T I V E |                            |                                    |
|--|--------------------------------------|------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
|  | ACTUAL                               | CONTINGENT | AORIST                      | ACTUAL              | CONTINGENT                 | AORIST                             |
| ACTIVE   |                                      |            |                             |                     |                            |                                    |
| punctual   | ga-                                  | ma-        | <um>                        | <um>                | <um>                       | <um>                               |
| durative   | naga-                                | maga-      | ga-                         | nag-                | mag-                       | mag-                               |
| potential  | maka-                                | maka-      | ka-                         | naka-               | maka-                      | ka-                                |
| INSTRUMENTAL   |                                      |            |                             |                     |                            |                                    |
| punctual   | X                                    | qi-        | X                           | <in>                | qi-                        | -án                                |
| durative   | gina-                                | qiga-      | gi--án                      | gin-<br>giŋ-        | qig-                       | pag--án<br>qig--án                 |
| potential  | qika-                                | qika-      | qika-                       | kina-               | qika-                      | ka--án                             |
| PASSIVE  |                                      |            |                             |                     |                            |                                    |
| punctual   | X                                    | -on        | X                           | <in>                | -on                        | -a                                 |
| durative   | gina-                                | paga--on   | gi--a                       | gin-<br>giŋ-        | pag--on                    | pag--a<br>qig--a                   |
| potential  | ma-                                  | ma(ha)-    | hi-                         | na(ha)-             | ma-                        | ha--a                              |
| LOCAL  |                                      |            |                             |                     |                            |                                    |
| punctual   | X                                    | -an        | X                           | <in>-an             | -an                        | -i                                 |
| durative   | gina--an                             | paga--an   | gi--i                       | gin--an<br>giŋ--an  | pag--an                    | pag--i<br>qig--i                   |
| potential  | ma--an                               | ma--an     | hi--an                      | na--an              | ma--an                     | ha--i                              |
| USES:  | progressive;<br>present;<br>habitual | future     | with<br>present<br>preverbs | past;<br>perfect    | with<br>future<br>preverbs | commands;<br>with past<br>preverbs |
| <p><b>Note:</b> The accent over the suffix -án in the instrumental voice symbolizes the ultima-accent suffix, viz: -an(→), see §4.2.3.</p> |                                      |            |                             |                     |                            |                                    |

TABLE 25  
CEBUANO VERB INFLECTION

|   | ACTUAL               | CONTINGENT          | AORIST                     |
|---|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| ACTIVE  |                      |                     |                            |
| punctual  | ni(ŋ)- ~ mi(ŋ)-      | mu-                 | mu-                        |
| durative  | nag(a)- ~ ga-        | mag(a)-             | mag(a)-                    |
| potential   | naka- ~ ka-          | maka- ~ ka-         | maka- ~ ka-                |
| INSTRUMENTAL  |                      |                     |                            |
| punctual  | gi-                  | qi-                 | qi-                        |
| durative  | †gina-               | †qiga-              | †qiga-                     |
| potential   | gika- ~ na-          | qika- ~ ma-         | qika- ~ ma-                |
| PASSIVE   |                      |                     |                            |
| punctual  | gi-                  | -un                 | -a                         |
| durative  | †gina-               | †paga--un           | †paga--a                   |
| potential   | na-                  | ma-                 | ma-                        |
| LOCAL   |                      |                     |                            |
| punctual  | gi--an               | -an                 | -i                         |
| durative  | †gina--an            | †paga--an           | †paga--i                   |
| potential   | na--an               | ma--an ~ ka--an     | ma--i ~ ka--i              |
| USES:   | progressive,<br>past | future,<br>habitual | commands;<br>with preverbs |
| <p>† = Form not used in colloquial speech; an archaism.<br/>( ) = Optional element that may occur with form.<br/>Data from J. Wolff (1972a:xv-xvi).</p> |                      |                     |                            |



(2) The instrumental voice focusses attention on an object that is given forth, conveyed, parted from, or used as an instrument, or on a person for whom (beneficiary) in an action or process; if expressed, the focus is the topic (in the nominative).

- Akl qi-qúliq ra sa tagqána. *Return this to the owner.* [object]  
 Ceb qika-hátæg ba niq manà bután-a? *Can these things be given away?*  
 S-L qi-betán na laq siyá sa dúyan. *Just put him in the hammock.*
- Akl qi-kíwaq mo ðaŋ rondáya, mas ma-taŋúm man qábiq. [instrument]  
*Just use this (knife) to cut with; it's much sharper.*  
 Ceb qi-palít ku gan kwárta-g kalamáy.  
*I will buy sugar-candy with this money.*
- S-L qiní na martilyu qasya qit qi-bú-buqák hit qalkansíya.  
*This hammer is what you should use to break open the bank.*
- Akl qi-káqon mo qakó sa saŋsáto, ma-sakít man qakó. [beneficiary]  
*Go and eat for me at the party; I'm much too sick.*  
 Ceb qi-lútuq ra siyá qári ŋ ságin.  
*Please cook these bananas for him.*
- S-L qi-táwaq daw hi pípi hin táksi. *Call a taxi for Pepe.*

The instrumental voice can also focus attention on the specific time of an action:

- Akl galàs qótso qid ro qi-pánaw qit bapór.  
*The boat leaves at eight o'clock sharp.*  
 Ceb díliq pa run hústu ŋ qi-báyad sa plíti.  
*It is not yet time to pay the fare.*  
 S-L qábqi qan qak qigin-kítaq ha qíya.  
*I met her at night.*

or on objects of speech, conversation, or thought:

- Akl kina-qísip mo ðun?  
*Did you think (it) over already?*  
 Ceb qúnsa kahá-y qáku ŋ qi-tubág níya?  
*What can I answer him?*  
 S-L qanú qan qim qigin-himáŋraw ha qíya?  
*What did you discuss with him?*

(3) The passive voice focusses attention on a goal that is fully affected, taken in by the actor, created by a simple action, or directed towards another; if expressed, the goal is the topic (in the nominative).

- Akl gin-bakáŋ ro qísdag qit pitó ŋ písus.  
*The fish was bought for seven pesos.*  
 Ceb gi-dalá si mis wílbi ŋánhi.  
*Miss Wilby was brought here.*

- S-L lú-lutúq-un ni lina qit kárni.  
Line will cook the meat.
- Akl sálp-a ro bóla.  
Catch the ball.
- Ceb balík-un nákuq qan qáku n nahi-kalímt-an.  
I'll come back for the things I forgot.
- S-L gin-táwag mu si bab?  
Did you call Bob?

(4) The local voice focusses attention on the place or locus of an action, or on the person for, to, or from whom in an action; if expressed, the focus is the topic (in the nominative).

- Akl ma-námi n bisitáh-an do maynílaq.  
Manila is a nice place to visit.
- Ceb sulat-án nákuq píirmi si pápa.  
I will always write to Dad.
- S-L gin-dádq-an ka náyqan ni nánay hin dulsí?  
Did Mommy bring you some candies?
- Akl pérmi n gina-bákí-an d a n súkiq qábiq.  
Sorry, but I always buy from my agent.
- Ceb gi-salíg-an níla qan páriq.  
They trust (in) the priest.

The local voice can also focus attention on the objects of verbs of paying, cleansing, opening, closing, and the like:

- Akl silhig-í ro saǎúq.  
Sweep the floor.
- Ceb báyr-an ku qan qútan námuq.  
I will pay our debts.
- S-L qabrih-í daq qánay qit púrta.  
Please open the door.
- Akl himákg-i rondáya n qísdaq.  
Bone this fish.
- Ceb háqin na man qan baq na gi-kupt-an sa táwu?  
Where is the baq which the man was holding?
- S-L díriq ku maká-ka-limút-an qan qim ka-qúpay ha qak.  
I cannot forget your kindness to me.

#### 4.6.1.2. Tense

There are three tenses:

(1) the actual tense expresses the action as having begun or come into being prior to the time of speaking:

Ceb nag-hilák qañ bátaq.

*The child is crying.* or *The child cried.*

(2) the contingent tense expresses the action as not yet having started at the time of speaking:

Ceb mu-palít qaku-g qísdaq.

*I will buy fish.*

mu-palít ta-g qísdaq.

*Let's buy some fish.*

(3) the aorist tense predicates but relies on preverbs or other time indicators in the clause for temporal reference:

Ceb qanúsqa nímu palit-á qañ qísdaq.

*When will you buy the fish?*

waláq níya palit-á.

*He did not buy (it).*

dídtu níya palit-á.

*He bought (it) there.*

As Table 25 and the above examples indicate, Ceb verb inflection has basically these three ways of showing the location of an event in time.

Several dialects (including S-L, Akl, and Ceb) have a fourth tense, the intentional tense, which expresses the action as impending, immediate, or foremost in the speaker's mind. The affixes involved are: Boh, Ceb, Ley CumV(+)-, Akl, Cap, Hil, Ban, Odg, Sib manòg(+)-, S-L, War ti(+)-:

Ceb qumaqábut qañ mañà bisíta.

*The visitors are about to arrive.*

Akl manògkaqón òun kitá.

*We are going to eat presently.*

S-L tipálit ka man hin qáwtu kunú.

*They say you plan to buy a car.*

This tense is not treated in the tables or in any further discussion because it (a) is usually limited to the active voice, and (b) is not paradigmatic (i.e., does not have perfective-imperfective or aorist counterparts).

#### 4.6.1.3. Aspect I

There is a clearcut formal distinction between the perfective and imperfective aspects in both S-L and Akl. Table 23 reveals that with few exceptions the imperfective forms are identical to their perfective counterparts, but for the addition of CV- reduplication (accompanied by vowel length) in S-L and War. Likewise, Table 24 shows that most

imperfective forms are marked by an a- in Akl, unless the addition of a- would lead to a vowel sequence, e.g., maka- + a- → maka- active potential imperfective contingent, qi- + a- → qi- instrumental punctual imperfective continent, etc. Unlike the S-L aorist forms in Table 23, the Akl forms (in Table 24) are not paradigmatically related; the only parallelism in formation occurs with the nonactive durative forms: imperfective gi- : perfective qig- ~ pag-.

The imperfective means that the action is going on; the perfective, that the action is no longer going on or has not yet begun. In S-L and Akl aspect I intersects with the category of tense, yielding six time-indicating possibilities of verb inflection. These categories may be described in simpler terms, summarized in Table 26.

| TABLE 26<br>SIMPLER TERMS FOR THE INTERSECTION OF TENSE AND ASPECT I |                            |                         |
|--|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| TENSE:   | ASPECT I:                  |                         |
|  | IMPERFECTIVE               | PERFECTIVE              |
| ACTUAL   | <i>progressive</i>         | <i>past</i>             |
| CONTINGENT   | <i>future</i>              | <i>dependent</i>        |
| AORIST   | <i>nonpast subjunctive</i> | <i>past subjunctive</i> |

They have the following uses:

(1) The progressive indicates that the action has begun and is still going on, viz: the present tense.

Akl naga-káqun sánda.

*They are eating.*

S-L ná-trabáhu hiyá ha taklúban.

*He is working in Tacloban.*

It can also denote habitual action in appropriate contexts.

Akl naga-káqun kamí qit humáy qàdlawqádlaw.

*We eat rice every day.*

S-L ná-palít hiyá hin qísdaq.

*He sells fish.*

In a subordinate clause it can indicate an ongoing action in past time:

Akl paq-qabút nána, naga-káqun kamí.

*When he arrived, we were eating.*

S-L ná-palít hiyá hin malíta han pagkítaq ku ha qíya.

*He was buying a suitcase when I saw him.*

or an ongoing action in the future:

Akl kuhuŕúyaq man kon sa paq-qabút ku manà bisíta, naga-káqun kitá.  
*It'll be embarrassing if we would be eating when the visitors arrive.*

(2) The past indicates simple past actions:

Akl nag-pánaw sánda.  
*They left.*

S-L b<inm>ása qakú.  
*I read.*

The past perfect is indicated by the past potential forms and the completive particle (Akl ɽun, WBS rən, other dialects na):

Akl naka-pánaw ɽun sánda?  
*Have they left already?*

S-L naka-káqən na kamú?  
*Have you eaten yet?*

(3) The future indicates intended, proposed, or anticipated actions:

Akl ma-qabút qimáw hindúnaq.  
*He will be arriving later on.*

S-L qan karabáw qi-bá-balídyaq buwás.  
*The carabao will be sold tomorrow.*

(4) The dependent forms are used after a large number of preverbs, e.g., Akl na-qílaq, S-L ka-rúyag *like*, most dialects dápat *ought*, gústu *want*, kinahánlan *must*, básta *provided that*, etc.

Akl kinahánlan na dáɽh-un ɽági ro buŕón.  
*The medicine must be brought right away.*

S-L pasákqa na qan kabatáqan básiq k<um>atúrug.  
*Have the children go upstairs now so they can go to bed.*

Akl qústo qakó mag-qáqto sa síne.  
*I want to go to a movie.*

S-L karúyag níya k<um>áqən hin ságiŋ.  
*He wants to eat a banana.*

Dependent forms are also used in exhortations or polite commands:

Akl q<um>ádto ka sa subáq qag táwg-un r i ŋ mánaŋ.  
*Go to the river and call your elder sister.*

War qi-bályu mu qinín qísdaq hin qúbi.  
*(Would) you trade this fish for some yams.*

In Akl (as well as other WBS dialects, Cap, Hil, Rom, Ban, Odg, and Sib) dependent forms are used to denote the future subjunctive (i.e., after future preverbs):

Akl hinqunó qig-hám̄baʔ mo ron?

*When will you say that?*

Blk qíndiq ku qi-pa-bakál qan qísdaq.

*I won't sell the fish.*

Odg qíndiq nákuq gi-labh-an kag qákuq sáyway hasta ɲ qinsulíp.

*I won't wash my trousers until tomorrow.*

(5) The nonpast subjunctive is used in S-L (N-S, War, and SBs) to denote the future subjunctive after future preverbs:

S-L háqin kam tá-táguq kun q<um>qabút qan maɲà sundálu?

*Where will you hide when the soldiers come?*

N-S sa sunúd na simána pa kamí paka-ka-dálhæg.

*We won't go down to town until next week.*

In Akl (and other WBs dialects, Cap, Hil, Rom, Ban, Odg, Sib, and Mas) it is used as the present subjunctive:

Akl waq ta qikáw gi-hambaʔ-án.

*I'm not talking to you.*

Hil waláq nákon gina-bákl-a qan sínsin.

*I'm not buying the ring.*

Punctual forms of the nonpast subjunctive are often used as the historical present in a discourse situation where the time has already been set by another verb or adverb:

Akl naq-qáqto qakó sa tindáhan qag b<um>akáʔ qit sigarílyu;

tápus, s<in>indih-án ko; tápus, s<in>úyup ro qasó . . .

*I went to the market and bought a cigarette; then I lit (it) up; then I took a drag of smoke . . .*

(6) The past subjunctive is used after past preverbs:

Akl siqín nímo qig-bákl-a ro reló?

*Where did you buy the watch?*

N-S kánqu si tátay kádtu sa qumá?

*When did Dad go to the farm?*

Past subjunctive forms are commonly used as imperatives:

Akl mag-hípus qábiq.

*Come on, shut up!*

S-L palit-á qan tinápay!

*Buy the bread!*

Durative forms of the past subjunctive are used in negative commands, i.e., after qayáw *don't*, in most dialects:

Akl qayáw qakó pag-hibáyg-i!

*Don't laugh at me!*

S-L gayáw qánay pag-lábh-i qitún!  
*Don't launder that yet!*

But gayáw pagqi-hátag qan kwárta!  
*Don't give the money away!*

except Ceb and Tsg, which alternatively use punctual forms:

Ceb gayáw siyá (-g ~ pag-) salíg-i!  
*Don't trust him!*

Tsg gayáw mu (pag-) katawáh-i qakúh!  
*Don't laugh at me!*

#### 4.6.1.4. Aspect II

The punctual aspect views an action in its entirety, as a single event; no other action can occur within its time. The durative views an action as a process going on in time, such that another action can occur within its time. Perfective punctual forms are usually morphologically simple, consisting of a voice affix, e.g., <um> active, qi-instrumental, -ən passive, or -an local; while durative forms are morphologically complex, having at least a g- conjugation, e.g., mag-active, qig- instrumental, pag--ən passive, or pag--an local.<sup>46</sup>

Akl bágo naka-qabút ro méyor, q<in>óbus gid ro letsón.  
*Before the mayor could get there, the roast pig was completely finished off.*

Ceb sámтан naga-bása qakú, ni-qabút siyá.  
*While I was reading, he arrived.*

In the Akl and Ceb examples above, the actions described by the punctual forms (underlined once) occurred during the course of another action (underlined twice).

Adequate research has not yet been undertaken to determine the subtleties obtaining between stems inflected with mag- or <um>. In S-L, verbs inflected with mag- are usually transitive (e.g., lútuq *cook*, labáh- *launder*, dará- *bring*, tútduq *teach*, dúlqan *deliver*, hátag *give*) or procedural (e.g., həlát *wait*, matá- *awaken*, get up, səléd *go in*, enter, básah- *read*, háriṅ *build a fire*); while verbs inflected with <um> are intransitive (e.g., lakát *walk*, leave, go out, qúliq *go home*, qabút *arrive*, kádtu *go (yonder)*, kánhi- *come (here)*, qukúy *live (at)*, dwell, sakáy *ride*, bálhin *move*), meteorological (e.g., qurán *rain*, baháq *flood*, bágyuh- *storm*, typhoon), or simple transitives (e.g., qupúd *accompany*, káqən *eat*, qinúm *drink*, kítaq *go to see*). However, not all of these distinctions apply; for example, it is not ungrammatical to say nag-qurán *it rained*. The inflection of a few roots appears to be idiomatic, e.g., mag-balídyaq *sell* vs p<um>alít *buy*.<sup>47</sup>

In Ceb dialects no punctual-durative distinction obtains in the non-active voices; nonactive durative forms are considered dialectal, fancy, or archaic (depending on geographical areas). In the active voice there are some remnants: Ceb mag-qínit ku-g túbig *I will heat water*, but mu-qínit qaṅ túbig *The water will heat up*. In Akl (and many other dialects) there is no discernable difference in meaning between a punctual or durative form:

Akl gin-baríl (durative) = b<in>aríl (punctual) *was shot*  
 Hil nag-gíkan (durative) = g<imn>íkan (punctual) *came from*  
 Rom pag-basáh-on (durative) = ba-basáh-on (punctual) *will be read*  
 Blk giṅ-sulát (durative) = s<in>ulát (punctual) *was written*  
 Odg qa-badár-an (durative) = ba-badár-an (punctual) *will be paid*

However, the distinction between the durative (which connotes a process going on in time) as opposed to the punctual (which views an action as a simple event) is supported by the fact that many dialects (Akl, Kin, Hil, Ceb, etc.) use durative forms for imperfective actions and punctual forms for perfective actions; conversely, many dialects (Akl, Hil, Rom, Mas, etc.) do not have distinct progressive or future punctual forms (see Table 32), the forms in use are drawn from the corresponding durative inflection (Tables 27-31).

#### 4.6.1.5. Mode

There are three modes:

(1) The general mode expresses the action as a reality, fact, or interpretation.

Akl qayáw qit guwáq, naga-quíán.

*Don't go out, it's raining.*

S-L tibálahin kamú kunú.

*I heard that you plan to move out.*

Ceb mu-pulá qug lutúq-un.

*It turns red when (you) cook it.*

All durative and punctual forms used in statements or questions are in the general mode.

(2) The potential mode expresses the action as a possibility, potentiality, or accident.

Akl maka-hákwat ka karón?

*Can you lift that? [ability]*

Odg qikáw qay maka-ranóy qiság sa hápon.

*You may go swimming this afternoon. [granting permission]*

But mika-kíta qaku huṅ rilú.

*I (accidentally) found a wristwatch.*



It has already been noted that perfective potential forms are used with the completive particle to express past perfect (4.6.1.3., #2):

But *ki-lutúq-an* ku *na* siyá.

*I have already cooked (it) for him.*

(3) The imperative mode expresses the action as a necessity or obligation on the part of the addressee. Formally, imperatives are identical to the past subjunctive (aorist perfective, see 4.6.1.3., #6); syntactically, imperatives involve certain changes in the clause, which will be taken up later (4.11.2.).

#### 4.6.2. Differences in Verb Inflection

There are 21 systematic differences among Bs dialects in the durative and potential inflections (Tables 27-31, note that aorist forms are presented in Table 31). All differences are accounted for, whether in pattern (CV- reduplication : a- imperfective) or form (Jau tag-, Ceb gi-, Tsg piag- past passive); once counted, a difference is not counted again.<sup>48</sup> Since many dialects either lack a number of punctual forms, or use punctual forms interchangeably with duratives (4.5.1.4.), punctual affixes are not taken up in the following discussion, although they are presented in Table 32 (punctual forms that are used in durative inflections have been put into parentheses). Although the differences outlined below are set in synchronic terms, they lay the groundwork for comparative studies in later chapters (particularly Chapter 10.3.).

4.6.2.1. Dialects in which imperfective forms are the same in use and meaning as perfective forms (Aspect I):

- (1) Ceb, Boh, Ley, Jau, Nat, Kan, But (all voices);
- (2) Sur, Tsg (nonactive voices).

4.6.2.2. Ways of expressing the imperfective (Aspect I):

- (1) Always CV- in S-L, War, N-S;
- (2) Mostly CV- in Sor, Gub (except the active future durative); in Kuy (except active progressive and future); in Ban, Odg, Sib (except active, passive, and local future durative);
- (3) Limited CV- in Mas (all potential and aorist forms); Blk, Sem (nonactive future and potential); Rom (instrumental future); Sur, Tsg (only active durative);
- (4) Always a- in Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok, Cap, Hil, Kaw, Ceb, Boh, Ley;
- (5) Mostly a- in Mas (progressive and future); Rom (not in instrumental future); But (not in instrumental future or any aorist forms); Pan, Kin, Gim (all progressive and future forms except passive and

local future); Blk, Sem, Dtg, Snt (all progressive forms and active future);

(6) Limited a- in Sur (only passive and local durative); Jau (only active durative).

4.6.2.3. Only past-nonpast distinction in potential forms in Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok, Snt, Dtg, Pan, Kin, Gim, Cap, Hil, Kaw, Rom, Ceb, Boh, Sur, Jau, Nat, Kan, But, Tsg.

4.6.2.4. Active actual durative:

- (1) all dialects nag-;
- (2) Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok, Blk, Cap, Hik, Rom ga- (alternant of naga-);
- (3) Ceb, Boh, Ley, Jau, Nat, But ga- (alternant of naga- ~ nag-).

4.6.2.5. Active contingent durative:

- (1) all dialect mag; but
- (2) Sor, Gub má-, Ban, Odg, Sib ma- (future);
- (3) Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok, Blk, Cap, Hil, Rom ma- (alternant of maga-).

4.6.2.6. Active potential past:

- (1) But mika-;
- (2) all other dialects naka-.

4.6.2.7. Nonactive voices actual durative:

- (1) S-L, War, N-S, Gub, Sor, Mas, Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok, Cap, Hil, Rom, Pan, Kin, Gim, Snt, Dtg, Ceb, Boh, Ley, Sur, Nat gin-;
- (2) Blk, Sem giŋ- (past); gin- (progressive);
- (3) Kuy, Ban, Odg, Sib qiŋ-;
- (4) Boh, Ceb, Ley, Sur, Nat gi-;
- (5) Jau tag-;
- (6) But piŋ-;
- (7) Tsg piag-.

4.6.2.8. Nonactive voices contingent durative:

- (1) Sor, Gub, Tsg pag- + appropriate voice affix;
- (2) Snt, Dtg, Boh, Ceb, Ley, Sur, Nat, Jau Ø- + voice affix.

4.6.2.9. Nonactive voices dependent durative:

- (1) Pan, Kin, Gim, Blk, Sem, Cap, Hil, Kaw pag- + voice affix;
- (2) Kuy qi- + voice affix (instrumental = Ø);
- (3) Ban, Odg, Sib gi- + voice affix (instrumental = Ø).

## 4.6.2.10. Passive and local contingent durative future:

- (1) S-L, War, N-S, Mas, Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok, Cap, Hil, Rom, Ceb, Boh, Sur, Nat, But pag- + voice suffix;
- (2) Pan, Kin, Gim qi- + voice suffix;
- (3) Ban, Odg, Sib qa- + voice suffix;
- (4) Sem, Blk Ø- + voice suffix.

## 4.6.2.11. Instrumental actual durative:

- (1) S-L, War, N-S qi-;
- (2) all other dialects Ø-.

## 4.6.2.12. Instrumental contingent durative:

- (1) S-L, War, N-S, Mas, Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok, Cap, Hil, Kaw, Ceb, Boh, Nat qig-;
- (2) Sor, Gub, Kuy, Blk, Sem, Rom, But qi-;
- (3) Tsg hi-;
- (4) Rom qig- (dependent only);
- (5) Pan, Kin, Gim qig- (future only).

## 4.6.2.13. Passive potential past:

- (1) But mi-;
- (2) all other dialects na-.

## 4.6.2.14. Local potential past:

- (1) Tsg kia--an;
- (2) But ki--an;
- (3) all other dialects na--an.

## 4.6.2.15. Local potential nonpast (dependent):

- (1) Boh, Ceb, Ley, Sur, Nat, But ka--an;
- (2) all other dialects ma--an.

## 4.6.2.16. Instrumental potential past:

- (1) S-L, War, N-S nahi-;
- (2) Mas, Sor, Gub, Ban, Odg, Sib, Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg, Blk, Sur naqi-;
- (3) Rom, Pan, Gim, Kin, Boh, Ceb, Ley, Nat na-;
- (4) Akl, Alc, Lok, Dsp, Cap, Hil, Kaw kina- (i.e., k<in>a-);
- (5) Boh, Ceb, Ley, Jau, Nat gika- (i.e., gi+ka-);
- (6) But qiŋka- (i.e., qiŋ+ka-);
- (7) Tsg kia- (i.e., k<i>a-).

## 4.6.2.17. Instrumental potential nonpast (dependent):

- (1) S-L, War, N-S mahi-;
- (2) Mas, Sor, Gub, Ban, Odg, Sib, Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg, Blk, Sur maqi-;
- (3) Rom, Pan, Kin, Gim, Boh, Ceb, Ley, Nat ma-;
- (4) Akl, Alc, Lok, Dsp, Cap, Hil, Kaw, Boh, Ceb, Ley, Jau, Nat, But, Tsg qika-.

Aorist forms are considered 'the same' if they correspond to the dependent or future durative with an appropriate change in each respective voice affix (i.e., passive -ən + -a, instrumental qi- + -án ~ Ø, local -an + -i, no change in active); hence, the following dialects are taken to differ:

## 4.6.2.18. Aorist active:

- (1) War, N-S, Mas, Sor, Gub pag-;
- (2) Ban, Odg, Sib gi-;
- (3) Kuy qi-;
- (4) Sem, Snt, Dtg, Blk, Alc, Dsp, Lok, Pan, Rom, and Mas have the same forms as the active durative (viz: nag- : naga- ~ ga-).

## 4.6.2.19. Aorist active imperfective:

- (1) Cap, Hil naga-;
- (2) Akl ga-;
- (3) Kin pag-.

## 4.6.2.20. Aorist nonactive imperfective:

- (1) Cap, Hil, Rom, Pan, Alc, Dsp, Lok gina- + voice affix (instrumental is -án);
- (2) Akl gi- + voice affix (instrumental is -án);
- (3) Kin, Sem, Snt, Blk, Dtg, Mas gina- + voice suffix (instrumental is Ø).

## 4.6.2.21. Aorist instrumental perfective:

- (1) Snt, Mas pagqi-;
- (2) Blk, Dtg, Dsp, Alc, Lok, Akl, Pan, Rom pag--án.

TABLE 27  
ACTIVE DURATIVE AND POTENTIAL VERB AFFIXES AMONG Bs DIALECTS

| DIALECT(S)  | - - - - - D U R A T I V E - - - - - |             |              |           | - - - - - P O T E N T I A L - - - - - |             |         |           |
|---|-------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|---------------------------------------|-------------|---------|-----------|
|   | PAST                                | PROGRESSIVE | FUTURE       | DEPENDENT | PAST                                  | PROGRESSIVE | FUTURE  | DEPENDENT |
| S-L, War  | nag-                                | nagCV́-     | magCV́-      | mag-      | naka-                                 | nakáka-     | makáka- | maka-     |
| N-S   | nag-                                | nagCV-      | magCV-       | mag-      | naka-                                 | náka-       | makaka- | maka-     |
| Sor, Gub  | nag-                                | nagCV-      | má-          | mag-      | naka-                                 | nakaka-     | makaka- | maka-     |
| Ban, Odg, Sib   | nag-                                | nagCV-      | ma-          | mag-      | naka-                                 | nakaka-     | makaka- | maka-     |
| Mas   | nag-                                | naga-       | maga-        | mag-      | naka-                                 | nakaka-     | makaka- | maka-     |
| Sur, Tsg  | nag-                                | nagCV-      | magCV-       | mag-      | naka-                                 | maka-       |         |           |
| Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok,<br>Blk, Pan, Kin, Gim,<br>Sem, Snt, Dtg, Kuy,<br>Rom, Cap, Hil, Kaw | nag-                                | naga-       | maga-        | mag-      | naka-                                 | maka-       |         |           |
| Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok,<br>Blk, Rom, Cap, Hil   | nag-                                | ga-         | ma-          | mag-      | naka-                                 | maka-       |         |           |
| Boh, Ceb, Ley, Jau,<br>Nat  | nag- ~ naga-                        |             | maga- ~ mag- |           | naka-                                 | maka-       |         |           |
| But   | ga- ~ naga-                         |             | maga- ~ mag- |           | mika-                                 | maka-       |         |           |

TABLE 28  
 INSTRUMENTAL DURATIVE AND POTENTIAL VERB AFFIXES AMONG Bs DIALECTS

| DIALECT (S)                          | - - - - - D U R A T I V E - - - - - |             |             |                | - - - - - P O T E N T I A L - - - - - |             |         |           |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|-------------|---------|-----------|
|                                      | PAST                                | PROGRESSIVE | FUTURE      | DEPENDENT      | PAST                                  | PROGRESSIVE | FUTURE  | DEPENDENT |
| S-L, War                             | qigin-                              | qiginCV-    | qigCV-      | qig-           | nahi-                                 | nahíhi-     | mahíhi- | mahi-     |
| N-S                                  | qigin-                              | qiginCV-    | qigCV-      | qig-           | nahi-                                 | nahihi-     | mahihi- | mahi-     |
| Sor, Gub                             | gin-                                | ginCV-      | qipagCV-    | qipag-         | naqi-                                 | naqiCV-     | maqiCV- | maqi-     |
| Ban, Odg, Sib, Kuy                   | qin-                                | qinCV-      | qicV-       | gi-<br>qi-     | naqi-                                 | naqiCV-     | maqiCV- | maqi-     |
| Mas                                  | gin-                                | gina-       | qiga-       | qig-           | naqi-                                 | naqiCV-     | maqiCV- | maqi-     |
| Blk, Sem                             | qin-                                | gina-       | qicV-       | pagqi-         | naqi-                                 | naqiCV-     | maqiCV- | maqi-     |
| Dtg, Snt                             | gin-                                | gina-       |             | qi-            | naqi-                                 |             | maqi-   |           |
| Sur                                  | gi-                                 |             |             | qi-            | naqi-                                 |             | maqi-   |           |
| Rom                                  | gin-                                | gina-       | qicV-       | qig-           | na-                                   |             | ma-     |           |
| Pan, Kin, Gim                        | gin-                                | gina-       | qiga-       | pagqi-         | na-                                   |             | ma-     |           |
| Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok,<br>Cap, Hil, Kaw | gin-                                | gina-       | qiga-       | qig-<br>pagqi- | kina-                                 |             | qika-   |           |
| Boh, Ceb, Ley, Nat                   | gi- ~ gina-                         |             | qiga- ~ qi- |                | gika-                                 |             | qika-   |           |
| Jau                                  | tag-                                |             |             | qi-            | gika-                                 |             | qika-   |           |
| But                                  |                                     | piga-       |             | qi-            | qinka-                                |             | qika-   |           |
| Tsg                                  | piag-                               |             |             | hipag-         | kia-                                  |             | qika-   |           |

TABLE 29  
PASSIVE DURATIVE AND POTENTIAL VERB AFFIXES AMONG Bs DIALECTS

| DIALECT(S)                           | - - - - - D U R A T I V E - - - - - |             |                |           | - - - - - P O T E N T I A L - - - - - |             |        |           |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|----------------|-----------|---------------------------------------|-------------|--------|-----------|
|                                      | PAST                                | PROGRESSIVE | FUTURE         | DEPENDENT | PAST                                  | PROGRESSIVE | FUTURE | DEPENDENT |
| S-L, War                             | gin-                                | ginCV́-     | pagCV́--ən     | pag--ən   | na-                                   | naCV́-      | maCV́- | ma-       |
| N-S                                  | gin-                                | ginCV-      | (pag)CV--ən    | (pag)--ən | na-                                   | naCV-       | maCV-  | ma-       |
| Sor, Gub                             | gin-                                | ginCV-      | pagCV--un      | pag--un   | na-                                   | naCV-       | maCV-  | ma-       |
| Ban, Odg, Sib                        | qiŋ-                                | qiŋCV-      | qa--on         | gi--on    | na-                                   | naCV-       | maCV-  | ma-       |
| Kuy                                  | qiŋ-                                | qiŋCV-      | CV--ən         | qi--ən    | na-                                   | naCV-       | maCV-  | ma-       |
| Sem                                  | giŋ-                                | gina-       | CV--ən         | pag--ən   | na-                                   | naCV-       | maCV-  | ma-       |
| Blk                                  | giŋ-                                | gina-       | CV--un         | pag--un   | na-                                   | naCV-       | maCV-  | ma-       |
| Mas                                  | gin-                                | gina-       | paga--un       | pag--un   | na-                                   | naCV-       | maCV-  | ma-       |
| Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok,<br>Rom, Cap, Hil | gin-                                | gina-       | paga--on       | pag--on   | na-                                   | ma-         |        |           |
| Pan, Kin, Gim                        | gin-                                | gina-       | qi--ən         | pag--ən   | na-                                   | ma-         |        |           |
| Snt, Dtg                             | gin-                                | gina-       | -un            |           | na-                                   | ma-         |        |           |
| Boh, Ceb, Ley, Sur,<br>Nat           | gi- ~ gina-                         |             | paga--un ~ -un |           | na-                                   | ma-         |        |           |
| Jau                                  | tag-                                |             | -un            |           | na-                                   | ma-         |        |           |
| Tsg                                  | piag-                               |             | pag--un        |           | na-                                   | ma-         |        |           |
| But                                  | piga-                               |             | paga--un       |           | mi-                                   | ma-         |        |           |

TABLE 30  
LOCAL DURATIVE AND POTENTIAL VERB AFFIXES AMONG Bs DIALECTS

| DIALECT (S)                             | - - - - - D U R A T I V E - - - - - |             |           |           | - - - - - P O T E N T I A L - - - - - |             |          |           |
|---|-------------------------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|---------------------------------------|-------------|----------|-----------|
|   | PAST                                | PROGRESSIVE | FUTURE    | DEPENDENT | PAST                                  | PROGRESSIVE | FUTURE   | DEPENDENT |
| S-L, War                                | gin--an                             | ginCV--an   | pagCV--an | pag--an   | na--an                                | naCV--an    | maCV--an | ma--an    |
| Gub, N-S, Sor                           | gin--an                             | ginCV--an   | pagCV--an | pag--an   | na--an                                | naCV--an    | maCV--an | ma--an    |
| Ban, Odg, Sib                           | qiŋ--an                             | qiŋCV--an   | qa--an    | gi--an    | na--an                                | naCV--an    | maCV--an | ma--an    |
| Kuy                                     | qiŋ--an                             | qiŋCV--an   | CV--an    | qi--an    | na--an                                | naCV--an    | maCV--an | ma--an    |
| Blk, Sem                                | giŋ--an                             | gina--an    | CV--an    | pag--an   | na--an                                | naCV--an    | maCV--an | ma--an    |
| Mas                                     | gin--an                             | gina--an    | paga--an  | pag--an   | na--an                                | naCV--an    | maCV--an | ma--an    |
| Akl, Alc, Dsp,<br>Lok, Rom, Cap,<br>Hil | gin--an                             | gina--an    | paga--an  | pag--an   | na--an                                |             | ma--an   |           |
| Pan, Kin, Gim                           | gin--an                             | gina--an    | qi--an    | pag--an   | na--an                                |             | ma--an   |           |
| Snt, Dtg                                | gin--an                             | gina--an    |           | -an       | na--an                                |             | ma--an   |           |
| Boh, Ceb, Ley,<br>Sur, Nat              | gi--an                              | gina--an    | paga--an  | -an       | na--an                                |             | ma--an   |           |
| Jau                                     | tag--an                             |             |           | -an       | na--an                                |             | ma--an   |           |
| Tsg                                     | piag--an                            |             |           | pag--an   | kia--an                               |             | ma--an   |           |
| But                                     | ki--an                              | piga--an    | paga--an  |           |                                       |             | ka--an   |           |



TABLE 31  
AORIST DURATIVE VERB AFFIXES AMONG Bs DIALECTS

| DIALECT (S)                | A C T I V E      |                  | I N S T R U M E N T A L |           | P A S S I V E  |           | L O C A L      |           |
|----------------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|
|                            | PERFECT          | IMPERFECT        | PERFECT                 | IMPERFECT | PERFECT        | IMPERFECT | PERFECT        | IMPERFECT |
| War                        | pag-             | pagCV-           | qig-                    | qigCV-    | pag--a         | pagCV--a  | pag--i         | pagCV--i  |
| S-L                        | mag-             | magCV-           | qig-                    | qigCV-    | pag--a         | pagCV--a  | pag--i         | pagCV--i  |
| N-S, Mas                   | pag-             | pagCV-           | qig-                    | qigCV-    | pag--a         | pagCV--a  | pag--i         | pagCV--i  |
| Sor, Gub                   | pag-<br>mag-     | pagCV-<br>magCV- | qipag-                  | qipagCV-  | pag--a         | pagCV--a  | pag--i         | pagCV--i  |
| Ceb, Boh, Ley              | mag- ~ maga-     |                  | qi- ~ qiga-             |           | -a ~ paga--a   |           | -i ~ paga--i   |           |
| Sur, Jau, But              | mag-<br>† pag-   |                  | qi-<br>† pagqi-         |           | -a<br>† pag--a |           | -i<br>† pag--i |           |
| Kin                        | mag-             | pag-             | pagqi-                  | (gina-)   | pag--a         | gina--a   | pag--i         | gina--i   |
| Sem, Snt, Mas              | (nag-)<br>† mag- | (naga-)          | pagqi-                  | (gina-)   | pag--a         | gina--a   | pag--i         | gina--i   |
| Cap, Hil                   | mag-             | (naga-)          | pagqi-                  | gina--án  | pag--a         | gina--a   | pag--i         | gina--i   |
| Blk, Dtg                   | (nag-)<br>† mag- | ga-              | pag--án                 | (gina-)   | pag--a         | gina--a   | pag--i         | gina--i   |
| Alc, Dsp, Lok,<br>Pan, Rom | (nag-)<br>† mag- | ga-              | pag--án                 | gina--án  | pag--a         | gina--a   | pag--i         | gina--i   |
| Akl                        | mag-             | ga-              | pag--án                 | gi--án    | pag--a         | gi--a     | pag--i         | gi--i     |
| Ban, Odg, Sib              | gi-              | giCV-            | gi--án                  | giCV--án  | gi--a          | giCV--a   | gi--i          | giCV--i   |
| Kuy                        | qi-              | qiCV-            | qi--an                  | qiCV--an  | qi--a          | qiCV--a   | qi--i          | qiCV--i   |

† = Affix is limited to negative commands, viz: after Bs *qayáw don't!*

( ) = Affix is identical to nonaorist (i.e., actual) durative form.

TABLE 32  
STANDARD BISAYAN PUNCTUAL VERB AFFIXES

| DIALECT(S)  | PAST   | PROGRESSIVE | FUTURE   | DEPENDENT | NONPAST<br>AORIST | PAST<br>AORIST |
|---|--------|-------------|----------|-----------|-------------------|----------------|
| <b>A C T I V E    V O I C E</b>                             |        |             |          |           |                   |                |
| War   | <ín>   | ná-         | má-      | <um>      | CV́-              | <um>           |
| S-L   | <inm>  | ná-         | má-      | <um>      | CV́-              | ∅-             |
| N-S   | <in>   | na-         | ma-      | <um>      | CV-               | ∅-             |
| Boh,Ceb,Ley   | ni- ~  | mi-         |          | mu-       |                   | mu-            |
| But   |        |             | (ga-)    |           |                   | mu-            |
| Tsg   | <im>   |             |          | <um>      |                   | <um>           |
| Sur,Nat   | X      |             |          | CV-       |                   | mu-            |
| Sor   | <umin> | X           | (má-)    | <um>      | X                 | X              |
| Mas,Gub   | X      | X           | (má-)    | <um>      | X                 | X              |
| Ban,Odg,Sib   | <um>   | X           | (ma-)    | <um>      | X                 | X              |
| Akl,Rom,Blk,<br>Alc,Dsp,Lok,<br>Snt,Sem,Dtg,<br>Pan,Kin,Gim | <um>   | (ga-)       | (ma-)    | <um>      | X                 | X              |
| Cap,Hil   | <inm>  | (ga-)       | (ma-)    | <um>      | X                 | X              |
| Kuy,Jau   | X      | X           | X        | X         | X                 | X              |
| <hr/>   |        |             |          |           |                   |                |
| <b>P A S S I V E    V O I C E</b>                           |        |             |          |           |                   |                |
| War   | <in>   | CinV́-      | CV́--un  | -un       | CV́--a            | -a             |
| S-L   | <in>   | CinV́-      | CV́--ən  | -ən       | CV́--a            | -a             |
| N-S   | <in>   | CinV-       | CV--ən   | -ən       | CV--a             | -a             |
| Boh,Ceb,Ley,<br>Nat,Sur                                     | <in>   |             |          | -un       |                   | -a             |
| But,Jau   | X      |             |          | (-un)     |                   | -a             |
| Tsg   | <i>    |             |          | -un       |                   | -a             |
| Mas,Sor,Gub   | qin-   | qinCV-      | CV--un   | -un       | X                 | X              |
| Ban,Odg,Sib   | (qiŋ-) | (qiŋCV-)    | CV--on   | -on       | X                 | X              |
| Rom,Cap,Hil   | <in>   | X           | CV--on   | -on       | X                 | X              |
| Akl,Alc,Dsp,<br>Lok   | <in>   | X           |          | -on       | X                 | X              |
| Kin,Pan,Gim   | <in>   | X           |          | -ən       | X                 | X              |
| Dtg,Snt   | qin-   | X           |          | -un       | X                 | X              |
| Blk   | <in>   | X           | (CV--un) | -un       | X                 | X              |
| Sem   | <in>   | X           | (CV--ən) | -ən       | X                 | X              |
| Kuy   | X      | X           | (CV--ən) | -ən       | X                 | X              |

## 4.6.3. The Syntax of Verbs

## 4.6.3.1. Noun Satellites

A noun phrase that occurs in the same clause as a verb can serve as either topic or a verb attribute. The noun phrase with which the verb is in construction (i.e., on which the verb focusses attention) is made the topic in the nominative case (see 4.6.1.1. and 4.3.5.1.); all other nominal expressions serve as some kind of verb complement (viz: actor, object, instrument, direction, benefactive, or location) in either the genitive or oblique case (see 4.3.5.3.).

## 4.6.3.2. Subordinate Verb Clauses

Verbs may serve as the head of clauses that indicate time, in which case the verb undergoes a different inflection: Waray dialects have a full paradigm in all four voices (see Table 33); Ceb has a special form, *qig-* or *qinig-*, which refers to the specific time of an action; otherwise all other dialects under study (including Ceb) have just the active punctual (*pag-*) and potential (*pagka-*) forms. The actor complement in such constructions is always a genitive nominal.

Akl *pag-qabút karón*, kánq-on ðági náton.

*When that arrives, we'll eat (it) right away.*

Ceb *pag-bálik ni pápa* sa qúrmuk, waq na diháq silá.

*When Daddy got back to Ormoc, they were no longer there.*

Ceb *qinig-qabút nímu* dídtu, mañà qalàs kwátru pa kanáq sa búntag.

*When you arrive there, it will only be about four a.m.*

Hil *pagka-káqon* mo, maka-hámpan ka man.

*After you have finished eating, you can play too.*

N-S *pag-qa-qabút sa kabatáqan*, nani-ni-hápun kami dáyun.

*As soon as the children arrive, we eat supper right away.*

N-S *pag-banquh-á niyá* sa kánya bátaq, dáyun qitún b<um>atún.

*When she called her son, he answered right away.*

S-L *na-láyaq qan dáhun* han *pag-kápt-i* hitú *níya*.

*The leaf withered when he touched it.*

S-L *pag-liñkur-í níya* han banku, na-rubáq.

*When he sat on the bench, it broke.*

N-S *pag-ta-tág-an niyá* sa kánya suwíldu kánya nánay, tina-tág-an taq siyá sa kánya bahín.

*When he gives all of his earnings to his mother, she gives him his share of the money.*

TABLE 33  
SUBORDINATE VERB INFLECTION IN NORTHERN SAMAR (WARAY)

|                     | IMPERFECTIVE | PERFECTIVE |
|---------------------|--------------|------------|
| <b>ACTIVE</b>       |              |            |
| punctual            | pagCV-       | pag-       |
| potential           | pagkaCV-     | pagka-     |
| <b>INSTRUMENTAL</b> |              |            |
| punctual            | pagCV--an    | pag--an    |
| potential           | pagkaCV--an  | pagka--an  |
| <b>PASSIVE</b>      |              |            |
| punctual            | pagCV--a     | pag--a     |
| potential           | pagkaCV--a   | pagka--a   |
| <b>LOCAL</b>        |              |            |
| punctual            | pagCV--i     | pag--i     |
| potential           | pagkaCV--i   | pagka--i   |

#### 4.6.4. Other Kinds of Verb Inflection

##### 4.6.4.1. Statives with Passive Inflection

A large number of stems are inflected with passive affixes to show the state or condition some patient is in; the patient is the topic in the nominative case:

Akl na-qúhaw qakó.

*I'm thirsty.*

S-L wará-y ka miñáw-a?

*Weren't you lonely?*

Ceb gi-gútum si huwán.

*John is hungry.*

S-L sí-sipqun-ún ka kun l<um>akát ka yanáq kay ná-qurán.

*You will catch cold if you go out now because it's raining.*

Akl gin-qubúh r a ñ qiq-kámpud kahápon.

*My cousin had a cough yesterday.*

4.6.4.2. *Statives with Local Inflection*

A large number of noun or adjective stems can be inflected with local affixes to show one's reaction or feeling towards something, or what happens to the patient as the result of something; the patient is the topic in the nominative case:

Akl na- $\lambda$ ayoq-án qakó sa biyáhe.

I found the journey long.

S-L ma-qú-qubús-an qit parahúbug hin kwarta.

The drunkard will run out of money.

Ceb gi-qulan-án silá ñ maríya.

Mary and the others were caught in the rain.

But ki-yumuq-án qakú huñ sabáw.

I found the broth too sweet.

4.6.4.3. *Causatives*

Any verb stem can be made into a causative by the addition of the morpheme *pa-*. The addition introduces the situational role of *causer*, and changes the role of the actor to agent (the one caused to perform the action). If the causer is the focus of attention, the verb is in the active and the noun phrase which refers to the causer is the topic in the nominative case:

Akl nag-pa-qóbra qimáw kákon qit bałáy.

He had me build a house.

Ceb díliq gayúd si ffli mag-pa-kítaq.

Fely won't let anyone see her.

If the one caused to perform the action (agent) is the focus of attention, the verb is in the passive and the noun phrase which refers to the agent is the topic in the nominative case:

Akl gin-pa-qóbra qakó nána qit bałáy.

He had me build a house.

Ceb gi-pa-kítaq qan bátag sa mañà kabáyuq.

(They) let the children see the horses.

Otherwise, when not in focus, the causer-phrase is an actor complement (in the genitive), and the agent-phrase is a direction complement (see 4.3.5.3., #4.):

Akl gin-pa-pánaw ni tátay ro qáko ñ qamígo. [causer]

Dad made my friends leave.

Ceb pa-kitáq-un sa maqístra qan bátaq.  
*The teacher will show the children.*

Akl buḷbárko ro gin-pa-qóbra kákon ni tótoq. [agent]  
*Butch had me make (him) a toy boat.*

Ceb qúnsa qan qi-pa-káqun mo niqári ḡ bátaq?  
*What will you feed these children?*

If the direct object or goal is the focus of attention, the verb is in the instrumental voice, and the object-phrase is the topic in the nominative:

Akl náno ro qáto ḡ qi-pa-káqon sa bisíta?  
*What will we give the visitors to eat?*

Ceb qi-pa-palít na lan naq (ka)nákuq!  
*Let me buy that!*

#### 4.6.4.4. The Reciprocal or Social Conjugation

The paki(g)- or pakipag- conjugation (inflected in the same way as active potential forms, Table 27) denotes reciprocal or social action:

Akl nakig-qímpun qimáw kámon.  
*He is trying to mix with us.*

N-S maki-kì-pag-sáḡkay qak sa kánya.  
*I want to make friends with her.*

Ceb qayáw qug pakig-qáway ni mánuy nímu.  
*Don't pick a fight with your big brother.*

#### 4.6.4.5. The Essive Conjugation

The pagin- conjugation (inflected in the same way as active potential forms) denotes going into or becoming another state or status; in Ceb the affix is simply pag-:

Akl nagin-ráyna si néli.  
*Nellie became a queen.*

N-S tíkaḡ sádtu, nagin-sákup na si pídru sa maḡa tulisán.  
*From that time on, Peter became one of the bandits.*

Ceb mag-páriḡ qikáw?  
*Will you become a priest?*

#### 4.6.4.6. The Distributive Conjugation

The paN- conjugation (inflected in the same way as active potential forms) denotes a process or procedure; or action in which plural subjects or plural objects are involved; in some cases the addition of paN- involves a change of accent:

- Akl nanahoy sánda.  
They looked for firewood. [process]
- S-L nanahúy hirá.  
They looked for firewood. [accent change]
- Ceb mamalígyaq kita-g qísdaq.  
We will sell lots of fish. [plural]
- S-L nanasáwa hiyá hin búktut.  
He married a hunchback. [procedure]
- Ceb mahímuq ba η mañutána?  
May (I) ask a question?
- S-L nanañúhaq hi mariya hin suñú.  
Mary is gathering firewood.

#### 4.6.5. Some Common Derivational Affixes

##### 4.6.5.1. Plural

The infix <Vr> can be added to verb roots to show plural actors or repeated action:

- Akl nag-q<aɿ>áway sánday kárlos.  
Carl and his gang were fighting.
- War nag-b<ar>ágtas hirá.  
They walked and walked.

##### 4.6.5.2. Individual Action

The prefix si(g)- is added to verb stems to show that the action is done individually; in Ceb the affix is qisìg-:

- Ceb nag-qisìg-pa-qúliq qaη mañà táwu.  
The people each returned to their respective homes.
- Akl mag-sig-buqóɿ kamó qit serbésa.  
Each of you get your own beer.
- Hil gin-pa-si-kaqón-a silá.  
They were each told to get their own food (eat on their own).

4.6.5.3. *Stative*

The prefix *ka-* is added to verb stems to show that a new state or different state has been achieved:

Akl naga-ka-sámad pa ro bisiklíta.  
*The bicycle is still ruined. (in the state of being ruined)*

S-L nag-ka-hádlék qan maṅà bátaq han pagpakakítaq han higánti.  
*The children were afraid when they saw the giant.*

4.6.5.4. *Mutual*

The prefix *ka(+)-* is added to verb stems to show mutual action (see 4.3.7., #1):

Akl nag-ka-sákay kamí.  
*We were co-passengers.*

S-L nag-ka-dúrug hirá.  
*They slept together.*

## 4.7. PSEUDO-VERBS

The pseudo-verbs discussed below are pre-clausal modal<sup>49</sup> particles of high text frequency that co-occur with actors and complements. Depending upon the specific pseudo-verb, the actor is a nominal in the nominative or genitive case, and the complement is an object (i.e., nominal) or an event (i.e., verb in the dependent inflection). The various Bs pseudo-verbs are presented in Table 34; note that some dialects have a finite or stative verb form where the other dialects have a pseudo-verb.

## 4.7.1. 'Should'

The form *dápat* occurs in most dialects studied, although it is considered a recent Tagalog borrowing in most S-L, Ceb, and SBs dialects. The verb complement may be in any voice, and the actor is in the case appropriate to the voice of the verb:

Akl dápat kamó (ḡ) mag-qádto. [active]  
*You should go.*

Ceb díliq naq dápat paqa-buhát-an. [passive]  
*You should not do that.*

Hil dápat qi-súgid ni belén kay nánay. [instrumental]  
*Evelyn should tell that to Mommy.*

In Akl the ligature optionally precedes the verb complement (above).



