# BUREAU OF SCIENCE DIVISION OF ETHNOLOGY PUBLICATIONS

VOL. V-PARTS 1 AND II

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# PART I

# THE BATÁN DIALECT AS A MEMBER OF THE PHILIPPINE GROUP OF LANGUAGES

BY

OTTO SCHEERER

# PART II

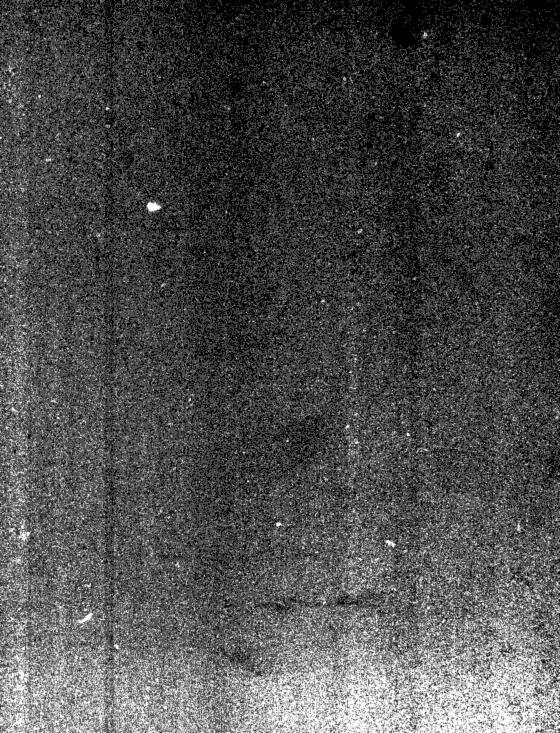
# "F" AND "V" IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

BY

CARLOS EVERETT CONANT

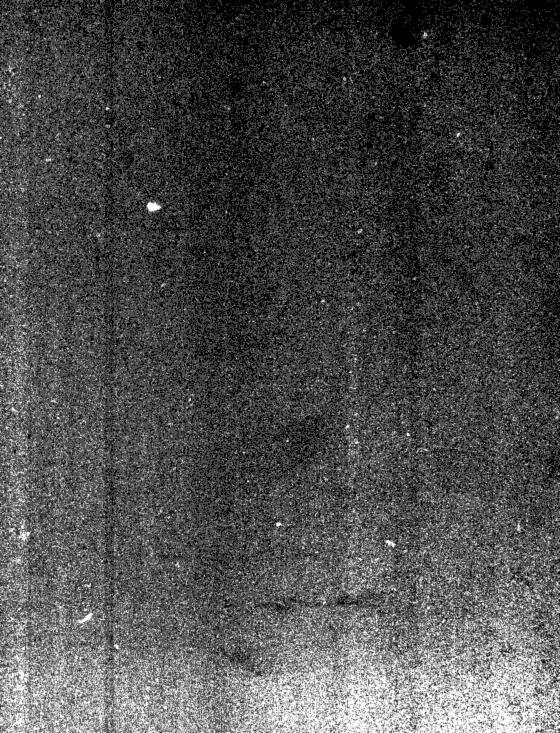


MANILA BUREAU OF PRINTING 1908



# PART I

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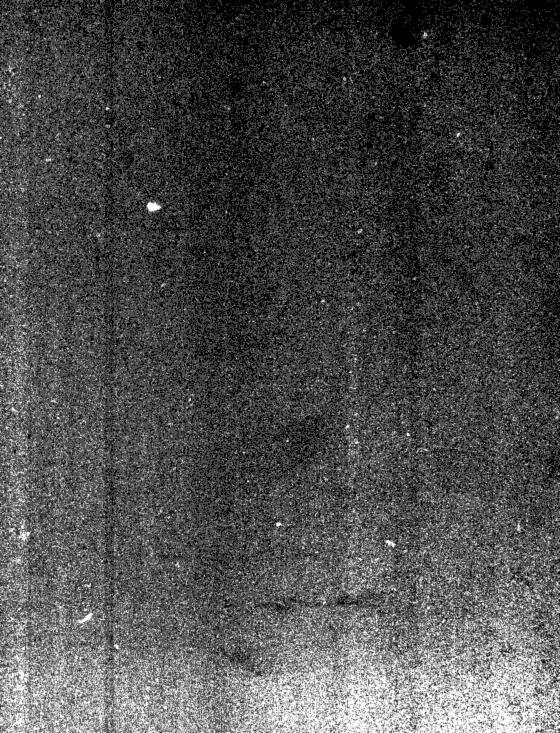


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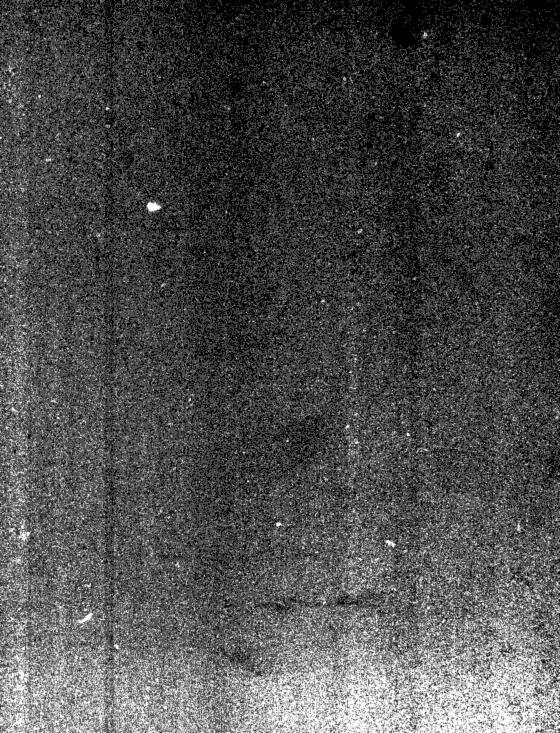
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# THE BATAN DIALECT

#### INTRODUCTION

In the following study it is intended to compare a certain Philippine dialect with a number of its sister tongues in order to gain thereby an insight into the nature of those features which are common to them and of those which give to the former its dialectic peculiarity. It is evident that the results of such a comparison will shed light upon the interrelation of Philippine dialects in general. These are related; that means, they are similar. There are so and so many of them; that means, they are dissimilar. In what consists the similarity and in what the dissimilarity? What is the essence of "Filipino speech," and what that of dialectic independence?

Thanks to the assiduous work of Spanish friars we possess ample material for the study of those dialects that are spoken by the great civilized majority of Filipinos who to the round number of 7,000,000 inhabit chiefly the coasts and plains of the different islands. That material consists in a series of grammars, vocabularies, and religious text-books, begun hundreds of years ago—in fact immediately after the conquest—continued by succeeding generations of friars, and even now added to, with regard to new converts, as, for instance, by the Jesuits in the mountains of Mindanao.

Much less known are the tongues of the partly savage, partly barbarian minority of the population, which is scattered over the remote and less accessible parts of the Archipelago and aggregates probably about a million. In this minority are included Negritos, Negrito mongrels, and tribes which, having the same racial characters as the low land Filipinos, are theoretically considered as belonging to an earlier immigration of cruder culture than these. Whether this view will be borne out by the establishment of typical differences in their speech is one of the many points of interest attaching to the exploration of those mountain dialects. In a later section of this paper I shall find occasion to touch upon some notable divergencies in their phonetic systems, but such belong to the less reliable marks of distinction.

It is impossible to speak of the dialects of the barbarians without mentioning again the linguistic work achieved by the early Spanish missionaries, and without deploring that so much valuable material should continue buried, like hidden treasures, in the archives of the religious corporations in Manila, material of the greatest philological interest which would, if published, do honor as much to the authors as to the orders to which they belonged. I quote, for instance—

Augustinians: P. Marin. Arte y diccionario de la lengua igolota, written between 1584 and 1601. P. Cacho. Catechisms in Isinay, Hongot, Iruli, and Igolot, between 1707 and 1748.

Franciscans: P. Santa Rosa. Arte y diccionario del idioma de los Aetas, between 1726 and 1750. P. Zarza. Doctrina cristiana en Egongot, between 1788 and 1810.

Dominicans: P. Martorel. Catecismo de doctrina en idioma Iraya ó Egongot, from an eighteenth century author not named. Catecismo de doctrina en lengua gaddan, printed 1833.

With one or two exceptions little more is known of these works than the title.

It may not be out of place to say here a few words on the terminology employed in referring to Philippine dialects as a body.

English, French, and German authors generally call them "Malayan" languages. Fr. Müller classes them, together with the languages of Madagascar, Formosa, and the Marianas, as "the Tagalog group of the Malayan languages." Spanish authors cite even in our days the opinion of P. Francisco Garcia de Torres, who subordinated the Philippine tongues to the Malay of Malacca when in 1784 he wrote to P. Hervas:

I agree with you in believing that almost all the dialects of the Philippine Islands and of other islands near them are dialects of the Malayan language which is spoken in Malacca.

This view may have been very meritorious for the time when it was expressed, but it became untenable when fifty years later W. von Humboldt was led by his studies to say that for a denomination of this family of languages he would have preferred "Tagalog" instead of "Malay." (Kawi-Spr. II, pp. 210-211.) As a matter of fact, the Malay, with its variations Menangkabau, Achin, and others, is one member of the western division of the Malayo-Polynesian languages, but by no means a representative member of that division, much less one

'I prefer not to bind myself to a methodical use of the terms "dialect" and "language," as there do not exist universally accepted definitions of the correlative ideas involved.

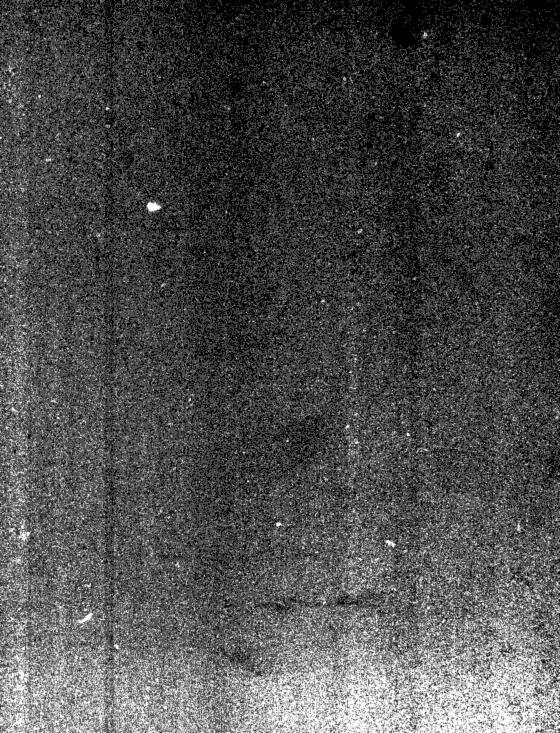
Regarding the Philippine tongues as so many coordinate descendants of one (theoretical) common mother language, that is, from a merely genealogical point of view, all may be termed "dialects." ("The peoples, if not hindered in their development, grow in numbers and extend over wider territories. The descendants of the same ancestors, when separated by space, become strangers to each other, the languages split into dialects, the peoples into tribes. Historical forces may arrest the disunion; if not, the distances grow with time and the tribes of one people become different peoples, the dialects of one language different languages." Gabelents, Sprachw., 2 ed., p. 9.)

Taking into account, on the other hand, the greater or lesser importance and development attained by the several members of the Philippine group, one may distinguish between "dialects" (for instance, those spoken by the Igorot and other mountain peoples) and "languages" (as Tagslog, Ilokano, etc.). standing in a parental relation to the bulk of it. Of Dutch scholars, who have taken the largest part in the linguistic exploration of Indonesia, Prof. H. Kern, the leading authority, speaks not of "Malayan" but of "Indonesian" languages (including Madagascan), among which he recognizes as a distinct unit or family those of the Philippines. In this family he reckons outside its territory—in the north Formosan, in the south Sangir, Bentenan, Mongondou, and Ponosakan. (Fidjitaal, p. 3.) If one recognizes—as I think one can not help doing—"Indonesian" as preferable to the misleading "Malayan," it is but logical to welcome also the newly introduced term "Austronesian" as a substitute for "Malayo-Polynesian," because the former, being, so to say, more abstract, rids us of the superannuated and confusing generalization of the name of a relatively poor Indonesian form of speech, as the Malay admittedly is.

As object of the proposed comparison I have selected a dialect which from its situation at the extreme northern end of the Archipelago affords the advantage that it brings the rest of the group into one single line of observation. I refer to that spoken on the Batán Islands, locally alluded to as chirin nu ibatán-literally, "speech of those of Batán." The circumstance that from the non-existence in print of a full treatise of its grammar this dialect should have remained little known increases the interest attaching to this remote and isolated idiom. Among the texts giving information on it I have chiefly used those reproduced from old originals by Retana in his Archivo del bibliófilo filipino (Vol. II, pp. XXXVI-XLIX, 269-306). They consist of (1) two and a half pages of an old manuscript grammar (garbled in parts through careless copying), giving the articles, the pronouns, and seven lines of introduction to the syntax, (2) an extract from a vocabulary, and (3) a catechism in Batán: the two latter contain a sufficient number of errors to enjoin precaution. The grammar and the vocabulary date from about the end of the eighteenth century; the catechism was printed for the first time in 1834, but may have existed, as similar works often did, for a considerable time prior to that year in manuscript form. A great merit attaches to these old texts in that they represent, in comparison with modern publications in the same dialect, what appears to be an older form (if not a dialectical variation) of the speech of Batán. Judging from such a comparison, and also from private information at hand on the modern pronunciation, this tongue must have undergone several notable changes in its phonology which will be duly set forth in the proper place.

The present paper extends the comparison only to vocabulary and certain points of grammar.

On the same subject in its wider aspect cf. P. W. Schmidt, Die Mon-Khmer-Völker. Ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens. Braunschweig, 1906. Also: H. Kern, Austronesisch en Austronsintisch (Bijdragen etc., 7° Volgr. VII).



### CHAPTER I

# LEXICAL COMPARISON

#### GENERAL REMARKS

- The exact points which the lexical comparison is to elucidate are formulated as follows:
- 1. THE RELATIONSHIP OF BATAN TO THE PHILIPPINE GROUP, by examining the community of words.
  - 2. Its idiomatic property as this may express itself in-
- (a) A PECULIAR PRONUNCIATION (phonetic modification) of the common words as a general feature (leading to the subsequent examination of its phonetic system in particular);
- (b) THE EMPLOYMENT OF PECULIAR TERMS not in current use in the same place in any of the other dialects compared.
- 3. A possible neares relationship to one of the dialects compared. As objects of comparison one hundred and thirteen of the most common terms have been selected from Retana's vocabulary. They refer to surrounding nature, to man, his family and his body, to some animals, works of man, food stuffs, and finally to a few conceptual notions as qualities, numerals, etc. An index of these words with corresponding numbers is given in advance of the comparative word lists. Each of the latter presents one of those words with its equivalents in other dialects. The word lists contain besides in many cases a number of reference words in small print, destined to throw such light upon the significant value of the words under examination as seemed necessary for the purpose of this study.

In this connection a few remarks must be made upon Philippine terminology in general. It is but natural, and finds its analogy in certain classes of our society, that people who are, or have been till lately, living in a more natural state, people whose daily occupations furnish them for the most part with sensuous impressions, and of whom each individual is still in many cases his own carpenter, weaver, farmer, etc., should use a vocabulary much more particularized and concrete than that which serves our everyday speech. This goes to explain a characteristic feature of Philippine terminology; that is, its abundance in detail names, not infrequently set off by a lack of comprehensive terms, or of terms which, although in fact comprehensive, we are not accustomed to consider as such. To give some illustrations of what has been said: That Filipinos, in speaking of domestic animals, should have in use a great variety of special denominations descriptive of the color, stage of life, good or bad qualities, etc., of such an animal may surprise a townsman with us but not a professional cattle raiser or poultry keeper; but that, for instance, the Tagalog, besides expressing

our "to change clothes" by bihis, should possess for "to change many clothes" the single term alimitin, for "to change good clothes for old ones" the dissyllable gimey is certainly characteristic. In Serrano Laktaw's Tagalog dictionary may be found upper lip—ngūsō, under lip—l4bi, the lips—ngūsō-t l6bi, lit. upper lip and under lip. Again: leg—binti. a term standing also for "culf," probably the genuine signification. Noceda and Sanlucar give leg—paā, but this means also "foot," so that it is a moot question if the whole limb was originally conceived and given a distinct name at all. (Cf. M. 34, 48, 49.)

The existence of a great store of detail names, the "technical terms of natural man," so to speak, favors a shifting of the original signification of a word among different tribes and becomes one of the sources of dialectic divergencies. Such a shifting occurs, for instance, frequently where the question turns about parts of the human body lying close together, and to observe it ample opportunity is offered in the following word lists referring to expressions for mouth, lips, nose, forehead, etc. In observing this it must not be overlooked, however, that often an element of uncertainty and confusion is added by the translation of the native term by a European expression whose actual equivalent is a matter of doubt. The following example will illustrate the degree-of deceptiveness to which the word lists are open in this regard.

Batan, according to the vocabulary, has for "foot" the word kokor, while among several mountain tribes of northern Luzon the same object is designated by dapan or chapan, gapan, etc. (Cf. W1, 49 and 50.) From the words of reference given it appears that neither the one nor the other of these two means properly, or meant, originally, "foot;" Lokor implies evidently the idea of crumbling up, bending together, as claws or fingers, and thus would apply only to the toes or the fore part of the foot; the true meaning of dapan, on the other hand, seems to be "sole of the foot," perhaps an onomatope for the sound produced in putting down something flat, with suffix -an. It might, therefore, reasonably be conceived that, our idea "foot" not having been originally collected into a specific expression, the term for a part of the foot was later taken and its meaning extended so as to cover that idea. If in so doing two communities of people, who so far had had in common all the names for the various parts of the foot, should have happened to invest with the extended meaning words for different parts-for example, the one that for toe, the other that for sole-it is obvious that from that moment they would for their expression for foot have become dialectically estranged. This remark applies to cases where the generalization has been actually and of their own accord made by the people, a point rather difficult to determine, since the presence of a word for "foot" in a word list collected, say, among some tribe of primitive people might find an explanation also in the circumstance that an approximate term -- that is, one not really covering our "foot".-had been foisted upon the word-collecting traveler by a native, embarrassed over the absence of an exactly equivalent expression in his dictionary, when asked to give the word for that member.

These remarks will lead to a proper view of the significant changes presenting themselves in the following word lists, as also to the necessary precaution with which are to be regarded the English words of translation, which as a rule are given on the authority of my sources.

#### DIALECTS COMPARED

In representation of the Philippine group of languages a series of nineteen dialects has been selected, grouped so as to run from north to south through the whole length of the Archipelago. From this arrangement there results in each list a picture of the sometimes uniform, sometimes varying mode of expression of a certain idea in an average section of the whole group, a picture in some instances curtailed, it is true, by the shortcoming of my sources. The dialects selected for comparison are the following:

IBANÁG (or KAGAYAN) and ILOKANO, the two languages located nearest to the Batán Islands, spoken by Christian Filipinos.

GINAAN, BONTOK, LEPANTO, BANAWI, TINGGIAN, KANKANÁEY, and INIBALOI, seven dialects spoken in the western half of the interior of north Luzon by non-Christian mountain peoples.

Ginaan appears in the word lists as Gin. S. and Gin. M.: that is, according to the somewhat differing vocabularies collected by Dr. Schadenberg and Dr. H. Meyer. To the Hon. Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of the Interior. I owe the following note: "The people of the rancheria Guinaan were the terror of the Spaniards, who conceived entirely erroneous ideas as to their number, and referred to them in their writings as 'the tribe Guinaanes.' In point of fact, there is no such tribe, the people of Guinaan being Bontoc Igorot with much Tinguian blood."

BONTOK is given as BONT. S. and BONT. J., the collectors being Dr. Schadenberg and Dr. Jenks, who sometimes agree (BONT. S. J.), sometimes diverge, or in other cases supplement each other. I consider Bont. J. the more genuine forms.

Kankanaev: Word list contributed to this paper by Mr. Mariano Lagasca, Ilokano, for long years resident and now municipal treasurer of Kapangan, central western part of Benguet. The list is of undoubted authority and, to my knowledge, the first ever published.

INIBALOI: I now call thus the dialect formerly designated by me as Nabaloi, as I consider the first the more correct form. (Cf. P. Carro: iniiloko, something pertaining to Hokos.)

Pangasinan (or Kaboloan), Pampangan, Tagalog, the three most important dialects of central Luzon.

BINOL, joining Tagalog in the south, but tending more toward Bisayan. PANAYAN (or HILIGAYNON), a leading representative of the dialects spoken on the Bisayan Islands and in parts of Mindanao, dialects which on account of their close affinity were comprised by the Spaniards under the collective name BISAYA.

Kalamian, according to a vocabulary published by Retana, written over a hundred years ago by a friar in charge of the "Provincia de Calamianes en la Isla de Paragua" (Palawan), and dated from Taytay, the capital of that province. The author calls it "idioma Calamiano" and "idioma de los naturales de la provincia de Calamianes en la isla de Paragua." I have reason for the belief that it is a Tagbanua dialect.

At the time the vecabulary was written the Spaniards possessed only the northern part of Paláwan, coded to them by the Sultan of Borneo in the middle of the eighteenth century and forming with the Kalamian Islands a province under this latter name as mentioned above, with the capital Taytay in Paláwan.

<sup>&#</sup>x27; My best thanks are due to Mr. Lagasca for this valuable contribution.

More-Magindanau, Tiruray, and Bagore, spoken by the peoples inhabiting the central and southern regions of Mindanao; dialects explored by the Jesuit fathers.

Sutu (Joloano), the speech of the Mohammedan inhabitants (Moros) of the Sulu Islands.

In order to give an approximate idea of the geographical distribution of these dialects I subjoin here a sketch of the Archipelago into which their abbreviated names are inserted as they appear in the word lists. As, however, this view, while indicating the location, does not give an adequate picture of the numerical importance of the speakers of those dialects, I supplement it by the following figures, taken for the greater part from the "Census of 1903," which will help one to form a conclusion as to the approximate number of speakers represented:

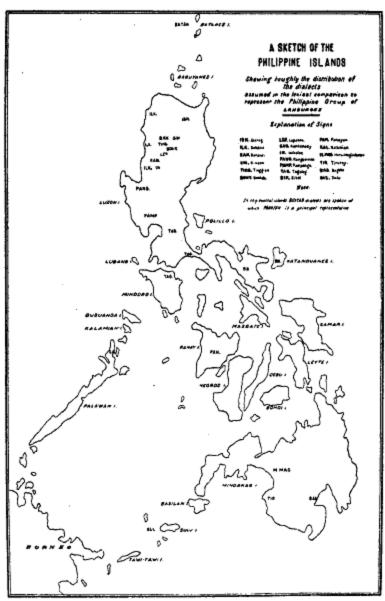
DIALKOT	People	Population
Batán	Native Balanes in five municipalities	8,227
Įb.	Ibanágs or Kagayáns	159,648
Πk.	Ilokanos	808,942
Gin.		-(2)
Bont.	Boutok village only (Jenks)	12,500
Lep.		(?)
Ban.		(?)
Kan.		(7)
In.	Ibalois	1 (15,000
Pang.	Pangasipans	343,686
Pamp.	Pampangans	280, 984
Tag.	Tagalogs ···	1,460,693
Bik.	Hikois	566,365
Pan.	Total Bisayuns of Panay	3728, 282
Kal.		(7)
M. Mag.	Total Moros of Mindanso	154,706
Tir.	Ticurays	3,993
Bag.	Bagobos	12, 149
Sul.	Total Mores of Jolo	50, 226

More than 4,585,403 people are therefore speakers of the dialects enumerated, or over 60 per cent of the total Filipino population of the Archipelago, which is 7,562,876. If, however, one were to substitute for the figure put against the Panayan dialect that of the whole Bisayan population of the Islands, 3,219,030, which population speaks, as stated before, closely allied tongues, the approximate total of speakers represented in the word lists would ascend to over 7,081,151, or about 93 per cent of the grand total just given for the whole Archipelago.

Approximate.

<sup>&</sup>quot;I may be permitted to state here in passing that the "Censua" is misleading if on p. 56. Vol. II. Span, ed., it states that the dominating tribe in Benguet is the ILOMANO, and that they are in 'a proportion of 67.8 per cent to the population of that province. The correct figures appear on p. 411, showing 21.926 Igorot as predominating in a proportion of 86.4 per cent.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bosides Panagen proper, or Hillpaynon, there exists on Panay a dialect variation of a runtic kind called Haraya.



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To justify this latter mode of reckoning I call to mind that in the great "Diccionario Bisaya-Español," by P. Felix de la Encarnación, all Bisayan dialects have been comprehended into one body, though the author found it necessary to say that in view of this amalgamation nobody should be astonished that various terms had been given entirely different or even diametrically opposed interpretations.

Considering that the Batán dialect occupies with respect to the northern boundary of the Philippine Archipelago a frontier position, I believed it to be of interest incidentally to present a side view on the dialects of Formosa, at least to the extent permitted by the scant material we possess from that island, material which, moreover, does not seem to have as yet been duly sifted. I have consequently collected from a number of works the suitable vocables and arranged them in a second column parallel with the Philippine dialects, in very much the same manner as these but without regard to their precise geographical location.

My mode of writing the Philippine and Formosan words, as also words of reference from other Malayan dialects, is as a rule that of my sources. In order to obviate, however, the confusion that would arise from the juxtaposition of words taken from ancient and modern authors on Philippine dialects, and spelled, in the latter case after the modern, in the former after the obsolete (Spanish) orthography, I observe for all Philippine words uniformly the following rules, which reflect the spelling becoming now popular in the islands. For former (Spanish)—

ca, co, cu is written ka, ko, ku que, qui is written ke, ki gue, gui is written ge, gi ng, gn is written ng

In the lexical comparison this reformed spelling is shown for the Batán vocables, where applicable, in parentheses at the side of the original text word. In other sections of the present paper it is directly extended to Batán the same as to all other dialects.

In cases where the pronunciation of a word might occasion some doubt it has been explained in footnotes. Special phonetic characters are regularly taken from the international alphabet of the Association-Phonétique Internationale.

As regards ultimately the authenticity of all the words that appear in the lists, it is hardly necessary to point out the difference existing between a vocabulary whose author, as was mostly the case with Spanish friars, had spent the better part of his life among the natives, and the collection of vocables by a traveling explorer. In this respect the index which I give of the authors used by me speaks for itself. I will only add that Dr. Jenks's Bontok Igorot appears to me collected with great accuracy. I must also point out that, chronologically considered, the word lists

<sup>&#</sup>x27;It is difficult to understand why non-Spanish editors of scriptural texts in the vernacular tongues should still hold out for the old irrational orthography.

may be here and there out of true. The Batán vocables, as has been said, date from about the end of the eighteenth century, those of the Kalamian dialect from 1789. All the other dialects may be taken as showing modern forms with the exception perhaps of an occasional antiquated term.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

	Philippine		Formosan
Acta S. F.	Acta-Santa Pô	Am. D.	Ami in Davidson
Bag.	Bagobo	Am. F.	Ami in Fischer (Maran village
Вап.	Battawi		near Pilam)
Bik.	Bikol	Am. T.	Ami in Taylor
Bis.	Risayan	At.	Atayal
Bout, J.	Bontok in Jenks	Bang.	Banga (southeast Formosa)
Bont. S.	Bontok in Schadenberg	Bant.	Bantanlang (southeast Formesa)
Bont. S. J.	Bontok in Schadenberg and Jenks	Bet. D.	Botel Tobago in Davidson
Gin. M.	Ginaan in Meyer	Bot. T.	Botel Tobago in Torii
Gtu. S.	Ginaan in Schadenberg	Bu.	Buhwan (east from Changhwa)
bn.	IbanAg	Fav.	Pavoriang
IJk.	Ilokano	Ka.	Kagi (Kagi district)
Inb.	Inibaloi	Ld.	Liliaha (south Formosa)
Kal.	Kalamian	Pach.	Pachien (southeast Formosa)
Kan.	Kankandey	Pat. D.	Paiwan in Davidson
Lep.	Lepanto	Pai. T.	Paiwan in Taylor
M. Mag.	Moro Magindanau	Pel. B.	Pelam in Bullock (East coast, pro-
l'amp.	Pampangan		bably opposite Takow)
Pan.	Panayan	Pep. B.	Pepohwan in Bullock teast from
Pang.	Pangesipau		Tuiwanfoo)
Sul.	Suln	Don Hab	Baksa Pepohoan
Tag.	Tagalog	Pep. Ko.	Pepo Kongana (from an old wo-
ling.	Tinggian	rep. Ro.	man at Kongana Island. off
tir.	Tiruray		Formosa)
Zam. A.	Zambal-Acta	Pep. Ku.	Pei Po Kuyarawan
Zam. В.	Zambal-Belinso	Pep. Paz.	
ДЖ113. ID.	An asterisk before a word denotes a		
•	form gained only by deduction	Pil. F. Pil. Th.	Plam in Fischer (Pilam village)
	torm gamed only by deduction		Pilam in Thomson
		Pu.	Puyama
Span.	Spanish	Sek.	Sekhwan (cast from Changhwa)
WL	Word list		Shekhoan in Thomson (a north- ern dialect)
		Sib.	Sibuccon (southeast Formess)
		Tam.	Tamari (south Formesa)
		Tang.	Tangão (north Formesa)
		Tib.	Tibolal (southeast Formosa)
		Tip.	Tipun
		Taur.	Tsarisen
		Tso.	T>00
		Тяц.	Tsuthwan (on a lake NE, from Kagee and SE, from Changhwa)
		Von.	Vontim

Tag.

#### INDEX OF AUTHORS USED FOR THE WORD LISTS

#### ON PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

	ON PRIBITION BANGEAUSE
Tir.	Bennásar, G. Diccionario tiruray-español. Manita, 1892.
Pamp.	Bergaño, D. Vocabulario de la lengua pampanga. Manila, 1860.
Ilk.	Corro. Vocabulario iloko-español. Manila, 1888.
Ibn.	Dos religiosos domínicos. Diccionario español-ibanág. Manila, 1867.
Pamp.	Fernandez, D. E. Nuevo vocabulario español, tagalo y pam-
•	pango. Manila, 1896.
Pan.	Gayacao, J. Nuevo vocabulario español-panayano. Manila, 1879.
Ibn.	Gayacao, J. Vocabulario ibanag. Binondo, 1896.
Bag.	Gisbert, M. Diccionario español-bagobo. Manila, 1892.
Sul.	Haynes, J. H. English, Sulu and Malay vocabulary. Journal Straits
	Branch R. A. S., No. 16 (1885).
Bont. J.	Jenks, A. E. The Bontoc Igorot. Ethnol. Surv. Publ. Vol. I. Ma-
	nila, 1905.
Kal.	Jerónimo de la Virgen de Monserrate. Vocabulario castellano-calamia -
	no. MS. de 1789. (Retana, Archivo II, Madrid, 1896.)
M. Mag.	Juanmartí, J. Diccionario moro-maguindanao-español. Manila, 1892.
Kan.	Lagasca, M. Kapangan. Letter to the author, April 26, 1907.
Pan.	Lozano, R. Cursos de lengua panayana. Manila, 1876.
Pang.	Macaraeg, A. A. Vocabulario castellano-pangasinan. Manila, 1896.
Bik.	Márcos de Lisboa. Vocabulario de la lengua bicol. Manila, 1865.
Gin. M.	Monor H. Vine Weltzeige Leinzig 1994
Ting.	Meyer, H. Eine Weltreise. Leipzig, 1884
Tag.	Noceda y Sanlucar.: Vocabulario de la lengua tagala. Manila, 1860.
Ibn.	Nolasco de Medio P. Gramática ibanag-castellana. Manila, 1892.
Pang.	Pellicer, M. Arte de la lengua pangasinan. Manila, 1904.
Gin. 8.	Schadenberg, A. Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Banao-Leute und der
_	Guinanen. Verh. d. Berl. Anthr. Ges., 1887.
Bont. S.	Schadenberg, A. Beiträge zur Kenntniss der im Innern Nordluzons
Lep.	lebenden Stämme. Ibid., 1889.
Ban.	,
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### Register of words compared, with current numbers

1 sky	25 brother	51 finger (hand)	77 bost
2 sun, day	26 old man	52 elbow	78 food
8 moon, month	27 king	58 gail	79 sait
4 night	28 name -	54 liver	80 vinegar
afternoon	29 head	55 stomach	81 oil
"\ evening	30 forchead	56 saliva	82 fut
6 ster	31 face	57 bowels	83 gold
7 cloud	32 nose	58 exercta	84 mat
7\u00ed (supplemental)	38 mouth	59 dog	85 Batanese
8 storm	84 lip	60 fowl	86 Chinese
9 wind	35 tongue	61 cock	87 hunger
10 lightning	36 tooth	62 hen	88 thirsty
11 fire	37 eye	6s egg	89 pain
12 water	38 car	61 wing	90 sickness
13 earth	39 breast of female	65 feather	91 } sickness
14 year	40 breast	66 fish	92 cold
15 east	41 neck	67 pig	98 warmth
16 flower	42 throat	68 gont	94 right
17 root	48 back	69 snake	95 left
18 vein	44 armpit	70 deer	96 clean
19 man (homo)	4h heart	71 bee	97 dirty
20 male person	46 belly	72 house	98 red
21 futher	47 knee	78 temple	: 99 distant
22 women	48 leg, calf	74 bridge	100 }
23 mother	49 foot	75 ship	101 ) to go
24 child	50 nait	76 bost	102-113 numerals

#### WORD LISTS

[In the following word lists the English equivalent is omitted when it is the same as that given in the numbered heading. For example: Ibn. langlet means "sky" only, Paug. tagen both "sky" and "year," and Von. yelonen "heaven" only.]

