

PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS

VOLUME 42

DECEMBER 2011

PUBLISHED BY THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF THE PHILIPPINES



PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS

Aims and Scope

The *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, the official scholarly journal of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines, is an international peer-reviewed journal of research in linguistics. Published once a year in December, it aims to serve as a forum for original studies in descriptive, comparative, historical, and areal linguistics. Although its primary interest is in linguistic theory, it also publishes papers on the application of theory to language teaching, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, anthropological linguistics, etc. Papers on applied linguistics should, however, be chiefly concerned with the principles which underlie specific techniques rather than the mechanical aspects of such techniques. Articles are published in English, although papers written in Filipino, the national language of the Philippines, will occasionally appear. Since the Linguistic Society of the Philippines is composed of members whose paramount interest is the Philippine languages, papers on these and related languages are given priority in publication. This does not mean, however, that the Journal will limit its scope to the Austronesian language family. Studies on any aspect of language structure are welcome.

Editor

Danilo T. Dayag
De La Salle University, Manila, Philippines

Review Editor

Isabel Pefianco-Martin
Ateneo de Manila University, Quezon City
Philippines

Copy Editor

Eden Regala-Flores
De La Salle University, Manila, Philippines

Board of Editorial Consultants

Maria Lourdes S. Bautista
De La Salle University, Manila, Philippines

Kingsley Bolton
City University of Hong Kong

Maya Khemlani David
University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur Malaysia

Andy Kirkpatrick
Hong Kong Institute of Education

Hsiu-chuan Liao
National Tsing Hua University, Hsinchu
Taiwan

Curtis McFarland
Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan

Randy LaPolla
La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia

Andrew Moody
University of Macau, Macao SAR, China

Ricardo Ma. D. Nolasco
University of the Philippines, Diliman Quezon
City

J. Stephen Quakenbush
SIL International

Lawrence Reid
University of Hawaii at Manoa

Carl Rubino
Australian National University
Canberra, Australia

Masayoshi Shibatani
Rice University, Texas, USA

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Taglish and the Social Role of Code-Switching in the Philippines Lenny Bugayong	1
Tonal Geography of the Provinces of Central Thailand: Part I Kritsana A. Canilao	20
The Structure of Ibanag Nominals Shirley N. Dita	41
Tagalog Particles in Philippine English: The Case of <i>Ba</i> , <i>Na</i> , <i>No</i> , and <i>Pa</i> JooHyuk Lim and Ariane Macalinga Borlongan	59
The Objective and Subjective Assessments of the Ethnolinguistic Vitality of Batak Communities in Palawan, Philippines Teresita D. Tajolosa	75
Non-prototypical Patient Object Sentences in Chinese Yongzhong Yang	105
Book Review Frances Doplon	127
LSP ANNUAL REPORT FOR 2011	131

Taglish and the Social Role of Code Switching in the Philippines

Lenny Bugayong

University of Fribourg, Switzerland

E-mail: l.bugayong@gmail.com

It is a truism that English is deeply entrenched in Filipino everyday life. This paper concerns itself with the coexistence of English alongside Tagalog in the contexts of bilingualism, code switching and diglossia by taking into account that the two languages are seldom clearly distinguished within authentic Filipino speech patterns. In particular, a closer look at the mixed variety commonly referred to as “Taglish” (i.e. Tagalog and English) on a phonetic, morphological, syntactic and discursive level revealed that, while there is no emerging grammaticalization of Taglish, it is neither a matter of incomplete command of either language nor of idiosyncratic choices. Rather, Taglish is a discursive strategy within a social norm, very much similar to Low-varieties in diglossic language situations.

Keywords Tagalog, English, Taglish, sociolinguistics, code-switching

1. Introduction

Among the many cultural and linguistic elements that Filipinos have adopted over the past centuries, English, belongs to their more recent foreign acquisitions. Ever since the American tutelage, English has been gaining increasing influence on the Philippine language situation, adding even more to its original complexity. Not least due to the growing importance of English as a global lingua franca, there has been the rise of a variety called ‘Taglish’ within the Filipino vernacular, i.e. a mixture of Tagalog and English. This new variety, however, appears to have become more than just an arbitrary mix. Besides providing a descriptive analysis of this mixed variety in the first part, this paper is devoted to examining Taglish on a discursive level in the second part and determining whether it qualifies as a new code in itself and what the status of such a code might be.

2. The Philippine language situation prior to English

The Philippine language situation is heavily characterized by *language*

contact. Due to its geography, there is a significant disparity among the archipelago’s native languages, which all bear traces of foreign influences to a certain degree. There are said to be 118 separate languages and over 400 dialects that differ in degrees of mutual intelligibility (McFarland 2004). In the midst of such diversity, Tagalog – the Austronesian language spoken in the nation’s capital – was chosen to serve as the basis for the country’s national language in as well as its lingua franca in 1937.¹ ‘Filipino’, as the national language is called today, includes lexical items that are borrowed from other Philippine languages as well as foreign languages (Thompson 2003).

Traces of language contact in Tagalog² are attributed to various stages of Philippine history. While words such as *mutya* (‘pearl’) or *ama*

¹ In many non-Tagalog speaking regions, the language rivalry even exists between English, Filipino and the peoples’ native languages, what with Filipino being the nation’s lingua franca for cross-regional communication.

² Although the Philippine national language has been renamed, this paper shall largely refer to it as ‘Tagalog’ while ‘Filipino’ shall denote attributes describing the Philippine people.

(‘father’) are found to be of Sanskrit origin, other words like *pinto* (‘door’), *alak* (‘wine’) and *maya* (‘bird’) are believed to have been introduced by the Chinese, the Arabs and the Mexicans, respectively (Zaide 1999). Most significant, perhaps, is the mark that the Spanish left on Tagalog: besides the innumerable amount of expressions found in Tagalog, Filipinos still tell the time and count money in Spanish to this day, although Spanish is no longer spoken by most of the population.

3. English in the Philippines

After the USA bought the Philippines in 1898 and democratized the Philippine education system, English was introduced as the new medium of instruction and replaced Spanish, which had prior been reserved for the elite. By 1986, English had replaced Spanish in the domain of government as well (Thompson 2003), where it plays a vital role up to today. Having permeated virtually all levels of Philippine everyday life, English is considered to be functionally native to Filipinos (Bautista 2000a). Their proficiency of the English language also adds to the country’s economic value as it enables the Philippines to host a number of call centers³, which cater to an international, in particular American, clientele.

The nature of this English, however, has certainly changed over the decades as Filipinos no longer acquire it via ‘first hand tradition’ and have a different exposure to it thanks

to the recent possibilities of mass media. While older speakers may have grammatical and idiomatic proficiency as well, younger generations can more easily mimic an American-like pronunciation and acquire recent colloquialisms.

Llamzon’s (1969) observation of ‘Standard Filipino English’ (SFE) reveals that the main differences it bears to General American English (GAE) are found in its pronunciation. Depending on educational, geographic and socioeconomic factors, Filipinos may vary from GAE more or less and thus speak more basilectal or acrolectal varieties of SFE (Tayao 2004). Llamzon (1997), however, already recognized a socio-linguistic element in these variations when he noted that “when educated Filipinos speak to their fellow Filipinos, they speak English the Filipino way” (cit. in Tayao 2004:80f). Llamzon is therefore indirectly saying that basilectal variety is not necessarily the result of a language deficiency. Rather, absolute assimilation to GAE when speaking to fellow Filipinos is thought to be anti-social.

In a similar vein, Gonzales (2004), among others, also observed a social dimension in the Filipinos’ language variation but extended to the interplay of English with Filipino: while Filipino is said to be spoken in the homes and lower-class establishments, English dominates in the field of education, government administration, professional life, worship, five-star establishments and international relations. Although this understanding is somewhat accurate, it takes for granted that English and Filipino are distinct entities within Filipino speech behavior. In fact, English has also made its way into everyday life and

³ Greenlees (2006) remarked that Filipinos are so much attuned to the Western culture that they easily adapt to a variety of accents. Call centers even offer specific training in the accent of the countries that their employees will be calling.

penetrated all levels of the society (Bautista 2000a).

4. Taglish

Thompson (2003) traces the rise of Taglish back to the late 1980s at the end of the Marcos regime, when student activists demanded the switch from English to Filipino in schools. This created the need for a number of neologisms that proved to be too cumbersome, however, so that even educated Filipinos started to mix English words into the Filipino discourse. This mix, which was later called Taglish, rapidly spread to the “general populace” (41), becoming the people’s vernacular. Today, written Taglish is commonly encountered in tabloids, comics and the internet.

5. The study

The question that arises from the interplay between English and Tagalog is whether Taglish can in any way be considered a new code or whether Taglish relies on purely arbitrary factors. To describe the act of speakers alternating between two (or more) languages at their disposal, authors have coined the term *Code Switching*⁴ (CS). Although CS used to be associated with uncompleted language acquisition, it is now acknowledged as a behavior deliberately applied by bilinguals. In fact, the act of CS may even be shared by whole bilingual speech communities and display degrees of predictability (MacSwan 1999). Therefore, the main interest of this study is to see whether Taglish displays any regularities and whether these regularities are shared by an

entire speech community. In particular, occurrences of Taglish will be investigated for the criteria of *recurrence*, *structure* and *function*.⁵ While the criterion of recurrence will be based on statistical tokens, structure is concerned with the nature of CS and function looks at Taglish on a discursive level.

The data

The data was collected from the fifth 90-minute episode of the *Philippine Idol* season broadcast by ABC on 29 October 2006. The choice of data was grounded in the fact that this genre offers a platform for both authentic casual as well as formal speech style. Therefore, it covers what Gonzales might have called ‘five-star establishments’ as well as a familiar environment with ABC featuring celebrated artists as the judges and participants referring to one another with their first names. In order to facilitate decipherment for the purposes of this analysis, the conversations were transcribed literally.

Recurrence

The criterion of *recurrence* in this study is limited to the occurrence of actual switches and does not consider the recurrence of specific forms. The distribution of English word tokens and Tagalog word tokens is relatively even: with a total of 6655 words, roughly 42% belong to the Tagalog vocabulary while 57% are English. The remaining 1% are mixed formations where English lexemes are embedded into Tagalog forms. In

⁴ Since there is no unanimity in the literature as to the specific differences between *Code Switching* and *Code Mixing*, the former term shall be used in this paper.

⁵ These criteria were inspired by Maschler’s (1998) study of CS between English and Hebrew. However, they are largely adapted to the purposes of this paper.

terms of discourse fragments⁶, 65% utterances are mixed while 13% are Tagalog and 22% are in English. Of the mixed utterances, 56% rely on Tagalog structures, 39% are based on English and the remaining 5% cannot clearly be assigned to either variety (see Tables 1 and 2).

Table 1

Count of total word tokens

Tagalog	English	Mixed
2819 (42%)	3792 (57%)	44 (<1%)

Table 2

Count of total speech acts

Tagalog	English	Mixed TAGALOG DOMINANT	Mixed ENGLISH DOMINANT
45 (13%)	75 (22%)	87 (25%)	124 (36%)

This raises the question of which of the two varieties serves as the *Matrix Language* (ML), i.e. the variety whose morphosyntactic structures accommodates the elements of another variety, which is also referred to as the *Embedded Language* (EL) (Myers-Scotton 1993, Jakobson 2001). The paradox we are faced with in Taglish is that although English numerically dominates in terms of word tokens and utterances, Tagalog is the variety more likely to act as an ML on a morphosyntactic level (cf. Table 2). In fact, the data presents us with two types of CS, illustrated in Table 3:

Table 3

Alternative switching in Taglish

	Variety 1	CS Variety 1 (EF)	CS Variety 2 (FE)	Variety 2
ML:	Tagalog	Tagalog	English	English
EL:		English	Tagalog	
		(INFLECT ED WITH TAGALO G MORPHE MES)	(UNINFLEC TED)	

The data indicates the use of four different varieties: Variety 1 (Tagalog), Variety 2 (English) and two mixed varieties: CS Variety 1 (English-Filipino or EF) and CS Variety 2 (Filipino-English or FE). While there are utterances that rely solely on Tagalog, there are also such in which Tagalog serves as the ML morphosyntactically with embedded English lexemes (EF). On the other hand, there are also utterances in straight English as well as a mixed variety, which displays English morphosyntactic features and Tagalog lexical insertions, but without accommodating them morphologically (FE). One could infer, therefore, that Taglish does not simply switch between merely two varieties but rather between two forms of CS with either of the varieties serving as the ML.

Structure

The criterion of *structure* in this paper investigates the nature of CS in terms of phonology, lexicon, morphology and syntax.

⁶ These comprise turns, speech incidents, and sentences.

Taglish phonology

Similar to Llamzon's (1969) observations, the speakers in our data also exhibit a pronunciation of English that strives towards GAE. Within FE contexts, therefore, they all appear to belong to the acrolectal group. There are but a few indicators that point to Philippine English characteristics, such as the lacking differentiation between voiced and voiceless *S* or the lack of aspirated consonants (cf. Tayao 2004: 83). With regard to CS that occurs intersententially, speakers adjust their phonology accordingly. That is, Tagalog sentences are pronounced in regular Tagalog and English sentences are spoken with near-GAE pronunciation. Unfortunately, there are no occurrences of basilectal speech in our data to corroborate the sociolinguistic observations made by Llamzon. Perhaps this is due to nature of the situation as being, after all, a public appearance.

In intrasentential CS, Tagalog lexemes are less flexible than English ones. Whenever English lexemes are inflected with Tagalog morphemes, they tend to be influenced by Tagalog phonological rules, though not entirely. For example, the /r/, which in Tagalog is commonly realized as [r], turns into [ʔ] in the final position of a word or as the coda of a syllable but maintains its Tagalog form if it is in initial position or part of an onset cluster as in *maremember* ('to remember'), pronounced [mɔrɛmɛbɛr]. What is also striking is the phoneme /k/, which is realized as [x] when it occurs between two vowel sounds, such as in words like *nakakatakot* ('scary'), pronounced [nɔxɔkɔtɔtɔxot]. Similarly, the word *okay* in our data is pronounced [oʔxei] while *no comment* is repeatedly realized as [noʔxomʔnt].

Simultaneously, with the inclusion of English lexemes, Taglish extends the phonological rules of Tagalog with English features. For example, while it is not possible in Tagalog syllables for diphthongs to be followed by consonants, this is a common combination in Taglish, as is shown in the example of *magcriticize* ('to criticize').

Certain instances of basilectal pronunciation patterns we find in Taglish occur in switches concerning single words. These seem to be on the verge of becoming lexical borrowings, such as *contestant*, commonly pronounced as [konʔtʔstant] instead of [k^hnʔt^hstnt]. In the same way, the expression *in love* is repeatedly realized as [ʔnʔlʔb], as in '*parang in love na in love ka yata a*'. Such lexical borrowings shall further be discussed in the next section.

