

## SOME HISTORICAL LINGUISTIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOCIOLINGUISTICS

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0. INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS<sup>1</sup>

Historical linguists can have some pretty strange and varied bedfellows. During the past 16 years of work in the comparative linguistic area, I've needed recourse to such diverse fields as oceanography, botany, entomology, geography, anthropology, and sociology. Forays into distinctly non-Austronesian camps, such as Sanskrit, Chinese, Spanish, and Dutch, have also been necessary, as well as the other 'camps' of theoretical and socio-linguistics. The latter has been particularly helpful and productive, since the way people of different sex, age, and social standing speak profoundly affects the course of language change. Li (1980, 1982a, 1982b), for example, has made Atayalic forms more comparable to Austronesian etyma by unravelling female conservatism from what may be termed 'male speech disguise'.

When it comes to paying long-accumulated debts, most benefactors have to accept simple gratitude. But historical linguists can repay sociolinguists with some insights into determining the exact linguistic situation of multilingual countries and areas like the Philippines, Indonesia, Melanesia, and Oceania. Although I will be discussing the Philippines in particular, what I have to say should apply (certainly *in principle*) to a wide range of language families where the number and the relationships of speech varieties are in dispute. The 100-meaning list presented below is intended to offer a tool for 'fine-tuning' on linguistically discrete communalects\*. It is anticipated that a far larger number of such speech varieties will surface than anyone has previously surmised.

## 1. LANGUAGES, DIALECTS, OR COMMUNALECTS?

In contrast with some popular (non-technical) points of view,<sup>2</sup> a linguist determines a *LANGUAGE* on the basis of mutual intelligibility, whether total (*L-simplex*) or chained (*L-complex*) (see Hockett 1958:327f). Thus, every speech variety is a *DIALECT*, and the combination of all dialects that can communicate directly or indirectly with one another makes up a single *LANGUAGE*. Further refinements have been made, recognising the speech of a single individual as an *IDIOLECT*, and that of a reasonably homogeneous social group as a *COMMUNALECT* (or *ISOLECT* (Hudson 1967)).

In the Philippines alone, there are probably 50 million *idiolects* (based on a 1984 population estimate) broken up into approximately 5000 *communalects* (based on the number of barrios, sitios, or barangays in non-metropolitan areas),

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Paul Geraghty, Lois Carrington and S.A. Wurm, eds *FOCAL I: papers from the Fourth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, 341-355. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-93, 1986.

i.e. where people talk in much the same way. While these numbers are very high (and hence not entirely informative), they are a matter of fact. Anyone who has journeyed from town to town within a purportedly common linguistic area (be it Bikol, Panay, Ilocos, or Mountain Province) can attest to the multiple differences in pronunciation, intonation, vocabulary, and grammar prevailing. The situation is certainly the same in Sabah, Java, Sumatra, and other Austronesian locales. In all fairness to the speakers who so choose to identify themselves on the basis of even minor language variations, linguists and laymen alike should accept the communalelect as the bottom line. We therefore recognise, as do the speakers, a Marinduque vs Batangas Tagalog, an Oas vs Polangui Bikol, a Kalibonhon vs Libakawnon Aklanon, an Ilianen vs Livunganen Manobo, a Tina vs Botolan Sambal, an Amganad vs Kiangnan Ifugao, and so on. Language labels such as 'Bisaya', 'Ifugao', 'Manobo' in this context are uninformative and confusing.<sup>3</sup> Some have been downright wrong, such as 'Sinauna Tagalog' (which is a distinct Southern Luzon language) or 'Datagnon Mangyan' (which is a West Bisayan dialect with no special genetic affiliation to any Mangyan language).

## 2. THE DETERMINATION OF COMMUNALECTS - A TOOL

The precise number of communalects can be determined by a survey of 100 (or even 50) words that in statistical terms have a high probability of replacement, or, conversely, a low probability of retention (see Dyen, James and Cole 1967). Table 1 is derived from principles discussed a decade ago (Zorc 1974) and virtually separates the Philippines into several thousand linguistic communities. For a positive score (+) in this kind of comparison, it is essential that forms be identical in sound, accent, form, and grammar - any difference whatsoever is crucial in establishing a communalelect, and hence should be counted as minus. While historical linguists and lexicostatisticians are concerned with cognates (forms descended from a single ancestral word or etymon), sociolinguists take notice of differences separating speakers.

In scoring this list, for example, Tagalog *laró?* differs from Sinauna *lalú?* *play* (r vs l), and each differs from Alangan *ladó?*, even if all three descend from an etymon \**ladú?*. Tagalog (um) *akyát*, Kapampangan *mukyat*, Aborlan-Tagbanwa *apyat*, and Ivatan *k(um)ayat* *climb* again differ from one another, even though they are ultimately cognate. Phonological differences (Kinaray-a *bédlay* :: Hiligaynon *búdlay* *difficult*; Aklanon *ʔíndi?* :: Tagalog *hindí?* *not*; Romblon *huyát* :: Aklanon *huát* *wait*), accent dissimilarities (Bontok *ʔótot* :: Pangasinan *ʔotót* *rat*), and semantic mismatches (Tagalog *doʔón* *there-far* :: Northern-Samar *duʔún* *there-near*) need to be regarded as separators of communalects.