1. gañit; cielo; sky. Rev.: jañit, janit

	PHILIPPINE		FORMUSAN
Ibn.	langi-t	Von.	yakanen, beaven
Ilk.	langit	Tso.	"gulsa, heaven
Gin. S.	lebug	Tsar.	kurururan, heaven
Gin. M.	daya	Pai. D.	k*juna*gun, heaven
Bont. S. J.	chaya	₽u.	ranget, heaven
Lep.	daya	Am. D.	kakarayan, heaven
Ban.	langit	Am. F.	kakaran, air
Ting.	langit	Pep. Paz,	ruran kawas, heaven
Kan.	kuyang!	Pep. Ku.	rin, heaven
Inb.	dangit .	Pep. Bak.	towin
Pang.	tuoen, sky, year	Pil, F.	ragitt, air
Pamp.	banua, * sky, year	Pel. B.	arang-it, clouds
Tag.	langit	Shek. Th.	bubu-kanas, heaven
Bik.	langit	Fav.	boesum [busum], heaven
Pan.	langit	Ka.	wulin, heaven
Kal.	langit	At.	kayal, heaven
M. Mag.	langit	Tang.	kûn yát
Tir.	lavay	Nore the	inpure W1, 7: elond,
Bag.	bragit   kapaladan*	210220-10	aipart vist v. sione,
Sul.	langit		

Note.—With langil, hangin in WL 9 with days the same in WL 15.

<sup>1</sup> Inb. akayang, high.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bis. banus, weather, atmosphere, region, country, fields and mountains, village.

º Gen. Philippine palad (palar), bliss.

### 2. arao; sol, dia; sun, day

	PHILIPPINE		Formosan
, ( agg	au, day	Von.	ware, sun
Ibn. { mai	ta tal langi-t, sun	Tso.	lûre, san
tu ( alde	ao, day	Tsar.	adao, sun
	, sun	Pai. D.	kādao, sun
i ald	no, sun	Pai. T.	kadow
	o, day	Pu.	kadao, sun
Bont. S. agu		Am. D.	tsiral, sun
Bont. J. agé	<sup>2</sup>	Am. F. {	chirara, sun
Lep. agu	oko, sun	1	armiar, day
Dan ∫ ao,	a-ao, sun	Am. T.	childiar, sun
Ban. $\begin{cases} n_{jn} \end{cases}$	tao, day	l	rumiul, day
Ting. { ago	, sun	Pep. Paz.	rezuhu, sun
	ong, day	Pep. Ku.	
Kan. age	ró .	Pep. Ko. {	wagi, sun
Inb. aka	nı	1014 110.	matakuh, morning
Pang. age	10	Pep. B. {	wagi, sun
Pamp. ald	lerac	- (	matakah, day
Tag. ára	to:	Pep. Bak.	icati, sun
Bik. ald	leter	Li.	karan, sun
Pan. adl	lase		chikatanukura,* day
Kal. kal	dao	Tam.	garan, sun
	mgán, san		mo-katada-u, day
M. Mag. \ gun	y, day	Pil. F.	gada-o, sun
T WILL	ang, sun		idento. day
1 <i>gey</i>	, day	Pel. B.	kudao, sun
	resang, sun		garām, day
	y, time, day	Tsui.	tisal, sun
-	remny, day		tata-kale, day
Bag. al-		Sek.	lijach, sun
2011.	yrd, tsun		liahan, day
( etch	luo, day	Shek. Th.	liddock, sun
			lahan, day
		Bu.	hidao, sun
			kushun, day
		Fav.	sisa, zisja, zisha, sun
		Tip.	kador, sun kataraian, day
		Ka.	ilaha, sun
		At.	råge, sun
			rage, sun ¡ whô géi, sun
		Tang.	jih whá géi, day (lit. sun go
		rang.	down)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tag. init, beat.

<sup>†</sup>q -.. ch in German "telt" (Jenks).

OAnti words were collected by Fischer with the help of a Japanese schoolmaster; those from Li-li-sha through an interpreter (Japanese).

English orthography.

# 3. bugan; luna, mes; moon, month. Rev.: bujan

	PHILIPPINE		Formosan
Ibn.	bulán	Von.	toac, moon
Ilk.	búlan	Tso,	porohu, moon
Gin. S.	bulan	Tsar.	iras, moon
Gin. M.	laiád	Pai. D.	keras, moon
Bont. S. J.	fuan	Pai. T.	kiliass, moon
Lep.	buan	Pu.	vuran, moon
Ban.	bulan	Am. D.	urăt, moon
Ting.	bulán	Am. F.	uwaris, moon
Kan.	bu-oan	Am. T.	vulam, moon
Inb.	bulan	Pep. Paz.	iras, moon
Pang.	bulan	Pep. Ku.	vûran, moon
Pamp.	bulan	Pep. Ko.	laran, moon
Tag.	buán, buwan	Pep. B.	buran, moon
Bik.	bulan	Pep. Bak.	buran, moon
Pan.	bulan	Li.	quiliya, moon
Kal.	bulan	Tam.	quiliasi, moon
M. Mag.	ulán-ulán	Pil. F.	buran, moon
Tir.	terresang kelungonón	Pel. B.	aburan, moon
Bag.	bulan	Tsui.	fural, moon
Sul.	biildu	Sek.	ilass, moon
		Shek. Th.	illas, moon
		Bu.	idass, moon
		Fav.	idas
		Tip.	ailiass, moon
		Ka.	j itu, moon
		Ka.	wulon, evening
		At.	rwyatsin, moon
		Tang.	pů yát ching, moon

-- **g**.

4. aguep [agep1]; noche; night. Rev.: ajép, ajip

•	PHILIPPINE		FORMOSAN
Ibn. Ilk. Gin. S. Gin. M. Bont. S. J. Lep. Ban. Ting. Kan. Inb.	Philippine gabí rabii labii madschám* lafi labi mangenag lábi labi adároi labi	Pai. T. Am. F. Am. T. Pep. B. Li. Tam. Pil. F Tsui. Sek. Shek. Th.	FORMOBAN vangaen baraya rumiald madung monggi masurum armun bom-hom leunian balien
Pang. Pamp. Tag. Bik. Pan. Kal. M. Mag. Tir. Bag. Sul.	labi bengi gabi bangi gab-i larii gabi kelungonón dokilom dom kewii, last night	Bu. Fav. Tip. Tang.	bahien { bi-ini } odum, darkness harumung bád láh háng áu

### 5. macuyab [makunab]; tarde; afternoon, evening

			•
	PHILIPPINE		FORMOSAN
Ibn. Ilk. <sup>3</sup> Bont. S. Bont. J. Lep. Ban. Kan. Inb. Pang. Pamp. Tag. Bik. Pan. Kal. M. Mag. Tir. Bag. Sul.	fågab malem masuyaa, evening ni'-sü-yaa, b evening nasdem, evening sanbatangan, evening masdem, evening imachem, evening ngårem gatpanapun, afternoon hapon, afternoon hapun, afternoon napun, afternoon malulem temegén mapun kabal-lin allo mähapun	Pep. Ko. Ka. Fav.	madung, evening wulan, evening marpesa, evening maramoramo, twilight

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. O. Jav. réréb, quiet; Jav. narép, cold; Pang. crép, extinguish.

German pronunciation. Cf. Ilk., Lep., etc., in WL 4.

<sup>8</sup> Ilk. gukayab, mountain-cave.

<sup>\*</sup>Cr. WL 3.

<sup>.</sup> The hyphons show the syllable division of the word; the same in following lists.

#### 6. bitoguen [bitogen]; estrella; star. Rev.: bitujin

#### PHILIPPINE FORMOSAN Ibn. bitún. Bot, T. mata-no-anito lik. bittuén Von. mintokan Gin. S. bituin Tso. tsongoha Gin. M. પાંધમાં ત Tear. rituan Bont, S. Pai. D. talo, talao cituken Pai. T. (fat-ta-ká-kan, large stars eitzakan Bont. J. túk-fi'-fi, small stars Pu. teolLep. talao Am. D. week Ban. butalao, talao Am. F. u-ois Ting. dalán Am. T. rocas Kan. talao Pep. Paz. mintal Inb. talao Pep. Ku. waturua Pang. bituen Pep. Ko. atatingakai, etare batuin Pep. B. Pamp. atating-akai, stars Tag.1 bituin Li. michokan Bik. bitoonTam. michakan Pil. F. Pan. bitoonteor Pel. B. Kal. biton ken ation M. Mag. bituun Teui. tahlutah, etars Sek. Tir. aiteon bintul Bag. karani baboanFav. Sul. bitoon aisennas, small stars Tip. rituren Ka. ndadan, stars At. mintoyan

Tang.

pù âng âh

<sup>&#</sup>x27;\$ = u in English "but" (Jenks).

<sup>\*</sup>Tag. tálá, large shining star; táláng bakero, morning star. In poetry moto is used for star.

#### 7. demdem; 1 nube; cloud

	Риплечие		FORMOMAN
Don.	kunam	Von.	ration
IIk.	űlep	Tso.	tsamtsam
Gin, S.	libán	Tsar.	исприх
Bont. S.	lijio	Pai. D.	karupus
Bont. J.	E-fő-o, cloud, rain	Pu.	katum
Lep.	libuo	Am. D	tounm
Ban.	Blue	Pep. Paz.	ruron
Kan.	liboo	Pep. Ku.	rānum
	(albeng, cloud, mist	Pep. Ko.	rabu
Inb.	{ kalpet, cloud, mist	Pep. B.	ralin
	(ulep, cloud, mist	Pel. B.	arang-it
Demo	{ biga	Tsni.	kali, clouds
Passage.	l lulam, clouded	Sek.	rulung, clouds
	palapáap, cloud, mist	Bu.	rulung, clouds
Tag.	( ulap, cloud, mist	Fav.	rabboe, clouds
	ditim, large cloud	Ka.	tamo, clouds
nit-	1 penganoron	At.	gernm
Bik.	dampóg, mist	Tang.	shin lock, bien gát, clouds
Dom	(gal-um		
Pan.	dampok, clouded sky		
Kal.	naura		
M. Mag.	gabitu		
Tir.	caraen		
Bag.	sagidapon		
Sul.	dempôk		

### 7a. Supplement to word list 7

#### PHILIPPINE<sup>2</sup>

Iłk.	kutunyún, clouded sky malém, evening lúlem, rímer, darkness rimát, to discern indistinct- ly from afar, etc. lemméng, hiding place límed, secret, concealment	Aeta. S. F. Parup.	rèrem, cloud dagim, cloud lòum, cloud  { dationdum, obscure } tulam, clouded } tilim, shade nudditim, dagis
Bont, J,	demdém, disobedience from laziness, etc. fimlim, heavy prolonged storm. crem, to become night crimin, sadness ngárem, evening	Bik.	maddim, dark lilimal, to forget dolom, dark night fulum, dark lum-an, to become clouded dom, night

Note,—The sound-change from c in certain disjects of northern Luzon to Pamp.  $a_i$ . Tag. i, Pan. and Bik, o (n) is typical.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For the root in this and similar forms of the other dialects compare the following supplemental list.

For the Formosan cf. WL 4, night; WL 5, evening; WL 7, cloud.

### 8. afin; tempestad; storm

9. sabansay; viento; wind. Rev.: salausa 41

	PHILIPPINE		FORMOSAN
Ibn.	{ paddad-k, 2 wind } paréng. fresh fair breeze	Von. Tso.	heuhen, wind porepe, wind
Ilk.	angin, wind	Tsar.	care, wind
Gin. S.	bali, * wind	Pai. D.	ware, wind
Bont. S.	soysoy, wind	Pu.	vare, wind
Bont. J.	$\begin{cases} \textit{chn-kim}, \text{ wind} \\ \textit{tim-tim}, \text{ heavy prolonged} \\ \text{storm} \end{cases}$	Am. D. Pep. Paz. Pep. Ku.	care, wind care, wind care, wind
Lep.	tan-nin, wind	Pep. Bak.	bah, wind
Ban.	angin; wind	Fav.	j <i>barri</i> , wind
Kan.	dagem, wind	rav.	l bayus, bajus, a storm*
Inb.	chagam, wind	Ka.	mali, wind
Pang.	dagem, wind	At.	raihui,* wind
Pamp.	angin, wind	Tang.	tû long, wind
Tag.	hangm, wind		
Bik.	doros, wind		
Pan.	hangis, wind		
Kal.	dilit, wind		
M. Mag.	endá, wind		
Tir.	{ refurre, wind { tundús, soft wind		
Bag.	karamag, wind		
Sul.	hangin, wind		

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Tag. salayosay, the soft blowing of the wind. Ilk, salayosoy, wind entering through chinks; water passing through cracks. Cf. Bont. S. above.

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>d$  or k is heard.

 $<sup>^{8}</sup>$  Note correspondence with Formosan and cf. Negrito of Baler  $p\acute{a}r\acute{s}s$ , wind, which approaches Ib.  $par\acute{c}ng$ .

<sup>\*</sup>Cf. the general Philippine word bagyo, storm (from Sanskrit ways, wind).

10. chivat; relampago; lightning. Rev.: chidat

	PHILIPPINE		Formosan
Ibn.	kilā-t	Pel. B.	armung
	( kimát	Tsui.	harbuk
Ilk.	{ kiláp, glitter of precious	Sek.	malapend
625- G	l stones	Bu.	sassaina
Gin. S.	idul	Fav.	lalka
Bont. S.	kumetap <sup>2</sup>	Ka.	lipalipa
Bont. J.	<i>յմը-կմբ</i>	Tang.	arce toh pûn niek*
Lep,	adem		
Ban.	kilot		
Kan.	bagilat		
Inb.	∫ bagidat		
THO.	kerul, thunder		
Pang.	kirmat		
Pamp.	kildap		
Tag.	kidlat		
Bik.	kilát		
Pan.	kilat		
Kal.	kodlap		
M. Mag.	kilab .		
Tir.	sila		
Bag.	kirong		
Sul.	kitat		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The v in this word may be a misprint.

----

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Kumctap evidently = stem ketap + infix um.

Meaning god or devil of fire.

# 11. apul; fuego; fire

	PHILIPPINE		FORMOSAN
Ibn.	afuy	Von.	яаров
Iłk.	ариу	Tso.	pujja
Gin. S.	арон	Tsar.	кариі
Gin. M.	apui	Pai. D.	rapoi
Bont. S.	ариу	Pai. T.	sapoe
Bont. J.	a-pu'-i	Pu.	apoi
Ļep.	apuy	Am. D.	ramal
Ban.	apoy	Am. F.	namaro
Ting.	apúi	Am. T.	namar
Kan.	ариу	Pep. Paz.	hapai
Inb.	ариі	Pep. Ku.	ramah
Pang.	ариу	Pep. Ko.	apui
Pamp.	{ api	Pep. B.	apui
-	{ tauo ¹	Pep. Bak.	apoi
Tag.	apuy	Li.	варроі
Bik.	kalayo	Tam,	sappoi
Pan.	kalayo	Pil. F.	арог
Kal.	ариу	Pil. Th.	арні
M. Mag.	apuy	Pel. B.	арш
Tir.	{ c fey	Tsui.	apin
	(frayag	Sek.	hapu-i
Bag.	apoy	Bu.	hapunek
Sul.	kayu	Fav.	<sub>.</sub> chau
		Tip.	арое
		Ka.	apu
		Pach.	apooth
		Sib.	sapooth
		Tib.	pooju
		Bang.	apoolu
		Bant.	проон
		At.	ponnyak <sup>1</sup>
		Tang.	piin niek*

Cf. with Formosan Fav. chau. Fav. ch (guttural) stands most often for Philippine 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Sek. and Bu.

12. danum (catechism: ranum); agua; water

	PHILIPPINE		FORMOSAN
Ibn.	danúm	Bot. T.	rannm
Ilk.	danúm	Von.	ranum
Gin. S.	danum	Tso.	tsōmo
Gin. M.	sunum	Tsar.	zărum
Bont. S.	danum	Pai. D.	zayon
Bont. J.	chě-num	Pai. T.	lalium
Lep.	danum	Pu.	nnai
Ban.	danum	Am. D.	напон
Ting.	tanum	Am, F.	nanm
Kan.	danum	Am. T.	ианан
Inb.	chamm	Pep. Paz.	darina
Pang.	danum	Pep. Ku.	rarana
Pamp.	danum	Pep. Ko.	dahun
Tag.	túbig	Pep. B.	dalum
Bik.	túbig	Pep. Bak.	jalum
Pan.	tubig	Li.	jiaru
Kal.	vai	Tam.	jiarun
M. Mag.	ig	Pil. F.	nai
mt.	( uayeg	Pil. Th.	a-tuci
Tir	{ reguas	Pel. B.	ane
Bag.	uaig <sup>t</sup>	Tsni.	tsarnin
Sul.	tubig	Sek.	dalom
		Bu.	kasia
		Fav.	ter 2
		Tip.	ганн
		Ka.	lalin
		Pach.	satloom
		Sib.	munum
		Tib.	choomai
		Bang.	achilai
		Bant.	achikai
		At.	kusiya
		Tang.	kūt siā, k⁄tsiā

<sup>!</sup> Ilk. waig. brook; Ibn. ney. brook, creek.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Nahang, Suk. (Mon. Klimer) do. water. Bersisi do, doh, etc., water. Cf. also Tag. tubig.

# 13. tana; tierra; earth

	PHILIPPINE	FORMOSAN
Ibn.	dabbún	Von. darak
Ilk.	dagâ	Tso, tsorva
Gin. M.	Indda	Tsar. kadunangan
Bont. S.	lutá	Pai. D. ppepo
Lep.	tanap 1	Pai. T. keipo
Ban.	lato	Pu. důl
Ting.	bida	Am. D. sra
Кап.	luta _	Am. T. sira
Inb.	búdai	Pep. Paz. rejik-ddahha
Pang.	dálin	Pep. Ku. wanan
Pamp.	∫ gabúu	Pep. Bak. ni
ranip.	l labuad	Pil. Th. darak
Tag.	lúpa	Fav. {ta, land, territory, ground
Bik.	dagá	ta-os ata, the earth
Pan.	dutá	Tip. zareik
M. Mag.	lupa	Ka. www.
Tir.	f fántad	At. hegal
111.	l tuná	Tang. Arao
Bag.	tana	
Sul.	boni	

### 14. aoan; año; year

#### PHILIPPINE

Ibn.	dagán	Danne	banna, year, sky
Ilk.	tanén	Pamp.	baliktaon
Gin. M.	dagun	Tag.	taox
Bont. S.	taoen	Bik.	taon
Bont, J.	ta'-win	Pan.	tu-ig
,	( taoen	Kal.	takon
Lep.	(teoen	M. Mag.	ragem
**	( tuoen	Tir.	belintuá
Ban.	toon nana	D	( bia-an, year, age *
Ting.	magadanin	Bag.	hom-me, year, rices
Kan.	taoen	Sul.	tahun
Inb.	taón		
Pang.	( taben, sky		
	taon		

### FORMOSAN

#### Fav. bans

#### 56896---3

ilik, tanap, level ground, especially on mountain tops.

<sup>\*</sup> Ilk. biag, life.

Bis. homay, rice (on the stalk).

15. dada; oriente; orient. Rev.: dadaan; niaya dumada; salir el sol; rising of the sun

#### PHILIPPINE

#### FORMOSAN

#### 16. sabong; flor; flower

	PHILIPPINE		FORMOSAN
1bn.	lappan	Pai. T.	tsalingiu
Ilk.	sábung	Am. F.	waro
Bont. J.	fing-a	Am. T.	iris
Kan.	bungu <sup>6</sup>	Pep. Ko.	inib
In's.	benega	Pep. B.	isib
Pang.	su:npaga	Pep. Bak.	eserb
T1	( sampaga	Li.	bujiangan
Pamp.	balaklak	Tam.	chapoi
Tag.	ladaklak	Pil. F.	apott
Bik.	bvrak	Pel. B.	nasar
Pan.	bulak	Tsui.	bokai
Kal.	talog	Sek.	tulala
M M	(ulak (urak) á kayo	Fav.	tullala
M. Mag.	l ubur-ubar	Tip.	rangdaran
Tim	( ulak	Ka.	∫ isi
Tir.	onok knyen, flower, fruit	Na.	tulala
Bag.	kabokad	Tang.	ра ра
Sal.	sumping		

<sup>&#</sup>x27; Tag. and Bis. bays, glowing coals.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Pep. Ko. shows the prefix tage- in the terms for the four cardinal points.

<sup>\*</sup>Gin. M. daya, Bont. S. chaya, Lep. daya = sky.

<sup>\*</sup> Tag, silang, rising of stars etc.: Bis, sobday.

<sup>1</sup> Sul. kásubángen, new moon.

<sup>4</sup> Tag., Bik., and Pan. bunga = fruit.

Tonok = anak. The term onek kapen seems to confirm Codrington's supposition that the primary meaning of anak is not "child" but "appendage," or "belonging"; onek kapen = appendage of tree.

# 17. yamot; raiz; root

	PHILIPPINE		Formosan
Ibn.	gamú-t	Pai. T.	kapas
Ilk.	rumut 1	Am. T.	kakein
Bont. J.	la-mot', root of plant	Pel. B.	ourat
Kan.	lamót	Tsui,	fila
Inb.	$dam \acute{o}t$	Sek.	hameus
Pang.	sengeg	Ru.	suparap
Pamp.	∫ yamot		. ,
r amp.	l nakad	Tsar.	dame, blood
Tag. <sup>†</sup>	ugat, root, vein	Pai. D.	yamak, blood
Bik.	gamot	Pai. T.	diamok, blood
Pan.	gamut .	Pep. Paz.	damo, blood
Kal.	lamot	Pep. B.	grana, blood
M. Mag.	bekau, root, sprout	Pel. B.	damok, blood
Tir.	darrir*	Sek.	damuh, blood
Bag.	raniot	Tip.	rmi, blood
Sul.	akag	At.	rammo, blood

Norg.-This list is to be considered in connection with the following.

#### 18. uyat; venas; veins

### PHILIPPINE

Ibn.	kalló-k, vein	Pang.	·/··. vein
Ilk.	urát, vein	Pamp.	úyat, vein
Gin. S.	<i>uyát</i> , vein, shank	Tag.	ugat, vein, root
Bont. S.	sup-sup, vein	Bik.	ogat, vein
Bont. J.	wath, vein	Pan.	ugat, vein
Lep.	uat, vein	M. Mag.	ugat, vein
Ban.	ulot, vein	Tir.	urrat, vein
Kan.	uoat, vein	Bag.	ogat, vein
Inb.	ulat, vein	Sul.	urat, vein

### FORMOSAN

#### Fav. oggoch, a vein, a sinew

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Ilk. gamit, vegetal poison; Ilk. gamó, bark or fruit added to bási (wine of sugar cane).

Tag. gamót, medicine; damó, herb.

M. Mag. dalug, dalig, a certain tuber.

#### 19. tao; hombre; man (homo)

	PHILIPPINE		FORMOGAN
Ibn. Iik. Gin. S. Bont. S. Bont. J. Ban. Kan. Inb. Pang. Pamp. Tag. Bik. Pan. Kal. M. Mag. Tir. Bag. Sul.	tolog táo táo tágo ta'-ku, one person tágo ipagao* tóó too tao tao tao tao tao tao tao tao tao	Pai. T. Pu. Am. T. Pel. B. Fav. Tip. Rant. Tang.	teateon, mankind ute tamdiao, mankind atea  † cho } babasa mantaonan, mankind acolai kitse täh héi, one man

'ipugdo as equivalent for ian (homo) in Kankanaey resembles the use given the same term in another locality. Prof. Worcester (The Non-Christian Tribes of North-orn Luzon, p. 832) states: "Some of the Bontoc Igorots call themselves Ipukaos, or Ifugaos, but no special significance attaches to this fact, as the name Ipukaos, or Ifugaos, means simply 'people.' " My Kankanacy source does not mention if ipugao is to such an extent equivalent of fao that it applies also to white people. Regarding its etymology Dr. Pardo de Tavera (Etimologia de los Nombres de Razas de Filipinas) says: "This name is explained by Ibanae where we find ifugau to signify 'islander.'"

 gacay, magacay [gakay, magakay]; varon; male person. Rev.: jakay, majakay

	Philippine		FORMORAN <sup>1</sup>
lbn.	lalaki	Bot. T	magakai, man
Ilk.	laláki*	Von.	rananak, man
Gin. S.	laláki	Tso.	hahutsun, man
Gin. M.	laláki	Tsar.	arai, man
Bont. S.	laki	Pai. D.	ohayai, man
Bont, J.	la-la'-ki, man	Pai. T.	okaditai, male
Lep.	lalaki	Pu.	utu, man
Ban.	laloy	Am. D.	rainai, man
Ting.	laláki	Am. T.	rainaian, male
Kan.	łalaki	Pep. Paz.	wawaruu, man
Inb.	dá.ri*	Pep. Ka.	<i>rimmui</i> , man
Pang.	laki, male person, grand-	Pep. Ko.	anama, man
	father	Pep. B.	anawa, man
Pamp.	lalaki	Pep. Bak.	<i>kaguling-noi</i> , man
Tag.	ledáki	rep. bak.	l amo, male
Bik.	lalaki	Pil. Th.	j mainaen, maie
Pan.	lalaki	2 11. 3 44.	l atimbe, man
Kal.	talii	Tsui.	spet, man
M. Mag.	laki-laki*	Sek.	winh, man
Tir.	lagey	Shek. Th.	manalang, man
Bag.	mama	Bu.	edāk, man
Sul.	isak, male	Fav.	sham, a man
		Tip.	marinai, male
		Pach.	laluss, man
		Sib.	lamoosa, man
		Bang.	sarellai, man
		At.	murekoi, man
		Am. T.	raeakei, husband
		Pep. Paz.	rakehal, son
		Sek.	rakihal, son
		Shek. Th.	takehan, child
		Bu.	lokai, son
		At.	rakei, child, son
		Tang.	wa lá ki, boy

<sup>&</sup>quot;I am not sure but that some of the forms here given signify "person."

<sup>2</sup> Ilk, laksy, old man.

<sup>2</sup> x = ch in German "ach."

<sup>4</sup> M. Mag. laki, husband; M. Mag. mawa, male.

# 2). ama; padre y padrino; father, godfather. Rev.: amá

	PHILIPPINE		FORMOGAN
Ibn.	ama, father	Bot. T.	ama, father
Ilk.	amá, father	Von.	tama, father
Gin. S.	ama, father	Tso.	ammu, father
Bont, S. J.	ama, father	Tsar.	kamma, father
Lep.	ama, father	Pai. D.	ama, father
Ban.	ama, father	Pai. T.	ama, father
Kan.	amá, father	Pu.	awa, father
Inb.	ama, father	Am. D.	ama, father
Pang.	amá, father	Am. F.	ama, father
Pamp.	ibpa, father	Am. T.	ina, father
Tag.	amá, father	Pep. Paz.	ara, father
Bik.	amá, father	Pep. Ku.	tama, father
Pan.	amay, father	Pep. Ko.	dama, father
Kal.	ama, father	Pep. B.	dama, father
M. Mag.	ama, father	Pep. Bak.	ima, father
	( abay, father	Li.	kamma, father
Tir.	eboj, father	Tain.	amma, father
	am-ma, father	Pil. F.	ama, father
Bag.	ame, father	Pil. Th.	amoko, father
	túgol, father	Pel. B.	ama, father
Sal.	áma, father	Tsni.	ama, father
	,	Sek.	aba, father
		Shek, Th.	aba, father
		Bu.	taina, father
		Fav.	mau, father
		Tip.	ama, father
		Ka.	ehma, father
		At.	yara, father
		Tang.	yá há, father

# 22. baques, mabaques [bakes, mabakes]; hembra; female

	PHILIPPINE		FORMOSAN
Ibn.	babay, woman	Bot. T.	bakush, woman
Ilk.1	babá-i, woman	Von.	rennou, woman
Gin. S.	babay, woman	Tso.	mamespinge, woman
Bont, 8.	babay, bafay, woman	Tsar.	rarayan, woman
Bont. J.	fa-fay-i, woman	Pai. D.	ravayan, woman
Lep.	babay, woman	Pai. T.	ravaien, woman
	(babay, woman	Pu.	omos, woman
Ban.	mafayat, woman	Am. D.	varayan, woman
Ting.	babai, woman	Am. F.	babayan, woman
Kan.	baba-y, woman	Am. T.	ravaheian, woman
Inb.	bii, woman	Pep. Paz.	mamayus, woman
Pang.2	biy, woman	Pep. Ku.	turu*gan, woman
Pamp.	babay, woman	Pep. Ko.	mina, woman
Tag.	babai, babayi, woman	Pep. B.	ining, woman
Bik.	babaye, woman	Pep. Bak.	enina, woman
Pan.	babaye, woman	Li.	majian, woman
Kal.3	babay, woman	Tam.	babayan, woman
M. Mag.	babay, woman	Pit. F.	babayan, woman
Tir.	libun, woman	Pil. Tb.	babaian, woman
Bag.	bay, baye, woman	Tsui.	mingawat, woman
Sul.	babai, woman	Sek.	mamais, woman
		Shek. Th.	mameoss, woman
		Bu,	makaidil, woman
		Fav.	sini, woman
		Tip.	ravaien, woman
		Pach.	atlain, woman
		Sib.	maou-spingth, woman
		Bang.	"abaia, woman
		Bant.	abaia, woman
		At.	kumirin, woman
		Tang.	{ kâ ni di in, woman kâ ni dî it, woman

<sup>1</sup> Ilk. bakët, old woman, spouse.

<sup>2</sup> Pang, bái, grandmother.

<sup>\*</sup> Kal. abinian, sister.

23. ina; madre, madrastra; mother, stepmother

	Philipping		FORMOSAN
Ibn:	{ iná, mother } yina, mother	Bot. T. Von.	inana, mother tena, mother
lik.	ini, mother	Tso. 1	enny, mother
Gin. 8.	ina, mother	Tsar.	kimu, mother
Bont. S. J.	ina, mother	Pai. D	kina, mother
Lep.	ina, mother	Pai. T.	kina, mother
Ban.	ina, mother	Pu.	ina, mother
Kan.	iné, mother	Am. D.	ina, mother
Inb.	ina, mother	Am. F.	inu, mother
Pang.	ing, mother	Am. T.	ina, mother
Pamp,	indu,1 mother	Pep. Paz.	ina, mother
Tag.	iná,² mother	Pep. Ku.	tena, mother
Bik.	ina, mother	Pep. Ko.	<i>jena</i> , mother
Pan.	finang, mother	Pep. B.	jena, mother
1 4111.	l ilog, mother	Pep. Bak.	ina, mother
Kal.	ina, mother	Li.	kinna, mother
M. Mag.	im, mother	Tam.	inna, mother
Tir.	ideng, <sup>3</sup> mother	Pil. F.	ing, mother
Bag.	inc, mother, ascendants,	Pil. Th.	abu, mother
	grandparents	Pel. B.	ina, mother
Sul.	iom, mother	Tsui.	ina, mother
		Sek.	ina, mother
		Shek, Th.	inna, mother
		Bu.	bubu, mother
		Fav.	uni, mother
		Tip.	ina, mother
		Ka.	", mother
		At.	yaya, mother
		Tang.	yá yá, mother

<sup>1</sup> Dayak inda, mother.

<sup>2</sup> Tag. inda, term of endearment for mother.

<sup>3</sup> Tir. ina, aunt, stepmother, etc.

Bag. ing ing, godmother.

# 24. anac: [anak]; hijo; child (issue)

	PHILIPPINE		Formosan
Ibn. Ilk.	aná-k anák	Von. Tso.	uwa'a, child, son okku, child. son
Bont. S. J. Lep.	anak anak	Tsar.	( unn-unn, child ( mra, son
Kan. Inb.	anák anak <sup>1</sup>	Pai. D.	( k*kryan, child   aryak, son
Pang.	anak	Pai. T.	kakadian, child
Pamp. Tag. <sup>2</sup>	anak anak	Pu.	{ rarak, child { wara, son
Bik. Kal.	ákí <sup>‡</sup> ana	Am. D.	{ kama <sup>n</sup> gai, child { wawa, son
M. Mag.	rata, infant child	Am. F.	kammangar, son
Tir.	onok, child	Am. T.	kamangai, child
Bag.	bota, child, infant	Pep. Paz.	roraroran, child
Sul.	anak, child	Pep. Ku. Pep. Ko.	sucis, child alak, son
		Pep. Ro. Pep. B.	alak, son
		Pep. Bak.	alak, son
		Li.	kadoliau, son
		Tam.	kakunoan, son
		Pil. F.	marsu, son
		Pil. Th.	alak, son
		Pel. B.	walak, son
		Tsui.	alalak, son, boy
		Sek.	rakihal, son
		Shek. Th.	lakehan, child
		Bu.	lakai, son
		Fav.	shirm badda, son, boy   shirm mammali, daughter, girl
		Tip.	iliálak, child
		Ka.	ala, son
		At.	rakri, son, child
		Tang.	vá lá ki, boy

l Inb. aának, infant.

Tag. bata, infant.

<sup>3</sup> Bik. anak, the unborn young of the buffalo cow. Bik. kaganak, parents, father, mother,

25. cactec; [kaktck]; hermano; brother. Rev.: kaktej

# PHILIPPINE

## FORMORAN

Ibn. Ilk. Gin. S.	uagi, brother, sister, relative kabsát, brother, sister sunút, brother, sister	Pep. Ko. Pep. B. Sek.	nigaha nigaha namak	
Bont. S.	ptad	Bu.	nakial	
Bont. J.	u'-na			
Lep.	besat, brother, sister			
Ban.	ibano,1 brother, sister			
Kan.	kabrát, brother, sister			-
Inb.	ági, brother, sister			
Pang.	ági, brother, sister			
Pamp.	kapatad, brother, sister			
Tag.	kapatid, brother, sister			
Bik.	túgang, brother, sister			
Pan.	átud, brother, sister			
M. Mag.	lusud se tian, brother, sister			
Tir.	{ lágey, brother, man { libun, sister, woman			
Bag.	adı, younger brother, friend			

Note.—Where I had the choice I give only the general term for "brother." There are others which distinguish the elder from the younger, etc.

