THE DIALECTS OF THE BIKOL AREA

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School

of

Yale University

in Candidacy for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

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December 1974

ABSTRACT

The internal and external relationships of the speech varieties to be found in the Bikol area of the Philippines are examined. The Bikol area encompasses most of the Bikol peninsula--the southeastern extension of the island of Luzon--and some nearby islands.

The eleven well-marked dialects in the Bikol area are compared in terms of phonology, basic lexicon, and morphology. Morphological features are compared by a new method which permits the comparison to be reduced to quantitative terms. This method, morphemic differentiae analysis, is based primarily on differences found in equivalent paradigms in the respective dialects. Each of the various methods of comparison suggests substantially the same subgrouping of the Bikol area dialects, even though the subgroupings differ with regard to some details. The agreements in the subgroupings are interpreted as reflecting the history of the settlement of the area and later contacts.

The comparison is subsequently extended to three speech varieties lying outside the Bikol area--Hiligaynon, Samar-Leyte, and Tagalog. This comparison reveals, among other things, that the three southernmost dialects in the Bikol area belong to the Central Bisayan subgroup along with Hiligaynon and Samar-Leyte, but nevertheless occupy a transitional position between the Bikol area and the Bisayan dialects. No similar transition is found between the Bikol area and Tagalog.

This work also considers certain theoretical questions of wider relevance for general dialectology, such as the relative value of various criteria for distinguishing and subgrouping dialects, and the extent to which the historical development of a set of well-marked dialects of a language with substantial morphological complexity can be reconstructed.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincerest appreciation for:

the wisdom, patience, and good humor shown by Professor Isidore Dyen in guiding me through this labor;

the Fulbright-Hays Graduate Study Abroad Fellowship, awarded by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which made possible my fieldwork in the Bikol area during the period July 1971-December 1972;

the support for my graduate studies provided by Yale University; and the National Science Foundation, through the project directed by Professor Dyen and entitled "The Genetic Classification of Languages--Austronesian" (NSF Grant Nos. GS-28094 and GS-38073X);

the access granted me to the facilities of the Peace Corps regional office in Legazpi City;

the extensive clerical and technical assistance provided by Bernardita Barcellano and Lita Altea;

the wholehearted cooperation of the many, many Bikolanos who served as my hosts and informants;

and the intellectual stimulation, education, and encouragement obtained in many discussions with my colleagues: Bernd Nothofer, David Zorc, Shigeru Tsuchida, and Paul Black.

CONTENTS

Tables

Maps

Tree diagrams

SYMBOLS, ABBREVIATIONS, AND CONVENTIONS

The following abbreviations are used for Bikol area dialects and subdialects:

Buh = Buhi

Dar = Daraga

Iri = Iriga

Leg = Legazpi

Lib = Libon

Mas = Masbate

Nag = Naga

Nca = Northern Catanduanes

Nso = Northern Sorsogon

Oas = Oas

Sca = Southern Catanduanes

Sso = Southern Sorsogon

The following abbreviations are used for subgroupings of the dialects listed above:

CST = Coastal dialects (Standard Bikol [Legazpi, Naga], Southern Catanduanes)

INL = Inland dialects (Daraga, Oas, Libon, Iriga, Buhi)

SOU = Southern dialects (Northern Sorsogon, Masbate, Southern Sorsogon).

The use of one of these three symbols indicates that all dialects or subdialects which are members of the subgrouping share the form cited. For example, SCU qadlaw is equivalent to Nso, Mas, Sso qadlaw.

The following abbreviations are used for speech varieties lying outside the Bikol area:

Akl = Aklanon

Ceb = Cebuano

Han = Hanunoo

Hil = Hiligaynon

Ilo = Ilocano

Isn = Isneg

Kpm = Kapampangan

Mar = Maranao

Mnb = Manobo

Pang = Pangasinan

S-L = Samar-Leyte

Tag = Tagalog

Tir = Tiruray

In addition, the following symbols and abbreviations are used:

B = base, the variable element in a particular formulation; e.g. in the formulation mag- + B, B may be a single morpheme (-bakal, as in magbakal 'to buy') or composite (-paraba:kal, as in magparaba:kal 'to keep buying').

C = consonant.

V = vowel.

C_1 = the first consonant in B; e.g. if B = bakal, C_1 = b.

V_1 = the first vowel in B; e.g. if B = bakal, V_1 = a.

B' = B minus C_1; e.g. if B = bakal, B' = -akal.

B" = B minus C_1 and V_1; e.g. if B = bakal, B" = -kal.

R = C_1 + V_1; e.g. if B = bakal, R = ba-.

+ = concatenation in inflection or derivation.

$\longrightarrow$ = "is read as"; e.g. /da:wun/$\longrightarrow$ [do:w^{u}n] = the phonemic sequence da:wun is read phonetically as do:w^{u}n.

$>$ = "became" (diachronically); e.g. PAN e$>$ Lib o = Proto-Austronesian e became Libon o.

( ) = optional element; e.g. daku:laq (na) represents both daku:laq and daku:laq na.

$\left\{ \right\}$ = alternative elements, e.g. daku:laq $\left\{\begin{matrix}na\\pa\end{matrix}\right\}$ represents both daku:laq na and daku:laq pa.

$\ddot{\#}$ = pause or word boundary.

* = unattested or reconstructed form.

** = non-occurring or ungrammatical form.

NE = nominal expression.

PNE = personal nominal expression.

CNE = common nominal expression.

PAN = Proto-Austronesian, indicates forms reconstructed by Dyen for Proto-Austronesian.

PHN = Proto-Hesperonesian, indicates forms reconstructed by Dempwolff which lack cognates in Eastern Austronesian.

:: = marks morphologically different forms in a set of morphemic differentiae.

1. INTRODUCTION

This work examines the internal and external relationships of the speech varieties to be found in the Bikol area in the Philippines; that is, an area encompassing most of the southeastern extension of the island of Luzon known as the Bikol peninsula, and some nearby islands. While the speech varieties of this area, generally referred to as dialects of the Bikol language, are apparently all connected by chains of mutual intelligibility, they are not all mutually intelligible. Furthermore, some of the speech varieties which have previously been classified as dialects of Bikol exhibit greater similarity with speech varieties lying outside the area than with other Bikol area dialects.

In addition to dealing with the specific dialectal situation in the Bikol area, it has been necessary to deal with certain theoretical questions of wider relevance for dialectological studies in the Philippines and elsewhere. For example: What criteria should be used in (a) distinguishing and (b) subgrouping dialects? To what extent can these criteria be quantified? What conclusions can be drawn with regard to the historical development of a particular set of dialects?

In this chapter is discussed the procedure by which eleven relatively well-marked dialects were distinguished in the Bikol area. In subsequent chapters these eleven dialects are compared in terms of phonology (Chapters 2-3), basic lexicon (Chapter 4), and morphology (Chapters 6-14). Phonology and basic lexicon are compared in accordance with established procedures. Since there is no established procedure for comparing morphology in quantitative terms, a new method--morphemic differentiae analysis (Chapter 6)--is introduced and applied here. Each of these comparisons suggest a subgrouping of the Bikol area dialects.

These subgroupings are substantially the same, but differ with regard to some details.

In Chapter 15 the comparison is extended to three speech varieties lying outside the Bikol area--Hiligaynon, Samar-Leyte, Tagalog--to reveal, at least in part, the external relationships of the Bikol area dialects. In the conclusion (Chapter 16) an interpretation is offered with regard to the possible historical developments which might have produced the present dialectal configuration in this area.

GENERAL BACKGROUND

The terms Bikol area, Bikol region, and Bikolandia (also spelled Bicol, Vicol, etc.) were defined by Lynch 1959 as follows:[1]

> The phrase "Bicol region" and its alternate, "Bicolandia" are regularly used to refer to a political bloc of six contiguous or neighboring provinces all of which are supposed to be predominantly Bikol-speaking . . . . [T]hese provinces are Camarines Sur, Albay, Sorsogon, Masbate, Catanduanes, and Camarines Norte, all on or near the Bicol peninsula of southeast Luzon. . . .
>
> [T]he term "Bikol area" refers to those parts of the Bicol region where some form of Bikol . . . is spoken by the majority of the people.

Tagalog is the predominant language in the western part of Camarines Norte and one town (Del Gallego) in Camarines Sur. It is also reported that Hiligaynon and Cebuano are predominant languages in southern Masbate. It has been customary, in scholarly and governmental publications, to treat Bikol as the predominant language in the remaining parts of the Bikol region, that is, those parts in which the predominant language is not Tagalog, Hiligaynon, or Cebuano.

Map 1 indicates the approximate boundaries for Bikol shown on a map in Wernstedt and Spencer 1967.[2] These are substantially the same boundaries shown on maps in Salzner 1960,[3] Panganiban 1972,[4] and Hall 1964.[5]

The Philippine national census figures for 1961 (as reported in

MAP 1
MAJOR LANGUAGES OF
THE CENTRAL PHILIPPINES

Wernstedt and Spencer 1967)[6] list approximately 2,109,000 speakers of Bikol, concentrated primarily in the six provinces named above. Appendix A (page 304) shows the distribution of Bikol and other major languages in these six provinces.[7] Only languages having 1000 or more speakers are listed. These figures account for approximately 1,949,000 speakers of Bikol, or 92.4% of Bikol speakers in the Philippines. Other provinces having 1000 or more Bikol speakers are listed in Appendix B (page 305).[8]

It is clear from these figures that speakers of Bikol are concentrated within the area assigned to Bikol on Map 1. Bikol speakers outside this area are probably persons who migrated individually, and do not represent additional varieties of Bikol.

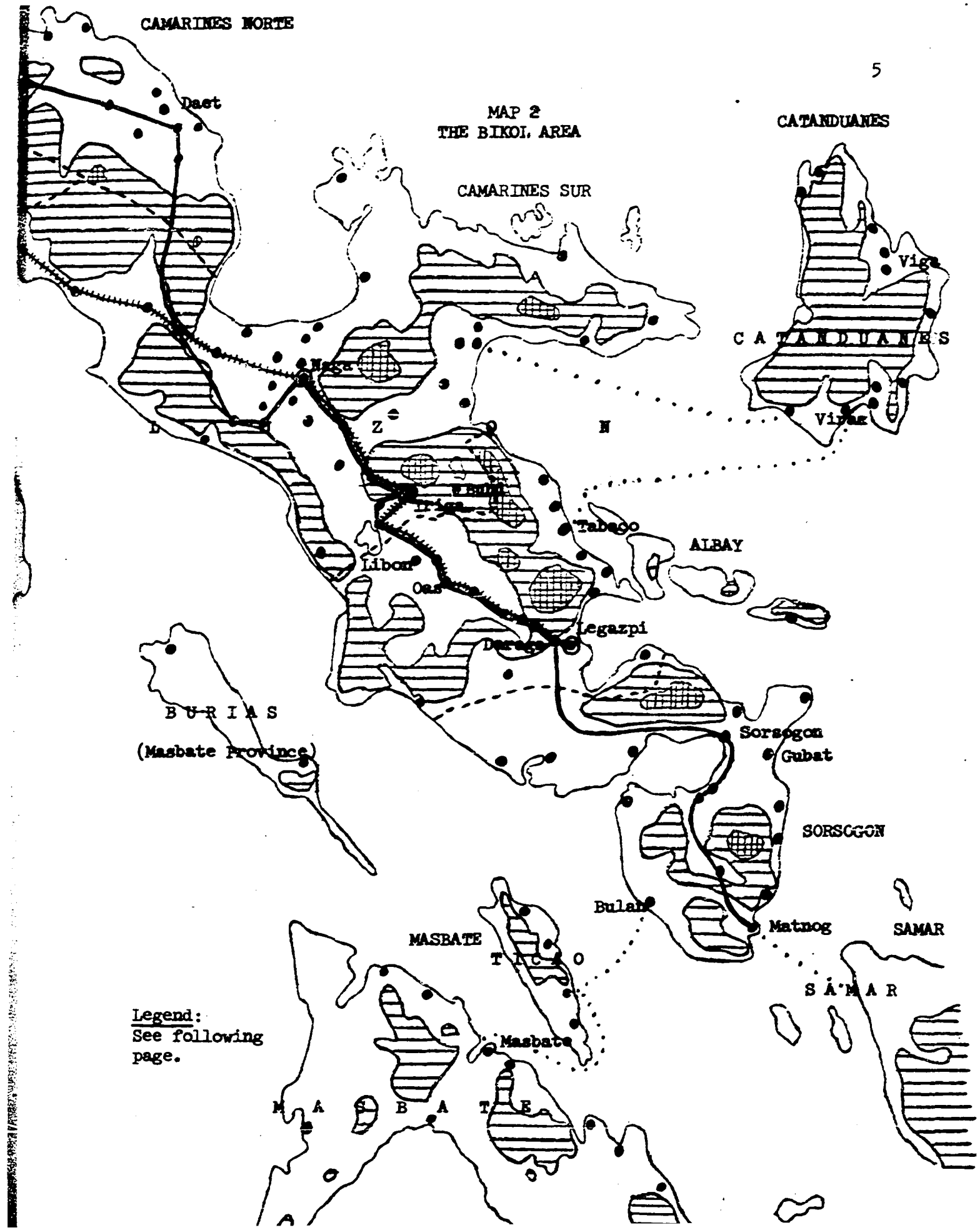
Lynch himself excludes Masbate and the southern half of Sorsogon province from the Bikol area, on the grounds that the language spoken there was not Bikol. Other scholars, e.g. Mintz (p. 8), have treated these speech varieties as dialects of Bikol. The residents of Masbate refer to their own speech as "Bisayan". Elsewhere in the Bikol area, including Sorsogon, residents refer to their own speech as "Bikol" or by some term associated with a particular town: Daragueño (town of Daraga), Oasnan (Oas), etc.

As used here, the Bikol area refers to all parts of the Bikol region (including Sorsogon and northern Masbate) the speech varieties of which have been classified by some or all scholars as Bikol. This corresponds to the area assigned to Bikol on Map 1.

Map 2 shows the major topographical features, political divisions, and major communication routes within the Bikol area.

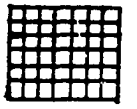
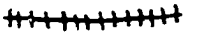
Earlier dialect studies have indicated that the Bikol language is

MAP 2
THE BIKOL AREA



Legend:
See following page.

LEGEND FOR MAP 2

Elevation:	
150-600 meters	
over 600 meters	
Cities	
Towns	
Provincial Boundaries	
National Highway Number 1	
Philippine National Railroad	
Major Ferry Services	
Names:	
Islands	B U R I A S
Provinces	CAMARINES NORTE
Cities and Towns	Bulan

not nearly so uniform as would seem to be implied by the maps and census figures discussed above. The first of these studies was conducted between 1956 and 1958 by Barbara Anderson and Father Frank Lynch. They concluded among other things:[9]

> The "Bikol" spoken in southern and central Sorsogon and in Northern Masbate is closer to Waray-waray, the language of adjacent Samar and eastern Leyte, than it is to standard Bikol. The same may be true of the islands of Ticao and Burias.

They concluded that the southern boundary of the Bikol area was "a line drawn east to west through Sorsogon Province just south of Sorsogon Bay . . ."[10] This definition seems to place Sorsogon town within the Bikol area while excluding the towns to the south.

Anderson placed the northern boundary (with Tagalog) just to the north of Daet in Camarines Norte.[11] She divided Bikol itself into several dialects on the basis of differences in phonemic inventory. In addition to the basic inventory shared by all communities:[12]

(1) 'Coastal-peninsular' Bikol has /h/.

(2) 'Southern Catanduanes Bikol' has /h/ and /L/, the latter being "a voiced continuant made with the sides of the tongue touching the upper teeth, the tongue tip interdental, and the front of the tongue not touching the upper teeth."

(3) 'Northern Catanduanes Bikol' has /h/ and /R/, the latter being "a cacuminal lateral flap."

(4) 'Interior Bikol' has no /h/. Interior Bikol is further subdivided:

> In the heart of the mainland peninsula, with no immediate access to the sea, is a region manifesting great dialectic diversity beyond the unity of being without /h/.
>
> Municipalities where speech shows only the minimum inventory are Baao, Bato, Bula, and Nabua (Camarines Sur), and Libon (Albay). This speech community corresponds to the upper Bicol river valley and Lake Bato.

> Another group of municipalities have the minimum inventory with an additional /ə/: Iriga (Camarines Sur) and Polangui, Guinobatan, Ligao, Camalig, Daraga, and Jovellar (?) (Albay).
> Buhi (Camarines Sur) adds /ə/ and /g/ [a voiced velar fricative--C.M.] to the minimum, and Oas (Albay) adds /e/."

Map 3 shows my interpretation of Anderson's subdivision. As discussed on page 82, phonemic inventories, and phonological criteria in general, appear to be an inadequate basis for distinguishing areas. There are substantial differences between Anderson's division and my own.

Two other descriptions of the dialect grouping are found in Epstein 1967 and Mintz 1973, although neither of these writers was primarily concerned with a dialect survey. Their respective treatments of the dialects are incidental to their considerations of "standard Bikol", and as a consequence neither author gives his motivation or criteria for the subdivision he adopts.

In agreement with Anderson, Epstein states that "the language and dialect of Masbate are basically Visayan, with the major influence being Cebuano."[13] Epstein's subdivision (Map 4) differs from Anderson's in the following respects:[14]

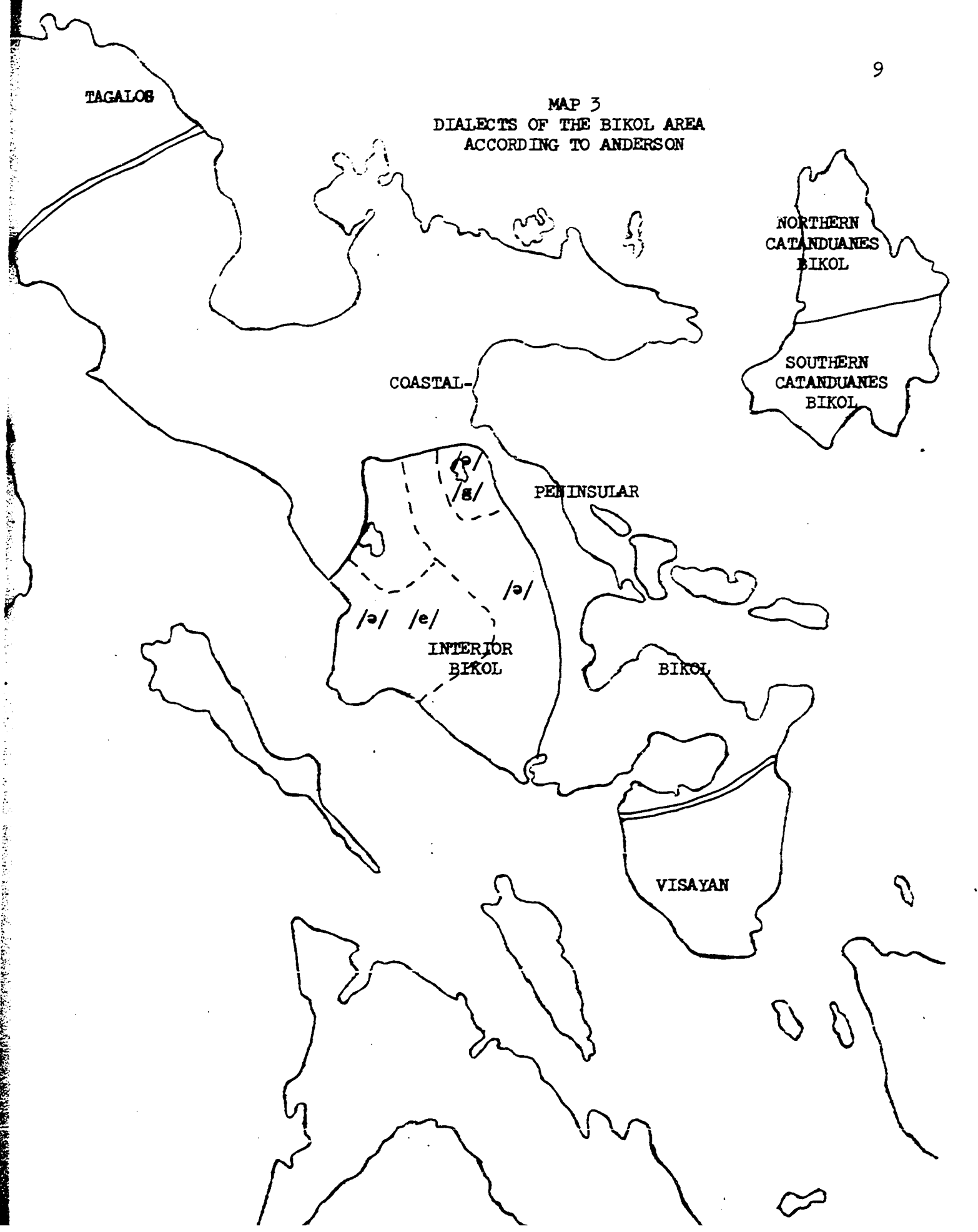
(1) Bula, Buhi, Baao, Nabua, Bato, and Iriga are grouped together as 'Rinconada dialects'.

(2) The "Central and western sections of Albay" constitute a dialect area.

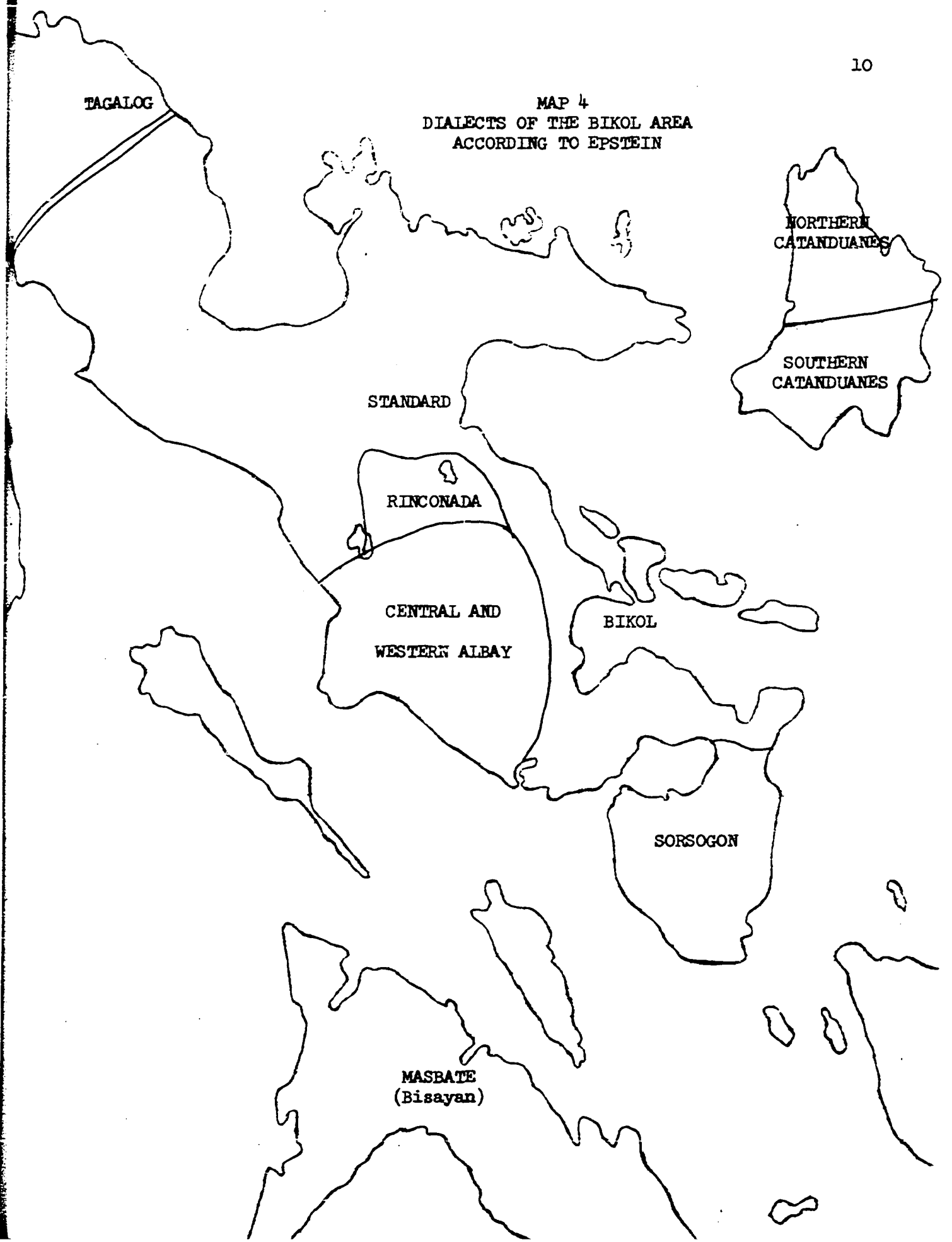
(3) Sorsogon, "portions of which have been much influenced by Waray-waray from neighboring Samar" is included within the Bikol area.

Mintz, in the introduction to his dissertation, presents a dialect subdivision apparently based on extensive observations and very similar to the subdivision presented here. Mintz's conclusions differ from

MAP 3
DIALECTS OF THE BIKOL AREA
ACCORDING TO ANDERSON



MAP 4
DIALECTS OF THE BIKOL AREA
ACCORDING TO EPSTEIN



Anderson's and Epstein's in the following ways:[15]

(1) The dialect of Southern Catanduanes is included as part of Standard Bikol, but Standard Bikol is itself split into five dialects:

(a) Naga

(b) Daet (Camarines Norte)

(c) Partido (eastern Camarines Sur)

(d) Legazpi

(e) Southern Catanduanes

(2) The town of Buhi is separated from the Rinconada area and its dialect "is probably best seen as a language different both from Standard Bikol and from Rinconada."[16] As for the Rinconada dialect, it "may be eventually set off as a separate language."[17]

(3) The dialects of Western Albay appear "to form a dialect chain difficult to define around a single center."[18] He identifies four tentative links in the chain:

(a) Daraga-Camalig-Guinobatan-Jovellar

(b) Ligao

(c) Oas-Polangui

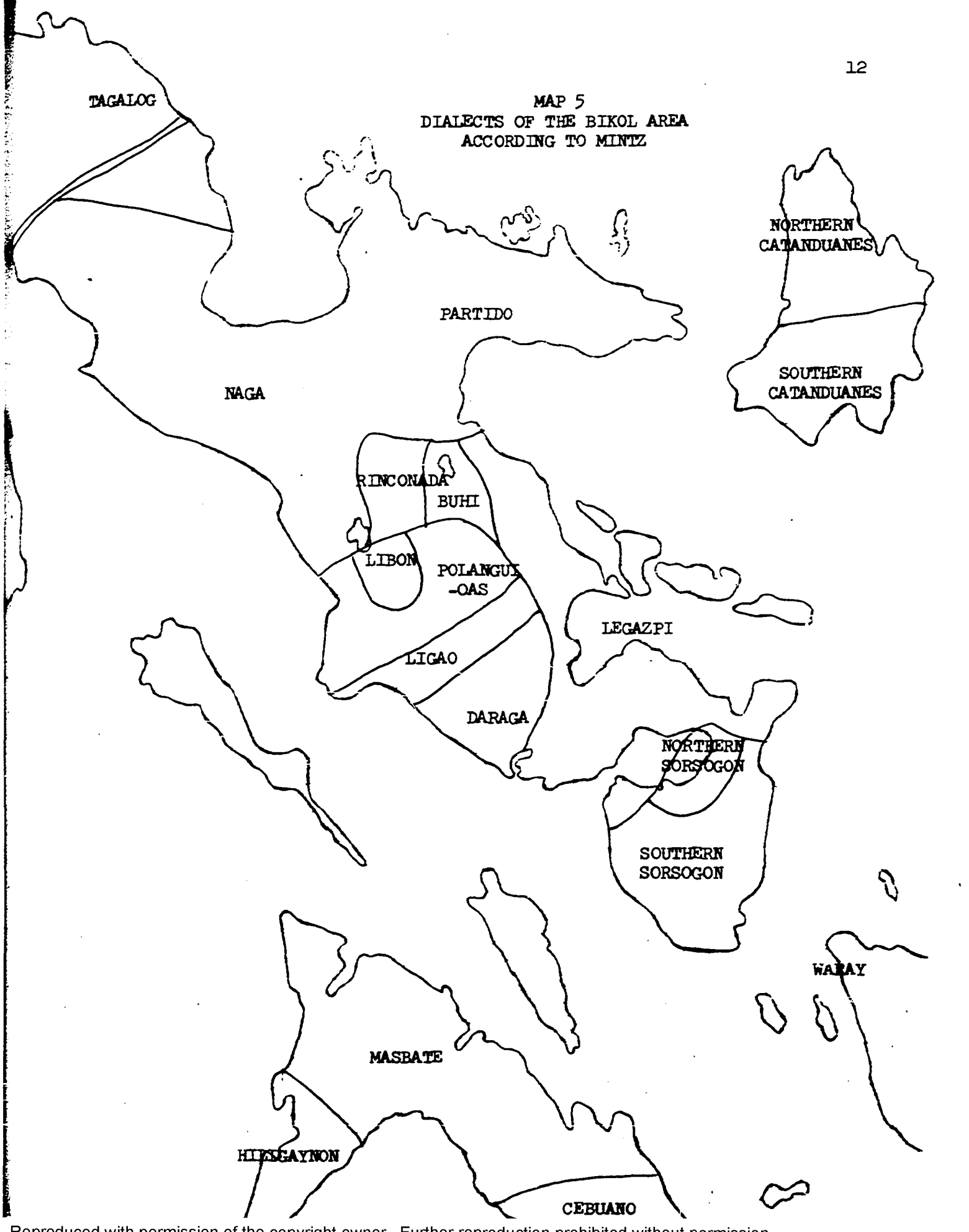
(d) Libon

(4) He identifies two distinct dialect areas in Sorsogon. One of these (Southern Sorsogon) "shows definite affinities to the Waray of Northern Samar, although the speech of each town in noticeably different."[19] The other (Northern Sorsogon) "is apparently traceable across the islands of Ticao and Masbate to the Ilongo of Panay."[20]

This dialectal arrangement is shown on Map 5.

Mutual intelligibility tests were conducted in 1970 for the dialect of Masbate by Jerry Eck and Chuck Walton of the Summer Institute of

MAP 5
DIALECTS OF THE BIKOL AREA
ACCORDING TO MINTZ



Linguistics.[21] While I am not certain how to interpret their results, those results are nonetheless interesting. Seven residents of Masbate town were tested for their understanding of texts in (1) 'Bikol' of Sorsogon town, (2) Capiz, (3) Waray of Lavasares, Samar, (4) Hiligaynon of Iloilo, and (5) Cebuano of Bukidnon. The averages of their results were:

(1) Sorsogon	95.2%
(2) Capiz	75.7%
(3) Waray	66.9%
(4) Hiligaynon	61.0%
(5) Cebuano	70.8%

Subsequently seven residents from towns outside of Masbate town were tested, with the following average results:

(1) Sorsogon	65.2%
(2) Capiz	59.3%
(3) Waray	45.1%
(4) Hiligaynon	47.2%
(5) Cebuano	39.3%

These figures are considerably lower, but still indicate a substantial degree of understanding of the surrounding dialects. Unfortunately Legazpi Bikol was not included in these tests.

COLLECTION OF DATA

In this study data were collected with two objectives in mind--first, to determine to the extent possible the major divisions of the Bikol area into dialect areas; second, to compare the speech varieties to be found within these areas, with a view to classifying them into subgroups and reconstructing their historical development.

The survey was limited to the speech varieties to be found in the population centers of towns.[22] Each population center was taken to possess a single speech variety such that the speech of any native resident could be taken to be representative of that speech variety. The scope of the survey was limited further, in that three areas--(1) Bikol-speaking parts of Camarines Norte and western Camarines Sur, (2) southern Sorsogon province and (3) northern Masbate province--were taken, on the basis of prior studies, informal observations, and the reports of local residents, to be areas of substantial linguistic uniformity. Data were collected only from selected towns within these areas and seemed to confirm these judgments. In other areas, namely (1) the part of the Bikol peninsula lying between Naga City and Sorsogon, Sorsogon, (2) Partido and the Caramoan peninsula (eastern Camarines Sur), and (3) Catanduanes, preliminary data (see below) were collected from all towns. Towns from which data were collected are indicated on Map 6 (p. 18).

No effort was made to choose informants from any particular class or occupation; however, a majority of my informants were public school teachers from the educated middle class who were bilingual in English.

The areas between population centers were treated as though they contained no speakers. Thus all differences between the speech varieties of a given pair of towns were taken to be represented by isoglosses sharing a single location.[23] Since we are concerned with diachronic as well as synchronic comparison, every pair of towns was taken to share a potential boundary, and thus to be separated potentially by a bundle of isoglosses. Nonetheless, in almost all cases, the most similar speech varieties were to be found in adjacent towns.

During the first visit to a given town, a primary data set, consisting of a list containing four hundred basic lexical items (including the Swadesh 100-word list), and the person and deictic pronouns, numerals, negators, and interrogatives was elicited. If only a few differences were found between the data for this town and that for a town already studied, it was concluded that the two towns shared the same dialect. In this case, there was no further systematic collection of data in that town.

If, on the other hand, numerous differences appeared between the data for this town and that for all other towns previously studied, the town was judged to possess a different dialect and a secondary data set was collected, consisting primarily of:

(1) Sentence translations. Two sets of sentences were used, one in "standard Bikol", one in Tagalog, both taken from elementary school reading materials. All major verb types were included in the sentences.

(2) Recorded narratives. Local residents were asked to tell stories of their own selection. Narratives were collected largely as the opportunity arose, but at least six narratives were recorded for each of the different dialect areas.

These data provided information about the verbal inflections, nominal expression markers, and general syntactic structures, and provided the basis for a more comprehensive comparison of the various dialects that had been distinguished.

Although I did not conduct tests of mutual intelligibility, I did obtain comments containing judgments of mutual intelligibility. For example, I was told that residents of Naga and Legazpi could not under-

stand the speech of Iriga and Buhi; that they could, on the other hand, understand the speech of Sorsogon town, and that residents of Southern Catanduanes could understand the speech of Northern Catanduanes. From my own experience I can report that at the end of two months in Iriga City, having previously acquired considerable fluency in Legazpi Bikol, I still had great difficulty understanding and conversing in the Iriga dialect. I had little trouble, however, picking up the speech of Sorsogon town and Northern Catanduanes.

PRELIMINARY RESULTS

All pairs of towns from which the primary data set was collected (see page 15) were compared to determine the number of isoglosses separating them with regard to the following types of linguistic feature:

(1) all phonological features[24]

(2) items on the 100-word Swadesh list[25]

(3) personal and deictic pronouns[26]

(4) numerals, negators, interrogatives[26]

This comparison revealed that adjacent towns--i.e. towns which either share a common boundary or between which the most direct route of travel crosses only a body of water--were separated by bundles of either (1) fewer than five isoglosses or (2) at least fifteen and as many as sixty-one isoglosses.

The town of Baao is separated from Iriga City by three Swadesh-list isoglosses and one phonological isogloss, and from the town of Nabua by four Swadesh-list isoglosses. Otherwise, of the pairs of adjacent towns separated by fewer than fifteen isoglosses, no pairs were separated by more than two isoglosses. There were many pairs of towns separated by

no isoglosses of the types listed above.

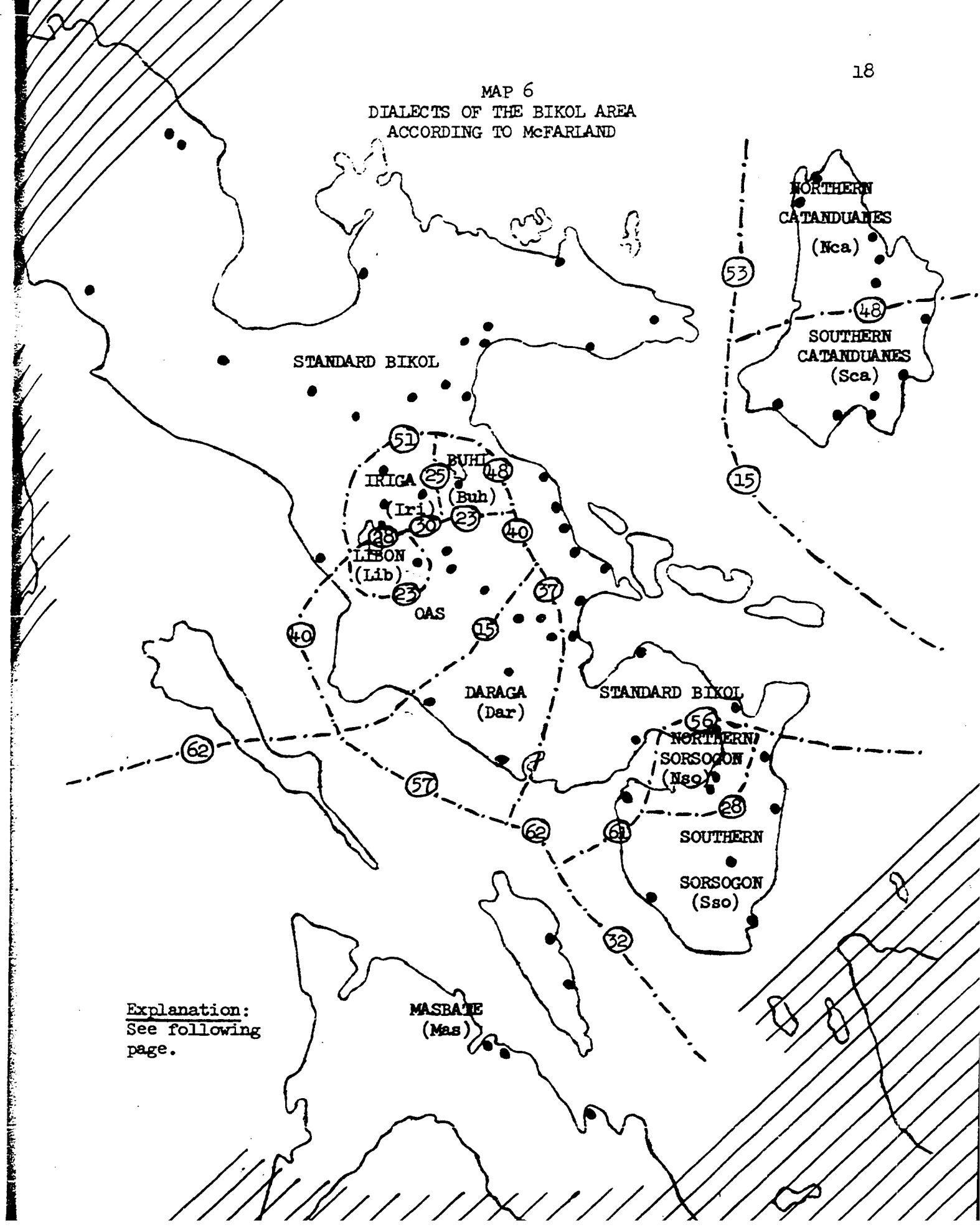
In only two cases did non-adjacent towns have fewer differences with each other than they had with towns lying between them. There are fifteen isoglosses separating Sorsogon, Sorsogon (and two neighboring towns) from the towns of Ticao Island and northern Masbate. The towns of Sorsogon province lying in-between are separated from Sorsogon, Sorsogon by a bundle of twenty-eight isoglosses and from the Masbate towns by a bundle of thirty-two isoglosses.

Similarly Sorsogon, Sorsogon and its neighbors are separated by only 49 isoglosses from Daraga, Albay and its neighbors, whereas the Standard Bikol towns lying in-between are separated from Sorsogon, Sorsogon by 56 isoglosses.

The towns of the Bikol area are thus divided into eleven groups by bundles of at least fifteen isoglosses of the types listed above (see Map 6). For each group the ratio between the number of isoglosses in the bundle separating it from other groups and the number of isoglosses in bundles lying within the group is at least 6:1. Thus Iriga City and the towns of Baao, Bato, and Nabua form a group surrounded by a bundle of twenty-five isoglosses (at the narrowest part). Internally, the largest bundles contain four isoglosses. For this group the ratio between boundary and internal isogloss bundles is 6.2:1. For all other such groups the ratio is even higher. It therefore seems unlikely that basing the division into dialect areas on a different set of isoglosses --i.e., a larger set or a set constituted of isoglosses related to different types of linguistic feature--would have produced a substantially different result.

All bundles of fifteen or more isoglosses of the types listed above

MAP 6
DIALECTS OF THE BIKOL AREA
ACCORDING TO McFARLAND



Explanation:
See following page.

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS ON MAP 6

Shaded area were not included in the survey.

Dots (●) indicate towns from which the primary data set (page 15) was collected.

Dot-dash lines (·—·—·) indicate dialect boundaries, as defined on page 17. These boundaries are intended to indicate the grouping of towns into the various dialect areas, and not to indicate the precise location of any particular isogloss.

Every pair of towns within a given dialect area is either (1) separated by fewer than five isoglosses of the type named on page 16, or (2) connected by a chain of towns, such that no link in the chain contains as many as five isoglosses.

The circled numbers ((37)) indicate the minimum number of isoglosses of the type named on page 16 which separate any town in the dialect area on one side of the boundary from any town in the dialect area on the other side of the boundary. For example, (51) on the boundary between the Iriga dialect area and the Standard Bikol area indicates that some pair of towns (namely, Baao in the Iriga dialect area and Pili in the Standard Bikol dialect area) is separated by 51 isoglosses. Any other pair of towns--one from the Iriga dialect area, one from the Standard Bikol dialect area--is separated by at least 51 isoglosses.

There are towns in the Northern Sorsogon dialect area which are separated from towns in the Masbate dialect area by as few as fifteen isoglosses of the type named on page 16. In all other cases, the smallest circled number appearing on any of the boundaries of a given dialect area indicates the minimum number of isoglosses of the type named on page 16, which separate any town in that dialect area from any town in any other dialect area within the Bikol area.

were taken to constitute dialect boundaries, dividing the Bikol area into the following eleven relatively clearly-marked dialect areas (Map 6):

(1) Northern Catanduanes (Nca): towns of Bagamanoc, Caramoran, Pandan, Payo, and Viga (Catanduanes).

(2) Southern Catanduanes (Sca): towns of Baras, Bato, Gigmoto, San Andres, San Miguel, and Virac (Catanduanes).

(3) Daraga (Dar): towns of Camalig, Daraga, Guinobatan, Jovellar, and Pioduran (Albay); and Donsol (Sorsogon).

(4) Oas: towns of Ligao, Oas, and Polangui (Albay).

(5) Libon (Lib): town of Libon (Albay).

(6) Iriga (Iri): Iriga City and towns of Baao, Bato, and Nabua (Camarines Sur).

(7) Buhi (Buh): town of Buhi (Camarines Sur).

(8) Standard Bikol: towns of Basud, Daet, Mercedes, San Vicente, Talisay (Camarines Norte); Naga City (Nag) and all remaining towns in Camarines Sur except Del Gallego; Legazpi City (Leg) and all remaining towns in Albay; towns of Bacon, Castilla, Magallanes, Pilar, and Prieto Diaz (Sorsogon); and the town of San Pascual (Masbate).[27]

(9) Northern Sorsogon (Nso): towns of Casiguran, Juban, and Sorsogon (Sorsogon).

(10) Southern Sorsogon (Sso): remaining towns in Sorsogon province.

(11) Masbate (Mas): towns on Ticao Island and the northern portion of Masbate Island (southern boundary not determined).[28]

Ten of the dialect areas so defined are relatively small, such that the speech of any of the towns within a given area may be taken to be

representative of all of the towns in that area. The secondary data set, collected from only a few towns within each of these dialect areas, was taken to represent a single speech variety, that is, a single dialect. For purposes of comparison, all differences between dialects observed in the secondary data set were taken to be represented by isoglosses which were part of the major bundles of isoglosses shown on Map 6.

The eleventh dialect area, that of Standard Bikol, is much more extensive, covering part of Camarines Norte, most of Camarines Sur, the eastern part of Albay province, a few towns in Sorsogon province, and the town of San Pascual on Burias Island. This area accounts for about half of the land area and half of the population in the Bikol area. Within this extensive area no major bundles of isoglosses are to be found. Yet the total range of variation from one end to the other is about as great as that between this area and Southern Catanduanes.

Because of this range of difference, no single town was judged to be truly representative of the entire Standard Bikol area. For that reason, data will be presented and compared from two subdialects of Standard Bikol: Naga City and Legazpi City. For purposes of comparison, these two subdialects will be treated as though they constitute distinct dialects, and as though differences between them resided in a single bundle of isoglosses.

SUBGROUPING

As mentioned above, each of the eleven dialect areas in the Bikol area is bounded by a bundle of isoglosses containing many more isoglosses than can be found in any bundle within the area. The same principle is applied in grouping these dialects into subgroups. A <u>subgroup</u> is thus,

in general, any set of dialects bounded by a bundle of isoglosses which contains substantially more isoglosses than those bundles which divide the set into individual dialects.[29]

With regard to the total number of isoglosses of the types listed on page 16, the three dialects of Northern Sorsogon, Southern Sorsogon, and Masbate form a subgroup, as against the rest of the Bikol area dialects. They are separated from the rest of the Bikol area by bundles of isoglosses containing at least forty-nine isoglosses (Map 6). They are separated from each other by bundles of from fifteen (Nso-Mas) to thirty-two (Sso-Mas) isoglosses. These three dialects will be referred to collectively as the Southern dialects, abbreviated SOU.

As suggested by earlier researchers (see pages 7-11), and as was obvious from even a cursory examination of the primary data set, the Southern dialects are more similar to several Bisayan dialects, in particular Hiligaynon and Samar-Leyte, than they are to other Bikol area dialects. The similarities linking these dialects are summarized in Chapter 15. Through the main body of this text, nevertheless, the Southern dialects are treated as a subgroup within the Bikol area and compared on that basis.

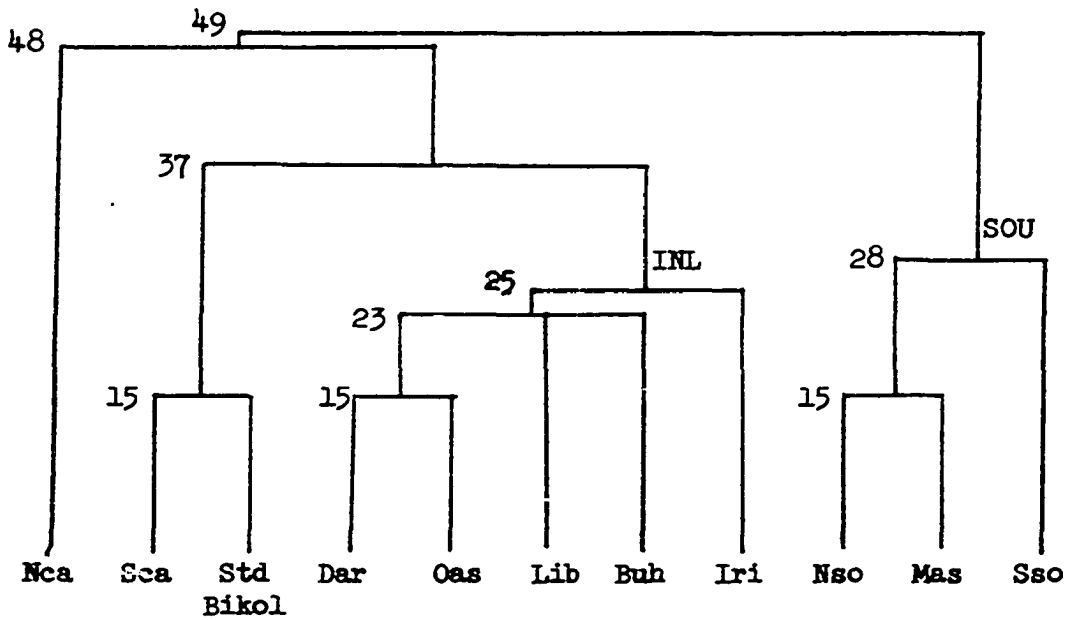
Southern Catanduanes is separated from Standard Bikol by a bundle of fifteen isoglosses. The two dialects together are separated from all other dialects by bundles of at least thirty-seven isoglosses. These two dialects together will be referred to collectively as the Coastal dialects, abbreviated CST.

The five dialects of Daraga, Oas, Libon, Buhi, and Iriga are separated from Standard Bikol (and all other dialects) by bundles of at least thirty-seven isoglosses. The dialect boundaries between them

contain from fifteen to twenty-eight isoglosses. While the difference between twenty-eight and thirty-seven is not large, the assignment of each individual dialect to the subgroup seems clear. Thus Daraga is separated from Standard Bikol by thirty-seven isoglosses and from Oas by only fifteen isoglosses, a ratio of more than 2:1. Iriga is separated from Standard Bikol by fifty-one isoglosses and from Libon by only twenty-eight isoglosses, a ratio of almost 2:1. These five dialects will be referred to collectively as the Inland dialects, abbreviated INL.

Northern Catanduanes, separated from Southern Catanduanes by forty-eight isoglosses, forms a subgroup by itself.

This subgrouping is represented graphically in Tree Diagram 1:[30]



TREE DIAGRAM 1

For the individual dialect areas the ratio between boundary bundles of isoglosses and internal bundles was more than 6:1 (see page 17). It therefore seems unlikely that basing the division into dialect areas on

a different set of isoglosses would have produced a substantially different result. However, the ratio for the subgroups just presented is approximately 2:1 or less. It is thus appropriate to ask whether a different set of isoglosses than the one used (page 16) might have produced a different subgrouping. Or, conversely, would comparison with a different set of isoglosses lend support to even more marginal subdivisions appearing in Tree Diagram 1. For example, do Daraga and Oas form a subgroup against the other Inland dialects? Can the Coastal and Inland dialects be combined into a single subgroup? The answers to these questions require (1) the examination of a larger body of data, and (2) the examination of the data separately by different classes of linguistic features.

As mentioned earlier (p. 15), a secondary data set was collected from one or two towns in each dialect area. Among other things, the secondary data set was the source for verbal inflections and nominal expression markers. The primary and secondary data sets were combined into a composite data set taken to be representative of each dialect area.

The different types of linguistic feature making up the composite data set were compared separately. As Kurath has pointed out:[31]

> To evaluate the relative importance of the dialect boundaries suggested by the bundles, it is not enough to count the heteroglosses [i.e. isoglosses--C.M.] composing the bundles. The heteroglosses must be evaluated from the structural point of view before a sound decision can be reached. For this reason, heteroglosses of different kinds should be assembled separately, so that they can be evaluated by groups.

Five different sets of linguistic feature were extracted from the composite data set:

(1) phonological features

(2) Basic lexical items on the Swadesh 100-word list

(3) Basic lexical items on the 400-word list

(4) Restricted-class morphemes in paradigms; these morpheme classes constitute the paradigmatic classes

(5) Other restricted-class morphemes; these morpheme classes constitute the non-paradigmatic classes.

The features within each of these sets were taken to be structurally similar and quantitatively comparable. The phonological features were compared to determine the regular reflexes of proto-phonemes within each dialect, and to determine the regular correspondence relationships which hold among the various dialects. Basic lexical items were compared lexicostatistically and then were searched for putative common lexical innovations. The morphemes within each restricted class were compared to determine sets of morphemic differentiae (see Chapter 6). The sets of morphemic differentiae were totaled within each class, and collectively for the paradigmatic and non-paradigmatic classes, respectively.

These comparisons yielded the following six sets of subgrouping criteria:

(1) numbers of coinciding phonological isoglosses involving diachronic mergers

(2) lexicostatistical percentages for the 100-word Swadesh list

(3) lexicostatistical percentages for the 400-word list

(4) numbers of putative common lexical innovations

(5) numbers of sets of morphemic differentiae in the paradigmatic classes

(6) numbers of sets of morphemic differentiae in the non-paradigmatic classes.

If the subgroupings based on considerations of each set of criteria are substantially the same, then it would seem to be indicated that these subgroupings actually reflect some aspect of the historical developments of these dialects. If there is agreement with regard to the overall subgrouping but differences in detail, this may indicate (1) the relative unreliability of certain types of criteria as evidence for historical reconstruction, or (2) that some types of historical development may be reflected more heavily for some types of criteria than for others.

In the following chapters the various types of linguistic features in the Bikol area dialects will be compared in detail. In the conclusion (Chapter 16), an interpretation will be offered with regard to the historical development which produced the present pattern of isogloss bundles in the Bikol area.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

[1] Pp. 21, 25.

[2] P. 155.

[3] Map 15.

[4] Pp. viii-ix.

[5] P. 13.

[6] Table 9, pp. 620-625.

[7] Id.

[8] Id.

[9] Reported in Lynch 1959, pp. 143-145.

[10] Ibid., p. 144.

[11] Id.

[12] Ibid., p. 145.

[13] Epstein 1967, first page of unpaginated introduction.

[14] Id.

[15] Mintz 1973, pp. 1-4.

[16] Ibid., p. 4.

[17] Id.

[18] Id.

[19] Ibid., p. 3.

[20] Id.

[21] Eck 1970.

[22] All land area in the Philippines is divided among cities (lungsod) and municipalities (bayan). All land area within a municipality is divided among barrios. The leading barrio, usually the most populous, and the seat of the municipal hall, is the poblacion. As used here, "population center" refers to the poblacion.

[23] As used here isogloss has substantially the meaning assigned to it by Robins 1968: "lines . . . demarcating areas exhibiting a particular feature and so dividing them off from areas exhibiting other features." (p. 55)

[24] Differences involving diachronic mergers were taken to define isoglosses.

[25] The 100-word list was used rather than the full 400-word list, in order to give approximately equal weight to lexical and non-lexical items. Spot checks indicated that use of the 400-word list would not have changed the results. Non-cognate homosemantic items were taken to define isoglosses.

[26] Isoglosses were counted in terms of morphemic differentiae (see Chapter 6).

[27] The assignment of towns in Camarines Norte and San Pascual (Masbate) to the Standard Bikol area is based on Mintz's observation; Mintz 1973, p. 2.

[28] Mintz 1973 reports that "The southern part of Burias island, centered at Claveria, also within the province of Masbate, is said to speak Ilongo (also known as Hiligaynon)." (p. 3) This may mean that it belongs to the Masbate dialect area. On Map 6 it is so included.

[29] As used here, subgroup refers to a clustering of dialects on the basis of similarity with regard to a particular set of linguistic features. While inferences will be drawn (Chapter 16) about the historical significance of these clusterings, the particular subgrouping is taken to have no inherent diachronic significance.

[30] This tree diagram and other tree diagrams in this work are intended as a graphic representation of relative synchronic similarity with regard to a particular set of features. They are not intended to express particular genetic developments. See fn. 29.

[31] Kurath 1972, p. 25.

2. PHONOLOGICAL DIVERGENCE (SYNCHRONIC)

There is not a large amount of phonological divergence among the Bikol area dialects. There is, nonetheless, probably as much diversity as is to be found among all of the speech varieties in the Central Philippines. Synchronic differences with regard to phonemic inventory, distribution, and morphophonemics--to be presented in this chapter--are very limited in number. Diversity with regard to regular phonological correspondences and historical developments--to be presented in Chapter 3--is somewhat more extensive.

PHONEMIC INVENTORY

The phonemic inventories of the Bikol area dialects have been combined and presented in Table 1. The first column lists the phonemic transcriptions used in this study. The second column contains phonetic descriptions of the phonemes. The remaining six columns show the distribution of the phonemes by dialect. Standard Bikol, Northern Catanduanes, and the Southern dialects share the same phonemic inventory, identified as Inventory A. This phonemic inventory is shared with Tagalog and many of the Bisayan dialects. The inventory for Southern Catanduanes (Sca) differs from Inventory A by having in addition a frontal-alveolar lateral /ɬ/. In the articulation of /ɬ/, the tongue protrudes slightly between the teeth, and the critical articulation takes place between the blade of the tongue and the alveolum. The result sounds like a combination of /l/ and /y/, and contrasts with both of these phonemes.

Daraga, Oas, and Iriga City share the same phonemic inventory, identified as Inventory B. This differs from Inventory A by having in addition a back, unrounded vowel /ə/ and by lacking /h/. Libon also

TABLE 1. PHONEMIC INVENTORIES OF THE BIKOI AREA DIALECTS

Phoneme	Phonetic Description	Inventory A	Sca	Inventory B	Lib	Iri (b)	Buh
	Vowels:						
a	Low	X	X	X	X	X	X
i	High, front	X	X	X	X	X	X
u	High, back, rounded	X	X	X	X	X	X
ɨ	High, back, unrounded	-	-	X	-	-	X
o	Mid, back, rounded	-	-	-	X	-	-
:	Vowel length	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Consonants:						
	Stop:						
	Voiceless:						
p	Labial	X	X	X	X	X	X
t	Apical	X	X	X	X	X	X
k	Velar	X	X	X	X	X	X
q	Glottal	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Voiced:						
b	Labial	X	X	X	X	X	X
d	Apical	X	X	X	X	X	X
g	Velar	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Nasal:						
m	Labial	X	X	X	X	X	X
n	Apical	X	X	X	X	X	X
ŋ	Velar	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Fricative:						
s	Apical, voiceless	X	X	X	X	X	X
ɣ	Velar, voiced	-	-	-	-	-	X
h	Laryngeal, voiceless	X	X	-	-	-	-
	Liquid:						
	Lateral:						
l	Apical	X	X	X	X	X	X
ɭ	Frontal-alveolar	-	X	-	-	-	-
	Tap or trill:						
r	Apical	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Glide:						
y	Front	X	X	X	X	X	X
w	Back	X	X	X	X	X	X

shares Inventory B; however the fourth vowel is a mid, back, rounded /o/, instead of /ə/.

There are in addition one dialect and one subdialect whose respective inventories each differ from Inventory B by one phoneme. The inventory for the towns of Baao, Bato, and Nabua (identified as Iriga (b)) differs from Inventory B by having only three vowels, lacking /ə/. The inventory for Buhi (Buh) differs by having in addition a voiced, velar fricative /ɣ/.

Vowel length is distinctive in all Bikol area dialects, but stress, or loudness, is not. Distinctive vowel length may occur between any vowel other than the final vowel of a word and a single consonant; e.g. Leg sa:lug 'river' (cf. salug 'floor'); ma:ba:sa 'will read' (cf. maba:sa 'able to be read'). Length is non-distinctive after the final vowel of a word. In inherited words, length does not occur before a consonant cluster. In borrowed words, however, length does occur before clusters: Leg pi:dru 'Pedro'; gu:stu 'want, like' (from Sp. gusto).

In general, vowels in the Bikol area dialects have a wide range of free variation. In some environments, the range is wider than in others. In most dialects, /u/ immediately before pause has a range from [u] to nearly as low as [o].[1] Elsewhere /u/ is quite high. Thus Leg /pu:suq/ 'heart' ranges from [pu:suq] to [pu:soq]. The range for /kulug/ 'pain' is [kulug] to [kulog], etc. The lowest variants of /u/ occur in Legazpi. The lower limit of variation is slightest higher in Naga, Daraga, Iriga, and Buhi. In Libon /u/ always has a high articulation. In the other dialects the lowest variants of /u/ are only slightly lower than in Libon.

In Legazpi and Naga, /i/ preceding length or a final glottal stop,

has a range of articulation from [i] to nearly as low as [e]. Thus Leg /qi:laŋ/ 'sick' ranges from [qi:laŋ] to [qe:laŋ]; /qa:kiq/ 'child', from [qa:kiq] to [qa:keq]; /qi:mut/ 'first', from [qi:mut] to [qe:not]. If, however, /i/ both precedes and follows a single consonant, both are high. Thus /qi:nit/'heat', /ki:liŋ/ 'to look back', and /pi:liq/ 'to choose' are always [qi:nit], [ki:liŋ], and [pi:liq], respectively. Lower variants of /i/ were not observed in other dialects.

In the town of Oas /a/ followed by yi, wu, or wa is always long and has an allophone which is phonetically the mid vowel below the second vowel. The second vowel in such a sequence is very short, so that the phonetic sequence tends to sound like a diphthong: /mapa:yit/⟶ [mape:y^{i}t] 'bitter'; /da:wun/⟶[do:w^{u}n] 'leaf'; /ka:wan/⟶[kë:ẅan] 'to eat'.

These allophones are assigned to /a/ on the basis of their occurrence in certain morphophonemic alternations. Between unlike vowels, initial /q/ is replaced by a glide in Oas. Thus:

para- + qilat 'to wait'⟶para:walat⟶[parë:ẅ^{i}lat] (as in magpara:walat 'to keep waiting'; cf. magparabasa 'to keep reading')

ma- + qitim 'blackness'⟶ma:yitim⟶[me:y^{i}tim] 'black' (cf. matakut 'afraid')

pa- + quliq 'to go home'⟶pa:wuliq⟶[po:w^{u}liq] (as in pinagpa:wuliq 'was caused to go home'; cf. pinagpakuku 'was caused to get')

In the towns of Ligao and Polangui, in the same dialect area as Oas, /a/ in the above environments is always long, but has only low allophones: thus [mapa:y^{i}t], etc.

In Daraga /a/ followed by yi, wu, or wi can be short or long. If it is long, the second vowel is very short, as in Oas. Daraga does not have the higher allophones of /a/ found in Oas. Thus: /mapa:yit/⟶ [mapa:y^{i}t] 'bitter'; /da:wun/⟶[da:w^{u}n] 'leaf'; /ka:wïn/⟶[ka:ẅ^{ï}n] 'to eat'.

In Daraga, Oas, Iriga, and Buhi /w/ has an unrounded allophone [ẅ] between /ï/ and any other vowel except /u/: Dar /ka:wïn/⟶[ka:ẅ^{ï}n] 'to eat'.

DISTRIBUTION

All the consonants shown on Table 1 except /h/, /q/, and /g/ occur in initial, final intervocalic, and pre- and post-consonantal positions. In final and pre-consonantal position, the glides (/y, w/) form diphthongs with the preceding vowel. The following examples from Legazpi illustrate the occurrence of all Legazpi consonants except /h/ and /q/ in all positions:

/p/	/t/	/k/
puqun 'to begin'	ta:ŋa 'ant'	kagat 'to bite'
qa:pun 'afternoon'	mabataq 'stinking'	takut 'fear'
qa:yup 'animal'	qabut 'to arrive'	du:luk 'to approach'
kupsit 'to squirt'	bitbit 'to carry'	taklaŋ 'to push'
sugpun 'to join'	bagtiŋ 'to ring'	sagkud 'until'
/b/	**/d/**	**/g/**
bu:hay 'life'	dagit 'anger'	gabus 'all'
qiba 'different'	qa:dal 'to study'	qa:gad 'to request'
lanub 'wall'	likud 'back'	simbag 'to answer'
kabtaŋ 'part'	kasuqudmaq 'yesterday'	tagduq 'to drip'
midbid 'to know'	qigdaq 'to lie down'	maqasgad 'salty'
/m/	**/n/**	**/ŋ/**
manuk 'chicken'	natuk 'coconut milk'	ŋa:taq 'why?'
ta:maq 'right'	pa:naq 'bow and arrow'	saŋa 'branch'
qitum 'black'	magayun 'beautiful'	qibuŋ 'other side'
qimsaq 'to hatch'	minsan 'sometimes'	saŋliq 'to change'
maqugma 'happy'	sapnaq 'to cook rice'	pisŋi 'cheek'

/s/	/l/	/r/
saruq 'one'	la:was 'body'	ribuk 'noise'
pasaq 'to smash'	quliq 'to go home'	qaruŋ 'house'
qa:las 'snake'	bakal 'to buy'	lugar 'place'
buskay 'shell'	qalpug 'dust'	larga 'to depart'
bagsak 'to fall'	subliq 'to borrow'	gabriŋ 'to snatch'

/y/	/w/
ya:qun 'to be there'	walu 'eight'
la:yug 'to fly'	ba:waŋ 'garlic'
pa:ruy 'rice plant'	sabaw 'soup'
baybay 'sand'	yawyaw 'fly-chaser'
takyag 'arm'	banwaq 'town'

/h/ does not occur in the Inland dialects. In the other dialects, except in Legazpi City, /h/ occurs only in initial, intervocalic, and post-consonantal positions, as in the following examples from Naga: haluy 'long (time)'; qi:hiq 'to urinate'; samhud 'soft broom'.