Taglish lexemes

Lexical switches or *insertions* are usually what first come to mind when we speak of language mixing. It is also the type that speakers are most conscious of. The difference between insertions and actual borrowings is that they have not (yet) been fully adopted by the base language and, therefore, lack assimilation (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993:21). That is, they do not follow phonological or orthographic norms of the ML and are mostly considered ad hoc solutions for when the appropriate word in the ML does not come to mind. This view of insertions is supported by the data in the following examples, which show what I shall call 'involuntary' insertions: there is no Tagalog equivalent for *Halloween*, e.g., while *attitude* bears more cheeky connotations than does its Tagalog

counterpart *ugali* (lit. ‘manner’), and the word *idol* is more fitting than *idolo* in the context of the show. The same is true for idioms, such as ‘*constructive criticism*’, ‘*hopeless romantic*’ or ‘*voting procedures*’, where insertions are adjoined by semantic dependants. However, there is also what seem like arbitrary insertions in our data, when single lexical units from the EL are seemingly randomly placed where its equivalent could just as well have been used, such as ‘*minsan dumarating din yung time na nagwowonder ka*’ (‘SOMETIMES THERE COMES A TIME WHEN YOU WONDER’), where ‘time’ takes the place of the equally represented *panahon*.

In determining the relationship of Tagalog and English, we are faced with the obstacle of Spanish loanwords coming into play. While Spanish and English words may be similar most of the time, it is still intriguing whether—on a psycholinguistic level—speakers draw on one or the other.

EXAMPLE 1

HOST: *pero komportable ka*
(‘BUT YOU ARE COMFORTABLE’)

CONTESTANT: *oo, I’m comfortable,
siyempre*
(‘YES, I’M COMFORTABLE, OF
COURSE’)

In Example 1, it may be somewhat apparent that the host uses a naturalized Spanish loanword while the contestant clearly switches to English. Therefore, one might conclude that English insertions are not yet assimilated phonetically while Spanish ones are. However, if we hark back on popular Taglish usages such as *suporta* (‘support’) or *populasyon*

(‘population’), we must heed the fact that the Spanish translation of these are actually *ayudar* and *población*, respectively. This raises the question whether occurrences like *bumoto* (from: *voto* or *votar* ‘to vote’), *desisyon* (‘decision’), *kontrolado* (‘controlled’), *impluensiya* (‘influence’), *importante* (‘important’), *opisyal* (‘official’), *paborito* (‘favorite’), *pamilyar* (‘familiar’), *parte* (‘part’) and *situasyon* (‘situation’) actually represent Spanish borrowings or English insertions that have been adapted to Tagalog norms.

Taglish morphology

It might be worth repeating at this point, however, that morphological code switches only occur in *EF*, that is, in instances where Tagalog serves as the ML. The data does not show cases of Tagalog lexemes connected with English affixes in *FE*. With regard to morphological CS, there has been the supposition that CS does not occur before or after bound morphemes. This so called *free morpheme constraint* theory introduced by Poplack (Muysken, 2000: 14), however, has been contested by various other studies and is equally disproved by the current data. The plural marker *mga*, as in ‘*mga technique*’ (‘techniques’), for example, disproves the free morpheme constraint in that *technique* belongs to English whereas its corresponding plural marker belongs to Tagalog. What is particularly interesting with these switches is their redundancy: out of 24 cases in total, there are 19 instances where, despite the presence of *mga*, the English noun still takes on the plural form: e.g. ‘*mayroon ka bang mga expectations para sa ating mga idol hopefuls?*’ (‘DO YOU HAVE ANY

This draws the attention to who or what experiences or endures an action.

EXAMPLES FOR IN-VERBS (PATIENT FOCUS)

‘to cherish’ *iyon talaga yung pinaka chinecherish ko*
 IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT:
 INITIAL CONSONANT + IN +
 I. VOWEL + STEM
 ‘that’s really what I cherish most’

‘energy’ *pag inenergy niya baka hindi love song*
 PERFECTIVE ASPECT: IN +
 STEM
 ‘if he had [added] energy it might not have been a love song’

With *in*-verbs, the same principles for successive consonants as well as diphthongs are applicable. What is most striking with mixed forms of *in*-verbs, however, is that they do not occur in the inchoative aspect, at least not in their regular form. Instead, they seem to take on the form of *i*-verbs, which are also expressive of the Patient Focus, but in Tagalog contexts are reserved for words beginning in a glottal stop. While *iaannounce* (‘to announce’) is perfectly legitimate, for instance, because it has a glottal onset, the inchoative aspect form of the stem *base* (‘to base’) should be *basein*. However, it appears to be turned into *ibase*.

Taglish syntax

The most prominent feature of Taglish found in our data are syntactic switches. Contrary to lexical and morphological switches, syntactic switches involve more than single word units and engage the interplay of phrases within syntactic restrictions. Although the alternation of languages

between complete sentences or utterances in some of the literature strictly no longer qualifies as CS (cf. Muysken, 2000: 189), it remains worth mentioning that such switches occur within Tagalog speech. That is, one sentence may be expressed in one language while the next is realized in another language. More often, however, syntactic CS occurs *intrasententially*, i.e. within single sentences.

A frequent type of intrasentential CS occurs in adverbial phrases. The reason a Tagalog adverbs are sometimes switched into English could be that temporal expressions in Tagalog are usually long-winded: in ‘*last week isang surpresa ang bumulaga sa atin*’ (‘LAST WEEK A SURPRISE STRUCK US’) it is more convenient to opt for the English version when in Tagalog one would have to say *noong nakaraang linggo*. On the other hand, Tagalog prepositional phrases are preferred over English ones because, unlike English, Tagalog only possesses one preposition, ruling out the risk of employing the wrong one. This might be illustrated by the following example: ‘*napanood ko siya a few days ago sa rehearsals and then kaninang hapon*’ (‘I WATCHED HER A FEW DAYS AGO DURING THE REHEARSALS AND THEN THIS AFTERNOON’). Of course, *sa* in this case may just as well be translated into *in* or *at* and here, too, *a few days ago* is more convenient than the Tagalog equivalent *ilang araw ang nakaraan*. There are in fact no such temporal references that require *nakaraan* represented in our data.

A very convenient tool for CS seems to be the particle *na* because it is so multi-faceted. The function of *na* in Tagalog is not only to connect single

words but also phrases with modifier words or phrases. Oftentimes, it serves as a transition point in CS to subordinate clauses, which frequently take on the function of adjectives. Subsequently, it can be used as a connector for relative clauses, which would equal the English *that*, as well as subordinations. The following examples illustrate this: while in '*hindi siya yung best na performance*' ('IT WASN'T THE BEST PERFORMANCE') *na* is used as a link to connect *best* with *performance*, in 'I'm that type of person *na madaling naapektohan*' ('that is easily affected') *na* takes on the function of what in English stands as a relative pronoun. Another example includes 'there came a point *na* my mom wanted to buy the CD', where the *na* could stand for 'at which' or 'when'. In the case of '*dumating ako sa isang punto ng buhay ko in my relationship na it had to end*' ('I CAME TO A POINT IN MY LIFE IN MY RELATIONSHIP WHERE IT HAD TO END') the insertion of *na* might be caused by the momentary inaccessibility of the appropriate preposition in English. Finally, we see yet another use of *na*. In what appears to be an erratic sentence 'the song talks about *na yung mom niya sobra-sobrang pagmamahal ang binuhos . . .*' (*'THE SONG TALKS ABOUT THAT HIS MOM POUED OUT SO MUCH LOVE . . .'), *na* appears to be a kind of filler word that allows the speaker to amend his statement by continuing in Tagalog without having to take on active corrective measures. We therefore interpret the sentence as meaning something like 'the song talks about how his mom poured out so much love'.

Besides *na*, there are a number of other conjunctions that serve as transition points as well. It is important

to note, however, that CS may occur either before or after these conjunctions. E.g. 'we have another surprise announcement for you *pero pupuntahan natin iyan* when we go on with the show' ('BUT WE WILL GO TO THAT'). In this sentence, the conjugation *pero* is taken from the language into which the speaker transits. As a counter example, we have the following sentence: 'I want to make them laugh a little bit but *kung talagang may gusto sila sa akin wala akong magagawa*' ('IF THEY REALLY HAVE A LIKING FOR ME THERE'S NOTHING I CAN DO'). In the latter case, the transition into the new language occurs after the conjunction *but*.

In some cases of intrasentential CS, there is reason to believe that the switch is not entirely due to the fact that a new clause is being introduced. Our data presents us with several instances which I will refer to as *assimilation*: in the case of assimilation, there has been a preceding lexical CS within the sentence that causes the speaker to continue in the more recent language. E.g.: '*hintayin ninyo iyong go-signal at the end of the show*' ('WAIT FOR THE GO-SIGNAL AT THE END OF THE SHOW'), in which cases 'go-signal' is actually an involuntary insertion (see 7.1) that presents a point of transition, after which the speaker continues in English. The reverse case can also be found in '*when they make puna yung kaisaisang kulang . . .*' ('WHEN THEY MAKE REMARKS THE ONLY THING MISSING IS . . .'), where *puna* ('remark') serves as transition point from English to Tagalog. The motivation behind speakers' continuing in the other language instead of just switching back remains unclear. It may be motivated by some

regularities discussed above. Another possible explanation is that with the insertion of a word from the other language, the linguistic boundaries of the speaker switch as well, which might imply a neurological process taking place.

So far, we have looked at cases where the shift takes place in within sentences. We shall now move on to CS within phrases. I wish to point out that Tagalog sentence structures can take on two forms: one is the so called *natural order* (N.O.) while the other one is the *transformed order* (T.O.).⁸ The main difference between the natural and the transformed order, in addition to the sequence of subject (S) and predicate (P), is that in the transformed order, the linker *ay* is omitted. The two variants may thus be visualized as follows:

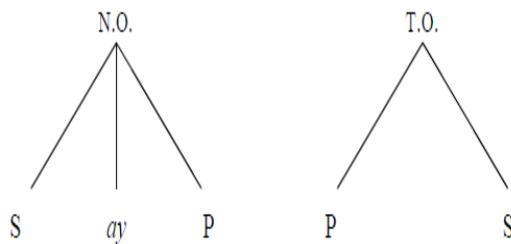


Figure 1. Tagalog sentence structures.

According to our data, there is the possibility of CS for verb phrases within T.O. sentences in *EF*. This results in examples such as *'lacking in energy si Jan'* ('Jan is lacking in energy'), where we find the P *lacking in energy* followed by the S *si Jan*. We also find the reverse case where the P is in Tagalog while the S is in English. In this constellation, however, it seems compulsory for the English noun to

follow Tagalog syntactic rules so that the noun phrase rewrites as [Art^t N^t or °]. This can be seen in the example *'kakaiba ang twist'* ('the twist is unusual'), where the English *twist* is legitimized as a noun thanks to the article *ang*. It would, however, not be acceptable to convert the above sentences into **'kulang sa enerhiya Jan'* or **'kakaiba twist'*, where the verb phrase takes on Tagalog forms while the noun phrase is in English, i.e. without a Tagalog article. Furthermore, this particular alternation is only permissible with predicate nouns or adjectives. As soon as a verb other than 'to be' is involved, which in Tagalog is implicit, the verb must be inflected by Tagalog rules. It would thus be unlikely to hear **'missing ko palagi ang family ko'* but rather *'namimiss ko palagi ang family ko'* (IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT: 'I always miss my family').

In the N.O., the same principles apply with regard to Tagalog noun phrase structures but, in this case, verb phrases tend to be more acceptable when they are inflected in English. Nonetheless, the N.O. does not seem very prominent in general, therefore, we do not find any instances where *ay* is succeeded with an English verb, although it does precede English predicate nouns or adjectives. In fact, there is a total of merely 20 occurrences of such copulas. In three of these instances, *is* replaces *ay* in the speech of three different speakers, respectively, e.g. *'Ang kakantahin ko ngayon is kailangan ko ikaw'* ('WHAT I'M GOING TO SING NOW IS KAILANGAN KO IKAW'). This might indicate that this type of switch is gaining acceptance within the community and is not based on an individual's idiosyncrasy. We can therefore conclude that, firstly, the

⁸ This terminology by Aspillera (1969) is slightly misleading if not unfortunate as the *transformed order* is in no way less natural to speakers of Tagalog. In fact, these labels were inverted by Cena and Ramos (1990).

transformed order is more common than the natural order, secondly, that statements in which the subject precedes the predicate are mostly made in English and, thirdly, that the linker *ay* is being replaced by *is* in Tagalog N.O.-structures, taking on a different role than the original, English word ‘is’.

5.1 Function

The purpose of this section is to take a look at Taglish on a discursive level. This will hopefully reveal more clearly the role that Taglish has within the speech community.

Discourse markers

To begin with, let us examine the occurrence of discourse markers. There are relatively few occurrences of Tagalog discourse markers in FE, as shown in Table 4:

Table 4

Tagalog discourse markers occurring in English speech acts

<i>ano</i>	<i>'di ba</i>	<i>lang</i>	<i>talaga</i>
(lit. ‘what’, used as tag question) (2)	(‘isn’t it’) (2)	(lit. ‘only’, ‘just’) (1)	(‘really’) (2)

For the most part, when an utterance takes place in one language, discourse markers are taken from that same language. This might indicate that speakers are comfortable and are able to express themselves fully in either language. Nonetheless, there are some singular occurrences when code switches take place with discourse markers. For instance, there is the case of *po*, which in Tagalog is a particle

used in the address-form that signals respect. However, it only appears once within an English utterance when a candidate expresses her gratitude for the judges’ comments: ‘thank you very much ... thank you *po* ... thank you very much’. This does not mean, however, that in English this convention of ‘respectful style’ is omitted: the data shows that whenever a ‘superior’ is addressed in English, statements are either preceded by or end in that person’s name: in fact, out of twenty seven cases of either *thank you* or *thank you very much*, only two instances do not have the addressees’ name within their boundary.

Generally, whenever discourse markers are displaced into the other language, it is from Tagalog into English (i.e. EF) and not the other way around. There is, nonetheless, one discourse marker of English that stands out and is found repeatedly within both Tagalog as well as code-switched speech incidents. This is the case of the conjunction *so* (synonymous to ‘therefore’), which often is used as a stalling-device: e.g. ‘*wala kang masabi so eto lang talaga*’ (‘you have nothing to say so this is just really it’). However, considering its high frequency and that it is the only case of an English discourse marker appearing within Tagalog patterns, we might, on at least an analytical level, have to regard it as *borrowed* as opposed to an insertional switch.

A further noticeable case of word formation is the word *parang* (‘like’), which in contrast to *so* is a type of borrowing similar to *calque*. That is, the English word including its particular function has been transferred into Tagalog while being replaced, however, with a Tagalog equivalent. While in English, the preposition ‘like’

has evolved to be employed for stalling within discourse, its Tagalog equivalent *parang* seems to have acquired the function of a filler in Tagalog speech, as well: e.g. '*parang* sometimes I don't have to say anything' ('it's like sometimes I don't have to say anything') or '*parang* it's a bit boring sometimes'. Notice that in the latter example, the word *parang* does not have any semantic bearing and functions solely as buffer or hedge, in order to 'soften' the statement. Interestingly enough, the English version 'like' is never used within the data.