# 26. uyud: á malquem [malkem]; anciano; old man

# PHILIPPINE

Ibn	{ lakalakay	Tag.	matandá
Ilk.	kakai, grandfather lakáy	Bik.	{ matandá { magúrang
Gin. S.	malakey, old	Pan.	i magurang tigálang
Bont. J.	am-a'-ma	M. Mag.	lukes
Kan.	nákay	Tir.	lukes
Inh.	asixen *	Bag.	{ topay, old
Pang.	masiken baki, grandfather	Sul.	togól, old mäás, old
Pamp.	tua		milesty ord

# FORMOSAN

Fav. { masham, an old man mahabosa, an old man

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tag. iba, another, kaiba, different; Bik. iba, different, kaiba, companion; Bis. iba, companion, remainder.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Uyud is used in Batan to emphasize a quality; here therefore probably "a truly old." "a very old man."

<sup>\*</sup>x=ch in German "ach."

# 27. patul; rey; king

# PHILIPPINE

Ibn.	patúl	Pan.	hari
Ilk.1	ári	M. Mag.	jadi 2
·Pamp.	ari	Tir.	adi
Tag.	hárî	Bag.	hadi
Bik.	hádi	Sul.	rájá $h$

# 28. ngaran; nombre, name

# PHILIPPINE

Ibn.	ngagan <sup>3</sup>	Pamp.	lagiu
Ilk.	nágan	Tag.	ngalan
Bont. S.	nagan	Bik.	ngaran
Lep.	ngaran	Pan.	ingalan
Ban.	nagan	M. Mag.	ngalan
Kan.	ngudan	Tir.	danet
Inb.	идаган	Bag.	ngàdan
Pang.	ngaray	Sul.	ngan

# FORMOSAN

# Fav. naan

<sup>1</sup> lik. agturay, he who governs, chief.

<sup>\*</sup> j = Span. j.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibn. nyáral, voice. Two other phonologically interesting word forms for "name" are: Gaddan nyahan and Islany nyaron.

29. ogo; cabeza; head. Rev.; ojo

	PRILIPPINE		FORMOBAN
Jbn.	nlú	Bot. T.	roboya
Ilk.	ólo	Von.	rongā
Gin. S.	ulu	Tso.	ponngo
Gin. M.	ulu	Tsar.	MEN
Bout. S. J.	olo	Pai. D.	kõru
Lep.	olo	Pai. T.	kuro
Ban.	tok-kol	Pu.	tangal
Ting.	bagang	Am. D.	wo <sup>n</sup> goko
Kan.	toktok	Am. F.	mingo
Inb.	toktok	Am. T.	vungor
Pang	olo	Pep. Paz.	ponō
Pamp.	bantuk	Pap. Ku.	uho
Tag.	ulo	Pep. Ko.	bungu
Bik.	payó	Pep. B.	brung-u
Pan.	olo	Pep. Bak.	шопдон <b>д</b>
Kal.	kolo	Tam.	koro
M. Mag.	ulu	Pil. F.	tagoro
Tir.	ulen	Pil. Th.	tungrow
Bag.	ola	Pel. B.	tangaro
Sul.	holi	Tsui.	puno
		Sek.	punu
		Shek. Th.	poenat
		Bu.	tunuch
		Fav.	oeno, head, handle, hilt
		Tip.	tanguru
		Ka.	malu
			mën <b>g-o</b>
		Pach.	bangoo
		Sib.	bangoo
		Tib.	sapehi
		Bang.	kapallu
		Bant.	kapallu
		At.	tomohu
	-	Tang.	tők noch

For comparison with Formosan dialects: Ilk. poon, stom. trunk, origin; Pamp. pún, stem, trunk; Tag. púnő, stem, trunk, chief.

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30. moin; frente; forehead muing; rostro; face
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3). dangoy; rostro, cara; face

# PHILIPPINE

# FORMOSAN

Ibn.  Pang. Lep. Lep. Pan. Bik. Sul.	ming, beard muting, face miging, forch miding, clitori moling, chin angus, thin angus, face aglung, forche angog, face, in dagbus, face	s ad ad	Pep. Paz. Tsui. Sek. Shek. Th. Bu. Tsar. Pai. D. Tam. Ka. Bant.	mujin, nose mujing, nose mujing, nose mooding, nose moding, nose argal, mouth agayi, mouth angos, nose ongako, nose
	PACE	FOREHEAD	Pai. D.	badingan, face
Ibn.	mutung	muka-t	Am. T.	louui, face
Ilk.	rúpa	noó. (antiq.)	Pil. Th.	tungur, face
Gin. S.	lopa	tizey	Tip.	budingan, face
Bont. S.	kamos	gitang	Ka.	sumi, face
Bont. J.		ki'-tong		
Lep.	ungus	napedsa		
Ban.	tenail	tatok		
Kan.	lupa	kitong		
Inb.	dúpa	tamo'-k		
Pang.	lúра	moling		
Pamp.	<i>lápa</i>	kanuan		
Tag.	muk- $ha$	noó		
Bik.	lalaugon	angog		
Pan.	guya nawung	agtang		
Kal.	emet,	totoan		
M. Mag.	{ bias parás	benang		
Tir.	{ rangi { falas	rangi		
Bag.	bonnong (?)	bokod		
Sul.	daghus	toktok		
Norm -	Cf. also Wt. 82	Mormouse		

NOTE .-- Cf. also WL 32, Formosan.

Sakaya S. Kerbou. Somang, moin, tooth.

<sup>2</sup> Bulud Opie angas, face.

# 32. mumutdan; nariz; nose. Rev.: mumudan

	PHILIPPINE		FORMOSA
Ibn.	sima-t, mouth	Bot. T.	momosa
	muting, face	Von.	"gutos
Bik.	ngimut, upper lip , chimut, beard (?), chin (?)	Teo.	≥gutsu
Kal.	emet, face	Tsar.	*govlox
	emuel, cheeks	Pai. D.	*gurus
Sul.	simut, month	Pai. T.	mudios
		Pu.	ate*guran
Ibn.	igung	Am. D.	Bg080
Ilk.	agong	Am. F.	musso
Gin. S.	ongol	Am. T.	uuse
Gin. M.	ongól	Pep. Paz.	mujin
Bont. S.	eleng	Pep. Ku.	www
Bont, J.	i-ling'	Pep. Ko.	gung-us
Lep.	eng	Pep. B.	gung-us
Ban.	along	Pep. Bak.	togunut
Ting.	onót	Tam.	ndushi
Kan.	cleng	Pil. F.	teguran
Inb.	idong	Pil. Th.	alingran
Pang.	eléng	Pel. B.	ating-run
Pamp.	arung	Tsui.	ากหน้า
Tag.	ilong	Sek.	mujing
Bik.	dongó	Shek, Th.	mooding
Pan.	ilong	Bu.	mohing
Kal.	orong	Fav.	not
M. Mag.	ngirung	Tip.	nulan
Tir.	irung		( lut
Bag.	idong	Ka.	migos
Sul.	ilóng	Pach.	ngoon-goro
		Sib.	muttus
		Tib.	nguchn
			пунски саотопи
		Bang.	COMORN

Bant,

Tang.

At.

ongoha

ngaho

ngŏ hŏh

# 33. ngoso; boca; mouth

	PHILIPPINE		FORMOSAN
Ibn.	simic-t	Bot. D.	bebe
Ilk.	ngioat	Von.	*gurus
Gin. S.	boti	Tso.	*garu
Gin. M.	dubók	Tsar.	a <sup>n</sup> gat
Bont. S.	tupei	Pai. D.	ungai
Bont. J.	to-puk'	Pai. T.	hamgeild
Lep.	tipu	Pu.	imdan
Ban.	bobaba	Am. D.	ngoyon¹
Ting.	dub6k	Am. F.	manyusu
Kan.	tepék	Am. T.	moeuss
Inb.	bungot	Pep. Paz.	rahkal .
Pang.	sangi	Pep. Ku.	*goyok
Pamp.	) asbuk	Pep. Ko.	mutut <sup>1</sup>
- ump	( bunganga *	Pep. B.	mulut
_	bibig	Pep. Bak.	mutut 1
Tag.	bungángá	Tam.	agayi
	l bunya	Pil. F.	indm
Bik.	пдонов	Pil. Th.	indun
Pan.	habá	Pel. B.	inden
Kal.	nganga	Tsui.	lulit
M. Mag.	ngali	Sek.	rahal
Tir.	ebá	Shek. Th.	lahar .
Bag.	§ bab-bu	Bu.	ko-ak
_	$bibi_{s}^{s}$	Fav.	j ranied, mouth, conversation
Sul.	simut	- *** *	\ sabbacha*
		Tip.	utong
		Ka.	ulimot
		Pach.	museoa
		Sib.	nipoen <sup>6</sup>
		Bang.	didisi
		Bant.	nuto-nytoo
		At.	nokoak
		Tang.	j lá guáck
			lá guáss

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. these and similar forms with WL 32.

<sup>\*</sup> Meaning perhaps the round concavity of the mouth.

<sup>\*</sup>Ilk. ngosab, the snapping of a pig in eating; Ilk. ngoingot, to crunch, bite; Ilk. ongsáp, to cut off slantingly; Tag. ngúso, upper lip, snout; Tag. ongos, to cut off at the extreme end; upper lip, snout.

<sup>\*</sup> Tag. sábak, notch; Samang sábak, lips.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. WL 36.

34. bibl; labio; lip. Rev.; bibig

	PHILIPPINE		FORMOBAN
Ibn.	bibig, lip, rim	Bot. D.	bele, mouth
Ilk.	bibig	Pep. B.	babibit, lips
Gin. 8.	supit	Pep. Ko.	babibit, lips
Bont. S.	lugvil	Pel. B.	birbir, lips
Bont. J.	so'-fil, upper lip	Tsui.	bipi, lips
Lep.	hibet	Sek.	ruli, lips
Ban.	timit	Bu.	padahung, lips
Kan.	song rong	Fay.	dorren, lips
Inb.	subit	Ka.	wufén, lips
Pang.	bibîl	Tang.	páráhúm, lips
Pamp.	labi, lip spout of a vessel		
Tag.	(bibig, mouth lábi, under lip, rim ngôsô, upper lip ongos, upper lip		
Bik.	ngabil, upper lip   ngimot, under lip		,
Pan.	bibig, lips		
Kal.	bibil, lips		
M. Mag.	hibil, lips   mudul, upper lip		
Tir.	bever, 2 lip, snout, rim		
Bag.	hilig, lips, mouth		
Sul.	hight simut, lips ("rim omouth")	of	

# 35. rida; lengua; tongue

	PHILIPPINE		FORMOSAN
Ibn. Ilk. Gin. M. Bont. J. Ting. Kan. Inb. Pang. Pamp. Tag. Bik. Pan. Kal.	Pattiveine jila* dila chila chila dila dila dila dila dila dila dila d	Pai. T. Am., T. Pep. Ko. Pep. B. Pel. B. Tsui. Sek. Bu. Fav. Tip. Ka. Tang.	Formosan ngisongiss ngisingiss dadila dalilah ash-ma ama yo-hama hema { tazirra { tatsira talila má lé
M. Mag. Tir. Bag. Sul.	dila dila dila dibih		

<sup>1</sup> Tag. bold, excess, what is over.

in is used by P. Bennasar to denote the clear Spanish c.

a in derivatives ribs.

# 36. nipuen; diente, tooth. Rev.: ûipuen

	PHILIPPINE		FORMOSAN
Ibn. Ilk. Gin. S. Gin. M. Bont. S. Bont. J. Lep. Ban. Ting. Kan. Inb. Pang. Pamp. Tag. Bik. Pan. Kal. M. Mag. Tir.	ngipan ngipen nepon fiafid kubay fob-a' baba bab-a nebing but-d sangi \(^1\) ngipuen ipan ngipin ngipon ngipon ngipen kifen	Von. Tso. Tsar. Pai. D. Pai. T. Pu. Am. D. Am. T. Pep. Paz. Pep. Ku. Pep. Ko. Pep. B. Pep. Bak. Pel. B. Tsui. Sek. Bu. Fav.	niepon hisi harisi aris aliss ware wares valiss rupun wangan valit, teeth valit valit teeth valit valit, teeth lipcung, teeth rupun, teeth sjien, teeth sjien, teeth
Bag. Sul.	ngipon { ipocu, tooth (front) { taugo, tooth (eye)	Tip. Ka. Sib. Tib. At.	rali lipén, teeth nipoon, mouth nganon gennoku
		Tang.	gin noch, tooth, teeth

1 Ilk. sangi, molar, jaw.

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# 37. mata; ojo; eye

Ibn. matá B		
LUII. MARKE	ot. D.	mata
Ilk. natá V	on.	mata
Gin. 8. matá Ts	50.	nnutso
Gin. M. adá Te	sar.	matsa
Bont. S. J. mata Pa	al.D.	matsa
	ai. T.	matsa
Ban. mata Pe	u. :	mata
Fing. adá A	m. D.	nata
	m. F,	mata
	m. T.	mata
	ep. Paz.	daorek
		mata
	ep. Ko.	mata, eyes
	ep. B. :	mata, eyes
		mata
		macka
4.		nata
		mata
G.		mata, eyes
		nasa, eyes
		dourik, eyes
		darik
· B		douruk, eyes
		mogcha, <b>eyes</b>
	-1	mata
		masa
		oo <del>r</del> aitla
		mata
		muchen
		macha
		nacha
		raoyak
Ti	ang.	lao yeek

38. tadiña; oreja; car

	PHILIPPINE		FORMORAN
Ibn.	talinga	Bot. D.	tarrgan
Ilk.	talinga	Von.	tainga
Gin. S.	inga	Tso.	köru
Gin. M.	ingu	Tsar.	tsoringa
Bont, S.	kooeng .	Pai. D.	tsari¤ga
Bont. J.	ko-wëng'	Pai. T.	tsalinga
Lep.	mginga	Pu.	ra=gera
Ban.	tapoya	Am. D.	tari*ga
Ting.	ina	Am. F.	tariga
Kan.	keneng	Am. T.	tangila
Inb.	tangirla	Pep. Paz.	*a*gera
Pang.	layág -	Pep. Ku.	kayat
	( balugbúg	Pep. Ko.	tangira
Pamp.	talinga, (special term for	Pep. B.	tang-ira, ears
	ear; also ears of pots, etc.)	Pep. Bak.	tangela
Tag.	tainga, ear (also of pots, etc.)	Tam.	hariga
Bik.	talinga	Pil. F.	tagira
Pan.	dalungun	Pil. Th.	tungila
Kal.	talenga	Pel. B.	tang-ira
M. Mag.	tangila	Tsui.	sorina
Tir.	grkingo	Sek.	sangira, ears
Bag.	talinga	Bu.	birāt, ears
Sul.	taignă .	Fav.	charrina, ears
		Tip.	langera
		Ka.	salila
		Pach.	charunga
		Bang.	charinga, ears
		Bant.	charinga, ears
		At.	papāk
		Tang.	pá páck

# 39. susu; stem of sumusu; mamur; to suck at the breast

#### PRILIPPINE

#### FORMOSAN

Ibn.	gáta-t,¹ breast of female   mussussu-p, to suck	Bot. D. Von.	sow, nipple tsitsi, nipple
Ilk.	nim, breast of female	Tso.	nunu, nipple
Bont. S.	Non, breast of female	Tsar.	tatu, nipple
Bont, J.	m'-m, breast, nipple	Pai. D.	tutu, nipple
Lep.	som, breast of female	Pu.	susu, nippie
Ban.	susu, breast of female	Am. D.	tsutsu, nipple
Kan.	www. breast of female	Pep. Paz.	anaho nipple
Inb.	susu, breast of female	Pep. Ku.	
Pang.	soso, breast of female	Fav.	sine, nipple
	sasa, breast of female	Ka.	zido, breast, nipples, milk
Рашр.	, ,		dudu, breast
Tag.	súso, breast of female	At.	roro, nipple
Bik.	sites, breast of female	Tang.	no ba, teats
Pan.	susu, breast of female		
Kal.	toto, breast of female		
M. Mag.	susu, breast of female		
Tir.	tată, breast of female		
Bag.	mon, breast of female		
Sul.	dådak, bosom, breast		

40. batabat; pecho; breast. Rev.: as meaning "shoulder"

#### PHILIPPINE

# FORMOSAN.

	· manting
Ibn.	gákau
fik.	barnkong
Gip. S;	balokong, chest
Gin. M.	ferngung
Bont. S.	takeb, chest
Bont. J.	ta'-kib, chest
Lep.	boknay, chest
Ban.	pologpag, chest
Ting.	baragan
Kan	pageo 8
Inb.	ундей
Pang.	pageo
Pamp.	solo.
Tag.	debdib
Bik.	daghan
Pan.	dághau
Kal.	depdep
M. Mag.	laleb, raveb
Tir.	kiemeng
Bag.	kagpa
Sal.	dághá, chest, breast

J----

Pep. Ko. atmPep. B. abaPel. B. tag-ran Pil. F. daguranTsui. pakuSek. B. neubenzenb Fav. arrabisBu. turāng Tam. baraAm. F. barahan

Note.—Cf. Am. F. with Philippine Ting., Pil. F. with Philippine Bik., and Pep. Ko. and Pep. B. with WL 45, Formosan.

<sup>1</sup> Tag. and other dialects gates, milk,

<sup>211</sup>k., Pamp. and Tag. bullibut, to obstruct the way.

Pasnp. pagara, pagar, shoulder.

# 41. lagao; cuello; neck

# 42. tetegnan, tetegnar; garganta; throat, gorge. Rev.: tetejuan

PHILIPPINE			FORMOSAN	
			THROAT	NECK
Ibn.	bul-lao, neck, threat	Tam.		liky
Ilk.	buktan, glutton	Am. F.		beaugo
Inb.	bukdou, neek	Рер. Ко.		kudunk
Pang.	bekito, neck	Pep. B.		kada-ak
Ibn.	tangugad-k, nape (back of nec		lugk	
lik.	fengngéd, neck	Pil. F,		anien
Book 0	tengngés, neck	Pel. B.	n j- in	tangdo
Bont, S. Bont, J.	tenped, neck	Tsui.	holake 2	nkern.
Lep.	tong-ed', back of neck	Sek.	kaho1	bakung
inb.	linged, neck tadiunan, thront	Bu.	udulking	
Pang.	tenger, unpe	Fav.	St.	arriberribou
Pamp.	tundan, nape	Ka.	1 bokkir chokui	1
Pan.	totantan, throat	Pach.		
Kal.	doroklan, throat	Bung.		itusur-itorsity
M. Mag.	tengu, nape	Bant.		workly#
Tir.	teneri nape	Taug.	má ták kán kao to	noroku kao ta
		Pullipise	mer real name Engires	water (1)
	NECK N	APE, BACK OF NE	CK T	IROAT
Ibn.	lig		bul-lau	
Ilk.	·	eltél, pitangkok		of themes
Gin. S.		kulangas	lokoog	(h (larynx)
Gin. M.	alia h l Annu B		hocoop	
Bont. J.		bragéd	u-lo-gi-a	.dl
Lep.	at a	quat	ayaknak	W
Ban.	. +	nekyong		
Ting.	advaddana		egraja	
Kan.	Langua			
	W 11		katosoka	s (larynx?)
Inb.			kulongok	ong (larynx?)
Pang.	bekićo .			
Pamp.	letal (	andúu	akmulan	
Tag.	lity	baták		
Bik.	ling, loong	ing, loong	,	
Pan.	li-og	ankogo	futunian	
Kal.	J216-J		dorokhua	
M. Mag.	**	ruga	betkareng	
Tir.		ekuk, tengel		an, linnón
Bag.	alig .		bakarana	
Sul.	liúg-liúk .		досидоси досидоси	
			gro. ngova	

NOTE.-This list especially is given with all reserve as to the exactness of the translations.

<sup>1</sup> Note the recurrence of two in Philippine dialects.

Tag. ingnag, molars.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Pamp. sikung, Tag. sikung, jaw.

# 43. dichor; espalda; back. Rev.: dichod

# PHILIPPINE

Ibn.	f bullug	Tag.	likód
2001.	(likád)	Bik.	likád
IIk.	j likud, backside	Pan.	likad
LIK.	l bukut	Kal.	bakabaka
Bont. J.	i-chug'	M. Mag.	likud
Kan.	f benég	Tir.	f digur, behind, backside
	l edég	****	\ segung
Inb.	bunneg	Bag.	∫ bok-kog
Pang.	bueneg	nag.	luiyok, backside
Panip, 2	gulut	Su!.	taikut

FORMOSAN

Fav. sirs

Tang, túcá

44. queguedean [kegedean]; sobaco, armpit. Rev.: kejedian

## PHILIPPINE

Ibn. Ilk.	kilikili kilikili	Bik.	{ kilikili, side of the body { yokyok
Bont. J. Kan.	yëk-yëk yay-iek	Pan.	kilid, side of the body
Inb.	dyai-yeg	M. Mag.	irek, ilek
Pang.	kilikili	Tir,	imá
Pamp.	kitikili	Bag.	zmil-lež
Tag.	kilikili	Sul.	dok

# FORMOSAN

Fav. magagidsi, to tickle

Nore.—Ibn, kiki/ap, tickling: lik, kiki, tickling: Tag, kiliti, tickling, and other dialects similar.

Bis. and Bik. ikog, tail of animal.

Pamp, like, turn, turning.

# 45. taul; corazón; heart

Pep. Ko. ab Pep. B. ab	
Pil. Th. ne Psui. ri  Sek. ba  Bu. ta  Fav. {  to  mu  Rach. ta  Sib. ka  Bang. ka	rungrun r-rung-arung si duh ma bahak tto, tutta uraus ok karu mum uso okuho
	Pel. E. ni Pel. Th. ne Psui. ri Psui. ri Psui. ri Psu. ta Fav. {  To many Tav. ab Psch. ta  tib. ko Bang. ka

NOTE.—With Batan toul compare; lik. tout, barking of dog; Pamp. tout, loud calling; Tag. tohol, b rking of dog; Tag. holing, barking of dog.

<sup>1</sup> Tir. fedeu, gall, will, reason, heart (as moral quality).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. WL 54.

46. budec [budck]; vientre; belly

	PRILIPPINE			FORMOSAN
Ibh. Ilk. Pamp. Bik. Ibn. Ilk. Gin. S. Git. M. Bont. S. Bont. J. Lep. Ban. Ting. Kan. Inb. Pang. Pamp. Tag. Bik.	mabbaddu, hig-bellied port butking, big-bellied port butkitt, glutted butkit, ealt botog, big belly san tium buang budng puto fo'-to posung tolko budng cyés akes cyés atium tian tolák	e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e	Von. Tso. Tsar. Pai. D. Pai. T. Pu. Am. D. Am. F. Am. T. Pep. Paz. Pep. Ku. Pep. Bak. Tam. Pil. F. Tip. Fav. At.	Formosan ttegan ritra ttegat ttegat ttegat ttegat ttegat tegas riko chacild tgal ttegan ebak linkin teari tacild chan, chaan rucous
	11000			

Note.—With Batan budck compare also Kian Dayak būtit, belly; Punan Dayak būret, belly; Bukutan Dayak būret, belly;

## 47. tut, tur; rodilla; knee. Rev.: tud

#### PHILIPPINE FORMOSAN (taad Pep. Ko. divluIbn. duláng Pep. B. dudu Ilk. túmeng Pel. B. shung-ur Gin. S. paran Tsui. kabi Bont. J. Sek. ilans gung-gung-o Kan. Bu. peorg pang-nh Pang. Fav. pineg 220-0 Panip. tiéri Ka. pulusiin Tag. túhod Pach. anamitou IntelSib. khupBik. t'ahoolBang. ponkuro Pan. tohod Bant. sakaho Kal. toorl M. Mag. leb · Tir. etur Bag. abotSul. tubud

<sup>.</sup> I Quedah Semang cheony (ccoh), belly, but in Fav. chown ch is the Dutch guttural = Philippine t or, less often, k.

# 48. { alteng; pierna; leg altec [altek]; pantorrilla; calf

#### PHILIPPINE FORMOSAN LEGI CALF takké (foot) louták Pep. P. pan, leg Ibn. uffú (thigh) butád Pep. Ko. paa, thigh hippó (thigh) Pel. B. pa-a, leg Ilk. botáy sakaTsui. bantat, leg Gin. S. ogpo Sek. karaa, leg Gin. M. nHbb Shek, Th. karan, leg Bont. S. ahpoBu. poze $p\eta p \bar{n} k$ , leg u'-po thigh asid, leg, thigh Bont, J. fit'-kin ni-ki' Fav. bonnao, leg, thigh Lep. posuk OLW) lehad, calf Ban. lintori jood tibon-subusut, leg Bang. Ting. પાણો તે danoosa, thigh tagalong kah kai, leg Kan. upol wood Tang. mar rin, calf Inb. nlpo (thigh) net yi, thigh Pang. ulpó (thigh) bitkina Pach. baraen, thigh Pamp. pand (thigh) ladit Sib. pinassan, thigh hítá (thigh) Tib. tangigya, thigh Tag. bintî $pa\dot{a}$ Bant. laloohe, thigh Bik. tabáy tabáy paa (thigh) Pan. рияб ривоан \ tiil M. Mag. bubun (thigh) liseng seken. Tir. feminting fóo (thigh) baytak Bag. bobonpah (calf) Sul. littie\* $sigi^2$ lik. láteg, texticles Batan altek, calf: Ilk. botoy, calf boloy, blister Bis. Loting, blister

alteng, log (calf?)

Batan

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the case of words without explanation in parentheses, under this subheading, the exact meaning remains undecided.

<sup>\*</sup> See the same word in the following word list.

49. cocor [kokor]; pié; foot. Rev.: kokod

	PHILIPPINE		FORMOSAN
Ibn.	takki 1	Von.	rendes
Ilk.	niku, foot. leg	Tso.	ttu-ango
Gin. S.	zapan 2	Tear.	kûra
Gin. M.	dschuban	Pai. D.	kūra
Bont. S.	techapan	Pai. T.	karupupan
Bont. J.	cha-pan'	Pu.	dapal
Lep.	dapan	Am. D.	saripa
Ban.	dapan	Am. F.	0-0
Ting.	dabán	Am. T.	saripat
Kan.	siki	Pep. Paz.	kārao
Inb.	{ ckaprm	Pep. Ku.	rapal
1110,	l sudi (1)	Pep. Ko.	tintin
Pang.	neti	Рер. В.	tiatiu
Pamp.	bitis	Pep. Bak.	Іоран.
Tag.	puné	Tam.	\$11,44
Bik.	bitis <sup>3</sup>	Pil. F.	kokoru*
Pan.	f tiil	Pil. Th.	lapar
ran.	l kahig	Pel. B.	dapal
Kal.	kakay	Tsui.	kakai
M. Mag.	ar, ays	Sek.	dadapal
Tir.	eckey, foot, leg	Bu.	kapal papük
Bag.	pán	Fav.	ariél
Sul.	sigi, siki, foot, leg	Tip.	kui
		Ka.	f asa
		A.a.	tingting
		Pach.	sapati
		Sib.	ktlapa
		Tip.	sapchi
		Bang.	tsapku
		Bant.	атоо
		At.	käkai
		Tang.	káh páhl

Note.-With Batan kokor compare also the following list, and WL 43 (dichor) and WL 52 (sicho).

<sup>1</sup> Batan tochoy, hand (WL 51).

<sup>\*</sup> Ibn. dapang, Ilk. dapan, Bik. dapan, sole.

Punan Dayak biti, foot.

<sup>4</sup> Note correspondence with Batan; the final u may have been added by a Japanese interpreter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Zambal of the and Bolineo sy'c, foot; Negrito, west coast of Bataau, ahil, foot. Cf. Formosan Pav.

# 50. cucu [kuku]; uñas; nails

# PHILIPPINE

## FORMOSAN

Ibn. Ilk. Gin. S. Bont. S. Bont. F. Lep. Ban. Kan. Inb. Pang. Pamp. Tag. Bik. Pan. Kal. M. Mag.	kuku, nail, hoof, claw kokó, nail, hoof, claw kokó tudkek kokó, finger nails koko uoling kokó foro² koko kuku kuko koko ongo kunuku	Pai T. Pep. Ko. Pep. B. Pep. Bak. Pel. B. Tsui. Sek. Bu. Fav. Tip. Tang.	kolitskusang, finger nail kulunkung, finger nail kulunkung, finger nail ku-rung-kung, finger nail ske, finger nail kuku, finger nail kulikuh, finger nail kukuh, finger nail ano, finger nail hamai, inger nail kuh mil, nail

Pamp, kukul, boof Bik. kokod, clawa

Tir.

Bag.

Sul.

kūke, finger nails

Wahai\* kukur, finger Kajeli\* limam kukon, finger

kennigen

sol 6

Ball chukur, foot

1 Span. unce, pails, claws, boofs, etc.

\* # = ch in German "ach."

\* Cf. kaway in the following list.

Ceram.

в Виги.

# 51. camay [kaway]; dedo; finger

	Panae	PINE		Formos.	AN.
Batán	BAND tuchan	FINGER	Bot. D.	HAND terrere	FINGER
Ibn.	limá	f kámmang kuramang	Von. Tso.	ima wulau	
Ilk. Gin. S. Gin. M.	ana apal agbái	ránury gapawol lagaiamál	Tear. Pai. D. Pai. T.	rima rima lima	galioguran
Bont, S. Bont, J.	lima { ad-pú {i'-ma	ledeng Li-cheng'	Pu. Am. D. Am. F.	rima kayam kayamu	
Lep.	{ ima   leday	} lamog	Am. T. Pep. Paz.	кауат rima	taralui
Ban. Ting. Kan. Inb. Pang.	polot lugbang lukkay dimu limá	ganol lanái gunot kulúnat tamaró*	Pep. Ku. Pep. Ko. Pep. B. Pep. Bak. Tam.	rima dadukam dadukam lima lime	кадатая кадатая
Pamp. Tag. Bik. Pan. Kal. M. Mag. Tir. Bag. Sul.	{ gamat   kumana   kumat   kumat   kumat   kuma   kuma   kuma   kumat   kumat   kumat	ladiri daliri moró <sup>1</sup> tudio toldo tindaru <sup>1</sup> dana kemer <sup>2</sup> tintudo <sup>1</sup> galamei	Pil. F. Pil. Th. Pel. B. Tsui. Sek. Bu. Fav. Tip. Ka.	assurn n-lima cima tima rima abatha rima lima { lima wilasi	timush rima kakamua tuluding apillo atingalian
			Pach. Sib. Tib. Bang. At. Tang.	ramucha tarima zumucha arema kara kälzbáh	t' In liëng

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Tag. histotáró, forefinger, index; Tag. turu, pointing out.

<sup>&</sup>quot;dann kemer; apparently leaf, or leaves, of hand: "leaf" for dann is, however, secondary, according to Codrington, who found for dann a primary meaning represented by such words as "bunches" or "fakes."

# 52. sicho; codo; elbow. Rev.: sichó

	Раплерияв			FORMOSAN
Ibn.	nikii		Pep. B.	pa-uk
Ilk.	*iko		Pep. Ko.	pank -
Gin. S.	ciko		Pel. B.	shè-ku
Bont, S.	sigo .		Tsui.	poko
Bont. J.	si-ko		Sek.	jiku
Lep.	siko		Bu.	рипу-ий
Ban.	cino (?)		Fav.	chimotor
Kan.	siko		Tang.	hékú
Inb.	aixo			
Pang.	siká			
Pamp.	siku			
Tag.	siko			
Bik.	siko			
Pan.	siku			
Kal.	chio			
M. Mag.	siku			
Tir.	кіден			
Bag.	niků 1			
Sul.	sikut			
		53. ando	: biel: eall	

# 53. apdo; hiel; gall

# PHILIPPINE

Ibn.	aggii	Pamp.	atdá
Ilk.	apró	Tag.	uguló
Bont. J.	a-ká	Bik.	aletó
Kan.	{ apgo	Pan.	apdó
	l pidis	M. Mag.	pedda
Inb.	apkó	Tir.	fedeu
Pang.	apgá	Bag.	paddi

# 54. atay; higado; liver

# PRILITYINE

1bn.	{ ngál { attay	Pamp. Tag.	até alay
Ilk. Bont. S.	dálem aleg	Bik.	{ alay { katoy
Bont. J.	atta de	Pan.	atay
Lep.	aley	M. Mag.	hatay
Ban.	altay	Tir.	tugá
Kan.	atcy	Bag.	atag
Inb.	altei	Sul.	háti
Pang.	altey		

# FORMORAN

Fav. amorra

Bog. siku siko, to wind, to meander.

#### 55. calangangan [kalangangan]; estômago; stomach

#### PHILIPPINE

Ilk. Tag. Pamp. Pan. Ibn. Ilk. Gin. S. Bont. S. Bont. J. Lep.	ingaingdi, mustication inganga, opening of the mouth ugmlangala, palate ianganga, palate ianganga, palate guti-k rinok luzak iushusitan få-sug eges	Inb. Pang. Pamp. Tag. Bik. Pan. Kal. M. Mag. Tir. Bag.	bitnka* tozók* dungus sikmura tikáb sorok-sorok chiro-chirvan kabián tabeg tikock kuto-koto
Ban. Kan.	lalosep lushasip	Sul.	tián, tiaun, belly, stomach

#### FORMOSAN

Fav. galan

56. tipa; saliva; saliva

	PHILIPPINE			FORMOSAN
	SALIVA	SPIT		
Ibn.	ialû (slaver)	intab	Pai, T.	gilai
Ilk.	kátay (slaver)	tuprá*	Am. T.	8tlper
Gin. S.	topá	-	Tip.	tamak
Bont. S.	muel		-	( crab, spittle
Bont, J.	tur'-fa		Fav.	ropa, to spit anything out of
Lep.	tobba		rav.	the mouth, but not the
Ban.	toppo			spittle
Kan.	togpá			•
Inb.	tupeka			
Pang.	ilól	lupdá		
Pamp.	nana (slaver)	lara		
Tag.	laway (slaver)	lurá		
Bik.	[ noloy, niloy	(Littab		
DIK.	(slaver)	Lopga		
		dupla		
Pan.	laway (slaver)	lura		
		l pil-an		
M. Mag.	ayug (slaver)	$dud\dot{a}$		
Tir.	they (slaver)	$durr\dot{a}$		
Bag.	,	gilob		
Sul.	lurat			

Note.—Under "spit" I give words in so far distinct from "saliva" as they mean either the object or the action of ejection, or both. Where my sources give only one term it is given under "saliva," the distinction between "saliva" and "spit" remaining undecided; the words beginning with top-,tau-etc. rofer, however, evidently to "spit." By "slaver" I translate Span. babs, the involuntary salivation of children, also the secretion of smalls, etc.

