



The Western Subgroup of Bisayan

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The western subgroup of Bisayan

I. INTRODUCTORY NOTES.¹ Some Bisayan dialects, particularly Cebuano, Hiligaynon, and Waray (Samar-Leyte), have been used extensively in comparative work, or have otherwise been referred to in the literature.² Several others, such as Aklanon, Banton, Butuanon, Datagnon, Kinaray-a, Kuyonon, Romblomanon, and Surigaonon, are not unknown.³ But no one has made any serious effort to show the relationship of the Bis dialects to each other, or to other languages of the Philippines. As Constantino has noted :

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

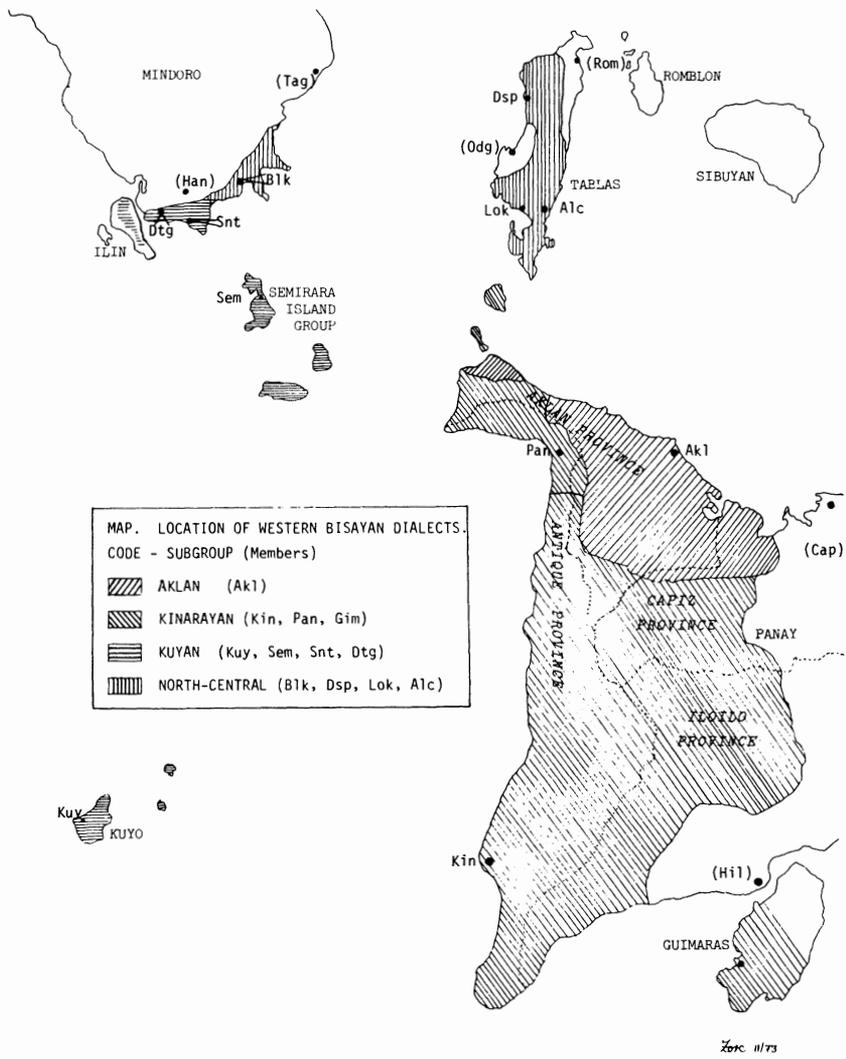
Work on my dissertation (in progress) has led to the establishment of criteria which can be used to subgroup the various Bisayan dialects. The methodology followed therein is summarized as follows. (1) First, a modified version of the Swadesh 100-meaning list was employed to establish a lexicostatistical subgrouping of central Philippine speech varieties. This method counts the sum of the retentions and common innovations without distinguishing between them. (2) Since the Swadesh list is primarily one of contentives (lexical items) based on language universal meanings that are noncultural in character, a second list was devised consisting of 100

functors (grammar-based items) found specifically in Central Philippine and Bisayan languages. The results of this second method were similar to those of the lexicostatistical investigation, despite the difference in composition of the two lists. On the basis of the scores obtained by the functoral comparison, the dialects were organized into subgroups.⁴ (3) The subgrouping thus obtained permits the distinction between innovations and retentions on the basis of shared features limited to the established group, features which are likely to be innovations attributable to that group. Thus, as a consequence of the first two steps, it is reasonable to conclude that several shared features drawn from a large corpus of data are common innovations of Bis, or of lower-order groups within Bis.

In this paper I will exemplify the methodology developed in my dissertation in order to present evidence for grouping ten dialects found in the Western Visayan region together as against other Bis dialects, and evidence that further subgrouping is possible within this Western Bisayan (WBs) group itself.

2. THE DIALECTS UNDER INVESTIGATION. The Western Bisayan dialects are found on Panay, Tablas, Mindoro, Cuyo, Semirara, and Caluya islands in the central Philippines. More recent settlements, particularly of speakers of Kuyonon, are found on Palawan proper, and in the Calamian Island group. The main settlements under study herein are indicated on the map. Kinaray-a (Kin) has the greatest number of dialects, but only two are indicated on the map: that of San Jose, Antique, and Nueva Valencia, Guimaras. As can be seen on the map, Kin dialects spread deep into the center of Panay, including large parts of the provinces of Iloilo and Capiz.

Not all of the WBs dialects are mutually intelligible. However, they do "constitute a chain in which each successive pair are mutually intelligible" and form an "L-complex" (Hockett 1958: 323ff.). The non-mutually-intelligible pairs of the chain are made up from the following three: Kuyonon (Kuy) on Cuyo Island, Aklanon (Akl) in northern Panay, and Kin (see above). The approximate geographical and linguistic center of the remaining dialects, which constitute an L-simplex (Hockett, *ibid.*), is Bulalakaw (San Pedro), Mindoro. These dialects include: Datagnon (Dtg), Santa Teresa (Snt), and Bulalakawnon (Blk) on Mindoro, Semirara (Sem) on Semirara and Caluya islands, Pandan (Pan) on northwestern Panay, and Dispholnon (Dsp), Alcantaranon



(Alc), and Looknon (Lok) on Tablas. Links of intelligibility are established with Kuy through Dtg and Sem, with Kin through Pan, and with Akl through Alc-Lok-Dsp.

The WBs dialects that border on other Bis speech communities (viz., Central Bisayan) are linked to them through chains of transitional dialects at the borderline areas. The transitional zone can be regarded as the dialect boundary, where the two different dialects meet but there is no significant gap in mutual intelligibility due to the sesquilingualism

of the native speakers. Akl is linked to Hiligaynon (Hil) through Capiznon (Cap); Dsp is linked with Romblomanon (Rom); and Kin is linked to Hil through Gimaras (Gim) and several dialects spoken in the towns and barrios of Iloilo province (e.g., Miag-ao, Lambunao, etc.). Thus, the WBs dialects are part of the larger L-complex forming the Bis group.

These statements regarding mutual intelligibility are based on personal observation in the field, informant reactions to tape recordings of other dialects,⁵ and the judgments of native speakers on the speech types of outsiders they come into contact with. These criteria are not sufficiently discriminatory by themselves. Nonetheless, the fact that the WBs dialects do form a chain with Bis as a whole, and yet are a distinct subgroup of Bis, agrees with the results of (1) lexicostatistical investigation, (2) a survey of functors particular to Bis, and (3) an inspection of shared innovations and their distribution.