Discourse analysis

In the preceding paragraphs, we observed the formal constraints within Taglish. We shall now move on to particular functions language alternation has with regard to personal interaction. There are roughly three categories of speech style that were determined: *Casual speech*, *Prepared speech* and *Offhand speech*.

Casual Speech

To obtain samples of casual speech style, the conversation between contestants and the host were examined. This is because they presumably perceive one another as peers (belonging to the same age bracket), although, of course, the host will be slightly superior to them given his celebrity and his position in the show. The extracts examined were taken from parts of the show where the contestants have finished performing their number and have heard the judges' comments. The situation thus reflects a time during which the host tries to ease the tension and therefore needs to create a casual setting by taking up topics which are close to the

addressees. Of course, the casualness we are dealing with here is not perfectly authentic as it is, after all, still part of the contest. Still, we can discern that in relatively casual discourse, both languages seem to have the same value:

Casual speech (conversation between the host and contestants)

EXTRACT 1

HOST: good job and it was a risk taking that and *pumasa ka naman, Miguel*
(‘YOU PASSED, MIGUEL’)

EXTRACT 2

HOST: okay, Mau, it's your chance to talk back *kay Mr. C ... niyari ka doon sa suot mo.*
(‘AT MR. C. ... YOU WERE PUT DOWN FOR WHAT YOU'RE WEARING’)

EXTRACT 3

HOST: . . . *ano 'yong mga ginawa mong adjustments and I was observing also kanina habang nagshoshow na tayo kausap mo pa rin si Megamel.*
(‘. . . WHAT WERE THE adjustments THAT YOU MADE and I was observing also EARLIER WHILE WE WERE ALREADY [MAKING THE SHOW] YOU WERE STILL TALKING TO MEGAMEL.’)

The extracts show that it is perfectly acceptable in casual setting to switch from one language to the other within the conversation so long as it happens within the formal constraints. In fact, given that there are no occurrences of interpersonal utterances that consist of only Tagalog tokens, one might even suggest that a requirement for speech

accommodation within casual situations is to mix one's languages.

Prepared Speech

The second speech style was gathered from parts of the show when the host recites his address to the studio as well as the TV audience. It is therefore representative of a more formal speech style which is characterized by the fact that it has been prepared beforehand. Examples are provided in the following:

Prepared speech (announcements by host)

EXTRACT 4

HOST: *Halo halo ang kanilang karanasan kaya ibat-ibang uri ng awitin ang maririnig natin ngayong gabi*
(‘THEIR EXPERIENCE IS MIXED THEREFORE WE WILL HEAR DIFFERENT TYPES OF SONGS TONIGHT’)

EXTRACT 5

HOST: if you liked Pow's performance *ito ang inyong gagawin* ... all you have to do is text pow that's P O W send it to two three three nine using Smart and any of the other networks ... *at ang gagawin ni'yo po kung landline ang inyong gagawitin, idial ni'yo lang* one nine zero eight five idol zero four that's one nine zero eight idol zero four for Pow
([RESPECTFUL ADDRESS-FORM]: ‘THIS IS WHAT YOU DO . . . AND WHAT YOU DO IF YOU WANT TO USE landline, JUST DIAL . . .’)

EXTRACT 6

HOST: so just like American Idol voting will be limited to two hours for tonight and voting time starts when

I give the signal . . . *uulitin ko. dalawang oras lang kayo puwedeng bumoto. magsisimula ito kapag binigay ko ang signal*

(‘I REPEAT. YOU [RESPECTFUL] CAN ONLY VOTE FOR TWO HOURS. THIS WILL START WHEN I GIVE THE signal’)

As opposed to casual speech, there are some occurrences of continuous Tagalog utterances within this speech style. In fact, in Extract 4, it seems as if there had been a conscious effort put into this statement to contain no English elements. There are several indicators for this based on our data: first of all, the word *awitin* was deliberately chosen instead of the Spanish loanword *kanta* (‘song’). Examining the data, namely, it appears that in more natural speech, *kanta* is the preferred variant: while this is the only occurrence of *awitin*, *kanta* and derivations of it appear thirty two times. Similarly, the use of *uri* (‘type’), which elsewhere is replaced by the Spanish loanword *klase* or code switched to ‘type’ or ‘kind’. Furthermore, the variants *so* for *kaya* (‘therefore’) as well as *tonight* for *ngayong gabi* are avoided, two expressions that are regularly code switched in the show.

However, although we see that in formal speech style there are instances of conscious language separation, language alternation is accepted, as well. Extract 5 is a line the host repeats to the audience with each contestant. Of course, he varies with the numbers every time and sometimes his transitions differ. Nonetheless, there are chunks which he always says in the same language: the part concerning text votes, for instance, is always announced in English, whereas ‘PLDT landline’ is always succeeded by Tagalog. The only variation employed

is that he varies between the use of pronouns, which are either posed in front of the verb '*naman ang inyong gagamitin*' or after the verb '*naman ang gagamitin ni'yo*'. Incidentally, the numbers are always said in English. We can therefore also distinguish an effort to keep the two languages at a balance.

This balancing becomes even more evident with Extract 6, where the same information is explicitly repeated in Tagalog. In addition to language balancing, one might also conclude that the repetition is to ensure that less educated viewers understand the voting rules as well. This would, however, be the only instance during the show conceding that English has retained some of its status as the superior language at least in what concerns socioeconomic value. In general, namely, English utterances are evenly spread across the ninety minute show along with Tagalog statements. And even though in formal speech pure English sentences do not openly dominate in count, they seem to be less constructed than do Tagalog ones.

Offhand Speech

Finally, there is a third category of discourse style that becomes apparent in our data, which I wish to refer to as 'offhand' speech. The difference between offhand and casual speech is that it is a part of casual speech, which is uttered 'on a different note' as it were. This distinction comes close to what Gumperz might have meant when he suggested a so-called "we code for in-group relations" as opposed to the "they code" when he described the possible relation of two languages within a speech community (cit in. Savic, 1996: 26). Even though all of the speakers within our context

participate as part of the same linguistic speech community, Tagalog sometimes appears to be used as the 'buffer language' when English statements do not offer the right parameters for the intended level of discourse.

Offhand (conversation among the judges and the contestants)

EXTRACT 7

FEMALE JUDGE: *kailangan daw niya ako Mr. C ... kasi wala daw siyang girlfriend ako daw ang kailangan* (laughs, turns to the contestant) Jan it's so wonderful to see all of you like this, you know, so nicely dressed . . .

([REFERRING TO THE LYRICS SUNG BY A MALE CONTESTANT]: 'HE SAYS HE NEEDS ME, MR. C. ... BECAUSE HE DOESN'T HAVE A girlfriend I'M THE ONE HE NEEDS')

EXTRACT 8

MALE JUDGE: okay, Apple, we've been waiting, actually, me, I've been waiting for you to sing something more intimate because the past three weeks you've been coming on very, very strong ... *parang, nakakatakot lagi, ano ...* but tonight I like it because it's very er intimate and it's very ... I can hear the nice tones, beautiful

('LIKE, IT'S ALWAYS SCARY, RIGHT')

EXTRACT 9

FEMALE JUDGE: . . . and what I can say is, really, that song, really, you need to be in a couch like that because, really, you really brought ... *ano, para bang yung pag nakaupo ka diyan parang iniimbata mo sila na dito ka nga maupo ... tumabi ka nga sa akin, iyong parang gan'on, di ba ...* Jeli, this is one of the

performances that, tonight's performance, that I like that you've done so congratulations (WHAT, LIKE WHEN YOU'RE SITTING THERE IT'S AS IF YOU'RE INVITING THEM COME SIT HERE ... SIT NEXT TO ME, SOMETHING LIKE THAT, ISN'T IT')

In Extract 7, for instance, we have the case of the female judge joking about how a male contestant is supposedly singing the love song to her. We notice that the Tagalog part is addressed to her peer and co-judge. As soon as she turns to the candidate, however, she shifts to English. Since she still has the same positive mood and lightness in her tone, her use of English might signal that, even though she was joking earlier, her compliments are now sincere. In the next extract, we witness how the male judge inserts a Tagalog phrase into his English statement in order to clarify himself. With the use of the Tagalog insertion, he elaborates on his use of 'coming on very strong' and, at the same time, alleviates the impact of the English by mentioning *nakakatakot* ('scary') which, because of its extremeness, seems comical. Indeed, the contestant nonverbally expresses her confirmation thereafter. The final example shows how with the use of Tagalog, the judge establishes a rapport with the contestant that creates a 'just between you and me'-discourse. At the same time, the shift to Tagalog takes away the seriousness from her statement, which she immediately takes up again in her next sentence in English.

In summary, even though we can surmise that Filipinos feel comfortable speaking to each other in both English and Filipino, we observe that CS is deliberately employed in conversation to effect a casual speech style or at

least reduce emotional distance between speakers. Simultaneously, CS can indicate a change of temperament or seriousness within an utterance. In such cases, there is a tendency towards the use of Tagalog as the 'we-variety', even though this distinction is very subtle.

6. Discussion

6.1 Summary

Returning to the three criteria established in the research question, we can now try to assess whether the variety found in our data can be considered a 'new code'. The fact that CS is represented throughout the data indicates that the first indicator, *recurrence*, is given, at least with regard to switch tokens, but not necessarily to switch types. Apart from involuntary lexical code switches, namely, most items that are code switched appear in a non-code switched alternative elsewhere, which implies a degree of arbitrariness.

With the second indicator, *structure*, there is an ambivalence as well. On the one hand, we have the absence of a set ML. That is, both source languages can serve as the ML according to a speaker's choice, even though they behave differently. On the other hand, we have observed certain constraints that need to be respected. These constraints most clearly affect Taglish morphology and syntax, especially in the EF variety.

The third indicator that was examined, *function*, proved to be somewhat controversial, as well. Because there is freedom as to which variety to use as the ML and both Tagalog and English are represented on all levels of discourse, we can conclude that both varieties to a certain degree are perceived by speakers to be

of equal value. In other words, Tagalog or English per se do not necessarily play a specific role within discourse. There does, however, seem to be significant value in the act of CS itself: it serves not only to soften particular statements but also to signal social closeness between speakers. We can thus say that the function of Taglish is not determined by formal criteria but rather by the fact that CS takes place at all.

Based on the indicators stated above, the rise of a new 'mixed code' on a typological level will have to be dismissed because none of the three criteria are granted in full. Rather, we will have to move away from the notion of 'linguistic variety' to a 'communicative code'. That is, instead of defining the CS as a set of linguistic norms, it serves as a mechanism of transducing communicative intentions (cf. Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1998: 38). Our data has shown that Taglish leaves much room for personal language selection at a minimal number of constraints. Nevertheless, being a part of what seems to be an unwritten rule, Taglish plays a major role in personal interaction in that speakers are expected to CS if they are to be accepted as benign members of the linguistic community. Therefore, if speakers want to show their in-group belongingness or if they want to accommodate their discourse partners, they will at any rate choose to make use of both varieties. This tendency is observed both in formal as well as a casual speech style. CS appears to be kept at a minimum, i.e. in between whole sentences or with single lexical insertions, in formal utterances (CS_{MIN}) while it is more welcome in casual speech, involving inter- and intrasentential CS (CS_{MAX}):

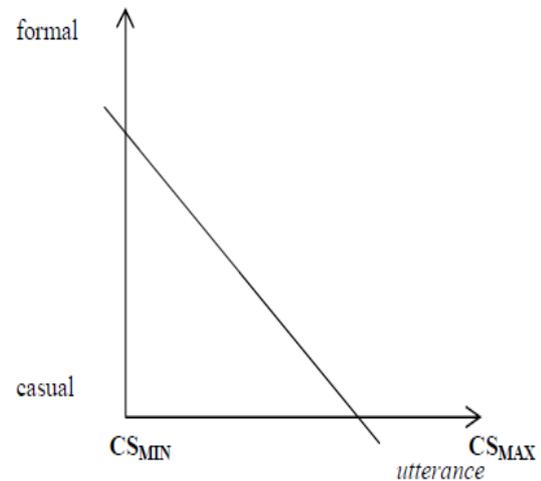


Figure 2. Range of style according to degrees of CS.

We can thus conclude that Taglish is part of a communicative or behavioral code in Filipino conversation. On a more global level, this realization compels us to consider whether the Philippines could actually reflect a *diglossic* society.

6.2 Philippine diglossia?

The term 'diglossia' describes a language situation in which a speech community alternates between two languages, depending on the social circumstances they find themselves in. Ferguson suggested that these two languages are typically related, such as is the case e.g. in Switzerland with High German and Swiss German. According to Fishman, however, this relation is not necessarily imperative. Even two languages that belong to different language families may be seen as having a diglossic relation given that they are used complementarily. In more formal domains, therefore, such as worship, public administration, school, publications, newspapers, economics,

mass media and literature, the so-called *high*-variety (i.e. High German) will find its use whereas the *low*-variety will be spoken in more familiar settings (cf. Dittmar, 1997: 139-141).

There are many opinions in the literature that suggest just that kind of distribution in the case of the Philippines (cf. Gomez 2004), where English is believed to be employed as the high-variety while Tagalog is thought to be reserved for cases in which the low-variety is used. This appears to be a sound supposition, and yet it collides with two determining incidents: first of all, Tagalog is also stated and acknowledged as an official language along with English just as English has penetrated familiar situations and is used alongside Tagalog. Secondly, the classification between the everyday use of Tagalog versus English is not at all distinct, as the data has shown. Although both languages have their autonomous role in the Philippines, it does not seem appropriate, therefore, to appoint one as the high-variety and the other one as the low-variety given the fact that both varieties to some extent are present in all situations. Rather, it seems more feasible to investigate whether, in reality, the diglossia consists of Taglish as the low-variety and Tagalog as well as English as the high-variety. This would mean that Filipinos in high diglossic situations may choose between Tagalog and English, so long as they keep these varieties 'pure'. In low diglossic situations, however, they are allowed or, rather, required to employ the variety mix:

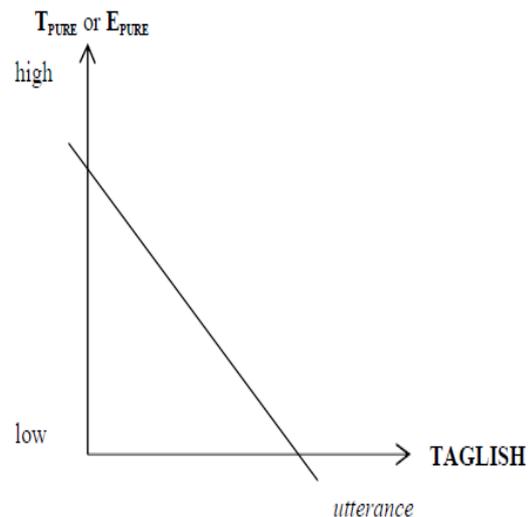


Figure 3. Diglossic ranking of middle class speakers' speech behavior.