In Legazpi City, /h/ does not occur in word- or root-initial position. Thus:

Leg qagya:nan, Nag hagya:nan 'stairway'

Leg qa-rayuq, Nag ha-rayuq 'far'

Leg ma-qamut, Nag ma-hamut 'fragrant'

Leg mag-qaput, Nag mag-haput 'to ask'

The phoneme /q/ occurs initially and finally in all dialects, and intervocalically in all dialects except Oas and Libon. The following examples from Naga illustrate the occurrence of /q/ in these three positions: qa:may 'early', taqu 'to give', pamuq 'full'. There is no single speech variety in the Bikol area in which /q/ occurs in clusters in both pre-consonantal and post-consonantal positions within morphemes, except in doubled monosyllables. In Legazpi City, Naga City, Northern Catanduanes, Daraga, Oas, and Buhi /q/ occurs only pre-consonantally in clusters, and not post-consonantally. In Camarines and Partido (within the Standard Bikol area), Southern Catanduanes, Iriga, and the

Southern dialects /q/ occurs only post-consonantally in clusters and not pre-consonantally. In Libon /q/ does not occur in clusters. This distribution is exemplified by the following cognate set: Leg, Nag, Nca, Dar, Oas, Buh siqpun, Camarines Norte, Partido, Sca, Iri, SOU sipqun, Lib si:pun 'head cold'.

It is probable that the restriction on glottal stop clusters within a morpheme does not apply to morphemes with the shape of a doubled monosyllable. However, I have very little evidence on this matter. The following two examples contain glottal stop clusters which vary from the dominant order in the respective dialects: Nso, Mas baqbaq 'mouth'; Nag qalqal 'to gasp with tongue hanging out'.[2] Many Bisayan dialects also have -Cq- as the predominant order of glottal stop clusters, yet have morphemes with the shape of a doubled monosyllable containing glottal stop clusters with the order -qC-. For example Cebuano has buqbuq 'to pour', diqdiq 'to cut a slit', kaqkaq 'stammer', etc.[3]

/q/ occurs post-consonantally at a morpheme boundary, even in those dialects without post-consonantal /q/ within morphemes: All dialects nag-qinum 'drank' (qimum 'to drink').

In Southern Catanduanes and the Southern dialects pre-consonantal /q/ occurs at morpheme boundaries. In Libon and Iriga, however, it does not: CST, Nca, Dar, Oas, Buh, SOU matabaq na, Lib, Iri mataba: na 'fat already' (All dialects matabaq 'fat', na 'already').

In the Southern dialects /l/ does not occur preceding another apical consonant, except in doubled monosyllables and at morpheme boundaries: SOU qadlaw 'day, sun' (cf. PAN qaLjaw); daldal 'talkative'; pagal na 'tired already'.

/ɬ/ in Southern Catanduanes occurs in all positions, as shown in

the following examples: ḷa:ŋaw 'housefly'; haḷat 'to wait'; baguḷ 'coconut shell'; gaḷdaw 'day, sun'; bukḷud 'hill'. Within morphemes, /ḷ/ does not occur in contact with /i/, but may do so at a morpheme boundary: qi-ḷaqug 'to be put in' (qi-, verbal prefix; ḷaqug 'inside').

/g/ in Buhi occurs intervocalically, finally, and preconsontally, but not initially or post-consonantally: bigad 'to spread in sun'; dakig 'much, many'; ma-qagsim 'sour'. It does not occur in contact with /u/ and only one case was observed with /g/ in contact with /i/: kiga:ga 'to be acquainted with'.

Many types of consonant cluster occur in the Bikol area dialects. The only restrictions on consonant clusters in intervocalic position are the following:

(1) /h/ does not occur as the first member;

(2) as discussed above, /q/ occurs only in certain positions in consonant clusters;

(3) double or geminated consonants occur within morphemes only in Iriga: ririggan 'chest (of body)', qinnawaq 'to study'.

In inherited words there are no final clusters, and the only initial clusters have a semivowel as the second member: Leg nyug 'coconut', swaq 'kalamansi'. Such clusters are particularly common in the Inland dialects: Lib bwuk 'hair', lyog 'neck'.

Other types of initial clusters, final clusters of any kind, and clusters of more than two consonants are found only in borrowed words: Leg prubli:ma 'problem' (from Spanish problema), kwarta 'money' (from Sp. cuarta), ti:ts (from English teach), buy frind (from Eng. boy friend), maqistru 'teacher' (from Sp. maestro), qikspiryinsya 'experience' (from Sp. experiencia).

MORPHOPHONEMICS

A number of morphophonemic alternations are shared by all or most of the Bikol area dialects. These are similar to alternations found in Tagalog and other Philippine languages. The most important of these alternations are (1) -ŋ alternations, (2) doubling and reduplication, (3) -N- alternations, (4) d : r alternations, (5) syncope, and (6) vowel length alternations. Except where noted otherwise, all examples in this section are from Legazpi.

-ŋ alternations refer to the alternation of allomorphs of the shape -ŋ with both the linker na and the indefinite genitive CNE marker (Leg ki, Iri sa, elsewhere nin, p. 163), in all dialects except the Southern dialects.

The linker na appears in a number of environments, the primary one being the modification construction (p. 110); e.g. bulud na daku:laq 'big hill' (bulud 'hill', daku:laq 'big'). The -ŋ allomorph appears following morphemes whose primary allomorph ends in a vowel or /q/. Before -ŋ morphemes whose primary allomorph ends in /q/ have an allomorph without /q/. Thus: ta:wu-ŋ daku:laq 'big person' (ta:wu 'person'); ba:du-ŋ daku:laq 'big coat' (ba:duq 'coat').[4]

A common nominal expression (CNE) with an indefinite genitive CNE marker can appear in a number of different syntactic relationships within a sentence. One of these is the indefinite object complement: nagbakal si hwan ki qaruŋ "Juan bought a house." (bakal 'to buy', qaruŋ 'house'). The same rules apply to -ŋ : ki alternations as to -ŋ : na alternations: nagbakal qaku-ŋ qaruŋ "I bought a house." (qaku 'I')

Three types of reduplication occur in all twelve Bikol area dialects: (1) regular (R) reduplication, (2) -Vr- reduplication, and (3)

Curu- reduplication.

Regular reduplication appears in plural forms of ma- adjectives (p. 208) and the imperfective and contemplated forms in most verbal inflections (p. 178). A regular reduplicated base consists of the corresponding unreduplicated base plus a prefix consisting of the first consonant (C_1) and vowel (V_1, without length) of the unreduplicated base. Thus: -gagayun, as in magagayun 'beautiful (pl)' (cf. -gayun, as in magayun 'beautiful'). Similarly, -paparaba:sa, as in nagpaparaba:sa 'keeps reading' (cf. -paraba:sa, as in nagparaba:sa 'kept reading').

-Vr- reduplication appears in the plural forms of verbs (p. 186) and adjectives other than ma- adjectives (p. 208). A -Vr- reduplicated base consists of the corresponding unreduplicated base plus an infix, usually consisting of the first vowel (V_1) of the unreduplicated base plus -r-. Thus: -bara:sa, as in pigbara:sa 'was read (pl)' (cf. -ba:sa, as in pigba:sa 'was read'). If, however, the corresponding unreduplicated base begins in /l/, the reduplicated base consists of the unreduplicated base plus a prefix consisting of r- plus the first vowel (V_1) of the unreduplicated base. Thus: -rulu:tuq, as in magrulu:tuq 'to cook (pl)' (cf. -lu:tuq, as in maglu:tuq 'to cook').

Curu- reduplication appears in the diminutive forms of nouns, adjectives, and verbs (p. 175). A Curu- reduplicated base consists of the corresponding unreduplicated base plus a prefix consisting of the first consonant (C_1) of the unreduplicated base plus -uru-. Thus: -kurukanta, as in nagkurukanta 'sang (a little bit)' (cf. -kanta, as in nagkanta 'sang'); durudakul 'rather many' (cf. dakul 'many').

Doubling appears in intensive forms of adjectives and verbs, and in diminutive forms for nouns, adjectives, and verbs (p. 175). A

doubled base consists of the corresponding undoubled base plus a suffix of the same shape. Thus: ta:wuta:wu 'miniature man, doll' (cf. ta:wu 'person'). In a doubled verb-base, the penultimate vowel is followed by length, provided that there is no following consonant cluster. Thus: -lakawla:kaw, as in maglakawla:kaw 'to walk around (with no definite purpose)' (cf. -lakaw, as in maglakaw 'to walk').

-N- alternation refers to the morphophoneme N which appears in a number of prefixes, including maN-, naN-, and paN- (p. 177). N is a nasal stop whose place of articulation is the same as that of the first consonant of the base, or the first consonant in other allomorphs of that base. Thus maN- + li:put 'cold'→manli:put 'to get thoroughly cold'; maN- + ga:na 'to win'→maŋga:na 'to win'. If the first consonant is /h/, /q/, or a glide, N→/ŋ/. Thus: maN- + ya:ri → maŋya:ri 'to happen'.

If the consonant of the other allomorphs of the base is a stop or fricative other than /g/, that consonant is lost following N. Thus: maN- + bakal 'to buy'→mamakal 'to buy extensively'; maN- + qadyiq 'to pray'→maŋadyiq 'to pray'. If such forms are reduplicated, N behaves as the first consonant of the root: naN- + R + bakal→namamakal 'buying extensively'.

These rules may be summarized as follows:

-Np-, -Nb-, -Nm-	→	-m-
-Nt-, -Nd-, -Nn-, -Ns-	→	-n-
-Nr-	→	-nr-
-Nl-	→	-nl-
-Nk-, -Nq-, -Nŋ-	→	-ŋ-
-Ng-	→	-ŋg-

-Nh- ⟶ -ŋh-

-Ny- ⟶ -ŋy-

-Nw- ⟶ -ŋw-

d : r alternations are found primarily in the Inland dialects, where morphemes with final -d before pause have an allomorph with final -r- before a suffix beginning in a vowel. For example: Buh ba:yad 'to pay', baya:ran 'to be paid to'; tu:bud 'to drip', tubu:ran 'to be dripped on'. Similar forms may also be observed in the archaic written Bikol, such as is used in Bible translations.

There are a number of inflected and derived forms in which the shape of the root differs from its shape in other forms in that it has one less vowel, and is therefore said to be syncopated; e.g. Leg magkaput 'to hold', kaptan 'to be held'; dakul 'many', kadaklan 'majority'. There are no syncopated forms with more than two consonants in a cluster.

Syncopated forms are particularly common in the Inland dialects, especially in Oas. In Oas nearly all words of three syllables or more which would have a short penultimate vowel, followed by a single consonant in a full form have instead a syncopated form from which the penultimate is omitted: e.g. nalimiq⟶nalmiq 'was wet' (limiq 'wet').

In all dialects, the members of a glottal stop cluster associated with syncopation have the same order as all other glottal stop clusters within the given dialect. That is, in Legazpi, Naga, Northern Catanduanes, Daraga, Oas, and Buhi, the order is -qC-. In Southern Catanduanes, Camarines Norte and Partido (Standard Bikol), and the Southern dialects, the order is -Cq-. In Iriga, the order is -Cq- if that is the order of the consonants in the full form. Otherwise the glottal stop

does not appear in the syncopated form. Libon has no glottal stop clusters, in full roots or syncopated forms. Thus:

CST, Nca, SOU muqut, Iri, Buh miqit 'to love'

Leg, Nag, Nca ma- + muqut + -an → mamuqtan 'to be loved'

Sca, SOU ma- + muqut + -an → mamutqan 'to be loved'

Buh ma- + miqit + -an → mamiqtan 'to be loved'

Iri ma- + miqit + -an → mami:tan 'to be loved'

Daraga and Oas do not have roots containing intervocalic /q/. However, these two dialects have syncopated forms in which glottal stop clusters appear corresponding to roots with no glottal stop: Dar, Oas mi:it 'to love', ma- + mi:it + -an → mamiqtan 'to be loved'.

In Standard Bikol, syncopated forms rarely occur in verbal inflections if the glottal stop follows the other consonant in the full form of the root. In other dialects syncopated verb forms with metathesized glottal stop clusters are common: e.g., Leg, Oas suluq 'to burn'; na- + suluq + -an → Leg nasuluqan, Oas nasuqlan 'was burned up'.

In the Southern dialects, clusters in syncopated forms with /l/ and another apical consonant have the order -Cl-: SOU sulud 'inside'; na- + sulud + -an → nasudlan 'was entered'.

Basic vowel length within a root is fixed arbitrarily in the lexicon. That is, in its basic lexical form, a root has either a long or short penultimate vowel. Thus there are minimal pairs such as Leg salug 'floor', sa:lug 'river'.

There are a number of morphophonemic alternations involving the shift of vowel length. That is, in certain inflected and derived forms, vowel length may appear on a different vowel of the root from the one on which it appears in the lexical form of the root. For example, with

most verbal suffixes vowel length appears on the final vowel of any root having penultimate vowel length lexically: basa:hun 'to be read' (ba:sa 'to read'); taba:ŋan 'to be helped' (ta:baŋ 'to help'). Otherwise length does not appear: darahun 'to be carried' (dara 'to carry'); marumduman 'to be remembered' (rumdum 'to remember').

With some affixes, vowel length appears on the penultimate vowel of the inflected or derived form, regardless of the lexical vowel length in the root, except that vowel length does not appear before a consonant cluster: paraqu:ma 'farmer' (quma 'farm'); paraba:sa 'one who is always reading' (ba:sa 'to read'); daku:lun 'very much' (dakul 'much'); maluya:hun 'very weak' (malu:ya 'weak').

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER TWO

[1] Mintz 1973 follows the Tagalog orthographic convention of writing o in a final syllable, u elsewhere; e.g. kulog 'pain'. My observation was that for monolingual speakers, there was no contrast between [o] and [u] even in borrowed words.

[2] Mintz 1971a.

[3] Cebuano forms are from Wolff 1971.

[4] There is a similar alternation in Tagalog. See Schachter 1972, p. 118. In Tagalog, but not in Bikol, -ŋ also appears following words ending in -n (with loss of -n). E.g. mayroqon 'to have, there is' + na →mayroqoŋ.

[5] This reduplication is also found in Tagalog; see Schachter 1972, p. 97.

[6] Doubling also occurs in Tagalog; see Schachter 1972, p. 337.

[7] A similar alternation is found in Tagalog; see Schachter 1972, p. 290.

[8] E.g. An Biblia and Hare Sa Sako Pagdoot (translation of Rizal's Noli Me Tangere).

3. PHONOLOGICAL DIVERGENCE (DIACHRONIC)

The differences in phonemic inventory discussed in the preceding chapter are the result of somewhat divergent historical developments in the phonologies of the Bikol area dialects. In addition these divergent developments have produced a number of regularly corresponding phonological differences which do not involve differences in phonemic inventory.

For the most part, this dissertation is not directly concerned with the historical antecedents of the dialectal differences presented here, except insofar as synchronic dialectal differences are taken to reflect one or more diachronic changes. With regard to phonology, nonetheless, a great deal of work has been done on reconstructing the history of the Austronesian language family, of which the Bikol area dialects are members. It is thus a fairly simple matter to associate synchronic phonological differences to diachronic phonological developments.

Table 2 shows the major phonemes reconstructed by Dyen for Proto-Austronesian (Column 1)[1] and the subsequent phonemes formulated by Llamzon for Proto-Philippine (Column 2).[2] Column 3 contains the proto-phonemes which are necessary to account for the regular phonological correspondences among the Bikol area dialects. These proto-phonemes are assigned to "Proto-Bikol", the latest proto-language which is the direct antecedent of all the Bikol area dialects. It should be observed that "Proto-Bikol" is a fiction and probably refers to a proto-language which is also the direct antecedent of most of the Bisayan dialects and possibly Tagalog. The last column on Table 2 shows the present phonemes in the Bikol area dialects.

In addition to differences in the historical development of

TABLE 2. HISTORICAL PHONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

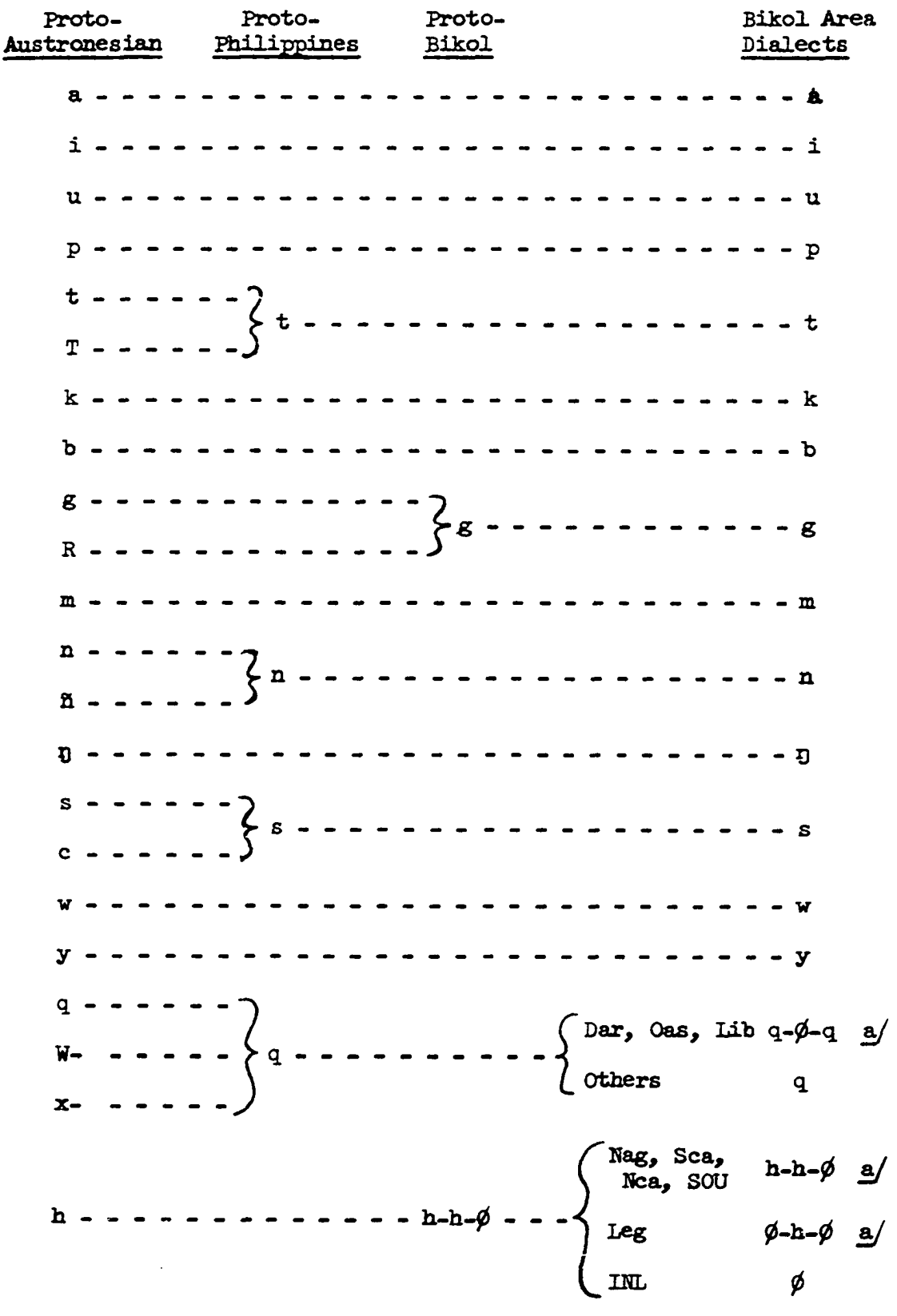
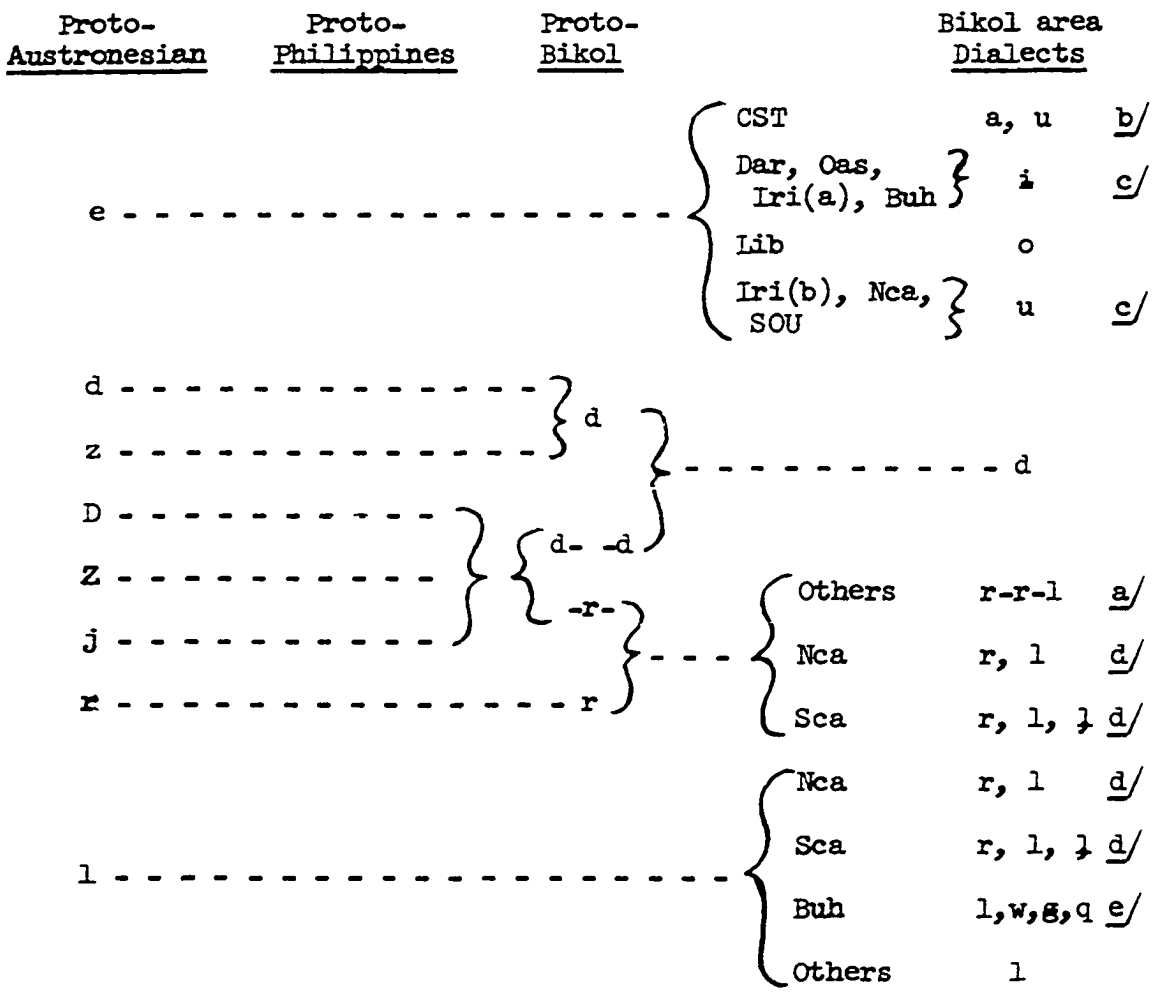


TABLE 2
(Continued)



a/ A formulation of the shape X-Y-Z indicates that the reflex is X in initial position, Y in intervocalic position, and Z in final position.

b/ The reflex is u for the final vowel of a word, a elsewhere.

c/ Iriga (a) refers to Iriga City; Iriga (b), to the towns of Baao, Bato, and Nabua (see page 16).

d/ In Northern Catanduanes *r, l, -D-, -Z-, -j-> l in initial position and following i; > r elsewhere. In Southern Catanduanes *r, l, -D-, -Z-, -j- >l following i; > r preceding i or y (provided it does not also follow i); and > ɬ elsewhere. (See page 74.)

e/ The Buhi reflexes are only partially environmentally conditioned (see discussion beginning on page 69).

individual phonemes, there were some differences with regard to the historical development of certain phoneme sequences; namely, glottal stop clusters and clusters consisting of /l/ and another apical consonant:

*-qC- > Leg, Nag, Nca, Dar, Oas, Buh -qC-; Camarines Norte, Partido, Sca, SOU -Cq-; Lib, Iri -:C-

*-Cq- > Leg, Nag, Nca, Dar, Oas, Buh -qC-; Camarines Norte, Partido, Sca, Iri, SOU -Cq-; Lib -:C-

*-lC- (C = apical) > CST, Nca, INL -lC-; SOU -Cl-

*-Cl- > All dialects -Cl-

Table 3 shows the major correspondence relationships which hold among the Bikol area dialects. All but one of these correspondence relationships are the result of historical developments listed in Table 2 or cited in the preceding paragraph. The correspondence of /r/ in Oas, Libon, Iriga, and Buhi to /d/ in other dialects is irregular and the result of analogical change, dialect mixture, or both.

TABLE 3. PHONOLOGICAL CORRESPONDENCES AMONG THE BIKOL AREA DIALECTS

	COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Iri	Buh	Nso	Sso	Mas
h			h,ø	q-, -ø-, -w-, -y-					h		
-q-				-ø-, -w-, -y-			-q-				
-qC-	-Cq-	-qC-				-C-	-Cq- -C-	-qC-	-Cq-		
r,l	r,l, ɻ	r									
r,l	r,l, ɻ	l						l,ɛ, w.q	l		
d				r					d		
-lC-, -Cl-									-Cl-		
u	a,u			i		o	i		u		

In this chapter will be discussed each of the regular phonological correspondences, the historical development(s) which produced it, and exceptional cases which appear to contradict the historical developments inferred here.

Forms cited in this chapter are primarily from my own 400-word list. Some additional lexical meterial was available for Legazpi City (Belen 1962), Naga City (Mintz 1971a), and Buhi (Yamada 1972). Reconstructed forms cited for Proto-Austronesian (PAN) are from Dyen and McFarland 1971.[3] Proto-Hesperonesian (PHN) forms are from Dempwolff 1938.[4]

IDENTITY CORRESPONDENCES

Most of the phonemes listed on Table 1 (p. 30) have identity correspondences among the Bikol area dialects. That is, forms containing a given phoneme in one dialect contain the same phoneme in cognate forms in other dialects. Phonemes with identity correspondences are i (< *i), p (< *p), t (< *t, *T, *C), k (< *k), b (< *b), g (< *g, *R), m (< *m), n (< *n, *ñ, *L), ŋ (< *ŋ), and s (< *s, *c). a (< *a), u (< *u), w (<*w), and y (< *y) are also included as having identity correspondences. However a and u are also reflexes of *e in some dialects (p. 52), and w and y are reflexes of *q (p. 50), *h (p. 49), and *l (p. 69) in some dialects. These phonemes thus enter into both identity and non-identity correspondences.

The phonemes named in the preceding paragraph occur repeatedly in examples for the divergent correspondences, and need only be exemplified briefly here. The following exemplify the vowels a (< *a), i (< *i), and u (< *u):

All dialects manuk 'chicken' (PAN manuk)

All dialects putiq 'white' (PAN putiq)

Leg, Nag, INL, SOU pira, Sca, Nca pila 'how many?' (PAN pija)

The following exemplify the voiceless stops p (< *p), t (< *t, *T, *C), and k (< *k):

CST, Nca, Iri ta:kut, Dar, Oas, Lib, Buh takut 'afraid' (PAN [tT]akut)

All dialects kagat 'to bite' (PAN kaRaC)

CST, Dar, Oas, Lib, Iri, Nso putul 'to cut off' (PAN puTul)

CST, Nca, Nso, Mas qatup, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh qatip, Lib qatop 'roof' (PAN qatep)

The following exemplify the voiced stops b (< *b) and g (< *g, *R). d (< *d, *z, *D, *Z, *j) is discussed below (p. 59).

Leg, Nag, INL, Nso gulay 'to cook (vegetables) in coconut milk' (PHN gulay)

CST basug, Nca, INL, SOU bugug 'satisfied (after eating)' (PAN be[cs]uR)

Nca, Dar, Oas, Buh gaqbi, Lib ga:bi, Iri, SOU gabqi 'night' (PAN Rabi?i[?h])

The following exemplify the nasals m (< *m), n (< *n, *N, *L), and ŋ (< *ŋ):

Leg, Nag, Nca, SOU ŋa:ran, Sca ŋa:ɻan, INL ŋaran 'name' (PAN ŋajaL)

CST, Nca, Dar, Oas, Iri, Lib, SOU namuk, Buh na:muk 'mosquito' (PAN ŋamuk)

All dialects qinum 'to drink' (PAN ?inum)

The following exemplify s (< *s, *c), w (< *w), and y (< *y):

All dialects saŋa 'branch' (PAN saŋa[?h])

CST pasaq, Nca, Sso pusaq, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh pisaq, Lib posaq, 'to smash' (PAN pecaq)

Leg, Nag, INL, SOU walu, Sca waɻu, Nca waru 'eight' (PAN (walu?)

Leg, Nag, Nca, SOU la:ŋaw, Sca ɻa:ŋaw, Dar, Lib laŋaw, Iri, Oas laŋaw, Buh la:ŋaw 'housefly' (PAN laŋaw)

CST, Nca, Dar, Lib, Iri, SOU pa:yuŋ, Oas, Buh payuŋ 'umbrella' (PHN payuŋ)

All dialects sakay 'to ride in boat' (PAN [cs]akay)

CORRESPONDENCES FOR /h/

In the Inland dialects *h (and associated proto-phonemes; e.g. *S) >∅, q-, -w-, or -y-, depending on the environment. In Legazpi City initial *h q-. Elsewhere *h>h in initial, intervocalic, and post-consonantal position, >∅ in final and pre-consonantal position. Thus /h/ in other dialects corresponds initial q- in Legazpi City, and ∅, q-, or a glide in the Inland dialects. In initial position the Inland dialects have q- corresponding to h-:

Nag, Sca, Nca, SOU ha:pun, Leg, Lib qa:pun, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh qapun 'afternoon' (Tag ha:pon)

Intervocalically, between like vowels, the Inland dialects have ∅ corresponding to -h-. In Daraga and Oas, the first vowel in such sequences is always long:

CST, Nca, SOU bahaq, INL ba:aq 'flood' (PAN bahaq)

CST, Nca, SOU simba:han, INL simba:an 'church' (PHN sembah 'to worship')

Between unlike vowels a glide (/w, y/) corresponds to /h/. The glide is /y/ between /a/ and /i/, or following /i/ before another high or mid vowel. It is /w/ between /a/ and a back vowel (/u, ɨ, o/), or following a back vowel before another high or mid vowel.

CST, Nca, SOU da:hun, Dar, Oas da:wun, Lib, Iri, Buh dawun 'leaf' (PAH Dahwen)

CST, Nca, SOU tahiq, Dar, Lib, Buh tayiq, Oas, Iri ta:yiq, 'to sew' (Tag tahiq)

In Oas, in the sequence corresponding to -a(:)hV- (where V is not

/a/), /a/ is always long, and has an allophone as discussed on page 32. The second vowel is very short, so that the sequence tends to sound like a diphthong. Thus: /da:wun/⟶ [do:w^{u}n] 'leaf'.

In such sequences in Daraga the /a/ can be long or short. If /a/ is long, the second vowel is very short, as in Oas: Dar /da:wun/⟶ [da:w^{u}n].

In Oas the sequence corresponding to Ci(:)hV- or Cu(:)hV- (where V is different from /i/ and /u/ respectively) is usually syncopated:

CST, Nca, Nso, Sso bu:hay, Mas buhay, Dar buway, Oas bway, Lib, Iri, Buh bu:way 'alive'

Oas ma- + qisi + -an⟶ma:yisiyan⟶[me:y^{i}syan] 'to be known' (cf. Leg maqisi:han)

Corresponding to a cluster with /h/ as the second member, Iriga has a double (geminated) consonant. The correspondence for Oas cannot be definitely established from the available evidence. Other Inland dialects have ∅ corresponding to post-consonantal /h/:

Leg, Nag, Lib sigid, Sca, Nca sighid, Dar si:gid, Oas siqgid, Iri siggid, Buh qi-si:gid 'hard broom'

CST, Nca, SOU samhud, Dar, Oas, Buh sa:mud, Iri sammud 'soft broom'

CST, Nso daghan, Dar dada:wigan, Lib ro:gan, Iri ririggan,[5] Buh rigan, Sso, Mas dughan 'chest (of body)'

CORRESPONDENCES FOR /q/

In initial and final positions, *q (and associated proto-phonemes; e.g. *W-, *x-) > q in all dialects:

Leg, Nag, Nca, INL, SOU quran, Sca qulan 'rain' (PAN quZaL)

CST, Nca, Buh, SOU pi:liq, Dar, Oas, Lib, Iri piliq 'to choose' (PAN piliq)

/q/ does not occur in intervocalic position in Daraga, Oas, and Libon. *-q-> ∅ or a glide in those dialects, depending on the environ-

ment. Between like vowels, these dialects have ∅ corresponding to -q- in the other dialects. In Daraga and Oas, the first vowel is always long:

CST, Iri, Buh puqun, Dar, Oas pu:un, Lib puun 'to begin' (PAN puqun)

Leg, Nag laqug, Sca ɻaqug, Nca luqug, Dar, Oas li:ig, Lib loog, Iri, Buh liqig 'inside'

Between unlike vowels, a glide corresponds to -q-, according to the same rules as for -h- above:

Leg, Sca, Nca, SOU ka:qun, Nag kakan, Dar kawin, Oas ka:win,[6] Lib kawon, Iri, Buh kaqin 'to eat' (PAN ka?en)

CST, Nca, Iri, Buh, SOU mapaqit, Dar, Lib mapayit, Oas mapa:yit 'bitter' (PHN paqit)

In Oas /a/ in the sequence corresponding to -a(:)qV) (where V is not /a/)is always long, and has allophones as discussed on page 32. The second vowel is very short, and the sequence approaches the sound of a diphthong: mapa:yit⟶[mape:y^{i}t] 'bitter'.

In Daraga, if /a/ is long, the second vowel is very short, as in Oas: na:wug⟶[na:w^{u}g] 'to descend' (Tag na:qug).

In all three dialects, the sequence corresponding to CiqV- or CuqV- (where V is different from /i/ and /u/ respectively) is usually syncopated:

Leg, Nag, Nso, Mas liqug, Sca ri:qug, Nca, Sso li:qug, Dar, Oas lyig, Lib lyog, Iri, Buh liqig 'neck' (PHN liqiR)

In Libon *q > ∅ in both pre-consonantal and post-consonantal positions. In Iriga pre-consonantal *q > ∅, but post-consonantal *q > q. In both dialects there was compensatory lengthening of the vowel preceding a *q which was lost. In all other Bikol area speech varieties, glottal stop clusters were either maintained or metathesized to fit a single general pattern; thus *-qC- and *-Cq- > -qC- in Legazpi, Naga,

Northern Catanduanes, Daraga, Oas, and Buhi; >-Cq- in Camarines Norte, Partido, Southern Catanduanes, and the Southern dialects. Thus only Iriga preserved the distinction between *-qC- and *-Cq-:

Leg, Nag, Nca, Dar, Oas, Buh baqgu, Sca, SOU bagqu, Lib, Iri ba:gu 'new' (PAN baqeRu)

Leg, Nag, Dar, Oas tuqlaŋ, SOU tulqaŋ, Sca tuḻqaŋ, Nca tuqraŋ, Lib, Iri tu:laŋ, Buh tuq̇waŋ 'bone' (PAN CuqlaN)

Nca, Dar, Oas, Buh gaqbi, Lib ga:bi, Iri, SOU gabqi 'night' (PAN Rabi?i[?h])

CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN REFLEXES FOR PAN e

The predominant reflexes for PAN e are /u/ in Northern Catanduanes, Iriga (b),[7] and the Southern dialects, /i/ in Daraga, Oas, Iriga (a),[7] and Buhi, and /o/ in Libon. The Coastal dialects have /a/ for *e in a penultimate syllable, /u/ elsewhere.[8] These reflexes are illustrated in the following examples:

CST, Nca, SOU qitum, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh qitim, Lib qitom 'black' (PHN qi(n)tem)

Leg, Nag, SOU salug, Sca saḻug, Nca sarug, Dar, Iri salig, Lib salog, Buh sagig 'floor' (PHN [s]aleR)

CST bagas, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh bigas, Lib bogas, SOU bugas 'husked rice' (PHN beRas)

Leg, Nag balad, Sca baḻad, Nca burad, Dar, Oas, Iri bilad, Lib bolad, Buh bigad, SOU bulad 'to spread (dry) in sun' (PAN belaj)

Divergences from these reflexes appear where the proto-form contains the vowels *u...e, *e...u, or *e...e in successive syllables, or where the proto-form ended in *-eq, *-ey, or *-ew.

If the proto-form contained the vowels *u...e, Buhi has i...i; all other dialects have u...u:

Leg, Nag, Lib, Nso, Sso qu:lud, Sca qu:ḻud, Nca qu:rud, Dar, Iri, Oas qulud, Buh qiwid 'worm' (PAN ?ulej)

CST, Nso, Sso bu:huk, Nca, Mas buhuk, Dar, Oas, Iri bu:uk, Lib bwuk, Buh biwik 'hair' (PAN buSek)

CST, Nca, Dar, Lib, SOU bitu:qun, Oas, Iri bituqun, Buh bitiqwin 'star' (PAN bi[tT]uqen)

Leg, Nag, Dar, Iri, Nso, Oas, Lib maŋurul, Buh maŋiriw 'dull (not sharp)'

If the proto-form had the vowels *e...u, all except the Coastal dialects have u...u. The Coastal dialects have some forms with a...u and some with u...u.[9] From the 400-word list we have the following examples:

CST pamuq, INL, SOU pumuq 'full' (PAN pemuq)

CST basug, Nca, INL, SOU busug 'satisfied (after eating)' (PAN be[cs]uR)

but:

All dialects tubu 'sugar cane' (PAN tebuS)

CST, INL, SOU tulu, Nca tatlu 'three' (PAN telu?)[10]

From the supplementary materials,[11] we can add:

Leg, Nag qatut, Buh qutut 'to pass wind' (PHN qe(n)tut)

Nag sabu 'to boil' (PAN sebu[?h])

Leg, Nag tamug, Buh tumug 'sound' (PHN [t]eneR)[12]

Leg tabus, Nag tubus 'to redeem' (PHN tebus)

In the final example the Legazpi and Naga forms disagree.

We can also add the following words from the 400-word list, not associated with reconstructed forms, which have the correspondence a...u in the Coastal dialects for u...u in the other dialects:

Leg, Nag qa:bu, Sca qabu, Nca, INL, SOU qubu 'to cough' (Tag qubo)

CST patus, Nca, INL, SOU putus 'to wrap' (Ceb putus)

The divergent forms in the Coastal dialects would appear to be the result of divergent subdialectal developments within these dialects,

with subsequent dialectal or subdialectal borrowing producing the present configuration. The contrast of Leg tabus to Nag tubus 'to redeem' suggests that the source of u...u forms was a subdialect in the Naga area (cf. Leg ta:ŋud, Nag tuŋud below, p. 55). At any rate *e...u > a...u appears as the dominant development within the Coastal dialects.

If the proto-form had the vowels *e...e, all except the Coastal dialects show the predominant reflexes (u, i, or o) in both syllables. As with *e...u, the Coastal dialects have both a...u and u...u.[13] From the 400-word list we have:

CST daŋug, Nca duŋug, Dar diŋig, Oas, Iri, Buh riŋig, Lib roŋog 'to hear' (PAN DeŋeR)

CST qanum, Nca, SOU qumum, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh qinim, Lib qonom 'six' (PAN ʔenem)

but:

CST, Nca, SOU lubuŋ, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh libiŋ, Lib loboŋ 'to bury (dead)' (PAN lebeŋ)

Leg, Nag, Nca, Nso, Mas dukut, Dar dikit, Oas, Iri, Buh rikit, Lib rokot, Sso du:kut 'to stick' (PAN zeket)

From the supplementary materials,[14] we can add:

Leg, Nag tagob 'full, overflowing' (PAN teReb)

Nag tados 'to crush lice with fingernail' (PHN tedes)

Leg, Nag tukun 'pole' (PAN teken)

Leg, Nag tu:muk 'thorn' (PAN [tT]e[nñ]ek)

Leg, Nag sugud 'bee, sting' (Tag sigid 'sharp pain')

We can also add the following words from the 400-word list, not associated with reconstructed forms, which have the correspondence a...u in the Coastal dialects for i...i or o...o in the Inland dialects, and u...u in Northern Catanduanes or the Southern dialects:

Leg, Nag laqug, Sca ɻaqug, Nca luqug, Dar, Oas liːig, Lib loog, Iri, Buh liqig 'inside'

Leg, Nag lamub, Sca ɻamub, Dar, Buh limib, Nso, Sso lumub 'wall'

The following words have the correspondence u...u in the Coastal dialects for i...i or o...o in the Inland dialects:

CST, Nca buŋug, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh biŋig, Lib boŋog 'deaf' (Ilocano beŋŋeg)

CST, Nca suːpug, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh sipig, Lib sopog 'shame'

CST, Nca, SOU makusug, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh makisig, Lib makosog 'strong'

Leg dumug, Dar dimig 'wet'

Finally, one word has a...u in Legazpi, u...u in Naga, and i...i or o...o in the Inland dialects:

Leg, Nso taːŋud, Nag, Sso tuŋud, Dar, Oas tiŋid, Lib toŋod 'immediate vicinity'

The Northern Sorsogon form is taken to be a borrowing from Legazpi).

The distribution for *e...e is very similar to that for *e...u, except that the numbers of forms with a...u and u...u, respectively, are more nearly equal. Again it is probable that divergent subdialectal developments produced the present distribution of a..u and u...u. As with Leg tabus, Nag tubus 'to redeem' (p. 53), in the one case in which Legazpi and Naga have forms with different vowels corresponding to i...i in the Inland dialects, it is Naga which has the form with u...u (tuŋud). This suggests again that the subdialect producing forms with u...u was located within the Naga area.

The reflexes for *e before a final *-q, *-w, or *-y are not clearly established since few forms have been reconstructed with these final sequences, and few words in the Bikol area dialects can be associated with these forms. There are, nonetheless, a number of words which

contain vowels in some dialects which suggest an original *-eq, *-ew, or *-ey sequence.

The following words (from the 400-word list or the supplementary materials) can be associated with forms reconstructed with *-eq:

CST, Nca, SOU qi:hiq, Dar, Oas, Lib, Iri qi:iq, Buh qiyiq 'urine' (PHN ieq)

Nag, Iri, Nso, Mas basaq 'wet' (PAN baseq)

Nag baguq 'swelling', Leg baguq 'lumbago' (PAN baReq 'abscess')

Buhi i...i in qiyiq 'urine' corresponding to i...i in the other dialects is similar to Buh i...i corresponding to u...u for *u...e (p. 52). There are, however, no other cases in which *i...e exhibits assimilation to i...i (cf. *qi(n)tem, p. 52). This Buhi form and baguq in Legazpi and Naga provide limited evidence that *-eq was kept distinct form *-aq in at least some of these dialects. basaq 'wet' is of limited distribution in the Bikol area and could be a borrowing from Tagalog.

There are three other words on the 400-word list, not associated with reconstructed forms, in which /i/ or some other regular reflex of *e appears before -q. In one case /i/ or /o/ (Libon) in the Inland dialects corresponds to /u/ elsewhere:

CST, Nca, SOU mamunduq, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh mamindiq, Lib mamondoq 'sad'

These reflexes are the same as those for *e in a final syllable. A second case shows the same distribution, except that the coastal dialects have -aq:

Leg, Nag daku:laq, Sca daku:laq, Nca dakuruq, Dar, Oas, Iri dakiliq, Lib dakoloq, Buh dakigiq 'large' (Tag daki:laq 'great')

In the third case, only Oas has /i/; all other dialects have /a/:

Oas mabitiq, Leg, Nag, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh, Nso mabataq 'bad-smelling'

In Oas mabiṯiq, the replacement was probably influenced by the feeling that the tense guttural vowel /i/ more fully expresses an unpleasant sensation than does the /a/ vowel. The other two examples present additional limited evidence for the reconstruction of *-eq in these words.

*-ew has been reconstructed for only a few words, and there is disagreement as to which set of correspondences it should be assigned to. One form on Dyen and McFarland 1971 which has *-ew and is represented in the Bikol area is the following:

SOU bahuq 'bad-smelling' (PAN behew)

-iw does occur in the Inland dialects, but this is apparently a regular reflex for *-aw.

In Iriga (a) /a/ and /i/ are in complementary distribution before final -w. /a/ appears if the penultimate vowel is /i/; /i/ appears otherwise. Thus liŋaw 'to forget', but laŋiw 'housefly'. Iriga (b) always has /u/ corresponding to /i/ in Iriga (a). Thus laŋuw 'housefly'. In general, Oas has the same distribution as Iriga; an exception is the word liṯaw 'to float', corresponding to Iri liṯiw. Buhi has both -iw and -aw corresponding to -iw in Iriga, with no apparent phonological conditioning. Possibly the Buhi forms with -iw are borrowings from Iriga. All other dialects, including Libon and Daraga, have -aw corresponding to both -aw and -iw in Iriga (a). The following examples illustrate these correspondences:

Leg, Nag, Sso, Mas qa:gaw, Dar, Nso qagaw, Oas, Iri, Buh qagiw 'to grab' (Tag qa:gaw)

Leg, Nag, Dar, Lib, Buh qaldaw, Sca qaḷdaw, Nca qardaw, Oas qanriw, Iri qaldiw, SOU qadlaw 'day, sun' (PAN qaLjaw)

Leg, Lib qanaw, Nag, Sca hanaw, Dar qinaw, Oas, Buh qiniw, Iri niniw, SOU hunaw 'to wash hands' (Tag hinaw) [15]

CST, Nca qiba:baw, Dar, Lib, SOU qibabaw, Oas, Iri, Buh qibabiw 'on top' (PAN babaw)

CST, Nca, SOU qi:law, Dar, Oas qilaw 'lamp, light' (PAN ?ilaw)

Leg, Nag, Nca, SOU la:ŋaw, Sca ɻa:ŋaw, Dar, Lib laŋaw, Oas, Iri laŋiw, Buh la:ŋiw 'housefly' (PAN laŋaw)

CST lataw, Nca, SOU lutaw, Dar, Oas litaw, Lib lotaw, Iri litiw, Buh li:taw 'to float' (Tag litaw)

Leg, Nag, Lib, Iri, Buh liŋaw, Sca riŋaw 'to forget' (PAN liŋaw 'quiet')

Leg, Nag, Nca, Dar mapuqŋaw, Sca, Nso mapuŋqaw, Oas, Buh, mapiqŋiw, Lib mapo:ŋaw, Iri malipi:ŋiw 'lonely'

Several words on the 400-word list can be associated with forms reconstructed with *-ey:

Leg, Nag pa:ruy, Sca pa:ɻuy, Nca, Sso pa:ray, Dar paray, Oas, Iri, Buh pariy, Lib paroy 'rice plant' (PHN pajey)

CST katuy, Nca, INL, SOU qatay 'liver' (PAN qaCey)[16]

Nso, Sso matay, Mas patay 'to die' (PAN patey)[17]

Oas, Iri tiytiy, Lib toytoy 'bridge' (PHN teytey)

Except for Inland qatay 'liver', these forms suggest the development *-ey > CST -uy, Nca, Dar, SOU -ay, Oas, Iri, Buh -iy, Lib -oy. Other words fitting this correspondence are:

Leg, Nag haluy, Dar qilay, Oas qiliy, Buh qigiy, Nca huray 'long (time)'

Nca humay, Dar qumay, Oas, Buh qimiy, Lib qomoy 'cooked rice'; Nso, Mas humay 'rice plant'

Leg, Nag malumuy, Nso malumay 'soft'

The forms in the Coastal dialects are consistent and suggest that *-ey and *-ay were kept distinct in these dialects. The forms in the Inland dialects are not so consistent. These dialects also have inconsistent correspondences in the following words:

Nca baray, Dar, SOU balay, Oas, Iri baliy, Lib baloy, Buh bagiy 'house' (PAN balay)

Leg, Dar, Nso, Mas sunay, Nag, Sca, Nca, Sso su:ŋay, Oas, Iri, Lib sunuy, Buh sunay 'horn'

INL qatay 'liver' could be explained as a borrowing from the dialects (e.g. Daraga) in which *-ey > -ay. The forms for *balay could represent a development in which *balay acquired an ultimate *e through syncope. For example, the form *kabalayan (cf. Ceb kabalayan 'collection of houses') could have been syncopated to *kabalyan (see p. 40). The syncopated form could then have been analyzed as containing the root *baley, rather than *balay. The form for 'horn' could be reconstructed with *-ey, with subsequent assimilation to u...u in Oas, Iriga, and Libon (cf. p. 52) and the borrowing of su:ŋay into the Coastal dialects. It would be harder to account for the Coastal forms with -oy by any sort of analogical change or borrowing. It thus appears that the distinction between *-ey and *-aj was maintained in the Coastal and Inland dialects, but was lost elsewhere.

CORRESPONDENCES WITH /d/

/d/ in the Bikol area dialects is a reflex of *D, *Z, *j, *d, and *z. The evidence for *D, *Z, and *j is quite clear for most dialects; that for *d and *z is rather sparce.

In all Bikol area dialects, *D and *j > d in final position:

Leg, Nag, Dar, Oas, Iri, SOU likud, Sca rikud 'back (of body)' (PAN likuD)

Leg, Nag, balad, Sca balad, Nca burad, Dar, Oas, Iri bilad, Lib bolad, Buh bigad, SOU bulad 'to spread (dry) in sun' (PAN belaj)

Intervocalically, *D, *Z, and *j merged with *r and *l in Northern and Southern Catanduanes. These reflexes are discussed below (p. 74). In all other dialects *-D-, *-Z-, and *-j- > -r-:

Leg, Nag, Nca, Lib, Buh, SOU tu:rug, Sca tu:lug, Dar, Oas, Iri turug 'to sleep' (PAN tuRuR)

Leg, Nag, Nca, INL, SOU quran, Sca qulan 'rain' (PAN quZaL)

Leg, Nag pa:ruy, Sca pa:luy, Nca, Sso pa:ray, Dar paray, Oas, Iri, Buh paray, Lib paroy 'rice plant' (PHN pajey)

In the Coastal dialects, Northern Catanduanes, Daraga, and the Southern dialects, *D and *Z >d in initial position:

CST, Nca, Sso, Mas da:hun, Dar, Oas da:wun, Lib, Iri, Buh dawun 'leaf' (PAN Dahwen)

CST, Nca, Dar, SOU duguq, Oas, Lib, Iri, Buh ruguq 'blood' (PAN ZuRuq)

The initial reflexes for *D and *Z in Oas, Libon, Iriga, and Buhi are discussed below (p. 61).

Only a few forms on the 400-word list can be associated with reconstructed forms containing *d or *z. For initial position we have:

CST, Nca, Dar, Lib, Iri, Buh, SOU da:yaq, Oas dayaq 'to cheat' (PHN daya)

CST, Nca, Dar, Iri, Buh, SOU da:gat, Oas, Lib dagat 'sea' (PHN daRat)

Leg, Nag, Nca, Nso, Mas dukut, Sso du:kut, Dar dikit, Oas, Iri, Buh rikit, Lib rokot 'to stick' (PAN zeket)

From the supplementary materials,[18] we can add:

Leg, Nag dandan 'to heat near the fire' (PAN dandan)

These examples indicate that initial *d and *z > d in the Coastal dialects, Northern Catanduanes, Daraga, and the Southern dialects. The reflexes in Oas, Libon, Iriga, and Buhi are discussed below (p. 61).

For the intervocalic position, no words on the 400-word list can be associated with forms reconstructed by Dempwolff with *d. From the supplementary materials, we have:

Leg, Nag ha:diq 'king' (PHN ha(n)di)

Leg, Nag tados 'to crush lice with fingernail' (PHN tedes)

For *z, we have the following examples from the 400-word list:

Leg, Nag, SOU qa:dal, Sca qa:dal, Nca qa:dar, Dar, Buh qadal 'to study' (PHN azar)

CST, Nca, Iri, SOU ba:duq, Dar, Oas, Lib, Buh baduq 'dress, coat' (PHN bazu)

These examples suggest that intervocalic *d, *z > d.

There are, in addition, a number of words which have -d- in Standard Bikol and -r- in Tagalog and/or Cebuano. Since the intervocalic reflex for *D, *Z, and *j is -r- in Bikol and -l- in Tagalog, the correspondence of Bikol -d- to Tagalog -r- must be assigned to other proto-phonemes, presumably to *d or *z.[19]

Leg, Nag qi:duq 'puppy', Ceb qi:ruq 'dog'

Nag li:duŋ, Ceb li:ruŋ 'round'

Nag kudut, Ceb kurut 'to pinch'

Leg, Nag badus, Ceb burus 'pregnant'

Leg, Nag lada:wan, Tag, Ceb lara:wan 'picture'

Leg, Nag ladup, Tag lirip 'to dive'

Leg, Nag tadaq, Tag tira 'left-over (as food)'

Leg, Nag mu:da, Tag mu:ra 'to curse'

Leg, Nag laga:diq, Tag, Ceb laga:riq 'saw'

No words on the 400-word list can be associated with forms reconstructed by Dempwolff with final *d. From the supplementary materials, we have:

Leg, Nag, Buh qa:mud 'to drift with current' (PAN qafud)

Leg, Nag lawud, Buh lawid 'deep part of sea' (PAN laud)

*z is not reconstructed for final position.

With regard to the initial reflexes for *D, *Z, *d, and *z, there is conflicting evidence in Oas, Libon, Iriga, and Buhi. These dialects have a large number of words, many of which can be associated with

reconstructed forms, with initial or post-consonantal r- corresponding to initial or post-consonantal d- in other dialects:

Oas, Iri ratiŋ 'to arrive' (PHN dateŋ)

Oas, Lib, Iri, Buh ruguq, CST, Nca, Dar, SOU duguq 'blood' (PAN ZuRuq)

Oas, Iri, Buh rakip, Lib rakop, CST, SOU dakup, Dar dakip 'to catch' (PAN Dakep)

Lib ro:gan, Iri ririggan, Buh rigan, CST, Nso daghan, Dar dada:wigan, Mas, Sso dughan 'chest (of body)'

Oas, Lib marorom, Sca maduḷum, Nca madurum, Buh madilim, SOU madulum 'dark' (PAN Delem; the Oas and Libon forms also show assimilation of *l—→r.)

Oas qanriw, Leg, Nag, Dar, Lib, Buh qaldaw, Sca qaḷdaw, Nca qardaw, Iri qaldiw, SOU qadlaw 'day, sun' (PAN qaLjaw)

Oas ra:wig, CST, Nca, SOU daqug, Dar dawig, Iri, Buh daqig, 'to be defeated, outdone' (Tag daqig)

Lib, Iri raraga, Leg, Nag, Nca, Buh, SOU dara:ga, Sca daḷa:ga, Dar, Oas daraga 'unmarried girl' (PHN DaRa, Tag dala:ga)

Oas, Iri, Buh riŋig, Lib roŋog, CST daŋug, Nca duŋug, Dar diŋig 'to hear' (PAN DeŋeR)

Oas, Lib, Iri, Buh ragaq, CST, Dar dagaq 'land, soil' (Hil dagaq)

Iri ramrag, Dar damlag 'morning'

Oas, Iri, Buh rimrim, Lib romrom, Leg, Dar rumdum, Nag girumdum, Sca, Nca gilumduṃ, SOU dumdum 'to remember' (Tag damdam 'to feel', Ceb dumdum 'to remember' PHN DemDem)

Oas, Iri qagranan, Lib, Buh qagra:nan, Dar qagdanan, Nca, SOU hagda:nan 'stairway' (Tag hagdan)

Oas, Iri, Buh rikit, Lib rokot, Leg, Nag, Nca, Nso, Mas dukut, Dar dikit, Sso du:kut 'to stick' (PAN zeket)

Lib, Iri riŋriŋ, Nca, Mas diŋdiŋ 'wall' (PHN diŋdiŋ)

Iri, Buh qapris 'wound', Nca hapdus 'pain', Sso hapdus 'sick' (Ceb hapdus 'pain')

Oas, Buh qisraq, Lib qisoraq, Iri qisi:raq, Nca, SOU qisdaq 'fish' (Tag qisdaq)

Oas sinra, CST, Dar, Nso, Mas sinda 'they'

In some of the above words one or more of the 'r' dialects has /d/. In addition, there are a number of words with initial /d/, for which none of the 'r' dialects has /r/:

Buh dadagagan 'bridge'

Nag damu:lag, INL damulag 'carabao'

Leg, Nag, Nca, INL, SOU dara, Sca daḷa 'to carry, bring' (Tag dala)

CST, Nca, Dar, Lib, Iri, Buh, SOU da:yaq, Oas dayaq 'to cheat' (PHN daya)

CST, Dar, Oas, Lib, Buh, Nso, Sso duwa, Nca dawha, Iri darawa, Mas du:ha 'two' (PAN DewSa)

Iri dịgkal 'to dig'

Nag, Nso du:qut, Iri duqut 'grass'

Leg, Nag daku:laq, Sca daku:ḷaq, Nca dakuruq, Dar, Oas, Iri dakịliq, Lib dakoloq, Buh dakịgịq 'large' (Tag daki:laq 'great')

CST, Nca, Sso, Mas da:hun, Dar, Oas da:wun, Lib, Iri, Buh dawun, Nso dahun 'leaf' (PAN Dahwen)

Leg, Nag dakul, Sca dakuḷ, Nca dakur, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh dakịl, Lib dakol 'many, much'

Nag, Nca, Iri daqan, Sca, Buh, Nso da:qan 'old (thing)' (Tag da:qan 'past')

Oas duqyuŋ, Iri duyuŋ 'to push (person)'

Leg, Nag, INL, SOU madaliq 'quick' (Tag madaliq)

Leg, Nag, Dar, Iri, SOU dala:gan, Oas, Lib, Buh dalagan, Sca daḷa:gan, Nca dara:gan 'to run' (Ceb dala:gan)

CST, Nca, Dar, Iri, Buh, SOU da:gat, Oas, Lib dagat 'sea' (PHN daRat)

Leg, SOU dalugdug, Nca darugdug, Buh dawịgdịg 'thunder'

Dar, Iri dagịldịl 'thunder'

Post-consonantally, the following words have /d/ in all dialects in

which they are represented:

Nag, INL, SOU sundaŋ 'bolo'

Nca turduq, Lib tamuldu, Mas tudluq 'finger'

CST, Nca, SOU mamunduq, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh mamindiq, Lib mamondoq 'sad'

CST, Nca, Dar, SOU tindug, Oas, Iri, Buh tindig, Lib tindog 'to stand' (Tag tindig)

Buh sindak 'to surprise'

It is likely that at least one dialect (e.g. Oas) or subdialect has /r/ regularly for initial *D, *Z, and/or *d, *z. The fact that Oas has both /r/ (qamriw 'day, sun', sinra 'they') and /d/ (mamindiq 'sad', tindig 'to stand') post-consonantally, and that such proto-forms as PAN DewSa 'two' and PAN DeŋeR 'to hear' are represented in both lists (those with /r/ in some dialects; those with /d/ in all dialects) seems to favor the argument that subdialectal developments have contributed to the present distribution of /r/ and /d/.

An alternative explanation for at least some of these forms is that the forms with initial r- are analogical back-formations from forms with a prefix, such that *D or *Z was intervocalic. There would have been an alternation for example, between *DeŋeR 'to hear' and *mareŋeR 'to be heard'. The root might then have been re-formed to produce riŋig. In forms such as rimrim 'to remember', riŋriŋ 'wall', and ramrag 'morning', distant assimilation may have occurred. In forms such as qagranan 'stairway' (< *haReZan), qisraq 'fish' (< *qiseDaq) and sinra 'they' (< *si + niDa), /r/ is taken as developing intervocalically priot to syncopation of the form.

It seems likely that both analogical changes and a number of 'r' subdialects were necessary to produce such a wide distribution of forms

with /r/.

Finally, there are a few words which have intervocalic -r- in some dialects corresponding to -d- in other dialects:

Dar, Oas giran, Lib goran, Iri, Buh giraqan, ÇST gadan, Nca[20] da:qan 'to die'

Dar, Oas tiraq, CST tadaq, Lib toda, Iri tidaq, Buh tida, Sso tudaq 'left-over (as food)' (Tag tira)

Dar luraq, Oas, Buh ruraq, Iri, Nca, SOU ludaq 'to spit' (PAN ludah; Oas and Buhi forms exhibit assimilation of *l r, as in mariram 'dark', above)

Iri qudit, Nso, Mas qurit 'angry' (Ceb qu:lit)

Sso hudam, Dar, Iri qiram, Lib qoram, Mas, Nso huran 'to borrow' (Tag hiram, Ceb hulam)

CST, Nca, Nso haduk, Oas, Iri qarik, Sso, Mas haruk 'to kiss' (Tag halik, Ceb haluk)

Nca matadum, Leg, Nag, SOU matarum, Sca matalum, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh matarim, Lib matarom 'sharp' (PAN taZem)

Nca saduq, Leg, Nag saruq, Sca saluq 'one'

No two of these words show the same dialectal distribution of /d/ and /r/; there is thus no basis to suggest that this represents a regular development.

The most attractive explanation for the /d/ in these forms is that they were produced analogically from syncopated forms. For example, a form *haDek might have had the alternation *haDek/*haDk- as in *haDkan. If *D > r intervocalically but d elsewhere, the alternating forms would have become *haruk/*hadk-(-an). From *hadkan the root could have been re-formed as haduk in some dialects, while haruk remained in others. In Legazpi, there is in fact an alternation between haduk 'to kiss', and hadkan 'to be kissed'. In Northern Samar, the next dialect to the south of Southern Sorsogon a synchronic alternation occurs between /r/ in full forms and /d/ in syncopated forms. For example: haruk 'to kiss', hadki

'kiss it'; laraŋ 'plan', ladŋa 'plan it'.[21]

CORRESPONDENCES WITH /r/

As discussed in the preceding section /r/ in some dialects appears in irregular correspondence to /d/ in other dialects. In Northern and Southern Catanduanes /r/, /l/, and /ɻ/ correspond regularly to /r/ and /l/, but not /d/, in the other dialects. The Catanduanes correspondences, and reflexes for *r, are discussed below (p. 74). Otherwise /r/ corresponds to /r/ in all dialects. /r/ is the intervocalic reflex for *D, *Z, and *j, and also presumably the initial and intervocalic reflex for *r.

Evidence for the reflexes of *r is sparce and contradictory. For initial position there are two forms (one from the 400-word list, one from the supplementary materials) which can be associated with forms reconstructed by Dempwolff with *r. One of these forms shows r-; the other l-:

Leg, Nag, INL, SOU ri:bu, Sca, Nca li:bu 'thousand' (PHN ribu)

Leg, Nag lu:gi 'to lose at business' (PHN rugi)

A number of words in Standard Bikol have initial r- corresponding to l- in Tagalog and/or Cebuano. Some of these may be explained as representing intervocalic reflexes for *D, *Z, or *j, which were generalized for all allomorphs of the morpheme, e.g. Nag rayuq, Tag, Ceb la:yuq 'far' (PAN Zayu?). It seems likely, nonetheless, that at least some of these words represent an original reflex for the initial position:[22]

Nag rabnut 'to grab and pull hair', Tag labnot, Ceb labnut 'to pull out with a jerk'

Nag rabut 'lining of cow's stomach', Tag labot 'belly of ruminant animal'

Nag raqbut 'to pluck', Tag la:bot 'to draw out of soft matter'

Nag rabrab, Ceb lablab 'to tear, slash'

Nag ragamak 'crashing sound', Ceb lagamak 'to fall with crash'

Nag ragkut, Tag lagkit 'sticky'

Nag ra:mas, Tag la:mas 'to mix by mashing'

Nag rambuŋ, Ceb lambuŋ 'leafy, thick (as leaves, hair)'

Nag rapak 'devastated, broken down', Tag lapak 'broken off'

Nag ra:ra 'strong poison', Ceb la:la 'poisonous bite'

Nag raqraq, Ceb laqlaq 'to lap up'

Nag rasuk, Tag lasok 'peg'

Nag rawraw, Ceb lawlaw 'to waste, squander'

Nag ri:ruŋ 'to deny, keep silent', Ceb li:luŋ 'to conceal (knowledge)'

Nag rugmuk, Tag lugmok, Ceb lugmuk 'to collapse'

Nag rugtas, Ceb lugtas 'to tear apart, pull apart'

Nag rumbay 'file, line', Ceb lumbay 'row, column'

Nag rumpag, Ceb lumpag 'to wreck, destroy'

Nag ruŋkab, Ceb luŋkab 'to pry open'

In at least one word Naga has /r/ corresponding to /l/ in Legazpi and other dialects:

Leg, Nso, Sso li:buŋ, Nag, Sca ri:buŋ, Dar, Oas libiŋ, Lib libuŋ, Iri, Buh li:biŋ 'to confuse'

/r/ occurs regularly in Southern Catanduanes before /i/ corresponding to /l/ (see p. 74). The form may have been borrowed into Camarines Sur.