3. LEXICOSTATISTICAL INVESTIGATION. The results of a comparison of the WBs dialects on the basis of the 100-meaning list (adapted, see Appendix 1) is given in Table 1. Even if the 100 meanings proposed by Swadesh are more insulated against borrowing than the 200, the percentages shown are still very high. Most WBs dialects show a percentage of 85 or higher with one another. The observations on mutual intelligibility seem to correlate with the lexicostatistical scores in that some difficulty in understanding was encountered if the lexicostatistical score

TABLE 1: 100-meaning lexicostatistical comparison (Swadesh list modified), West Bisayan dialects

Kuy							
89	Dtg						
86	91	Sem	(Sem-Snt 95%)*				
85	91	94	Blk				
86	90	91	92	Pan			
86	92	90	92	93	Dsp	(Dsp-Lok/Alc 98%)	
82	89	86	88	91	94	Akl	
80	85	86	87	87	86	83	Kin

*See note 8.

with one another on the lexicostatistical comparison were not mutually intelligible: e.g., Blk-Hil, Akl-Mas, Mas-Ceb, etc.⁶

The choice of 80% as a cut off point is reinforced by the fact that most dialects show a significant drop after the lowest score in the 80's with another dialect in the Bis chain. For example, for Bulalakaw there is Blk-Rom 86, followed by Blk-Hil 78 (-8); for Aklanon there is Akl-Hil 83, and then Akl-Mas 74 (-9); for Butuan there is But-Sur 83, and then But-War 70 (-13); and so on.

The connection between Waray and Surigao seems tenuous, but there are dialects of War and Sur (*viz.*, War-Jaun) which score as high as 81%. Odionganon (Odg) and Cebuano (Ceb) are put near the bottom of the table since they do not fit into the chain very clearly. Odg shows its highest percentage (83%) with Rom, and Ceb (80%) with Sur; but each of these two dialects then appears to be rather distant from the other Bis dialects, since their next lower percentages get increasingly lower than those of Rom and Sur respectively, and do not parallel the respective figures for Rom (which has 86% with Akl and 84% with Hil, whereas Odg has only 76% with Akl and 77% with Hil) or Sur (which has 89% with Nat and 83% with But, while Ceb has only 75% with Nat and 74% with But).

The overall results of this investigation reveal that the WBs dialects are very close to one another rather than to other Bisayan dialects and show a low order of diversity. They nevertheless fit into the larger chain of Bis dialects, stretching from Kuyo in the west to Butuan in the south, including Odionganon and Cebuano as at least marginal members of the Bis subgroup.

4. INVESTIGATION OF GRAMMAR-BASED ITEMS. The second method of subgrouping centers on a 100 list of functors. The complete list of glosses is found in Appendix 2. Proto-Bisayan reconstructions have been given as examples to help specify the forms used in the comparison.

The functor list was composed of words and morphemes such as pronouns, deictics, locatives, temporals, negatives, case markers, discourse particles, and verb affixes, which have a high text frequency and which are found particularly in the Central Philippine languages, such as Bisayan, Tausug, Bikol, and Tagalog. No more than a third of the forms can be traced back to Proto-Philippine or an earlier protolanguage; many glosses elicit subgroup- or dialect-particular innovations, such as *gin- past passive prefix, *qig- dependent instrumen-

tal prefix, *ba:si(q) 'maybe', *kuntaq 'hopefully', *giha: pun 'same, as usual', *kag 'and', *didtu 'there yonder', which are particular to Bis.

In scoring, a principle of morphological identity was strictly adhered to. Since this study centered on closely related dialects, it was not sufficient for a positive score that forms compared shared an etymon in part if there was a difference in formation. Differences in formation, or morphemic differentiae (McFarland 1972),⁷ are treated as critical in the overall scoring of dialect pairs. Thus, although regular sound shifts (e.g., Akl, Snt, Blk, Dtg u < *ə, Aklγ < *l, *r, etc.) and different accent (length or stress) patterns were ignored, any irregularity was scored negatively. For example, the comparison of Kin darwa 'two' with Hil duhá or with But duwá results in a negative score; Akl sanda 'they' compared with Masbate sinda likewise yielded a negative score; similarly, Kin qinyu with Kuy qindu 'your', or with Masbate qi:yu.

The scores for this test are given in Table 3 for WBs. Note that the ordering of the dialects has been altered to accord with the scores. If 80% is chosen as a cutoff point, lines of agreement are maintained with the lexicostatistical scores; the extremes of the WBs community are still the pairs Kuy-Akl, Kuy-Kin, and Kin-Akl (although in a different order from Table 1). The greater numerical differences between most of the scores suggest that one can subgroup within WBs itself. Kin

TABLE 3: 100-functor comparison of WBs dialects

Kin							
89	Pan						
83	88	Dsp	(Dsp-Lok/Alc 91%)				
81	87	87	Blk				
80	82	81	91	Dtg			
80	78	77	89	87	Sem	(Sem-Snt 90%)	
70	70	70	79	79	83	Kuy	
74	79	78	75	74	69	68	Akl

still shows its closest affinity with Pan. However, Kuy appears significantly closer to Sem than to Dtg. Akl now appears more remote from all other dialects, but still closer to Pan and Dsp.

According to these results, the following interpretation is suggested. Kuyonon and Kinaray-a are opposite ends of an extreme, with an over-

lap in shared members (Blk, Dtg, Sem); Aklanon is independently grouped, but closest to Pan and Dsp. (See Figures 1 and 2.)

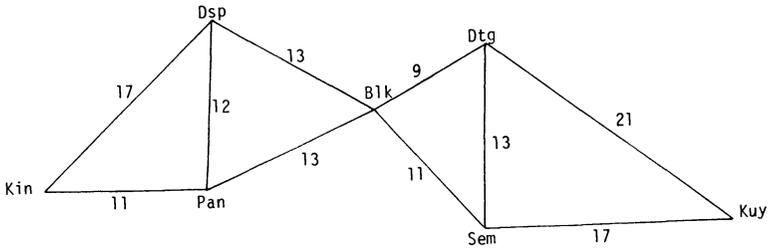


FIGURE 1. Relationship of the 7 major/linking WBs dialects to one another based on negative scores of the 100-functor comparison.

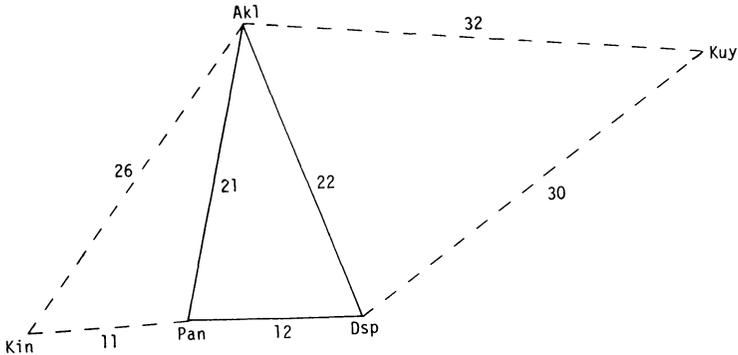


FIGURE 2. Relationship of Aklanon to the 2 most proximate and the 2 most distant WBs dialects based on negative scores of the 100-functor comparison.