7. Conclusions and outlook

The central theme of this paper was to analyze authentic Filipino speech behavior and the extent to which it comprises a mixture of Tagalog and English, also called 'Taglish'. This was then examined to see whether there is an emerging grammaticization to it. Finally, the functional scope of Taglish was investigated in the societal context provided by our data. The analysis has shown that while Filipinos have maintained the grammar of their native vernacular fairly well, they rely heavily on foreign influences in their discourse when it comes to lexis. While these influences go beyond English, it is currently the most prominent confounding factor with English word tokens making up more than half of the data. As far as grammaticization of Taglish is concerned, there is no particular evidence found. Although certain constraints can be made out, Taglish in itself does not show signs of a newly arising language variety with a consistent structure as speakers are free to choose in which language they articulate any given utterance. There is

therefore no generic rule as to when and where a switch must or must not occur. What is much more imperative than the constraints that govern the particular points of transition, in fact, is the transition itself. The data has shown that an ideal and polite speaker within the Filipino speech community will keep both source languages at a balance. This is to say that in the Philippines, Taglish has moved away from ancient notions of CS that characterize it as idiosyncratic or even stigmatized language alternation to becoming a social norm.

An awareness of the current status of Taglish might be helpful in Philippine language education, both in Tagalog as well as in English. Realizing the intricacies and richness of their native variety, Filipinos will perhaps develop a better appreciation for it and conduce to its maintenance. Similarly, a heightened awareness of Taglish can be helpful in gaining proficiency in English in that more attention will be paid to language interference. Even though the acknowledgement of Taglish might be taboo for teaching Tagalog as a foreign language, it would also seem an invaluable asset for learners in that Taglish, after all, represents authentic Filipino speech. Future research might involve the development of Taglish writing, the actual proficiency Filipinos still have of Tagalog as well as English in light of the fact that Taglish dominates in genuinely intimate situations.

References

- Alvarez-Cáccamo, C. (1998). From 'switching code' to 'code-switching': Towards a reconceptualisation of communicative codes. In Auer, P. (ed.). *Code-Switching in Conversation*. London: Routledge. 29-50.
- Aspillera, P. (1969). *Basic Tagalog for Foreigners and Non-Tagalogs*. Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Company, Inc.
- Bautista, Ma. L. S. (2004). The verb in Philippine English: a preliminary analysis of modal *would*. In Bautista, Ma. L. S. and Bolton, K. (eds.). *Philippine English: tensions and transitions*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 113-128.
- Dittmar, N. (1997). *Grundlagen der Soziolinguistik – Ein Arbeitsbuch mit Aufgaben*. Tübingen: Niemeyer Verlag GmbH & Co.
- Go, J. (2003). Introduction: Global Perspectives on the U.S. Colonial State in the Philippines. In Go, J. and Foster, A. (eds.). *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives*. Durham: Duke UP. 1-42.
- Gonzales, A. (2004). The social dimensions of Philippine English. In Bautista, Ma. L. S. and Bolton, K. (eds.). *Philippine English: tensions and transitions*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 7-16.
- Greenlees, D. "Philippine call center business booms - Business - International Herald Tribune." *New York Times* 20 11 2006. Business. 31 03 2010 <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/20/business/worldbusiness/20iht-call1.3606506.html?_r=1>.
- Himmelman, N. (1987). *Morphosyntax und Morphologie – Die Ausrichtungsauffixe im Tagalog*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag.
- Hock, H. H. (1996). *Language History, Language Change, and Language*

- Relationship*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Holm, J. (2000). *An Introduction to Pidgins and Creoles*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Kelz, H. P. and Samson, H. F. (1998). *Wörterbuch Filipino – Deutsch Deutsch – Filipino*. Bonn: Dümmler Verlag.
- MacSwan, J. (1999). A minimalist approach to intrasentential code switching. In Horn, L. (ed.), *Outstanding Dissertations in Linguistics*. New York; London: Garland Publishing, Inc. 37-120.
- Maschler, Y. (1998). On the transition from code-switching to a mixed code. In Auer, P. (ed.). *Code-Switching in Conversation*. London: Routledge. 125-150.
- McFarland, C. (2004). The Philippine language situation. In Bautista, Ma. L. S. and Bolton, K. (eds.). *Philippine English: tensions and transitions*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 59-76.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1993). *Duelling Languages Grammatical Structure in Codeswitching*. New York: Oxford UP, Inc.
- Muysken, P. (2000). *Bilingual Speech, a typology of code-mixing*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Jacobson, R. (2001). *Codeswitching Worldwide II*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Savic, J.M. (1996). *Code-Switching: theoretical and methodological issues*. Belgrade: College of Philology – Belgrade University.
- Tayao, Ma. L. G. (2004). The evolving study of Philippine English phonology. In Bautista, Ma. L. S. and Bolton, K. (eds.). *Philippine English: tensions and transitions*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 77-90.
- Thompson, R. M. (2003). *Filipino English and Taglish*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Wegmüller, U. (1997). *Sentence Structure and Ergativity in Tagalog*. Bern: author's edition.
- Zaide, S. M. (1999). *The Philippines a Unique Nation*. Quezon City: All-Nations Publishing Co., Inc.

Tonal Geography of the Provinces of Central Thailand: Part I¹

Kritsana A. Canilao

Mahidol University, Thailand

E-mail: kritydid@yahoo.com

Thai is a tonal language in which each syllable has a distinctive lexical tone. Central Thai not only consists of Bangkok Thai but also other varieties spoken in various provinces in the central region of Thailand. This study investigates four varieties of Central Thai spoken in Kanchanaburi, Ratchaburi, Phetchaburi, and Prachuap Khiri Khan. The focus is on tone variation. The following are the locations of the study: Amphoe Bo Ploy in Kanchanaburi province: Amphoe Damnoen Saduak in Ratchaburi province: Amphoe Cha-am in Phetchaburi province: and Amphoe Bang Saphan in Prachuap Khiri Khan province. To obtain reliable results, three native informants who were over 40 years of age were selected from each Amphoe (District) to be interviewed on general subjects for at least one and a half hours. One informant was then chosen concerning his/her clear native accent and/or voice to represent each Amphoe. The data include spontaneous running speech recorded during conversation, stressed monosyllabic words cut from the running speech, and monosyllabic words of an analogous set proposed by Akharawatthanakun (2003). The wordlist used in the study is adapted from Gedney's (1972) tone box checklist for determining tones in various Tai languages and dialects. The data analysis was carried out with auditory stimuli and speech analysis instruments (Computer software programs: Cool Edit Pro, PRAAT 4.5.08, and Microsoft Excel Version 2003). "Cool Edit Pro" was used for dividing a word from running speech, whereas "PRAAT" was employed to identify the distinctive phonetic characteristics of each tone presented by line graphs processed by Microsoft Excel. Based on data from an auditory and acoustic phonetic analysis, two significant patterns of lexical tones, linked to Gedney's (1972) tone box, were shown. The first pattern of tonal splits and mergers is divided along the lines of *A1-23-4, B/C/D-long (DL)/D-short (DS) 123-4, B4=C123*, which represents Kanchanaburi Thai. The second one splits along the lines of *A1-234, B/C/D-long (DL)/D-short (DS) 123-4, B4=C123*, which identifies Ratchaburi Thai, Phetchaburi Thai, and Prachuap Khiri Khan Thai. According to the apparent tone splits in the *A* column and their potential tone characteristics, Kanchanaburi Thai and Prachuap Khiri Khan Thai appears to be markedly different from the others; it represents a hybrid of the tone patterns of Central Thai and Southern Thai. Likewise, the acoustic of tones: low, rising, and falling plays the important role to distinguish one variety from another. Eventually, the pitch level can be changed in the case of unstressed syllable or word.

Keywords: linguistic geography, tone, tone variation, Central Thai dialect, Central Thailand

1. Introduction

Dialect differences and linguistic diversity have been in place for as long as groups of people have been talking to one another. "Dialects of a language tend to differ more from one another

¹ This research is one of the crucial parts of dissertation of Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia, Mahidol University, Thailand, funded by the Ph.D.-Royal Golden Jubilee Scholarship under the auspices of Thailand Research Fund.

the more remote they are from one another geographically” (Romaine, 2000: 2). By the eighteenth century, dialect geography/dialectology seemed to be restricted to a certain area. Dialect dictionaries were, according to Petyt (1980) and Bloomfield (1984), created at first to provide information on the lexical peculiarities of local speech. Later, during the nineteenth century, grammatical and/or phonological structures of the whole areas were scrutinized comparatively and historically. As a result, linguistic changes, relations, family trees and geographic distribution among different or related languages/dialects were established.

The study of dialect geography has developed incrementally since the first survey of Georg Wenker (1876) in Germany. During these early studies, postal questionnaires were distributed in the target areas of research prior to being followed up by conducting fieldwork to observe the linguistic characteristics of the sites. Thai dialectology, according to Tingsabadh (1985) and Tingsabadh and Deeprasert (1997), was initiated around fifty years ago with the study of variation between Bangkok dialect of Central Thailand and Songkhla dialect of Southern Thailand (Panupong, 1956) and of phonology of the Thai dialects of Nakhon Sithammarat (Miller, 1956). Tone geography, according to Tingsabadh (2001), is a part of dialect geography. As long as different linguistic varieties have appeared to some extent, not only among dialects of the different Thai regions, but also ones in the same province, district, sub-district, and/or village (Panupong, 1976), Thai tone geography can be studied at the level of dialects, sub-

dialects, and accents/varieties. In Thailand, both lexical items and tone systems have been used as criteria to divide linguistic boundaries among languages and/or the main Thai dialects (Central Thai, Northern Thai, Northeastern Thai, and Southern Thai) and sub-dialects and/or varieties respectively, much in keeping with the classification procedures developed by the pioneering Tai comparativist, F.K Li (1959, 1960, and 1977).

The tonal geography of the provinces of Central Thailand has interested a number of linguists for some time. Standard Thai, the official language of Thailand, was analyzed by Abramson (1962 and 1976) and Brown (1965 or 1985) as having five phonemic tones: mid, low, falling, high, and rising. Among the Central Thai varieties studied by Thai linguists, four to six numbers of tones are observed and tone split, mergers, and complementary distribution are $A1-234/ A1-23-4$, $B4=C123$, and $B=DL$. According to Tingsabadh (1980), Central Thai dialects are composed of three groups of sub-dialects: western, central, and eastern groups. Interestingly, a great number of them are generalized linguistically; tone studies of each group have already been explored individually. Research on the western part includes Suphanburi: Brown 1965, Tingsabadh (1980); Pracuap Khiri Khan: Debavalya (1983), Banditkul (1993); Ratchaburi: Ratanadilok Na Phuket (1983); Phetchaburi: Pornsib (1994), and Krisanapan (1995); Kanchanaburi: Worawong (2000). Studies of the central group focused on Nakhon Pathom: Nualjansaeng (1991); Ang Thong and Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya: Malaichalern (1988). Lastly, an investigation of eastern dialects

comprises those of Prachin Buri and Sa Kaeo: Sakdanuwatwong (1994); Rayong: Bunapa (1969) and Witayasakpan (1979). Likewise, most of the earlier studies analyze tone patterns and features from isolated words only.

Thai is a tone language in which each syllable has a distinctive tone. The system of tone contrasts in any particular language or dialect is unique, both as to the phonetic characteristics of tones and as to the pattern and number of tone contrasts. The most effective criterion for dialect boundary identification is possibly that of tone systems (Gedney, 1972).

Inspired by Brown's (1985) outstanding work *From Ancient Thai to Modern Dialects*, which outlines tone development of his *Sukhothai-Southern Thai branch* and *Ayuthaya-Central Thai branch* using traditional Thai High-Mid-Low syllable initial categories and comparative tones of the fifty-nine ancient-modern dialects, this empirical study explores synchronic phonetic and phonological variations in tone systems in four provinces² of Central Thailand. This challenging work on Central Thai spontaneous speech may greatly provide actual contemporary tone systems of Central Thai dialects, of which patterns (split, mergers, and complementary distribution) and characteristics (tone graphs) may not be *ideal* as ones of Standard Thai, especially in contour tones.

The tones of a given dialect differ from one another in pitch height and in contour. Several Thai linguists use the contrastive characteristics of tones to divide one region from another, such as the division between Central Thai and Southern Thai (Hartmann, 1980b, Debavalya, 1983) and to draw

differences and/or similarities among varieties of speech.

Despite the close resemblance of Standard Thai, Bangkok Thai, and Central Thai, each of them represents a distinctive variety in this study. Standard Thai is a desired or idealized variation of Thai dialects; it is, according to Gething (1972), cited in Beebe (1974), spoken and written as

² The overall picture of this tonal geography includes all together ten provinces: Chainat, Singburi, Ang Thong, Ayutthaya, Suphanburi, Kanchanaburi, Ratchaburi, Phetchaburi, Samut Songkhram, and Prachuap Khiri Khan.

the first language by educated or cultivated natives of central plains of Thailand. In addition, this variety is used as a lingua franca in most newspapers, radio, and television broadcasts, as well as in the schools, universities, and government offices throughout the country. Bangkok Thai, as far as I am concerned, is an accommodation attempted by a wide variety of people in metropolitan Bangkok in formal settings.

Likewise, Central Thai is one of four major regional dialects of Thailand, together with Northern Thai, Northeastern Thai, and Southern Thai. It includes, despite sharing a majority of lexical items and grammatical structures, a number of spoken variations. Central Thai, in both Part I and Part II research, accommodates all authentic speech varieties belonging to native speakers of the central region of Thailand excluding Bangkok and its suburban provinces: Nonthaburi, Pathumthani, Samut Prakan, Samut Sakorn, and Nakhon Pathom, and also the provinces in Central Thai area where people speak Northeastern Thai and Khorat Thai more than Central Thai: Saraburi and Lopburi. Standard

Thai, which is the official or national language, is based on the written medium in Thailand, is itself a variety of Central Thai. According to Smalley (1994), even though Standard Thai takes on a different level in the language hierarchy, it is mutually intelligible with other Central Thai varieties. Speakers of different dialects usually have different accents; at the same time speakers of the same dialect may have distinguishing varieties or idiolects as well.

Among the varieties of Central Thai, various distinctive pronunciations may be observed not only in traveling from town to town but also between one village and another. I, myself, used to have a Kanchanaburi Thai accent, a variety of Central Thai. However during my childhood using the local tones, I had never listened to my unique speech; I thought that it was Standard Thai or Bangkok Thai as used by people living in Bangkok. I owe my primary school friends in Chiang Mai a special thank you for showing me the differences between Kanchanaburi Thai and Standard Thai. Their perfect imitation of my local accent proves that in the central region of Thailand there is not only Standard Thai variety but also local dialects in many areas of Central Thailand. Up until now, whenever I travel in provincial communities in Central Thailand or stay with the residents of other areas, I do notice some significant distinctions in linguistic varieties. Nevertheless, to define the specific varieties of speech or to describe how different they are has become problematic; unlike English accents that do not involve tones, it is not easy to tell where someone is from in Thailand except by studying a sample of speech that

identifies someone's areal and social background that is first most readily identified by tone differences.