Bont. J. Ins-los-M', sternum.

<sup>2</sup> Sec. under WL 57.

<sup>3</sup> Bik. gósok, riba.

<sup>\*</sup> Properly speaking, the ejection after having left the mouth (Lopes).

FORMOSAN

# 57. tinay; 1 tripas; bowels, entrails, intestines. Rev.: tinavi

#### singy, intestines na-ies, the bowels Ibn. bagi-t, intestines Fav. nais, the bowels Ilk. bugis, intestines oda,2 the intestines Gin. S. bagis, intestines Bont, S. ekes, intestines Bont, J. fu-ang', intestines Lep. eges, intestines Ban. bages, intestines Kan. ment, intestines Inb. ειιεάt, intestines, guts Pang. páit.8 intestines

bituka, intestines (large) Pamp. uno, intestines (small) bituka, intestines pait, large intestines of Tag. animals

PHILIPPINE

isaw, large intestines binobong, large intestines

Bik. hituka, intestines Pan. tina-i,1 intestines M. Mag. tinay, intestines teneek, tenëk,1 intestines Tir. bitoka,4 intestines Bag. got-tek, intestines

# 58. tachl; excrementos, estiercol; excreta

#### PHILIPPINE

**-	( attay	Pang.	ta-i
Ibn.	l dakkú-t	Pamp.	takla
Ilk.	takki	Tag.	tae
Gin. S.	matai, to excrete	Bik.	∫ odó
Bont. S.	ez tumak,5 to excrete	DIK.	( simang
Bont. J.	tay-i	Pan,	tae
Lep.	tomakke,5 to excrete	M. Mag.	taé, tahi, tay
Ban.	tumag, to excrete	Tir.	třěk
Kan.	ta-i	Bag.	taé
Inb.	tá-i		

## FORMOSAN

#### Fav. che, dung, refuse

Cf. tas and teck in the following list with infix -in- give times and teneck. See also Codrington, Mel. Lang., p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bik. in following list.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In Pang., Tag., etc., pait = bitter.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. WL 55.

<sup>\*</sup> ma-, -um-, -om- are affixes leaving as stems, tai, tak, takke.

<sup>\*</sup> Root of Philippine takks, etc., with 4a- as prefix?

# 59. chito; perro; dog

	PHILIPPINE		FORMOGAN
Ibn.	itu, kitu	Von.	atro
Ilk.	áso	Tso.	avou
Gin. S.	rayo	Tsar.	eatê
Gin. M.	ámil	Pai. D.	retin
Bont. 8.	range .	Pai. T.	eatu
Bont. J.	a'-sn	Pu.	80AFR
Lep.	a20	Am. D.	tentao
Ban.	knzo	Am. F.	ga-aso
Ting.	ด์สด	Am. T.	ertou
Kan.	anú	Pep. Paz.	W41220
Inb.	asu	Pep. Ku.	RETAILS
Pang.	aso	Pep. Ko.	anu
Pamp.	asu	Pep. B.	(1,91)
Тад.	efet)	Li.	Ineter
Bik.	agane <sup>1</sup>	Tam.	batu
Pan.	idő, iro, dog, little dog	Pil. F.	Roiritiu
	t ayóm	Pel. B.	shnan
Kal.	kiro,2 dog, little dog	Tsui.	ata
M. Mag.	renic	Sek.	wentzu
Tir.	itá	Bu.	hulin
Bag.	etec	Fav.	{ mada
Sul.	f êdu, êdak	201.	zito, a little dog
1741.	l éro, érok	Tip.	man
		Ka.	atu
		At.	hoyel
		Tang.	hú yin

# 60. manuc [manuk]; gallina (la especie); fowl (the species).

#### PHILIPPINE FORMOSAN. kôkock, fowl Ibn. manú-k, fowl Bot. T. manock, fowl IIk. manuk, fowl Pai. T. girikuku, fowl Gin. M. manak, fowl Am. T. Bont. J. mo-noh, chicken miam,4 fowl buich, fowl Ting. biók, fowl Tip, Pach. turkook, fowl Кап. manók, fowl Inb. manuk, fowi Bang. turkook, fowl Pang. manok, fowl Bant. turkook, towl manok, fowl Pamp. Tang. yéng á táh, hen, fowl manok, fowl Tag. Bik. manok,4 fowl Pan. manok, fowl mannk, fowl and other M. Mag. domestic birds Tir. manuk, fowl Bag. numok, birds in general

mánuk, fowl

Sul.

<sup>\*</sup>Tag. again, dog unfit for chase. See also under Formosan in following list.

Blk. kirokiro, wagging of tatl (dog. cat) : Tag. tiro, call for dogs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Hk. ayam, any creeping insect: Bont. ayayam, bird; 1bm. ayam, animal; Tag., Pan. ayam, dog: Kal. yam, fish.

<sup>\*</sup> Bik. kokok, clucking of hens.

# 61. sasabungan; gallo; cock

#### PHILIPPINE

Ibn. Iik.	(manú-k) lalong <sup>z</sup> kanitan <sup>z</sup>	Pamp.	{ manuk á tandang { tatio *
Gin. S.	kavitan	Tag.	manok na lalaki*
Bont. S.	kavitan	Bik.	lalong 5
Bont. J.	kao-wi' tan	Pan.	manok
Lep.	kahuitan .	Kal.	balang karilan
Ban,	karit	M. Mag.	lumesed
Kan.	kaultan	Tir.	કાલેલન
Inb.	kavitan	Bag.	manok lomanud
Pang.	lalong	Sul.	manuk iwak

#### FORMOSAN

# Fav. kokko badda, a cock

#### 62. upa; gallina; hen

	•	-,	
	PHILIPPINE		FORMOSAN
Ibn.	upa, <sup>s</sup> hen, layer ( κ̄μα, hen (layer or not)	Pep. Ko. Pep. B.	tahuka tahuka
Ilk.	pamasián, layer	Pel. B.	turko
Bont. J.	mang-a'-lak	Tsui.	lanao
Gin. S.	manalak	Sek.	pataro
Kan.	pamusangen <sup>7</sup>	Bu.	roudouch
Inb. Pang.	pamalasangen nganak	Fav.	{ kokko sini   poa *
Pamp.	manuk á gaindu .	Ka.	cho
Tag.	(manok na) inahin (maningalan pager, layer	Tang.	<i>yêng á táh</i> , hen, íowl
Bik.	gonak		
Pan.	munga		
Kal.	kopa		
M. Mag.	ира́		
Tir.	ino manuk		
Bag.	manok maron		_
Sul.	mánok, hen, fowl		
1 Vbm B			

<sup>1</sup> Ibn. kasitan, cock with large spurs.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibn. Ilk., Pam., Tag., Bik., Pan. kaseit, hook.

Pamp. sabungan, fighting cock.

<sup>\*</sup> Tag. sasabungin, cock with already large spurs.

Bik, sinasabongan, cock put against another for fighting; Pamp. Tag., Bik., sabong, sabung, the fighting of cocks; Pamp. sabung, confused; Pamp., Tag. sabungul, to pluck the hair, to dishevel; Bik. sabonot, to pluck the hair.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Pamp. Tag. upg, pay, wages (Tavera: Sans. utpatti, produce, production; Mal. upati tribute, contribution).

<sup>7</sup> Another term is ubuces.

a Fav. poc, to bring forth fruit.

# 63. ytloy [itioy]; huevo; egg

	PHILIPPINE		FORMOSAN
Ibn.	il-lag 1	Pai. T.	kutchilo
lik.	it-lags	Am. T.	citant
Gin. S.	itleg	Pep. Ko.	popak
Bont. S.	itlog -	Pep. B.	popuk
Bont, J.	it-lug'	Pel. B.	abetinini
Leр.	zeluk:	Tsui,	kalasa-i
Ban.	atalang	Sek.	bette
Kan.	ikling	Bu.	balang
Inb.	exduk	Fav.	rini
Pang.	ikuol	Tip.	ntinan
Pamp.	$cb\kappa a$ , * egg, the young of an		
	animal		
Tag.	itlog		
Bik.	[ boney		
	l rogok		
Pan.	· illog	ſ	
Kal.	kilog	,	
M. Mag.	§ leman		
	l nlak		
Tir.	ounk mannk		
Bag.	tol-lag		
Sal.	iklag .		

Note.—The radical of iting, zelok, etc., is probably telog, kilog, or similarly, and seems to mean "a round thing." M. Mag. telor, cabbage.

<sup>111</sup>k. ibbung, bad egg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Tag. ibon, bird; ibon dalag, small dalag (fish); Ilk, ibon (antiq.), large birds in general; the sucking young of the carabao; Ibn. ifm, the breed of fishes; Tir. ebeb, to crouch down flat on the ground; Tir. ebebon, anything hidden under a person or animal stooping on the ground, as the chicken or eggs under the hen.

64. { planir; pluma 6 ci ala del ave; feather and the wing of a bird { paniz; ala 6 pluma del ave; wing or feather of a bird. Rev.: panid

#### PHILIPPINE

#### Formosan'

Norm.—The word most used in the New Hebrides and Banks' Islands, punc, which is also the common name for a hand, is also a wing in the Malay Archipelago; openi (o probably the article) and punidey in Celebes, panin in Boscu, fanik in Teor." (Codrington, p. 98.)

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless a misprint for pager.

<sup>2</sup> Or: pakpak manok.

65. bubug; plumas que no son del ala; feathers not from the wing. Rev. bubuj

	PHILIPPINE		FORMOSAN
Ibn.	duddu-t, feather	Pai. T.	raruliarelan, feather
lik.	dutdut, feather, down,	Am. T.	$ope_t^{-1}$ feather
	hairy covering of man	Pep. Ko.	ribing, feather
	or animal	Pep. B.	ribing, feather
Gin. S.	dudud, feather	Pel. B.	aguma layam, feather
Bont. S.	kulit, feather	Tsni.	kopur, feather
Lep.	duidut, feather	Sek.	bukuss, feather
Ban.	kugit, feather	Bu.	ubal, feather
Kan.	bigo, feather, plumage	Fav.	chaar, feather
lub.	bigo, feather, plumage	Tip.	rinan, feather
Pam.	bulhát, feather, down,		
•	hairy covering		
	hogwis, feather		
Tag.	halbal, hairy covering, pu-		
	bic hair		
Bik.	lari, feather		
Pan.	kuyus, feather		
Kal.	kelar, feather		
M. Mag.	bumbul, feather		
Tir.	bubul manuk,1 feather		
Bag.	holhol, feather		
Sul.	hulhul, feather		

<sup>1</sup> Ilk. opadpa, short feathers at the rump of the hen.

<sup>\*</sup>Bubbl manuk is not "feather of bird," but "that kind of bubbl which appears on the bird;" bubbl receives its signification of "feather" by the specializing manuk. Cf. Inb. belbel, pine tree (pine needles?) See also Codrington, Mel. Lang., p. 72, "hair."

#### 66. among; pescado; fish

	PHILIPPINE		FORMORAS
Ibn. Ilk. Gin. S. Bont. S. Bont. J. Lep. Ban. Kan. Inb. Pang. Parop. Tag. Bik.	sirá 1 ikus ikus lileng li-ling, a certain fish loan likling nigay ikas { sirá mulangsi malangsi asan, fish, to eat fish, meat isdá sirá, fish, or other addition	Pai. T. Am. T. Pep. Ko. Pep. B. Pel. B. Tsui. Sek. Bu. Fav. Tip. Ka.	chikuo cuting tug tug kurao lotsuo alao churuk 2i, tsi culiao { shikuu } teng ugo li
Pan, Kal. M. Mag. Tir. Bag. Sul.	to rice isdá yam² sedú eedó - sed-da istá		

Note.—From a comparison of the Philippine terms for "fish" it appears that both ikan and isdá have, from an originally wider sense, been specialized to mean "fish;" ikan probably = demonstrative prefix i+kan, root of words for "eat;" similarly Tag. isdá = i+sidi; cf. Toba-Batta: sira, salt. Pang. specializes sird by adding the descriptive makangsi = having a fishy taste or smell.

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  Ibn. ikan, anything eaten in addition to rice; Ilk.  $sid\acute{u}$ , something boiled and eaten in addition to rice, especially fish.

<sup>2</sup> The only form approaching the Batan term.

67. culs [kuis]; puerco; plg. Rev.: kuis or bagó

	PHILIPPINE		FORMORAN
Don.	balang	Bot. T.	babui
Hk.	ladary	Am. F.	rigon
Gin. S.	lunjak	Pep. Ko.	lustoni
Gin. M.	flafai	Pep. B.	hahai
Bont. S.	futok	Li,	li-ti
Bont. J.	fu-tag', hog	Tanı.	kachian
Lep.	utig	Pil. F.	riyon
Ban.	над	Pel. B.	alin
Ting.	oelik	Tsui.	babu-i
Kan.	gerlê	Sek.	baenzak
dn1	j kechil	Bu.	Inclusi
	l butbutóg, small pig	Fav.	bubo, bubar
Pang.	bedany	Ka.	matoka
Pamp.	hahi	Bant.	buloog, wild hog
Tag.	bisboy	Tang.	bi wák bád láh hái, pig, wild
	{ bakting		hog
Bik.	{ orig		
	bahay, wild pig		
Pan.	bahug		
Kal.	bulacy		
M. Mag.	{ babay		
_	( buringen		
Tir.	balanj		
Bag.	babug		
Sul,	babûi		

Nove. -- Batan kin's may be an imitation of the squent of a pig. With bago of. Sund. bagony, Pate scape [H. Kern, Stamland],

# 68. caddin [kaddin]; cabra; goat

				- 0
	PHILIPPINE			FORMOSAN
Hon. Hk. Gin. S. Bont. S. Lep. Ban. Kan. Inb. Pang. Pamp. Tag. Bik. Pan. Kal. M. Mag. Tir. Bag.	kajing kalding kalding kisching kalding	•	Bot. T. Pach. Bant. Fav.	kagirin okin, wild goat kehe, wild goat manqua, a buck; a he goat kumas, a buck; a he goat

Compare suladowy in WL 70.

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless German pronunciation.

## 69, buday; colebra; snake

	PHILIPPINE		FORMOSAN
Ibn.	irán¹	Pai. T.	kutiwei
Hk.	úleg	Am, T.	uner
Gin. S.	ulig	Pep. Ko.	bular
Bont. S.	wörg	Pep. B.	bulai
Bont. J.	u-พ <i>นิส</i>	Pel. B.	want
Lep.	oeg	Tsui.	trolan
Ban.	olig	Sek.	udzend
Kan.	eorg	Bu,	kuzu
1-3-	í írēli, large snake	Fav.	ibien, a snake
Inb.	Aleg	Tip.	wan
Pang.	nleg	-	
Pamp.	abingası		
Tag.	ahas		
Bik.	hálas		
Pan.	man-ag		
Kal.	irdo		
M. Mag.	niputy		
Tir.	wrur, snake, reptile		
Bag.	bakor-seni		
Sul.	háás		

Note.—With Batan buday compare Form. Pep. B., etc., and lik, i-bulay, to strew grains on the ground; lik, maka-buhay, the escaping of a fish from the net or of a wild animal from the trap; link, budai, earth; lin alag, rat; Pamp. wlay, worms in general; Tag. olay, belly worm; Tag. olik, to move in turns from one place to another; Tir. wlang, scorpion; Malay wlar, snake; Lampong wlai, snake; Bugi wlak, snake.

Batan irram, tortolse.

Ban.

agsa; ciervo; stag

olsa, deer

Am. T.

garal, deer

má gán lock, deer má ngã rû, deer mih háh, deer

70. agr	a; venado; deer	Rev.: no such form as	s agra; agsa only
	1 ицентия		FORMOSAN
1bn.	uttá, deer	Von.	karannya, deer
lik.	идии, deer	Tso.	um, deer
Gin. S.	uka, deer	Tsar.	ennan, deer
Bont. S.	ugsu, deer	Pai, D.	ramann, deer
Bont. J.	ag∕-sa, deer	Pai. T.	rman, deer
Lep.	nosa, deer	Am. D.	"gavol, deer

Kan. makaous, deer Pep. Paz. raho', deer Inb. Pep. Ku. waxáguar, deer apal, deer Pang. nhá, deer Pep. Ko. nang, deer Paners. awi, deer Pep. B. many, deer nai, deer Tag. Pel. B. abiaa, deer Bik. usi, deer Teni. kaman, deer Pan. usit, deer Sek. lalori, deer M. Mag. saladeng, deer (male) Bu. tunut, deer ·Tir. władca, deer Fav. birman, a deer ( suladong, deer -Tip. marinim, deer Bag. asa, deer 1 mentan, deerKa. moh, deer Pach. putooru, deer Bang. silappu, deer Bant. kuliche, deer At. wakamalai deer

Note.-Tag. usa, deer; Sans. reys, antelope with white feet; Mal. rusa, deer, stag (Tavera).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Compare this and similar Formesau terms with nuang in dislects of northern Luzon = karabao, water-buffalo, whose call closely resembles the group of sounds, nuang. But compare also lik., Tag., not, forehead: Pamp. kanuan, forehead; Tag. nothan, with large forehead; Tsul. kulabas knuan, cow; Sek. bulasu nuang, cow; Tsar. roan, ox; Pep. Pzz. mag., ox.

# 71. pasincan [pasinkan]; abeja; bec. Rev.: pasiukan'

### PHILIPPINE

### FORMORAN

Iba. ann kası Ilk. oyokan Gin. S. mikan Bont. S. kalaba 2 Bont. J. yń-kan

Am. T. odiack, honey Fav.

tappoesan, a honey bee

Lep. tati Ban. nyokao

Kan. yokanInb. podiokan Pang. potiokan

Pamp. prekintan Tag. pokyotan, honey bee Bik.

patiokan, bee, honey, hon-

eycomb

Kal. pichiran M. Mag. batiukán Tir. odon Bag. patiokun

Pasinkan is probably an error; the stem stak of pasiakan agrees more or less with suk, yok, dick, tick, kyot, etc., of other Philippine forms. Cf. Pamp. siuk, the chirping of birds, the whistling of a rattan switch.

lbn. kalabá, another term for bee.

72. bagay; casa (cualquiera); house (of any kind). Rev.: bajay

	PHILIPPINE		FORMORAN
Ibn.	luiláy, house	Bot. T.	hagai, dwelling house
Ilk.	bulity, house	Pai. T.	tiumuk, house
Gin. S.	boi-og, house	Am. F.	rumi, 1 house
Gin. M.	fulig, house	Am. T.	ruma, house
Bont, S.	apong, house	Pep. Ko.	hamadang, house
Bont, J.	(á-fong, dwelling	Pep. B.	hanndung, house
BOIR. J.	fag'ü,2dwelling, better class	Li.	nubuk, house
Lep.	balay, house	Tam.	unbak, house
Ban.	abong,5 house	Pil, F.	ruma, house
Ting.	abang, house	Pil, Th.	a-runa, house
Kan.	buéy, house	Pel. B.	arawa, house
Inb.	láliči, house	Teni.	tuonu, house
Pang.	uhung,4 house	Sek.	huma, house
Pamp.	balé, balay, house	Bu.	жүрай, house
Tag.	lathay, house	Fav.	don, a house, a great vessel
Bik.	hurong, house	Tip.	rana, house
Pan.	balay, house	Ka.	į tako, house
Kal.	balay, house	Na.	l tufën, house
M. Mag.	nalay, house	Bang.	dami, honse
Tir.	( <i>hēliyēn</i> , house	Bant.	dami, house
IIr.	lani, house	Tang.	<i>îiyî ∗ît</i> , house on the ground
	fluite, house		
Bag.	kamalig, house		
	l <i>gad-dom</i> ,⁵ house		
Sul.	beil, house, nest, form		

# 73. timbam; templo; temple. Rev.: timbaan

### PHOAPPINE

Ibn.	sibbun	Pan.	simbahan, temple, church
lik.	sumbáan, temple, church	M. Mag.	simbon, church
Pang.	simbáan, temple, church		musgit, church
Pamp.	{ samba, temple, church	Tir.	simbaán, church
	} pisambaa, temple, church	Bag.	simbahan, church
Tag. Bik.	sindahan, temple, church simbahan, temple, church	Sul.	hinger, church

<sup>1</sup> Malay: rumah, house

s as in German "kühl" (Jenks). Bont, il replaces my in other dialects.

<sup>\*</sup> Ilk. Inb. dbung, abong, poor hut.

<sup>·</sup> Pang. balei, village, pueblo.

a from god-du to reside.

# 74. balatal; barratay; puente; bridge

### PROLIPPING

.adl	( talétay ( balátag	Pamp.	{ tite, letay { taletay
lik.	{ triylay	Tag.	tulay
IIK.	runghy	Bik.	( talay
Gin. S.	ilatoy	Dik.	lotoyan
Bont. S.	alutey	Pan.	leging
Lep.	прео	M. Mag.	tilay, tilayan
Ban.	alatey	Tir.	litay
Kan.	toylay		(Inlay
Inb.	lailai	Bag.	. { tulay   panetayan
Pang.	taytay		.,

### FORMOSAX

Fav. kittas, a bridge, a ladder

75. abang: barco; barge, boat

### PHILIPPINE<sup>1</sup>

gubúng, dugout

### FORMOSAN

Ilk. Pan. Tag.	bangka, small boat bangka, small boat bangka, small boat	Bot. T. Fav. Tang.	aban, ship, junk abak, a small boat, sampan kāh sā, boat
M. Mag.	anung		, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
Tir.	awang, dugont		
Sel.	สมได้เกล. สินยอนt		

Dayak.

Owang, a piece of wood hewn out of a tree or out of another timber: being hewn out. (Used with reference to the construction of a dugout.)

76. chiner gueran [chinergeran]; embarcación batana (la mayor); a Batanese hoat (the largest)

### PHILIPPINE

### FORMORAN

NOTEWith chinergerun compare;		Pai, T.	chinger, 2 boat
Batán. 11k. Tag.	chinerker, prisoner (one tied:)  kinerker, a bundle or tied-up bunch of something gineryeran, a notched pole or measure. garperon, rowlock or pin for the our, axle of a skedning wheel.	Am. T.	chirer, ship   chireraio, boat
	Stem of Batán chinerprena is kerger. Similar stema (perger, khir, kirikir, kikil, etc.) denote in many dialects either maping, scratching, sawing, carving, or tring.		

<sup>1</sup> In view of the great variety of terms used to designate different kinds of boats only those apparently related to the Batan word are given.

A shortening of the Batan term? Fav. has: kummaryar, kargarran, kinargarren, etc., for "when a house is in danger of being blown down by the wind to fasten it to a pole stuck in the ground; also a vessel lying at anchor" [Happart].

# 77. tataya; embarcación batana (la menor); a Batanese boat (the smallest)

### FORMOGAN

# Bot. T. tatara, boat

# 78. canen [kasen]; pan de cada dia; daily bread

	PHILIPPINE	•.	FORMOSAN
Ibn. Ilk. Gin. S. Bont. S. Bont. J. Lep. Ban. Kat. Inb. Pang. Pamp. Tag. Bik. Pan. Kal. M. Mag.	kanán, food { kann, food } kann, food   kann, food   mangan, food   makan, food   makan, food   makan, food   makan, food   kánin, food   makan, eatable   kann, food   kanan, food   kalan-on, food   kalan-on, food   kalanen   ken, kenén, food   punguenen, food	Pel. B. Trui. Sek. Shek. th. Bu. Pep. Ko. Pep. B. Fav. Ka. Tang.	Formosan  amkan, eat  amakan, eat  kakanai, eat  makan, eat  manoka-makan, eat  mahanguy, eat  imput, eat  tuum, eat  inochan, all kinds of food  mamakita, eat  man nick, to eat  ugan nick, drink, smoke
Tir. Bag.	punguenen, food   kauma, food   amaen, food   kau-non food   makan, food		

Norg.-The Batan catchword is taken from the catechism.

# 79. asig: sal; salt. Rev.: coin

	PHILIPPINE		FORMOSAN
Ibn. Ilk. Gin. S. Bont. S. Bont. J. Lep. Ban. Kan. Inb. Pang. Pamp. Tag. Bik. Pan. Kal. M. Mag. Tir. Bag. Sul.	asin asin asin asin asin asin asin asin	Pai. T. Am. F. Am. T. Li. Tam. Pil. F. Pel. B. Sek. Bu. Fav. Tip.	katia china china kateya kateya ayamu ai-am pahar timu sansi iam (?)

# 80. silam; vinagre; vinegar

# $\stackrel{'}{P}_{HU,IPPINE}$

Ibn.	silam	Bik.	znku
Ilk.	mbá	Pan.	sukú *
Kan.	selving .	M. Mag.	тяст, такжен <sup>‡</sup>
Inb.	suka .	Tir.	auká.
Pang.	toká	D	( suku
Pamp.	endeem	Bag.	( malon-som
Tag.	suká.	Sul.	sukak

### FORMOBAN

# Fav. mung, vinegar

Very probably a misprint.

Tir. kubor, powdered sait : Tir. egus, Moro sait.

<sup>4</sup> Pan. asium, acid.

Tag. asim, actd.

Sul.

### 81. ganeng; aceite; oil. Rev.: janing

### PHILIPPINE

### FORMOSAN

Dn.	dena	Pai. T.	liantiaa
Ilk.	lana	Am. T.	Fiantian
Gin. S.	નિયમલ	Tip.	linolino
Bont. S.	langis		
Lep.	tuna		
Ban.	lengit		
Kan.i			
Inb.	dena		
Pang.	låenk		
Pamp.	turi *		
Tag.	langis, soil, coconut oil		
Bik.	Innet		
Pan.	hener -		
Kal.	langin		
M. Mag.	tienet		
Tir.	enen		
D	( lena		
Bag.	( ilsing		

NOTE .- See also the following list.

letwith

### 82. taba; grasa; fat

### PRILIPPINE

Ibn.	tabá	Pamp.	tabă ⁵
Ilk.	taká +	Tag.	tethi 4
Gin. S.	letung	Bik.	taba*
Bont, S.	laneb	Pan.	tombok
Lep.	beraug	W. Man	kastad
Ban.	laurb	M. Mag.	kalandmin
Kan.	maneit	Tir.	taná
Inb.	daneh	Pag.	trabiá
Pang.	tabá	Sul.	daging

Oil not known.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Pamp, lanya, sesame oil; Pamp langis, plant and reed of sesame.

<sup>\*</sup> Tag. Iana, sesame oil; Tag. bangits, coconut oil.

Ilk. lánab, to oint with fat.

<sup>5</sup> Pamp. lines, the gloss of a smooth surface; Pamp. lites, the gloss of something accounted with fat or oil.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Tag. linub, fat.

Bik. langle, the fat on soup, etc.

# 83. bugaban; oro; gold. Rev.; bujuuan

# PHILIPPINE

Ibn.	hadánan	Pamp.	gentú
IIk.	halitók	Tag.	{ giuto, gold in general
Gin. 8.	balalan		balitak, native gold
Gin. M.	francu	Bik.	bulanan
Bont. S.	balitak	Pan.	bulawan
Lep.	balitak	Kal.	bulao-uu
Ban.	bedaren	M. Mag.	bulanau
Ting.	balidak	Tir.	betonen
Kan.	balitok	Bag.	ludaoan
Inb.	bulitok	Sul.	bolowan
Pang.	balitok		

# 84. apin; petate; mat

	Panareise		FORMOSAN
Ilk. Pang. Pamp. Tag.	dpin, leaves placed on the bottom of the pot to prevent the barn- ing of the rice ap dp, pad for saddle, etc. apin no dokulan, sheet for the bed sapin, lining, pad sapin, lining, pad	Pai. T. Am. T. Tip. Fav. Tang.	iskum sikal iskum som, a mat to sleep on lok při
Ibn. Ilk. Kan. Inb. Pang. Pamp. Tag. Bik. M. Mag. Tir. Bag. Sul.	dapan ikumen abek ixánen ikamutn dase, dasni banig hamák ikum ikum ikum bálái, sleeping mat		

85. ybatan [ibatán]; batán de nación; Batanese by nationality

86. idaidal: el chino: the Chinese (daldal; China; China)

### Риплертки

tha. Ilk.

deidal, Chinaman, Chinese Pamp. dubblid, soiling of clothes, etc., by trailing on the ground.

dutchit, new clothes having became ruffied or shabby; book ruffied by handling, etc.

### FORMOGAN

### Fav. poot, a Chinese

(acteng; hambre; hunger. Rev.: apting mapteng; hambriénto; hungry

### PHILIPPINE

lik.	apológ, lassitude (physical moral)	or		danap, hunger
Inb.	inapáří, tíred		Tag.	gutum, hunger
Sul.	hobite, hobbit, hungry		Pan.	gutom, hunger
			M. Mag.	guten, bunger
lbn.	bisin, bissin, hunger		Tir.	kelayaf, hunger
Ilk.	bisin, hunger		Bag.	hal-los, hunger
Kan.	dagaang, hunger		nug.	bitil, hunger
Inb.	agang, hunger		Sul.	håbde, håbdi, hungry
Pang.	erás* hunger			

### 88. mauau; sediénto; thírsty

### Philipping

pangál, thirst	Bik.	milei, thirst
mio, thirst	Pan.	uhao, thirst
okkong, thirst	M. Mag.	kanan, thirst
navo, thirst	Tir.	keterrom, thirst
нарувайн	D	( mo, oao, thirst
ano, thirst	Ditg.	lagung, thirst, desire to drink
áhao, thirst	8n1.	girhan
	nio, thirst okkong, thirst aron, thirst napgain ano, thirst	nón, thirst Pan. okkong, thirst M. Mag. aron, thirst Tir. napgaán Bag.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For the use of the demonstrative i- and other affixes to indicate nationality compare: ibandy, people from the Banag or Rio Ibn. banag, sarsaparilla.

Grande de Kagayan.

Kal. tétdepan, west.

kapampanoan, the Province Pampanga; Pamp. panppang, river bank. people of the Pampanga.

tagalog, people of lowland exposed to inundation :.

Ilk. dlog, land inundated in rainy season; pool in such land. Pang. alog, easily inundated low land. Pamp. Tag. alug, alog, stem of words meaning "to wade."

taganon-ay } people of the Island Panay ...... Pan. pan-iy, name of a river, ранаува**ба** hikolaon, people of the Province Camarines / Ibn. hikal. kuot.

Tag. b/kill, tree of hard wood. or from the River Bikol.

lactors, probably erronous for apting.

Pang. wgirás, luziness.

89. caliyat [kaliyat]; fatiga; fatigue, pain. Rev.: kalidiat

### PHILIPPINE

Ibn.	jigá-f, fatigue	Tag.	hirap, 1 fatigue
Hk.	rigat, fatigue	Pan.	kalappa, fatigne
Kan.	ligat, fatigue	Kal.	lija, work
Inb.	digat, fatigue	M. Mag.	kuergu, pain
Pang.	irap, fatigue	Tir.	kerraway, pain
Pamp.	sakit, difficulty, pain	Bag.	herayat, pain
-	90. cadumi [kadumi] 91. dactac [daktak]	Confermedad:	siekness
	91. dactac [daktak]	]	

### PHILIPPINE

	2		
Ping.	maramele, fifthy , demi, dirt	Ibn.	taki-t
Test.	kadem(dumi, something distaste- ful	Hk. Bont. S.	sakit nayko,* siek
Sul.	noimi, dirty [ dahdah, the coming to the bank	Bont. J.	{ nay-yu'   in-su-ku', pain
11k.	of the floatore of a river intitie, the holding back, the stopping	Lep. Ban.	mensukit, siek zigah, siek
Рипъ	Inklift, exacertation of a sickness or of sentiments	Kan. Inb.	mansakit, siek sakit
	dablak, agglomeration of people laktak, graving tool; to shake a	Pang.	mekit
Tug.	vessel to make it take in more (also toktok); to agree with an-	Pamp.	( sakit   salun
	other in appointing the day of departure	Tag.	mkil
The tone-	imitative word taktak occurs in	Bik.	helang   sakit, affliction
	ets, as in Pemp., Tag., Bik., Bis.,	Pan.	mekrit
and generally	means "knock, tap." Through	M. Mag.	mrkit
	nunciation or to express a modu- ound it changes to: hill-k (lbn.).	Tir.	megit, siek
	(Ilk.). dukluk (Panp.), dakdak	Bag.	j <i>bogok</i>   <i>komkit</i> , pain

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tag. bipat, weight; M. Mag. crya, repa, punishment; Tir. tega, punishment. Tir. mergen, difficult; Bag. birayat, punishment.

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<sup>2</sup> Pan. mahigko, dirty, loathsome.

92. managuebneb [managuebneb]; fria (cosa); cold (something). Rev.: manajebneb

	PHILIPPINE		FORMOBAN
IIk.	su-ayu/b, pierced, penetrated	Pai, T.	lialakat, cold
Zambal÷	(with love, pain, etc.) maray/p, cold	Am. Т. Рер. Ко.	sinau, cold mahau-nang, cold
Um.	malamain, cold	Pep. B.	maha-umung, cold
lik.	na-lam-ek, cold (wind)	Pep, Bak.	ma-hummoon, cold
Bont. 8.	lateny, cold	Pel.	lituk, cold
Lep.	mandidek, cold	Tsui,	masua-lua, cold
12	{ nabao, cold	Sek.	lumik, cold
Ban.	tanguin, cold	Bu.	maschu-ich, cold
Kan.	tangaria, cold	Fav.	J ma-asumak, cold (wind)
Inb.	tág-in, cohl		(wind)
Pang.	bactel, cold	Tip.	arteir, cold
Pamp.	marindo, cold	Ka.	authalazi, cold
75	[ maginate, cold (air)	Pach.	matilka, cold
Tag.	l makonig, cold	Bang.	matilka, cold
Bik.	maliput, cold	Bant.	malilku, cold
	padanig, cold	Tang.	háh yáck, cold
Pan.	(mahagaar, cold (food)		
	mayamê, cold (food)		
Kul.	malamig, cold		
M. Mag.	matengua, cold		
	( melogenry, cold		
Tir.	merrengé, cold		
Bag.	mayou-um, cold		
Sul.	mahagut, cold		

<sup>1</sup> See footnote to agry, night (WL 4).