## 4.7.2. 'Can, Able to'

The widespread borrowing of Spanish *puede* or the Bs *mahímuq* most frequently take a verb complement in the active voice and an actor complement in the nominative case; the ligature *ŋa* obligatorily precedes the verb in most dialects except S-L:

Akl *mahímuq* ~ *pwéde* ka *ŋ mag-qíswaq* qánay?  
*Could you please move over?*

Ceb *mahímuq* ba *ŋ mu-tánqaw* (ka)mí run?  
*Can we look now?*

S-L *mahíhímuq* qak *q<um>upúd* ha qim.  
*I can go with you.*

Either form can also take a verb complement in other voices, with the actor in the case appropriate to the voice of the verb:

Akl *mahímuq* ~ *pwéde* nána *ŋ búq-on* ro *bató*. [passive]  
*He can remove the stone.*

Ceb *mahímuq* kaqáyu *ŋa bulag-án* ka. [local]  
*You may very well be jilted.*

Either form may simply take an object complement and an actor with the meaning 'be up to or capable of doing something':

Akl *mahímuq* ka *karón*?  
*Can you (do) that? ~ Are you up to it?*

## 4.7.3. 'Must, Need to'

Forms in this meaning may take any of the following constructions:

- (1) a full clause following the ligature with the verb in any voice appropriate to the context:

Ceb *kinahánla* *ŋ mag-tuqún* ka qarún maka-pasár ka. [active]  
*You must study if you wish to pass.*

Akl *kinahánlan* *ŋa bákì-on* íagi ro *buón*. [passive]  
*It is necessary that the medicine be bought immediately.*

- (2) a nominative actor followed by a verb in the active voice or by an object complement (see 4.3.5.3., #2):

Ceb *kinahánlan* ka *ŋ mag-hulát* nákuq.  
*You must wait for me.*

Akl *kinahánlan* si tátay *qít* *dúktor*.  
*Daddy needs a doctor.*

- (3) a genitive actor followed by a verb in any voice appropriate to context or by an object in the nominative:

Ceb kinaháŋlan ni tibúq na táwg-un qan páriq.  
*It is necessary for Tibo that a priest be called.*

Akl kinaháŋlan ku manà qunáq ro bitamína.  
*The children need the vitamins.*

#### 4.7.4. 'Like, Want'

The widespread borrowing of Spanish *gusto* or the few dialectal pseudo-verbal equivalents (e.g., Tsg bayáq, S-L karúyag, Kin léyag) usually take an actor in the genitive, sometimes in the nominative, and any one of four complements:

- (1) a nominal object complement:

Ceb gústu ku-g kik.  
*I like cake.*

Akl gústo qakó qit mas ma-lámíq.  
*I want something cooler.*

- (2) a nominative nominal complement (usually denoting something specific):

Ceb gústu niyá qan pulá.  
*He wants the red one.*

Akl gústo ni badín ro mansánas.  
*Billy wants the apples.*

- (3) a verb complement (usually in the dependent active):

Ceb gústu siyá ŋ mu-lakáw.  
*She would like to leave.*

Akl gústo {<sup>mo</sup><sub>ka</sub>} maq-tánqaw?  
*Would you like to see?*

- (4) a clause complement, with the verb in any voice appropriate to the context:

S-L gústu ~ karúyag ni pípi q<um>upúd ha qim. [active]  
*Pepe would like to go with you.*

Akl gústo {<sup>ko</sup><sub>qakó</sub>} na malípay kamó. [stative, passive]  
*I want you to be happy.*

Ceb gústu sa háriq na ma-túman qan manà ka-sugúq-an niyá. [passive]  
*The king wants all of his regulations to be followed.*

In most dialects the semantic equivalent of *gusto* is a stative verb:

- Akl na-qílaq qakó kará. [active equivalent]  
na-qiláq-an ko ráya. [passive equivalent]  
*I like this.*

#### 4.7.5. Verbs of 'Knowing'

Forms meaning 'know how' usually take nominative actor complements and a verb complement in the dependent:

- S-L maqáram qakú mag-laṅúy.  
*I know how to swim.*
- Akl qantígo si qal mag-b<in>isayáq.  
*Al knows how to speak Visayan.*
- Ceb kahibalú qan túntu mag-limúd!  
*The fool knows how to lie!*

Forms meaning 'know (for a fact)' usually take a nominative actor complement and a clause complement with the verb in any voice appropriate to context:

- S-L waráy hirá hibarú na l<in>akát na hi pat.  
*They didn't know that Pat had left already.*
- Akl kasáyud kamó na háqom ṅun do qihápon?  
*Do you know that supper is ready?*
- Ceb naka-hibáwu ku na nag-daquí ka.  
*I found out that you were sick.*

Forms meaning 'know (a person), be acquainted with' usually take a genitive actor complement and a nominative object complement:

- Akl kilála mo sánda?  
*Do you know them?*
- S-L kilála ni qartúru qan qagiqánan.  
*Arthur knows the way.*

Many of these forms are inflected verbs rather than pseudo-verbs:

- Kin na-manq-an ku qan hústu. [local]  
*I know the correct version.*
- Ceb naka-qilá qakú kaníya. [active]  
*I know her.*
- S-L pag-ka-barú níya, na-lípay hiyá.  
*He was happy when he found out.*

TABLE 34  
PSEUDO-VERBS OR HOMOSEMANTIC EQUIVALENTS AMONG BISAYAN DIALECTS

| DIALECT(S)                                  | <i>should</i>   | DIALECT(S)                                  | <i>must/need</i> | DIALECT(S)                                  | <i>like/want</i>   |
|---|-----------------|---|------------------|---|--------------------|
| Tsg   | subay           | Tsg   | kabunahán        | Tsg   | (ma) bayáq         |
| most others                                 | dápat           | Sor, Gub                                    | kaqipúhan        | N-S, S-L, War                               | karúyag            |
|   |                 | Blk   | kaqiláñan        | Hil   | (na) lúyag         |
| DIALECT(S)                                  | <i>can/able</i> | Sem, Snt, Dtg                               | kinánlan         | Sur, Jau                                    | na-yújag           |
| Tsg   | manjadi         | Boh, But                                    | kinaháñan        | Kin   | láyag              |
| Dsp, Blk, Sem                               | maqáriq         | Akl   | kinaháñan        | Kuy   | a-li-liag          |
| S-L, War                                    | mahíhímuq       | Ban, Odg, Sib, Rom, Sur, Jau                | kinaháñyan       | Akl, Pan, Blk, Rom, Mas                     | na-qílaq           |
| most others                                 | mahímuq         | Pan, Kin, Gim, Cap, Hil, Ceb, Mas, S-L, War | kinaháñlan       |   |                    |
| Akl, Alc, Dsp, Cap, Hil, Rom, Ban, Odg, Sib | pwéde           | Kuy   | kaministiran     | Akl, Alc, Dsp, Cap, Hil, Rom, Ban, Odg, Sib | gústoh-            |
| Pan, Kin, Gim, Mas, Sor, Gub, Sur, Jau, But | pwídi           |   |                  | Sem, Snt, Dtg, Kuy                          | gústu-             |
| N-S, S-L, War, Ceb, Boh, Ley                | púydi           |   |                  | all others                                  | gústuh-            |
| DIALECT(S)                                  | <i>know how</i> | DIALECT(S)                                  | <i>know fact</i> | DIALECT(S)                                  | <i>know person</i> |
| Tsg   | maqíñát         | Tsg   | ka-qíñat-an      | But, Tsg                                    | kilaah-            |
| But   | mañiyát         | Kuy   | ka-əlam          | Akl   | kiláñah-           |
| Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, War                | maqáram         | Mas, Sor, Gub                               | qáram            | Ban, Odg, Sib, Rom, Sur, Jau                | kiláyah-           |
| Cap, Hil                                    | maqálam         | Hil, Ceb                                    | naka-hibalú      | Kuy, Sem, Dtg                               | kiláñ-             |
| Ban, Odg, Sib                               | maqáyam         | S-L, War                                    | nahi-bábarú      | Gub   | kílah-             |
| Hil, Ceb                                    | ka-hibalú       | Sur, Jau                                    | hibayú           | Pan, Kin, Blk, Cap, Hil, Kaw, Mas, Sor, S-L | kilálah-           |
| Sur, Jau                                    | ma-hibayú       | Akl, Dsp, Lok, Pan, Kin, Gim                | kasáyud          | Ceb, Boh, Ley                               | ka-qiláh-          |
| Boh   | ka-hibawú       | Ban, Odg, Sib                               | (ka) sáyor       |   |                    |
| S-L   | na-ba-barú      | Cap, Hil, Rom                               | sáyod            |   |                    |
| Pan, Kin, Blk                               | ka-máqan        | Ceb, Boh                                    | sáyud            |   |                    |
| Akl, Dsp, Rom                               | qantígo         | But   | mi-sáyud         |   |                    |
| Akl   | ka-túqon        | Sem   | ma-tumán-an      |   |                    |

## 4.8. NEGATIVES

There are from three to four negatives in the various Bs dialects; Akl is an example of a dialect with four, Ceb with three (Table 35). All negatives are preclausal particles that attract enclitics, pronouns, and deictics before the words with which they are in construction (note examples below).

TABLE 35  
BISAYAN NEGATIVES

| DIALECT(S)                                | predicative | DIALECT(S)  | prohibitive    |
|---|-------------|---|----------------|
| Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok, Rom                   | bukón       | Boh, Ley, Sur, Jau, Kan   | qajáw          |
| Pan, Kin, Gim, Sem, Kuy                   | bəkán       | Cam   | qizáw          |
| Blk, Dtg, Snt, Tsg                        | bukún       | Ban, Odg, Sib   | qayáq          |
| Ban, Odg, Sib                             | bukóq       | All other dialects  | qayáw          |
| DIALECT(S)                                | existential | DIALECT(S)  | future preverb |
| Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg                        | qáraq       | Sor   | láqin          |
| Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok                        | quwáq       | Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok, Blk,<br>Pan, Kin, Gim, Dtg, Snt,<br>Sem, Rom, Ban, Odg, Sib | qíndiq         |
| Ban, Odg                                  | quyáq       | Kuy   | qindiq         |
| Rom, Sib, Sur, Jau, Kan                   | wayáq       | Cap, Hil  | qíndiq         |
| Pan, Kin, Gim, Blk,<br>Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S | waráq       | Cap, Hil, Cam, Mas, Sor,<br>Boh, Ceb, Ley, Sur, Jau,<br>Nat, Kan, But           | díliq          |
| Cap, Hil, Ceb                             | waláq       | Cam, Ceb, Boh, But, Tsg   | diq            |
| Boh, But, Nat                             | waáq        | Gub, N-S, S-L, War  | díriq          |
| S-L, War                                  | waráy       |   |                |
| Hil, Cap                                  | waqáy       |   |                |
| Ceb, Ley                                  | waláy       |   |                |
| Boh, Jau, Nat, But, Tsg                   | waáy        |   |                |
| Sur                                       | hayáq       |   |                |
| Cam, Nat, But, Tsg                        | waq         |   |                |

## 4.8.1. Predicative Negative

WBs dialects, members of the Banton group, Rom, and Tsg have a specific negative for nominals, adjectives, and coreferential predicates (4.3.5.2.). In Akl, Pan, Kin, Gim, Blk, and Kuy the form with which the negative is in construction is preceded by the indefinite genitive common-noun marker.

Kin bəkán tána ti mangaránən.  
He is not rich.

Tsg bukún sápi yádtu.  
*That is not a cow.*

Akl bukó-t qakó ro nag-buqót.  
*I'm not the one who took (it).*

In the other Bs dialects the appropriate form of the future negative pre-verb is used:

Ceb díliq pulá.  
*(It's) not red.*

Sor láqin qakú, siyá.  
*Not me, him.*

4.8.2. The Prohibitive Negative is used in strong commands with an appropriate form of the past aorist (see 4.6.1.3. #6, and Table 31):

Odg qayáq qakó gi-gúrq-i!  
*Don't laugh at me!*

Akl qayáw ráya pag-búq-a!  
*Don't take this (one)!*

It is also used with the indefinite genitive marker, which appears to replace the pag- aorist forms (in Table 31):

Ceb qayáw qug syáqit! ~ qayáw pag-siyáqit!  
*Don't shout!*

Akl qayáw qit pánaw! ~ qayáw mag-pánaw!  
*Don't go!*

Ceb qayáw qug sirh-i qan pwírta!  
*Do not shut the door!*

Akl qayáw pag-sírh-i ro pwérta!  
*Do not shut the door!*

4.8.3. The Negative Existential Predicate primarily means 'there is not, there is none'; in most WBs and CBs dialects the word with which it is in construction is preceded by the indefinite genitive marker, except for those negatives with final -y:

Akl quwáq qit kwárta sa buqóq.  
*There's no money in the piggy-bank.*

Hil waláq sin táwo sa baláy. ~ waqáy táwo sa baláy.  
*There is no one in the house.*

S-L waráy lubí dínhi.  
*There are no coconuts here.*

In Ceb and the SBs dialects this -y is treated as a marker and precedes the form with which the negative is in construction:

Ceb waq pa gáni-y qúras!  
*It hasn't even been an hour!*

But waq na-y baáy huŋ kakahúyan.  
*There are no longer houses in the forest.*

This negative is also used to show lack of possession, 'have not'; in SBs the possessor is in the genitive, in S-L it is either nominative or genitive (with no difference in meaning), and in all other dialects it is nominative:

Tsg way baáy nŋla.  
*They don't have a house.*

S-L waráy níya kútsi. ~ waráy hiyá kútsi.  
*He doesn't have a car.*

Ceb way kwarta si huwán.  
*John has no money.*

Sib wayáq qakó qit qasáwa.  
*I don't have a wife.*

Akl quwáq rondáya qit takóp.  
*This doesn't have a cover.*

It is used in all dialects to negate verbs referring to past time, the verb is inflected with the past aorist form; in all dialects except S-L and War, the form ending in -q is used:

S-L waráy pa hiyá paq-matá.  
*He still hasn't woken up.*

But waq ku kánq-a qəŋ ságin.  
*I didn't eat the banana.*

Ceb waq níya sáky-i qəŋ táksi.  
*He did not ride in the taxi.*

Akl quwáq paq-baliqyaq-án do téla.  
*The cloth wasn't sold.*

In all WBs, Ban, Rom, and Hil dialects, and in some Ceb dialects, it is also used to negate verbs referring to present time; the verb is inflected for the nonpast aorist form:

Akl quwáq nákon qi-bákŋ-a ro síŋsiŋ.  
*I'm not buying the ring.*

- Sib wayáq nímo qi-hu-hugás-i kag pláto?  
*Aren't you washing the dish?*
- Hil waláq siyá naqa-kádto sa qotón.  
*He isn't going to Oton.*
- Ceb waq qi-dúlqun qan manà sulát sa baláy.  
*Letters are not delivered to the house.*

4.8.4. The Future Negative Preverb is used to negate verbs referring to future time; the verb is inflected with dependent or, less frequently, with future affixes:

- Akl qíndiq qakó mag-qádto.  
*I will not go.*
- Ceb díliq mu-palít qug dyip si hwan.  
*John won't buy a jeep.*
- S-L díriq qak má-qupúd ha qim.  
*I will not go with you.*

In all Ceb and SBs dialects, and most CBs dialects (except Cap, Hil, Rom, see above), this negative is also used to negate verbs referring to present time; the verb is inflected with imperfective or nonpast aorist affixes:

- S-L díriq qak ná-qukúy ha taklúban.  
*I don't live in Tacloban.*
- Ceb diq qi-dúlqun qan manà sulát sa baláy.  
*Letters are not delivered to the house.*
- Mas díliq sínda naqa-panigábqi hasta na qalàs syíti.  
*They don't eat supper until seven o'clock.*

#### 4.9. THE EXISTENTIAL PREDICATE AND AFFIRMATIVE STATEMENTS

Forms similar in function to Akl, Ceb may, Ceb qadúna(y) *there is* are the positive counterparts of Akl quwáq, Ceb waláq, waláy, etc. (see 4.8.3.). Without any possessor, they mean *there is (was, will be)*:

- Akl may kwárta sa buqóq.  
*There is (some) money in the bank.*
- Hil may táwo sa baláy.  
*There is somebody in the house.*
- S-L may lubí dínhi.  
*There are coconuts here.*



Ceb may qusá ŋ qúras pa.

*There's still an hour to go.*

But yaqúy baáy huŋ kakahúyan.

*There are houses in the forest.*

They can also show possession; in SBs the possessor is in the genitive, in Ceb (with qadúna) and in S-L it is either nominative or genitive, and in all other dialects it is nominative. In Ban, Odg, Sib, Gub the thing-possessed is marked with the respective indefinite genitive; in Mas and Sor (with qígwa) -ŋ is used; and in Ceb and SBs (except Tsg) -y is used:

Jau jaqú-y bayáy níla. *They have a house.*

Tsg qáun baay níla.

Mas qígwa-ŋ baláy sínda.

Odg qíngua sínra-t bayáy.

S-L mayqádaq hirá baláy.

S-L mayqádaq níra baláy.

Ceb dúna silá-y baláy.

Ceb dúna-y baláy níla.

Akl may baáy sánda.

In all dialects (except Tsg) the oblique marker sa is used with may to denote *in the area of, in the vicinity of, near*: sa may sapáq near a brook ~ somewhere in the area of the brook; Akl, Blk, Kin, Hil, Mas, Ceb, Sur, But sa may simbáhan in the vicinity of the church.

The form may is only proclitic; it may not occur in isolation. Thus, in answer to questions about possession, dialects have an expanded or a different form that may stand independently; alternatively, all dialects may answer a question about possession with the equivalent of 'yes' (see Table 36).

Akl may kwárta ka? may-qúnaq ~ hógo.

*Do you have money? Yes.*

Kin may táwu? may ráqya ~ hóqed.

*Is someone there? Yes.*

S-L may kútsi ba hi qíntuy? may-qádaq ~ qáqadáq ~ qúqu.

*Does Intoy have a car? Yes, he does.*

Ceb náqa ba-y bir? dúna ~ náqa ~ qú.

*Is there any beer? Yes.*

TABLE 36  
THE EXISTENTIAL PREDICATE AND AFFIRMATIVES

| DIALECT(S)  | <i>there is</i><br>[proclitic] | DIALECT(S)                      | <i>there is</i><br>[independent] | DIALECT(S)  | <i>yes</i> |
|---|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|------------|
| Akl, Alc, Dsp,<br>Lok, Pan, Kin,<br>Gim, Blk, Dtg,<br>Snt, Sem, Kuy,<br>Rom, Cap, Hil,<br>Cam, Mas, N-S,<br>S-L, War, Ceb,<br>Boh, Ley, Sur,<br>Jau, Nat, Kan | may                            | Akl                             | may-qúnaq                        | Pan, Kin, Gim   | hóqəd      |
| Mas, Sor  | qígwa                          | Blk, Dsp, Lok,<br>Pan, Kin, Gim | may+[deic]                       | Kuy   | qəən       |
| Ban, Odg, Sib   | qíngua-t                       | Cap, Hil                        | may-qáraq                        | Tsg   | húqun      |
| Gub   | máyqun                         | N-S, S-L, War                   | may-qádaq                        | Sem   | qáqə       |
| S-L, War  | mayqádaq                       | Gub                             | máy-qun                          | Akl, Alc, Dsp,<br>Lok, Blk, Rom,<br>Cap, Hil, Kaw                   | hóqo       |
| Ceb, Boh, Ley   | (qa)dúna-y                     | Ceb, Boh, Ley                   | (qa)dúna                         | Jau, But  | húqu       |
| Sur, Jau  | jaqú-y                         | Mas, Sor                        | qígwa                            | Snt, Dtg, Mas,<br>N-S, S-L, War,<br>Ceb, Boh, Ley,<br>Sur, Nat, Kan | qúqu       |
| But   | yaqú-y                         | Ban, Odg, Sib                   | qínguah                          | Cam, Ceb  | qú         |
| Tsg   | qaun                           | Nat                             | qádqun                           | Ban, Odg, Sib   | qóhoq      |
|   |                                | Jau                             | jaqún                            | Sor   | qámu       |
|   |                                | But                             | yaqún                            | Gub   | máqu       |
|   |                                | Tsg                             | qaun                             |   |            |
|   |                                | Ceb, Boh, Ley,<br>Cam, S-L, War | [existential<br>deictic form]    |   |            |

#### 4.10. PARTICLES

Particles may be classified in terms of the environments in which they occur: pre-clausal, pre-phrasal, proclitic, enclitic, or movable. However, some are more conveniently classified in terms of the function they perform, or on the basis of semantic similarities.

##### 4.10.1. Conjunctions

Co-ordinating conjunctions (Table 37) occur between components of equivalent structure:

- Akl tinápáy qag qátas [nouns]  
bread and milk
- Ceb lakáw quq qayáw paq-bálik! [verbs]  
Go away and don't come back!
- Akl naq-qáqto qakó péro quwáq qakó naka-kítaq. [clauses]  
I went, but I didn't get a chance to see (anything).
- Ceb mu-qádtu ka ba qu pa-bílin ba?  
Are you going or staying?

TABLE 37  
CO-ORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

| DIALECT (S)   | <i>and</i> | DIALECT (S)   | <i>or</i> | DIALECT (S)   | <i>but</i> |
|---|------------|---|-----------|---|------------|
| Tsg   | qiban      | Tsg   | qatáwa    | Tsg   | saguáq     |
| Kuy   | qi(g)      | Akl, Odg, Ban,<br>Sib   | qoh       | Akl, Alc, Dsp,<br>Lok, Rom, Cap,<br>Hil, Kaw, Ban,<br>Odg, Sib  | péro       |
| Akl, Odg, Ban,<br>Sib   | qag        | Alc, Dsp, Lok,<br>Cap, Hil, Rom   | qo        | Pan, Kin, Gim,<br>Blk, Dtg, Snt,<br>Sem, Kuy, Bty,<br>Cam, Mas, Sor,<br>Gub, N-S, S-L,<br>War, Ceb, Boh,<br>Ley, Sur, Jau,<br>Nat, Kan, But | píru       |
| Ceb, Boh, Ley,<br>Sur, Jau, Nat,<br>Kan, But  | qug        | Pan, Kin, Gim,<br>Blk, Dtg, Snt,<br>Sem, Kuy, Bty,<br>Cam, Mas, Sor,<br>Gub, N-S, S-L,<br>War, Ceb, Boh,<br>Ley, Sur, Jau,<br>Nat, Kan, But | qu        | Akl   | qápañ      |
| Alc, Dsp, Lok,<br>Pan, Kin, Gim,<br>Blk, Dtg, Snt,<br>Sem, Rom, Mas,<br>Cap, Hil, Kaw | kag        |   |           | Ceb   | qapán      |
| N-S, S-L, War   | ñan        |   |           |   |            |
| Sor, Gub, Cam   | nan        |   |           |   |            |

Subordinating conjunctions are only pre-clausal; they do not necessarily occur between the elements they join. Those that mean 'if', 'so that', 'even if', and 'maybe' often take verbs in the independent inflection:

Ceb kun mu-lakáw siyá, pa-hibalq-á ku.  
*If he goes, inform me.*

Akl kon q<um>abót qimáw, ma-káqon dáyon kitá.  
*When he arrives, we'll eat immediately.*

Ceb qúndañ na ta, kay qi-kápuy man qakú.  
*Let's quit, because I'm tired.*

Akl gin-pa-táwad ko qimáw, qay qáko ñ qiq-kámpud man qábiq.  
*I forgave him, because (he's) my cousin.*

Ceb na-matáy siyá humán sa dúgay ñ sakít.  
*He died after a long sickness.*

Akl na-matáy qimáw, pagkatápus, na-bánhaw.  
*He died, then rose.*

Ceb mu-pa-qúliq siyá qarún paq-qutáw.  
*She's going home to iron.*

Akl gin-balígyaq ko qagúd maka-káqon man kitá.  
*I sold (it), so that we could eat.*

TABLE 38  
SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

| DIALECT (S)   | <i>if, when, whenever</i> | DIALECT (S)                 | <i>because</i>         | DIALECT (S)                                 | <i>then, afterwards</i> |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| Tsg   | baŋ                       | Tsg                         | sabáb                  | Tsg   | (pag)qubús              |
| Sem,Snt,Rom,<br>Boh,But                                     | kuŋ                       | Kuy                         | təŋəd                  | N-S,S-L,War                                 | ka-tíma                 |
| Akl,Ale,Dsp,<br>Lok,Cap,Hil,<br>Ban,Odg,Sib                 | kon                       | Ban,Odg,Sib                 | tuŋór                  | Boh,Ceb,Sur                                 | (pagka)həmán            |
| most others   | kun                       | Akl                         | qay                    | Ceb,Ley,Jau                                 | (pagka)humán            |
|   |                           | most others                 | kay                    | most others                                 | (pagka)tápus            |
| DIALECT (S)   | <i>so that</i>            | DIALECT (S)                 | <i>maybe, perhaps</i>  | DIALECT (S)                                 | <i>until</i>            |
| Tsg   | subáy                     | Tsg                         | kalukalu               | Tsg   | sámpay                  |
| Sor,Gub,N-S,<br>S-L,War                                     | básiq                     | N-S,S-L,War                 | báŋin                  | Boh,Ceb,Sur                                 | háŋtəd                  |
| Boh,Ceb,Ley   | qarún                     | Sib                         | subáliŋ                | Ceb,Ley,But,<br>Jau,Nat                     | háŋtud                  |
| Pan,Kin   | qagád                     | Ban,Odg                     | sabáliŋ                | Kuy   | qandaq                  |
| Ban,Odg,Sib   | qagór                     | Boh                         | básiq                  | Snt,Sem,Dsp,<br>Blk,Pan,Kin,<br>Cap,Hil,Odg | qásta                   |
| most others   | qagúd                     | Ceb,Boh,Ley                 | básin                  | Akl,Cap,Hil                                 | túbtub                  |
|   |                           | most others                 | básiq                  | Sor,Gub                                     | hangan                  |
| DIALECT (S)   | <i>even if, although</i>  | DIALECT (S)                 | <i>so, therefore</i>   | most others                                 | hásta                   |
| Akl,Ceb   | máski-                    | Tsg                         | sabàbyaqún<br>batkálna | DIALECT (S)                                 | <i>unless, except</i>   |
| Akl,Dsp,Lok,<br>Blk,Pan,Kin,<br>Cap,Hil,Mas,<br>Rom,Boh,Ceb | máskin                    | Blk,Odg,Sib,<br>Mas,Sor,Gub | kayáq                  | Tsg   | luál                    |
| Tsg   | mísan                     | Akl,Rom                     | busáq                  | Ceb   | kundíliq                |
| N-S,S-L,War,<br>Ceb,Ley,Sur,<br>Nat,Jau,But                 | bísan                     | Hil,Ceb                     | búsa                   | most others                                 | kúndiq                  |
| most others   | bisán                     | most others                 | búsaq                  |   |                         |

- Ceb pag-dalá qug páyug, bási-g mu-qulán.  
Bring an umbrella, it might rain.
- Akl básiq maq-qabót si mánog hindúnaq.  
Maybe brother will arrive.
- Ceb gi-túrsi ku qíya η kamút hántud na ma-hílak siyá.  
I twisted his arm until he cried.
- Akl qíndiq gid qakó mag-pánaw hásta maq-promíso ka.  
I simply won't leave until you promise.
- N-S díriq na gud qádtu ma-bálik, bísan pag-taḡis-án mu pa sin duqúq.  
That will never return, even if you shed tears of blood for it.
- Akl quwáq ðun qit sundáto, busáq kitá ðun do ma-hiḡuháq.  
There are no more soldiers, therefore we must be the ones to try.
- Ceb wa-y láqin maka-súlbad sa qáku η sulirán, kun díliq gikáw.  
There's no one who can solve my problems, except you.
- Akl waq qit maka-qabót qídto, kúndiq kitá maq-pánaw.  
No one will arrive there unless we leave.

#### 4.10.2. Temporal Discourse Particles

Discourse particles are short words, often monosyllabic, that add a frame of reference (temporal, attitudinal, etc.) to a phrase or clause. Unless otherwise specified, those discussed below are enclitic.

The incompletive particle *pa still, yet* is found in all dialects:

Akl quwáq pa sánda ka-káqon.  
They still haven't eaten.

Ceb may qusá pa.  
There's still one (left).

The completive particle *na now, already* is found in most dialects except the WBs group, which has Akl ðun, Alc, Dsp, Lok ron, Blk, Dtg, Snt run, Pan, Kin, Gim, Sem, Kuy rən:

Akl naka-káqon ðun sánda.  
They've already eaten.

Ceb humán na.  
It's finished now.

The patience particle *first, for now* (see Table 39) denotes the priority of one action over another. It is often used to soften commands, in the sense of English 'please':

Akl qisl-an ko qánay ráya.  
*I'll change this one first.*

Ceb qi-bután qúsaq dirí.  
*Put it here for now.*

#### 4.10.3. Attitudinal Particles (see Table 39)

All dialects have a particle that expresses one's ignorance of or indifference to a matter:

Akl taqó kon siqín qimáw.  
*I don't know where he is.*

Ceb qámbut (ka)nímu.  
*I don't care, it's up to you.*

The emphatic particle connotes emphasis, exaggeration, or contrast; it can sometimes be translated by English 'very' or 'indeed'.

Akl qakó gid.  
*Me! (Who else?)*

Ceb lamíq gyud.  
*Very delicious.*

The confirmation particle connotes insistence on a point; it conveys the speaker's attempt to affirm or confirm something with his addressees or listeners:

Akl baráto gániq ráya.  
*Even this one is cheap.*

Ceb paríhu ta-g sinínaq gániq qan qímu putíq.  
*We have the same kind of shirt, only yours is white.*

The limiting particle generally means 'only' or 'just':

Akl parého lan.  
*(It's) just the same.*

Ceb qakú lan.  
*Only me.*

The optative particle denotes a strong wish or desire on the part of the speaker:

Akl qimáw kúntaq ro ma-daqóg.  
*I hope he will be the one to win.*

Ceb maka-hulám qúntaq qakú-g kwárta.  
*Hopefully I can borrow some cash.*

The regret particle generally means 'What a shame!' or 'What a waste!' It is proclitic or independent:

Akl kanúgun, na-dúlaq r a η qánwan!  
*What a shame, my carabao is lost!*

Ceb kahinúgun gyud!  
*It's really a shame (about that)!*

The answer particle is always used in giving answers or in establishing rapport in a conversation; sometimes it is translated by 'too' or 'also'.

Akl mayàdqáyad ηa qagáhon. mayàdqáyad ηa qagáhon man.  
*Good morning. Good morning to you too.*

Ceb gi-patáy qusáb qan manà bátaq.  
*They also killed the children.*

The immediate particle denotes the urgency or immediacy of an event:

Akl bákì-on ǎgi nímō.  
*You hurry up and buy (it).*

Ceb mi-lakáw siyá dáyun.  
*He left immediately.*

The discovery particle indicates that the speaker has received new information or is very interested in getting new information:

Akl qikáw galíq ro nag-buqól.  
*Oh, so you're the one who took (it)!*

Ceb qása man diqáy ka?  
*So then, where are you going?*

The possibility particle is similar in meaning to English 'maybe' or 'probably':

Akl ma-húlug sabón qikáw.  
*Maybe you'll fall.*

Ceb qikáw tiqáli qan nag-súmbun.  
*You probably are the one who told.*

The particle *gihápun* still, as usual, as before is found in most Bs dialects (in Sem, Snt, Dtg it has the shape *giqápun*) except Kuy and Tsg:

Akl mayád ka man gihápun.  
*You're just as good as before.*

Ceb nag-pa-bílin gihápun ηa qulitáwu si simún.  
*Simon still remains an old bachelor.*

TABLE 39  
DISCOURSE PARTICLES

| DIALECT(S)  | [ <i>patience</i> ]  | DIALECT(S)  | [ <i>ignorance</i> ] | DIALECT(S)  | [ <i>emphatic</i> ]    |
|---|----------------------|---|----------------------|---|------------------------|
| Ceb,Boh,Ley   | qúsaq                | Akl   | taqó                 | Mas,Sor,Gub,<br>Ceb,Nat   | gayúd                  |
| N-S   | qúnqa                | Pan,Kin   | (l)ámbaiq            | Ban,Odg,Sib   | gadór                  |
| Ceb,Boh   | qúnaq                | Alc,Dsp,Lok,<br>Blk,Snt,Sem,<br>Dtg,Kuy,Rom,<br>Ban,Odg,Sib                 | qilám                | Boh,Ley,Sur,<br>Jau,Kan   | gajúd                  |
| But,Tsg   | náqa                 | Ceb   | balú                 | Cam   | gazúd                  |
| Sur,Nat   | naqáy                | Boh   | qináy                | Ceb   | gyud                   |
| most others   | qánay                | Cap,Hil,Kaw,<br>Cam,Bty,Mas,<br>Sor,Gub,N-S,<br>S-L,War,Ceb                 | qámbut               | N-S,S-L,War   | gud                    |
| DIALECT(S)  | [ <i>confirm.</i> ]  | Sur,Jau,Nat,<br>Kan,But,Tsg   | qínday               | Akl,Alc,Dsp,<br>Lok,Pan,Kin,<br>Blk,Snt,Sem,<br>Dtg,Cap,Hil,<br>Kaw,But | gid                    |
| Tsg   | biaq                 | DIALECT(S)  | [ <i>optative</i> ]  | DIALECT(S)  | [ <i>regret</i> ]      |
| Akl,Dsp,Dtg,<br>Rom,Gub,N-S,<br>S-L,War,Sur                 | qániq                | Hil,Cap,Mas   | kuntániq             | Ceb   | kahinúgun              |
| Kuy   | manda                | Akl,Alc,Dsp,<br>Lok,Rom,Sor,<br>Gub,N-S,S-L,<br>War,But                     | kúntaq               | Ceb,Boh   | qanúgun                |
| most others   | gániq                | Ceb,Boh,Ley,<br>Sur,Jau,Kan   | qúntaq               | Akl,Alc,Dsp,<br>Lok,Blk,Pan,<br>Kin,Cap,Hil,<br>Mas,N-S,S-L             | kanúgun                |
| DIALECT(S)  | [ <i>limiting</i> ]  | Ban,Odg,Sib   | tánqa                | DIALECT(S)  | [ <i>answer</i> ]      |
| Tsg   | sája                 | Blk,Pan,Kin   | dáqad                | Ceb,Boh,Ley,<br>Jau,Sur,Nat,<br>Kan,But,Tsg                             | qusáb ~<br>sab         |
| Gub   | hámuk                | Sem,Snt,Dtg   | nándan               | Sem,Snt,Dtg,<br>Kuy,Rom,Ban,<br>Odg,Sib,Ceb                             | ra ~ da                |
| Akl   | ɿaŋ                  | Kuy   | qandan               | most others   | man                    |
| Ban,Odg,Sib   | yaŋ                  | Tsg   | baka                 | DIALECT(S)  | [ <i>possibility</i> ] |
| N-S,S-L,War   | laq                  | DIALECT(S)  | [ <i>discovery</i> ] | Pan,Kin,Gim,<br>Sem,Kuy   | sabón                  |
| most others   | laŋ                  | Akl,Alc,Dsp,<br>Lok,Pan,Kin,<br>Blk,Snt,Sem,<br>Dtg,Kuy,Rom,<br>Cap,Hil,Mas | gal f q              | Akl,Alc,Dsp,<br>Snt,Rom,Cap   | sabón                  |
| Kin,Sor,Sur<br>(alternate)                                  | láman                | Ban,Odg,Sib   | yakíh                | Blk,Dtg   | kabáy                  |
| DIALECT(S)  | [ <i>immediate</i> ] | N-S,S-L,War   | paláq                | Cap,Hil,Kaw,<br>Mas,N-S,S-L,<br>Ceb,Boh,Cam,<br>Sur,Jau,Nat             | tiqáli                 |
| Akl   | ɿági                 | Ceb,Boh,Ley,<br>Sur,Jau,Nat   | diqáy                |   |                        |
| Alc,Dsp,Lok,<br>Pan,Kin,Gim,<br>Blk,Sem,Snt,<br>Dtg,Kuy,Cap | lági                 | But   | tun f q              |   |                        |
| Rom   | dáqan                |   |                      |   |                        |
| Ban,Odg,Sib   | ráqan                |   |                      |   |                        |
| most others   | dáyun                |   |                      |   |                        |



4.10.4. The Comparative Particle is used to bring something to the attention of the addressee for the purpose of comparison or explanation. It is preclausal, and has the following shape in the various dialects:

|  |       |   |                      |  |                  |
|--|-------|---|----------------------|--|------------------|
| Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok,<br>Pan, Kin, Gim, Blk,<br>Sem, Snt, Dtg, Rom,<br>Ban, Odg, Sib | qimáw | Ceb, Boh, Ley,<br>Gub, N-S<br>Mas, Sor, S-L | maqú<br>máqu<br>qámu | Cap, Hil, Kaw<br>Kin, Cam, Mas,<br>Sur, Jau, Nat,<br>Kan, But, Tsg | qamó<br><br>qamú |
|--|-------|---|----------------------|--|------------------|

Akl qimáw gid r a η gústō η hambáŕ-on!

*But that is exactly what I've been trying to say!*

Ceb kádtu η qíya η gi-súlti maqú qəŋ naka-pa-lágut kanákuq.

*What he said was (precisely) what angered me.*

It is frequently used preceding deictics (as in the Akl addressee-oriented deictics in Table 14):

Ceb maqú kiní qəŋ qímu.

*So this one is yours.*

#### 4.11. MAJOR SENTENCE TYPES

##### 4.11.1. Statements

A statement is any sentence to which can be added a tag question, e.g., Akl bukón qábiq, Ceb díliq ba *isn't that so?*. Statements are marked intonationally with a final falling pitch.

Akl naga-quíán† (bukón qábiq†).

*It's raining, (isn't it?)*

Ceb ma-qáyu ni† (díliq ba†).

*This is nice, (isn't it?)*

A tag question is usually the interrogative 'what?' (Table 22a), a combination of the predicative negative and an interrogative discourse particle, or an idiomatic construction (see Table 40).

4.11.2. Commands are of two types, formal (polite) and strong. Both have the same structure and intonational patterns as statements, but neither can be followed by a tag question. The verb is in the imperative mode; the actor (which is not necessarily the topic) is, with few exceptions, second person singular or plural, or first person inclusive. In formal commands the actor is usually stated:

Akl dáŕh-on mo qánay ro rádyo.

*Please (you), bring the radio.*

TABLE 40  
TAG QUESTION PARTICLES IN VARIOUS Bs DIALECTS

|                 |             |                 |                            |
|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| Akl,Dsp,Lok,Alc | bukón qábiq | Sem,Snt,Dtg,Cap | qíndiq balá                |
| Kin,Pan,Gim     | bəkén qábi  | Akl             | qíndiq baʔáh               |
| Sem             | bəkén balá  | S-L,War         | díriq baq                  |
| Blk,Snt         | bukún balá  | Cap,Hil,Kaw     | díliq balá                 |
| Rom             | bukón ba    | Cam,Boh,Ley     | diq ba                     |
| Ban,Odg,Sib     | bukóq bagáh | Ceb,Sur,Jau     | díliq ba                   |
| -----           |             | -----           |                            |
| Kuy             | baga daya   | like this       |                            |
| Sib             | qimáw kalí  | like this       |                            |
|                 |             | Mas             | támaq ba isn't that right? |
|                 |             | Tsg             | ha well?                   |

Ceb pag-dalá kamú dirí-g bir.

You all bring some beer here.

while in strong commands the actor is omitted.

Akl táwq-an ra sa maqéstra.

Give this to the teacher!

Ceb bantay-í qúnyaq siyá.

Take good care of her.

Strong negative commands consist of the prohibitive negative (Table 35) and an aorist form of the verb (Tables 31-32):

Akl qayáw pag-pilak-án ro sinílas.

Don't throw the sandals away!

Cam qizáw pag-kuháq-a qan qapidábit.

Don't get the affidavit!

Formal negative commands consists of the future negative preverb (see 4.8.4.) and a dependent form of the verb:

Akl qínday, qíndiq pag-bákì-on ro búʔak.

Miss, don't buy the flower.

Ceb díliq nímu qi-bután qan kwárta sa lamísa.

Don't you put the money on the table.

## 4.11.3. Questions are of three sorts:

- (1) confirmation or tag questions (discussed above in 4.11.1.);
- (2) information questions, which are introduced by an interrogative particle (see 4.4. for discussion and examples); and
- (3) yes-no questions, which differ from statements only in that they have a final rising pitch:

Akl na-kítq-an mo qimáw†  
*Did you see him?*

Ceb naka-qabút na silá†  
*Did they arrive already?*

Compare with:

Akl na-kítq-an ko qimáw†  
*I saw him.*

Ceb naka-qabút na silá†  
*They've already arrived.*



## CHAPTER FIVE

### CLASSIFICATION OF BISAYAN BASED ON MUTUAL INTELLIGIBILITY

Since this study deals with the subgrouping of Bs and the reconstruction of PBS, the question of whether Bs is one or more languages must be considered (Constantino quote, p.1). The testing of mutual intelligibility is the only method developed so far to determine the dialects and boundaries of a language based on purely synchronic data. Although Bs dialects exhibit great linguistic diversity, there are reasons to believe that most of the dialects studied form an unbroken chain of mutually intelligible dialects (viz: an L-complex, note 55). However, the determination of an L-complex depends upon mutual intelligibility, which has only been tested for WBs and for Mas dialects; while it is believed that results for the entire region would be much the same, no definitive answer can be put forth at this time. The extent of the Bs language shall therefore have to be determined on the basis of other criteria: lexicostatistical classification, functor analysis, and the genetic evidence of shared innovations (Chapters 6ff).

The discussion below is centered on certain principles involved in mutual intelligibility testing in the light of future study, and on an evaluation of the results of testing already done by myself or others.

#### 5.1. KINDS OF MUTUAL INTELLIGIBILITY OBSERVED AMONG BISAYAN DIALECTS

First, there is natural or primary intelligibility, where speakers of two different dialects can communicate freely, even if neither has ever heard the other dialect before. Thus, I found speakers of Blk and Dtg, of Cap and Hil, of Jau and Sur could understand each other with little trouble, even upon first contact.

Second, there is learned or secondary intelligibility, where speakers can adjust to another's dialect in a matter of time. Thus, I found that Blk and Akl are 4-day dialects (following Hockett 1958:326),

in that it took the speakers of each about 4 days to adjust to the other's dialect.

Another phenomenon of secondary intelligibility is *sesquilingualism*, whereby a speaker is fluent in his native dialect, but can only understand (not speak) another. This phenomenon is usually observed at language boundaries where two different speech varieties meet, but there is no significant gap in mutual intelligibility due to the *sesquilingualism* of the speakers. Thus, Wolff reports in a personal communication:

People who come from the Waray-Cebuano border areas seem to be able to understand both perfectly, but people who come from the Cebuano heartland understand Waray only poorly.

Third, there is *one-way intelligibility*, whereby A understands B but B does not understand A:

'Mutual intelligibility' is not only a matter of degree, rather than of kind, but is not always even mutual.  
[Hockett (1958:327)]

Many towns in the Visayas are polylingual centers, receiving radio broadcasts, publications, traders, and visitors from other linguistic areas. The residents of such towns readily understand the speech of these outsiders, but the outsiders cannot so understand the vernacular of the local residents. Thus, for example, in the town of Masbate, the speakers can understand Sorsogonons, Capiznons, Ilonggos, and Cebuanos; but the latter experience varying degrees of difficulty in understanding the Masbateños (see 5.2.3. below).

## 5.2. INTELLIGIBILITY TESTING

In the testing of mutual intelligibility it must be presumed that each speaker is using his dialect with no adjustments on his part to his addressee (e.g., using Tag, Ceb, or Hil loanwords, switching codes to a trade language, etc.), such adjustments being made or learned by the addressee; and vice versa when the addressee speaks. The researcher must decide that each speaker tested can use his own dialect to inquire into, to ascertain, and to learn what he may have missed during the conversation or narrative.

The ideal, but often impracticable, testing grounds in the Philippines are the *barrios* (distant settlements associated politically with a town), where the speakers are generally monolingual, unless they live at a dialect boundary.

Pierce (1952) describes a method of quantification of the degrees of mutual intelligibility; unfortunately, I was not aware of this

method until after I returned from the field. In brief, by his method each sentence of a taped text is broken up into semantic units (such as "I - go - forest. I - lost. kill - I - animal. eat - it. find - trail. return - home."), and then each informant is graded according to his translations of the text on the basis of each unit.<sup>50</sup>

If recordings are to be used, it is imperative that they be clear, and that the material (narrative, description, etc.) be relatively simple and non-technical in nature. If the recordings are not quite clear, even if the dialect is exactly the same, the listener will not understand well; this would obviously deflate scores obtained from other dialect areas, and have nothing to do with actual intelligibility.

During my fieldwork I employed a different method. Tape-recorded texts (consisting of extended autobiographies, personal experiences, methods of planting, fishing, cooking, etc.) were played, and then the listeners were questioned about the content and about the degree of ease of understanding. At least four speakers in each community were tested on all other dialects from which tapes had been obtained; the test was repeated in the other communities to see if the results would be the same.<sup>51</sup> Table 41a relates the informants' decisions to the degree of linguistic relationship of dialect pairs.<sup>52</sup> I considered two speech varieties mutually intelligible if they rated (1) or (2). Such judgments are probably less objective than those that could have been obtained by the method described by Pierce. Furthermore, since one cannot converse with a tape-recording, only comprehension was tested, not actual communication.

TABLE 41a  
INTELLIGIBILITY RATINGS

| Informants understood recording: | The speech-type recorded and the speech-type being tested are: |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. with ease                     | 1. the same dialect  |
| 2. with some difficulty          | 2. close dialects  |
| 3. with great difficulty         | 3. distant dialects  |
| 4. here and there                | 4. close languages   |
| 5. not at all                    | 5. distant languages   |

### 5.2.1. Interpretation of "Mutual" Intelligibility

The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) is involved with translating religious and educational materials into the vernacular. Hence, they undertake intelligibility testing (similar to Pierce's) in order

to determine if existing translations can profitably be used in a second language area. If test scores from several informants do not average better than 78-83%, a new translation is deemed necessary. The testing done by SIL is aimed at determining practical intelligibility.

Some linguists, on the other hand, consider any two speech varieties mutually intelligible if the scores of each are higher than might be attributed to chance (for example, any speaker of a Bs dialect would probably understand Malay *máta ku sákit my eye hurts*, even in running dialogue). Dyen (personal communication) suggests that a score above 10% should indicate that the language pairs being tested are genetically intelligible.

Hence, my judgements about mutual intelligibility can be regarded as conservative, i.e., my excluding dialects which were understood only 'with great difficulty' or 'here and there' is tantamount to a cutoff of 35-40%.

#### 5.2.2. Results of Intelligibility Testing Among WBs Dialects

I was only able to conduct reciprocal testing among the dialects of Cuyo, Semirara, Panay, Mindoro, Tablas, and Romblon. In addition, I was able to take an Aklanon guide with me to these places. Since I am also a near-native speaker of Akl, we rated the degree of communication<sup>53</sup> between him and the speakers of other WBs, Rom, and Odg dialects, thereby using Akl as a test language.

The results of such testing are given in Table 41b. The scores to the left of the dialect names are those obtained from pairs in descending order (i.e., Kuy-Sem, Kuy-Snt, Kuy-Dtg...Kuy-Akl), scores to the right in ascending order (i.e., Sem-Kuy, Snt-Kuy...Akl-Kuy). When the four informants from each dialect area did not agree in judgement, the average score obtained is indicated, followed by a minus sign. The disagreements in judgement were observed to be the result of code noise (Hockett 1958:332), e.g., informants with a ə-less or h-less dialect experience some difficulty in understanding recordings of speakers of dialects with ə or h, even when forms differed only in these regards.

The table indicates that the WBs community is made up of four L-simplexes<sup>54</sup> (those dialects enclosed within the solid lines). Since each of these L-simplexes has an overlap of at least one dialect, the entire WBs community is an L-complex,<sup>55</sup> i.e., an unbroken chain of successively mutually-intelligible dialects.

Furthermore, the WBs dialects that border on other Bs speech communities appear to be linked to those communities through chains of transitional dialects at the borderline areas, due to the sesquillin-



gualism of the speakers on either side of the boundary. Thus, Akl is linked to Hil through Cap; Dsp is linked with Rom; and Kin is linked to Hil through Gim and several other dialects spoken in the towns and barrios of Iloilo Province (e.g., Miag-ao, Pototan, Lambunao, etc.).

TABLE 41b  
RESULTS OF WBs MUTUAL INTELLIGIBILITY TESTS

|     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Kuy | 2   | 3   | 3   | 3-  | 3-  | 3-  | 3-  | 3-  | 4   | 4   | 4   |
| 2   | Sem | 1-  | 1-  | 2   | 2-  | 2-  | 2-  | 1-  | 2-  | 3   | 4   |
| 2   | 1-  | Snt | 1   | 1   | 2   | 2-  | 2   | 2-  | 3-  | 3-  | 3-  |
| 3   | 1   | 1   | Dtg | 1   | 2   | 2   | 2   | 2-  | 3-  | 3-  | 3-  |
| 3   | 1   | 2   | 1   | Blk | 1   | 1   | 1   | 2   | 3   | 3   | 3   |
| 3   | 1-  | 2-  | 2   | 1   | Dsp | 1   | 1   | 1   | 2-  | 3   | 2   |
| 3   | 1-  | 2-  | 2   | 1   | 1   | Lok | 1   | 1   | 2-  | 2-  | 1   |
| 3   | 1-  | 2-  | 2   | 1   | 1   | 1   | Alc | 1   | 2-  | 2-  | 1   |
| 4   | 2   | 2-  | 2   | 2-  | 1-  | 1-  | 1-  | Pan | 1   | 1-  | 2-  |
| 4   | 3   | 3   | 3   | 3   | 2-  | 2-  | 3   | 1   | Kin | 1   | 4   |
| 4   | 3   | 3   | 3-  | 3-  | 3   | 3   | 3   | 1   | 1   | Gim | 4   |
| 4   | 4   | 4   | 4   | 3   | 2-  | 2-  | 1-  | 2-  | 3   | 3   | Akl |

### 5.2.3. Results of Intelligibility Testing on Masbate

Eck (1970) discusses the results of an SIL field trip to Masbate. When recordings of Mas, Sor, Cap, Hil, N-S, and Ceb were played to informants in Masbate town proper, the results were surprisingly high:

For the purpose of measuring genetic intelligibility, factors promoting learned intelligibility should be eliminated if possible. We decided to go into the environs of Masbate and search for people with as little [outside] contact . . . as possible, and who did not have a school education. [Eck (1970:3)]

The averaged results of Mas with the various test dialects were then: Mas (100%), Sor (65.2%), Cap (59.3%), Hil (47.2%), N-S (45.1%), and Ceb (39.3%). While SIL rejected all of the non-Mas scores as below their minimum requirement for practical intelligibility, all are well above Dyen's minimum requirement for genetic intelligibility.

## 5.2.4. The Current Picture of the Bisayan Community

Bs appears to consist of the following L-simplexes:

- (1) Kuy : Sem<sup>56</sup>
- (2) Sem : Snt : Dtg : Blk : Dsp : Lok : Alc : Pan<sup>56</sup>
- (3) (Dsp : Lok) Pan : Kin : Gim<sup>56</sup>
- (4) Akl : Pan : Alc : Dsp : Lok<sup>56</sup>
- (5) Odg : Ban : Sib<sup>56</sup>
- (6) Rom : Kaw : Hil : Cap : Mas<sup>56</sup>
- (7) Mas : Sor : Gub<sup>57</sup>
- (8) Gub : N-S<sup>56</sup>
- (9) N-S : S-L : War<sup>58</sup>
- (10) Ley : Boh : Ceb<sup>58</sup>
- (11) Sur : Jau : Kan : Nat<sup>56</sup>
- (12) But
- (13) Tsg

Cam and Bty are not included, but appear to be transitional dialects between Ceb (in 10) and Hil (in 6). The overlap indicates that much of Bs is an L-complex, from Kuy in the west through S-L in the east, probably including Ceb due to sesquilingualism in many border areas; but it is not certain that all of Bs is, particularly with regard to the Banton (5), Surigao (11), But (12), and Tsg (13) dialects. The degree to which these dialects are mutually intelligible with any members of the Bs L-complex has yet to be ascertained.

Furthermore, as McFarland concludes his study:<sup>59</sup>

[T]he Southern dialects [Mas, Sor, Gub] are clearly Bs, entering into a subgroup with Hil, and probably S-L. If the reports of mutual intelligibility between Northern Sorsogon, on the one hand, and Standard Bikol and Daraga, on the other, are true, the Bikol area dialects all belong to the chain of dialects known as Bs. If these reports are not true, then the boundary between Northern Sorsogon and Standard Bikol constitutes a language boundary between Bs and Bk. The resolution of this question awaits further study. (1974:283f)

The degree of mutual intelligibility of CPh (not just Bs) languages, particularly at boundary areas or upon recontact, is a matter of socio-linguistic and historical importance. But the researcher must be careful to note the kind, the degree, and the significance of the intelligibility he observes.

CHAPTER SIX  
 LEXICOSTATISTICAL CLASSIFICATION OF BISAYAN DIALECTS

6.1. THE 100-MEANING LIST

For purposes of comparison without a computer, a modified version of the Swadesh 100-meaning list (Swadesh 1955) was adopted (Table 42).

TABLE 42  
 THE SWADESH 100-MEANING LIST (MODIFIED)

Forms marked with an asterisk (\*) are modified from the original list and are explained in the text.

|         |             |            |           |
|---------|-------------|------------|-----------|
| all     | feather     | man/male   | sleep     |
| ashes   | *fingernail | many       | *small    |
| belly   | fire        | meat       | smoke     |
| big     | fish (n)    | moon       | stand     |
| bird    | fly (v)     | mountain   | star      |
| bite    | foot        | mouth      | stone     |
| black   | full        | name       | sun       |
| blood   | give        | neck       | swim      |
| *body   | *good       | new        | tail      |
| bone    | *green      | night      | *this     |
| breast  | hair        | nose       | *that     |
| burn    | hand        | *not       | thou      |
| *cloud  | head        | *one       | tongue    |
| cold    | hear        | person     | tooth     |
| *come   | heart       | rain       | tree/wood |
| die     | horn        | red        | two       |
| dog     | I           | road/trail | *walk     |
| drink   | kill        | root       | warm/hot  |
| dry     | knee        | round      | water     |
| ear     | *know       | sand       | we (excl) |
| earth   | leaf        | say/said   | what?     |
| eat     | lie down    | see        | white     |
| egg     | liver       | *seed      | who?      |
| eye     | long        | sit        | woman     |
| fat (n) | louse       | skin       | *yellow   |

Although the 200-meaning list would have given greater differentiation in the scores, the additional hours required would not have made it a practical advantage since my purpose is only to have a sample of lexicostatistical subgrouping, which can then be compared with the subgrouping obtained on the basis of agreement among functors (Chapter 7) or on the basis of shared innovations (Chapters 9ff).

The following are the revisions or special applications of the Swadesh list which became necessary:

*Bark* is rarely a monomorphemic form in Philippine languages; it is most often translated by *skin of tree* or *peeling of tree*. Since *skin* is already on the list, it was felt that *body* would be a good replacement - the forms elicited usually define isoglosses corresponding to major subgroups among Philippine languages [see Zorc (1974a)].

*Come* was taken in the sense of *arrive* since the form for *come here* (near speaker) most often doubles with the form for *this* (near speaker), compounded with verb-forming morphemes.

*Cloud* was taken in the sense of *raincloud* in order to insure parallelism in both elicitation and scoring.

*Claw* was interpreted as *fangernail*, in order to insure ease and parallelism in elicitation, due to the proliferation of terms for *claw* depending on the kind of animal (e.g., *claw of chicken, of dog, of cat*, etc.). In any event, most Bs dialects and many Philippine languages have the same form as a general term for *claw* and the word for *fangernail*.

*Good* was taken in the sense of *doing something well* or *good at doing*. In most Philippine languages this form also covers the semantic range of *being well or healthy* as in English *I'm fine* or *I feel good today*.

Since there is often too much difficulty in eliciting homosemantic colour terms in Philippine languages [see Conklin (1955)], *green* was taken in the secondary sense of *unripe*.<sup>60</sup> Thus a sentence like *The banana is still unripe (= green)* was used for elicitation.

*Know* was taken in the sense of *to know facts* or *to know as a fact*, not *to know how to do something* or *to know a person*, although all three senses were elicited (see Table 34).

*Lie* was taken in the sense intended by Swadesh *to lie down in supine position*, and not *to tell a falsehood*. Reid and Walton report that members of the SIL had difficulties in eliciting a single form, but rather got a variety of positional terms, e.g., *to lie on one's side, to lie on one's back, to lie on one's stomach*, etc. (personal communication). It was found easiest to elicit all of the possible senses, and then to query the informant as to which was the basic sense of

to lie down as when one goes to sleep or rest, as CBS \*higdaq, WBS \*hingaq, SBs \*kulán.

*Not* was scored for the future verbal negative, as in *I will not go*. In Bs different forms may be elicited for the present, past, future, possessive, or prohibitive negatives, and hence one specific sense had to be selected (see 4.8.).

*One* was chosen as a counter in a series, as opposed to several possible enumerative adjectival forms, i.e., PBS \*qesá or \*qisá vs \*saŋka, \*sambátu, \*sambflug, \*sambuquk, etc. (see Table 21a).