These two comparisons, while differing in particulars, give the same overall results: (1) The extremes of the WBs dialect community are Akl, Kin, and Kuy. (2) Certain central dialects are very close to one another (Sem, Dtg, Snt,⁸ Blk, Dsp, Lok-Alc, Pan) and act as links between the extremes.

The results of a similar comparison of the major and linking Bis dialects are given in Table 4. On this chart the cutoff point was lowered to 70% and percentages below the cutoff point are marked within the solid line. A second cutoff point of 63% was chosen to indicate secondary relationships among the dialects, and percentages below 63% are

- 2c. *na :na 'his/her' (enclitic genitive pronoun, full form). All dialects (except Dtg, Kuy)¹⁰ na :na.¹²
- 3a. *sanday topic marker for plural personal names, as in 'John and his friends', sanday Juan. . . Akl, Pan, Kin, Dsp, Lok-Alc, Blk, Snt, Sem sanday, Dtg, Kuy sanda.¹³
- 3b. *nanday genitive marker for plural personal names. Akl, Kin, Pan, Dsp, Alc-Lok, Blk, Snt, Sem nanday, Dtg, Kuy nanda, Kuy qanda.
- 3c. *kanday dative marker for plural personal names. Akl, Kin, Pan, Dsp, Alc-Lok, Blk, Snt, Sem kanday, Dtg kananda, Kuy kanda.
4. *(d(a)yá 'this' (topic deictic denoting position closest to speaker). Lok, Blk, Snt, Dtg, Sem, Kuy, Kin dya, Pan, Sem diyá, Akl da :ya, Kuy daya.
5. *dan 'that' (topic deictic denoting position close to addressee). Kin, Pan, Dsp, Blk, Dtg, Snt, Sem, Kuy dan; Akl danáq, danhaq.¹⁴
6. *datú 'that' (topic deictic denoting position most remote from speaker and addressee). Akl, Dsp, Snt, Sem, Kuy datú, Kin qatú.¹⁵
7. *qimáw 'thus, like' (particle used in direct comparisons). Akl, Pan, Dsp, Lok, Blk, Snt, Sem, Dtg qimáw.¹⁶
Note Akl, Pan, Dsp, Lok qimáw 'he/she' (topic pronoun), see no. 36.
8. *ren 'now, already' (completive particle, equivalent to Tag na). Akl ḡun, Kin, Pan, Sem, Kuy ren, Dsp, Lok-Alc, Blk, Dtg, Snt run.
9. *qit particle occurring as phrase marker after negatives *waraq 'do not have' and *beken 'is not so', also used as indefinite marker (like English 'a' as opposed to 'the') for genitive constructions, indefinite agents of passive verbs, and objects of actions. Akl, Pan, Dsp, Lok, Blk qit, Kin ti, Kuy qiq.¹⁷
10. *qisará 'one'. Akl qisayá, Pan, Kin, Blk, Dtg, Sem, Kuy qisará.¹⁸
11. *darwa 'two'. Akl daywa, daywa; Alc dalwa, Kin, Pan, Dsp, Lok, Blk, Dtg, Snt, Sem, Kuy darwa.¹⁸
12. *sabén 'maybe, perhaps' (enclitic). Akl, Dsp, Lok, Snt sabún, Pan, Kin, Sem, Kuy sabén.¹⁹

5.2 *Innovations in vocabulary.* There are difficulties involved in calling a particular lexical item an innovation, particularly because it is not easy to make a complete survey of all genetically related

languages. However, after a thorough survey of 36 Bis dialects and an additional 40 Philippine speech types (most of which are found surrounding the Bis group), I have concluded that a number of forms within the basic vocabulary of WBs dialects lack an exactly corresponding, homosemantic equivalent in any other Philippine language, except a few cases in bordering Bis dialects (viz., Rom, Cap, Hil) or the Hanunóo (Mangyan) language, where the form can be shown to have been borrowed from the WBs group. The following are offered as putative WBs innovations. They must be considered only as putative because even a unique case may be a retention rather than an innovation. In particular, this list should be viewed as a whole, such that if a dialect were scored against this list, and were found to share, say, 14 of the 22 items, that dialect could reasonably be proposed to be another member of the WBs group (see Section 8).

13. *bahél 'big, large'. Akl bahúy, Dsp, Lok, Blk bahúl, Pan, Kin bahél, Dtg baqúl, Sem baqél, Kuy bael. Rom bahúy, but other Bis *dakúq, *dakuláq.
14. *ra:haq 'to cook'. Akl ya:haq, Pan, Kin, Blk ra:haq, Kuy raaq. Other Bis, CPH *lu:tuq.
15. *hiléng 'drunk (intoxicated)'. Akl, Blk hilúng, Pan, Sem hiléng.
16. *qagíq 'effeminate'. Akl, Pan, Kin, Blk, Sem qagíq. Hil qagíq, but other Bis *bayu:t(in), *bantut, or Tag baklaq.
17. *quyahén 'face'. Akl, Blk, Dsp, [Han] quyahún, Pan quyahén, Kuy quyén, Kin punyahén.²⁰ Rom quyahún, but other Bis *bayhu(n,q).
18. *rayéq 'far'. Pan, Kin, Sem, Kuy rayéq.²¹
19. *dahíq 'forehead'.²² Akl, Dsp, Lok, Pan, Kin dahíq, Sem daqíq, Kuy daiq. Other Bis *qagtang, *rupa, *tuktuk.
20. *kadlaw 'to laugh'. Pan, Kin, Blk, Sem, Dtg, Kuy kadlaw. Some Hil dialects kadlaw; otherwise Bis, CPH *(ka)ta:wa.
21. *hinggaq 'to lie down'. Pan, Blk hinggaq, Sem, Kuy qinggaq. Other Bis *higdaq, Hanunóo qigyaq.
22. *la:beg 'long' (obj). Kin, Sem la:beg, Kuy labeg, Blk, Dtg la:bug. Other Bis *ma-ha:baq, *halabáq.
23. *bu:hay 'long' (time). Akl, Pan, Kin, Dsp, Blk bu:hay, Sem bu:qay, Dtg buwáy, Kuy buay. Other Bis *du:gay. Note Tag, Bik bu:hay 'to live'.
24. *rakéq 'many'. Pan, Kin, Sem, Kuy rakéq. Note CBs *rakéq 'big'.

25. *malqam 'old' (person). Pan, Kin, Blk, [Han] malqam, Sem, Kuy malám, Dtg ma:lám.
26. *hi:pes 'quiet, silent'. Kin, Pan hi:pes, Akl, Dsp, Blk, [Hil; Han] hi:pus, Sem, Kuy qipes. Note CBs *hi:pes 'to put away, store'.
27. *li:meg 'say; voice'. Kin, Pan li:meg, Akl, [Han] li:mug, Kuy limeg.
28. *bu:sul 'seed' (fruit). Akl bu:suy, Pan, Blk, Sem bu:sul. Odg bu:suy, but other Bis *li:su. Note Hanunóo bu:sul 'pith or center of plants'.
29. *manabáq 'short' (not tall). Akl, Pan, Kin, Sem, Blk manabáq. See other Bis *manubúq, *-mubúq.
30. *tagqed 'short' (not long). Pan, Kin tagqed, Akl, Dsp, Blk tagqud, Sem, Kuy taged. Rom tagqud.
31. *liba:yen 'sibling'. Kin, Pan liba:yen, Kuy libayen, Blk libayún, Dtg liba:yun.
32. *da:mel 'thick'. Pan, Kin, Sem da:mel, Kuy damel, Akl, Dsp, Blk, Dtg, [Han] da:mul. Odg ra:muy, but see other Bis *dakmel.
33. *dage:qeb 'thunder'. Kin, Pan dage:qeb, Kuy dageb. Akl dagu:qub 'to rumble'. Some Hil dialects dagu:qub, but Bis *dalegdeg.
34. *pariba:naw 'to wash up'. Kin, Pan, Sem pariba:naw, Kuy paribanaw, Akl paliba:naw. Note Hanunóo mama:naw.