Central Thai, as Burusphat (2005: personal communication) points out is comprised of distinctive varieties based on geographic distribution. The variety of differences and similarities of tone systems in the provinces of Central Thailand can be described in one piece in order to give a clearer linguistic picture or map of Central Thai dialects. It may eventually be used, to a certain extent, to identify relationships among Thai inhabitants, their varieties of speech, geographic distribution or origins in cases where migration may be involved. In regard to the linguistic evidence of two major historical kingdoms of Thai, namely Sukhothai and Ayutthaya, Brown (1965), cited in Comrie (2000) by Hudak, claims that Southern Thai is related to Sukhothai dialects, whereas Central Thai is derived from an earlier Ayutthaya dialect. This present work on tones hopefully can reflect, more or less, traces of Thai language ancestry.

1. The tones of Thai

Standard Thai displays a system of five contrastive tone levels and contours: mid, low, falling, high, and rising. The principal characteristics of a tone pattern, according to Abramson (1976/1978), are found in voice pitch as measured by fundamental-frequency (F_0) states and movements. In respect of standardization, Standard Thai should have the hallmark of a systematic and uniform pronunciation with written characters. Furthermore, each written sign, from the point of view of phonological principle, should correspond to an accurate single phoneme and/or tone. In the same time, its tone shape and/or channel, in

terms of the medium variety of the whole country, should remain static over time.

Central Thai tone shapes and some examples of phonetic transliteration systems are illuminated as follows:

Table 1

Thai tonal patterns and some examples of phonetic transliteration systems [adapted from Lauriston et al (1956: 132)]

Tone	Mid	Low	Falling	High	Rising
Thai spelling	□□	□□□	□□□	□□□	□□
Handbook system	kha	kha	kha	kha	kha
Hass system	khaa	khaa [^]	kha [↘] a	kha [△] a	kha [·]
Cornell system	(1) khaa	(2) khaa	(3) khaa	(4) khaa	(5) khaa
English Translation	a kind of grass	a kind of spice	value	trade	leg

The five phonologically contrasting tones of Standard Thai or Siamese, according to Hudak (2008: 6), had their origin in an earlier system of three tones solely in open/live syllables; there was no tone contrast in checked/dead syllables. Those tones of the three categories of open syllables have been conventionally represented by *A-B-C*, whereas of the fourth category of checked syllables, *D* is designated. Following Gedney (1972) and the tone box, the tones in each category have undergone phonemic splits, conditioned by the phonetic nature of the initial consonant of each syllable. With the *D* category, tone splits or changes depend on vowel length and are therefore not phonemic contrasts; they are conditioned variants of tones on open syllables.

3. Theoretical orientation

The theoretical framework of the study is based on the dialectology approach of Chambers and Trudgill (1998) and the checklist for determining tones in Tai dialects of Gedney (1972).

4. Objective

The aim of this auditory and acoustic study is to find out how many lexical tones there are based on the four Central Thai provinces, what the tone patterns reveal, and whether

and/or how those tones shown in this study significantly vary in shape or form.

5. Methodology

5.1 Study sites

According to adjacent boundaries and hypothetical identical group of tone systems, four Central Thai provinces were primarily explored: Kanchanaburi, Ratchaburi, Phetchaburi, and Prachuap Khiri Khan; one Amphoe (District) in each province was selected, following the dark green areas of the *Ethnolinguistic maps of Thailand* (Premsrirat et al., 2004) in which Central Thai dialect is primarily used. Likewise, the provinces chosen in the study are located in the western part of Central Thailand close to but not including Bangkok, as shown below in Figure 1.



Figure 1. Tone study sites in Central Thailand

5.2 Instruments

Eighty Thai monosyllabic words adapted from Gedney's (1972) wordlist were used. Moreover, an analogous 'khaa' set taken from Akharawatthanakun (2003) and adapted from the one by Tingsabadh (1990) was similarly used to investigate or recheck tone characteristics derived from running speech analyzed by the speech computer software. This set comprises five subsets of mixed-random test monosyllabic words. One word would be pronounced in this study three times. The same initial consonants belonging to distinctive tone categories are provided and rearranged.

5.3 Subject selection

Each of three native male/female speakers of Kanchanaburi, Ratchaburi, Phetchaburi, and Prachuap Khiri Khan, who were over 40 years old, was selected following the methods of Chambers and Trudgill (1998) for traditional informant selection³. Nevertheless, owing to the best quality of speaker's voice and native accent, only one from each village or Amphoe was promoted as a representative of a particular speech variety. Furthermore, the native informants chosen in this study had no defects in hearing and speaking.

³ According to Chambers and Trudgill (1998), the speakers are mostly composed of *nonmobile, older, and rural males (NORMs)*. They should have been nonmobile in order to guarantee that their speech represents the original features of their region; speakers should be older to reflect the speech of an older period; they should be rural and have traveled little or changed residence.

5.4 Data collection and analysis

Linguistic data of spontaneous speech and monosyllabic words were collected by means of observation and interview and recorded on an Integrated Circuit (IC) recorder before transferring to a portable personal computer. The speakers would have been engaged in topics of conversation in which they are interested and/or comfortable to share. General information and linguistic background of informants were collected through a questionnaire. Likewise, two types of monosyllabic words used in this study include words cut from recorded running speech and the ones adapted from Akharawatthanakun's (2003) wordlist.

The data analysis was carried out with auditory stimuli to investigate the tone mergers and split checked by Gedney's (1972) tone box filled with a number of test words. In addition, to work on acoustic analysis, speech software programs, namely Cool Edit Pro, PRAAT 4.5.08, and Microsoft Excel Version 2003 were used. "Cool Edit Pro" was used for dividing a word from running speech, whereas "PRAAT" was taken to identify the distinctive characteristics of each tone, presented by five-level line graphs processed by Microsoft Excel. All tokens then were extracted for the fundamental frequency (F₀) values.

Besides the scientific study, socio-historical background information on the people and provinces of Central Thailand might be taken into account together with the tone systems analyzed in the study as well.

6. Tone systems

The geographical distribution of Central Thai tonal patterns of the provinces of Central Thailand is related closely to Standard Thai and is,

beyond doubt, connected in some ways to the tones of Bangkok Thai. On the other hand, the many puzzling splits and mergers of tones and numbers of tonal contrasts are worth discussing. While Brown's (1985) masterpiece of work "ancient" Thai tones first inspired this exhaustive study, the legacy of Gedney's (1972) tone box proved to be the most fruitful instrument for determining tones in Tai dialects and has proven to be a powerful instrument and an accurate compass paving the way for

recognizing the tonal patterns of Central Thailand. Concerning this Central Thai tone study, besides the states and movement of tones the end point of each tone is greatly used to identify their primary tone patterns investigated by auditory judgment. Comparing Standard Thai tonal pattern, the splits and mergers of Central Thai tones can be explained in terms of traditional High-Mid-Low syllable-initial categories as shown in the following tone boxes.

Standard Thai tone numbers and patterns

		<u>Proto-Tai Tones</u>				
		<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D-long</i>	<i>D-short</i>
Initial Consonant at time of splits	<i>Class 1 Vl.friction</i>	5. <i>Rising</i>	2. <i>Low</i>	<i>Falling</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Low</i>
	<i>Class 2 Vl.unasp.stops</i>	1. <i>Mid</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Falling</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Low</i>
	<i>Class 3 Glottal sounds</i>	<i>Mid</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Falling</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Low</i>
	<i>Class 4 Vd.sounds</i>	<i>Mid</i>	3. <i>Falling</i>	4. <i>High</i>	<i>Falling</i>	<i>High</i>
		Smooth Syllables			Checked Syllables	

Figure 2. Standard Thai tone patterns: A1-234, B4=C123, and B=DL [taken from the oral presentation (Athapanyawanit, 2006)]

Table 2

Tone patterns and characteristics of Kanchanaburi Thai (Amphoe Bo Ploy)

Proto-Tai Tones

		A	B	C	D-long	D-short
Initial Consonant at time of splits	Class 1 V_l.friction	5. Rising 				
	Class 2 V_l.unasp.stops	1. Mid 	2. Low 	3. Falling 		2. Low
	Class 3 Glottal sounds					
	Class 4 V_d.sounds	1./2. Mid/Low 	3. Falling 	1./4. Mid/High 	3. Falling 	4. High
		Open Syllables			Checked Syllables	

Table 3

Tone patterns and characteristics of Ratchaburi Thai (Amphoe Damnoen Saduak)

Proto-Tai Tones

		A	B	C	D-long	D-short
Initial Consonant at time of splits	Class 1 V_l.friction	5. Rising 				
	Class 2 V_l.unasp.stops	1. Mid 	2. Low 	3. Falling 		2. Low
	Class 3 Glottal sounds		(Mid-Rising-Falling) 	(Low-Rising-Falling) 		(Mid-Rising-Falling)
	Class 4 V_d.sounds		3. Falling 	4. High 	3. Falling 	4. High
		Open Syllables			Checked Syllables	

Table 4

Tone patterns and characteristics of Phetchaburi Thai (Amphoe Cha-am)

		Proto-Tai Tones				
		A	B	C	D-long	D-short
Initial Consonant at time of splits	Class 1 <i>Vl.friction</i>	5. Rising ┌				
	Class 2 <i>Vl.unasp.stops</i>	1. Mid ┌	2. Low (Rising-Falling) ┌	3. Falling ┌	2. Low (Rising-Falling) ┌	
	Class 3 <i>Glottal sounds</i>					
	Class 4 <i>Vd.sounds</i>		3. Falling ┌	4. High ┌	3. Falling ┌	4. High ┌
		Open Syllables			Checked Syllables	

Table 5

Tone patterns and characteristics of Prachuap Khiri Khan Thai (Amphoe Bang Saphan)

		Proto-Tai Tones				
		A	B	C	D-long	D-short
Initial Consonant at time of splits	Class 1 <i>Vl.friction</i>	3. Rising ┌				
	Class 2 <i>Vl.unasp.stops</i>	1. Mid ┌	2. Falling ┌	3. Rising ┌	2. Falling ┌	
	Class 3 <i>Glottal sounds</i>					
	Class 4 <i>Vd.sounds</i>		3. Rising ┌	4. Low ┌	3. Rising ┌	4. Low ┌
		Open Syllables			Checked Syllables	

It is illuminating to note that, based on the Tables above, all four of the selected varieties spoken in Central Thai region under the study belong to Central Thai dialect. Their tone patterns are all divided along identical splits of $A1-23 (-) 4$, $B4=C123$, $B=DL$, regardless of tone shapes themselves and thus reflect an identical dialectal group and unity. That is to say, almost all of the people displaying these varieties mutually comprehend one another during communication. According to the splits and coalescence of tones illustrated above, two patterns of tones among four varieties, owing to the two-way and three-way tone splits of A column, are drawn. Kanchanaburi Thai belongs to three-way tonal division whereas Ratchaburi Thai, Phetchaburi Thai, and Prachuap Khiri Khan Thai comprise two-way splits as Standard Thai. Regarding the alternative tones in the Kanchanaburi tone pattern of the $A4$, it seems that the tonal splits can be viewed in two ways, between $A1-A2$ and $A3-A4$, conditioned by the classes of initials: aspiration and voicing respectively. That is to say, the variety of Kanchanaburi tones may be related, in some particular ways, to ancient Thai and/or Southern Thai, which have a two-way-split system. In other words, low tone of ancient Thai has possibly been adopted before mid one of modern Thai. The Bang Saphan variety of Prachuap Khiri Khan, has been claimed to encompass Southern Thai by some or Central Thai by others; a great number of non-local inhabitants assume it is part of Southern Thai. Nevertheless, most of the local people perceive the variety they use as Central Thai “with a Southern accent.” Whichever way this variety is categorized, it becomes

rather apparent, concerning its contemporary tone splits and mergers elucidated above, that Bang Saphan variety is related more to Central Thai dialects. (See more claims proposing in *Tone Characteristics*). At the same time, this speech variety could represent Southern Thai. According to Tingsabadh (2001), if and only if three-way split in column A is shown: $A1 \neq A2$ and $A3 \neq A4$, $A1$ should be equated to $B1$ as illustrated in the following tone box.

A	B	C	DL	DS

Figure 4. Tone pattern of Southern Thai

According to the number of Central Thai dialects: four and five distinctive tones, two Central Thai varieties are grouped: Kanchanaburi Thai, Ratchaburi Thai, and Phetchaburi Thai are composed of five phonemic tones: rising, mid, low, falling, and high; whereas Prachuap Khiri Khan Thai consists solely of four: rising, mid, low, and falling of which high is not likely to be produced. Although the patterns and numbers of tones are somewhat remarkably similar among Central Thai varieties, their tonal features, conversely, need to be considerably described.

Physical data on these phonemes are made available by the techniques of acoustic analysis. These experiments were performed by means

of speech synthesis and the manipulation of natural speech. Tone study is, beyond any doubt, related to pitch and fundamental frequency (F₀). Pitch, with regard to Sands (1997:167), and fundamental frequency (F₀) are, though related, in different concepts. Pitch is sensed perceptually, which refers to the auditory sensation of ranging sound from high to low. On the other hand, fundamental frequency (F₀) is measured acoustically, which is associated with the physical reality underlying the range or the number of complete variations in air pressure per second conducted by the opening and closing of vocal folds. Linguistically, both of pitch and fundamental frequency (F₀) primarily carry out in

distinguishing between the distinctive tones of a language.

With regard to Moren and Zsiga (2006), a further complication for Thai tones, even in citation form, do not match the phonological labels: rising, mid, low, falling, and high. Tone shapes are, thus, hardly as labeled. The following are tone characteristics of four and five contrastive tones of the Central Thai varieties. Kanchanaburi Thai, Ratchaburi Thai, Phetchaburi Thai, and Prachuap Khiri Khan Thai are described respectively by the tone shapes of the five-level line graphs.