*Seed* was chosen in the sense of *rice seeds (selected for the next planting)*, since if any Philippine society is going to have organised agriculture of nontuberous plants, this is the most basic kind of seed. Words also exist for the small seeds found in most vegetables and the smaller fruits, and for large seeds found in fruits such as mangoes. Unfortunately all of these terms are subject to cross-cultural borrowing. The form selected most often corresponded to PHS \*bənhiq, which probably was spread by borrowing long ago and has since developed the reflexes indigenous to each dialect. This supposes, of course, that rice culture was spread throughout the Philippines long before the breakup of the Bisayan community.

*Small* was chosen in the sense of *a small amount* as opposed to *a small child* or *a small table*.

*This* was taken as the deictic showing proximity to speaker alone, or to speaker and addressee. Where more than one form existed, the most proximate to speaker was chosen.

*That* was taken as the deictic showing remoteness from speaker. Often up to three deictics may express this meaning: *that* (near addressee, but far from speaker), *that* (far away from both speaker and addressee), *that* (yonder, very remote in time, space, or psychological perception). The form denoting the most remote category was used for comparison.

*Walk* was taken in the sense of *walk on two legs* as humans do, differentiating it from the quadrupedal gait, as of a horse. A sentence like *Can the baby walk yet?* was used to elicit this sense and keep it from senses such as *walk* (as opposed to riding on vehicle), *walk* (as opposed to running), or *walk away* (= *leave*).

*Yellow* was taken in the sense of the discolouration of white things due to age or disease, viz: the white of one's eyes, one's teeth, or clothing, e.g., *The shirt yellowed*.

## 6.2. SCORING OF THE LIST

In scoring, a principle of morphological identity was introduced and strictly adhered to. It is not considered sufficient for a positive score that forms compared share an etymon if there is a difference in formation; differences in formation are treated as critical in the overall scoring of dialect pairs. Thus, War *ɳatanán* and Hil *tanán all* are scored minus because the War form shows an additional formative (the ligature *ɳa*). Although regular sound shifts (e.g., PPH \*ə > Akl, Ceb, Hil, Mas, etc. *u*, PPH \*l, \*r > Akl *ɺ*, Odg *y*, etc.) and differences in accent (stress or length) were ignored, any other kind of disagreement yielded a negative score, e.g., Akl *túbiq* vs Blk *túbig water* (where the final *-q* in Akl is not a regular correspondence of Blk *-g* or PPH \**-R*). In cases where doublets exist, one of which is cognate and the other not, a system of half points was introduced, e.g., Tag *tayóq* or *tindíg* vs Hil *tíndog stand*, or Hil *balahíbo* or *búlbul* and Tag *balahíbo feather, body hair* vs Tag *bulbúl meaning pubic hair*.

## 6.3. ACCOUNTING FOR THE HIGHER PERCENTAGES

Despite attempts to lower scores, the percentages recorded in Tables 43-46 are quite high. These unusually high percentages are due to the following circumstances:

1. The Swadesh 100-meaning list is such that the items selected for it from the 200 meaning list yield a higher retention rate (Swadesh 1955:127).

This can readily be seen as the result of Dyen's ranking of 196 meanings selected from the Swadesh 200-meaning list for the probability of the retention of the words listed for each meaning among Austro-nesian languages (Dyen 1967). If we rank the meanings on the 100-item list based on Dyen's ranking of the 196-item list, the higher retention rate of the shorter list is apparent. Among Dyen's first 100 ranked items 58 meanings from the 100-word list can be found. The last (i.e., the hundredth) item from the Swadesh 100 is 183 *cold* on Dyen's list. Furthermore, of the seven meanings added by Swadesh to the 100-list, which are not found on the 200-meaning list, four have had high retention rates among Philippine and Austronesian languages: PAN \**pənúq full*, PAN \**súsu breast*, PPH \**búlan* < PAN *bulaN moon*, and PPH \**ku()**kúh* < PAN \**kuSkúS claw*. One may then legitimately expect scores to be from 5% to 8% higher when using the Swadesh 100-meaning list.

2. My replacement of *bark* by *body* (PBS \**láwas*), *green* by *unripe* (PBS \**hiláw*), *come* by *arrive* (PBS \**qabút*), and *claw* by *fangernail* (PBS \**kukúh-*) tends to raise the averages at least 3% in most cases among Bs dialects.

3. The word lists were mostly gathered by myself, and great care was employed in getting exact semantic equivalents. This avoided the problem of lacunae in the data, and of counting as negative two items which were not comparable in the first place, e.g., *know how to do something vs know as a fact, lie down as when resting vs lie down on one's back, side, or stomach, good at doing something vs a good person, hand* as opposed to the whole arm, *foot* as opposed to the whole leg, and so on. When working with someone else's data, it is difficult to determine the exact meaning of the form elicited, and whether it is correctly matched and then cognate with the other forms being compared.

Any one or all of the above reasons can account for the significant difference between Thomas and Healey's figure of 52% for Kuy-Ceb (1962), and my 67%; or Dyen's But-Ceb 67.5% (1965a) and my 74%; Dyen's Kuy-Hil 62.3%, my 73%; or Dyen's Kuy-Bik 50.9%, my 56%.

Since Bs is such a close-knit family, borrowing and the direction of borrowing are difficult to determine and often yield results indistinguishable from those of common inheritance; it was decided not to eliminate forms from the comparison, but rather to be wary of asymmetrical or inflated scores when interpreting the results. Thus, the high scores of Hil with Ceb (80%) and with Kin (79%) are put into brackets (in Table 43) because they do not follow the decreasing pattern observable for Hil. Such asymmetrical high scores are disregarded.

A case in point illustrating the reasons for these higher percentages is Dyen's comparison of Hil-Tag (1967:164-65). Taking the 196 items presented, Dyen scores 80 as True (plus), 87 as False (minus), and 29 as 0 (indeterminable or unrepresented in the data), leaving a total of 167 usable items. The retention percentage is 47.90. If we fill in the blanks, 18 of the added items are cognate, 11 not; the retention percentage then appears as 50.00.

However, a few errors exist in the Dyen list, surely due to incorrect information rather than faulty judgement. They tend to correct themselves, since ten cognate items are marked F but six noncognate items are marked T. Besides correcting these errors, the lists can be scored according to the principles outlined in section 6.2., yielding a score of 50.76%, which is still reasonably close to Dyen's original score (47.90%) and even closer to the score derived from filling in the lacunae (50.00%). Thus, the scores from comparisons with the Swadesh 200-meaning list are not very different.

But if we apply Dyen's judgements of T and F to the 100-meaning list there are some problems. First: Dyen does not include eight meanings, *claw/fingernail, full, breast, horn, knee, moon, round,*

*that*. Dyen excluded *that* from his 200-item comparison "because the variety of classes of cognate relations was too great to be fitted into the program adopted." (1965a:17) The first seven meanings were added by Swadesh to the 100-list and were either not available to or else were not considered by Dyen. Second: my change of *bark* to *body* and *green* to *unripe* introduces two more gaps between the list Dyen used and my own. Furthermore, 15 of the remaining 90 items are marked 0, thereby leaving 75 usable pairs (43 T's and 32 F's), yielding a percentage of 57.33. With so many (25) unmarked pairs the information given by the figure is minimal. If the full 100-meaning list is scored with the appropriate corrections and additions, the score is 61.50%.

Thus, no matter how one scores, the range of the 200-meaning list gives a Tag-Hil comparison of from 47.90% to 50.76%, but the 100-meaning list from 57.33% to 61.50%; i.e., there is a difference of from 6.57% to 13.60% between scores obtained by means of the two different Swadesh lists. This, of course, is only a single instance, but it demonstrates that the Swadesh 100-meaning list generally gives higher scores than the 200-meaning list. Furthermore, greater care in gathering data (preferably by one person) in order to get the proper forms for each meaning should also raise the score above those gotten from variously collected and compared lists.

#### 6.4. INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

Table 43 gives the results of a lexicostatistical comparison of the major Bs dialects, among which are included those dialects that serve as centers in or links between the various L-simplexes of Bs (see 5.2.2. and 5.2.4.). Tagalog (Manila) and Bikol (Naga) are also included in order to show how low these genetically-close languages score in comparison with members of the Bs complex.

A cut-off point of 80% was selected because most dialects show a significant drop after the lowest score in the 80s with another dialect. For example, for Blk there is Blk-Rom 86%, followed by Blk-Hil 78% (-8); for Ak1 there is Ak1-Hil 83%, and then Ak1-Mas 74% (-9); for But there is But-Sur 83%, and then But-War 70% (-13); and so on. The higher scores are enclosed within the solid line in the table.

The scores suggest that Bs consists of a chain of dialects starting from the dialects in the west (Kin, Kuy, Blk, Ak1), going through those in the central and eastern area (Rom, Hil, Mas, War), and ending with the dialects to the south on Mindanao (Sur, But). The connection between War and Sur seems tenuous, but there are dialects of War and Sur (viz: War-Jau) which score as high as 81% (Table 46). Odg, Ceb, and Tsg are put near the bottom of the table because they do not fit





well into any other part of the chain. Odg is clearly Bs since it has a significantly high percentage with Rom (83%), and since its percentages are over 70% with all other Bs dialects except But-Tsg. Likewise, Ceb has its highest percentage with Sur (80%),<sup>61</sup> and most of its other scores are above 72%, except with some of the WBs dialects and with Tsg. However, each of these two dialects then appears to be rather distant from the other Bs dialects, since their next lower percentages get increasingly lower than those of Rom and Sur respectively. The figures for Odg do not parallel the figures for Rom (which has 86% with Akl and 84% with Hil, while Odg has only 76% with Akl and 77% with Hil). Nor do the percentages of Ceb parallel those of Sur (which has 83% with But, while Ceb has only 74% with But). Therefore, one is justified in regarding Odg and Ceb as marginal members of the Bs subgroup, with Odg located between WBs and CBs, and Ceb between CBs and SBs.

Tsg and Tag share similar scores rarely differing by more than two points. However, the scores for Tsg rise significantly when compared with SBs dialects; they are from 10 to 24 points higher than the Tag scores with Sur and But respectively. The slight rise in score of Mas and Odg when compared with Tag is probably the result of borrowing since these dialects are spoken on islands bordering the Tag region. There is, therefore, good evidence for regarding Tsg as having its closest genetic affiliation with But, and as having been a part of the Bs community in the past.

The Bik scores appear consistently remote from all Bs dialects. Even if only the Naga dialect is represented here, McFarland (1974:86f) found no Bk dialect score above 74% with any Bs dialect (Daraga-Sor); all other Bk-Bs scores fall below 71%.

#### 6.5. LEXICOSTATISTICAL EVIDENCE OF SUBGROUPS WITHIN BISAVAN

Based on the uniform agreement of high percentages (viz: above 80%) among Bs dialects not listed in Table 43 for which adequate information is available, the lexicostatistical scores lead us to hypothesize the division of Bs into three subgroups (WBs, CBs, and SBs) which are linked together by transitional dialects. Odg, Ceb, and Tsg are treated as marginal members and do not enter directly into this comparison.

### 6.5.1. West Bisayan

The figures in Table 44 indicate the overall unity of WBs dialects; most have a percentage of 85 or higher with one another. Thus, WBs dialects are lexicostatistically closer to one another than to other Bs dialects, and they show less diversity than any other Bs subgroup. The highest scores are set off by the solid line; and the lowest scores, marking the extremes of the WBs community (Kin, Kuy, Ak1) are set off by the broken line. High scores of some dialects with Rom, Cap, or Hil indicate the connection of WBs with CBs.

### 6.5.2. Central Bisayan

The figures in Table 45 indicate that the CBs dialects show the greatest diversity among Bs subgroups; the lowest score (Rom-N-S 65%) is just six percentage points higher than the lowest score for the whole Bs complex (Tsg-Kin, Hil, Mas 59%). Nonetheless all members of CBs are connected to at least one other by a score of 82% or better. Although this subgroup is quite diverse geographically as well, the two members which score the lowest with other members of the CBs community are N-S (average score 70.57%) and Gub (average score 72.29%), which lie across the San Bernardino Strait from each other. Mas has the highest average score (81.57%), and War the second highest average (78.86%).

### 6.5.3. South Bisayan

The figures in Table 46 indicate that the SBs dialects also form a cohesive and uniform subgroup (similar to WBs). SBs appears to be linked to Tsg (through But), to CBs-War (through Jau and Sur), to Boh-Ceb (through Jau and Sur), and to Kamayo of the Mansakan group (through Nat and Jau).

TABLE 44

## 100-MEANING LEXICOSTATISTICAL COMPARISON (SWADESH LIST MODIFIED)

| WEST BISAYAN DIALECTS |     |     |               |     |     |                   |     |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|---------------|-----|-----|-------------------|-----|
| Kuy                   |     |     |               |     |     |                   |     |
| 89                    | Dtg |     |               |     |     |                   |     |
| 86                    | 91  | Sem | (Sem-Snt 95%) |     |     |                   |     |
| 85                    | 91  | 94  | Blk           |     |     |                   |     |
| 86                    | 90  | 91  | 92            | Pan |     |                   |     |
| 86                    | 92  | 90  | 92            | 93  | Dsp | (Dsp-Lok/Alc 98%) |     |
| 82                    | 89  | 86  | 88            | 91  | 94  | Akl               |     |
| 80                    | 85  | 86  | 87            | 87  | 86  | 83                | Kin |

| Outside links: |          |          |          |
|----------------|----------|----------|----------|
|                | Rom      | Cap      | Hil      |
| 90%            | Dsp      |          |          |
| 89%            |          |          |          |
| 88%            |          |          |          |
| 87%            | Dtg, Pan |          |          |
| 86%            | Akl, Blk |          |          |
| 85%            | Sem      |          |          |
| 84%            |          | Akl, Dsp |          |
| 83%            |          |          | Akl, Dsp |
| 82%            |          | Pan      |          |
| 81%            |          |          |          |
| 80%            | Kuy      |          |          |

TABLE 45

## 100-MEANING LEXICOSTATISTICAL COMPARISON (SWADESH LIST MODIFIED)

| CENTRAL BISAYAN DIALECTS |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Gub                      |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| 83                       | Sor |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| 78                       | 88  | Mas |     |     |     |     |     |
| 73                       | 76  | 83  | War |     |     |     |     |
| 66                       | 71  | 86  | 81  | Hil |     |     |     |
| 67                       | 69  | 84  | 82  | 92  | Cap |     |     |
| 66                       | 72  | 80  | 75  | 84  | 86  | Rom |     |
| 73                       | 70  | 72  | 82  | 66  | 66  | 65  | N-S |

Outside links:

|     | Odg | Ceb        | Jau | Sur |
|-----|-----|------------|-----|-----|
| 83% | Rom |            |     |     |
| 82% |     |            |     |     |
| 81% |     |            | War |     |
| 80% |     | [Cap, Hil] |     |     |
| 79% | Mas |            |     | War |

For links of Rom, Cap, and Hil to WBs, see Table 44.

TABLE 46

100-MEANING LEXICOSTATISTICAL COMPARISON (SWADESH LIST MODIFIED)

| SOUTH BISAYAN DIALECTS |     |     |     |     |  |
|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--|
| Sur                    |     |     |     |     |  |
| 93                     | Jau |     |     |     |  |
| 89                     | 90  | Nat |     |     |  |
| 85                     | 86  | 82  | Kan |     |  |
| 83                     | 83  | 85  | 77  | But |  |

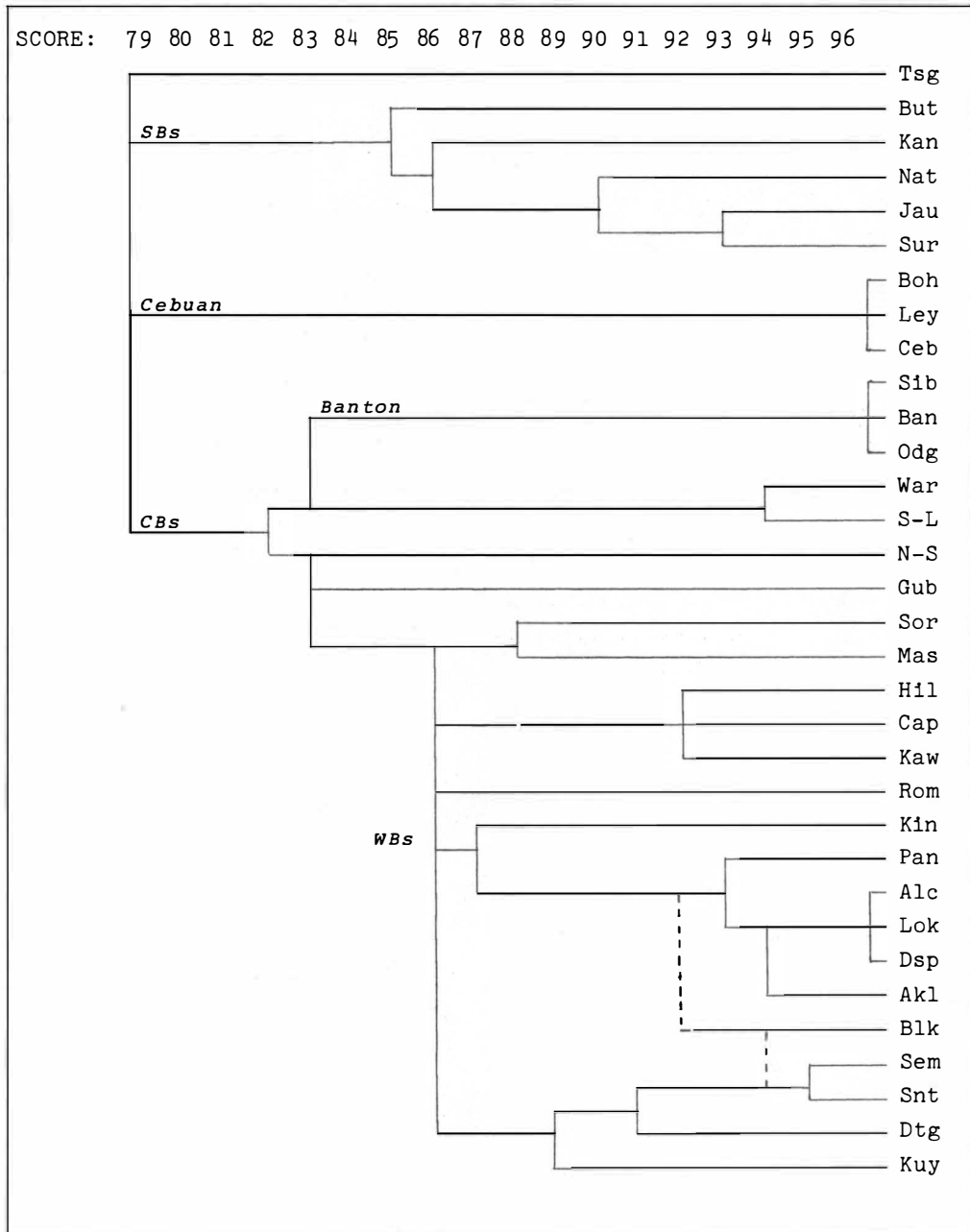
  

| Outside links: |     |     |     |        |     |
|----------------|-----|-----|-----|--------|-----|
|                | Boh | Ceb | War | Kamayo | Tsg |
| 81%            | Sur |     | Jau | Nat    |     |
| 80%            | Jau | Sur |     |        |     |
| 79%            |     | Jau | Sur | Jau    | But |

### 6.6. A LEXICOSTATISTICAL TREE

Following Hoenigswald (1973:46-54) a tree may be drawn on the basis of lexicostatistical scores. While genetic "[t]rees may be studied without giving any meaning to the length of the edges connecting the vertices" (46), glottochronological trees presume a relationship between the passage of time and the length of the lines from vertex to vertex. Even if one does not accept the purported genetic evidence of lexicostatistical scores, Tree Diagram 8 still serves as one index of the synchronic distance between Bs dialect pairs.

TREE DIAGRAM 8  
LEXICOSTATISTICAL DISTANCE BETWEEN Bs DIALECT PAIRS



NOTE: Not enough information was available for Bty, Cam, Gim.





## CHAPTER SEVEN

### FUNCTOR CLASSIFICATION OF BISAYAN DIALECTS

Roughly, then, the total stock of elementary forms of a language can be split into two unequal portions: *tea*, *write*, and all other grammatically "unimportant" forms go into one portion (by far the larger), while *he*, *she*, and all other grammatically "important" forms go into the other. The deletion of any one or two forms from the first portion would leave the grammatical system of the language essentially unchanged; the deletion of even a single item of the second kind would have drastic consequences. Equally drastic consequences could not be achieved by tinkering with the first portion unless we deleted all the members of some large form-class. (Hockett 1958:261-62)

Since the Swadesh list is primarily one of contentives based on universal meanings, a second list was devised consisting of 100 functors found specifically in CPh languages. Comparison of Bs dialect pairs on the basis of this list is presented as an additional technique for subgrouping.<sup>62</sup>

McFarland introduces a similar comparison:

In addition to . . . qualitative comparisons, it is particularly useful to compare morphemes quantitatively, since such comparison may yield evidence with regard to the historical development of the various dialects. . . . [T]wo factors--high frequency of occurrence and syntactic importance--would seem to predict high stability, that is, low probability of replacement, for the functors and other restricted-class morphemes. (1974:121-22)

Of the 150 morphemes ranked by McFarland as occurring with the highest text frequency among Bikol area dialects, only twelve were strictly lexical: *say*, *arrive*, *person*, *tell*, *finish*, *name*, *happen*, *house*, *time*, *see*, *good*, *man/male*; the remaining 138 are functors (McFarland 1974: 313-19).

While both the lexicostatistical and functor comparisons count the sum of retentions and common innovations without distinguishing between

them, the number of shared retentions from earlier stages of proto-languages observed in the latter method is considerably smaller. In the lexicostatistical classification all Bs dialects shared the same etyma for 31 of the meanings. Of these 21 were retentions from PAN, three from PHS, one from PPH, three from PSP, two from PMP, and one from PCP.<sup>63</sup> However, only 24 etyma were reflected in all Bs dialects from the functor classification. Of these, only 12 were retentions from PAN, two from PHS, one from PPH, five from PSP, one from PMP, and three from PCP.<sup>64</sup>

As different as the two methods are, the results for Bs are comparable in most regards (see discussion and evaluation in 7.6.).

### 7.1. COMPOSITION OF THE 100-FUNCTOR LIST

The functor list is made up of 100 grammar-based morphemes of high text frequency or paradigmatic importance<sup>65</sup> in Bs and other CPh languages. The complete list is presented in Table 47. English glosses are given to help approximate the semantic range of each functor; PBS and, in some cases, WBs, CBs, or SBs reconstructions are also given to specify the forms used in the comparison. In cases where no such reconstruction is known due to diverse dialectal developments (e.g., 'today' #078, 'later on' #081) Tag and Ceb equivalents have been presented. Innovations that have reshaped or replaced PBS forms are discussed in detail in chapters 11-13.

In composing the list, I included complete paradigms of pronouns deictics, the case-marking particles, negatives, and interrogatives, which account for approximately half of the list (52 items). However, in selecting the remaining categories, I chose functors most likely to be different among Bs dialects, and excluded those that were observed to be the same. Thus, I omitted the numbers '*five*' (Pan-Bs *limá*), '*seven*' (Pan-Bs *pitú*), etc., but included those that showed dialectal differences (#063-068); I excluded the active potential dependent verb affix (Pan-Bs *maka-*), but included the active potential past because at least But shows a difference (*mika-*) from the other dialects (*naka-*).

TABLE 47  
COMPOSITION OF THE 100-FUNCTOR COMPARATIVE LIST

NOTE: Starred forms are PBs unless otherwise indicated.

TOPIC PRONOUNS [See 4.3.1. and Tables 10a-d.]

- 001 first person singular \*akú I
- 002 second person singular \*ikáw thou
- 003 third person singular \*siyá he/she
- 004 first person plural exclusive \*kamí we (not ye)
- 005 first person dual inclusive \*kitá thou and I
- 006 first person plural inclusive PMP \*kitá+yu ye and I
- 007 second person plural \*kamú ye
- 008 third person plural \*sidá they

OBLIQUE PRONOUNS

- 009 first person singular \*ákən ~ \*ákəq my
- 010 second person singular \*ímu thy
- 011 third person singular \*íya his/hers
- 012 first person plural exclusive \*ámən ~ \*áməq ours (not yours)
- 013 first person dual inclusive PMP \*íta thine and mine
- 014 first person plural inclusive \*átən ~ \*átəq yours and mine
- 015 second person plural \*íyu ~ \*ínyu yours
- 016 third person plural \*ída their

DATIVE (REFERENT) PRONOUN

- 017 formative element for dative pronoun sets \*kan-/\*sa-

DEMONSTRATIVE DEICTICS [See 4.3.2. and Tables 11a-b.]

- 018 this nearest speaker \*di
- 019 this near speaker and addressee \*ni
- 020 that near addressee \*an ~ \*naq
- 021 that yonder \*tu

LOCATIVE DEICTICS

- 022 here nearest speaker \*di+dí
- 023 here near speaker and addressee \*di+ní
- 024 there near addressee \*di+án \*di+dáq
- 025 yonder \*di+d()+tu

VERBAL DEICTICS [See Table 12.]

- 026 come (to near speaker) \*ka+ní ~ \*ka+dí
- 027 go (away from speaker) \*ká+dtu ~ \*qá+dtu

TABLE 47 (cont.)

## NEGATIVES [See 4.8. and Table 35.]

- 028 negative used with nominal constructions, as in  
*He is NOT a farmer, he is a fisherman.* \*bəkón ~ bəkéq
- 029 negative existential/possessive, as in  
*They DON'T HAVE a house.* \*wadáq
- 030 negative denoting past with verbs, as in  
*He DID NOT go.* \*wadáq
- 031 negative denoting future with verbs, as in  
*He WILL NOT go.* \*[hq]indiq ~ \*dídiq
- 032 negative imperative; prohibitive: *DON'T!* \*ayáw

## COMMON-NOUN MARKERS [See 4.3.4. and Table 17.]

- 033 general topic marker, as in *THE man is running.* \*aN
- 034 indefinite object marker, as in  
*He bought A banana.* \*siN ~ \*niN ~ \*qit
- 035 definite object marker, as in  
*He bought THE banana.* \*saN ~ \*naN ~ \*kaN
- 036 existential marker, as in *THERE IS a house over there*  
\*may ~ \*qigwa [See 4.9. and Table 36.]
- 037 locative marker, as in *He went TO the seashore.* \*sa

## PERSONAL-NAME MARKERS [See 4.3.3. and Table 16.]

- 038 topic singular, as in *PEDRO went home.* \*si
- 039 genitive singular, as in *PEDRO'S house burned down.* \*ni
- 040 dative singular, as in *I gave it TO PEDRO.* \*kan ~ \*kay ~ \*ki
- 041 topic plural, as in *PEDRO (AND HIS FAMILY) went home.*  
\*sida ~ \*sinda
- 042 genitive plural, as in *the house OF PEDRO (AND HIS FAMILY).*  
\*nida ~ \*ninda
- 043 dative plural, as in *I gave it TO PEDRO (AND HIS FAMILY).*  
\*kanda

## DISCOURSE PARTICLES [See 4.10.2.ff and Table 39.]

- 044 particle which denotes inception or completion of action, as in  
*Have you eaten ALREADY? or Are you finished NOW?* \*na, WBs \*dæn
- 045 particle which denotes progression or incompleteness of action,  
as in *He is STILL eating. or I'm not finished YET.* \*pa
- 046 particle denoting the priority of one action over another, or  
otherwise used to soften a plea or command, as in *PLEASE sit*  
*down. or FIRST put in the vinegar, then the soy sauce.*  
\*qánay ~ \*(m)uqna

TABLE 47 (cont.)

- 047 particle used in giving excuses or reasons (apart from actual conjunctions), as in *I didn't go, because...WELL, I was sick.* This particle is generally used to establish rapport with the listener, as in *YOU KNOW, AFTER ALL, that I didn't have the time.* \*qábi(q) ~ \*()sa
- 048 particle which expresses ignorance of a matter, as in *I just DON'T KNOW.* CBs \*qambut, SBs \*qinday, WBs \*qilám
- CONJUNCTIONS [See 4.10.1., Table 37 and 4.10.2., Table 38.]
- 049 *and* CBs \*kag, Warayan \*ḡan, SBs \*qug
- 050 *if/when(ever)* \*kuN
- 051 *because* \*kay
- INTERROGATIVES [See 4.4. and Tables 22a-e.]
- 052 *what?* \*qanúh ~ \*qúnu; CBs \*nánu
- 053 *who?* \*siqnu
- 054 *whose?* \*kaniqnu ~ \*kay+siqnu
- 055 *when? (in the future)* \*sa+q(u)nu
- 056 *when? (in the past)* \*ka+q(u)nu
- 057 *where, whence? (past)* \*diqín
- 058 *where, whither? (future)* \*kaqín
- 059 *why?* \*kay+(n)ánu ~ \*básiq ~ \*q(u,a)nu+man
- 060 *how many?* \*pidáh
- 061 *how much?* \*tig+pídah ~ \*tag+pídah
- 062 *how (of degree), as in How far?* \*pa+q(a,u)nuh
- NUMBERS [See 4.3.6.6. and Tables 21a-b.]
- 063 *one* \*qisá ~ \*qəsá
- 064 *two* \*duhá ~ \*dad()wa
- 065 *three* \*tulú ~ \*tat()lu
- 066 *four* \*qəpát ~ \*qaq()pat
- 067 *six* \*qəném ~ \*qaq()nəm
- 068 *ten* \*sa+N(a)+púluq ~ \*na+púluq
- LOCATIONAL NOUNS (forms used in conjunction with the locative \*sa to specify a location, as in Tag *sa kabiláq naḡ bundók on the other side of the mountain*). [See 4.3.6.4. and Tables 19a-b.]
- 069 *on top of* \*ibábaw ~ \*itáqas
- 070 *under* \*idáləm
- 071 *across* Tag *kabiláq*, Ceb *píkas*, PBs \*luyú
- 072 *left* \*waláh
- 073 *right* \*tuqúh
- 074 *within* \*səléd

TABLE 47 (cont.)

## TEMPORALS [See 4.3.6.5. and Tables 20a-b.]

- 075 *night* \*gabíqi  
 076 *day(time)* \*qadlaw  
 077 *year* \*túqig ~ \*dagqun ~ \*taqún  
 078 *today* Tag ngay(q)ún, Ceb karún  
 079 *tomorrow* CBs \*buwás  
 080 *yesterday* \*ka+hápun  
 081 *later on = in a little while* Tag mamayáq, Ceb qúnyaq  
 082 *earlier = a while ago* \*ka+qína  
 083 *morning* \*( )qágah  
 084 *afternoon* \*hápun

## VERB AFFIXES [See 4.6. and Tables 27-32.]

- 085 active intransitive present or progressive, as in  
*He IS SITTING...* \*naga- ~ C<sub>1</sub>um(in)V<sub>1</sub>-  
 086 active intransitive future, as in *He WILL SIT...* \*maga- ~ C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>-  
 087 active transitive present or progressive, as in  
*He IS BUYING/BUYS (it).* \*naga- ~ \*nagC<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>-  
 088 active transitive past or completive, as in  
*He BOUGHT (it).* \*nag-  
 089 active transitive future, as in *He WILL BUY (it).* \*maga- ~ \*má-  
 090 active transitive perfective or abilitative, as in  
*He HAS already BOUGHT (it).* \*naka-  
 091 direct passive present or progressive, as in *It IS BEING BOUGHT*  
*...* \*gina- ~ \*ginC<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>- ~ \*C<sub>1</sub>inV<sub>1</sub>-  
 092 direct passive past or completive, as in *It WAS BOUGHT...*  
 \*gin- ~ \*qin- ~ \*<in>  
 093 passive imperative, as in *BUY IT!* \*-a  
 094 passive negative imperative, as in *DON'T BUY IT!* \*pag--a  
 095 instrumental future, as in *THIS MONEY WILL (BE USED TO) BUY...*  
 \*[qh]i+ga- ~ [qh]iC<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>-  
 096 instrumental command, as in *THIS MONEY MUST BE USED TO BUY...*  
 \*[qh]i- ~ \*-an(+)  
 097 instrumental potential, as in *THIS MONEY CAN (BE USED TO)*  
*BUY...* \*[qh]i+ka- ~ \*ma+[qh]i-  
 098 instrumental potential perfective, as in *THIS MONEY COULD HAVE*  
*BOUGHT...* or *THAT MONEY HAS (already) BEEN USED TO BUY...*  
 \*kina- ~ \*na+[qh]i-  
 099 local imperative, as in *BUY ME SOME...* \*-i  
 100 local negative imperative, as in *DON'T BUY ME any!* \*pag--i

## 7.2. SCORING OF THE LIST

As with the scoring of the lexicostatistical comparison (6.2.), the principle of morphological identity was strictly followed, i.e., for a positive score, forms had to be identical in shape, formation, function, and meaning. Since differences in formation are treated as critical, the pair Mas *sínda* : S-L *sirá* *they* is scored negatively; similarly, Kin *qínyu* with Kuy *qindu* *your*, or either of these latter forms with Mas *qíyu* *your*; Blk *dárwa* *two*, with Hil *duhá*, or with But *duwá*; etc. On the other hand, differences due to regular sound shifts or differences in accent were disregarded; thus, the pairs Mas *pirá* : Hil *pilá* *how many?*, Akl *sínqu* : Kuy *sínu* *who?*, Odg *sída* : Rom *siyá*, etc., were scored plus.

Two adjustments to this method of scoring became necessary as this study progressed; each appears to account for the historical development of dialectalisms without letting such apparently regular developments unrealistically deflate the final score between dialect pairs.

Several systematically recurring differences that result from a single historical change have affected the shape of a number of functors: (1) the alternation of -n and -q in genitive pronouns and the predicative negative (009, 012, 014, 028; see 9.1.1., #3); (2) the replacement of  $\eta$  in markers by n or  $\emptyset$  (033-035, 040, 050; see 9.1.3., #12); (3) the replacement of CV- reduplication by a- to denote imperfective action (085-087, 089, 091, 095; see 9.1.6.); and (4) the replacement of s- by h- in a number of functors (003, 008, 017, 034, 035, 037, 038, 041, 053; see 10.4.). While none of these are the results of regular sound change in the traditional sense, they have regularly affected the shape of functors among the dialects studied. Following McFarland<sup>66</sup> no such historical or paradigmatic difference was ever counted more than once; thus, dialect pairs were scored on the basis of their overall agreement among the four sets outlined above. For example, in the fourth case, some S-L dialects have s- where others have h-, but the functors are otherwise cognate in every regard, so only one point was deducted for this difference rather than up to nine for each instance of disagreement.

The second adjustment was the ignoring of the formative elements which proliferate in the deictics (018-025 in Table 47; compare forms in Table 11a-b). Since dialects that are genetically very close often differ in the formation of these words, all that was required for a positive score was the sharing of the same base, i.e., Akl *rá-ya*, Pan *qí-ya*, Blk *d-ya* were scored plus; so were Rom *qá-dtu*, Mas *qí-dtu*, etc. If the principle of morphological identity had been strictly applied in these cases, the resulting scores would have concealed the otherwise closer interrelationships of many dialects.

## 7.3. RESULTS OF THE 100-FUNCTOR COMPARISON

Table 48 gives the results from the 100-functor comparison of the same 13 Bs dialects treated in the lexicostatistical comparison; Tag and Bik never scored above 55% with any Bs dialect, so they are excluded here. The sequence of some dialects has been altered to accord with the scores.

Since there is a greater differentiation of the scores by this method, the cut-off point was lowered to 70% (rather than 80% as in the lexicostatistical comparison). Scores above 70% have been marked off with the solid line. The choice of 70% is justified since there is a significant drop in score for each dialect after its lowest score in the seventies with other dialects. A second cut-off point of 63% was chosen to highlight the secondary relationships among the dialects; those percentages above 63% are set off by the broken line. A chain connecting the Bs dialects from Kuy to But is again revealed. Odg, Ceb, and Tsg again appear as marginal members, having Rom, Sur and But respectively as their highest scoring neighbours. Although neither Ceb nor Tsg have scores exceeding 70% with any other Bs dialect, the rise in score for each with Sur and But respectively is significant enough to justify their inclusion in Bs.

TABLE 48  
RESULTS OF 100-FUNCTOR COMPARISON

13 BISAYAN DIALECTS (Major dialects and linking dialects).

|     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Kuy |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 68  | Akl |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 66  | 76  | Kin |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 76  | 77  | 81  | Bik |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 59  | 61  | 67  | 73  | Rom |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 55  | 64  | 76  | 72  | 78  | Hil |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 51  | 53  | 63  | 63  | 82  | 81  | Mas |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 47  | 44  | 50  | 54  | 65  | 64  | 73  | War |     |     |     |     |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 41  | 41  | 47  | 46  | 55  | 57  | 62  | 70  | Sur |     |     |     |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 33  | 38  | 41  | 38  | 46  | 52  | 54  | 54  | 70  | But |     |     |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 61  | 57  | 57  | 61  | 70  | 60  | 62  | 55  | 56  | 42  | Odg |     |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 40  | 44  | 47  | 45  | 53  | 58  | 60  | 62  | 69  | 64  | 52  | Ceb |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 32  | 38  | 34  | 36  | 46  | 46  | 48  | 53  | 56  | 64  | 42  | 48  | Tsg |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |



TABLE 49  
RESULTS OF 100-FUNCTOR COMPARISON

| WEST BISAYAN DIALECTS |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Kin                   |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| 89                    | Pan |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| 83                    | 89  | Dsp |     |     |     |     |     |
| 81                    | 87  | 87  | Blk |     |     |     |     |
| 78                    | 80  | 79  | 88  | Dtg |     |     |     |
| 80                    | 78  | 78  | 89  | 85  | Sem |     |     |
| 66                    | 69  | 70  | 76  | 77  | 80  | Kuy |     |
| 76                    | 81  | 80  | 77  | 74  | 71  | 68  | Akl |

TABLE 50  
RESULTS OF 100-FUNCTOR COMPARISON

| CENTRAL BISAYAN DIALECTS |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--|
| War                      |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |
| 80                       | N-S |     |     |     |     |     |  |
| 66                       | 82  | Gub |     |     |     |     |  |
| 68                       | 70  | 82  | Sor |     |     |     |  |
| 73                       | 71  | 76  | 86  | Mas |     |     |  |
| 65                       | 56  | 58  | 70  | 82  | Rom |     |  |
| 64                       | 58  | 64  | 67  | 81  | 78  | Hil |  |

TABLE 51  
RESULTS OF 100-FUNCTOR COMPARISON

| SOUTH BISAYAN DIALECTS, CEBUANO, AND KAMAYO (MANSAKAN) |     |      |     |     |                      |
|--|-----|------|-----|-----|----------------------|
| Ceb  |     |      |     |     |                      |
| 69   | Sur |      |     |     |                      |
| 67   | 85  | Jaun |     |     |                      |
| 64   | 70  | 72   | But |     |                      |
| 48   | 56  | 59   | 64  | Tsg |                      |
| 51   | 56  | 62   | 66  | 54  | Kamayo               |
|  |     |      |     |     | (Kamayo-Mansaka 77%) |

#### 7.4. FURTHER EVIDENCE OF SUBGROUPS WITHIN BISAYAN

The establishment of three different subgroups is indicated if one insists on a score of at least 80% from the functor comparison. Tables 49-51 give the scores for WBs, CBs, and SBs dialects respectively. Note that most of the members of each subgroup are linked together by scores exceeding 80%, but no such high score is found between dialects across the proposed subgroup boundaries (in Table 48).

Although the highest score observed between two dialects that are not members of the same subgroup is 76% (Kin-Hil), the most distant members of each particular subgroup have scores considerably lower than the highest score of a co-member dialect with an outside dialect. For example, the lowest score within WBs is 66% (Kin-Kuy), while some WBs dialects have scores much higher than that with CBs dialects, such as Kin-Hil (76%), Blk-Rom (73%), Blk-Hil (72%), etc. Within CBs, the lowest score is 56% (Rom-N-S), yet War has a score of 70% with Sur (SBs). These scores serve as further evidence of the existence of an unbroken dialect chain making up the Bs language.

#### 7.5. DRAWING A TREE ON THE BASIS OF THE COMPARISON OF FUNCTORS

Those Bs dialect pairs that score highest with one another may be arranged on a scale in accordance with their scores; the result is Tree Diagram 9 - a kind of synchronic tree indicating the distance between the highest-scoring dialect pairs on the basis of the functor comparison. If compared with Tree Diagram 8, Tree 9 emphasizes and delineates the subgroups proposed herein. While the arrangement and

proximity of the dialects is basically the same in both trees, the distance between subgroups is clear in Tree 9; in Tree 8, for example, WBs is not distinguished from most CBs dialects. However, both trees agree in setting the SBs, Cebuan, and Banton subgroups apart from one another and the rest of the Bs community. Another feature on which both trees agree is the position of Blk as intermediate within WBs: while Blk has its highest scores with members of the Kuyan group (Sem and Dtg), it has significantly high percentages with Dsp and Pan on the one hand, and, on the other, its lowest score is with Kuy itself.

#### 7.6. COMPARING THE RESULTS OF LEXICOSTATISTICS AND FUNCTOR ANALYSIS

Tables 52a-b present the scores from the lexicostatistical and the functor comparisons, and give the differences between them. The lexicostatistical percentages are the numbers to the left of the slant-line, the functor percentages are those to the right; the difference between the former and the latter is given in plus or minus figures below the percentages.

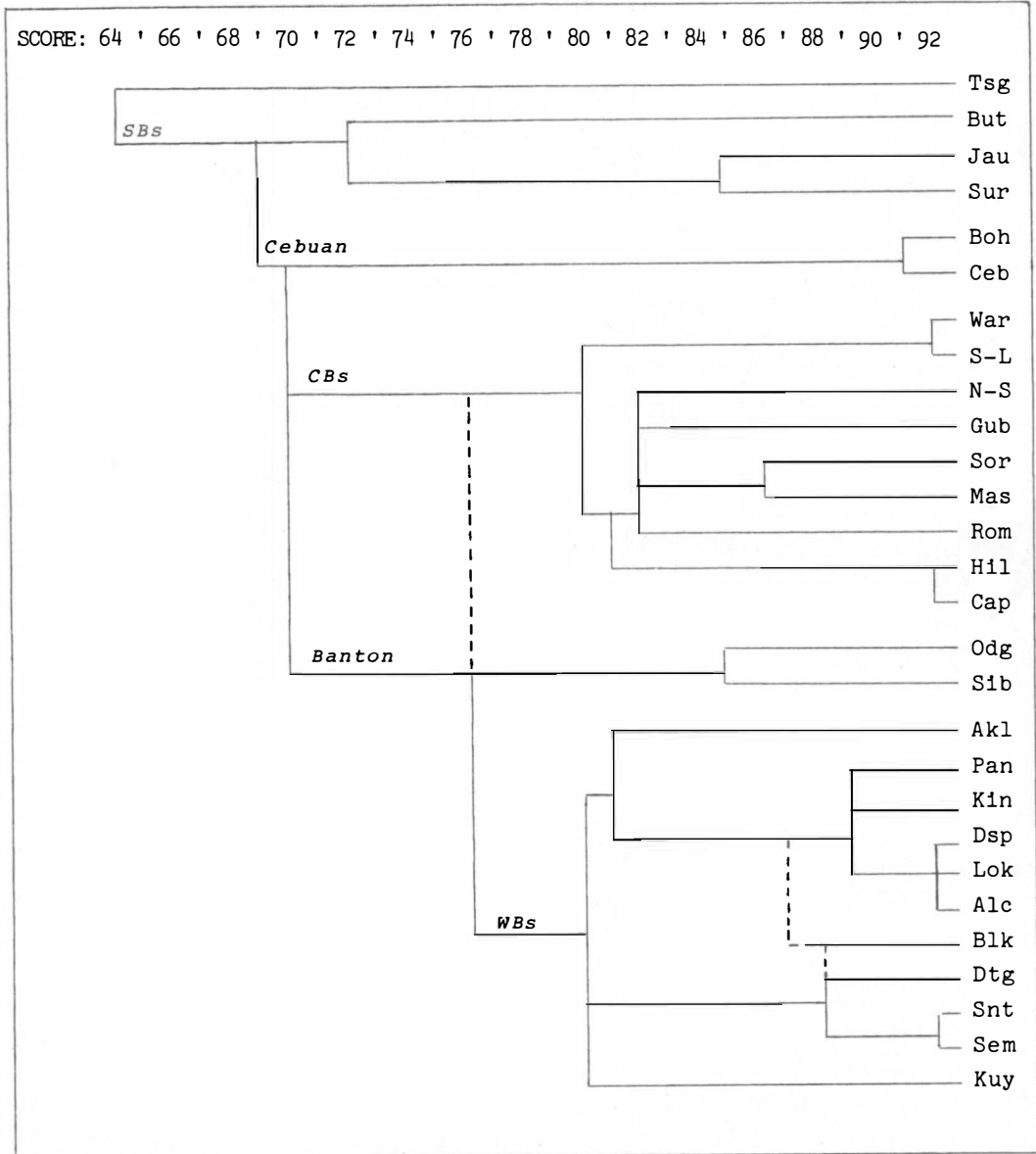
On the basis of the overall agreement of the results of lexicostatistics and functor analysis, the Bs dialects studied (with the exception of Tsg) appear to form an unbroken chain. While the functor scores are lower than those from the lexicostatistical comparison (with a few notable exceptions, see below), scores of dialect pairs having the highest percentages from each comparison rarely differ by more than six points (cf: Kuy-Sem, Sem-Blk, Kin-Pan, Rom-Mas, Hil-Mas, Sor-Gub, N-S-War, etc.). In terms of subgrouping the Bs dialects there are no striking discrepancies between the results of the two methods.

Those dialect pairs that scored above 80% on both comparisons have been set off with the solid line. The resultant groups support the hypothesis of three main subgroups within Bs (WBs, CBs, and SBs), while Odg, Ceb, But, and Tsg do not appear to fall in any of the three. However, when the dialect pairs that scored above 70% ( $\pm 2\%$ ) on both comparisons are set off with a broken line, the resultant grouping indicates an unbroken chain from Kuy through But; only Tsg is ungrouped.

Odg has its highest scores with Rom, but must be grouped independently between WBs and CBs because its next higher percentages occur with members of both groups (Odg-Dsp, Odg-Mas, Odg-Blk, Odg-Hil, etc.).

Ceb has its highest scores with Sur and other members of the SBs group; but these scores are not substantially higher than those scores with members of the CBs group, e.g., War, nor are the scores of Ceb significantly high with either group. Thus, Ceb is best grouped independently between SBs and CBs.

TREE DIAGRAM 9  
 DISTANCE BETWEEN Bs DIALECT PAIRS ON THE BASIS  
 OF THE FUNCTOR COMPARISON



NOTE: Not enough information was available to compute the scores for Ban, Bty, Cam, Gim, Kan, Kaw, Ley, and Nat.

The most distant pairs of the WBs subgroup are made up of the following three: Kuy, Kin, Akl; all other WBs dialects appear as links between them.

The CBs subgroup shows the least uniformity in both comparisons. Rom and N-S are the linguistic extremes of the community having the lowest scores; Mas appears to be the linguistic center having high scores with all of its co-members.

The scores of the SBs dialects from the functor comparison generally differ by more than 10% from those of the lexicostatistical comparison. Only Sur and Jau are clearly linked by mutually high percentages. Apparently borrowing from Ceb throughout the northern coastal area of Mindanao has had a normalizing effect on the vocabulary of SBs dialects, so that the lexicostatistical percentages are inflated by mutual borrowings from Ceb. The scores from the functor comparison reflect the underlying genetic relationship of these SBs dialects, so that they show considerably less uniformity than that indicated by the lexicostatistical percentages.

While Tsg is not included by the above-expressed criteria within Bs, its comparatively high scores with But probably indicate an underlying genetic relationship. However, all cases of genetic relationship must rest upon the weight of shared innovations - which will be the subject of Chapters 9-13 in this study.

The lowest score obtained between any two dialects in the lexicostatistical comparison is 59% (Kin-Tsg), while in the functor classification it is 32% (Kuy-Tsg). These lower percentages among genetically-close dialects are an advantage of the functor comparison introduced here, since, by contrast, uniformly high percentages must indicate a very close genetic relationship. It appears that this new method provides a more accurate tool for comparison and for subgrouping in that its results more closely reflect historical events, because: (1) functors have a low probability of replacement, i.e., are slowest to change (see Hockett and McFarland quotes, p. 185); (2) functors have a higher text frequency and are of greater grammatical importance than lexical items; and (3) the functors chosen are language specific (viz: CPh) and are not beset with the difficulties of a 'language universal' list such as the Swadesh 100. The diversity among functors not only indicates the synchronic diversity among Bs and CPh dialects, but also the historical diversity of such forms in the proto language (see Chapters 9-10).

Comparison of scores derived by the two different methods proves to be an excellent technique for isolating cases of secondary contact. It is both unusual and significant that the functor comparison of N-S-

Gub yields a higher score than does the lexicostatistical comparison (+9%). Gub functors reveal the close genetic affiliation of that dialect with N-S (see 12.2.3.), but the vocabulary (as reflected in the lexicostatistical comparison) reveals the secondary contacts Gub has had with Bik since Gub is now part of Bikol Province, and is cut off from the Waray-speaking area by the San Bernardino Strait.

Similarly, while the most genetically-remote dialects usually have functor scores more than 20% lower than lexicostatistical scores, the difference between Akl-Rom of -25% is such a jump in score that one must take the lexicostatistical percentage to be significantly inflated by borrowings. Rom has borrowed a great deal from WBs (see 12.4., and consult Zorc 1973), but its functors reveal it to be a CBs dialect.

The difference in score of +2% in the case of Pan-Kin and Rom-Mas is probably an indication that these genetically-close dialects have each only recently begun to drift apart, coming under the influence of new linguistic neighbours (e.g., Pan-Akl, Mas-Bik, Rom-WBs, Kin-Hil, etc.).

TABLE 52a

## COMPARISON OF LEXICOSTATISTICAL AND FUNCTOR SCORES

The WBs Dialects, plus Odg, Rom, and Hil:

|              |              |              |              |              |              |              |              |              |             |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-----|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Kuy          |              |              |              |              |              |              |              |              |             |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 86/80<br>-6  | Sem          |              |              |              |              |              |              |              |             |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 89/77<br>-12 | 91/85<br>-6  | Dtg          |              |              |              |              |              |              |             |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 85/76<br>-9  | 94/89<br>-5  | 91/88<br>-3  | Blk          |              |              |              |              |              |             |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 86/70<br>-16 | 90/78<br>-12 | 92/79<br>-13 | 92/87<br>-5  | Dsp          |              |              |              |              |             |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 86/69<br>-17 | 91/78<br>-13 | 90/80<br>-10 | 92/87<br>-5  | 93/89<br>-4  | Pan          |              |              |              |             |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 80/66<br>-14 | 86/80<br>-6  | 85/78<br>-7  | 87/81<br>-6  | 86/83<br>-3  | 87/89<br>+2  | Kin          |              |              |             |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 82/68<br>-14 | 86/71<br>-15 | 89/74<br>-15 | 88/77<br>-11 | 94/80<br>-14 | 91/81<br>-10 | 83/76<br>-7  | Akl          |              |             |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 71/61<br>-10 | 72/59<br>-13 | 74/56<br>-18 | 75/61<br>-14 | 77/63<br>-14 | 74/58<br>-16 | 70/57<br>-13 | 76/57<br>-19 | Odg          |             |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 80/59<br>-21 | 85/66<br>-19 | 87/67<br>-20 | 86/73<br>-13 | 90/71<br>-19 | 87/69<br>-18 | 79/67<br>-12 | 86/61<br>-25 | 83/70<br>-13 | Rom         |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 73/55<br>-18 | 76/68<br>-8  | 78/66<br>-12 | 78/72<br>-6  | 83/74<br>-9  | 80/75<br>-5  | 79/76<br>-3  | 83/64<br>-19 | 77/60<br>-17 | 84/78<br>-6 | Hil |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |





CHAPTER EIGHT  
PROTO BISAYAN PHONOLOGY

The phonological system reconstructed for PBS is given in Table 53; encircled symbols represent problematic phonemes that will be under discussion in this chapter. Unencircled symbols represent identity correspondences, i.e., phonemes found in all modern Bs dialects that come down from PBS without change.