Table 1: Differential vocabulary separating Philippine communallects

|                    | TAGALOG             | CEBUANO | AKLANON    | NAGA BIKOL     | ILOKANO            | W. BKD<br>MANOBO      | ILLANEN<br>MANOBO | CEN. MIND.<br>MANOBO  |
|--------------------|---------------------|---------|------------|----------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| 01. *afternoon     | hápon               | hápon   | hápon      | hápon          | malém              | hápon                 | məʔapun           | {kəpaʔuk<br>kələŋetan |
| 02. *angry         | galít               | sukú?   | ʔákig      | ʔangút         | ʔuŋét              | {paʔuk<br>ʔəpəs       | ləŋet             | məraʔat               |
| 03. *ashamed       | hiyá?               | ʔúlaw   | huyá?      | súpug          | baʔín              | ʔələd                 | yəyaʔan           |                       |
| 04. *bad/evil      | masamá?             | dáʔut   | matáʔin    | maraʔút        | dákəs              | daʔat                 | məraʔat           |                       |
| 05. *bark (tree)   | balát               | pánit   | pánit      | ʔúpak          | ʔukís              | ləkaŋ                 | ʔupís             |                       |
| 06. *beautiful     | magandá             | níndut  | mayadʔayad | magayún        | napintás           | {dagwey<br>təndan     | təndaŋ            |                       |
| 07. *bird          | ʔíbon               | lángam  | píspis     | gamgám         | billít             | tagbis                | tagbis            |                       |
| 08. *blow (at)     | híhip               | huyúp   | huyúp      | hayúp          | puyút              | hiyup                 | pepenuk           |                       |
| 09. *boil (intr.)  | kuió?               | bukál   | bukát      | kalaʔkága?     | burék              | diʔdiʔ                | periyp            |                       |
| 10. *bright        | maliwénag           | lámday  | maháyag    | liwánag        | naranyág           |                       | diʔdiʔ            |                       |
| 11. *carry/bring   | dailá               | dailá   | datán      | dará           | yeg                | ʔuwit                 | baba              |                       |
| 12. *chest         | dibdíb              | dúghan  | dúghan     | daghán         | barúkuŋ            | kuməŋ                 | kuməŋ             |                       |
| 13. *chin          | bába?               | suwán   | sután      | kuʔkú?         | tímid              | baka?                 | baka?             |                       |
| 14. *climb (up)    | ʔakyát              | saká    | sáka?      | sakát          | ʔumúli             | {tekezəg<br>pəmenahik | ʔambak            |                       |
| 15. *cold          | {magináw<br>malamíg | túgnaw  | matamíg    | malíput        | {lamʔək<br>lamíʔis | genəw                 | məʔadsiil         |                       |
| 16. *collapse      | gibá?               | gubá?   | gubá?      | gabá?          | narbá              |                       |                   |                       |
| 17. *command       | ʔútos               | súgu?   | súgu?      | súgu?          | bílin              |                       |                   | təlaʔan               |
| 18. *companion     | kasáma              | ʔubán   | kaʔibáhan  | kaʔibá         | kaduá              |                       | duma              |                       |
| 19. *crawl         | gapaŋ               | káməŋ   | káməŋ      | káməŋ          | karayám            |                       |                   |                       |
| 20. *crush-lice    | tiris               | ʔirúk   | turús      | tadús          | ligʔis             |                       |                   |                       |
| 21. *cut-off       | putol               | putul   | putút      | putúl          | púted              |                       |                   |                       |
| 22. *dark          | madilím             | ʔitqit  | madutúm    | dikiúm         | nasipŋət           |                       |                   |                       |
| 23. *different     | ʔibá                | láʔin   | ʔaʔín      | {ʔibá<br>láʔin | sabáli             |                       | merusirem         |                       |
| 24. *difficult     | mahirap             | lisúd   | malisúd    | dipísil        | narígat            | {səŋiʔ<br>sələkaw     | səŋekuʔən         |                       |
| 25. *dirty         | marumi              | húgaw   | hígku?     | maʔatí?        | narugít            | merəŋ                 | merəŋ             |                       |
| 26. *dust          | ʔalikabók           | ʔabúg   | taputapúh  | ʔaipúg         | tápuk              | remərik               | merədsik          |                       |
| 27. *earth/soil    | lúpa?               | yúta?   | ʔúgta?     | dagá?          | dagá               | ʔəliyavuk             | ʔəliyabuk         |                       |
| 28. *fall (down)   | húlog               | húlug   | húlug      | húlug          | tinnág             | {ʔulug<br>píley       | ʔulug             |                       |
| 29. *fast/swift    | mabilís             | páspas  | páspas     | kaskás         | nadarás            | gaʔan                 | mesəsəw           |                       |
| 30. *few           | kaunti?             | gamáy   | saŋkurút   | diʔít          | bassít             | deʔisey               |                   |                       |
| 31. *fight/quarrel | ʔáway               | ʔáway   | ʔáway      | ʔíwal          | ringúr             | {əgət<br>tebək        | ʔəhət             | {kəwahaʔən<br>kəmə    |
| 32. *finger        | dalíri?             | túdlu?  | túdlu?     | murú?          | rámay              | {kəmə<br>tezu?        | teru?             |                       |