6. SUBGROUPING WITHIN WESTERN BISAYAN. The lexicostatistical comparison and the comparison of functors agree in delimiting a WBs subgroup in that the WBs dialects were closer to one another than to other Bis dialects. In the preceding section 12 innovations among functors and 22 innovations among contentives were found that presumably originated within this WBs subgroup.

There was even evidence from the scores of the functor comparison for constructing subgroups within WBs (see Section 4, and Figures 1 and 2). Table 5 gives a tabulation of sixteen additional items (numbers 35–50), the distribution of which supports such subgrouping within WBs. Forms marked with an asterisk are retentions, either from early WBs, e.g., *ta:na 'he/she', or from Proto-Bis or Proto-CPH, e.g., *qinyu 'yours', *sanqu 'when?' (future), *kuntaq 'hopefully', etc. In the first example (35), both *qindu and *qinyu 'yours' are inherited from CPH. It is the distribution of *qindu that is noteworthy, in that it is found in the Kuyo group, then in Rom-Odg, and finally in the Naga, Legaspi,

TABLE 5: Innovations within the WBs subgroup

Gloss	Aklanon	Kinaray-a	Kuyonon	Bik/North-Central
35 'yours' (pl)	*qinyu	*qinyu + Pan	*qindu + Sem, Snt [+ Rom, Odg]	*qinyu + Snt, Dsp, Lok, Dtg, Alc
36 'he/she'	qimáw + Dsp, Pan, Lok	*ta:na + Pan	*tana + Sem, Snt, Dtg	*ta:na + Alc
37 'here' (nearest)	qiyá	regya + Pan	digi + Sem, Snt, Dtg	dugi, dudi (Dsp qudya, Lok qudi) datú + Dtg
38 'there' (yonder)	*qidtu*	regtu + Pan	dutú + Sem, Snt	(Dsp qugtu, Lok qitu)
39 'to go'	Oas qidtu	qagtu + Pan	pakún	qayán + Dsp, Lok, Dtg, Snt, Sem
40 'topic mkr.'	*qadtu	*qang + Pan	*ang + Sem, Snt, Dtg	*qang + Dsp, Alc-Lok
41 'def. genitive mkr.'	ru ~ du	+ Pan, Snt, Sem	qiqang	tang + Lok
42 'do what?'	ku	*kang Snt, Sem	qiqang	tang + Lok
43 'do what?'	*qanu	*qanu + Pan	*qiwan + Sem, Dtg [+ Bik]	*qi:wan + Dsp, Lok, Pan [Kuy]
44 'why?'	hamqan	manhaw + Pan	qayamu	ba:siqu + Dsp, Lok, Dtg, Snt, Sem [+ Rom]
45 'when?' (fut)	hinqunu	*sanqu + Pan [Bik]	qinurú + Snt	*sanqu + Dsp, Lok, Sem [Kin]
46 'later on'	hindu:naq	*karqun + Pan [Bik]	lagatlagát + Sem, Bik + Sem, Snt,	*karqun + Dsp, Lok, Dtg, Sem [Kin]
47 'tomorrow'	hinqa:ga	saremqa	qarumán Dtg	qina:ga + Pan, Dsp, Lok†
48 'today'	makarún	kadya + Pan, Dsp, Lok	dadí + Dtg	ngadya + Sem
49 'hopefully'	*kuntaq	*daqád + Pan [Bik]	(n)andan + Snt, Dtg	*daqád + Sem [Kin]
50 'don't know'	taqú	(l)ambaiq + Pan	+ Sem, Snt, Dtg + Sem, Snt, Dtg [+ Bik]	*qilám + Dsp, Lok [Kuy]
51 'none'	quwáq + Dsp, Lok	*waráq + Pan	qáraq + Sem, Snt, Dtg	*waráq + Lok

*In Masbateño, Butuanon, Kamayo, and Kalagan qidtu is the remote pronominal deictic, but it does not function as a locative, as it does in Aklanon and in Oas (Bikol). Nevertheless, the form must be a retention from at least Proto-CPH.

† North-Central *qina:ga cannot be the same as Akl hinqa:ga. The latter has the Akl hin- future prefix (cf. hinqunú 'when (fut)?', hindu:naq 'later on'), while the former has an in- infix. Furthermore, none of the North-Central dialects loses either *h or *q in initial or intervocalic position, so that a *hinqa:ga would not reduce to [qina:ga].

and Virac dialects of Bikol. In each case, Zorc and McFarland have found these to be distinguishable subgroups, not of or with each other, but within their own groups, viz., Kuyan (in WBs), Romblon (within CBs), and Coastal Bikol (with Bik).

In all of the other fifteen cases, at least one innovation is found in at least one of the WBs lower-order subgroups posited. Akl reflects 11 innovations, only two of which are found in any of the other dialects, qimaw 'he/she' (also in Pan, Dsp, Lok) and quwáq 'none' (also in Dsp, Lok). The nine remaining exclusive features are both innovations and isoglosses making Aklanon a clearly marked dialect of the WBs group, relatively isolated from all the other dialects. The mutual intelligibility noted with Dsp and Lok has been maintained because of frequent and ongoing contacts by sea, which may account for the spread of the highly qualitative innovations (qimaw 'he/she' and quwáq 'none'), while intelligibility with Pan has been kept as the result of contacts by road and by virtue of the fact that the two dialects border on each other (Pan also has qimaw 'he/she').

Kuyonon has 11 innovations. However, only three are unique to Kuy, since six are shared with Snt, and five are shared with Dtg and Sem respectively, albeit in different distributions. A further shared innovation is the falling together of PBs *h, *q, and *ʔ in just these four WBs dialects.²³ Cf. *ka:huy 'tree, wood'. Kuy kauy, Sem-Snt ka:quy, Dtg ka:wuy. Note examples 13 *bahél, 17 *quyahén, 19 *dahíq, 21 *hinggaq. 23 *bu:hay, and 26 *hi:pes. Thus, while Kuy is also at one of the extremes in WBs, geographically, politically, and linguistically, there are nevertheless criteria by which it can be grouped with Semirara, Santa Teresa, and Datagnon. I call this subgroup Kuyan.

Kinaray-a has 7 innovations, 6 of which are shared by Pandan.²⁴ The location of Pandan at the northern end of Antique province, and the coordinate number of shared innovations in this case, clearly puts Pan and Kin in a subgroup, which I call Kinarayan.