<sup>2</sup> Of Bolinac.

# 93. cugat {kugat|; calor; heat. Rev.: kujat

Panp. suga, vivid color Tag. suga, red color Pan. suga, red color Pan. suga, red color Pan. suga, color Tugakaolot suga, heat  Ibn. puta Ilk. pidat Gin. S. nagtop, hot Bont. S. namatong, hot Lep. meating Ban. anatong, hot Inb. anapeting, hot Pang. poëting Pamp. puti Tag. init Pan. ioit Kal. makinit, hot Ban. init Bang. mechechi, warm Pang. kedaf Ban. init Bang. kedaf Ban. init Bang. mechechi, warm Bant. Kal. makinit, hot Bant. Tang. kedaf Bag. init  Pang. ki lôck, hot  Pang. ki lôck, hot		PHILIPPINE		FORMORAN
M. Mag. knyan Tir. kedaf	Tag. Pan. Pan. Tir. Tagakaolo <sup>1</sup> Ibn. Ilk. Gin. S. Bont. S. Lep. Ban. Kan. Inb. Pang. Pamp. Tag. Bik. Pan. Kal.	sugm, vivid color sugm, red color sugm, red color sugm, holor sugm, hont path path path path path magtop, hot manteny, hot manteny, hot manteny, hot manteny, hot manteny, hot potting path init init makinit, hot	Am. T. Pep. Ko. Pep. B. Pel. B. Tsul. Sek. Bu. Fav. Tip. Ka. Pach. Bang. Bant.	salangsang, hot sinut, hot madalat, warm madalat, hot madalat, hot madalat, hot madalat, hot matala, warm madalap, warm madalap, warm matallach, warm matallach tidao, hot talach riass, hot matala, warm machecha, warm machecha, warm
Sul. bássok	Tir. Bag,	kedaf init	rang.	ki lock, hot

# 94. uanar; derecha; right (hand). Rev.; unnan

### PHILIPPINE

Ibn.	jinanan, right side	Tag.	kuman, right side
Ilk.	kananan, right side	Bik.	too,* right side
Bont. S.	manama, right side	Pan.	too,* right side
Lep.	anata, ' right side	M. Mag.	kaaram, right side
Ban.	ama, right side	Tir.	known, right side
Kan.	an-nan, right side	Bag.	knomms, right side
lab.	amman, right side	Sul.	patoh,3 right, starboard
Panip.	umaa, right side		2

### FORMOSAN

### Fav. kollowers, the right

<sup>1</sup> Of Mindango

Ilk. amin, there is none, not extant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Tag. tytosi, true, real.

### 95, guli; izquierda; left (side). Rev.: juli

### PHILIPPINE

Iba.	jimigi, left side	Inb.	igid
717	( katigid, left side	Pamp.	kaili
IIk.	kunigid, left side	Tag.	kaliwi
**	maikid, left side	Bik.	realá 2
Bont. 8.	wikid, left side	Pan.	vedá*
	( katiked, left side	M. Mag.	biumg*
Lep.	ikid, left side	Tip	lánng <sup>3</sup>
Ban.	ikid, left side	Bag.	thang <sup>4</sup>
Kan.	igid	Sul.	paláma,* left, port side

### FORMOSAN

# Fav. kniri, the left

96. ragos, marragos; limpio, ascado; clean, neat. Rev.: marrajos

### PHILIPPINE

	maralut, clean (bodily)	Pan.p.	maline, clean
Ibn.	marcun, clean	Tag.	mulinis, clean
lik.	undahis,* elean	Bik.	malinig; clean
Gin. S.	dadatós,1 clean	Pan.	matinla, clean
Bont. S.	ousum, elean	M. Mag.	kapanganás, clean
Lep.	datosam, clean	Tir.	menkryás, clean
Ban.	wulasaw, chean	111.	mentilak, clean
Kan.	wepteng,* clean	Bag.	mulow, polished
Inb.	siged,* clean	Sul.	meidno, to clean
Pane.	welliwis, clean		

### FORMOSAN

# Pep. Bak. makupti, clean

<sup>1</sup> Formosan (Sidéia) agi, left (Brandes, Klankleer, p. 65).

Tag, wald, there is not (but Pang, valu, there is).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Tag. bayawang, bewang, waist.

<sup>\*</sup>The stems raint, dains come nearest to Batan ragos.

<sup>4</sup> Meaning "good."

### 97. marrodit (stem rodit); sucio; dirty

### PHILIPPING

### FORMOSAN.

Lunns		PORMORAS		
Ibn.	nearitta, majjitta mathethet maraping	Pep. Bak. Fav.	nar-lakung miarar, dirty, foul	
Ilk.	uaragit 1			
Gin. S.	neimo			
Bont. S.	singot, techingot <sup>2</sup>			
Lep.	lugat			
Ban.	kongot navialon			
Kan.	dagis			
Pang.	unrrumkin			
Pamp.	marinal			
Tag.	marámi			
Bik.	инегатод			
Pan.	muhigko			
M. Mag.	mahuring			
Tir.	menlued			
Bag.	mariju			
Sul.	માર્ચ જ્યાં છે			

98. mabaya; colorado; red

	PHILIPPING		FORMOSAN
Ibn.	жаоўін	Pai, T.	parnon
Iik.	labága	Am. T.	рандандай
Gin. S.	natschokol	Pep. Ko.	пийранд
Gin. M.	ladáked	Pep. Bak.	та-еронд
Bont, J.	lang-at'	Pel. B.	mitaran
Lep.	mahmang	Tsui.	makuthla
Ban.	kagtinal	Sek.	labaheng
Ting.	ladaláak	Bu.	watanach
Kan.	mandadá	Fav.	makakan, to be red
Inb.	ambálanga	Tip.	dingdaraa
Pang.	bulanga		
Pamp.	malutu		
Tag.	mapulá		
Bik.	mapulá		
Pan.	mapula		
Kal.	machingi <sup>8</sup>		
M. Mag.	mariga		
Tir.	furra		
Bag.	mahda		
Sul.	polák		

Nork.-Stem baya of Batan makaya corresponds with stem baya in Ilk. labaya, the change from Batan y to lik. y being frequent. Compare also: Tag. baya, glowing coals: Sul, mātāgā, to blaze Fav, bagga, blood. Kan, mandadā compare with dada of W1, 15; the common meaning is probably "to glare, to radiate."

<sup>&#</sup>x27;The stems right, light come nearest to Batan right, lik. right, dirt.

<sup>\*</sup> His, wingut, perspiration.

<sup>\*</sup> weichings = Span. encarnude = red, carnation.

### 99, marrayi (rugi); distante; distant

### PHILIPPINE

Hm.	aragiá, addagiá	Panep.	unterije
IIk.	rafebryó	Tag.	malágá
Gin. S.	adeiń .	Bik.	harrago
Bont. S.	adda-sani	Pan.	malayó
Lep.	adaog	Kal.	alarid
Ban.	adaoc1	M. Mag.	manatá a
Kan.	adaoi	Tir.	mercegn
Inb.	radgeri	Bag.	madiá
Pung.	ursoi	Sul.	urin

### FORMOSAN

### Fav. more, far, deep

100. may; venir; to come. Rev.: maihedi

### PRILIPPEN

Ibn.	ини́у, to go, come	Pamp.	mun', to go, to come
Ilk.	nmay, to go, come	2 2111/37	l mai, to go, to come
Gin, S.	amali	Tag.	{ perrito
Bont. S.	mvy, to go	- tags	l parini
Bont. J.	uw-i, to go	Pan.	kara, kari
•	(enmay, to go	Kal,	angay, to go
Lep.	omate	M. Mag.	§ sumin
	finney, to go	247 248/62	l marim
Ban.	\ semode	Tir.	mny, to go
Kan.	manti	Bag.	тіумгеб, to go
Inb.	undao-ali	Sul.	madi

### FORMOSAN

### Fav. mai

Note.—In view of the manifold terms which Philippine dialects in general have for "to go, to come" I have admitted into this list, as far as my sources left me the choice, only those coming nearest the Batán term, or, in absence of such, only the most common ones. It must be noted that the radical ay, which, with the help of a prefix, forms the frequently occurring may, many, etc., denotes evidently only the movement of going, the sense of going towards the speaker (to come) being probably secondary. The terms listed are mostly used in calling a person. The radical all in, in Inibaloi at all events, an animating interjection: "here, hither!"

Wery probably a misprint for adaps.

101. cumaru [kumaru]; to go away.1 Rev.: maipangay, to go

### PHILIPPINE

Nk.	keins, the strength or efficacy of something, etc., usedro, to produce effect	Pamp.	{ lakao mako
Pemp.	kare, the taking effect of poison ( kare, to come here, to bring	Tag.	{ ранао { унтао
Pan.	something karn, to go, to come to where some one is	Bik. Pan. Kal.	lakao mapunao dasalé,1 go!
Ibn. Ilk. Kan.	manau, to go, to go away pumanau umen	M. Mag. Tir.	lakan mann esut
Inb. Pang.	undao onla, to go	Bag. Sul.	танан рано

Note,—As in the preceding list only a selection out of a great variety of terms, that found place here. The predominating radical element is ao + a preceding consonant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In the expression kumars ka dia (get away here!) the stem is evidently kars, resembling the Pan, terms for "to come" in the preceding list.
<sup>3</sup> Probably dae alf.

Taux L.-Thy expression r to \$6, 20, and \$50 PHILIPPING

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# CHAPTER II

# RESULTS OF THE LEXICAL COMPARISON

# BATAN DIALECT BELONGING TO THE PHILIPPINE GROUP

The comparison was destined to clear up the following points:

FIRSTLY, the general relationship of the Batán dialect to the Philippine group of languages;

SECONDLY, its phonetic and lexical particularity;

THIRDLY, a possible special affinity to one of the dialects compared.

The said group of languages was assumed as represented by the file of nineteen dialects presented for comparison. The result of the comparison may now be deduced from the word lists as follows:

The lists comprise in all one hundred and thirteen Batán catchwords. Of these four properly have to be left out of the reckoning; namely, Nos. 85 and 86, as serving chiefly for the examination of the use of a prefix, and Nos. 112 and 113, as being repetitions of previously compared numerals. This leaves a total of one hundred and nine words. Of these the comparison shows for eighty-five—that is, for 78 per cent—meretritions in one or more of the other dialects, repetitions which either are literally true ones or show a greater or lesser phonetic variation, the signification at the same time deviating only in a few cases and even then only slightly.

Now, apart from this simple fact of repetition, which, to be sure, is in itself significant enough, we are interested also in the frequency with which cases of repetition occur for each Batán word in its respective column of comparison, since it must reflect the cohesion, not only of Batán with the group, but of all dialects with each other. The exact determination of this factor would presuppose that the nineteen dialects are constantly represented in all word lists to their full number. This coefficient, in truth, is unstable, not, however, to such an extent as to render impossible a satisfactory conclusion. An examination of the eighty-five words in this respect shows them divisible into two groups:

Fifty-eight words repeat themselves in each instance either in the whole or very nearly the whole line, the latter being represented all the time by an average of seventeen of the nineteen dialects set up as a standard. These words age: Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 43, 44, 47, 49, 50, 52,

53, 54, 58, 60, 63, 68, 70, 71 Rev., 72, 73, 74, 75, 78, 79, 89, 94, 99, 100, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111;

Twenty-seven words repeat themselves either in about half of the line or only sporadically, average of dialects represented being sixteen—Nos. 13, 15, 16, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34, 42, 46, 51, 56, 57, 59, 61, 62, 64, 65, 80, 82, 83, 84, 87, 88, 96, 97, 98.

The result is, then, of the one hundred and nine words compared there are to be found for eighty-five (78 per cent) repetitions in the other dialects, and for fifty-eight of the one hundred and nine words—that is, for 53 per cent—the frequency of the repetition is so considerable that it comes very near a community of words for the whole line set up in representation of the group of languages.

THE LEXICAL COMPARISON SHOWS THE BATAN DIALECT IN CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PHILIPPINE GROUP OF LANGUAGES INSIDE THE LINES ENCOMPASSING ALL ITS MEMBERS.

### PHONETIC AND LEXICAL PARTICULARITY OF THE BATAN DIALECT

Let us now test the dialect upon the existence—as a general feature—of phonetic peculiarities of the common words. To give the dialect the widest possible margin for showing off either its similarity or dissimilarity in sounds with respect to the other dialects we can not do better than take for this test the group of fifty-eight words above mentioned, since these represent the cases of most frequent repetition and consequently afford the possibility of the most comprehensive review.

Of this group there appear in Batán-

Twenty-eight words in a specific form of phonetic modification: Nos. 1, 3, 6, 10, 14, 17, 20, 22, 29, 35, 38, 43, 44, 52, 58, 63, 68, 70, 72, 73, 79, 89, 94, 99, 102, 103, 109, 111;

Twenty-one words are equal in sound with a predominating form or with one that occurs repeatedly in the lists: Nos. 8, 11, 12, 19, 21, 23, 24, 36, 37, 39, 49, 50, 53, 54, 60, 78, 100, 105, 107, 108, 110; and for

Nine words there are to be found sporadic cases of phonetic correspondency, which, by the way, are not limited to geographical neighborhood: Nos. 2, 18, 28, 47, 71 Rev., 74, 75, 104, 106.

Since a discussion of the details of Batán phonology is intended in a later section of this study I refrain from entering upon them at this place and only formulate the general fact so far ascertained as follows:

THE COMPARISON DEMONSTRATES FOR THE BATAN DIALECT A PHONETIC PARTICULARITY EXPRESSING ITSELF IN 50 PER CENT OF THE FIFTY-EIGHT WORDS EXAMINED FOR THIS PURPOSE.

Another point to be investigated was the lexical particularity of the Batán dialect, in other words the employment of words not to be found

in use for the same signification in the other dialects; that is, of course, as far as my sources permit a judgment in this respect. Strictly speaking. the stipulation "for the same signification" would bring under this investigation already that small number of words mentioned above as showing repetitions of slightly deviating meaning in the other dialects. (Cf. WL. 8, añin, storm; 42, tetegnan, throat, gorge.) Since, however, the kind of significant change presented by these cases can not be called peculiar of the one or the other dialect, but represents rather a certain unstableness of meaning in general characterizing the whole group of dialects (cf. WL 30, 31, 32, 33, 42, 48, 49, 50, 51) they may safely be overlooked in the present instance. Of more interest here are those Batán words which, standing entirely isolated in the immediate comparison, make at first sight the impression of being genuine "Batanisms." I refer to that number of words which in the discussion of the relationship of Batán to the group were left unconsidered as showing no repetition in the comparative lists they are heading. Their number is then one hundred and nine minus eighty-five leaving twenty-four. For these words it is necessary to remember, before all, the limited nature of many of my sources, as also the limited representation given to the whole group of dialects, since a more exhaustive comparison might not fail to match these words, or a number of them, with proper correspondencies. Be that, however, as it may, the sole fact of their current employment in Batán to designate certain commonplace ideas in distinction from the different terms used in nineteen other dialects, including the seven principal languages of the Islands, seems to warrant our regarding them for the present as BATÁN IDIOMS. I present them together in the following list:

4,	agep, night	
5.	makuyab, evening	
7.	demdem, cloud	
9.	Rev.: salausau, wind	
25.	kaktek, brother	
26.	malkem, old man	
32.	mumutdan, nose	
40,	batabat, breast (Rev.:	sł
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houlder) 41. lagao, neck

45. taul, heart

48. alteng, altek, leg, calf 55, kalangangan, stomach

66, among, fish 67. kuis, pig

69. buday, snake chinergeran, a boat

77. tataya, a boat 81. ganeng, oil

90. kadumi, sickness 91. daktak, siekness

92. managebneb, cold

93. kugat, heat 95. guli, left side

101. kumaru, go away

What then is the nature of these words which our comparison, after showing up the existence of a phonetic particularity, now presents as the second distinctive feature of the dialect under review?

I will examine them one by one in their etymology, knowing very well on what errantry I am setting out in so doing. In this investigation I have occasion to bring into play those words contained in the lists

which, as not belonging to the immediate comparison, have found their place either at the top or at the bottom of the word list proper.

- 7. demdem, cloud; a contemplation of WL. 7 and 7\* makes it evident that demdem is the reduplication of a root dem occurring in the same form in Suldempok and as yem, rem, lem, lim, etc., in the other dialects as part of words signifying cloud, evening, shadow, dark, etc., and embodying, perhaps by symbolization through sound, the sense of "somber." Formosan dialects show: Tso. trum-tsum, cloud, and Fav. ma-udum, dark. Ilk. has the identical form demdem, but with a more remote sense. Other correspondencies see in WL 5 and 8.
- 45. taul, heart; a notable word heading a list nearly unanimous in giving the same meaning by priso and similar forms. The footnote shows, however, the occurrence of taul in at least three other dialects where it expresses a certain emission of the human or animal voice. Composition: prefix ta + tone-imitative stem ul; compare Tag. holhol, barking of a dog; Batan taul refers perhaps to the dull sound produced by the pulsation of the heart.
- 90. kodumi, sickness; prefix ka + stem dumi. In other dialects this stem means generally "dirt," which is easily to be reconciled with the sense it has in Batán.
- 91. daktak, sickness; a tone-imitative word occurring in several dialects, as in Pamp., Tag., Bik., Bis., with the general sense of knock, tap. Through idiomatic pronunciation, or to express a modification of the sound it changes to tottó-k (in Ibn), toktok, tiktik (in Ilk.), dukduk (in Pamp), etc. By association of ideas not to be traced back its meaning has been specialized differently in various dialects as shown at the top of the word list.

These four words, which in the comparison of their equivalents in the word lists proper remained without correspondencies and thus appeared to be idiomatic property of the Batán dialect, reveal themselves here upon further investigation as words occurring also elsewhere in the group, though with a different meaning. This phenomenon is explained by conceiving the dictionaries of all the dialects of the group as representing a general Philippine stock of words to which also the present four belong. It then results that these words as such are not idiomatic for the dialect under review but only their employment for certain concrete ideas and, to a certain extent, their pronunciation. I formulate this as follows: the Batán dialect selects from a common Philippine stock of words of general meaning certain expressions and, specializing their sense and pronouncing them in a special manner, assigns to them places occupied in other dialects by different expressions.

To proceed with the examination:

5. makuyab, evening, afternoon; prefix  $ma + stem\ kuyab$ ; this stem comes very near 1bn. fagab for the same meaning; the second part of the stem. yab, characterizes words for "night," WL 4, in the dialectically varied forms yab, rab, lab, daw, e.e., followed by i; correct pronunciation of Tag. gabi is gab-i, not ga-bi. The change from g to Batan y is frequent.

32. mumutdan, nose; incompletely reduplicated root mut + suffix -an. For root mut compare words quoted at top of word list, also Formosan: Sib., Fav., Tip. etc., where apparently the same root takes the form not, nut.

- lagao, neck; the change from l to Batán g being typical, this word agrees with the component element lao, leo, dow of its synonyms quoted at the top of the word list.
- 48. alteng, leg, altek, calf; inorganic initial a produces syncopation of a stem lateng, latek. The concatenation of equal forms and equal meanings noted at feet of list shows both words related to one another and to other Philippine words of alliable sense. The common primary sense both of lateng and hotog may be "swelling" or "bulging." Compare for this sense words beginning with bot, but in WL 46 and 48.
- 55. kalangangan, stomach; probably built on a radical element nga, ngan (kan) occurring in all Philippine dialects in words for "eat," "masticate," and others standing for parts or movements of the mouth; compare the forms quoted at top of list; ka-, la-, and -an are affixes.
- 76. chinergeron, a boat; by elimination of infix in and suffix on this derivative is reduced—regarding the initial sound according to a law to be explained hereafter—to a stem kerger, in its turn a reduplicated root ker or ger, imitative of the noise produced by sawing, filing, scratching, etc. (See notes on the etymology of this word in the list.)

92. managebneb, cold; prefix man-before a stem ageb containing a root geb, which is reduplicated with different initial sound. The same radical element exists in the words with similar meaning quoted at the top of the list. (Cf. WL 4: agep, night.)

The preceding seven words, which as well in the word lists proper as among the words of reference, remain without immediate correspondency, and therefore may be set down in the form they present, as being peculiar to the Batán dialect, reveal themselves, upon being broken up, as genuinely Philippine in components and structure. Their radical elements find correspondencies in form and sense in other dialects. Their peculiarity then appears to consist in that they have been built, and are used, only by this dialect, though the material employed and the type of building are common to the whole group. In other words the dialect creates for itself expressions on a general Philippine basis and assigns to them places occupied in other dialects by different terms; their pronunciation, too, is idiomatic and indicates in the initial of the word chinergeran, above examined, a sound change for which there has not yet been recorded, as far as its origin is concerned, any correspondency in the group. This latter point will be fully discussed under "Phonology."

The dialect would appear to show itself thus not merely in a selective activity, as in the previous list of words, but as directly *creative* of new forms, a capacity which, while consistent with the general character of Philippine speech, would constitute its best title to dialect independency.

I now come to the following vocables:

- 9. Rev. salausou, wind; perhaps related to Bont. S. soysoy, wind; in form it corresponds most nearly with Ilk. salayosoy and Tag. salayosoy of a similar meaning as noted at foot of list.
- 26. malkem, old man; prefix ma + syncopized stem l'kem; assuming the vowel dropped to have been a there results a stem lakem which may be related to lik, lakey and similar forms of identical meaning to be seen in the word list.

69. buday, snake, finds its nearest correspondency, both in sound and meaning, in Lampong ulai, snake, and thus is easily connected with its Philippine synonyms uley, ocg, urrar, etc. At the foot of the word list are shown different specializations of the general primary sense underlying all these words which was perhaps "creeping" or "winding."

81. gancing, oil; substituting the elsewhere typical Philippine I for Batán g I get for this word the form \*laneing which is a metathesis of Kal. langin and makes a connection with several other similar forms in the same list, as also with Sul. daging, fat, of Wl. 82.

93. kugat, heat; perhaps a variation of suga appearing with different related meanings in several dialects quoted at top of list.

95. guli, left (side), may be taken as a local variation of the forms predominating for the same meaning in northern Luzon and showing a radical element igid, igi, or ili (Formosan: Fav. iri, Sid. ugi).

As will be seen the six words here considered can be confronted, either from the word lists proper or from among the words of reference with similar forms of like or related meaning. This leads to the supposition that they are dialectic variations of terms current also elsewhere in the group; that is, of common property of the latter. Excepting the change from I to g in ganeng and the common one from I to d in buday, the variation would not be due to sound changes more or less typical of Batán, but would have been obtained by means which transform the configuration or the volume of the word and are made use of by Philippine dialects in general; contraction, agglutination accompanied by syncopation, decapitation, metathesis, dropping of final sound, etc.

Of the total of twenty-five idiomatic expressions there remain seven words concerning which I am either unable to establish any connection with other dialects of the group or unwilling to attempt this as too uncertain. These words are:

4. agcp, night

67. kuis, pig

25. kaktek, brother

77. tataya, a bout

40. balabal, breast 66. among, fish 101. kumaru, go, go away

There is, however, no doubt that these words are, like all others truly Philippine in character; balabat occurs in identical form, though with different meaning, in three other dialects of the group, while the remainder attest that character by the structure of their syllables or by that of the whole word form: kaklek shows prefix ka-before a syncopated stem which may have sounded \*katek; kumaru contains infix -um- and tataya presents clearly a case of incomplete reduplication of a stem taya.

To sum up: I do not know if I have established the one true etymology of every word I have tried to account for. I believe, however, that I have adduced sufficient testimony to allow it to be recognized—

 That the twenty-four Batán vocables examined are of genuine Philippine nature and in this respect not essentially distinct from the bulk of eighty-five words first considered that went to establish the relationship of Batán to the group.

- 2. That the idiomatic appearance of these twenty-four words finds its explanation in the following causes acting singly or in combination:
  - (a) Idiomatic specialization of the sense of words common to the group;
  - (b) Use of forms created by the dialect on a common Philippine basis;
- (c) Idiomatic transformation of the shape of common words by means typical for the whole group;
  - (d) Idiomatic pronunciation.

These words then root in a substratum which underlies, for all we know, all dialects alike and which, remaining occult at the first view, can be recognized and studied only by a comparison of one with another.<sup>1</sup>

To meet the foregoing point in the present comparison I record the facts here obtained briefly as follows:

THE BATAN DIALECT MANIFESTS IN THE LEXICAL COMPARISON ITS IDIOMATIC PROPERTY BY THE EMPLOYMENT OF A NUMBER OF PECULIAR WORDS WHICH CONSTITUTE ABOUT 20 PER CENT OF THE TOTAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND NINE WORDS COMPARED. A CLOSER EXAMINATION OF THESE WORDS REVEALS THEM AS GENUINELY PHILIPPINE IN NATURE.

In connection with the foregoing I will point out in the comparative lists a trait characteristic as much of Philippine as of Indonesian dialects in general which should make us very cautious in setting down definitely a word as the exclusive property of one of them. I refer to the capriciousness often encountered when one looks in vain for a correspondency in the neighborhood of a certain dialect only to find the corresponding word in a remote member of the family. Of this curious trait the following are a few examples taken from the word lists:

- Bat. tana, earth, agrees best with Malay tanah, as compared with Philippine tanap, dagá, lupa, etc.
- 30, 31. Lep. angas, face, finds its closest correspondency in Bulud Opic angas and in similar forms on Formosa, though with slightly different meaning.
  - 51. Bat. tackay, hand, has an isolated correspondency in Kan. takkay, hand.
- 57. Bat. tinai and Ibn. sinai, bowels, conform with Pan. tina-i as compared with intervening bagis, bituka, etc.
- Bat. chito and Ibn. kitu, dog, correspond with southern Philippine ido. kiro, etc., and Fav. sito as compared with predominating aso, etc.
- Bat. pañid, wing, reappears for this meaning only in Bagobo of southern Mindanao.

This phenomenon is a proof of the existence in a former time of a common fountain from which all these dialects derived their stock of words, a fountain which, catching it in one of its branches, I have already referred to on several occasions by such a term as "general

<sup>1</sup> Substituting for our elaborate compilation and analysis of vocables the quick sense for Philippine speech of a non-Batanese native of the Islands, we may presume that, once his ears were accustomed to the peculiar pronunciation, the Batan dialect, bewildering and unintelligible to him in the beginning, would "burst" upon him, so to say, by degrees, revealing more and more matter and forms already familiar to him from his own dialect. In saying this I have in mind also what I know of Batan grammar.

:02

Philippine speech." At the present time we have the protigious multiplicity of dialects caused by the splitting up of the people that possessed the archaic stock language when they spread over the innumerable fractions that constitute the Austronesian world, and by the ensuing separate development of the speech of each division. If, therefore, in the comparison of vocabularies one meets with peculiar terms in one tongue which are not readily to be matched from near-by dialects, one may just as well have to do with words, the old heirlooms of the language, which have survived only here and there, as with words of more recent formation, developed within, and known only to, a particular division. An unexpected correspondency in a distant dialect loses, moreover, in its sporadic aspect if the possible removal from the immediate range of observation of the same term in several other dialects through significant change is duly considered. A good illustration of this is offered by the word panid of list 64.

# STATUS OF THE BATAN DIALECT IN THE PHILIPPINE GROUP

Having now settled the first two points that were to be cleared up by the lexical comparison, there remains as third the question of a possible NEARER RELATIONSHIP between the dialect under review and one of the others put up for comparison. Among these the two neighboring languages Hokano and Ibanág would be those most likely to present indications of a closer connection.

The lists show, indeed, some instances of special correspondency of the Batán dialect with Ilokano words: Nos. 16, 46, and perhaps also Nos. 76, 96, 97; some cases of similar harmony occur also in Ibanág; Nos. 27, 59, 74, 80; to some degree also Nos. 5 and 57.

A comparison of the whole large remainder of vocables, however, reveals no special closer relation of Batán either with these two or with any other of the remaining dialects. What a consideration of the lists from this point of view indeed discloses is a not infrequent occurrence of a predominating form for a certain idea in the northern dialects contrasted occasionally by a similarly predominating characteristic form in the southern half of the Archipelago. Instances of this are:

- 12. danum, water, compared with words compounded with ig.
- 69. uleg, snake, compared with ahas and others.
- 83. balitok, gold, compared with bulanan.
- 95. igid, etc., left, compared with wald, etc.
- 64. payak, wing, compared with pakpak.
- 68. kalding, goat, compared with kambing.
- 70. ugsa, etc., deer, compared with use, etc.

Before the question respecting the existence of a near ally of Batán which has so far been denied—can be brought to a conclusion, it is necessary to consider the dialect spoken by the natives of Botel Tobago, whose ethnical relation with the old inhabitants of the northernmost island in the Batán group, Ibayat, brings them into a close neighborly connection with the Batanese, though this connection is to-day severed by the Bashi Channel and finds its occasional expression only in mutual ill-will.<sup>1</sup>

Of the words from the dialect of Botel Tobago which my sources contain only a very small number would fit into the frame of the present comparison. Efforts made by me to obtain further material from that out-of-the-way and seldom-visited island proved fruitless. Among twenty-eight words, the only ones I could impanel, there are ten which do not, or at least do not completely, conform with their Batán equivalents—Nos. 6, 29, 32, 38, 67, 68, 104, 109, 110, 111—their divergence being often due to a considerable modification of the form of what may be after all one and the same word, as for instance in—

- 29. Batán ogo, head, as compared with Bot Tob. voboya.
- 68. Batan kaddin, goat, as compared with Bot. Tob. kagirin.

On the other hand there are six other words which show a pronounced concordance with Batán—Nos. 20, 22, 34, 72, 75, 102.

The remaining words do correspond with Batán, but are irrelevant for the point in question because they belong to that number of terms which are almost universally alike in Indonesian dialects or predominate in large sections of them in very much the same form: ama, father; mata, eye; susu, teats; manok, fowl, etc.

If, then, the investigation of the relation between the Batán dialect and that of Botel Tobago must be kept in abeyance "it may be said that the data obtained with respect to Ilokano and Ibanág merely suggested either simply a common derivation of the words in question, or that a limited number of vocables from these neighboring tongues had found their way, purely or in a modified form, into the Batán dictionary, the converse not being of equal probability. The result is then—

THE BATAN DIALECT SHOWS, BEYOND ITS GENERAL APPINITY TO THE WHOLE GROUP, NO SPECIAL CLOSER CONNECTION WITH ANY OF THE PHILIPPINE DIALECTS COMPARED.

Reviewing all the points made I may recapitulate them by saying that the lexical comparison presents the dialect under review as of pure Philippine type and as possessing a distinct dialectic individuality, a genuine and coördinate member of the group.

### CONSIDERATION OF CERTAIN FORMOSAN DIALECTS

It remains to cast a glance at the Formosan dialects which have found a place in the word lists incidentally.

In spite of the great interest attaching to it, philological research on Formosa has made considerably less progress than the study of the dialects

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. my paper, Zur Ethnologie der Inselkeite zwischen Luzon und Formosa, in Mitteil. d. D. Ges. f. N. u. V.-Kunde Ostasiens Bd. XI, Teil l. Tökyö, 1906.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>The reports of Spanish missionaries are that the people of the Batanes and those of Botel Tobago do not understand each other.

spoken in the mountains of the Philippines. When two and half centuries ago the Dutch had a settlement on the island a few of the native idioms spoken by that part of the population which came under the immediate influence of the colonists were studied by Dutch missionaries, who edited in them a number of religious writings. From that time also dates a vocabulary, written by G. Happart, of what is generally called the Favorlang-Formosan. This furnished me the vocables marked "Fay." in the word lists. From the year the Dutch were driven out by Koxinga, 1662, till our days hardly any fresh studies have been made in the field, the exploration of Formosan languages being allowed to rest so long that the dialects learned by the Dutch had time to pass out of existence, or to make at least their present survival a matter of uncertainty. We have a few philological treatises written on the basis of old Dutch or Chinese texts,1 as also a number of stray notes and considerations. Our knowledge of the actual forms of speech of the barbarian hill tribes and of their kinsmen in the foothills and plains, who under the generic name of "Pepohoan" have become assimilated to the Chinese colonists, rests however on nothing better than a number of scanty word lists collected by residents and occasional travelers. It may be presumed that at least those of the latter include many an incorrectly heard or incorrectly interpreted word. From such of these vocabularies as I could reach I have compiled the bulk of the Formosan column of the word lists.

In looking at the series of dialects given by me and comparing them with the Philippine column it is necessary, in order to obtain a proper point of view, to realize the incongruity of the representation of both. For several word lists my Formosan sources yielded more idioms than I have selected to stand for the Philippine group; in such cases the former, though they represent a much smaller territory, outnumber the latter. The whole area of the Island of Formosa would find place about two times in that part alone of Luzon which lies north of Manila; it would cover here about that section which harbors the non-Christian mountain tribes, a population whose degree of culture resembles that of the Formosans very much. If, therefore, one wished to compare such points as the number and diversification of dialects within equal areas, or the phonetic peculiarities of the mountain dialects on both islands, it would be necessary to give the Philippine column quite a different composition, confronting the Formosan with a selection of dialects taken, say, from just that region on Luzon which I have alluded to above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Of interest to students of Philippine philology is: Gabelentz, ther die formosanische Sprache und ihre Stellung in dem malarischen Sprachstamm in Zeitschrift d. D. Morgeal. Ges. XIII. Bd. Heft. 1 und 2 (1859), where Favorlang is shown as sharing the characteristic traits of the Philippine group of languages. I mention also: Florens, Formosanische Volkslieder nach chinesischen Quellen in Mittheil. d. D. Ges. f. Nat. u. Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Tokyo, VII. Bd. T. 1 (1898), which contains the texts of thirty-three popular songs of about the same number of different Pepohann and Sekhoan tribes or clans, transcribed and translated from Chinese texts published in 1746.