Table 1 (cont'd)

|                                  | TAGALOG               | CEBUANO         | AKLANON       | NAGA BIKOL            | ILOKANO     | W. BKD<br>MANOBO      | ILIANEN<br>MANOBO | CEN. MIND<br>MANOBO |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 33. <i>fish</i>                  | ʔisdaʔ                | ʔisdaʔ          | ʔisdaʔ        | siráʔ                 | ʔikán       | paʔit                 | seraʔ             | {seraʔ<br>ʔalap     |
| 34. <i>flood</i>                 | baháʔ                 | baháʔ           | baháʔ         | baháʔ                 | layús       | lipat                 | lipat             | galawahalew         |
| 35. <i>*forget</i>               | límot                 | límut           | lípát         | língaw                | layús       | ʔupiya                | məʔupiya          | mərəsen             |
| 36. <i>*good</i>                 | mabúti                | maʔáyu          | mayád         | maráy                 | nasayáʔat   | malipay               | kayi              | kay                 |
| 37. <i>happy</i>                 | {maseyá<br>maligáya   | lípay           | malípay       | maʔugmá               | naragsák    | mezəsen               | mezəsen           | {gawed<br>kemkəm    |
| 38. <i>hard</i> (subst)          | matigás               | gahíʔ           | matíʔa        | matagás               | nataŋkén    | {kayi<br>dini         | kayi              | ranaw               |
| 39. <i>*here</i>                 | díto                  | {dirí<br>díŋhi  | {ʔiyá<br>diyá | digdí                 | ditúy       | ranaw                 | ranaw             | taruʔ               |
| 40. <i>*hold</i>                 | háwak                 | kupút           | buyút         | kapút                 | ʔiggém      | buluŋ                 | kalimeŋawan       | tarin               |
| 41. <i>kind</i>                  | mabaʔít               | buʔután         | mabúʔut       | mabúʔut               | naʔánus     | tazin                 | tarin             | merakel             |
| 42. <i>lake</i>                  | {láwaʔ<br>láŋaw       | líŋaw           | danáw         | dánaw                 | dánaw       | mezakel               | merakel           | məsələm             |
| 43. <i>*lie/truth</i>            | sinugáliŋ             | bakák           | puríl         | pútik                 | ʔulbúdd     | mesələm               | mesələm           | basak               |
| 44. <i>lonely</i>                | mapaŋláv              | {míŋaw<br>guʔúl | namíŋaw       | mapuʔŋaw              | nailidáy    | basak                 | basak             | malihet             |
| 45. <i>lose/lost</i>             | waláʔ                 | waláʔ           | dútaʔ         | waráʔ                 | púkaw       | maliget               | malihet           | ʔubey               |
| 46. <i>*marry</i>                | marámi                | dághan          | ʔabúʔ         | dakúl                 | ʔadu        | {ʔuvey<br>rani        | merani            | weraʔ               |
| 47. <i>*morning</i>              | ʔumága                | búntag          | ʔágaŋun       | ʔága                  | bigát       | wazaʔ                 | waraʔ             | kənaʔ               |
| 48. <i>mud</i>                   | pútik                 | lápuk           | ʔunaŋ         | labúy                 | pítak       | {ʔisa<br>səbəkə       | kenaʔ             | {isa<br>səbəkə      |
| 49. <i>*narrow</i>               | {makítid<br>masikítip | sígpit          | makitíd       | kipút                 | ʔakíkid     | baləyvaləy            | deremet           | {sumag<br>tulud     |
| 50. <i>*near</i>                 | malápít               | duʔúl           | matəpít       | haraní                | ʔasidég     | {tulud<br>sinumag     | sinumag           | tahu                |
| 51. <i>not/ey</i>                | maʔíŋay               | sábaʔ           | masánag       | maríbuk               | naʔariyangá | ʔinsaʔ                | ʔinsaʔ            | baluntu             |
| 52. <i>*none/noting</i>          | waláʔ                 | waláʔ           | ʔuwáʔ         | mayúʔ                 | ʔawán       | savuk                 | tahu              | kibel               |
| 53. <i>*not</i> (fut.)           | hindíʔ                | díliʔ           | ʔíndiʔ        | daʔí                  | saʔán       | ʔinsaʔ                | ʔinsaʔ            | kiput               |
| 54. <i>*one</i> (as in counting) | ʔisá                  | ʔusá            | ʔisaráh       | sarúʔ                 | maysá       | {səvəha<br>baləyvaləy | səbəkə            | {rumat              |
| 55. <i>*play</i>                 | laróʔ                 | dúlaʔ           | hámpaŋ        | kawat                 | ʔayʔáyam    | tukuʔ                 | deremet           |                     |
| 56. <i>push</i>                  | túlak                 | tulúd           | tuʔúd         | ʔusul                 | túlak       | {tulud<br>sinumag     | sinumag           |                     |
| 57. <i>put/place</i>             | lagáy                 | bután           | bután         | bugták                | kábil       | ʔinsaʔ                | tahu              |                     |
| 58. <i>question/ask</i>          | tanón                 | paŋutána        | paŋutána      | hapút                 | saludsúd    | {baluntu<br>belugtu   | ʔinsaʔ            |                     |
| 59. <i>rainbow</i>               | bahagháriʔ            | baláŋaw         | bataŋáw       | {baláŋaw<br>bulalaŋáw | bulaláyaw   | kivel                 | baluntu           |                     |
| 60. <i>raincloud</i>             | dagim                 | dagʔum          | gátʔum        | daʔgum                | libuyún     | rumat                 | kibel             |                     |
| 61. <i>*rat</i>                  | degáʔ                 | ʔilagáʔ         | ʔággam        | kinúʔ                 | baʔú        |                       | rumat             |                     |