For the intervocalic position, three words on the 400-word list can be associated with forms reconstructed by Dempwolff with *-r-. Two of these forms show -r-, the other -l-:

Leg, Nag, Buh, SOU si:ruŋ, Sca, Nca si:luŋ, Dar, Oas, Lib, Iri siruŋ 'underhouse' (PHN si[r]uŋ)

CST, Dar, Iri, SOU su:rat, Oas, Lib, Buh surat 'to write' (PHN surat)

Leg, Nag, Dar, Iri, Buh, SOU ku:laŋ, Sca ku:ɻaŋ, Nca ku:raŋ, Oas, Lib kulaŋ 'lacking' (PHN kuraŋ)

From the supplementary materials,[23] we can add:

Leg, Nag baruŋbaruŋ 'hut' (PHN baruŋ)

Leg, Nag pi:rak 'silver' (PHN pirak)

Leg, Nag taruk 'to transplant rice seedlings' (PHN taruk)

Leg, Nag tu:lus 'immediate' (PHN terus)

Leg, Nag ta:luŋ, Buh taluŋ 'eggplant' (PHN teruŋ)

Leg, Nag kalan 'hearth' (PHN keren)

In final position, only -l for *r occurs, e.g.:

Leg, Nag, SOU qa:dal, Sca qa:daɻ, Nca qa:dar, Dar, Buh qadal 'to study' (PHN azar)

Thus the evidence for the reflexes of *r is not conclusive. Some of it points to /r/ as the regular initial and intervocalic reflex in all except the Catanduanes dialects. Other evidence points to /l/ as the regular reflex in all positions.

CORRESPONDENCES WITH /l/

In Northern and Southern Catanduanes *l merged with *r and with intervocalic *D, *Z, and *j. The reflexes and correspondences for Catanduanes are discussed below (p. 74). In all other dialects except Buhi *l > l in all positions:

Leg, Nag, Nca, SOU la:waq, Sca ɻa:waq, Dar, Oas, Lib, Iri lawaq 'spider' (PAN lawaq)

CST, Nca, Buh, SOU pi:liq, Dar, Oas, Lib, Iri piliq 'to choose' (PAN piliq)

CST, Dar, Oas, Lib, Iri, Nso putul 'to cut off' (PAN puTul)

In the Southern dialects *-lC- > -Cl- if C was an apical consonant, except in doubled monosyllables (see p. 35):

Leg, Nag, Dar, Lib, Buh qaldaw, Sca qaḷdaw, Nca qardaw, Oas qanṛiw, Iri qaldiw, SOU qadlaw 'day, sun' (PAN qaLjaw)

Leg, Nag maqalsum, Sca maqaḷsum, Nca maqarsum, Dar, Oas maalsim, Lib maalsom, Iri maqalsim, Buh maqagsim, SOU maqaslum 'sour' (PAN qalsem)

In the other dialects, *-Cl- apparently was not metathesized. While -Cl- clusters are not common in the Bikol area dialects other than the Southern dialects, they do occur, and establish a correspondence with -Cl- in all dialects. The following examples contain clusters of this type which appeared on the 400-word list:

Leg, Nag, Dar, Oas, Iri, Mas kadlagan 'forest'

Iri, Mas qitlug 'egg' (PAN *CeluR)

Buhi exhibits a variety of phonemes corresponding to /l/ in other dialects: l, q, w, g. Since *l is the only source of /l/ in the other dialects, except Northern and Southern Catanduanes, these Buhi phonemes apparently represent reflexes of *l. The various reflexes can only partially be distinguished according to environment. Thus Buhi /q/ corresponding to /l/ in other dialects appears only in initial position. Buhi /g/ always corresponds to /l/ in other dialects and, except in one case, occurs only (1) between any combination of /a/ and /i/, and (2) following /i/ in final or pre-consonantal position. Buhi /w/ corresponds to /l/ in other dialects only when either the Buhi /w/ or the corresponding /l/ in another dialect is in contact with /u/, but not in contact with /i/, or in contact with /q/. However, Buhi also has /l/ corresponding to /l/ in other dialects in all the environments named, as well as those not specified. This evidence would seem to point to at least two distinct subdialectal developments, with a subsequent merger of the subdialects into the present unified dialect.

In initial position, there are many cases of Buhi /l/. For example:

Buh, Leg, Nag, Nca, Lib, SOU la:ŋit, Sca ɻa:ŋit, Dar, Oas, Iri laŋit 'sky, heaven'(PAN laŋit)

Buh, Dar, Oas, Iri libiŋ, CST, Nca, SOU lubuŋ, Lib loboŋ 'to bury (dead)' (PAN lebeŋ)

There are three cases of initial /q/:

Buh qaga:ki, Leg, Nag, Dar, Lib, Iri, SOU lala:ki, Sca laɻa:ki, Nca lara:ki, Oas lalaki 'man (male)' (PHN laki)

Buh qutuq, Leg, Nag, Iri, Lib, Nca, Sso, Mas lu:tuq, Sca ɻu:tuq, Dar, Oas lutuq 'to cook' (PHN lu(n)[t]uq)

Buh qimis, Leg, Nag lamus, Sca ɻamus, Nca, SOU lumus, Dar, Oas limis, Lib lomos 'to drown' (PAN lemes)

Intervocalically, between any combination of /a/ and /i/, we have the following cases of /g/:

Buh qaga:ki 'man (male)' (see above)

Buh qagad, Iri qa:lad 'fence'

Buh qagas, Leg, Nag, Nso, Sso ha:las, Sca ha:ɻas, Nca harras, Dar, Oas, Lib qalas 'snake'

Buh bigad, Leg, Nag balad, Sca baɻad, Nca burad, Dar, Oas, Iri bilad, Lib bolad, SOU bulad 'to spread (dry) in sun' (PAN belaj)

Buh qigat, Leg, Nag halat, Sca haɻat, Nca hurat, Dar, Oas, Iri qilat, Lib qolat, SOU hulat 'to wait'

Buh sigid 'spouse' (possible cognates Iri si:lid 'to chase', SOU sulud 'inside')

Buh dadagagan 'bridge' (dala:gan in most dialects means 'to run'; Buhi also has dalagan 'to run')

Buh bagaŋbaŋ 'shoulder' (cf. Hamunoo balaŋbaŋ 'thigh', Pangasinan balaŋbaŋ 'waist')

From Yamada's list, we can add the following:

Buh sigaŋ 'jaw' (Nag salaŋ)

Buh pagad 'palm (of hand)' (Nag pa:lad)

Buh sigiŋ 'to see' (Iri siliŋ)

Buh maqagaq 'hot, pungent' (Iri maqalaq)

Buh sigig 'to flow' (Nag sulug)

Relatively few words have /l/ in these environments:

Buh kalap, Iri kalap 'bamboo'

Buh madilim, Sca madulum, Nca madurum, SOU madulum 'dark' (PAN Delem)

Buh, Leg, Nag, Iri, SOU kala:yu, Sca kala:yu, Nca kara:yu, Dar, Oas, Lib kalayu 'fire'

All dialects wala 'left (hand)'

Buh, Oas, Lib kabalaŋ, Iri kaba:laŋ 'monkey'

Buh, Oas, Lib dalagan, Leg, Nag, Dar, Iri, SOU dala:gan, Sca dala:gan, Nca dara:gan 'to run'

Buh, Leg, Nag, INL, SOU salaq, Sca salaq, Nca saraq 'wrong' (PAN salaq)

Buh, Iri kilig, Leg, Nag, Nso, Sso kulug, Sca kulug 'pain'

Most of these words are identical to forms in neighboring dialects and may be the result of borrowing. That is, both subdialects may have had /g/ in these environments, and the words with /l/ come from outside. None of the exceptions stated above contains /l/ between unlike vowels.

The following words have final /l/:

Buh, Lib, Iri maal, CST, SOU mahal, Dar, Oas ma:al, Nca mahar 'dear, expensive'

Buh, CST, INL, SOU bakal, Nca bakar 'to buy'

Buh makisil 'hard'

Buh, Dar, Oas, Iri dakil, Leg, Nag, Nca dakul, Sca dakul, Lib dakol 'much, many'

Buh, Dar qadal, Leg, Nag, SOU qa:dal, Sca qa:dal, Nca qa:dar 'to study' (PHN ezar)

Buh, Leg, Nag, INL, SOU pagal, Sca pagal, Nca pagar 'tired'

I have also heard dakig 'much, many'. Yamada lists dakil, but also has:

Buh gatig 'itch' (Nag gatul)

Buh qabiġ 'to weave' (Nag habul)

The following words have /w/ corresponding to /l/ in contact with /u/ in other dialects. Three of these words have /i/ corresponding to /u/ in those dialects. This is probably the result of assimilation (see page 52).

Buh su:wuŋ, Oas, Lib suluŋ 'river'

Buh qiwid, Leg, Nag, Lib, Nso, Sso qu:lud, Dar, Oas, Iri[24] qulud, Sca qu:ɻud, Nca qu:rud 'worm' (PAN ʔulej)

Buh qutuw, CST, Dar, Oas, Lib, Iri, Nso putul 'to cut off' (PAN puTul)

Buh maŋiriw, Leg, Nag, Dar, Iri, Nso, Oas, Lib maŋurul 'dull (not sharp)'

Buh tawudtud, Lib taludtud 'back (of body)' (cf. Leg taludtud 'spine')

Buh dawigdig, Leg dalugdug 'thunder'

Buh bawukag 'body hair, feather' (Nag balu:kag)

The following words have /l/ in the same environments:

Buh su:luq, Leg, Nag, Dar, Oas, Lib, Iri suluq, Sca suɻuq 'to burn' (PAN suluq)

Buh, Iri kulud 'hill'

Buh, Leg, Nag, INL, SOU buluŋ, Sca buɻuŋ, Nca buruŋ 'medicine'

Buh suluŋ, Nca su:luŋ 'to push (object)'

Buh, Leg, Nag, Dar, Lib, Iri, SOU ba:lu, Sca ba:ɻu, Nca ba:ru, Oas balu 'widow' (PHN balu)

Buh, Leg, Nag, INL, SOU walu, Sca waɻu, Nca waru 'eight' (PAN walu?)

Many words have /l/ in contact with /i/. For example:

Buh, Iri liqig, Leg, Nag, Nso, Mas liqug, Sca ri:qug, Nca, Sso li:qug, Dar, Oas lyig, Lib lyog 'neck'

Buh, Leg, Dar, Oas qaliqput, Nag haliqput, Lib qali:put, SOU halipqut 'short (length)'

Buh, Oas, Lib, Iri qilaŋ, Leg, Dar qi:laŋ, Nag, Sca hi:laŋ

'sick'

Only one word has /g/ in contact with /i/:

Buh kiga:ga, Dar, Oas ŋilala, Lib, Nso, Mas kila:la 'to know (person)' (PAN kilala?)

This word appears to be the result of assimilation. I have found no words containing both /l/ and /g/. The form which appears in Yamada's vocabulary is kiyaga. If this form is correct, it may represent yet another subdialectal development in which the first /l/ dissimilated to ∅, with /y/ appearing as the transition between /i/ and /a/.

Three cases of glottal stop cluster indicate that Buhi -qw- corresponds to -lq- or -ql- in other dialects:

Buh tuqwaŋ, Leg, Nag, Dar, Oas tuqlaŋ, Sca tulqaŋ, Nca tuqraŋ, Lib, Iri tu:laŋ, SOU tulqaŋ 'bone' (PAN CuqlaN)

Buh suqwut, Nag saqlut, Nca suqrut, Lib su:lut, SOU sulqut 'to wear'

Buh qaqwu, Nag haqlu 'pestle'

There are no cases of -ql-. For other types of consonant cluster, I observed two cases of -gC-:

Buh maqagnas, Leg, Nag mahalnas, Dar, Oas, Lib maalnas, Iri maqalnas, Sca, Nca, Sso mahanlas, Nso mahinlas 'slippery'

Buh maqagsim, Leg, Nag maqalsum, Dar, Oas maalsim, Iri maqalsim, Lib maalsom, Sca maqalsum, Nca maqarsum, SOU maqaslum 'sour'

and six cases of -lC-:

Buh, Leg, Nag, INL, SOU balyu, Nca, Sca baryu 'to cross'

Buh qaldaw, Leg, Nag, Dar, Lib qaldaw, Sca qaldaw, Nca qardaw, Oas qanriw, Iri qaldiw, SOU qadlaw 'day, sun'

Buh, Leg, Nag, Dar, Oas, SOU qalpug 'dust'

All dialects kasilya:san 'toilet'

Buh, CST, INL salmiŋ 'mirror'

Buh, Dar, Oas, Iri tatalnan, Nca tuturnan, Lib totolnan, SOU tutunlan 'throat'

There are no cases of -Cg- and four cases of -Cl-, two of which involve contact with /i/:

Buh badluk 'to throw'

Buh, Leg, Nag, Dar, Oas, Iri, Mas kadlagan 'forest'

Buh, Leg, Nag, Oas subliq, Sca, Nca subriq 'to borrow'

Buh, Nag kublit 'skin (animal)'

Borrowing from other dialects (e.g. Iriga) could account for some of the forms with /l/. However, nearly all of the forms can be accounted for it two separate subdialectal developments are posited. In one subdialect *l > l. In the other subdialect *l > g in initial position; > g in an original environment between (1) any combination of *a and *e, or (2) *e and a following consonant or pause; > w when the original immediate environment contained *u but not *i.

CATANDUANES CORRESPONDENCES FOR /r/ AND /l/

In Northern and Southern Catanduanes there was a merger of *r, *l, and intervocalic *D, *Z, and *j; that is, all the proto-phonemes which have a reflex of /r/ or /l/ in most other dialects. These dialects thus have the same respective correspondences for /l/ and /r/ elsewhere. The differences depend upon the environment. Southern Catanduanes has /l/ following /i/; /r/ before /i/ and /y/, provided it does not also follow /i/; and /ɻ/ elsewhere. Northern Catanduanes has /l/ in initial position and following /i/; /r/ elsewhere. The following examples illustrate the occurrence of the Catanduanes phonemes corresponding to /r/ and /l/ in other dialects.

In initial position, Northern Catanduanes has /l/; Southern Catandnanes has /ɻ/, provided the following vowel is not /i/:

Sca ɻa:ŋit, Nca, Leg, Nag, Lib, Buh, SOU la:ŋit, Dar, Oas, Iri laŋit 'sky, heaven' (PAN laŋit)

Sca ɻani, Nca lani, Dar, Oas, Lib, Buh, Nso, Sso rani 'to come near to'

Following /i/, both Northern and Southern Catanduanes have /l/:

Sca, Nca pila, Leg, Nag, INL, SOU pira 'how many?' (PAN pija)

Sca, Nca pi:lit, Leg, Nag, Dar, Iri, Buh, SOU pi:rit, Oas, Lib pirit 'to force' (Tag pi:lit)

Before /i/ or /y/, Southern Catanduanes has /r/, provided that it does not also follow /i/; Northern Catanduanes also has /r/, provided that it is not initial:

Sca ri:but, Nca, Leg, Nag, Iri, Buh, SOU li:but, Dar, Oas, Lib libut 'to go around' (Tag li:bot)

Sca, CST, INL, SOU ribut, Nca libuk 'noise'

Sca, Nca subriq, Leg, Nag, Oas, Buh subliq 'to borrow'

Sca, Nca baryu, Leg, Nag, INL, SOU balyu 'to cross'

Elsewhere Southern Catanduanes has /ɻ/; Northern Catanduanes has /r/:

Sca bagulɻ, Nca bagur, Leg, Nso, Sso bagul 'coconut shell'

Sca pagaɻ, Nca pagar, Leg, Nag, INL, SOU pagal 'tired'

Sca bu:ɻan, Nca bu:ran, Leg, Nag, Iri, Buh, SOU bu:lan, Dar, Oas, Lib bulan 'moon, month' (PAN bulaL)

Sca ŋa:ɻan, Nca, Leg, Nag, SOU ŋa:ran, INL ŋaran 'name' (PAN ŋajaL)

Sca qaɻdaw, Nca qardaw, Leg, Nag, Dar, Lib, Buh qaldaw, Oas qanriw, Iri qaldiw, SOU qadlaw 'day, sun' (PAN qaLjaw)

Sca maqaɻsum, Nca maqarsum, Leg, Nag maqalsum, Dar, Oas maalsum, Lib maalsom, Iri maqalsim, Buh maqagsim, SOU maqaslum 'sour' (PAN qalsem)

The word list for Southern Catanduanes is drawn from the town of Virac, the provincial capital of Catanduanes. On that list the only words with post-consonantal /ɻ/ or /l/ are:

Sca, Nca, Sso mahanlas, Leg, Iri maqalnas, Nag mahalnas, Dar, Oas, Lib maalnas, Buh maqagnas, Nso mahinlas 'slippery'

Sca bukɻud 'hill'

Mahanlas appears to have been borrowed into Catanduanes from Southern Sorsogon, because of the metathesis of the /l/ cluster, which is typical of the Bisayan dialects. In the town of San Miguel I also found the word:

San Miguel tukɻaŋ, Leg, Nag, Dar, Lib, SOU tuklaŋ 'to push (person)'

This is some evidence for /ɻ/ as the normal correspondence for /l/ and /r/, post-consonantally.

In towns other than Virac in Southern Catanduanes words with initial /ɻ/ are rare. These towns have predominantly /l/:

Virac ɻa:ŋaw, San Miguel, Bato la:ŋaw 'housefly' (PAN laŋaw)

There is also a tendency in some of these towns, particularly San Andres, to replace /ɻ/ with /l/ intervocalically. The result is that in some words San Andres has /l/ corresponding to /r/ in most dialects:

Gigmoto muɻuq, San Andres muluq, Nag muruq 'finger'

San Andres ha:luk, Leg ha:ruk 'to fetch water'

Some towns, particularly Bato and San Miguel, have predominantly /l/ rather than /r/ before /i/:

Virac ribuk, Bato libuk 'noise'

Virac mari:nas, Bato mali:nas 'good, nice'

These towns also have some words with /r/ where Virac has /ɻ/. These forms are identical to forms in Legazpi and are thus likely to have been borrowed from that source:

Virac pa:ɻuy, Bato pa:ruy 'rice plant' (Leg pa:ruy)

Virac mataɻum, Bato matarum 'sharp' (Leg matarum)

Finally, all of the towns of Catanduanes have some words with phonemes other than those in the correspondences presented above. For the following words, both Southern and Northern Catanduanes have /l/ instead of the expected /ɻ/ or /r/:

Sca, Nca, CST, Dar, SOU tulay 'bridge'

All dialects wala 'left (hand)'

Sca, Nca, CST, Dar, Nso, Sso mali:nig, Oas, Lib, Iri, Buh malinig 'clean'

Sca, Nca tu:lak 'to push' (Tag tu:lak)

For the following words, Southern Catanduanes has unexpected phonemes:

Sca, Nca, CST, SOU lubuŋ, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh libiŋ, Lib loboŋ 'to bury (dead)' (PAN lebeŋ)

Sca, CST, INL, SOU bakal, Nca bakar 'to buy'

Sca, Nca karbaw, Leg, SOU karabaw 'carabao' (PAN kebaw)

Sca, CST, Dar, Oas, Lib, Iri, Nso putul 'to cut off' (PAN puTul)

Sca, CST, SOU mahal, Nca mahar, Dar, Oas ma:al, Lib, Iri, Buh maal 'dear, expensive'

Sca, CST lataw, Nca, SOU lutaw, Dar, Oas lɨtaw, Lib lotaw, Iri lɨtɨw, Buh li:taw 'to float' (Tag litaw)

Sca, Nca, CST, Lib, SOU bu:rak, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh burak 'flower' (Tag bulaklak)

Sca, CST, INL, SOU guraŋ, Nca magu:raŋ 'old (person)' (Tag gulaŋ)

Sca, Nca, Lib, Iri, Sso, Mas luwas, Leg, Nag, Buh, Nso lu:was, Oas lwas 'outside'

Sca, Nca, CST, Dar, Iri, SOU su:rat, Oas, Lib, Buh surat 'to write' (PHN surat)

For the following words, Northern Catanduanes has /l/ instead of the anticipated /r/:

Nca, Leg, Nag, INL, Nso, Mas pula, Sca puɻa 'red'

Nca, Leg, Nag, Dar, Oas, Lib, Iri ŋalas, Sca ŋaḷas, Sso ŋa:las 'to surprise'

Nca, Leg, Nag mali:put, Sca mari:put, Dar, Oas, Buh malipat 'cold'

Nca su:luŋ, Buh suluŋ 'to push (object)' (Tag su:loŋ)

In all of these cases the form which does not fit with the sets of correspondences stated earlier is identical to forms either in Legazpi or Tagalog. It seems reasonable to conclude that they probably have been borrowed into Catanduanes from one of these sources.

SUMMARY

Map 7 shows the approximate locations of the phonological isoglosses which involve diachronic mergers.[25] A comparison of this map with Map 6 (p. 18), which shows the location of the major bundles of isoglosses in the Bikol area, permits the following observations:

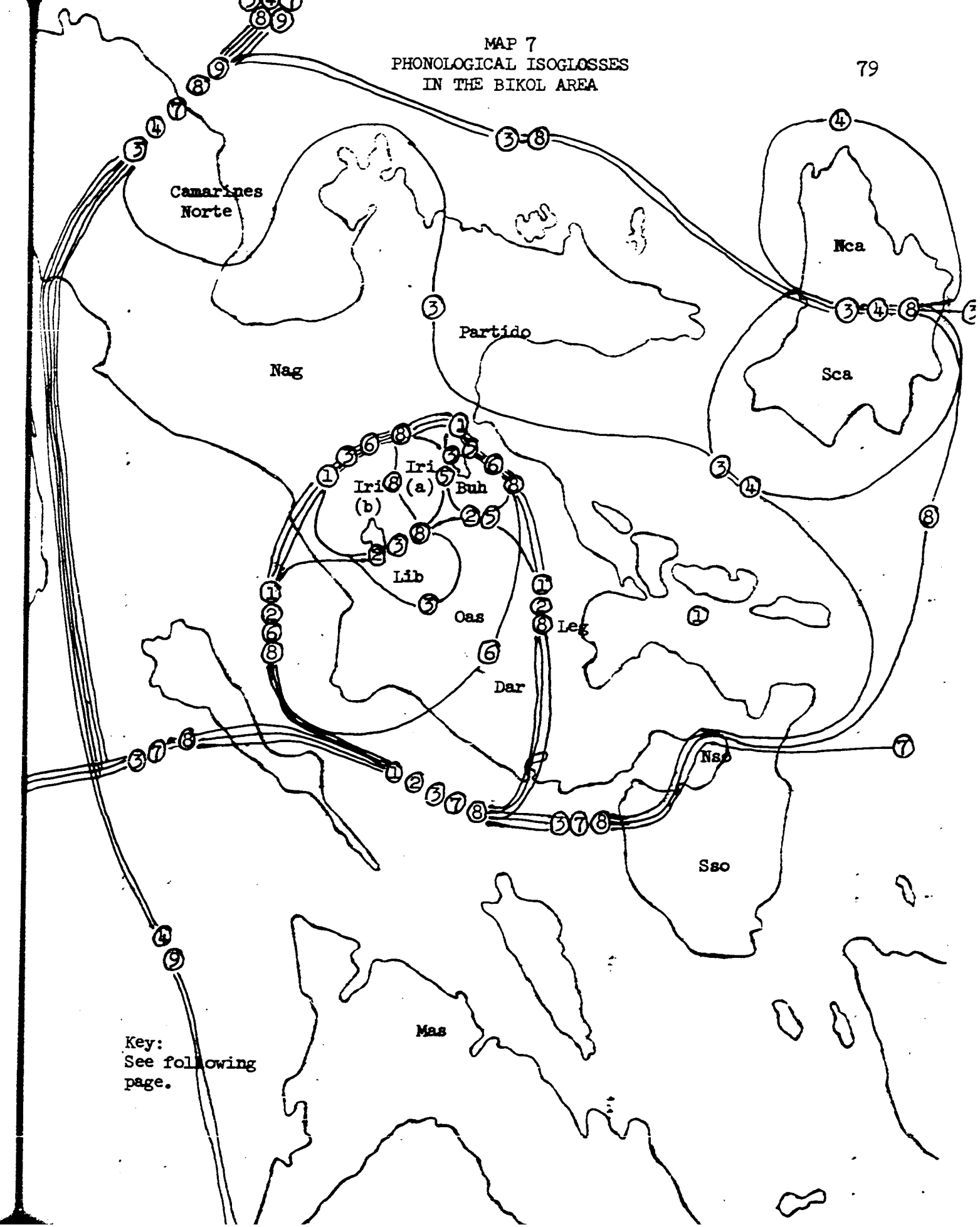
(1) Wherever three or more phonological isoglosses appear in the same bundle, that bundle contains between twenty-eight and sixty-one total isoglosses of types considered (p. 16) in dividing the Bikol area into dialect areas.

(2) Wherever two phonological isoglosses appear in the same bundle, that bundle contains between fifteen and twenty-five total isoglosses of the types considered.

(3) In two cases, single phonological isoglosses--ones not part of a bundle containing any other phonological isogloss--are found in bundles of fifteen and twenty-three isoglosses of the types considered, respectively. In three other cases, single phonological isoglosses are found accompanied by zero to three such isoglosses.

(4) Two large bundles of isoglosses--those forming the boundaries between Northern and Southern Sorsogon (28 isoglosses) and

MAP 7
PHONOLOGICAL ISOGLOSSES
IN THE BIKOL AREA



PHONOLOGICAL ISOGLOSSES SHOWN ON MAP 7

1. *h > INL ∅, Leg ∅-, -h-, Elsewhere h (p. 49).

2. *-q- > Dar, Oas, Lib ∅, Elsewhere -q- (p. 50).

3. *-Cq-, -qC- > Leg, Nag, Nca, Dar, Oas, Buh -qC-, Daet, Partido, Sca, SOU, S-L, Hil, Ceb -Cq-, Lib -:C-; *-qC- > Iri, Tag -:C-, *-Cq- > Iri -Cq-, Tag -C- (p. 51).

4. *l, r, -D-, -Z-, -j- > Sca l, l, r, Nca r, l (p. 74), Tag, Hil, Ceb l. (Elsewhere *r, -D-, -Z-, -j- > r; *l remained distinct)

5. *l > Buh l, q, w, g (p. 69), Elsewhere (except Nca, Sca) l.

6. Oas, Lib, Iri, Buh r- in many words corresponding to d- elsewhere (p. 61).

7. *-lC- > SOU, S-L, Hil, Ceb -Cl-, Tag -:C-, Elsewhere -lC- (p. 68).

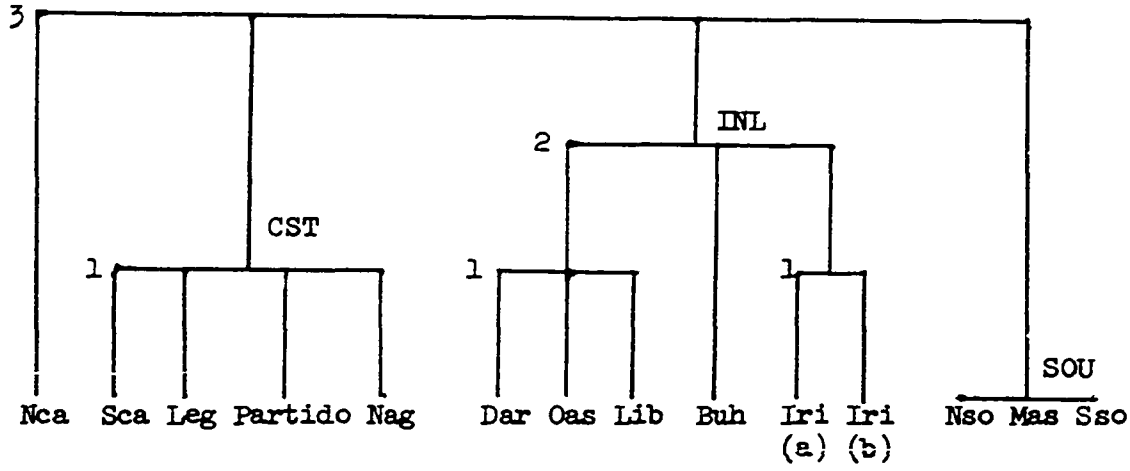
8. *e > CST a,u, Nca, Iri(b), SOU, S-L, Hil, Ceb u, Dar, Oas, Iri (a), Buh a, Lib o, Tag i (p. 52).

9. *-d-, -z- > Bikol area dialects and S-L -d-, Hil, Ceb, Tag -r- (p. 60).

between Southern Sorsogon and Masbate (32 isoglosses)--contain no phonological isoglosses.

A definite proportional relationship can be perceived between the number of phonological isoglosses and the total number of isoglosses in a bundle. That is, larger bundles of isoglosses tend to contain more phonological isoglosses. There is, however, a wide range of variation in this relationship. For example, bundles of twenty-eight total isoglosses were found containing zero and three phonological isoglosses, respectively.

An additional comparison is provided by Tree Diagram 2, constructed on the basis of isogloss bundles appearing on Map 7:[26]



$$Nca\overset{1}{-}(Sca\overset{2}{-}Leg\overset{2}{-}Partido\overset{2}{-}Nag)\overset{1}{-}((Dar\overset{4}{-}Oas\overset{4}{-}Lib)\overset{3}{-}Buh\overset{3}{-}(Iri\overset{5}{-}Iri)\overset{1}{-}(Nso\overset{6}{-}Mas\overset{6}{-}Sso)$$
$$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\quad (a)\ (b)$$

TREE DIAGRAM 2

This tree resembles Tree Diagram 1 (p. 23), particularly with regard to the uppermost nodes. Thus the Bikol area is divided into four parts, or four sets of dialects, by bundles of isoglosses containing at least three phonological isoglosses. These four sets are the same as the sets resulting from the first three splits in Tree Diagram 1, and

the four subgroups presented on pages 22-23. Furthermore the split of the Inland dialects is very similar in both trees.

At the bottom of the tree, however, there is considerable difference, namely:

(1) Whereas the set of isoglosses represented in Tree Diagram 1 indicates a two-way split of the Coastal dialects into Southern Catanduanes and Standard Bikol, phonological isoglosses (1, 3, and 4) divide this group into four coordinate parts: Southern Catanduanes, Legazpi City, Camarines Norte + Partido, and the rest of the Standard Bikol area (including Naga City).

(2) Whereas Tree Diagram 1 tends to separate the town of Baao from the rest of the Iriga dialect area, a phonological isogloss (8) separates Iriga City from the other three towns.

(3) The split-up of the Southern dialects into three separate dialects is not reflected at all by phonological isoglosses.

No other criteria which were used in dividing the Bikol area into dialect areas or which will be presented subsequently agree with the subgrouping based on phonological isoglosses, with regard to these three areas of disagreement.

These findings seem to indicate that phonological data are useful for corroborating subgroupings based on other data. In fact the phonological data, on the whole, support the subgrouping presented on pages 22-23. However, the small number of phonological isoglosses which differentiate dialects, and the degree of variation appearing in the relationship between the number of phonological isoglosses and the total number of isoglosses in a bundle, seem to indicate that phonological data alone are an inadequate basis for subgrouping. It would have been

impossible to arrive at the subgrouping presented on pages 22-23 on the basis of phonological criteria alone. Single phonological isoglosses in particular are likely to suggest a subgrouping or even a division into dialects which is at variance with the divisions suggested by all other criteria.

Thus we are led to question, with Kurath, the practice of some "scholars who intuitively select a small number of phonological heteroglosses [i.e. isoglosses--C.M.], or even a single one, to represent major and minor dialect boundaries within the area investigated."[27] Phonological isoglosses are presented here as part of the total data bearing on the question of subgrouping, but as only a part, no more nor less important than other types of data.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER THREE

[1] Dyen 1973.

[2] Llamzon 1969, pp. 16-19.

[3] As listed in Dyen and McFarland 1970. In this study, I do not indicate the subnumerals (P_1,etc.) as they are not relevant to my data.

[4] As listed in Dempwolff 1938. In cases of disagreement between Dyen's and Dempwolff's orthography (e.g. Dyen's *s = Dempwolff's *t'), Dempwolff's forms have been rewritten in accordance with Dyen's orthography.

[5] Nso daghan is probably a borrowing of Leg daghan (PAN e > Nso u). However Dar dada:wigan suggests a development from a trisyllabic root *dahegan (perhaps a metathesis from *dagehan or *degahan.)

[6] Nag kakan appears to have been formed analogically on the model of a reduplicated form. Leg ka:qun has contemplated forms like kakaqu:mun 'will be eaten', sometimes syncopated to kakaqmun.

[7] Iriga (a) refers to Iriga City; Iriga (b) to the towns of Baao, Bato, and Nabua (see p. 16).

[8] Standard Bikol reflexes for PAN e have been discussed in Conant 1913.

[9] See Conant 1913, pp. 932-3.

[10] Nca tatlu displays the reduplication found in Tagalog (tatlo) and elsewhere.

[11] Belen 1962, Mintz 1971, Yamada 1972 (see p. 47).

[12] The Central Philippines evidence points to two separate reconstructions, neither of which is Dempwolff's *[t]eneR. Tag, Ceb tunug, Leg tamg 'sound' point to *[t]emu[R]. Tag ti:nig, Leg, Ceb ti:ŋug point to *[t]iŋe[R], with dissimilation of *ŋ > n in Tagalog.

[13] See Conant 1913, pp. 933-935.

[14] See fn. 11.

[15] Iri niniw could represent the contraction of a form like *naqiniw ('was washed').

[16] CST katuy appears to be a contraction from *ka- + qatey.

[17] Nso, Sso matay appears to be an analogical reformation on the model of maN- + patay → ma-matay (see p. 39). Note: the Southern dialects do not have the distinction made in Tagalog (matay 'to die', patay 'to kill'). Thus Nso namatay 'died', minatay 'was killed'.

[18] See fn. 11.

[19] These forms are from Belen 1962 (Leg), Mintz 1971 (Nag), Panganiban 1972 (Tag) and Wolff 1971 (Ceb).

[20] Nca da:qan is included in this set because the inflected forms are nearly identical: Nca mag-da:qan, Buh ma-giraqan (commonly syncopated to magraqan).

[21] I. Wolff 1970, p. 10.

[22] Naga forms are from Mintz 1971a. Tagalog and Cebuano forms are from Panganiban 1972 and Wolff 1971, respectively.

[23] See fn. 11.

[24] In Buhi the sequence of vowels *u...e > i...i (see p. 52); thus the correspondence of Buh i...i to u...u elsewhere is regular.

[25] Thus the difference between Lib /o/ and Dar, Oas, Iri(a), Buh /i/ as a reflex of PAN e is not represented by an isogloss on Map 7, since no merger is involved. Likewise differences in allophonic variation are not represented by isoglosses. Inclusion of these differences would have had only minor effects on the results.

[26] This tree diagram, like other tree diagrams in this work, is intended as a graphic representation of relative synchronic similarity with regard to a particular set of features. While inferences will be drawn (Chapter 16) about the historical significance of the various

trees and the subgroupings they represent, the particular subgrouping is taken to have no inherent historical significance.

The tree is presented in both a full form and a reduced form. The reduced form is presented again in Chapter 16 for comparison with other trees. The numbers and pairs of parentheses in the reduced tree refer to nodes in the full tree.

[27] Kurath 1972, p. 38. For example, cf. Anderson's division of the Bikol area, based on differences in phonemic inventory, p. 7.

4. LEXICON

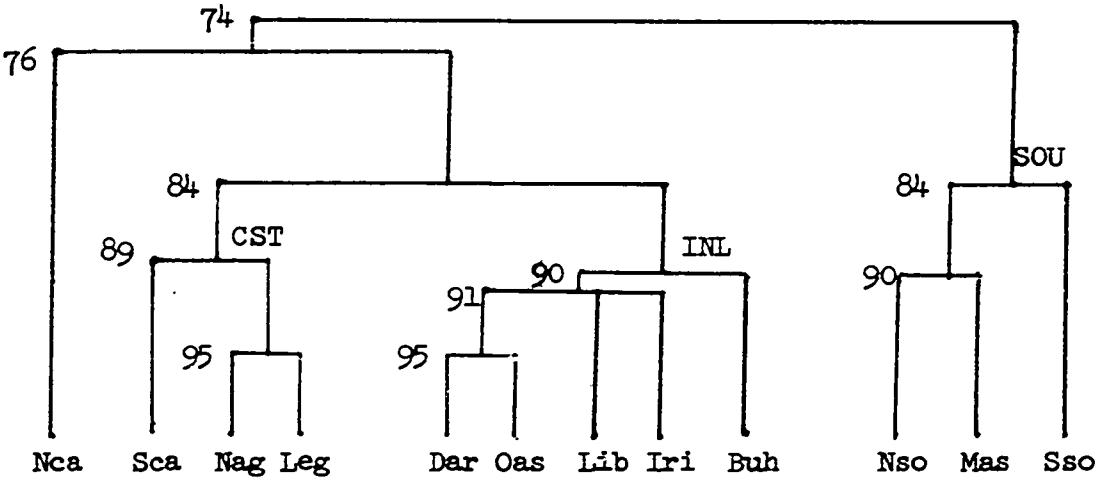
Most of the items appearing on the 400-word list were uniform within any given dialect area. In cases of disagreement that form which appeared in a majority of towns within the area was taken as the dominant form in that dialect. These lexical features were compared in two ways--lexicostatistically and in terms of putative lexical innovations.

Cognation percentages were computed for both the 100-word Swadesh list and the entire 400-word list.[1] Table 4 shows the resultant percentages, with the Swadesh list percentages in the upper half-matrix, the 400-word list percentages in the lower half-matrix.

TABLE 4. LEXICOSTATISTICAL PERCENTAGES AMONG THE BIKOL AREA DIALECTS

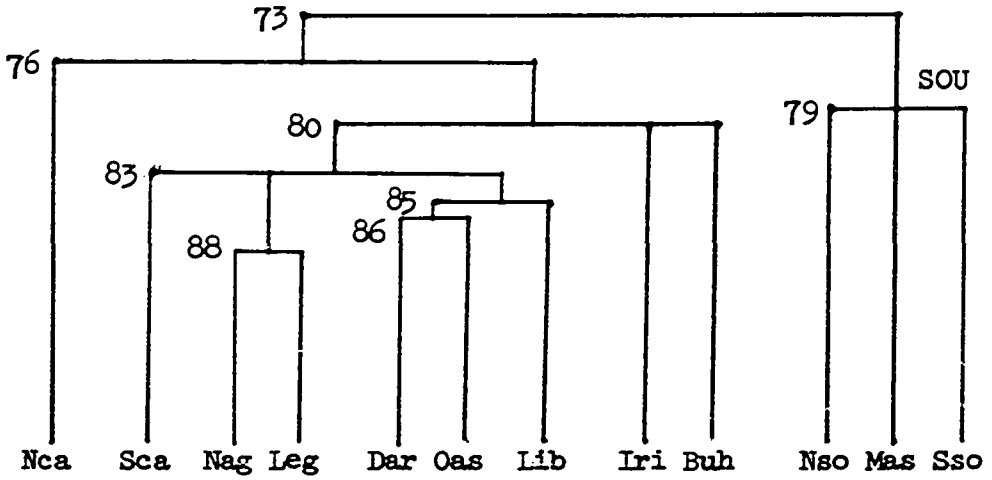
		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
Northern Catanduanes		76	69	68	68	66	66	66	62	67	65	65
Southern Catanduanes	76		87	89	77	75	71	72	70	68	62	63
Standard Bikol:												
Naga	67	81		95	81	79	76	77	73	67	63	63
Legazpi	67	83	88		84	80	77	77	74	70	62	64
Daraga	68	72	78	83		95	91	87	85	74	66	65
Oas	64	67	74	75	86		90	90	89	70	67	63
Libon	64	67	73	73	83	85		86	91	68	62	61
Buhi	63	67	73	73	79	79	80		90	71	64	62
Iriga	61	67	73	70	77	78	80	78		66	63	60
Northern Sorsogon	64	67	69	71	73	69	67	66	65		90	84
Masbate	57	55	57	57	60	58	57	57	57	79		78
Southern Sorsogon	64	66	66	69	69	66	64	64	63	79	70	

The data on Table 4 are presented graphically in Tree Diagrams 3 and 4.[2]



$$(Nca\overset{2}{-}((Sca\overset{4}{-}(Nag\overset{5}{-}Leg))\overset{3}{-}(((Dar\overset{8}{-}Oas)\overset{7}{-}Lib\overset{7}{-}Iri)\overset{6}{-}Buh)))\overset{1}{-}((Nso\overset{10}{-}Mas)\overset{9}{-}Sso)$$

TREE DIAGRAM 3
(100-word Swadesh list)



$$(Nca\overset{2}{-}((Sca\overset{4}{-}(Nag\overset{5}{-}Leg)\overset{4}{-}(Dar\overset{7}{-}Oas)\overset{6}{-}Lib))\overset{3}{-}Iri\overset{3}{-}Buh))\overset{1}{-}(Nso\overset{8}{-}Mas\overset{8}{-}Sso)$$

TREE DIAGRAM 4
(400-word list)

The four subgroups presented on pages 22-23 appear fairly clearly in Tree 3 (100-word list):

1. Northern Catanduanes

2. Coastal dialects: Standard Bikol (Naga, Legazpi), Southern Catanduanes

3. Inland dialects: Daraga, Oas, Libon, Iriga, Buhi

4. Southern dialects: Northern Sorsogon, Masbate, Southern Sorsogon.

There is nonetheless a high-percentage link (84%) between Daraga and Legazpi, tending to pull the Coastal and Inland dialects together into a larger subgroup.

In Tree 4 (400-word list) the separate identity of some of the groups is lost. The Coastal and Inland dialects appear as a single chain of dialects, and the percentage between Northern and Southern Catanduanes (76%) approaches the percentages linking Southern Catanduanes with Standard Bikol. The Southern dialects are still separated from the other dialects.

Table 5 presents another comparison of the percentages for the 100- and 400-word lists. The number shown for each pair is the result of subtracting that pair's percentage for the 100-word list from its percentage for the 400-word list. E.g., Sca-Nag: 81% (400-word list) - 87% (100-word list) = -6.

There tends to be an overall drop in the percentages as we move from the 100-word list to the 400-word list. This is to be expected since the 400-word list is less basic, and the overall probability of replacement for items on this list is expected to be higher than on the 100-word list. There are, nonetheless, some exceptions to the overall downward trend. Most notably, the percentages for Southern Sorsogon show a small increase with all of the Inland and Coastal dialects. The

TABLE 5. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE 100-WORD LIST AND THE 400-WORD LIST

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
Northern Catanduanes		0	-2	-1	0	-2	-2	-3	-1	-3	-8	-1
Southern Catanduanes			-6	-6	-5	-8	-4	-5	-3	-1	-7	+3
Standard Bikol:												
Naga				-7	-3	-5	-3	-4	0	+2	-6	+3
Legazpi					-1	-5	-4	-4	-4	+1	-5	+5
Daraga						-9	-8	-8	-8	-1	-6	+4
Oas							-5	-11	-11	-1	-9	+3
Libon								-6	-11	-1	-5	+3
Buhi									-12	-5	-7	+2
Iriga										-1	-6	+3
Northern Sorsogon											-11	-5
Masbate												-8
Southern Sorsogon												

percentages for Northern Sorsogon and Northern Catanduanes show very little change between the two lists. Some of the percentages between Inland and Coastal dialects do not decrease as much as might have been expected.

Since the items on the 400-word list are considered to be less resistent to internal replacement than those on the Swadesh 100-word list, it is likely that they are also more susceptible to replacement through dialect borrowing or the spreading of lexical items among dialects. Thus if there has been a change in the network of communication, it is expected that the effects of spreading or dialect borrowing subsequent to the change will be more noticeable in the 400-word

list than in the 100-word list. Thus the fact that Northern Sorsogon and Northern Catanduanes have substantially the same percentages for both lists suggests that there has been an increase in the density of communication between these dialects, respectively, and the Coastal and Inland dialects. The figures for Southern Sorsogon suggest a sharp increase in the density of communication between that dialect and the dialects to the north. These increases may be the result of migrations or of technological advances in the means of communication.

It is noteworthy with regard to the percentages between the Coastal and Inland dialects, that the least amount of change (Table 5) is exhibited between Naga and Iriga (0%) and between Legazpi and Daraga (-1%), the two pairs of dialects which are now in the closest contact, as between the two groups. In particular the present close contact between Legazpi and Daraga tends to raise doubts about the validity of the high percentages between those two dialects as a link between the Coastal and Inland dialects. Even their percentage on the Swadesh 100-word list may have been inflated by late close contact.

The 400-word list was also checked for <u>putative lexical innovations</u>.

It should be clarified at this point that in collecting the 400-word list only the preferred form for each meaning was obtained. Thus if a particular form is not listed for a particular meaning in a particular dialect, it does not necessarily mean that it does not occur with that meaning in that dialect. It means, rather, that some other form was preferred in response to elicitation for that meaning.

All items elicited on the list, except English and Spanish borrowings, were taken to represent <u>innovations</u> either within the <u>individual</u>

dialects or at some earlier proto-stage. Innovation is taken not only in the sense of absence of cognation, but also with regard to various secondary changes which have occurred. Thus CST katuy 'liver' is undoubtedly cognate with qatay 'liver' in most other dialects, the direct continuation of PAN qaCey. But the initial k- in the Coastal dialects is the result of some secondary change. The form katuy is thus taken to represent an innovation independent of *qaCey. Similarly, shifts in meaning are taken as innovations. Thus sulug 'to burn' in Legazpi and other dialects is an inheritance from PAN sulug, but represents a semantic shift from the reconstructed meaning 'torch'.

An extensive search was conducted in an attempt to identify the latest stage at which each innovation could have occurred. Forms which are regular phonological developments from proto-forms reconstructed by Dyen for Proto-Austronesian[3] are taken as representing innovations at the level of Proto-Austronesian or earlier. Forms which are regular phonological developments from proto-forms reconstructed by Dempwolff[4] which lack cognates in Eastern Austronesia, are taken to represent innovations at the level of Proto-Hesperonesian or earlier.

Available dictionaries for the following Philippine languages/-dialects were searched for cognates for those forms not classified as Proto-Austronesian or Proto-Hesperonesian innovations: Tagalog, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Aklanon, Samar-Leyte, Hanunoo, Kapampangan, Pangasinan, Ilocano, Isneg, Maranao, Manobo, Tiruray.[5] Reid's Philippine Minor Languages was also searched for cognates.

Forms for which homosemantic and regularly phonologically corresponding forms were found in any of these dictionaries were taken as representing innovations at a level at least as early as the latest

proto-language from which all twelve Bikol area dialects are descended. Remaining dialect forms not assigned to any other level are taken as putative lexical innovations (PLI) within the Bikol area.[6]

Finally the forms were arranged according to the sets of Bikol area dialects sharing particular forms, without regard to the level of innovation represented by those forms. Within each set the forms were then divided on the basis of whether or not they represented PLI for that set.

On the 400-word list, 141 items are shared by all twelve Bikol area dialects. Of these, there were only three for which my search did not reveal cognates outside the Bikol area:

> Leg, Nag lapaq, Sca ɻapaq, Nca, SOU lupaq, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh lipaq, Lib lopaq 'rotten'
>
> CST, Nca, SOU mamunduq, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh mamindiq, Lib mamondoq 'sad'
>
> Leg, Nag, Nca, INL, SOU ribuk, Sca libuk 'noise'

Other groupings of dialects which shared five or more items not found in any of the other Bikol area dialects are shown in the following list. The number in parentheses indicates the number of items for which outside cognates were not found, and are thus classified as PLI:

I.	Ten dialects (all except Masbate)	18 (6)
II.	Ten dialects (all except Northern Catanduanes)	5 (1)
III.	Nine dialects (all except Northern and Southern Catanduanes)	5 (0)
IV.	Nine dialects (all except the Coastal dialects)	5 (0)
V.	Eight dialects (all except Southern dialects)	13 (8)
VI.	Coastal dialects plus Inland dialects	9 (5)
VII.	Inland dialects	7 (5)

VIII. Daraga, Oas, Libon, Iriga	7 (3)
IX. Oas, Libon, Iriga, Buhi	7 (7)
X. Coastal dialects	25 (20)
XI. Southern dialects	19 (1)
XII. Northern and Southern Catanduanes	20 (15)
XIII. Northern Sorsogon and Masbate	23 (1)

In general, these numbers are not very large, but perhaps as large as could be expected for a 400-word list. Most noteworthy is the fact that Southern Catanduanes shares 20 PLI with Standard Bikol and 15 PLI with Northern Catanduanes. The following PLI are shared by Southern Catanduanes and Standard Bikol:

CST qa:kiq 'child'

CST qapud 'to call'

Leg, Nag du:luk, Sca du:ɻuk 'to approach'

CST duŋuq 'nose'

CST gadan 'to die'

CST hagya:nan 'stairway' (cf. Dar qagdan 'stairway')

Leg qaruŋ, Nag haruŋ, Sca haɻuŋ 'house'

CST qi:mut 'first'

Leg, Nag qi:wal, Sca qi:waɻ 'to quarrel'

Leg, Nag kasubaqqu, Sca kasubaqqu 'earlier (same day)'

CST katuy 'liver' (cf. PAN qaCey 'liver')

CST ka:wat 'to play'

Leg, Nag kura:haw, Sca kuɻa:haw 'to shout'

Leg, Nag lu:tab, Sca ɻu:tab 'to spit'

Leg, Nag malu:tuq, Sca maɻu:tuq 'cooked rice' (cf. PHN lu(n)tuq 'to cook')

CST ŋunyan 'now'

CST ta:haw 'middle'

CST matuqa 'oldest child' (cf. PAN tuqaS 'old')

CST tu:gaŋ 'sibling'

Leg, Nag tulak, Sca tuɻak 'stomach'

The following are shared by Northern and Southern Catanduanes:

Sca, Nca qabanaban 'later (same day)' (cf. Han qaban 'eventually')

Sca, Nca dugaŋ 'dry'

Sca guɻuq, Nca guruq 'to laugh'

Sca, Nca hiwas 'to move'

Sca kaguɻa:ŋi, Nca kagura:ŋi 'oldest child' (cf. Mas guraŋ 'oldest child')

Sca ɻabu, Nca labu 'wet'

Sca ribud, Nca libud 'to return, give back'

Sca maŋu:muɻ, Nca maŋu:nur 'dull (not sharp)'

Sca, Nca paribud 'to go home'

Sca siŋqut, Nca siqŋut 'to perspire'

Sca tampad, Nca taŋpad 'immediate vicinity'

Sca tapqug, Nca taqpug 'dust'

Sca, Nca tiŋu 'tooth' (cf. Leg tiŋu 'fang')

Sca, Nca qu:kig 'tail' (cf. PAN wikuR 'tail')

Sca, Nca mayu:taq 'soft'

Both of these lists contain forms in meanings that appear to be quite stable. For example: Leg qaruŋ, Nag haruŋ, Sca haɻuŋ, in contrast to balay or a cognate form in other dialects (cf. PAN balay 'house'); CST katuy 'liver', in contrast to qatay elsewhere (cf. PAN qaCey 'liver'). Northern and Southern Catanduanes have dugaŋ 'dry', in contrast to mamara or a cognate elsewhere (cf. PAN maja[?h] 'dry');

tiŋu 'tooth', in contrast to ŋi:pun or a cognate elsewhere (cf. PAN ŋipen 'tooth'). These lists thus suggest a fairly long period of close contact by Southern Catanduanes with both Standard Bikol and Northern Catanduanes. It is clear that at this time the density of communication between Southern Catanduanes and both of these other dialects is high. However, it seems unlikely that the lists above could have been produced at the same time. Thus subsequent rather than concurrent periods of contact are suggested. Thus the Standard Bikol dialect may have had a fairly long period of separate development on the mainland, during which time the above list of innovations was accumulated. Subsequently a group of Standard Bikol speakers may have migrated to Catanduanes and came into contact with what is now the Northern Catanduanes dialect. In the subsequent period the speech of this group of speakers diverged from Standard Bikol and became the present Southern Catanduanes dialect. During this period the list of innovations shared by the two Catanduanes dialects was accumulated.

Only a small number of PLI point to a subgrouping of the Inland dialects together. Five PLI are shared by all five Inland dialects:

INL qagi 'to walk' (cf. Leg qa:gi 'to pass')

Dar, Oas giran, Lib goran, Iri, Buh giraqan 'to die' (cf. CST gadan 'to die')

INL kuku 'to get, take' (cf. CST kuqa 'to get, take')

Dar ŋanaq, Oas ŋwa:naq, Lib, Iri, Buh ŋuwan 'now'

Dar, Iri sirim, Buh si:rim, Lib sirom, Oas sirim 'ant'

A few additional PLI are shared by several of the Inland dialects; e.g. three by all except Buhi, seven by all except Daraga:

Dar, Oas, Lib, Iri busul 'to push (object)'

Dar, Oas, Lib, Iri lustab 'to spit'

Dar, Oas, Lib, Iri taban 'to steal' (cf. PHN taban 'to hold fast')

Oas, Lib, Iri, Buh qabab 'coconut shell'

Oas, Lib, Iri, Buh qayat 'to ask for, request'

Oas, Lib, Buh kabalaŋ, Iri kaba:laŋ 'monkey'

Oas, Lib, Iri saki, Buh sa:ki 'early'

Oas, Iri qilaq, Lib qolaq, Buh qigaq 'to sit'

Oas, Lib, Iri, Buh qusip 'to converse' (cf. Tag qu:sap 'to converse')

Oas, Iri, Buh qidaq, Lib qodaq 'to lose (something)'

Likewise a small number of PLI suggests grouping the Inland and Coastal dialects together possibly with Northern Catanduanes as a subgroup. The following PLI are shared by all the Bikol area dialects except the Southern dialects:

CST, Nca, Dar, Iri gi:bu, Oas, Lib, Buh gibu 'to do, make'

CST, Nca, INL qinda 'not know'

Leg, Nag laqug, Sca ɟaqug, Nca luqug, Dar, Oas li:ig, Lib loog, Iri, Buh liqig 'inside'

Leg, Nag, Lib sigid, Sca, Nca sighid, Dar si:gid, Oas siqgid, Iri siggid, Buh qi-si:gid 'hard broom'

CST, Nca su:pug, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh sipig, Lib sopog 'shame'

CST, Nca, Dar, Iri, Buh taqu, Oas ta:wu, Lib tawu 'to give'

The following PLI are shared by the Coastal dialects with the Inland dialects:

Leg, Dar qi:laŋ, Nag, Sca hi:laŋ, Oas, Lib, Iri, Buh qilaŋ 'sick'

Leg, Dar qa-lakbaŋ, Nag ha-lakbaŋ, Sca ha-ɟakbaŋ, Lib, Iri, Buh, Oas ma-lakbaŋ 'wide'

CST, Dar, Oas, Lib, Iri payu, Buh pa:yu 'head'

CST sagkud, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh sagkid, Lib sagkod 'until'

Leg, Nag, Dar, Oas, Lib, Iri suluq, Sca suluq, Buh su:luq 'to burn' (cf. PAN suluq 'torch')

While these numbers by themselves do not present a strong argument for subgrouping, they do provide some support for other evidence (e.g., lexicostatistics) which points to these subgroupings.

Very few items are listed as PLI for the three Southern dialects. However, they share a large number of items classified as PLI among the Bisayan dialects. Thus nineteen items are shared by all three Southern dialects, but not shared with other Bikol area dialects. Of these, one is classified as a PLI for the Southern dialects, eight as PLI among the Bisayan dialects, and ten were found elsewhere. The following items are shared with one or more Bisayan dialects:

SOU qambut 'not know' (Ceb, Hil, Akl, S-L qambut)

Nso matiq, Mas ba:tiq, Sso batiq 'to hear' (Hil, Akl, S-L batiq)

Nso hatag, Mas, Sso ha:tag 'to give' (Ceb, Hil, Akl, S-L ha:tag)

SOU qiŋkud 'to sit' (Ceb liŋkud, qiŋkud, Hil, S-L liŋkud)

SOU liwan 'to change clothes' (S-L liwan)

SOU niyan 'now' (S-L niyan)

SOU silhig 'hard broom' (Ceb, Hil, Akl, S-L silhig)

SOU qupud 'to accompany' (Ceb, Hil, S-L qupud)

Of the twenty-three items shared by Northern Sorsogon and Masbate and not shared with other Bikol area dialects, one is classified as a PLI for these two dialects, fifteen as PLI among Bisayan dialects and seven were found elsewhere. The following are classified as Bisayan PLI:

Nso, Mas qa:lu 'shame' (S-L qa:lu)

Nso, Mas balhas 'to perspire' (Ceb, Hil, S-L balhas)

Nso, Mas bayhun 'face' (S-L bayhun)

Nso, Mas bu:ḥig 'to help' (Ceb, Akl, S-L bu:lig)

Nso, Mas damu 'many, much' (Ceb damuq, Hil, Akl, S-L da:muq)

Nso, Mas dulquŋ 'to escort' (Ceb, Hil, S-L dulquŋ)

Nso, Mas du:taq 'land, soil' (Ceb yu:taq, du:taq, Hil du:taq)

Nso, Mas mahadluk 'afraid' (Ceb, Hil, Akl, S-L hadluk)

Nso, Mas mahagkut 'cold' (S-L hagkut)

Nso, Mas humay 'rice plant' (Hil, S-L humay)

Nso, Mas ka:nam 'to play'(S-L ka:nam)

Nso, Mas ka:wat 'to steal' (Ceb, Hil, S-L ka:wat)

Nso, Mas qurit 'angry' (S-L qurit)

Nso pi:law, Mas piraw 'sleepy' (Ceb pilaw, S-L piraw)

Nso diyut, Mas dyut 'few, little' (Ceb diyut)

Thus, while PLI do not point to the grouping of the Southern dialects together as a subgroup, they point strongly to the grouping of these three dialects with Bisayan dialects, rather than with the other Bikol area dialects.

The following list indicates the number of items found in only one among the Bikol area dialects. The figures in parentheses show the number of items not found to occur anywhere outside of the given dialect and thus classified as PLI for that dialect:

Standard Bikol:	
Legazpi	9 (8)
Naga	21 (15)
Southern Catanduanes	14 (13)
Northern Catanduanes	46 (35)
Daraga	13 (13)
Oas	17 (15)

Libon	18 (15)
Iriga	32 (30)
Buhi	33 (28)
Northern Sorsogon	15 (6)
Masbate	61 (12)
Southern Sorsogon	48 (23)

For the dialects other than the Southern dialects, more than three-quarters of the items found in only one Bikol area dialect were not found anywhere outside the Bikol area. For the Southern dialects, the majority of such items are shared with outside languages or dialects. Of the fifteen found only in Northern Sorsogon among the Bikol area dialects six were found only in that dialect, six more were not found to occur outside of the Bisayan dialects. Of the 61 items found only in Masbate among the Bikol area dialects, twelve were found only in that dialect; an additional twenty-four were not found to occur outside the Bisayan dialects. Of the 48 items found only in Southern Sorsogon among the Bikol area dialects, twenty-three were found only in that dialect; an additional twenty were not found to occur outside the Bisayan dialects. Of this latter twenty, fifteen were found to occur only in Southern Sorsogon and Samar-Leyte:

Sso, S-L bunjtu 'town'

Sso, S-L ga:huy 'to call'

Sso, S-L ma-ha:duk 'afraid'

Sso, S-L hi:ran 'to quarrel'

Sso, S-L ma-hugus 'thin (person)'

Sso, S-L hulus 'wet'

Sso, S-L kuluq 'fingernail'

Sso, S-L kuyiŋ 'cat'

Sso, S-L pasakay 'ricefield'

Sso, S-L ma-sunaq 'light (bright)'

Sso, S-L ta:di 'taste'

Sso, S-L tamsi 'bird'

Sso, S-L taŋkad 'to guess'

Sso, S-L quŋag 'to play'

Sso, S-L ha:bul 'wound, injury'

An examination of putative lexical innovations thus indicates strongly that:

(1) the Southern dialects enter into a subgroup with one or more of the Bisayan dialects;

(2) the Coastal dialects form a subgroup;

(3) Southern Catanduanes and Northern Catanduanes have, nonetheless, gone through a substantial period of close contact, probably subsequent to the separation of Southern Catanduanes from Standard Bikol.

There are somewhat weaker indications that:

(1) the Inland dialects form a subgroup;

(2) the Coastal and Inland dialects together form a subgroup, perhaps with the inclusion of Northern Catanduanes.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER FOUR

[1] The forms for the 100-word Swadesh appear in Appendix C. The forms for the 400-word list are not presented here in full, but these lists are available from the author upon request.

[2] These tree diagrams, like other tree diagrams in this work, are intended as graphic representations of relative synchronic similarity with regard to particular sets of features. While inferences will be drawn (Chapter 16) about the historical significance of the various

trees and the subgroupings they represent, the particular subgrouping is taken to have no inherent historical significance.

The trees are presented in both a full form and a reduced form. The reduced forms are presented again in Chapter 16 for comparison with other trees. The numbers and pairs of parentheses in the reduced tree refer to nodes in the full tree.

[3] As listed in Dyen and McFarland 1971. In this study, I do not indicate the submmerals (R_1, etc.) as they have no relevance to my data.

[4] As listed in Dempwolff 1938. In cases of disagreement between Dyen's and Dempwolff's orthography (e.g. Dyen's *s = Dempwolff's *t'), Dempwolff's forms have been rewritten in accordance with Dyen's orthography.

[5] Dictionaries consulted were Panganiban 1972, Wolff 1971, Kaufmann 1935, Zorc 1969, Sanchez 1885, Conklin 1953, Forman 1971, Benton 1971, Constantino 1971, Vanoverbergh 1972, McKaughan 1967, Elkins 1968, Schlegel 1971.

[6] This method is similar to that outlined in Llamzon 1969, pp. 8-9.

5. AN OUTLINE OF BIKOL SYNTAX

As a basis for the discussion of morphological isoglosses which separate the Bikol area dialects, it is necessary to present a brief outline of Bikol syntax. The Bikol area dialects share the same basic syntactic structures. Insofar as there are dialectal differences with regard to syntax, these are differences in the details of distribution and cooccurence, which were beyond the scope of this study. For our purposes, the syntax of one Bikol dialect may be taken as representative of the syntax of all Bikol dialects.

A relatively brief description of the syntax of Standard Bikol (Naga) is contained in Mintz 1971b and Mintz 1973. Because of the great similarity with the syntax of Tagalog and other Philippine languages, much of the general structural outline of Tagalog presented in Bloomfield 1917 and Schachter 1972 applies also to the Bikol area dialects. These works contain a somewhat more detailed discussion than Mintz's.

Six classes of words or constructions are defined on the basis of membership in three inflectional systems. A member of an inflection for intensity is an adjective.[1] In Legazpi the adjective inflection contains four members: (1) basic form; e.g. baggu 'new'; (2) intensive; baggu:hun 'very new'; (3) superlative; pinakabaggu 'newest'; (4) exclamatory; kabaggu 'how new!'