Table 54 shows the historical development of the PBS sound system from PAN (Dyen 1971) through PPH (after Llamzon 1969 and Charles 1974). It should be noted that the reconstruction of PAN \*d and \*r, as well as \*z, \*T, \*g, and \*c has been challenged by Wolff (1974); similarly, the reconstruction of PPH \*d, \*g, and \*r by Charles (1974). Problems in the reconstruction of PBS initial \*r- and intervocalic \*-d- are related to problems discussed in these latter two articles.

| TABLE 53                      |                |                                   |            |
|-------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|------------|
| THE PHONEMES OF PROTO BISAYAN |                |                                   |            |
| CONSONANTS:                   | p              | t                                 | k      (q) |
|                               | b              | (d)                               | g          |
|                               | m              | n                                 | ŋ          |
|                               |                | s                                 | (h)        |
|                               | w              | (l)      (y)                      |            |
| VOWELS:                       |                | i                                 | u          |
|                               |                | (e)                               |            |
|                               |                | a                                 |            |
| ACCENT:                       | (vowel length) | (:)                               |            |
|                               | (stress)       | (') primary (on penult or ultima) |            |
|                               |                | (`) secondary (on prepenults)     |            |

TABLE 54

## HISTORICAL PHONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS: PAN TO PBS

| Proto<br>Austronesian | Proto<br>Philippine | Proto<br>Southern<br>Philippine                                 | Proto<br>Meso-<br>Philippine | Proto<br>Bisayan |
|-----------------------|---------------------|---|------------------------------|------------------|
| *a                    | - - - - -           | - - - - -   | - - - - -                    | *a               |
| *i                    | - - - - -           | - - - - -   | - - - - -                    | *i               |
| *u                    | - - - - -           | - - - - -   | - - - - -                    | *u               |
| *ə                    | - - - - -           | - - - - -   | - - - - -                    | *ə               |
| *p                    | - - - - -           | - - - - -   | - - - - -                    | *p               |
| *t                    | }                   | - - - - -   | - - - - -                    | *t               |
| *T                    |                     | *t  | - - - - -                    |                  |
| *C                    |                     |   | - - - - -                    |                  |
| *k                    | - - - - -           | - - - - -   | - - - - -                    | *k               |
| *b                    | - - - - -           | - - - - -   | - - - - -                    | *b               |
| [*d]                  | }                   | - - - *d (?) cannot reconstruct backwards from Bs<br>(see 8.9.) |                              |                  |
| [*z]                  |                     |   |                              |                  |
| *D                    | }                   | - - - - -   | - - - - -                    | *d               |
| *Z                    |                     | *d  | - - - - -                    |                  |
| *j                    |                     |   | - - - - -                    |                  |
| *g                    | - - - - -           | - - - - -   | } *g                         | *g               |
| *R                    | - - - - -           | - - - - -   |                              |                  |
| *m                    | - - - - -           | - - - - -   | - - - - -                    | *m               |
| *n                    | - - - - -           | } *n  | - - - - -                    | *n               |
| *ñ                    | - - - - -           |   | - - - - -                    |                  |
| *ŋ                    | - - - - -           | - - - - -   | - - - - -                    | *ŋ               |
| *s                    | }                   | - - - - -   | - - - - -                    | *s               |
| *c                    |                     | *s  | - - - - -                    |                  |
| *l                    | - - - - -           | - - - - -   | - - - - -                    | *l               |
| [*r]                  | - - - - -           | (? cannot reconstruct backwards from Bs<br>(see 8.9.)           |                              |                  |
| *w                    | - - - - -           | - - - - -   | - - - - -                    | *w               |
| *y                    | - - - - -           | - - - - -   | - - - - -                    | *y               |
| *q                    | }                   | - - - - -   | - - - - -                    | *q               |
| *W-                   |                     | *q  | - - - - -                    |                  |
| *x-                   |                     |   | - - - - -                    |                  |
| *h                    | }                   | - - - - -   | - - - - -                    | *h               |
| *S, *H                |                     | *h  | - - - - -                    |                  |

TABLE 55

OUTLINE OF BISAYAN PHONOLOGICAL CORRESPONDENCES (See 8.2ff for discussion)

| PBS *         | -Ø-   | -q-   | #h- | -h-   | #d-~d# | -d- | #l- | -l- | -l# | -y- | ə   |
|---------------|-------|-------|-----|-------|--------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Kuy           | Ø     | Ø     | q   | Ø     | d      | r   | l   | l   | l   | y   | ə   |
| Sem, Snt      | q     | q     | q   | q     | d      | r   | l   | l   | l   | y   | ə u |
| Dtg           | w/y/q | w/y/q | q   | w/y/q | d      | r   | l   | l   | l   | y   | u   |
| Blk, Dsp, Lok | w/y/q | q     | h   | h     | d      | r   | l   | l   | l   | y   | u/o |
| Kin, Pan, Gim | w/y/q | q     | h   | h     | d      | r   | l   | l   | l   | y   | ə   |
| Akl           | w/y/q | q     | h   | h     | d      | ʔ   | ʔ   | ʔ   | ʔ   | y   | u/o |
| Odg, Ban, Sib | w/y/q | q     | h   | h     | r      | y   | y   | y   | y   | d   | u/o |
| Rom, Kaw      | w/y/q | q     | h   | h     | d      | y   | l   | y   | y   | y   | u/o |
| Hil, Cap      | w/y/q | q     | h   | h     | d      | l   | l   | l   | l   | y   | u/o |
| Mas, Sor, Gub | w/y/q | q     | h   | h     | d      | r   | l   | l   | l   | y   | u   |
| S-L, N-S, War | w/y/q | q     | h   | h     | d      | r   | l   | l   | l   | y   | ə u |
| Sur           | w/y/q | q     | h   | h     | d      | y   | l   | y   | y   | j   | ə u |
| Jau, Kan      | w/y/q | q     | h   | h     | d      | y   | l   | y   | y   | j   | u   |
| Ceb           | w/y/q | q     | h   | h     | d      | l Ø | l   | l Ø | l   | y   | ə u |
| Boh, Ley      | w/y/q | q     | h   | h     | d      | Ø   | l   | Ø   | l   | j   | ə u |
| But, Nat      | q     | q     | h   | h     | d      | Ø   | l   | Ø   | Ø   | y   | u   |
| Tsg           | q     | q     | h   | h     | d      | l Ø | l   | l Ø | l   | y   | ə u |

Table 55 lists the phonological correspondences for most dialects treated in this study. Reflexes separated by a slant line represent phonologically-conditioned variants; those separated by a vertical line represent dialectal variants. The reflexes for Cam are identical to those outlined for But-Nat except that initial and intervocalic \*y > Cam z. Not enough information is currently available to ascertain the reflexes for Bty.

A form is reconstructed for PBS if: (1) it is Pan-Bs (i.e., found in all 36 dialects under research); (2) it occurs in at least three different non-contiguous members of the six main Bs subgroups (WBs, Odg, CBs, Ceb, SBs, Tsg); or (3) it occurs in at least two non-contiguous Bs dialects and two other Ph languages.

### 8.1. IDENTITY CORRESPONDENCES

The following exemplify the appearance of the vowels \*a, \*i, and \*u in the prepenult, penult, and ultima; for \*ə see 8.5. All dialects *qasáwa- wife* < PBS \**qasáwa-*; Akl, Ban, Odg, Sib *saṅáh*, Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg *saṅá-*, all other dialects *saṅáh- branch* < PBS \**saṅáh*; Tag, Akl, Alc, Lok, Dsp, Pan, Kin, Gim, Blk, Sem, Snt, Dtg, Rom, Cap, Hil, Kaw, Rom, Ban, Odg, Sib *bisáyaq*, other dialects *bisayáq Visayas, Visayan* < PBS \**bisáyaq*; N-S *qúkiq*, all other dialects *qíkug tail* < PBS \**qíkug*; Tsg *quiq*, all other dialects *qúliq to return (something)* < PBS \**qúliq*; Kin, Akl, Hil, Tag *qusísaq*, S-L, Ceb, Bik *qusísaq- to question, investigate* < PBS \**qusísa[-]*; Kuy *paṅ-íq*, Sem, Snt, Dtg *qíqiq*, all other dialects *qíhiq urine* < PBS \**qíhiq*; Akl, Ban, Odg, Sib *kútoh*, Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg *kútu-*, all other dialects *kútuh- louse* < PBS \**kútuh-*.

The following exemplify the occurrence of the various consonants in initial, intervocalic, and final position. The voiceless stops \*p, \*t, and \*k: Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok, Cap, Hil, Kaw, Rom, Ban, Odg, Sib *pitóh-*, Kin, Pan, Gim, Blk *pitúh-*, all other dialects *pitú- seven* < PBS \**pitú-*; all dialects *nípaq nipa palm (Nypa fruticans)* < PBS \**nípaq*; Kin, Hil, Ceb, Kagayanan *qísip count, consider*, Akl, Blk, Sem, Odg, Rom, Mas, Tag, Bik *qísip think* < PBS, PCP \**qísip reckon, think*; Tsg *hi-tauq (Samal)*, all other dialects *táguq hide* < PBS \**táguq*; all dialects except Tsg *qabút arrive* < PBS \**qabút*; PBS \**kútuh louse* (above); all dialects *sakáy ride* < PBS \**sakáy*; all dialects *manúk chicken* < PBS \**manúk*.

The voiced stops \*b and \*g; for \*d see 8.8.: Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok, Cap, Hil, Kaw, Rom, Ban, Odg, Sib *batóh-*, Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg *batú-*, all other dialects *batúh- stone* < PBS \**batúh*; PBS \**qabút arrive* (above); Kuy *taqləb*, Kin, Pan, Sem, S-L *tákləb*, Blk, Hil, Mas, Ceb *táklub cover (for jar, bottle)* < PBS \**tákləb*; Akl, Kin, Blk, Hil, Mas, Sor, Gub,

War, S-L, Ceb, Tag, Bik *gámit to use* < PBS, PCP \**gámit*; PBS \**táguq* *hide* (above); PBS \**qíkug tail* (above).

The nasals \**m*, \**n*, and \**ŋ*: PBS \**manúk chicken* (above); PBS \**gámit use* (above); Akl, Kin, Blk, Hil, Rom, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, War, Ceb, But, Tsg *siyám nine* < PBS \**siyám*; PBS \**nípaq nipa palm* (above); all dialects *gasín salt* < PBS \**gasín*; Akl, Dsp, Dtg, Rom, Gub, N-S, S-L, Sur *ŋániq indeed* (confirmation particle) < PBS \**ŋániq*; PBS \**saŋáh branch* (above); Akl, Kin, Sem, Blk, Odg, Rom, Mas, S-L, Tsg *báwaŋ garlic* < PBS \**báwaŋ*.

The sibilant \**s*: PBS \**sakáy ride* (above); Akl, Kin, Blk, Sem, Odg, Rom, Hil, Mas, Ceb, But, Tsg *wásay axe, adze* < PBS \**wásay*; Akl, Alc, Lok, Dsp, Rom, Cap, Hil, Kaw, Ban, Odg, Sib *gatós, all other dialects gatús hundred* < PBS \**gatús*.

The semivowel \**w*: PBS \**wásay axe* (above); PBS \**báwaŋ garlic* (above); N-S *qádaw, all other dialects qádlaw day* < PBS \**qádlaw*.

## 8.2. PROTO BISAVAN \**q*

The phoneme \**q* (glottal catch) can be reconstructed for PBS in all positions.

Initially, since there are no vowel-initial stems in Bs (see 3.2.2.), all stems that do not have any other consonant are posited as having \**q-*: all dialects except Tsg *qabút arrive* < PBS \**qabút*; all dialects *qikáw thou nominative pronoun* < PBS \**qikáw*; Akl, Kin, Odg, Mas, Ceb, Sur, But *qubúh- cough* < PBS \**qubúh*.

In medial position, PBS \**-q-* is posited on the basis of the correspondence set Kuy -*∅-*; Dtg -*w-* before or after *u*, -*y-* before or after *i*, -*q-* elsewhere; all other dialects -*q-*. Kuy *ma-pait*, Dtg *ma-payít*, all other dialects *ma-paqít bitter* < PBS \**ma-paqít*. Kuy *kaən*, Dtg *káwun*, Kin, Pan, Sem, S-L, Boh, Sur *káqən*, all other dialects *káqun eat* < PBS \**káqən*. Kuy *tuuq*, Gub, War, S-L, Ceb *túquh-*, Akl, Ban, Odg, Sib *toqóh*, Alc, Dsp, Lok, Cap, Hil *toqóh-*, all other dialects *tuqúh-right(side)* < PBS \**tuqúh*.

In final position, all dialects reflect \**q*: all dialects *kítaq see* < PBS \**kítaq*; all dialects *dugúq blood* < PBS \**dugúq*; all dialects except N-S, S-L, War *putíq white* < PBS \**putíq*.

A cluster \**qC* may be reconstructed in doubled monosyllables, although the \**q* is lost in the Kuyan group: Kuy, Sem, Snt *babáq*, Dtg *bábaq*, all other dialects except Ban, Odg, Sib, and Tsg *báqbaq mouth* < PBS \**báqbaq*. Due to the fact that no dialects (with the exception of Argao Ceb) allow *qC* clusters (see 3.2.3.2.), the metathesis of inherited PCP \**qC* clusters may be posited as at least a dialectal feature of PBS; this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 10.

## 8.3. PROTO BISAYAN \*h

The phoneme \*h can be reconstructed for PBS in all positions. Kuy, Sem, Snt, and Dtg are the only Bs dialects that lose \*h; this common innovation is one reason for grouping these four dialects together, since it correlates with other criteria (see Chapter 11).

In initial position Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg q-, all other dialects h- < PBS \*h-: Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg qáwak, all other dialects háwak *waist* < PBS \*háwak; Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg qiláw, all other dialects hiláw *raw, unripe, green* < PBS \*hiláw.

In medial position Kuy -Ø-, Sem, Snt -q-, Dtg -w- before or after u, -y- before or after i, -q- elsewhere, all other dialects -h- < PBS \*-h-: Kuy kauy, Sem, Snt káquy, Dtg káwuy, all other dialects káhuy *tree, wood* < PBS \*káhuy; Kuy buíq, Sem, Snt buqíq, Dtg buwíq, all other dialects except Mas, Sor, Gub buhíq *alive* < PBS \*buhíq; Kuy baaq, Sem, Snt, Dtg baqáq, all other dialects except But baháq *flood* < PBS \*baháq.

In clusters with other consonants, the Kuyan group loses \*h, but all other dialects reflect it: Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg bíniq, all other dialects except Mas bínhiq; Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg gináwa, all other dialects ginháwa *breath* < PBS \*ginháwa. In doubled monosyllables many dialects regularly metathesize the pre-consonantal \*h (see 3.2.3.3.): N-S, S-L taríhtih, Kuy tiriti, Kin taríthih-, Hil, Ceb talíthi- *drizzle, light rain* < PBS \*tadíhtih; Akl múhmuh, Kin, Hil, Mas, Ceb múmhu, Tag múmo *rice crumbs fallen off table* < PBS \*múhmuh.

In final position, PBS \*-h is reconstructed only where Akl or the Banton dialects have a phonemic final -h (see 3.2.2.), and all other \*h-preserving dialects have morphophonemic evidence for -h (3.3.2.), unless there is a clearcut and reasonable explanation for non-occurrence, e.g., dialect borrowing or analogical levelling. Thus, all \*h-preserving dialects reflect a form ka-tubuh-án (Akl, Kin, Hil, etc.) or ka-túbh-an (Ceb, Sur, etc.) *sugarcane plantation*, although some have the byform ka-túbw-an (Akl, Hil); it is on the basis of the agreement of the \*h-preserving dialects that an etymon like PBS \*tubúh *sugarcane* is reconstructed. Akl, Ban, Odg, Sib tiqáh, Kin, Hil, Rom, Ceb, But tiqáh- *particles of food stuck between teeth* < PBS \*tiqáh. Akl, Ban, Odg, Sib qomáh, Kin, Hil paṅ-úmh-an, Mas, Ceb qúmh-an *farm, cultivated field* < PBS \*qumáh.

## 8.4. PROTO BISAYAN \*Ø

The symbol \*Ø signifies the absence of a consonant in a position where consonants typically occur: initially, intervocalically, or finally. Although this symbol is used here, in most of this study the absence of any symbol signifies \*Ø, e.g., \*táuh = \*táØuh *person*.

In initial position, no contrast currently obtains between q- and Ø- in any Bs dialect (3.2.2. and 8.2.); however, in some cases, one may infer an original \*Ø-. For example, alongside Sem *ma-qayád*, all other WBs dialects, Sor, Gub, and Virac (Bk) have *mayád* *good* which is also related to Ceb, Sur *qayád to repair* < PBS \*Øayád *in good condition*. Such a reconstruction must be tentative, since it is possible that in polysyllabic forms a stem-initial \*q- was elided after a vowel-final prefix, i.e., PBS \*ma-(q)ayád. The genitive pronoun bases may be posited as having \*Ø- on the basis of the oblique forms, e.g., Kin *kanákən*, Akl *kákon*, Cam *dákun to me*; if the original initial phoneme were \*q-, one would expect Kin \*kanqákən, Akl \*kaqákon ~ \*kákqon, Cam *daqákun* ~ *dákqun*, etc. [note Akl *qánqom six* from an original PCP \*qa-q(ə)nəm, most dialects *sínquh- who?* from PCP \*si-q(ə)núh].

In medial position between unlike vowels, PBS and PCP \*-Ø- is posited on the basis of systematic correspondences among Sem, But, Tsg, and Tag -q-, Kuy -Ø-, and a homorganic semivowel in the other dialects: Sem, But, Tsg, Tag *táqu*, Kuy *tau*, Akl, Ban, Odg, Sib *táwoh*, all other dialects *táwuh-* < PBS \*táØuh *person, man*; compare also Ceb *ka-táwh-an*, Akl, Kin, Hil, Rom *ka-tawúh-an people, humanity*. Sem, But *babáqi*, Tag *babáqe*, Tsg *babáqih*, Akl, Kin, Rom, Hil, Mas, War, Ceb *babáyi*, Odg *ka-bádi*, Sur, Jau, Boh *babáji*, Cam *babázi woman* < PBS \*ba-báØi. Sem, But, Tag *baláqi*, Kuy *balai*, Akl *bałayi*, Kin, Rom, Hil, Mas, Ceb *baláyi*, Boh, Sur *baláji co-parent-in-law* < PBS \*baláØi.

The above three forms constitute the best evidence for PBS \*-Ø-. While it might be argued that the Sem forms are under influence from Tag (which also shows -q-), such a position could not be maintained with regard to the But or Tsg evidence. It is probable that \*baláØi is analyzed as \*b<al>áØi, i.e., \*báØi *woman, female* and an <al> infix, viz: *related through the bride or girl's side*, so that the evidence consists of just the two forms from the basic vocabulary. Yet the correspondences are so systematic that borrowing is unlikely; such patterning is not normally the end product when borrowing does take place, so that the cognate sets leading to the reconstruction of \*bái and \*táuh can be accepted as good evidence for PBS zero.

A difference in PBS between an intervocalic zero and a phonemic semi-vowel can be established. Compare PBS \*baláy *house* plus the imperative local suffix \*-i in Kin, Hil, Ceb *balay-í kamí*, Akl *bałay-í kamí Build a house for us!*, as opposed to the aforementioned \*balái, cf: Sem, But *baláqi kamí*, Kin, Hil, Ceb *baláyi kamí*, Akl *bałayi kamí we are co-parents-in-law* < PBS \*balái kamí. A similar contrast is seen in PBS \*táuh (above) and Akl, Hil, Rom, Odg, S-L, War, Ceb, Sur *páwud* < PBS \*páwud *nipa roofing* (alongside PCP \*páwəd, cf: Tag *páwid*,

Bik páwud, Mansaka pawəd) or Kuy, Tsg laúd, Akl lawúd, Kin, Hil, Mas, War, Ceb, Sur, But lawúd *ocean, deep sea* < PBS \*lawúd. Thus, differences among \*ai, \*ayi, and \*ay, and among \*au, \*awu, and \*aw obtained in PBS.<sup>67</sup> The laryngeals also occurred between \*a and \*i, and \*a and \*u, as in PBS \*táqi *faeces*, \*tahíq *sew*, \*taquí- *give*, and \*tahú *ginger tea*.

In final position the setting up of PBS \*-∅ depends on the agreement of the \*h- and \*q-preserving dialects in having morphophonemic final zero (3.3.3.): all dialects paŋ-asáwa- *to marry* ~ Kin, Pan, Sem, S-L, N-S, Boh, Sur paŋ-asáwq-ən, Akl, Rom, Hil, Cap, Ban, Odg, Sib paŋ-asáwq-on, Mas, Blk, War, Ceb, Jau, But paŋ-asáwq-un *to be married* < PBS paŋ-asáwa∅; Akl, Blk, Hil, Mas, Ceb, But qági- *to pass by* ~ Akl, Blk, Hil, Mas, But qágy-an, S-L, Ceb, Boh qagíq-an *to be bypassed*, Akl q<aɫ>ágy-an, Hil q<aɫ>ágyan, Ceb, S-L qalagíq-an *pathway* < PBS \*qági∅ *pass by*. All dialects matá- *eye*, Akl, Kin, Blk, Hil gin-mátq-an *was reared, was observed*, Ceb na-mátq-an *was born at a place* < PBS \*matá∅ *eye; watch, raise*. In some instances, imperfect correspondences between -h and -q, or -h and -∅ indicate the reconstruction of PBS \*-∅: Akl daɫá ~ daɫh-, Hil dalá ~ dalh-, Ceb dalá ~ dadq-, dalq-, or dalh-, Odg rayá ~ rayq-, Tsg daah-, Kin dará ~ darh-, N-S, S-L dará ~ dadq- *bring, carry* < PBS \*dadá∅. Thus, the disagreement between Akl butúh *blister* ~ b<in>utw-an *blistered* and Ceb butú *blister* ~ na-búth-an *got blisters* suggests PBS \*butú∅ *blister*.

#### 8.5. PROTO BISAVAN \*ə

Several dialects have preserved the original PBS four-vowel system. The phoneme ə is a high back unrounded vowel [ɯ] in Kin, Pan, Gim, Kuy, Sem, some Ceb and Boh, some N-S and S-L, and inland Sur dialects. In the other dialects it has become a high (to mid) back rounded vowel, [u] or [o]; i.e., it has fallen together with PBS \*u. Kuy daəg, Kin, Pan, Gim, Sem, Boh, S-L, Sur daqəg, all other dialects daqúg *to win, defeat, best* < PBS \*daqəg. Kuy, Kin, Pan, Gim, Sem, Boh, S-L sələd, Sur səyəd, Akl suiód, Rom, Jau suyúd, Ban, Odg, Sib suyór, But, Tsg suúd, Hil, Mas, Ceb sulúd *inside; to enter* < PBS \*sələd.

However, in prepenultimate syllables it is difficult to establish PBS \*ə. For example, it may be inferred from Akl, Kin, Odg, Hil, Rom batíqis, Kuy batís, Mas, War, Sur, But bitíqis, Tsg bitís *calf of leg*, Ceb, Boh bitíqis *lower leg* that the reconstruction is PBS \*batíqis *calf (of leg)*, so that PBS \*ə > a in the WBs dialects, while it assimilated to the following \*i in the CBs and SBs dialects.

In some cases, diverse analogical reshaping gives evidence of an



original PBS \*ə. The following evidence suggests that \*ə has been lost (by syncope) in some dialects, and has undergone assimilation in others: Kin, Pan, Gim quríhi, Sem quríqi, Akl, Rom, Hil qulíhi, Sur, Jau qulihí; Ceb qulahí, Boh quwahí (with epenthetic a); Mas, War qúrhi; But, Tsg hulí (metathesis of \*h) *late* < PBS \*udəhí.<sup>68</sup>

#### 8.6. PROTO BISAYAN \*y

The treatment of initial and intervocalic y differs in only a few dialects: Ban, Odg, Sib d, Boh, Ley, Sur, Jau, Kan j, Cam z, all other dialects y < PBS \*y- or \*-y-; all dialects -y < PBS \*-y.

In initial position there is: Cam záwaq, Boh, Ley, Sur, Jau jáwaq, Akl, Kin, Hil, Rom, Mas, Ceb, But yáwaq *devil* (also a curse word = *damn!*) < PBS \*yáwaq; Ban, Odg, Sib dútaq, Boh, Ley jútaq, Hil, Ceb yútaq < PBS \*yútaq *earth, land* (doublet of \*dútaq); Cam zádtu, Sur, Jau jádtu, Rom, Hil, But, Tsg yádtu *yonder* < PBS \*yádtu.

In medial position there is: Ban, Odg, Sib bádar, Boh, Ley, Sur, Jau, Kan bájad, Cam bázad, all other dialects báyad *pay* < PBS \*báyad. Note the forms in Table 39 leading to the reconstruction of PBS \*gayúd *very* emphatic particle.

In final position there is: Akl baíáy, Ban, Odg, Sib, Rom, Kaw, Sur, Jau, Kan bayáy, Boh, But, Nat, Tsg baáy, all other dialects baláy *house* < PBS \*baláy; all dialects sakáy *ride* < PBS sakáy, but Ban, Odg, Sib sakad-án, Cam sakaz-án, Boh, Ley, Sur sakaj-án, Akl, Kin, Hil, Mas, Ceb, But sakay-án (wooden boat).

#### 8.7. PROTO BISAYAN \*l

In most cases, if i, the semivowel y, or any apical consonant (d, t, n, s) precedes or follows an l, all dialects reflect PBS \*l: all dialects qílu *orphan* < PBS \*qílu; all dialects balískad *turn inside out* < PBS \*balískad. All dialects except Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, War qítlug *egg* < PBS \*qítlug. Kin, Pan, Gim, S-L, Boh, Sur hádlək, Sem, Kuy qádlək, Dtg, Snt qádluk, all other dialects hádluk *afraid* < PBS \*hádlək. Akl, Odg, Rom, Ceb bánlaw *rinse* < PBS \*bánlaw; Kin, Kuy, Hil, Ceb, But búnlaw *rinse* < PBS \*búnlaw. Akl, Kin, Odg, Rom, Hil, Mas, Ceb, But túsluk *to prick, insert something pointed or sharp* < PBS \*túsluk.

Only one exception was noted in the Banton group: Ban, Odg, Sib báydoh [from \*bályuh with \*l > y, \*y > d regularly], Blk, Mas, S-L, War, Ceb bályuh- *exchange, barter* < PBS \*bályuh; compare with: Akl, Kin, Kuy, Rom, Hil, Ceb, Sur, But báyluh- *exchange, barter* < PBS \*báyluh (byform of PBS \*bályuh). In some Waray dialects this form has come to mean *to buy*. Due to the irregular distribution of this form, on the

one hand, and to its irregular shape in the Banton dialects, on the other, one may suppose that this form had spread by borrowing or was reshaped early in Bs prehistory, when barter was the primary means of commerce.

Otherwise, in initial position, Akl *ɬ-*, Ban, Odg, Sib *ɣ-*, all other dialects *l-* lead to the reconstruction of PBS \**l-*: Akl *ɬáŋaw*, Ban, Odg, Sib *yáŋaw*, all other dialects *láŋaw* *housefly* < PBS \**láŋaw*; Akl *ɬusáq*, Ban, Odg, Sib *yusáq*, Kin, Pan, Gim, Kuy, S-L, Sur *ɬəsáq*, Hil, Rom, Mas, Ceb, Jau, But *ɬusáq nit*, *louse egg* < PBS \**ɬəsáq*; Akl *ɬúmot*, Ban, Odg, Sib *yúmot*, all other dialects *lúmot* *moss* < PBS \**lúmot*.

Unless preceded or followed by *i*, Akl *-ɬ-*, Ban, Odg, Sib, Rom, Kaw, Sur, Jau, Kan *-ɣ-*, Boh, Ceb (dial.), But, Nat *-Ø-* or homorganic semi-vowel, all other dialects *-l-* lead to the reconstruction of PBS \**-l-*: Akl *puɬáh*, Ban, Odg, Sib *puyáh*, Rom, Kaw, Sur, Jau, Kan *puyáh-*, Boh, Ceb, But, Nat *pu(w)áh-*, Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg *pulá-*, all other dialects *puláh-* *red* < PBS \**puláh*. Akl *báɬu*, Ban, Odg, Sib, Rom, Kaw, Sur, Jau, Kan *báyu*, Boh, Ceb, But, Nat *bá(w)u*, all other dialects *bálu* *widow* < PBS \**bálu*. Note: Akl *kiláɬah*, Ban, Odg, Sib *kiláyah*, Rom, Sur, Jau *kiláyah-*, Kin, Blk, Hil, Mas, S-L, War *kilálah-*, But, Tsg *kiláah-* *to know a person, be acquainted* < PBS \**kilálah*; as the second \**l* reveals, when not in environment with an apico-palatal, \**l* is treated according to the patterns of each dialect for intervocalic \**l*.

In the last example (PBS \**kilálah*) Tsg shows an independent development, i.e., it regularly<sup>69</sup> has *-Ø-* between like vowels, even *i*, reflecting PBS \**V<sub>1</sub>lV<sub>1</sub>*: Tsg *píiq*, all other dialects *píliq* *select, choose* < PBS \**píliq*; But, Tag *bilíh-*, Tsg *biih-* *buy* < PCP \**bilíh*; Akl *balának*, Ban, Odg, Sib, Sur, Jau *bayának*, Boh, But, Tsg *baanak*, Ceb *bának*, all other dialects *balának* *fish* (kind of mullet) < PBS \**balának*; Akl *qúɬoh*, Ban, Odg, Sib *qóyoh*, Rom, Sur, Jau, Kan, Kaw *qúyuh-*, Boh, Ceb, Nat, But, Tsg *qúuh-*, Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg *qúlu*, all other dialects *qúluh-* *head* < PBS \**qúluh*.

Wolff (personal communication) reports that Ceb and Boh dialects that preserve PBS \**ə* retain \**l* in an environment with \**ə*; thus, PBS \**sələd* *enter, inside* > Boh, Ceb *sələd*, but Boh, Ceb, Nat, But, Tsg *suúd*.

In final position, the reflexes of PBS \**-l* are identical to those for intervocalic position (above): Akl *katúɬ*, Ban, Odg, Sib, Rom, Kaw, Sur, Jau, Kan *katúy*, But, Ceb, Boh, Nat *katúu*, Kin, Pan, Gim, Kuy, Sem, S-L, War, Boh *katál*, Hil, Mas, Ceb, Tsg *katúl* *itch* < PBS \**katál*. It should be noted that those dialects (But, Nat, Ceb, Boh) that have compensatory lengthening after the loss of PBS \**-l* in the final syllable are the only CPh speech varieties (along with Kamayo of the Mansakan

group) to have a distinction between long and short final vowels.

Clusters with PBS \*l may also be reconstructed: Akl qáplud, Ban, Odg, Sib qápyur, Boh, Ceb, But qápud, Kin, Kuy, Sem qápləd, Hil, Mas, Tsg qáplud *acrid (flavour of unripe banana)* < PBS \*qápləd. The restriction on occurrence of lC clusters, where C is an apical consonant, has been discussed in 3.2.3.4.; and will be discussed in Chapter 10 as a possible criterion for grouping Bs dialects together.

## 8.8. PROTO BISAYAN \*d

### 8.8.1. PBS \*d-, \*-d, and \*d Abutting on a Consonant

For initial PBS \*d- members of the Banton group show r-, all other dialects d-: Ban, Odg, Sib rágat, all other dialects dágat *sea* < PBS \*dágat; Ban, Odg, Sib rílaq, all other dialects dílaq *tongue* < PBS \*dílaq.

The same correspondence set yields final PBS \*-d: Ban, Odg, Sib púsor, all other dialects púsud *navel* < PBS \*púsud; Ban, Odg, Sib búkir, all other dialects (except Tsg) búkid *mountain* < PBS \*búkid.

For clusters with \*d there are: Ban, Odg, Sib qápru, all other dialects qápru *bile* < PBS \*qápru; Ban, Odg, Sib hágran, Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg qágdan, all other dialects hágdan *stairs, ladder* < PBS \*hágdan; all dialects (except Kuy, Kin, Gim, Cap, Hil, Rom, Ban, Odg, Sib) súdlay *comb* < PBS \*súdlay. Some such clusters appear to have dissimilated in the Banton group: Ban, Odg, Sib pa-qágtto *go* from PBS \*qádtu; Ban, Odg, Sib qúgtto *noon* from PBS \*qúdtu.

### 8.8.2. The Intervocalic Reflexes of PBS \*d

The reflexes for PBS \*-d- in Akl, Ban, Odg, Sib, Rom, Cap, Hil, Kaw, Boh, Ceb, Ley, Sur, Jau, Kan, Nat, But, and Tsg are identical to those for \*-l- (8.7.); in the remaining dialects -r- leads to the reconstruction of PBS \*d-: Kin, Pan, Gim, Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg, Blk, Dsp, Lok, Alc, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, War qurán, Cap, Hil, Ceb, Tsg qulán, Akl quán, Ban, Odg, Sib, Rom, Kaw, Sur, Jau, Kan quyán, Ceb, Boh, Nat, But qu(w)án *rain* < PBS \*qudán. External (i.e., non-Bs) evidence supports such reconstructions: (SPH) Ata, Cotabato, Tigwa Manobo qudan, (NPh) Agta qudan, Ifugao, Kalinga qudán *rain* < PPH \*qudán.

Furthermore, although the modern Bs speech varieties show liquids for PBS \*d-, internal reconstruction based on the morphophonemic alternation of r ~ d (cf: 3.4.1.) and of l ~ d (cf: 3.4.2.) supports the conclusion that these liquids were formerly in a phoneme with a stop, even though they are no longer so in the modern dialects: But ki-wádq-an, Tsg kia-wádq-an, all other dialects na-wádq-an *suffered the loss of* :

Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, War na-waráq, Ceb, Hil na-waláq *lost* < PBS \*wadq- ~ \*wadáq *lose; none* (cf: Dibabawon wadaq *none*); Akl mádq-an ~ maíáh, Kuy, Dsp, Dtg, Mas, War mará, S-L mádh-an, Ceb, Hil, Alc malá, Ceb na-mádq-an *dry, dried out* < PBS \*mad- ~ \*madá- *dry* (cf: Ata, Tigwa Manobo -mada *dry*).

## 8.9. PROBLEM CORRESPONDENCES WITH VOICED APICO-ALVEOLAR PHONEMES

### 8.9.1. Problems with Intervocalic PBS \*-d-

There is a correspondence set (Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg, Blk, Dsp, Lok, Kin, Pan, Gim, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, War, and Bik -d- : Akl, Hil, Ceb, other Bs dialects, and Tag -r-) which is not relatable to any proto phoneme. Most of the instances that seem to point to a phoneme different from or in contrast with PBS \*-d- (8.8.2.) can be accounted for otherwise:

(1) The stop is preceded by a morpheme boundary and was subject to analogical reshaping: Kuy, Mas, Sor, War, S-L di-dí, Hil, Cap, Rom, Cam, Ceb, Boh, Ley di-rí, Ban, Odg, Sib ri-lí [dissimilation from pre-Ban \*ri-rí] *here (nearest speaker)* < PBS \*di-dí; compare also with Bk evidence: Daraga, Buhí di-dí, Naga dig-dí, Virac din-dí < PCP \*di(-)dí. Note also CBs \*di-dáq *there (near addressee)* (#5a in 12.1.1.).

(2) The stop is the result of analogical levelling and back formation from clusters after epenthesis occurred: PHS \*təDés *to crush lice with fingernails* + -a passive imperative > PBS \*təd()s-a *crush (it)!* as in Kin, Sem, Kuy, S-L təds-a, Akl, Hil, Mas, War, Ceb túds-a; yielding by analogy Kin, Pan, Sem, S-L tədés, Mas, War tudús, Akl, Hil, Ceb, Sur turús < PBS \*tədés *crush lice*; compare Tag tirís, Bik tadús < PCP \*tədés. Similarly, there is Kin, N-S, S-L harák, Hil, Ceb, Tsg halúk *kiss*, and Kin, Hil, N-S, S-L, Ceb, Tsg hádk-i *kiss (her)!*; in WBs this PBS \*hádk-i has been analyzed and reshaped as Pan hadéq, Alc, Dsp, Lok hadóq, Akl, Rom, Ban, Odg, Sib haróq *kiss* (< WBs \*hadéq).

(3) An initial or final \*d (< PHS \*D, \*Z) has been metathesized to intervocalic position: PHS \*dələp *dive* > Akl łuróp, Tsg lurúp, Tag liríp, Bik ladúp (< PCP, PBS \*lədəp *dive*). [For \*dələp see Agutaynen dələp, Mongondow dolop, Gorontalo dulopo.]

(4) Secondary \*-d- occurs in forms that are unexplained doublets of forms with \*-t- (see discussion of shimmer in 3.5.4.): PPH \*[q]ltuq (cf: Atta itu, Sindangan Subanon gituq) *dog*, but Mas, Hil, War qidúq, Boh, Ceb, Tsg qirúq, Nat, Kan, Sur qíduq, Ban, Odg, Sib qíroq < PBS \*qidúq ~ qíduq *dog*. Note: Pan, Kamayo kudín, Akl, Hil kurín *cat* < PBS \*kudín, but Mas, Ceb, Sor, Tsg, Virac, Pandan Bk kutín *cat* < PBS, PCP \*kutín.

(5) A cluster has been reduced, such as the loss of preconsonantal \*l, leaving only an intervocalic \*-d-: PCP \*qaldaw *day* > Tag qáraw, N-S qádaw; PCP \*taldəŋ *straight* > N-S tádəŋ, Ceb tárəŋ; etc.

(6) The forms may be borrowed from another Ph language where the normal reflex of PAN or PHS \*-D- is -d-, rather than -r-, although the source language cannot be determined: Ilokano, Bik, S-L ladáwan, Hil, Ceb, Tag laráwan *image, picture*, Akl pa-laráwan (ceremony in which an image and some gifts are put out for the gods) < PBS (?) \*ladáwan *image*. N-S ma-líduŋ, Bik líduŋ, Mansaka lidəŋ, Western Bukidnon Manobo kə-lizəŋ, Ceb líruŋ *round* < PBS (?) \*líduŋ.

(7) The form is a direct or indirect borrowing from Malay, Javanese, or some other Indonesian language reflecting Proto Malay \*-d- or \*-z-: Malay búdu *pickle* → Kin búduh-, Akl, Hil, Tag búroh-, Ceb búruh-; Malay bədíl *shoot (gun)* → Mas, War, S-L, Bik badíl, Blk, Dtg, Dsp, Sem, Snt, Pan, Akl, Odg, Ban, Sib, Rom, Ceb, Tag baríl; Malay gádiŋ *ivory* → S-L, Bik gádiŋ, Tag gáriŋ; Malay gərgáji *saw* (carpenter's tool, from Sanskrit krakača-) → Akl ɣagáriq, Hil, Ceb, Tag lagáriq, Kin, Kuy, Mas, S-L, War, Bik lagádiq; Javanese háji *king* → Akl, Kin, Pan, Sem, Odg, Sib, Rom, Hil, Boh, Ceb, Sur, But, Tsg háriq, Kuy qádiq, Mas, Sor, S-L, War, Bik hádiq; Malay báju *shirt, dress* → Rom, Tag bároq, Mas, S-L, War, Bik báduq, Tsg bájuq, Hil, Kin, Pan, Sem, Blk, Dtg báyuq; Indonesian táji *cockspur, gaff* → Ceb taríq, Mas, War, S-L tádiq; Malay ájar *read Koran* → Kuy, Mas, Sor, Gub, Bik qádal, Ban, Odg, Sib qáray, Tag qáral *to study*.

Other forms of limited distribution may be explained according to one or another of the phenomena described above: Ceb burús, Bik badús *pregnant* : Akl ná-bdos, Hil, Ceb má-bdus (#2); Sor, Bik, Pandan Bk hadúk *kiss* (#2 or #6); Gub tudáq, Bik tadáq, Daraga təráq, Tag tirá *left-over (food)* (#6); Kin, Kuy, Mas, S-L kudút, Akl, Hil, Ceb kurút *pinch* : Kin, Kuy, Akl, Hil, Mas, S-L, Ceb kúdt-a *pinch (hím)!* (#2); Mas, Sor, Gub, Sur, Jau, Nat, But ludáq, Tsg luráq *spit* : Hil duláq (#3); etc.

#### 8.9.2. Problems with Initial PBS \*d-

Forms that clearly give evidence for initial PBS \*d- are those least likely to have been inflected. The initial consonants of uninflected forms (e.g., PBS \*dílaq *tongue*, \*dáhun *leaf*, etc.) would not have been in environments, i.e., following vowel-final prefixes [e.g., ma- ~ ha- adjective (4.5.1.1.), \*má- active future punctual, \*na- stative or passive past potential, etc.] or prephrasal particle [e.g., PCP \*sa common-noun oblique marker (section 4.3.4.)], where morphophonemic

alternations could take place.

However, inflected forms reveal the intervocalic reflexes of \*d: Kin, Pan, Sem, Kuy ma-rayáq (with unexplained ə, see 11.1.2., #19), Blk, Dsp ma-rayúq, Mas, Sor, Gub ha-rayúq, Hil, Rom, Ceb, Tsg ma-layúq, Akl ma-łayóq, But ha-ayúq, Ban, Odg, Sib ma-yadóq, Sur, Jau ma-lajúq *far* < PBS \*-dayúq [cf: (SPh) Western Bukidnon Manobo diyuuq, (NPh) Itneg qa-dayó, Kalinga qa-dayú < PPH \*däyúq *far*]. Sometimes doublets have survived in Bs; note Hil *damíg cold, stiff (as corpse)*, as opposed to Blk, Kin, Kuy ma-ramíg, Akl ma-łamíg, Ban, Odg, Sib ma-yamíg *cold*, Ceb ka-amig *cold to touch* < PBS \*-damíg ~ \*damíg. Hil, War, Ceb, Sur *dunút rotten* yield PBS \*dunút, but Tag *lunót overripe*, Akl *łunót rotten* suggest PCP \*-dunút *rotten*, i.e., the latter is the result of analogy after a vowel-final prefix (Dyen 1947b:232-34). Similarly, Ceb, Tsg, Tag have *łánaw lake*, but most Bs dialects and Bik have *dánaw* yielding the PCP doublets \*dánaw ~ \*-dánaw *lake*; note, for example, the people and the language called ma-ránaw (Maranao).

### 8.9.3. Irregular Correspondences Involving Liquids

There are some forms that exhibit correspondences different from the normal correspondence for PBS \*d, but do not give evidence for a new contrast (viz: \*r), because: (1) no etyma can be reconstructed with a stem-final \*-r, and those that appear with an initial r- are the result of diverse analogical reshaping from PBS \*d, (2) there are a number of irregular correspondences in some dialects, and (3) forms relatable to etyma with an earlier (PHS?) \*r are borrowed.

McFarland (1974:66f) discusses some 19 forms in Bik with initial r- that may be reconstructed for PCP in that cognates are found in Tag or Ceb; of these, 13 occur in Ceb and other Bs dialects: Naga *rabnúť*, S-L *rábnut*, Ceb, Hil *łábnut*, Tag *łabnót to pull, grab, jerk*; Naga *rabráb*, Kin *rábrab*, Akl *łábłab*, Ceb, Hil *łáblab to tear, slash*; Naga *ragamáť*, Ceb *łagamáť*, Kin *ragámak*, Hil *łagámak to fall (with crash)*; Naga *rambún*, Ceb *łámbun leafy, thick with growth*; Naga *rára*, Ceb *łála poison, venom*, Akl *łáła ~ ładq- smarting pain*; Naga *raqráť*, Ceb, Akl *łáqlaq to lap up*; Naga *rawráw*, Ceb *łáwlaw to waste, squander*; Naga *rírun*, Ceb *łílun*, Akl *łílon to conceal, deny (by silence)*; Naga *rugmúť*, Tag *ługmóť*, Ceb *łúgmuk to collapse*; Naga *rugtás*, Kin *rúgtas*, Ceb, Hil *łúgtas to tear, pull apart*; Naga *rumbáy*, Ceb *łumbay file, column*; Naga *rumpag*, S-L, Kin *rúmpag*, Ceb, Hil *łúmpag to wreck, destroy*; Naga *runkáb*, Kin *rúnkab*, Ceb, Hil *łúnkab to break, pry open*. In addition, I found one correspondence set not attested in Bk: S-L, N-S *rúyag*, Kuy *riyag*, Hil *łúyag*, Sur *yújag*, Kin *łáyag* (unexplained dissimilation

of r-) *to want, like*, Tag *liyág darling*. However, all of these forms are inflected; while no doublet with initial d- has been found to be cognate with any of the above sets (with the exception of Akl *ma-dábuŋ leafy, thick with growth* : Naga *rambún*, Ceb *lámbuŋ*), it is probable that the forms are the result of an early (PCP) analogy that wiped out any pre-existing forms with \*d-. [Note, for example, the internal evidence of Akl *ɾadq-* compared with Bik *rára* (above).]

Similarly, analogy has produced Ban, Odg, Sib *qutúy to slice*, alongside Akl, Sem, Rom, Hil, Mas, Ceb, Tsg *qutúd < PBS \*qutúd slice*, based on the morphophonemic alternation in forms like Akl, Hil, Rom, Ceb, But *súgid tell (a story)*, but Akl, Ceb, Hil *sugil-ánun story < PBS \*súgid*, or all dialects (but Tsg) *búkid mountain*, but Ceb *ka-bukíl-an mountains < PBS \*búkid*.

In intervocalic position there are some forms that exhibit irregularities of correspondence: Akl, Odg, Rom, Hil *baróto*, Ceb, Kin, Kuy, Mas *barútu*, War, S-L *balútu dugout canoe*; Kuy, Odg, Rom, Hil, Mas, War, Sur *karabáw*, Ceb, But, Tsg *kaabáw water buffalo*. Neither offers evidence of an \*-r-. In the first form one would expect Waray to have an -r- (i.e., War, S-L \**barútu*); in most other dialects the irregularities do not allow any reconstruction. Since there is Ilokano *balotó* far to the north, Kalamian *barutuq* to the west, and Ata Manobo *balutu* to the south on Mindanao, one can be sure only that the word spread rapidly but disparately throughout the Philippines from an unknown source language. The second form is probably related to Malay *kərbau*; but Aklan and Mindoro are relic areas for *qánwaŋ carabao*, which probably reflects the original PPH \**qan(u)wáŋ*, judging from the evidence of NPH languages (cf: Agta *qənwaŋ*, Bontok, Kankanay *nowáŋ*, Ilokano *nuáŋ*).

Of particular import to the establishment of a PBS \*r would be any cognates clearly traceable to PAN, or at least PHS; but related forms in Bs appear to have been borrowed or exhibit such irregularities as to be useless in giving such evidence. Witness Kuy, Mas, Sor, Gub, S-L, War *ríbu thousand*, while Sem, Blk, Pan, Kin and all other Bs dialects have *líbu*, except Tsg *qíbu* (= Samal *qibu*); the form is a borrowing from Malay (or perhaps another language with a reflex of r for PAN \*R) *ríbu < PHS \*Ribu thousand*. If the Bs forms were cognate, they should appear as \**gíbu*; note Maranao *ŋ-gibo*, Kalamian *libuq*, Ilongot *gibu* which show correct correspondences. Similarly, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, War have *surát to write*, Bik *surát*, Akl *sulát*, Ban, Odg, Sib, Rom, Sur, Jau *suyát*, most other dialects *sulát*; but the correct etymon is PHS \**suRat etch, write* (Charles 1974), correctly reflected in Tag *súgat wound* (not Tag *súlat to write*), so that the various CPh

forms are spread by borrowing - most likely in the case of writing which was introduced into the Philippines no earlier than 1000+ A.D.

Only Kuy has *kuraŋ* as opposed to Akl *kúŋaŋ*, Ban, Odg, Sib, Rom, Sur, Jau *kúyaŋ*, all other dialects *kúlaŋ* *lacking, insufficient*; the Kuy form may be under influence from Malay *kúraŋ*, most dialects point to a PBS *\*kúlaŋ*. Similarly, Mas *kárut*, Akl *káŋot*, Rom, Sur, Jau *káyut*, all other dialects (except Ban, Odg, Sib, But) *kálut* *to scratch (an itch)* < PBS *\*kálut*; the Mas form may have been influenced by Malay *gárut*, or by another form for *scratch*, e.g., Mas *gáris*. Mas *pírak*, Akl, Kin, Hil, Rom, Ceb *pílak* *silver* are probably borrowed from Malay *pírak* rather than inherited from PHS *\*pirak*; most dialects have a competing form for *silver*, *salapíq* [either related to Malay *səpəh chip, fragment* (Charles 1974) or Malay *sələpí metal container for betel-chew* (of value in trade, Conklin, personal communication)]; neither is an indigenous term. In each of these last examples, only one Bs dialect offers any evidence for a PBS *\*-r-* that may be cognate with PHS *\*-r-*; since each correspondence is different, there is no evidence of a PBS *\*r* related to PHS *\*r*. (Other forms thought to be probative of PHS *\*r* have been reassigned to PHS *\*R* or *\*D* by Wolff 1974 and Charles 1974.) While it need not be proposed that PBS *\*kúlaŋ* *lacking* or *\*kálut* *to scratch* must be borrowings, the irregularities caution that even the reconstructions with *\*-l-* may be assigned only tentatively to PBS.

#### 8.10. PROTO BISAVAN ACCENT

From the historical point of view, length has two origins. (1) Some dialects have compensatory lengthening due to the loss of a phoneme and the coalescence of vowels: Tag [bá:go] < PCP *\*baqguh* *new*, War [tú:suk] < PCP *\*tulsuk* *to prick*, Kuy [kaapún] < PCP *\*kahápun*, etc. (2) Most dialects have inherited length, and reflect the historical accent (length and stress) patterns from earlier stages, e.g. PBS, PCP, PPH *\*qúlu* *head* > [qú:lu] in Kin, Hil, Mas, Ceb, Tag, Bik, Kapampangan, Ilokano, etc., PBS, PCP, PMP, PPH *\*matá-* *eye* > [matá] in all Bs dialects, Tag, Bik, Kapampangan, Ilokano, etc. These two differ in one regard: compensatory lengthening can occur in any syllable, while inherited length is never found on the ultima, and in most Bs dialects (except Mas, Sor, N-S, S-L, War) is restricted to the penult.

All Bs speech varieties except some dialects of Kuy and Tsg retain phonemic accent. The following minimal pair is found in all dialects and establishes contrastive accent for PBS: *púnuq* [pú:núq] *tree trunk* < PBS *\*púnuq* and *punúq* [pǔnúq] *full* < PBS *\*punúq*. The following are among the many forms reconstructed with accent on the penult: PBS



\*búkid *mountain*, \*káqən *eat*, \*dadága *young lady, maiden*, \*lánit *sky*, \*paṅánud *white cloud*; and on the ultima: PBS \*qabúh *ashes*, \*batúh *stone*, \*kamú *ye*, \*gamút *root*, \*matáy *die*, \*putíq *white*.

That phonemic accent was inherited by PBS can be seen in the hundreds of correspondences among Bs, Bk, Tg, Ilokano, Kapampangan, Isneg, Balangao, Ifugao, Bontoc, Itneg, Kalinga, etc. Accent must be reconstructed as a feature of Proto Philippine.

Mansaka and Kalagan are linguistic and geographic neighbours of Bs. These two languages exhibit a complementary phenomenon of phonemic shortness (in Mansaka) and phonemic length (in Kalagan) which coincides with Bs and Tg accent patterns. The phonemic shortness of Mansaka corresponds perfectly with accent on the ultima in Bs, thus: Mansaka báyaw, most Bs bayáw *brother-in-law* < PCP \*báyáw; while the phonemic length of Kalagan corresponds with Bs accent on the penult: Kalagan ḡa:lan, Kin, Sem, S-L, Mas ḡáran *name* < PCP \*ḡá:dan. In Mansaka and Kalagan these forms are only remnants of a pre-existing system since many forms are unmarked for accent which can be reconstructed with accent for Bs-Bk-Tg, i.e., PCP, e.g., Mansaka, Kalagan mata *eye*, dilaq *tongue*, etc.

8.10.1. The Loss of PBS Accent has occurred in some dialects of Kuy and Tsg. Some Kuy communities on Busuanga Island still maintain stress differences on words uttered in isolation. These accent patterns correspond to the typical patterns of other (nearby) WBs dialects, e.g., Kuy-Busuanga búrak *flower* : Kin [bú:rak] vs Kuy-Busuanga buráq *foam*, lápad *wide* vs ləpád *to fly*. This pattern of stress is also found in (colourless) sentence intonation, as in Kuy-Busuanga na-táú qakú sa kurún *I was born on Koron Island* vs qin-taú qakú kanána *I was given to him*. However, many other forms reflect the general loss of contrast as on Cuyo Island proper.

Similarly, the Jolo dialects of Tsg have apparently lost inherited accent, but not the Tsg dialects on southern Palawan. While working with a Tsg informant from Palawan, I had elicited the minimal pair: kúlən *insufficient, lacking* : kulán *to lie down*. When re-checking the data with a Jolo informant, he maintained that in his dialect there was no difference in pronunciation between the two. However, after collation of more data, I found But kúlən, Mansaka kúlən *lacking* : But kulán, Mansaka kúlən *lie down* supporting the minimal pair in Palawan Tausug. A large number of similar contrasts were found.

One of the chief factors in the loss of accent is bilingualism and substratum influence from other languages.<sup>70</sup> Samal does not have contrastive word accent, so that Samals who learn Tausug do not learn

or distinguish the accentual patterns. Over the centuries this contact of Tsg and Samal has apparently resulted in the loss of such contrastive accent in Tsg on Jolo, while Tsg on Palawan maintains the historical accent patterns. Kuy may have undergone similar influence from the native languages on or around Palawan, e.g., Palawano, Aborlan, and Agutaynen, which also do not have contrastive word accent.

#### 8.10.2. Factors Influencing the Placement of Accent

(1) CANONICAL FORM. In all Bs dialects studied, a closed penult is stressed. Thus, stress is predictable from the shape of the form: all dialects *síŋsiŋ ring* < PBS \*síŋsiŋ, all dialects *búkbuk weevil* < PBS \*búkbuk. Regardless of the accent on the base form, if morpho-phonemic changes produce a form with a CVC-penult, the penult is stressed. Thus, Akl *tuŋón to swallow* + -a passive imperative → *túnŋ-a swallow (it)!*, Kin, Pan, Blk *taqú- to give* + -i local imperative → *táwq-i give (it)!*, Ceb *punúq full* + -a → *púnq-a fill (it)!* (See 10.2.1.)

(2) \*ə IN PENULT. The shape of the penult affected stress in another way, parallel with the process in modern Malay: if a \*ə occurred in an open penult, the stress fell on the ultima, i.e., PAN \*pənuq > PBS \*punúq *full*, PAN \*təbuS > PBS \*tubúh *sugarcane*, PHS \*bəRas *milled rice* > PBS \*bəgás, PAN \*bəŋəl *deaf* > PBS \*bəŋál, PAN \*ətút *fart, flatulence* > PBS \*qətút, PPH \*lətáw *to float* > PBS lutáw, etc.

However, more recent analogies based on current accent paradigms may reshape such forms. Thus, there is another minimal pair reconstructable, but with a \*ə in the penult: Akl, Hil, Ceb, Tsg *butún*, Kin, Kuy, Sur *bətán young coconut* < PBS \*bətán and Akl, Odg, Hil, Mas *bútuŋ*, Kin, Kuy *bátəŋ to pull* < PBS \*bátəŋ. Mansaka *bətəŋ young coconut* and Naga Bk *bútuŋ pull* indicate that these reconstructions may be as old as PCP \*bátəŋ *pull* and PCP \*bətán *young coconut*. In each case the verb 'pull' may have been associated with the accent of many verb stems on the penult, while the noun 'young coconut' may have been associated with statives (4.2.5.), i.e., \*bətán *a coconut pulled off before it was ripe* (see #3 immediately below).

(3) ACCENT PAIRS of verb stems and their stative counterparts are found throughout Bs, e.g., most dialects *tápus to finish* : *tapús finished*; *báyad to pay* : *bayád paid*; *qánad accustom* : *qanád accustomed*; Akl *ráhaq*, Kin, Pan, Dsp, Blk *ráhaq cook* : Akl *raháq*, Kin, Pan, Dsp, Blk *raháq cooked*; Ban, Odg, Sib *yútoq*, Rom, Cap, Hil *lútoq*, Mas, War, Ceb, Sur, But *lútuq* : Ban, Odg, Sib *yutóq*, Rom, Cap, Hil *lutóq*, Mas, War, Ceb, Sur, But *lutúq cooked* indicate the reconstruction of pairs

for PBS: \*tápus *finish* ~ \*tapús *finished*, \*báyad *pay* ~ bayád *paid*, \*qánad *accustom* ~ \*qanád *accustomed*, \*lútuq *cook* ~ \*lutúq *cooked*, etc.<sup>71</sup>

(4) FORM CLASSES also appear to have parallel accent patterns, thus the adjectives of colour are PBS \*putíq *white*, \*qitém *black*, \*puláh *red*, \*duláw *yellow*, \*dadág *yellowish*, etc. Topic and genitive pronouns and deictics, negative particles, and interrogatives have already been discussed and presented in this regard (4.2.8. and respective tables in Chapter 4).

#### 8.11. EVALUATION OF PHONOLOGICAL CRITERIA AS TECHNIQUES FOR SUBGROUPING

Nine of the phonological reflexes that do not agree among Bs dialects have been put into Table 56 in such a way that they serve as eight phonological isoglosses. The dialects have been organised according to the subgroups discussed at the end of Chapter 7. In this regard, it is important to note that had the dialects not been so organised, on the basis of these phonological criteria Blk, Dsp, Lok, Alc, Mas, Sor, Gub, and War would appear to be together in one subgroup, and Pan, Kin, Gim, N-S, and S-L in another; no other means of subgrouping (lexicostatistics, functor analysis, or common innovations) would indicate or validate such subgroups. Even given this organisation, the phonological isoglosses do not separate Bs into groups that agree with any other method employed in this study.<sup>72</sup> The discrepancies are noteworthy.