Table 1 (cont'd)

|                               | TAGALOG                | CEBUANO       | AKLANON   | NAGA BIKOL | ILOKANO    | W. BKD<br>MANOBO | ILIANEN<br>MANOBO | CEN. MIND.<br>MANOBO |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|---------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| 62. *river                    | ʔilog                  | subá?         | subá?     | sálug      | karayán    | wahig            | wayig             | wayig                |
| 63. *round                    | mabílog                | líjin         | malibúnug | talímun    | nabukél    | kelizen          | wayig             |                      |
| 64. *sad                      | malungkót              | subú?         | masubú?   | mamundú?   | naladíngit |                  |                   |                      |
| 65. *say/said                 | sábi                   | súlti         | hámbat    | sábi       | saʔú       | kagi             | kahi              | kahi                 |
| 66. *seek                     | hánap                  | paŋíta?       | ʔusuy     | hánap      | bíruk      |                  |                   |                      |
| 67. *short (obj)              | maʔiklí?               | mubú?         | matágʔud  | halíʔput   | ʔababá     |                  |                   | mababa?              |
| 68. *short (pers)             | pandák                 | putút         | putút     | hababá?    | pandék     | mevava?          | mababa?           | mababa?              |
| 69. *stibling                 | kapatíd                | ʔigsúʔun      | ʔigmánhud | túgan      | kabsát     | {pendak          |                   |                      |
| 70. *sit                      | ʔupo?                  | líŋkud        | líŋkud    | túkaw      | tugaw      | malimpugu?       |                   |                      |
| 71. *slice (meat)             | híwa?                  | híwa?         | kíwa?     | pidásu     | ʔíwa       | suléd            | pinuʔu            | pinuʔu               |
| 72. *slow                     | mabágal                | hínay         | mahínay   | malúway    | nabuntúg   | karad            | karad             | karad                |
| 73. *small (obj)              | maliʔít                | gamáy         | maʔisút   | sadáy      | bassít     | {malanat         | nanay             | nanay                |
| 74. *smell (n.)               | ʔamóy                  | báhu?         | húgum     | páruŋ      | ʔáŋut      | naney            | dəʔisek           | dəʔisek              |
| 74a. *smell (v.)              | ʔamuyín                | timahú?       | hugúm     | parúgun    | ʔagúten    | dəʔisek          | ʔəppeŋarek        | ʔarek                |
| 74b. *fragrant                | mabagó                 | humút         | mahumút   | mahamút    | nabaŋlú    | hazek            | meʔəmut           | meʔəmut              |
| 74c. *bad-smelling            | mabáho?                | bahú?         | mabáhu?   | mabatá?    | nabuyúk    | memahu?          | memawu?           | memawu?              |
| 75. *soft                     | malambót               | humúk         | mahumúk   | malumúy    | naluknéŋ   | ləmiŋeg          | {mələmək          | {məʔuməl             |
| 76. *space under<br>the house | sílon                  | sílung        | sílung    | síruŋ      | síruk      | síhuŋ            | siyuŋ             |                      |
| 77. *speak/talk<br>= word     | salitá?                | púlung        | hámbat    | tarám      | saʔú       | lalag            | lalag             |                      |
| 78. *spider (gen)             | {gagambá<br>ʔanlaláwa? | lawaʔlawá?    | ʔamán     | láwa?      | lawalawá   | kələlawá?        | kələlawá?         |                      |
| 79. *split = cleft            | biʔák                  | buʔák         | buká?     | buwán      | {bfsak     | tevi?            |                   |                      |
| 80. *tear/rip                 | púnit                  | gfsi?         | gfsi?     | gfsi?      | búsak      | bindas           |                   |                      |
| 81. *that (far)               | ʔiyón                  | kádtu         | datú      | ʔitú       | pígis      | heʔaza?          | ʔəyan             | ʔəyan                |
| 82. *there (far)              | doʔón                  | ditu          | {ditu     | dumán      | didiáy     | diya?            | kəyan             |                      |
| 83. *this                     | ʔitó                   | {kirí<br>kiní | dáya      | ʔiní       | daytúy     | heʔini           | ʔini              | ʔini                 |
| 84. *throat                   | lalamúnan              | tutúnlan      | tutúnlan  | halanúhan  | karabukúb  | bəkəreŋ          | bəkəreŋ           | bəkəreŋ              |
| 85. *throw                    | hágis                  | lábay         | habúy     | ʔapún      | ibatú      | {tímbag          | ʔantug            | tímbag               |