A member of an inflection for case is a nominal expression (NE).[2] Every NE has three case forms: nominative,[3] genitive,[4] and oblique.[5] For example: Leg gaku 'I' (nominative), ku 'by me, my' (genitive); sakuq 'to me' (oblique). The nominative case forms occur primarily as topic of a clause; the distribution of other case forms is discussed

below (p. 107). There are four types of NE:

(1) A common nominal expression (CNE)[6] consists of a CNE marker (p. 163) and a CNE predicate. In many, but not all, cases, the CNE predicate is identical in structure to a clause predicate (see below). For example: Leg qan qarun 'the house' (nominative); ki magayun 'of a pretty [one]' (genitive); sa nagbakal 'to [the one who] bought' (oblique).

(2) A personal nominal expression (PNE)[7] consists of a PNE marker (p. 157) and a PNE predicate. A PNE predicate is the name of a person or personified being: Leg si hwan 'Juan' (nominative); ni pidru 'of, by Pedro' (genitive), ki mari:ya 'to Maria' (oblique).

(3) A personal pronoun[8] is a NE which shows reference in terms of the speaker-addressee relationship: Leg qaku 'I' (speaker); qika 'you' (addressee); sya 'he, she' (not speaker or addressee); kita 'we' (group of two or more including both speaker and addressee); kami 'we' (group of two or more including speaker, but excluding addressee); kamu 'you' (group of two or more including addressee, but excluding speaker); sinda 'they' (group of two or more including neither speaker nor addressee).

(4) A deictic pronoun[9] is a NE which shows reference in terms of the spatial relationship to the speaker and/or addressee: Leg qini 'this' (near speaker); qiyan 'that' (near addressee, or not very far from speaker); qitu 'that' (far from both speaker and addressee).

A member of an inflection for aspect is a verb.[10] There are a number of different verb inflections(p. 176), each containing four forms: a basic form[11] and three aspect forms--perfective,[12] imperfective,[13] and contemplated.[14] "The perfective aspect characterizes an

event as completed, the imperfective as not completed but begun, and the contemplated as not begun."[15] The following sentences exemplify the occurrence of perfective, imperfective, and contemplated forms:

Perfective:

nagka:qun na qaku "I've eaten (already)."

pag nagka:qun ka na [magquliq ka na] "When you've (already) eaten, [come home]."

Imperfective:

nagkaka:qun pa qaku "I'm still eating."

kan qalas sis nagkaka:qun pa qaku "At six o'clock I was still eating."

Contemplated:

ma:ka:qun na qaku "I'm going to eat (already)."

kan ma:ka:qun na qaku [nagquliq si hwan] "When I was about to start eating, [Juan came home]."

The basic form is abstract with regard to time and appears primarily in commands and a number of subordinate constructions:

magka:qun ka na "Eat (already)!"

gustu ku-ŋ magka:qun "I want to eat."

Verbs are also marked for one of four voices--active, direct passive, instrumental passive, and local passive.[16] Voice determines the semantic relationship between a predicate verb and its topic. These semantic relationships are very complex and have been discussed at great length elsewhere.[17] For the purposes of this comparison, the distinctions made by Bloomfield are sufficient. Namely, the topic of an active verb "expresses the actor in [an] . . . action or process":[18]

nagbakal qaku-ŋ bagas "I (topic) bought (active) rice."

The topic of a direct passive verb expresses "an object viewed as fully affected, taken in by the actor, or created by a simple action":[19]

binakal ku qan bagas "The rice (topic) was bought (direct passive) by me."

The topic of an instrumental passive verb expresses "an object given forth, parted from, or used as instrument or the person for whom in such and such an action or process":[20]

qibinakal ku si hwan ki bagas "For Juan (topic) some rice was bought (instrumental passive) by me."

The topic of a local passive verb expresses "the thing affected as in which or the person to whom":[21]

binakalan ku si hwan ki bagas "From Juan (topic) some rice was bought (local passive) by me."

A verb may also contain one or more semantic affixes[22]--affixes which mark neither aspect nor voice. For example:

nagparabakal kami-ŋ bagas "We kept buying rice." (para-, semantic affix expressing repetitive action)

nagbarakal kami-ŋ bagas "We bought (pl) rice." (-Vr-, affix expressing plurality; see page 174)

BASIC CLAUSE STRUCTURE

The basic clause[23] consists of a topic and a predicate.[24] The topic is a NE in the nominative case. The structure of the predicate is discussed below. In the most common order, the topic of a basic clause follows the head[25] of the predicate:

Predicate	Topic	
qalaŋkaw	si hwan	"Juan (topic) is tall (predicate)."

Pr head Topic
binakal qan bagas kan baba:yi "The rice (topic) was bought (predicate head) by the woman." (The complete predicate is binakal kan baba:yi 'was bought by the woman'.)

In an inverted basic clause[26] the topic precedes the predicate head:

Topic Predicate
qan bagas binakal kan baba:yi "The rice (topic) was bought (predicate head) by the woman."

There are eight types of basic clause predicate: (1) coreferential; (2) temporal-locative; (3) phrasal; (4) verbal; (5) adjectival; (6) pseudo-verbal; (7) nominal; (8) existential.

A coreferential predicate is a NE in the nominative case:[27]

Predicate Topic
qan qalaŋkaw si hwan "Juan (topic) is the tall [one] (predicate)."

Pred Topic
qitu qan baba:yi "The woman (topic) is that [one] (predicate)."

A temporal-locative predicate is a NE in the oblique case:

Predicate Topic
sa banwa:qan qan qaruŋ ku "My house (topic) is in the town (predicate)."

Predicate Topic
sa wi:bis qan mi:sa "The mass (topic) is on Thursday (predicate)."

A phrasal predicate is any exocentric predicate[28] which is not a NE:

Predicate Topic
pa:ra ki hwan qan kawa:tan "The toy (topic) is for Juan (predicate)."

Predicate Topic
may bagas si mari:ya "Maria (topic) has rice (predicate)."

The remaining types of predicate are endocentric and classified according to types of predicate head.

A verbal predicate is a predicate whose head is a verb. A verbal predicate may contain one or more NE complements; that is, NE in the genitive or oblique case. Since the distribution of these cases varies from one type of NE to another, six different types of complement can be distinguished formally:

(1) An actor complement[29] is in the genitive case for all types of NE:

kina:qun { ku / ni hwan / kan lala:ki / kaqitu [-ŋ lala:ki] } qan batag "The banana was eaten by { me." / Juan." / the man." / that [man]." }

(2) An object complement[30] is in the oblique case for personal pronouns and PNE, the genitive case for CNE and deictic pronouns:

nagparahi:liŋ sya { sakuq / ki hwan / kan lala:ki / kaqitu [-ŋ lala:ki] } "She kept looking at { me." / Juan." / the man." / that [man]." }

(3) An instrument complement[31] is in the genitive case for CNE and deictic pronouns; PNE and personal pronouns rarely appear as instrument complements:

pimutul nya qan saŋa { kan laga:di / kaqitu [-ŋ laga:di] } "The branch

was cut off by him with {the saw." / that [saw]."}

(4) A benefactive complement[32] consists of pa:ra plus (1) a PNE, CNE, or personal pronoun in the oblique case or (2) a deictic pronoun in the genitive case:

binakal nya qini pa:ra {sakuq / ki hwan / sa lala:ki / kaqitu [-ŋ lala:ki]} "This was bought by him for {me." / Juan." / the man." / that [man]."}

(5) A direction complement[33] is in the oblique case for PNE, CNE, or personal pronouns and the genitive case for deictic pronouns:

binakal nya qini {sakuq / ki hwan / sa lala:ki / kaqitu [-ŋ lala:ki]} "This was bought by him from {me." / Juan." / the man." / that [man]."}

(6) A location complement[34] is in the oblique case for all types of NE:

nagqiqistar sya {samuq / ka hwan / sa bamwa:qan / duman} "He lives {at our place." / at J's place." / in the town." / there."}

An adjectival predicate is a predicate whose head is an adjective:

Pred Topic
baqgu qan qaruŋ mi "Our house (topic) is new (predicate)."

Predicate Topic
maya:man si pidru "Pedro (topic) is rich (predicate)."

The remaining endocentric predicates are classified on the basis of negation. In most Bikol areadialects verbs and adjectives take differ-

ent negators. In Legazpi verbs take the negator daqi:

nagkaka:qun si hwan "Juan is eating."

daqi nagkaka:qun si hwan "Juan is not eating."

All except a small number of adjectives take the negator bakuq (with the linker na/-ŋ):

baku-ŋ baqgu qan haruŋ mi "Our house is not new."

baku-ŋ maya:man si pidru "Pedro is not rich."

Uninflected heads of predicates which take the same negator as verbs are pseudo-verbs:[35]

da:pat si hwan magka:qun "Juan should eat."

daqi da:pat si hwan magka:qun "Juan should not eat."

Such predicates are pseudo-verbal predicates, many of which include complements which will be discussed on page .

Uninflected heads of predicates which take the same negator as adjectives are nominals:

qaruŋ qan binakal mi "What we bought was a house."

baku-ŋ qaruŋ qan binakal mi "What we bought was not a house."

Such predicates are nominal predicates.

Two uninflected predicate heads form a closed system with regard to negation, in the sense that one is the negation of the other. These are the existentials; in Legazpi qigwa 'to have, there is' and daqi 'to not have, there is no':

qigwa qaku-ŋ qaruŋ "I have a house."

daqi qaku-ŋ qaruŋ "I have no house."

Most existential predicates contain complements which will be discussed below.

Most predicates of all types may contain temporal and locative

complements and various types of particles (see page 112):

binakal ku qan bagas kan lu:nis "I bought the rice on Monday."

qigwa qaku-ŋ qaruŋ sa banwa:qan "I have a house in the town."

Basic clause predicates or constructions with the same structure appear in a number of environments including CNE predicate, existential complement, and modification construction.

Most CNE predicates have the same structure as basic clause predicates.[36] Thus:

qan { lala:ki / nagbakal ki bagas / baku-ŋ maya:man / da:pat magka:qun } 'the { man!" / [one who] bought rice' / [one who] is not rich' / [one who] should eat' }

(cf. { lala:ki si hwan / nagbakal si hwan ki bagas / baku-ŋ maya:man si hwan / da:pat si hwan magka:qun } "Juan { [is] a man." / bought rice." / [is] not rich." / should eat." }

Similarly most complements of existentials have the same construction as basic clause predicates:

qigwa qaku-ŋ { qaruŋ / binakal sa saqud / baku-ŋ baqgu / da:pat gibu:hun }

"I have { a house." / [something] bought [by me] at the market." / [something that is] not new." / [something that] should be done [by me]." }

daqi qaku-ŋ { qaruŋ / binakal sa saqud / baku-ŋ baqgu / da:pat gibu:hun } "I have

{ no house." / nothing [that] was bought [by me] at the market." / nothing [that is] not new." / nothing [that] should be done [by me]." }

There are three major types of modification construction:[37] the

coordinate modification construction,[38] the genitive possessive modification construction,[39] and the preposed possessive modification construction. These constructions each consist of a head and a modifier. The heads of these constructions have in general the shape of a basic clause predicate, but are usually nominals.

The modifier in a coordinate modification construction has the shape of a basic clause predicate. The modifier may precede or follow the head; the second element is preceded by the linker na/-ŋ:

Modifier		Head		Head		Modifier	
qalaŋkaw	na	lala:ki	or	lala:ki-ŋ		qalaŋkaw	'tall man'

Head		Modifier		Modifier		Head	
qaruŋ	na	baku-ŋ magayun	or	baku-ŋ magayun	na	qaruŋ	'house that is not pretty'

Head		Modifier	
bagas	na	binakal ku sa saqud	'rice that was bought by me at the market'

Head		Mod		Mod		Head	
qaruŋ	na	qitu	or	qitu-ŋ		qaruŋ	'that house'

The modifier in a genitive possessive modification construction is a NE in the genitive case, and always follows the head:

Head			
qaruŋ	ku / ni hwan / kan lala:ki / kaqitu [-ŋ lala:ki]	'my / 'Juan's / 'the man's / 'that [man's]	house'

The modifier in a preposed possessive modification construction is a NE in the oblique case. The construction has the order: modifier + linker na/-ŋ + head:

saku-ŋ / ki hwan na / sa lala:ki-ŋ	Head	qaruŋ	'my / 'Juan's / 'the man's	house'

Topicless clauses are non-elliptical clauses with which no topic

can be associated:[40]

nagquran kasuqudma "It rained yesterday."

kalaŋkaw ni pidru "How tall Pedro is!"

may bitu:qun sa la:ŋit "There are stars in the sky."

Topicless clauses are similar in structure to the predicates which have been discussed in this section, and can be classified accordingly as verbal, adjectival, etc.

ADDITIONAL WORD AND MORPHEME CLASSES

A full-word is any morpheme or sequence of morphemes which can be the head of a basic clause predicate, a CNE or PNE predicate, or a topicless clause, and which does not contain any other such suquence.[41] In this connection, it is assumed that members of the inflections discussed on pages 177-179 and the derived nominals discussed on page 214 do not contain full-words. E.g. the verb-root -agum 'to take a wife', which appears in such verbs as nagqagum 'took a wife', is taken to be distinct from the full-word nominal qagum 'spouse'.

A particle is any morpheme or sequence of morphemes, other than the affixes discussed on pages 177-179 and pages 214-215, which cannot be the head of a basic clause predicate, a CNE or PNE predicate, or a topicless clause.[42] There are a number of classes of particles, depending on the environments in which they occur. The largest class are the enclitics--particles which occupy a relatively fixed position within a clause, usually following the first full-word of the clause:[43]

Full-word Encl
ma:digdi daqa si hwan sa qa:ga "Juan will come (full-word) tomorrow, they said (enclitic)."

F-wd Encl
sa qa:ga daqa ma:digdi si hwan "Tomorrow (full-word), they

said (enclitic), Juan will come."

Proclitics occur only immediately preceding a full-word:

Pro F-wd Pro F-wd
mas magayun qan maŋa dara:ga "The girls [maŋa = plural] are prettier [mas = more]."

Pre-phrasals occur only preceding a NE in a phrasal predicate:

Pre-p PNE
pa:ra ki hwan qan kawa:tan "The toy is for (pre-phrasal) Juan (PNE)."

Pre-predicators occur only as the first element in a predicate. This class includes the negators, daqi and bakuq:

Pre-p Pr head
pu:ru lala:ki qan maŋa bisi:ta "The visitors were all (pre-predicator) men."

Neg Pr head
daqi nagdigdi si hwan "Juan did not (negator) come (predicate head)."

Pre-clausals occur only as the first element in a clause:

Pre-c Pr head
ba:ka nagdigdi si hwan "Maybe (pre-clausal) Juan came here."

Subordinating conjunctions[43] occur only preceding clauses:

Clause Conj Clause
nagqa:liq si mari:ya ta nagdigdi si hwan "Maria left because (conjunction) Juan came."

Coordinating conjunctions[44] occur between components of equivalent structure; e.g., NE, predicates, clauses:

PNE Conj PNE
nagdigdi si hwan buda si mari:ya "Juan (PNE) and (conjunction) Maria (PNE) came here."

Clause Conj Clause
nagdigdi si hwan buda nagqa:liq si mari:ya "Juan came, and

(conjunction) Maria left."

Movable particles have no fixed position in the sentence:

M pt M pt M pt M pt
ŋaya nagdigdi (ŋaya) si hwan (ŋaya) kasubaqgu (ŋaya) "He said (movable particle), 'Juan came here a while ago.'"

A few particles are members of more than one of these classes, or have unique distributions.

MAJOR SENTENCE TYPES

There are three types of major sentence in Bikol: statements, commands, and questions. Most of the clauses discussed in this chapter would be statements when standing alone as sentences. A statement is any sentence to which can be added one of the tag questions--qanu, qadi, baku-ŋ qiyu 'isn't it so?':

nagbakal si hwan ki bagas [anu] "Juan bought rice [didn't he?]"

gustu mu-ŋ magka:qun [adi] "You want to eat [don't you?]"

nagquran kasuqudma [baku-ŋ qiyu] "It rained yesterday [didn't it?]"

Statements are marked intonationally with a final falling pitch.

Commands[45] have the same structure and intonational pattern as statements, but cannot be followed by a tag question. A command contains a verbal predicate and a topic which is nearly always second person, singular or plural. The head of the predicate is either a verb in the basic form or one of an alternate set of command verb-forms (p. 182):

magbakal {ka / kamu} ki bagas "Buy some rice."

bakal ki bagas "Buy some rice."

bakalun {mu / nindu} qan bagas "Buy the rice."

{bakala qan bagas / bakala nindu qan bagas} "Buy the rice."

Negative commands consist of the verbal negator (Legazpi daqi) plus a verb in the basic form:

daqi {ka / kamu} magbakal ki bagas "Don't buy rice."

daqi {mu / nindu} pagbakalun qan bagas "Don't buy the rice."

There are three types of question in the Bikol area dialects: yes-no questions, information questions, and confirmation questions.

In most Bikol area dialects, yes-no questions differ from statements only in intonation.[46] Yes-no questions have a final rising pitch:

nahiliŋ ku sya (falling pitch) "I saw him."

nahiliŋ mu sya (rising pitch) "Did you see him?"

In information questions,[47] an interrogative appears in place of one of the elements in the sentence. The interrogative is usually the first element in the clause:

qanu qan binakal mu "What did you buy?"

saqin mu qiyan binakal "Where did you buy that?"

ŋa:taq (ta) binakal mu qiyan "Why did you buy that?"

Information questions have an intonation similar to that of statements, but frequently have a final low suspended pitch instead of a falling one.

Confirmation questions contain a tag--qanu, qadi, baku-ŋ qiyu.[48] These were exemplified above:

nagbakal si hwan ki bagas qanu "Juan bought rice, didn't he?"

SUBORDINATE CLAUSE STRUCTURES

There are three major subordinate clause structures: subordinate basic clauses, infinitive clauses, and gerund clauses.

All basic clauses and topicless clauses may occur in construction with certain subordinate conjunctions:

nada:git sya ta {nagdigdi si pidru / nagquran kasuqudma / makanus qan maŋa bu:rak} "She got angry because {Pedro came here." / it rained yesterday." / the flowers were ugly."}

sina:bi ni hwan na {nagdigdi si pidru / nagquran kasuqudma / makanus qan maŋa bu:rak} "Juan said that {Pedro came here." / it rained yesterday." / the flowers were ugly."}

Infinitive clauses have a head which is a verb in the basic form. Except for commands (p. 114) and a few special constructions, infinitive clauses appear only in subordinate constructions; e.g. with certain subordinate conjunctions:

kun {magdigdi si pidru / magquran} daqi qaku ma:qa:liq "If {Pedro comes here, / it rains,} I won't leave."

maski {magdigdi si pidru / magquran} ma:qa:liq na qaku "Even if {Pedro comes here, / it rains,} I'm going to leave."

and as the complement of a pseudo-verb:

gustu ku-ŋ magdigdi si pidru "I want Pedro to come here."

gustu ku-ŋ gada:mun ni pidru qan qurig "I want Pedro to kill the pig."

If the actor of the complement is identical to the actor of the pseudo-verb, it does not appear in the complement:

gustu ku-ŋ magdigdi "I want to come here."

gustu ku-ŋ gada:nun qan qurig "I want to kill the pig."

A gerund clause[49] contains a head consisting of one of the prefixes pag-, pagka-, or paka- plus a verb base (p. 174) and optionally one or more complements of the type found in verbal predicates. A gerund clause has no topic. Gerund clauses appear primarily as (1) CNE predicates:

maribu:kun qan pagqa:liq ni hwan "Juan's departure was noisy." (cf. nagqa:liq si hwan "Juan left.")

daqi mi nari:sa qan pagqa:liq ni hwan "We didn't [even] notice Juan's departure."

and (2) temporal expressions (p. 244):

pagqa:liq ni hwan nagqibiq si mari:ya "When Juan left, Maria cried."

pakaqa:liq ni hwan mamunduq si mari:ya "After Juan left, Maria was sad."

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER FIVE

[1] Cf. Schachter 1972's distinction between noun and adjective, pp. 64-65.

[2] This term is my own and applies to all such morphemes and constructions sharing substantially the same distribution, including that of clause topic (p. 105). Neither Mintz nor Schachter has a single term for this class. Bloomfield 1917's term was object expression (p. 148).

[3] Schachter 1972: ang-form (p. 64); Bloomfield 1917: subject (p. 153).

[4] Schachter 1972: ng-form (p. 74); Bloomfield 1917: disjunctive attribute (p. 170).

[5] Schachter 1972: sa-form (p. 76); Bloomfield 1917: local attribute (p. 177).

[6] Schachter 1972 makes a distinction between definite unmarked nouns (p. 96)--e.g. qaŋ ba:hay 'the house'--and other types of aŋ-phrases in that the latter are derived transformationally from verbal predicates, etc. (p. 529)

[7] Schachter 1972: personal noun (p. 63); Bloomfield 1917: personal name (p. 147).

[8] Schachter 1972: personal pronoun (p. 63); Bloomfield 1917: personal pronoun (p. 148).

[9] Schachter 1972: deictic pronoun (p. 63); Bloomfield 1917: demonstrative pronoun (p. 148).

[10] Schachter 1972, p. 65. Bloomfield 1917's term for 'verb' was transient (p. 147). Bloomfield also made a distinction between aspect and mode (p. 217). There were two aspects: punctual (for those forms without reduplication) and durative (for those forms with reduplication). There were two modes: actual (for those forms with n- prefixes, etc.) and contingent (for those forms with m- prefixes, etc.). Other footnotes will align these terms with my own terminology. Mintz 1973 refers to the tense of verbs (p. 114).

[11] Schachter 1972's term, p. 68. Bloomfield: contingent punctual (p. 217). Mintz 1973: neutral form (p. 115).

[12] Schachter 1972, p. 66. Bloomfield: actual punctual (p. 217). Mintz 1973: past tense (p. 114).

[13] Schachter 1972, p. 66. Bloomfield 1917: actual durative (p. 217). Mintz 1973: progressive tense (p. 114).

[14] Schachter 1972, p. 66. Bloomfield 1917: contingent durative (p. 217). Mintz 1973: future tense (p. 114).

[15] Schachter 1972, p. 66.

[16] Bloomfield 1917's terms (see below).

[17] See Schachter's discussion of focus relationships (pp. 69-71). As used here voice is not exactly equivalent to focus. I take a given inflection, e.g. the qi- inflection, to have only one voice, whatever the semantic relationship expressed. As used by Schachter any given inflection may express a number of different focus relationships. Mintz 1973 uses the term case relationship in much the same way as Schachter uses focus (p. 102 and passim).

[18] Bloomfield 1917, p. 226.

[19] Ibid., p. 243.

[20] Ibid., p. 247.

[21] Ibid., p. 250.

[22] Mintz 1973's term, p. 18; Wolff 1971: productive affixes, p. xvi.

[23] Approximately equivalent to Schachter's basic sentence: "sentence types [which] are considered basic for two reasons: first, they are, in general, the shortest and simplest types of complete sentences that occur in the language; second, the structure of other, more complex, types of sentences may be described as resulting from particular elaborations or combinations of elements from the basic sentence types." (p. 59) An important difference is that I use basic clause in a non-transformational sense.

[24] Schachter 1972, p. 60. Bloomfield 1917: subject and predicate, p. 151.

[25] The head of any construction is a constituent of the construction belonging to the same form-class as the construction as a whole. See Bloomfield 1933, p. 195.

[26] Similar to Schachter 1972's inversion construction, p. 485.

[27] Cf. Schachter 1972's equational sentence. Note however that my coreferential predicate does not include indefinite nominals: lala:ki si hwan "Juan is a man." (nominal predicate, not coreferential)

[28] An exocentric construction is a construction belonging to a form class which is not the same as any of its constituents. See Bloomfield 1933, p. 194.

[29] Schachter 1972, p. 74. Mintz 1973: agentive case (p. 131).

[30] Schachter 1972, p. 75. Mintz 1973: objective case (p. 133).

[31] Mintz 1973: instrumental case, p. 135.

[32] Mintz 1973: benefactive case, p. 150.

[33] Schachter 1972, p. 76. Mintz 1973: dative case (p. 139).

[34] Mintz 1973: locative case (p. 145).

[35] Tagalog does not make this distinction in negation. Thus Schachter 1972's definition: "There is a small class of adjectivals in Tagalog which have verb-like meanings, but which, unlike genuine verbs, are incapable of inflection to show variation in aspect. The members of this class of adjectivals may be called pseudo-verbs." (p. 261)

[36] The major exceptions to this provision are gerund clauses (p. 117), which do not appear as basic clause predicates: qan pagbakal ni

hwan ki bagas 'Juan's buying of rice'.

[37] See discussion in Schachter, pp. 116ff.

[38] Schachter 1972: simple modification construction (p. 119). Bloomfield 1917: constructions with conjunctive attributes (p. 162).

[39] Schachter 1972: possessive modification constructions (pp. 134ff.). Bloomfield 1917: constructions with disjunctive attributes (p. 170).

[40] Schachter 1972 classifies these as topicless phenomenal sentences (p. 546), exclamatory sentences (p. 280), existential sentences (p. 276), etc.

[41] See fn. 42.

[42] Bloomfield 1917: "The particles either express the syntactic relations between full-words or act as attributes of full words . . .

"In contrast with the particles, full words act not only as attributes, but also as subject or predicate, and any full word may, in principle, be used in any of these three functions." (p. 146) For the most part, particles fall into Schachter 1971's class of adverbials (p. 411ff.).

[43] Schachter 1972: "a subordinating conjunction [is] a word or phrase whose function is to specify the precise adverbial relation of the clause they introduce to the rest of the sentence." (p. 463)

[44] Schachter 1972: "Coordination is a grammatical device for combining elements of two sentences, which may be called underlying sentences, into a single new sentence: a resultant sentence. A sentence that results from coordination contains a coordinate construction, which consists of two (or more) coordinates linked by a coordinating conjunction." (p. 113)

[45] See Schachter's discussion of imperatives, pp. 402ff.

[46] See Schachter 1972, pp. 501-502. In Tagalog questions usually include the enclitic particle ba.

[47] Cf. Schachter 1972, pp. 504ff.

[48] Cf. Schachter 1972, pp. 503-504.

[49] Cf. Schachter 1972, pp. 159, 445-447.

6. MORPHEMIC DIFFERENTIAE: INTRODUCTION

As discussed in the preceding chapter the Bikol area dialects share substantially the same syntactic systems. For the most part the same basic constructions are found in all dialects; differences pertain primarily to the details of distribution. There are, on the other hand, many dialectal differences with regard to the morphemes which appear in these constructions, including the functor morphemes which mark or identify the various constructions.

Morphemes in different dialects may be compared in several ways. For example, cognate morphemes in different dialects may have different meanings; non-cognate morphemes may have equivalent meanings; morphemes in different dialects may be partially similar in form and meaning. In addition to these qualitative comparisons, it is particularly useful to compare morphemes quantitatively, since such comparison may yield evidence with regard to the historical development of the various dialects.

If we assume that within a given class of morphemes, the probability of replacement of any given morpheme is approximately equal, then the number of replacements occurring within that class in a given speech variety over a period of time will be directly proportional to the length of time involved. Similarly the number of differences between two speech varieties with regard to that class will be directly proportional to the length of time since the two speech varieties separated from each other. This is the basic assumption underlying the lexicostatistical method--that replacements occurring within the basic vocabulary are about equally probable, and that the cognate percentages in the basic vocabulary of two speech varieties are thus inversely proportional

to the time of separation between them.[1]

Since this assumption has provided quite satisfactory results with regard to the basic vocabulary, it seems reasonable that it might also be satisfactorily applied to other classes of morphemes, in particular to restricted-class morphemes. Restricted-class morphemes, for the most part, have higher frequencies of occurrence than open-class morphemes, even those in the basic vocabulary.[2] Insofar as many of the restricted-class morphemes are functors, they are also more important syntactically than open-class morphemes.[3] These two factors--high frequency of occurrence and syntactic importance--would seem to predict high stability, that is, low probability or replacement, for the functors and other restricted-class morphemes.

Several restricted classes in the Bikol area dialects, hereafter referred to as the paradigmatic classes, form paradigms, namely (see p. 102):

1. Personal pronouns
2. Deictic pronouns
3. CNE and PNE markers
4. Verbal affixes which mark inflection for aspect.

It seems reasonable to assume that replacements or alterations of morphemes within a given paradigm in a single speech variety are approximately equally probable. Likewise, it seems reasonable to assume that any differences which might appear between different dialects with regard to that paradigm are likewise approximately equally probable. If this assumption is correct, then greater numbers of differences between a given pair of dialects would tend to imply a greater degree of separation between those dialects.

There are three major drawbacks to the use of paradigmatic-class morphemes for comparative purposes. First, since they are limited in number, they are useful only for comparing fairly short periods of separation. Second, the semantics of restricted-class morphemes is highly language-specific. Whereas a "universal" basic vocabulary list can be used to compare highly divergent languages, no such universal list of restricted-class morphemes can be compiled. Thus restricted-class morphemes can be compared effectively only for very similar speech varieties. Nonetheless, since the current study has to do with a set of dialects, these two factors do not present problems.

The third drawback is more serious, namely, that differences are more difficult to specify with regard to paradigmatic-class morphemes. Let us compare the personal pronominal paradigms in Legazpi, Iriga, and Northern Sorsogon. Since there are seven personal pronouns and three cases, there are twenty-one meanings in this paradigm:

	Legazpi	Iriga	Northern Sorsogon
Nominative case			
'I'	qaku	qaku	qaku
'you (sg)'	qika	qika	qikaw
'he, she'	sya	qiya	siyą
'we' (incl)	kita	kita	kita
'we' (excl)	kami	kami	kami
'you (pl)'	kamu	kamu	kamu
'they'	sinda	sira	sinda
Genitive case			
'by me'	ku	ku	ku
'by you (sg)'	mu	mu	mu

	Legazpi	Iriga	Northern Sorsogon
'by him, her'	nya	nya	ni:ya
'by us' (incl)	ta	ta	na:tun
'by us' (excl)	mi	na:miq	na:mun
'by you (pl)'	nindu	ninyu	ni:yu
'by them'	ninda	mira	ninda
Oblique case			
'to me'	sakuq	kanakiq	saqa:kun
'to you (sg)'	saqi:mu	kanimu	saqi:mu
'to him, her'	saqi:ya	kanya	saqi:ya
'to us' (incl)	satuq	kanatiq	saqa:tun
'to us' (excl)	samuq	kanamiq	saqa:mun
'to you (pl)'	saqindu	kaninyu	saqi:yu
'to them'	saqinda	kanda	saqinda

It seems unsatisfactory to compare those forms with the same meaning simply on the basis of cognation, since nearly all of the homosemantic forms share at least one cognate element. Thus Leg, Nso sinda and Iri sira 'they' share the cognate elements *si- and *-Da. Leg nindu, Iri ninyu, and Nso ni:yu 'by you (pl)' probably derive from the same proto-form, but with analogical changes. The only forms we would consider clearly non-cognate are Leg, Iri ta in contrast to Nso na:tun 'by us (incl)'; and Leg mi, in contrast to Iri na:miq and Nso na:mun 'by us (excl)'. These two differences clearly do not indicate the total degree of difference in the respective paradigms.

On the other hand, if we count every difference, other than regularly corresponding phonological differences, the resulting total would appear to be too large in many cases. Thus of the pronominal

forms listed above, the Legazpi and Iriga forms are different for twelve meanings; the Legazpi and Northern Sorsogon forms, for eight meanings; the Iriga and Northern Sorsogon forms, for fourteen meanings. These totals ignore the fact that for several meanings, the differences in form are parallel. For example, all oblique forms have the prefix sa- in Legazpi and Northern Sorsogon, but kan- in Iriga. It seems reasonable that this should count as one difference, rather than seven.

A more satisfactory outcome results if the personal pronominal paradigm is analyzed in terms of its constituent morphemes, rather than in terms of twenty-one separate meanings. Such an analysis in Legazpi reveals nineteen constituent morphemes in the personal pronominal paradigm, combined as follows:

	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique
'I'	(1) qaku	(9) ku	(15) (16) sa- + -kuq
'you (sg)'	(2) q*ka	(10) mu	(15) (17) sa- + -*:mu
'he, she'	(3) (4) s- + -(i)ya	(11) (4) n- + -(i)ya	(15) (4) sa- + -i:ya
'we (incl)'	(5) kita	(12) ta	(15) (18) sa- + -tuq
'we (excl)'	(6) kami	(13) mi	(15) (19) sa- + -muq
'you (pl)'	(7) kamu	(11) (14) n- + -indu	(15) (14) sa- + -indu
'they'	(3) (8) s- + -inda	(11) (8) n- + -inda	(15) (8) sa- + -inda

If all dialects exhibited the same morphemic analysis, we could simply compare and count the constituent morphemes as regularly corresponding phonologically or not. This is however not the case. Iri sira 'they' may be analyzed as containing s- (3) plus a base -ira in place of

Leg -inda (8), but the corresponding singular form qiya 'he, she', lacks the s- element. In place of Leg mi 'by us (excl)', Iriga has na:miq, which can be analyzed as containing n- (11) plus the same base that appears in kanamiq 'to us (excl)'. Thus morpheme-by-morpheme comparison is only partially available. Furthermore this comparison still does not account for the parallel in the differences between Leg sakuq 'to me', satuq 'to us (incl)', samuq 'to us (excl)', and Nso saqa:kun 'to me', saqa:tun 'to us (incl)', saqa:mun 'to us (excl)'.

There is probably no entirely satisfactory solution to the problems discussed above. Nonetheless, the solution which seems most satisfactory to me, and the procedure I have followed, involves the analysis of morphemic differentiae. In this analysis, forms having the same meaning are compared. All regularly corresponding phonological differences are disregarded. In addition differences which may be the result of phonetic or phonological adjustments in the joining of morphemes into a sequence--such as differences involving syncope, contraction, or vowel length--are taken to be differences of another sort, with different probabilities, from the replacement of morphemes. If the forms being compared differ in any other way, they are taken to be morphemically different. If such forms contain elements exhibiting regular phonological correspondences, that part of each form which does not correspond phonologically (allowing for phonetic adjustments) is taken to be a morphemic differentia. For example Iri na:miq, Nso na:mun 'by us (excl)' share the regularly corresponding sequence na:mi-/na:mu-, but differ in that Iriga has -q where Northern Sorsogon has -n. Iri -q and Nso -n are morphemic differentiae. Together they form a pair or set of morphemic differentiae. In some cases the same pair or set of morphemic

differentiae apply to several sets of homosemantic forms. For example the set of Iri -q :: Nso -n applies also to Iri kanakiq 'to me', kanatiq 'to us (incl)', kanamiq 'to us (excl)', and Nso saqa:kun 'to me', saqa:tun 'to us (incl)', saqa:mun 'to us (excl)'. These three pairs of forms are also differentiated by the set of morphemic differentiae Iri kan- :: Nso sa-. In some cases these shared sets of morphemic differentiae represent the type of morpheme-by-morpheme comparison discussed above. In other cases they may reflect analogical changes which affected similar forms.

If the forms being compared share no sequence exhibiting regular phonological correspondence, the entire forms are taken to be morphemic differentiae. Thus Leg ta, Nso na:tun 'by us (incl)' are differentiated by the pair of morphemic differentiae Leg ta :: Nso na:tun.[4]

It is, finally, the total number of sets of morphemic differentiae which distinguish the equivalent paradigms in different dialects that is taken to represent the total degree of difference between those paradigms.

For other restricted-class morphemes, the assumption of equality of the probability of replacement seems less justified. Nonetheless, the fact that these restricted-class morphemes have, for the most part, very high frequencies of occurrence,[5] makes it not unreasonable to suppose that we are dealing with morphemes of very low, and thus comparable, probabilities of replacement. Furthermore, differences in these classes are much easier to specify than those in the paradigmatic classes. In most cases these morphemes can be compared on the basis of cognation or non-cognation in much the same way that Swadesh list comparisons are made. Thus, sets of morphemic differentiae for

restricted-class morphemes in other than paradigmatic classes--hereafter referred to as non-paradigmatic classes--were also counted, provided that a homosemantic equivalence was clearly established between dialects. Morphemes in the following classes were taken to form clearly homosemantic sets:

1. Numerals and major quantifiers
2. Pseudo-verbs and pseudo-verbal adjectives
3. Existentials
4. Interrogatives
5. Locative relators
6. Temporal relators

We have no way of determining whether the assumption about equal probability of replacement is correct. Nonetheless, in Chapter 14, it will be shown that there is a high degree of correlation among the totals shown for the paradigmatic classes taken together, the non-paradigmatic restricted classes taken together, and the Swadesh list computations. This would seem to verify, at least in part, the assumption of comparable probabilities of replacement.

The discussions of each syntactic class (Chapters 7-13) is divided into three sections: (1) structure, (2) homosemantic morphemes, and (3) morphemic differentiae.

In the first section the Legazpi morphemes in the given class are identified, and their distributions are discussed and exemplified briefly. Morphemes from other dialects are discussed in this section only if there are significant distributional differences. Examples cited in this section come from three sources: (1) the tape-recorded texts in the Legazpi subdialect; (2) various written materials in

standard Bikol; (3) simple sentences created by the writer with his informants. In the case of complicated sentences the same format of presentation will be used as for sentences from other dialects (see below).

The second section identifies the morphemes in other dialects which are homosemantic with the Legazpi morphemes in the given class. In general morphemes in different dialects are taken to be homosemantic if they are mutually translatable. Thus:

Leg su baba:yi-ŋ qitu
Buh yu baba:yi-ŋ qadtu
the woman-+ that (remote)
"that woman"

Leg su and Buh yu 'the (specific)' are mutually translatable, and thus belong to the same set of homosemantic morphemes. Likewise, Leg -ŋ and Buh -ŋ, the linker, and Leg qitu and Buh qadtu 'that (remote)'.

In some cases two forms in one dialect translate a single form in another dialect. Thus both Leg daqi 'not (verb)' and bakuq 'not (adjective)' translate Nso la:qin 'not':

Leg daqi sya ma:ka:qun
Nso la:qin siya ma:ka:qun
not he will-eat
"He won't eat."

Leg bakuq sya-ŋ maya:man
Nso la:qin siya maya:man
not he(-+) rich
"He isn't rich."

In such cases the single morpheme is taken to be a member of two sets of homosemantic morphemes, one with each of the forms for which it translates.

In the case of morphemes which are members of an inflection (e.g.,

personal pronouns), morphemes are considered homosemantic only if they occupy equivalent positions within their respective inflections.

Each set of homosemantic morphemes is displayed in a solid line box, which may be subdivided by dotted lines representing morphological differences. For example the box below represents the set of morphemes with the meaning 'to me' (first person singular personal pronoun, oblique case):

CST	sakuq
Oas	sa:kiq
Ncā,Sso	qā:kuq
Iri	kanakiq
Dar,Buh	saqkin
Lib	sakon
Nso	saqa:kun
Mas	qā:kun

The difference between CST sakuq and Oas sa:kiq is phonological, and they are taken to be morphologically the same. Likewise, Dar, Buh saqkin, Lib sakon, and Nso saqa:kun. If seven to eleven dialects share the same form, the word MOST appears in place of the dialect abbreviations. If all twelve dialects share the same form, that form appears alone in the box for that set. Wherever practicable, as with classes having an inflection, the various sets of homosemantic morphemes are presented in a matrix.

Representative examples of the appearance of the various forms will be listed. These examples are drawn from the tape-recorded texts, with a minimum of editing. In only a few cases, there are no spontaneous examples available, and elicited or translated examples are used. Since many of these examples are quite complex, a trilinear format is used. The following is an example of this format:

Sca salu-ŋ ha:pun qigwa qaku-ŋ qami:gu-ŋ pigbisi:ta sa kubkub
one-+ afternoon have I-+ friend-+ was-visited at Cobcob
"One afternoon I visited a friend in Cobcob."

Whenever several examples from different dialects are listed together, each example will be preceded by the abbreviation for the relevant dialect--in this case 'Sca' for 'Southern Catanduanes'. These abbreviations are listed on page vii. The first line contains the actual sentence. The second line contains a word-for-word translation. Spaces in the translation correspond to spaces in the actual sentence, with hyphens connecting multiple-word translations of single words (for example, 'was-visited' for 'pigbisi:ta'). As nearly as possible, the translations appear directly below the word being translated. In most cases I have used literal English translations in preference to abstract symbols. An exception is that I have used the plus sign (+) for the linker na or -ŋ (see page 37). Thus 'one-+' appears below 'salu-ŋ' in the example above, indicating that 'salu-ŋ' is morphemically salu(q) 'one' plus na, the linker. If a word is not translated, two hyphens (--) mark its place in the translations. The third line contains a free translation of the sentence.

For most syntactic classes, the final section of the discussion contains the identification of the various sets of morphemic differentiae which distinguish the forms in the various homosemantic morphemes from each other, and which distinguish one dialect from another. The sets are discussed in detail and then summarized in a matrix. The first two sets of morphemic differentiae for personal pronouns will serve to illustrate the format. On page 140 appears a detailed discussion of the nine sets of differentiae for personal pronouns, followed by a summary matrix. The following excerpt shows how the first two sets are

presented:

1. (1) MOST qika :: (2) Nca, SOU qikaw 'you' (second singular nominative).

2. (1) MOST sa- :: (2) Nca, Sso, Mas ∅- :: (3) Iri kan-.-- oblique case prefix.

* * *

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
1.	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
2.	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	2

* * *

The numbers in the left hand column of the matrix are the numbers of the sets of morphemic differentiae which have been discussed. The numbers in the other columns correspond to the subsets which have morphemically equivalent forms within each set. Thus the number 2 for Nca in the first row indicates that Northern Catanduanes has a form (namely, qikaw) belonging to subset 2 of set 1. In this discussion, each set of morphemic differentiae is presented as a proportion with each subset separated by a double colon (::). Any pair of dialects separated by a double colon, and thus having different numbers in the matrix, are distinguished by that set of differentiae. Any pair of dialects not separated by a double colon, and thus having the same number in the matrix, are not distinguished by that set. Additional explanation follows each case in which a set of differentiae applies to more than one set of homosemantic forms or where the assignment to various subsets is not obvious.

At the end of the discussion of the sets of morphemic differentiae,

the total number of sets of morphemic differentiae in the given class which distinguish each pair of dialects are presented in a matrix (for personal pronouns, see p. 146).

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER SIX

[1] Cf. Hymes 1960.

[2] See Appendix D.

[3] Hockett 1958: "Roughly, then, the total stock of elementary forms of a language can be split into two unequal portions: tea, write, and the other grammatically "unimportant" forms go into one portion (by far the larger), while he, she, and all other grammatically "important" forms go into the other. The deletion of any one or two forms from the first portion would leave the grammatical system of the language essentially unchanged; the deletion of even a single item of the second king would have drastic consequences." (p. 261)

[4] If a particular set of morphemic differentiae applies to only one set of homosemantic forms, the full forms will be listed, whether or not they contain sequences which correspond regularly phonologically. This is done for convenience of identification. Thus on page 140 the first set of morphemic differentiae is listed as (1) MOST qika :: (2) Nca, SOU qikaw 'you' (second singular nominative), rather than (1) MOST -Ø :: (2) -w, since this set of morphemic differentiae does not apply to any other set of homosemantic forms.

[5] See Appendix D.

7. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

STRUCTURE

The personal pronominal inflection for Legazpi is as follows:[1]

	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique
'I'	qaku	ku	sakuq, saku:yaq
'you (sg)'	qika, ka	mu	saqi:mu
'he, she'	sya	nya	saqi:ya
'we (incl)'	kita	ta	satuq, satu:yaq
'we (excl)'	kami	mi	samuq, samu:yaq
'you (pl)'	kamu	nindu	saqindu
'they'	sinda	ninda	saqinda

The basic distribution for forms in each case is as follows.[2]

The nominative case form appears primarily as topic of a clause:

nagbaba:sa qaku ki libru "I (topic) am reading a book."

pigqapud sya ni pidru "He (topic) was called by Pedro."

The genitive case form appears in the genitive possessive modification construction:

qan qaruŋ nindu 'Your (possessor) house'

and as the actor complement of passive-voice verbs:

pigqapud ku si pidru "Pedro was called by me (actor)."

Genitive forms are enclitic and can appear only following a full-word or a limited number of particles.

The oblique case form appears as the object or direction complement of a verb:

siqisay qan nagqapud saqi:mu "Who [was the one that] called you (object complement)?"

qitinaqu ku saqinda "[It] was given by me to them (direction complement)."

The oblique case form also appears in the preposed possessive modification construction. Corresponding to the two examples above containing genitive case forms, there are synonymous constructions with oblique case forms. The difference is that the oblique case form is always the first element in such constructions, whereas the genitive case form must follow a full-word:

qan qaruŋ nindu = qan saqindu-ŋ qaruŋ 'your house'

pigqapud ku si pidru = saku-ŋ pigqapud si pidru "Pedro was called by me."

The following comments refer to the variant forms appearing in the inflection for Legazpi, above.

Ka 'you (sg)' occurs only as an enclitic; qika appears elsewhere:[3]

pigqapud {ka / qika} ni pidru "You were called by Pedro."

{qika / **ka} qan pigqapud ni pidru "You are the one who was called by Pedro."

Saku:yaq, satu:yaq, and samu:yaq are slightly more emphatic variants of sakuq, satuq, and samuq, respectively.[4]

The sequence **ka ku, or **ku qika 'you by me' does not occur. In its place we find taka 'you by me'. For example:

nahiliŋ ku sya "I saw him."

nahiliŋ {taka / **ku qika} "I saw you."

tu:gaŋ ku sya "He is my brother."

tu:gaŋ {taka / **ku qika} "You are my brother."

HOMOSEMANTIC FORMS

Table 6 shows the personal pronominal forms which appear in the Bikol area dialects.

Ka appears as an enclitic alternant for qika or qikaw 'you (sg)' in all dialects except Oas, Libon, Iriga, and Buhi. Iriga has a short alternant ku for qaku 'I' (nominative) which appears after words ending in a vowel:

qagku ku bigas "I have rice." (cf. qagku kami bigas "We have rice.")

Taka 'you by me', as discussed above, appears in the Coastal dialects, Northern Catanduanes, and Daraga. In the other Inland dialects and in Masbate ta replaces ku in juxtaposition with qika or qikaw:

Iri nabayad ta qika "I saw you."

Mas naki:ta ta qikaw "I saw you."

In Northern and Southern Sorsogon, only ku qikaw occurs:

Sso naqimud ku qikaw "I saw you."

Naga, Legazpi, and Southern Catanduanes all have the saku:yaq, satu:yaq, samu:yaq alternants for sakuq, satuq, samuq, respectively.

There is an archaic set of genitive forms with the prefix ni:- : ni:ku, ni:mu, ni:ya, ni:ta, ni:mi, nindu, ninda. These forms are particularly common in Southern Catanduanes, but may be heard occasionally in the speech of older persons in the Standard Bikol area as well.

Except in the Southern dialects, a preposed possessive form is followed by the linker na/-ŋ. In the Southern dialects, the linker does not appear:

Sso qan qa:kuq balay 'my house'

The following are actual examples of the personal pronouns drawn

TABLE 6. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	OBLIQUE
'I'	qaku	ku	CST sakuq Oas sa:kiq Nca,Sso qa:kuq Iri kanakiq Dar,Buh saqkan Lib sakon Nso saqa:kun Mas qa:kun
'you (sg)'	MOST qika Nca,SOU qikaw	mu	MOST sa(q)i:mu Dar siqmu Iri kanimu Nca,Sso,Mas qi:mu
'he, she'	MOST s(i)ya Iri,Buh qiya	MOST n(i)ya Nca,SOU ni:ya	CST,Nso saqi:ya Dar,Oas sanya Nca ki:ya Lib kiya Buh sakanya Iri kanya Sso kani:ya Mas qi:ya
'we' (incl)	kita	MOST ta Nca na:tuq Oas na:tiq Lib naton Nso,Mas na:tun	CST satuq Oas sa:tiq Nca,Sso qa:tuq Iri kanatiq Dar,Buh saqtan Lib saton Nso saqa:tun Mas qa:tun
'we' (excl)	kami	CST,Sso mi Nca na:muq Oas,Iri na:miq Dar,Buh na:min Lib namon Nso,Mas na:mun	CST samuq Oas sa:miq Nca,Sso qa:muq Iri kanamiq Dar,Buh saqmin Lib samon Nso saqa:mun Mas qa:mun
'you (pl)'	kamu	MOST ninyu CST nindu SOU ni:yu	Dar,Oas, Lib,Buh sa(q)inyu Iri kaninyu Nca qinyu CST saqindu Nso saqi:yu Sso,Mas qi:yu
'they'	CST,Dar, Nso,Mas sinda Oas sinra Lib saya Nca si:la Sso si:ra Iri,Buh sira	CST,Dar, Nso,Mas ninda Oas ninra Lib naya Nca ni:la Sso ni:ra Iri,Buh nira	CST,Nso saqinda Dar sanda Oas sanra Mas qinda Lib kaya Nca ki:la Sso kani:ra Iri kanda Buh sakanda

from the texts:[6]

Nominative case:

Iri diq sana nagpamalisya si qu:das na
not just caused-to-be-noticed -- Judas that
"Judas just didn't show that he was

qagrabya:du qiya sadtu
irritated he to-that
irritated about that."

Lib ŋuwan nagpaadi saya qaliq sa ligaspi
now came-here they to-leave at Legazpi
"Then they came here from Legazpi."

Nca na:nira man si:la buda nanraŋka nin binta:na
closing too they and barred of window
"They too closed up [the house] and barred the windows."

Sso maski diq kami natatama:qan nahaha:duk man kami
even not we being-hit being-afraid too we
"Even though we weren't hit, we were afraid."

Genitive case:

Oas pagqabut sa baliy ninra dapaq pa
arrival at house their lie-on-stomach still
"When [he] got to their house, he threw

ŋaniq sya
indeed he
himself on the floor."

Mas pagsa:bi ni:yu na qan pipili:qun laq qan pinakamaganda
saying by-you(pl) that the will-be-chosen just the
"When you said that you would only choose the prettiest

waraq man qaku magsiyak
prettiest none too I to-shout
[one], I didn't cry out."

Nca binuqran na:muq nagbaryu man si:la sa qa:muq
was-called-to by-us crossed too they to to-us
"We called to them and they came over to our place."

Sca pagqabut ku ŋa:niq sa haḻuŋ mi sinabi:han ku qan qagum ku
arrival by-me indeed at house our was-said-to by-me the
"When I got to our house, I told my wife that something

na qaḻug kaqan qan naŋya:ri sakuq
spouse my that like to-that the happened to-me
like that had happened to me."

Oblique case:

Buh gustu na:min taqwan nin liksyun qa maŋa ta:wu na magin
want by-us to-be-given-to of lesson the pl person that
"We want to give the people a lesson so that their wills

makisig qa sakanda-ŋ biqit
become strong the their-+ will
will become strong."

Mas qan kaqupud na:mun qan qa:mun lu:lu kagsan lu:la
the companion our the our grandfather and grandmother
"We were accompanied by our grandfather and grandmother."

Nag qaŋ lambaŋ saruq kaŋ ma:dri ma:bantay saqi:ya
the every one of-the sister will-watch to-her
"Every one of the sisters will keep the vigil with

burubaŋgi
every-night
her, [a different one each night]."

Nca qi:su yun naggi:ya sa ki:la sa pagpa:naw ni:la pagha:riq
yes that guided to to-them at hiking by-them leaving
"And so he guided them in their hike from the south

sa sur haŋgan sa bi:gaq
at south until at Viga
to Viga."

MORPHEMIC DIFFERENTIAE

The Bikol area dialects are distinguished by nine sets of morphemic differentiae with regard to the class of personal pronouns, as follows:[7]

1. (1) MOST qika :: (2) Nca, SOU qikaw 'you' (second singular nominative).

2. (1) MOST sa- :: (2) Nca, Sso, Mas ∅- :: (3) Iri kan- -- oblique case prefix.

With the exception of the third person forms (singular and plural) in some dialects, the oblique case forms can be analyzed as consisting of a base form plus an oblique case prefix. Thus Leg sakuq = sa- + -(a)kuq; saqi:mu = sa- + -i:mu, etc. The homosemantic forms in Iriga are kanakiq = kan- + -akiq, etc. The third person oblique case forms are discussed below (4.).

3. (1) MOST -inyu :: (2) CST -indu :: SOU -i:yu -- second plural base form.

The genitive and oblique forms for second plural ('your, by you' and 'to you', respectively) have the same base in each dialect (the forms listed here). The genitive form consists of n- plus the base; e.g. Leg nindu = n- + -indu. The oblique form consists of the oblique case prefix (see 2.) plus the base; e.g. Leg saqindu = sa- + -indu.

4. (1) CST, Dar, Nso, Mas -inda, Oas -inra :: (2) Nca -i:la, Iri, Buh -ira, Sso -i:ra :: (3) Lib -aya -- third plural base form.

Most of the third person forms in all dialects can be analyzed as consisting of a case marker plus a base. The following table shows the various formulations, exemplified by the forms in Legazpi (the bases in Legazpi are -(i:)ya in the singular, -inda in the plural):

	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique
'he, she'	s- + sg. base (Leg sya)	n- + sg. base (Leg nya)	obl. prefix + sg. base (Leg saqi:ya)
'they'	s- + pl. base (Leg sinda)	n- + pl. base (Leg ninda)	obl. prefix + pl. base (Leg saqinda)

The singular base is -(i(:))ya in all dialects. There are three different plural bases (the forms listed above).

5. (1) MOST s(i)ya :: (2) Iri, Buh qiya 'he, she' (third singular nominative)

The formulation stated in 4. does not account for all of the third person forms. Two of the divergent forms are Iriga and Buhi qiya, which do not have s- as the nominative case marker (cf. Iri, Buh sira 'they').

6. (1) Nca, Lib k- :: (2) Dar, Oas san- :: (3) Sso kan- :: (4) Buh sakan- :: (5) Other dialects obl. case prefix listed in 2. -- obl. case prefix for third person forms.

Other forms not accounted for by the formulation in 4. are the following forms: Dar, Oas sanya 'to him, her', Nca ki:ya 'to him, her', ki:la 'to them'; Lib kiya 'to him, her', kaya 'to them'; Sso kani:ya 'to him, her', kani:ra 'to them'; and Buh sakanya 'to him, her', sakanda 'to them'. These forms contain an element different from the oblique case prefixes identified in 2.: Dar, Oas san- (oblique prefix sa-), Nca k- (oblique prefix ∅-), Lib k- (oblique prefix sa-), Sso kan- (oblique prefix ∅-), Buh sakan- (oblique prefix sa-). These forms constitute a set of differentiae as stated above.

6a. (1) Nca PNE marker (sg.) + -i:la, Sso PNE marker (sg.) + -i:ra :: (2) Lib PNE marker (pl.) + -ya -- third plural forms.

The forms in Northern Catanduanes, Libon, and Southern Sorsogon can be analyzed on a different basis; that is, as constructions containing PNE markers (see page 157). Thus the singular forms consist of the singular PNE marker in the proper case plus the singular base -(i:)ya :

	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique
PNE ('Maria'):			
Nca, Lib	si mari:ya	ni mari:ya	ki mari:ya
Sso	si mari:ya	ni mari:ya	kan mari:ya
3rd Sg. prcnoun ('he, she'):			
Nca	siya	ni:ya	ki:ya
Lib	siya	niya	kiya
Sso	siya	ni:ya	kani:ya

In Northern Catanduanes and Southern Sorsogon the plural forms consist of the singular PNE marker in the proper case plus the plural base -ira or -ila :

	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique
PNE ('Maria'):			
Nca	si mari:ya	ni mari:ya	ki mari:ya
Sso	si mari:ya	ni mari:ya	kan mari:ya
3rd Pl. pronoun ('they'):			
Nca	si:la	ni:la	ki:la
Sso	si:ra	ni:ra	kani:ra

In Libon the plural forms consist of the plural PNE marker in the proper case plus the singular base -ya :

	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique
PNE ('Maria'):	sa mari:ya	na mari:ya	ka mari:ya
3rd Pl. pronoun ('they'):	saya	naya	kaya

By sets of morphemic differentiae 4. and 6., a total of two sets of differentiae distinguish Southern Sorsogon and Libon; one set of

differentiae distinguishes Northern Catanduanes from each of the other two dialects. Using this analysis, instead of sets of morphemic differentiae 4. and 6., there is one set of differentiae distinguishing Libon from the other two dialects; and none between Northern Catanduanes and Southern Sorsogon. Totals between these three dialects and the other dialects is the same by either analysis. In such cases, that analysis is chosen, for each pair of dialects, which minimizes the total number of sets of morphemic differentiae distinguishing that pair.

7. (1) MOST -q :: (2) Dar, Lib, Buh, Nso, Mas -n -- final consonant of oblique first person forms.

The forms for first singular and first plural (inclusive and exclusive) in the oblique case are completely parallel. Within each dialect the three forms differ only in the medial consonant. For each meaning (e.g., first singular), the base forms fall into two groups for which two proto-forms can be reconstructed: *qakəq and *qakən. In all probability the two proto-forms developed from a single proto-form. In Tagalog, the linker na is realized as -ŋ (joined to the preceding word) following a word ending in a vowel, /q/, or /n/ (with loss of /q/ or /n/.[8] Thus: Tag qa:kin 'my' + na → qa:kiŋ; pi:liq 'to choose' + na → pi:liŋ. In the Bikol area dialects, other than the Southern dialects, na → -ŋ only following vowels or /q/. However, it is reasonable to suppose that there may have been an earlier stage at which na also → -ŋ following -n. Thus a form like *qakəŋ could be analyzed as *qakə, *qakəq, or *qakən plus na. By this process either *qakən could have replaced *qakəq by analogy, or *qakəq could have replaced *qakən. The development could have occurred independently in a number of dialects.

A similar distribution of forms ending in -q and -n is found for

the meaning 'not (adjective)' in the dialects other than the Southern dialects: CST bakuq, Nca bukuq, Oas, Iri, Buh bäkäq, Dar bäkän, Lib bokon (see page 254). Buhi has saqkin, etc., with -n, but bäkäq, with -q. Otherwise the two distributions are identical. A similar development appears in the following set of forms meaning 'to leave': Leg qa:liq, Nag, SOU ha:liq, Sca, Nca ha:riq, Oas qaliq, Dar, Lib, Buh qalin, Iri galin. Other examples of a putative analogical replacement of -n by -q, or vice versa, are: Iri qa:riq 'which?' (Other dialects qarin) and Buh qirun 'to move' (Leg qi:ruq, Nag hi:ruq, Sso hiruq).

While the loss of -n in the first person oblique pronouns may have happened independently in a number of dialects, from a synchronic viewpoint, this difference constitutes one set of morphemic differentiae.

8. (1) MOST ta :: (2) Nca, Oas, Lib, Nso, Mas n- + obl. base. -- 'of, by us (inclusive)'.

Some of the dialects have genitive forms in the first person plural (inclusive) which stand in the same relationship to the oblique forms, as do the third person genitive and oblique forms. For example in Northern Sorsogon:

3rd plural	ninda 'of, by them'	saqinda 'to them'
1st plural (incl)	na:tun 'of, by us'	saqa:tun 'to us'

Instead of this relationship, most dialects have a totally different form ta 'of, by us (inclusive)'.

9. (1) MOST n- + oblique base :: (2) CST, Sso mi.-- 'of, by us (exclusive).

The distinction is the same for the genitive forms in the first person plural (exclusive). However, the distribution of mi 'of, by us (exclusive)' does not coincide with the distribution of ta 'of, by us

(inclusive)'.

The following matrix summarizes the sets of differentiae discussed above:[9]

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
1.	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
2.	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	2
3.	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	3
4.	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	2	1	1	2
5.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1
6.	1	5	5	5	2	2	1	4	5	5	5	3
6a.	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1
7.	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	1
8.	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	1
9.	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2

The matrix on the following page shows the total numbers of sets of morphemic differentiae distinguishing the various pairs of dialects in the personal pronoun inflection.

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
Northern Catanduanes	X	7	7	7	6	4	4	6	5	5	4	3
Southern Catanduanes		X	0	0	4	4	6	6	5	5	6	5
Standard Bikol: Naga			X	0	4	4	6	6	5	5	6	5
Legazpi				X	4	4	6	6	5	5	6	5
Daraga					X	2	3	3	5	4	5	7
Oas						X	3	5	5	4	5	6
Libon							X	4	6	4	5	7
Buhi								X	3	6	7	6
Iriga									X	7	7	6
Northern Sorsogon										X	1	6
Masbate											X	5
Southern Sorsogon												X

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER SEVEN

[1] This is the same inflection that appears in Mintz 1971b, p. 12, for Naga.

[2] The distribution presented here is confined to occurrences as topic, possessive modifier (see p. 111), and various types of NE complement (see p. 107). This distribution is also summarized in Mintz 1971b, pp. 52-53. The complete distribution is similar to that for personal pronouns in Tagalog, discussed in Schachter 1972, Chapter 3.

[3] Cf. Mintz 1971b, pp. 13-14.

[4] Cf. Mintz 1971b, p. 14.

[5] Cf. Mintz 1971b, pp. 14-15.

[6] The format of the examples is discussed on p. 131.

[7] The format for the presentation of sets of morphemic differentiae is discussed on p. 132.

[8] Schachter 1972, p. 118.

[9] The format of this matrix is discussed on p. 132.

8. DEICTIC PRONOUNS

STRUCTURE

The deictic pronominal inflection for Legazpi is as follows:[1]

	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique
'this'	qini	kaqini	digdi
'that' (near addressee)	qiyan, qan	kaqiyan, kaqan	diyan
'that' (remote)	qitu	kaqitu	duman

The distribution of the forms in the different cases is similar but not identical to the distribution for personal pronouns.[2] Standing alone, the nominative case form appears primarily as the topic of a clause:

nagbaba:sa qiyan ki libru "That [one] (topic) is reading a book."

pigbakal qitu ni pidru "That [one] (topic) was bought by Pedro."

The oblique case form appears primarily with a locative meaning, but is also heard as a directional complement:

nagqiqistar sinda duman "They live there (location)."

nagtutubud qaku {kaqini / digdi} "I believe this [one] (direction complement)."

The genitive case form appears in all of the remaining environments discussed for personal pronouns:

qan qaruŋ kaqiyan 'that [one]'s (possessor) house'

pigqapud kaqini si pidru "Pedro was called by this [one] (agent)."

siqisay qan nagqapud kaqiyan "Who called that [one] (object

complement)?"

qitinaqu ku kaqitu "I gave it to that [one] (direction complement)."

Deictic pronouns frequently appear in modification constructions with nominals and adjectives.[3] The deictic pronouns may precede or follow the nominal. The linker na/-ŋ appears between them. If the deictic pronoun precedes the nominal, it is in the nominative or genitive case and marks the case of the construction as a whole. A deictic pronoun following a nominal in such constructions is always in the nominative case:

pigbakal {qitu-ŋ libru / qan libru-ŋ qitu} ni pidru "That book (topic) was bought by Pedro."

qan qaruŋ {kaqiyan na lala:ki / kan lala:ki-ŋ qiyan} 'that man's (possessor) house'

qitinaqu ku {kaqitu-ŋ qa:kiq / sa qa:ki-ŋ qitu} "I gave [it] to that child (direction complement)."