The independence of some dialects is exaggerated. For example, Akl does not appear as part of WBs; But has only one isogloss indicating inclusion within SBs. The Banton group is correctly isolated from all other Bs dialects, but has one link to Rom. The Cebuan group is broken up, while its members (Boh, Ley, Ceb) are variously linked to other Bs dialects. The WBs subgroup has up to seven isoglosses (#1-6, 8) separating its members, while most of the CBs dialects are separated by only four at the most (#4-6, 8). Yet CBs showed the greatest diversity according to the lexicostatistical and functor tests, and WBs the least diversity.

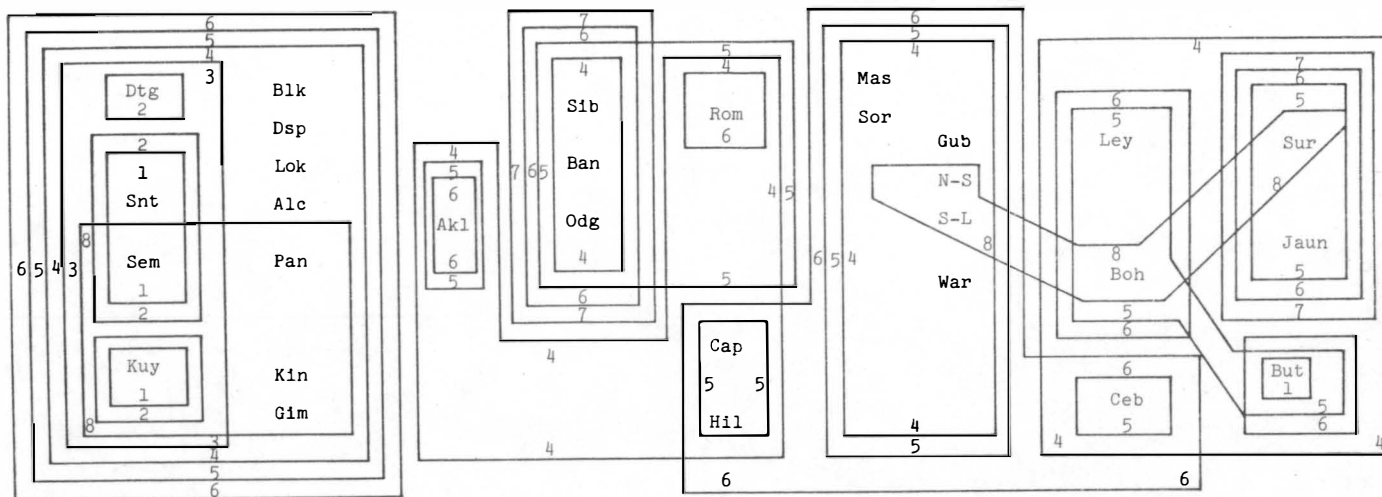
The reasons that none of these phonological criteria leads to accurate subgrouping of the Bs dialects are: (1) none of the isoglosses employed is qualitative (i.e., unlikely to have occurred independently), because (2) none of the sound shifts or mergers discussed is an innovation or feature unique to Bs or to any of its subgroups, each is found independently in non-Bs languages.<sup>73</sup> The correspondence sets leading to the reconstruction of PBS \*-Ø- can also be found between Tag -q- and Bik homorganic semi-vowel. Although PCP \*h is lost in the Kuyan group alone among Bs dialects, \*h is lost in many dialects of the Bikol area (Buhi, Oas, Libon, Iriga, Daraga, Legazpi), in Mansakan (except

Kamayo and Davaweño), and in all NPh languages. Intervocalic PCP \*d (viz: \*-r-) and \*l fall together in Tag and in most Mansakan dialects (except Kamayo), but are kept distinct in most Bikol dialects (except Virac and Pandan) and in Mamanwa. Further, the falling together of PSP \*-d- and \*-l- is a feature found in languages only distantly related to Bs, e.g., Kapampangan, Tadyawan, Buhid, and Subanon. PCP \*-y- > z in Cam, but also in Mamanwa. PMP \*ə > u in Akl, Blk, Odg, Hil, Mas, Ceb, etc. among Bs dialects, but also in Hanunoo and Buhid, which are South Mangyan languages with no special close genetic connection to Bs (Zorc 1974b).

Although subgrouping by phonological features does not support the subgrouping arrived at in Chapters 6-7, it is important to note that given the pre-organisation of dialects based on other criteria it does not contradict the latter. Thus, most of the WBs dialects are grouped together within three isoglosses. Although Akl is not grouped with any of the WBs dialects by this method, it is not indicated to be a member of any other Bs subgroup, and therefore appears to be independent. As we shall see in Chapter 11, Akl is a well-marked dialect of WBs. Rom and Cap-Hil appear to be intermediate between WBs and CBs; they were shown to be links between WBs and CBs in Chapters 5 and 7. Sur-Jau are clearly grouped together by the isoglosses. The separation indicated between Ceb and Boh-Ley may itself be indicative of greater diversity among Cebuano dialects than that brought to light in this study due to insufficient data on many dialects of that group.

It therefore appears that phonological innovations *per se* are not to be given any weight in the subgrouping of Bs; but where such innovations are consonant with other criteria (innovations in the lexicon or among functors) they may serve as further instances of the validity of a posited subgroup (see, for example, the determination of the Kuyan group among WBs dialects, 11.2.).

TABLE 56  
 PHONOLOGICAL ISOGLOSSES SEPARATING THE Bs DIALECTS



CRITERIA. Similarities are included within a single isogloss only between contiguous dialects; as soon as a break occurs between two dialects sharing a feature (e.g., Kin \*d-, -d- and Mas \*d-, -d-) an isogloss separates them. (See Table 55 for summary of problematic phonemes.)

- (1) \*-ø- > Kuy -ø-; Sem, Snt, But -q-; all other dialects homorganic semivowel.
- (2) \*-q-, \*-h- > Kuy -ø-; Sem, Snt -q-; Dtg -w- / u, -y- / i, q elsewhere; all other dialects -q- vs -h-.
- (3) \*h- > Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg q-; all other dialects h-.
- (4) \*d-, \*-d- > Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg, Blk, Dsp, Pan, Kin d-, -d-; Akl, Rom, Cap, Hil d-, -r-; Ban, Sib, Odg r-, -r-; Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, War d-, -d-; Ley, Boh, Ceb, Sur, Jaun, But d-, -r-.
- (5) \*-d- > Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg, Blk, Dsp, Pan, Kin -r-, Akl -ɻ-, Ban, Sib, Odg, Rom -y-, Hil, Cap -l-, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, War -r-, Ceb -l-, Sur, Jaun -y-, Boh, Ley, But -ø-.
- (6) \*l-, \*-l-, \*-l > Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg, Blk, Dsp, Pan, Kin l; Akl ɻ; Sib, Ban, Odg y; Rom l-, -y-, -y; Hil, Cap, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, War, Ceb l; Sur, Jaun l-, -y-, -y; Ley, Boh l-, -ø-, -l; But l-, -ø-, -ø.
- (7) \*-y- > Ban, Sib, Odg -d-; Sur, Jaun -j; all other dialects -y-. (Not listed: Cam -z-.)
- (8) \*ə > Kuy, Sem, Pan, Kin, Gim ə; N-S, S-L, Boh, Sur ə; all other dialects u.



## CHAPTER NINE

### GENETIC EVIDENCE FOR CENTRAL PHILIPPINE UNITY

The Bisayan speech varieties form a subgroup together with the dialects of Tagalog, of Bikol, and of Mansakan; this group may be called Central Philippine [Dyen's *Tagalic* (1965a:29)]. These CPh languages are in turn a subgroup of Meso-Philippine, which also includes the Palawan, Kalamian, South Mangyan, and Subanon languages (see Tree Diagram 3). That Bs is a genetic subgroup of CPh is shown by the shared innovations among functors and lexical items surveyed in this chapter. No exclusively-shared PCP phonological innovations have been discovered (see 8.11.); PBS and PCP appear to have had the same sound system (see Table 53).

The genetic unity of CPh languages is posited here on the basis of overlapping innovations. That is, while no innovation is found in all dialects of all subgroups of Bs, Bk, Tg, and Mk, the distribution of each form is diversified enough to justify its reconstruction at the PCP stage, but limited to only CPh languages (cognates are not found outside of CPh), thereby suggesting its innovational status. Furthermore, each CPh subgroup reflects enough (at least half) of the posited innovations to indicate its genetic relationship to PCP and to other CPh languages, while no other known Philippine or Austronesian language has more than one or two such forms (which is attributable in each case to borrowing).

Tables 57a-b summarise and illustrate the overlapping of PCP innovations among the four major CPh language groups; subgroups within Bs and Bk are listed in accordance with my work and that of McFarland (1974); Tagalog and Mansakan are treated as single units for lack of accurate information on the subgroups within each.

TABLE 57a  
DISTRIBUTION OF PCP INNOVATIONS AMONG FUNCTORS

| INNOVATION          | - - - - - B I S A Y A N - - - - - |         |          |         |          |     | - - B I K O L - - |          |     | Tag      | Mansakan | TOTAL |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------|---------|----------|---------|----------|-----|-------------------|----------|-----|----------|----------|-------|
|                     | WBs                               | Ban     | CBs      | Ceb     | SBs      | Tsg | IBk               | CBk      | Pan |          |          |       |
| 1. *sinda           |                                   | X       | X        |         |          | X   | X                 | X        |     |          |          | 5     |
| 2a. *inyu           | X                                 |         | X        | X       |          |     | X                 |          | X   | X        |          | 6     |
| 2b. *indu           | X                                 | X       | (X)      |         |          |     |                   | X        |     |          |          | 3+1   |
| 3. *ákaq/*bəkéq     |                                   | X       | X        | X       | X        | X   | X                 | X        | X   |          | X        | 9     |
| 4. *sa-[pronoun]    | X                                 | X       | X        |         | X        |     | X                 | X        | X   | X        |          | 8     |
| 5. *di              | X                                 | X       | X        | X       |          | X   | X                 | X        |     | X        | X        | 9     |
| 6. *dtu             | X                                 |         | X        | X       | X        | X   | X                 | [X]      |     |          | X        | 7+1   |
| 7. *yaqún           |                                   |         |          |         | X        | X   |                   | X        |     | X        |          | 4     |
| 8. *ya-[deictic]    | (X)                               |         | X        | [X]     | X        | X   | X                 |          | X   |          | X        | 7+2   |
| 9. *ha-[deictic]    | X                                 | X       | X        | X       | (X)      |     |                   |          |     | X        |          | 5+1   |
| 10. *aŋ [nom.]      | X                                 |         | X        | X       | X        |     | X                 | X        | X   | X        | X        | 9     |
| 11. *-aŋ [genitive] | X                                 |         | X        | (X)     | X        |     | X                 | X        |     | X        | X        | 7+1   |
| 12. *ŋ>n/∅          |                                   | [X]     | X        |         | X        | X   | X                 | X        | X   | X        | X        | 8+1   |
| 13. no ligature     | X                                 | X       | X        |         | X        |     |                   |          |     |          | X        | 5     |
| 14. *ka--an         |                                   |         | X        | X       | X        | X   |                   |          |     | [X]      | X        | 5+1   |
| 15. *a- [verb]      | X                                 |         | X        | X       | X        |     | (X)               | (X)      | X   |          | X        | 6+2   |
| 16. *kaniqnu        |                                   | X       | X        |         | X        |     |                   |          | X   |          | (X)      | 5+1   |
| 17. *-in (where?)   | X                                 | X       | X        | X       | X        | X   | [X]               | X        | X   | [X]      | X        | 9+2   |
| 18a. *kuqnu         |                                   |         |          |         | X        | X   | X                 |          |     |          |          | 3     |
| 18b. *kinaqunú      |                                   |         |          |         | (X)      |     | X                 |          |     |          | X        | 2+1   |
| T O T A L           | 11<br>+1                          | 9<br>+1 | 16<br>+1 | 9<br>+2 | 14<br>+2 | 10  | 12<br>+2          | 10<br>+2 | 9   | 10<br>+2 | 12<br>+1 |       |

( ) = possibly borrowed; [ ] = an archaism or dialectalism.



TABLE 57b  
DISTRIBUTION OF PCP LEXICAL INNOVATIONS

| INNOVATION    | B I S A Y A N |     |     |     |     |     | - - B I K O L - - |     |     | Tag | Mansakan | TOTAL |
|---------------|---------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|----------|-------|
|               | WBs           | Ban | CBs | Ceb | SBs | Tsg | IBk               | CBk | Pan |     |          |       |
| 1. *dalágan   | X             | X   | X   | X   | X   | X   | X                 | X   | X   |     | X        | 10    |
| 2. *káhuy     | X             | X   | X   | X   | X   | X   | X                 | X   | X   | X   | X        | 11    |
| 3. *kaláyu    | X             | X   | X   | X   | X   | X   | X                 | X   | X   |     |          | 9     |
| 4. *daləgdəg  | X             | X   | X   | X   | X   | X   | X                 | X   | X   |     |          | 9     |
| 5a. *hátag    | -             | -   | X   | X   | X   |     | -                 | -   | -   |     | X        | 4     |
| 5b. *taqú     | X             | X   | -   | -   | -   |     | X                 | X   | X   |     | -        | 5     |
| 6. *límut     | X             | X   | X   | X   | X   |     | -                 | -   | X   | X   | -        | 7     |
| 7. *qayáw     | X             | [X] | X   | X   | X   | X   |                   |     |     | [X] | X        | 6+2   |
| 8. *badahíbu  | X             |     | X   | X   | X   | X   |                   | X   |     | X   | X        | 8     |
| 9. *dəghan    | X             | X   | X   | X   |     |     | X                 | X   |     |     |          | 6     |
| 10. *digwaq   | X             |     | X   | X   | X   |     | X                 | X   |     |     |          | 6     |
| 11. *liŋkud   | X             | -   | X   | X   | -   | X   |                   |     |     |     | -        | 4     |
| 12. *liséd    | X             |     | X   | X   | X   |     |                   |     |     |     | X        | 5     |
| 13. *kalág    | X             | (X) | X   | X   | X   |     |                   | X   |     |     | X        | 6     |
| 14. *qágah    | X             | X   | X   |     |     |     |                   | X   | X   | X   |          | 6     |
| 15. *bátaq    | X             | X   | X   | X   | X   | X   |                   | X   | X   | X   |          | 9     |
| 16. *diét     |               |     | X   | X   |     |     |                   | X   |     | X   |          | 4     |
| 17. *dúgan    | X             | X   | X   | X   | X   | X   |                   | X   |     |     | X        | 8     |
| 18. *qəbúh    | X             | X   | X   | X   | X   | X   | X                 | X   | X   | X   | X        | 11    |
| 19. *rá(g)nat | X             |     | X   | X   | X   |     |                   |     |     | X   |          | 5     |
| 20. *ráyag    | X             |     | X   |     | X   |     |                   |     |     | X   |          | 4     |
| 21. *baníg    | X             | X   | X   | X   | X   | X   | X                 | X   | X   | X   |          | 10    |
| T O T A L     | 20            | 12  | 21  | 19  | 17  | 11  | 9                 | 15  | 10  | 10  | 9        |       |

### 9.1. SHARED INNOVATIONS AMONG PCP FUNCTORS

It is practically impossible to determine a common from a spread innovation; the former would have occurred when all dialects were still in (at least relatively close) contact, the latter after the breakup of the proto language. However, the likelihood that at least some innovations had developed at a given stage of proto language and are shared in common by descendants of that proto language increases in proportion to the quality (and, in this regard, the number) of such exclusively-shared features.

While any innovation can be borrowed or can spread across language boundaries, functors tend to be less open to large scale borrowing or systematic replacement since functors consist of closed paradigms (pronouns, deictics, verb inflection, etc.) or restricted-class morphemes (temporals, discourse particles, etc.). Thus, a pronoun or a verb affix may be borrowed, but not an entire paradigm. Similarly, it does not seem probable that a deictic element such as PCP \*-dtu (#6 below) or a formative such as PCP \*ya- (#8) would be borrowed throughout a paradigm (viz: qi-dtu nominative, sa-dtu genitive, di-dtu oblique, etc.), although forms containing such elements, say, dídtu or yaqún, might be borrowed.

The eighteen innovations discussed below, taken as a group, constitute the best evidence for the genetic relationship of CPh languages; no CPh subgroup has fewer than half (9; see Table 57a). While some of these innovations are clearly of better quality than others, the distribution of each strongly suggests that they must be attributed to PCP. Note that due to the extreme dialectal diversity of CPh languages (no doubt, in proto times as well as now) inherited forms are retained as doublets of some of the posited PCP innovations.

#### 9.1.1. Pronouns

While the nominative and enclitic genitive pronouns reconstructable for PCP (and PBS) are inherited from PAN,<sup>74</sup> some replacements in the system are shared innovations of CPh languages.

(1) PPH, PSP \*sidá *they* (cf: Buhí, Iriga, S-L, Hanunoo, Batak, Aborlan sirá, Alangan siro, Tag, Ceb, Hil silá is replaced by PCP \*sinda > Ban, Odg, Sib sínra, Rom, Mas, Sor sínda, Naga, Legazpi, Virac, Daraga sindá, Oas sinrá *they*; Tsg hínda nominative plural personal name marker.

(2a) PMP \*íyu *your* genitive plural base (cf: Tag qíyo *thy*, which is probably a shift from the plural form to a singular respect form; Mas, Gub, N-S, S-L, War, Sur, Jau, But qíyu, Hanunoo n-iyú, Ivatan

n-ioq) is replaced by PCP \*inyu > Akl, Alc, Dsp, Lok, Blk, Pan, Kin, Gim, Hil, Cap, Kaw, Ceb qínyu, Daraga, Oas, Libon, Iriga, Buhí, Pandan qinyú, Tag qinyó.

(2b) PMP \*íyu *your* (above) to PCP \*qindu > Sem, Snt, Kuy qíndu, Rom qíndo, Ban, Odg, Sib qínro, Naga, Legazpi, Virac n-indú.

(3) While PMP \*-kən *my*, \*-mən *our* (exclusive), and \*-tən *our* (inclusive) appear to have been innovations at that stage,<sup>75a</sup> byforms \*ákəq, \*áməq, and \*átəq, and the negative \*bəkəq are PCP innovations. More accurately, the innovation was the paradigmatic replacement of PMP \*-n by PCP \*-q in dialects of Bs, Bk, and Mk. This is yet another instance of an innovation that cuts across subgroup boundaries but must be posited for the parent language.<sup>75b</sup>

PMP \*akən *my* (cf: Palawano *d-akən*, Aborlan, Batak *kan-akən*, Tagbanwa *tuŋ-y-əqən*, Maranao *r-akən*, Siocon Subanon *dia-n-akon to me*, Kin, Sem, S-L *qákən*, Akl, Rom *qákon mine*) is replaced by PCP \*ákəq > Ban, Odg, Sib *qákoq*, Gub, Ley, Ceb, Jau *qákuq*, Boh *qáhuq*, N-S, Sur *qákəq*, Tsg *k-ákuq*, Naga, Legazpi, Virac *s-akúq*, Oas *s-ákəq*, Iriga *kan-akéq*, Pandan *qákuq*, Kamayo *kan-ákuq*, Mansaka, Kalagan *kan-akəq*. The same distribution is reflected for PCP \*áməq and \*átəq.

PMP \*bəkən *not predicative negative* (cf: Cotabato Manobo *bəkən*, Daraga *bəkən*, Libon *bokón*, Tsg, Blk *bukún*, Akl, Rom *bukón*, Kin, Kuy, Sem *bəkən*) is replaced by PCP \*bəkəq > Ban, Odg, Sib *bukóq*, Naga, Virac, Legazpi *bakóq*, Iriga, Buhí, Oas *bəkəq*, Kamayo, Isamal, Caraga *bukúq*, Mansaka, Kalagan *bəkəq*.

(4) The use of *sa*, the common-noun oblique marker, as an oblique pronominal formative, instead of *kan-* or *d-* is limited to CPh languages (dialects of Tag, Bk, and Bs). Thus, PMP \*d-ákən *to me* (cf: Maranao *r-akən*, Palawano *d-akən*, Cam *d-ákun*, Jau *d-ákuq*) and PMP \*kan-ákən (cf: Aborlan, Batak *kan-akən*, Kin, Sem, Kuy *kan-ákən*, Ceb, But *kan-ákuq*) are replaced by PCP \*sa-qákən > Alc, Dsp, Lok, Cap, Hil, Kaw, Rom *sa-qákon*, Blk, Mas, Sor *sa-qákun*, S-L, War *ha-qákun*, Ban, Odg, Sib *sa-qákoq*, Gub, N-S, Sur, Nat *sa-qákuq*; Naga, Legazpi, Virac *s-akúq*, Oas *s-ákəq*, Daraga, Buhí *sa-qkén*, Libon *s-akón*, Pandan *sa-qákuq*; Tag *sa-qákin*. The remainder of the oblique pronoun set is inflected in the same way.

### 9.1.2. Deictics

Several deictic base elements as well as the oblique formative appear to be inherited from PHS; compare, for example, Malay *íni* : S-L *qíní* *this* < PHS *\*ini*; Malay *di-sí-tu* : Akl *di-tó* *there* < PHS *\*di(-)tu*; Malay *di-sa-na* *yonder* : But *di-sa-qún* *there* < PHS *\*di-sa-* oblique formative. Some deictics date to at least PSP: Blk, Sem, Kuy *dián*, Tag *diyán*,

Mamanwa dizan, Slocon Subanon dion, Western Bukidnon Manobo diyan < PSP \*di-[y]án *there (near addressee)*; Gub, Tsg duqún, Tagbanwa (Kalamian) duun, Tigwa duqen, Ata duqon *there (near addressee)*, Tag, Pandan (Bikol), Palawano duqún *there, yonder* < PSP du[]ón *there (not nearby)*; Cam, N-S, S-L, War, Nat, Sur, Jau qi-tún, Kamayo qi-tún, Mamanwa wa-tun *that (near addressee)*, Iriga qf-tun *that (any position not near speaker)*, Hanunoo tun-da, Buhid tun-ya *that (near addressee)*, Ata, Tigwa, Western Bukidnon Manobo du-tun *there (near addressee)*, Dibabawon dú-tun *there, yonder* < PSP \*tun deictic element denoting position away from speaker. Nonetheless, some deictic elements or formatives are PCP innovations.

(5) PHS, PSP \*ni base element for deictic denoting position nearest speaker (above) is replaced by PCP \*di (not to be confused with the oblique formative PHS \*di-) > Blk du-df, Lok qu-df, Kuy di-df, Ban, Odg, Sib ri-lf, Cap, Hil, Rom, Cam, Ceb di-rf, Mas, Sor, N-S, S-L di-df, Tsg ya-rf, Naga, Legazpi di-g-df, Virac di-n-df, Daraga, Buhí di-df, Oas qi-df, Iriga sá-di, Mansaka qa-si-di, Kalagan qi-di *here (nearest speaker)*; Ban, Odg, Sib ka-lf, Ceb, Ley, Boh ki-rf, S-L qa-df, Cam za-rf, Daraga qaq-df, Oas ka-df, Libon ya-df, Iriga, Buhí qa-df, Tag qi-rf ~ qa-rf, Mansaka ya-di *this (nearest speaker)*.

(6) PHS, PSP \*tu base element for deictic denoting position far from speaker (discussed above) is replaced by PCP \*dtu > Ceb, Boh, Ley ká-dtu, Rom, N-S, S-L, War, Nat qá-dtu, Mas, Sor, Gub, But qí-dtu, Cam zá-dtu, Sur, Jau já-dtu, Tsg yá-dtu, Virac qi-dtú, Daraga, Iriga, Buhí qa-dtú, Oas ka-dtú, Libon ya-dtú, Kamayo, Kalagan qi-dtu, Mansaka ya-dtu *that yonder*, Mansaka ni-dtu *that (out of sight)*; Akl qí-dto, Kin, Pan ré-gtu (dissimilation), Hil, Rom, Mas, Sor, Gub, War, N-S, S-L, Cam, Ceb, Boh, Ley, Sur, Jau, Nat, But df-dtu, Tsg yá-dtu, Daraga di-dtú, Oas qi-dtú, Buhí, Libon qa-dtú, Iriga sa-dtú, Kamayo, Kalagan qa-dtu, Mansaka qa-sa-dtu *there, yonder*, Mansaka qa-si-dtu *there (out of sight)*.

(7) PSP \*du[]ón *there (near addressee)*, also used as predicative *it is there, there is*, is replaced by PCP \*ya-qún > Sur, Jau jaqún, Nat, But, Tsg yaqún, Naga yáqun *there it is, there is*, Tag yaqón *it is yonder*.

(8) The predicative \*ya- used with deictic base elements is not known to have any historical antecedents; since it appears in Tg, Bk, Bs, and Mk dialects it is posited as a CPh innovation. Note: Hil, Rom, Tsg yá-ri, Tag ya-rf, Kin yá-di, Libon ya-df, Mansaka ya-di *here it is* < PCP \*ya-di; Hil ya-náq, Cam za-náq *there it is (near addressee)*; Tsg, Kamayo, Davaweño, Libon yan, Mansaka, Boso, Kabasagan yaqan, Pandan (Bk) yaqán, Tag qayán (metathesis of \*ya-qán) < PCP \*ya-qán

*there it is (near addressee)*; Rom, Hil, But, Tsg *yá-dtu*, Libon *ya-dtú*, Mansaka, Isamal, Boso *ya-dtu*, Cam *zá-dtu*, Sur, Jau *já-dtu there it is yonder* < PCP *\*ya-dtu*.

(9) The *existential prefix \*ha-* used with deictic base elements is also not known to have a historical antecedent; <sup>76</sup> it is posited as a CPh innovation. War *há-há-ni is here*; Akl *ha-rá here is, ha-rón there is, ha-tó yonder is*; Odg *ha-líh this one here, há-gtuh that one yonder*; Tag *ha-lí come here, hé-to (< \*há-itu with monophthongalisation) here it is, ha-yán there it is (near addressee), ha-yón there it is (yonder)*. This *\*ha-* is found frozen in a number of Bs deictics: Gub, N-S, S-L, War, Cam, Ceb, Sur, Jau *dínhi here* < PBS *\*di-h(a)-ni* (with usual metathesis of *\*hC* clusters, see 3.2.3.3.); N-S, S-L, War, Cam, Sur, Jau *kánhi come here* < PBS *\*ka-h(a)-ni*; Ceb, Boh, Ley *qánhi come here*, Cam, S-L, War *qánhi be here* < PBS *\*qa-h(a)-ni*; N-S *ḡáthun [< \*ḡa-h(a)-tún] go there, is there (near addressee)*; Akl *qinhaq [< \*qi-h(a)-naq] there (near addressee)*; etc.

### 9.1.3. Case-Marking Particles

Perhaps the strongest evidence for grouping CPh languages together is the *\*aŋ* set of common-noun case markers. Reid (personal communication) suggests that on the basis of Maranao, Bikol *s-u*, Ivatan *q-u*, Akl *r-o ~ d-o* nominative markers, Ivatan *n-u*, Buhí *ñ-u*, Iriga, Aklanon *k-u* genitive markers, etc., Proto (Southern) Philippine had an *\*u*-based marking system. Hence, the distribution of the *\*a*-based markers only among CPh languages <sup>77</sup> is evidence of a common innovation in PCP; nominative *\*aŋ*, genitive *\*s-aŋ*, *\*n-aŋ*, and *\*k-aŋ*, and oblique *\*sa* are found as a set only in Bs, Bk, Mk, and Tg. Their use is similar in all CPh speech varieties (4.3.4-5.).

(10) PCP *\*aŋ ~ \*aN* *nominative common-noun case marker* > Tag *qaN*; Naga, Legazpi, Virac, Pandan, Daraga *qaŋ*, Oas, Libon, Iriga, Buhí *qa*; Mas, Sor, Gub, S-L, War, Cam, Jau *qaŋ*, N-S *qa*, other Bs dialects (except Akl, Ban, Odg, Sib, and Tsg) *qaŋ*; Kamayo *qaŋ*, Davaweño, Mansaka *y-aŋ*, <sup>78</sup> Kalagan, Mamanwa *y-a*. <sup>78</sup>

(11a) PCP *\*n-aŋ ~ \*n-aN* *definite genitive common-noun case marker* > Tag *naŋ*; Rom, Sur, Kan, Nat *naŋ*, Jau *nan*; Kamayo, Davaweño, Mansaka *naŋ*, Kalagan, Mamanwa *na*.

(11b) PCP *\*k-aŋ ~ \*k-aN* *definite genitive common-noun case marker* > Naga, Legazpi, Virac *kan*, Iriga *ka*; Pan, Kin, Gim, Dsp, Sem, Snt *kaŋ*; Mamanwa *ka*.

(11c) PCP *\*s-aŋ ~ \*s-aN* *definite genitive common-noun case marker* > Iriga *sa* (indefinite); Mas, Sor, Gub, S-L, Cam *saŋ*, N-S, Ceb, Boh, Ley *sa*, Hil, Cap, Bty *saŋ*; Mansaka *saŋ*, Kalagan *sa*.

(12) Replacement of  $\eta$  by  $n$  or  $\emptyset$  in markers is a phenomenon randomly distributed throughout CPh languages. Wolff observed:

The shape of the markers with final  $n$  . . . which are probably cognate with forms which have final  $\eta$  in other languages, indicates a change of  $\eta$  to  $n$  under certain conditions. There are also other forms which show  $n$  in the Camotes dialect that are cognate with forms having  $\eta$  in Cebuano. . . . What the conditions are for the change of  $\eta$  to  $n$  is not clear. (1967c:72-74)

The dialects that have markers with  $n$  or  $\emptyset$  variants are shown in Table 58; note that even within the same dialect some variations occur. S-L and War have  $-n$  in the case markers, but  $\eta-$  in the ligature; Sur, Kamayo, Mansaka, and Tag have  $-\eta$  in the markers, but  $n-$  in the ligature; Tsg has  $-n$  in the markers, but no linker; N-S and Mamanwa have  $-\emptyset$  in the markers, but  $\eta-$  in the ligature. The only consistent dialects are Bik, Mas, Sor, Gub, and Jau, with  $n$  everywhere, and Kalagan with  $\emptyset$  everywhere. Some Tag dialects have a topic marker with a final nasal morphophoneme that assimilates to the point of articulation of the first consonant of the following word (e.g., Tag *qan bátaq the child*, *qan sukláy the comb*, *qan kalabáw the carabao*), but the oblique marker always ends in  $-\eta$ , while the ligature always begins with  $n-$ .

TABLE 58  
REPLACEMENT OF PCP  $\eta$  BY  $n$  OR  $\emptyset$  IN MARKERS

| DIALECT(S)    | nominative | definite<br>genitive | indefinite<br>genitive | ligature |
|---------------|------------|----------------------|------------------------|----------|
| Mas, Sor, Gub | qan        | san                  | sin                    | na       |
| N-S           | qa         | sa                   | sa                     | qa       |
| S-L, War      | qan        | han                  | hin                    | qa       |
| Sur           | qa $\eta$  | na $\eta$            | na $\eta$              | na       |
| Jau           | qan        | nan                  | nan                    | na       |
| Tsg           | qin        | sin                  | sin                    | -        |
| Tag           | qaN        | na $\eta$            | na $\eta$              | na       |
| Bik           | qan        | nin                  | kan                    | na       |
| Kamayo        | qa $\eta$  | na $\eta$            | na $\eta$              | na       |
| Mamanwa       | ya         | ka                   | na                     | qa       |
| Mansaka       | ya $\eta$  | sa $\eta$            | na $\eta$              | na       |
| Kalagan       | ya         | sa                   | na                     | na       |

TABLE 59

Bs AND Mk DIALECTS THAT DO NOT USE THE LIGATURE IN  
ATTRIBUTIVE AND AGENTIVE PRONOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS

| (13)     | <i>my</i>        | <i>house</i> | <i>by me</i>     | <i>seen</i>              |
|----------|------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| Blk      |                  |              |                  |                          |
| Dsp      | qákun            | baláy        | qákun            | na-kítaq                 |
| Dtg      |                  |              |                  |                          |
| Kin      | qákən            | baláy        | qákən            | na-kítaq                 |
| Rom      |                  |              |                  |                          |
| Hil      | qákun            | baláy        | qákun            | na-kítaq                 |
| Mas      |                  |              |                  |                          |
| Ban      |                  |              |                  |                          |
| Odg      | qákoq            | bayáy        | qákoq            | na-kítaq                 |
| Sib      |                  |              |                  |                          |
| N-S      | qákuq            | baláy        | qákuq            | na-qimúd                 |
| S-L      | qákən            | baláy        | qákən            | na-kəláv                 |
| War      | qákun            | baláy        | qákun            | na-kítaq                 |
| Jau      | qákuq            | bayáy        | qákuq            | tag-kítq-an              |
| Kamayo   | kanákuq<br>kanák | baáy<br>baáy | kanákuq<br>kanák | ya-kítq-an<br>ya-kítq-an |
| Mansaka  | kanak            | baray        | kanak            | ki-kitaq                 |
| Davaweño | kanák            | baáy         | kanák            | ya-kítaq                 |

#### 9.1.4. Absence of the ligature in certain constructions

Wolff concluded that the *lack of a ligature in a construction consisting of a genitive pronoun preceding the word it modifies* was an innovation:

We deduce that the lack of a linker in marking this construction is an innovation made by S-L and the Camotes dialect, because there is an overt linker in languages outside of the Bisayan group--e.g., Tagalog:

Tag [Qa:ki] [ŋ] ba:hay. '[My] house.'  
Tag [Kanya] [ŋ] binili. '[He] bought it.' (1967c:71)

This phenomenon is randomly distributed throughout Bs and Mk dialects in both attributive (possessive) and agentive constructions (see Table 59). Since the use of the ligature in such constructions is found in MPh languages (for example, Palawano *dakə-ŋ bənwa my house*), the absence of the linker in such constructions may be posited as a PCP innovation, pending further research into other MPh languages.

### 9.1.5. Numeral Formative

Llamzon (1969:33-34) posited the *ka--an* circumfix denoting 'times ten' as an exclusively shared Bs feature. The multiples of ten reconstructable for PPH consist of the base \*púluq *ten* and the appropriate numeral: Kalamian Tagbanwa *duraa-ŋ puluk*, Bontok *dowá-ŋ poió*, Cotabato Manobo *duwa puluq*, Tigwa *da-dua-m puluq*, Tboli *ləwu foloq twenty* < PPH \**da-du[h]á N púluq*.

(14) However, *ka--an* appears to be a PCP innovation since it is found in Bs (cf: S-L *ka-ruháq-an*, Ceb *ka-luháq-an*, Tsg *ka-uháq-an 20*, Hil *ka-tlúq-an 30*, etc.), in Mk (Mansaka *ka-ruwaq-an*, Kalagan *ka-luwa-n*, Mamanwa *ka-ruha-an 20*), and in old Tag manuscripts (Tag *ka-tlu-án 30*, *ka-apat-án 40*), apparently lost in modern Tag; thus, PCP \**ka--an times ten*. Although similar forms for 'twenty' are found in some Manobo languages (Reid 1971:154), they are clearly loanwords from Bs or Mk dialects because the forms show reflexes of \*l rather than the expected Manobo \*d, e.g., Western Bukidnon *kə-luwaq-an 20* instead of \**kə-zuwaq-an*.

### 9.1.6. Replacement of Reduplication to Denote Imperfective

CV- reduplication denotes an imperfective or ongoing action. It is found in the verb inflection of many MPH and CPh languages; in some NPh languages it has the shape of  $C_1V_1C_2-$ . Wolff proposes that reduplication of this sort is inherited from PHS, if not PAN (1973:88f); it surely is inherited from PPH (consult Little 1974). The replacement of CV- by a- (as in PMP \**magCV-* > PCP \**maga-* active durative future) is a feature shared by dialects of Bs, Bk, and Mk. Although Little suggests that there was a PSP \**Ra* proclitic preverb denoting imperfective action, reflected in Gorontalo *he*, the paradigmatic use of PCP -a- after the prefixes \**mag-*, \**nag-*, and \**pag-* is an innovation that serves as one criterion for grouping these languages together. This systematic replacement of reduplication is not likely to have occurred independently, nor to have been borrowed<sup>79</sup> (since it appears throughout the verb inflection of dialects that have it).

(15a) PMP \**nagCV-* progressive durative active (cf: Tag *nagCV-*, Palawano *nəgCV*, Tsg *nagCV-*) is replaced by PCP \**naga-* > Daraga *naga-*, Pandan Bk *nagá-*; Kuy, Kin, Blk, Akl, Rom, Hil, Mas, Ceb, But *naga-*; Kamayo, Davaweño, Mansaka *yaga-* (PMP \**<in>* > Mk \**<iy>*, PMP \**nag-* > Mk \**yag-*).

(15b) PMP \**magCV-* future durative active (cf: Tag *magCV-*, Palawano *məgCV*, Tsg *magCV-*) is replaced by PCP \**maga-* > Daraga, Virac *maga-*; Kuy, Kin, Blk, Akl, Rom, Hil, Mas, Ceb, But *maga-*; Kamayo, Davaweño,



Mamanwa maga-.

(15c) PMP \*pagCV--ən future passive durative (cf: Tag pagCV--in, Palawano pəgCə--ən) is replaced by PCP \*paga--ən > Daraga paga--ən, Virac paga--un, Pandan Bk pagá--un; Akl, Dsp, Rom paga--on, Kin paga--ən, Mas, Ceb paga--un; Mamanwa paga--ən, Kamayo paga--un.

### 9.1.7. Interrogatives

It is common among Hesperonesian languages to build the entire interrogative paradigm upon a single element: Itneg qanó *what?*, si-qanó *who?*, di-qanó *where?*, no-qanó *when?*, Ivatan qənoq *what?*, ma-ənoq *when?*, si-noq *who?* (dissimilation), di-noq *where?* (id.); or upon two bases, each of which has a given distribution, cf: Malay mana *which?*, di-mana *where, where at?*, kə-mana *whither, to where?*, dari-mana *from where, whence?*, but apa *what?*, si-apa *who?*, bər-apa *how much, how many?*, kən-apa *why?*.

The interrogative \*-anúh used in most CPh question words can be traced to PPH (if not PHS); thus, PPH \*si-(a)núh *who?* > Bontok síno, Kalinga sínu, Kankanay sínó, Sambal hínu, Itbayaten sinuh, Siocon Subanon sinu, most Bs sínquh, Tag síno. However,

(16) the form for 'whose?' appears to be limited to CPh languages, and may be posited as a PCP innovation: PCP \*kaniq()nu[h] > Tag kaníno; Ban, Ogd, Sib kaniqó, Rom, Ogd, Sor, Sur, Jau, But kanínqu; Kamayo kanínu; Pandan Bk kaniqnú.

Likewise, the use of the element \*qin on the locational interrogatives (Table 22c) appears to be a PCP innovation:

(17a) Dsp, Kin, Blk, Sem, Snt, Dtg diqín, Kuy sa-dín *where (in general)?*, Rom, Hil, Mas, S-L, N-S, Sor, Gub, Cam, Ceb, Boh, Ley, Sur, Jau, Nat, But, Tsg diqín; Kamayo diqín *where (past)?*, Mansaka diqin *where (future)?* < PCP \*di-qín *where?*

(17b) Gub, N-S, S-L, War, Cam, Ceb, Boh, Ley, Sur, Jau, Nat, But, Tsg háqin; Bk háqin; Kamayo, Davaweño, Mamanwa háqin, Kalagan qayin *where is, where at?* < PCP \*há-qin *where?* (predicative).

(17c) Hil, S-L, War, Cam, Ceb (dial), But kaqín, Tsg pa-kaqín; Kamayo kaqín; Pandan Bk pa-kaqín *going where?* < PCP \*ka-qín *go where?* (verb).

(17d) Akl, Ceb siqín *which?, where?*, Pandan Bk siqín *where (in general)?* < PCP \*siqín *where?*. However, note: Naga, Legazpi, Virac saqín, Oas sayn *where?* (< \*sa-qín), Tag saqán *where?*. All of the cited forms may indicate PCP \*siqín to be composed of the sa- common-noun oblique marker + the interrogative element \*qin, i.e., PCP \*sǎ-qín ~ \*si-qín (with assimilation of \*ǎ to the following \*i; while the Tag

form perhaps shows assimilation of \*i to the preceding \*a).

Forms for 'when?' can be reconstructed for PPH \*ka-[]anú [cf: Sem ka-qanú *when (past)?*, Ilokano ka-anú *when?*] or PMP \*sa-[]anú [cf: Sem sa-qanú *when (future)?*, Kalamian Tagbanwa sanu]. However, two forms appear only among CPh languages:

(18a) Sur, Jau, But kúnqu, Tsg kúqnu; Iriga Bk kúnu *when (future)?*  
< PCP \*kuqnu.

(18b) Nat kinqúnqu; Kamayo kinú, Kalagan kinunu; Daraga kinaqnu, Buhí, Oas kináwnu, Libon kinaanú *when (future)?* < PCP \*kinaqnú.  
While neither form is widespread, each is found in such diverse languages (SBs-Tsg-IBk or SBs-Mk-IBk) that the possibility of borrowing must be ruled out; contact among these languages is and has been zero since pre-Hispanic times.

## 9.2. SHARED PCP LEXICAL INNOVATIONS

In general, lexical innovations constitute weak evidence in genetic linguistics, because (1) lexical items are freely borrowed, and (2) any given form may be a retention lost everywhere else or as yet undiscovered in another language. However, certain precautionary measures make the assignment of exclusively shared lexical features as innovations of a parent language more plausible:

(1) limiting forms to basic vocabulary and avoiding items of trade or culture which may readily be borrowed;

(2) dismissing forms with phonological irregularities, e.g., l for expected Akl \*l, Odg, Rom, Sur \*y; u for expected Kin, Sem, Kuy, S-L \*ə; d for expected Hil, Ceb \*r; y for expected Cam \*z, Boh, Sur j, etc.;

(3) reconstructing, wherever possible, what a given etymon for a given meaning must have been at the earliest possible stage; and

(4) considering the character or quality of each lexical item (its geographical and linguistic distribution, potential spread, etc.).

Thus, for 'blood' we can reconstruct PAN \*DaRaQ (cf: Malay darah, Atta da:ga, Samal lahaq, Fiji ndra); but PAN \*ZuRuq *liquid* (cf: Malay juroh *syrup*, Samoa su *watery*) has come to mean 'blood' among many SPH languages: (Bs) Ban, Odg, Sib rugúq, other Bs dugúq; Tag dugóq; (Bk) Naga, Legazpi, Virac, Pandan, Daraga dugúq, Oas, Libon, Iriga, Buhí rugúq; (Mk) Kamayo, Davaweño dugúq, other Mk and Mamanwa duguq; Palawano, Aborlan duguq; Siocon, Sindangan Subanon duguq; Mongondow duguq; Gorontalo duhu < PSP \*duRúq *blood*. While the replacement of PAN \*DaRaQ by \*ZuRuq is clearly a semantic innovation of high quality (it is in the basic vocabulary and is less likely to be borrowed), we can not be sure that it has not spread (perhaps due to a taboo on some

pre-existing form). For example, Kalamian Tagbanwa *duguq blood* shows phonological irregularities (for expected \**duluk*) and may be dismissed as a borrowing. Therefore the weight of PSP \**duRúq* as an innovation rests on the agreement of those languages that reflect it in having exactly-corresponding homosemantic equivalents for a number of other posited PSP innovations (e.g., PSP \**túbiR water*, \**láwas body*, \**hiláw unripe, raw, green*, etc.).

The distribution of the 21 lexical innovations posited for PCP is given in Table 57b. Only one (\**káhuy*, #2 below) is found in all CPh languages, but it presents certain problems. The remaining etyma have cognates in diverse CPh subgroups so that they may be reconstructed as PCP. It should be remarked that Llamzon (1969:64-83, particularly §4.2.6. through 4.2.12.) presents a large number of forms which he found to be exclusively shared by Bs-Tg-Bk (i.e., PCP); however, many of the forms can be traced to earlier proto languages (e.g. PSP \**hápun afternoon*, PSP \**súnay horn*, PMP \**búhay life, alive*); many fail to meet the four criteria outlined above and are therefore not under consideration here.

(1) PHS \**laRiw to run* > Malay *lari*; Palawano *pə-lagiw*, Hanunoo *lagíw*; Ata, Tigwa *pa-laguy*; Maranao *pa-la-laguy*. PCP \**dalágan run* > (Bs) Akl *dałágan*, Rom, Sur *dayágan*, Jau *dyagán*, Ban, Odg, Sib *rayágan*, Boh *dágan*, Tsg *daagan*, all other dialects (except But) *dalágan*; (Mk) Kamayo *daagan*, Mansaka *daragan*, Kalagan *dala:gan*, Mamanwa *dalagan*; (Bk) Virac *dalágan*, Oas, Libon, Buhí *dalagán*, other dialects *dalágan*. Borrowed into Kagayanen *daLagán*; Alangan, Iraya *dalagán* (expected \**dalayán*). Tag *takbó run* appears to be an independent innovation. But *láguy* is an independent retention (or borrowing?, cf: Binukid *pu-láguy*) of the PHS form. The widespread evidence of \**dalágan* among all CPh languages (except But and Tag) and its limited distribution in only three surrounding languages strongly suggests its status as a PCP innovation.

(2) PAN \**kayuS* ~ \**kaiuS tree, wood* > Malay *kayu*; Fiji *kaŋu*; Itbayaten *kayuh*; Ilokano, Kalinga *káyu*. The shape of PCP \**káhuy tree, wood* contrasts with the forms in all other Ph languages: (Bs) Dtg *káwuy*, Sem, Snt *káquy*, Kuy *kauy*, other dialects *káhuy*; (Mk) Kamayo, Davaweño *káhuy*, Mansaka *kaquy*, Kalagan *kawuy*; (Bk) Naga, Legazpi, Virac, Pandan *káhuy*, Daraga, Libon, Buhí *káuy*, Iriga *kaúy* ~ *koy*; Tag *káho*y. While Dyen (1971:25) does not take \**káhuy* to be an innovation in shape on the basis of Pazehe *kahuy*, Amí *kasui* (Formosan languages), such developments may have been fortuitous rearrangements of the syllabics of a PAN \**kaiuS*. Widespread Philippine and Austronesian evidence indicates the arrangement to have been PAN \**kaiuS*, PPH \**káyuh*; subsequent rear-

rangements, such as PCP \*káhuy, appear to define other Ph subgroups. Witness Ifugao \*kayiw > Batad qa:yiw, Amganad káyiw, Bayninan ka:yiw; and Pangasinan \*ki[y]əw > Ibaloi, Kayapa kiyəw, Keley-i keyew, Ilongot kiyu, Pangasinan kiəw (from \*ki[S]au). In any event, PCP \*káhuy draws a perfect isogloss around dialects and languages treated herein as CPh; all other SPh languages, even those that border on and have intimate contact with CPh speech varieties (e.g., Samal/Tsg, Hanunoo/WBs, Binukid/But, Sambal or Dumagat/Tag, etc.), reflect cognates of PPH \*káyuh.

(3) PAN \*apuy > Malay api; Samoa afi; Ilokano qapúy *fire*; possibly PAN \*Sapuy (cf: Pazez sapwi, Itbayaten, Western Bukidnon Manobo, Ata, Tigwa, Binukid hapuy). PCP \*kaláyu- *fire* > (Bs) Akl kałayo ~ kałayw-, Ban, Odg, Sib kayádo, Sur, Jau kayáju, Ceb, Nat, But, Tsg káyu, Boh kádyu, káju, other dialects kaláyu; (Bk) Naga, Legazpi, Iriga, Buhí kaláyu, Virac kaláyu, Daraga, Oas, Libon kalayú, Pandan karáyu; borrowed into Dibabawon as káyu. Mansakan has made an independent innovation, PMK \*atulun *fire* > Kamayo qatuun, Mansaka, Mandayan qaturun, Tagakaolo qatulun, Boso, Caraga qatuLun, Kalagan qatun. The status of Tag qapóy is uncertain; while it may be a retention, other Philippine evidence (above) suggests it should be Tag \*hapóy, so that qapóy may be under influence from other languages of southern Luzon where qapóy is the regular development (Dumagat, Sambal, etc.).

(4) PSP \*rəguŋ ~ \*rugunŋ *thunder* > Western Bukidnon Manobo ruŋuŋ, Ilianen ruhuŋ, Ata, Tigwa, Dibabawon luŋuŋ; Sindangan dluguŋ, Siocon gluguŋ; Tiruray kə-rəguŋ, Tboli luŋuŋ; Maranao rogoŋ; Samal læggon. PSP \*lə(N)tiq *thunderbolt, lightning* > Tboli lətek, Tiruray ləteq; Maranao lətiq; Siocon Subanon glotiq; (Mk) Kamayo, Mansaka, Mandayan, Boso, Caraga, Kabasagan, Kalagan, Isamal lintiq; (Bs) Tsg lutíq, other dialects líntiq; (Bk) Virac rintíq, Naga lintíq; Tag lintík (final k unexplained); Hanunoo lintíq. PCP \*daləgdəg *thunder* > Akl dałúgdug, Kuy daləgdəg, Odg rayúgrug, Rom, Sur dayúgdug, Mas, Sor, Gub, S-L, Ceb dałúgdug, Boh, Tsg daúgdug; (Bk) Legazpi dalugdúg, Pandan darugdúg, Buhí daəgdəg. Tag kulóg *thunder* appears to be an independent semantic innovation (PSP \*kulúg *to shake*), while Mansakan lintiq is a retention. Nevertheless, the evidence of such diverse languages as Tsg and Pandan Bikol suggest that \*daləgdəg is positable as a PCP innovation. NPH languages give evidence of PNP \*kidúl (consult Reid 1971:150); no etymon appears to be reconstructable for PPH, PHS, or PAN.

(5) PAN \*bəRəy *give* > Malay bəri; Samoa fo-ai; Tag bigáy; Batak, Palawano, Aborlan bəgay; Ata bogoy, Ilianen bəhəy; Sambal bi; Tboli blay. Two CPh forms appear to have replaced PAN \*bəRəy, one to the south, the other in the north. PCP \*hátag *give* > (Bs) Hil, Mas, Gub, N-S, S-L, War, Ceb, Boh, Ley, Sur, Jau, Kan, Nat hátag, Sor hatág; (Mk)

Kamayo, Davaweño hátag, Mamanwa hatag, Kalagan qa:tag, Mansaka qatag. PCP \*taqu- *give* > (Bs) Akl, Dsp, Alc, Lok, Pan, Kin, Gim, Blk, Sem, Snt, Odg, Sib, Rom taqú-, Dtg tawú-, Kuy tau; (Bk) Naga, Legazpi, Virac, Daraga, Iriga, Buhí, Pandan taqú, Libon tawú, Oas to [final \*-Ø is reconstructed on the basis of Akl, Blk, etc. táwq-an *be given to* and Bik taqw-án]. Since 'give' is clearly in the basic vocabulary, and, further, neither of these forms has spread to any language outside of the CPh community (e.g., Kagayanen, Hanunoo, Dibabawon, etc.), both are posited as dialectal innovations of PCP; Tag bigáy is a retention, Tsg díhil a SBs innovation (see #7 in 13.1.).

(6) PPH \*lipát *forget* > Akl, Sem, Pan, Kuy, But lipát; Mamanwa lipat; Palawano, Aborlan lipat; Agutaynen, Tagbanwa na-lipát-an; Binukid, Western Bukidnon Manobo, Ilianen lipat; Ilokano lípat; Samal taka-lipát; Mongondow lipat; Blaan -lifət, Tiruray lifot. PSP \*liḡáw *forget* > (Bk) Naga, Legazpi, Libon, Iriga, Buhí liḡáw, Virac riḡáw; (Mk) Kamayo liḡáw, Mansaka, Kalagan liḡaw; Sindangan mə-liḡaw-an, Siocon moki-liḡaw; Ata ka-liḡow, Tigwa ka-liḡəw, Dibabawon liḡəw; Kapampangan pa-maḡa-liḡaw-án. PCP \*límut *forget* > (Bs) Kin, Blk, Hil Ceb límut, Odg na-limút-an, Mas, Sor, Gub ka-limút-an, S-L, War ka-límt-an, Boh, Sur, Jau na-ka-límt-an; (Bk) Pandan ka-limút-an; Tag límot; borrowed into Hanunoo as límut. Tsg lúpah is most likely a borrowing from Malay. While some Bs dialects retain PPH \*lipát, and most Bk and Mk dialects retain PSP \*liḡáw, the distribution of \*límut in Tag, Bs, and Pandan Bk suggests that it was at least a dialectal development of PCP.

(7) PPH \*ha-díq *don't!* > Bik harí; Kapampangan qalíq; Binukid hadiq; Balangao, Bontok, Ifugao (Batad, Bayninan), Itneg qadí; Tausug, Siocon Subanon diq; the latter element is also found in Bs \*dí-diq, WBs qín-diq, Tag hin-diq future negative preverb. PCP \*ayáw *don't!* > (Bs) Cam qazáw ~ qizáw, Boh, Ley, Sur, Jau, Kan qajáw, other dialects qayáw; (Mk) Kamayo, Davaweño qayáw, Mansaka, Kalagan qayaw, Mamanwa qazaw. Tag qáyaw *don't like, don't want* shows a semantic shift; Tag huwág is the homosemantic form and appears to be an innovation. Bk dialects do not have a specific prohibitive negative and simply use the corresponding future negative preverb, e.g., Naga daqí, Pandan maqí, Daraga, Buhí qindíq, etc. The presence of cognates of \*ayáw in such diverse languages as Tsg, Kalagan, and all of Bs puts it at the level of PCP.

(8) PSP \*bulbul *body hair, feather* > Ata, Cotabato bulbul, Western Bukidnon bulvul; Sindangan bəmbul; Ivatan booboh, Itbayaten vugvug; Sangir bəmbulu. PCP \*badahíbu *body hair, feather* > Akl bałahíbo, Mas, S-L barahíbu, Jau barhíbu, Hil balahíbu, Ceb balhíbu, Tsg baahíbu;

(Mk) Kamayo balhíbu; (Bk) Naga, Legazpi barahíbu; Tag balahíbo. The innovation of PCP \*badahíbu *body hair* appears to be the consequence of the semantic shift of PSP \*bulbul *body hair* → *pubic hair* > Tag, Ceb, Mas, But bulbul, Ban, Ogd, Sib, Sur, Jau búybuy *pubic hair*.

(9) PSP \*dæbdæb *chest, bust* > Sur débdæb, Jau dúbdub; Tag dibdib; Pandan Bk dubdúb; Siocon gigdob, Sindangan gæddæb; Palawano dæbdæb; Agutaynen, Kalamian, Tagbanwa dæbdæb; Hanunoo, Buhid dubdúb *chest*; Mansaka dæbdæb *abdomen*. PCP \*dæghan *chest, bust* > Kin, Pan, S-L déghan, Kuy, Sem dægán, Ban, Ogd, Sib rúghan, Akl, Blk, Rom, Hil, Mas, Gub, War, Ceb, Boh dúghan; (Bk) Naga, Legazpi, Virac daghán, Libon rógan, Buhí régan; Aborlan dæqqan; Kagayanen dæqqan-án. Since both Tag and Pandan Bk retain PSP \*dæbdæb, and Tsg daghal reflects an independent innovation, the status of \*dæghan is not clear; its distribution is diverse enough (IBk-WBs-SBs) to suggest that it was at least a dialectal development of PCP.