Table 1 (cont'd)

|                           | TAGALOG           | CEBUANO         | AKLANON         | NAGA BIKOL            | ILOKANO      | W. BKD.<br>MANOBO  | ILIANEN<br>MANOBO | CEN. MIND.<br>MANOBO |
|---------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------|--------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| 86. *throw-away           | tápon             | lábug           | piilák          | tápuk                 | belléñ       | timbag             | timbag            | timbag               |
| 87. *tomorrow             | búkas             | gúgma?          | hin?ágah        | sa ?ága               | ?intun bigát | kə?əsələm          | kə?əsələm         | kə?əsələm            |
| 88. turn (in a direction) | likó?             | líku?           | likú?           | síku?                 | sikkú        |                    |                   | tiku                 |
| 89. turn/revolve          | ?íkot             | túyuk           | tíyug           | tarírik               | pusípus      | biyu               | tiləñ             |                      |
| 90. ugly                  | páñit             | ñil?ad          | ma-táw?ay       | makanús               | nala?ad      |                    |                   |                      |
| 91. vagina                | púki              | {bilát<br>bútu? | {bilát<br>puyás | {budáy<br>putáy       | ?úki         | beti?              | beti?             |                      |
| 92. *wait                 | {hintáy<br>?antáy | hulát           | huhát           | halát                 | ?úray        | tagad              | tahad             |                      |
| 93. waterfall             | tálon             | busáy           | busáy           | busáy                 | dissú?ur     | ?əvaga?            | dempilas          | sampəw               |
| 94. *weak                 | mahína?           | lúya            | ma-túya         | malúya                | kapsút       | {meguya?<br>meluya | melubəy           |                      |
| 95. wear/put-on           | su?ót             | súl?ub          | súksuk          | su?lút                | ikapét       | sun?ud             |                   |                      |
| 96. *west                 | kanlúran          | kasádpán        | katutúndan      | {subsúban<br>sulnúpan | lá?ud        | senləpan           | senləpan          | senləpan             |
| 97. *what?                | ?anú              | ?únsa           | {?anúh<br>nánuh | ?anú                  | ?anya        | həjkey             | ?əñkey            | ?əñkey               |
| 98. *when? (fut.)         | ka?ilán           | sán?u           | hin?undúh       | nu?arín               | ka?ánu       | kə?ənu             | kə?ənu            | kə?ənu               |
| 99. *wide                 | malápud           | lapád           | ma-tápud        | halakbán              | ?akába       | melu?ag            | melu?ag           |                      |
| 100. wrong                | malí?             | sayúp           | sa-tá?          | salá?                 | (dákas)      | sala?              |                   |                      |

When gathering data for a survey of this sort, it is imperative that exact semantic matches be obtained. While the list is designed to exaggerate differences amongst even close dialects, any cause(s) for such separation should be real and not the result of inexact comparison. The following notes are included to guide researchers as to the semantics intended.