Of the hill tribes on Formosa we know, or believe, that they are to be counted for the greater part as Malayans settled since olden times on the island and continuously added to and diversified by subsequent arrivals of more or less cognate people, adventurers, castaways, and the like from the borders of the China Sea and the islands of the Pacific. Besides, authors writing on the subject generally allow for, if they do not assert, still older immigration from the northeast and north, naming especially the Liu Kiu Islands and also the mainland of China, the latter as point of departure of non-Mongolian settlers. What with mixtures and local development of speech continued—to name only a figure—since the sixth century <sup>1</sup> in a population cut up into innumerable clans living independently of one another the island must indeed present in its aboriginal dialects a very variegated picture. And that is precisely the impression we receive in looking over the word lists.

I will confine myself to the question in what degree an Indonesian character—as represented by the Philippine column—manifests itself in the Formosan tongues as a body. There are about sixty word lists to be taken into account, besides ten numerals. I divide the former roughly into two equal parts: in one half a strong and unmistakable Indonesian (Philippine) element is conspicuous at first sight: WL 3, 6, 11, 12, 15, 21, 22, 23, 24, 30, 31, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 46, 51, 52, 56, 59, 60, 67, 72, 78, 84. To this the ten numerals must be added as showing the same character; in the other half Philippine correspondencies are not so plentiful, or require some scrutiny to be recognized: WL 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 19, 20, 29, 32, 33, 36, 40, 41, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50, 64, 68, 69, 70, 79, or appear nearly absent: WL 10, 13, 63.

For especially notable Formosan words I would point out among others WL 1, 2, 3, 6, 10, 11, 12, 20, 22, 37. These words refer to very common ideas designated on the Philippine side with marked uniformity, while Formosan dialects have for them a disproportionate number of fundamentally different expressions.

The difference in form of the Formosan words is often due to a more or less considerable accretion of sounds, for example:

- 6. Philippine butuin as compared with Formosan mintokan, etc.
- 11. Philippine apui as compared with Formosan sapui, apoolu, etc.
- 21. Philippine ama as compared with Formosan kamma, tama.
- 23. Philippine ina as compared with Formosan kina, kinna,
- 29. Philippine ulo as compared with Formosan koru, wongoko.
- 34. Philippine bibig as compared with Formosan babibit.
- 35. Philippine dita as compared with Formosan dalilah.
- 59. Philippine aso as compared with Formosan vatu.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>I quote from Davidson's monumental work "Formosa, Past and Present," page 3: "A learned authority [Prof. Ludw. Riess] speaks of the arrival in Formosa of emigrants from the northeast at a period several centuries before Christ. These people, known as Longkius, hold sway in the island and were visited by the Chinese up to the second half of the sixth century, when bands of uncivilized Melays swept up from the south and brought the whole west coast of the island under their control and the Longkius who survived the conquest retreated into the mountains."

In the case of sapui, kamma, kina (kinna), kōru the accretion may be due to the coalescence with the stem—as represented by the Philippine form—of a preceding particle. Compare a similar accretion in the Philippine column of WL 2, 29, 51, 59, 62, 79, especially in Kalamian.

As regards mintokan it may be taken into consideration whether here the fuller Formosan word does not represent the older form. A comparison of WL 6—

and again of-

- 22. Formosan bakush, Philippine bakes with Philippine babayi
- 58. Philippine tachi, takki, takla with Philippine tac, ta-i

seems to suggest a priority of the harder forms.

As has been said before the extension of the word lists to the Formosan dialects had for an immediate object only to afford a cursory glance at the relation between the latter and the tongues of the southern Archipelago. It is, however, to be hoped that the many interesting variants which the Formosan columns contain of well-known Philippine forms will render their present compilation also useful for future reference.

# CHAPTER III

# STRUCTURE OF WORDS

Upon examining the stock of words contained in the texts as to the structure of the several forms it is found—by analysis where necessary—that RADICAL SUBSTANCE-WORDS are mostly DISSYLLABIC, FORM-WORDS mostly MONOSYLLABIC.<sup>1</sup>

COMPOUND SUBSTANCE-WORDS (OF DERIVATIVES) are formed by attachment (AGGLUTINATION, AFFIXATION) to the fundamental word (STEM) of one or more particles (AFFIXES); also by doubling that fundamental word wholly or in part (COMPLETE OF INCOMPLETE REDUPLICATION).

COMPOUND FORM-WORDS result principally from a contraction or fusion of homogeneous elements.

Before illustrating by examples these fundamental features of the structure of Batán words, which will be recognized at once as those common to Philippine dialects in general, it should be said that the distinction made between monosyllabic form- and dissyllabic substancewords answers a trait which it is impossible to mistake and which serves well for a general survey, yet does not constitute a sharp division to be carried through systematically without qualification, as will presently become apparent.

As examples of MONOSYLLABIC FORM-WORDS in Batán may be quoted:  $\acute{u}$  (an article), g,  $\acute{a}$  (copulative particles), ta (since, that), am (but), as (and, also), pa (still, yet), da, na (already).

Compound forms of such elements are nu, du (relative forms of u), kanu (and), dinu (where?), sinu (who?), dana (already), daua (therefore, thereto), dipa (not yet), etc.

In the case of nu and du we have evidently a fusion of the article u with the two formative elements n- and d-, which are with identical or similar employment common to the whole group. Dana and dipa reveal themselves at once as contractions, the first of da and na, both meaning "already," and the second of di, negative particle, and pa (yet), four monosyllabic particles used extensively also in other Philippine dialects.

The form-words here enumerated belong doubtless to the very oldest of their class. The dialect uses, besides others of much more recent date, the original

<sup>1</sup> By substance-words are meant those which, naming the substance of our thoughts, designate the percepts and concepts which we connect to form judgments; by formwords, those which indicate the relation in which the former stand to each other.

character of which as substance-words is still easily discerned by a reference to their employment as such either in Batán itself or in one of the other dialects. Examples of such are: yapu (33), for, because of—lik, yapo, cause, origin, beginning. From this is derived makayetpu (19), from (French: 4 partir de....); yawot (11), by, on account of = yamot, root, in WL 17; a derivative of this is makayamot (20), by, in virtue of, on account of.

In proof of the preponderance of dissyllable forms among the hadical substance-words it may suffice to refer to the word lists; of one hundred and eleven words (Nos. 1-111) there are ninety-three which either are directly dissyllable or yield a dissyllable stem upon disintegration of an existing composition. The only monosyllable to be found is WL 47 tud, knee, and even this is probably a contraction of the fuller form tohod, tood, etc., occurring in several other dialects.

It is true that the etymology, which in breaking up a given word form is not concerned with the question whether the resulting stem is still alive and current in present speech or not, will not come to a halt before the dissyllabic stems (or radical words) distinguished above. The ninety-three words mentioned include several which upon dissolution of an existing reduplication give MONOSSYLLABIC components. Such are:

```
7. demdem, cloud (dem)
34. bibi, etc., lip (bi, bit, bil)
39. susu, texts (su)
49. kokor, foot (kor, kod)
50. kuku, nails (ku)
(dal)

65. bubug, down (bug, bul)
76. stem kerger in chinergeran, a boat
(ger or ker)
86. stem daldal in idaldal, Chinaman
(dal)
```

Among these words there are certainly some of which it must be presumed that, as imitations of continuative nature sounds, they sprang into existence at once in dissyllable form. This is, however, not necessarily the case with all of them, since also words without reduplication give, when divested of formative elements, frequently a monosyllabic stem. To cite only a few instances: kanen, food (WL 78) and ikan, fish (WL 66) leave upon segregation of suffix -en in the former and prefix i- in the latter the stem kan, which, for all that is known, is not further divisible. As at present the smallest significant residuum it is the root of both words, expressing vaguely the idea of "eating." It is a monosyllable not now independently in use in Philippine speech, though this may be supposed to have been the case at an earlier stage of development of the language. Another example is the Batan term for dead, madimum, in which I believe there may be recognized the same root dem of demdem, cloud. above enumerated, that has been pointed out already in the discussion of lexical comparison as signifying probably "dark, somber."

This monosyllable which contains two sounds well known for their changeableness, is characteristic of the phonetic unstableness of many roots if compared interdialectically. To show this clearly there is added to WL 7 a supplement,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Numbers in parentheses suffixed to Batán words indicate the page, or one of the pages, of the catochism where such words occur. An added P refers to the prologue in Retans containing the vocabulary.

7a, and in these two lists (including the Formosan dialects) the root in question will be found with the meaning of "dark" and "cloud"—which I consider related—under the following forms:

dam, dem, di(m), dom, dum, tum, tsum lam, lem, lim, lom, lum, lung rem, rim, ron, rum yem, yim

The supplement takes in a few words of different meaning in order to give an idea how such monosyllable roots may be suspected of having given rise to series of words more or less related in real or metaphorical sense. Granted that these additional words are built upon the identical root above referred to, they bear witness to a structure to be explained neither by reduplication nor by composition with affixes now in current use. I refer to such words as It. rimat, to discern indistinctly from afar, which shows the root rim followed by an element of as yet unknown nature.

Other instances of monosyllabic roots are found in the discussion of the words of WL 5, 32, 41, 45, 55, 91, 92, under "Result of the lexical comparison." All larger vocabularies of Philippine dialects furnish, moreover, ample occasion to collect into groups without great effort words of two or more syllables, more or less related in sense, in all of which one ever-recurring, though interdialectically variable, monosyllable may be discerned as bearer of one fundamental, albeit not very definite, sense.

# COMPOUND SUBSTANCE-WORDS (DERIVATIVES)

### REDUPLICATION.

This is either complete, when the whole word is repeated, or incomplete, when only a part of it is doubled. To the examples already given of reduplicated monosyllables a few instances are here added showing the same process in dissyllable words:

Complete Reduplication: augu-angu (7), goods; raua-raua (38), wounds; Reduplication of Stem with Change of Initial Labial: miru-piru-an (12), specifion;

REDUPLICATION OF INITIAL CONSONANT AND FOLLOWING VOWEL: ka-kamay (P 44), fingers; te-tegnan (P 45), throat; so-santos (4), saints;

REDUFLICATION WITH OMISSION OF FINAL CONSONANT: pidi-pidit (5), commands; paga-pagar (10), souls;

The same, with change of initial labial: ip4-make-bakel (26) repentant; Reduplication of second syllable with omission of final consonant of STEM: tuma-dicho-kor (30), one who turns his back (dichor, back) as one who is offended.

In these examples reduplication has, generally speaking, the effect of pluralizing or emphasizing the meaning expressed by the stem.

### AFFIXATION

The most fruitful means of building words is found in Batán as in all its sister dialects in affixation. By origin this is the drawing together in speaking of a formal element, characterized through slight quantity

and accessory meaning (presumably interjectional or demonstrative) and a substantial part of the speech, whereby both become more or less firmly attached to each other and form ultimately a significant and grammatical complex, in which the formal element acquires a new character under the name of "affix" while the other, the substantial part of the combination, is called "stem" or "radical word." In Philippine dialects some affixes have preserved a simultaneous existence as separate particles, others have lost all independent character. The signification of all has been variously developed; influenced by the significance of the various classes of radical words with which the formerly loose particles came to be connected as affixes, their own original signification became modified and branched out into different shades more or less remote from the primitive sense; this latter, probably never very definite, can be approached by deduction for some, for others only guessed at. At all events in order to form an estimate of the original value of a given attix, it is necessary to take into account the rôle it plays not only in Philippine dialects but in the whole territory of the family of languages to which these belong.

The significant character of affixes in general, together with that of certain classes of derivatives formed with the help of three affixes in particular, will be dwelt on and illustrated more fully hereafter. Considering for the first only the mechanism of affication it must be remarked that the junction of stem and affix is not in all cases of equal solidity. Where the component parts influence each other phonetically, be it only to the extent of a shifting of the accent of the radical word, or where a particle has penetrated into the very body of the stem, or where stem or affixed particle have no existence outside the composition as independent vehicles of meaning, there no doubt can exist that the combination represents a verbal unit, to be given as such also in writing. Where, however, such conditions do not obtain, especially where a particle is in current use both as an affix and as an independent part of speech, there a strict distinction between loose and affixed particles can not be made, and cases of uncertainty must arise the more easily the less a dialect has the character of a written language.

In the old Batán catechism I find for instance the ordinal numerals written ichasano, first; icharunna, second; ichatdona, third, etc. (from asa, one, rua, two, tatdo, three + icha +  $n\sigma$ ). In a modern prayer book they appear as manuma, icharun na, ichatdo na, etc.; that is, with na separated from the rest of the composition.

### AFF1XES

Affixation may extend to one or to several particles. In this respect the following distinctions can be made:

SINGLE MONOSYLLABIC AFFIXES: i-, ma-, na-, pa-, -in-, -um-, -cn, -an, etc.; CONSTANT GROUPS OF SUCH (COMPOUND AFFIXES): maka, paka, ka

TABLE [1].--Comparison of filters of the constituents Butén affara

L						Parameter San									
													OR POSTABLE		NA STATE NA
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ž.	ġ	· Mari	-Jimes	-Jim	à					maki	ige	8	Ē	ŧ	ŧ
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# COMPHRIBERAYE NOTES OF PRINTENTION

tt, ssé-denotes oft	7. i- is demonstrative and refers to an object as an in-	
1. An has chiefly an individualizing and collective char-		

2. were permounteres existencer.
3. nerings foreine monitors agrently.
R. nee

noop furms numina agentis.
 per denotes transition, enneation.

retrinsent, rook or niedzyborówał.
R. wodzi-niemetor sugacity, robestkality, etc.
R. podzi-in the causatire of eache.
R. oudzi-ezpinosee desire, garticijadóm,

action.

13. -un denotes extension; the real or metaphorical place

of an action, etc.

war denotes exclusion and forms nonline agentia.
 in- denotes completeliness of action or state.
 in- in demonstrative and refers to the direct object of

11. postivin the causalive of swelve.

(+ stem +) an, etc.; THROUGH CONCURRENCE ARISE ACCUMULATIONS LIKE: minaka (m-in-aka), minaipaka (m-in-ai-paka), etc.

According to the position the affixes take with reference to the body of the stem, they are distinguished as PREFIXES, INFIXES, and SUFFIXES; that is, affixes in front, in the interior, and at the end of the stem. An infix is often found inserted into a prefix, as may be seen for instance in minaka and minaipaka above quoted, where the syllable in- is an infix in maka and maipaka, respectively. Tagalog puts even infix into infix when with stem sulat, idea of writing, it forms first s-um-ulat and therefrom the perfect s-u-ng-m-ulat, a form, by the way, not favored by all Tagalog writers and repudiated by Rizal, but demanded by analogy and the necessity of preserving the grammatical distinction which it makes. Batán forms the perfect of the same class of derivatives by placing infix beside infix: stem tao man + infix -um-, t-um-ao, become man + infix -in-, t-um-in-ao, what has become man.

To give an idea of the degree of uniformity with which these important word-building elements repeat themselves throughout the whole group I present here a comparative table of fifteen of the commonest Batán affixes with their equivalents in the seven principal dialects. Taking into account that these affixes impart to the derivatives formed with them very much the same meaning in all dialects it becomes evident that they are a principal factor among those that make up the unity of Philippine speech.

Phonetic modifications of derivatives.—As mentioned before, the cohesion of stem and affix is frequently insured by phonetic modifications which both composite elements, or one of them, undergo in the union. These modifications must arise from the desire to give to the whole complex of sounds a flow agreeable to the speakers and they vary to some extent in different dialects. Through them the composition is rounded off and lifted out from the sentence as a verbal whole. Besides change of accent, such modifications are syncopations of the stem and alterations at the point of contact of stem and affix.