Bulalakaw represents the linguistic center of what will here be called the North-Central group of WBs. In this group, Blk reflects seven North-Central innovations, four of which are shared with Lok and three with Dsp. Note that Dtg and Sem each share three North-Central innovations, and that Pan shows one. This group is thus intermediate between Kinarayan and Kuyan. The overlap is apparent since only one form is unique to Blk (37, the formation of the proximate deictic du-gí and du-dí), and two each to Dsp and Lok (see 37 and 38). Al-

though this subgroup is the most diverse geographically, it is the most close-knit linguistically. This fact is attested to by the consistently high scores on the lexical and morphological lists, the graded dispersal of shared innovations, and the prevailing mutual intelligibility.

7. WESTERN BISAYAN AND THE BISAYAN GROUP AS A WHOLE. There is only a small number of proposed innovations upon which one can construct WBs as a subgroup of Bis. This paucity of putative innovations is an inevitable result of the overall unity of the Bis group as a whole. Two statistical examples may serve to illustrate this. In the lexicostatistical comparison using the 100-meaning list, the lowest percentage of a Bis dialect with any co-member is 63% (Kin-Ceb). (See Table 2; note that Tsg, Tag, and Nag are not Bis dialects.) This means that all Bis dialects share at least 63% or more of basic vocabulary in the Swadesh list used. This does not mean that all Bis dialects share the same 63% of basic vocabulary. Only 45 cognate sets are represented in all of the 13 Bis dialects in Table 2.

As one compares more and more dialects, the percentage of universally shared cognate sets can be expected to become lower, while the number of not universally shared forms (forms of limited distribution, innovations, and uniques) will get higher and higher. As the number of dialects compared grows, the number of unique forms should also grow. For example, given a list of 100 meanings, if two dialects have 80 cognate forms, they will have a total of 40 (20 + 20) noncognate forms. If we add a third and a fourth dialect to the comparison, the number of forms that are cognate in all dialects can be expected to drop, while the number of noncognate forms (uniques) will soon outnumber the cognate sets. When I computed the 100 meanings of the Swadesh list for all 36 Bis dialects on which I had data, the number of cognate sets dropped to 38 (from the 45 obtained by a comparison of 15 dialects), but the same 100 meanings yielded a total of 287 etyma and uniques within the Bis community. Statistically, one might expect a higher figure in a comparison of so many speech varieties, but it is precisely because the Bis group is so closely knit that the figure is low.

To give a more precise breakdown of the figures, it was 38 meanings that yielded just 38 forms (i.e., one cognate set each); then 15 meanings yielded 30 forms (two cognate sets each); 15 meanings, 45 forms (three each); 15 meanings, 60 forms (four each); and the remaining 17 meanings yielded 114 forms (five or more cognate sets each). (See

Appendix 1.) Of this total of 287 forms, relatively few are innovations, since the etyma can be traced to an earlier protolanguage. There may have been a “slide” in meaning, e.g., *pa:qa ‘thigh’ → ‘foot’, *bitu:ka or *tina:qi ‘intestines’ → ‘belly’. Some forms have been in competition, e.g., *lepád and *la:yug ‘to fly’. Those forms that appear to be innovations often define a smaller subgroup, e.g., *bunáy ‘egg’, *tamsi ‘bird’, *buság ‘white’ (Warayan), *bu:sung ‘belly’, *qikíq ‘small’, *ma:qan ‘to know (fact/how)’, *tugruq ‘to give’ (Kinarayan). Some forms that may be thought to be innovations eventually turn up elsewhere, e.g., WBs *mayád ‘good’ (also in Sorsogon, Gubat, and Virac), Kin butáq ‘full’ (Pandan-Bikol bu:ta ‘full’), and so on.

Thus, there is not a very large corpus of functors open to innovation because of the rather limited number of such functors and other forms of high frequency, nor are there many innovations in lexicon because of the relative unity of the Bis community as a whole, leading to the rapid spread of lexical items throughout the region and beyond. Innovations must then be weighed for quality rather than quantity, and care must be taken to note and account for counterevidence.

8. QUALITY AND USE OF THE INNOVATIONS PRESENTED. In Section five, a total of 34 innovations were posited for WBs. Of these, 12 were functors, and 22 were contentives. It should be possible to use the list as a means of determining if a speech variety is West Bisayan or not. It is the overall percentage of agreement with putative innovations of a posited subgroup that establishes a speech variety as a member of that group. No dialect within a group can be expected to have retained all of the innovations of the subgroup, but the percentage of agreement should be significantly high. That is, there should be a large and significant gap between the lowest percentage of agreement of a true member-dialect and the highest percentage of agreement of a nonmember dialect (which may have borrowed the forms).

Since functors furnish the most qualitative evidence of group membership, they are the logical starting point for a comparison. Although none of the WBs dialects has all twelve innovations (see Section 5.1), none has less than nine. Akl, Dsp, Pan, Sem, and Snt have eleven; Blk, Kin, and Kuy have ten; and Dtg has nine. No other Bis dialect has more than two. Cap, Odg, and Rom each have just two, Hil has one, Hanunóo has only one clear case of a homosemantic form, and all other Philippine languages known have none. (See notes 16 through 18 for

qualifications.) Since Cap, Hil, Odg, Rom, and Han border on WBs dialects, it can reasonably be proposed that the forms found have been borrowed, or that they are possibly areal developments within the western Visayas.

If the list is expanded to include the 22 putative lexical innovations, the percentages of agreement among the major WBs and CBs dialects can be computed. (See Table 6.) The gap between the lowest percentage of agreement among WBs dialects and the highest percentage of agreement among non-WBs dialects is indeed significant.

TABLE 6: Agreement of various Philippine speech varieties with the 34 innovations posited for WBs

Dialect(s)	Cognate Forms N out of [34]	Percentage with *WBs
Pandan	32 / 34	94.1%
Kinaray-a	29 / 34	85.3%
Kuyonon, Semirara	28 / 34	82.3%
Bulalakawnon	26 / 33	78.8%
Aklanon	25 / 34	73.5%
Datagnon	16 / 32	50.0%
Hanunóo (Mangyan)	9 / 34	26.5%
Romblomanon	7 / 34	20.6%
Capiznon	6 / 34	17.6%
Hiligaynon	5 / 34	14.7%
Odionganon	4 / 34	11.8%
Masbateño, Waray, Cebuano, and all other Bis dialects and Philippine languages	0 / 34	0.0%

This kind of comparison of putative innovations can be of service in determining the degree of relationship of dialects in a known dialect chain, such as Bisayan or Bikol. For example, Hiligaynon and Kinaray-a are both found on Panay. Both have long been known to be Bisayan. Because of the prestige of Hil, Kin has been presumed to be a dialect of Hil. Recently, Llamzon (1973) proposed that the converse was true, that is, that Hil is perhaps a dialect of Kin. However, each

belongs to a different Bis subgroup (Kin-WBs, Hil-CBs); neither is a dialect of the other.