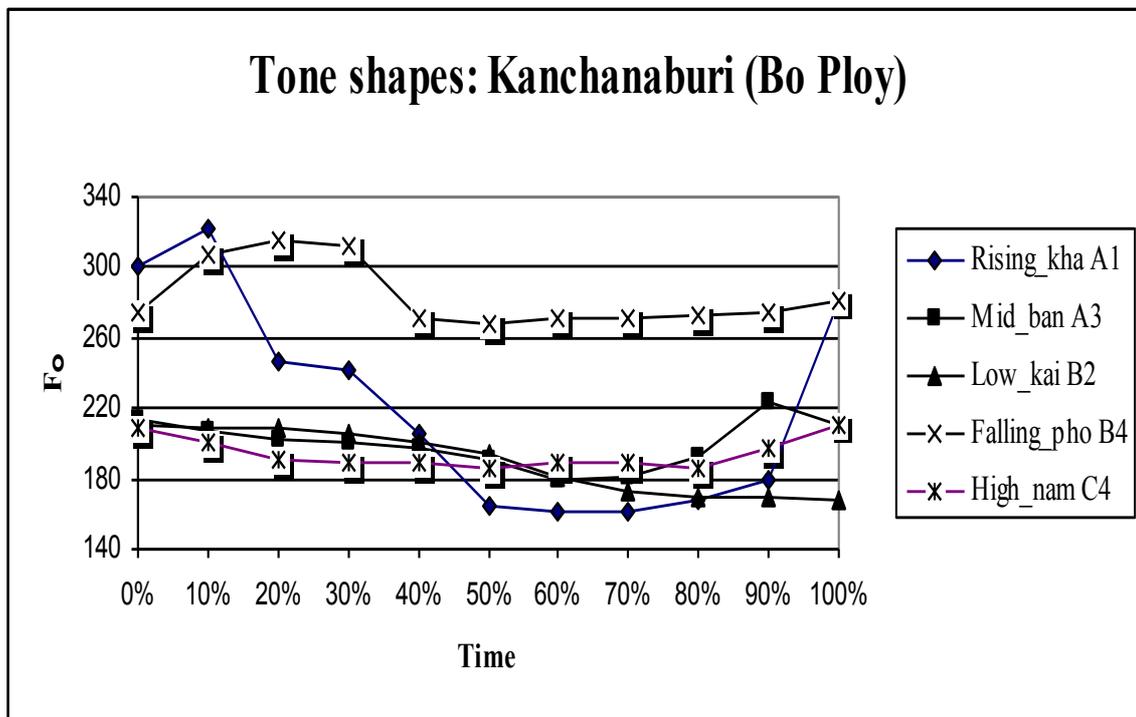


Figure 5. Tonal characteristics of Kanchanaburi Thai (Amphoe Bo Ploy)

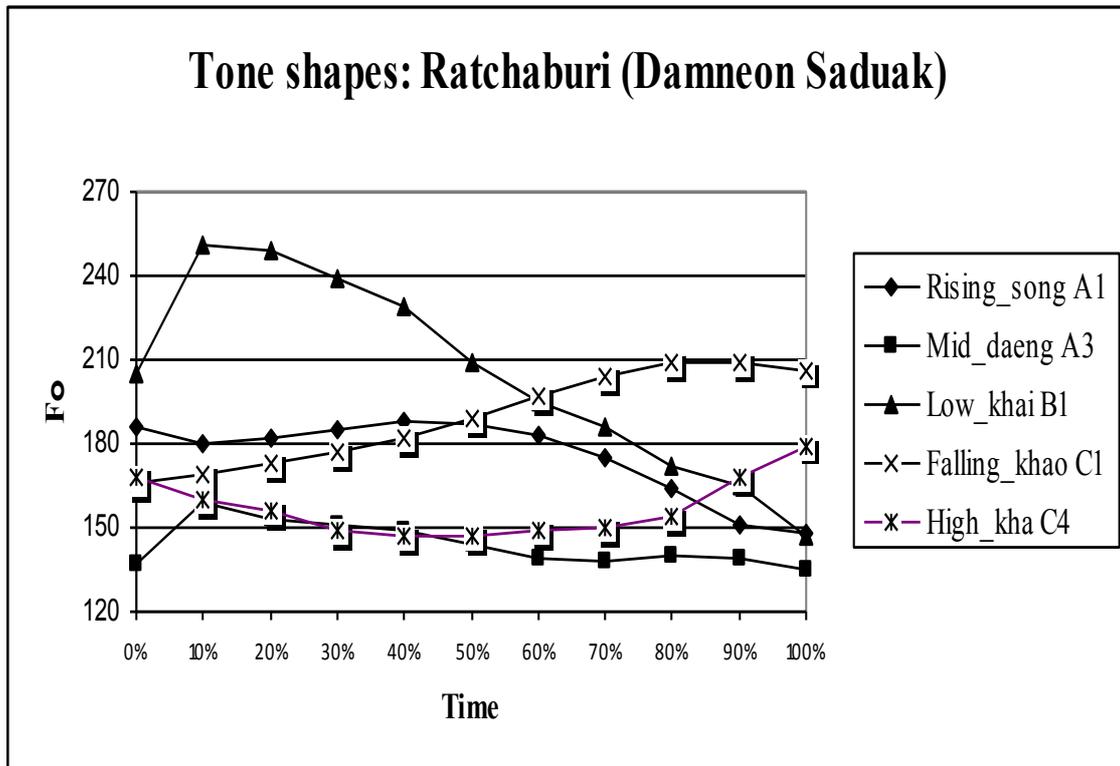


Figure 6. Tonal characteristics of Ratchaburi Thai (Amphoe Damneon Saduak)

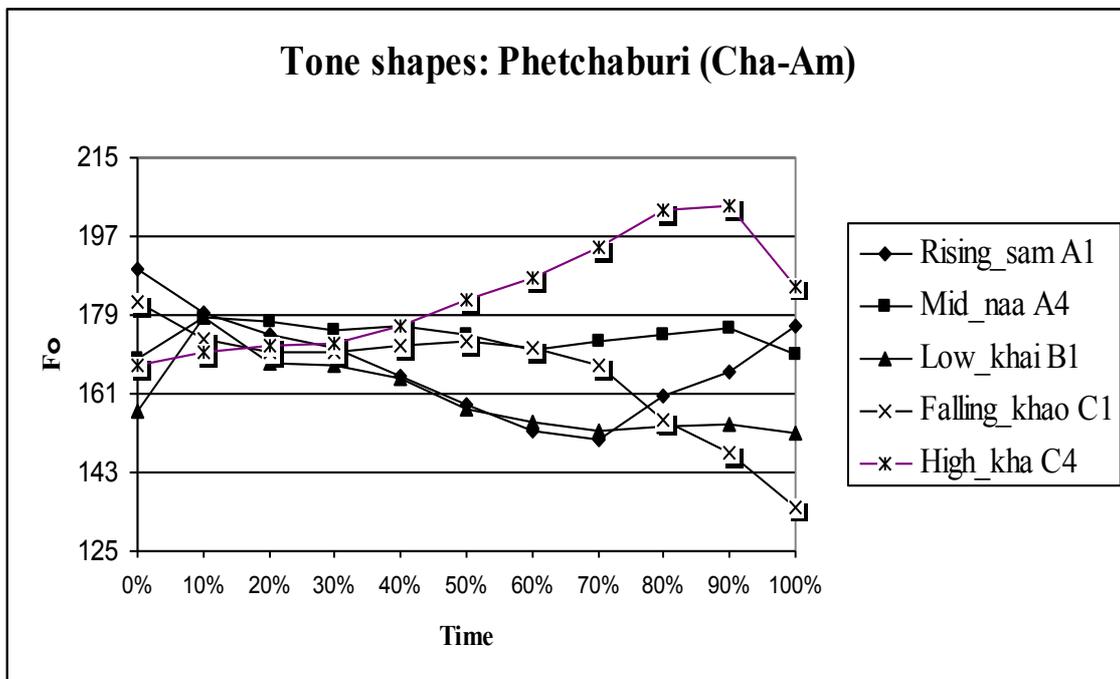


Figure 7. Tonal characteristics of Phetchaburi Thai Khan Thai (Amphoe Cha-am)

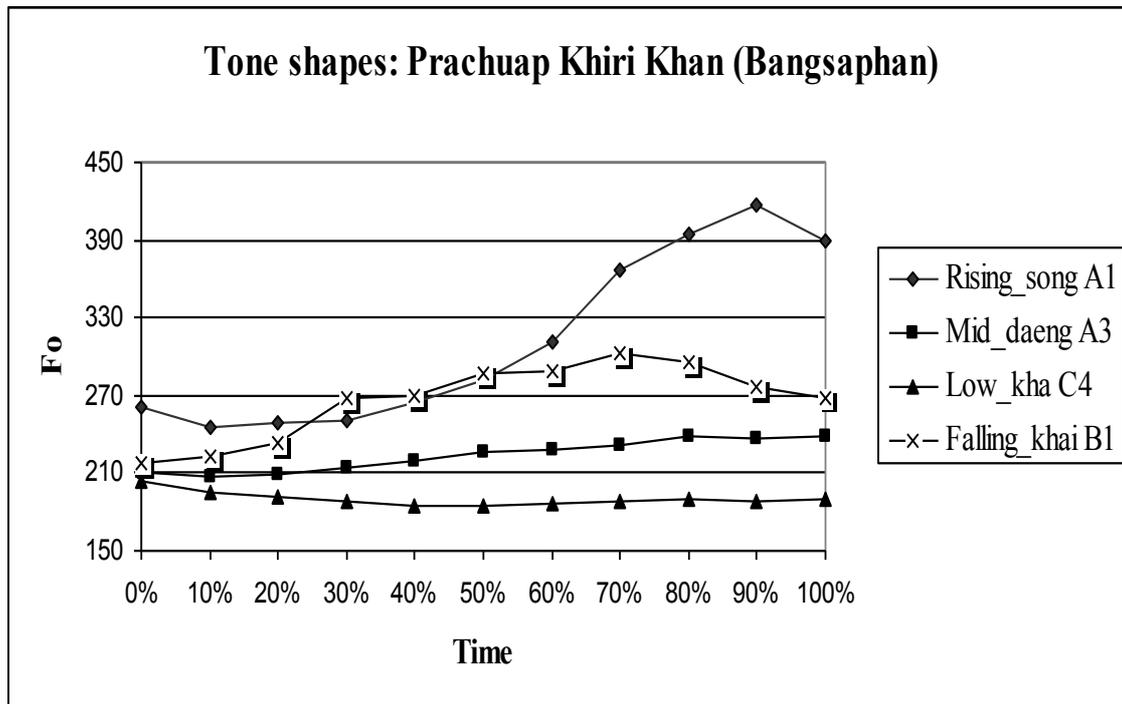


Figure 8. Tonal characteristics of Prachuap Khiri (Amphoe Bang Saphan)

The tone features of Kanchanaburi Thai, regarding the contemporary synthesis, are markedly inconsistent comparing to Abramson's (1962) Standard Thai tone shapes and ones of the other varieties. Concerning the auditory sensibility, all of five phonemic tones differ very slightly to ones of Standard Thai, especially among rising, falling, and low tones. It is possible to note, according to the line graphs, that the static/level tones, namely, mid and high can occur surprisingly in the same range [22]⁴ during the conversation. This may, however, not tend to appear in case of the monosyllabic words spoken in isolation. In addition, it is somewhat clearly that rising and falling tones

⁴The numbers encoded in a bracket show the range of tones as the musical numeral notes pointed in a musical scale.

starting and ending with high rate [514] and [454] of frequency and their sudden changes between the lines show considerably more dynamic or unexpected movement than the others. Likewise, low tone of Kanchanaburi Thai is primarily inconsistent between low and falling tones. Concerning the line graph, this tone accommodates falling before staying low statically.

In Ratchaburi Thai, low tone apparently corresponds to mid-rising-falling one [351]. High tone with its non-high realizations in running speech [212], again, on the other hand, seems to have very little different frequency to mid one [21]. Interestingly, rising and falling tones appear conversely in the uncommon direction; rising tone moves down as falling [31] while falling is raised to accommodate rising [23].

The tone features of Phetchaburi Thai reflect, though untidy bound curves, the typical Central Thai tones: high-falling-rising [423], mid [33], low [31], high-falling [41], and high [35].

Their tone shapes move up and down in the usual ways as most of Central Thai tones do.

The tone shapes of Prachuap Khiri Khan Thai, comparing to the ones of other varieties, are clearer, smoother, and lesser complex. Conversely, as highlighted in the Tone box, the phonemic tones given, contrasting with ones of other Central Thai varieties, are moved conventionally up and down between the high-low and rising-falling contrastive range of frequency, i.e., whenever low and falling tones occur in other Central Thai tone boxes, ones taking part in Prachuap Khiri Khan Thai would consistently and systematically become high and rising tones respectively. The following are its tone ranges encoded by numeral notes: low-rising [25], mid [22], low-rising falling [232], and low [21].

It is interesting to note that, concerning the acoustic tone shapes of four Central Thai varieties, confusion of tone realization is likely to happen between the level tones and contour tones. High and low tones, for some time, are produced as rising-falling contour or vice versa.

7. Conclusion and discussion

Since everybody has, regarding Bauer (2002:2), a pronunciation of their language, everybody has, definitely, an accent. Accents or pronunciations of every language have gradually been changing from time through time whereas spellings have not. The tone patterns and characteristics scrutinized

in this study merely represented the varieties contemporarily spoken in the targeted areas of Central Thailand. It is likely certain that each village or site has its own accent which may be slightly or sharply different to one of other areas of a regional boundary. According to Noss (1983), language variety is characterized as inevitable, essential, and disquieting. In the same time, the variation of accent or tone, for example, is possibly derived from individuals/speakers themselves together with their social contexts or backgrounds: age, areal features they live, education background, social status, and so on.

It now seems reasonable to claim, even though we are still far indeed from being able to explain why Central Thai varieties are exactly as they are, that the phonological patterns of tones, numbers of tone contrasts, and tone phonetic characteristics recently lighted in this study are the crucial linguistic evidence reflecting/interweaving Central Thai inhabitants with their geographic distribution. All of Central Thai varieties spoken in Kanchanaburi, Ratchaburi, Phetchaburi, and Prachuap Khiri Khan, concerning their tone patterns, soundly belong, despite the possibility of mutual incomprehensibility, to Central Thai dialect. Kanchanaburi Thai, however, needs, beyond time, to be highlighted due to the tone splits on *A* column. It is possible that in a particular time, Kanchanaburi Thai includes three phonemic tones in *A* column: rising, mid, and low. Likewise, regarding the tone comparison of Kanchanaburi Thai dialects of Amphoe Thamuang and Amphoe Thamaka (Athapanyawanit, 2006), only three distinctive tones were found: rising-

falling, mid, and high-rising, together with three-way splits of tones in *A* column (A1-23-4): rising-falling, mid, and rising-falling.

According to Allen and Linn (1986), “no understanding of the present is complete without understanding the past.” To claim this, some historical backgrounds should, therefore, have been taken, together with the tone systems, into consideration. Two of seven kingdoms or empires of powerful political and administrative significance in Central Thailand, concerning the historical records, are namely Sukhothai (1238-1378) and Tai Ayutthaya (1351-1767). Sukhothai, established in Central Thailand in the early and mid-thirteenth century, represents the first major kingdom of the Thai (Comrie, 2000). The beginning of the written record using the Thai script appeared in this period. The language spoken in Sukhothai, in the same time, resembled Proto-Tai in tone structure; its tone system was composed of three tones on open syllable ending in a long vowel, a semi-vowel, or a nasal. These three tones each, according to Brown (1985), included high allophones in words with aspirated initials, mid allophones in words with glottal initials, and low allophones in words with voiced initials. These consonants are exactly the ones whose letters are termed as ‘high’, ‘mid’, and ‘low’ consonants respectively in present-day Thai.

Owing to the Thai linguistic evidence raised by Brown (1985), Kanchanaburi Thai tones are likely to encompass either Central or Southern Thai. Due to the three-way tone splits of *A* column (A1-23-4) and the match of the High-Mid-Low tone system: voiced initials lead to low tones in *A*

column, it seems to be categorized into Southern Thai (Sukhothai Tones).