(10) PHS \*útaq *vomit* > Malay m-untah; Ifugao qúta; Ilianen, Western Bukidnon qutaq. PSP \*súka *vomit* > Kuy, Blk súkaq, all other Bs dialects (except War, S-L) súka; (Bk) all dialects súka; Tag súka; (Mk) Kamayo, Davaweño súka, Mansaka sukaq, Kalagan suka; Aborlan, Batak, Palawano suka; Agutaynen tukaq, Tagbanwa sukaq; Sambal hóka; Mongondow tuka. PCP \*dígwaq *vomit* > (Bs) Akl, Blk, Kin, Hil, War, S-L, Ceb dígwaq *vomit, retch*, But dígwaq *nauseated*; (Bk) Naga digwáq, Oas rigwáq *vomit*.

(11) PPH \*tu(N,R)kaw *to sit* > (Bk) Naga, Legazpi, Virac túkaw; Hanunoo, Buhid túkaw; Alangan, Tadyawan tugkáw; Ilokano, Isneg, Itneg tugáw; Ibaloi tohaw (dissimilation). PCP \*qíŋkud *sit* > (Bs) Ban, Ogd, Sib qíŋkor, Mas, Sor, Gub, Sur, Jau, Nat, But qíŋkud; (Mk) Kamayo, Mansaka, Kalagan qíŋkud; Siocon mog-iŋkod, Sindangan mæg-iŋkud; Dibabawon qíŋkud. This latter form is a reshaped alternate of PCP \*líŋkud *sit* > (Bs) Akl, S-L, War, Ceb, Boh líŋkud, Tsg líŋkud. Tag qupóq *sit* appears to be an independent innovation, while most Bs and Mk dialects reflect the doublet \*qíŋkud. The possibility that \*líŋkud was a dialectal development of PCP rests on the Tsg evidence. However, \*qíŋkud itself may have been a PCP innovation (spread into Subanon and Dibabawon), the result of the wrong division of \*maN-(l)íŋkud; note, further, Tag líŋkód, Pangasinan líŋkór *to serve*, suggesting a semantic shift from an earlier PPH \*líŋkud *to serve* (when servants squatted or sat to serve masters seated on the floor).

(12) PSP \*rægen *difficult* > Sindangan mæ-lægən, Siocon mo-logon; Western Bukidnon mæ-rægen, Tigwa mæ-lægən; Maranao mæ-rægen; Sangil mæ-lægəŋ. PMP \*kúdiq *difficult* > Kuy, War ma-kuríq; Naga kúriq; Aborlan, Batak kuriq; Kagayanen kulíq; Kin kúriq, Hil kúliq *tedious*.

PCP \*liséd *difficult* > (Bs) Kin, Pan, S-L, Sur liséd, Akl, Blk, Mas, Ceb, Boh, Jau, But lisúd; (Mk) Kamayo lisúd, Mansaka ma-riséd, Mamanwa ma-liséd; Dibabawon ma-liséd. Tag, Ban, Ogd hírap are borrowed from Malay hídap, Tsg payah from Malay payah. The status of \*liséd as a PCP innovation is difficult to evaluate, but its widespread distribution in Bs and Mk (but not outside of these groups to any great extent) suggests that the form qualifies as a PCP dialectal development in competition with PMP \*kúdiq.

(13) PPH \*k<in>a-də-duwá *soul, spirit* > Ilokano kararúá; Isneg kaduduwá; Pangasinan kamarəwá; Kapampangan kaladuá; Tag káluluwá; Aborlan kiarurua, Batak kiyarúwa, Palawano korodua; Kalamian Tagbanwa qinadurua; Hanunoo karadwa; Tsg qárua. PCP \*kalág *soul, spirit* > (Bs) Akl kałág, Boh, But kaág, all other dialects (but Tsg) kalág; (Mk) Kamayo kaág; (Bk) Naga, Legazpi kalág; Batak, Agutaynen, Tagbanwa kalag; Kagayanen kałág. The irregular reflexes in several Bs dialects (Ogd, Rom, Sur, Jau should have \*kayág) and in Tagbanwa (\*kalal?) indicate that this form has spread both inside and outside of the CPh region. However, the fact that there is Tag, Kapampangan, Ilokano, and Ivatan kalág *loose, untied* (< PPH \*kalá[gR]) suggests that there was a semantic innovation somewhere within PCP, replacing the PPH forms listed above.

Since etyma cannot be reconstructed for earlier stages based on cognate sets in non-CPh languages, the remaining are offered as putative PCP lexical innovations based on their distribution:

(14) PCP \*qáqah *morning* > (Bs) Akl qagáh-on, Pan qagáh-ən, Ban, War q<um>ága, Ogd, Rom qágah, Kin, Blk, Cap, Hil, Mas, Sor, Gub, S-L qágah-, Sem, Snt qága; (Bk) Naga, Legazpi, Virac, Pandan qága; Tag q<um>ága.

(15) PCP \*bátaq *young* > (Bs) all dialects bátaq; Tag bátaq; Naga Bk báru-bátaq *teenager*, Pandan Bk bátaq *child, young*.

(16) PCP \*diét *few, small (amount)* > (Bs) Hil dyút-ay, Mas, Ceb, Boh d(i)yút, Sor diqít (assimilation of \*ə to \*i); (Bk) Legazpi, Virac diqít (assimilation); Tag ma-liqít *small (in size)*.

(17) PCP \*dúgaŋ *add to, increase* > (Bs) But dúŋag (metathesis), all other dialects dúgaŋ; (Mk) Kamayo dúgaŋ, Mansaka dugaŋ; (Bk) Naga, Legazpi dúgaŋ.

(18) PCP \*qəbúh *to cough* > (Bs) Akl, Ogd qobóh, Kuy qubuq, all other dialects except War qubúh-; (Mk) Kalagan, Mamanwa qubu; Tag qubó; (Bk) Naga, Legazpi, Virac qabú, all other dialects qubú; Siocon mogobu; Kagayanen qubú, Dibabawon, Binukid qúbu *to cough*; Kamayo qubúh- *to have a cold*.

(19) PCP \*ra(g)nat *fever* > (Bs) Akl íágnat, Hil lágmat, Kin, Blk rágnat; Tag lagnát (Kapampangan lagnát = Tag); Hil, Ceb, Sur, But hi-lánat, N-S, War hi-ránat.

(20) PCP \*rəyag *to like, desire* > (Bs) N-S, S-L, War rúyag, Kin ləyag, Sem líyag, Kuy liag, Hil lúyag, Sur, Jau na-yújag *like, want*; Tag liyág *darling*; Kagayanen liyág *to want*.

Although it is clear that a mat is an item of trade and culture, the following appears to be a good candidate as a PCP lexical innovation in that: (a) it is widely distributed among CPh languages, but not found in a single non-CPh language, (b) a PPH etymon can be reconstructed which is found even in languages that border on the CPh community, (c) its meaning is within the basic vocabulary of all Philippine languages:

(21) PPH \*hikám+ən *mat (usually for sleeping)* > (Mk) Kamayo hikám, Mansaka, Kalagan kam-ən (aphesis); Sindangan, Siocon gikam; Aborlan, Batak qikam-ən; Dibabawon híkam, Kagayanen, Binukid qíkam, Ata, Tigwa, Ilianen, Western Bukidnon, Cotabato, Sarangani qikam; Pangasinan qikam-én; Ilokano qikam-én; Tboli qigam. PCP \*baníg *mat* > (Bs) all dialects baníg; (Bk) all dialects baníg; Tag baníg; Mamanwa banig.



## CHAPTER TEN

### GENETIC EVIDENCE FOR BISAYAN UNITY

That the Bs dialects form a genetic subgroup of Central Philippine languages is shown by the shared innovations surveyed in this chapter.

The role of Tausug is considered particularly important in establishing the status of a posited PBS innovation, since Tsg separated early in the history of Bs, and, until recently, the break was complete. If an otherwise widespread Bs feature is not found in Tsg (or in some other Bs dialect) it must be established that: (1) it was a common PBS innovation of which the effects have been undone (a) by borrowing from a non-Bs language, or (b) by subsequent dialectal developments or innovations; or (2) it was a dialectal innovation in PBS. There is always the danger that the feature was a post-PBS development that spread; hence, corresponding forms in other CPh languages are studied for evidence of such borrowing, or for any other indications that the feature was not a PBS innovation. However, innovations that may genuinely be attributed to dialects of PBS are not dismissed on that account alone; in each case significance is weighed in terms of distribution and quality.

#### 10.1. PHONOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS

10.1.1. Except in doubled monosyllables \*lC clusters have undergone metathesis, so that PMP, PCP \*lC and \*Cl > PBS \*Cl, where \*C is any consonant but \*l, \*h, or \*q. In other CPh languages, Bikol dialects and Mamanwa preserve the original cluster; in Tag PCP \*VlC > V:C, but \*ClV > ClV generally, but CØV in a few lexical items;<sup>80</sup> in most Mansakan dialects<sup>81</sup> both PCP \*lC and \*Cl > CC.

PMP, PCP \*qaldáw *day(time)* > (Bs) all dialects qádlaw, Tag qáraw; (Bk) Naga, Legazpi, Daraga, Libon, Buhí qaldáw, Virac qaldáw, Pandan qardáw; (Mk) Mansaka, Mandayan, Caraga, Boso, Kalagan, Isamal qallaw,

Kamayo, Davaweño, Kabasagan qadlaw; Aborlan, Batak qaldaw; Kalamian Tagbanwa kaldaw; Mamanwa qaldaw.

PPH, PCP \*qalsém sour > Kin, Pan, Sem, Kuy, S-L, Boh, Sur qáslēm, Akl, Blk, Hil, Rom, Odg, Mas, Sor, War, Ceb, Jau, But, Tsg qáslum; Tag qásim; (Bk) Naga, Legazpi qalsúm, Virac qalsúm, Pandan qarsúm, Libon qalsóm; Ilokano qalsēm.

PCP \*qitlúg egg > (Bs) all dialects (except War, S-L, N-S, Gub, Sor) qítlug, Tsg (alternate) qíklug (dissimilation); Tag qitlóg; (Bk) Iriga qitlúg; Aborlan, Batak tiqlug (metathesis of \*q and \*t).

In a few lexical items N-S and Gub show some exceptions; unfortunately, not enough data are available to draw any definite conclusions on the status of the forms. N-S táduŋ *straight* (< PMP \*taldəŋ); N-S qádaw *day*, dialectal alternate of qádlaw (above); N-S, Gub háduk *afraid* (< PMP \*haldək). These forms suggest that N-S and Gub treat pre-consonantal \*l as Tag does, i.e., \*l is lost with compensatory lengthening of the penultimate vowel. Because of the weight of the Tsg evidence, these irregularities in N-S and Gub are taken to be: (a) areal or dialectal developments after the breakup of PBS, or (b) early borrowings from a Tag dialect.

10.1.2. A second case of metathesis, namely of PMP, PCP \*qC clusters except in doubled monosyllables (see 3.2.3.2. and 8.2.), is more difficult to evaluate. In most Bs dialects, except Argao Ceb and Tsg (discussed below), PCP \*qC and \*Cq fall together as PBS \*Cq, where \*C is any consonant but \*q. In most Bk and Tsg dialects, PCP \*qC and \*Cq fall together as \*qC; while in Tag and Iriga Bk the distinctions are preserved \*VqC > Tag, Iriga V:C, and \*CqV > Iriga, Lubang Tg, Southern Tg CqV, Northern Tg C'V. Among Mansakan dialects, Kamayo, Davaweño, and Mamanwa follow the Bs pattern, while the other dialects regularly lose \*q in clusters.

PCP \*baqqúh new > (Bs) Sem, Snt, Dtg bágu-, Kuy bagu, Tsg báqguh, other dialects báqguh-; Tag bágo; (Bk) Naga, Legazpi, Daraga, Buhí, Pandan báqgu, Oas baqqú, Iriga, Libon bá:gu; (Mk) Kamayo, Davaweño, Mamanwa bagqu, Mansaka, Mandaya, Kabasagan, Boso, Kalagan, Isamal bagu.

PCP \*tuqlid *straight* (Bs) Hil, Ceb, Boh, Sur, Jau, Nat túlqid, Tsg túqlid; Tag tuwíd (accent shift due to subsequent loss of \*l, i.e., pre-Tag \*tú:lid); (Bk) Oas túqlid, Pandan tuqríd, Iriga tú:lid; (Mk) Kamayo, Mamanwa tulqid, Mansaka, Mandaya, Isamal ma-turid, Kabasagan, Kalagan ma-tulid.

PCP \*haqlú *pestle* > (Bs) Akl hálqo, Kin, Pan, Blk, Hil hálqu, Sem, Snt, Dtg qálu; Ceb qálhu, Odg, Sur, Jau qáyhu, But qáhu (< \*qahlu, i.e. metathesis of \*h and \*q, then of \*hl to lh); Tsg háqlu; Tag hálo; (Bk)

Naga háqlu, Buhí qaqwú; (Mk) Kamayo háqu, Mamanwa qalhu (= Ceb), Mansaka, Mandaya qarú, Isamal, Kalagan qau, Caraga, Boso qalu.

PCP \*bəqqát *heavy* > (Bs) Sem, Kuy bəgát, Snt, Dtg bugát, Kin, Pan, S-L, Sur bəqqat, Tsg búqqat, other dialects búqqat; Tag bigát, Lubang bigqát; (Bk) Daraga, Oas, Buhí ma-bəqqát; (Mk) Mamanwa ma-bəqqat, Kamayo bugqat, Mansaka, Mandaya, Kabasagan, Kalagan ma-bəgat.

PCP \*sipqún *headcold; mucus* > (Bs) Sem, Snt, Dtg sípun, Kuy sipun, Tsg síqpun, other dialects sípqun; Tag sipón, Lubang sipqún; (Bk) Naga, Legazpi, Daraga, Oas, Buhí, Pandan síqpun, Libon sípun, Iriga sípqun; (Mk) Kamayo sipqun, Mansaka sipun.

Since data from the Argao dialect(s) of Ceb are not available, it is not known if Argao is a relic area of the original clusters (like Iriga Bk and Tag), or reflects metathesis of all clusters to qC position (like Tsg and most Bk dialects).

While it is clear that this feature can and has spread by borrowing - it is found in Mamanwa, Kamayo, and Davaweño, and is now spreading into the Argao area of Cebu - the following observations lead me to conclude that metathesis of PCP \*qC > PBS \*Cq was at least a dialectal innovation of PBS:

(1) This metathesis is found in each posited Bs subgroup (WBs, Banton, CBS, Cebuan, and SBs) so that it is unlikely to have spread so extensively since the breakup of PBS.

(2) Metathesis of qC clusters is not only a feature of lexicon, but also of derivation, so that káqən ~ káqun *eat* + -a → kánq-a *eat (it)!*, daqég ~ daqúg *beat, win* + ka--anan → ka-daqq-ánan, etc. in all dialects except the Kuyan group (which regularly loses \*q in clusters) and Tsg (which usually does not show syncope in such derivatives, note Tsg kaqún-a *eat it!*).

(3) Metathesis of all glottal clusters to pre-consonantal position (i.e., PMP \*qC and \*Cq > qC) is also found in Aborlan and Batak of Palawan besides Bk and Tsg and may have been a dialectal feature of PMP, so that the Bs pattern of Cq is a counter-innovation.

## 10.2. INNOVATIONS IN ACCENT PATTERNS

10.2.1. It is an innovation of importance for subgrouping that all Bs dialects have penultimate rather than ultimate stress on inherited words with a closed penult.<sup>82</sup>

In the Ph languages for which I have data, inherited forms with a closed penult show no contrasts of stress, i.e., the stress is predictable from the segmental shape; in most Ph languages it is on the ultima. Thus, Tag ma-sinsín *frequently*; Tag pínsan *cousin* and mínsan *once in a while* are exceptions, as is Tag sérmon, because they are loanwords.

This pattern of stress on the ultima can be traced back to PPH; witness the treatment of such forms in several only distantly related Ph languages: Tag buk**b**ók, Bik, Ilokano, Kapampangan buk**b**úk, Pangasinan bok**b**ók, Isneg buq**b**úq *weevil* < PPH \*buk**b**úk.

Further evidence for a short penult vowel is the reflex of *o* in Mongondow and Gorontalo for PPH \**a* in doubled monosyllables: Gorontalo pombaŋo, Tag pampáŋ, Kapampangan, Pangasinan paŋpáŋ *riverbank*, Ilokano paŋpáŋ *furrow, ridge thrown up by plow*, Mongondow pompaŋ *sharprising cliff* < PPH \*paŋpáŋ *riverbank; incline*. Mongondow dodap, Tag, Bik, Kapampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokano dapdáp (*tree*) *Erythrina indica* < PPH \*dápdpáp.

In all Bs dialects (except Kuy and Tsg) forms corresponding to the above are: búkbuk *weevil* < PBS \*búkbuk, páŋpaŋ *riverbank* < PBS \*páŋpaŋ, dápdpap *Erythrina* < PBS \*dápdpap, etc.

10.2.2. The addition of a neutral suffix (see 4.2.1.) to a base forms a derivative with the same accentual pattern, e.g., PBS \*qatúbaŋ + \*-an → \*qatubáŋan *front*. In Tg and Bk, the enclitic particles affect the accent in the same way: Tag hindiq *not* + pa *yet* → hindi:pá *not yet*, and Bik daqí + pa → daqipá *not yet*. Even in languages where the accent falls on a specifiable syllable of every full word, an enclitic changes the accent: Kalamian Tagbanwa bálay *house* + -u *my* → balá:yu *my house*.

None of the Bs dialects studied has any enclitic that operates like a suffix (as noted for Tag, Bik, and Tagbanwa above). Thus, PBS \*wadáq + pa > Kin, Pan, Blk, Mas waráq pa *not yet*, PBS \*gátas + mu > all dialects (but Kuy) gátas mu *your milk*. Note further how an enclitic pronoun has the stress in the Tag expression qina kó *my mother!* (Bloomfield 1917:147, §52), while this same expression is Akl qináh ko, Kin, Hil qiná ku, Blk, Sem, Rom, War nánay ku.

10.2.3. Except for some in the Waray group (Mas, S-L, War, and one form class in N-S), Bs dialects have lost antepenultimate length. Tag, Bik, and Kamayo show parallel cases of length in verb prefixes, indicating that this is an inherited feature generally lost in PBS: Tag na:ka-káqin *edible* : naka-káqin *has eaten, was able to eat* : naka:-káqin *accidentally ate*; Lubang Tg ma:ratíŋ *will come*, na:-ratíŋ *is coming*; Pandan Bk ma:-báyad *will pay*, ga:-báyad *is paying*; Naga Bk naka-kakán *was able to eat* : naka:-kakán *accidentally ate*; Kamayo Mk yaka-káqan *has eaten, was able to eat* : yaka:-káqan *accidentally ate*. Contrastive shortness is found in Mansaka yamǎ-, which is cognate with the short (unaccented) Tg, Bk, Kamayo forms, while the unmarked form is cognate with the long Tg, Bk, Kamayo forms: Mansaka yamǎ-kagat *is able to bite*

: yama-kagat *accidentally bit* (see 8.10.).

Thus, on the basis of these CPh languages surrounding the Visayan area, contrasts of length can be reconstructed in PCP verb prefixes. In Tsg, Rom, Cap, Hil, Kaw, and in all dialects of the Banton, Cebuan, WBs, and SBs subgroups there are no long vowels in the antepenult, so that many verb prefixes fall together, e.g., PCP \*ma:- *active punctual future* and PCP \*ma- *passive potential dependent*. The widespread distribution of this phenomenon in Tsg and all other Bs subgroups indicates that it was a PBS innovation. However, since length is found in N-S in the present potential form class, na:ka-báyad *can pay*, and can freely occur in dialects of the Masbate, Sorsogon, and Waray areas, either (1) these latter dialects represent a relic area, so that the loss of antepenult length was a dialectal innovation of PBS, or (2) the PBS innovation was undone in the latter dialects by subsequent early recontact with Bk or Tg. In the case of Mas, Sor, and Gub, which border on Bk dialects and are now part of the Bikol region, #2 is more probable; in the case of Waray, particularly since antepenult length is lost in most form classes of the N-S dialect, #1 appears to be the more likely hypothesis (viz: an areal feature of PBS).

10.2.4. No Bs dialect studied has length in the active accidental verb prefixes, as in Tag, Bik naka:-, Kamayo yaka:- *accidentally did X* < PCP \*naka:-. Thus, the past potential active and the past accidental active fall together as naka- in all dialects: naka-sakáy qakú = *I was able to ride* or *I accidentally rode* (in But it is mika-sakáy with the same ambiguity). This innovation, with its resultant ambiguity, has led to the development of a specific accidental form class in some dialects, e.g., Akl, S-L, Ceb naha- *accidentally did X*, which is formally distinct from naka-; nevertheless, in all dialects studied naka- is also used in the accidental meaning.

### 10.3. REPLACEMENT OF PMP, PCP \*pag- DURATIVE PASSIVE CONJUGATION

The conjugation in gi- is strictly limited to the Bs group, found in WBs, Ban, CBs, Ceb, and SBs, and so is considered an innovation important to the genetic subgrouping of Bs dialects. In most dialects it has systematically replaced the conjugation in pag- in the non-active voices (see Tables 28-30). Table 60 lists the verb affixes reconstructed for PBS; in the non-active voices the doublets presented are the PMP, PCP affixes with \*pag- replaced by the PBS innovations.

The basis of the analogy on which the conjugation in gi- was formed is not entirely clear, but the Bs gi-conjugation appears to have been developed from the infix <in> by a series of analogical changes:

(1) First, the infix <in> developed into a prefix, C<in>V became ni-CV by a regular phonemic change, as is the case of Tagalog, where C<in>V automatically changes to ni-CV when C is l, w, y, or h, e.g., Tag ni-lákad *was walked to* (from lákad *walk* + <in>), ni-wíkaq *was said* (from wíkaq *say* + <in>), qi-ni-hatíd *was escorted* (from qi- + <in> + hatíd *escort*), etc. This change seems to have taken place with all consonants in PBS and affected not only <in>, but also <um> and <im>, <umin>, etc. Thus, there is Ceb ni-lakáw (from earlier \*l<in>akáw) *left, went away*, mi-lakáw (from earlier \*l<im>akáw, note Tsg d<im>atún *arrived*), and mu-lakáw (from earlier \*l<um>akáw *will leave, will go away*).

This metathesis of the various punctual infixes into prefix position is clearly dialectal, since there are dialects of Ceb which still use l<in>akáw, l<um>akáw, etc. However, since the phenomenon is found under some conditions in Tag, Ceb, Sur, and But it must have been at least a dialectal feature of PCP, i.e., pre-PBS.

(2) On the basis of this analogy whereby infixes were metathesized into prefix position (i.e., PMP \*<in> > PCP \*ni-), a prefix \*qin- developed in PBS (cf: Mas, Sor, Gub, Dtg, Snt qin-), with a doublet \*qiŋ- (cf: Ban, Odg, Sib, Kuy, Akl, Blk qiŋ-), either by the metathesis of PCP \*ni-, or by the metanalysis of forms with initial q- (i.e., \*q<in>ágaw ~ \*qin-qágaw *was snatched*, \*q<in>úbus ~ \*qin-qúbus *was used up*, etc.), later used with forms beginning with any consonant. This innovated punctual passive form would then have been used in the instrumental and local voices as was the PMP \*<in> infix (PBS \*<in> : \*qin- passive past, \*qi-<in> : \*qi-qin- instrumental past, \*<in>-an : \*qin--an local past, etc.).

(3) The third step was the development of the full durative conjugation by the addition of a durative \*g, probably on the analogy of PCP \*ma:- future punctual active : \*maga- future durative active; \*na:- progressive punctual active : \*naga- progressive durative active; etc. Thus, PBS \*qin- past passive punctual : PBS \*gin- past passive durative; PBS \*qi- dependent instrumental punctual : PBS \*qig- dependent instrumental durative; etc. Eventually a full durative conjugation was developed, as outlined in Table 60. (For dialect-specific forms consult Tables 28-30.)

While the systematic use of a gi-based conjugation is found in each posited Bs subgroup, it is not found in Kuy, Jau, But, and Tsg. Kuy uses the qiŋ- conjugation (#2 above) in the non-active voices, so it has lost every vestige of a durative conjugation (whether in pag- or gi-); this is an independent dialectal development since Sem, Snt, and Dtg still retain gi-forms. Likewise, Jau has an innovation, the tag-

TABLE 60  
PROTO BISAYAN VERB AFFIXES

|                                 | ASPECT I<br>TENSE | - - - - - imperfective - - - - - |                                     |                                  | - - - - - perfective - - - - - |                     |                     |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
|                                 |                   | progressive                      | future                              | aurist                           | past                           | dependent           | aurist              |
| A<br>C<br>T<br>I<br>V<br>E      | punctual          | *na:-<br>*ga-                    | *ma:-<br>*ma-                       | *CV-<br>*<um>                    | *<umin><br>*<im><br>*<in>      | *<um>               | *∅-                 |
|                                 | durative          | *nagCV-<br>*naga-                | *magCV-<br>*maga-                   | *pagCV-<br>*paga-                | *nag-                          | *mag-               | *pag-               |
|                                 | potential         | *nakaCV-                         | *makaCV-                            | *pakaCV-                         | *naka-                         | *maka-              | *paka-              |
| I<br>N<br>S<br>T<br>R<br>.      | punctual          | *iCV-<in>                        | *iCV-                               | *CV--án                          | *i-<in>                        | *i-                 | *-án                |
|                                 | durative          | *iginCV-<br>*pigCV-              | *igCV-<br>*ipagCV-                  | *igCV--án<br>*pagCV--án          | *igin-<br>*pig-                | *ig<br>*pag[]i-     | *ig--án<br>*pag--án |
|                                 | potential         | *na[hq]iCV-                      | *ma[hq]iCV-                         | *maCV--án                        | *na[hq]i-<br>*kina-            | *ma[hq]i-<br>*ika-  | *ma--án             |
| P<br>A<br>S<br>S<br>I<br>V<br>E | punctual          | *CV-<in>                         | *CV--ən                             | *CV--a                           | *<in>                          | *-ən                | *-a                 |
|                                 | durative          | *ginCV-<br>*gina-<br>*pigCV-     | *igCV--ən<br>*iga--ən<br>*pagCV--ən | *igCV--a<br>*iga--a<br>*pagCV--a | *gin-<br>*pig-                 | *ig--ən<br>*pag--ən | *ig--a<br>*pag--a   |
|                                 | potential         | *naCV-                           | *maCV-                              | *kaCV-                           | *na-                           | *ma-                | *ka-                |
| L<br>O<br>C<br>A<br>L           | punctual          | *CV-<in>--an                     | *CV--an                             | *CV--i                           | *<in>--an                      | *-an                | *-i                 |
|                                 | durative          | *ginCV--an<br>*gina--an          | *pagCV--an<br>*paga--an             | *pagCV--i<br>*paga--i            | *gin--an                       | *pag--an            | *pag--i             |
|                                 | potential         | *naCV--an                        | *maCV--an                           | *kaCV--i                         | *na--an                        | *ma--an             | *ka--i              |

nonactive conjugation not found anywhere else in the Philippines (to my knowledge), and therefore gives evidence of a subsequent development particular to Jau alone. However, both But and Tsg use only the older *pag-* conjugation; it is not clear whether they lost the *gi-* conjugation at a time when it may have been in competition with *pag-*, or never shared in the development of this Bs innovation. In any case, if Kuy, Jau, But, and Tsg are to be grouped with Bs, they shall have to be done so on the basis of other criteria.

#### 10.4. INNOVATION OF \*h- IN FUNCTORS WITH ORIGINAL PMP \*s-

Some Waray dialects, Butuan, and Tausug reflect an innovated set of *functors in which h-* has replaced older PMP, PCP \*s-. This replacement is most complete in Waray, least so in Butuan. PBS \*sádtu of *yon* > S-L, War, But, Tsg hádtu, Hil, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, Cam sádtu. The remainder of the genitive deictic sets are similarly inflected: War hiní of *this*, hitún of *that*; But, Tsg haní of *this*, Tsg hayán of *this* (near speaker and addressee), But, Tsg haqún of *that* (compare with other forms in Tables 11a-b). The nominative singular personal-name marker is War, S-L, Tsg hi, But and other dialects si; the plural is War híra, Tsg hínda, But síla (compare with other forms in Table 16). The genitive common-noun marker is huḡ in But (presumably from \*suḡ, unattested elsewhere, but see Hil siḡ and saḡ, and the discussion of differences on p.86); War hin and han; Tsg sin. The oblique marker is War, Tsg ha, But and other dialects sa. *Who?* is War hínqu, Tsg hi-siu, But sínqu. The nominative third person pronouns are: War hiyá *he/she*, hirá *they*; But, Tsg siyá *he/she*, silá *they*. This must be posited as a dialectal or areal innovation in PBS, prior to the separation of Tsg from the Bs community. Its distribution and apparent weight suggest the inclusion of Tsg and But within the PBS community.

#### 10.5. INNOVATIONS AMONG OTHER FUNCTORS

(1) PMP, PCP \*qi-pag- instrumental aorist form (cf: Tag qipag-, Sor, Gub, Bik qipag- instrumental dependent, Aborlan qipag- instrumental progressive) is replaced by PBS \*pag-qi- > Kin, Pan, Blk, Sem, Snt, Hil, Cap, Mas, Ceb (Mindanao dialects), Sur, But pagqi- instrumental aorist (usually after prohibitive negative pre-verb qayáw). The basis for the analogy leading to this metathesis is the use of *pag-* as a kind of marker, note Ceb qayáw quḡ lakáw ~ qayaw pag-lakáw, Akl qayáw qit pánaw ~ qayáw pag-pánaw *don't go!* : Ceb qayáw quḡ qi-hátag ~ qayáw pag-qi-hátag *don't give (it)!* (see 4.8.2.).

(2) Among CPh languages, pluralisation of adjectives of size or



quantity involved CV- or <Vr> reduplication (Tag *ma-lá-lakí big ones*, Bik d<ar>akuláq Id.), so that *pluralisation with \*<g>* was a PBS innovation: PBS \*dakéq *big* ~ \*(da-)dá<g>kéq *big (plural)* > Kin, Pan da-rágkəq, Mas, Sor, Gub darágkuq, Hil da-lágkuq; Rom, S-L, War, Ceb dágkuq; Akl ma-lágkoq, Tsg ma-lággquq (assimilation); see 4.5.3.

(3) Certain forms derived from the PCP \*-dtu remote deictic element are limited to Bs dialects and may be posited as PBS innovations:

(3a) PBS \*dídtu *there, yonder* > Rom, Hil, Cap, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, War, Cam, Ceb, Boh, Ley, Sur, Jau, Kan, Nat, But, Tsg dídtu; borrowed into Daraga Bk didtú, and subsequently replaced among WBs dialects, cf: Kin, Pan régtu, Akl qídto, Blk, Dtg datú, Kuy, Sem dutú.

(3b) PBS \*qádtu *to go (yonder), go (in general)* > Akl qádto, Pan, Kin, Odg qágtu (dissimilation), Ban, Sib pa-qágtu (dissimilation), Ceb, Boh, Ley, Tsg qádtu, Tsg (alternate) qáttu (assimilation); alternate of PBS \*kádtu > Rom, Hil, Cap, Mas, N-S, S-L, War, Sur, Jau, Kan, Nat, But kádtu; borrowed into Kamayo kadtú.

There are some particles that are exclusively limited to Bs dialects. Since homosemantic equivalents cannot be reconstructed for earlier stages (PMP, PSP, PHS, etc.), the following are presented as putative PBS innovations:

(4) PBS \*básiq *maybe, might* preclausal possibility particle > Akl, Pan, Kin, Gim, Blk, Dtg, Sem, Snt, Rom, Hil, Ceb, Sur básiq, Snt, Dsp, Pan (alternate) basíq, Boh básí-g, Jau básí-n. Among Waray dialects \*básiq has undergone a semantic shift, meaning *so that, in order to*, while it was replaced by N-S, S-L, War báñin; among Banton dialects it has been replaced by subáliq ~ sabáliq.

(5) PBS \*qagéd *so that, in order to* > Akl, Dsp, Blk, Snt, Kuy, Hil, Cap, Mas, Cam, Ceb, Sur qagúd, Pan, Kin, Gim qagéd; borrowed into Kagayanen qagéd; replaced in some dialects of Ceb by qarún, in Waray by básiq (above), and in Tsg by subáy.

(6) PBS \*gihápun *same, as usual* (cf. 4.10.3.) > Sem, Snt giqápun, Akl, Blk, Pan, Kin, Ban, Odg, Sib, Rom, Hil, Mas, S-L, War, Ceb, Boh, Sur, Jau gihápun; borrowed into Kamayo gihápun.

(7) PBS \*gániq *even, indeed confirmation particle* (cf. 4.10.3.) > Kin, Pan, Blk, Sem, Snt, Ban, Odg, Sib, Cap, Hil, Mas, Ceb, Boh, Sur, Jau gániq; this form is an alternate of PBS, PCP \*ñániq, and may be the result of the dissimilation of \*ñ before \*n to \*g.

(8) PBS \*kuntánaq *hopefully optative particle* (cf. 4.10.3.) has several byforms reflecting syncope, elision, or reshaping. Etymologically, it probably relates to the phrase \*kun tána mu qakú *If you ask me*. Akl, Dsp, Rom, S-L, War, Cam, But kúntaq < PBS \*kúntaq; Sur quntánaq, Ceb, Boh, Ley, Jau qúntaq (with unexplained loss of \*k-), Ban,

Odg, Sib tanqa (elided form, with metathesis of \*aq); Hil, Cap, Mas kuntániq (metanalysis, probably based on deictic element \*ni). Mamanwa kuntana is probably an early borrowing from Bs, reflecting the unre-shaped form.

Llamzon posited the following two forms as Bs innovations (1969:31-33; 54); my research upholds Llamzon's hypothesis.

(9) PBS \*na-púluq ten > Akl napútoq, Rom, Kaw, Sur, Jau, Kan napúyuq, Boh, Nat napúuq, Alc, Lok, Dsp, Cap, Hil napúloq, Kin, Pan, Gim, Sem, Blk, Snt, Dtg, Bty, Cam, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, War, Ceb napúluq. This form replaces PMP \*sa one + Na ligature + púluq ten (cf: Tag sampúq, most Bk dialects, Palawano, Aborlan, Kalamian Tagbanwa sampúluq, Tsg hanpúuq, But sampúuq, Kuy sampuluq, Ban, Odg, Sib sampúyoq); Llamzon discusses its possible derivations (1969:31-33; 54).

(10) PBS \*taga- up to the height of (cf. 4.3.7., #13) > Akl, Kin, Blk, Hil, Rom, S-L, War taga-, Ceb, Boh taga(+)-; its distribution in those dialects not listed here has not yet been ascertained, but the evidence above clearly indicates it to be PBS.

#### 10.6. BISAYAN LEXICAL INNOVATIONS

I have drawn up four different lists of proposed PBS lexical innovations. Each list is ranked according to the following criteria: (1) the number of dialects attesting the form; (2) the degree to which we can be sure that the PBS innovation has replaced an etymon reconstructed for an earlier protolanguage; and (3) the quality of the innovation in terms of basic vocabulary and probable frequency of occurrence.

The lists are arranged alphabetically according to the PBS reconstruction, except that \*q- is ignored and the first vowel of such forms determines the alphabetical order. Information concerning the etyma reconstructable for earlier stages is given after the Bs data. Where it can reasonably be assumed that non-Bs speech varieties have borrowed a form (see 2.5.), a plus sign [+] precedes the data; when Bs dialects have retained an earlier form, or have replaced the proposed innovation with a subsequent innovation, a minus sign [-] precedes such information.

10.6.1. Group One is a list of innovations found in a majority of the Bs dialects, including Tsg, but not found in Bk, Tg, Mk, or other Philippine or Austronesian languages for which data are available. Forms have been included in this group if there is a likelihood that the proposed innovation was replaced by a borrowing (e.g., Tsg from Malay or Samal) or a subsequent innovation (e.g., Tsg-But). Group One may be of considerable weight if taken as a comparative Bs list since no outside (non-Bs) language scores significantly high with any Bs

dialect on the basis of a comparison with this list.

(1) PBS \*batíq *hear* > Akl, Kin, Kuy, Rom, Hil, Mas, S-L, Ceb, Sur, But batíq, Sor matíq. [+Mamanwa batiq; Kagayanen mátiq]. PBS \*památiq *listen* > Akl, Kin, Kuy, Rom, Hil, Mas, War, Ceb, Sur památiq. [-Odg ruṅúg, Tsg duṅúg < PAN \*DəṅəR; -But, Tsg talíṅhug].

(2) PBS \*ka-bə-bétq-ən *will, interior of person* (from PBS \*bəqət *good, kind*) > Kin kabəbétqən, Akl, Blk, Rom, Hil, Mas, Ceb, Sur, But kabubútqun, War kabəretqən. [-Kuy ləbaq; Tsg ñáwa = Malay] [+Kamayo kabubutqún].

(3) PBS \*búskad *to open (as flower)* > Akl, Kin, Blk, Kuy, Rom, Hil, Mas, Ceb búskad, Odg búskar, Boh bu<lí>skad, Tsg múskag (dissimilation). [-S-L búklad, But bukád].

(4) PBS \*gégma- *love* (noun), \*hi-gégma- *to love* (verb), \*ma-hi-gəgmáq-ən *loving* (adjective) > Kuy gəgma, Kin gégma, Akl, Blk, Rom, Hil, War, Ceb, Sur, But gúgma (n), higúgma (v); Kuy maigəgmaən, Kin mahinigəgmáqən, Akl mahinigugmáqən, Hil, War, Ceb, Sur, But mahigugmáqun. [-Odg hidáqit < PAN \*Zaqit; -Mas namúqut < Bk \*məqət; -Tsg bayáq, lásah].

(5) PBS \*hənás *low tide* > Kuy qənas, Kin hənás, Akl, Blk, Hil, Ceb, Sur, But, Tsg hunás. [PPH \*ka-ətíh ~ \*kátih] [+Hanunoo húnas].

(6) PBS \*híkap *to rub, feel, touch* > Kin, Hil, Mas, War, Ceb, Sur híkap, Kuy qikap, Akl h<ul>íkap. [-Tsg dupún] [+Kamayo híkap, Kagayanen qíkap] [Note Tag híkap *to grope in the dark.*]

(7) PBS \*libát *cross-eyed* > Akl, Kin, Blk, Kuy, Hil, Mas, War, Ceb, Sur, But, Tsg libát. [+Hanunoo líbat].

(8) PBS \*ka-libút-ən *the world; surroundings* (from PMP \*líbut *to go around, surround*) > Akl, Kin, Blk, Odg, Rom, Hil, War, Ceb, Sur, But kalibútan, Kuy kalibutan. [-Mas mundu = Spanish; =Tsg duña = Malay] [+Kamayo, Kagayanen, Hanunoo kalibútan].

(9) PBS \*míṅaw *sad, lonely* > Akl, Kin, Odg, Hil, Mas, War, Ceb, Sur, But míṅaw. [-Tsg súсах = Malay] [+Kamayo hi-míṅaw, Mamanwa miṅaw, Dibabawon miṅəw].

(10) PBS \*paṅáyuq *to request, ask for* > Akl, Kin, Hil, Mas, Ceb, Sur, But, Tsg paṅáyuq. [-War qáruq (metanalysis?)] [+Kamayo ṅáyuq].

(11) PBS \*púnkuq *to squat* > Kuy, Ceb púnkuq *squat*; Akl, Kin, Blk, Sem, Rom, Hil púnkuq *sit*. [-Tsg milaṅ = Samal] [+Kamayo puṅkúq *squat*, Kagayanen puṅkúq *sit*].

(12) PBS \*səbəq *sad, depressed* > Kin, Kuy səbəq, Akl, Odg, Hil, War, Ceb, Sur, But subúq. [-Mas, Sor, Gub múnduq < Bk \*məndəq; -Tsg súсах = Malay (see #9 above)].

(13) PBS \*síṅgit *to scream, shout* > Akl, Blk, Sem, Pan, Kin, Rom, Hil, Ceb, Sur, Jau, But síṅgit. [-Kuy qugyaw ~ qugraw; -Odg qukáw; -War gulíqat; -Tsg qulíṅ; -Mas síyak < PHS \*si[ak].

(14) PBS \*sfdak *sunshine* > Akl, Odg, Hil, Ceb, But, Tsg sflak, Kin, Mas, War sírak, Kuy sirak. [+Kag silák].

(15) PBS \*subáq *river* > Akl, Kin, Kuy, Odg, Rom, Hil, Mas, Ceb, Sur, But, Tsg subáq. [-Sor, Gub, War sálug < PSP \*sáluR] [+Kamayo, Kagayanen subáq].

(16) PBS \*ta-kilíd *to lie on one's side* > Akl, Kin, Sem, Rom, Mas, Ceb, Sur, But takilíd, Blk, Hil, But takílid, Kuy tikiid, S-L talikíd (metathesis), Tsg kiíd. [The Bs dialects reflect shimmer (see 3.5.4.) of PCP \*ta-gilíd found in Tag, Bik, Kagayanen, etc.].

(17) PBS \*tábək *fat* > Akl, Blk, Rom, Hil, War, Ceb, Sur, But, Tsg támbuk, Kin, Sem, Kuy, S-L, Sur támbək. [-Odg, Mas, Jau tabáq < PPH \*tabáq] [+Kalamian Tagbanwa, Agutaynen tambək; the inherited form would be Kalamian \*tambeq].

(18) PBS \*taŋkəgəq *nape (of neck)* > Kin, Sem taŋkəgəq, Akl, Odg, Rom, Hil, S-L, Ceb, Sur taŋkúguq, War, Kamayo taŋguq-án (haplology). [-Kuy læbət; -Mas lúquŋ = Bik; -Tsg puğay].

(19) PBS \*túnqug *dew* > Akl, Kin, Rom, Hil, Mas, War, Ceb, Sur, But túnqug. [-Odg qám̄bun < PHS \*ambun; -Blk námug; -Tsg qaluh] [+Kamayo tunqúg, Hanunoo tunqúg ~ námug].

(20) PBS \*qumáɡad *son-in-law* > Akl, Kin, Rom, Hil, Mas, War, Ceb, Sur qumáɡad, Odg qumágar. [-But, Tsg qugaŋán; -Kuy manugaŋ; cf: PBS \*qugaŋan *parent-in-law*] [+Hanunoo, Kagayanen qumáɡad].

10.6.2. Group Two consists of a list of innovations found in a majority of the Bs dialects, excluding Tsg; however, cognates are not found in Bk, Tg, Mk, or other Philippine or Austronesian languages, and the distribution of cognates among Bs dialects strongly suggests that they were inherited from PBS, rather than spread by borrowing.

(1) PBS \*búlig *to help* > Akl, Kin, Odg, Rom, Hil, Sor, Mas, War, Ceb, Sur búlig. [-Kuy, Tsg tábaŋ < PSP \*tábaŋ] [+Kamayo búlig].

(2) PBS \*dámgu *to dream* > Akl, Kin, Sem, Hil, Mas, Ceb, Sur dámgu, Blk, Pan panarámgu, Odg, Rom pananángu. [-But tagqímpud; -Kuy taginəp, -Tsg tagaqínúp, -War qínup < PPH \*taR(a)qínəp] [+Hanunoo damgú (song-form only), Kagayanen dagamú, Binukid damúgu (epenthesis)].

(3) PBS \*dəgaq *juice, sap of plant* > Kin dəgáq, Akl, Blk, Hil, Mas, War, Ceb, Sur, But dúgaq. [-Ceb, Tsg tagúk < PMP \*tagák] [+Hanunoo dugq-an *sap tree*].

(4) PBS \*qəbəs *below* > Kuy, S-L qəbəs, Akl, Rom, Hil, Mas, War, Ceb, But qubús. [-Tsg babáq < PMP \*babáq] [+Kamayo qubús].

(5) PBS \*g<in>ikán-an *parent* (from PCP \*gíkan *to come from, originate*, cf: Bik gíkan Id.) Akl, Kin, Blk, Hil, Mas, S-L, Ceb, Sur, But ginikánan.

(6) PBS \*ka(ma)-gudáŋ-an *eldest child* (from PSP \*gúdaŋ *old*) > Kin kaguráŋan (loss of ma- prefix), Kuy kaguraŋan, Akl kamaguŋáŋan, Ceb kamaguláŋan, Sur kamaguyáŋi (with alternate -i suffix), But kamaguwáŋan.

(7) PBS \*handəm-ánan *remembrance* (from PBS \*hándaŋ *hope, ambition*) > Akl, Kin, Hil, S-L, Ceb, But handumánan, Kuy arandəman, Sur handúman. [+Hanunoo handúman (song form) *thoughts*].

(8) PBS \*lúquy *pity* > Akl ɭúquy, Kuy luuy, Kin, Hil, Mas, S-L, Ceb, Sur, But lúquy. Also PBS \*ma-lu-lúyq-un (with usual metathesis of \*qC cluster) *kind, merciful* > Kuy maluluyun, Akl maɭuɭúyqun, Kin marulúyqun (with <vr> infix and subsequent metathesis of \*l-r), Hil, Mas, S-L, Ceb, Sur, But malulúyqun.

(9) PBS \*pilít *to stick to* (transitive and intransitive) > Akl, Kin, Kuy, Ogd, Rom, Hil, Mas, S-L, Ceb, But pilít.

(10) PBS \*samád *wound* (n), \*sámad *to injure* > Hil, Mas, S-L, Ceb, Sur, But samád *wound*, Kin samád *injured*; Hil, S-L, Ceb sámad *to injure*; Akl sámad *to break, ruin, sámad broken, ruined*.

(11) PBS \*səyəp *to sip, such (out)* > Kin, Pan səyəp, Akl, Blk, Hil, S-L, Ceb súyup, Sur sújup. [+Mamanwa sizəp, Kamayo súyup].

(12) PBS \*na-táuh *was born* > Akl, Kin, Blk, Rom, Hil, Mas, S-L, Ceb, Sur na-táwuh-, But na-táquh-, Kuy na-tau-. [-Ogd qi-gin-qanáŋ, -Tsg piag-qanáŋ < PMP \*qi-pinag-anáŋ] [+Kamayo ya-qutáw].

(13) PBS \*tábun *to cover (with cloth)* > Akl, Kin, Ogd, Rom, Hil, Ceb, But tábun, Kuy tabun. [+Kamayo tábun].

(14) PBS \*tadáwis *pointed, sharp* > Akl taɭáwis, Kin taráwis, Kuy tarawis, Hil taláwis, But taáwis; with byform PBS \*tadíwis > Akl, Hil, S-L talíwis, Mas, Kin taríwis, Ceb talíwtiw [metanalysis of final syllable as -is suffix (cf: Akl búkid *mountain* : bukir-ís *mountaineer, bumpkin*), with replacement by -CVC final syllable reduplication (cf: PMP \*búdak *flower*, but Tag bulak-lák Id.)].

(15) PBS \*təŋéd *because* > Kin, Kuy təŋéd, Akl, Hil, Mas, S-L, Ceb, Sur tuŋúd, Ogd tuŋór.

(16) PBS \*qúsap *to chew (thoroughly)* > Akl, Kin, Blk, Rom, Hil, Ceb, Jau qúsap *to chew*; S-L qúsap *to eat only rice*.

(17) PBS \*yáwaq *devil* > Akl, Kin, Blk, Hil, Mas, Ceb, Sur, But yáwaq, Boh, Ley jáwaq, Cam záwaq.

10.6.3. Group Three consists of posited innovations that are found in at least five non-contiguous members of the Bs group, representing at least three of the major Bs subgroups; they have not been found in other Austronesian languages. Since, in many cases, these forms are the result of random elicitation, continued research may disclose that they are considerably more widespread in the Bs community.

- (1) PBS \*bágtas *to walk, hike* > Akl, Kin, Sem, Sur bágtas; with doublet PBS \*báktas > Akl, S-L, But báktas.
- (2) PBS \*bédlay *difficult* > Kin, Sem bédlay, Akl, Hil, Ceb búdlay.
- (3) PBS \*búdas *semen* > Blk, War búras, Kuy buras, Hil, Ceb búlas.
- (4) PBS \*dápaw (small chicken louse); with developed secondary meaning 'germs' > Akl, Kin, Blk, Rom, But dápaw; Ceb dápaw *small hairs on plants*.
- (5) PBS \*dúluḡ *to bring (person), deliver (thing)* > Kin, Hil, Sor, Mas, S-L, Ceb dúluḡ, Akl dúluḡ. [+Kagayanen duLuḡ].
- (6) PBS \*hámpaḡ *to play* > Akl, Pan, Hil, Sur hámpaḡ. [+Kamayo hampáḡ, Kagayanen qampáḡ] [Note Kuy qampaḡ *to converse, talk* and Bik hampáḡ *to be across from*].
- (7) PBS \*hásluḡ ~ \*hásluḡ *to masturbate* (probably a secondary meaning, see Ceb below) > Akl, Blk, Odg, Rom, Tsg hásluḡ, Akl hásluḡ. Hil hásluḡ *to trick someone*; Ceb hásluḡ *to pump (a shotgun)*, hásluḡ *to slip out of place inserted* (e.g., ring off of finger).
- (8) PBS \*hígkəḡ *dirty* > Kin hígkəḡ, Akl, Blk, Hil, Rom, Mas hígkuḡ *dirty*; Ceb hígkuḡ *dirty and wet*.
- (9) PBS \*ka-du(q)(ə)n *now; today* > Kin, Blk kárqun *later on (today)*, Akl ma-karún, Ceb karún *today, right now*. [Cf: Kamayo duqún, Mansaka qaduqun, Kalagan qadun *today, now*].
- (10) PBS \*kámaḡ *to crawl* > Akl, Kin, Hil, Mas, Ceb, But kámaḡ.
- (11) PBS \*kanáway *wind from west or northwest* > Akl, Kin, Rom, Mas, S-L, Ceb kanáway. [+Kamayo kanáway].
- (12) PBS \*kasìḡkásìḡ *heart* > Kin, Hil, S-L, Ceb, Sur, But kasìḡkásìḡ. [+Kamayo kasìḡkásìḡ].
- (13) PBS \*léaləḡ *to masturbate* (probably a secondary meaning, note Ceb lúqluḡ *to abuse, ruin*) > Kin léaləḡ, Akl, Hil, Ceb, Sur, But lúqluḡ. [+Kagayanen ləqləḡ].
- (14) PBS \*líḡliḡ *peep, peer* > Akl, Kin, Kuy, Hil, Ceb líḡliḡ.
- (15) PBS \*lúbag *to wring out, twist* > Hil, Ceb lúbag, Kuy lubag, Akl lúbag, Odg yúbag.
- (16) PBS \*paḡamúyuḡ *to pray, plead* > Akl, Kin, Hil, S-L, Ceb, Sur, But paḡamúyuḡ, Kuy paḡamuyyuḡ.
- (17) PBS \*-púdun *round* > Kin, Mas ma-ti-púrun, S-L ma-li-púrun, Hil, Cap ma-ti-púlun, ma-li-púlun, Akl ma-li-pútun. [Cf: Bik purún *coil*].
- (18) PBS \*ságap *to look for* > Kin, Hil, S-L ságap; Akl ságap *to search for fish in stream*; Ceb ságap *to catch, find*.
- (19) PBS \*sápat *animal; insect* > Akl, Pan, Blk, Rom, Hil, Ceb sápat *animal, insect*; Mas sápat *bird*. [+Hanunoo sapat *maggots*].

(20) PBS \*sápra *rough, coarse (in taste or texture)* > Kin ma-sápra, Akl ma-sápra, Ceb sápra, Sur sápya, S-L saporá (epenthesis); But ma-saápa (metathesis of \*sa[r > Ø]pa); Mas ma-sarápsap (metanalysis with final -CVC reduplication, see #14, 10.6.2.).

(21) PBS \*saqúduq *to celebrate, praise* > War saqúrug, Kin, Hil, Ceb saqúlug, Akl saqúlog, Sur saqúyug.

(22) PBS \*təpád *next to* > Kuy təpád, Akl, Hil, S-L, Ceb tupád, Odg tupár.

(23) PBS \*tiláquk *throat* > Akl, Pan, Odg, Jau tiláquk, War, Kamayo tilaquék-an. [+Mamanwa tilaquk] [Cf: Tag tiláquk *crowing of roosters*].

(24) PBS \*tiqúhaq *to try, attempt* (from PBS \*tiN- + kúhaq *take, get*) > Kin, Hil, Ceb, Sur tiqúhaq, Akl tiquháq.

(25) PBS \*qúbay ~ qubáy *to sleep together* > Odg, Rom, War qubáy, Sur, Jau qúbay. [Replaces PSP \*dudúq > Bik, Kuy durúq, Hil dulúq, Tiruray rurug, and PSP \*húlíd > Akl, Kin, Mas, Tsg húlíd, Western Bukidnon Manobo hulid, Aborlan, Palawano qulid.]

10.6.4. Group Four contains the weakest evidence for Bs lexical innovations due to the limited distribution of the forms. The list is presented in the hope that future research may uphold the innovational status of the cognate sets. The forms have two sources:

Some come from Llamzon (1969) if I was able to add information from at least one more Bs dialect, and if I was not able to find the form in any of my data on non-Bs speech varieties. These are marked with "(L)".

The others come from my own research, both in the field and with secondary materials. However, I do not wish to assign any weight to these forms unless continued research may establish some of them as more widespread in, particular to, and therefore innovations of PBS.

(1) PBS \*qaCV- noun formative, as in: Akl, Kin, Hil, Ceb qagigísiŋ, S-L qa<luŋ>gigísiŋ *temples (side of head)*; Akl qagagáŋis, Ceb gáŋis *cicada (insect)*; Akl qadudúlay, Hil qadudúlay *large earthworm*.

(2) PBS \*qagád-ən *master* (from PCP \*qáqad *to serve*) > S-L qagárun, Hil, Ceb qagárun, Kin qagálen, Akl qagálon, But qagáwun. [+Western Bukidnon Manobo qəgalən, with l for expected \*z].

(3) PBS (L) \*qagúy *ouch!* > Akl, Hil, S-L, Ceb qagúy.

(4) PBS \*qámpuq *to pray (for), mediate* > Akl, Hil, Ceb, Sur qámpuq.

(5) PBS \*qáŋkab *to bite* > Akl, Cap, Ceb, But qáŋkab.

(6) PBS (L) \*qáyap *to imitate; share stud (fowl or livestock in order to improve one's breed)* > Akl, Hil, Ceb qáyap.

(7) PBS \*bánhaw *to rise from the dead* > Akl, Kin, Blk, Hil, Ceb bánhaw, Kuy banaw. [+Mamanwa banhaw].