Oblique deictic pronouns frequently appear in construction with other types of NE in the oblique case:

nagqiqistar sinda duman {samuq / ka pidru / sa prubinsya} "They live there {at our place." / at Pedro's place." / in the province."}

HOMOSEMANTIC FORMS

Table 7 contains the composite deictic pronoun inflection for the Bikol area dialects.[4] The following are actual examples of the deictic pronominal forms drawn from the various dialects:[5]

TABLE 7. DEICTIC PRONOUNS

	NOMINATIVE		GENITIVE		OBLIQUE	
NEAR	CST,SOU	qini	CST	kaqini	Leg,Nag	digdi
	Dar	qaqdi	Dar	saqdi	Sca	dindi
	Iri,Buh	qadi	Oas	nikadi	Dar,Buh, Nso,Mas	didi
	Oas	kadi	Lib,Buh	nyadi	Oas	qidi
	Lib	qadi	Iri	kadi	Lib	qadi
	Nca	qitu	Nso,Sso	sani	Iri	sa:di
			Mas	sini	Sso	dini
			Nca	nintu	Nca	ditu
MIDDLE	CST	qiyan	CST	kaqiyan		
	Dar,Iri	qan	Dar	san	CST,Dar, Buh	diyan
	Buh	qaqan	Oas	nikan	Oas	qiyan
	Oas	kan	Lib	nyaan	Lib	qadyan
	Lib	yan	Buh	nyaqan	Iri	san
	Nca	yaqan	Iri	kan	Nso,Mas	didaq
	Nso,Mas	qinaq	Nso	sanaq	Sso	duqun
	Sso	yuqun	Mas	sinaq	Nca	dinyan
			Sso	suqun		
			Nca	ninyan		
FAR	Leg,Nag	qitu	Leg,Nag	kaqitu		
	Sca,SOU	qidtu	Sca	kaqidtu	CST	duman
	Dar,Iri, Buh	qadtu	Iri	kadtu	Dar,SOU	didtu
	Oas	kadtu	Dar,Nso, Sso	sadtu	Oas	qidtu
	Lib	yadtu	Mas	sidtu	Lib,Buh	qadtu
	Nca	yuqun	Oas	nikadtu	Iri	sadtu
			Lib,Buh	nyadtu	Nca	duqun/ dinyun
			Nca	ninyun		

Nominative case:

Oas qidi ŋaya sa raga-ŋ kadi magigibu ŋaya qaku-ŋ ta:wu
here he-said at soil-+ this will-make he-said I-+ person
"He said, 'From this soil I will make a person.'"

Sso qipupwistu yun sa lami:sa nan qingaga:huy yadtu
will-be-set-out that at table and being-called
"That will be set on the table and the fairy is

na qiŋkantu
that + fairy
called."

Nca bukuq na yan na qurdinaryu-ŋ ta:hu-ŋ naga:sabad
not already that + ordinary-+ person-+ throwing
"Those aren't ordinary people who are throwing

saqinyu-ŋ baray
to-you(pl)-+ house
[stones] at your house."

Iri kaya qadtu-ŋ paŋyaya:ri qadtu qinaprubitsaran kadi-ŋ
and-so that-+ event that was-taken-advantage-of
"And so the leader of the Sumagang tribe took advantage

mamamayu ka tri:bu-ŋ suma:gaŋ
by-this-+ will-lead to-the tribe-+ Sumagang
of those things that had happened."

Genitive case:

Nca sa:bi ku qikaw qan piga:tu:yu ninyan na
say by-me you(sg) the being-intended by-that +
"I said, 'You're the one those stones are

batu-ŋ yaqan
stone-+ that
being thrown at.'"

Oas qamu kadtu qan naŋyaya:ri nikan a pilipi:nu
yes that the happening to-that + Filipino
"That's what was happening to the Filipinos."

Sso waraq pa man qaku pakaqimud suqun na maŋa
none still too I seeing to-that + pl
"I've never seen any of those evil

maraqut na qispiritu
bad + spirit
spirits."

Nag qinisturya:han ku na si maŋa ta:wu duman sa haruŋ na
was-told-to by-me already the pl person there at house
"I told the people there at the house that something

si:riŋ kaqini qan naŋya:ri saku:yaq
+ like to-this the happened to-me
like this had happened to me."

Oblique case:

Sca dindi samuq daqi-ŋ ribuk daqi dindi nin
here to-us none-+ noise none here of
"Here at our place there's no trouble, there

maŋa lukulu:ku
pl fooling-around
are no trouble-makers here."

Nso sa pagsubi:da na:mun qigwa didaq sin dakuqda:kuq
at ascending by-us have there of great-big
"There where we went up [the hill] there was a

na ka:huy
+ tree
great big tree."

Lib pagqabut nu qapun qadi sa li:bon nagritira:da
arrival by-the Japanese here at Libon retreated
"When the Japanese came here to Libon we evacuated

kami sa san qosi
we at San Jose
to San Jose."

Iri magbwilta na sira sadtu ginali:nan nira
to-return already they there was-left by-them
"They returned to the place that they had left."

MORPHEMIC DIFFERENTIAE

The Bikol area dialects are distinguished by nine sets of morphemic differentiae with regard to the class of deictic pronouns.[6]

Most of the deictic forms can be analyzed as consisting of a base plus a case prefix. Such an analysis is most obvious in the Inland dialects, which share the same set of bases-- -di for 'this' (near speaker), -an for 'that (near addressee)', and -dtu for 'that' (remote). Most forms in other dialects can be accounted for by a similar analysis, but the analysis is less clear. Each set of different base forms and

case prefixes constitutes a set of morphemic differentiae:

1. (1) CST, SOU -ni :: (2) Nca -tu :: (3) INL -di -- base for 'this' (near speaker).

2. (1) CST -iyan, Nca -ya(qa)n :: (2) INL -an :: (3) Nso, Mas -naq :: (4) Sso -uqun -- base for 'that' (near addressee).

3. (1) MOST -dtu :: (2) Leg, Nag -itu :: (3) Nca -yu(qu)n -- base for 'that' (remote).

4. (1) MOST qi- (or y-) :: (2) Dar, Iri, Buh qa- :: (3) Oas ka- -- nominative case prefix.

5. (1) CST, Iri ka- :: (2) Nca nin- :: (3) Dar, SOU s(a)- :: (4) Oas nika- :: (5) Buh, Lib nya- -- genitive case prefix.

6. (1) MOST d(i)- :: (2) Oas qi- :: (3) Lib qa- :: (4) Iri sa- -- oblique case prefix.

The oblique case forms for 'here' and 'there' (near addressee) in Northern Sorsogon and Masbate (didi, didaq) have -d- where the base forms in the other cases have -n- (e.g., qini 'this', qinaq 'that' (near addressee)). This constitutes an additional set of differentiae between these dialects and the other:

7. (1) Nso, Mas oblique base with -d- :: (2) Other dialects bases shown in 1. and 2.

Several additional forms are not accounted for by the analysis above. There are separate sets of differentiae for each of these forms:

8. 'here' -- (1) Leg, Nag digdi :: (2) Sca dindi :: (3) Other dialects forms as analyzed in 1. and 6.

9. 'there' (near addressee) -- (1) Lib qadyan :: (2) Other dialects forms as analyzed in 2. and 6.

10. 'there' (remote) -- (1) CST duman :: (2) Buh qadtu ::

(3) Other dialects forms as analyzed in 3. and 6.

The following matrix summarizes the sets of morphemic differentiae just presented:[7]

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Iri	Buh	Nso	Sso	Mas
1.	2	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	1	1	1
2.	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	4	3
3.	3	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4.	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	2	2	1	1	1
5.	2	1	1	1	3	4	5	1	5	3	3	3
6.	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	4	1	1	1	1
7.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1
8.	3	2	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
9.	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2
10.	3	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3

The matrix on the following page shows the total numbers of sets of morphemic differentiae which distinguish the various pairs of dialects with regard to deictic pronouns.

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
Northern Catanduanes	X	5	5	5	5	6	6	6	6	5	5	4
Southern Catanduanes		X	2	2	6	7	7	6	6	5	5	4
Standard Bikol:												
Naga			X	0	7	8	8	7	7	6	6	5
Legazpi				X	7	8	8	7	7	6	6	5
Daraga					X	3	4	2	2	4	4	3
Oas						X	4	4	3	6	6	5
Libon							X	4	4	6	6	5
Buhi								X	3	6	6	5
Iriga									X	6	6	5
Northern Sorsogon										X	0	2
Masbate											X	2
Southern Sorsogon												X

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER EIGHT

[1] This paradigm is substantially equivalent to that presented in Mintz 1971b, pp. 17, 22. The forms gan and kagan do not appear in Mintz 1971b, but are common in colloquial speech in both Legazpi and Naga.

[2] The distribution presented here relates only to occurrences as topic, possessive modifier (see p. 111), and various types of NE complements (see p. 107). This distribution is also summarized in Mintz 1971b, pp. 17-23. The complete distribution is similar to that for deictic pronouns in Tagalog, discussed in Schachter 1972, Chapter 3.

[3] Cf. Mintz 1971b, pp. 76-81.

[4] The format of the table is discussed on p. 130.

[5] The format of the examples is discussed on p. 131.

[6] The format for the presentation of sets of morphemic differentiae is discussed on p. 132.

[7] The format for this matrix is discussed on p. 132.

9. PERSONAL AND COMMON NOMINAL EXPRESSIONS

The final two types of NE are personal nominal expressions (PNE) and common nominal expressions (CNE). These two types are structurally similar in that each consists of a marker and a predicate. Both PNE and CNE are members of inflections showing case. The predicates of PNE and CNE remain constant in this inflection.

PERSONAL NOMINAL EXPRESSIONS

STRUCTURE

A PNE predicate is the name of a person or a personified being. Syntactically, it is identified as such by the PNE marker which precedes it. Most Bikol area dialects have six PNE markers, expressing three cases and two numbers--singular and plural. The following exemplifies the complete inflection in Legazpi, using the PNE predicate mari:ya 'Maria':

	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique
Singular	si mari:ya	ni mari:ya	ki mari:ya
Plural	sa mari:ya	na mari:ya	ka mari:ya

The plural markers make reference to a group of two or more persons which includes the person named: si mari:ya 'Maria'; sa mari:ya 'Maria and other(s)'.

The distribution of cases for PNE is identical to that for personal pronouns:[2]

Nominative case:

nagbaba:sa si hwan ki libru "Juan (topic) is reading a book."

pigqapud sa na:ti ni pidru "Nati and the others (topic) were called by Pedro."

Genitive case:

qan qaruŋ na fi:liks 'the house of Felix and others (possessor)'

pigqapud ni na:ti si pidru "Pedro was called by Nati (actor)."

Oblique case:

siqisay qan nagqapud ka na:ti "Who called Nati and the others (object complement)?"

qitinaqu ku ki raqul "I gave [it] to Raul (direction complement)."

HOMOSEMANTIC FORMS

Table 8 shows the composite inflection for PNE markers in the Bikol area dialects.[3]

TABLE 8. PNE MARKERS

	NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	OBLIQUE
Sg	si	ni	MOST ki SOU kan
Pl	MOST sa Nso,Sso sira Mas sinda Iri,Buh sira si	MOST na Nso,Sso nira Mas ninda Iri,Buh nira ni	MOST ka SOU kanda Iri kanda ki Buh sakanda ki

The recorded texts contained no examples of the plural forms. The following are examples of the singular PNE markers:[4]

Nominative case:

Dar su maŋa guraŋ may kaqiba na-ŋ pa:diq ta gustu-ŋ qipakasal
the pl parent have companion already-+ priest because
"[Her] parents had brought along a priest because they

si qi:ma sagkid su lala:ki
want-+ to-be-caused-to-marry -- Emma and the male
wanted Emma and the boy to be married."

Nso may paniwa:laq qaku na may kagahu:man qan mahal
have belief I + have power the dear
"I believe that our patron saint, Señor San Ramon,

na patrun na si sinyur san ramun
+ patron-saint + -- Señor San Ramon
is powerful."

Genitive case:

Leg ta:pus nagpaqa:ram na kami sa qami:gu ni papa
after said-goodbye already we to friend of Papa
"Then we said goodbye to Papa's friend."

Nca yu saduq namamayuhan ni kaptin plurista buda yu saduq
the one being-led by Captain Florista and the one
"The one [group] was led by Captain Florista and the

man na gru:pu ni kaptin barba
too + group by Captain Barba
other group, by Captain Barba."

Oblique case:

Buh nakimaqirak qaku ki san bisinti
pleaded I to San Vicente
"I pleaded with San Vicente."

Nso sa:bi k: baga kan pru:tin mayad pa na:kun pru:tin
say by-me true to Prutin good still I-said Prutin
"So I said to Prutin, 'You should go first,

qikaw qan qumu:na
you(sg) the to-go-first
Prutin.'"

MORPHEMIC DIFFERENTIAE

The Bikol area dialects are distinguished by two sets of morphemic differentiae with regard to the class of PNE markers, as follows:[5]

1. (1) MOST ki :: (2) SOU kan -- oblique singular.
2. plural forms -- (1) MOST case prefix plus -a :: (2) Iri,

Buh 3rd pl. personal pronoun + sg. PNE marker :: (3) Nso, Sso sg. PNE marker plus -ra :: (4) Mas sg. PNE marker plus -nda.

Iriga and Buhi do not have plural PNE markers. The corresponding constructions consist of the third person plural pronoun plus the singular PNE marker, both in the appropriate case. Otherwise, except in the Southern dialects, the PNE markers can be analyzed as consisting of a case prefix and a base. The case prefixes are: s-, nominative; n-, genitive; and k-, oblique. The bases are -i, singular; and -a, plural. The Southern dialects have plural forms which can be analyzed as consisting of the singular PNE marker plus a base. In Northern and Southern Sorsogon the base is -ra. In Masbate the base is -nda. These plural PNE markers are similar but not identical to the third person plural pronouns in Southern Sorsogon and Masbate (see p. 137).

The following matrix summarizes the sets of differentiae presented above:[6]

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
1.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
2.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	4	3

The total number of sets of morphemic differentiae for both CNE and PNE markers is shown at the end of this chapter.

COMMON NOMINAL EXPRESSIONS

STRUCTURE

In the most general case, a CNE predicate is identical in shape to an indefinite clause predicate. As such, the most general meaning of a CNE is 'the one that (predicate)'. Thus: Leg gan lala:ki 'the one that

is male' = 'the man'; qan nagbakal ki bagas 'the one that bought rice'.

The inflection of CNE markers is asymmetrical. In addition to case, the CNE markers express varying degrees of definiteness or specificity. Not all dialects have the same number of CNE markers. In Legazpi there are five CNE markers inflected as follows:[7]

	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique
Indefinite	--	ki	sa
Definite	qan	kan	sa
Specific	su	kan	sa

The distribution of cases is approximately the same as for deictic pronouns, except that a direction complement always takes the oblique marker sa, rather than one of the genitive markers.[8] Thus:

Nominative case:

nagbaba:sa qan qa:kiq ki libru "The child (topic) is reading a book."

pigbakal su libru ni pidru "The book (topic) was bought by Pedro."

Genitive case:

qan qarug kan lala:ki 'the house of the man (possessor)'

pigqapud si pidru ki lala:ki "Pedro was called by a man (actor complement)."

siqisay qan nagqapud kan lala:ki "Who called the man (object complement)."

Oblique case:

qitinaqu ku sa qa:kiq "I gave it to the child (direction complement)."

nagqiqistar sinda sa prubinsya "They live in the province

(location complement)."

CNE in the oblique case (with marker sa) can have a definite or indefinite reference:

gustu ku-ŋ magkari:gus sa sa:lug "I like to bathe

{in rivers." / in the river."}

In the genitive case, a CNE with ki has an indefinite reference, a CNE with kan has a definite reference:

qaruŋ ki lala:ki 'a man's house'

qaruŋ kan lala:ki 'the man's house'

pigbakal ki lala:ki 'bought by a man'

pigbakal kan lala:ki 'bought by the man'

qaku qan nagbakal ki qaruŋ "I'm the one who bought a house."

qaku qan nagbakal kan qaruŋ "I'm the one who bought the house."

In the nominative case, the distinction is much more complicated, and much less clear.[10] Both qan and su have a definite or generic, but not indefinite, reference. Thus for the sentence:

nagba:sa qaku ki libru "I read some books."

there is no corresponding sentence meaning "Some books were read by me."

Three sets of environments can be defined approximately: those in which (1) only qan can occur, (2) su is preferred but either qan or su can occur, (3) either qan or su can occur, with no preference. Qan can always be substituted for su; the reverse is not true.

Only qan can have a reference which is:

(1) irrealis--an object not yet in existence or an event which has not yet taken place:

sigu:ru masira:mun qan pagka:qun sa pista sa qa:ga "The food will probably be delicious at the fiesta tomorrow."

(2) generic:

makusug qan karabaw "Carabaos are strong."

(3) unique:

magayun qan bu:lan "The moon is beautiful."

saday qan kinaqban "The world is small."

Su takes a real reference and usually emphasizes a contrast with some other entity. Su is preferred to qan for references which are:

(1) contrastive:

qiqabut mu ta:bi su qasin "Please pass the salt (not the vinegar)."

paru:ŋun mu ta:bi su qi:law sa lami:sa "Please put out the light on the table (not the overhead one)."

(2) real but outside of the immediate environment, such as in another room, or otherwise hidden from view:

kuwa:qun mu ta:bi su qasin "Please get the salt (from the kitchen)."

ha:qin su piryu:diku "Where's the newspaper (out of sight)?"

In other environments qan and su are interchangeable with little difference in meaning. These include references which are:

(1) anaphoric within a narrative:

daqi naghihi:ruq {qan / su} lala:ki "The man (previously introduced) didn't move."

(2) real, but not generic or unique:

masira:mun {qan / su} pagka:qun sa pista kasuqudmaq "The food was delicious at the fiesta yesterday."

makusug {qan / su} karabaw ni hwan "Juan's carabao is strong."

The rules just stated are at best approximate, and subject to correction and revision upon further study.

HOMOSEMANTIC FORMS

The Southern dialects have only four CNE markers (Table 9a).[11]

TABLE 9a. CNE MARKERS

	NOMINATIVE		GENITIVE		OBLIQUE	
Indef			SOU	sin	SOU	sa
Def + Spec	SOU	qan	SOU	san		

In the nominative case qan is syntactically equivalent to both qan and su in Legazpi. In the genitive case the distinction between sin (indefinite) and san (definite) is the same as the distinction between ki and kan in Legazpi:

Nso balay sin lala:ki 'a man's house'

balay san lala:ki 'the man's house'

Standard Bikol, Southern Catanduanes, Northern Catanduanes, Daraga, Oas, and Libon have five CNE markers (Table 9b). Although I was unable to study these forms extensively in these dialects, it seems safe to make the following observations:

(1) All of these dialects have an indefinite/definite distinction in the genitive case, as in Legazpi.

(2) The distribution of qan and su (or the equivalent markers)

TABLE 9b. CNE MARKERS

	NOMINATIVE		GENITIVE		OBLIQUE	
Indef			MOST	nin	MOST	sa
			Leg	ki		
Def	MOST	qan	CST	kan		
	Oas, Lib	qa	Dar, Oas, Lib	mu		
Spec	MOST	su	Nca	ninyu		
	Nag	si				
	Nca	yu				

seems to be substantially the same for Standard Bikol, Southern Catanduanes, Northern Catanduanes and Daraga.

(3) In Oas and Libon, where the equivalent markers are qa and su, qa occurs much less frequently than su. Apparently, in contrast to qan in Legazpi, which can always be substituted for su, qa in Oas and Libon occurs only in those cases in which su cannot appear.

Iriga and Buhi have six CNE markers (Table 9c).

TABLE 9c. CNE MARKERS

	NOMINATIVE		GENITIVE		OBLIQUE	
Indef			Iri	sa	Iri, Buh	sa
			Buh	nin		
Def	Iri, Buh	qa	Iri	ka	Iri	(oblique deictic)
			Buh	nya		
Spec	Iri	su	Iri	ku	Buh	sa
	Buh	yu	Buh	nyu		

The distribution of qa and su in Iriga and the corresponding distribution of qa and yu in Buhi appear to match the distribution for qa and su in Oas and Libon. Iriga and Buhi have an additional distinction

in the genitive case, which apparently corresponds to the qa : su distinction in the nominative. Thus, in Buhi:

qaku yu nagkaqin nin qadu:bu "I'm the one who ate adobo."

qaku qa magikaqin nya qadu:bu "I'm the one who will eat the adobo."

qaku yu nagkaqin nyu qadu:bu "I'm the one who ate the adobo."

An additional difference in Iriga is that sa expresses both the indefinite genitive case and the indefinite oblique case:

nagbakal qaku sa libru "I bought a book."

Definite locative phrases in Iriga consist of the oblique deictic followed immediately by the location with no CNE marker:

nagqiqistar qaku sa:di qiriga "I live here in Iriga."

(cf. Leg nagqiqistar qaku digdi sa ligaspi "I live here in Legazpi.")

The following are actual examples of the various types of CNE markers:[12]

Nominative definite:

Leg quminabut qan panahun na qan bayuŋ buda qan maŋa ha:yup
arrived the time + the bird and the pl animal
"The time arrived when the birds and animals fought with

nagkaqi:wal
became-enemies
each other."

Nca qan qa:mu-ŋ tampad pu:ru na sana sim na ha:riq sa
the our-+ vicinity all already just tin + leave at
"The ground around our house was covered with tin

qiskwi:lahan
school
from the school."

Lib sayin na raw ŋanakon qa kayiba ku
where already -- I-said the companion my
"I thought, 'I wonder where my companions are.'"

Mas nakaqi:sip qan kunsi:hu minisipal na maŋa:yu sin ta:baŋ
thought the council municipal + to-request of help
"The municipal council decided to ask for help."

Nominative specific:

Nag nataŋkas si saku:ya-ŋ tsini:las sa kadala:gan ku
came-loose the my-+ slipper at extreme-running my
"I ran so fast I lost my slippers."

Dar piru su maŋa ga:mit sadtu didtu pa
but the pl use of-that there still
"But the clothes of that one were still there."

Buh qamu qadtu yu ginika:nan nyu sinarapan
yes that the origin of-the k.-of-fish
"And that's the origin of the sinarapan."

Nca miq man na:muq nakukuha kun qa:hin yu
not too by-us being-found if where the
"But we couldn't find where the ones

naga:batu-ŋ yuqun
throwing-stones-+ that
who were throwing stones were."

Genitive indefinite:

Leg sa saru-ŋ pagtataram nagpi:liq ki magin ha:diq ninda
at one-+ conference chose of become king their
"At a conference they chose one to be their king."

Buh qisad a qaldaw yu baba:yi nakama:tiq
one + day the woman felt
"One day the woman had a craving

nin paggibig nin lukban
of desire of pomelo
for a pomelo."

Iri si karanda na ŋud ni qantipu:lu kinnuku sa qisad a penaq
-- Karanda + brother of Antipolo got of one + arrow
"Karanda, Antipolo's brother, got an arrow."

Nso qinqagda daw siya sin maŋa batit na saragday
was-invited she-said she by pl child + small(pl)
"She said she had been invited by some small children."

Genitive definite:

Iri sagkid pinanaq su qa:diq ka suma:gaŋ na tri:bu
and was-shot-with-arrow the king of-the Sumagang + tribe
"And the king of the Sumagang tribe was shot with an
arrow."

Buh qan a muralidad nya maŋa tagadidi pa:ra-ŋ malalu:ya-ŋ
that + morality of-the pl local-residents like-+ very-
"The morality of the residents here seems to be very
maray maniniŋid sa qikakaray nya sakanda-ŋ
weak-+ good about at will-be-made-good of-the
weak with regard to the welfare of their
banwa:qan
their-+ town
town."

Leg si wan qusuŋ nagta:guq duman sa may pwirta:han kan luŋib
-- Juan Usong hid there at have poor of-the cave
"Juan Usong hid there beside the door of the cave."

Nca qinagi:han ninyu awtu pi:ru maqi man la:maŋ
was-passed by-the bus but not too just
"The bus passed by [her], but she didn't even
ga:hi:was
getting-out-of-the-way
get out of the way."

Oas ta:maŋta:ma sana su kulur nu ta:wu na sanya-ŋ
just-right just the color of-the person + by-him-+
"The color of the person he had made was just

pinurma
was-formed
right."

Sso qan nakaku:wa san rwi:da nagpaba:kal na sin lastiku
the got to-the wheel sold already of rubber-band
"The one who had gotten the wheels sold rubber bands."

Genitive specific:

Iri su qu:ri-ŋ magsari:taq qa:mu migkaqan ku qi-pat a
the last-+ to-talk yes will-eat to-the four +
"The last one to talk will be the one to eat the

qisiraq
fish
four fish."

Buh qala:gad duranti nagikaqan qiya nama:tiq nyu baba:yi
but while eating she was-felt by-the woman
"But while she was eating, the woman felt that the

ŋa bikiq masiram pa:ra sakanya yu lukban
+ not delicious for to-her the pomelo
pomelo did not suit her taste."

Oblique:

Sca di naŋani man qaku sa maqistra ku
and-so approached too I to teacher my
"And so I approached my teacher."

Dar pa:wumu ŋanakan qan pagnawig ta kin makatalbiŋ kita
how I-said the descending our if to-be-buried we
"I said, 'How can we go down if we're going to be

diyan sa baybay
there at sand
buried in the sand.'"

Nso pagqabut daw didtu sa balay nagsara:yaw sinda
arrival she-said there at house danced(pl) they
She said that when they got to the house they danced."

Iri di ku ŋa:ni ŋaya naqisi:yan kin pa:wunu qaku nakaqabut
not by-me indeed he-said was-known if how I arrived
"He said, 'I don't even know how I made it to the

sadtu baliy
there house
house.'"

MORPHEMIC DIFFERENTIAE

The Bikol area dialects are distinguished by six sets of morphemic differentiae with regard to the class of CNE markers:[13]

1. nominative definite -- (1) MOST qan :: (2) Oas, Lib, Iri, Buh qa.

2. nominative specific -- (1) Leg, Sca, Dar, Oas, Lib, Iri su :: (2) Nag si :: (3) Nca, Buh yu :: (4) SOU ∅.

The same result is achieved if we take the difference in number of CNE markers in the nominative case as the basis for a set of differentiae (MOST 2 nominative CNE markers :: SOU 1 nominative CNE marker) and then exclude the Southern dialects from the above set of differentiae.

3. genitive indefinite -- (1) MOST nin :: (2) Leg ki :: (3) Iri sa :: (4) SOU sin.

4. genitive definite -- (1) CST kan :: (2) Nca ninyu :: (3) Dar, Oas, Lib mu :: (4) Iri ka, Buh nya :: (5) SOU san.

The same result is achieved if the homosemantic set of forms is taken to consist of the Iriga and Buhi genitive specific forms and the genitive definite (-specific) forms in other dialects. The Iriga and Buhi forms are analyzed as consisting of the deictic pronominal genitive case prefix (Iri k-, Buh ny-, p. 153) plus the base qa. They are thus not taken to be distinguished by a set of morphemic differentiae. The following comparisons throw some light on the historical development of

these forms, but do not present a sufficiently uniform pattern to be included in the analysis:

CST: CNE markers: nominative definite qan, genitive definite kan; deictic pronouns: nominative qini 'this', genitive kaqini 'to, by this'.

Nca: CNE markers: nominative specific yu, genitive definite ninyu; deictic pronouns: nominative qitu 'this', genitive nintu 'to, by this'.

Iri: CNE markers: nominative definite qa, genitive definite ka; deictic pronouns: nominative qadi 'this', genitive kadi 'to, by this.'

Buh: CNE markers: nominative definite qa, genitive definite nya; deictic pronouns: nominative qadi 'this', genitive nyadi 'to, by this'.

SOU: CNE markers: nominative definite qan, genitive definite san; deictic pronouns: nominative qini 'this', genitive Nso, Sso sani, Mas sini 'to, by this'.

The same pattern is found in Tagalog: CNE markers: nominative qaŋ, genitive naŋ; deictic pronouns: nominative qito 'this', genitive nito 'to, by this'.

5. genitive specific -- (1) Iri ku, Buh nyu :: (2) Others ∅.

The same result is achieved if we take the difference in the number of CNE markers in the genitive case as the basis for a set of morphemic differentiae (MOST 2 genitive CNE markers :: Iri, Buh 3 genitive CNE markers). As in 4., the Iriga and Buhi forms are taken as consisting of the deictic pronominal genitive case prefix plus the base -u, and thus not morphemically different.

6. oblique definite -- (1) MOST sa :: (2) Iri oblique case deictic pronoun.

The following matrix summarizes the sets of morphemic differentiae discussed above:[14]

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
1.	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	1
2.	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	3	1	4	4	4
3.	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	3	4	4	4
4.	2	1	1	1	3	3	3	4	4	5	5	5
5.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2
6.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1

The matrix on the following page shows the total number of sets of morphemic differentiae distinguishing the various pairs of Bikol area dialects with regard to both PNE and CNE markers.

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
Northern Catanduanes	X	2	2	3	2	3	3	4	7	5	5	5
Southern Catanduanes		X	1	1	1	2	2	5	6	5	5	5
Standard Bikol:												
Naga			X	2	2	3	3	5	7	5	5	5
Legazpi				X	2	3	3	6	6	5	5	5
Daraga					X	1	1	5	6	5	5	5
Oas						X	0	4	5	6	6	6
Libon							X	4	5	6	6	6
Buhi								X	3	7	7	7
Iriga									X	8	8	8
Northern Sorsogon										X	1	0
Masbate											X	1
Southern Sorsogon												0

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER NINE

[1] The same inflection is presented in Mintz 1971b, pp. 7-9, 103.

[2] The distribution presented here relates only to occurrences as topic, possessive modifier (see p. 111), and the various types of NE complements (see p. 107). This distribution is also summarized in Mintz 1971b, pp. 35-39. The complete distribution is similar to that for personal nouns in Tagalog, discussed in Schachter 1972, Chapter 3.

[3] The format of the table is discussed on p. 130.

[4] The format of the examples is discussed on p. 131.

[5] The format for the presentation of sets of morphemic differentiae is discussed on p. 132.

[6] The format for this matrix is discussed on p. 132.

[7] This paradigm differs from that appearing in Mintz 1971b, pp. 7-10, in that Naga has si for nominative specific (Leg su) and nin for genitive indefinite (Leg ki).

[8] The distribution presented here relates only to occurrences as topic, possessive modifier (see p. 111), and the various types of NE complements (see p. 107). This distribution is also summarized in Mintz 1971b, pp. 35-39. The complete distribution is similar to that for common nouns in Tagalog, discussed in Schachter 1972, Chapter 3.

[9] Mintz 1971b: "The difference between nin and kan is that the noun or phrase following kan has usually been specified in the context of the conversation and the speakers know what the referent is." (p. 9)

[10] Mintz 1971b equates the qan : su distinction with the ki : kan distinction. Thus: "The difference between an and si/su is that the noun or phrase following si/su has usually been specified in the context of the conversation, and the speakers know what the reference is." (p. 7)

[11] The format of the table is discussed on p. 130.

[12] The format of the examples is discussed on p. 131.

[13] The format for the presentation of sets of morphemic differentiae is discussed on p. 132.

[14] The format for this matrix is discussed on p. 132.

10. VERBAL INFLECTIONS

STRUCTURE

A verb consists of one or more verb-roots, and one or more affixes. A verb-root[1] is a single morpheme which enters into verbal inflections and may stand alone (with no affixes) as in the alternate active voice command form (p. 182): ka:qun "Eat!", dala:gan "Run!"

Affixes are morphemes which are constituents of verbs but cannot stand alone. Affixes are of three types: inflectional, voice, and semantic. Inflectional affixes mark, or contribute to the marking of, a verb for aspect.[2] Voice affixes mark, or contribute to the marking of, a verb for voice.[3] Semantic affixes are affixes which mark neither aspect nor voice.[4] Some affixes may also be considered portmanteau affixes in that they mark both aspect and voice.[5]

A verb-base consists of the verb-root(s) plus all semantic affixes present in a given verb. Thus a verb-base may be any of the following:

(1) a verb-root: ba:sa 'to read' (as in pigba:sa 'was read').

(2) a compound base--a sequence of two or more roots:[6] taquga:lan 'to pay respects' (as in magtaquga:lan 'to pay respects'; the roots are taqu 'to give', ga:lan 'honor').

(3) a doubled root--expressing a durative or iterative event with no particular goal in mind:[7] lakawla:kaw 'to walk around, go visiting' (as in maglakawla:kaw 'to walk around'; the root is lakaw).

(4) a verb-root plus a semantic affix. The major semantic affixes are the following:

(a) -Vr-, expressing the plurality of the actors, the goals, or the events:[8] kara:qun 'to eat (pl)' (as in pigkara:qun 'was eaten (pl)'; the root is ka:qun 'to eat').

(b) Curu-, expressing diminution or approximation:[9] kurukanta 'to sing bits and pieces' (as in nagkurukanta 'sang bits and pieces'; the root is kanta 'to sing').

(c) pag-, expressing a more concrete or deliberate event than the corresponding form without pag-:[10] pagqa:dal 'to study' (as in makapagqa:dal 'to be able to study a particular thing'; the root is qa:dal 'to study').

(d) paN-, expressing an event which is more concrete and of a broader scope than the corresponding form with paN-:[11] panli:nig 'to do extensive cleaning' (as in makapanli:nig 'to be able to do extensive cleaning'; the root is li:nig 'clean, to clean').

(e) para-, expressing a repetitive or habitual event:[12] parahi:liŋ 'to keep looking at' (as in pigparahi:liŋ 'kept being looked at'; the root is hiliŋ 'to see, look at').

(f) taga-, expressing an intermittent event: tagatu:muŋ 'to stop now and then' (as in nagtatagatu:muŋ 'stopping now and then'; the root is tu:muŋ 'to stop').

(g) pa-, expressing an event ordered, requested, permitted, or otherwise caused by someone:[13] paqinum 'to cause to drink' (as in pinaqinum 'was caused to drink'; the root in qinum 'to drink').

(h) ka-, expressing (1) a new state:[14] kata:kut 'to become afraid' (as in nagkata:kut 'became afraid'; the root is ta:kut 'afraid'); or (2) membership is a set: kaqi:wal 'enemy, to be enemies' (as in nagkaqi:wal 'became enemies'; the root is qi:wal 'to quarrel').

(5) a combination of one or more of the foregoing: parakurukaranta 'to keep singing bits and pieces (pl)' (as in nagparakurukaranta 'kept singing bits and pieces (pl)'; the root is

kanta 'to sing').

There are fifteen primary verbal inflections in Legazpi, each containing a characteristic voice affix or combination of voice affixes. These inflections are identified in terms of the characteristic affixes; e.g., the mag- inflection, the -un inflection, etc. A verb in the basic form consists of the characteristic affix(es) plus a verb-base.[15] The following list indicates the fifteen primary verbal inflections in Legazpi, the voice of each inflection and an example of a basic-form verb in each inflection:

Inflection	Voice	Example of Basic Form
ma-$_1$	Active	magadan 'to die' (gadan)
ma-$_2$	Direct passive	maqiliŋ 'to be seen' (qiliŋ)
mag-	Active	maglakaw 'to walk' (lakaw)
maN-	Active	maŋadyiq 'to pray' (qadyiq)
maka-	Active	makaqiliŋ 'to see' (qiliŋ)
ma-an	Local passive	marumduman 'to be remembered' (rumdum)
maki-	Active	makisi:ruŋ 'to take shelter' (śi:ruŋ)
maqi-	Instr. passive	maqisa:bi 'can be said' (sa:bi)
-un	Direct passive	bakalun 'to be bought' (bakal)
pag-un	Direct passive	pagbakalun 'to be bought' (bakal)
qi-	Instr. passive	qitaqu 'to be given' (taqu)
qi-pag-	Instr. passive	qipagtaqu 'to be given' (taqu)
-an	Local passive	taba:ŋan 'to be helped' (ta:baŋ)
pag-an	Local passive	pagtaba:ŋan 'to be helped'

(ta:baŋ)

qika-	Instr. passive	qikalu:nad 'can be loaded' (lu:nad)

Each of these inflections has four forms--the basic form and three aspect forms; e.g.:

Basic form:	magadan 'to die'
Perfective:	nagadan 'died'
Imperfective:	nagagadan 'dying'
Contemplated:	magagadan 'will die'

For most inflections, the formal relationships between the basic form and the aspect forms are parallel. The following table contains the formulations for all inflections except mag- which have a characteristic voice affix beginning in m-, together with examples of each inflection:

Inflection	Basic form	Perfective	Imperfective	Contemplated
$ma-_1$, $ma-_2$	ma-+B	na-+B	na-+C_1V_1+B	ma-+C_1V_1+B
	mahiliŋ	nahiliŋ	nahihiliŋ	mahihiliŋ
maN-	maN-+B	naN-+B	naN-+C_1V_1+B	maN-+C_1V_1+B
	maŋadyiq	naŋadyiq	naŋaŋadyiq	maŋaŋadyiq
maka-	maka-+B	naka-+B	nakaka-+B	makaka-+B
	makahiliŋ	nakahiliŋ	nakakahiliŋ	makakahiliŋ
ma-an	ma-+B+-an	na-+B+-an	na-+C_1V_1+-an	ma-+C_1V_1+-an
	marumduman	narumduman	narurumduman	marurumduman
maki-	maki-+B	naki-+B	nakiki-+B	makiki-+B
	makisi:ruŋ	nakisi:ruŋ	nakikisi:ruŋ	makikisi:ruŋ
maqi-	maqi-+B	naqi-+B	naqi-+C_1V_1+B	maqi-+C_1V_1+B
	maqisa:bi	naqisa:bi	naqisasa:bi	maqisasa:bi

(mahiliŋ 'to be seen'; maŋadyiq 'to pray'; makahiliŋ 'to see'; marumduman 'to be remembered'; makisi:ruŋ 'to take shelter'; maqisa:bi

'can be said')

In each of these inflections the basic form and contemplated form have prefixes with m-; the perfective and imperfective, prefixes with n-. The imperfective and contemplative have reduplication; the basic form and perfective do not. (In the maka- and maki- inflections, reduplication applies to the second syllable of the prefix, rather than the first consonant and vowel of the base.) These relationships may be expressed in the following matrix:

Prefix	No reduplication	Reduplication
m-	Basic form	Contemplated
n-	Perfective	Imperfective

The mag- inflection diverges from the above pattern in that there is no reduplication in the contemplated forms:

Inflection	Basic form	Perfective	Imperfective	Contemplated
mag-	mag-+B	nag-+B	nag-+C_1V_1+B	ma:-+B
	maglakaw	naglakaw	naglalakaw	ma:lakaw

(maglakaw 'to walk')

In the remaining inflections, the pattern is similar to that for most m- inflections:

Inflection	Basic form	Perfective	Imperfective	Contemplated
-un	B+-un	C_1+-in-+B'	C_1+-in-+V_1+B	C_1V_1+B+-un
	bakalun	binakal	binabakal	babakalun
pag-un	pag-+B+-un	pig-+B	pig-+C_1V_1+B	pag-+C_1V_1+-un
	pagbakalun	pigbakal	pigbabakal	pagbabakalun
qi-	qi-+B	qi-+C_1+-in-+B'	qi-+C_1+-in-+V_1+B	qi-+C_1V_1+B
	qitaqu	qitinaqu	qitinataqu	qitataqu

Inflection	Basic form	Perfective	Imperfective	Contemplated
qi-pag-	qipag-+B	qipig-+B	qipig-+C_1V_1+B	qipag-+C_1V_1+B
	qipagtaqu	qipigtaqu	qipigtataqu	qipagtataqu
-an	B+-an	C_1+-in-+B'+-an	C_1+-in-+V_1+B+-an	C_1V_1+B+-an
	taba:ŋan	tinaba:ŋan	tinataba:ŋan	tataba:ŋan
pag-an	pag-+B+-an	pig-+B+-an	pig-+C_1V_1+-an	pag-+C_1V_1+B+-an
	pagtaba:ŋan	pigtaba:ŋan	pigtataba:ŋan	pagtataba:ŋan
qika-	qika-+B	qikina-+B	qikinaka-+B	qikaka-+B
	qikalu:nad	qikinalu:nad	qikinakalu:nad	qikakalu:nad

(bakalun, pagbakalun 'to be bought'; qitaqu, qipagtaqu 'to be given, taba:ŋan, pagtaba:ŋan 'to be helped'; qikalu:nad 'can be loaded')

The imperfective and contemplated forms contrast with the basic form and perfective in the presence or absence of reduplication. The perfective and imperfective have -in- or pig-; the other forms do not. (In the -un and pag-un inflections, -un does not occur in those forms with -in- or pig-.) These relationships may be expressed in the following matrix:

prefix		No reduplication	Reduplication
∅	pag-	Basic form	Contemplated
-in-	pig-	Perfective	Imperfective

Thus aspect is marked, usually, by a combination of two affixes; e.g. ma- plus reduplication; or the presence of one affix and the absence of another; e.g. ma- without reduplication; or by the absence of two affixes; e.g. the basic form in the -un inflection (no -in-, no reduplication). Dialectal variation with regard to these inflections may apply to a given affix in all the combinations in which it occurs; or it may apply to a specific combination of affixes for a particular

aspect.

No dialectal variation was observed in the ma-$_1$, ma-$_2$, maN-, maka-, ma-an, maki-, maqi-, and qika- inflections. The following list indicates the meanings attached to these inflections in all dialects:

ma-$_1$, expresses intransitive action:

daqi pa nagagadan nagpaparala:kaw
not yet dying keeps-walking
"She hasn't died yet, but she [her spirit]

na sya (gadan 'to die')
already she
is already walking around."

ma-$_2$, expresses potential action (direct passive):[18]

daqi ta pa sinda madadara ta saraday
not by-us still they can-be-carried because small(pl)
"We can't bring them [to the house] yet, because

pa-ŋ maray (dara 'to carry')
still-+ good
they are still very small."

maN-, expresses general action (active):[19]

nananaqu daqa sya-ŋ maŋa riga:lu sa
giving they-say he-+ pl gift to
"They say he gives presents to nice

maŋa mabubu:qut na qa:kiq (taqu 'to give')
pl nice(pl) + child
children."

ma-an, expresses potential action (local passive):[20]

nataqnawan ninda qan daku:la-ŋ qaruŋ (taqnaw 'to see')
was-able-to-be-seen by-them the large-+ house
"They caught sight of the big house."

maka-, expresses potential action (active):[18]

pi:ru daqi daqa sya nakakata:baŋ sakuq (ta:baŋ 'to help')
but not she-said she can-help to-me
"But she said she couldn't help me."

maki-, expresses social action (active):[21]

nakikisu:qag puq qan karabaw ta (su:qag 'to gore')
jousting sir the carabao our
"Our carabao are jousting [with each other]!"

maqi-, expresses potential action (instrumental passive):[22]

qanu qan naqisa:bi nindu (sa:bi 'to say')
what the could-be-said by-you(pl)
"What were you able to tell [him]?"

qika-, expresses (1) potential action (instrumental passive):[23]

qini-ŋ maŋa gula:yun pwi:di-ŋ qikatanum
this-+ pl vegetable can-+ can-be-planted
"These [kinds of] vegetables can be planted

digdi (tanum 'to plant')
here
here."

(2) causative action:[24]

qikinaqugugma ku qan pagpaliwa:nag mu (qugma 'happy')
being-made-happy-about by-me the explanation your(sg)
"I'm pleased with your explanation."

Most observed dialectal variations involve the mag-, -un, qi-, -an, pag-un, qi-pag-, and pag-an inflections. These inflections carry little meaning other than the voice meaning (see p. 104). The inflections with pag- are substantially synonymous with the corresponding inflections without pag-, except that those with pag- express somewhat more intensive actions.

Three other sets of affixes deserve comment here, inasmuch as they

have high frequencies of occurrence in the Bikol area, but are not so common in other central Philippine languages. These are: (1) the alternate command forms, (2) the forms etymologically related to *-um-, and (3) plural forms with -Vr-.

There are two constructions for non-negative commands in Legazpi.[25] The more formal construction consists of the basic form plus the proper case form of the second person pronoun (singular or plural). For example:

magbakal ka ki dulsi "Buy sweets."[26]

bakalun mu qan dulsi "Buy the sweets."

qibakal mu qaku ki dulsi "Buy sweets for me."

bakalan mu qaku ki dulsi "Buy sweets from me."

The less formal construction consists of either the verb-base alone (in the mag- inflection) or the verb-base plus a suffix as follows:

mag-	-un	qi-	-an
B	B+-a	B+-an	B+-i

The singular second person pronoun does not cooccur with this set of commands. For example:

bakal ki dulsi "Buy sweets."

bakala qan dulsi "Buy the sweets."

bakalan qaku ki dulsi "Buy me some sweets."

bakali qaku ki dulsi "Buy sweets from me."

Examples of the less formal commands in Legazpi are:

mi:la qapuda sa ni:lu ta hana:pun ta qan qurig
Mila to-be-called pl Nilo because to-be-sought
"Mila, call Nilo and the others, so we can look

(qapud 'to call')
by-us the pig
for the pig."

suqlugan qan ba:duq nindu-ŋ mahiqbug
to-be-worn the clothes your(pl)-+ thick
"Put on your thick clothes because

ta mali:put (suqlug 'to wear')
because cold
it's cold."

kaputi sana-ŋ maray qan gakud (kaput 'to hold')
to-be-held just-+ good the rope
"Just hold the rope tight."

In negative commands only the more formal construction occurs--the verbal negator plus personal pronoun plus basic form of the verb.[27] In Legazpi only pag- forms appear in passive negative commands:

daqi ka magbakal ki dulsi "Don't buy sweets."

daqi mu pagbakalun qan dulsi "Don't buy the sweets."

daqi mu sya qipagbakal ki dulsi "Don't buy sweets for her."

daqi mu sya pagbakalan ki dulsi "Don't buy sweets from her."

Three affixes which do not form a complete inflection, but are probably related etymologically to the -um- inflection in Tagalog and other Philippine languages, are -um-, -umin-, and mina:-. These are all active voice, but otherwise there is no strong semantic connection between them.

The -um- form is abstract with regard to aspect and occurs quite frequently as an alternate imperative in the active voice:[28]

magka:qun ka na "[Come and] eat." (ka:qun 'to eat')

kuma:qun ka na "[Come and] eat."

This form may also be heard in other positions in which the mag- basic

form appears. The following are some examples of -um- forms in Legazpi:

dummuman ka ki qa:di-ŋ qu:ku buda taraman mu sya-ŋ
to-go-there you(sg) to king-+ Oko and to-be-told by-you(sg)
"Go to King Oko and tell him to

tumu:muŋ na kan pakigi:ra
he-+ to-stop already to-the making-war
stop making war."

(duman 'there, to go there'; tu:muŋ 'to stop')

qigwa-ŋ saru-ŋ qa:ki-ŋ gustu-ŋ lumu:nad sa saruq
have-+ one-+ child-+ want-+ to-ride at one
"There's a child who wants to ride on one

kan maŋa kandiŋ (lu:nad 'to ride')
of-the pl goat
of the goats."

-umin- forms are perfective, and carry the implication of an event which is the end result of a sequence of events, whereas nag- perfectives may refer to isolated events.[29] For example:

kan nagtatraba:hu na qan maŋa qa:kiq quminabut
when working already the pl child arrived
"When the children had already started working,

si tiyu-ŋ ki:koy
-- uncle-+ Kikoy
Uncle Kikoy finally arrived."

daqi nahaluy kuminusug qan parus buda qan quran
not took-long got-strong the wind and the rain
"Before long, the wind and the rain got strong."

Mina:- forms have three relatively distinct meanings.[30] The first refers to the time period immediately surrounding a punctual event such that there is some evidence or influence from that event extending into that time period. For example ma:qabut na sya "He will arrive (already)"

means "He will arrive at just any moment", but his arrival might in fact be several hours away. Mina:qabut na sya "He is arriving already" means that there is some evidence for his impending arrival, for example, he can be seen approaching. On the other hand, mina:qabut pa sana sya "He has just arrived" indicates that the event is still a very fresh memory, as for example, he is still out of breath, etc. The following are actual examples:

ŋa:taq daw ta daqi pa sya mina:digdi
why anyway because not still he about-to-come-here
"I wonder why there is no sign of him yet."

kan mina:rani na si ni:na dinakup qan pa:yuŋ ni ti:ta nin
when just-getting-close already -- Nena was-caught the
"Just as Nena got close, a strong gust of wind caught Tita's

makusug na parus
umbrella of Tita by strong + wind
umbrella."

Mina:- forms with adjective roots express an increase in the quality expressed by the adjective by discontinuous increments. Whereas nagyaya:man sya 'he is getting richer' implies a steady increase in wealth, mina:ya:man sya 'he is getting richer' implies, for example, that he engages in successive ventures, each one resulting in a discrete increment in his wealth. For example:

mina:daku:laq qan kaqadi:qan ŋya buda mina:dakul qan
getting-bigger the kingdom his and increasing the
"His kingdom got bigger and bigger and his wealth kept

saqi:ya-ŋ kayama:nan
his-+ wealth
increasing."

Finally, mina:- may refer to a set of punctual events which are paired with another set of punctual events. For example: mina:piknik

kita mina:quran "Whenever we have a picnic, it rains."

kun naqara:man nya-ŋ may qa:ki-ŋ nagqiqi:laŋ mina:duman
if was-known by-him-+ have child-+ being-sick going-there
"Whenever he knew that there was a sick child, he would go

tu:lus sya sa qaruŋ kan qa:ki-ŋ qiyan
immediate he to house of-the child-+ that
right away to the home of that child."

Plural verb-bases are very common in Bikol. In Legazpi plural verb-bases have the following form: C_1V_1+-r-+B' (r-+V_1+B for l-initial roots). For example: bara:sa 'to read (pl)' (ba:sa 'to read'); guruliq 'to go home (pl)' (guliq 'to go home'). Plural verb-bases express the plurality of (1) the actors:

qinirilin ninda qan bu:lan buda nagtararam na pa:ra
was-looked-at(pl) by-them the moon and talked(pl) + as-if
"They looked at the moon and spoke as if they were asking

sinda-ŋ nagqa:gad nin ta:baŋ
they-+ requested of help
for help."

(2) the objects:

ta:tay purutulun ku na puq qini-ŋ maŋa talduk
daddy to-be-cut-off(pl) by-me already sir this-+ pl post
"Daddy, shall I cut off these posts?"

or (3) the events:

qinda kun namurula:hun qaku qu nanruluŋsiq
not-know if got-very-red(pl) I or got-pale(pl)
"I don't know whether I blushed or got pale."

HOMOSEMANTIC FORMS

For the inflections not discussed in this section, the formulations are the same for all Bikol area dialects. Table 10 through 15 show the composite inflections with examples in the mag-, -un, qi-, -an, pag-un,

TABLE 10. mag- INFLECTION

BASIC FORM	CONTEMPLATED	
mag- + B (magbakal) 'to buy'	Leg, Nag, Nca, Lib, Nso, Sso	ma:- + B (ma:bakal)
	Sca, Dar, Mas	mag-a- + B (magabakal)
	Oas, Buh	mag-i- + B (magibakal)
	Iri	mig- + B (migbakal) 'will buy'
PERFECTIVE	**IMPERFECTIVE**	
nag- + B (nagbakal) 'bought'	Leg, Nag,[33] Lib, Nso, Sso	nag- + C_1V_1 + B (nagbabakal)
	Dar, Mas	nag-a- + B (nagabakal)
	Sca	ga- + B (gabakal)
	Nca	ga:- + B (ga:bakar)
	Oas	nag-i- + B (nagibakal)
	Buh	ni- + B (nibakal) 'buying'

qi-pag- and pag-an inflections.[31]

Dialectal differences are primarily of two types--those which apply to affixes, and those which apply only to the forms on the right-hand side of the inflectional matrices in Tables 10 through 16; that is, to those forms which have reduplication in some dialects.

TABLE 11. -un INFLECTION

BASIC FORM		CONTEMPLATED	
MOST	B + -un (bakalun)	MOST[33]	C_1V_1 + B + -un (babakalun)
Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh	B + -in (bakalin)	Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh	C_1V_1 + B + -in (babakalin)
Lib	B + -on (bakalon)	Lib	C_1V_1 + B + -on (babakalon)
'to be bought'		'will be bought'	
PERFECTIVE		IMPERFECTIVE	
MOST	C_1 + -in- + B' (binakal)	Nca, CST, Iri, Buh[33]	C_1 + -in- + V_1 + B (binabakal)
		Dar	C_1 + -i:- + B (bi:bakal)
		Oas, Lib	C_1 + V_1: + B (ba:bakal)
SOU	qin- + B (qinbakal)	SOU	qin- + C_1V_1 + B (qinbabakal)
'was bought'		'being bought'	

There are only three differences with regard to affix. First, in the Southern dialects, qin- appears more commonly as a prefix than as an infix (Tables 11-13). Some examples are:[32]

Nso san qisad ka qadlaw qinha:nap siya san qamaq ni:ya
on one + day was-sought she by-the father her
"One day her father was looking for her."

Sso qinhaput ku kun na:mu kay naqara:mun nira na
was-asked by-me if what because was-known by-them +
"I asked how they knew that [the children] had been

qinkarawan sin qiŋkantu
was-joked-with by fairy
bewitched by a fairy."

TABLE 12. qi- INFLECTION

BASIC FORM		CONTEMPLATED
qi- + B (qibakal) 'to be bought for'		qi- + C_1V_1 + B (qibabakal) 'will be bought for'
PERFECTIVE		IMPERFECTIVE
MOST	qi- + C_1 + -in- + B' (qibinakal)	CST, Nca, Iri, Buh qi- + C_1 + -in- + V_1 + B (qibinabakal)
		Dar qi- + C_1 + -i:- + B (qibi:bakal)
		Oas, Lib qi- + C_1 + V_1: + B (qiba:bakal)
SOU	qin- + B (qinbakal) 'was bought for'	SOU qin- + C_1V_1 + B (qinbabakal) 'being bought for'

The pag- inflections in the Southern dialects have gin- in place of pig- (Tables 14-16). Some examples of these inflections are:

Nso niyan qan maŋa batit ku ginpu:kaw ku
now the pl child my was-awakened by-me
"So I awakened my children."

Nso qan ginŋalasan mi kay la:qin puminutuk
the was-surprised-about by-us because not exploded
"What we were amazed about was that it didn't explode."

Sso pagqabut duqun sa quma ginhihi:muq na sudlay
arrival there at farm being-made + comb
"When they got to the farm, they made [it] into combs."

Masbate also has the prefix qig-, which appears in place of qi-pag- in the contemplated and basic forms (Table 15):

nagparapakimalu:quy qan baquq na di:liq qigla:bay
kept-pleading the turtle + not to-be-thrown
"The turtle pleaded and pleaded that he not be thrown

TABLE 13. -an INFLECTION

BASIC FORM		CONTEMPLATED
B + -an (bakalan) 'to be bought from'		C_1V_1 + B + -an (babakalan) 'will be bought from'
PERFECTIVE		IMPERFECTIVE
MOST	C_1 + -in- + B' + -an (binakalan)	CST, Nca, Iri, Buh C_1 + -in- + V_1 + B + -an (binabakalan)
		Dar C_1 + -i:- + B + -an (bi:bakalan)
		Oas, Lib C_1 + V_1: + B + -an (ba:bakalan)
SOU	qin- + B + -an (qinbakalan)	SOU qin- + C_1V_1 + B + -an (qinbabakalan)
'was bought from'		'being bought from'

sa tu:big
at water
into the water."

In the Southern dialects qi- does not cooccur with qin- or gin- (Tables 12 and 15). Thus in the perfective and imperfective the -un and qi- forms are identical.

In all of the other Bikol area dialects the forms with pig- (or pinag-) are more frequent and somewhat more colloquial than the forms with -in-. In Oas and Buhi forms with pig- are rarely heard. Pinag- is the preferred prefix for perfective and imperfective in the pag- inflections (Tables 14-16):

Buh ŋinara:nan nira qadi-ŋ sakanda-ŋ baqgu-ŋ lugar qadi-ŋ
was-named by-them this-+ their-+ new-+ place this-+
"They named this new place, this place where they lived,

TABLE 14. pag-un INFLECTION

BASIC FORM		CONTEMPLATED	
MOST	pag- + B + -un (pagbakalun)	Leg,Nag, Nso, Sso	pag- + C_1V_1 + B + -un (pagbabakalun)
		Lib	pag- + C_1V_1 + B + -on (pagbabakalon)
		Iri	pag- + C_1V_1 + B + -in (pagbabakalin)
Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh	pag- + B + -in (pagbakalin)	Sca, Mas	pag-a- + B + -un (pagabakalun)
		Dar	pag-a- + B + -in (pagabakalin)
Lib	pag- + B + -on (pagbakalon)	Nca	pag-a:- + B + -un (paga:bakarun)
		Oas, Buh	pag-i- + B + -in (pagibakalin)
'to be bought'		'will be bought'	
PERFECTIVE		IMPERFECTIVE	
MOST	pig- + B pigbakal	Leg, Nag, Lib, Iri	pig- + C_1V_1 + B (pigbabakal)
		Sca, Dar	pig-a- + B (pigabakal)
		Nca	pig-a:- + B (piga:bakar)
Oas, Buh	pinag- + B (pinagbakal)	Oas	pinag-i- + B (pinagibakal)
		Buh	pi- + B (pibakal)
SOU	gin- + B (ginbakal)	Nso, Sso	gin- + C_1V_1 + B (ginbabakal)
		Mas	gin-a- + B (ginabakal)
'was bought'		'being bought'	

TABLE 15. qi-pag- INFLECTION

BASIC FORM		CONTEMPLATED	
MOST	qi-pag- + B (qipagbakal)	Leg, Nag, Lib, Iri, Nso, Sso	qi-pag- + C_1V_1 + B (qipagbabakal)
		Sca, Dar	qi-pag-a- + B (qipagabakal)
		Nca	qi-pag-a:- + B (qipaga:bakar)
Mas	qig- + B (qigbakal)	Oas, Buh	qi-pag-i- + B (qipagibakal)
		Mas	qig-a + B (qigabakal)
'to be bought for'		'will be bought for'	

PERFECTIVE		IMPERFECTIVE	
MOST	qi-pig- + B (qipigbakal)	Leg, Nag, Lib, Iri	qi-pig- + C_1V_1 + B (qipigbabakal)
		Sca, Dar	qi-pig-a- + B (qipigabakal)
		Nca	qi-pig-a:- + B (qipiga:bakar)
Oas, Buh	qi-pinag- + B (qipinagbakal)	Oas	qi-pinag-i- + B (qipinagibakal)
		Buh	qi-pi- + B (qipibakal)
SOU	gin- + B (ginbakal)	Nso, Sso	gin- + C_1V_1 + B (ginbabakal)
		Mas	gin-a- + B (ginabakal)
'was bought for'		'being bought for'	

TABLE 15. pag-an INFLECTION

BASIC FORM	CONTEMPLATED
pag- + B + -an (pagbakalan) 'to be bought from'	Leg, Nag, Lib, Iri, Nso, Sso: pag- + C_1V_1 + B + -an (pagbabakalan) Sca, Dar, Mas: pag-a- + B + -an (pagabakalan) Nca: pag-a:- + B + -an (paga:bakaran) Oas, Buh: pag-i- + B + -an (pagibakalan) 'will be bought from'
PERFECTIVE	**IMPERFECTIVE**
MOST: pig- + B + -an (pigbakalan) Oas, Buh: pinag- + B + -an (pinagbakalan) SOU: gin- + B + -an (ginbakalan) 'was bought from'	Leg, Nag, Lib, Iri: pig- + C_1V_1 + B + -an (pigbabakalan) Sca, Dar: pig-a- + B + -an (pigabakalan) Nca: pig-a:- + B + -an (piga:bakaran) Oas: pinag-i- + B + -an (pinagibakalan) Buh: pi- + B + -an (pibakalan) Nso, Sso: gin- + C_1V_1 + B + -an (ginbabakalan) Mas: gin-a- + B + -an (ginabakalan) 'being bought from'

pinagqistaran na nakabuwiq
was-lived-at + Nakabuhi
Nakabuhi."

Oas su maŋa ti:la baga pinagbakal ninra qipinagbalyu-ŋ
the pl cloth true was-bought by-them was-exchanged-+
"They bought the cloth and exchanged it for tobacco

taba:kuq sa bukid
tobacco at hill
in the hills."

The remaining differences apply to the reduplicated forms. Throughout the Bikol area forms with reduplicated syllables (with no infix) have more colloquial alternants with vowel length in place of the reduplicated syllable. If there is a prefix, the vowel length occurs in the first syllable of the prefix (with loss of -g in mag- and nag-. If there is no prefix, the vowel length falls on the first syllable of the root. For example: Leg nagbaba:sa (formal), na:ba:sa (colloquial) 'reading'; babasa:hun (formal), ba:sa:hun (colloquial) 'will be read'. In most dialects the shorter form has become regular for the contemplated aspect (mag- inflection). There is, nonetheless, an archaic form with reduplication: Leg ma:ba:sa (modern), magbaba:sa (archaic) 'will read'.

Daraga, Oas, and Libon have parallel differences in the imperfective of the -in, (-on), qi-, and -an inflections (Tables 11-13). Where the corresponding forms in Legazpi have -in- + V_1, Daraga has -i:-, Libon and Oas have -V_1:-, as in the following examples:

Dar nu ki:kuku na qaku nya qibi:bitaŋ qaku didtu sa qibabaw
when being-gotten already I by-him being-put I there at
"As he was getting me and putting me up onto the floor,

nu saliġ qitu:pa naman qaku nu tubig
top of-the floor swept-away again I by-the water
I was swept away again by the water.

Dar qamu qadtu si:sa:bi ninda-ŋ su buluŋ man ninda didtu
yes that being-said by-them-+ the medicine too their
"That's what they say is their medicine there in the

sa bulud
there at hill
hills."

Oas kasi su maŋa ta:wu diq sa:yinyu dumidilag ta
mostly the pl person not to-you(pl) fleeing because
"For the most part the people didn't flee from you,

ri:ripa:ru ninyu-ŋ maray
being-taken-care-of by-you(pl)-+ good
because you took good care of them."

Lib pagkaraparap nu sinta:bo kuwon ku yadtu na
after-feeling to-the money to-be-gotten by-me that +
"When I felt the money, I took the [box] that I

ka:kaptan ku
being-held by-me
was holding."

In the mag- inflection and the three pag- inflections, several dialects have -a- in place of reduplication in the imperfective and contemplated aspects (Tables 10, 14-16). This is the case in Masbate and Daraga, as in the following examples:

Dar kiqtin ta ŋaya kin talaga-ŋ nagabalik daw
to-be-looked-at by-us she-said if really-+ returning
"She said, 'Let's see if souls really do

qan kalag
anyway the soul
come back."

Dar magakawin sya pa:wumu daw ŋaya qan
will-eat he how anyway he-said the
"[When] he was going to eat, he thought,

pagqurdir ku
ordering my
'How am I going to order.'"

Mas qan qilawan na:mun dakuqda:kuq qinaq ŋa sa:luŋ na
the lamp our very-big that + resin +
"Our lamp was a great big [ball of] resin that was

ginaha:liq sa ka:huy
being-taken-away at tree
taken from a tree."

Mas damuq didi sin nagtu:qud sanaq na maŋa ta:wu sa dulum
many here of believing to-that + pl person at dark
"There are many here who believe in evil spirits."

Contemplated forms with ma:- in the mag- inflection are also common in these dialects. There are also some verbs in Daraga, mostly intransitives of motion, which have an optional contemplated form of the shape: C_1V_1 + B : lakaw 'to walk'; magalakaw, lalakaw 'will walk'; qadun 'to go there'; magaadun, qaadun 'will go there'. For example:

kin qabiq ŋanakin kamu magluwan magsapnaq qaku
if not-want I-said you(pl) to-go-out to-cook-rice I
"I said, 'If you don't want to go out and fix the meal,

qan luluwan
the will-go-out
I will go out.'"

-a- for reduplication also appears in Southern Catanduanes, and with vowel length (-a:-) in Northern Catanduanes. However, the preferred and most colloquial forms have ga- in Southern Catanduanes and ga:- in Northern Catanduanes for the imperfective of the mag- inflection (Table 10). Northern Catanduanes also have piya:- and ya:- in more colloquial forms for the imperfective of the pag- inflections (Tables

14-16).

The following are examples from Southern Catanduanes:

qigwa man syimpri duman niŋ gahaḷat
have too of-course there of waiting
"Of course someone's waiting there [for you]."

kun minsan gabisikli:ta qaku kun minsan pigagu:yud ku su
if sometimes riding-bicycle I if sometimes being-pulled by-me
"Part of the time I rode the bicycle, part of the time I

bisikli:ta
the bicycle
pushed the bicycle."

kun gahigdaq duman sa saḷu-ŋ kwartu mi-ŋ
if lying there at one-+ room our-+
"If one lies down (sleeps) in one of our rooms

pigaqukupar nya
being-occupied by-him
which he had occupied . . ."