As for Ratchaburi Thai and Phetchaburi Thai, their two-way splits of tones (A1-234) and the mismatch of the High-Mid-Low system of tones: voiced initials lead to high tones can, without any doubt, prove they accommodate Ayutthaya Thai. On the other hand, Prachuap Khiri Khan Thai hypothesized as one of Southern Thai dialect encompasses two-ways tone splits in *A* column (A1-234) as other varieties of Ayutthaya dialect, however, its match of the High-Mid-Low tone system: voiced initials lead to low tones, can show the belongings of Sukhothai dialect. As far as I am concerned, I claim here that Prachuap Khiri Khan Thai of Bang Saphan is one of Sukhothai varieties, owing to the very consistency of tone system: voiced initials caused low tones and aspirate initials raised high. Nevertheless, since it has been gradually standardized by Central Thai tone system, possibly, its pattern of tones shown looks like one of Central Thai dialects. That is to say, this contemporary variety takes part in the Central Thai tone pattern with the Southern Thai accent as perceived by the local inhabitants.

Variety is the spice of life. The diversity of the speech used in a region can color society or community we live. People have, according to Romaine (2000), strong views on accents, including the idea that it is always others or outsiders who have accents and never themselves. On the contrary, owing to the dialect or variety people belong to, we do know who we are, where we are from, what groups we are in. One of the bases of life we should be proud of is the

- Lauriston et al. (1956). *Thailand. Subcontractor's monograph HRAF 42*. New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files, Inc.
- Li, F. K. (1959). Classification by vocabulary: Tai dialects. *Anthropological Linguistics* 1(2), 15-22.
- Li, F. K. (1960). A tentative classification of Tai dialects. In S. Diamond (Ed.), *Culture in History: Essays in honor of Paul Radin* (pp. 951-59). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Li, F. K. (1977). *A handbook of comparative Tai*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawai'i.
- Malaichalern, Y. (1988). [Tones in the Thai dialects of Changwat Ang Thong and Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya]. Unpublished master's thesis. Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok.
- Miller, R. A. (1956). Phonology of the Thai dialect of Nakhon Sithammarat. *Orbis*, 5, 250-258.
- More[^]n, B. & Zsiga, E. (2006). The lexical and post-lexical phonology of Thai tones. *Natural Languages and Linguistic Theory*, 24(1), 113-178.
- Nitisaroj, R. (2006, May). *Thai tonal contrast under changes in speech rate and stress*. Paper presented at Speech Prosody 2006, Dresden. Retrieved from <http://www.isca-speech.org/archive>
- Noss, R. B. (1983). *Varieties of English in Southeast Asia: Selected papers from the RELC Seminar on "Varieties of English and their Implications for English Language Teaching in Southeast Asia"*, Singapore, April 1981. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- Nualjansaeng, J. (1991). [Tones of the Thai dialect of Amphoe Muang Nakhon Pathom]. Unpublished master's thesis. Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok.
- Panupong, V. (1976). [Dialectal variation]. In T. W. Gething, J.G. Harris, and P. Kullavanijaya (Eds.), *Tai Linguistics in Honor of Fang-Kuei Li*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press.
- Petyt, K.M. (1980). *The study of dialect: An introduction to dialectology*. London: Andre Deutsch.
- Pornsib, A. (1994). [Tones in Phetchaburi Thai]. Unpublished master's thesis. Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok.
- Premssirat, S. et al. (2004). *Ethnolinguistic maps of Thailand*. Nakhon Pathom: Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development, Mahidol University.

- Ratanadilok Na Phuket, L. (1983).
 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□
 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□
 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□
 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□
 [Tones of Ratchaburi Thai].
 Unpublished master's thesis.
 Chulalongkorn University,
 Bangkok.
- Romaine, S. (2000). *Language in society: An introduction to sociolinguistics* (2nd edition). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sands, D. (1997). Improvement theory and its applications. In A. Gordon and A. Pitts (Eds.), *Higher-Order operational techniques in Semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sakdanuwatwong, J. (1994).
 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□
 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□
 □□□□□□□□□□ [Language map of Prachinburi and Sa Kaeo]. Unpublished master's thesis. Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok.
- Smalley, W. A. (1994). *Linguistic diversity and national unity: Language ecology in Thailand*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Tingsabadh, K. (1980). *A phonological study of the Thai language of Suphanburi Province*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of London.
- Tingsabadh K. (1984, August). *Some accents of Central Thai: A tonal study*. Paper presented at the 18th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Bangkok.
- Tingsabadh, K. (1990).
 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□
- :
 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□
 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□
 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□
 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□
 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□
 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□
 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□ [Tones in Suphanburi Thai: A comparative study between tones in citation forms and tones in connected speech]. Unpublished research report. Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok.
- Tingsabadh, K. & Deeprasert D. (1997). Tones in Standard Thai connected speech. In A. S. Abramson (Ed.), *Southeast Asian linguistic studies in honour of Vichin Panupong* (pp.297-307). Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press.
- Tingsabadh, K. (2001). Thai Tone Geography. In M. R. K. Tingsabadh and A. S. Abramson (Eds.), *Essays in Tai Linguistics* (pp. 205-228). Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press.
- Wenker, G. (1876). *Linguistic atlas of the German empire (Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reichs)*. Marburg: Forschungszentrum Deutscher Sprachatlas.
- Witayasakpan, S. (1979).
 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□
 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□
 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□
 [The study of dialects of AngThong province]. Unpublished master's thesis. Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok.
- Worawong, N. (2000).
 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□ [Tone in
Kanchanaburi Thai]. Unpublished

master's thesis. Chulalongkorn
University, Bangkok.



The Structure of Ibanag Nominals

Shirley N. Dita

De La Salle University
Manila, The Philippines

This paper takes off from Dita's (2011) discussion of Ibanag nominal markers. Since a prototypical noun phrase contains a determiner and a head noun, this paper describes the nouns in Ibanag. Using a 250,000-word religious and literary Ibanag texts, the following properties of nominals have been presented: number, gender, and morphological formation. There are two ways of pluralization process in Ibanag: the use of the plural marker *ira* and reduplication. Aside from the gender, the properties of common nouns, and the borrowed ones, there are eight types of derived nouns discussed in this paper.

Keywords: *nominals, Philippine language, Ibanag, reduplication, number of nouns*

1. Introduction

Ibanag belongs to the Ibanagic family of Cagayan Valley in Northern Cordillera, Northern Luzon, Philippines. Spoken by approximately 500,000 inhabitants who come mainly from Tuguegarao, Enrile, Piat, Iguig, Solana, Pamplona, and other neighboring towns, Ibanag shares 69% of intelligibility with Itawit (Gordon, 2009).

In an earlier paper (Dita, 2011), I have described the syntax and the various functions of the two most common nominal markers or determiners used in Ibanag: the articles and the demonstratives. And since a prototypical noun phrase in Ibanag contains a determiner and a head noun, this paper aims at describing the nouns in Ibanag and their corresponding properties such as the number, gender, and their morphological characteristics. Sample sentences are drawn from a 250,000-word corpus of literary and religious Ibanag texts.

2. Number of Nouns

There are two ways to encode plurality in Ibanag. One is by adding the plurality marker *ira* to the lexical noun or noun phrase (NP), and the other is by reduplication.

2.1. The plurality marker *ira*

It should be noted that *ira* is not just a plural marker in Ibanag, it also refers to third person plural pronoun, as in (1):

- 1) Nassingak=ku *ira*.
saw=ERG.1s⁹ ABS.3p
'I saw them.'

Unlike Tagalog, where the plurality marker *mga* precedes the noun it refers to (e.g., *mga prutas* 'fruits'), *ira* is post-nominal, or after the noun phrase (NP), as in *ta dulse* of (2A) and *i abbing* of (2B):

- 2) A. Sinni kiminan *ta dulse*
who ate OBL candy

ira *taw?* PLU DEM.PROX
'Who ate the candies here?'
B. *I abbing ira*.
DET child PLU
'The children.'

Note that when *ira* is removed in both NPs, the meaning becomes singular. This particular plurality marker can be used both in morphologically marked plural nouns, as in *totolay* 'people' in (3), an in unmarked ones, as in *abbing* 'child' in (2B).

- 3) Naggafu ta **tukâ** yari caught
OBL frog REC

totolay¹⁰ **ira** ta baryo.

⁹ For the list of symbols used in this paper, see Appendix.

R-people PLU OBL barrio
 ‘The people in the barrio caught
 (some) frog(s).’

As can be deduced from the utterance above, the addition of *ira* appears to strengthen the plurality of the already reduplicated noun, *totolay*.

2.2 Reduplication

Reduplication is probably one of the distinguishing features any Philippine language. The more common means of pluralizing nouns is through reduplication. There are various types of reduplication in Ibanag that signal plurality. Table 1 presents the forms with CV reduplication.

Table 1

CV Reduplication Pattern

Root	Gloss	Reduplicated	Gloss
<i>tolay</i>	‘person’	<i>totolay</i>	‘people’
<i>karruba</i>	‘neighbor’	<i>kakarruba</i>	‘neighbors’
<i>baryo</i>	‘barrio’	<i>babaryo</i>	‘barrios’
<i>tukā</i>	‘frog’	<i>tutukā</i>	‘frogs’

The examples above show that the first syllable, which is made up of a consonant (C) and a vowel (V), forms the CV reduplication pattern.

Another process of reduplication is that the initial CV is reduplicated and the initial consonant geminates with the base word. Hence, the pattern becomes C₁VC₁. Table 2 presents some Ibanag words of this pattern whereas sentence (4) contains two plural nouns with CVC reduplication pattern.

Table 2

CVC Reduplication Pattern

Root	Gloss	Reduplicated	Gloss
<i>wagi</i>	‘sibling’	<i>wawwagi</i>	‘brothers/sisters’
<i>kayu</i>	‘tree’	<i>kakkayu</i>	‘trees’
<i>bagitolay</i>	‘young man’	<i>babbagitolay</i>	‘young men’
<i>maginganay</i>	‘lady’	<i>mammaginganay</i>	‘ladies’
<i>manû</i>	‘chicken’	<i>mammanû</i>	‘chickens’

4) I *babbagitolay* da DET
 R- bachelor GEN.3p

ay napapatay ta gerra,
 TL died OBL war

ay awan ngana tu
 TL NEG already DET

mangikasal ta
 to.marry OBL

mammaginganay da. (Salmo 78:63)
 R- maiden GEN.3p
 ‘Young men were killed in war, and young women had no one to marry.’

When the noun begins with a vowel, on the other hand, the initial VC is reduplicated. Some vowel-initial nouns form their plural by reduplicating the initial VCV. Some examples are presented below.

Table 3

VC/VCV Reduplication Pattern

Root	Gloss	Reduplicated	Gloss
<i>abbing</i>	‘child’	<i>ab-abbing</i>	‘children’
<i>ana</i>	‘offspring’	<i>an-ana</i>	‘offspring s’
<i>atawa</i>	‘spouse’	<i>ata-atawa</i>	‘spouses’
<i>ikan</i>	‘fish’	<i>ika-ikan</i>	‘fishes’

¹⁰ For purposes of clarity, the italicized morpheme refers to the reduplication and is labelled as R.

Another reduplicant shape is the $C_1V_1C_2V_1$. This can also be called ‘almost full’ reduplication. Often, only the final C is not included in the reduplicant shape. Also, these are usually hyphenated. Note that in the reduplicated first two syllables, the second vowel takes from the first vowel. Some examples are presented in the table below and a sample sentence follows.

Table 4

C₁V₁C₂V₁ Reduplication Pattern

Root	Gloss	Reduplicated	Gloss
vukig	‘land’	vuku- vukig	‘lands’
nasion	‘country’	nasa- nasion	‘countries’
dasal	‘prayer’	dasa- dasal	‘prayers’
kurug	‘true’	kuru- kurug	‘truth’

- 5) Ollu ta ngamin, ikiddo’
first OBL all ask=ERG.1s
gafu tu metavvung ta Dios
then DET offered OBL God

i **kiddi-kiddaw, dasa-dasal**,
DET R-ask R- prayer
pakimemallo anna
request and

pabbala-balo para ngamin na
N-R- thank for all LIG

totolay. (1Timeteo 2:1)
people
‘First of all, then, I urge that petitions,
prayers, requests, and
thanksgivings be offered to God for
all the people.’ (1Timothy 2:1)

Similarly, if the base word contains CVCCV shape, then the reduplicated part is also CVCCV. Just like the previous pattern, the second V takes from the first V. Some examples are presented below.

Table 5

The CVCCV Reduplication Pattern

Root	Gloss	Reduplicated	Gloss
tavvung	‘offer’	tavva- tavvung	‘offerings’
gannug	‘things’	ganna- gannug	‘things’
laddug	‘lie’	ladda- laddug	‘lies’
tazzi	‘condemnation’	tazza- tazzi	‘condemnation’

- 6) ... megafu ta netura i ...
because OBL written DET

ngaga-ngagan=nu ta
R-name=GEN.3p OBL

langi (Lucas 10:20)
heaven

‘... because your names are written in
heaven.’ (Luke 10:20)

Finally, full reduplication is also another way of pluralizing Ibanag nouns. It was observed that the entire word is reduplicated if the noun is short or disyllabic only. This kind of noun pluralization, especially for disyllabic words, is also evident in Malay (Nadarajan, 2006).

Table 6

Full reduplication pattern

Root	Gloss	Reduplicated	Gloss
ili	‘town’	ili-ili	‘towns’
mula	‘plant’	mula-mula	‘plants’
pangua	‘deed’	pangua- pangua	‘deeds’
mula	‘plant’	mula-mula	‘plants’
kutu	‘louse’	kutu-kutu	‘lice’

7) I *dagi-raging* na
 DET R- cry OBL

nagtagat ta *mula-mula*
 nu
 gather DET R- plant
 GEN.2p

ay nakadde ngana ta
 Dios. (Santiago 5:4)
 TL reached already OBL

God
 ‘The cries of those who gather
 in your crops have reached the
 ears
 of God.’ (James 5:4)

In some cases, the *r* and *z* are utilized to avoid repetition of consonant sounds. In the case of *daddam* ‘grief’, the supposed reduplicated shape takes on the CVCCV of the root and the initial C in the root is changed to *r* thus forming *dada-raddam* ‘griefs’ for plural. As for *riga* ‘difficulty’, the initial C in the reduplicated shape is changed to *z* thus forming *ziga-riga* ‘difficulties’. It should be noted, however, that these rules do not apply to all *d-* or *r-*initial words.

3. Gender of nouns

Nouns that are gender-specific are usually Spanish loan words. Just like in Ilocano, which is heavy on Spanish loan nouns (cf. Rubino, 1997), the masculine gender ends with *o* while the feminine gender with *a*.

Table 7

Gender of Nouns

Masculine	Gloss	Feminine	Gloss
mestru	‘male teacher’	mestra	‘female teacher’
basurero	‘garbage man’	basurera	‘garbage woman’
millionaryo	‘male millionaire’	millionarya	‘female millionaire’
chismoso	‘male rumor monger’	chismosa	‘female rumor monger’
abugadu	‘male lawyer’	abugada	‘female lawyer’

There are also lexical items in Ibanag that do not contain any morphological affinity with their counterparts. Hence, they are encoded differently.