- 00 - All forms elicited should follow the matching of English and Tagalog. I have not been able to double-check the data with informants, but I have noted some errors in the main sources (McFarland 1977 for Tag, Ceb, Naga, Ilk; Reid 1971 for WBM and Iln) when compared to other published data (Elkins 1968 for WBM; Vanoverbergh 1956 for Ilk; Wolff 1972 for Ceb; Mintz 1971 for Naga). Ak1 is from Zorc 1969, and CMM from Elkins 1954.
- 02 - The most general term for *anger*; avoid: *peevied, upset, crabby*.
- 03 - Here and throughout the list, verb affixes have not been included. If affixes are included, a single paradigm should be obtained, e.g. *I was embarrassed* (simple past); affixes could be used to show differences beyond the root word or stem.
- 04 - The most common term for *bad* often coincides with the word for *evil*. A sense such as Tag *masamá? an panahón the weather is bad* or *masamá? an pakiramdám ko I feel bad* is intended.
- 05 - Often the same as the form for *skin* (which is omitted from the list). Avoid specialised terms for *second layer of bark* (CMM *luwit*) or *bark/skin of banana trunk* (Ak1 *úpas*).
- 06 - Usually the opposite of *ugly* (#90); *good looking* as applied to a woman, especially if *handsome (male)* is differentiated in the language.
- 08 - As in *blowing at/on a fire to increase its heat*; avoid: *blowing out (as a match)* or *exhaling*.
- 09 - The actual boiling of water (intransitive verb); avoid: *to boil (vegetables/eggs)* (Tag *lága?*) or *inception of boiling when first bubbles are formed*, etc.
- 10 - Generic; avoid: *brightness of sun or moon, glare*.
- 11 - The most general form for carrying or bringing something from one place to another regardless of means of transport or carriage. Avoid: *carry on back* (Tag *babá*), *carry in the hand* (Tag *bitbít*), *carry on shoulder* (Tag *pasán*), *carry on head* (Tag *súnoŋ*), etc.
- 12 - The upper torso, not just *breast* or *ribs*.
- 13 - Distinguish from *jaw* (Tag *síhaŋ, paŋá*).
- 15 - As in *cold weather* (Tag *magináw*, Ilk *lam?ék*); distinguish from *cold (to touch)* (Tag *malamíg*, Ilk *lam?is*); either could be used in the comparison, so long as the sense is the same.
- 16 - As a house from age or a ship from a storm.
- 17 - As from a person in authority; not just *send on an errand*, nor *deathbed command = final will and testament* (Tag *bílin*).
- 19 - As a baby on all fours; distinguish from *crawl on one's belly* or *crawl as a snake* (WBM *dula*).
- 20 - Crush between the fingernails.
- 21 - As in amputating a limb.

- 23 - Several languages distinguish between *another* - of the same type (Akl ?ibáh) vs *another* - of a different kind (Akl ta?ín); the latter sense is intended here.
- 25 - Avoid special senses such as *dirty laundry* (Akl ?umúg), *muddy*, etc.
- 27 - Not: *earth/world* (Tag da?igdǫg) or special kinds of soil, e.g. *clay*.
- 30 - A little bit, in small amount.
- 31 - Not: *hit, box, come to blows*; more in the sense *to fall out*.
- 32 - Generic for *digit* (often the same as for *toe*); avoid: *thumb, index finger, middle finger*, etc.
- 36 - Generic; avoid senses such as *good at* (Tag magalǫn) or *clever* (Tag marúnoq).
- 40 - As in: *hold this for me*; avoid specifics such as *hold in the palm of one's hand* or *hold under the arm* (see note #11).
- 41 - As a good or giving person; avoid *loving, generous*.
- 43 - As in telling a deliberate untruth; avoid senses such as Tag magbulá?an *fib, exaggerate, 'bullshit'*.
- 44 - Different from *sad* (#64); sense of isolation or melancholy felt.
- 45 - Note that only verb affixes differentiate this from *none* (#52) in Tag and some other CPh languages; differentiate from *lose one's way* (Akl tátaŋ).
- 49 - As a narrow entrance or road; Tag masakíp *tight, crowded* is perhaps too specialised.
- 52 - *There is none*.
- 53 - The future negative, as in *I will not go*. Note the various negators in McFarland 1977:20; only one of five possibilities is sought here.
- 54 - In the sequence: *one - two - three ...*. Note that numerous forms with classifiers occur (e.g. Akl saŋka-, sambáto, sambílog).
- 56 - Generic; not specialised meanings (e.g. WBM dǫgupi *be pushed along or aside by a strong force, dǫkuzas push something back and forth over a surface, pǫsǫl push something with the thumb or finger*, etc.).
- 60 - As distinguished from other types of cloud.
- 65 - Avoid quotative particles (e.g. Tag daw, Akl kunúh).
- 66 - To look for something that has been *lost* (#45).
- 69 - Generic; avoid terms for *older* and *younger* sibling.
- 70 - Generic; avoid terms for *squat, sit on the ground*, etc.
- 71 - Not just *cut*; avoid specifics like *to slice thin* or *to slice into big chunks*.
- 72 - Generic adjective; avoid verbs like *to cook slowly* (WBM naney *to proceed slowly* may be too specific here and is wrongly included).
- 73 - Distinguish from *small amount = few* (#30); note that Ilokano (and perhaps other communalects) do not draw such a distinction.
- 74 - 74a-c are included here to illustrate the various senses that can exist within a given meaning and the dangers of semantic mismatch. The most