In Northern Catanduanes, verb forms with reduplication are very rare. Even in the "uniform" inflections listed earlier, the preferred forms have vowel length, rather than reduplication (na:kaba:sa for nakakaba:sa 'able to read', etc.). The following exemplify Northern Catanduanes forms:

qitu-ŋ paga:qistu:rya ku qistu:rya na di:liq ku mali:limu:tan
this-+ will-be-told by-me story + not by-me will-be-
"What I am going to tell [you] is a story which I will not

haŋgan bu:hay pa qaku
forgotten until alive still I
forget as long as I live."

naga:tindug sa kari sa banda-ŋ tu:qu ninyu qawtu
standing at ditch at part-+ right of-the bus
"[She] was standing in the ditch on the right side

harani sa bukid
near to hill
of the bus close to the hill."

ditu ga:qistar sa qa:mu-ŋ kata:niŋ
here residing at our-+ beside
"[They] were living here with our neighbor."

piya:parabanta:yan yu maŋa ta:hu-ŋ ga:qara:gi
keep-being-watched the pl person-+ passing
"They kept watching the people who passed by."

hasta-ŋ duqun sa qiskwi:lahan ya:susud na qaku nyu lala:ki
until-+ there at school being-pursued already I by-the boy
"I was being pursued by the boy even at the school."

Contemplated forms with ma:- are also quite common in Northern and Southern Catanduanes.

Oas and Buhi also have a fixed syllable in place of reduplication in the mag- and pag- inflections, in this case -i- (Tables 10, 14-16). The following are examples of Oas forms:

ŋwa:naq pinagiya:nap kun qasa:yin su payu
now being-sought if being-where the head
"Now they are looking [to find out] where the head is."

nakarkulu ku na ŋaya su ta:ma-ŋ qu:ras na qipagilu:tuq
was-calculated by-me already he-said the right-+ hour + will-
"He said, 'I have calculated just the right amount of time

ku ŋaya nikadi-ŋ pinagpurma ku
be-used-to-cook by-me he-said to-this-+ was-formed by-me
that I should cook this thing I have formed."

qi:si mu na bayaq kan a ta:wu-ŋ nagitiyis
know by-you(sg) already really that + person-+ suffering
"You already know about those people who are suffering."

kaqyin dara-ŋ maŋa magikalut maŋa paratraba:wu
have bring-+ pl will-dig pl worker
"They brought along diggers, workers,

magikuku nu baŋkay ni L.
will-get to-the corpse of L.
to find L.'s body."

In Buhi -i- also occurs for reduplication. In the imperfective, however, the most common formulation has ni- in place of nag-i-, and pi- in place of pinag-i- (Tables 10, 14-16). The following are examples of Buhi forms:

niqagi kami nin labi-ŋ kwarintay siŋku mimu:tus
walking we of excessive-+ forty-and five minutes
"We used to walk more than forty-five minutes."

qadtu qaku sa kwartu nibataŋ
there I at room lying
"I was in my room lying down."

qala:gad duranti nagikaqan qiya namatiq nyu baba:yi na
but while eating she was-felt by-the woman +
"But while she was eating, the woman felt that . . ."

pikuntra ku yu sakanda-ŋ maŋa gawiqga:wiq
being-opposed by-me the their-+ pl deed
"I was opposed to the things they did."

yu ŋaqmin ŋa qupaq ŋa qipitipga nya sa lawid
the all + pulp + being-spit-out by-her at lake
"All of the pulp that she was spitting out into the lake."

pitaqwan namin nin dakigi-ŋ qimpurtansya
being-given-to by-us of big-+ importance
"We give [it] great importance."

In Iriga, the contemplated form in the mag- inflection has the prefix mig- (Table 10). For example:

qika palan ŋaya migkaqan sa tulu sana qaku ŋaya
you(sg) behold she-said will-eat of three just I she-said
"She said, 'You after all will eat just three, I will

migqipat
will-do-four
have four."

kin su qupus ŋaya magulpi qini ŋaya-ŋ qagum mu
if the cat he-said to-get-worse this he-said-+ spouse your(sg)
"He said, 'If the cat gets worse, your husband

miggiraqan
will-die
will die."

Otherwise the reduplicated forms in Iriga are the same as in Legazpi.

The remaining comments have to do with dialectal differences in the verbal inflectional system not specifically related to the seven inflections just discusses.

Plural verb-bases with -Vr- reduplication appear in all dialects except Iriga. In Iriga plurality is indicated by the infixation of -ŋa- in the verbal prefix. This form also occurs in archaic Bikol and in Tagalog: nagba:sa 'read'; naŋagba:sa 'read'(pl)'; nabu:way 'was alive'; naŋabu:way 'was alive (pl)'; pinagbakal 'was bought'; pinaŋagbakal 'was bought (pl)'. These forms are much less common in Iriga than the -Vr- plural forms in other dialects. Some examples are:

naŋamiya su maŋa qigin na qagku sira ba:gu-ŋ kagra:du
was-happy-(pl) the pl child + have they new-+ classmate
"The children were happy that they had a new classmate."

naŋagqukruŋ na sana su maŋa qigin saka nagpadyusmabalus
bowed(pl) already just the pl child and gave-thanks
"The children just bowed their heads and gave thanks."

In Northern Catanduanes, both forms of pluralization are found, sometimes in the same word. The forms are somewhat different from the Iriga forms in the imperfective aspect. For example: Iri, Nca nagbakal 'bought', naŋagbakal 'bought (pl)'; Iri nagbabakal, Nca ga:bakar

'buying', Iri nanagbabakal, Nca nangga:bakar 'buying (pl)'; Iri pinanagbakal, Nca pinagbakar 'was bought (pl)'; Iri pinanagbabakal, Nca pingga:bakar 'being bought (pl)'. The following are examples of the Northern Catanduanes forms:

na:kita na:muq nangga:kali:put na si:la
was-seen by-us getting-cold(pl) already they
"We saw that they were getting cold."

pinagkuru:haq ni:la yun buda pinagkara:qun
was-gotten(pl) by-them that and was-eaten(pl)
"They took those things and ate them."

The -um- forms appear in all dialects. The forms with mina:- appear in all dialects except Iriga and Daraga. Daraga has forms with mi:- corresponding to mina:- forms in Legazpi (cf. Dar -i:- :: Leg -in- + V_1, p. 194):

nu mi:panik na kami didtu sa nuyug qanudan kami nin qatip
when about-to-climb already we there at coconut to-be-brought-
"When we were about to climb the coconut palm we were hit

nin balay
to-by-wave we of roof of house
by the roof of a house carried by the waves."

nu mi:kilin naman qaku didtu sa likud namin qay kadakil a
when just-looked-around again I there at back our oh so-many +
"As soon as I looked around, oh, so many people

giran a ta:wu
dead + person
had died."

Neither mina:- nor -umin- forms occur in Iriga. Iriga has a complete -um- inflection which does not occur elsewhere:

Basic form:	C_1 + -um- + B'	buma:sa 'to read'
Perfective:	C_1 + -inn- + B'	binna:sa 'read'

Imperfective: C_1 + -inn- + V_1 + B binnaba:sa 'reading'

Contemplated: C_1 + -um- + V_1 + B bumaba:sa 'will read'

These forms occur primarily in a narrative style. For example:

diq pa qinnaqabut sira sadtu paŋpaŋ
not still arriving they there shore
"They had not yet reached the shore."

qisad kumu-ŋ qaldiw su qagum a lala:ki kinnulud
one they-say-+ day the spouse + male went-to-hill
"One day, it is said, the husband went up the hill."

si karanda na ŋud ni antipu:lu kinmuku sa qisad a panaq
-- Karanda + brother of Antipolo got of one + arrow
"Karanda, the brother of Antipolo, got an arrow."

su qisad na qami:gu nira qumaqa:gi sa:di patyu
the one + friend their will-pass here patio
"One of their friends was going to pass through

san simba:an
there church
the patio at the church."

mabayad ku ŋaya linnaliqig sadtu simba:an
to-be-seen by-me he-said entering there church
"He thought, 'now I'll see [her], she's going into the church."

kin magparari:buk kamu si:tun di na qan lumlu:was
if to-make-noise you(pl) there not already that will-come-out
"If you keep making noise there, it won't come out."

In most dialects, the forms with -a, -an, and -i appear as optional command forms, as in Legazpi (p. 182). In Masbate these forms are the regular command forms. These endings also appear (in Masbate) together with pag-, in the negative commands. qayaw 'don't' is the negator for commands, in contrast to di:liq, the verbal negator (p. 254):

bakal sin dulsi "Buy sweets."

bakala qan dulsi "Buy the sweets."

qayaw pagbakal sin dulsi "Don't buy sweets."

qayaw pagbakala qan dulsi "Don't buy the sweets."

In Northern and Southern Sorsogon there are command forms corresponding to the forms in both Masbate and Legazpi.

MORPHEMIC DIFFERENTIAE

The Bikol area dialects are distinguished by nine sets of morphemic differentiae with regard to the verbal inflection for aspect:[34]

1. (1) MOST pig- :: (2) Oas, Buh pinag- :: (3) SOU gin- -- prefix for perfective and imperfective in the pag- inflections.

2. (1) MOST -in- :: (2) SOU qin- -- affix for perfective and imperfective in the -un (-in, -on), qi- and -an inflections.

3. (1) Leg, Nag, Lib, Iri, Nso, Sso -R- :: (2) Sca, Dar, Mas -a-, Nca -a:- :: (3) Oas, Buh -i-.

Except for specific cases noted below, Daraga, Southern Catanduanes, and Masbate have -a-; Northern Catanduanes -a:-; and Oas and Buhi -i- corresponding to regular reduplication (-R-) in other dialects in the imperfective and contemplated forms in the mag- and pag- inflections.

4. Contemplated form in the mag- inflection -- (1) MOST ma:- :: (2) Dar mag- + -a-, Oas, Buh mag- + -i-, Lib mag- + -R- (see 3.) :: (3) Iri mig-.

5. Imperfective in the mag- inflection -- (1) Leg, Nag, Lib, Iri, Nso, Sso nag- + -R-, Dar, Mas nag- + -a-, Oas nag- + -i- (see 3.) :: (2) Sca ga-, Nca ga:- :: (3) Buh ni-.

6. Imperfective in the pag- inflections -- (1) Leg, Nag, Lib, Iri pig- + -R-, Nso, Sso gin- + -R-, Sca, Dar pig- + -a-, Nca pig- + -a:-, Mas gin- + -a-, Oas pinag- + -i- (see 1. and 3.) :: (2) Buh pi-.

7. Imperfective in the -un (-in, -on), qi-, and -an inflections -- (1) MOST -in- + V_1 :: (2) Dar -i:- :: (3) Oas, Lib -V_1:-.

For example MOST binaba:sa, Dar bi:basa, Oas, Lib ba:basa 'being read'. The same set of differentiae is taken to apply to Dar mi:- corresponding to mina:- (see p. 201).

8. Perfective in the -um- inflection -- (1) MOST -umin- :: (2) Iri -inn-.

The reduplicated forms (imperfective, contemplated) in this inflection in Iriga (p. 201) follow the same pattern as reduplicated forms in other inflections. Thus, while other dialects lack reduplicated (or equivalent) forms in the -um- inflection, this difference is not taken as the basis for an additional set of morphemic differentiae.

9. (1) Mas qig- :: (2) Other dialects qi- + pag- -- basic form and contemplated aspect in the qi-pag- inflection.

These sets of differentiae are summarized in the following matrix:[35]

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
1.	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	3	3	3
2.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
3.	2	2	1	1	2	3	1	3	1	1	2	1
4.	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	3	1	1	1
5.	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1
6.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
7.	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	1	1	1	1	1
8.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
9.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1

The following matrix shows the total number of sets of morphemic differentiae distinguishing the various pairs of dialects with regard to the verbal inflections for aspect:

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
Northern Catanduanes	X	0	2	2	3	5	4	5	4	4	4	4
Southern Catanduanes		X	2	2	3	5	4	5	4	4	4	4
Standard Bikol:												
Naga			X	0	3	4	2	5	2	2	4	2
Legazpi				X	3	4	2	5	2	2	4	2
Daraga					X	3	3	5	4	5	5	5
Oas						X	2	3	5	5	6	5
Libon							X	5	3	4	6	4
Buhi								X	6	6	7	6
Iriga									X	4	6	4
Northern Sorsogon										X	2	0
Masbate											X	2
Southern Sorsogon												X

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER TEN

[1] = Schachter 1972's simple base (pp. 355-356).

[2] See p. 103.

[3] See p. 104.

[4] See p. 105.

[5] Cf. Mintz 1973, p. 157.

[6] Cf. Schachter 1972, pp. 359-360.

[7] Cf. Schachter 1972, pp. 339-340.

[8] Cf. Mintz 1973, pp. 236-242. In Southern Catanduanes the form is -VC-.

[9] Cf. Mintz 1971b, p. 150. In Southern Catanduanes the form is Culu-.

[10] Cf. Mintz 1973, pp. 179-185.

[11] Cf. Mintz 1973, pp. 189-201.

[12] Cf. Mintz 1973, pp. 185-189. In Southern Catanduanes the form is pala-.

[13] Cf. Mintz 1973, pp. 201-208.

[14] Cf. Mintz 1973, pp. 266-275.

[15] Cf. Schachter 1972, pp. 68-69.

[16] These inflections are presented in Mintz 1971b, pp. 45-49 and passim.

[17] Cf. Schachter 1972, p. 307.

[18] Cf. Mintz 1973, pp. 158-173.

[19] Cf. Mintz 1973, pp. 189-201.

[20] Cf. Mintz 1973, p. 164.

[21] Cf. Mintz 1973, pp. 173-179.

[22] Cf. Mintz 1973, p. 162.

[23] Cf. Mintz 1973, p. 162.

[24] Cf. Schachter 1972, pp. 313-314.

[25] Cf. Mintz 1971b, pp. 141-143.

[26] In active voice, there is a third form with -um-, see p. 183.

[27] Cf. Mintz 1971b, p. 108.

[28] Cf. Mintz 1973, pp. 216-220.

[29] Cf. Mintz 1973, pp. 220-224.

[30] Cf. Mintz 1973, pp. 224-229.

[31] The format for the table is discussed on p. 130.

[32] The format for the examples is discussed on p. 131.

[33] In Naga the reduplicated syllable contains vowel length if the following syllable does not contain vowel length. Thus: nagba:bakal 'buying' (cf. nagbaba:sa 'reading'). See Stevens 1966.

[34] The format for the presentation of sets of morphemic differentiae is discussed on p. 132.

[35] The format for this matrix is discussed on p. 132.

11. ADJECTIVES

STRUCTURE

In the Bikol area there are three classes of adjectives, depending on the prefix or the absence of a prefix. There are ma-, ha- (Leg, INL qa-), and affixless adjectives.[1]

The adjective inflection in Legazpi contains four primary categories: the basic form, the intensive, the superlative, and the exclamatory.[2] Adjectives may also be pluralized and may enter into construction with the comparative particles mas 'more' and ki:sa 'than'. The Legazpi inflections for the three types of adjective are as follows:

	ma-	qa-	∅
Basic form	ma-+B	qa-+B	B
	madiklum	qaliqput	baqgu
	'dark'	'short'	'new'
Intensive	ma-+B+-un	qa-+B+-un	B+-un
	madiklu:mun	qaliqpu:tun	baqgu:hun
	'very dark'	'very short'	'very new'
Superlative	pinaka-+ma-+B	pinaka-+qa-+B	pinaka-+B
	pinakamadiklum	pinakaqaliqput	pinakabaqgu
	'darkest'	'shortest'	'newest'
Exclamatory	ka-+B	ka-+B	ka-+B
	kadiklum	kaliqput	kabaqgu
	'how dark!'	'how short!'	'how new!'

In pluralization ma- adjectives have regular reduplication; qa- and ∅- adjectives have -Vr- reduplication (p. 38):[3]

Plural	ma-+C_1V_1+B	qara-+B	C_1V_1+-r-+B'
	madidiklum	qaraliqput	baraqgu
	'dark (pl)'	'short (pl)'	'new (pl)'

Intensive forms may also be pluralized. For example: madidiklu:mun

'very dark (pl)'.

The distribution of exclamatory forms is restricted to two environments:

(1) exclamatory clauses:

kadiklum kan qaruŋ "How dark the house is!"

(2) quantitative expressions:

guraqmu ka kagabat "How heavy are you?"

gra:bi sya kalaŋkaw "He's terribly tall."

pari:hu sinda kagayun "They are equally pretty."

Exclamatory forms do not cooccur directly with topics. They take actors in the genitive case. In an inverted clause, however, with the actor preceding the predicate, the actor is in the nominative case:

qan qaruŋ kadiklu:mun "How dark the house was!"

Other adjectival forms appear primarily in four environments:

(1) basic clause predicate:

qaliqpu:tun qan ba:duq nya "Her dress was very short."

(2) in a modification construction:

sinuqlug nya qan {maputi-ŋ ba:duq / ba:du-ŋ maputiq} "She wore the white dress."

(3) standing alone as a CNE predicate:

sinuqlug nya qan maputiq "She word the white {one]."

(4) in an adverbial construction with a verbal predicate as complement:

magayun sya-ŋ magkanta "She sings beautifully." (Lit. she is beautiful at singing.)

Ha-/qa- is a non-productive prefix, restricted to a small class of adjectives, whose meanings refer mostly to measurement of some kind:

qalaŋkaw 'tall, high'; qababaq 'low, short'; qala:baq 'long'; etc.

Ma- is a productive affix which combines freely with nominals to express 'having much . . . ':

mata:wu 'having many people, crowded' (ta:wu 'person')

magapuq 'stony' (gapuq 'stone')

For every ma- and qa- adjective other than those derived from nouns, there is a corresponding (prefixless) noun expressing the quality of the adjective. There is frequently a difference in penultimate vowel length: dagit 'anger' (mada:git 'angry'); laŋkaw 'height' (qalaŋkaw 'tall, high'),

Derived adjectives (e.g. mata:wu) are distinguished from non-derived adjectives (e.g. mada:git) in that (1) non-derived ma- adjectives can be inflected as intransitive verbs in the ma-$_1$ inflection (p. 176): nadada:git 'is, was being angry'; **natata:wu; and (2) adjective-roots from all non-derived adjectives can be inflected in the mag- inflection (p. 176), with the meaning 'to become, or increase in . . .': nagda:git sya "He got (more) angry," naglaŋkaw sya "He got tall(-er)."

HOMOSEMANTIC FORMS

The foregoing discussion applies to all dialects with the following exceptions.

In Northern Catanduanes the exclamatory form is: ka-+C_1+-in-+B'. Thus labu 'wet'; kalinabu 'how wet!' The following are actual examples:[4]

kabinahaq na gabus na maŋa sakayan sa sa:rug qa:sa
how-flooded already all + pl boat at river at
"It was really flooded; all the boats on the river were

tinampu na
road already
up on the road."

si:la man nabukrasan nin bubuŋ yu ki:laŋ qatup kayaq
they too was-torn-away of roof-ridge the their-+ roof and-so
"The ridge of their roof had been torn off; so they

kalinabu na
how-wet already
had gotten really wet."

In Iriga there are no plurals with -Vr- reduplication. Pluralization of ma- adjectives is the same as in Legazpi. Some prefixless adjectives have plural forms of the following type: $C_1V_1C_1$+B. Thus: sadit 'small'; sassadit 'small (pl)'; dakiliq 'large'; daddakiliq 'large (pl)'. One of the differences observed between the speech of Iriga City and that of the other three towns included in the Iriga dialect area has to do with this point. The corresponding plural adjectival forms in those towns have the shape: $C_1V_1C_2$'+B, where C_2' is assimilated to the voicing of C_1. Thus: sadit 'small'; satsadit 'small (pl)'; dakuluq 'large'; dagdakuluq 'large (pl)'. A small class of adjectives, all involving measurement of some kind, can be inflected in this way.

A corresponding set of adjectives in the Southern dialects have a different form of plurality: C_1V_1+-r-+V_1+-g-+B''. Thus: Nso saday 'small', saragday 'small (pl)'; dakuq 'large', daragkuq 'large (pl)'. The following are actual examples of these forms in Iriga and the Southern dialects:

Iri (Nabua) si qu:das nagdara sana sa darawa-ŋ satsadit na batu
-- Judas carried just to two-+ small(pl) + stone
"Judas just carried two small stones; the others,

su qiba dagdakuluq
the other large(pl)
big ones."

Sso naghuhugpaq qan maŋa batu daragkuq na batu
landing the pl stone large(pl) + stone
"The stones were raining down; big stones."

In the Inland subgroup, the intensive form with -an (Leg -un) is rarely heard. Both the intensive form and the exclamatory forms are usually expressed with the particle malaq. The combination of malaq plus adjective takes several forms: (1) mala(q) + Adjective-root (no prefix); (2) mala(q) + -ŋ + Adjective-root; (3) mala(q) + ka- + Adjective-root; (4) the abbreviated la(q) + -ŋ + Adjective-root. Thus: maputiq 'white'; malaŋputiq 'very white'; malakaputiq 'very white'. In these constructions enclitics may appear between malaq and the adjective-root.

In exclamatory clauses, the actor is in the genitive case:

Iri malaŋputiq ku ba:duq mu "How white your dress is!"

These forms also appear corresponding to the -un intensive forms in Legazpi, and enter into construction with CNE:

qan ba:du-ŋ malaŋputiq 'the really white dress'

The following are some actual examples of constructions with malaq:

Dar pagpa:nik namin didtu qaku su sa qitaas naman ta
climbing by-us there I the at top again because
"When we climbed up there I was at the top again because

malaŋliksi ku saqtu-ŋ puma:nik
really-fast by-me to-that-+ to-climb
I really climbed fast."

Dar mintras na didtu kami sa qitaas su paris gra:bi na
while + there we at top the wind extreme already
"While we were there at the top the wind was really

malaq na-ŋ riknim
really already-+ dark
strong; and it had really gotten dark."

Buh qaku sana-ŋ qisad qadtu sa bagiy malaliwa:nag man
I just-+ one there at house really-bright too
"I was the only one in the house; the lamp was really

yu suluq ta qagku pitrumaks
the lamp because have Petromax
bright because we had a Petromax."

Iri qagku kunu qisad a pamilya-ŋ malakapubri
have they-say one + family-+ really-poor
"There was a family, they say, that was really poor."

Lib laŋgayun nu bayli, si:gi su ki:kita ku
really-pretty of-the dance continue the watching my
"The dance was really nice, and I just kept watching."

MORPHEMIC DIFFERENTIAE

Since the few dialectal differences which appear in the adjectival inflection cannot be taken to involve sets of homosemantic morphemes, no sets of morphemic differentiae have been formulated.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER ELEVEN

[1] Cf. Mintz 1971b, pp. 42-44.

[2] Cf. Mintz 1971b, pp. 144-147.

[3] Cf. Mintz 1971b, pp. 102-103.

[4] The format for the examples is discussed on p. 131.

12. UNINFLECTED FULL-WORDS

This chapter deals generally with all types of uninflected full-words. Most of these fall into the large open class of nominals. However, our primary interest is in those uninflected full-words which are members of restricted classes or restricted subclasses within the class of nominals. Such classes and subclasses are referred to as non-paradigmatic restricted classes, or simply non-paradigmatic classes. Dialectal differences which appear in these classes are subjected to morphemic differentiae analysis. Totals from this analysis will be compared with totals from the paradigmatic classes and with lexico-statistical percentages. Classes to be discussed here include:

1. Nominals (including numerals and major quantifiers)
2. Pseudo-verbs and pseudo-verbal adjectives
3. Existentials
4. Interrogatives
5. Locative expressions (including locative relators)
6. Temporal expressions (including temporal relators)

NOMINALS

STRUCTURE

Nominals are uninflected full-words which take the same negator (bakuq in Legazpi) as do adjectives. The majority of nominals are single morphemes: qaruŋ 'house', qa:yam 'dog'. There are also a large number of derived nominals, consisting of a derivational affix and a root. The major derivational affixes in Legazpi (and other Bikol area dialects) are:

(1) para- 'habitual or professional doer of a particular action':[1] paraqu:ma 'farmer' (quma 'farm'); paraka:raw 'one who is

always joking' (karaw 'to joke').

(2) ka- 'one who shares a particular relationship':[2] kaqiba 'companion' (qiba 'to accompany'); kaqi:wal 'opponent' (qi:wal 'to quarrel').

(3) pa- 'that which causes . . .':[3] paqi:nit 'heater' (ma-qi:nit 'hot'); paqamut 'perfume' (ma-qamut 'fragrant').

(4) paN- 'something associated with a particular place or activity':[4] pantu:rug 'sleepwear' (tu:rug 'to sleep'); paŋqaruŋ 'something used at home (as clothing)' (qaruŋ 'house').

(5) ka-an (i) 'a collection of . . .': kaqaki:qan 'young people' (qa:kiq 'child, young'); kanipa:qan 'nipa grove' (ni:paq 'nipa'); (ii) 'the quality of . . .':[5] kabuqu:tan 'kindness' (ma-bu:qut 'kind'), kayama:nan 'wealth' (ma-ya:man 'rich').

(6) kag- 'owner, master':[6] kagsadi:ri 'owner' (sadi:ri 'self, property'); kagqaruŋ 'landlord' (qaruŋ 'house').

(7) -an 'location of . . .':[7] saqudan 'marketplace' (saqud 'to go to market'); bulaŋan 'cockpit' (bu:laŋ 'to fight cocks').

(8) -un 'something to which . . . is usually done': kaqu:nun 'food' (ka:qun 'to eat'); gula:yun 'vegetable' (gulay 'to cook vegetables in coconut milk').

Nominals have a distribution similar to that for adjectives. They appear primarily as:

(1) basic clause predicate:

paraqu:ma si hwan "Juan is a farmer."

(2) standing alone as a CNE predicate:

naqiliŋ ku qan paraqu:ma "I saw the farmer."

(3) in a modification construction:

naqiliŋ ku qan {guraŋ na paraqu:ma / paraqu:ma-ŋ guraŋ} "I saw the old farmer."

In general nominals form an open class of morphemes. There are subclasses of nominals, nonetheless, which form restricted classes. The most important of these are the numerals and other quantifiers. Throughout the Bikol area, an inherited set of numerals is used for counting from one to ten, and for higher round numbers such as one hundred and one thousand.[8] For other numbers, Spanish numerals are used. Spanish numerals are also used for dates, times, and amounts of money. In Legazpi the numerals from one to ten are: saruq 'one', duwa 'two', tulu 'three', qapat 'four', lima 'five', qanum 'six', pitu 'seven', walu 'eight', syam 'nine', sampu:luq 'ten'.

Other major quantifiers include (in Legazpi) gabus 'all', dakul 'much, many', and diqit 'few'. Gabus is uninflected and is thus classified as a nominal. Dakul and diqit both enter into the adjective inflection: daku:lun 'very many', kada:kul 'how many!'

Quantifiers and numerals have substantially the same distribution as nominals, except that in a modification construction, quantifiers and numerals normally precede the other elements:

{tulu / dakul} qan paraqu:ma digdi "There are {three / many} farmers here."

(Lit. the farmers here are {three. / many.})

naqiliŋ ku qan {gabus / tulu} "I saw {all [of them]." / the three [of them]."}

naqiliŋ ku qan {gabus na / tulu-ŋ} paraqu:ma "I saw

{all the farmers." / the three farmers."}

HOMOSEMANTIC FORMS

The nominal prefixes listed above were observed to be uniform throughout the Bikol area. Table 17 shows the numerals one to ten, hundred, and thousand, and the three quantifiers, 'all', 'much', and 'few' for the Bikol area dialects.[9]

MORPHEMIC DIFFERENTIAE

The differences with regard to numerals (Table 17) are all regular phonological differences with the exception of the forms for 'one', 'two', 'three', and 'ten'. The following sets of morphemic differentiae are thus to be observed:

1. (1) Leg, Nag saruq, Sca saluq :: (2) Nca saduq :: (3) Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh qisad, Lib qosad, Mas qusad :: (4) Nso qisad :: (5) Sso sayuq 'one'.

The variety of forms for 'one' probably derive from various combinations of *qəsa plus some other element, with the composite forms being abbreviated in divergent ways. Mas qusad corresponds regularly to Lib qosad and qisad in the other Inland dialects. Nso qisad does not correspond regularly. Sso sayuq is the same form that appears in Northern Samar. Nca saduq is apparently an innovation in that dialect.

2. (1) MOST duwa, Nca dawha :: (2) Iri darawa 'two'.

Nca dawha is a perfect retension of PAN DewSa.

3. (1) MOST tulu, Sca tulu :: (2) Nca tatlu 'three'.

4. (1) MOST sampu:luq, Sca sampu:luq, Nca sampu:ruq :: (2) SOU napu:huq 'ten'.

There is one set of morphemic differentiae for each of the quantifier meanings on Table 17:

5. (1) Leg, Nag, Nca gabus :: (2) Buh, Dar qubus :: (3) Dar,

TABLE 17. NUMERALS AND MAJOR QUANTIFIERS

'one'		'two'		'three'	
Leg, Nag	saruq	MOST	duwa	MOST	tulu
Sca	saɻuq				
Nca	saduq	Nca	dawha	Sca	tuɻu
Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh	qisad				
Lib	qosad				
Mas	qusad				
Nso	qisad	Iri	darawa	Nca	tatlu
Sso	sayuq				

'four'		'five'	'six'	
CST	qapat	lima	CST	qanum
Nca, SOU	qupat		Nca, SOU	qumum
Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh	qipat		Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh	qinim
Lib	qopat		Lib	qonom

'seven'	'eight'		'nine'
pitu	MOST	walu	s(i)yam
	Sca	waɻu	
	Nca	waru	

'ten'		'hundred'	'thousand'	
MOST	sampu:luq	gatus	MOST	ri:bu
Sca	sampu:ɻuq			
Nca	sampu:ruq		Nca	li:bu
SOU	napu:luq			

'all'		'many'		'few'	
Leg, Nag, Nca	gabus	Leg, Nag, Nca	dakul	Leg, Sca, Nso	diqit
Buh	qubus	Sca	dakuɻ	Nag	dikit
Dar	qubus / ŋaqmin	Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh	dakil	Dar	qitiq
Oas	ŋaqmin	Lib	dakol	Oas	qikay
Lib, Iri	ŋa:min			Lib	qagbit
Sca	ŋatanan	Nso, Mas	damu	Iri	gatiŋay
Nso, Mas	tanan			Buh	qagbay
Sso	qinti:ru	Sso	daghan	Nca	duwa:gi
				Sso	diyuq
				Mas	dɣut

Oas ŋaqmin, Lib, Iri ŋa:min :: (4) Sca ŋatanan, Nso, Mas tanan :: (5) Sso qinti:ru 'all'.

6. (1) Leg, Nag, Nca dakul, Sca dakuɻ, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh

dakal, Lib dakol :: (2) Nso, Mas damu :: (3) Sso daghan 'many'.

7. (1) Leg, Sca, Nso diqit :: (2) Nag dikit :: (3) Dar qitiq :: (4) Oas qikay :: (5) Lib qagbit :: (6) Iri gatiŋay :: (7) Buh qagbay :: (8) Nca duwa:gi :: (9) Sso diyuq :: (10) Mas dyut 'few'.

The following matrix summarizes the sets of morphemic differentiae discussed above:

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
1.	2	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	4	3	5
2.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
3.	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
5.	1	4	1	1	2/3	3	3	2	3	4	4	5
6.	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	4
7.	8	1	2	1	3	4	5	7	6	1	10	9

The matrix on the following page shows the total number of sets of morphemic differentiae distinguishing the various pairs of dialects with regard to numerals and quantifiers.

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
Northern Catanduanes	X	4	3	3	4	4	4	4	5	6	6	6
Southern Catanduanes		X	2	1	3	3	3	3	4	3	4	5
Standard Bikol: Naga			X	1	3	3	3	3	4	5	5	5
Legazpi				X	3	3	3	3	4	4	5	5
Daraga					X	1	1	1	2	5	5	5
Oas						X	1	2	2	5	4	5
Libon							X	2	2	5	4	5
Buhi								X	3	5	4	5
Iriga									X	6	5	6
Northern Sorsogon										X	2	4
Masbate											X	4
Southern Sorsogon												X

PSEUDO-VERBS AND PSEUDO-VERBAL ADJECTIVES

STRUCTURE

Pseudo-verbs are uninflected full-words which take the same negator (in Legazpi daqi) as do verbs. Pseudo-verbal adjectives are members of inflections for intensity which take the same negator (daqi) as do verbs, and have distributions similar to pseudo-verbs. Qabuq 'not want, like' is also classified as a pseudo-verbal adjective since it is semantically equivalent to daqi gustu 'not want, like' and has substantially the same distribution as gustu 'want, like'.

The major pseudo-verbs in Legazpi are da:pat 'should', kaqipu:han 'need', ka:ya 'able to', tataqu 'know how', and qa:ram 'to know (a fact)'. The major pseudo-verbal adjectives are gustu 'want, like',

qabuq 'not want, like', pwi:di 'can', and midbid 'to know (a person)'.

The syntax of pseudo-verbs and pseudo-verbal adjectives is very complex, with many irregularities.[12] I can present here only an outline of the predominant constructions in which they occur. Pseudo-verbs and pseudo-verbal adjectives typically cooccur with an actor and a complement. The actor is that person (or other being) in whose mind the knowledge, desire, etc., is experienced, or who stands under an obligation or need so expressed. The complement is the object, event, etc., which is known, desired, needed, etc. The structure of the actor and complement depends upon the specific pseudo-verb or pseudo-verbal adjective.

Da:pat 'should' takes a verbal predicate (verb in the basic form) as complement, and an actor in a case appropriate to the voice of the verb in the complement:

da:pat qaku-ŋ magduman "I should go there."

da:pat ku-ŋ qapudun si hwan "I should call Juan."

Kaqipu:han 'need' takes an actor in the genitive case and a complement which is (a) a nominal or adjectival predicate, (b) a verbal predicate, with a verb in the basic form, (c) a clause (of verbal, the verb is usually in the basic form), (d) a CNE in the nominative case:

kaqipu:han ku-ŋ mahamis "I need something sweet."

kaqipu:han ku-ŋ magbayli "I need to dance."

kaqipu:han ku-ŋ magta:baŋ ka "I need you to help [me]."

kaqipu:han ku qan daku:laq "I need the big one."

Ka:ya 'can, able to' takes an actor in the genitive and a verbal predicate (verb in the basic form) as complement:

ka:ya ku-ŋ gibu:hun "I am able to do it."

Tataqu 'know how to' takes an actor in the nominative and a complement which is (1) a CNE in the oblique or deictic pronoun in the genitive case, or (2) a verbal predicate (verb in the basic form). The complement must refer to something requiring a skill:

tataqu qaku-ŋ bi:kul "I know how to speak Bikol."

tataqu qaku-ŋ maglu:tuq "I know how to cook."

tataqu qaku-ŋ pagkarawan "I know how to be kidded." (I can stand being kidded.)

Qa:ram 'to know' takes an actor in the genitive case and a complement which is (1) a CNE in the nominative case or (2) a na 'that' or kun 'if' clause (see p. 321):

qa:ram ku qan ŋa:ran nya "I know her name."

qa:ram ku-ŋ mari:ya qan ŋa:ran nya "I know her name is Maria."

qa:ram ku kun qanu qan ŋa:ran nya "I know what her name is."

Gustu 'want, like' takes an actor in the genitive (more frequently) or the nominative. The complement can be (a) a nominal or adjectival predicate, (b) a verbal predicate, with a verb in the basic form, (c) a clause (if verbal, the verb is usually in the basic form), (d) a CNE in the nominative or oblique, depending on the case of the actor. For example:

gustu {ku-ŋ / qaku-ŋ} maqamis "I like sweet [things]."

gustu {ku-ŋ / qaku-ŋ} magbayli "I like to dance."

gustu {ku-ŋ / qaku-ŋ} {maŋa:na ka sa kuntist / maqugma ka} "I want you {to win the contest. / to be happy.}"

{gustu ku si hwan / gustu qaku ki hwan} "I like Juan."

If the word preceding the complement ends in a consonant other than /q/, the linker is ki for nominal or adjectival predicates, na otherwise:

gustu ku man ki maqamis "I like sweet things too."

gustu ku man na magbayli "I like to dance too."

Gustu can be negated with daqi, and is thus classified as a pseudo-verbal adjective:

daqi ku gustu-ŋ maqamis "I don't like sweet things."

It is more commonly negated suppletively with qabuq 'not want, like'.

Qabuq 'not want, like' is the negative form for gustu, and is classified as a pseudo-verbal adjective, because it shares the same distribution as gustu :

qabuq {ku-ŋ / qaku-ŋ} maqamis "I don't like sweet things."

etc.

Pwi:di 'can' takes an actor in the nominative case and a verbal predicate (verb in the basic form) as complement:

pwi:di qaku-ŋ magduman "I can go there."

pwi:di qaku-ŋ qapudun si hwan "I can call Juan."

Midbid 'to be acquainted with' takes an actor in the genitive and a complement which is a NE in the nominative case:

midbid ku si mari:ya "I know Maria."

HOMOSEMANTIC FORMS

Table 18 shows the major pseudo-verbs and pseudo-verbal adjectives in the Bikol area dialects.[13]

In Masbate 'to need' is kinahanlan :

TABLE 18. PSEUDO-VERBS AND PSEUDO-VERBAL ADJECTIVES

'should'	'need'	'capable'
da:pat	MOST kaqipu:han INL kayipuwan Mas kinahaŋlan	MOST ka:ya SOU mahi:muq
'know how'	**'know (fact)'**	**'want'**
MOST tataqu Dar, Oas tata:wu Lib tatawu SOU maqa:ram	Leg, Nag, SOU qa:ram Sca, Iri, Buh qi:si Dar, Oas qisi Lib tatawu Nca batid	gustu
'not want'	**'can'**	**'know (person)'**
Leg qabuq Nag, Sca, Nso habuq Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh qabiq Lib qaboq Nca, Mas di:liq gustu Sso di:riq gustu	pwi:di	Leg, Sca, Nca midbid Nag, Iri bistu Dar, Oas ŋilala Lib, Nso, Mas kila:la Buh kiga:ga Sso ki:la

nadumdumduman pa ba ni:yu qan maŋa kinahaŋlan na himu:qun
being-remembered still ? by-you(pl) the pl need + to-be-done
"Do you still remember what needs to be done?"

Elsewhere the form is kaqipu:han, as in Legazpi.

The Southern dialects have maqa:ram 'know how' in place of tataqu:

Sso qan kapitan kay kasti:laq diq man maqa:ram
the captain because Spanish not too know-how
"The captain, because he was Spanish, didn't know

magbi:kul
to-speak-Bikol
how to speak Bikol."

In the Inland dialects and Southern Catanduanes qi:si (Dar, Oas qisi) 'to know (a fact)' is preferred to qa:ram. Qi:si also occurs in all dialects:

Oas qisi mu na bayaq kan a ta:wu nagitiyas
know by-you already really that + person suffering
"You already know that those people were suffering."

Northern Catanduanes has di:liq gustu or just di:liq 'not want, like' corresponding to qabuq or daqi gustu in Legazpi. The verbal negator in Northern Catanduanes is maqi (p. 254) and not di:liq. For example:

di:liq na man gustu-ŋ magbwilta
not already too want-+ to-return
"They didn't want to come back anymore either."

di:liq na daqa si:la ditu sa bi:gaq
not-like already they-said they here at Viga
"They said they didn't like it anymore here in Viga."

In the Southern dialects mahi:muq 'can' competes with ka:ya 'capable':

Nso handaq sinda na magpapamatay na la:maŋ kay waraq man
ready they + will-let-self-die already just because
"They were ready to just let themselves be killed,

mahi:muq makadulag
not too can able-to-escape
because they could not escape."

MORPHEMIC DIFFERENTIAE

There is one set of morphemic differentiae for each meaning on Table 18 for which the same form does not appear in all dialects:

1. (1) MOST kaʔipu:han, INL kayipuwan :: (2) Mas kinahaŋlan 'need'.

2. (1) MOST tataqu, Dar, Oas tata:wu, Lib tatawu :: (2) SOU maqa:ram 'know how'.

3. (1) Leg, Nag, SOU qa:ram :: (2) Sca, Iri, Buh qi:si, Dar, Oas qisi :: (3) Lib tatawu :: (4) Nca batid 'to know (fact)'.

4. (1) Leg qabuq, Nag, Sca, Nso habuq, Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh qabiq, Lib qaboq :: (2) Nca, Mas di:liq gustu :: (3) Sso di:riq gustu 'not want'.

5. (1) MOST ka:ya :: (2) SOU mahi:muq 'capable'.

6. (1) Leg, Sca, Nca midbid :: (2) Nag, Iri bistu :: (3) Dar, Oas ŋilala :: (4) Lib, Nso, Mas kila:la, Buh kiga:ga :: Sso ki:la 'to know (person)'.

The following matrix summarizes the sets of morphemic differentiae discussed above:

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
1.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
2.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
3.	4	2	1	1	2	2	3	2	2	1	1	1
4.	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3
5.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
6.	1	1	2	1	3	3	4	4	2	4	4	5

The following matrix shows the total number of sets of morphemic differentiae distinguishing the various pairs of dialects with regard to pseudo-verbs and pseudo-verbal adjectives:

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
Northern Catanduanes	X	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	4	5	5	5
Southern Catanduanes		X	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	4	6	5
Standard Bikol:												
Naga			X	1	2	2	2	2	1	3	5	4
Legazpi				X	2	2	2	2	2	3	5	4
Daraga					X	0	1	1	2	4	6	5
Oas						X	1	1	2	4	6	5
Libon							X	1	2	3	5	5
Buhi								X	0	3	5	5
Iriga									X	3	5	5
Northern Sorsogon										X	2	2
Masbate											X	3
Southern Sorsogon												X

EXISTENTIALS

STRUCTURE

The existentials qigwa 'to have, there is' and daqi 'to not have, there is no' are full-words which form a closed system with regard to negation. The proclitic may 'to have, there is' is also classified as an existential on the basis of its semantic similarity to qigwa.[16]

While daqi, the negative existential, has the same form as the verbal negator daqi (see p. 254), the existential daqi negates by suppletion rather than by juxtaposition. Thus:

qigwa-ŋ bagas "There is rice."

daqi-ŋ bagas "There is no rice."

The sequence **daqi qigwa does not occur.

The distribution of qigwa, daqi, and may is virtually identical to that of mayruqon, walaq, and may, respectively, in Tagalog.[17] If there is no topic, these words have an existential meaning:

qigwa-ŋ bagas sa saqud "There is rice at the market."

may bagas sa saqud "There is rice at the market."

daqi-ŋ bagas sa saqud "There is no rice at the market."

With an actor (in the nominative case) these words have a possessive meaning:

qigwa qaku-ŋ bagas "I have rice."

may bagas qaku "I have rice."

daqi qaku-ŋ bagas "I have no rice."

For qigwa and daqi the complement is an indefinite CNE in the genitive case. The complement is thus preceded by the CNE marker ki:[18]

qigwa si hwan ki bagas "Juan has rice."

daqi si hwan ki bagas "Juan has no rice."

If the immediately preceding word ends in a vowel or glottal stop, -ŋ appears in place of ki. The following are examples of possible complements for qigwa and daqi:

qigwa-ŋ { ta:wu / qalaŋkaw / naglalakaw sa baybay / gustu-ŋ magka:wat / daqi-ŋ bu:huk } "There is

{ a person." / a tall [one]." / someone walking on the beach." / someone who wants to play." / someone with no hair." }

daqi-ŋ { ta:wu / etc. } "There are no { people." / etc. }

May is proclitic and must occur immediately preceding the complement, with no intervening linker or enclitics. May takes the same

complements as qigwa and daqi :

may { ta:wu / qalaŋkaw / etc. } "There is { a person." / a tall [one]." / etc. }

May also appears in construction with sa with the locative meaning 'beside, near':[19]

nagqiqistar sya dyan sa may saqud "He lives (there) beside the market."

HOMOSEMANTIC FORMS

Table 19 shows the dialectal forms corresponding to qigwa and daqi in Legazpi.[20]

TABLE 19. EXISTENTIALS

'to have, there is'		'have no, there is no'	
CST, Nso, Mas	qigwa	Leg, Sca	daqi
Nca	qikan	Nag	ma:yuq
Dar	qayu	Nca	maqi
Oas	kaqyan	Dar, SOU	waraq
Lib, Iri, Buh	qagku	Oas	daq
Sso	mayqun	Lib	qodaq
		Iri, Buh	qidaq

The proclitic may occurs in all dialects except Northern Catanduanes, Daraga, Oas, Iriga, and Buhi. These dialects nonetheless have constructions corresponding to sa may 'beside', consisting of sa plus the positive existential:

Dar nagqiqistar sya dyan sa qayu saqid "She lives (there) beside the market."

The following are some actual examples of existentials:[21]

qigwa, etc., 'to have, there is':

Nca taqyun ta qikan dun ba:taq na duwa:giq pa sa
why because have there child + small still at
"What is that small child doing in

lugar na yun
place + that
that place?"

Oas sigu:ru ŋaya kin kaqyin maŋa ta:wu-ŋ nagqistar qidi sa
maybe he-said if have pl person-+ residing here at
"He thought, 'Maybe if there were some people living here

ragaq qaku ŋaya maqugma
land I he-said happy
on the earth, I would be happy.'"

Buh sigu:ru qagku qadtu qintinsyun na maraqit
maybe have that intention + bad
He (that one) probably had evil intentions."

Sso sayuq na ha:pun mayqun sin qirupla:nu na hababa:qun
one + afternoon have of airplane + very-low
"One afternoon there was an airplane flying

qan lupad
the to-fly
very low."

daqi, etc., 'not have, there is no':

Nag nahihiliŋ sya-ŋ naglalakawla:kaw na ma:yu-ŋ kamidbid
being-seen she-+ walking-around + have-no-+ acquaintance
"She was seen walking around without any companions."

Nca maqi-ŋ maŋa baray duqun sa gitnaq nin bu:kid
not-have-+ pl house there at middle of mountain
There are no houses there in the middle of the mountains."

Iri qida na man ŋaya qitay su qupus
none already too they-said Daddy the cat
"They said, 'The cat isn't there anymore, Daddy.'"

Nso qan maŋa kaqu:pud ku pagki:liŋ ku waraq na
the pl companion my looking-back by-me none already
"When I looked back, my companions weren't there anymore."

may 'there is, to have':

Leg qalaŋqa:laŋ sya magpaqiliŋ na sya qa:yup ta sya may
difficult he to-show + he animal because he have
"He had difficulty showing himself to be an animal

pakpak nakakala:yug sya
wing able-to-fly he
because he had wings and was able to fly."

Nso sa qunhan may qisad na balay nan maŋa sa:giŋ nan
at front have one + house and pl banana and
"In front [of us] there was a house and some bananas

qabaka
abaca
and abaca."

sa may, etc. 'beside, near':

Lib nakita na namon yadtu-ŋ lalaki qadtu sa may likuran
was-seen already by-us that-+ man there beside back
"We saw that fellow at the back of the

niŋ simboryo
of bell-tower
bell tower."

Buh nagbagiy sira diyan sa qagku lawid
to-house they there beside lake
"They built houses there beside the lake."

Nca si dumiŋga nagdara:gan dun sa baray qadun sa qikan
-- Domingga ran there at house to-be-there beside
"Domingga ran into the house and [was hiding] there

pwirta
door
beside the door."

MORPHEMIC DIFFERENTIAE

There is one set of morphemic differentiae for each meaning listed in Table 19:[22]

1. (1) CST, Nso, Mas qigwa :: (2) Nca qikan :: (3) Dar qayu :: (4) Oas kaqyin :: (5) Lib, Iri, Buh qagku :: (6) Sso mayqun 'to have, there is'.

2. (1) Leg, Sca daqi, Nca maqi :: (2) Nag ma:yuq :: (3) Dar, SOU waraq :: (4) Oas daq :: (5) Lib qodaq, Iri, Buh qidaq 'have no, there is no'.

Leg, Sca daqi and Nca maqi have the same shapes as the verbal negators (p. 254) in the respective dialects. They are thus not taken to be morphemically different here.

The following matrix summarizes the sets of morphemic differentiae discussed above:[23]

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
1.	2	1	1	1	3	4	5	5	5	1	1	6
2.	1	1	2	1	3	4	5	5	5	3	3	3

The matrix on the following page shows the total number of sets of morphemic differentiae distinguishing the various pairs of dialects with regard to existentials.

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
Northern Catanduanes	X	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Southern Catanduanes		X	1	0	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2
Standard Bikol:												
Naga			X	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2
Legazpi				X	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2
Daraga					X	2	2	2	2	1	1	1
Oas						X	2	2	2	2	2	2
Libon							X	0	0	2	2	2
Buhi								X	0	2	2	2
Iriga									X	2	2	2
Northern Sorsogon										X	0	1
Masbate											X	1
												X

INTERROGATIVES

STRUCTURE

The major interrogatives in Legazpi are: qamu 'what?'; qarin 'which?'; pira 'how many?'; guraqnu 'how much?'; siqisay 'who?' (inflected like a PNE: niqisay 'by whom?' etc.); saqin 'where?'; nuqarin 'when (future)?'; kasuqarin 'when (past)?'; ŋa:taq 'why?'; paqnu 'how?'. Interrogatives usually appear as the first element in an information question (p. 115):

qamu qan binakal mu "What did you buy?"

saqin mu qiyan binakal "Where did you buy that?"

ŋa:taq (ta) binakal mu qiyan "Why did you buy that?"

Some interrogatives also appear as verb-roots:

nagqamu ka "What did you do?"

qaqanuhun mu sya "What will you do to him?"

ma:saqin ka "Where are you going?"

HOMOSEMANTIC FORMS

Table 20 shows the various dialectal forms for the interrogatives. Northern Catanduanes makes no distinction of time reference for saqmu 'when?':

saqmu k{nagqabut / ma:ha:riq} "When {did you come? / will you leave?"}

(Cf. Leg kasuqarin ka nagqabut "When did you come?"; muqarin ka ma:ha:liq "When will you leave?")

In Masbate the enclitic particle ba appears in yes-no questions and may appear in other types of question as well:

naki:ta mu ba siya "Did you see him?"

The following are actual examples of some of the interrogatives:

'what?':

Nca qanu man qan qa:mu-ŋ kasaqlan ta paga:parasaba:dun
what too the our-+ sin because will-keep-being-
"What have we done wrong that we keep having [stones]
kami
thrown-at we
thrown at us?"

Oas qunan raw ŋaya-ŋ kla:si qiluluwas kadi-ŋ ginibu ku
what -- he-said-+ kind will-result this-+ was-made by-me
"I wonder what this thing I've made will turn out like."

Lib qunu ŋanakon qika ta qadi naturug
what I-said you(sg) because here slept
"I said, 'What [is wrong with] you that you went to sleep here?'"

TABLE 20. INTERROGATIVES

'what?'		'which?'		'how many?'	
CST, Nca	qamu	MOST	qarin	MOST	pira
Dar, Oas	qunan				
Lib, Iri, Buh	qumu	Iri	qa:riq	Nca, Sca	pila
SOU	na:mu				

'how much?'		'how?'		'why?'	
Nag, Leg	guraqmu	Leg, Nag	paqmu	Leg, Sca, Lib, Iri	ŋa:taq
Sca	guŋanqu	Sca, Nso	panqu	Dar	nya:ŋaq
Nca	bagaqa:mu	Dar, Oas	pa:wumu	Oas	taŋaq
Dar, Oas, Lib	ga:wumu	Lib	paa:nu	Nag	taqmu
Iri	saqummu	Iri, Buh	paqu:mu	Buh	taqu:mu
Buh	piraqan	Sso, Mas	paqamu	SOU	kayna:mu
Nso	tigpira	Nca	qina:mu	Nca	taqyun
Sso, Mas	tagpira				

'when (past)'		'when (future)'		'where?'	
CST	kasuqarin	CST	nuqarin	CST, Oas	sa(q)in
Dar, Oas	kaqmu	Dar	kinaqmu	Lib	sa:rin
Lib	ka:mu	Oas, Buh	kina:wumu	Buh	saqrin
Buh	ka:wumu	Lib	kina:mu	Iri	sa:riq
Iri	su:mu	Iri	ku:mu	Nca	siqin
Nca	saqmu	Nca	saqmu	Dar	di:in
SOU	kasanqu	SOU	sanqu	SOU	diqin

'who?'	
MOST	siqisay
Nca	siqmu
SOU	sinqu

Nso na:mu ŋaya qan naŋya:ri saqinyu
what he-said the happened to-you(pl)
"He said, 'What happened to you?'"

'where?':

Iri qadi ŋaya kin sa:ri ŋaya migqiyan maglulu:nad sana
this he-said if where he-said will-go-there will-ride
"'This,' he said, 'Wherever [we want to] go, we'll just

ŋaya sa:di
just he-said here
ride in this.'"

Buh saqrin ŋaya qan a dagan papunta sa buwiq
where he-said that + path toward at Buhi
"He said, 'Where is the way to Buhi?'"

Nso diqin man makadu:lag
where too can-escape
"Where would [we] be able to escape to?"

Nca siqin ha:riq yu ba:taq kiqmu-ŋ ba:taq yun
where leave the child to-whom-+ child that
"Where did that child come from, whose child is that?"

'why?':

Buh tayŋaq bikiq daw maqugma sa saqinyu na maki:ta mu
why not wonder happy to to-you(pl) + to-be-seen
"Why is it that you're not happy to see your

yu pinsan mu
by-you(sg) the cousin your(sg)
cousins?"

Dar nya:ŋaq ŋaya ta qabiq ka na ŋaya-ŋ
why he-said because not-want you(sg) already he-said-+
"He said, 'Why don't you want to go home

magquliq
to-go-home
anymore?"

Nca sa:bi ku taqyun man miq man sa qa:tuq naqu:ŋa
say by-me why too none too at to-us was-angry
"I said, 'Why is it? There's no one angry with us."

Nso ginhaput ninda kayna:nu kay nawaraq
was-asked by-them why because was-lost
"They asked [her] why [she] had gotten lost."

MORPHEMIC DIFFERENTIAE

There is a set of morphemic differentiae for each meaning listed in Table 20, except 'how many?':

1. (1) CST, Nca qamu :: (2) Dar, Oas qunan :: (3) Lib, Iri, Buh qunu :: (4) SOU na:nu 'what?'.

2. (1) MOST qarin :: Iri qa:riq 'which?'.

3. (1) Nag, Leg guraqnu, Sca gulanqu :: (2) Nca bagaqa:nu :: (3) Dar, Oas, Lib ga:wunu :: (4) Iri saqumnu :: (5) Buh piraqan :: (6) Nso tigpira :: (7) Sso, Mas tagpira 'how much?'.

4. (1) MOST pa- + 'what?' :: (2) Nca -in- + 'what?' -- 'how?'

The free form for 'what?' in Daraga and Oas is qunan, presumably qunu + -an. The combining form (as in ga:wunu 'how much?', pa:wunu 'how?') is -qunu.

5. (1) Leg, Sca, Lib, Iri ŋa:taq :: (2) Dar nya:ŋaq :: (3) Oas tanaq :: (4) Nag, Buh, SOU 'because' (see p. 262) + 'what?' :: (5) Nca taqyun 'why?'.

6. (1) CST kasuqarin :: (2) Dar, Oas, Lib, Buh ka- + 'what?' :: (3) Iri su:nu :: (4) Nca saqnu :: (5) SOU kasanqu 'when (past)?'.

7. (1) CST nuqarin :: (2) Dar, Oas, Lib, Buh kina- + 'what?' :: (3) Iri ku:nu :: (4) Nca, SOU sa- + 'what?' -- 'when (future)?'.

8. (1) CST saqin, Oas sa:yin :: (2) Lib, Iri, Buh sa- + 'which?' :: (3) Nca siqin :: (4) Dar di:in, SOU diqin 'where?'

9. (1) MOST siqisay :: (2) Nca, SOU si- + 'what?' -- 'who?'.

The following matrix summarizes the sets of morphemic differentiae discussed above:

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
1.	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	3	4	4	4
2.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
3.	2	1	1	1	3	3	3	5	4	6	7	7
4.	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5.	5	1	4	1	2	3	1	4	1	4	4	4
6.	4	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	3	5	5	5
7.	4	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	3	4	4	4
8.	3	1	1	1	4	1	2	2	2	4	4	4
9.	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2

The matrix on the following page shows the total number of sets of morphemic differentiae distinguishing the various pairs of dialects with regard to interrogatives.

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
Northern Catanduanes	X	7	7	7	8	8	8	8	7	6	6	6
Southern Catanduanes		X	1	0	6	5	5	6	6	7	7	7
Standard Bikol:												
Naga			X	1	6	5	6	5	7	6	6	6
Legazpi				X	6	6	5	6	6	7	7	7
Daraga					X	2	3	4	7	6	6	6
Oas						X	2	4	7	7	7	7
Libon							X	2	4	7	7	7
Buhi								X	5	6	6	6
Iriga									X	8	8	8
Northern Sorsogon										X	1	1
Masbate											X	0
Southern Sorsogon												X

LOCATIVE EXPRESSIONS

STRUCTURE

In Chapter 5 predicates whose heads were NE in the oblique case were classified as temporal-locative predicates. The heads are either temporal or locative expressions. A few uninflected full-words are also included in this class because they share the same distribution. This distribution is characterized by the fact that a temporal or locative expression which appears in a predicate of which it is not the head is unaccompanied by any additional marker, such as a NE marker, a linker, etc.:

{sa prubinsya / duman} qan qista:ran ninda "Their residence is

{in the province."
{there."}

nagqiqistar sinda {sa prubinsya / duman} "They live {in the province." / there."}

A few constructions consisting of conjunction plus clause are also classed as temporal expressions for the same reason. Temporal expressions are discussed in the next section.

Locative expressions were discussed, for the most part, in Chapters 7-9 as the oblique forms of NE. Yet to be discussed are the locative relators,[29] a restricted class of full-words, which occur primarily as the predicate of a CNE in the oblique case, usually followed by a CNE (or other NE) in the genitive case. Thus: sa Loc Rel kan NE 'at the Loc Rel of the NE'. For example: Leg sa qudyan kan simba:han 'behind the church'. In Legazpi the major locative relators are: sa qimu:tan 'in front', sa qudyan 'behind', sa kata:niŋ 'beside', sa tuqu 'on the right', sa wala 'on the left', sa qiba:baw 'on top of', sa qita:qas 'above', sa qibabaq 'below', sa qira:rum 'under', sa ta:haw 'between', sa laqug 'inside', sa lu:was 'outside'. In locative relator constructions, it is usually the definite CNE marker (kan) that occurs, regardless of whether it has a definite or indefinite reference: sa likud kan saru-ŋ simba:han 'behind a church.'

HOMOSEMANTIC FORMS

Table 21 shows the locative relators for the Bikol area dialects.[30] There are some differences with regard to the basic locative relator construction. As discussed in Chapter 8 (p. 165) a definite locative expression in Iriga consists of a deictic pronoun in the oblique case followed directly by a nominal identifying a location. Thus: Iri sadtu sa:lug 'at the river' in contrast the Leg sa sa:lug 'at the river'.

Similarly Iriga has sadtu quriyan ku simba:an 'behind the church!.

As in Legazpi, the locative relator construction has the definite genitive CNE marker (p. 164) in most dialects. In Iriga and Buhi both the definite and specific markers occur. The exception is Northern Catanduanes, where the indefinite genitive CNE marker (nin) is preferred: sa tinahan nin simba:han 'behind the church'.

MORPHEMIC DIFFERENTIAE

There is one set of morphemic differentiae for each meaning listed on Table 21, for which not all forms are cognate:[31]

1. (1) CST qimu:tan :: (2) Nca qatuba:ŋan :: (3) MOST quna + -an 'in front'.

2. (1) Leg qudyan :: (2) Oas, Iri quriyan, Sso qurhiqan :: (3) Nag, Dar, Nso, Mas likud :: (4) Sca tarikundan, Lib talikundan :: (5) Buh talikukuran :: (6) Nca tinahan 'behind'.

3. (1) CST, Nca kata:niŋ, Dar kataniŋ :: (2) Oas, Lib katakin :: (3) Iri, Buh kaqabay, Sso kaqa:bay :: (4) kaqi:piŋ :: (5) Mas ki:lid 'beside'.

4. (1) MOST qibabaq :: (2) Mas qubus 'below'.

5. (1) CST ta:haw :: (2) Dar, Oas bitŋaq, Sso butŋaq :: (3) Lib, Iri, Buh bitŋaq :: (4) Nca gitnaq :: (5) Nso, Mas tuŋaq 'between'.

6. (1) Leg, Nag laqug, Sca laqug, Nca luqug, Dar, Oas la:ag, Lib loog, Iri, Buh liqag :: (2) SOU sulud 'inside'.

7. (1) MOST luwas, Leg, Nag, Buh, Nso lu:was :: (2) Dar luwan 'outside'.

The following matrix summarized the sets of morphemic differentiae discussed above:

TABLE 20. LOCATIVE RELATORS

'in front'		'behind'		'beside'	
CST	qimu:tan	Leg	qudyan	CST, Nca	kata:niŋ
Nca	qatuba:ŋan	Oas, Iri	quriyan	Dar	kataniŋ
Dar, Oas, Buh	quqnan	Sso	qurhiqan	Oas, Lib	katakin
Lib	quna:an	Nag, Dar, Nso, Mas	likud	Iri, Buh	kaqabay
Iri	qunaqan	Sca	tarikundan	Sso	kaqa:bay
Nso, Mas	qunahan	Lib	talikundan	Nso	kaqi:piŋ
Sso	qunhan	Buh	talikukuran	Mas	ki:lid
		Nca	tinahan		

'on top'		'above'		'below'	
CST, Nca	qiba:baw	CST, Nca, Nso, Mas	qita:qas	MOST	qibabaq
Dar, Lib, SOU	qibabaw	Dar, Oas, Lib	qita:as	Mas	qubus
Oas, Iri, Buh	qibabiw	Iri, Buh, Sso	qitaqas		

'under'		'between'		'inside'	
Leg, Nag, Nso	qira:rum	CST	ta:haw	Leg, Nag	laqug
Sca	qiɻa:ɻum	Dar, Oas	bitŋaq	Sca	ɻaqug
Nca	qila:rum	Sso	butŋaq	Nca	luqug
Dar, Oas, Iri, Buh	qirariim	Lib, Iri, Buh	bitŋaq	Dar, Oas	liː:ig
Lib	qirarom	Nca	gitnaq	Lib	loog
Sso	qirarum	Nso, Mas	tuŋaq	Iri, Buh	liqig
Mas	qidalum			SOU	sulud

'right'		'left'	'outside'	
Leg, Nag, Buh, Nso, Mas	tuqu	wala	MOST	luwas
Sca, Nca, Iri, Sso	tu:qu		Leg, Nag, Buh, Nso	lu:was
Dar, Oas	tu:u		Dar	luwan
Lib	tuu			

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
1.	2	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
2.	6	4	3	1	3	2	4	5	2	3	3	2
3.	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	4	5	3
4.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
5.	5	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	3	4	4	2
6.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
7.	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

The following matrix shows the total number of sets of morphemic differentiate distinguishing the various pairs of dialects with regard to locative relators:

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
Northern Catanduanes	X	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	5	6	5
Southern Catanduanes		X	1	1	4	4	3	4	4	5	6	5
Standard Bikol:												
Naga			X	1	3	4	4	4	4	4	5	5
Legazpi				X	4	4	4	4	4	5	6	5
Daraga					X	3	4	4	4	4	5	4
Oas						X	2	3	2	4	5	2
Libon							X	2	2	4	5	4
Buhi								X	1	4	5	3
Iriga									X	4	5	2
Northern Sorsogon										X	2	3
Masbate											X	4
Southern Sorsogon												X

TEMPORAL EXPRESSIONS

STRUCTURE

A temporal expression in Legazpi may be one of the following:[33]

(1) A full-word which shares the distribution characteristic of temporal and locative expressions:

ma:barayli kami ŋunyan "We're going to dance now."

nagbarayli kami kasubaqgu "We danced awhile ago."

(2) qalas followed by a Spanish numeral, indicating an hour of the day:

qalas qutsu ma:barayli kami " At eight o'clock we're going to dance."