- (8) PBS (L) \*bántut *effeminate* > Hil, S-L, Ceb (archaic), Tsg bántut. [+Samal and Palawano bantút (borrowed from Tsg)].
- (9) PBS (L) \*batáq *relative* > Akl qig-batáq *cousin*, Hil, S-L batáq *uncle*, also batáq *to rear (as one's own child)*.
- (10) PBS \*baqúg *rotten (egg)* > Akl, Kin, Blk, Hil, Ceb baqúg. [Cf: Bik, Tag baqúg *sterile*].
- (11) PBS \*bédlay *tired* (see PBS \*bédlay *difficult*, #2 in 10.6.3.) > Kin, Sem bédlay *tired*, Ceb búdlay *to tire*. [+Kagayanen bəlláy *tired*].
- (12) PBS \*bəlág *to separate; divorce* > Kin bəlág, Hil, Ceb bulág, Akl bułág. [+Kamayo búwag] [Cf: Bik si-blág Id.]
- (13) PBS \*búgrit *diarrhea, lose bowel movement* > Kin, Blk, Mas búgrit, Akl, Rom búglit. (Cf: Naga Bk bugrís).
- (14) PBS \*dadáhig *to involve, be involved* > Blk, S-L daráhig, Hil, Ceb daláhig, Akl dałáhig, Boh dáhig. [Cf: Bik daráhig *to share*].
- (15) PBS (L) \*halúghug *to baste (in sewing)* > Hil, S-L, Ceb halúghug, Akl hałúghug.
- (16) PBS \*hémək *soft* > Akl, Hil, Ceb húmuk, N-S hémək.
- (17) PBS \*hi-badú- *to know (how)* > S-L hibarú-, Hil, Ceb hibalú ~ hibalq-, Sur hibayú *to know (how)*; Akl hibádwan, Hil nabádwan *know-how, experience*.
- (18) PBS \*híNbis *scale (of fish)* > Akl, Kin, Blk, Hil himbis, Ceb hígbis.
- (19) PBS \*qípiŋ *next to* > Akl, Rom, Hil, Sor qípiŋ. [Cf: Ceb, Tag s-ípiŋ Id.].
- (20) PBS \*kalimutáw *pupil of eye* > Akl, Kin, Hil, S-L, Ceb kalimutáw.
- (21) PBS (L) \*káwas *to get off (a vehicle, animal, etc.)* > Akl, Hil, Ceb, Sur káwas.
- (22) PBS (L) \*lántuŋ *flood tide, highest point of tide* > Hil, S-L lántuŋ, Akl łántuŋ, Ceb lántuŋ.
- (23) PBS \*palánduŋ *to consider, think over* > Sur, But, Ceb palánduŋ, Akl pamałánduŋ, Hil, S-L pamalánduŋ.
- (24) PBS \*panáptən *clothing* > Sem panáptən, Akl, Hil, S-L, Ceb, Sur panáptun.
- (25) PBS \*paŋút *to bite* > Akl, Pan, Ceb paŋút. [Possibly formed from \*paN- + doubled monosyllabic base PPH \*kutkut *bite*].
- (26) PBS \*pátaw *stew, solid matter in soup* > Akl, Kin, Blk, Sem, Hil, Kamayo pátaw. [This form is found throughout the Philippines in the meaning 'buoy', but appears to have undergone a semantic shift in Bs.].
- (27) PBS (L) \*páwaq *clear; bright* > Hil, Mas, S-L páwaq *bright*, Akl páwaq *lit up*; Ceb páwaq *a cleared area*.



- (28) PBS \*páyəŋ *to close one's eyes* > Kin páyəŋ, Akl, Hil, Ceb píyən (assimilation of \*ə to \*y).
- (29) PBS \*pikít *tight* > Akl, Hil pikít *tight*, S-L píkit *tight, close*; Ceb píkit, Tsg pikít *to glue, clip*. [Cf: Tag pikít *closed (eyes)*, Bik pikít *to squint*.]
- (30) PBS (L) \*píntas *cruel, ferocious* > Akl, Hil, S-L, Ceb píntas.
- (31) PBS (L) \*pugən *to restrain* > Akl, S-L púgən, Hil, Ceb pugún.
- (32) PBS (L) \*púqpuq *to pick (fruits off tree)* > Akl, Hil, Ceb púqpuq, S-L púpuq.
- (33) PBS (L) \*púdak (*of fruit*) *to fall* > S-L púrak, Hil, Ceb púlak, Akl púřak. [Cf: Bik purák *scattered*, Tag púlak *to lop off*].
- (34) PBS (L) \*sábak *lap* > Akl, Hil, S-L, Ceb sábak.
- (35) PBS \*sáb wag *scatter, strew* > Akl, Kuy, Hil, Ceb sáb wag.
- (36) PBS (L) \*salákət *to mix in* > Kin salákət, Hil, S-L salákut, Ceb sákut, Akl sařákot.
- (37) PBS (L) \*salín *leftover (food)* > Akl, Hil, S-L, Ceb salín.
- (38) PBS (L) \*sálqut *to mix* > Hil, S-L, Ceb sálqut, Akl sařqot.
- (39) PBS \*sánag *bright* > Kin, Sem, Kuy, Hil, S-L, Ceb sánag.
- (40) PBS \*sayép *error, mistake* > Akl, Hil, Ceb, But sayúp, Jau sajúp; Kin sayép *to run away from home*. [+Kamayo sayúp, Western Bukidnon Manobo sayəp].
- (41) PBS \*tiláw *to taste* > Hil, Mas, S-L, Ceb, Sur tiláw.
- (42) PBS (L) \*tíndak *kick* > Akl, Hil, S-L, Ceb tíndak. [Cf: Tag tindák *recoil*].
- (43) PBS (L) \*tiŋála *surprised* > Hil, S-L, Ceb tiŋála, Akl tiŋála. [+Kamayo tiŋáa].
- (44) PBS \*túmpi[] *ricestack* > Akl, Kin, Kuy, Hil túmpi, Ceb túmpiq, túmpil (final -l unexplained).
- (45) PBS (L) \*wákwak *witch, evil spirit* > Akl, Hil, S-L, Ceb wákwak.
- (46) PBS \*yágyag *to scatter (around)* > Akl, Hil, Ceb yágyag.



## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### GENETIC EVIDENCE FOR THE WEST BISAYAN SUBGROUP

The lexicostatistical and functor comparisons, while differing in particulars, give the same overall results: (1) the extremes of the WBs dialect community are Akl, Kin, and Kuy; (2) the other WBs dialects are quite close to one another and act as links between the extremes (see 7.5-6). The results of mutual intelligibility testing among WBs dialects were much the same (5.2.2.).

The common innovations surveyed in this chapter indicate that: (1) the WBs dialects together form a subgroup of Bs, and (2) the WBs subgroup is itself divided into four groups: Aklan, Kuyan, Kinarayan, and North-Central.

#### 11.1. WBs INNOVATIONS

##### 11.1.1. Innovations in Functors

There are thirteen common innovations among functors in WBs dialects which are not found in other Bs or Ph languages.

(1a) All WBs dialects *sánda* *they* < WBs \**sánda*.

(1b) All WBs dialects *qánda* *their* prepositive genitive pronoun < WBs \**ánda*.

(1c) All WBs dialects (except Kuy, Dtg)<sup>83</sup> *nánda* *their* post-positive genitive pronoun < WBs \**nánda*.

(2a) All WBs dialects *qána*, Kuy (dial) *qana* *his/her* pre-positive genitive pronoun < WBs \**ána*.

(2b) All WBs dialects (except Kuy, Dtg)<sup>83</sup> *nána* *his/her* post-positive genitive pronoun < WBs \**nána*.

(2c) Kuy *tana*, Pan, Kin, Gim, Blk, Dtg, Sem, Snt *tána*, Akl

(qi) *tqána* *he/she* nominative pronoun < WBs \**tána*.<sup>84</sup>

(3a) Akl, Pan, Kin, Gim, Dsp, Alc, Lok, Blk, Snt, Sem *sanday*, Dtg,

Kuy *sánda* nominative plural personal-name marker < WBS \**sánda*y. The *sánda*y, *nánda*y, *kánda*y set of markers has been borrowed into some dialects of Hil and Cap, where the otherwise normal - and inherited - set is *síla*, *níla*, *sa-qíla* ~ *kanda*. (See Table 16).

(3b) Akl, Pan, Kin, Gim, Dsp, Alc, Lok, Blk, Snt, Sem *nánda*y, Dtg, Kuy *nánda*, Kuy *qanda* genitive plural personal-name marker < WBS \**nánda*y.

(3c) Akl, Pan, Kin, Gim, Dsp, Alc, Lok, Blk, Snt, Sem *kánda*y, Dtg *kanánda*, Kuy *kanda* oblique plural personal-name marker < WBS \**kánda*y.

(4) Lok, Blk, Snt, Sem, Dtg, Kuy, Kin *dya*, Pan, Sem *díyá*, Akl *dáya* (length unexplained), Kuy *daya* *this* nominative deictic denoting position nearest speaker < WBS \**d(ǎ)yá*.

(5) Kin, Pan, Dsp, Blk, Dtg, Snt, Sem, Kuy *dan* *that* nominative deictic denoting position nearest addressee < WBS \**dan*.<sup>85</sup>

(6) Akl, Dsp, Sem, Snt, Kuy *datú* *that* nominative deictic denoting position remote from speaker and addressee < WBS \**datú*. Kin *qádtu* and *qatú* Id. are probably borrowed from Hil, since the other nominative deictics in Kin reflect an initial *d-* or *r-* formative.

(7) Sem *kaqínu*, Snt *káynu*, Akl *kányu* (metathesis), Dsp, Lok, Blk, Dtg *kínqu*, Kuy *kínu* [from \**k()*y-qnu] *whose?* < WBS \**káy-ǵnu*.

(8) Akl, Pan, Dsp, Lok, Alc, Blk, Sem, Snt, Dtg *qimáw* *thus, like* comparative particle (section 4.10.4.) < WBS \**qimáw*.<sup>86</sup> Note also: Akl, Pan, Dsp, Lok, Alc *qimáw* *he/she* nominative pronoun.

(9) Akl *ɽun*, Kin, Pan, Gim, Sem, Kuy *rən*, Dsp, Alc, Lok, Blk, Dtg, Snt *run* *now, already* completive particle (section 4.10.2.) < WBS \**dən*.

(10) Akl, Pan, Dsp, Lok, Alc, Blk *qit*, Kin *tí*, Kuy *qiq* (reshaped) particle occurring as phrase marker after negatives PBS \**wadáq* *do not have* and PBS \**bəkén* *is not so* < WBS \**qit*. This particle also serves as the indefinite genitive common-noun marker in the dialects listed.<sup>87</sup>

(11) Akl *qisaḷá*, Pan, Kin, Gim, Blk, Dtg, Sem, Snt, Kuy *qisará* *one* < WBS \**qisadá*.<sup>88</sup>

(12) Akl *dáywa*, *dáɽwa*, Alc *dálwa*, Kin, Pan, Gim, Dsp, Lok, Blk, Dtg, Sem, Snt, Kuy *dárwa* *two* < WBS \**dádwa*.<sup>89</sup>

(13) Akl, Dsp, Lok, Alc *sabón*, Snt *sabún*, Pan, Kin, Gim, Sem, Kuy *sabén* *maybe, perhaps* enclitic possibility particle < WBS \**sabén*. This particle has been borrowed into Rom and Cap as *sabón*, but it is in competition with *tiḡáli*, the form found in most other Bs dialects.

### 11.1.2. Innovations in Lexicon

After a thorough search of all available materials on Bs dialects and other Austronesian languages, I have concluded that the following forms within the basic vocabulary of WBS dialects have no exactly

corresponding equivalent, except in bordering Bs dialects (Rom, Cap, Hil, Odg) or in the adjacent Hanunoo language, where the form can be shown to have been borrowed from WBS.

(14) Akl bahól, Alc, Dsp, Lok bahól, Blk bahúl, Pan, Kin, Gim bahél, Dtg baqúl, Sem baqél, Kuy bæel *big, large* < WBS \*bahél. Rom bahóy, but all other Bs dialects reflect PBS \*dakéq or PSP \*dakuláq.

(15) Akl ráhaq, Pan, Kin, Gim, Blk ráhaq, Kuy raaq *to cook* < WBS \*ráhaq. All other Bs dialects reflect PBS, PPH \*lútuq *cook*.

(16) Akl, Blk hilón, Pan, Sem hilón *drunk* < WBS \*hilón.

(17) Akl, Pan, Kin, Gim, Blk, Sem qagíq *effeminate* < WBS \*qagíq. Hil qagíq, but other Bs dialects reflect PBS \*bayút, \*bántut, or Tag bakláq.

(18) Akl, Blk, Dsp quyahún, Pan quyahén, Kuy quyən, Kin puñyahén [from \*paŋ+(u)yahén, with assimilation of pre-penult a to \*u, and subsequent syncope] *face* < WBS \*quyahén. Rom quyahón, but other Bs dialects reflect PCP, PBS \*bayhuq ~ \*bayhun *face*.

(19) Pan, Kin, Gim, Sem, Kuy rayéq *far* < WBS \*dayéq (with unexplained final \*ə). All other dialects reflect PBS, PPH \*dayúq.

(20) Akl, Dsp, Alc, Lok, Pan, Kin, Gim dahíq, Sem daqíq, Kuy daiq *forehead* < WBS \*dahíq. This form does not exactly correspond to Dyen's PAN \*Dahəy or to Malay dahi, but may simply represent a dialectal re-shaping of an inherited form. No other Ph language has a corresponding form, while other Bs dialects reflect CBS \*qágtan, PSP \*rúpa (from Sanskrit), or PPH \*tuktúk.

(21) Pan, Kin, Gim, Blk, Sem, Kuy kádlaw *to laugh* < WBS \*kádlaw. Hil, Cap kádlaw, but most other Bs dialects reflect PHS \*(ka)táwa or independent innovations, e.g., Banton \*gurá-, Akl hibayág, etc.

(22) Pan, Blk híngaq, Sem, Kuy qíngaq *to lie down* < WBS \*híngaq. Most other Bs and CPh dialects reflect \*higdaq, from PPH \*hidəgáq.

(23) Kin, Sem lábəg, Kuy labəg, Blk, Dtg lábug *long (object)* < WBS \*lábəg. Other Bs dialects reflect PMP \*hábaq, or PCP \*h<a|>abáq.

(24) Akl, Pan, Kin, Gim, Alc, Dsp, Lok, Blk búhay, Sem búqay, Kuy buay *long (time)* < WBS \*búhay. Other Bs dialects reflect PMP \*dúgay; note PMP \*buháy *alive, búhay to live, be alive*.

(25) Pan, Kin, Gim, Sem, Kuy rakéq *many* < WBS \*rakéq. Note PCP \*dakéq *big*; most other Bs dialects reflect PBS \*dághan or PCP \*dáməq.

(26) Pan, Kin, Gim, Blk málqam, Sem, Kuy malám *old (person)* < WBS \*málqam. Other Bs dialects reflect PSP \*gúdan.

(27) Kin, Pan, Gim hípəs, Akl, Dsp hípos, Blk hípus, Sem, Kuy qipés *quiet, silent* < WBS \*hípəs. Note: CBS \*hípəs *to store, put away*.

(28) Kin, Pan líməg, Akl límug, Kuy limeg *voice* < WBS \*líməg. Replaced PSP \*tíŋəR, PBS \*tíŋəg.

(29) Akl búsoɿ, Pan, Blk, Sem búsul *seed (of fruit)* < WBS \*búsul. Odg búsoy, but other Bs dialects reflect PBS \*ɿfsu.

(30) Akl, Pan, Kin, Gim, Sem, Blk ma-nabáq *short (not tall)* < WBS \*ma-nabáq. There is Ceb mabáq = mubúq; but all other Bs dialects reflect PBS \*ma-nubúq or \*mubúq.

(31) Pan, Kin, Gim táqqəd, Akl, Dsp, Blk táqqud, Sem, Kuy tagéd *short (not long)* < WBS \*táqqəd. Rom táqqud, but most other Bs have a reflex of PCP \*liqpút, PBS \*ɿfpqut or PSP \*pandák.

(32) Kin, Pan libáyən, Kuy libayən, Blk libayún *sibling* < WBS \*libáyən.

(33) Pan, Kin, Gim, Sem dáməl, Kuy daməl, Akl dámuɿ, Dsp, Blk dámul *thick* < WBS \*dáməl. Odg rámoɿ, but other Bs reflect PCP dakmál.

(34) Kin, Pan, Gim dagéqəb, Kuy dagəb *thunder*, Akl dagúqob *to rumble (as stomach when hungry)* < WBS \*dagéqəb *thunder*. Hil (dial) dagúqub, most other Bs dialects reflect PCP \*dalégdəg.

(35) Kin, Pan, Gim, Sem paribánaw, Kuy paribanaw, Akl palibánaw *to wash (feet or hands)* < WBS \*paribánaw.

## 11.2. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SUBGROUPS WITHIN WEST BISAYAN

The 13 innovations among functors and the 22 among contentives listed in the preceding section agree with the results of the lexico-statistical and functor comparisons in delimiting a WBS subgroup.

Table 52a suggests that subgroups can be found within WBS itself. Note that Sem and Dtg are close to Kuy, that Pan is closest to Kin, and that Dsp and Pan are close to Akl, while Blk is intermediate among all WBS dialects.

Table 61 lists 16 additional items (numbered 36-51), the distribution of which supports further subgrouping within WBS. Forms marked with an asterisk are retentions, either from early WBS (e.g., \*tána *he/she*), or from PBS (\*kúntaq *hopefully*) or PCP (\*inyu *yours*). In the first example (#36), both \*índu and \*ínyu are inherited from PCP (see #2-3 in 9.2.1.); however, the distribution of qíndu is noteworthy in that it is found in the Kuyan group, in Rom and the Banton group, and in the Coastal Bikol dialects. In each case, either McFarland (1974) or I have determined these to be subgroups within their respective languages, viz: Kuyan (in WBS), Romblon (within CBs), Banton, and Coastal Bikol (within Bk).

In each of the other cases, at least one innovation is found in at least one of the posited WBS subgroups. Akl has made eleven innovations, only two of which are shared with any of the other WBS dialects: qimáw (also in Pan, Dsp, Lok, and Alc) and quwáq (also in Dsp and Lok).

TABLE 61  
INNOVATIONS WITHIN THE WBS SUBGROUP

| GLOSS                     | AKLANON             | KINARAY-A              | KUYONON                       | Blk/NORTH-CENTRAL                    |
|---------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 36. <i>yours</i> (pl)     | *qínyu              | *qínyu                 | *qíndu +Sem,Snt<br>[+Rom,Odg] | *qínyu +Snt,Dsp,Lok,Dtg,Alc          |
| 37. <i>he/she</i>         | qimáw +Dsp,Pan,Lok  | *tána +Pan             | *tána +Sem,Snt,Dtg            | *tána +Alc                           |
| 38. <i>here</i> (nearest) | qiyá                | régya +Pan             | digí +Sem,Snt,Dtg             | dugí, dudí (Dsp qúdyá,<br>Lok qudí)  |
| 39. <i>there</i> (yonder) | *qídtu, OasBk qidtu | régtu +Pan             | dutú +Sem,Snt                 | datú +Dtg (Dsp qúgtu,<br>Lok qitú)   |
| 40. <i>to go</i>          | *qádtu              | qágtu +Pan             | pakún                         | qayán +Dsp,Lok,Dtg,Snt,Sem           |
| 41. topic mkr.            | ru ~ du             | *qaŋ +Pan              | *qaŋ +Sem,Snt,Dtg             | *qaŋ +Dsp,Lok,Alc                    |
| 42. def. genitive<br>mkr. | ku                  | *kaŋ +Pan,Snt,Sem [Bk] | qiqaŋ                         | taŋ +Lok                             |
| 43. <i>do what</i>        | *qanúh              | *qanúh- +Pan           | *qíwan +Sem,Dtg<br>[+Blk]     | *qíwan +Dsp,Lok,Pan [Kuy]            |
| 44. <i>why</i>            | hámqan              | mánhaw +Pan            | qayamu                        | básiq +Dsp,Lok,Dtg,Snt,Sem<br>[+Rom] |
| 45. <i>when?</i> (fut)    | hinqunú             | *sánqu +Pan [Blk]      | qinurú +Snt                   | *sánqu +Dsp,Lok,Sem [Kin]            |
| 46. <i>later on</i>       | hindúnaq            | *kárqun +Pan [Blk]     | lagàtlagát +Sem,Blk           | *kárqun +Dsp,Lok,Dtg,Sem<br>[Kin]    |
| 47. <i>tomorrow</i>       | hinqága             | sarómqan               | qarumán +Sem,Snt,Dtg          | qinága +Pan,Dsp,Lok                  |
| 48. <i>today</i>          | makarún             | kádyá +Pan,Dsp,Lok     | dadí +Dtg                     | ŋádyá +Sem                           |
| 49. <i>hopefully</i>      | *kúntaq             | *daqád +Pan [Blk]      | (n)ándan +Snt,Dtg             | *daqád +Sem [Kin]                    |
| 50. <i>don't know</i>     | taqú [+Han]         | (l)ámбай +Pan          | *qilám +Sem,Snt,Dtg<br>[+Blk] | *qilám +Dsp,Lok [Kuy]<br>[+Rom,Odg]  |
| 51. <i>none</i>           | quwáq +Dsp,Lok      | *waráq +Pan            | qáraq +Sem,Snt,Dtg            | *waráq +Lok                          |

Note that Blk (etc.) *qinága* is not comparable with Akl *hinqága tomorrow*: the latter has the Akl *hin-* future formative [as in Akl *hin-qunú when (future)?*, *hin-dúnaq later on*, *hin-qisá the day after tomorrow*] while the North-Central form has an <in> future infix (see 4.4.2.); furthermore, none of the North-Central dialects lost either \*h or \*q in any position, so that \**hinqága* would never be realized as *qina:ga*. The nine remaining exclusive features in Akl are both innovations and isoglosses making Akl a well-marked dialect of the WBs group, relatively isolated from all the other dialects. The higher lexicostatistical and functor scores of Akl with Dsp and Lok can be explained as the result of frequent and ongoing contacts by sea, which may also account for the spread of the innovation *qimáw he/she* or the elided negative *quwáq none* to Dsp and Lok. The high scores of Akl with Pan are the result of contacts by road and along the boundary that separates the two dialects in northern Panay.

The Kuyonon column lists eleven innovations. However, only three are unique to Kuy, since six are shared with Snt, and five are shared with Dtg and Sem respectively, albeit in different distributions. A further shared innovation is the falling together of the reflexes of PBS \*h with those of \*q in each of these four dialects (see 8.3.). Thus, while Kuy is at one of the extremes in WBs, geographically, politically, and linguistically, there are nevertheless criteria by which it can be grouped with Sem, Snt, and Dtg. I call this group Kuyan.

The Kinaray-a column lists seven innovations, six of which are shared by Pan. The location of Pan at the northern end of Antique Province, and the co-ordinate number of shared innovations listed, clearly puts Pan and Kin in a subgroup, which I call Kinarayan.

Bulalakaw represents the linguistic center of what will here be called the North-Central (N-C) group of WBs. In this group, Blk reflects seven N-C innovations, four of which are shared with Lok, and three with Dsp. Note that Dtg and Sem each share three N-C innovations, and that Pan shows one. This group is thus intermediate between Kinarayan and Kuyan. The overlap is apparent since only one form is unique to Blk (#38, the formation of the proximate deictic *du-gí* and *du-dí*), and two each to Dsp and Lok (see 38 and 39). Although the N-C subgroup is the most diverse geographically, it is the most close-knit linguistically. This fact is attested to by the consistently high scores on the lexicostatistical and functor comparisons, the graded dispersal of shared innovations, and prevailing mutual intelligibility.



The location and distribution of each of these WBs subgroups was given in Map 4. The degree to which the various WBs dialects share common innovations of PCP and PBS, and are therefore members of those superordinate groups, was discussed in Chapters 9 and 10 respectively.



## CHAPTER TWELVE

### GENETIC EVIDENCE FOR THE CENTRAL BISAYAN SUBGROUP

The lexicostatistical and functor scores indicate a high order of diversity among the CBs dialects. Both comparisons also indicate that the dialects form a chain, with Mas intermediate among all other CBs dialects, while the lowest scoring pairs are Rom : N-S, Rom : Gub, Hil : N-S, and Hil : Gub.

It is the purpose of this chapter to examine the common innovations made by CBs dialects as a group, and by various subgroups within CBs: Warayan, the peripheral dialects, and Romblon. The Banton and Cebuan subgroups, which are intermediate between WBs-CBs and CBs-SBs respectively, are also discussed here.

#### 12.1. CBs INNOVATIONS

##### 12.1.1. Innovations in Functors

(1a) Hil, Cap, Bty *siŋ*, Mas, Sor, Gub, S-L, Cam *sin*, N-S *si*, War, S-L *hin* indefinite genitive common-noun marker < CBs *\*siŋ*.

(1b) Hil, Cap, Bty *saŋ*, Mas, Sor, Gub, S-L, Cam *san*, N-S *sa*, War, S-L *han* definite genitive common noun marker < CBs *\*saŋ*.

Although both *\*siŋ* and *\*saŋ* appear in other CPh languages (cf: Mansaka *saŋ*, Kalagan *sa* indefinite genitive marker, Tsg *sin* general genitive marker), the use of the *\*siŋ*-*\*saŋ* indefinite-definite paradigm is exclusively CBs.

(2) The *\*ŋa* ligature has no *\*-ŋ* alternant: Mas, Sor, Gub *na* ~  $\emptyset$ , N-S, S-L, War, Cam *ŋa* ~  $\emptyset$  (see 4.3.6.1. and Table 18).

(3) Hil, Cap, Rom, Cam *may qáraq*, S-L *may-daq*, N-S, S-L, War *may qádaq* *There is*. independent form of existential predicate < CBs *\*may qádaq* (see 4.9.).

(4) Rom, Hil, Cap, Mas, Sor *qináq*, Ban, Odg, Sib *k-ináq*, Ceb, Boh, Ley *ka-náq*, Hil *ya-náq*, Cam *za-náq* *that* nominative deictic denoting

position near addressee < CBS \*-náq.

(5a) Rom, Hil, Cap, Cam diráq, Mas, Sor, S-L, War didáq *there* oblique deictic denoting position near addressee < CBS \*di-dáq.

(5b) Rom, Hil, Cap, Cam karáq, Mas, Sor, S-L, War kadáq *to go there (near addressee)* < CBS \*ka-dáq.

(6) Hil, Cap, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, Cam nánu, N-S qanánu *what?* < CBS \*nánu. Although this form is found in Akl and in some Ceb dialects, it is probably borrowed, since it is not found in any other Bs dialect or Ph language.

(7) Mas, Sor, Gub kay nánu, N-S, S-L, Cam nánu kay *why?* < CBS \*kay+nánu.

(8) Rom, Hil, Cap, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, War, Cam buwás *tomorrow* < CBS \*buwás.

(9) Mas, N-S, S-L, War yanáq, Cam zanáq *today, now* < CBS \*yanáq.

(10) Rom, Mas, S-L niyán *later on (today)*, Rom, Mas, Sor, Gub niyán *today, now* < CBS niyán *today; later on*.

(11) Hil, Cap, Kaw, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, War, Cam, Ceb qámbut *I don't know* ignorance particle < CBS \*qámbut.

#### 12.1.2. Lexical Innovations

(12) Ban, Odg, Sib rakóq, Hil, Cap, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, Cam, Ceb dakúq, S-L, War dákuq < CBS \*dakúq.<sup>90</sup> Note Sur, Jau dakúq, but WBS \*bahé!; other languages reflect PCP \*dakəláq, PMP \*dakuláq, or PPH \*dakál *large*.

(13) Odg, Sib rámpug, Rom, Hil, Mas, N-S, War dámpug *cloud, rain-cloud* < CBS \*dámpug. Note Bik dampúg *foggy*; other Bs dialects reflect PSP \*galqém or PCP \*dagqém.

(14) Cam, Hil, Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, Ceb lubí *coconut* < CBS \*lubí. Pandan Bk, Binukid lubí, Western Bukidnon luvi are probably borrowed from some Bs dialect rather than independent retentions from PSP. CBS \*lubí replaces PAN, PPH \*niyuR.

(15) War, Sor hayáq, N-S háyaq, Jau hájaq < CBS hayaq *to cry*. Since Jau is a linking dialect between CBS and SBs, it is possible that this innovation was borrowed therein; CBS \*hayaq replaces PAN \*Caŋis > PPH \*táŋis, PSP \*səgáw.

(16) Rom, Hil, Cap, Mas, N-S, S-L, War, Ceb qáqtaŋ *forehead* < \*qáqtaŋ. See WBS \*dahíq, PSP \*bayhun, \*bayhuq, \*qaŋas, and PPH \*tuktúk.

(17) Hil, Cap, Mas, Sor, Gub, War, Cam, Ceb, Sur hubúg, N-S, S-L həbég *drunk* < CBS \*həbég.

(18) Hil, Cam, Mas qilúy, N-S, S-L, War qirúy *mother* < CBS \*qidúy. Replaces PAN \*[]ináh, PBS \*qináh; but may be related to Malay induk.

(19) Ban, Odg, Sib ramoq, Rom, Hil, Cap, S-L, War dámuq, Mas, Sor, N-S, Cam damúq *many* < CBs \*dámuq.

(20) Odg, Rom, Hil, Cap, N-S, War liwát *to repeat* < CBs \*liwát.  
Note: Ceb liwát *to take after (someone)* and Sur liwát *offspring*.

(21) Cap, Hil, Cam silíŋ, S-L, War siríŋ *to say* (as in 'He said . . .') < CBs \*sidíŋ.

(22) Rom, Sor piláw, Mas, S-L piráw *sleepy* < CBs \*pidáw.

(23) Cap, Hil, Mas, Sor, S-L, War bálhas *sweat* < CBs \*bálhas. Kin bálhas is probably a loan from Hil, since all other WBs dialects and most other Bs and CPh languages reflect a cognate of PMP \*húlas; CBs \*bálhas is probably a syncopated and metathesized form of \*ba- + PMP \*húlas, i.e., \*ba+h()las.

(24) Hil, Cap, Mas, Sor, S-L, War, Cam, Ceb lakát *to walk, go* < CBs \*lakát. This form replaces PPH \*pánaw and PSP \*lakáw. Note: Tag, Ilokano lákad *to walk*, Bik lákad *to step* < PPH \*lákad; CBs \*lakát may be another example of shimmer (3.5.4.).

(25) Ban, Odg, Sib ma-qádo, Cap, Hil, Rom ma-qáyo, Mas, Ceb ma-qáyu, Boh, Ley ma-qáju, Cam ma-qázu *good* < CBs \*ma-qáyu.

### 12.1.3. Comparison of entral Bisayan dialects on the basis of innovations

Table 62 is a list of the posited CBs innovations; if a dialect does not reflect one of the innovated forms discussed above, homosemantic forms have been presented. There are lacunae in the data for Cam (6 forms), Sor, Gub (3 forms each), and N-S (1 form); Bty and Kaw are not included due to incomplete data sets.

Table 63 gives the results from comparisons based solely on these 25 innovations. Numbers to the left of and below the diagonal line represent the number of innovations shared by dialect pairs; numbers to the right of and above the diagonal line represent the number of cognate forms shared by dialect pairs based on the meanings of the various CBs innovations. Scores above 12 (roughly one-half of 25) have been set off in boxes.

Although Mas and S-L each reflect 21 of the 25 innovations proposed, the highest score obtained between dialect pairs is 17 (Mas : Sor, and S-L : Mas). Cam, Hil, Mas, Sor, S-L, and N-S can be grouped together on the basis of their high scores with one another; while Gub, Rom, Odg, and Ceb do not share more than 10 innovations with any CBs dialect. It is therefore necessary to examine the position of each of these latter dialects with respect to other CBs dialects.

TABLE 62  
CBs DIALECTS: INNOVATIONS AND HOMOSEMANTIC FORMS

| GLOSS                   | Cam          | Hil/Cap  | Mas      | Sor      | Gub       | N-S       | S-L/War  | Rom      | Odg      | Ceb      |
|-------------------------|--------------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| 1a. indefinite genitive | sin          | siŋ      | sin      | sin      | sin       | si        | hin      | niŋ      | qit      | qug      |
| 1b. definite genitive   | san          | saŋ      | san      | san      | san       | sa        | han      | naŋ      | qitkag   | sa       |
| 2. alt. ligature        | ∅            | -ŋ       | ∅        | ∅        | ∅         | ∅         | ∅        | -ŋ       | -ŋ       | -ŋ       |
| 3. existential          | mayqáraq     | mayqáraq | qígwa    | qígwa    | máyqun    | mayqádaq  | mayqádaq | =Hil~Was | qíŋguq   | qadúna   |
| 4. <i>that</i>          | zanáq ~ S-L  | qináq    | qináq    | qináq    | yuqún     | qitún     | qitún    | qináq    | kináq    | kanáq    |
| 5a. <i>there</i>        | diráq        | diráq    | didáq    | didáq    | duqún     | duqún     | didáq    | diráq    | raháq    | diháq    |
| 5b. <i>go there</i>     | karáq        | karáq    | kadáq    | kadáq    | kaqún     | kaqún     | kadáq    | karáq    | qaháq    | qánhaq   |
| 6. <i>what?</i>         | nánu         | náno     | nánu     | nánu     | nánu      | (qa)nánu  | qanú     | qanó     | naqó     | qúnsa    |
| 7. <i>why?</i>          | náman ~ S-L  | ŋáqa-man | -----    | kay nánu | -----     | ---- nánu | kay ---- | básiq    | qásiq    | ŋánuman  |
| 8. <i>tomorrow</i>      | buwás        | buwás    | buwás    | buwás    | buwás     | buwás     | buwás    | buwás    | qinsulíp | qúgmaq   |
| 9. <i>today</i>         | zanáq        | subón    | =S-L~Sor | niyán    | niyán     | yanáq     | yanáq    | niyán    | ŋásiŋ    | karún    |
| 10. <i>later</i>        |              | kunína   | =Rom~Sor | didáq    | duqún     | qunína    | qunína   | niyán    | qiság    | qúnyaq   |
| 11. <i>not know</i>     | qámbut       | qámbut   | qámbut   | qámbut   | qámbut    | qámbut    | qámbut   | qilám    | qilám    | qámbut   |
| 12. <i>big</i>          | dakúq        | dakóq    | dakúq    | dakúq    | dakúq     | dakúq     | dákuq    | bahóy    | rakóq    | dakúq    |
| 13. <i>raincloud</i>    |              | dámpug   | dámpug   |          |           | dámpug    | dámpug   | dámpug   | rámpug   | dággum   |
| 14. <i>coconut</i>      | lubí         | lubí     | lubí     | lubí     | lubí      | lubí      | lubí     | niyóg    | niyóg    | lubí     |
| 15. <i>cry</i>          |              | =Mas~Gub | táŋis    | hayáq    | híbiq     | háyaq     | hayáq    | táŋis    | tíbwaw   | híflak   |
| 16. <i>forehead</i>     |              | qágtan   | qágtan   |          |           | qágtan    | qágtan   | qágtan   | yúpa     | qágtan   |
| 17. <i>drunk</i>        | hubúg        | hubúg    | hubúg    | hubúg    | hubúg     | həbég     | həbég    | bayón    | yanjón   | hubúg    |
| 18. <i>mother</i>       | =Mas~Rom~Ceb | =Mas~Rom | qilúy    | qináq    | qináq     | qirúy     | qirúy    | nánay    | nánay    | qinahán  |
| 19. <i>many</i>         | damúq        | damóq    | damúq    | damúq    | dághan    | damúq     | dámuq    | dámoq    | rámoq    | dághan   |
| 20. <i>repeat</i>       |              | liwát    | bálik    |          |           | liwát     | liwát    | liwát    | liwát    | qusáb    |
| 21. <i>say</i>          | =Hil~Ceb     | silíŋ    | sábi     | sábi     | sábi      | sugád     | siríŋ    | hámbay   | hámbay   | súlti    |
| 22. <i>sleepy</i>       |              | tuyó     | piráw    | piláw    | naɲaturúg |           | piráw    | pi láw   | túɲkaq   | katúlgun |
| 23. <i>sweat</i>        | siŋút        | bálhs    | bálhs    | bálhs    | dáŋga     | húlas     | bálhs    | gánqot   | gáqos    | siŋút    |
| 24. <i>walk</i>         | lakát        | lakát    | lakát    | lakát    | lakáw     | lakáw     | lakát    | pánaw    | pánaw    | =N~S~S-L |
| 25. <i>good</i>         | maqázu       | maqáyo   | maqáyu   | mayád    | mayád     | maqúpay   | maqúpay  | maqáyo   | maqádo   | maqáyu   |

TABLE 63  
 AGREEMENT OF CBs DIALECTS WITH 25 POSITED CBs INNOVATIONS

| ----- COMPARISON BASED ON MEANING OF INNOVATIONS ----- |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| I<br>N<br>N<br>O<br>V<br>A<br>T<br>I<br>O<br>N<br>S    | Cam | 16  | 16  | 13  | 15  | 13  | 9   | 7   | 5   | 10  |
|  | 15  | Hil | 16  | 12  | 17  | 14  | 8   | 12  | 8   | 10  |
|  | 16  | 16  | Mas | 19  | 17  | 14  | 11  | 12  | 6   | 8   |
|  | 13  | 12  | 17  | Sor | 14  | 11  | 13  | 7   | 4   | 6   |
|  | 15  | 16  | 17  | 14  | S-L | 19  | 8   | 9   | 4   | 6   |
|  | 13  | 13  | 14  | 11  | 16  | N-S | 11  | 6   | 4   | 6   |
|  | 9   | 7   | 10  | 10  | 8   | 10  | Gub | 2   | 1   | 6   |
|  | 5   | 9   | 9   | 6   | 7   | 5   | 2   | Rom | 12  | 4   |
|  | 4   | 6   | 5   | 3   | 4   | 4   | 1   | 5   | Odg | 5   |
|  | 7   | 8   | 8   | 6   | 6   | 5   | 4   | 3   | 3   | Ceb |

**NOTE:** Akl (WBs) and Jau (SBs) have borrowed two CBs innovations each; Sur (SBs), Pandan (Bk), Kin (WBs), Binukid and Western Bukidnon (Manobo) have borrowed one innovation each.

Note that if the comparison is made on the basis of cognate forms, regardless of innovational status, only Ceb does not have a score above 10. Gub shows secondary affinities with Sor; Rom with Hil and Mas; and Odg with Rom. The rise in score on the basis of this second comparison, particularly that of Rom : Odg (+7), brings to light the importance of secondary contacts to dialectal developments. That is, both Rom and Odg, after each separated from the CBs community, have mutually been under influence from WBs dialects and from each other, and therefore are growing more alike.

Although the scores appear to indicate a group including Cam, Hil, Mas, Sor, S-L, and N-S, it is important to check these CBs dialects for other innovations that may offer an alternative subgrouping hypothesis.

## 12.2. THE WARAYAN SUBGROUP

A number of innovations have been observed among dialects of the Samar-Leyte area.

## 12.2.1. Innovations among Functors

- (1) S-L, War, Cam qin, N-S qi indefinite nominative common-noun marker < Warayan \*in.
- (2) Use of nominative deictics in attributive constructions without a linking particle, as in S-L, War qiní baláy, Cam qiní(n) baáy, N-S in baláy, other Bs dialects qini ña baláy (Wolff 1967c:71-72).
- (3) Mas, Gub, N-S, S-L, War kanáy *whose?* < Warayan \*kanáy.
- (4) Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, War básiq *so that, in order to* < Warayan \*básiq. Note PBS \*básiq *maybe, possibly*; WBS \*básiq *why?*
- (5) N-S, S-L, War báñin *maybe, possibly* < Warayan \*báñin, replaces PBS \*básiq (above).
- (6) N-S, S-L, War, Cam ñan, Sor, Gub, Cam (alt) nan *and* < Warayan \*ñan, from PHS \*dəñán *together with, simultaneously*. SBs \*qug, most other Bs \*kag *and*.
- (7) N-S, S-L, War qunína, Hil k-unína *later on (today)* < Warayan \*unína.
- (8) Noun prefix qi(+)- denoting location, as in Gub qi-rarúm, Mas qi-dalúm, Mas (alt), N-S, S-L, War qi-larúm, Cam qi-lawúm < Warayan \*qi(+)-. Other dialects qi-, i.e., with no shift in accent.
- (9) Adjective prefix ha(+)- on stems denoting measure, as in N-S, S-L, War ha-ráyuq *far* (base rayúq), N-S, S-L, War ha-ráni *near* (base daní) < Warayan \*ha(+)-. Other dialects ha- or ma-, i.e., with no shift in accent.

## 12.2.2. Warayan Lexical Innovations

- (10) N-S, S-L kəlép, War kulúp *afternoon* < Warayan \*kəlép.
- (11) N-S, S-L, War ñatanán *all* < Warayan \*ñatanán; note Virac Bk ñatanán *all, complete, entire*; other Bs and Bk dialects tanán.
- (12) Gub, N-S, S-L, War támsi *bird* < Warayan \*támsi. Note Ceb támsi *sparrow*.
- (13) N-S, S-L, War túnaq *earth* < Warayan \*túnaq. Other CBS \*dútaq, \*yútaq; WBS \*lúgtaq; PMP \*lúpaq.
- (14) Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L, War bunáy *egg* < Warayan \*bunáy; borrowed into Legazpi Bk; otherwise PMP \*qitlug. If Casiguran Dumagat bunáy is not a borrowing, then Warayan bunáy may only be a dialectal difference reflecting an independent retention by the Waray group.
- (15) N-S, S-L, War kulú, Gub kulúq (with unexplained -q) < Warayan \*kulú. Note Sur, Jau kuyú, but all other Bs kukúh- *finger nail*.
- (16) N-S, S-L, War ma-qúpay *good, well* < Warayan \*ma-qúpay. Probably related to PHS, PPH \*pi[y]a with metathesis, i.e., \*pa[i], and \*qu formative. Other Bs dialects maqáyu, mayád, or ma-dayáw.



- (17) Gub, N-S, S-L, War *búntu* *place, town* < Warayan \**búntu*.  
 (18) N-S, S-L, War *yakán* *to speak, talk* < Warayan \**yakán*.  
 (19) Mas, Sor, Gub, N-S, S-L *súmat* *to talk, tell (on)* < Warayan \**súmat*. Most other dialects have *súgid*.  
 (20) Gub, N-S, S-L, War *hulús* *wet* < Warayan \**hulús*. Replaced PPH \**basáq*, PAN \**baseq* *wet*.  
 (21) N-S, S-L, War *buság* *white* < Warayan \**buság*. Replaced PPH, PHS \**putíq*.  
 (22) Gub, N-S, S-L *quyág* *to play* < Warayan \**quyág*.

### 12.2.3. Determining the Extent of the Warayan Subgroup

If the various dialects represented are scored on the basis of the 22 Warayan innovations (Table 65), according to the principles outlined in 12.1.3., the results listed in Table 64 are obtained.

TABLE 64  
 AGREEMENT OF CBs DIALECTS WITH 22 WARAYAN INNOVATIONS

| - - - - - COMPARISON BASED ON MEANING OF INNOVATIONS - - - - - |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|  | Cam | 12  | 12  | 8   | 5   | 4   | 4   | 4   |
| I  | 0   | Hil | 13  | 11  | 5   | 1   | 1   | 1   |
| N  | 1   | 0   | Mas | 13  | 9   | 3   | 3   | 3   |
| O  | 1   | 0   | 1   | Sor | 11  | 4   | 4   | 4   |
| V  | 2   | 0   | 3   | 4   | Gub | 11  | 11  | 10  |
| A  | 4   | 1   | 3   | 4   | 11  | N-S | 22  | 21  |
| T  | 4   | 1   | 3   | 4   | 11  | 22  | S-L | 21  |
| I  | 4   | 1   | 3   | 4   | 10  | 21  | 21  | War |
| O  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| N  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| S  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |

NOTE: Sur, Jau, Virac Bk, and Legazpi Bk share one innovation each with Gub, N-S, S-L, and War; but none with Mas, Sor, Cam, Hil, and none with each other.

The highest scoring pairs are composed of the following three: N-S, S-L, and War. However, the comparatively high scores of Gub with each of the three must indicate a close genetic tie in the past, which has since been undone to some degree by separation from Warayan, and by long contact with Sor and Bk.

TABLE 65  
WARAYAN INNOVATIONS AND HOMOSEMANTIC FORMS AMONG OTHER CBs DIALECTS

| GLOSS                    | H11      | Mas    | Sor     | Gub     | N-S         | S-L         | War         | Cam         |
|--------------------------|----------|--------|---------|---------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1. indefinite nominative | #        | #      | #       | #       | qi          | qin         | qin         | qin         |
| 2. $\emptyset$ ligature  | ŋa       | na     | na      | na      | $\emptyset$ | $\emptyset$ | $\emptyset$ | $\emptyset$ |
| 3. <i>whose?</i>         | kaysínqo | kanáy  | kanínqu | kanáy   | kanáy       | kanáy       | kanáy       | ?           |
| 4. <i>so that</i>        | qagód    | qagúd  | básiq   | básiq   | básiq       | básiq       | básiq       | qagúd       |
| 5. <i>maybe</i>          | básiq    | kadáka | ?       | ?       | báŋin       | báŋin       | báŋin       | básiq       |
| 6. <i>and</i>            | kag      | kag    | nan     | nan     | ŋan         | ŋan         | ŋan         | nan         |
| 7. <i>later on</i>       | kunína   | didáq  | didáq   | duqún   | qunína      | qunína      | qunína      | ?           |
| 8. qi(+)-                | -        | +      | -       | +       | +           | +           | +           | +           |
| 9. ha(+)-                | -        | -      | -       | -       | +           | +           | +           | -           |
| 10. <i>afternoon</i>     | hápon    | hápun  | hápun   | hápun   | kəlép       | kəlép       | kulúp       | hápun       |
| 11. <i>all</i>           | tanán    | tanán  | tanán   | qintíru | ŋatanán     | ŋatanán     | ŋatanán     | tanán       |
| 12. <i>bird</i>          | píspis   | sapát  | bayúnŋ  | támsi   | támsi       | támsi       | támsi       | ?           |
| 13. <i>earth</i>         | dútaq    | dútaq  | dútaq   | qíŋud   | túnaq       | túnaq       | túnaq       | dútaq       |
| 14. <i>egg</i>           | qítlog   | qítlug | bunáy   | bunáy   | bunáy       | bunáy       | bunáy       | qítlug      |
| 15. <i>finger nail</i>   | kukúh-   | kukúh- | kukú    | kulúq   | kulú        | kulú        | kulú        | kukú        |
| 16. <i>good</i>          | maqáyo   | maqáyu | mayád   | mayád   | maqúpay     | maqúpay     | maqúpay     | maqázu      |
| 17. <i>town</i>          | bánwa    | lúŋsud | bánwa   | búŋtu   | búŋtu       | búŋtu       | búŋtu       | lúŋsud      |
| 18. <i>speak</i>         | hámbal   | sábi   | sábi    | sábi    | yakán       | yakán       | yakán       | súlti       |
| 19. <i>talk, tell</i>    | súgid    | súmat  | súmat   | súmat   | súmat       | súmat       | súmat       | súgid       |
| 20. <i>wet</i>           | basáq    | basáq  | basáq   | hulús   | hulús       | hulús       | hulús       | basáq       |
| 21. <i>white</i>         | putíq    | putíq  | putíq   | putíq   | buság       | buság       | buság       | putíq       |
| 22. <i>play</i>          | hámpaŋ   | kánam  | kanám   | quyág   | quyág       | quyág       | múlay       | ?           |

A close relationship between Gub and N-S is indicated by the high scores from the lexicostatistical and functor comparisons (Table 52b), although Gub scores highest with its neighbour, Sor. However, note that the Gub : N-S score obtained from the comparison of functors was 9% higher than the lexicostatistical score (see discussion p.198). Further indications of the linguistic proximity of Gub to N-S are the following shared features (none of which is found in the immediately surrounding members of the CBs chain, e.g., Sor, Mas, S-L, although none of them is clearly an innovation): N-S, Gub *bagá red* (other Bs \**pulá*, note PPH \**baRáh glowing embers*); N-S, Gub *qimúd to see* (most other Bs \**kítaq*); N-S, Gub *sayúq one*; N-S, Gub *híwaq mouth* (most other Bs \**báqbaq*); N-S, Gub *duqún there (near addressee)* (Tag, Pandan Bk *duqún yonder*); N-S *kánya*, Gub *kaníya his, her* (Tag *kanyá*); N-S, Gub *kaníra their* (Tag *kanilá*); N-S, Gub *máqu comparative particle* (Ceb *máqu*); N-S, Gub *qákuq mine, qámuq ours '(excl)', qátuq ours '(incl)'*, (Ceb *qákuq*, Odg *qákoq mine*, etc., but all other CBs \**qákən*, etc.); and the loss of pre-consonantal PCP \**l* (see 10.1.1.).

McFarland (1974:99-100) also notes some putative lexical innovations between Gub and one or another S-L dialect: Gub, S-L *gáhuy to call*; Gub, S-L *híran to quarrel*; Gub, N-S *ma-hugús skinny*; Gub, N-S *kuyíŋ cat*; Gub, S-L *pasakáy ricefield*; Gub, S-L *sunáq bright*; Gub, S-L *tádi to taste*; Gub, S-L *tánkut to guess*; and Gub, S-L *hábul wound, injury*.

Thus, Gub is here considered to be a member of the Warayan subgroup of CBs, because (1) Gub scores significantly higher with Warayan innovations than does its neighbour Sor, with which Gub otherwise scores high; and (2) Gub shares a number of innovations or features of otherwise limited distribution with N-S, which is clearly in the Warayan group.

### 12.3. THE PERIPHERAL SUBGROUP OF CENTRAL BISAYAN

The remaining (i.e., non-Warayan) CBs dialects which scored high with one another on the basis of the 25 CBs innovations (Table 63) are considered to be in one subgroup, which may be called the Peripheral Subgroup of CBs. Note that these same dialects (Cam, Hil/Cap, Mas, Sor) also scored high with one another in a comparison based on the meanings of the 22 Warayan innovations (Table 64). Those dialects that scored below 10 in Table 63 will each be considered as separate subgroups (viz: Romblon, Banton, and Cebuano) in subsequent sections of this chapter.

Wolff (1967c) was the first to clarify the position of Cam. He discusses the Cam sub-stratum which is cognate with many innovations

or basic functors in S-L, but the heavy Ceb overlay in vocabulary, which makes Cam appear to be "overwhelmingly Cebuano." He also notes:

Further, even if we do hypothesize that the Camotes dialect should be grouped with S-L Bisayan as opposed to Cebuano, this grouping does not rule out the possibility that other Bisayan languages should not also be put into the same group. A cursory glance at Hiligaynon grammar indicates that Hiligaynon shares many of these innovations with the Camotes dialect and S-L as opposed to Cebuano, and perhaps the true historical picture is that of a S-L-Hiligaynon-Camotes type of Bisayan as opposed to Cebuano. [78, footnote 4]

Although data on Cam are still inadequate (there are six lacunae in Table 62, four in Table 65), the Cam scores in Tables 63 and 64 establish Cam as a CBs dialect, closest to Mas and Hil (in the Peripheral Group), and not particularly close to any Warayan dialect (on the basis of the innovations treated herein).

It should be noted that the establishment of the Peripheral Group is based (1) on the evidence of the uniformly high scores from the various tests applied in this study (lexicostatistics, functors, and innovations); (2) on the contrastive evidence that none of the members of this group share a significant number of Warayan, Romblon, or Banton innovations; but (3) not on a single known shared innovation within this group alone. It is probable that these dialects separated from CBs and from each other at approximately the same time, so that they show relatively co-ordinate percentages with each other and retain a somewhat similar number of CBs innovations. Since separation each has gone its own way, with Cam under influence from Ceb; Hil from WBs; and Mas-Sor from Bk.

#### 12.4. THE ROMBLON SUBGROUP

Romblon (and its dialects on Tablas and Sibuyan Islands) have become different from other CBs dialects in that they have borrowed heavily from WBs dialects or from Odg. While such subsequent borrowing is clearly a kind of innovation (Hockett 1958:394ff), it is not here directly relevant to the question of the genetic relationship of Rom with other CBs dialects.

The only possible innovations within Rom are:

- (1a) indefinite genitive common-noun marker *niŋ*, as opposed to
- (1b) definite genitive common-noun marker *naŋ*. Note other CBs \**siŋ* indefinite, \**saŋ* definite; Bik *niŋ* indefinite genitive, Tag *naŋ* general genitive marker.
- (2) *gánqot* *sweat*, generally CBs \**bálhas*, PMP \**húlas*.
- (3) *bayón* *drunk*, generally CBs \**həbég*. Note IBk *bayún* *bird*.
- (4) *púwak* *throat*, generally PBS \**təténlan* or PCP \**tiláquk(an)*.

(5) *lupús easy*.

(6) *táyog earwax*, generally PBS, PSP \*qatulí, \*tutulí.

Forms in Rom borrowed from WBs were listed in Chapter 11. Rom, like Odg, has also some forms in common with coastal Bikol dialects, perhaps indirectly borrowed through Mas: Rom, Mas, Sor, CBk *sínda*, Ban, Odg, Sib *sínra they*; Rom, CBk *qíndu*, Ban, Odg, Sib *qínro yours*; Rom *qúyo*, Odg *ka-qúyo*, Mas *qudúq*, Naga *qudúq to defecate*.

#### 12.5. THE BANTON SUBGROUP

Banton, Sibale, and Odionganon comprise the Banton subgroup, which is intermediate between WBs and CBs. This group has several exclusively-shared features which appear to be innovations:

(1) Ban, Odg, Sib *kag* nominative marker, most other Bs \**aŋ*, but Ceb (dial) *qag*. The *k-* is probably the result of analogy with the nominative deictics: *kalí*, *kináq*, *kató*.

(2) Ban, Odg, Sib *nak* ligature, other Bs \**ŋa* or \**na* (4.3.6.1.).

(3) Ban, Odg, Sib *qey now*, *already* completive particle, WBs \**rən*, all other Bs, CPh, MPh *na*.

(4) Ban, Odg, Sib *ŋásin today*, *now* (see Table 61, for other CBs forms).

(5) Ban, Odg, Sib *qinsulíp tomorrow*, other CBs *buwás*.

(6) Ban, Odg, Sib *qiság later on* (see Table 61 for other CBs).

(7) Ban, Sib *subálin*, Odg *sabálin maybe*, *perhaps*, most other dialects reflect PBS \**básiq*, Warayan \**báŋin*.

(8) Loss of *-n-* in nominal interrogatives: Ban, Odg, Sib *naqóh* (CBs \**nánu*) *what?*, *siqóh* (PCP \**siqnuh*) *who?*, *kaniqó* (PCP \**kaniqnuh*) *whose?*

(9) Ban, Odg, Sib *guyá ~ gurq-* *to laugh*, WBs \**kádlaw*, other Bs \*(*ka*)*táwa-*.

(10) Ban, Odg, Sib, and Rom *háli sibling*, but WBs \**libáyən*, Ceb *-súqun*, SBs \**lúmun*, other Bs \**qutúd*, \**búgtuq*, \**máŋhud*.

(11) Ban, Odg, Sib *sukáh bone*, other Bs \**túlqan*, \**bakég*.

There are two forms unique to the Banton group among Bs dialects, but they are independent retentions, and therefore serve only as contrastive features:

(12) Ban, Odg, Sib *kidámot*, Siocon Subanon *koyamut finger*, most other Bs \**túdluq*.

(13) Ban, Odg, Sib *ŋísih*, Siocon and Sindangan Subanon *ŋisi tooth*, other Bs \**ŋípən*, \**qúntu*.

Besides those forms listed above in 12.4. as being shared with Rom and CBk, the Banton group also has *taqó* (WBs, Bk \**taquí-*) *to give*; Ban,

Odg, Sib, WBs, Buhí and Daraga Bk qíndiq *not* future negative preverb. WBs innovations borrowed by members of the Banton group were noted in Chapter 11 (Nos. 8, 10?, 29, 33, and 50 qilám).