- neutral noun for *smell* is intended (with no implications as to the pleasantness, or otherwise, of the aroma), not verbs (74a) or adjectives (74b,c).
- 75 - The opposite of *hard* (#38); not that of *loud*, *coarse*, etc.
  - 77 - May not be differentiated in some communalects from *say* (#65) (e.g. Aklanon).
  - 79 - As a stone or wood may split open; distinguish from senses such as Tag *bisák to split wood*, Tag *háti? to split in half* (= Akl *píhak*).
  - 80 - As cloth or paper.
  - 85 - Keep separate from senses such as *throw stone(s)*, *throw overhand*, *throw underhand*, *throw-away* (#86); generic *to throw [x] at*, *cast*.
  - 88 - Generic; avoid verbs like *turn right*, *turn left*, *turn one's head*.
  - 89 - Intransitive verb, like a coin or top turns around.
  - 95 - As in "*What will you wear?*", avoiding specific garment terms.
  - 96 - Sometimes not distinguished from *sunset-place* or *west-wind*.
  - 98 - As in "*When will he arrive?*"; some languages have *when* (past)?.
  - 99 - Opposite of *narrow* (#49).
  - 100 - *In error*, *incorrect*; not intended as a negator (Akl *bukún not so*).

This list may be used in toto, or those 50 items marked with an asterisk may form an abbreviated survey. If the criteria outlined above are strictly applied, only those speech varieties that score 90% (in excess of 45/50 or 90/100) with one another can be regarded as belonging to the same communalect - and if the speakers consider themselves as such. In this way, there is a sociological and linguistic confirmation of a given (Philippine or Austronesian) language scene. Because of borrowing, common inheritance, and convergence (e.g. disparate shift of \*p > f, \*d > r, \*r > l, \*ə > u, etc.), scores will rarely be 0. Ilokano, for example, scores 4% with Akl and Ceb, up to 8% with Tag. However, the list has been constructed on the basis of abundant data (Reid 1971, Yap 1977, McFarland 1977), so that it can be stated with confidence that scores will be very low, even between reasonably close genetic relatives.

The languages chosen in Table 1 demonstrate this last point. Tag, Ceb, Akl, and Naga are genetically related Central Philippine languages. Akl and Ceb, which are Bisayan, score no higher than 42%; Tag-Bik, no higher than 21% with each other. Central Mindanao Manobo stands in a dialect relationship with Ilianen and Western Bukidnon, yet the CMM-Iln score is 88% and CMM-WBM is 76%, while Iln-WBM is 63%. Even if cognates, rather than identities, are counted, the Manobo scores are: CMM-Iln 91%, CMM-WBM 88%, and Iln-WBM 76% based on the data available (numerous lacunae for CMM and Iln make these rough computations). Thus, Central Mindanao Manobo (or Kiri-yenteken Manobo; Elkins, personal communication 9 August 1983) is a communalect in its own right.

Of just the 50 items marked with an asterisk, Ilokano has 31 unique forms, Tagalog 23, and Cebuano 11 (the latter is due to Ceb's strong influence in the central and southern Philippines resulting in numerous loans into or from Ceb). These uniques dictate that no other communalect could share a score higher than 19/50 with Ilk, 27/50 with Tag, or 39/50 with Ceb, except a communalect that was indeed Ilk, Tag, or Ceb respectively. In fact, Tagalog scores 8/50 with Sinauna, 7 with Kapampangan, 4 with Botolan, and 3 with Bikol. Cebuano scores 25/50 with Hiligaynon (due to loans), 18 with Samar-Leyte, 12 with Surigao, and 10 with

Aklanon. Ilokano scores 11/50 with Itneg, 8 with Kankanay, and 7 with Luba. The overall effects of convergence are thus negligible in this kind of survey, which is *sociolinguistic* and *not historical* in intent.

### 3. THE DETERMINATION OF LANGUAGES

Although we may eventually know how many communalects exist in the Philippines or other Austronesian areas (since adequate data are available in the files of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and several researchers), if we address the question of how many languages there are, numerous problems beset us. Since a language is defined in terms of mutual intelligibility, both the degree and the kind of intelligibility would need to be determined (see Zorc 1977:165-170). Some linguists would accept *genetic intelligibility*: if a Malay says "Mata ku sakit" (*my eye hurts*), and if a Filipino understands him (as most would be likely to), then obviously some communication is taking place. But the Malay may rattle on and virtually all of the rest of the speech act could well be lost on the Filipino. This is not *practical intelligibility* - the Malay is not likely to get much joy from a Filipino doctor if each sticks to his own language. The Summer Institute of Linguistics needs to know the degree to which a translation of the Bible can be understood by speakers/readers in other areas. They have conducted extensive tests of intelligibility throughout the Philippines; if too many barriers to understanding exist, a different translation is necessary. Each speech variety is accorded its own dignity; linguistic imperialism is avoided - Warays may understand Cebuano or Aklanon's Hiligaynon, but each deserves their own intimate version.