This latter point can be demonstrated. Having made a qualitative investigation of probable WBs innovations, one can now rate Hil against a list of forms in Kinaray-a, Masbateño, and Waray (or other Bis dialects) to see where it best fits in. As Table 6 has shown how low Hil rates when compared with the whole list of WBs innovations, Table 7 indicates how high Hil rates with CBs dialects as against Kin: a list of 20 of

TABLE 7: Some WBs innovations compared with CBs forms/innovations

Gloss	West Bis.	Kinaray-a	Hiligaynon	Masbate	Waray	Cent. Bis.
he/she	*ta:na	ta:na	siya	siya	hiya	*Siya
they	*sanda	sanda	sila	sinda	hi:ra	*Sira
his/her	*qa:na	qa:na	qi:ya	qi:ya	qi:ya	*qi:ya
their	*qanda	qanda	qi:la	qinda	qi:ra	*qi:ra
here	*di-ya	regya	diri	didi	didi	*di-di
there-near	*di-yan	regyan	diraq	didaq	didaq	*di-daq
there-yonder	*d()-tu	regtu	didtu	didtu	didtu	*di-dtu
this	*d(a)ya	dya	qini	qini	qini	*qi-ni
that	*dan	dan	qinaq	qinaq	qitun	*qi-naq
that	*datu	qatu	qatu	qidtu	qadtu	*q(ia)dtu
indefinite genitive	*qit	ti	sing	sin	hin	*SiN
definite genitive	*kang	kang	sang	san	han	*SaN
plural name mkr.-topic	*sanday	sanday	si:la	sinda	hi:ra	*Si:ra
mkr.-genitive	*nanday	nanday	ni:la	ninda	ni:ra	*ni:ra
mkr.-dative	*kanday	kanday	kanda	kanda	kanda	*kanda
one	*qisara	qisara	qisa	qusad	qusa	*qesa
two	*darwa	darwa	duha	duha	duha	*duha
completive	*ren	ren	na	na	na	*na
maybe	*saben	saben	tinga:li	tinga:li	tinga:li	*tinga:li
don't know	*qilam	lambaiq	qambut	qambut	qambut	*qambut

If we score these twenty items demanding absolute agreement with the form established for each subgroup, we get the following tabulation:

Kin					
15	WBs				
1	0	Hil			
0	0	14	Mas		
0	0	17	13	War	
0	0	18	15	19	CBs

the innovations posited for WBs is compared to homosemantic morphemes in Central Bisayan. The forms for Kin and Hil are put side by side; the two dialects share only 1 of the 20 items (qatú). The Capiznon dialect of Hil shares 4 of the 20 forms (qatú, sanday, nanday, and kanday)—but the number is still too low to indicate subgroup membership. The tabulation given at the bottom of the table clearly underscores the fact that Kin and Hil belong to two different subgroups of Bis, and share no especially close genetic tie beyond the probable parent language of both WBs and CBs, namely, Proto-Bisayan. Hence, Kin and Hil each score much higher with their respective subgroup dialects than with each other on both a lexicostatistical comparison (Kin-Blk 87%, Hil-Mas 86%, Kin-Hil 79%, see Table 2), and on a comparison of 100 basic functors (Kin-Blk 81%, Hil-Mas 82%, Kin-Hil 75%, see Table 4), and consequently they score very low when compared on the basis of lists of innovations within WBs or CBs. A sharp difference between the two becomes clear.

9. CONCLUSIONS. This study has dealt with the interrelations of several well-known Philippine dialects (Kuyonon, Kinaray-a, Aklanon, and Datagnon), and of a number of heretofore unknown speech types (Bulalakawnon, Semirara, Dispolholnon, etc.). It follows a three-step methodology (lexicostatistical subgrouping, subgrouping by agreement among functors, and subgrouping according to shared innovations) which leads to a better picture of the interrelationships of Bisayan dialects. Each method indicated an alignment of the WBs dialects that was parallel in most particulars. Aklanon, Kinaray-a, and Kuyonon were the extremes of the community; the remaining dialects were very close, but tended to group variously with the three most distant dialects, forming an unbroken chain.

Although the innovations discussed in this paper are not numerous, the probability that they are common innovations of or within WBs is very high. We can conclude that WBs is a well-marked subgroup of Bis, and that WBs is further divided into four groups: Aklan, Kuyan, Kinarayan, and North-Central. Because of the differences that WBs shows as a group from other Bis dialects, we must conclude that there had to be a period of separation from other Bis dialects during which the WBs dialects were relatively united.

The innovations presented, if taken as a single list for comparative purposes, have value in determining whether another speech variety is a

Western subgroup of Bisayan

likely member of the subgroup. Such a comparison indicates that Kinaray-a and Hiligaynon, while both located on Panay, are not to be considered as members of the same lower-order Bisayan subgroup.

We have seen here that dialects which are very close linguistically may be separated by many miles of sea, as is the case of the North-Central WBs dialects, or of Tausug and Butuanon implied in Tables 2 and 4, while linguistically distant dialects may be separated by only a few miles of land or even be adjacent (as are Akl-Kin, Akl-Cap, and Kin-Hil).

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

Appendix 1: The Swadesh 100-meaning list (adapted to Bis)

An asterisk before a form indicates that it has been revised from the original Swadesh list, or that a particular meaning more suitable to the Philippine languages has been selected. The number following the meaning indicates the number of cognate sets discovered in this survey of 36 different Bisayan speech types.

all — 1	feather — 2	man/male — 3	sleep — 1
ashes — 2	*fingernail — 3	many — 9	*small — 8
belly — 4	fire — 1	meat — 4	smoke — 1
big — 5	fish (n) — 1	moon — 1	stand — 1
bird — 5	fly (v) — 2	mountain — 2	star — 1
bite — 6	foot — 4	mouth — 3	stone — 1
black — 2	full — 2	name — 1	sun — 3
blood — 1	give — 3	neck — 1	swim — 3
*body — 1	*good at — 4	new — 1	tail — 1
bone — 3	*green — 1	night — 2	*this — 8
breast — 5	hair — 1	nose — 1	*that — 9
burn — 4	hand — 4	*not — 2	thou — 1
*cloud — 4	head — 1	*one — 4	tongue — 1
cold — 7	hear — 2	person — 1	tooth — 5
*come — 1	heart — 3	rain — 1	tree/wood — 1
die — 2	horn — 1	red — 2	two — 3
dog — 3	I — 1	road/trail — 3	*walk — 4
drink — 1	kill — 1	root — 1	warm/hot — 4
dry — 3	knee — 1	round — 10	water — 1
ear — 2	*know fact — 6	sand — 3	we (excl) — 1
earth — 5	leaf — 1	say/said — 10	what? — 6
eat — 1	lie down — 5	see — 5	white — 2
egg — 2	liver — 1	*seed — 3	who? — 4
eye — 1	long — 4	sit — 4	woman — 3
fat (n) — 2	louse — 1	skin — 4	*yellow — 4

'body' replaces 'bark' Bis *la:was

'cloud' = 'raincloud' Ceb dagqem, Tag qu:lap

'come' = 'to arrive' Bis *qabut

'fingernail' replaces 'claw' Bis *kukuh

'good' = 'good at doing, doing something well' Ceb maqa:yu, Tag mabu:ti

'green' = 'unripe' as an unripe (green) banana Bis *hilaw

'know' = 'to know (as a fact)', not 'to know a person' or 'know how'

'not' = future verbal negative, 'will not'

'one' = as a counter in a series, not a modifier

- 'seed' = 'rice seed' Bis, Tag binhiq
'small' = 'small (amount)', not 'small (in size, height, etc.)'
'this' = nominative deictic showing position closest to speaker
'that' = nominative deictic showing position most remote from speaker
'walk' = 'to walk on two legs', as in "Can the baby walk yet?"
'yellow' = the discoloration of white due to age, as teeth, eyes, cloth