Syncopation consists in a retrenchment of the stem by ejection of a sound from the middle:

```
Bat. stem *pasak + suffix -cn = pas'kan, what is crucified

Ilk. stem !cnneb + suffix -cn = !cm'buen, what is distributed, etc.

Pang. stem !abás + suffix -anan = !áb'sanán, what is passed

Pang. stem !akam + suffix -an = tak'man, to taste food

Tag. stem !masid + suffix -an = mas'dán, what is observed

Pan. stem !pasak + suffix -an = pas'kan, what is fastened with plugs
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Modifications at point of contact.—Examples occur among the derivatives formed of stem with prefix mang-. The following is an assortment of such derivatives collected from the texts:

Prefix mang- + stem ari: mangari (P42), to abandon mangbang (P43), to navigate stem abang: stem \*iguang: mahiguang (P42), to open (door, window) stem \*utap: mangutap (P25), deceiver stem balay: mamalabalay (P44), one who caresses stem kugat: mangugat (P44), to warm, to heat (but mankenkem (P42), to grasp, from kemken) managap (P47), to fish with a net stem magap: stem \*tuba: manubatuba (34), medical man stem \*diman: mandiman (5), one who kills

For comparison of the phonetic modifications to be observed in these examples from Batán with similar ones in some other dialects I give the following tabular view:

The final sound of prefix mang- in contact with the initial sound of stem

#MANU- before	In Batán—	In Ilokano—	In Pangasinan	in Tagalog
rt i	remains unaltered and may displace a becomes man-1 remains unaltered	resoutus unaltered	anny become wan-	fremains mostly un-
114		remains unaltered	becomes man-	
b p	forms with these	forms with these man-	may become meas- or form with these meas-	forms with these
k	dispinces this	displaces this	may displace this, or may become mon-	displaces this
	the comes man and	becomes wan and	becomes man and	becomes mon and
t	displaces these	displaces these	may displace these	displaces these
d	весоток жаж-			becomes man and displaces of fre- quently

According to a rule to be established in the section on phonology.

Regarding the alternative forms which this table allows for Pangasinan it must be remarked that they are not used indiscriminately but that with them go differences in meaning: for instance man-sombrero and man-kambilan mean "he who wears a sombrero (hat), a kampilan (saber)," while manombrero, mangampilan mean "he who equips somebody else with a hat, a saber."

To illustrate ultimately the variety of forms which the elements of word building demonstrated are capable of producing and to give at the same time an idea of the richness in forms which the Batán dialect with all its ethnological insignificance can boast of, I present in the following lists a selection of derivative forms taken from the texts. Their structure is explained by ciphers for which this is the key:

St. stem
St. stem
St. stem with infix
St. stem with infix
Sub. suffix
A. accretion of sound
I. infix

Str. stem with infix
Sub. suffix
A. accretion of sound
merged or ejected sound

PIr. infix in prefix.

The stems are in bold type. The components of each form are separated by hyphens; dissyllabic (compound) affixes are, however, not dissolved. In some cases the translation may not be quite exact being founded only on the meaning of the same atem or root in other dialects.

# A selection of derivative forms used in word building

### AFFIXATION

Cipher	Form	English equivalent
	(ma-bisy (4)	alive
	ko-tanoy (8)	patience
Pr. St.	mang-anak (4)	son, child
	i-turug (3)	gift, grant, assignation
	wm-unot (3)	follower, to follow
	machi-p'chag (30)	
Pr. S.	(icha-b'kel (34)	object of repentance (stem bukel)
	(cha-ng'dit (34)	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
Pir. St.	[m-in-f-run (4)	arison (from death)
	lm-in-ai-badin (19)	converted
	(b-in-obun (4)	buried
Sīt,	b-in-ata (5)	what has been promised
	t-um-afile (5)	one who weeps, to weep
SIIt.	t-um-in-ao (4)	one who has become man, has taken flesh
511't.	g-um-in-'tin (4)	one who has descended (stem
SII't, Sub.	s-um-in-lt'n-an (6)	gatin?)
	(laung-on (3)	commenced
St. Sub.	unut-en (3)	object of saving, freeing
St. A. Sub.	anib-w-en (3)	object of following, obeying
S. Sub.	anug'd-en (4)	object of venerating
Pr. St. Sub.	(pa-sidit-en (34)	object of believing (stem anugid)
Pr. at. aub.	Rd-busoy-an (3)	object of directing
Pr. S. Sub.	(maka-'s'g-en (33)	(totality of) enemies
Pr. S. Sub,	ka-bak'l-an (18)	stem baket
	(ka-pachi-agap (4)	1
	maka-pachi-daam (5)	communion (of saints)
Pr. Pr. St.	1	one whorthy of being granted something
Pr. Pr. S.	ká-ka-pogo (6)	tithes
Pr. Pr. Pr. S. A.	ka-packi-p'sok (29)	
	maka-pa-ma-'ri-ng (4)	potent (etem ari)
Pr. Pr. St. Sub.	ka-mang-sask-an (5)	children, offspring
	ka-ka-unung-an (13)	memory, commemoration
Pr. Pr. Pr. St. Sub,	pachi-pa-i-patul-an (37)	1
Pr. S. Sub. A. Sub.	pa-sek'd-an-y-en (31)	stem sekad
Pr. Pr. S. Sub. Sub.	pi-pa-'s'g-en-en (33)	Ī
Pir. Pr. St.	(4)	born
FILL PR. St.	l m-in-ai-paka-yayo (4)	(approximately) the cause hav- ing been
Pir. St. Sub.	р-ін-ака-уарц-ан (18)	(approximately) origin
Pir. S. Sub.	p-in-a-'s'k-an (4)	what has been nailed, crucified

# A selection of derivative forms used in word building—Continued AFFIXATION AND REDUPLICATION

Cipher	Form	English equivalent		
Pr. St. St.	ka-sul-sul (33)			
	(ma-ba-bakes (3)	women		
Pr. S. St.	ka-'r-arae (3)	every day		
	man-'uba-tuba (34)	physician		
Pr. S. S.	( kg-p'no-p'no (35)	stem : Ib. panner, Il. panne, Tag.		
FF. 8. 8.	mg-m'no-p'no (37)	puné, full		
	(mi-cha-leke'-lekei (P42)	to droop the head on the breast		
Pr. Pr. S. St.	ka-pachi-agu'-aguk (32)	prayer		
Pr. Pr. Pr. St. St.	maka-pa-i-tuba-tuba (38)	sanative		
Pr. Pr. Pr. S. St.	mg-pg-i-seks'-sekar (+)	to judge		
	[m-in-'age-'bagey (23)	(contracted from: winabaychy-		
81. Št.	R .	gcy7)		
	b-in-t-May (21)	one preserved in life		
SII. St.	T-WW-1M+8-TRYBO (15)			
SI. A. St. Sub.	m-iu-ak-ke-buak-en (32)	Ì		
St. St. Sub.	puen-puen-en (9)	object of correcting		
St. St. A. Sub.	tuba-tuba-g-en (38)	object of healing		
S. St. Sub.	da-dabung-on (P42)	humble bee, wasp		
S. S. A. Sub.	nak-nak'm-u-eu (30)	abject of remembering (stem nakem)		
	(ma-'st-ast-en (5)	merciful		
Pr. S. St. Sub.	lka-'dd-addao-en (37)	stem addao, love		
Ptr. S. St.	m-in-aka-rragi-rragit (36)	having sinned		
Pr. Pr. S. Pr. St. A. Sub.	pa-pi-rru-pi-rrus-g-cn(18)	what is repeated (radical stem		

This list gives an idea of the store of affixes which the dialect has at its command and of the mechanism of their employment. There is not one among these affixes which does not occur also in other dialects; all are taken from a treasure owned in common by the whole group, though the use of one or the other may have been neglected in certain dialects and thus been forgotten by them in course of time. Compare in this respect the occurrence of prefix mi- in the table given previously.

I dedicate the next section to a closer examination of three of these affixes which are singularly characteristic of Philippine speech. For the present it remains to make a few general remarks on the SIGNIFICANT IMPORT which affixes have for the word forms created with their help.

#### COMPLEX SIGNIFICANCE OF DERIVATIVES

The stem furnishes the fundamental idea. This may be something concrete—e. g., Batán bagay, house—or something abstract and vaguely alluded to—e. g., Tag. lasing, idea of intoxication—interpretable as referring to the state, the action, the person, or the habit; or the stem may be a tone-imitative word such as I take to be, for instance, Tag. birbir, reel, which pictures the whirring of that instrument. To render such ideas more definite, or to extend or otherwise modify them is the

office of the affixes. Speaking generally, these predicate a being, state, or action, designate an agent, a place, indicate a temporal relation or a modality of an action, refer the idea of the stem to an object or a person, etc. Thus from above stems arise: ka-bagay-an, group of houses; l-um-asing, to make another drunk; ka-birbir, a roll. To take an example from Batán which, with a variation in the vowel of the suffix, repeats itself in a great number of dialects (cf. WL 78):

Radical stem kan, undefined representation of eating + suffix -en referring to an object = kanen, food. Causative prefix pa + same root + same suffix = pakanen, what is fed—pakanen # mapteng (8) object of feeding [be] the hungry.

With the accumulation of affixes attached to a stem the complex of ideas covered by the ensuing expression increases proportionately. In attempting to translate such a heavily loaded vehicle of meaning we may happily find a word that just covers it, often, however, especially if one wished to do justice to all its component parts in strict etymology, the sense could be rendered only by paraphrase.

In the concluding passage of the Batan Salve regina (Hall holy queen), tanu makapachidaam kami du binata ni Jesu Christo (5) (that we may be worthy of the promises of Christ), the words tanu makapachidaam kami are translated very appropriately, "that worthy [be] we." The analysis of makapachidaam gives, however—

Stem \*daam, idea of granting favoring (kadaduam(8), munificence; mandaam (17), to take care of, to protect);

Prefix pachi:=causative form of machi. The primary meaning of machi is "to be desirous;" an accepted meaning of it is the same as in Ibanâg and Hokano, "to participate in something," consequently pachi=to cause or give inducement to a participation;

Prefix make- predicates the existence of a capacity.

Connecting these meanings we find makapachidaam to signify CAPABLE [to] CAUSE [a] PARTICIPATION [in] FAVORS, a somewhat roundshout but logically clear equivalent of our "worthy." To express this quality as already attained infix -in-would be added: minakapachidaam.

The character which the words formed by affixation have as parts of speech is variable.

Prefix ma-, indicating generally existence, gives in Tagalog with stem init (heat) the derivative mainit. This expression is by itself alone a complete predication—"there exists heat," "it is hot." In mainit ang tubig (the water is hot) and tubig na mainit (water that is hot; hot water) the employment given to mainit corresponds with that of an adjective of ours. Again in Mainit (name of a locality with a hot spring) it is denominative of a place.

# CHAPTER IV

# THE DERIVATIVES WITH i-, -in, -an

#### NATURE AND EMPLOYMENT

From among the great variety of Bstán derivatives presented in the last section may be selected for a more detailed examination three which belong to those most frequently used and which are at the same time fundamental for a number of other combinations; they are those formed of a stem with prefix i-, suffix -en, or suffix -an.

For dialectic variations of suffix -en see the comparative table of fifteen common affixes given in the last section. Whenever spoken of as common Philippine property it shall here be referred to in its Tagalog form -in.

There exist in Philippine dialects many words which show in their complex of sounds, and in proper position, a syllable corresponding with and interpretable as one of these affixes, words which, on being broken up accordingly, give radicals that are unknown to present speech, or which at least appeal no longer readily to the understanding of the speakers. With such oldest derivatives I am not here concerned. I wish to regard the peculiar activity displayed by the affixes mentioned in such stems as are either current as separate words, or conserve at all events their significant energy by figuring as ground forms in which affixes of various kinds may relieve each other to suit the momentary requirements of the speech.

Among the various affixes taking part in this molding at will of the signification of stems it is especially the play of the three affixes mentioned that has been perfected by Philippine dialects into a sort of system very characteristic for the group. H. C. von der Gabelentz, on recognizing the same feature in Favorlang Formosan, says that the Philippine dialects are distinguished by it from all other languages of the same stock with the sole exception of Malagasy.

The derivatives formed with i-, -in, and -an present themselves to our grammatical conception under a character that varies with the different translations which certain of them are susceptible of being given. Words like--

ibatán, man from Batán ibanág, man from Banág timbaan, church sasabungan, cock

correspond plainly to our category of nouns. Forms like Tagalog-

hikain, asthmatic

magalitin, quarreler, quarrelsome

may be classed as NOUNS SUBSTANTIVE OF ADJECTIVE according to translation. Such derivatives I will discard from my immediate observation. They are mentioned here chiefly in order to indicate the extension of the bounds which the language itself gives to the employment of the three affixes in question. I confine the examination of the latter to what is their most interesting office—i. e., to that which makes them enter into the formation of expressions indicative of an action, expressions "sui generis," in translating which we generally have recourse to verbs for want of exactly corresponding grammatical forms. Needless to say that such translation alone does not yet make them verbs.

It is to characterize principally this employment of the i-, -in, and -an derivatives that P. Francisco de San Josef says in his Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala (1610): "The whole mechanism of this language turns principally on these three passives, as we call them," and therefore he who is well informed and founded in them is practically master of the language," a judgment that may be extended to Philippine dialects in general.

The following is a brief exposition of weat I conceive to be the nature of the derivatives under examination in their specific aspect as quasi verbs.

To obtain a better survey I distinguish whether the action they express is indicated in the stem or not.

# A. ACTION INDICATED IN THE STEM

The stem may denote an action openly or by interpretation. Batán angay, idea of going, Tag. hanap, idea of searching, seem to have only an active meaning; Tag. lakas, force, Bis. buhat, work, may mean, and are translated in the vocabularies as meaning, both THE force, THE work and to force, to work. In the form of such words there is nothing making them either nouns or verbs, quite as little as-for illustration, not for coordination-in the English words "force," "work," if taken by themselves alone. Still, if lakas, buhat, do not give their idea expressly as an action, they at all events cover that acceptation. Now, if we take the English words just mentioned as verbs, or, for that matter, if we take any English active verb, it signifies in its purely verbal character only the particular action by itself; that is, to the exclusion of all substantial elements concerned in the action save the agent who is, in proper cases, marked in the second and third persons singular by suffixed -est and -s (-es), respectively. The Philippine radical word, when developed into a derivative through the attachment of one of the three affixes i-, -in or -an, has an entirely different expressiveness. It associates through such affix with the meaning of the stem a reference

Note the reluctance in bestowing this designation.

to one of the objects grouped around the action in the precise manner shown in the following example. Given the action expressed by English "to search" (Tag. hanap)---

We say, "Search for your book." The Filipino says-

Ang iyong aklat ang hanapin mo.

The your book (be) the search-object yours.

We say, "Search with this candle." The Filipino says-

Hong kandila ang ihahánap mo.
This candle (be) the searching-instrument yours.

We say, "Search in the chamber." The Filipino says-

Ang silid ang hanapan mo.

The chamber [be] the searching-place yours.

Accordingly the sentence "Search for thy book with the candle in the chamber" can, theoretically speaking, be turned in a Philippine dialect in three different ways, according to the emphasis one desires to give to one or the other of the three things concurring in the action—object, instrument, place—referred to, as may be seen in above examples, by the affixes -in, i-, and -an, respectively. For instance, in Tagalog:

Ang aklat ay hanapin mo nitong kandila sa The book is-that-which-be-the search-object yours with-this candle in silid, chamber.

Itong kandila ny ihanap mo nang aklat sa This candle is-that-which-be-the searching-instrument yours for-the book in silid.

Ang silid ay hanapan mo nang aklat nitong
The chamber is-that-which-be-the searching-place yours of the book with-this
kandila.
candie.

To give cause for the employment of one of these affixes the topic referred to must necessarily be determinate or emphasized. In cases where the weight of the sentence rests on the agent the latter would be marked at the stem of the predicative word by an affix ad hoc. In Tagalog this might be—subject to other considerations—for instance, um- or mag-; as in "I am searching for some book":

Humahónap ako nang isang aklat.
Sesreher (am) 1 of a book.

Accentuating "book," "candie," "chamber," respectively. For handpon paghandpon would perhaps be better. See Totanes (p. 33) and Minguella (p. 108), from which authors these examples are taken.

If one examines the three derivatives in the example first quoted as to the rôle they play as parts of speech, one can not fail to become convinced of their NOMINAL character, a character clearly imparted to their (in meaning) verbal stem by the affixes i-, -in, -an.

In the derivatives here characterized there can be expressed through additional affixes or through reduplication different modalities of the action as also a relation to time, which latter will occupy us hereafter. It must further be remarked that not all stems denoting action of some kind may, like the one above exemplified, take either of the three affixes in question, many being open to one or two of them only. This depends upon the nature of the action expressed in the stem being in harmony with the VERBAL force of each affix, as it will presently become apparent.

#### B. ACTION NOT INDICATED IN THE STEM

Distinguished from the derivatives above described, by the different significance of the radical word, are those which express radice not an action but an object, or which have as stem a pronoun or a form-word. Here the three affixes reveal themselves as possessing also a verbal force besides the noun-forming character shown under "A". Examples:

Ilk. igayang mo! This imperative by prefix i- points away to some object understood as being in sight and summons a movement or action away towards that object to be executed with the instrument gayang, i. e., spear; it refers then back to the person spoken to by mo, the relative form of the pronoun for the second person singular, connecting thus this person with the object and action previously indicated. In virtue of the vague comprehensiveness of prefix i- this imperative may be interpreted by any such translation as the following: There is an object, an aim, a motive, for your spear throwing. Instrument of your action with regard to the object in sight be the spear. Throw your spear, or spear be thrown by you, at yonder object. "Spear" that object there, etc.

Tag. palakolin mo itong kahoy. This imperative by suffix in points to a near-by object designated as itong kahoy, this timber, and summons an action on this subject with the instrument called palakol, i. e., ax. Both object and action referred to by in are connected with the person spoken to by mo as in the previous example. Possible translations: Here this timber be the object of your hewing with the ax, or of your "axing." Belabor this timber with the ax. "Ax" this timber, etc.

Ilk. pagayak to daitoy talon (pagayak contracted from pagayan k (o)). This statement refers by suffix an to a certain field, daitoy talon, this field, as a place for the plant called pagay, rice, suggesting at the same time the action of planting the rice. Object and action are connected with the speaker by k, the mutilated relative form of the pronoun for the first person singular ko; futurity of the action is indicated by the particle to. Possible translations. This field is the place where rice will be

planted by me. This field will be my rice planting place. I shall plant rice in this field, etc.

A comparison of these examples with those given under "A" shows that, while there the three affixes i-, -in, -an added a nominal character to a verbal stem, the present examples reveal for the same affixes a verbal force in the case of nominal stems. From this may be gathered, firstly, the peculiar force of the affixes; secondly, the double nature, nominal and verbal, of the derivatives. The nominal character of these is accentuated by the fact that they are in proper cases used with the same form of the pronoun which serves as the possessive, and with the article, as shown in the examples. Their verbal character, on the other hand, is confirmed by the circumstance that a temporal relation can be expressed by them as will be fully illustrated hereafter.

Turning here once more for illustration, not for exact comparison, to English verbs, these too combine, as is well known, in their participial forms the verbal nature with a nominal one, for which reason the derivatives here reviewed, if put in the perfect, closely resemble English past participles, by which they are in fact often very exactly rendered.

To instance the force of one of the affixes by a case where, the stem being a pronoun, the affix furnishes openly both the nominal and verbal character, I give, as an example, the sentence "I take this as my own," as follows:

Pau. akonum' ka' ini' my' object-of-mine-making ( [is] this' Here the stem akon, meaning "mine," receives through affix -un ( = Tag. -in) the signification both of "to make mine" and of "the object of mine-making."

To epitomize what has been said in explaining the significant force of the three affixes in the examples under A and B, the three examples given under A—ihahánap, hanápin, hanápan—show the objective or nominal force of the affixes specialized as follows:

i- the instrument of the action
 in the object of the action
 an the place of the action

The three examples under B, igayang, palakolin, pagayan show the active or verbal force of the same affixes qualified to denote—

i- action toward a place (motion)
-in action upon a contiguous object
-an action at a place

The Spanish grammarians, reviewing long arrays of examples, bring them under the following heads: actio ad extra (i-), actio ad intra (-in), actio ad locum sive ad personam (-an).

In the preceding a general idea has been given by grossly sensuous examples of the typical significance of the i-, -in, -an derivatives as imparted to them by those affixes. The language employs the significant

force of the latter very largely in metaphorical speech of a peculiarly idiomatic nature whereby the general meaning of eac! affix above exposed is specialized or impressed with one or more secondary senses. In this enlarged sphere of employment the distinction between instrument, object, and place of the action is no longer so easily made, or sometimes becomes obliterated. Ilokano, for instance, makes concerning the act of drinking water, inum, the following distinctions: (1) inuman, the vessel from which one drinks; (2) inumén, the water drunk; (3) inum, that which, according to Filipino custom, is taken along with the water, some sweetmeat, as instrument or means to stimulate the desire for drinking. In the same dialect the imperative "light the candle" may be rendered just as well by gangaten ti candela as by igangat ti candela, which is due, according to P. Lopez (Gram. Ilk., p. 186) to the mode of signifying of the stem.

Schuchardt (Kreolische Studien V, p. 21) has in this connection the following: "It is true, however, that the conception of the Tagalogs deviates frequently from ours so that something appears to them, for instance, as the PLACE of an action which to us is its onject; or it may also be that, the original conceptual distinctions [instrument, object, place] not being felt any longer with equal vividness, the reciprocal delimitation of the respective forms became deranged through influences of various kinds." In alluding here to the conception of "place" and "object" the author refers doubtless to such examples as Tag. ardian mo siya, freely translated "instruct him," where the person to be instructed and referred to by siga (he) would seem to be looked upon as THE PLACE AT WHICH the instruction is performed: "instructing-place yours [bel he." I have looked apon it myself that way (Nabaloi Dialect, p. 127, footnote 2), but have since come to doubt if we are justified in imputing to the Filipinos this conception. I have given above the meaning for -an and for the other two affixes solely as resulting from the examples produced, which might be multiplied, it is true, by a great many others, all coinciding in the same three significations, instrument, object, place. There appear to me, however, to be indications that "place" is already an interpretation of a more general sense of -an, of something like "extension, or dilatation + object" and "superficial nontransforming action," which would give room for another interpretation, collateral with "place," as applied in above example of araian and many other similar ones.1 I recall here that in singling out for examination such derivatives with i-, -in, -an, which indicate an action I make a distinction not made by the language itself which does not formally separate noun from verb. At liberty, therefore, to turn freely to any other derivative with -an I find for instance in Ilokano sanga habitoan (from Span. hibito), a sacerdotal gown including all paraphernalia as scapulary, etc.; songo asaoáan, a married couple (from asáoa, spouse), and other similar examples, to which the sense of "place" can not be accommodated but only that of "extension" of the radical idea produced by -an and to be interpreted here, with P. Lopez (p. 179), as "unit." In other cases, again, a secondary sense for -an of "embodiment" suggests itself, etc. Similarly for prefix i- the general sense of "motion" must be claimed, with "instrument" as a very frequent, through not its exclusive, interpretation resulting from its application to objects.2

On the use of an as preposition in Malagasy and Melanesian see Codrington, p. 162.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Cf. Codrington pp. 91, 148; i- largely used as prefix with instruments in Melanesian.

The idiomatic use of the three classes of derivatives is best illustrated by examples and in the impossibility of following each dialect into all the various shades of their employment there is given in the following only a selection of typical examples from a representative number of dialects which will suffice to show the similarity in use of the affixes in real and metaphorical sense. Batán is represented by examples taken from the texts proving its accord in this respect with the dialects compared. As may be observed the grouping of the examples by different meanings of the affixes produces in some cases somewhat arbitrary results, which is but due to the latitude of possible interpretations. As far as possible I have given the preference to a word-for-word translation in order to illustrate more forcefully the peculiarity of these expressions.

#### PREFIX 1-

#### THE INSTRUMENT:

Batan. angu paru su ipamalichat nu Dios du nakaragirragit à tau? (16), what then [is] the means-to-cause-suffering (punishment) of God for-the sinful men?

Ibn. ibigdm mu sa¹ id duppil out, your instrument for wounding that [be] this spear; stem bigad, wound.

Ilk. ibiag, means of livelihood, nourishment; stem biag, life.

Pang. !kadkád moy \* cuchillo ed dúmsis na lamésaán, scratching-instrument yours-[be]-the knife with-respect-to dirt on table.

Tag. ang kamáy ang ikuha mo miyán, the hand [be] the instrument-of-taking yours for-that; take it with the hand.

Pan. ibuhat, working-instrument; stem buhat, work.

## 2. THE METAPHORICAL INSTRUMENT:

Batán. ipalao ko dimo ú paripariñen ko (22), object-of-presenting mine to-you [are] the works mine.

lbn. igatang, the means of buying; ikan, what is eaten, for instance fish, to help down the staple food which is rice; stem kan, eating.

Ilk. igatang, the means of buying; stem gatang, to buy.

Pang. into libro ed silid, object-of-guarding yours-[be]-the book in chamber; guard the book in the chamber.

Tag. ibigay mo sa akin ang aklat, object-of-giving yours to me [be] the book.

Pan. ikari mo yanang libro, object-of-fetching yours [be] the book.

#### 3. THE MOTIVE:

Batán. iai mo dia si bañibang asi (P42), motive-of-going yours hither [be] the chisel there.

1bn. ikaya-t ku (etym. motive-of-affection mine), I desire it; stem kaya-t, affection.

Ilk. iay, the object motivating the going; stem ay, idea of coming or going.

Pang. ipuësak koy kaoës ëd pila, motive of washing mine-[are]-the clothes at-the basin. I take the clothes to the basin to wash.

1 so, relative form of yo, he she, it; occurs in Pang, and Inb. as so.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The demonstrative particle i in Ibn. is strengthened by the consonant following it; in Pang. it leans to the preceding mo.

Tag. 1tokbo mo ako niyaong dayap, motive-of-running yours [be] I with-respect-to-that lemon, run for me for that lemon; stem takbo, to run.

Pan. ikuka mo ako sing saro nga tubig, motive-of-fetching yours [be] I withrespect-to-a jug of water.

#### SUFFIX -in

# 1. THE OBJECT:

Batan. pariparisen, the object of work, the work.

Ibn. kagéran, the dirt, object of sweeping. Perfect kinaged; stem kaged, broom.

Ilk. sagadem dayta root, object-of-sweeping-yours [be] this dirt; sagadem, from stem sagad, broom + suffix-es + pronoun mo.

Pang. karkaren moy dumsis ed lamesaán, object-of-scratching yours-[be]-the dirt on the table.

Tag. takbohin me sa akin yaong dayap, object-of-running yours for me [be] that lemon; stem takbo, to run.

Pan. buhaton, the object of work, the work; stem buhat, work.

# 2. What is transformed:

Batan. piripiriten nu padre & hostias (20), object-of-dividing-into-small-pieces ofthe priest [are] the hosts.

Ibn. afugan, what is converted into lime; stem afug, lime.

Ilk. talikalaem dayta balitók object-for-transforming-into-a-chain yours [be] this gold; stem talikalá, a chain of gold.

Pang. pilaken koy ayep, object-of-conversion-into-silver mine-[will be] the livestock.

Tag. pakoin mo itong bakal, object-of-transforming-into-nails yours [be] this iron.

Pan. apugen me ining baté, object-of-converting-inte-lime [be] these stones.

# 3. WHAT IS ESTIMATED OR ACCEPTED AS HAVING A CERTAIN QUALITY:

Batán. la piagen mo aba ú kangey da nu tao du infiernos (28), for desire thine [is] not the going theirs of the men to hell; stem pia good + suffix (g) en, what is taken for good = what is desired.

Ibn. iddákan, what is appreciated; stem iddu-k, appreciation.

IIk. add ti inted ko ket baseiten na, much the was gift mine but [it is] object-estimated-as-little his; I have given him much but he takes it for little; stem baseit little.

Pang. bučlatěn ko tan, object-estimated as heavy mine that; I take that for heavy; stem bučlat, idea of heavy.

Tag. anakin me ake, estimated child yours [be] I; take me as your child; stem anak, child.

Pan. akonun ko ini object-of-mine-making mine (is this); I take this as mine; stem akon, mine.

\*Observe how in this and the preceding example the idea of "to oblige or to favor somebody" comes to associate itself with the form with i-.

\*In Ibs. as in Pamp. the Tag. sumx -in sounds -an; that is, it equals in sound the locative -an. The respective derivatives can be distinguished by the specific mode of employment given these two sumizes in other dialects as above illustrated, and also by the fact that in the perfect the locative -an remains while the other drops off. The coincidence of -an, object, and -an, place, seems to have caused P. Fausto de Cuevas, the author of "Arte mievo de la lengua Ybanag" (1824) some difficulty; cf. op. cir., pp. 147, 166, 169, etc.

#### SUFFIX -an

#### 1. THE PLACE:

Batan. 4 angayan do nu nangadiman (16), the place-of-going (destiny) theirs of the dead.

Ibn. kegéran, the place swept; perfect kinagéran. (Cf. Ibn. under suffix -in, 1.)

11k. sagádam dayta silid, place-of-sweeping yours [be] this chamber; sagadám, from stem ságad, broom + suffix -an + pronoun mo.

Pang. kérkarán moy lamesaan na dumme, place of scratching yours [be] the table with respect to the dirt.

Tag. ang tinaponan nang pingan, what-has-been-the-throwing-away-place of the plate; tinaponan = perfect of taponan; tapon, to throw away.

Pan. buhatan, the place of work.

## 2. THE PERSON RECEIVING SOMETHING, OR FAVORED:

Batan, laungan mo issueen du maragit (3), objects-of-deliverance thine [be] we with respect to the evil.

Ibn. fudduán mu si Juan, object-of-instruction yours [be] John.

Ilk. sursuroan ti di makaammo, receivers-of-instruction [he] the not knowing.

Pang. itdån mo-ak na kdnën, person-to-be-given yours [be] I with-respect-to-the food; give me to eat; stem ited, to give, to grant.

Tag. takbohan mo ako niyaong dayap, person-favored-by-running yours [be] I with-respect-to-that lemon; stem takbo, to run.

Pan. hipusan mo ako, person-favored-by-husbing yours [be] I; don't tell on me; stem hipus, idea of reserved, retired.

# 3. THE OBJECT TO WHICH SOMETHING IS APPLIED:

Batán. bendicionan mo yamuen (23), objects-of-blessing yours [he] we; stem Span. bendición, blessing.

1bn. siluan, what is caught in a snare; stem sila, noose.

lik. asinan, what is salted; siloan, what is caught in a snare; stem silo, snare.

Pang. odlsikan ira na padre, objects-sprinkled-with-holy-water [are] they of the padre; stem odlsik, aspergillus.

Tag. takian mo siya, object-of-tying yours [be] he; bind him; stem tali, ligature.

Pan. aprigan ningo ang manga panit, objects-of-applying-lime yours [be] the skins.

The rendering of these examples, like that of previous ones, attempts to bring out the complex signification of the derivatives under review. The incongruity of English and Philippine word-forms makes this attempt, if not hopeless, at least very awkward, giving besides a semblance of inflated speech to what in reality is a very great conciseness of expression on the side of Philippine speech. Defective as in this respect the translation I have chosen must necessarily be, it serves the purpose of showing also the syntactical value of these derivatives. They are in the nature of predicative nouns linked to the noun or pronoun of which they assert something through the relative force of the affix. It is true that the idea of transitive action involved in the derivative creates the logical relation of subject and object; grammatically, however, the sentence can not be after the European plan of

subject, predicate, object, because these derivatives are not, like our verbs, the abstract expression of action but complicated with something objective. It is as if we could not say "I buy a book," but only "my purchase is a book," or, in the case of emphasized agent, "I am purchaser of a book."

I have given an idea of the character of the three classes of derivatives and shown their employment in Batán as very much in accord with that given them in Ibanag, Ilokano, Pangasinan, Tagalog, and Panayan. To these five dialects might have been added with exactly the same result Pampangan and Bikol, thus making up the seven principal languages of the Philippines. The interesting question how these characteristic word-forms present themselves in the less cultured dialects I do not feel myself as yet in a position to approach in a comprehensive manner, and turn now to a consideration of the mode in which Batán expresses in the three classes of derivatives a TEMPORAL RELATION. In using for this the term "tense" it is hardly necessary to recall what has been said on the difference between our verbs and the word-forms here under consideration.

#### TENSE

Reviewing the ways and means by which the temporal relation is generally expressed in Philippine dialects it will be found that this is done in three distinct ways, all of which may be found represented in one and the same dialect:

First, by the use of the temporally indefinite form, as employed for the imperative, which is accepted to indicate the present or the future and is complemented if necessary by a separate word specifying the time. Pan. ano ang ibuhat mo sana? what the working-instrument yours for that? with what will you do that? Inb. undao ak næm kabuasan, go I when to-morrow; I shall go to-morrow.

SECOND, by using the indefinite form in connection with a particle having for office to indicate the perfect or the future and tending to become an affix: Ilk. agbuteng ak to (agbutengakto), be afraid I shall. I shall be afraid; to = particle of futurity; agbuteng to (agbutengto) be afraid [he] will, he will be afraid. Bag. sek-kan mighimo, I do; preterit, sek-kan mighimo den; future, sek-kan mighimo pa.

THIRD, by indicating the temporal relation by modifying the body of the predicative word itself through attachment of proper particles,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This and the following examples are selected at random to illustrate each case, but not to typify the dialocts they are taken from; they are typical in general.

<sup>\*</sup>Modern Hokano orthography joins the pronoun and the particle to the predicative word, but only in the case of the third person singular does the particle reach the stem, since here the person is not expressed.

In Tiruray the sign of the future tense is the particle fo which I suspect to be a dialectic variation of pa though this becomes also fe in Tiruray. Compare "four" Tag. apst. Tir. efot. A further variation of the same particle might then be Moro-Magindanau bu, which likewise indicates the future.

through reduplication of the first syllable of the stem, or through both: Batán nadiman kanu binobun (4), died and was buried. Tag. stem tulog, sleep; imperative, matúlog; future, matutúlog; perfect, natúlog; present, natutúlog.

Of the tense-indicating signs (particles, affixes, reduplication) na and in of the perfect will probably be found to be extant in all dialects. which would indicate their use as dating from a time anterior to the splitting and subsequent separate development of these tongues. Others, especially those declaring future and present, belong only to one or to a limited number of dialects, and may, therefore, be assumed to be younger in office. Taking all together they do not serve exclusively to indicate tense but have besides, like the auxiliary verbs of European conjugations, other significations, reviewing which we may form a judgment as to the idea underlying the formation of tenses in Philippine speech. Taking, for instance, the reduplication of the first syllable and the particle pa, both used for marking the future, and again the particle or affix na and the infix (or prefix) in, both denoting the past, it could be shown, by exposing their operation in general through examples, and commentaries too lengthy to be give that the first two do not originally indicate futurity as something detached from the present but as something DEVELOPING OUT OF and STRETCHING AWAY from it; and that likewise the latter two do not immediately look away into a bygone time but again regard the present as a completion or a PRODUCT.1 Reduplication in general means originally repetition, continuance, further development, the particle pa similarly continuance, extension, transition;2 na, an emphatic demonstrative, covers the sense of our "already" and infix in denotes completedness.

I will now ascertain by which of the ways and means here outlined the Batán dialect and some of its sister languages express the temporal relation in the three derivatives introduced in the preceding section, with a view to forming a judgment as to their comparative grammatical development in this precise respect.

To this end Batán may be confronted with Ibanág, Ilokano, Pangasinan, Tagalog, and Panayan; that is, with the same group of dialects taken into consideration when examining the mode of employment of the derivatives. This group, which covers a longitudinal section extending from the extreme north down to the center of the Λrchipelago, will serve to bring out in the comparison some typical traits that may be found useful in determining the character of the corresponding forms in other dialects.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I therefore prefer to speak of a PERFECT tense, not of a PRETERIT as it is usually called. PRESERT PREFECT would in many cases be the most appropriate term,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> On the same conception of transition or development is founded the German future tense, "ich werde sehen," I shall see, was originally "ich werde sehend," I become a seeing one.

To make the comparison at all practicable and to set forth clearly the main points at issue the comparison is confined to the three fundamental tenses, present, prefect, future, which are in the greater part of the dislects the only ones succinctly expressed, and in selecting the paradigms the following criteria are observed: First, derivatives in their simplest possible form of stem + one affix; second, stems with a consonant for initial sound, which means as a rule that affix in of the perfect appears as an infix and not, as with stems beginning with a vowel, as a prefix; third, stems least subject to the modifications which some undergo in the formation of tenses from purely phonetic causes. For the five dislects to be compared with Batán I take such paradigms from the works of the Spanish grammarians. In the absence of a like source for Batán itself the following will serve to establish the required forms.

For a general idea of the BATAN TENSES we have the seven lines of introduction to the syntax reproduced by Retana from the fragment of a grammar of that dialect which just cover the point:

"Before all it must be known that in this language as well the verbs as the derivatives of verbs, or abstracts, have not more than two tenses—viz, present and preterit—both in the active and passive voice, and only from the context or from some added particle will it be known whether it is the future or the imperfect."

The Batan catechism furnishes ample opportunity to establish the tenses of the three derivatives to be compared.

The PRESENT is simply the derivative by itself: anugden ko pa si Jesus Christo (4), object of my believing [is] further Jesus Christ; imu pachiaguagukan namuen (5), thou [art] the one to whom we pray; ipalao ko dimo ú paripariñen ko (22), offering mine to you [are] the works mine.

The PERFECT is formed:

I. In those with -an by putting in before the first vowel of the stem: angayan, whither one goes (or comes); inangayan (15), whither one has gone (or whence come). unutan (17), whom one follows; inunutan (28), whom one has followed. \*paskan, what is fixed with plugs; pinaskan du Cruz (15), crucified.

II and III. In the derivatives with -en and i- as such I find no tense expressed. There exist, however, forms which have to be regarded as representing their perfect. These present themselves without distinction for both classes as a combination of the bare stem with affix in placed before its first vowel:

#### PRESENT

PERFECT

dana tuminnao ta adidien na yatin du minakadiman na (15), therefore he became man that he might save us through his death;

batagen na du Dios ta papirrupirruagen na pa aba ú machigatos (18), he promises God that he will return no more to take part in sin (not to sin again);

pasiditen mo na diakin ú matu mo auri d masisien . . . , direct on me the eyes thine those compassionate . . . ;

ichasi mo na yakin (12), have pity, chinasi ako nu Dios (12), I have been pray, with me;

thuhun á nadiman (9), to bury the dead (temporally undefined);

lpalao ko dimo á paripariñen ko, my offering to you are my works;

inadidi mo yakin, you have saved me;

tanu makapathidaam kami du binata ni Jesu Christo (5), that we may be worthy of the promises of Christ;

a pinasidit mo kaichoa di S. Pedro (26), which you have directed before on Saint Peter:

pitied by God;

nadiman kanu binobun (4), died and was buried;

mamagemages kami dimo du atabu á pinalao mo diamuen (23), thanksgivers are we to you for all your gifts to us:

As will be seen the forms inadidi, binata, pinasidit, chinasi, binobun, pinalao bear no sign that would connect them-at least not as specimens of two distinct classes-the first three with the -en derivatives, the last three with the i- derivatives. By their structure as well as by the sense imparted to them through the infix they are coordinate to such denominatives as Batán biniay, animal (stem biay, life: biayen, object of animating, invigorating,1 tinay, bowels; Tag. sinaing, boiled rice (stem saing, to boil rice), sinulid, thread (stem sulir, to spin), and many others best likened to our past participles.

To show how the FUTURE is expressed one example may suffice. I quote the well-known passage from the Apostles' Creed, "from thence He shall come to judge the living and the dead, makaiapo anchua dau as kayé na dia á mapaisekasekar su mangabiay as kanu nangadiman (4). Translating this as closely as possible I get, "sallying forth hereafter from there and going his hither to judge the living and the dead," wherein the futurity of the advent is expressed by the word anchus "hereafter," and, perhaps, also by the peculiar breaking up of the action into "to sally forth" and "to come." But neither here nor anywhere else in the catechism do I find future tense expressed either by a special form of the predicative word or by a particle specially set aside for that purpose.

To compare the mode of indicating temporal relation here found in the Batan dialect with that of the five dialects previously specified, I have prepared a tabular view, comprising all three classes of derivatives, which will be found inserted at the end of the present section and should be

The possession by the dislect of such a word as binisy for aulmal, meaning "what has become animated." which I have not found in other dialects, speaks well for the mental development of the people who coined it.

unfolded at this point. It gives the corresponding tense forms for each class grouped together so as to afford a picture of their comparative development in the dialects under review. At the top of each class is found Batán, representing the northern extremity of the group, at the bottom, Panayan, the southernmost of the dialects compared, between them the other dialects in their geographical order with the exception of Pangasinan which, though situated south of Ilokano must be placed in this view with Ibanág and Batán.