If linguists could agree on a criterion for determining mutual intelligibility (the SIL tests and scores are accurate and sound in this regard), and factors such as bilingualism and sesquilingualism<sup>4</sup> (when someone understands but cannot speak another language) could be controlled, then we would be well on our way to knowing how many dialects and languages there are in the Philippines. The exact answer could be known within this decade, depending on research interests of M.A. or Ph.D. scholars and access to SIL files. While SIL has always been most generous and open with its data, it would be most appropriate (given the years of labour and research involved) if an SIL member drew up a comprehensive Philippine matrix of intelligibility test scores, possibly as part of his/her studies for a degree. Kroeger's paper on "Intelligibility patterns in Sabah" in this volume is a welcome step in this direction.

In the meantime, genetic linguistics can provide a working solution. The number of languages in the Philippines alone has been debated and estimated by linguists and laymen. Blumentritt (1901) recognised 194 native groups mentioned in the literature of his time. But he well knew that many of these were repetitious or inaccurate in several ways. Conklin (1952), being more concerned with linguistic criteria, outlined 75 main groups broken up into a total of 156 members. Historical/comparative linguists are generally in agreement that there are, at most, 28 major linguistic groups that can be described as 'Philippine' on the basis of geographic or genetic criteria (see Table 2). One subgroup, Sama (Il), is clearly intrusive to the Philippines within the last millenium, and is genetically of an 'Indonesian type', possibly related to the South Sulawesi group (including Makassar and Buginese (Roger F. Mills, personal communication, 4 October 1983)).

Table 2: Probable and possible Philippine subgroups

|                               |                           |  |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| N1 North Cordilleran          | S1 South Mangyan          | S9 Sangiric                            |
| 1 South (Gaddang-Yogad)       | 1 Buhid-Taubuid           | 1 North (Sangil-Sangir-Talau)          |
| 2 North (Atta-Ibanag)         | 2 Hanunoo                 | 2 South (Bantik-Ratahan)               |
| 3 Central (Malaweg, Isneg)    | S2 Palawanic              | C1 Minahasan                           |
| 4 Agta                        | 1 North (Aborlan-Batak)   | 1 South (Tonsawang)                    |
| N2 Dumagat = East Cordilleran | 2 South (Molbog-Brookes)  | 2 North (Tontemboan)                   |
| 1 Negrito                     | S3 Kalamianic             | 3 North-east (Tondano-Tonseal-Tombulu) |
| 2 Paranan                     | S4 Central Philippine     | C2 Mongondow-Ponosakan                 |
| 3 Central (Casiguran)         | 1 Tagalog                 | C3 Gorontalic                          |
| 4 South (Umirey)              | 2 Bikol                   | 1 Dila (Buol-Suwawa)                   |
| N3 Ilokano                    | -Inland                   | 2 East (Bulanga)                       |
| N4 Central Cordilleran        | -Coastal                  | 3 West (Gorontalo)                     |
| 1 South (Isinai)              | -Pandan                   | I1 Sama-Bajaw                          |
| 2 North (Itneg)               | 3 Bisayan                 | 1 Indonesian Bajaw                     |
| 3 East (Kalinga)              | -West                     | 2 North Borneo/Sabah Land Bajaw        |
| 4 Nuclear (Balangaw)          | -Banton                   | 3 Jama-Mapun                           |
| 5 Ifugao                      | -Central                  | 4 Southern Sulu                        |
| 6 Bontok-Kankayan             | -Cebuan                   | 5 Central Sulu                         |
| N5 Ilongot                    | -South                    | 6 Western Sulu                         |
| N6 South Cordilleran          | 4 Mansakan                | 7 Northern Sulu                        |
| 1 Pangasinan                  | -Mamanwa                  | 8 Yakan                                |
| 2 Inibaloi-Karaw              | -North                    | 9 Zamboanga Sama                       |
| 3 Kallahan                    | -East                     | 10 Abaknun                             |
| N7 Bashiic = Ivatanic         | -West                     | U1 Chamorro                            |
| 1 Yami                        | S5 Subanon                | U2 Palau                               |
| 2 Itbayaten                   | 1 Siocon-Kalibugan        | U3 Yapese                              |
| 3 Ivatanen-Babuyan            | 2 Sindangan-Salug-Lapuyan | B1 Kadazan-Dusun                       |
| N8 Southern Luzon             | S6 Manobo                 | B2 Murutic                             |
| 1 Sambalic                    | 1 North                   |  |
| 2 Sinauna                     | 2 Inland                  |  |
| 3 Kapampangan                 | 3 South                   |  |
| N9 North Mangyan              | S7 Danao                  |  |
| 1 Iraya                       | S8 Bilic                  |  |
| 2 Alangan                     | 1 Giangan/Bagobo          |  |
| 3 Tadyawan                    | 2 Tiruray                 |  |
| N10 Inati of Panay            | 3 Tboli                   |  |
|                               | 4 Inner Blaan             |  |

Code: B = Borneo  
 C = Celebes  
 N = Northern Philippines  
 S = Southern Philippines  
 U = Ungrouped

Maps showing the locales of these languages can be found in McFarland 1980.