(3) sa followed by a nominal identifying a time. Temporal expressions with sa refer to a future time:

{sa lu:nis / sa qini:ru} ma:barayli kami "We'll dance {on Monday." / in January."}

(4) kan followed by (a) a nominal identifying a time, (b) a clause, (c) a pag- gerund clause, (d) an qalas expression:

{kan lu:nis / kan naŋga:na kami sa baskitbal / kan pagqabut ni hwan / kan qalas qutsu} nagbarayli kami

"We danced {on Monday." / when we won at basketball." / when Juan arrived." / at eight o'clock."}

Temporal expressions with kan refer to a past time.

(5) kaqitu, standing alone or followed by -ŋ plus the same types of expressions as in (4). Temporal expressions with kaqitu refer to a past time more remote than those with kan:

{kaqitu / kaqitu-ŋ lu:nis / kaqitu-ŋ naŋga:na kami sa baskitbal / kaqitu-ŋ pagqabut ni hwan / kaqitu-ŋ qalas qutsu} nagbarayli kami

"We danced {that time." / that Monday." / that time we won at basketball." / that time when Juan arrived." / that time at eight o'clock."}

(6) pag or kun followed by a clause. These temporal expressions usually refer to a future time:

pag naŋga:na kami sa baskitbal ma:barayli kami "We'll dance after we've won at basketball."

(7) a pag- gerund clause, meaning 'when . . .' Standing alone these temporal expressions may refer to the past, present, or future. Preceded by kan or kaqitu (see above) they refer to the past:

pagga:na mi sa baskitbal ma:barayli kami "We'll dance when we win at basketball."

pagga:na mi sa baskitbal nagbarayli kami "We danced when we won at basketball."

(8) a paka- gerund clause, meaning 'after . . .' These temporal expressions may refer to the past or the future:

pakaga:na mi sa baskitbal "after {we won / we win} at basketball"

(9) sagkud 'until' followed by the same types of expression as in (4):

ma:barayli kami sagkud {lu:nis / magqabut qan maŋa magu:raŋ / pagqabut ni hwan / qalas qutsu}

"We'll dance until {Monday." / the parents arrive." / Juan arrives." / eight o'clock."}

The temporal relators are a small class of full-word temporal expressions, related to the division of the day. The Bikol area dialects divide the day in two ways: a fixed-time division, and a relative-time division. By the fixed-time division, the day is divided into four parts: qa:ga 'morning', qudtu 'noontime', ha:pun 'afternoon', and baŋgi 'night'. These words are nominals and do not share the distribution characteristic of temporal expressions. The relative-time division is expressed by the temporal relators. ŋunyan 'now' refers to the part of the day which includes the present moment. Kasubaqgu 'a while ago' refers to an earlier part of the day; e.g., if it is now afternoon (ha:pun), kasubaqgu refers to the morning or noontime. Diyan 'later on' refers to a later part of the day. Passing into the next day in either direction, we come to kasuqudmaq 'yesterday' and sa qa:ga 'tomorrow'. A temporal relator may stand alone as a temporal expression or it may be followed by (a) a nominal designating part of the day, (b) an qalas expression, (c) a pag- gerund clause:

ma:barayli kami diyan "We'll dance later on."

nagbarayli kami kasubaqgu-ŋ {qa:ga / qalas qutsu} "We danced earlier

{this morning." / at eight o'clock."}

ŋunyan 'now' may also be followed by a nominal designating a larger unit of time: ŋunyan na qaldaw 'today', ŋunyan na bu:lan 'this month', etc.

HOMOSEMANTIC FORMS

Table 22 lists the temporal relators in the various dialects.

Temporal expressions in all dialects have the same structure with the following exceptions:

TABLE 22. TEMPORAL RELATORS

'yesterday'		'earlier'		'now'	
CST, Buh	kasuqudmaq	Leg, Nag	kasubaqgu	CST	ŋunʏan
		Sca	kasubagqu		
Nca, SOU	kaha:pun	Nca	kabaqgu	Nca	nintu
Dar, Oas, Lib	ka:pun	Iri	suba:gu	Dar	ŋanaq
		Dar, Oas, Lib, Sso	kaŋina	Oas	ŋwa:naq
Iri	sa:pun	Buh	ka:qina	Lib, Iri, Buh	ŋuwan
		Nso, Mas	kani:na	SOU	niyan

'later'		'tomorrow'	
Leg, Dar	diyan	CST, Nca	sa qa:ga
Nag	qatyan	Dar	kidamlag
Sca, Nca	qabanaban	Oas, Iri	qigmaq
Oas, Buh	ki:na	Lib	qogmaq
Lib	ka:wuna	Buh	kina:wudma
Nso, Mas	didaq	SOU	buwas
Sso	duqun		

1. Corresponding to sa temporal expressions (future time) in Legazpi, Iriga has temporal expressions with the definite genitive CNE marker ka: migbayli kami ka lu:nis "We'll dance on Monday." All other dialects have sa.

2. Corresponding to kan temporal expressions (past time) in Legazpi, all dialects have temporal expressions with the definite genitive CNE marker (p. 164), except Iriga and Buhi. Iriga has temporal expressions with the specific gentive CNE marker ku: nagbayli kami ku lu:nis. With nominals, Buhi has temporal expressions with both the definite (nya) and the specific (nyu) genitive CNE markers, nyu refer-

ring to the more remote past. With clauses, Buhi has temporal expressions with kasu : kasu nanga:na kami sa baskitbal "When we won at basketball."

3. Corresponding to kaqitu temporal expressions (remote past) in Legazpi all dialects have temporal expressions with the genitive case form of the far deictic pronoun (p. 150).

4. Sagkud 'until' or a cognate form is shared by all except the Southern dialects. The Southern dialects have hangan or hasta 'until'. These forms also occur in all Bikol area dialects.

MORPHEMIC DIFFERENTIAE

There is one set of morphemic differentiae for each meaning listed on Table 22:[34]

1. (1) MOST ka- + (h-)a:pun 'afternoon' :: (2) CST, Buh kasuqudmaq :: (3) Iri sa:pun -- 'yesterday'.

2. (1) Leg, Nag kasubaqqu, Sca kasubagqu :: (2) Nca kabaqqu :: (3) Iri suba:gu :: (4) Dar, Oas, Lib, Sso kanina :: (5) Buh ka:qina :: (6) Nso, Mas kani:na 'earlier'.

3. (1) CST nunyan :: (2) Nca nintu :: (3) Dar nanaq :: (4) Oas nwa:naq :: (5) Lib, Iri, Buh nuwan :: (6) SOU niyan 'now'.

4. (1) Leg, Dar diyan, Nso, Mas didaq, Sso duqun :: (2) Nag qatyan :: (3) Sca, Nca qabanaban :: (4) Oas, Buh ki:na :: (5) Lib ka:wuna :: (6) Iri na:nid -- 'later'.

The forms in Legazpi, Daraga, Northern Sorsogon, Southern Sorsogon, and Masbate are the oblique case deictic pronouns for 'there' (near addressee).

5. (1) CST, Nca sa qa:ga :: (2) Dar kidamlag :: (3) Oas, Iri qigmaq, Lib qogmaq :: (4) Buh kina:wudma :: (5) SOU buwas 'tomorrow'.

The following matrix summarizes the sets of morphemic differentiae discussed above:[35]

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
1.	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1
2.	2	1	1	1	4	4	4	5	3	6	6	4
3.	2	1	1	1	3	4	5	5	5	6	6	6
4.	3	3	2	1	1	4	5	4	6	1	1	1
5.	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	4	3	5	5	5

The following matrix shows the total number of sets of morphemic differentiae distinguishing the various pairs of dialects with regard to temporal relators:

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
Northern Catanduanes	X	3	4	4	4	4	4	6	6	5	5	5
Southern Catanduanes		X	1	1	5	5	5	5	6	6	6	6
Standard Bikol:												
Naga			X	0	4	5	5	5	6	5	5	5
Legazpi				X	4	5	5	5	6	5	5	5
Daraga					X	3	3	6	6	4	4	3
Oas						X	2	5	5	5	5	4
Libon							X	5	4	5	5	4
Buhi								X	5	7	7	7
Iriga									X	7	7	7
Northern Sorsogon										X	0	1
Masbate											X	1
Southern Sorsogon												X

The following matrix shows the total number of sets of morphemic differentiae distinguishing the various pairs of dialects which have been presented in this chapter, that is, all those related to uninflected restricted-class full-words:

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
Northern Catanduanes	X	20	22	20	25	25	25	27	28	29	30	29
Southern Catanduanes		X	8	4	21	20	20	21	23	26	30	30
Standard Bikol:												
Naga			X	5	20	21	22	21	24	25	29	28
Legazpi				X	21	22	21	22	24	25	29	28
Daraga					X	11	14	18	23	24	27	24
Oas						X	10	17	20	27	29	25
Libon							X	12	14	26	29	27
Buhi								X	14	27	29	28
Iriga									X	30	32	30
Northern Sorsogon										X	7	12
Masbate											X	13
Southern Sorsogon												X

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER TWELVE

[1] Cf. Mintz 1971b, p. 213. These forms always have vowel length in the penultimate syllable, provided there is no following consonant cluster.

[2] Cf. Schachter 1972, p. 101.

[3] Cf. Schachter 1972, p. 105.

[4] Cf. Mintz 1971b, pp. 189-190.

[5] Cf. Mintz 1971b, pp. 228-229.

[6] Cf. Mintz 1971b, p. 261.

[7] Cf. Mintz 1971b, p. 228.

[8] Cf. Mintz 1971b, pp. 262-264.

[9] The format of the table is discussed on p. 130.

[10] The format for the presentation of sets of morphemic differentiae is discussed on p. 132.

[11] The format for this matrix is discussed on p. 132.

[12] The distribution is very similar to that for pseudo-verbs in Tagalog. See Schachter 1972, pp. 261-273.

[13] See fn. 9.

[14] See fn. 10.

[15] See fn. 11.

[16] Cf. Mintz 1971b, pp. 107, 135-140. In Naga the negative existential is ma:yuq.

[17] Cf. Schachter 1972, pp. 273-279, 521-523.

[18] Cf. Mintz 1971b, pp. 138-139. In Naga the indefinite CNE marker is nin.

[19] Cf. Mintz 1971b, p. 115.

[20] See fn. 9.

[21] The format for the examples is discussed on p. 131.

[22] See fn. 10.

[23] See fn. 11.

[24] Cf. Mintz 1971b, pp. 104-108.

[25] See fn. 9.

[26] See fn. 22.

[27] See fn. 10.

[28] See fn. 11.

[29] Cf. Mintz 1971b, p. 115.

[30] See fn. 9.

[31] See fn. 10.

[32] See fn. 11.

[33] Cf. Mintz 1971b, pp. 82-86.

[34] See fn. 10.

[35] See fn. 11.

13. PARTICLES

While particles play a central role in the syntax of the Bikol area dialects, they are not well-suited for morphemic differentiae analysis. For one thing, many particles have meanings which are very poorly defined, some serving to emphasize or soften the statement of which they are a part, without contributing to the denotative meaning of the sentence. Thus the shade of meaning attached to a particular particle may vary greatly from one dialect to another, and from one person to another. In cases where a given particle occurs in Dialect A but not in Dialect B, it is frequently impossible to identify another particle in Dialect B which may be said to be homosemantic with the particle in Dialect A.

There are, nonetheless, a number of particles which occur with high frequency in the recorded texts (see Appendix D), and either (1) are common to all Bikol area dialects or (2) clearly constitute homosemantic sets with forms in all dialects. Those particles common to all dialects are listed in Appendix E. Those forming homosemantic sets are discussed in this chapter; these include (1) the negators and affirmatives, (2) the direct and indirect discourse particles, (3) the conjunctions 'and' and 'because', and (4) the enclitic particle 'only, just'.

While the differences to be discussed here are not included in the totals for morphemic differentiae distinguishing the various dialects, it may be seen that these differences follow the same general pattern displayed by other sets of linguistic features in this work.

NEGATORS AND AFFIRMATIVES

In the Bikol area dialects except the Southern dialects, the negator for verbs is different from the negator for adjectives. In the

Southern dialects, this distinction is not made. In Legazpi the negator for adjectives (and nominals) is bakuq :

mata:liq si hwan "Juan is bright."

baku-ŋ mata:liq si hwan "Juan is not bright."

The negators for nominals and adjectives for other dialects are shown in Table 23. These forms apparently all derive from a single proto-form *bəkən (see discussion, p. 143).

TABLE 23. NEGATORS AND AFFIRMATIVES

'not (adj.)'		'not (verb)'		'yes'	
CST	bakuq	CST	daqi	INL, Nso	qa:mu
Nca	bukuq	Nca	maqi	CST	qiyu
Oas, Iri, Buh	bikiq	Dar, Buh	qindiq	Nca	qi:su
Dar	bikin	Oas	diq	Sso	ma:qu
Lib	bokon	Lib, Iri, Sso	di:riq	Mas	ququ
Nso	la:qin	Nso	la:qin		
Sso	di:riq	Mas	di:liq		
Mas	di:liq				

The following are actual examples of these negators:

Sca lala:ki ŋaya qan su:wi bakuq ka ŋaya
male he-said the Zoe not you(sg) he-said
"He said, 'Zoe is a boy's name, it's not you.'"

Nca nagdarhug si:la ta sa:bi bukuq dun na masya:du-ŋ
descended they because they-said not there + too-+
"They went down because they thought it wasn't too
labu
wet
wet there."

Dar bikin mara:yun su pagqibaqiba ninda ta su lala:ki
not very-good the being-together their because the male
"They didn't get along very well because the boy had

pini:rit sana nu baba:yi
was-forced just by-the female
been forced [to be married] by the girl."

Buh ta qadtu-ŋ bagtiŋan a qadtu bikiq man kunu sa kampanaryu
because that-+ bell + that not too they-say at
"Because, they say, that bell was not put in the

nabibitaŋ
belfry being-placed
belfry."

In Legazpi and Southern and Northern Catanduanes the verbal negator has the same form as the negative existential (Leg, Sca daqi, Nca maqi, miq in rapid speech). The following examples are from Northern Catanduanes:

talaga-ŋ miq man qaku ga:karu:dug
really-+ not (verbal negator) too I being-sick
"I really wasn't sick."

miq man nin saŋli:qan ta pu:ru labu
none (negative existential) too of change-of-clothes because
"They didn't even have anything to change into because all

yu ba:duq
all wet the clothes
their clothes were wet."

In the remaining dialects the verbal negator and the negative existential have different forms.[1] The verbal negators are shown in Table 23. In all dialects except Northern Catanduanes diq appears as a short form of the verbal negator (but not for the negative existential daqi in Legazpi and Southern Catanduanes). In Northern Catanduanes the short form is miq, for both the verbal negator and the negative

existential.

In Northern Sorsogon la:qin 'not' is used interchangeably with, but in preference to di:liq 'not'.

The following are examples of the verbal negators:

Nag daqi pa nagagadan nagpaparala:kaw na sya
not still dying keeps-walking already she
"She's not dead yet; [but] she's already walking around
[like a ghost]."

Dar qindiq man kami makaquliq ta waraq man biya:hi-ŋ
not too we able-to-go-home because none too trip-+
"We weren't able to come home because there were no
pasiriŋ sa sibu
toward to Cebu
[boats] going to Cebu."

Nso la:qin qaku sanaq nagkaka:qun na qitum na kanqun
not I to-that eating + black + rice
"I don't eat that kind of black rice."

Sso sayuq yun na nagpapatutu:qu na may maŋa di:riq
one that + proving + have pl not
"That is one [of the things] that proves there are
naqiqimud na ta:wu
can-be-seen + person
people you can't see."

In the Southern dialects, negative commands contain either the verbal negator or the form qayaw 'don't':

Mas {di:liq / qayaw} ka magsakay "Don't get on."

In the other dialects, negative commands contain the verbal negator:

Leg daqi ka maglu:nad "Don't get on."

There is ordinarily no marker to indicate that a sentence or

predicate is affirmative rather than negative. The absence of a negator implies the affirmative nature of the statement. There are nonetheless a number of constructions emphasizing the affirmative nature of a sentence or predicate. In the Bikol area dialects except Masbate, these constructions all include the word for 'yes' (Table 23).

A predicate preceded by the word for 'yes' is more emphatic than the corresponding predicate without that word:

Lég si hwan nagbakal ki bagas "Juan bought rice."

si hwan qiyu nagbakal ki bagas. "Juan bought rice indeed."

si mari:ya qan mata:liq "Maria is the bright one."

si mari:ya qiyu qan mata:liq "Maria is indeed the bright one."

In a similar construction, qiyu is followed by a deictic pronoun, usually qiyan or qan 'that' (near addressee). The deictic pronoun actually occupies the subject position in the sentence, with the original subject in a topicalized position:

si hwan qan naggadan ki kapri "Juan is the one who killed the giant."

si hwan qiyu qiyan qan naggadan ki kapri. "Juan, that's the one who killed the giant."

The sequence qiyu qiyan or qiyu qan also appears as a parenthesis preceding a sentence in the meaning 'so that's what happened, . . .':

qiyu qiyan ginadan ni hwan qan kapri "So that's what happened, Juan killed the giant."

Except in Masbate, the same constructions appear in the other dialects, consisting of 'yes' plus a deictic. In Masbate, the word for

'yes' is ququ. A different particle qa:mu appears in the constructions corresponding to those above.

The following are actual examples of this construction in the Bikol area:

Leg qan qisturya ku qiyu qan pagduman ku sa na:ga
the story my yes the going-there by-me to Naga
"My story is about [the time] I went to Naga."

Nca qi:su na yun na nagpahiŋa:ruq muqna qaku dun
yes already that + rested first I there
"So that's what happened, I took a rest there first."

Dar qindiq man tataŋu magtaga:lug qa:mu qadtu su
not too know-how to-speak-Tagalog yes that the
"He didn't even know how to speak Tagalog; that was

prubli:ma nya
problem his
precisely his problem."

Sso qan qirupla:nu na nagha:tag sin ha:duk ma:qu man
the airplane + gave of fear yes too
"The airplane which had given [them] fear was the very

qan nagha:tag sin biya:ya
the gave of benefit
one that gave them benefits too."

DIRECT AND INDIRECT DISCOURSE PARTICLES

The indirect discourse particle (Leg daqa 'it is said') is enclitic and attributes the statement to another source, specified or not:[2]

napahibiq daqa sya pagba:sa nya kan surat ku
was-caused-to-cry she-said she reading by-her to-the letter my
"She said she had to cry when she read my letter."

bakuq daqa-ŋ maray kun pari:hu matuqa qu pari:hu
not they-say-+ good if same oldest-child or same
"They say it isn't good if both [marriage partners] are

kaŋuāhan
youngest-child
the oldest or the youngest child."

The indirect discourse particle is daqa in the Coastal dialects and Northern Catanduanes; elsewhere the form is kunu :

Oas nu maŋa panawun kunu su ragaq maririim sagkid labi
when pl time they-say the land dark and excessive
"Long ago, they say, the land was dark and very

kapalinas
very-bare
bare."

Sso qan sa:bi san kakāa:si nagpaparahu:gus kunu kay yadtu
the say by-the classmate keep-getting thinner they-say
"Their classmates said they were getting thinner because

kinarawan sin qiŋkantu
because being-there was-joked-with by fairy
they had been bewitched by a fairy."

In Northern Sorsogon kunu refers only to an unspecified source. The particle for indirect quotation of a specified source is daw :

qinagda daw siya sin maŋa batit na saragday
was-invited she-said by pl child + small(pl)
"She said she had been invited by some tiny children."

The direct discourse particles (Leg (ŋa-)nya:kuq 'I said' and ŋaya 'he, she, you said') are movable particles and may appear more than once in the same sentence. The use of these particles implies that the statement is being quoted verbatim:

ŋanya:kuq daqi man qaku nin pakaqi:si na qiyu qitu
I-said none too I of knowledge + yes that
"I said, ' I had no idea that that's what would

qan maŋyaya:ri
the will-happen
happen.'"

bakuq ka ŋaya-ŋ qa:yup qili:ŋa ŋaya qan
not you(sg) he-said-+ animal to-be-looked-at he-said the
"He said, 'You're not an animal; look at

la:was mu
body your(sg)
your body.'"

ŋaya 'he, she, you said' occurs in all dialects except Northern Catanduanes. A form corresponding to (ŋa-)nya:kuq was observed in all dialects except Northern Catanduanes, Iriga, and Masbate: CST nya:kuq, Dar, Oas ŋanakin, Lib ŋanakon, Buh na:kiq, Nso na:kun, Sso na:kuq. In all dialects the phrase sa:bi ku 'I said' occurs with the same meaning and distribution as these forms. In Northern Catanduanes, which does not have ŋaya, the contrast is between sa:bi 'he, she, you said' and sa:bi ku 'I said':

kayaq sa:bi magtubud ka na sana na qiŋkantu yan
and-so he-said to-believe you(sg) already only + fairy that
"And so he said, 'Just believe that it's a fairy.'"

sa:bi ku di qi:su ga:tubud na sana lugud qaku
say by-me so yes believing already just happen I
"I said, ' Okay, I guess I'll just believe it.'"

The following are examples of the direct discourse particles in other dialects:

Dar manarig ka sana ŋanakin sa dyus
to-have-faith you(sg) just I-said at God
"I said, 'Just have faith in God.'"

Nso mayad pa na:kun pakaqu:mun mu aku sanaq
good still I-said to-be-caused-to-eat by-you I to-that
"I said, 'It would be good if you fed me some of that.'"

Mas qan maqa:yu ŋaya sanaq magpriparar ka sin manuk na
the good he-said to-that to-prepare you(sg) of chicken +
"He said, 'What you should do for that is to prepare

qisad na putiq
one + white
one white chicken."

Iri su qupus ŋaya nagbalik kaya ŋaya sinika:ran ku
the cat he-said returned and-so he-said was-kicked by-me
"He said, 'The cat came back, so I

ŋaya
he-said
kicked it.'"

THE CONJUNCTIONS 'and' AND 'because'

The homosemantic set presented here contains those forms which occur most frequently with the meaning 'and' in the environment NE_1 (and) NE_2. These forms also appear in other environments, such as between predicates or between clauses. However, a number of other forms also occur in those environments with the meaning 'and', 'and then', etc. In Legazpi the most frequent form for 'and' in the environment NE_1 (and) NE_2 is buda :

pigpaparagatub qan pa:ruy buda qan maga ba:duq ta
keeps-being-gnawed the rice and the pl clothes our
"Our rice and clothes keep being eaten by rats."

ma:li:but qaku tu:lus ŋunyan buda papaqisi:hun ku
will-go-around I immediate now and will-be-caused-to-know
"I'll go around immediately and tell

qan gabus
by-me the all
everyone."

In the other dialects the most frequent forms for 'and' in the environment NE_1 (and) NE_2 are the following: Leg, Sca, Nca buda, Nag,

Iri saka, Dar da:ŋan, Oas, Buh sagkid, Lib sagkod, Nso, Sso nan, Mas, kag. For example:

Buh qidaq qiba-ŋ qisraq kindiq qamu yu talu:sug sagkid yu
none other-+ fish but yes the k.-of-fish and the
"There were no other fish except the talusug and the

qatas
k.-of-fish
atas."

Nso naku:ha ni karli:tu qan magayu:mun na dara:ga nan qan
was-gotten by Carlito the very-beautiful + maiden and
"Carlito received the very beautiful maiden and the

tru:nu san qamaq
the throne of-the father
throne of [her] father."

In Legazpi the subordinating conjunction ta carries the general meaning 'because':[3]

kun minsan nagigiqu:luk qaku ta may maŋa makaqu:luk
if sometimes laughing-involuntarily I because have pl funny
"Sometimes I have to laugh because there are funny

na parti
+ part
places."

Ta occurs in all dialects except the Southern dialects. The equivalent form in the Southern dialects is kay 'because':

Nso la:qin ŋaya pagpatayun kay waraq ŋaya sin kasalqa:nan
not he-said to-be-killed because none he-said of sin
"He said, 'Don't kill [him]; [he's] done no wrong.'"

THE PARTICLE 'only, just'

The enclitic particle la:maŋ 'only, just' and its short alternant laŋ occur in all Bikol area dialects:[4]

Leg narumduman ku la:maŋ su pagduman ta sa mayun
was-remembered by-me just the going-there by-us at Mayon
"I just remember [the time] we went to Mayon."

Nso handaq na sinda na magpapamatay na la:maŋ
ready already they + causing-to-be-killed already just
"They were ready to just let themselves be killed."

In the dialects other than the Southern dialects a synonymous and preferred form is sana 'only, just':

Leg daqi qaku-ŋ qiba kayaq qini na sana qan qitataqu ku
none I-+ other and-so this already just the will-be-
"I have nothing else, so I will just give

saqi:mu
given by-me to-you(sg)
you this."

Oas su ragaq labi katuniniŋ maririŋig sana su qaŋin
the land excessive so-quiet can-be-heard just the wind
"The earth was very quiet; all you could hear was the

wind."

In Southern Sorsogon the form ha:muk 'only, just' is synonymous to and preferred to la:maŋ :

dahil ba:taq man ha:muk qaku sin pubrihu:mun na maŋa magu:rang
cause child too just I of very-poor + pl. parent
"Because I was only the child of very poor parents."

In Masbate the preferred short form is laq :

qan pinakamaganda na qidiŋ qa:mu laq qan qibibi:lin ta
the prettiest + cat yes just the will-be-left by-us
"It is just the prettiest cat that we'll let stay here in

didi sa qa:tun balay
here at our house
our house."

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER THIRTEEN

[1] For Naga, cf. Mintz 1971b, pp. 106-107.

[2] Cf. Mintz 1971b, p. 119.

[3] Cf. Mintz 1971b, p. 109-110.

[4] La:maŋ is apparently a borrowing from Tagalog (cf. Schachter 1972, p. 422), but is widespread in the Bikol area.

14. MORPHEMIC DIFFERENTIAE: SUMMARY

Table 24 and 25 show the total number of sets of morphemic differentiae distinguishing the various pairs of dialects with regard to the paradigmatic (Table 24) and non-paradigmatic (Table 25) restricted-class morphemes. The data on these tables are presented in two forms. In the lower half-matrix appear the total numbers for all classes under consideration (e.g., all four paradigmatic classes). In the upper half-matrix these figures are broken down according to specific classes.

The data from these two tables are essentially independent of each other and from the lexicostatistical percentages presented in Table 4 (p. 86), although most of the Swadesh 100-word list is included in my 400-word list and a very few restricted-class morphemes appear both on the Swadesh list and among the morphemes for which I counted sets of morphemic differentiae (e.g., 'I', 'one'). Yet the correlation among the four sets of data is very high. When the product-moment correlation coefficient is computed for these sets of data, the results are as follows:[1]

	Par	Non-P	Swadesh	400
Paradigmatic classes	X	.828	.697	.712
Non-paradigmatic classes		X	.994	.852
Swadesh 100			X	.924
400-word list				X

These high correlations would seem to indicate that the four types of features exhibit substantially the same behavior with regard to some external factor, That external factor is presumably the degree of separation among the various pairs of dialects extending over time.

There are, nonetheless, some interesting differences among the

TABLE 24. TOTAL MORPHEMIC DIFFERENTIAE FOR PARADIGMATIC CLASSES

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Cas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
Northern Catandnanes	PP	7	7	7	6	4	4	6	5	5	4	3
	DP	5	5	5	5	6	6	6	6	5	5	4
	NM	2	2	3	2	3	3	4	7	5	5	5
	VI	0	2	2	3	5	4	5	4	4	4	4
Southern Catandnanes	PP	0	0		4	4	6	6	5	5	6	5
	DP	2	2		6	7	7	6	6	5	5	4
14	NM	1	1		1	2	2	5	6	5	5	5
	VI	2	2		3	5	4	5	4	4	4	4
Standard Bikol: Naga	PP			0	4	4	6	6	5	5	6	5
	DP			0	7	8	8	7	7	6	6	5
16	NM	5		2	2	3	3	5	7	5	5	5
	VI			0	3	4	2	5	2	2	4	2
Legazpi	PP				4	4	6	6	5	5	6	5
	DP				7	8	8	7	7	6	6	5
17	NM	5	2		2	3	3	6	6	5	5	5
	VI				3	4	2	5	2	2	4	2
Daraga	PP					2	3	3	5	4	5	7
	DP					3	4	2	2	4	4	3
16	NM	14	16	16		1	1	5	6	5	5	5
	VI					3	3	5	4	5	5	5
Cas	PP						3	5	5	4	5	6
	DP						4	4	3	6	6	5
18	NM	18	19	19	9		0	4	5	6	6	6
	VI						2	3	5	5	6	5
Libon	PP							4	6	4	5	7
	DP							4	4	6	6	5
17	NM	19	19	19	11	9		4	5	6	6	6
	VI							5	3	4	6	4
Buhi	PP								3	6	7	6
	DP								3	6	6	5
21	NM	22	23	24	15	16	17		3	7	7	7
	VI								6	6	7	6
Iriga	PP									7	7	6
	DP									6	6	5
22	NM	21	21	20	17	18	18	15		8	8	8
	VI									4	6	4
Northern Sorsogon	PP										1	6
	DP										0	2
19	NM	19	18	18	18	21	20	25	25		1	0
	VI										2	0
Masbate	PP											5
	DP											2
18	NM	20	21	21	19	23	23	27	27	4		1
	VI											2
Southern Sorsogon	PP											
	DP											
16	NM	18	17	17	20	22	22	24	23	8	10	
	VI											

PP = Personal pronouns; DP = Deictic pronouns; NE = PRE and CME markers; VI = Verbal inflections for aspect.

TABLE 25.

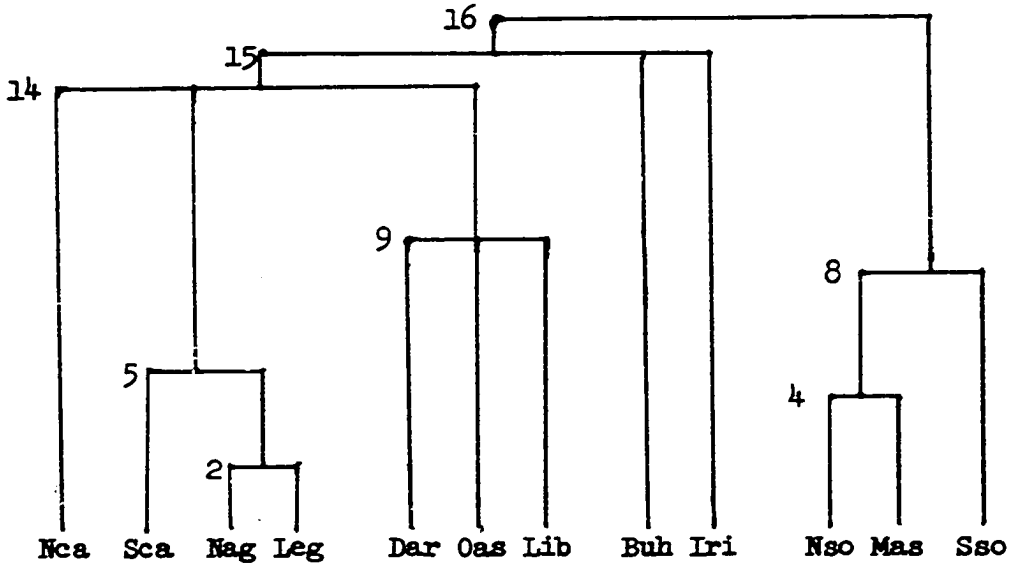
TOTAL MORPHEMIC DIFFERENTIAE FOR NON-PARADIGMATIC CLASSES

		COASTAL			INLAND					SOUTHERN		
	Nca	Sca	Nag	Leg	Dar	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri	Nso	Mas	Sso
Northern Catanduanes	NQ	4	3	3	4	4	4	4	5	6	6	6
	PV	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	4	5	5	5
	EX	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
	IN	7	7	7	8	8	8	8	7	6	6	6
	LR	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	5	6	5
	TR	3	4	4	4	4	4	6	6	6	5	5
Southern Catanduanes	NQ	2	1		3	3	3	3	4	3	4	5
	PV	2	1		1	1	2	1	1	4	6	5
	EX	1	0		2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2
	IN	1	0		6	5	5	6	6	7	7	7
	LR	1	1		5	5	5	5	6	6	6	6
	TR	1	1		5	5	5	5	6	6	6	6
Standard Bikol:												
Naga	NQ			1	3	3	3	3	4	5	5	5
	PV			1	2	2	2	2	1	3	5	4
	EX			1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2
	IN			1	6	5	6	5	7	6	6	6
	LR			1	3	4	4	4	4	4	5	5
	TR			0	4	5	5	5	6	5	5	5
	22	8										
Legazpi	NQ				3	3	3	3	4	4	5	5
	PV				2	2	2	2	2	3	5	4
	EX				2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2
	IN				6	6	5	6	6	7	7	7
	LR				4	4	4	4	4	5	6	5
	TR				4	5	5	5	6	5	5	5
	20	4	5									
Daraga	NQ					1	1	1	2	5	5	5
	PV					0	1	1	2	4	6	5
	EX					2	2	2	2	1	1	1
	IN					2	3	4	7	6	6	6
	LR					3	4	4	4	4	5	4
	TR					3	3	6	6	4	4	3
	25	21	20	21								
Oas	NQ						1	2	2	5	4	5
	PV						1	1	2	4	6	5
	EX						2	2	2	2	2	2
	IN						2	4	7	7	7	7
	LR						2	3	2	4	5	2
	TR						2	5	5	5	5	4
	25	20	21	22	11							
Libon	NQ							2	2	5	4	5
	PV							1	2	3	5	5
	EX							0	0	2	2	2
	IN							2	4	7	7	7
	LR							2	2	4	5	4
	TR							4	5	5	5	4
	25	20	22	21	14	10						
Buhi	NQ								3	5	4	5
	PV								0	3	5	5
	EX								0	2	2	2
	IN								5	6	6	6
	LR								1	4	5	3
	TR								5	7	7	7
	27	21	21	22	18	17	12					
Iriga	NQ									6	5	6
	PV									3	5	5
	EX									2	2	2
	IN									8	8	8
	LR									4	5	3
	28	23	24	24	23	20	14	14				

Standard Bikol:													
			PV	1	2	2	2	2	1	3	5	4
			EX	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2
Naga	22	8	IN	1	6	5	6	5	7	6	6	6
			LR	1	3	4	4	4	4	4	5	5
			TR	0	4	5	5	5	6	5	5	5
				NQ	3	3	3	3	4	4	5	5
				PV	2	2	2	2	2	3	5	4
				EX	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2
Legazpi	20	4	5	IN	6	6	5	6	6	7	7	7
				LR	4	4	4	4	4	5	6	5
				TR	4	5	5	5	6	5	5	5
				NQ	1	1	1	2		5	5	5
				PV	0	1	1	2		4	6	5
				EX	2	2	2	2		1	1	1
Daraga	25	21	20	21	IN	2	3	4	7		6	6	6
				LR	3	4	4	4		4	5	4
				TR	3	3	6	6		4	4	3
					NQ	1	2	2		5	4	5
					PV	1	1	2		4	6	5
					EX	2	2	2		2	2	2
Oas	25	20	21	22	11	IN	2	4	7		7	7	7
						LR	2	3	2		4	5	2
						TR	2	5	5		5	5	4
						NQ	2	2		5	4	5
						PV	1	2		3	5	5
						EX	0	0		2	2	2
Libon	25	20	22	21	14	10	IN	2	4		7	7	7
							LR	2	2		4	5	4
							TR	4	5		5	5	4
								NQ	3		5	4	5
								PV	0		3	5	5
								EX	0		2	2	2
Buhi	27	21	21	22	18	17	12	IN	5		6	6	6
								LR	1		4	5	3
								TR	5		7	7	7
									NQ	6	5	6	
									PV	3	5	5	
									EX	2	2	2	
Iriga	28	23	24	24	23	20	14	14	IN	8	8	8	
									LR	4	5	2	
									TR	7	7	7	
										NQ	2	4	
										PV	2	2	
										EX	0	1	
Northern Sorsogon	29	26	25	25	24	27	26	27	30	IN	1	1	
										LR	2	3	
										TR	0	1	
											NQ	4	
											PV	5	
											EX	1	
Masbate	30	30	29	29	27	29	29	29	32	7	IN	0	
											LR	4	
											TR	1	
												NQ	
												PV	
												EX	
Southern Sorsogon	29	30	28	28	24	25	27	28	30	12	13	IN	
												LR	
												TR	

NQ = Numerals and major quantifiers; PV = pseudo-verbs and pseudo-verbal adjectives; EX = existentials; IN = interrogatives; LR

four sets of results. These differences can best be illustrated by comparing Tree Diagrams 5 and 6, based on sets of morphemic differentiae, with Tree Diagrams 3 and 4 (p. 87), based on lexicostatistical percentages.[2]



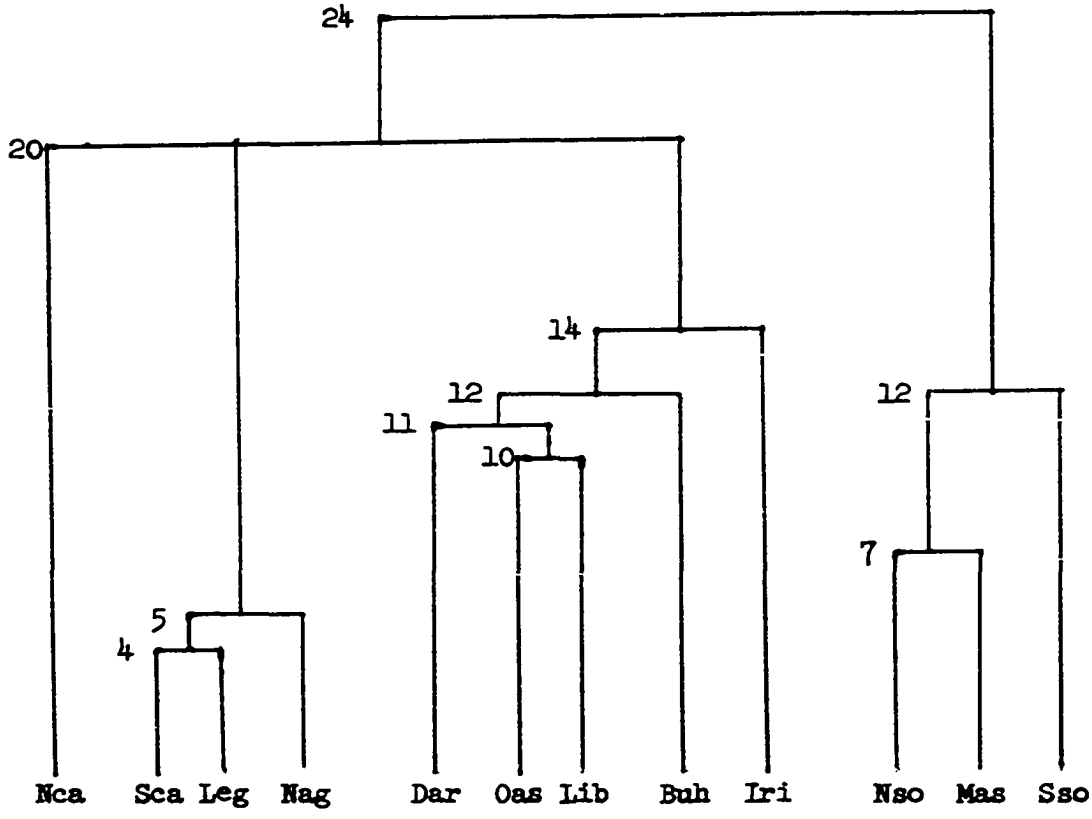
$((Nca^{3}-(Sca^{4}-(Nag^{5}-Leg))^{3}-(Dar^{6}-Oas^{6}-Lib))^{2}-Buh^{2}-Iri)^{1}-((Nso^{8}-Mas)^{7}-Sso)$

TREE DIAGRAM 5
(Paradigmatic Classes)

The following areas of agreement are observable:

1. For all four sets of data, the Southern dialects (Northern Sorsogon, Masbate, Southern Sorsogon) appear as a distinct subgroup in relation to the other Bikol area dialects. The total amount of difference represented in Tables 4, 24, and 25 is very large, such that the boundary between these dialects and the other Bikol area dialects is close to constituting a language boundary, even though Northern Sorsogon is reportedly mutually intelligible with Standard Bikol and Daraga.

Internally, these three dialects maintain substantially the same relative positions, except that based on the 400-word list, Northern Sorsogon occupies a coordinate position between Southern Sorsogon and



$(Nca\overset{2}{-}((Sca\overset{4}{-}Leg)\overset{3}{-}Nag)\overset{2}{-}(((Dar\overset{7}{-}(Oas\overset{9}{-}Lib))\overset{6}{-}Buh)\overset{5}{-}Iri))\overset{1}{-}((Nso\overset{10}{-}Mas)\overset{9}{-}Sso$

TREE DIAGRAM 6
(Non-paradigmatic Classes)

Masbate. Based on the other three sets of data, Northern Sorsogon and Masbate appear rather more similar to each other than either is to Southern Sorsogon:

Paradigmatic			Non-paradigmatic			Swadesh 100			400-word		
	Mas	Sso		Mas	Sso		Mas	Sso		Mas	Sso
Nso	4	8	Nso	7	12	Nso	90	84	Nso	79	79
Mas	X	10	Mas	X	13	Mas	X	78	Mas	X	70

2. Northern Catanduanes exhibits a fairly coordinate relationship with all other Bikol area dialects, with regard to all four sets of data. Again, the total amount of difference between Northern

and Southern Catanduanes is nearly large enough to constitute a language boundary.

3. The Coastal dialects (Standard Bikol, Southern Catanduanes) appear very similar with regard to all four sets of data. For three of the sets (excluding the 400-word list) they form a distinct subgroup, substantially more similar to each other than to any outside dialects. Internally, with regard to morphemic differentiae (Tables 24 and 25), the degree of difference between Southern Catanduanes and Standard Bikol is approximately the same as that between the Standard Bikol subdialects of Naga and Legazpi. Lexicostatistically the range of difference within Standard Bikol is somewhat less than that between Standard Bikol and Southern Catanduanes:

	Paradigmatic		Non-paradigmatic		Swadesh 100		400-word	
	Nag	Leg	Nag	Leg	Nag	Leg	Nag	Leg
Sca	5	5	8	4	87	89	81	83
Nag	X	2	X	5	X	95	X	88

4. On all three tables the three dialects of Daraga, Oas, and Libon have a roughly coordinate relationship with each other:

	Paradigmatic		Non-paradigmatic		Swadesh 100		400-word	
	Oas	Lib	Oas	Lib	Oas	Lib	Oas	Lib
Dar	9	11	11	14	95	91	86	83
Oas	X	9	X	10	X	90	X	85

If Buhi and Iriga had been omitted from Tree Diagrams 3-6, the four trees would show very nearly the same subgrouping, that just outlined. The main difference would involve the relative separation among the four subgroups. On Tree Diagram 5, four subgroups (Northern Catanduanes, Coastal dialects, Daraga-Oas-Libon, Southern dialects) would appear

well-marked and separated from each other. Compared to the differences between the subgroups, the differences within each subgroup are quite small. Moving to the other trees, the ratio between internal and external differences gets successively larger until in Tree Diagram 4, the percentage between Legazpi and Daraga (83%) is as large as the percentages linking Southern Catanduanes to Standard Bikol, and almost as large as those linking Daraga with Oas and Libon. It is only in Tree 4 that the separate identity of the Coastal dialects is lost.

Buhi and Iriga occupy rather different positions in the four tree diagrams. In all four trees, the greatest similarity shown by these two dialects is with each other and with Daraga, Oas, and Libon. On Table 24 (paradigmatic classes) Buhi and Iriga appear as links in a chain of which the other links are (1) Daraga-Oas-Libon, (2) Coastal dialects, (3) Northern Catanduanes, (4) Southern dialects. The figures linking Buhi and Iriga to Daraga-Oas-Libon are of the same order of magnitude as those connecting the other links in the chain:

	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri
Dar	9	11	15	17
Oas	X	9	16	18
Lib		X	17	18
Buh			X	15

On Table 25 (non-paradigmatic classes) the five Inland dialects appear as a single chain in which the figures for the end points (Daraga and Iriga) are highest and other figures are proportionally lower. The figures linking this chain together are somewhat smaller than the link (Dar-Nag 20) between the Inland and Coastal dialects:

	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri
Dar	11	14	18	23
Oas	X	10	17	20
Lib		X	12	14
Buh			X	14

On the basis of the Swadesh 100-word list (Table 4) the Inland dialects appear as a fairly tight, coordinate subgroup:

	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri
Dar	95	91	87	85
Oas	X	90	90	89
Lib		X	86	91
Buh			X	90

On the basis of the 400-word list (Table 4) the Inland and Coastal dialects together form a dialect chain:

	Oas	Lib	Buh	Iri
Dar	86	83	79	77
Oas	X	85	79	78
Lib		X	80	80
Buh			X	78

There are several possible explanations for these areas of disagreement. First, one or more of these sets of data may be "wrong", in the sense that what is being counted has no relationship to any factor in the historical development of these dialects. However, the high correlation among these tables suggests that there is at least some relationship between the various quantities and the historical developments. Nonetheless the reliability of the results based on morphemic differentiae in the paradigmatic classes may be somewhat open to ques-

tion because of (1) the small number of forms compared in these classes and (2) the relatively lower correlation (p. 265) with the other three sets of data.

Second, it could be that the relationships among Iriga, Buhi, and the other Bikol area dialects are so complex as to invalidate any conclusions about historical developments that might be drawn from any of these sets of data. That is, since the time of initial divergence, there may have been so many changes in the pattern of contacts among these dialects that none of the history can be reconstructed from the synchronic evidence.

A third possibility is that the quantities appearing in the three tables present evidence with regard to different periods in the historical development. That is, the types of morphemes considered in each set might have, collectively, different relative degrees of stability or resistance to replacement. For example, if one class is more stable, a longer period of low or no contact between given dialects would be required for greater numbers of differences to appear. Conversely, if the level of contact between dialects is increased after a period of low or no contact, differences which had already appeared in the more stable classes would be more resistant to the leveling effects of dialect borrowing in the period of increased contact.

If the third explanation is correct, it would indicate that morphemic differentiae analysis can serve not only to confirm the subgroupings based on other types of criteria, but also to add an extra dimension to the historical reconstruction. We could thus reconstruct not only an earlier subgrouping, but also, to some extent, the movements of speech communities subsequent to the time of that

subgrouping.

At this point in time, we can only conclude that where portions of subgroupings based on different sets of criteria are in agreement, this agreement is the result of a single historical factor or set of factors. In the present case, we would conclude that (1) the Southern dialects have experienced a lengthy period of historical development in which contact with each other was high and contact with other Bikol area dialects was low, (2) the Coastal dialects have experienced a similar development, (3) Northern Catanduanes has experienced a long period of development in which contact with all other dialects was low, (4) the dialects of Daraga, Oas, and Libon have maintained a fairly high level of contact throughout their historical development.

Where there are cases of disagreement, as with regard to the position of Buhi and Iriga, we conclude that these dialects have probably had a fairly complex history of contact with the other dialects. A more precise reconstruction of the history of these dialects must await (1) a deeper examination of the dialects involved, and/or (2) more research into the validity of morphemic differentiae analysis and other methods in dialectological comparisons.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER FOURTEEN

[1] The product-moment correlation coefficient was computed using the formula:

$$r = \frac{\sum(X - \bar{X})(Y - \bar{Y})}{\sqrt{\sum(X - \bar{X})^2(Y - \bar{Y})^2}}$$

where r = the correlation coefficient; X and Y, the specific values of X and Y, respectively; $\bar{X}$ and $\bar{Y}$, the mean values of X and Y, respectively. Each matrix was treated as a vector and values were compared for each pair of dialects. It was impossible to compute the degrees of independence for a matrix; there are, nonetheless, at least eleven degrees of freedom (number of dialects - 1). For eleven degrees of freedom a correlation coefficient of .684 is significant at the 1% level. Cf. Edwards 1967, pp. 101-102, 426.

[2] These tree diagrams, like other tree diagrams in this work, are intended as graphic representations of relative synchronic similarity with regard to particular sets of features. While inferences will be drawn (Chapter 16) about the historical significance of the various trees and the subgroupings they represent, the particular subgrouping is taken to have no inherent historical significance.

The trees are presented in both a full form and a reduced form. The reduced forms are presented again in Chapter 16 for comparison with other trees. The numbers and pairs of parentheses in the reduced tree refer to nodes in the full tree.

15. EXTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS

For the general purposes of the analysis presented in this study, the Bikol area dialects have been treated as a closed set and compared in terms of their relationships with one another. The external relationships of these dialects are nonetheless of considerable interest. It is not possible to include here a comparison with other speech varieties in as complete a detail as that made for the Bikol area dialects alone. Nonetheless available materials make possible a limited comparison with three closely-related speech varieties--Tagalog, Hiligaynon, and Samar-Leyte--on the basis of phonological differences, lexicostatistical percentages for the 100-word Swadesh list, and morphemic differentiae in the paradigmatic classes. For the sake of simplicity, only the Southern dialects and the four dialects of Standard Bikol (Legazpi), Northern Catanduanes, Daraga, and Iriga--representing the extremes within the Bikol area--are included in the comparison.

PHONOLOGY

Map 7 on page 79 shows not only the phonological isoglosses separating the Bikol area dialects but also those separating these dialects from speech varieties outside the Bikol area.[1]

Isogloss 3 (glottal stop clusters) separates Tagalog from all the Bikol area dialects and from Hiligaynon and Samar-Leyte. In Tagalog, *-qC-> -:C-, *-Cq-> -C-. Thus Tag ba:go 'new' (PAN baqaRu?), gabi 'night' (PAN Rabi?i[?h]). Hiligaynon and Samar-Leyte exhibit the same development found in the Southern dialects: *-qC-, -Cq-> -Cq-. Thus Hil, S-L bagqu 'new', gabqi 'night'.

Isogloss 4 (merger of *l, 4, -D-, -Z-, -j-) separates Tagalog and Hiligaynon, on one hand, from the Bikol area dialects and Samar-Leyte,

on the other. Thus: Tag tu:log, Hil tu:lug, S-L tu:rug 'sleep' (PAN tuDuR); Tag, Hil qulan, S-L quran 'rain' (PAN quZaL); Tag, Hil qu:liŋ S-L qu:riŋ 'charcoal' (PAN ʔujiŋ); Tag su:lat, Hil sulat, S-L surat 'to write' (PHN surat); Tag, Hil, S-L pi:liq 'to choose' (PAN piliq).

Isogloss 7 (l clusters) separates Tagalog from the Bikol area dialects and from Hiligaynon and Samar-Leyte. In Tagalog *-lC- > -:C-. Thus Tag qa:raw 'day, sun' (PAN qaLjaw), qa:sim 'sour' (PAN qalsem). Hiligaynon and Samar-Leyte exhibit the same pattern as is found in the Southern dialects: *-lC- > -Cl-. Thus Hil, S-L qadlaw 'day, sun', qaslum 'sour'.

Isogloss 8 (reflexes of *e) separates Tagalog from the Bikol area dialects and from Hiligaynon and Samar-Leyte. In Tagalog the dominant reflex of *e is i : Tag qitim 'black' (PHN qi(n)tem), bigas 'husked rice' (PHN beRas). In Hiligaynon and Samar-Leyte, as in the Southern dialects and Northern Catanduanes, the dominant reflex is u : Hil, S-L qitum 'black', bugas 'husked rice'.

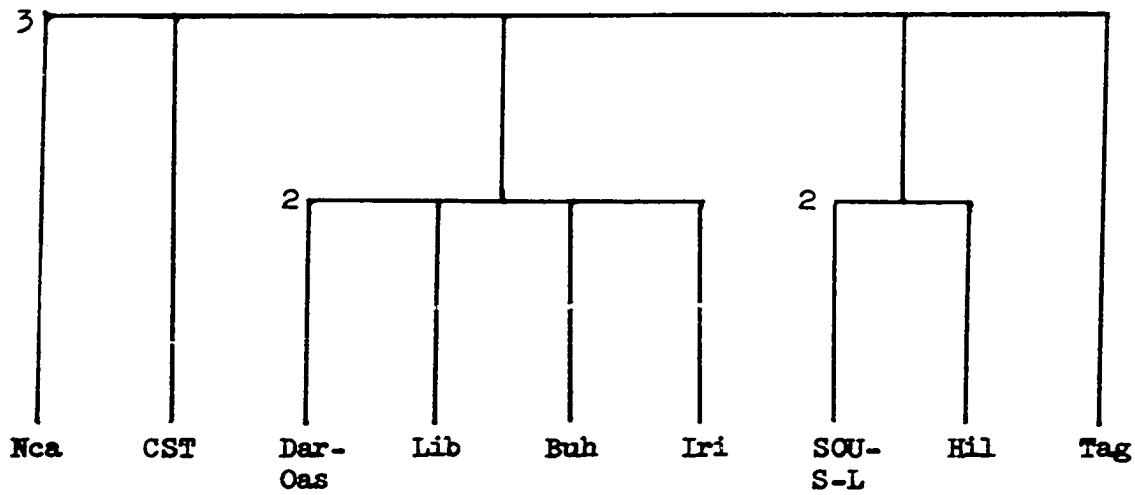
Isogloss 9 (reflexes of intervocalic *d, z) separates Tagalog and Hiligaynon, on the one hand, from the Bikol area dialects and Samar-Leyte on the other. In Tagalog and Hiligaynon *-d-, -z- > -r-; in Samar-Leyte and the Bikol area *-d-, -z-> -d-. Thus Tag, Hil ha:riq, S-L ha:diq 'king' (PHN ha(n)di); Tag ta:riq, Hil tariq, S-L tadiq 'cockspur' (PHN tazi).

There are thus five phonological isoglosses separating Tagalog from the Bikol area dialects and Samar-Leyte. There are three phonological isoglosses separating Tagalog and Hiligaynon. There are two phonological isoglosses separating the Southern dialects and Samar-Leyte from Hiligaynon. There are no phonological isoglosses separating the Southern

dialects from Samar-Leyte.

Thus, on the basis of phonological differences, the Southern dialects enter into a subgroup first with Samar-Leyte, then with Hiligaynon against the other Bikol area dialects. The sharpest boundary among the speech varieties considered is that between Tagalog and Standard Bikol.

Adding the three outside speech varieties to Tree Diagram 2 (p. 81) and disregarding bundles containing only one phonological isogloss yields Tree Diagram 7:



TREE DIAGRAM 7

Tree Diagram 7 is a graphic representation of the interrelationships of these speech varieties which is similar to that presented by the lexicostatistical percentages and morphemic differentiae, to be discussed below. It is, however, a representation which is lacking in detail and which differs in some particulars from the representations based on other types of criteria.

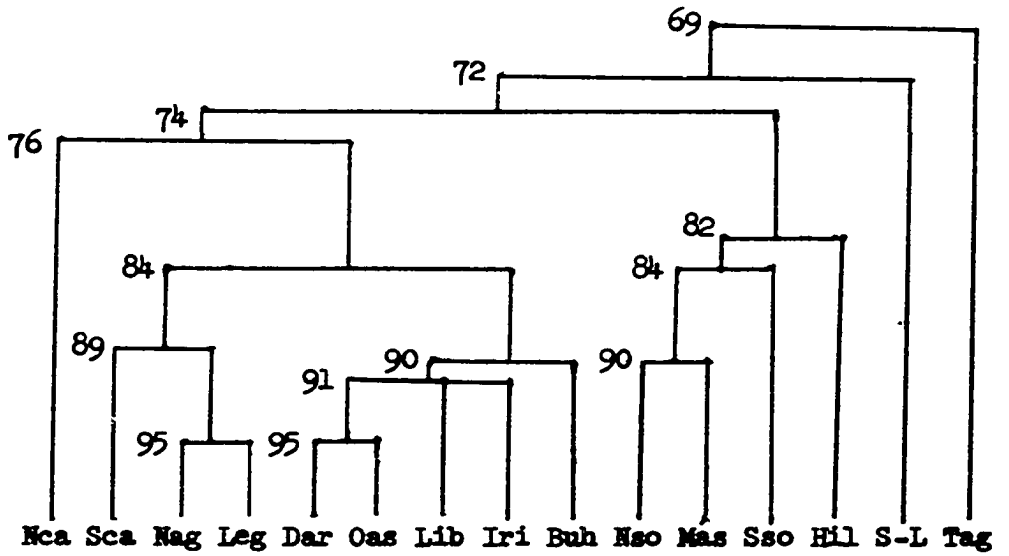
LEXICOSTATISTICS

Lexicostatistical percentages for the 100-word Swadesh list for

the seven Bikol area dialects (Southern dialects, Legazpi, Daraga, Iriga, Northern Catanduanes), Hiligaynon, Samar-Leyte, and Tagalog[2] are shown in Table 26 and presented graphically in Tree Diagram 8.

TABLE 26. 100-WORD SWADESH LIST PERCENTAGES FOR BIKOL AREA DIALECTS, HILIGAYNON, SAMAR-LEYTE, AND TAGALOG

	Nca	Iri	Leg	Dar	Nso	Mas	Sso	Hil	S-L	Tag
Northern Catanduanes	X	62	68	68	67	65	65	60	55	59
Iriga		X	74	85	66	63	60	52	49	62
Legazpi			X	84	70	62	64	52	49	54
Daraga				X	74	66	65	57	54	58
Northern Sorsogon					X	90	84	74	70	65
Masbate						X	78	82	72	69
Southern Sorsogon							X	65	68	63
Hiligaynon								X	72	67
Samar-Leyte									X	58
Tagalog										X



TREE DIAGRAM 8

The most radical difference between Tree Diagram 8 and other tree diagrams presented in this chapter is the position of Samar-Leyte. Tree diagrams 7 (p. 278) and 9 (p. 281) show Samar-Leyte in a subgroup with Hiligaynon and the Southern dialects. The lexicostatistical percentages linking Samar-Leyte with those dialects (S-L-Hil 72%) is actually slightly lower than the percentage linking the Southern dialects with the other Bikol area dialects (Dar-Nso 74%).

It is of particular interest that the lowest percentage between Tagalog and any Bikol area dialect is that with Standard Bikol, the only Bikol area dialect with which Tagalog shares a boundary. The percentage shown on Table 26 (54%) is for Legazpi and Tagalog. Daet, near the language boundary in Camarines Norte, has a percentage of 55% with Tagalog.

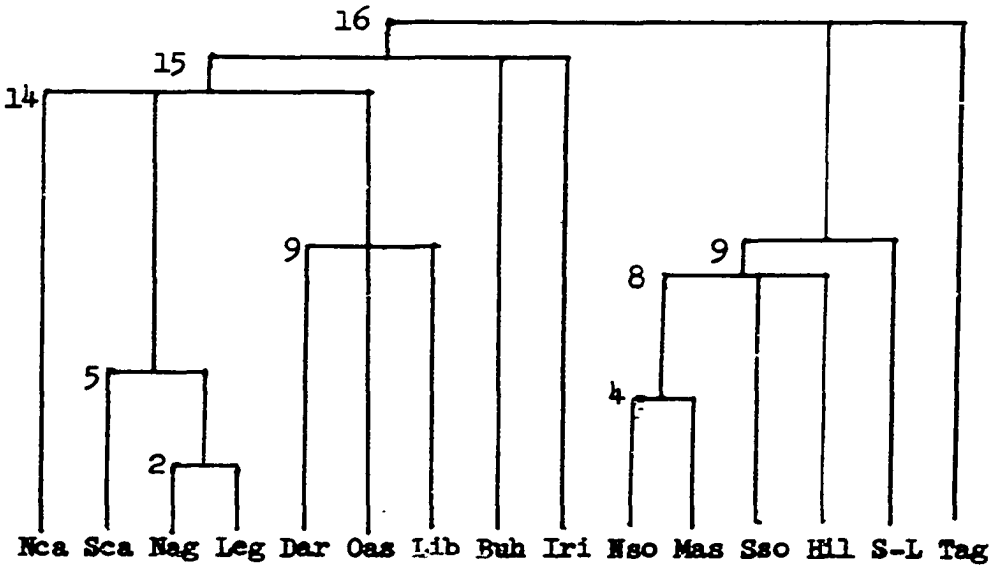
The Southern dialects are closely linked to Hiligaynon. They occupy, nonetheless, a clearly transitional position between the other Bikol area dialects and Bisayan dialects to the south. Thus, while Standard Bikol has approximately equal percentages with Tagalog (54%) and Hiligaynon (52%), there is a chain of dialects linking Standard Bikol and Hiligaynon, such that 75% (Dar-Nso) is the lowest percentage for any link in the chain. Between Standard Bikol and Tagalog, there is no such chain, except by way of Masbate and Hiligaynon.

On the basis of lexicostatistical percentages, the ten speech varieties compared appear as a long chain with Standard Bikol at one end, Tagalog at the other end, and Hiligaynon and Masbate in the middle.

MORPHEMIC DIFFERENTIAE

Table 27 (pages 285-293) presents a comparison of paradigmatic-class morphemes in the seven Bikol area dialects, Hiligaynon, Samar-

Leyte, and Tagalog,[3] together with a discussion of sets of morphemic differentiae that were observed. The total number of sets of morphemic differentiae in the paradigmatic classes for these ten speech varieties are shown in Table 28 (page 282) and presented graphically in Tree Diagram 9.



TREE DIAGRAM 9

As in other trees in this chapter, the Southern dialects enter into a close subgrouping with Hiligaynon. In contrast to Tree Diagram 8 (page 279), Samar-Leyte appears here as a coordinate member of that subgroup. The problem of the position of Samar-Leyte is similar to that of the position of Buhi and Iriga (page 271), and subject to the same types of explanation.

The figure (16) linking Tagalog and Northern Catanduanes is a bit puzzling. Tagalog's figures with other dialects are all quite high, but somewhat lower with those dialects (e.g. Hiligaynon) with which it shows relatively higher lexicostatistical percentages (see page 279). A number of factors may have contributed to the low figure with Northern

TABLE 28.

TOTAL MORPHEMIC DIFFERENTIAE FOR THE PARADIGMATIC CLASSES FOR BIKOL AREA DIALECTS, HILIGAYNON, SAMAR-LEYTE, AND TAGALOG

	Nca	Iri	Leg	Dar	Mas	Nso	Sso	Hil	S-L	Tag
Northern Catanduanes	PP 5 DP 6 NM 7 VI 3	7 5 3 2	6 5 2 3	4 5 5 4	5 5 5 4	3 4 5 4	2 6 6 4	4 5 5 5	5 1 6 4
Iriga	21	PP 5 DP 7 NM 6 VI 1	5 2 6 3	7 6 8 5	7 6 8 3	6 5 8 3	5 7 8 4	7 5 8 3	9 6 8 2
Legazpi	17	19	PP 4 DP 7 NM 2 VI 3	6 6 5 4	5 6 5 2	5 5 5 2	7 7 6 4	8 6 5 3	11 5 6 2
Daraga	16	16	16	PP 5 DP 4 NM 5 VI 5	4 4 5 5	7 3 5 5	5 5 6 3	7 3 5 4	8 5 6 3
Masbate	18	26	21	19	PP 1 DP 0 NM 1 VI 2	5 2 1 2	2 1 3 2	2 3 1 3	6 5 5 5
Northern Sorsogon	19	24	18	18	4	PP 6 DP 2 NM 0 VI 0	3 1 3 4	3 3 0 3	7 5 5 3
Southern Sorsogon	16	22	17	20	10	8	PP 5 DP 3 NM 3 VI 4	5 2 0 3	7 4 5 3
Hiligaynon	18	24	24	19	8	11	15	PP 2 DP 4 NM 3 VI 1	4 6 3 3
Samar-Leyte	19	23	22	19	9	9	10	10	PP 6 DP 5 NM 5 VI 2
Tagalog	16	25	24	22	21	20	19	16	18	PP DP NM VI

PP = Personal pronouns; DP = Deictic pronouns; NM = PME and CME markers; VI = Verbal inflections for aspect.

Catanduanes, in addition to the factors discussed on pages 272-273.

First, all of the figures for Northern Catanduanes are relatively low (16-21). This may indicate a greater conservatism on the part of this dialect. In the sets of morphemic differentiae listed in Table 27, Northern Catanduanes usually appears among the group of dialects sharing the largest cognate set.