Appendix 2: Composition of the 100-item functor list

- 001 PRONOUN, first person singular. *aku
002 " second person singular. *ikaw
003 " third person singular. *siya
004 " first person plural exclusive. *kami
005 " first person inclusive dual. *kita
006 " first person inclusive plural. *kita+(n)yu
007 " second person plural. *kamu
008 " third person plural. *sira
009 GENITIVE PRONOUN, first person singular. *a:ken
010 second person singular. *i:mu
011 third person singular. *i:ya
012 first person plural exclusive.
*a:men
013 first person inclusive dual. *a:ten,
*i:ta
014 first person inclusive plural. *a:ten
015 second person plural. *i:yu,
*inyu
016 third person plural. *i:ra
017 FORMATIVE element for dative pronoun set. *kan-, *sa-
018 DEICTIC, nearest speaker. *di
019 near speaker and addressee. *-ni
020 near addressee. *-an, *-naq
021 yonder, remote, *-tu, *-dtu
022 LOCATIVE, nearest speaker. *di-di
023 near speaker and addressee. *di-h()-ni
024 near addressee. *di-(y,h)an, *di-h()-naq
025 yonder, remote. *di-d()-tu

- 026 DEICTIC VERB, 'come here (nearest speaker)'. *ka-di,
*ka-(h)ni
- 027 'go (away from speaker)'. *ka-(d)tu,
*qa-(d)tu
- 028 NEGATIVE, predicative. *beken
- 029 possessive. *waraq
- 030 past (verbal). *waraq
- 031 future (verbal). *di:riq, *()indiq
- 032 prohibitive. *qayaw
- 033 MARKER, general topic. *aN
- 034 indefinite object/genitive marker. *siN, *niN
- 035 definite object/genitive marker. *saN, *naN,
*kaN
- 036 existential *may 'there is'
- 037 locative *sa
- 038 personal name, nominative singular. *si
- 039 personal name, genitive singular. *ni
- 040 personal name, dative singular. *kaN, *kay
- 041 The case required for the possessor in possessive
statements, whether nominative or genitive.
*may balay [sira, kani:ra].
- 042 DISCOURSE PARTICLE, inception/completion of action.
*na
- 043 progression/incompletion of action
*pa
- 044 priority of one action over another.
*qa:nay
- 045 excuse. *qa:bi(q)
- 046 ignorance. *qinday, *qambut,
*qilam
- 047 CONJUNCTION, 'and' at phrase or clause level. *kag
- 048 'if, when(ever)'. *kuN
- 049 'because' at clause level. *kay
- 050 INTERROGATIVE: 'what?' *qanu, *qu:nu
- 051 'who?' *sinqu
- 052 'whose?' *kaninqu, *kay-sinqu
- 053 'when? (in the future)' *sa-q(u,a)nu
- 054 'when? (in the past)' *ka-q(u,a)nu
- 055 'where, whence? (past)' *diqin

- 056 'where, whither? (future)' *kaqin
 057 'why?'
 058 'how many?' *pira
 059 'how much?' *tag-pi:ra, *tig-pira
 060 'how? (of degree)' as in "How far?"
 *pa-q()nu
 061 NUMBERS: 'one' *qisa, *qesa, *qisa-ra
 062 'two' *duha, *duwa, *darwa
 063 'three' *telu, *tatlu
 064 'four' *qepat, *q(ae)qpat
 065 'six' *qenem, *q(ae)qnem
 066 'ten' *sa-Na-pu:luq
 067 PREPOSITIONAL ELEMENT: 'above' *qiba:baw,
 *qitaqas
 068 'below' *qida:lem,
 *qibabaq
 069 'across' *luyu, *pihak,
 *pi:kas
 070 'left' *wala
 071 'right' *tuqu
 072 'within' *seled
 073 TEMPORALS: 'night(time)' *gabiøi
 074 'day(time)' *qaldaw
 075 'year' *tu:qig, *dagqun
 076 'today'
 077 'tomorrow'
 078 'yesterday' *ka-ha:pun
 079 'later on (today), in a little while'
 080 'earlier (today), a while ago' *ka-qi:na
 081 'morning' *qa:gah
 082 'afternoon' *ha:pun
 083 VERB-FOCUS AFFIXES: active intransitive progressive
 *na:-, *CumV-
 084 active intransitive future *ma:-,
 *CV-
 085 active transitive progressive
 *naga-
 086 active transitive past *nag-
 087 active transitive future *maga-

088	active transitive perfective *naka-
089	direct passive progressive *gina-, *CinV-
090	direct passive past *gin-, *qin-, *-in-
091	direct passive imperative *-a
092	direct passive negative imperative *pag—a
093	instrumental passive future *(h)iga- *(h)iCV-
094	instrumental passive imperative *-an(→)
095	instrumental passive potential *(h)ika-, *ma(h)i-
096	instrumental passive perfective *kina-, *na(h)i-
097	local passive imperative *-i
098	local passive negative imperative *pag—i

-
- 099 SOUND SHIFT, *-r- is different from *-l-, or fell together?
100 SOUND FEATURE, *-d- is realized as -d-, or -r-?

Notes

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² For example, see Constantino (1971), Dyen (1953), Llamzon (1969), Verstraelen (1961 and 1962).

³ See Carroll (1960), Chrétien (1962), Conant (1911 and 1912), Dyen (1965), Llamzon (1973), Pittman et al. (1953), or Thomas and Healey (1962). Also consult the index in Ward (1971) for references on Aklan, Bisayan, Cebuano, Hiligaynon,

Ilongo, Kiniray-a, Kuyonon, major languages, Ratagnon, Samar-Leyte, Sulod, and Waray-Waray.

⁴ The subgrouping of the Bisayan dialects arrived at in my dissertation is as follows:

1. WEST BISAYAN.
 - 1.1. KUYAN: Kuyonon, Semirara, Santa Teresa, Datagnon.
 - 1.2. NORTH-CENTRAL: Bulalakawnon, Dispohtonon, Looknon, Alcantaranon.
 - 1.3. KINARAYAN: Kinaray-a (= Hinaray-a, Sulód, Antiqueño), Pandan.
 - 1.4. AKLAN: Aklanon.
2. BANTON GROUP: Odionganon, Sibalenhon, Bantuqanon. (This group is intermediate between WBs (Dsp) and CBs (Rombloanon).)
3. CENTRAL BISAYAN
 - 3.1. ROMBLON: Rombloanon, Sibuyanon.
 - 3.2. PERIPHERAL: Capiznon, Hiligaynon, Masbateño, Sorsogon (with linkage into Bikol chain through Daraga dialect).
 - 3.3. WARAYAN: Gubat = Southern Sorsogon, Northern Samareño, Samar-Leyte, Southern Samar = Waray-Waray.
4. CEBUANO GROUP: Cebuano, Boholano, Leyteño. (This group is intermediate between CBs (Porohanon/Samar-Leyte) and SBs (Jaun-Jaun).)
5. SOUTH BISAYAN
 - 5.1. SURIGAO: Surigaonon, Jaun-Jaun, Naturalis (with possible links through Kamayo dialects to Mansakan language group).
 - 5.2. BUTUAN: Butuanon. (This is the closest link with Tausug.)