The salient point of the comparison is discovered at the first glancea development of tense-forms gradually increasing from the north towards the center of the Archipelago-at one end Batán, representing a relatively rudimentary stage, at the other Panayan, losing itself, seemingly, in an abundance of alternative forms. Of the six dialects compared only Tagalog and Panayan have developed a distinct present tense, both uniformly by combining in one form the sign of the perfect (infix in) with that of the future (reduplication of the first syllable) or, to express this in other words, by a combination of the already productive action with the one still developing. But of these two grammatically most advanced dialects only Tagalog has to show a future furnishing a base for this combination; that is, a form where reduplication is really USED as the distinctive mark of futurity. Panayan, on the contrary, would seem to remain with this tense on the stage of the northern dialects; i. e., future = imperative = temporally indefinite form, with the sole exception of igabuhat (see under i- derivatives), in which, however, I likewise fail to discover a special sign indicating futurity.1 This appears to be an inconsequence on the part of this dialect, since, after seeing reduplication employed in its present tense in exactly the same manner as in the Tagalog present, one expects to find the analogy with Tagalog completed in the Panayan future, where reduplication is logically postulated. My authority for this dialect is P. Lozano (Cursos de lengua Panayana, 1876). Searching elsewhere for the expected reduplicated future forms I have. indeed, discovered such for at least two of the three classes of derivatives in P. Mentrida (Arte de la lengua bisaya-hiligayna, 1818, edition by P. Aparicio, 1894, pp. 72, 80):

bubukatun, a future corresponding to imperative bukatun, and bubukatan, a future corresponding to imperative bukatan

suffix -un being the same as -on. For the i-class, however, Mentrida has no other future forms than those given in the tables. In this connection I will add that my sources do not say if the alternate forms in Panayan—to which come still others complicated with affix pa and denoting mostly plurality of action—are current in one and the same locality or if they represent subdialectic variations. If the former, they would seem to

The accretion of sounds to profix i- (ig, iga) and to prefix or infix in (gin, gina) is peculiar to Panayan and, with some modification, to other Bisayan dialects.

accuse this dislect of a certain grammatical unrestraint in the precise point under examination. Without intimate knowledge of this tongue it would, however, be a presumption to pronounce a judgment in this respect.

In contrast with Tagalog and Panayan, the four northern dialects represent in the comparison in so far simpler and therefore perhaps more primitive, forms of speech as they lack a construct present and, with the exception of Ilokano, also a construct future, using for the former the indefinite form and depending on adverbs to declare the latter.

The FUTURE IN ILORANO merits special attention. In one respect it approaches those more primitive forms of speech inasmuch as it adds the sense of futurity to the predicative word by means of a sign taken from outside—i. e., by the particle to—though this is of course superior to an adverb as a grammatical mark because it has less independent significance or, perhaps, none at all. On the other hand, the Ilokano future form accomplishes more with this outside help than does Tagalog by modifying the body of the stem itself through reduplication of its first syllable, the greater achievement of Ilokano consisting in that it embodies in its future form also the pronoun. Where Tagalog, and correspondingly also Panayan, says, for instance—

Tag. future-object-of-writing mine, rusulatin ko Pan. future-object-of-working mine, bubuhaten ko

and so forth, with the required pronoun loosely postponed, there Ilokano incorporates the latter into the predicative word and creates by a contraction characteristic for its energy one compact word form:

saplitékto from sapliten ko to object-of-striking-mine-in-future saplitémto from sapliten mo to object-of-striking-yours-in-future saplitenanto from sapliten na + n to object-of-striking-his-in-future

and so on, the a before to in the last instance being demanded, according to P. Lopez, by reasons of euphony since to suffers no vowel before it. The dialect goes yet farther and admits into the complex of such forms also the pronoun expressing the object of action, for instance:

saplitennakanto from sapliten na ka+n to, object of his striking you will be saplitennakanto from sapliten na kami to object of his striking we shall be

where ka and kami (shortened to kam) stand for "you" and "we." Here the derivative expands to embrace by means of the suffix to subject, predicate, object in one form.

Another point to be gathered from the comparison is the different degree of distinction made in the perfect between derivatives of the i- and the -in class. This is best shown by the formation of a special synopsis for the corresponding forms with adoption of a common stem for all dialects compared. To this end I take the stem sulat as a dummy and, respecting its dialectic variations, cause it to assume the identical shape

#### Comparative view of tense forms

#### DERIVATIVES WITH 1-

Dialect	Btem	Temporally indefinite form	Perfect	Puture	Present
Batán.	kasi, pity	School	chimoei	(1)	(1)
Ib,	turg-k, to write *	itura-k	Initura-k	(1)	(1)
Pang.	kerlind, to dig	thotket	Inkot/ss#	(4)	(1)
IL.	kabil, to put	1kobil	inkabil	Ikabii to	(*)
Tag.	exitat, to write	teriot 4	isinator	Istoralat	leinmeulat
Pan.	buhat, to work				i iginbubukat liginabukat libinubukat

#### DERIVATIVES WITH -in (-on, -an, -on, -on,

Dialect	Stem	Temporally indefinite form	Perfect	Future	Present
Batin Ib. Pang. II.	hugot, heat puet, to cudgel tucage, to call sapilit, to cudgel	kugaten pirian taoapen sopliten	chinagat pinisi rinacag sinapiti	(1) (1) (1) osplifen te	(5) (5) (5)
Tag.	sulat, to write fuman, to fulfill	swiatis *	simplet glatsman stoumen	sus-cletin {	sinusulat gintutuman gineluman tinusuman

#### DERIVATIVES WITH -40

Dialect	Stem	Temporally indefinite form	Perfect.	Puture	Present
Batén	"parak," to neil	paskan	pinoskan	(1)	(C)
Ib.	fure-k, to write	turak <b>én</b>	sinurokan.	(1)	(r)
Pang.	puckets, to also clothes in washing	puřenkan	pinésakun	(r)	(2)
IL.	bugge, to lave a part of the body	buggo-an -	binoggdan.	binoppoan to	(*)
Tag.	exiat, to write	swintan *	elaulatea	susulaten	elnqeulaten
Pan.	sulat, to write	sulatan *	sinulatan ginsulatan	4	ginesvinten ginesvinten ginesvinten

<sup>&#</sup>x27;The indefinite form serves for the Imperative, the present and the future. The latter is also indicated by adverbs meaning "here-after": Butan anches, ib. noku, Pang. nadné.

<sup>2</sup> English infinitive used to render the sense of the stem which has no grammatical form.

\*The indefinite form serves for the imperative and the present. In proper cases the imperative is also given a future form.

Imperative.

\* Equals imperative.

\* Equals imperative according to P. Losano. P. Mentrida has bubsharon.

TOr parok.

<sup>\*</sup> Equals imperative according to P. Legano. P. Mentrida has besides bubulatan.

shown by the perfect form of each dialect in the general view. The question whether sulat really exists in Batán, and in what form, as also whether all assumed forms are current in each dialect, is irrelevant for the point I wish to bring out. The fact that those forms demonstrate exactly the typical form taken in the perfect by stems of similar structure is sufficient. We then get the following scheme:

Perfect forms

Dialect	inulat	sulatin (-en, -an, -on)	sulaten
Batán	sinulat		sinulatan
1b.	initura-k	sinura-k	sinurukan
11.	insurat	sinerat	sinuratan
Pang.	Insulat	sinulat	sinulatan
Tag.	1sinulat	sinulat	sinulatan
Pan.	leinulat	sinulat	sinuistan

To complete the view I have added the perfect forms corresponding to the -an class which will be seen to show absolutely the same type in all dialects. A like uniformity is observed in the -in derivatives, only that here Batán does not stand on a line with the other dialects, but has but one form both for this and for the i- class. This divergence of Batán might be regarded as another indication of primitiveness, at all events it is found also in Pampangan as shown in the following summary of tense forms from this dialect:

Class and stem	Future (imperative)	Perfect	Present
in sulat, to write in takal, to measure an sulat, to write	isulat	sinulat	isusulat
	takal <b>a</b> n	tinakat	tatakalan
	sulat <b>a</b> n	silatanan	susulatan

To this must be added that Pampangan has for i-derivatives, besides the mode of forming the perfect here shown, another one which consists in changing the first vowel of the stem into i, the same as may be observed in the perfect of sulatan above given. Example: sulut, to open with a key etc., forms isulut and therefrom the perfect silut.

# APPENDIX I

#### THE APOSTLES' CREED IN BATAN

As a coherent specimen of Batán the Apostles' Creed is here given literally copied from Retana's edition of the catechism. For greater ease of comparison it is preceded by the English and Spanish texts and followed by a repetition of the Batán version interlined with English.

#### THE APOSTLES' CREED

I believe in God, the Father Almighty. Creator of heaven and earth; and in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord: who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried. He descended into hell: the third day He arose again from the dcad; He ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge the living and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of Saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. Amen.

#### EL CREDO

Creo en Dios, Padre todopoderoso, Creador del cielo y de la tierra; y en Jesucristo su único Hijo nuestro Señor, que fué concebido por obra y gracia del Espiritu Santo, y nació de la Virgen Maria; padeció debajo del poder de Poncio Pilato, fué crucificado, muerto y sepultado; descendió A los inflernos; al tercer dia resucitó de entre los muertos; subió á los cielos, y está sentado á la diestra de Dios Padre todopoderoso; desde alli ha de venir a juzgar los vivos y los muertos. Creo en el Espiritu Santo, La Santa Iglesia Catolica. la comunion de los Santos, el perdón de los pecados, la resurrección de la carne y la vida perdurable. Amen.

#### EL CREDO

Manganuguir aco du Dios Ama á nacapamaring du atabu; á minangamaug du Ganit, canu tana; anugden co pa si Jesus Christo, á mabuybug á manganac na, Aputa atabu; á tuminao á minay pakaiapo du Espiritu Santo, chinamanganac ni Santa Maria Virgen á minalichalichat du capay nulay sia ni Poncio Pilato, pinascan du Cruz, nadiman, canu binobun, gumintin du infiernos, du ichatdona ca arao du minacadiman na minirua á mabiay, tuminogos du Gañit, canu are mindisna dau du canan nu Dios Ama á macapamaring du atabu; macaiapo anchua dau as cayé na dia á mapaisecasecar su mangabiay as canu nangadiman: manganuguir aco pa du Espiritu Santo, canu anugden co pa ú Santa Iglesia catolica, ú capachiagap da nu Sasantos, ú ipacaabo su raguit, as capirrua na á mabiay na ynaoan ta aya, as canu cabiay á maabo aba. Amen Jesus.

#### COMMENTARY

á Manganugir ako duDios Ama nakapamaring du atabu: Believer rel.part.1 God Father who is mighty rel.part. á duGañi' minangamaug kanu tana: anuaden Ŀо who is one who has been creator rel.part. heaven and earth object of belief mine Jesus Christo, á pamabuybug á manganak na, ApuJesus Christ. further (Pers.Art.) who is only who is son his. Lord atabu á trı tuminao á minaipakayapo duEspiritu Santo our who is become man that is was cause of origin rel.part. Ghost Holy chinamanganak niSanta Maria Virgen.á minalichalichat born (has been child) of the Holy Marf Virgin, one who has suffered who is dukapainulay siaпi Poncio Pilato. pinaskan rel.part. power Prop. 3. Pers Gen. Pers. Art. Pontius. Pilate. has been object of nailing đи Cruz, nadiman kanubinobun, gamintin duinficrnos. rel.part. cross. dend buried and descended rel.part. hell. minakadiman du ichatdona kaarao duminirua á mabiay, narel.part. third day rei.part. death hís returned that is du $Ga\tilde{n}it$ kanu mindisna dau dukanan 3 tuminogos arcrel.part. heaven and there is sitting there rel.part, right side of the Dias makapamaring atabu; Amadumakayapo anchua God Father who is mighty rel.part, all; sallying forth hereafter daudia á mapaisekasekar askavè na sumangabiay going hither that is there and his [to] judge the living (plur.) nangadiman; manganugir ako pa Espiritu Santo dudead (plur.) believer further rel.part. Ghost and 1 Holy ú Santa Iglesia católica, ú kapachiagap anugden 'ko kanu paobject of belief mine further the Holy Church and catholic, the community ú dauuSasantos: ipakaabo suragitaskapirrua na the causing to cease the (forgiveness) resurrection its that is theirs of the Saints sin and mabiay as kanu kabiay nuinaoan taaya, á maabo aba. alive of the body this. and life ours that is having end not. Jesus. AmenJesus. Amen

¹ rel, part. = relative form of demonstrative particle (article) ú.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Ganit in text misprint for Ganit.

<sup>2</sup> kanan from kauanan.

# APPENDIX II

#### ON THE UNIFORMITY AND EXTENSION OF ILOKANO

In the introduction to the present paper it was said that there exists abundant material for the study of the principal Philippine dialects spoken by the Christian population. With all, there are some points of a general nature in which the authors alluded to are, as a rule, not very explicit, if they touch them at all. Such are the delimitation of the territorial extension of those dialects and the question to what degree they are uniform within such territory.

Considering the elucidation of these points as essential for the proper appreciation of each dialect and as helpful for the future demarcation and classification of still unexplored tongues. I give here a few data concerning the uniformity and the dominion of that important dialect which extends along the west coast of north Luzon and is the dialect upon which abut the various tongues spoken in the mountains running parallel to that coast. I mean *Ilokano*, or *Samloy* as it was called in olden times.

Concerning this dialect Padre Andrés Carro, who from 1762 till 1805 was a missionary in Ilokos, has in the preface to the Vocabulario ilocoespañol, of which he was the chief editor, a very interesting and important paragraph. I give it in extenso and as literally as possible.

When the famous Capitan Juan de Salcedo conquered in the year 1572 this Province of Ilokos, among the idioms and peoples that existed in it, as different as it is seen even to-day in that mountain chain, the most general was the idiom Samtoy or better Saó mi toy. This name comes, as some will have it, from the two words saó toy, or, as others pretend, from an ancient pueblo thus called and the most famous of them all; for which reason our first predecessors, who accompanied the said conquistador Salcedo, applied themselves to this; and through their application, and the traffic and commerce of the natives, which they had not had before, it came about that it was made common and vulgar in this whole province which inclosed all the pueblos from Bangi to Agóo, inclusive, the same that speak to the present day the Samtoy idiom. The vulgar call it lengua ilokana, because thus the indios [natives] called it who in greater number inhabited that country, united in rancherias and small pueblos of 20 or 40 families; that is, Ilokos. Notwithstanding the efficacious diligence of our predecessors there always remained aggregated (not being able to remedy it)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Created with undefined eastern limits at the beginning of the conquest of Luzon, the Province of Ilokos was divided for better administration of its greatly increased population in 1818 into two partidos or alcaldias mayores distinguished as Norte and Sur.

z sao mi toy- "speech ours this," supposedly an answer to a corresponding question put by the early Spaniards.

Agoo is given by Buzeta y Bravo as a town in Pangasinan.

many terms and expressions of the other suppressed idioms, which [idioms] would be some ten or twelve in this province alone, wherefrom springs the confusion and various pronunciation of many of these; for instance, arisa, arisand, arisand, arisand, which all mean one and the same thing (i. e., timidity, shyness), subuet, sabat, salbdt, sebbát, siglát, salabat, rusngi, karámot, kayámut, and many others which will be found dispersed in the body of this vocabulary. But with all this I have observed that said difference and variation does not hinder the natives in understanding one another and in the transaction of their principal interests the same as there is no obstruction in Spain to traffic which Gallegos and Maragatos have continuously with Asturianos, Portuguese, and Castilians because, though they have different dialects among themselves, it costs them little difficulty to understand each other, as they all descend from the same mother tongue.

The latter part of this paragraph in alluding to Spanish "different dialects" must be taken, I believe, more as an illustration than as an exact comparison, since otherwise it is not easily reconciled with the previous statement that Samtoy became "common and vulgar in the whole province." At all events the whole description, including the examples, conveys the idea of a speech diversified only by localisms and not by different dialects, among which we class, for instance, Pangasinán and Ibanág in contradistinction to Ilokano.

The above account was written over a hundred years ago. Wishing to form an exact judgment of the present status of that dialect I have taken the best course in such a case and consulted the Ilokanos themselves. Upon my request Governor Joaquin Luna, of La Unión Province, had the courteousness—so characteristic of Filipinos in general, as I may be permitted to add—to address several prominent Ilokanos on the subject and to send me their answers. The following are extracts of the letters received, giving the substance of their writers' opinions.

Padre M. Dakanáy, parish priest of Santa Maria, Ilokos Sur, writes:

The Ilokano dialect is an idiom uniform in all the four provinces where it is spoken—in Ilokos Norte, Ilokos Sur, Abrá, and La Unión—and this to such a degree that an Ilokano from Bángi [the last pueblo in the north] can communicate perfectly and without any difficulty with another from Santo Tomás [close to the border between Unión and Pangasinān\*]. There are some terms, it is true, which are current only in one town and not in another farther on, but these are only localisms, not constituting different dialects. The statement here made on the uniformity of Ilokano is the fruit of long experience acquired duringmy residence in various points of the region under review which enabled me to observe and study the question in detail. I was born in La Unión and after a residence of thirteen years in Bigan (Ilokos Sur) I was condjutor for two and a half years in Baugued (Abra), eight months in Batak, one month in Nagpartian, which two towns are in Ilokos Norte; two years each in Agoo, Aringay, and Baknotan, all in La Unión; four months in Santa, six months in Kavayan,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The first six of these words are apparently intended to form one set of variable words, although sigidt has a different meaning; another set are the last two; rusngi is not in the vocabulary (2. ed. 1888).

<sup>2</sup> Santo Tomás being a border town there is doubtless a Pangasinán element there, as appears from information given further on. P. Dakanáy speaks of Hokdson of Santo Tomás.

and over four years now here in Santa Maria, these three towns in Ilokos Sur. As priest of the Catholic Church I have been all this time in intimate contact with the mass of the people. In all parts, in all corners of the country, as well in Ilokos Norte as in Ilokos Sur, in Abra as well as in La Unión, my car never met anything strange because I heard everywhere the same idiom, my native idiom of La Unión, without any difference. In saying this I do not count as differences those slight variations of intonation or pronunciation and one or the other localism.

Padre M. Gaerlan, like the foregoing, identified with the destiny of the whole Ilokos country, expresses himself as follows:

From the extreme north down to the south of the territory that harbors the Ilokano people the Ilokano idiom is used with a uniformity that allows all to understand one another without any difficulty as well in elevated language as in vulgar speech. Even some diversity of pronunciation which exists in different towns and provinces is not auch as to obstruct a mutual understanding. It is a noteworthy fact, often enough to be observed, that some people or others use, according to their greater versatility in handling the dialect, profound terms, but the interrogated person—if it be a case of interrogation—never fails with the right answer, so that it is evident the question was fully understood; I refer in this respect to the Ilokanos of La Unión who, being less at home in the idiom, do not employ many profound terms, yet understand them readily enough and answer them with full intelligence.

Mr. Candido Gironella, of Kandon (Ilokos Sur), gives the explanation why the people of La Union should be less at home in the dialect. To understand fully the situation it is necessary to know that the Province of La Unión is of relatively recent creation. Till the middle of last century Pangasinán included not only Santo Tomás and San Fernando but reached up with its last pueblo, Bagnotan, to the vicinity of the southernmost pucblos of Ilokos Sur-Namakpakan, Balawan, and Bangar. This northern spur of Pangasinán was segregated from the main body south of Santo Tomás, as were the three towns last mentioned from llokos Sur, and of these two slices merged together a new province was created in 1850, with the name La Unión, which consequently threw political boundaries around just that stretch of coast land which represented the junction of two entirely different dialects, Ilokano and Pangasinán. Where the exact linguistic divide between the two had formerly been I do not know. Given the flat coastal plain dotted with straggling pueblos along the main road and with dispersed barries or groups of houses between the fields, it may never have been very clearly drawn.

Zúñiga, writing between 1803 and 1805, brings the divide down to Santo Tomás when he says:

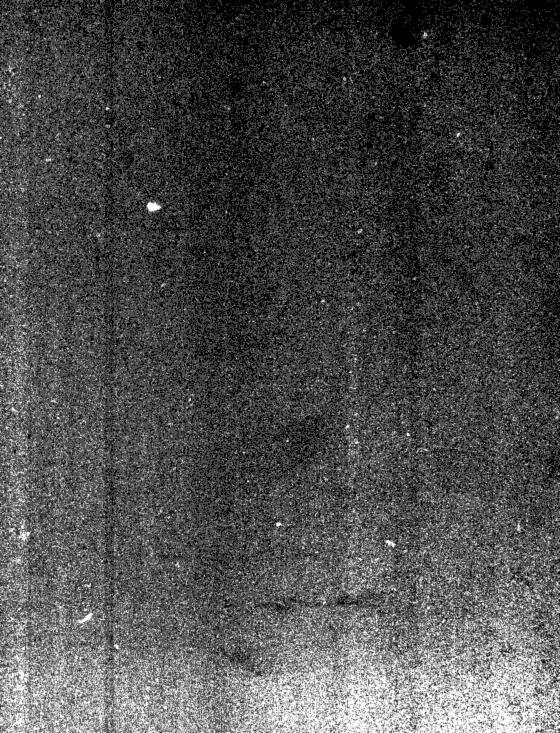
The inhabitants of this province [Pangasinan] are of two nationalities. Those who live in the towns of Baknotan and the following ones [going south] unto Santo Tomás are of the Ilokano nation; they speak its idiom and in nothing differ from the Ilokano. Those who inhabit the rest of the province . . . . are the true Pangasinan, a nation distinct from the others of the islands, having their particular idiom which nevertheless resembles all dialects of the Philippines.

Mr. Gironella, my above-named correspondent, deviates somewhat from this or maybe he is only more precise, when he writes:

The three Provinces Ilokos Norte, Sur, and Abra have no substantial difference whatever in their dialects but only an accidental one in their local expressions. Not so in La Unión, because here, before the fusion of those pueblos, there was spoken Ilokano and Pangasinan, but after the constitution of the new province Ilokano predominated, being the speech of Bangar, Namakpakan, and Balawan, which towns are truly Ilokano. The remainder of the towns were formerly in Pangasinan and their Ilokano speech is tolerably adulterated, as you may very well note in the towns of Agoo, Santo Tomás, and Rosario, which still speak both Ilokano and Pangasinan. And therefrom arises the great difference to be observed between Ilokano as spoken in Ilokos Sur, Norte, Abra and the adulterated Ilokano of La Unión. In the latter province principally the three towns mentioned ilokanized the idiom of Pangasinan, and if they speak with an Ilokano who has no knowledge of Pangasinan they do not understand each other.

Reviewing the information contained in the letters of my three informants as here reproduced it becomes evident that the Ilokano people living in the four provinces repeatedly mentioned speak a dialect of marked uniformity. Its greater shallowness in parts of La Unión and the disturbance of its purity at the extreme southern confines of that province are only phases of its encounter with an adjoining quite different dialect which it appears to be gradually throwing back.

The dialect under review is, like all forms of human speech, the faithful reflection of the character of its people. Heavily as Ilokano is indebted to the Spanish philologists, who since early times fixed its forms in grammars, vocabularies, and other works, and to its own native writers and poets, the primary foundation of its solidity and strength is the well-known steadiness, energy, and cohesion of its speakers, who have made their home country, in spite of its unfavorable configuration, a strong nucleus of Ilokano life. Expanding from this densely populated country they have carried their speech with them into many other provinces in which they have settled and founded colonies. This expansion movement is dwelt upon and described, as singularly characteristic of the Ilokano people, on page 54 of the Spanish edition of "Census of the Philippine Islands," 1903. How in new settlements the Ilokano dialect supersedes the speech of weaker people may be seen in Reed, "Negritos of Zambales," page 28. Its influence upon an adjacent Igorot dialect has been characterized by the present writer in a previous paper (The Nabaloi Dialect, p. 100).



# PART II

# "F" AND "V" IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

#### ABBREVIATIONS

Achin.	Achinese	11.	Ilokano
Ar.	Arabie	ft.	ltawi
A. S.	Anglo-Saxon	Jap.	Japanese
Bag.	Bagobo	Jav.	Javanese
Bat.	Batta	Kal.	Kalamian
Bkl.	Bikol	Lat.	Latin
Bil.	Bilan	Lith.	Lithuanian
Bis.	Bisayan	Mal.	Miskey
Bis. Ceb.	Bisayan of Cebu	Mgd.	Magindanau
Bis, Hil.	Bisayan Hilagayna	Mak.	Makassar
Bis, Sam.	Bisayan of Samar	Mlg.	Malagasy
Bug.	Bugis	Marq.	Marquesas
Cham.	Chamorro	NHG.	New High German
Eng.	English	O. Bulg.	Old Bulgarian
Gad.	Gaddan	Pamp.	Pampangan
Goth.	Gothic	Skt.	Sanskrit
Gr.	Greek	Sund.	Sundanese
Haw.	Hawaiian	Tagak.	Tagakaolo
Heb.	Hebrew	Tag.	Tagalog
1Ъ.	Ibanag	Tir.	Tiruray
I. E.	Indo-European	Yog.	Yogad

# "F" AND "V" IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

The absence of labial fricatives is one of the most obvious characteristics of Malayan phonology as contrasted with Malagasy and certain groups of the Polynesian languages; compare the following Malayo-Polynesian words signifying 'fire': Malay āpi, Javanese, Batak, Bugis, Pampangan api, Dayak, Tagalog, Pangasinan, Ilokano, Magindanau, Bagobo, Chirin (Batanes Islands) apui (or apoi); but Malagasy afo, Samoan and Tongan afi; Compare also Malayan batú, 'stone', with Mlg. vato, Fiji vatu, Samoan and Tongan fatu, and Malay ampat, 'four', Tag. apát, with Mlg. efatra, Samoan, Tongan, Marquesas fa, and Fiji va.

As is seen in the foregoing examples, Malayan p and b become f and v, respectively, in Malagasy (Mal. api,  $bat\acute{u}$ : Mlg. afo, vato), while both become f in Samoan and Tongan (afi, fatu), and v in Fiji (vatu, va.) The Polynesian f is further weakened to a mere aspirate h in Hawaiian and Tahitian, afi becoming ahi, and is entirely lost in Rarotongan, original api becoming ai. The Chamorro language of Guam has both f and p, the former regularly representing original p (cf. Cham. guafe, 'fire' with the examples just given, and the Chamorro verbal prefix fa-with the Philippine prefix pa-), while the latter stands for original b, cf. Cham pulan, 'moon', pution, 'star', with Malay bulan, Tag. and Bis. bitwin and bitoon.

While the great majority of the Philippine languages and dialects, including Tagalog, Bisayan, Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokano, and Bikol, follow the general rule of the Malayan branch of the family and have neither f nor v sounds, some notable exceptions are found at the northern and southern extremities of the Archipelago. The Ibanag (pron. Ibanák) and its dialects, chief of which are those called Gaddan, Yogad, and Itawi, spoken in the Provinces of Kagayan and Isabela, the languages of the Bontok and Benguet Igorot, and the Tiruray, Bilan, and Tagakaolo of southern Mindanao, all possess the surd spirant f, and some of those of the northern Luzón group have the sonant spirant v. It is quite probable that further data would show other languages containing

one or both of these sounds, but it is not likely that they will be found far from the two regions here named.1

The surd fricative f.—In the southern group of f languages, viz, Tiruray, Bilan, and Tagakaolo, the p sound does not exist, but has everywhere been shifted to the corresponding spirant f, e. g., Tir. fitéu, 'seven', Bil. and Tagak. fité ' (cf. Tag. Bis. Bkl. Pamp. Pang. Il. Ib. pité or pità), Tir. futē, 'white' (cf. Tag. Bis. Bkl. Pamp. Bag. puti, Malay, Sulu, Magindanau pūtih, Jav. Sund. Achin. putih, Batak and Dayak puti, but Nias afusih, Mlg. fotsy), Tir. efot, 'four', Tagak. ufat, Bil. faat (cf. Tag. apat, Bis. apat and upat, Mal. ampat), Tir. afei, 'fire' (cf. Tag. etc., apūi, supra), Tagak. fag'amfo, 'pray' imv. pass. (cf. Bis. pag'ampo). Foreign words containing the sound of p, when taken into any of the three languages of this group, are pronounced as if spelled with f, e. g., the Spanish names l'edro and Policarpio become Fedru, Fulikarfiu.

While, as we have just seen, original p is entirely supplanted by its corresponding unvoiced fricative in three languages of southern Mindanao, both p and f are found in all the f languages of northern Luzón, where a remarkable variety of conditions exists, indicative of a transitional stage in which labial stops are gradually being weakened to fricatives. In the southern group f regularly represents an original p, Malayan b in most instances remaining unchanged, e. g., Tir. batéu, 'stone', ebuk, 'hair'; Tag. and Bis. bató, bohók; Bilan libo, 'hundred'; Tag. and Bis. bató, bohók; Bilan libo, 'hundred'; Tag. and Bis. babáyi or babái, bonga or bunga. Exceptional is Tir. fenwo, 'village, settlement': Mal. banua, 'land, country',

¹ The letter v appears in a Kalamian word list written in the year 1789 by an Augustinian friar, Jerônimo de la Virgen de Monserrate, and first published by W. E. Retana in 1896 in his Archivo del Bibliofilo Filipino, Madrid, 1895—1905, Vol. II, pp. 207-224; but it is probable that wherever the author wrote v it was intended to represent the sound of b or u (vowel or semivowei). The confusion of b, u, and v in Spanish orthography is well known and was especially common prior to the last century; note the spelling of Spanish words by the author here cited: Bocabulario, perva, rivera, nave, pp. 211, 218, and 220, op. cit. Thus the word appearing in the list as catava (husband, wife), is properly katava, cf. Tag. and Bis. sauca. For the Kalamian prefixed k of katava, cf. Kal. kolo 'head', kaldau 'sun, day', koran (rain), with olo, adias or aldau, ulan or aran of other Philippine languages, and for Kal. t representing Malayan s, cf. Kal. toto, 'uber', patat, 'milk', tulat, 'write', with Tag. and Bis. saua, gatas, sulat. The word appearing in the list as Lavii, 'night', corresponds to Tag. and Bis. gabit and Ilokano rabit, and is properly rabit.

The Bilan and Tagakaolo examples are taken from Retana's introduction to his edition of Combés, Historia de Mindanao y Joié, Madrid, 1897, cols. Ixxix and Ixxxiv. In the same introduction, under the heading "Manobo," the Ave Maria is given in the Manobo language, and contains the words mafia (bis), ampo, and poné. This is the only material at hand for the Manobo, and is, of course, insufficient evidence upon which to base any rule as to the interchange of p and f.

<sup>3</sup>Orthography of Bennäsar, Diccionario Tiruray-Español, Manila, 1892 : ë is pronounced as French é final.

<sup>4</sup> From A. van Daslen's list of Nias words, published as part of a comparative vocabulary of the dialects of certain wild tribes of the Malay Peninsuls, Borneo, etc., compiled by F. A. Swettenham, Journal of the Straits Branch, R. A. S., No. 5 Singapore, 1880. It would appear that Nias, like Tir., Bil., and Tagak, always changes p to f.

Sulu banúa, 'country', Bis. Ceb. bánwa, 'country', Bis. Hil. bánwa, 'town, people', Bis. Sam. bánwa, 'country, sky, weather', Bkl. banwá, 'weather', Tag. banówa, 'sky, weather' (obs.), Pamp., Bag. bánwa, 'country', Samoan fanua, 'land', 'Tahiti fenua, Marq. fenua or henua, Haw. honua, 'flat land, carth's surface'. In the northern group, on the other hand, original b is often weakened to v, as in Ibanag and Itawi (v. infra, p. 139), or to f, as in Bontok Igorot, according to Jenks, who observed that the b and f sounds are often interchangeable in that language, e. g., bato or fato, 'stone', book or fook, 'hair' (cf. Tag. etc., bató, bohók). In still further contrast with the f languages cf. the Mindanao group, original p is regularly retained in Bontok Igorot, even before u, c. g., pitó, 'seven', apúi, 'fire' (for examples in other languages v. supra).

In Ibanag and its dialects original p invariably becomes f when immediately followed by u, e. g., Ib. Gad. Yog. It. afui, 'fire', fulu, 'ten' (cf. Mal  $\bar{a}pi$ , Tag.  $ap\dot{u}i$ , Mal. puloh, Tag.  $pu\dot{o}$ ), and should remain unchanged elsewhere according to the rule laid down by Fausto de Cuevas in his exhaustive work on the Ibanag language, and followed out in the orthography of the Ibanag dictionaries, Spanish grammars in Ibanag, and religious pamphlets printed in Ibanag and Gaddan; but in spite of the universal custom of writing f only before u, the rule is not observed strictly in the spoken Ibanag of the present day. Such words as Ib.  $gap\dot{a}$ , 'also', and  $mapi\dot{a}$ , 'good' (root  $pi\dot{a}$ , cf. Il.  $pi\dot{a}$ , 'Tir. fio), containing an original intervocalic p, are generally pronounced  $gaf\dot{a}$ ,  $mafi\dot{a}$ . From the Ib. root  $fuff\dot{u}^{\dagger}$ , 'bind, wrap', is made the nominal form pinuf

<sup>1</sup>The Bentoc Igorot, Ethnological Survey Publications, Vol. I, Manils, 1905, p. 229. From the predominance of f as compared with b in the author's list of Bentok words, it may be inferred that the change of c ginal b to f occurs in the majority of cases.

<sup>2</sup> Arte Nuevo de la Lengua Yba. ig. 2d ed., Manila, 1854, p. 5. The author here states that f occurs only before u and i, and is changed to p before the latter vowel (f), giving as an example of the change Ib. pindue, 'consumed', root funu (cf. Ilokano pino, 'spend' Mal. pundh, fr. Skt. pund, 'destroyed, lost'). This is, of course, equivalent to saying merely that f occurs only before u. In cases like the example cited original p has simply remained unchanged before the infix -in-, while it has been changed to f in the root form funu owing to the following u.

\* Payo, Diccionario Español-Ibanag, Manila, 1867.
Rodríguez, Diccionario Ibanag-Español, Manila, 1854.

The editor of the latter work makes the following misleading statement in his introduction (p. 9): "F before i is pronounced p, and before the other vowels as in Spanish," from which it might be inferred that f may occur before any vowel, while in the body of the dictionary f never appears except before u.

Noissco de Medio, Gramática Ibanag-Castellana, 2d ed. Manila, 1892.

Nepomuceno, Gramática Castellana Explicada en el Lenguaje Español é Ibanág, Manila, 1894.

Numerous religious pamphlets in Ibanag have been published in Manila, besides a catechism in Gaddan, Catecismo de la Doctrina en lengua Gaddan, pub. by order of Fr. José Rodríguez, Manila, 1833 (other editions later).

Consonantal doubling is a characteristic of Ibanag and its dialects, the two elements being distinctly pronounced as in Italian, thus, Ib. Gad. Yog. It. candm., 'six' (pr. an-nam), Ib. davván, 'earth'. In Ibanag itself, all original surd stops, when final, are mute; and as they are fully sounded when supported by a suffix, I have followed the custom of the dictionaries and grammars in retaining the final mute consonant in the suffixiess forms, but writing it above the line instead of after a hyphen, thus, Ib. and's, 'offspring, child', appô', 'four', arap' 'smoke' (cf. Mal. anak, awpot, asap), but tatagasakan, 'uterus,' kafapon, 'smoked'. It is customary in everyday practice among the Kagayan people to write Gad, appd, afs), etc.

fútan, 'thing bound, bundle', and though it appears in all Ibanag books with an initial p according to the grammatical rule, I have never heard it so pronounced, but always as finuffútan. The initial f pronunciation is here probably due to the influence of the (grammatically proper) ff of the same word. On the other hand, such words as Ib. palappútan 'thing revealed' (root lappá", 'to manifest, reveal') seem always to be pronounced as written. It is not improbable that when the Dominican friars first entered the Kagayan Valley the p sound was much more stable in Ibanag than at present, at least sufficiently so to lead the first Spanish writers on Ibanag grammar and lexicography to adopt the rule that f occurs only before u, for it is inconceivable that such a rule could be laid down under existing conditions in which the f sound in gafá (gapá in dict.) is practically identical with that in afui. It is easy to see how this ancient rule, so simple of application and so fully authorized by tradition, should continue to be observed in the written language after it ceased to be an accurate statement of a linguistic phenomenon.

Where f occurs in Ibanag and its dialects, it regularly represents original p, (see examples given above), original b either remaining unchanged or becoming v (v. infra, p. 139); but the Gaddan dialect, like Bontok Igorot, interchanges b with f apparently without regard to the quality of the following vowel, e. g., Gad. bibig or bifig, 'lip', cf. Tag. bibig, Pang. Mgd. bibit, Mal. bibir.

In the language of the Ibaloi Igorot <sup>1</sup> (Province of Benguet), original  $\mu$  is interchangeable with f in some words, e. g., apil or afil, 'different', Kupit or Kufit, a feminine name; is constant in others, e. g., palit, 'dear', paltog, 'gun'; and replaces original b in the pronunciation of certain northern rancherias of Benguet, e. g., fúdai for búdai, 'land', falei for balei, 'house', while in still other words f has permanently replaced original p, e. g., analyte, 'soft', udufen, 'to accompany'.

The f of all these languages is a pare labial fricative and not labiodental as in English. It is very slightly breathed and hence, like the Japanese f before u in the series ha, hi, fu, he, he, he, is often hardly distinguishable from the aspirate h, cf. the pronunciation of Ibanag futu, 'heart' (Tag. puso) with that of Jap. futo, 'easily'. The shifting from original p seems to have been through an intermediate pf like the Middle and Modern High German pf in pfund, pfad, stumpf, as compared with the English cognates, pound, path, stump. This intermediate step is observed in the attempts made by Filipino school children to pronounce English or Spanish words containing the letter f. While giving a course in English phonetics to a class of twenty-one young

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Scheerer's admirable work, The Nabaloi Dialect, Ethnological Survey Publications, Vol. II. Part II, Manila, 1905, pp. 101, 102, and 104. I have adopted the form Ibaloi lastead of Nabaloi in this article at the personal request of the author. I have observed the confusion of f and p in the pronunciation of both the Ibaloi and the Kankanai Igorot, e. g., Sampitauchu for San Pernando.

Tagalogs three years ago, I found that when they pronounced the word Filipino in concert, the resultant sound was at first pilipino, later pilipino and pfilipfino, and finally, after three months of training, filipino, the f sound, however, being a pure labial and hence incorrect. The word Filipino being written on a blackboard on the evening of July 7, 1904, each member of the class was asked to pronounce it independently, with the following result: eight pronounced f (labial)—p; three, f-f; three, pf-pf; two, p-p; two, pf-p; two, f-pf, and one, p-f. One of those pronouncing pf-p immediately repeated the word, giving it p-f, and one pronounced, first, f-f, secondly, pf-pf, and lastly, f-p. The f sound was in each case a pure labial. One month later two-thirds of the same class pronounced the word filipino, but none of them had mastered the labio-dental pronounciation of f.

In all parts of the Archipelago one hears, sporadically, the sound of f or pf in place of the Malayan p. In my experience in teaching English sounds to Tagalog, Bisayan, Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokano, Ibanag, and Igorot children, I have invariably found individuals in each of these speech groups who had more difficulty with the pronunciation of p than with that of f. In such cases the sound is produced by expelling the air through the lips when closed, but so relaxed that a very slight explosion is immediately followed by an almost imperceptible spirant, the result being a pf sound, the constituent elements of which are so blended as to be hardly distinguishable from each other. The fricative element is naturally more marked in intervocalic position, and the stop consonant in initial or final position; hence one frequently hears, even in parts where the native language properly has no labial fricatives, such pronunciations as pilifino. In most cases of this character, the labial consonant would register on a Rousselot machine as pf, with the p element showing more strongly when initial or final, and the f element predominating when intervocalic.

The sonant fricative v.—In Ibanag, an original b always becomes v before u, e. g., Ib. vulán,¹ 'moon, month', cf. Mal. Bis. bulan, Tag. buan; Ib. davvún, 'earth', cf. Pamp. gabbon, Pang. gabón, 'alluvial soil'; Ib., vuvún, 'well, spring', cf. Tag. Pang. Il. Bkl. Bis. bobong. This v is a pure labial like w as pronounced in certain parts of Germany, but is much more forcibly pronounced, especially when doubled as in davvún (pron. dav-vún). Under other circumstances original b is unchanged in Ibanag itself, e. g., Ib. batú, 'stone', bébai, 'sea', bíbig, 'lip'; but this rule is not followed out in the Ibanag dialects, Gaddan, Yogad, and Itawi, as is the case with the change of p to f (v. supra, p. 137). In Itawi, a very slightly voiced labial v is common before any vowel, and seems to interchange with its original b: I have heard the Itawi word for 'swine'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This v appears as b in the Spanish orthography of the Ibanag dictionaries and grammars (bulén, dabbún, bubún), though Fausto de Cuevas, in his grammar, op. cit., p. 4, says that b before u has the sound of French v.

pronounced in three ways, namely,  $b\acute{a}bi$ ,  $b\acute{a}vi$ , and  $v\acute{a}vi$ . One young man whose native tongue is Itawi says there is no b sound in the dialect, another never uses a v sound, while a third pronounces an original b as v only when intervocalic. In Yogad, on the other hand, original b is, so far as I can learn, persistent even before u, e. g., Yog.  $(ta)rib\acute{u}$ , 'thousand', cf. Ib. and It.  $(ma)riv\acute{u}$ , Gad.  $(t\acute{a})rifu$ . The existence of a voiced labial fricative in Gaddan is doubtful, and it is probable that whenever b is affected in this dialect, it becomes f (v. supra, p. 138).

So far as can be ascertained from the materials at hand, v is not found except in the Ibanag speech area. The letter v occurs in the Magindanau orthography adopted by the Jesuit missionary, Jacinto Juanmartí, in his works on the Magindanau language, but here, as explained by the author himself, v represents the sound of the semivowel w. This sound comes from original b with which it is often interchangeable in this language, e. g., Mgd. bato or wato, 'stone', balu or walu, 'widow(er)' balu or walu, 'island', bagyo or wagyo, 'typhoon'.

The words vugas and viaa appear in the Ave Maria translated into the Manguang dialect of southeastern Mindanao by a Jesuit missionary, Bernardino Llovera, and quoted by Retana in his introduction to the Historia de Mindanao y Joló, but owing to the vagaries of Spanish orthography when applied to the Philippine languages, it is impossible to determine, in the absence of further data, whether this v symbolizes the sound of v, b, or w.

In the Sulu language, v occurs, according to Cowie, only in the word asivi, 'small'.

A review of the speech conditions of the Archipelago as sketched above with reference to labial fricatives shows the existence of both f and v, contrary to the statement of Brandstetter  $^{6}$  that Malagasy is the only one of the western Malayo-Polynesian languages that has f in such words as Mlg. folo, fotsy, fidy; Mal. puloh, 'ten', putih, 'white', pilih, 'choose', cf. Tir. folo, Ib. Gad. Yog. It. fulu, 'Tir. futë, f(em)ili. Of the two fricatives, f is much the more common, and is found in several languages where v is unknown, e. g., in the three f languages of Mindanao, in Bontok and Ibaloi Igorot, and probably in Gaddan and Yogad. P, when weakened, always becomes f, and b is oftener changed to f than to v. We thus see in two speech areas of the Philippines the same shifting of labial stops to fricatives as has occurred in Malagasy, Nias, and the Oceanic languages, the change of p to f being complete in the southern group, while the northern group presents, under a remarkable variety of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Juanmarti. Grámatica de la Lengua de Maguindanao, Manila, 1892 (translated into English by Capt. C. C. Smith, A Grammar of the Maguindanao Tongue, Washington, 1906), and Diccionario Moro-Maguindanao-Español, Manila, 1906.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Grámatica, p. 8,

<sup>2</sup> Combés, op. cit., introd., col. lxxxIII.

<sup>\*</sup> English-Sulu-Malay Vocabulary, London, 1893, introd., p. x11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Die Beziehungen des Malagasy zum Malatischen, Luzern, 1893, p. 5.

aspects, a transitional stage of the same phenomenon, in which both p and b are affected, the change always resulting in an unvoiced fricative with the exception of the treatment of original b in Ibanag and Itawi, where under certain conditions it becomes v.

This sound shifting is comparable, so far as p is concerned, to the first Lautverschiebung of Indo-European consonants in Germanic, cf. I.-E. \*pster 'father', Skt. pitā, Gr. πατήρ, Lat. pater: Goth fadar, ΛS. fwder, Eng. father, NHG. vater. The Chamorro language also furnishes a parallel to the shifting of Indo-European b to primitive Germanic p (NHG. f by second sound shifting), compare Cham. tupo, 'sugar-cane': Mal. and Mgd. tebū, Jav. tebu, Mak. and Bug. tabu, Bat. tobu, Tag. Bis. Bkl. tubó, Pamp. átbu, Bag. tobbó, Sulu tubu or tabu, with: Goth. diups, Eng. deep (NHG. tief): I.-E. \*dheub 'be deep', Lith. dubūs, OBulg. dūbri. Other examples for Chamorro are: pau, 'odor', apo, 'ashes', pagyo, 'typhoon', tpapa, 'below', apaga, 'shoulder', in which the corresponding Philippine words have b.

The Philippine f, as has already been observed (p. 138), is so slightly breathed that it approaches the sound of a mere aspirate, and it is doubtless this same quality of the Polynesian f that has caused it to become h in Hawaiian and Tahitian (v. supra, p. 135). It is doubtful whether the Indo-European family furnishes an example of this secondary shifting. The Armenian hair, 'father', where h represents original p, may be an example in point if the change was through an intermediate f. Whether the Japanese furnishes an analogous change in the series ha, hi, fu, he, ho, depends upon the correctness of the statement made by some scholars that this was originally an f series throughout.

Baguio, Benguet, Philippine Islands, April 23, 1907.