Second, the figure for Tagalog and Northern Catanduanes is heavily affected by the extraordinary agreement in deictic pronouns between these two speech varieties (see pages 288-89), an agreement not shared by any other of the speech varieties compared. It seems likely that this agreement is fortuitous.

Finally, it is obvious that morphemic differentiae analysis will be most effective for speech varieties whose syntactic and morphological structures are highly similar. As these structures are more different, the analysis is more difficult and less reliable. While the syntactic and morphological structures of the speech varieties compared are all very similar, it may be that differences between Tagalog and the Bikol area dialects were great enough to affect this analysis.

SUMMARY

Two conclusions appear clearly from the data presented in this chapter. First, there is no evidence of a direct transition between Standard Bikol and Tagalog. On the basis of all types of data these two speech varieties are among the most different of the speech varieties compared.

Second, the Southern dialects are clearly Bisayan, entering into a subgroup with Hiligaynon, and probably Samar-Leyte.[4] If the reports of mutual intelligibility between Northern Sorsogon, on one hand, and

Standard Bikol and Daraga, on the other, are true, the Bikol area dialects all belong to the chain of dialects known as Bisayan. If these reports are not true, then the boundary between Northern Sorsogon and Standard Bikol constitutes a language boundary between Bisayan and Bikol. The resolution of this question awaits further study.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER FIFTEEN

[1] Cf. Llamzon 1969, pp. 16-17.

[2] Data for Hiligaynon, Samar-Leyte, and Tagalog are from lists used by Dyen in computing cognation percentages for the Austronesian family. Cf. Dyen 1965.

[3] Data for Hiligaynon are from Wolfenden 1971 and Kaufmann 1939. Data for Samar-Leyte are from Wolff 1967. Data for Tagalog are from Schachter 1972.

[4] Zorc (forthcoming) identifies this subgroup as Central Bisayan.

TABLE 27. COMPARISON OF PARADIGMATIC-CLASS MORPHEMES IN BIKOL AREA DIALECTS, HILIGAYNON, SAMAR-LEYTE, AND TAGALOG

	Nca	Iri	Leg	Dar	Mas	Nso	Sso	S-L	Hil	Tag
A. Personal pronouns--nominative case										
'I'	qaku	qaku	qaku	qaku	qaku	qaku	qaku	qaku	qaku	qako
'you' (sg)	qikaw	qika	qika	qika	qikaw	qikaw	qikaw	qikaw	qikaw	qikaw
'he'	siya	qiya	sya	sya	siya	siya	siya	hiya	siya	siya
'we' (incl)	kita	kita	kita	kita	kita	kita	kita	kita	kita	ta:yo
'we' (excl)	kami	kami	kami	kami	kami	kami	kami	kami	kami	kami
'you' (pl)	kamu	kamu	kamu	kamu	kamu	kamu	kamu	kamu	kamu	kayo
'they'	si:la	sira	sinda	sinda	sinda	sinda	si:ra	hira	sila	sila
B. Personal pronouns--genitive case										
'my'	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku	na:kun / ku	na:kun / ku	ko
'your' (sg)	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	ni:mu / mu	ni:mu / mu	mo
'his'	ni:ya	nya	nya	nya	ni:ya	ni:ya	ni:ya	ni:ya	ni:ya	niya
'our' (incl)	na:tuq	ta	ta	ta	na:tun	na:tun	ta	na:tun	na:tun	na:tin
'our' (excl)	na:muq	na:miq	mi	na:min	na:mun	na:mun	mi	na:mun	na:mun	na:min
'your' (pl)	ninyu	ninyu	nindu	ninyu	ni:yu	ni:yu	ni:yu	ni:yu	ninyu	ninyo
'their'	ni:la	nira	ninda	ninda	ninda	ninda	ni:ra	ni:ra	ni:la	nila

	Nca	Iri	Leg	Dar	Mas	Nso	Sso	S-L	Hil	Tag
C. Personal pronouns--oblique case										
'me'	qa:kuq	kanakiq	sakuq	saqkin	qa:kun	saqa:kun	qa:kuq	qa:kun	qa:kun	qa:kin
'you' (sg)	qi:mu	kanimu	saqi:mu	siqmu	qi:mu	saqi:mu	qi:mu	qi:mu	qi:mu	qiyo
'him'	ki:ya	kanya	saqi:ya	sanya	qi:ya	saqi:ya	kani:ya	qi:ya	qi:ya	kanya
'us' (incl)	qa:tuq	kanatiq	satuq	saqtin	qa:tun	saqa:tun	qa:tuq	qa:tun	qa:tun	qa:tin
'us' (excl)	qa:muq	kanamiq	samuq	saqmin	qa:mun	saqa:mun	qa:muq	qa:mun	qa:mun	qa:min
'you' (pl)	qinyu	kaninyu	saqindu	saqinyu	qi:yu	saqi:yu	qi:yu	qi:yu	qinyu	qinyo
'they'	ki:la	kanda	saqinda	sanda	qinda	saqinda	kani:ra	qi:ra	qi:la	kanila

Morphemic differentiae for personal pronouns:

1. (1) MOST qikaw :: (2) Leg, Dar, Iri qika 'you (sg)' (nominative case).

2. (1) MOST s- :: (2) S-L h-. In many forms in the paradigmatic classes, Samar-Leyte has h- where the other speech varieties have s-; e.g. S-L hiya 'he, she', hira 'they'. This is not a regular phonological correspondence. It is a morphemic difference, and thus the basis for a set of morphemic differentiae. This difference is included among the differentiae for personal pronouns; it also appears in the paradigms for deictic pronouns, PNE and CNE markers. It will not be counted again there.

3. (1) MOST kita :: (2) Tag ta:yo 'we (incl)' (nominative case).

4. (1) MOST kamu :: (2) Tag kayo 'we (excl)' (nominative case).

5. (1) MOST ∅- :: (2) Leg, Dar, Nso sa- :: (3) Iri kan- -- prefix for oblique case (see p. 140,

2.).

6. (1) Leg -indu :: (2) Nca, Dar, Iri, Hil -inyu, Tag -inyo :: (3) SOU, S-L -i:yu -- base for genitive and oblique forms in the second plural (see p. 140, 3.).

7. (1) Leg, Dar, Nso, Mas -inda :: (2) Sso, S-L -i:ra, Iri -ira, Nca, Hil, Tag -i(:)la -- base for third plural forms (see p. 140, 4.).

8. (1) MOST s(i)ya :: (2) Iri qiya 'he, she' (nominative case)

9. (1) MOST oblique case marker shown in 5. :: (2) Dar san- :: (3) Nca k- :: (4) Sso, Tag kan- -- oblique prefix for third person forms (see p. 141, 6.). (By set of differentiae 6a. on page 141, set of differentiae 9. here is not taken to apply to Northern Catanduanes and Southern Sorsogon.)

10. (1) MOST -n :: (2) Leg, Nca, Iri, Sso -q -- final consonant in oblique forms for first singular and first plural (inclusive and exclusive) (see p. 143, 7.).

11. (1) MOST n- + oblique prefix :: (2) Leg, Dar, Iri, Sso ta 'our (inclusive)' (genitive case) (see p. 144, 8.).

12. (1) MOST n- + oblique prefix :: (2) Leg, Sso mi 'our (exclusive)' (genitive case) (see p. 144, 9.).

13. (1) MOST -i:mu :: (2) Tag -iyo -- base for genitive and oblique forms in the second singular.

	Nca	Iri	Leg	Dar	Mas	Nso	Sso	S-L	Hil	Tag
D. Deictic pronouns--nominative case										
'this' (near speaker)	qitu	qadi	qini	qaqdi	qini	qini	qini	{qadi qini}	qini	qito
'that' (near addressee)	yaqan	qan	qiyan	qan	qinaq	qinaq	yuqun	qitun	qinaq	qiyan
'that' (remote)	yuqun	qadtu	qitu	qadtu	qidtu	qidtu	qidtu	qadtu	qatu	qiyon
E. Deictic pronouns--genitive case										
'this' (near speaker)	nintu	kadi	kaqini	saqdi	sini	sani	sani	{hadi hini}	sini	nito
'that' (near addressee)	ninyan	kan	kaqiyan	san	sinaq	sanaq	suqun	hitu	sinaq	niyan
'that' (remote)	ninyun	kadtu	kaqitu	sadtu	sidtu	sadtu	sadtu	hadtu	sadtu	noqon
F. Deictic pronouns--oblique case										
'here' (near speaker)	ditu	sa:di	digdi	didi	didi	didi	dini	{didi dinhi}	diri	di:to
'there' (near addressee)	dinyan	san	diyan	diyan	didaq	didaq	duqun	didaq	diraq	diyan
'there' (remote)	dinyun	sadtu	duman	didtu	didtu	didtu	didtu	didtu	didtu	doqon

Morphemic differentiae for deictic pronouns:

1. (1) MOST (incl. S-L) -ni :: (2) Dar, Iri, S-L -di :: (3) Nca -tu, Tag -to -- base for 'this' (near speaker) (see p. 153, l.).

2. (1) Leg, Tag -iyan, Nca ya(qa)n :: (2) Iri, Dar -an :: (3) Mas, Nso, Hil -naq :: (4) Sso

-uqun :: (5) S-L -itu(n) -- base for 'that' (near addressee) (see p. 153, 2.).

3. (1) MOST -dtu :: (2) Leg -tu :: (3) Nca -yu(qu)n, Tag -ogon -- base for 'that (remote)' (see p. 153, 3.).

4. (1) MOST qi- (or y-) :: (2) Dar, Iri qa- -- nominative case prefix (see p. 153, 4.).

5. (1) MOST s(a)-, S-L h- :: (2) Leg, Iri ka- :: (3) Tag n- :: (4) Nca nin- -- genitive case prefix (see p. 153, 5.).

6. (1) MOST d- :: (2) Iri sa- -- oblique case prefix (see p. 153, 6.).

7. (1) Mas, Nso oblique base with -d-, Hil oblique base with -r- :: (2) Others bases shown in 1. and 2. (see p. 153, 7.).

Other forms not accounted for by an analysis into case prefix and base:

8. Hil qatu 'that' (remote).

9. Leg digdi 'here' (near speaker)'.

10. S-L didaq 'there' (near addressee)'.

11. Leg duman 'there' (remote)'.

G. PNE markers--singular

	Nca	Iri	Dar	Mas	Nso	Sso	S-L	Hil	Tag
Nom.	si	si	si	si	si	si	si	hi	si	si
Gen.	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni
Obl.	ki	ki	ki	ki	kan	kan	kan	kan	kay	kay

	Nca	Iri	Leg	Dar	Mas	Nso	Sso	S-L	Hil	Tag
H. PNE markers--plural										
Nom.	sa	sira si	sa	sa	sinda	sira	sira	hi:ra	sanday	sina
Gen.	na	nira ni	na	na	ninda	nira	nira	ni:ra	nanday	nina
Obl.	ka	kanda ki	ka	ka	kanda	kanda	kanda	kanda	kanday	kina

Morphemic differentiae for PNE markers:

1. (1) Leg, Nca, Dar, Iri ki :: (2) SOU, S-L kan :: (3) Hil, Tag kay -- oblique case singular PNE marker.

2. Plural forms -- (1) Leg, Nca, Dar case prefix + -a :: (2) Iri 3rd pl. personal pronoun + sg. PNE marker :: (3) Mas sg. PNE marker + -nda :: (4) Nso, Sso, S-L sg. PNE marker + -(i)ra :: (5) Hil case prefix + -anday :: (6) Tag case prefix + -ina (see p. 158, 2.).

	Nca	Iri	Leg	Dar	Mas	Nso	Sso	S-L	Hil	Tag
I. CNE markers--nominative case										
Def.	qan	qa	qan	qan	qun	qan	qan	qan	qaŋ	qaŋ
Spec.	yu	su	su	su						
J. CNE markers--genitive case										
Indef.	nin	sa	ki	nin	sin	sin	sin	hin	siŋ	naŋ
Def.	ninyu	ka / ku	kan	mu	san	san	san	han	saŋ	

	Nca	Iri	Leg	Dar	Mas	Nso	Sso	S-L	Hil	Tag
K. CNE markers--oblique case										
Indef.	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa
Def.		(obl. deictic)								

Morphemic differentiae for CNE markers:

1. (1) MOST -n :: (2) Hil, Tag -ŋ :: (3) Iri -ø. This set of differentiae applies to all dialects for the nominative definite form (MOST qan, Iri qa, Hil, Tag qaŋ). For some dialects the difference also appears in other forms; e.g. SOU sin, Hil siŋ.

2. Nominative specific -- (1) MOST ø :: (2) Leg, Dar, Iri su :: (3) Nca yu. The same result is achieved if we take the difference in number of CNE markers in the nominative case as the basis for a set of differentiae (MOST 1 nominative CNE marker :: Leg, Dar, Iri, Nca 2 nominative CNE markers), and count differences within the latter set.

3. Genitive indefinite -- (1) Leg ki :: (2) Nca, Dar nin :: (3) Iri sa :: (4) SOU sin, S-L hin, Hil siŋ :: (5) Tag ø. The same result is achieved if Tag naŋ is associated with this set rather than the genitive definite set.

4. Genitive definite -- (1) Leg kan :: (2) Nca ninyu :: (3) Dar nu :: (4) Iri ka :: (5) SOU san, S-L han, Hil saŋ :: (6) Tag naŋ.

5. Genitive specific -- (1) MOST ø :: (2) Iri ku (see p. 170, 5.).

6. Oblique definite -- (1) MOST sa :: (2) Iri oblique case deictic pronoun (see p. 171).

Verbal Inflections

The complete verbal inflections will not be listed here. I will simply state the sets of morphemic differentiae which were observed in the mag-, -un (-in, -on, -in), gi-, -an, and the three pag- inflections. The -um- inflection is not included in this comparison since it is incomplete in the Bikol area dialects and several of the Bisayan dialects. The following sets of morphemic differentiae were observed:

1. (1) Leg, Nca, Dar, Iri pig- :: (2) SOU, S-L, Hil gin- :: (3) Tag pinag- -- prefix for perfective and imperfective in the pag- inflections. E.g., Leg, Nca, Dar, Iri pigsu:rat :: SOU ginsu:rat, S-L ginsurat, Hil ginsulat :: Tag pinagsu:lat 'was written'.

2. (1) MOST -in- :: (2) SOU qin- -- affix for perfective and imperfective in the -un (-in, -on, -in), gi- and -an inflections. E.g., Leg, Nca, Dar, Iri sinu:rat, S-L simurat, Hil sinulat, Tag simu:lat :: SOU qinsu:rat 'was written'.

3. (1) MOST -R- :: (2) Dar, Mas, Hil -a-, Nca -a:- -- affix for imperfective and contemplated in the mag- and pag- inflections. E.g., Leg, Iri pigsusu:rat, Nso, Sso ginsusu:rat, S-L ginsusurat, Tag pinagsu:su:lat :: Nca piga:su:rat, Dar pigasu:rat, Mas ginasu:rat, Hil ginasulat 'being written'.

4. Contemplated form in the mag- inflection --(1) Leg, Nca, SOU ma:- :: (2) Iri mig- :: (3) Dar, Hil mag- + -a-, S-L, Tag mag- + -R- (see 3.). E.g., Leg, Nca, SOU ma:su:rat :: Iri migsu:rat :: Dar magasu:rat, Hil magasulat, S-L magsusurat, Tag magsu:su:lat 'will write'.

5. Imperfective form in the mag- inflection -- (1) MOST nag- + morphemes listed in 3. :: (2)

Nca ga:-. E.g. Leg, Iri, Nso, Sso nagsusu:rat, Dar, Mas nagasu:rat, S-L nagsusurat, Hil nagasulat, Tag nagsu:su:lat :: Nca ga:su:rat 'writing'.

6. Imperfective in the -un (-in, -on, -in), gi- and -an inflections -- (1) MOST -in- or gin- + morphemes listed in 3. :: (2) Dar -i:-. E.g., Ieg, Nca, Iri sinusu:rat, SOU ginsusu:rat, Tag sinu:su:lat :: Dar si:su:rat 'being written'.

7. (1) MOST gi- + pag- :: (2) Mas, S-L, Hil gig- :: basic form and contemplated aspect in the gi-pag- inflection. E.g. MOST gipagsu:rat, Tag gipagsu:lat :: Mas gigsu:rat, S-L gigsurat, Hil gigsulat 'to be written'.

16. CONCLUSION

The Bikol region is a political bloc of six Philippine provinces--Camarines Sur, Albay, Sorsogon, Masbate, Catanduanes, and Camarines Norte, all on or near the Bikol peninsula of southeast Luzon. The Bikol area includes all parts of the Bikol region in which the dominant speech varieties have been classified as Bikol. Parts of the Bikol region excluded from the Bikol area are (1) the western part of Camarines Norte and the town of Del Gallego in Camarines Sur, where Tagalog is the predominant language, and (2) southern Masbate, where Hiligaynon and Cebuano are reported to be predominant languages. Northern Masbate and southern Sorsogon are included, even though some scholars have treated the dominant speech varieties there as non-Bikol.

Two sets of data were collected with regard to the speech varieties of the Bikol area. A primary data set was collected from sixty-seven towns and consisted of a list containing four hundred basic lexical items (including the Swadesh 100-word list), personal and deictic pronouns, numerals, negators and interrogatives. On the basis of material extracted from the primary data set,[1] the towns of the Bikol area were grouped into eleven relatively clearly-marked dialect areas: Northern Catanduanes, Southern Catanduanes, Standard Bikol, Daraga, Oas, Libon, Iriga, Buhi, Northern Sorsogon, Masbate, Southern Sorsogon.

These eleven dialect areas were further classified on the basis of the same extract of data into the following four subgroups:

1. Northern Catanduanes
2. Coastal dialects (Southern Catanduanes, Standard Bikol)
3. Inland dialects (Daraga, Oas, Libon, Iriga, Buhi)
4. Southern dialects (Northern Sorsogon, Masbate, Southern

Sorsogon).

A secondary data set was collected from one or two selected towns in each dialect area, with the exception of the Standard Bikol dialect area. Because of the extensive size of this dialect area and the range of divergence to be found within it, two secondary data sets were collected in the Standard Bikol area: one from Naga City and the immediate vicinity, one from Legazpi City and the immediate vicinity. This data set consisted primarily of sentence translations and tape-recorded narratives, and was the source for verbal inflections, nominal expression markers, and general syntactic structures.

For each dialect area, and for Naga City and Legazpi City, the two data sets were combined into a composite data set, from which was extracted five different sets of linguistic features:

(1) phonological features

(2) basic lexical items on the 100-word Swadesh list

(3) basic lexical items on the 400-word list

(4) restricted-class morphemes in paradigms; these morpheme classes constitute the paradigmatic classes

(5) other restricted-class morphemes; these morpheme classes constitute the non-paradigmatic classes.

The features within each of these sets were taken to be structurally similar and quantitatively comparable. The phonological features were compared to determine the regular reflexes of proto-phonemes within each dialect, and to determine the regular correspondence relationships which hold among the various dialects. Basic lexical items were compared lexicostatistically and then were searched for putative common lexical innovations. The morphemes within each restricted class were

compared to determine sets of morphemic differentiae (see Chapter 6). The sets of morphemic differentiae were totaled within each class, and collectively for the paradigmatic and non-paradigmatic classes, respectively.

These comparisons yielded the following six sets of subgrouping criteria:

(1) numbers of coinciding phonological isoglosses involving diachronic mergers

(2) lexicostatistical percentages for the 100-word Swadesh list

(3) lexicostatistical percentages for the 400-word list

(4) numbers of putative common lexical innovations

(5) numbers of sets of morphemic differentiae in the paradigmatic classes

(6) numbers of sets of morphemic differentiae in the non-paradigmatic classes

Each of these sets of criteria determines a subgrouping. Each of these subgroupings, except that based on putative common lexical innovations, has been summarized graphically in the form of a tree diagram. These five tree diagrams are presented again in reduced form on Table 29.[2] The numbers of putative common lexical innovations do not lend themselves to presentation in a tree diagram. These numbers nevertheless suggest the subgrouping of the Coastal dialects together, of Northern and Southern Catanduanes together, and the subgrouping of the Southern dialects with Bisayan dialects such as Hiligaynon and Samar-Leyte. To some extent these data also suggest a subgrouping of the Inland dialects together, and a grouping of the Inland and Coastal

TABLE 29

COMPARISON OF TREE DIAGRAMS

A. Based on phonological isoglosses (p. 81)

Nca $\overset{1}{-}$ (Sca $\overset{2}{-}$ Nag $\overset{2}{-}$ Leg) $\overset{1}{-}$ ((Dar $\overset{4}{-}$ Oas $\overset{4}{-}$ Lib) $\overset{3}{-}$ Iri $\overset{3}{-}$ Buh) $\overset{1}{-}$ (Nso $\overset{6}{-}$ Mas $\overset{6}{-}$ Sso)

B. Based on lexicostatistical percentages for the 100-word Swadesh list (p. 87)

(Nca $\overset{2}{-}$ ((Sca $\overset{4}{-}$ (Nag $\overset{5}{-}$ Leg)) $\overset{3}{-}$ (((Dar $\overset{8}{-}$ Oas) $\overset{7}{-}$ Lib $\overset{7}{-}$ Iri) $\overset{6}{-}$ Buh))) $\overset{1}{-}$ ((Nso $\overset{10}{-}$ Mas) $\overset{9}{-}$ Sso)

C. Based on lexicostatistical percentages for the 400-word list (p. 87)

(Nca $\overset{2}{-}$ ((Sca $\overset{4}{-}$ (Nag $\overset{5}{-}$ Leg) $\overset{4}{-}$ ((Dar $\overset{7}{-}$ Oas) $\overset{6}{-}$ Lib)) $\overset{3}{-}$ Iri $\overset{3}{-}$ Buh) $\overset{1}{-}$ (Nso $\overset{8}{-}$ Mas $\overset{8}{-}$ Sso)

D. Based on morphemic differentiae in the paradigmatic classes (p. 268)

((Nca $\overset{3}{-}$ (Sca $\overset{4}{-}$ (Nag $\overset{5}{-}$ Leg)) $\overset{3}{-}$ (Dar $\overset{6}{-}$ Oas $\overset{6}{-}$ Lib)) $\overset{2}{-}$ Buh $\overset{2}{-}$ Iri) $\overset{1}{-}$ ((Nso $\overset{8}{-}$ Mas) $\overset{7}{-}$ Sso)

E. Based on morphemic differentiae in the non-paradigmatic classes (p. 269)

(Nca $\overset{2}{-}$ ((Sca $\overset{4}{-}$ Leg) $\overset{3}{-}$ Nag) $\overset{2}{-}$ (((Dar $\overset{7}{-}$ (Oas $\overset{9}{-}$ Lib)) $\overset{6}{-}$ Buh) $\overset{5}{-}$ Iri)) $\overset{1}{-}$ ((Nso $\overset{10}{-}$ Mas) $\overset{9}{-}$ Sso)

dialects and Northern Catanduanes together.

The general appearance of the subgroupings based on the different sets of criteria is substantially the same. There are however a number of details in which there are varying degrees of agreement among the various subgroupings.

Subgroupings based on all six sets of criteria indicate that a high degree of diversity obtains between the Southern dialects on the one hand and the other Bikol area dialects on the other.

On the basis of phonological differences, putative lexical innovations, and morphemic differentiae, the Coastal dialects form a distinct subgroup. Lexicostatistical percentages based on the 100-word Swadesh list show these dialects as a relatively distinct group, but having a high-percentage link with the Inland dialects. Percentages for the 400-word list show the Coastal and Inland dialects merged into a single chain.

Putative common lexical innovations tend to indicate a grouping together of Northern and Southern Catanduanes. On the basis of all other criteria Northern Catanduanes forms a subgroup by itself.

Phonological differences, lexicostatistical percentages for the 100-word Swadesh list, morphemic differentiae for the non-paradigmatic classes, and to some extent putative lexical innovations indicate that the Inland dialects form a subgroup. On the basis of the remaining criteria, the three dialects of Daraga, Oas, and Libon are closely associated; Buhi and Iriga appear in a number of different relationships vis-a-vis these three dialects and other Bikol area dialects.

Lexicostatistical percentages and to some extent putative common lexical innovations tend to indicate that the Inland and Coastal dialects

together form a subgroup. On the basis of phonological differences and morphemic differentiae, the difference between the Inland and Coastal dialects is about as great as the difference between those dialects and Northern Catanduanes and the Southern dialects.

The comparison was ultimately extended to three speech varieties lying outside the Bikol area--Hiligaynon, Samar-Leyte, and Tagalog. This extended comparison indicated (1) that the Southern dialects belong to the Central Bisayan subgroup, of which Hiligaynon and Samar-Leyte are members, and (2) that both Tagalog and Standard Bikol are more similar to Central Bisayan than they are to each other.

The large amount of difference between the Southern dialects and the other Bikol area dialects with regard to all sets of criteria indicates an early separation between the antecedents of these groups of dialects, probably more than a millenium ago.[3] These groups may have had very little contact with each other until the twentieth century, during which population expansion, the development of an extensive highway system, and the advent of mass communications media created the conditions for a high level of intergroup contact.

This split may not, however, have been the first to appear in the Bikol area. The degree of difference between Northern and Southern Catanduanes is of the same order of magnitude as that between the Southern dialects and the other Bikol area dialects. Thus the Northern Catanduanes speech community appears to have passed through a long period of isolation from all other dialects.

A rugged mountainous area runs completely across Catanduanes from east to west. Coastwise communication is difficult, since these coasts are directly exposed to the Pacific Ocean. Thus even in their present

locations there may have been little communication between the Northern and Southern Catanduanes communities prior to the construction of roads over the mountains in the present century. The convergence observed in the basic lexicon could be the result of increased contact since that time.

Alternatively, the Northern Catanduanes speech community perhaps constituted the sole residents of the island of Catanduanes for a period of time prior to the arrival of the Southern Catanduanes community. Although Catanduanes is connected by water with the Standard Bikol area, the passage to the island requires crossing open sea. Before the advent of motorized boats, Catanduanes was probably quite isolated from the mainland.

The high degree of similarity between Southern Catanduanes and Standard Bikol seems to indicate a fairly late migration, probably within the last five hundred years,[4] of a portion of the Standard Bikol community to the southern portion of Catanduanes. The degree of difference observed between these two dialects in phonology and basic lexicon would seem to indicate a separation of at least two or three hundred years.

There is no evidence of any disruption of communication among the communities sharing the Standard Bikol dialect. This dialect area, however, includes both coastal areas, where the maintenance of a high level of contact is expected, and remote areas, where it is not. Thus the settlement of the Caramoan peninsula in eastern Camarines Sur and the Bikol-speaking portions of Camarines Norte probably occurred within the last century. The absence of any type of transition between Tagalog and Bikol in Camarines Norte also suggests very late contact in that

area.

The degree of difference between the Inland and Coastal dialects with regard to morphemic differentiae is of the same order of magnitude as that separating these dialects from Northern Catanduanes and the Southern dialects, respectively. With regard to lexicostatistics the difference between the Inland and Coastal dialects is markedly less. This perhaps indicates that the initial separation between these groups dates from the same period as the separation from Northern Catanduanes and the Southern dialects, but that there have been higher levels and/or longer periods of contact between the Inland and Coastal dialects since the initial separation.

Likewise the data indicates that the initial divergence among the Inland dialects perhaps began at about the same time as the earliest splits in the Bikol area. Since that time, however, there appears to have been a complicated history of contacts among these dialects, reflected in the differences in the subgroupings based on different types of criteria.

The high degree of similarity between Northern Sorsogon and Masbate could be explained as due to (1) a late migration from Masbate to the present location of Sorsogon town at the head of Sorsogon Bay or (2) the maintenance of close contact between the two communities following separation. In contrast to the waters around Catanduanes, the channel between Masbate and Sorsogon is part of an inland sea--being separated from the open sea by islands--and is easily navigated. Southern Sorsogon perhaps split off from the other Central Bisayan dialects prior to the separation of Northern Sorsogon from Masbate. Alternatively the predecessors of the speakers of the the Southern Sorsogon dialect might have

moved to a relatively remote location, where they had little contact with Masbate.

This study entailed the development and first application of morphemic differentiae analysis. It is the reconciliation of evidence provided by this analysis with lexicostatistical evidence which forms the basis for the foregoing interpretation. The high degree of agreement between the sets of evidence tends to indicate the validity of both sets for dialectological comparison. Insofar as the two sets disagree, these disagreements may be due to the differential effects of historical developments on various types of linguistic feature. Alternatively, these differences are perhaps due to weaknesses or limitations of either or both methods of analysis. As morphemic differentiae analysis is applied to other sets of dialects, it should be possible to evaluate it more fully as a tool for dialectological research. If it proves to be an effective tool, morphemic differentiae analysis can be helpful in reconstructing the historical development of well-differentiated dialects and closely related languages, more reliably than is now possible.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER SIXTEEN

[1] Only the 100-word Swadesh list, and not the full 400-word list, was included in this data extract, so that approximately equal weight was given to lexical and non-lexical features (see page 16).

[2] Each pair of parentheses in the reduced trees corresponds to a node in the full-trees. Each node has a number which appears above the hyphen(s) separating the branches which are joined at that node. The nodes are numbered in such a way that the number assigned to each node is larger than the numbers of all nodes which dominate the given node.

[3] Based on an 86% retention rate for the 100-word Swadesh list for 1000 years, a cognation percentage of 74% (Nso-Dar) represents approximately 1000 years of separation. Cf. Hymes 1960.

[4] Based on an 86% retention rate for the 100-word Swadesh list for 1000 years, a cognation percentage of 86% represents a separation of approximately 500 years. This is slightly less than the pereentages linking Southern Catanduanes with Standard Bikol (Sca-Nag 87%, Sca-Leg 89%).

APPENDIX A
SPEAKERS OF BIKOL AND OTHER MAJOR LANGUAGES IN THE SIX PROVINCES OF THE BIKOL REGION
(in thousands of speakers)

Albay

Bikol	509.5	(99.0% of province)
Tagalog	2.6	(0.5%)

Camarines Norte

Bikol	95.7	(50.9% of province)
Tagalog	87.9	(46.8%)
Cebuano	1.3	(0.7%)

Camarines Sur

Bikol	781.9	(95.4% of province)
Tagalog	32.0	(3.9%)

Catanduanes

Bikol	155.5	(99.5% of province)

Masbate

Masbate	136.0	(40.5% of province)
Cebuano	107.3	(32.0%)
Bikol	62.4	(18.6%)
Hiligaynon	29.6	(8.8%)
Samar	1.3	(0.4%)

Sorsogon

Bikol	344.4	(99.1% of province)
Tagalog	1.1	(0.3%)

Source: Wernstedt and Spencer 1967, pp. 622-624.

APPENDIX B
SPEAKERS OF BIKOL IN PROVINCES OUTSIDE THE BIKOL REGION
(in thousands of speakers)

Manila	46.2	(4.1% of province)
Rizal	44.8	(3.1% of province)
Quezon	38.0	(5.8% of province)
Laguna	5.7	(1.2% of province)
Bulacan	3.1	(0.6% of province)
Cotabato	3.0	(0.3% of province)
Palawan	1.9	(1.2% of province)
Pampanga	1.4	(0.2% of province)
Zambales	1.3	(0.6% of province)
Cavite	1.2	(0.3% of province)
Batangas	1.0	(0.1% of province)
Davao	1.0	(0.1% of province)
Nueva Ecija	1.0	(0.2% of province)
Oriental Mindoro	1.0	(1.2% of province)

(Other provinces have fewer than 1000 speakers of Bikol.)

Source: Wernstedt and Spencer 1967, pp. 622-624.

APPENDIX C

100-WORD SWADESH LISTS

FOR THE BIKOL AREA DIALECTS

	all	ashes	bark	belly	big	bird	bite	black
Nca	gabus	qabu	pa:nit	bitu:ka	masa:rig	qiwa:taq	kagat	qitum
Sca	ŋatanan	qabu	pa:nit	tuḷak	daku:ḷaq	gamgam	kagat	qitum
Nag	gabus	qabu	qu:bak	tulak	daku:laq	gamgam	kagat	qitum
Leg	gabus	qabu	qu:bak	tulak	daku:laq	bayuŋ	kagat	qitum
Dar	qubus / ŋaqmin	qabu	qubak	tiyan	dakiliq	bayuŋ	kagat	qitim
Oas	ŋaqmin	qabu	qubak	tiyan	dakiliq	bayuŋ	kagat	qitim
Lib	ŋa:min	qabu	qubak	burus	dakoloq	bayuŋ	kagat	qitom
Buh	qubus	qabu	qu:bak	tiyan	dakigiq	ba:yuŋ	kagat	qitim
Iri	ŋa:min	qabu	qubak	burus	dakiliq	bayuŋ	kagat	qitim
Nso	tanan	qabu	pa:nit	ti:yaŋ	dakuq	bayuŋ	kagat	qitum
Mas	tanan	qabu	pa:nit	tiyan	dakuq	sapat	kagat	qitum
Sso	qinti:ru	qabu	pa:nit	tiyan	dakuq	tamsi	kagat	qitum

	blood	bone	breast	burn	claw	cloud	cold	come
Nca	duguq	tuqraŋ	susu	su:nug	gugu	paŋanu:run	mali:put	qabut
Sca	duguq	tuɻqaŋ	susu	suɻuq	kuku	paŋanu:ɻun	mari:put	qabut
Nag	duguq	tuqlaŋ	susu	suluq	kuku	paŋanu:run	mali:put	qabut
Leg	duguq	tuqlaŋ	susu	suluq	kuku	paŋanu::un	mali:put	qabut
Dar	duguq	tuqlaŋ	susu	suluq	kuku	paŋanurin	malipit	qabut
Oas	ruguq	tuqlaŋ	susu	suluq	kuku	paŋanurin	malipit	ratiŋ
Lib	ruguq	tu:laŋ	susu	suluq	kuku	paŋanuron	maagnaw	qabut
Buh	ruguq	tuqwaŋ	susu	su:luq	kuku	paŋanurin	malipit	qabut
Iri	ruguq	tu:laŋ	susu	da:mag / suluq	kuku	paŋanurin	maqagniw	qabut / ratiŋ
Nso	duguq	tulqaŋ	susu	si:lab	kuku	paŋanu:run	mahagkut	qabut
Mas	duguq	tulqaŋ	susu	su:nug	kuku	paŋanu:run	mahagkut	qabut
Sso	duguq	tulqaŋ	susu	su:nug	kuluq	paŋanu:run	mapiŋit	qabut

	die	dog	drink	dry	ear	earth	eat	egg
Nca	da:qan	qa:yam	qimum	dugaŋ	tari:ŋa	labuq	ka:qun	su:guk
Sca	gadan	qa:yam	qimum	dugaŋ	tari:ŋa	dagaq	ka:qun	su:guk
Nag	gadan	qa:yam	qimum	mamara	tali:ŋa	dagaq	kakan	su:guk
Leg	gadan	qa:yam	qimum	mamara	tali:ŋa	dagaq	ka:qun	bunay
Dar	giran	qayam	qimum	mamara	tali:ŋa	dagaq	ka:win	salag
Oas	giran	qayam	qimum	mamara	taliŋa	ragaq	ka:win	salag
Lib	goran	qayam	qinum	mamara	tali:ŋa	ragaq	kawon	salag
Buh	giraqan	qayam	qimum	mama:ra	tali:ŋa	ragaq	kaqin	qumun
Iri	giraqan	qayam	qimum	mamara	tali:ŋa	ragaq	kaqin	qitlug
Nso	matay	qa:yam	qimum	mamara	tali:ŋa	du:taq	ka:qun	bunay
Mas	patay	qiduq	qimum	mamara	tali:ŋa	du:taq	ka:qun	qitlug
Sso	matay	qa:yam	qinum	mamara	tali:ŋa	qi:ŋud	ka:qun	bunay

	eye	fat	feather	fire	fish	fly	foot	full
Nca	mata	matabaq	dutdut	kara:yu	qisdaq	la:yug	siki	bu:ta
Sca	mata	matabaq	dutdut	kaja:yu	silaq	ja:yug	bitis	panuq
Nag	mata	matabaq	balu:kag	kala:yu	siraq	la:yug	bitis	panuq
Leg	mata	matabaq	balu:kag	kala:yu	siraq	la:yug	bitis	panuq
Dar	ma:ta	matabaq	balukag	kalayu	siraq	layug	ti:il	punuq
Oas	mata	matabaq	balukag	kalayu	qisraq	layug	ti:il	punuq
Lib	mata	matabaq	balukag	kalayu	qisoraq	layug	ti:il	punuq
Buh	ma:ta	matabaq	lakay	kala:yu	qisraq	layug	paqa	punuq
Iri	mata	matabaq	gabbi	kala:yu	qisi:raq	layug	tiqil	punuq
Nso	mata	matabaq	balu:kag	kala:yu	si:raq	la:yug	tiqil	punuq
Mas	mata	matabaq	barahi:bu	kala:yu	qisdaq	lupad	tiqil	punuq
Sso	ma:ta	matabaq	balu:kag	kala:yu	qisdaq	la:yug	siki	punuq

	give	good	green	hair	hand	head	hear	heart
Nca	taqu	madyag	birdi	buhuk	kamut	qu:ru	dunug	pu:suq
Sca	taqu	mayad	birdi	bu:huk	kamut	payu	danug	pu:suq
Nag	taqu	maray	birdi	bu:huk	kamut	payu	danug	pu:suq
Leg	taqu	maray	birdi	bu:huk	kamut	payu	danug	pu:suq
Dar	tawu	maray	birdi	bu:uk	kamit	payu	dinig	pusuq
Oas	ta:wu	maray	birdi	bu:uk	kamit	payu	rinig	pusuq
Lib	tawu	mara:ay	birdi	buwuk	kamot	payu	rongog	pusuq
Buh	taqu	mara:ay	birdi	bu:wik	ka:mit	pa:yu	rinig	pu:suq
Iri	taqu	mara:ay	birdi	bu:uk	kamit	payu	rinig	pusuq
Nso	hatag	mayad	birdi	bu:huk	kamut	qu:lu	matiq	pu:suq
Mas	ha:tag	maqa:yu	birdi	buhuk	kamut	qu:lu	ba:tiq	pu:suq
Sso	ha:tag	mayad	birdi	bu:huk	kamut	qu:lu	batiq	pusuq

	horn	I	kill	knee	know	leaf	lie	liver
Nca	su:ŋay	qaku	da:qan	tu:hud	batid	da:hun	higdaq	qatay
Sca	su:ŋay	qaku	gadan	tu:hud	qi:si	da:hun	higdaq	katuy
Nag	su:ŋuy	qaku	gaḍan	tu:hud	qa:ram	da:hun	higdaq	katuy
Leg	suŋay	qaku	gadan	tu:hud	qa:ram	da:hun	qigdaq	katuy
Dar	suŋay	qaku	giran	tu:ud	qisi	da:wun	qigdaq	qatay
Oas	suŋuy	qaku	giran	tu:ud	qisi	da:wun	bataŋ	qatay
Lib	suŋoy	qaku	goran	tuwud	tataww	dawun	qigyaq	qatay
Buh	suŋiy	qaku	giraqan	tuwud	qi:si	dawun	bataŋ	qatay
Iri	suŋuy	qaku	giraqan	tuwud	qi:si	dawun	bataŋ	qatay
Nso	suŋay	qaku	matay	tu:hud	qa:ram	dahun	higdaq	qatay
Mas	suŋay	qaku	patay	tu:hud	qa:ram	da:hun	higdaq	qatay
Sso	su:ŋay	qaku	matay	tu:hud	qa:ram	da:hun	higdaq	qatay

	long	louse	man	many	meat	moon	mountain	mouth
Nca	harawig / haraŋkaw	ku:tu	lara:ki	dakul	karni	bu:ran	burud	ki:mut
Sca	haḻa:baq	ku:tu	laḻa:ki	dakuḻ	karni	bu:ḻan	buḻud	ki:mut
Nag	hala:baq	ku:tu	lala:ki	dakul	karni	bu:lan	bukid	ŋu:suq
Leg	qala:baq	ku:tu	lala:ki	dakul	karni	bu:lan	bulud	ŋi:mut
Dar	qalabaq	ku:tu	lala:ki	dakil	karni	bulan	bulud	kimut
Oas	qalabaq	ku:tu	lalaki	dakil	karni	bulan	bukid	kimut
Lib	maabaq	kutu	lala:ki	dakol	karni	bulan	qampas	kimut
Buh	maqabaq	ku:tu	qaga:ki	dakil	karni	bu:lan	bu:kid	ŋi:wiq
Iri	maqabaq	ku:tu	lala:ki	dakil	karni	bu:lan	kulud	ŋu:ŋu
Nso	halabaq	ku:tu	lala:ki	damu	karni	bu:lan	bulud	baqbaq
Mas	halabaq	ku:tu	lala:ki	damu	karni	bu:lan	bukid	baqbaq
Sso	halabaq	ku:tu	lala:ki	daghan	karni	bu:lan	bulud	hi:wag

	name	neck	new	night	nose	not	one	person	rain
Nca	ŋa:ran	li:qug	baqgu	gaqbi	qiluŋ	bukuq	saduq	ta:hu	quran
Sca	ŋa:ɬan	ri:qug	bagqu	baŋgi	duŋuq	bakuq	saɬuq	ta:wu	quɬan
Nag	ŋa:ran	liqug	baqgu	baŋgi	duŋuq	bakuq	saruq	ta:wu	quran
Leg	ŋa:ran	liqug	baqgu	baŋgi	duŋuq	bakuq	saruq	ta:wu	quran
Dar	ŋaran	lyiġ	baqgu	gaqbi	quruŋ	bikin	qisad	ta:wu	quran
Oas	ŋaran	lyiġ	baqgu	gaqbi	quruŋ	bikiq	qisad	ta:wu	quran
Lib	ŋaran	lyog	ba:gu	ga:bi	quruŋ	bokon	qosad	ta:wu	quran
Buh	ŋaran	liqiġ	baqgu	gaqbi	quruŋ	bikiq	qisad	ta:qu	quran
Iri	ŋaran	liqiġ	ba:gu	gabqi	quruŋ	bikiq	qisad	ta:wu	quran
Nso	ŋa:ran	liqug	bagqu	gabqi	qiluŋ	la:qin	qisad	ta:wu	quran
Mas	ŋa:ran	liqug	bagqu	gabqi	qiruŋ	di:liq	qusad	ta:wu	quran
Sso	ŋa:ran	li:qug	bagqu	gabqi	qiruŋ	di:riq	sayuq	ta:wu	quran

	red	road	root	round	sand	see	seed	sit
Nca	larag	da:ran	qugat	bi:lug	baybay	taqnaw	pisug	quntad
Sca	puɬa	da:ɬan	qugat	bi:lug	baybay	hiliŋ	pisug	tu:kaw
Nag	pula	da:lan	gamut	bi:lug	baybay	hiliŋ	pisug	tu:kaw
Leg	pula	da:lan	gamut	bi:lug	baybay	qiliŋ	pisug	tu:kaw
Dar	pula	dalan	gamut	bilug	{baybay basud}	kita	pisiġ	salaq
Oas	pula	raran	gamut	bilug	baybay	kita	pisiġ	qilaq
Lib	pula	dalan	gamut	bilug	basud	kita	pisog	qolaq
Buh	pula	ġa:gan	gamut	bilug	baybay	kita	tuqwaŋ	qiġaq
Iri	pula	da:lan	gamut	bilug	baybay	{bayad silin}	tu:laŋ	qilaq
Nso	pula	da:lan	gamut	bi:lug	baybay	ki:ta	pisug	qiŋkud
Mas	pula	da:lan	gamut	bi:lug	baybay	ki:ta	pisug	qiŋkud
Sso	baga	da:lan	qugat	bi:lug	baybay	qimud	li:su	qiŋkud

	skin	sleep	small	smoke	stand	star	stone	sun
Nca	pa:nit	tu:rug	saday	qasu	tindug	bitu:qun	batu	qardaw
Sca	pa:nit	tu:ɻug	saday	qasu	tindug	bitu:qun	batu	qaɻdaw
Nag	kublit	tu:rug	saday	qasu	tindug	bitu:qun	gapuq	qaldaw
Leg	qu:nit	tu:rug	saday	qasu	tindug	bitu:qun	gapuq	qaldaw
Dar	kulit	turug	saday	qasu	tindug	bitu:qun	batu	qaldaw
Oas	kulit	turug	saday	qasu	tindig	bituqun	batu	qanraw
Lib	kulit	tu:rug	saday	qasu	tindog	bitu:qun	batu	qaldaw
Buh	kublit	tu:rug	saday	qasu	tindig	bitiqwin	batu	qaldaw
Iri	kulit	tu:rug	saday	qasu	tindig	bituqun	batu	qaldiw
Nso	pa:nit	tu:rug	saday	qasu	tindeg	bitu:qun	batu	qadlaw
Mas	pa:nit	tu:rug	dyu:tay	qasu	tindug	bitu:qun	batu	qadlaw
Sso	pa:nit	tu:rug	saday	qasu	tindug	bitu:qun	batu	qadlaw

	swim	tail	that	this	thou	three	tongue	tooth	tree
Nca	laŋuy	qu:kig	yuqun	qitu	qikaw	tatlu	di:laq	tiŋu	ka:huy
Sca	ɻaŋuy	qu:kig	qidtu	qini	qika	tuɻu	di:laq	tiŋu	ka:huy
Nag	laŋuy	qikug	qitu	qini	qika	tulu	di:laq	ŋi:pun	ka:huy
Leg	laŋuy	qikug	qitu	qini	qika	tulu	di:laq	ŋi:pun	ka:huy
Dar	laŋuy	qikug	qadtu	qaqdi	qika	tulu	di:laq	ŋipin	ka:wuy
Oas	laŋuy	qikug	kadtu	kadi	qika	tulu	dilaq	ŋipin	ka:wuy
Lib	laŋuy	qikug	yadtu	yadi	qika	tulu	riraq	ŋi:pun	ka:wuy
Buh	laŋuy	qikug	qadtu	qadi	qika	tulu	di:laq	ŋi:pin	ka:wuy
Iri	laŋuy	qikug	qadtu	qadi	qika	tulu	ráraq	ŋipin	kawŋy
Nso	laŋuy	qikug	qidtu	qini	qikaw	tulu	di:laq	ŋi:pun	kahuy
Mas	laŋuy	qikug	qidtu	qini	qikaw	tulu	di:laq	ŋi:pun	kahuy
Sso	laŋuy	qikug	qidtu	qini	qikaw	tulu	di:laq	ŋi:pun	ka:huy

	two	walk	warm	water	we	what	white	who
Nca	dawha	pa:naw	maqi:nit	tu:big	kami	qanu	putiq	siqnu
Sca	duwa	lakaw	maqi:nit	tu:big	kami	qanu	putiq	siqisay
Nag	duwa	lakaw	maqi:nit	tu:big	kami	qanu	putiq	siqisay
Leg	duwa	lakaw	maqi:nit	tu:big	kami	qanu	putiq	siqisay
Dar	duwa	qagi	maqi:nit	tubig	kami	qunan	putiq	si:say
Oas	duwa	qagi	ma:yinit	tubig	kami	qunan	putiq	si:say
Lib	duwa	qagi	mayinit	tubig	kami	qunu	putiq	si:say
Buh	duwa	qagi	maqinit	tubig	kami	qunu	putiq	siqisay
Iri	darawa	qagi	maqinit	tubig	kami	qunu	putiq	siqisay
Nso	duwa	lakat	maqi:nit	tu:big	kami	na:nu	putiq	sinqu
Mas	duwa	lakat	maqi:nit	tu:big	kami	na:nu	putiq	sinqu
Sso	duwa	lakaw	mapa:suq	tu:big	kami	na:nu	putiq	sinqu

	woman	yellow
Nca	baba:yi	yi:lu
Sca	baba:yi	yi:lu
Nag	baba:yi	yi:lu
Leg	baba:yi	yi:lu
Dar	baba:yi	yi:lu
Oas	baba:yi	yi:lu
Lib	baba:yi	yi:lu
Buh	baba:qi	yi:lu
Iri	babayi	yi:lu
Nso	baba:yi	yi:lu
Mas	baba:qi	yi:lu
Sso	ba:yiq	yi:lu

APPENDIX D

MOST FREQUENT MORPHEMES IN THE BIKOL AREA DIALECTS

The following list contains the most frequently occurring morphemes in the recorded texts from the Bikol area dialects. The count is based on six texts in each dialect, a total of seventy-two texts. Each entry contains the following items:

(1) morpheme - Only cognate or near cognate forms are counted as the same morpheme. Non-cognate allomorphs are counted as separate morphemes.

(2) meaning or function of the morpheme.

(3) reference - the page in the text where the morpheme or its class is discussed.

(4) occurrences by dialect - The numbers indicate the number of texts in each dialect in which the morpheme occurred. Thus a '6' indicates that the morpheme occurred in every text for a given dialect. A hyphen (-) indicates that the morpheme is not expected to occur in that dialect.

(5) total - the total number of texts in all twelve dialects in which the morpheme occurred. A '72' indicates that the morpheme occurred in every text in every dialect.

All morphemes which occurred in a total of eighteen or more texts (approximately the top 100), or which occurred in five or six texts in a single dialect, are listed.

MORPHEME	MEANING or FUNCTION	Ref	Nca N c a	CST SNL cae agg	INL DOLBI aaiur rsbhi	SOU MMS sas oso	TOTAL
nag-	(verbal prefix)	187	6	666	66666	666	72
na	(linker)	111	6	666	66656	666	71
na-	(verbal prefix)	177	6	665	66666	666	71
sa	(CNE marker)	164	6	665	66666	666	71
man	'too' (enclitic)	321	6	656	66655	666	69
-an	(verbal suffix)	190	6	466	65566	666	68
na	'already' (enclitic)	321	6	564	56666	666	68
pag-	(verbal prefix)	175	6	664	65566	666	68
maŋa	(marker of plurality)	321	6	655	55666	565	66
-R-	(reduplication)	38	4	565	65656	666	66
-ŋ	(linker)	111	6	666	66666	333	63
-in-	(verbal infix)	179	6	545	66656	616	62
ku	'my, by me'	137	6	663	66644	536	61
kun	'if'	321	6	553	45555	656	60
(Lib kon; other INL kin)							
naka-	(verbal prefix)	177	6	644	45555	565	60
ma-	(adjective prefix)	208	3	545	55565	556	59
pa	'still' (enclitic)	321	6	334	65656	555	59
mag-	(verbal prefix)	187	5	334	66466	555	58
sa:bi	'to say'		6	463	53665	545	58
qaku	'I'	137	6	545	64435	645	57
ta	'because'	262	6	665	66665	122	57
qan	(CNE marker)	161	6	666	63212	666	56
pa-	(verbal prefix)	175	6	644	64542	464	55
-D-	(doubling)	38	4	465	54443	445	52
kayaq	'therefore'	320	6	642	24465	344	50

MORPHEME	MEANING or FUNCTION	Ref	Nca N c a	CST SNL cae agg	INL DOLBI aaiur rsbhi	SOU NMS sas oso	TOTAL
-un (Lib -on; other INL -in)	(verbal suffix)	188	2	452	46435	555	50
-qabut	'to arrive'		5	335	23364	435	46
-Vr-	(reduplication)	38	4	635	43321	456	46
ma-	(verbal prefix)	177	5	320	36555	335	45
sana	'just' (enclitic)	263	6	444	55566	---	45
ka-an	(nominal circumfix)	215	6	644	12323	634	44
pagka-	(verbal prefix)	117	4	434	23634	335	44
ta:wu (Nca ta:hu)	'person'		5	533	23552	344	44
qi-	(verbal prefix)	189	4	423	43245	354	43
su	(CNE marker)	161	1	625	66616	1--	42
baga	'true' (enclitic)	320	2	542	43531	345	41
naman	'again' (enclitic)	321	4	243	44224	534	41
para-	(verbal prefix)	175	4	342	34623	235	41
-an	(nominal suffix)	215	5	233	40265	334	40
ŋa:niq	'indeed' (enclitic)	321	4	433	22643	342	40
kami	'we' (exclusive)	137	5	623	32432	333	39
ŋaya	(direct discourse particle)	259	1	342	43435	324	38
nin	(CNE marker)	164	6	650	53261	--2	36
sigu:ru	'probably'	322	3	421	23342	345	36
-um-	(verbal infix)	183	4	212	12334	554	36
qa:mu	'yes'	254	-	---	65545	55-	35
n(i)ya	'his, her'	137	2	342	35134	422	35
paka-	(verbal prefix)	245	4	443	23214	314	35
qisad (Lib qosad, Esc qisad, Mas qusad)	'one'	218	-	---	56464	46-	35
qisturya	'story, to tell'		2	235	25321	324	34

MORPHEME	MEANING or FUNCTION	Ref	Nca N c a	CST SNL cae agg	INL DOLBI aaiur rsbhi	SOU NMS sas osc	TOTAL
may	'to have, there is'	227	1	145	11500	565	34
pig-	(verbal prefix)	179	6	555	42412	---	34
s(i)ya	'he, she'	137	2	363	341-1	434	34
maka-	(verbal prefix)	177	3	232	41532	413	33
pi:ru (pe:ro)	'but'	322	3	242	34321	324	33
si	(FNE marker)	157	5	222	61313	422	33
-ta:pus	'to finish'		4	234	33512	222	33
ka-	(nominal prefix)	215	4	322	21313	452	32
diq	'not'	255	1	210	25563	114	31
naN-	(verbal prefix)	177	5	241	33303	024	30
ma:-	(verbal prefix)	178	5	544	-----	344	29
maN-	(verbal prefix)	177	3	335	12420	114	29
qini	'this'	150	-	652	--2-1	453	28
ŋa:ran (Sca ŋa:ɻan)	'name, to call'		1	223	30155	213	28
-ya:ri	'to happen'		3	333	13222	123	28
balay (Nca baray, Oas, Iri baliy, Lib baloy, Buh bagiy)	'house'		4	---	31233	533	27
diq	'and so'	320	2	231	61114	312	27
gustu	'to want, like'	222	2	123	42231	313	27
ka-	(adjective prefix)	208	4	241	21341	221	27
sigi (sige)	'okay, to keep on'	322	4	223	31402	132	27
sinda (sinra)	'they'	137	-	523	33---	451	26
qu	'or'	323	2	312	21153	123	26
-un	(adjective suffix)	208	0	025	51201	415	26
qanu	'what?'	235	5	523	2--1-	421	25
ha- (Leg, INL qa-)	(adjective prefix)	208	4	124	10222	304	25

MORPHEME	MEANING or FUNCTION	Ref	Nca N c a	CST SNL cae agg	INL DOLBI aaiur rsbhi	SOU NMS sas oso	TOTAL
ninda (Oas nimra)	'their, by them'	137	-	434	33---	431	25
palan (Sca pajan, Nca paran)	'behold' (enclitic)	322	2	331	13224	202	25
panahun (INL panawun)	'time, weather'		3	222	12133	213	25
a	(linker)		-	---	35565	---	24
duwa	'two'	218	-	333	3313-	312	24
kan	(CNE marker)	164	1	556	1-1--	3-2	24
ki:ta	'to see'		6	---	5333-	31-	24
mu	'your, by you (sg)'	137	1	232	42222	112	24
-ra(ha)y	'good, to fix'		-	133	24353	---	24
qalas	'o'clock'	244	3	113	21202	314	23
Curu-	(reduplication)	38	2	132	12222	123	23
pinag-	(verbal prefix)	190	3	041	12444	---	23
talaga	'really'	322	2	220	33312	212	23
kunu	(indirect discourse particle)	259	-	---	34235	212	22
ni	(PNE marker)	157	4	011	51102	421	22
sagkud (Lib sagkod, other INL sagkid)	'until, and'	245	4	011	34242	---	21
-umin-	(verbal infix)	184	3	114	3132-	3--	21
qay	(interjection)		2	133	11303	120	20
bakuq (Nca bukuq, Dar bikin, Oas, Buh bikiq)	'not'	254	1	531	12060	---	19
daw (Oas, Lib, Iri raw)	(enclitic)	320	2	210	41111	222	19
didi	'here'	150	-	1--	2--5-	551	19
duman	'there' (remote)	150	1	565	1----	1--	19
qidtu	'that' (remote)	150	-	24-	1---2	532	19
qigwa	'to have, there is'	229	-	354	-----	421	19
mi	'our, by us' (excl)	137	-	524	1----	3-4	19

MORPHEME	MEANING or FUNCTION	Ref	Nca N c a	CST SNL cae agg	INL DOLBI aaiur rsbhi	SOU NMS sas oso	TOTAL
san	(CNE marker)	163	-	---	1----	666	19
daqi	'not'	254	-	664	-----	2--	18
kay	'because'	262	-	---	1----	566	18
kita	'we' (inclusive)'	137	2	311	10133	030	18
lala:ki (Sca laja:ki, Nca lara:ki, Buh qaga:ki)	'man, male'		3	120	20223	210	18
pirmi (pirme)	'always'	322	3	111	20121	114	18
primi:ru (prime:ro)	'first'		2	220	22123	101	18
saruq (Sca saluq)	'one'	218	1	535	1---1	2--	18
sin	(CNE marker)	163	-	---	1----	566	18
waraq	'none'	229	-	---	4----	545	18
diidtu	'there' (remote)	150	-	---	6----	425	17
qiyan	'that' (near addressee)	150	1	362	--1-1	21-	17
nu	(CNE marker)	164	-	---	566--	---	17
qadtu	'that' (remote)	150	-	---	5--56	---	16
qitu	'that' (remote)	150	-	354	--1-1	1-1	16
niyan	'now'	247	-	---	-----	646	16
pa:ra	'for'	108	2	111	1-15-	121	16
sadtu	'to, by that' (remote)	150	-	---	5----	425	16
daqa	(indirect discourse particle)	258	5	242	1----	--1	15
qin-	(verbal prefix)	188	-	---	-----	546	15
di:liq	'not'	254	6	---	-----	251	14
ka:su	'when' (past)	248	1	530	1--4-	---	14
qadi	'this'	150	-	---	---66	---	12
sira (Sso si:ra)	'they'	137	-	---	---56	--1	12
qan	'that' (near addressee)	150	-	101	1--62	---	11

MORPHEME	MEANING or FUNCTION	Ref	Nca N c a	CST SNL cae agg	INL DOLBI aaiur rsbhi	SOU NMS aas oso	TOTAL
buda	'and'	261	5	2-3	-1---	---	11
qinaq	'that' (near addressee)	150	-	---	-----	541	10
qindiq	'not'	254	-	---	6--4-	---	10
yadtu	'that' (remote)	150	-	---	3-52-	---	10
yu	(CNE marker)	164	6	---	---4-	---	10
qadtu	'there' (remote)	150	-	---	--54-	---	9
gin-	(verbal prefix)	189	-	---	-----	531	9
nan	'and'	262	-	---	-----	4-5	9
qa:muq	'our, by us' (excl)	137	5	---	-----	--3	8
ninyu	(CNE marker)	164	6	---	---2-	---	8
ŋa	(linker)		-	---	---3-	-5-	8
qiya	'he, she'	137	-	---	---25	---	7
qadi	'here'	150	-	---	--6--	---	6
qa:mun	'our, by us' (excl)	137	-	---	-----	-6-	6
duqun	'there' (remote)	150	6	---	-----	---	6
ku	(CNE marker)	164	-	---	----6	---	6
nikadtu	'to, by that' (remote)	150	-	---	-6---	---	6
ŋwa:naq	'now'	247	-	---	-6---	---	6
sayuq	'one'	218	-	---	-----	--6	6
yuqun	'that' (remote)	150	6	---	-----	---	6
kadi	'this'	150	-	---	-5---	---	5
kadtu	'that' (remote)	150	-	---	-5---	---	5
kag	'and'	262	-	---	-----	-5-	5
yuqun	'that' (near addressee)	150	-	---	-----	--5	5

APPENDIX E

HIGH-FREQUENCY PARTICLES COMMON TO ALL BIKOL AREA DIALECTS

The particles listed in this appendix are found in all Bikol area dialects, and appear in Appendix D as having occurred with high frequency in the recorded texts. The examples are from Legazpi.

baga (enclitic) 'it's true':

daqi ka na baga-ŋ nahihiliŋ ŋunyan na magayun
none you(sg) already true-+ being-seen now + beautiful
"You really don't see anything that's nice anymore."

daw (Oas, Lib, Iri, Buh raw--enclitic)--softens commands and questions:

hili:ŋun ta daw qitu ta may magayun
to-be-looked-at by-us -- that because have beautiful
"Let's look at those because there are some pretty ones."

qanu daw kun maqistra qaku sa qiskwi:lahan
what -- if teacher I at school
"I wonder what it would be like if I were a school teacher."

diq (pre-clausal) 'and so':

daku:lun diq qina:qan mu kun gustu mu
very-much and-so to-be-reduced by-you(sg) if want by-you(sg)
"Is it too much? Decrease it if you like."

kayaq (pre-clausal) 'therefore':

daqi-ŋ qiba kayaq pigtiyaga:qan mi na
none-+ other therefore was-made-to-last by-us already
"We had no other, so we just kept

sana qitu
just that
that one."

kun (Lib kon, other INL kin--subordinating conjunction) 'if':

kun buksan su pintuq ma:laqug su tu:big
if to-be-opened the door will-enter the water
"If we open the door, the water will come in."

Kun also introduces indirect questions:

nagbi:laŋ nya kun pira na qan qidad nya
counted by-him if how-many already the age his
"He counted [to see] how old he was."

man (enclitic) 'too, also':

quga:liq man samuq qan magtaqu ki siŋsiŋ
custom too to-us the to-give of ring
"It is also our custom to give a ring."

maŋa (proclitic)--plural marker:

saru-ŋ qaldaw nagkaqi:sip qan maŋa bayuŋ na magturutiri:pun
one-+ day thought-of the pl bird + to-have-meeting
"One day the birds decided to have a meeting."

na (enclitic) 'already':

nagtabaq na talaga qaku
got-fat already really I
"I've really gotten fat (already)!"

naman (enclitic) 'again, on the other hand':

kun sa si:riŋ kaqini-ŋ qu:ras qanu-ŋ qu:ras naman saqindu
if at like to-this-+ hour what-+ hour again to-you(pl)
"When it's this time [here], what time is it in your place?"

ŋa:niq (enclitic) 'indeed':

maray ŋa:niq ta daqi mu qaku naliŋawan
good indeed because not by-you(sg) I was-forgotten
"It's a good thing you didn't forget me."

pa (enclitic) 'still':

qanu da:git ka pa
what angry you(sg) still
"Are you still angry?"

palan (Sca palan, Nca paran--enclitic) 'behold'--implies that the statement expresses a new discovery on the part of the speaker:

qay sus kayaq palan ta ma:pabaŋku kaqiri:ba pa
oh Jesus and-so behold because will-go-to-bank companion(pl)
"Oh, darn, it's just because she's going to the bank with

sa kristi
still pl Kristy
Kristy and her friends."

pirmi (movable particle) 'always':

pirmi sya-ŋ pigdadagi:tan kan saqi:ya-ŋ magu:raŋ
always he-+ being-scolded by-the his-+ parent
"He was always being scolded by his parents."

pi:ru (coordinating conjunction) 'but':

gustu ku na-ŋ magpasibu pi:ru nasu:pug
want by-me already-+ to-go-to-Cebu but was-embarrassed
"I wanted to go to Cebu, but [by then] I was

na qaku
already I
embarrassed."

sigi (unique distribution) 'to keep on':

sigi ku su dala:gan sa qaruŋ
keep-on by-me the run at house
"I kept running toward the house."

sigu:ru (movable particle) 'maybe, probably':

sigu:ru kun tumabaqta:baq pa qaku ta:maq na man
maybe if to-get-a-little-fat still I right already too
"Maybe if I get just a little fatter, it'll be all right."

talaga (unique distribution) 'really':

kaluya:han ku talaga qan maŋa magayun na ba:gay
weakness my really the pl beautiful + thing
"Pretty things are really my weakness."

qu (coordinating conjunction) 'or':

daqi ku la:maŋ pigqiqi:sip kun maya:man ka qu pubri
not by-me just being-thought if rich you(sg) or poor
"I don't even think about whether you're rich or poor."

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