⁵ Joe E. Pierce (1952) also describes a method of quantification of the degrees of mutual intelligibility which is not essentially different, but perhaps more objective. In brief, by his method each sentence of a taped text is broken up into semantic units (such as "I — go — forest. I — lost. kill — I — animal. eat — it. find — trail. return — home.") and then each informant is graded according to his translation of the text on the basis of each unit. In my case, I played an entire taped text (usually of autobiographical material) and then asked questions about what was said and understood. I rated the informants, and, hence, the degree of intelligibility between dialect pairs, according to a five-point scale: speech type is understood (1) with ease, (2) with some difficulty, (3) with great difficulty, (4) here and there, (5) not at all. I considered two dialects mutually intelligible if they rated (1) or (2).

⁶ These judgments were made on the basis of the method described in note 5. Jerry Eck (1970) describes the results of SIL language testing on Masbate. According to his results, Masbate and Sorsogon are 65.2% mutually intelligible (slightly below the SIL minimum requirement). Masbate and Capiznon are nearly intelligible (59.3%), but Masbate and Cebuano are clearly not intelligible (39.3%).

⁷ McFarland's method of counting morphemic differentiae is considerably different from mine. My scores are computed on the basis of a form-by-form plus or minus count and give the percentages of cognate material, whereas McFarland's scores are computed on the overall number of differences within a paradigm; that is,

once counted, a difference is never counted again, no matter how often it may recur in other forms in the paradigm. Thus, there is only one differentia between Ceb qa:kuq 'my', qa:muq 'ours (excl)', qa:tuq 'ours (incl)' and Akl qa:kun, qa:mun, qa:tun (-q vs. -n), not three. His scores indicate the total number of differences counted between dialect pairs, such that the lower the number, the closer the relationship. By measuring the total number and quality of differences one can tell the degree of split between two speech varieties. The paradigms compared (pronouns, deictics, locatives, temporals, negatives, verb affixes, etc.) are the same both in my method and that of McFarland. See Appendix 2.

⁸ I do not have enough data available for Snt to compute the Swadesh 100 scores in a reliable way. However, I did obtain enough relevant grammatical information to compute the scores for my functor list. The highest score of Snt was 90% with Semirara and next was 87% with Datagnon, yet Snt and Dtg neighbor one another, but Sem is located across the Mindoro Strait. The treatment of intervocalic Bis *-h- tends to support subgrouping Snt more closely to Sem than to Dtg: Sem, Snt ka:quy, Dtg ka:wuy 'tree' < Bis *ka:huy.

⁹ Although the development of the forms may have been based on a similar analogy, WBs *sanda is different in shape from Bik *sinda.

¹⁰ Datagnon and Kuyonon do not have a set of enclitic pronouns corresponding to the *na:ken, *ni:mu, *na:ten (etc.) set of the other WBs dialects. They do have an incomplete monosyllabic set representing forms in the other WBs dialects: *ku 'my', *mu 'thy', *na 'his/her', *ta 'ours (incl)'.

¹¹ The analogy for this pronominal can be traced, since a full set of pronouns is found in Kin and Akl based on the oblique marker *qit and the genitive pronoun base.

Kinaray-a	Aklanon	
ta:ken	(qi)tqa:kun	'I'
ti:mu	(qi)tqi:mu	'thou'
ta:na	(qi)tqa:na	'he/she'
ta:men	(qi)tqa:mun	'we (excl)'
ta:ten	(qi)tqa:tun	'we (incl)'
tinyu	(qi)tqinyu	'ye'
tanda	(qi) tqanda	'they'

A number of morphophonemic changes have occurred in Akl so that this set is often used with enclitic particles, such as γun 'now' + (qi)tqa:kun 'I' → Akl $\gamma utqa:kun$, as in *ma-pa:naw* $\gamma utqa:kun$ 'I'll go now.' The reduction of all glottal clusters in these forms has occurred in Kin. The WBs *ta:na has thus replaced CPH *siyá.

¹² I do not propose that the *na element is an innovation since it almost certainly traces to PAN *ña. However, this *na has become the base form in the innovated pronominals *ta:-na, *qa:-na, and *na:-na discussed here.

¹³ This set has been borrowed into some dialects of Hil (e.g., Cap), where the otherwise normal (and inherited) set is si:la, ni:la, and kánda ~ sa qi:la.

¹⁴ The final element of Akl *da-náq* is probably cognate with Ceb *ka-náq* 'that'. Akl *danáq* may represent the original shape of the WBs form *dan, after apocope

occurred, viz., *dan(áq). However, the more probable etymology is WBs *da-an (*da- deictic formative in WBs and the base *-an), just as *diyán is analyzed as *di-an (*di- locative formative and base *-an). The Akl form would then be a retention (or borrowing) of the Bis *naq base, and is not directly related to the other WBs forms.

¹⁵ Kin qatú may be under influence from or directly borrowed from Hil qatú.

¹⁶ WBs *qimáw is relatable to Bis *qa:mu and *ma:qu (with metathesis) found in the other Bis dialects. However, the *qi- formative and the shape -maw (with loss of glottal) make it unique. The loss of the glottal stop may be explained as the result of its being a phrase-early, unaccented particle. The form qimáw occurs in both Ogd and Rom; it is also found in the Hanunóo expression qáy qímaw ti... 'the one(s) who really is/are...'

¹⁷ The oblique marker qit is also found in Ogd. Since the form is also found in some languages of Palawan (Palawano and Aborlan), and also in Ilokano qití, it may well be a retention from Proto-Philippine. But the wide distribution of *naN/*niN and *saN/*siN oblique markers among all other Bis dialects and CPH languages makes the status of qit in WBs suspect.

¹⁸ This form does not show the -a- found in Tagalog dalawá, or in Iriga (Bikol) darawá. Whether the WBs form is the result of syncope or the Tag and Iri forms reflect epenthesis is not clear. Nonetheless, the WBs dialects are in agreement over against the other CPH languages and dialects. Other Bis groups reflect *duhá (CBs) and *duwá (SBs) respectively. Note that Hanunóo has the numbers qisaraháy 'one' and darawaháy 'two', but they are limited to a children's counting game, and are therefore suspect. The standard Hanunóo numerals are qusá 'one' and duwá 'two'.

¹⁹ This particle has been borrowed into Rom and Cap, where it is in competition with *tinga:li, the form found in most other Bis dialects.

²⁰ Kin punyahén may be the result of a pang- formation (*pang+[q]uyahén), with assimilation (or metathesis) of the a to (or with) u, and subsequent syncope of the vowel between ng__y.

²¹ The *e is unexplained. In the other WBs dialects, where *e and *u fell together, the form is rayúq, as in all other Bis, Bik, and Tag dialects. Since most other Bis dialects have also merged *e and *u, it is difficult to ascertain whether this *e is a WBs innovation or a Bis innovation lost in all other dialects when *e fell together with *u.

²² This reconstruction is reminiscent of Dyen's PAN *Dahey, or the Malay form dahi. Since the reflexes are not right for the agreement of WBs *dahíq with PAN *Dahey or Malay dahi, and since the distribution is total within WBs and not found anywhere else in Bis or CPH dialects, I posit this as a putative WBs innovation.

²³ While the loss of *h may not be a criterion for subgrouping in the case of many Philippine languages, it can be considered along with the other evidence in the case of Kuyan, precisely because it does coincide with other evidence and occurs in no other Bis dialects known.

²⁴ This Pandan is not to be confused with another dialect of the same name in the Bikol region at the northern tip of Catanduanes Island.

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