Because of its lower scores with most other Bs dialects on any of the comparisons used in this study, it may be proposed that the Banton group was one of the first Bs groups in its area. Later, after Rom and the WBs dialects moved in and surrounded the group, Banton began to borrow heavily from the (perhaps more prestigious) newcomers, so that (like the Camotes dialect) its original source was obscured. Even so, there are a few indications that the Banton group has a Cebuan substratum, most closely related to Boholano dialects:

(1) The -haq oblique deictic base: Ban, Odg, Sib ra-háq, Boh, Ceb di-háq *there (near addressee)*, usually \*-an, \*-tun, \*-un, or \*-daq in other Bs dialects.

(2) The k- nominative deictic formative: Ban, Odg, Sib kalí *this*, kináq *that*, katóh *yon*, Boh, Ceb kirí *this (nearest speaker)*, kiní *this (near speaker and addressee)*, kanáq *that*, kádtu *yon*.

(3) The Ceb and Boh qag (dialectal) nominative common-noun marker may be related to Ban, Odg, Sib kag (viz: k- in #2 above + ag element). No other Bs dialect surveyed has a final -g in the marking system, only -n, -ŋ, or -∅ (see Tables 17 and 58); also note Cebuan qug genitive marker.

(4) The word order of the phrase reconstructable for PBS \*wadáq ku pa *I have not yet...* is changed in Odg quyáq pa nákoq, Sib wayáq pa nákoq, Boh waáq pa náhuq, Jau wayáq pa nákuq; i.e., the loss of the enclitic pronoun form \*ku in this construction may constitute an innovation, thereby putting the enclitic \*pa *still, yet* after the negative, and the full post-positive genitive pronoun last.

(5) Although Odg scores highest with Rom, and appears to be intermediate between WBs and CBs, there is contrastive evidence that it should be grouped to the south (i.e., with Ceb, Boh). None of the surrounding WBs, Rom, Hil, or Mas dialects have the -q genitive pronoun forms, yet Ban, Odg, Sib, Boh, Ceb, Ley reflect PCP \*ákəq, \*áməq, and \*átəq. Also, WBs and Rom have the oblique personal-name marker kay, while Ban, Odg, Sib have kaŋ, like the Cebuan group.

While far from conclusive, the above evidence deserves consideration in the light of future research on the substrata and superstrata of Ban and other Bs dialects.

## 12.6. THE CEBUAN SUBGROUP

Boh, Ley, and numerous dialects of Ceb (spread throughout eastern Negros, Cebu, and Mindanao) make up the Cebuan subgroup, which is inter-

mediate between CBs and SBs. There are a number of exclusively-shared features which appear to be innovations of this group:

- (1) Boh, Ley, Ceb *qug* indefinite genitive marker.
- (2) Boh, Ley, Ceb *qún̄sa* *what?* (from PCP \**qún̄nuh* + Ceb, SBs \**sa* report particle, with syncope).
- (3) Boh, Ley, Ceb *kínsa* *who?* (from PBS \**sín̄quh*, with replacement of \**s-* by Cebuan *k-* nominative formative as on deictics, plus \**sa* report particle, with syncope).
- (4) Boh, Ley *qún̄jaq*, Ceb *qún̄yaq* *later on (same day)*.
- (5) Boh, Ley, Ceb *ganíha* *earlier (same day)*. Other Bs \**kanína* or \**kaqína*.
- (6) Boh, Ley, Ceb *ga-* past time prefix, as in *ga-níha* *earlier*, *ga-hápun* *yesterday*, *ga-bíqi* *last night*. Other Bs \**ka-*, as in \**ka-nína* *earlier*, \**ka-hápun* *yesterday*, \**ka-bíqi* *last night*, etc.
- (7) Loss of \**k-* in certain discourse particles: Ceb, Boh, Ley *qúntaq* < PBS \**kúntaq* optative particle; Ceb, Boh, Ley *qanúgun* < PBS \**kanúgun* regret particle.

Because not enough data are available from most Ceb dialects, a thorough study leading to the establishment of Cebuan lexical innovations has yet to be made. The following appear to be lexical items exclusively shared by and limited to Ceb, Boh, Ley:

- (8) Ceb, Boh, Ley *páqak* *bite*, most other Bs \**kagát*.
- (9) Ceb, Boh, Ley *qig-qágaw* *cousin*, WBs, Ogd, Rom, Hil, Mas *paka-qisá*, War *patúd*, Cam, SBs *tágsa*.
- (10) Ceb, Boh, Ley *búntag*, borrowed into Sur, Jau; otherwise Bs \**qágah* *morning*.
- (11) Ceb, Boh, Ley *duqúl* *near*, most other Bs \**rapít* or \**raní*.
- (12) Ceb, Boh, Ley *dúlaq* *to play*.
- (13) Ceb, Boh, Ley *siñút*, borrowed into Cam; otherwise CBs \**bálhas*, most other Bs \**húlas* *sweat*.
- (14) Ceb, Boh, Ley *balibág* *throw away*, other Bs \**pilák*, \**rabák*.

There are more speakers of Cebuan dialects than any other Bs dialect or any other Ph language. They are spread over a wide area (see Map 5), often living in communities where other Bs dialects are spoken. Ceb and Boh traders and fishermen have been in contact with just about every other Bs community, and most CPh and SPh languages. As a result of this contact, loanwords have passed freely from Ceb into other dialects, and from other dialects into Ceb; yet the lexicostatistical and functor scores indicate that Ceb is related only distantly to any other Bs dialect (Sur, Jau, and War). Although the lexicostatistical percentages have been inflated to some degree (e.g., Hil : Ceb), the functor scores

clearly indicate the genetic distance between Ceb and other Bs dialects. Similarly, Ceb appears to have a greater number of common innovations within its own subgroup than any of its members share with any other Bs subgroup (for example, see Table 63). Nevertheless, since Ceb is intermediate between CBs and SBs and, further, is a member of the Bs dialect complex (where absolute splits have not occurred), it shares a small number of CBs and of SBs innovations (see above and next chapter).



## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

### GENETIC EVIDENCE FOR THE SOUTH BISAYAN SUBGROUP

The functor comparison indicates a higher degree of diversity among SBs dialects than does the lexicostatistical comparison, but this is probably the result of a normalizing effect of Ceb loanwords upon the vocabulary. In each case, dialects of the Surigao area (Sur, Jau, Nat and Kan) score comparatively high with one another; and But maintains a roughly co-ordinate relationship with the various Surigao dialects. In both comparisons, Tausug shows a significant rise in score when compared with But; although the Tsg : But scores fall somewhat below the required minimum for inclusion within Bs, the comparatively high scores probably indicate a genetic connection undone by years of separation. In Chapter 10 it was shown that Tsg shares enough posited PBS innovations to justify its inclusion within Bs on a genetic basis. It will be shown below that Tsg additionally shares a number of SBs and But innovations, and must therefore be included within the Bisayan group of Philippine languages.

#### 13.1. SOUTH BISAYAN INNOVATIONS

Since Tsg separated quite early from Bs, it serves as a good test language for SBs innovations; that is, due to the complex linguistic situation on north-eastern Mindanao (see 2.5.), the presence of a cognate form in Kamayo, Davaweño, Mamanwa, Dibabawon, or Binukid does not per se invalidate a proposed SBs innovation so long as it is found in Tsg, but not in any other known Bs dialect or Austronesian language.

(1) Ceb, Boh, Sur, Nat, But, Kamayo *bagáq thick* < SBs \**bagáq*; replaces PCP \**dakməl* > Rom *dákmoy*, Hil, Mas, War, Tsg *dákmul*, Kamayo *dakmúu*, Mansaka, Kalagan *dakməl*, Kagayanen *dakməl*. SBs \**bagáq thick* is a semantic innovation of PAN \**baRəq*, PMP \**bagáq abscess, boil*.

(2) Ceb, Jau, Nat, But, Tsg bukúg, Boh, Sur bəkég *bone* (in general, but especially human) < SBs \*bəkég; note Mamanwa, Dibabawon bəkəg, Ata bokog, Kagayanen bəkkəg *bone*, Akl bukóg, S-L bəkég *spine (of fish)*; to *choke on bone or spine*. Replaces PPH \*tuqlan, \*tuqlan *bone*.

(3) Ceb, Boh, Sur, Jau, Tsg, Kamayo bútuq *testicles* < SBs \*bútuq; semantic innovation from PHS \*butuq *penis* (cf: Malay butuh, Akl bótoq). Other Bs dialects reflect \*lásug, \*lagáy, or euphemism \*qítlug *eggs*.

(4) Sur, Jau, Nat, But, Tsg, Kamayo dahún *leaf* < SBs \*dahún, shift of accent from PPH \*dáhun.

(5) Sur dəyém, Jau duyúm, Nat, But, Tsg, Kamayo duúm *night* < SBs \*dəlém, from original PSP \*dəlém *dark*; all other Bs dialects reflect PMP \*gab(í)qih. Aborlan and Palawano dələm may be borrowed from Palawan Tsg dialects, or independent semantic innovations; if not, then SBs \*dəlém is an independent retention differentiating SBs dialects from the other members of the Bs group.

(6) Sur, But, Kamayo duqút *other side* < SBs \*duqút; most other Bs \*luyú or PSP \*DipaR.

(7) Ceb dúhul *hand over*, Sur dúhuy *to give*, Tsg díhil (with assimilation of original \*ə to \*i of instrumental prefix hi-, viz: \*hi-déhəl > hi-dihil, see 9.1.3. #3) < SBs \*déhəl *to give*.

(8) Ceb, Boh gáhiq, Sur, Jau, But gahíq (with accent shift) *hard (substance)* < SBs \*gáhiq; note Mamanwa ma-gahiq.

(9) Ceb, Boh, Sur, Nat, Jau, But, Kamayo gamáy *few, little (amount)* < SBs \*gamáy; note Mamanwa gəzəmay Id., an early borrowing from Sur gəyamáy (plural form, with <Vr> > <Vy> infix).

(10) Ceb, Boh, Sur, Jau, But, Kamayo gawás *to go out, exit* < SBs \*gawás. Most other Bs dialects reflect PBS \*guwáq.

(11) Ceb, Sur, Jau, But gúnit, Jau (alt) gunút (with unexplained assimilation of i to u) *to hold (in hand)* < SBs \*gúnit. Most other Bs \*kapét > Kin, Pan, Sem kapét, Blk, Hil, Ceb, Mas, Tsg kapút; some other dialects \*háwid > Sem, Kuy qáwid, Rom, Ceb, Nat háwid.

(12) Ceb, Jau, But háqit, Boh, Sur, Tsg, Kamayo haqít *sharp* < SBs \*haqit; borrowed by Mamanwa ma-haqit, Dibabawon, Binukid ma-háqit. Most other Bs dialects reflect PSP \*tadəm > Kin, Pan, Sem, Kuy tarém, Blk, Sor, Gub, Mas tarúm, Odg, Rom tayóm, Akl tałúm, Hil, Cap talúm.

(13a) Jau hágas, Tsg hagashágas, Kamayo hagás *to whisper* < SBs \*hágas.

(13b) Ceb, Boh, But húnhuŋ *to whisper* < SBs \*húnhuŋ. Other Bs \*hutík > Mas, Akl hutìkhútik, Blk, Pan, Rom, Hil hutík; or \*hudín > War hurín, Mas hurìnhurín.

(14) Cam, Ceb, Jau, But hántud, Boh hántəd, Kamayo hantúd *until* < SBs \*hántəd; Mamanwa hantəd.

(15) But huwáq, Tsg mag-huláq, Sur húyaq (accent shift unexplained) to *live, dwell (in, at)* < SBs \*həláq; Mamanwa həlaq, Kamayo huyáq (borrowed from Sur). Other Bs \*puyúq > Akl, Kin, Hil, S-L, Ceb puyúq.

(16) Sur, Jau, But, Tsg hílam, Sur (dial) húyam (with unexplained u) *mosquito* < SBs \*hílam; note Kamayo híram, Ata, Dibabawon hilam. Replaces PAN \*ñamuk, PSP \*namúk, \*lamúk.

(17) Sur, Jau, But, Tsg, Kamayo qínday (*I don't know* ignorance particle < SBs \*qinday; Boh qináy, Mamanwa qinday. Note WBS \*qilám, CBS \*qámbut; Bk \*qindá (without final -y).

(18) Sur, But, Ceb qisáb to *repeat* < SBs \*qisáb; Kagayanen, Mamanwa qisab. CBS \*liwát and PMP \*qumán in most other dialects.

(19) Ceb, Boh, But líñin, Sur, Jau, Nat liñín *round* < SBs \*liñin; S-L líñin (from Ceb?); note Kin, Sem liñín *drunk*.

(20) Sur sípəg, Jau, Nat, Tsg sípug, But sípug *ashamed* < SBs \*sípəg; Kamayo sípug, Mamanwa sipəg, Slocon Subanon sipog. Otherwise PHS \*həyáq > Tag hiyáq, Sem, Kuy qəyáq, Akl, Blk, Rom, Hil huyáq, Ban, Odg, Sib hudáq; Kalamian qəyak; or CBS \*qúlaw > S-L, Ceb, Boh qúlaw. Note Bk \*səpəg with unexplained difference in penult vowel.

(21) But, Nat, Tsg, Kamayo taháy *dry* < SBs \*taháy; Mamanwa, Dibabawon tahay. Replaces PPH \*majá-, PSP \*madá- > Kin, Pan, Dsp, Kuy, Mas, War mará-, Akl małá, Hil, Ceb malá, Sur, Jau mayá.

(22) Ceb, Boh, Sur, Jau, But kaqúban *companion* < SBs \*ka-qúban; Binukid kaqúban. Replaces widespread Bs \*ka-qibáh-an.

(23) Ceb, Boh, Ley, S-L, Sur, Jau, Nat, But qug *and* < SBs \*qug. S-L qug is probably borrowed, note Warayan \*ŋan; otherwise there is Kin, Pan, Blk, Dtg, Rom, Hil, Mas kəg, Akl, Ban, Odg, Sib qəg (with unexplained loss of \*k-) < PBS (?) \*kəg.

(24) Sur mə-jupúq, But, Kamayo ha-yupúq *short (not long)* < SBs \*-yupúq. Replaces PCP \*liqput; note WBS \*təgqəd.

### 13.2. THE SURIGAO SUBGROUP

The Surigao subgroup consists of Sur, Jau, Kan, and Nat. Besides high lexicostatistical percentages with one another, and, in the case of Sur : Jau, high percentages on the functor comparison, these dialects share the following lexical innovations, sometimes borrowed into Mamanwa or Kamayo, but not found in any other known speech variety:

(1) Sur, Jau daján, Nat, Kam dayán to *lie on one's back, supine* < Surigao \*dayán. Most other dialects reflect PCP \*(ti)kayáq > Akl, Kin, Blk, Sem, Rom, Hil, Mas, But kayáq, Pan tiŋkəyaq; Naga Bk tikayáq.

(2) Jau dukág, Sur dəkág to *itch* < Surigao \*dəkág; Mamanwa dəkəg. Most other Bs dialects reflect PSP \*katəl (see 8.8.).

(3) Sur, Jau, Kamayo ma-hamúk *many* < Surigao \*-hamúk. Forms vary in other Bs dialects, but note CBS \*dámuq, WBS \*rakéq, PPH \*dakól.

(4) Jau, Kamayo hurút *all*, Ceb hurút *to consume, use up* < Surigao \*hurút *all*.

(5) Sur, Jau kumán *now, today* < Surigao \*kumán; Mamanwa kuman qaidaw. Note Banton group kumán *earlier (same day)*.

(6) Boh, Ceb, Sur, Jau píkás *other side* < SBs \*píkás; normally Ceb píkás means *to split, cut in half*; *other side* is pákas, luyu.

(7) Sur, Jau, Kamayo silúm, Sur (dial) silém *tomorrow* < Surigao \*silém; Mamanwa kun-siləm. Note But-Tsg \*kunsələm, Mansakan \*kisələm; other Bs have CBS \*buwás, Ceb, Bk \*qəgmaq.

### 13.3. THE BUTUAN-TAUSUG SUBGROUP

That Tausug is closely related to Bs is indicated by a number of shared features and innovations (surveyed in Chapter 10); note in particular the replacement of PMP \*s- in functors by h- in Tsg, But, and S-L (10.4.). Several innovations in basic vocabulary have been surveyed (10.6.1.), among which may be included: Mas, Sor, S-L, But hágkut, War hádkut (dissimilation), Tsg (+ Samal) hággut (assimilation) < PBS \*hágkut *cold*; War, Tsg hágpay *cold*; each form replaces an established PSP \*gənáw, PMP \*damíg *cold*.

Shift of accent (loss of length) in a few forms is a shared feature of Tsg and SBs dialects, see #4 and #12 in 13.1., but note But, Tsg, Kamayo liqúg, Tag liqíg *neck* < PPH \*líqəR.

A subgroup consisting of But and Tsg is further confirmed by the following exclusively-shared lexical innovations:

(1) But paņasúbu, Tsg qasúbu *to ask (question)* < But-Tsg \*[q]asúbu. Most Bs dialects reflect PHS \*paņutána-.

(2) But, Tsg bugáq *fear, be afraid* < But-Tsg \*bugáq. Replaces PAN \*takut, PSP \*haldák, PBS \*hádłək.

(3) But, Tsg daqák *to command, order* < But-Tsg \*daqák. Replaces PHS, PPH \*súRuq, PBS \*súguq.

(4) But, Tsg daqíg *nearby* < But-Tsg \*daqíg. Replaces \*dapít \*daní found in other Bs dialects, Ceb duqúl.

(5) But, Tsg dúgsuq *to stab* < But-Tsg \*dúgsuq. Replaces PAN bunuq, PBS \*bunúq.

(6) But qátud (with unexplained loss of \*h-), Tsg h<um>átud *to look at, watch* < But-Tsg \*[h]átud. Replaces PPH \*tanqáw.

(7) But hináqat, Tsg ma-hináqat *morning* < But-Tsg \*hináqat. Other Bs \*qágah, Ceb búntag.

(8) But *ma-nyát* (metathesis), Tsg *ma-qinát to know (how)* < But-Tsg \*[q]inát. Note Tag *qinát to watch out, take care*.

(9) But, Tsg *kawáq to take, get* < But-Tsg \**kawáq*. Replaces PCP \**kúhaq* > Hil, Mas, War, Ceb, Sur, Jau *kúhaq*; Tag, Pandan Bk *kúhaq*.

(10) But *kunsuúm*, Tsg *kunsúm tomorrow* < But-Tsg *kun-sələm* (see #7 in 13.2.).

(11) But *ma-áqas*, Tsg *m-aqás old, aged (person)*; Mamanwa, Binukid *ma-laqas* < But-Tsg \**ma-laqás*; otherwise PSP \**gúdaŋ*, WBS \**málqam*.

(12) But, Tsg, Kamayo *lígu winnowing basket* < But, Tsg \**lígu*; with unexplained initial \**l-*, note PPH \**níRu*, PBS \**nígu*.

(13) But, Tsg *náqa* patience particle *first, please* < But-Tsg \**náqa*; possibly reshaped from PBS \**qánay* found in many other Bs dialects.

(14) But, Tsg *ma-sáwa bright* < But-Tsg \**sáwa*. Other dialects reflect PCP \**háyaq*, \**liwánag*, \**páwaq*.

(15) But, Tsg *ma-taqúd*, Mamanwa *ma-taqəd many* < But-Tsg \**taqéd*.

(16) But *panalínhug*, Tsg *t<um>a(q)ínhug to listen* < But-Tsg \**talínhug*; <sup>91</sup> possibly reformed on analogy of PHS \**talínah ear* + PHS \**DəŋÉR to listen, hear*. Most Bs dialects reflect \**památiq*.

(17) But, Tsg *qugúd to itch* < But-Tsg \**qugúd*. Other Bs dialects reflect PSP \**katəl*.



## N O T E S

1. For example, see Constantino (1971), Dyen (1953a) Llamzon (1969), Verstraelen (1961 and 1962), and the works cited in footnote 2.

2. See Carroll (1960), Chretien (1962), Conant (1911 and 1912), Dyen (1965a), Llamzon (1973), Pittman et al. (1953), or Thomas and Healey (1962). Consult the index in Ward (1971) for references on Aklan, Bisayan, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Ilongo, Kiniray-a, Kuyonon, Major Languages, Ratagnon, Samar-Leyte, Sulod, and Waray-Waray.

3. McFarland (1974) has independently developed a similar method of comparing functors which he calls "morphemic differentiae analysis".

4. Among the dialects in the western Visayan region (see Map 1) and in Tagalog the accent falls on the penult, thus Akl, Hil, Kin, Rom, Odg, Tag, etc, bisáyáq; in the eastern Visayan region it falls on the ultima, thus, S-L, N-S, Ceb, Boh, Sur, But, etc. bisayáq. The external evidence from Tag, if not a borrowing, suggests PBS \*bisáyáq. The eastern dialects could have "regularised" the accent based on an analogy with the language name binisayáq [i.e., with the <in>(+) infix, leaving all derivatives with accent on the ultima].

5. Techniques and problems involved in fieldwork and the collection or collation of data are taken up in Samarin (1967), A. Healey (1964), Laycock (1970), and Zorc (1974a), and need not be discussed here.

6. The terms Eastern Mansakan and Western Mansakan are those of Gallman. His subgrouping is based on a limited number of historical phonological mergers; e.g., PSP \*h, \*q > PMK \*q and PSP \*r, \*l > PMK \*l are considered as distinguishing marks of the dialects he treats. However,

the addition of Kamayo and Davaweño changes this picture since both require the reconstruction of PMK \*h, while Kamayo necessitates PMK \*r. Both are indubitably within Mansakan. The loss of PMP \*-q- is considered by Gallman to be a feature of Western Mansakan, but lexicostatistical evidence puts Isamal closer to Mansaka than to Kalagan. Definitive genetic subgrouping of Mansakan awaits further data and study.

7. Zorc (1974b) discusses the internal and possible external relations of the North and South Mangyan languages of Mindoro.

8. Of the 43 speech varieties presented in Reid, 17 are NPh (Agta, Atta, Balangaw, Bontoc, Dumagat, Gaddang, Amganad Ifugao, Batad Ifugao, Bayninan Ifugao, Ilongot, Inibaloi, Isneg, Itneg, Kalinga, Kayapa Kallahan, Keleyqiq Kallahan, and Kankanay), 20 are SPh (Binukid, Itbayaten, Ivatan, Batak, Kalagan, Mamanwa, Ata, Dibabawon, Ilianen, Kalamansig Cotabato, Sarangani, Tigwa, Western Bukidnon Manobo, Mansaka, Sambal, Sindangan Subanon, Siocon Subanon, Aborlan Tagbanwa, Kalamian Tagbanwa, and Tausug), and the remaining six are members of non-Ph groups (Koronadal Bilaan, Sarangani Bilaan, Tagabili; Samal; Sangil, Sangir). I was able to gather data independently on Tausug, Aborlan, Batak, Kalamian Tagbanwa, and Samal, in which cases I cross-checked my data against those in Reid.

9. Bashlic is Yamada's term for what Dyen (1965a:31) calls the Ivatan subgroup of Philippine languages. The group includes: Yami, Itbayaten, Divasay Ivatanen, and Saamorong Ivatanen. Scheerer (1908:90-97 passim) proposed that Ivatan was a co-ordinate member of the Philippine group, having no special connections with any other Ph language or subgroup. Dyen's conclusions, based on lexicostatistical percentages, also indicated that Ivatan was an independent Ph group, roughly co-ordinate with the Cordilleran and Sulic hesions. Prentice (1970:369) suggested that Ivatan may be a distant relative of the Dusun and Murut groups of Sabah, but he has since retracted that position (personal communication). On the basis of the merger of PAN \*R and \*y, a nominative pronoun set with a y- formative, and a number of cognate lexical items with an unexplained prothetic \*a-, Zorc (1974b) suggests a possible Ph subgroup including Ivatan (Bashlic), Sambal, Kapampangan, and North Mangyan (Iraya, Alangan, Tadyawan).

10. Both Harold Conklin and Antoon Postma have called my attention to this kind of song among the Hanunoo, and its cultural impact.



11. On the basis of lexicostatistical criteria, phonological isoglosses, and his "morphemic differentiae analysis", McFarland concludes "that both Tagalog and Standard Bikol are more similar to Central Bisayan than they are to each other" (McFarland 1974:299).

12. See 2.5. and Zorc 1974a. Elements in the basic vocabulary of Kagayanen such as *lənəssá blood*, *tunúga sleep*, *kíləm night*, *lángit skin*, *lasúq penis*, *búqul knee*, etc. reveal Manobo innovations. The syntax is also Manobolike, except where Manobo has no equivalent, e.g., a preposed genitive pronoun system (viz: *ákəq my*, *ímu thy*, *ínyu your*, *átəq our inclusive*, etc.) which is borrowed from some Bs dialect(s).

13. Some of the ESLF's he proposed for NPh are also found in Bs (but were not available to him), and can therefore be posited as PPH. PNP *\*qíli town, place* (95) also Akl, Ceb *qilíh-an place, remote area* < PPH *\*[]ílih place*; PNP *qáwid keep/draw back* (95) also Sem *qáwid*, Akl, Rom, Ceb *háwid hold (in hand), restrain* < PPH *\*háwid keep, hold*; Ilokano *básul*, Ifugao, Kalinga *bábul fault, sin* (96) also Akl *básoi*, Kin, Blk, Mas, S-L, Ceb, Sur *básul to blame* < PPH *\*básul to find fault (with)*; Ilokano, Ibanag *bubún water well* (107) also Akl, Kin, Kuy, Rom, Hil, Mas *bubún open well* < PPH *\*bubún well*; etc.

14. He posits Ceb, Hil, S-L *kabúg* as an "emerging form" (5), but it is found in Tag *kabág* (from Kapampangan?), Maranao, Títuray *kabəg*, Western Bukidnon Manobo *kavəg* < PSP *\*kabé[gR] fruit bat*. Note also PNP *\*qáwid* but PBS *\*háwid* (above in note 13).

15. According to these legends, ten *datus* (leaders) fled the wicked rule of *Datu Makatunaw* in Borneo. Of these, *Datu Putíq* eventually returned to Borneo to face *Makatunaw*, two (*Dumaŋsil* and *Balinsuila*) landed at *Taal* and became the progenitors of the Tagalogs, and the remainder settled on *Panay*. *Sumakwil* became the most powerful leader, ruling over *Hamtik* (Antique Province) with four overseers (*Paduhinug*, *Lubay*, *Dumalugdug*, and *Dumaŋsul*), while *Paiburəŋ* became the ruler of *Iroŋ-Iroŋ* (Iloilo), and *Baŋkaya* held sway in *Aklan*. The legends have a serious gap in that no account is ever given of other Bs communities (such as *Cebuanos*, *Warays*, etc.). [Consult *Santaren* (1956), *Harrisson* (1956), and *Carreon* (1957).]

16. Note the high order of diversity among the dialects of *Subanon*, *Manobo*, and *Danao* (cf: *Dyen* 1965a, *Elkins* 1974, *Allison* 1974). The plausibility and significance of diversity theory is discussed in some detail by *Dyen* (1965a:15-16, 53-57).

17. Glottochronology, particularly in the Philippines, has not been proven a valid or accurate measure of time depths. Glottochronological computations, based on lexicostatistical scores (see Chapter 6), may give some indication as to the time of the breakup of the Bs and CPh communities. In this study, the lowest score of any Bs dialect pair is 63% (Kin-Ceb), which indicates a separation of about 1,065 years. Tsg has its highest score with But (79%), but its lowest with Kin, Hil, and Mas (59%); its overall average with 13 key Bs dialects is 64.0%, suggesting approximately the same length of separation from the Bs community as a whole. The range of scores for Tag is from 65% (with Mas) down to 55% (with But), having an overall average of 61.15% with the 13 Bs dialects compared, suggesting a period of separation of approximately 1,129 years. Granting a liberal margin for error and for differences in computation (Dyen's scores obtained with a 196-meaning list were as much as 10% lower), it can be proposed that the Bs community began to diverge as long ago as 1,400 years (c.600 A.D., based on a lower percentage of 54%), but no later than 900 years ago (c.1075 A.D., based on the higher percentage of 66%). The difficulty, of course, is that we are dealing with dialects where absolute splits have not occurred.

18. According to Ashley (1963:11-12) Tsg additionally has the consonants *j* and *ñ*: *jagah guard*, *mag-janjiq promise*, *bajuq clothing*; *ñulih (bird)*, *ma-ñukñuk fine, not rough*, *buñug follow behind*. Both are doubtless the result of long-standing contact with Indonesian languages and words of Muslim origin. According to Llamzon (1973a:13-14) some Tsg dialects (e.g., Look) have a fourth vowel, /ə/, and therefore belong in Group B of Table 6.

19. For the obscuring of word accent in Balangao, a NPh language, see Shetler and Fetzer (1964).

20. Except in the Banton group, where the form is Ban, Odg, Sib *rílaq*; for initial *d-* in this group there is Ban, Odg, Sib *damót hand*. In most dialects of Kuy the last syllable of every full word is stressed, so the forms are Kuy *diláq tongue*, *nipáq (palm)*, etc.

21. S-L and War have this cluster in the infix <inm> past punctual active (l<inm>*akát left*) and in the prefix panN- (nan-máhaw [plural subjects] *ate breakfast*, p<in>*an-mú-mutús [plural] are wrapped*). The doubled monosyllables \*manman, \*mənmen, \*minmin, or \*munmun may exist, but have not been observed.

22. This is probably a relatively recent introduction to Tausug due to the various Samalan substrata or superstrata, where such clusters are permitted; note Tsg *bissarah speech* (Malay *bicara*), *maggaas kaingin agriculture* (Samal), *qakkal wisdom* (Arabic), *qappaq grandfather* (Samal). Assimilation within native words also accounts for some of these clusters, e.g., Tsg *bihattu like that* from \**biya-hadtu*.

23. This morphophonemic alternation has to do with the dialectal merger of PCP and PBS \*-d-, \*-l- > \*-l- and the subsequent change of l in various dialects, e.g., to Akl ɭ, Ban, Odg, Sib, Kaw, Sur, Jau, Nat, Kan y, Boh, But Ø, etc. Thus, with the exception of a few reshaped forms, this alternation is historically related to that described in 3.4.1., viz., Hil *hi-baló-* is related to PBS \**hi-badú-* *to know*, Akl *maɭáh* to PBS \**madá-* *dry*, etc.

24. Hockett (1955:219-20) was the first to introduce the notion of "shimmering", but in a different sense and with different emphasis than that used here. He discusses the careless articulation of *please pass the piscuits*, and concludes: "Shimmering, then, is a kind of morphophonemic alternation - a kind in addition to all the sorts usually spoken about; a kind which is in a sense least relevant in the analysis of a language, yet which cannot be ignored. . . . Shimmering is sporadic and quite unpredictable." Hockett (1958:273-74) discusses "sporadic alternation" but no longer uses the term "shimmering". Later he notes that "the remaining varieties [of morphophonemic change] are all observable as 'slips of the tongue,' and it has been suggested that a more thorough study of such lapses might teach us more about them". (391)

25. Of the many kinds of word-play noted in the Philippines, one cultural phenomenon, namely the taboo on uttering the names of the recently-deceased for a set period of time, led to many kinds of innovative circumlocutions if the name was identical with or similar in sound to some commonly used term. Thus, say, after the death of a Datu Bulan, *búlan moon* could have - under the terms of the taboo - been changed to \**lúban* or \**núlab* (metathesis), \**búran* or \**búlam* (dissimilation), \**dúlan* (assimilation), or \**púlan* (shimmer). In such a way shimmering could have gained some status among the dialects as an active analogical procedure in innovation, along with other "slips of the tongue".

26. That War <inm> is the metathesis of <umin> rather than a synco-pated form of <inum> is deduced from the distribution of evidence from other SPh languages, e.g., Aborlan, Palawano <umin>, Bikol <umin>, Mamanwa miN-, Ceb, But mi- (these latter two prefixes are formed on an analogy with the PCP \*<umin> infix, see 10.3., #1-2).

27. For further discussion of the temporal use of deictics in Ceb see J. Wolff (1966:10-14, 41-43); in S-L see J. and I. Wolff (1967b: Chapter 2:23-27; Chapter 4:25-28). Zorc (1968c:161-163) takes up the use and meaning of the discourse-oriented deictics in Akl.

28. However, the name of 'God' borrowed from Spanish, diyús, and the local name for the supremely evil being, yáwaq (adapted to mean *Satan*) do not fall into this category; they are marked with common-noun particles (see 4.3.4.).

29. Neither common nouns nor deictics are specified for number, and may therefore be understood (usually from context) as singular or plural in meaning. However, see the discussion of the variety marker, maṇà (4.3.6.8.). Ceb uses qug as an indefinite place marker: díliq ku mu-qádtu-g subáq *I'm not going to go to any river.*

30. The grammatical analysis and most of the examples here are adopted from Wolff (1967b: Chapters 3:28-30, 10:28-30, 19:40-41); any errors in summary or presentation are my own.

31. Bk dialects have a specific topic marker (as opposed to a general one): Legazpi, Virac, Daraga, Oas, Libon, Iriga s-u, Pandan, Buhí y-u.

32. Although the examples given are grammatically well-formed and acceptable in given situations, the preferred construction for pronouns and personal names involves a change in the sentence focus, i.e., topicalisation of the nominal, appropriate change in the voice of the verb and in the case of other nominal complements, thus, Akl na-kítq-an nána [kitáʷsi tomás] kaqína, Ceb na-kítq-an níya [kitáʷsi tumás] ganíha.

33. Bloomfield called this kind of construction a "conjunctive attribute" (1917:162, §122-123).

34. The fact that none of the CBS dialects has this -ŋ alternate of the ligature will be discussed in Chapter 12.1.1. as one criterion for grouping these dialects together.

35. In Ceb and most other dialects pronouns and deictics can only precede the word or phrase they modify.

36. Bloomfield called this kind of construction a "disjunctive attribute" (1917:170, §160-183).

37. This phenomenon will be discussed in more detail as a dialectal feature of CPh languages (Chapter 9.1.4., #13).

38. McFarland (1974:246ff) describes and exemplifies this phenomenon for Bikol area dialects.

39. Historically, the Banton ligature is probably the result of the fusion of the ligature *na* plus the enumerative *ka*, analogically used in all situations of linking or enumeration, i.e., pre-Ban \**limá na ka batág* > *limá nak batág* *five bananas* : \**salamát na gadór* > *salamat nak gadór* *thanks a lot*.

40. Although the English translations are not adjectives, the Bs examples can be inflected for degree, e.g., Akl *mas palahílon* *more* of a *drunkard*, and are therefore adjectives.

41. That is, 4 voices x 3 tenses x 2 Aspect I's x 3 [punctual + durative (Aspect II) + potential (Mode)] = 72 inflectional categories in Table 23. Due to the intersection of some categories (mentioned above), no dialect has the theoretically-possible 144 categories, i.e., 4 voices x 3 modes x 3 tenses x 2 Aspect I's x 2 Aspect II's.

42. There is no inflection for Aspect I (viz: no perfective-imperfective distinction), which therefore yields the following: 4 voices x 3 tenses x 3 [punctual + durative (aspect II) + potential (Mode)] = 36; see Table 25.

43. There are no imperfective actual and aorist punctual forms outside of the active voice; see Tables 24 and 26.

44. Linguists have not been in agreement in terminology; what I call "tenses" have been described as "modes" by I. Wolff (1970) and Bloomfield (1917). I generally follow the terminology of J. Wolff (1972a:xv-xvi) in describing "mode" and "aspect".

45. The intricate semantic and structural relationship between the voice of the verb and the situational role of the topic is called *focus*. For discussions of this phenomenon consult: Dean (1958:59-64), A. Healey (1958:77-82), P. Healey (1960:19, 103), Pike (1963:216-230 and 1964:5-25), Bowen (1965:182-183), Reid (1966:10ff), A. Hidalgo (1969 and 1970), Schachter (1972:69-71), Llamzon (1973b:168-183), and Mintz (1973:102ff). For the purposes of the present discussion the distinctions and descriptions made by Bloomfield (1917:226, 243, 247, 250) are sufficient.

46. Or the respective aorist voice affixes:  $\emptyset$ - active, *-án* instrumental, *-a* passive, and *-i* local. The term "g- conjugation" refers broadly to forms with *mag-*, *pag-*, *qig-*, etc. that co-occur with the voice affixes.

47. The reader is referred to Pittman's study of verbs in *mag-* and *<um>* in Tagalog (1966), wherein some 19 distinctions are noted. One distinction that applies to Tag is also noted in Palawano: *<um>* forms are intransitive, *mag-* forms are transitive, e.g., Palawano *d<umin>lək* *it rained*, never *\*nəg-dələk*, Tag *q<um>ulán* *it rained*. Consider also Tag *q<um>alís* *to leave*, *mag-qalís* *to remove*.

48. I follow closely the method introduced and described by McFarland in his study of Bikol area dialects (1974:121-133), particularly with regard to verb inflection (1974:174-207). By this method entire paradigms are compared (such as Tables 27-31), and differences are noted, beginning with the most systematic, proceeding through widely distributed morphemes, and ending with morphemes of limited distribution. In the case of Bisayan verb inflection, the most systematic differences are (a) the lack of distinction between perfective and imperfective forms in the Ceb and SBs dialects [4.6.2.1.], and (b) the use of CV- as opposed to a- to express imperfective action [4.6.2.2.]. Widely distributed forms include: (a) the potential past active *naka-* in all dialects but But *mika-* [4.6.2.6.], and (b) the non-active actual durative morpheme *gin-*, as opposed to Ceb *gi-*, Jau *tag-*, But *pig-*, etc. [4.6.2.7.]. Morphemes of more limited distribution include: (a) the instrumental potential forms [4.6.2., 16-17], and (b) the various aorist forms [4.6.2., 18-21]. While much of this discussion may appear cryptic, its overall purpose is to impress the reader with the synchronic differences separating Bs dialects. The less-interested reader may simply glance at Tables 27-31; the more-interested reader would profit from McFarland's discussion and analysis.

49. Pseudo-verbs are modal in the strictest sense, since they predicate the contingency, desirability, necessity, etc. of an event.

50. Hockett (1958:327-29) describes and evaluates this method in much greater detail.

51. For example, Blk : Sem and Blk : Kin, then Sem : Blk and Kin : Blk, etc.

52. Since I worked with informants who claimed not to have heard the test dialects before and, furthermore, the rating scale was very broad, most of the results for dialect pairs were identical. If the judgements made were not reciprocal, but if at least six of the eight scores agreed, I averaged the scores; if less than six agreed, I tended to weigh the lower scores more heavily, unless some other factor (such as shyness, unwillingness to co-operate, boredom, etc.) clearly brought about the lower score. No more than four disagreements in judgement ever appeared among the language pairs tested.

53. According to the judgements outlined in Table 41a.

54. Hockett (1958:323): "If we select an initial idiolect, and put with it all the idiolects we can find which are mutually intelligible both with the first one and with each other, the resulting set of idiolects constitutes . . . an *L-simplex*."

55. Hockett (1958:323-24): "If two idiolects are not mutually intelligible, then sometimes we can discover one or more other idiolects that, together with the first two, constitute a *chain* in which each successive pair are mutually intelligible. . . . If two idiolects are either mutually intelligible or are connected by at least one such chain, they are *linked*. An *L-complex* consists of any idiolect plus all other idiolects which are linked both to the first and (consequently) to each other.

56. Conclusions reached as a result of my research and testing.

57. Information from McFarland (personal communication).

58. Information from Wolff (personal communication).

59. McFarland didn't test intelligibility, but did elicit statements from his informants as to whether or not they understood known or near-by dialects. Speakers of Sor and of Daraga claimed they could understand each others' dialect. I obtained similar statements from speakers of Nat (SBs) and Kamayo (Mansakan), although I prefer not to take this judgement into consideration until it can be tested.

60. Although colour terms such as PSP \*pulá *red*, PHS \*putíq *white*, and PHS \*qitám *black* have generally persisted, most Bs dialects show wholesale borrowing of Spanish azul as qasúl *blue* and verde as bírdi *green*.

61. The high percentage of Ceb with Hil (80%) is inflated by borrowings. Judging from the downward progression of scores (Ceb-War 78%, Ceb-Mas 77%, etc.) one would expect the correct score of Ceb-Hil to be c.75%.

62. It is these functors rather than contentives that form the core of the basic vocabulary of a language:

If one were to let a tape recorder run for any length of time in an area where speech is most likely to occur, and then transcribe and collate the recording, chances are that very common lexical items, such as 'eat', 'sleep', 'eye', 'tongue', 'full', and so on may not occur more than a few times, if at all. But . . . the texts would be replete with pronouns, deictics, conjunctions, negatives, interjections, and the like. In the Philippines, one would also find case-marking particles . . . and a large set of discourse particles. (Zorc 1974a:12)

63. PAN > PBS \*káqən *eat*, \*matá- *eye*, \*buhúk *hair*, \*qúluh *head*, \*akú *I*, \*patáy *kill*, \*dáhun *leaf*, \*qatáy *liver*, \*kútuh *louse*, \*búlan *moon*, \*bágquh *new*, \*qidúŋ *nose*, \*táuh *person*, \*qudán *rain*, \*túdug *sleep*, \*qasúh *smoke*, \*bitúqun *star*, \*batúh *stone*, \*ikáw *thou*, \*káhuy *tree*, and \*kamí *we exclusive*. PHS > PBS \*túhud *knee*, \*líqəg *neck*, \*dílaq *tongue*. PPH > PBS \*gamút *root*. PSP > PBS \*dugúq *blood*, \*láwas *body*, \*hiláw *green/unripe*. PMP > PBS \*qabút *arrive*, \*súnay *horn*. PCP > PBS \*kaláyu- *fire*.

64. PAN > PBS \*akú *I*, \*kamí *we exclusive*, \*kitá *we inclusive*, \*ikáw *thou*, \*kamú *ye*, \*-mu *thy*, \*-ta *ours inclusive*, \*ni genitive personal name marker, \*pidáh *how many?*, qádlaw *day*, \*-a passive aorist suffix, \*-i local aorist suffix. PHS > PBS \*si nominative personal name marker, \*pa *still, yet* incompletive particle. PPH > PBS \*sínqu *who?*. PSP > PBS \*wadáq *none*, \*sa common-noun oblique marker, \*nag- *past*



active durative prefix, \*ma(:)- future active punctual prefix, \*naka-perfect potential active prefix. PMP > PBS \*tuqúh *rightside*. PCP PBS \*wadáq past negative preverb, \*kuŋ *if, when*, \*qayáw *don't!* negative imperative preverb.

65. Of my 100 meanings, 45 appear among McFarland's 150 morphemes of highest text frequency; the other 55 are important in that they fill in existing paradigms (pronouns, markers, negatives, etc.) that did not happen to occur in McFarland's texts. However 79 of my meanings are found in McFarland's comparison of approximately 185 meanings among Bk functors.

66. McFarland's method of counting differences in formation, or "morphic differentiae" (as he terms them) is considerably different in approach from mine. My scores are computed in the same way that a lexicostatistical comparison is made, and give the overall percentage of cognate material between dialect pairs; whereas McFarland's scores are computed on the overall number of differences within a paradigm, i.e., once counted, a difference is never counted again, no matter how often it may recur in other forms in the paradigm. (This latter principle I have adopted too, see 7.2.) McFarland's scores indicate the total number of differences counted between dialect pairs, such that the lower the number, the closer the relationship between dialects. By measuring the total number of differences one can tell the degree of split between two speech varieties. The paradigms included in his comparison (pronouns, deictics, locatives, temporals, negatives, verb affixes, etc.) are essentially the same as those included in mine, but encompass some 185 morphemes. (1974: 121-275)

67. For \*ay note PBS \*baláy *house*, \*qáyam *dog*, \*qay expression of dismay; for \*aw note PBS \*báhaw *to cool off (said of food)*, \*qawás *to overflow*, \*qayáw *don't!*, \*qaw expression used in correcting oneself *oh yes!*

68. Initial PBS \*Ø- is inferred on the basis of the But and Tsg forms; if the form were PBS \*qudəhí one would expect But, Tsg \*hulqi, i.e., metathesis of \*q and \*h, syncope of \*ə.

69. The only exceptions observed: Tsg kasil < PCP \*kasíli *eel* and Tsg húlug < PCP \*húlug *fall* (possibly under influence from Samal); between unlike vowels: Tsg taínah < PCP \*talínah, quiq < PCP \*qúliq *return*, daugdug < PBS \*daləgdəg *thunder*, laum < PBS \*dáləm *under*,

qintaug < PSP \*qintalun (final -q unexplained); a few others may occur.

70. Outside of the Bs group an example can be found in Mansakan. Kamayo generally preserves the PCP accent patterns, while Mansaka and Kalagan only have relics of proto accent (see 8.10.1.). Influence from other languages probably enters the picture: Kamayo borders on SBs dialects (which preserve accent), while Mansaka and Kalagan border on Manobo languages (which have lost accent).

71. This use of stress goes back to at least Proto Hesperonesian, since it is found in Toba Batak (an Indonesian language): *mamíttu to close* : *pittú closed*, *tánom to bury* : *tanóm buried*, etc. Note also Toba Batak *hamú ye* : PBS *kamú ye* (nominative).

72. McFarland reached similar conclusions in the case of Bikol: "phonological data alone are an inadequate basis for subgrouping. It would have been impossible to arrive at the subgrouping presented . . . on the basis of phonological criteria alone" (1974: 82-83). Charles (1974, and dissertation in progress) finds that phonological mergers and innovations present a poor picture of Ph language subgrouping as a whole.

73. McFarland (1974: 82) considers the smaller number of phonological isoglosses as one reason for their inadequacy in subgrouping. However, number of innovations (or isoglosses) is of no great importance; it is the quality of the innovations that counts. While eight phonological innovations may not give a correct picture of the subgrouping of some speech varieties in that the innovations have occurred independently or crossed language boundaries (e.g., the merger of PMP \*r and \*l, the loss of \*h, etc.), eight qualitative innovations (e.g., pronouns, deictics, negatives, etc.) would be of great weight in determining the bounds of a given or posited subgroup.

74. The etyma reconstructable for PAN, and also PPH, are as follows:

| NOMINATIVE |                  | ENCLITIC GENITIVE |                   |
|------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| *akú       | <i>I</i>         | *-ku              | <i>my</i>         |
| *ikáw      | <i>thou</i>      | *-mu              | <i>thy</i>        |
| *s-iyá     | <i>he/she</i>    | *-ña              | <i>his/her</i>    |
| *kamí      | <i>we (excl)</i> | *-mi              | <i>our (excl)</i> |
| *kitá      | <i>we (incl)</i> | *-ta              | <i>our (incl)</i> |
| *kamú      | <i>ye</i>        | *-yu              | <i>your</i>       |
| *s-idá     | <i>they</i>      | *-da              | <i>their</i>      |

See Tables 10a-d for Bs cognates; consult Reid (1971) for Ph cognates.

75a. Among MPh languages an alternate set began to develop, competing with the enclitic genitive set outlined in note 74. This new set was made up of original material in some cases, while, in other instances, a simple \*i- was affixed to the older enclitic forms, yielding PMP \*i+yu, \*i+mu, \*i+da. The third person nominative was analyzed as \*si- personal name marker + \*ya, a new enclitic base (still actively used in Aborlan and Batak of Palawan), yielding PMP \*i+ya. The first person forms were all innovative: \*kən, \*mən, \*tən. Subanon extended this analogy to the third person, innovating \*nən. These innovated forms were marked with an \*a- prefix instead, yielding PMP \*a+kən, \*a+mən, \*a+tən. These developments are outlined in the following chart:

|      |                 | BASE | ALTERNATE | *na-FORM | *ni-FORM |
|------|-----------------|------|-----------|----------|----------|
| 1-sg | <i>my</i>       | *ku  | *kən      | *akən    | †*iku    |
| 1-ex | <i>our-excl</i> | *mi  | *mən      | *amən    | †*imi    |
| 1-in | <i>our-inc</i>  | *ta  | *tən      | *atən    | *ita     |
| 2-sg | <i>thy</i>      | *mu  |           | †*amu    | *imu     |
| 2-pl | <i>your</i>     | *yu  | *ñu       |          | *iyu     |
| 3-sg | <i>his/her</i>  | *ña  | *ya       | *ana     | *iya     |
| 3-pl | <i>their</i>    | *da  |           | *anda    | *ida     |

Note: Forms marked with † have not been found to occur alone; all others may occur without the \*na- or \*ni- affix.

In many MPh languages \*mi has been displaced. The Palawanic and Kalamianic languages use mən as the first person plural exclusive enclitic, while mi now fills the second person plural slot. In these languages a preposed form developed that was an analogical combination of \*mi and the original \*yu second person plural, i.e., Palawano d-imyu, Aborlan, Batak kan-imyu, Agutaynen, Tagbanwa tuŋ-nu-myu *to you*. Mansakan \*mayu may also be related to the latter forms. Bs and other CPh dialects have thus drawn from the PMP innovational paradigms presented above, so that Tag níta and WBS nánda have historical pedigrees.

75b. While Mongondow has the genitive pronouns qinakoq *mine*, qinaton *ours* (inclusive), and qinami *ours* (exclusive), the CPh dialects have regularised the paradigm to only -q forms; the other MPh languages have regularised the paradigm to only -n forms.

76. In Western Bukidnon Manobo hæ- (< \*ha-) is the standard nominative deictic affix, but it is not functionally related to this PCP \*ha-.

77. Subanon \*qəG nominative, \*nəG genitive, and \*səG oblique are similar in function, but not in form. The final morphophoneme assimilates to the voice and nasality of the following consonant (i.e., -g before

voiced stops, -k before voiceless stops, and -ŋ before nasals). It has not yet been determined if Subanon fits into the CPh group, say, through Mansakan. If Subanon is a MPh language, this may constitute evidence that the \*aŋ (\*əN) markers were a late PMP development.

78. The y- is based on an analogy with the nominative deictics which also have y- in Mansakan: \*ya-di, \*ya-ni, \*ya-qan, \*ya-dtu.

79. In Kagayanen, for example, this -a- appears on only one affix, the passive progressive gina-, while the rest of the Kagayanen system is like Manobo: past passive pa-, future passive qag--ən. Since Manobo did not have a clearcut way of expressing a progressive action (Manobo languages have only past, nonpast, dependent, and imperative categories) Kagayanen borrowed the gina- affix from Hil or some WBS dialect. If a- were productive, one would expect the future passive to be \*qaga--ən.

80. PCP \*baŋrús *milkfish* > Tag baŋós, PPH \*baŋlú *fragrant* > Tag baŋó, PPH \*saŋlár *roast in pan* > Tag saŋág *fry rice*, PCP \*tuqlíd *straight* > Tag tuwíd, PPH \*butlíg *wart, cyst* > Tag butíg ~ butlíg.

81. Kamayo, Davaweño, and Kabasagan, while clearly Mansakan dialects, have a large number of Bs loanwords. Speakers of these dialects live at or near Bs border areas; many are also bilingual in Bs and Mk.

82. It is a subsequent dialectal development in those dialects of Kuy and Tsg which have lost contrastive accent and have regularised the stress to fall on the last syllable of every full word regardless of shape.

83. Dtg and Kuy have lost the post-positive genitive pronoun set corresponding to PMP \*nákən, \*nímu, etc.: see #20, 4.3.1. They do, however, have an incomplete enclitic set: ku *my*, mu *thy*, na *his*, ta *ours*.

84. The basis for the analogy on which WBS \*tána was formed can be traced, since both Kin and Akl have a nominative pronoun set based on the oblique marker and the genitive pronoun stems:

| KINARAY-A | AKLANON     |                |
|-----------|-------------|----------------|
| tákən     | (qi) tqákon | I              |
| tímu      | (qi) tqímo  | thou           |
| tána      | (qi) tqána  | he/she         |
| támən     | (qi) tqámon | we (exclusive) |
| tátən     | (qi) tqáton | we (inclusive) |
| tínyu     | (qi) tqínyu | ye             |
| tánda     | (qi) tqánda | they           |

In the morphophonemics of Akl the (qi) element drops when the set is used with enclitic particles, e.g., Akl *ɬun now + qitqákon I* → *ɬutqákon*, cf: *má-pánaw ɬutqákon I'm leaving now*. The reduction of all glottal clusters has apparently occurred in the Kin set (note PCP \*qa-qənəm *six* > Kin *qá:nəm*, Akl *qánqom*) and in the other dialects. WBs \*tána replaces PPH, PBS \*siyá.

85. There is also Akl *danáq that*, which is probably cognate with the final element of Ceb *ka-náq*, viz: Akl *da-náq*. Although the Akl form may represent the original shape of WBs \*dan, after apocope occurred, viz: \*dan(áq), it is more probable that the Akl form is a retention of the PBS \*naq deictic element, with the innovated \*da- nominative formative. Thus, WBs \*dan is actually \*da-*ðán* (the \*da- formative in WBs, and the PSP deictic element \*an, see 9.1.2.), just as PSP, PWBs \*diyán is analyzed as the PHS \*di- formative and the PSP \*an deictic element.

86. WBs \*qimáw is relatable to PBS \*qámu and CBS \*máqu (with metathesis) found in most other Bs dialects. However, the \*qi- formative and the shape \*maw (with loss of the glottal catch) make it unique. The loss of the glottal may be explained as the result of the form's being a phrase-early, unaccented particle. Although *qimáw* also occurs in the Banton subgroup and in Rom, and in the Hanunoo expression *qáy qímaw ti the one(s) who really is/are...*, it is presumed to be a borrowing into these neighbouring speech varieties.

87. The use of *qit* as a genitive marker is found in the Banton subgroup, Palawano, and Aborlan; if it is related to Ilokano *qití*, it may well be a retention from PPH. However, the wide distribution of the genitive markers \*nan/\*niN and \*san/\*siN among all other Bs dialects and CPh languages makes the status of *qit* in WBs suspect. Its use after the negatives cited does appear to be an innovation.

88. This form may be the analogical combination of PAN \*isá *one* and PBS \*da *also, too*. Note: Ceb *qusá ra one also* and Ceb *nag-qinusára*

*was alone*. Nevertheless, as a counter for 'one' it is an innovation.

89. This form does not show the -a- found in Tag *dalawá*, or in Iriga Bk *darawá two*. Whether the WBS form is the result of syncope, or the Tag and Iriga forms of epenthesis is not clear. Nonetheless, the WBS dialects are in agreement over against the other Bs and CPh dialects: CBs \*duhá, SBs, Bk \*duwá. Hanunoo has the numbers *qisaraháy one* and *darawaháy two*, but they are limited to a children's counting game, and are therefore probably borrowings from WBS. The standard Hanunoo numbers are *qusá one* and *duwá two*.

90. Even the \*ə-preserving dialects, N-S, S-L, and Sur, have *dakúq*, rather than \**dakéq* (note WBS \**rakéq many*). If this is not a case of hyperurbanism (i.e. \*ə > u), then Tag *ma-lakí* may come from PCP \**dakéí*.

91. Ceb has *pa-talíqhug listen to* which, if not a borrowing from But, may indicate the form to have been a SBs innovation. It would still serve as further evidence that Tsg is to be grouped within the PBS community.

## INDEX OF RECONSTRUCTIONS

Starred forms not preceded by an abbreviation are reconstructed for PBS; those preceded by any other abbreviation are not attested in Bs, but can be attributed to the proto language indicated. Forms preceded by 'X' are not reconstructions, but have been used as examples in the course of this study. Numbers refer to pages in the text.

- |  |   |
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