Table 8

Masculine-Feminine Dichotomy

Masculine	Gloss	Feminine	Gloss
bagitolay	‘young man’	maginganay	‘young woman’
yama	‘father’	yena	‘mother’
lakay	‘old man’	bako	‘old woman’
kayung	‘brother-in-law’	asipag	‘sister-in-law’
kabalyu ¹¹	‘horse’	egua	‘female horse’
lalung	‘rooster’	upa	‘hen’
daffug	‘male carabao’	abbay	‘female carabao’

When the gender is not encoded by the lexical item, a modifying phrase *nga lalaki* ‘who is male’ or *nga babay* ‘who is female’ is then provided to express masculinity or femininity,

¹¹ *Kabalyu* and *egua* are both Spanish loan words which reflect no morphological affinity in the dichotomy.

respectively. Other gender-distinguished nouns are explained in Dita (2010).

<i>kapitta nga lalaki</i>	‘cousin who is male’
<i>kapitta nga babay</i>	‘cousin who is female’
<i>wagi na lalaki</i>	‘male sibling’
<i>wagi na babay</i>	‘female sibling’
<i>kadduba nga lalaki</i>	‘male neighbor’
<i>kadduba nga babay</i>	‘female neighbor’

4. Morphological formation of nouns

There are various affixes in Ibanag that derive nouns from verbs, adjectives, numerals, or any lexical category. Nouns are classified here as bare and derived.

4.1 Bare Nouns

Bare nouns refer to those unaffixed lexical items that semantically refer to names of people, things, places, or objects. Bare nouns are further classified into proper and common.

4.1.1 Proper Nouns

Proper nouns are either personal names of people or terms that refer to people. Under this category are three sub-types, which can all be used as vocatives: the personal nouns, kinship terms, and title terms.

4.1.1.1 Personal nouns

Personal nouns refer to the specific names of particular individuals. These nouns can be used as vocatives, as in (8), or as the head of a personal NP, as in (9). When used as the latter, personal nouns are accompanied with a personal determiner, *si* or *ni* or their plural counterpart *da*.

8) **Eduardo**, sonu anni kamu
Eduardo when what ABS.2s

manaw?
leave
‘Eduardo, when will you leave?’

9) Egga ta balay=mi
EXI OBL house=GEN.1pe

si Ana.
PERS Ana
‘Ana is in our house.’

4.1.1.2 Kinship terms

Kinship terms are also regarded as personal nouns. Often, they appear in genitive form and are preceded by a personal determiner. Interestingly, even the seasoned speakers of Ibanag do not recall having a term of their own for *auntie* and *uncle*.

<i>asipag</i>	‘sister-in-law’
<i>kayung</i>	‘brother-in-law’
<i>katugangan</i>	‘parent-in-law’
<i>manugang</i>	‘child-in-law’
<i>kakay</i>	‘grandfather’
<i>kake</i>	‘grandmother’
<i>uncle</i>	‘uncle’
<i>auntie</i>	‘auntie’

10) Kavuluk=ku i
companion=ERG.1s DET

atawa=k ta umma.
spouse=GEN.1s OBL
morning
‘I was with my husband/wife this morning’

4.1.1.3 Title terms

Title terms are used to show respect and politeness. When these terms appear with proper names, they constitute a nominal compound as in (11);

- 11) *Minay ta balay si*
came OBL house PERS

Kakay Kaning.
grandfather Kaning
'Grandpa Kaning came to the house.'

On a sociolinguistic note, *Yafu* 'God' is used as a title term to those they revere much, such as the religious or, at times, political figures they respect very much. *Yafu* is then labeled as HON which means 'honorific' when used as a title term, as in (12).

- 12) *Arayyu i inangayan*
na
Far DET went.to
ABS.3s

i Yafu padi.
DET HON priest
'The priest went to a far place.'

4.1.2 Common nouns

Unaffixed nouns that are categorized as common fall under this broad category. Unlike proper nouns, which are specific, common nouns refer to more general terms. Items that belong to this class are further subdivided below.

4.1.2.1 Concrete inanimate nouns

These nouns include landscape terms, instruments, item for wear,

among others. Below are few examples of this class.

Table 9

List of Concrete Inanimate Nouns

<i>afi</i>	'fire'	<i>atô</i>	'roof'
<i>atû</i>	'smoke'	<i>baláy</i>	'house'
<i>paddá</i> <i>k</i>	'wind'	<i>sinnún</i> <i>g</i>	'clothes'
<i>danúm</i>	'water'	<i>takáy</i>	'vehicle'
<i>kunám</i>	'cloud'	<i>ikán</i>	'viand'
<i>bukúlo</i> <i>k</i>	'mountain'	<i>sapátu</i>	'shoe'
<i>banná</i> <i>g</i>	'river'	<i>lamésa</i>	'table'
<i>langí</i>	'sky'	<i>bángk</i> <i>u</i>	'chair'
<i>bilág</i>	'sun'	<i>kátre</i>	'bed'
<i>urán</i>	'rain'	<i>galú</i>	'rope'
<i>kila-</i> <i>kilá</i>	'lightning'	<i>asúkar</i>	'sugar'

Note that some words here are Spanish-loaned, such as *lamesa* 'table', and some exhibit reduplication, as in *kila-kila* 'lightning', but do not necessarily express plurality.

4.1.2.2 Body-part nouns

Ibanag terms that are used to refer to body parts appear to be both native and loan words, just like *frente* 'forehead'. Some of the examples are presented in the table below. Sentence (13) highlights some body-part nouns in Ibanag.

Table 10

Body-part nouns

<i>avû</i>	'hair'	<i>takki</i>	'foot'
<i>mata</i>	'eyes'	<i>lima</i>	'hand'
<i>muka</i>	'face'	<i>kuramay</i>	'fingers'
<i>ngipan</i>	'teeth'	<i>kavvu</i>	'armpit'
<i>bibik</i>	'lips'	<i>abaga</i>	'shoulders'
<i>kiray</i>	'eyebrow'	<i>futu</i>	'heart'
<i>simik</i>	'chin'	<i>uffu</i>	'legs'
<i>igung</i>	'nose'	<i>taggang</i>	'chest'
<i>kimma</i>	'eyelash'	<i>tulang</i>	'bone'
<i>ulu</i>	'head'	<i>agal</i>	'liver'
<i>muka</i>	'cheek'	<i>san</i>	'stomach'
<i>darulu</i>	'spine'	<i>frente</i>	'forehead'

- 13) “Yafu, ari laman tu i
Lord NEG only DET
DET

takki gafu i
baggawam=mu feet then
DET wash=ERG.2s

nu ari i **lima** anna
ulu
but NEG DET hand and
head

paga,” kun=ni Pedro (Juan
13:9)
also said= PERS Peter
‘Peter answered, “Lord, do not
wash only my feet then, wash
my hands and head, too!”’
(John 13:9)

4.1.2.3 Animate non-human nouns

Also part of the class of common nouns are the terms referring to animals and insects. In the case of some words, there is a distinction between the male and the female, or between the mother and its young. Others, however, do not offer such a distinction. Below is a list of some members of this group.

Table 11

Animate non-human Nouns

<i>bávi</i>	'pig'	<i>ayóng</i>	'monkey'
<i>kitú</i>	'dog'	<i>pátu</i>	'duck'
<i>kazzîng</i>	'goat'	<i>lamú</i>	'mosquito'
<i>kitáw</i>	'cat'	<i>lángaw</i>	'fly'
<i>báka</i>	'cow'	<i>tuggî</i>	'worm'
<i>kabályu</i>	'horse'	<i>iráw</i>	'snake'
<i>nuáng</i>	'carabao'	<i>tukâ</i>	'frog'
<i>lálung</i>	'rooster'	<i>daggâ</i>	'turtle'
<i>úpa</i>	'hen'	<i>kimí</i>	'cockroach'
<i>balakák</i>	'rat'	<i>ánay</i>	'termites'

4.2 Derived nouns

Ibanag has various derivational affixes for nouns. There are primarily two ways of nominalization in Ibanag: by affixation and by putting determiners before the nominalized item.

The following sections will discuss the different derivational affixes that can nominalize a root, whether a base form of a verb, or even another noun.

4.2.1 Abstract nouns

An abstract noun is a noun whose meaning is an abstract concept. Ibanag abstract nouns may be formed by adding the prefix *ka-* to the root. The prefix *ka-* is usually used with bare adjectives. The derived abstract noun thus refers to the state denoted by the root.

Table 12

Abstract ka- Nouns

Root	Gloss	Abstract Nouns	Gloss
<i>atannang</i>	'tall'	<i>kaatannáng</i>	'tallness'
<i>alistu</i>	'fast'	<i>kaalistú</i>	'speed'
<i>kurúg</i>	'true'	<i>kakurúg</i>	'truth'
<i>arayú</i>	'far'	<i>kaarayú</i>	'farness'
<i>tabá</i>	'fat'	<i>katabá</i>	'fatness'
<i>póbre</i>	'poor'	<i>kapóbre</i>	'poorness'
<i>rikú</i>	'rich'	<i>karikú</i>	'richness'

- 14) I **Kapobre** anna **Kariku**
 (Santiago 1:9-11)
 DET N-poor and N-
 rich
 ‘Poorness and Richness’
 (James 1:9-11)

- ta **panoli**¹² na...
 (2 Timoteo 4:8)
 OBL coming.back GEN.3s
 ‘Because all those are
 joyfully waiting for his
 coming back...’

Another abstract nominalizer is the prefix *pag-*. When this prefix is attached to the root, it encodes the meaning of ‘state of being.’ And as is the nature of Ibanag, the first C in the base word assimilates with the last C in the prefix. Hence, *daddam* ‘grieve’ when nominalized becomes *paddaddam* ‘grief’, and not **pagdaddam*. Below are some of the examples of the derived abstract nouns.

Table 13

Abstract pag- Nouns

Root	Gloss	Abstract Nouns	Gloss
ayâ	‘happy’	pagayayâ	‘happiness’
daddám	‘grieve’	paddaddám	‘grief’
ziga-rigâ	‘difficulty’	pazziga-rigâ	‘suffering’
duma-rumá	‘difference’	paddum-a-rumá	‘difference’
tólay	‘live’	pattólay	‘life’

- 15) Ta ngamin danuri i
 because all those
 DET

 sigga-aya nga
 maginnennag joyfully
 REL waiting

4.1.2 Locative nouns

The suffix *-an* is probably the most versatile locative nominalizer in Ibanag. This suffix, along with various prefixes, when attached to the base word, refers to a place associated by the action encoded by the root word.

The first set of circumfix is the nominalizer *(p)ag-* and the locative *-an*. Ibanag appears to have simplified the *pag* nominalizer to *ag*. For instance, *idda* means ‘lie down’ for both Ilocano and Ibanag. The derived locative noun equivalent in Ilocano is *pagiddaan* whereas Ibanag has *aggiddan*. The nominalization process in Ibanag shows the doubling of the last C in the prefix and the dropping of the *p*. Additionally, the last V in the root word assimilates with the V in the suffix. Consider the following examples:

¹² In this particular example, the derived word *panoli* ‘coming back’ is apparently a product of economization where the root *toli* ‘return’ is prefixed with the nominalizer *pag* and the perfective infix *-in-* is inserted in the prefix thus producing *pinag*. The supposed *pinagtoli* is apparently simplified or reduced to *panoli*.

Table 14

Locative pag- -an Nouns

Root	Gloss	Locative Nouns	Gloss
<i>idda</i>	'lie down'	<i>aggiddan</i>	'place for lying'
<i>karera</i>	'race'	<i>akkareran</i>	'place for racing'
<i>lutu</i>	'cook'	<i>allutuan</i>	'place for cooking'
<i>babbal</i>	'wash'	<i>abbabalan</i>	'place of washing'
<i>bavi</i>	'pig'	<i>abavian</i>	'place of pigs'
<i>turug</i>	'sleep'	<i>akkaturugan</i>	'place of sleeping'
<i>giling</i>	'grind'	<i>aggilingan</i>	'place of grinding'
<i>takay</i>	'ride'	<i>attakayan</i>	'place for riding'
<i>sermon</i>	'sermon'	<i>assermonan</i>	'pulpit'

- 16) Massirimmu tam ta
Meet up ABS.1pi OBL

attulluan.

LOC-sending.off-LOC
'We will see each other at the pier.'

The second way of deriving locative nouns is through the circumfix *ka- -an*. The derived form refers to a place in which the root word is of excessive quantity, which is supposed to be the patient or the theme referred to. It is also possible to reduplicate the initial CVC of the base to indicate plurality.

Table 15

Locative ka- an Nouns

Root	Gloss	Locative Nouns	Gloss
<i>lanut</i>	'vine'	<i>kalamutan</i>	'full of vines'
<i>batu</i>	'stone'	<i>kabatuan</i>	'full of stones'
<i>kayu</i>	'tree'	<i>kakayuan</i>	'full of trees'
<i>pinya</i>	'pineapple'	<i>kapinyaan</i>	'full of pineapples'
<i>kaddo</i>	'grass'	<i>kakaddoan</i>	'full of grass'

- 17) Nappaladio ira ta ran
PLU OBL

kakaykayuan.

LOC-R-tree-LOC

'They ran to the woods.'

The third way is through the circumfix *pag- -an*. The derived locative expresses that the action encoded by the root takes place in the derived noun. Some examples are listed in the table below.

Table 16

Locative ka- -an Nouns

Root	Gloss	Abstract Nouns	Gloss
<i>gayam</i>	'play'	<i>paggayama</i>	'playground'
<i>agdi</i> <i>n</i>	'to live in'	<i>paddianan</i>	'place to live in'
<i>gafu</i>	'come from'	<i>paggafuan</i>	'place of origin'
<i>lutu</i>	'cook'	<i>pallutuan</i>	'place for cooking'
<i>Zigu</i>	'bathe'	<i>pazzigutan</i>	'place for bathing'
<i>ornu</i>	'bake'	<i>pagornuan</i>	'bakery'

- 18) Sitaw i **pazzigutan**
tam?
where DET LOC-bathing-
LOC GEN.2pi
'Where are we going to take a
bath?'

4.2.3 Comitative nouns

Comitative nouns refer to individuals in whose company something is done. These nouns are formed by adding the prefix *ka-* with the root, which in turn, refers to the shared entity. The basis of association could be: (a) an activity; (b) a place, occupation, or origin; (c) a quality; (d) group membership; (e) spatial relation. Examples are given in the table below.

Table 17

Comitative Nouns

<i>a.</i>	'speak'	<i>ka-uvovug</i>	'someone you speak with'
<i>gayam</i>	'play'	<i>kaggayam</i>	'playmate'
<i>b.</i>	'school'	<i>ka-eskwela</i>	'schoolmate'
<i>eskwela</i>			
<i>opisina</i>	'office'	<i>ka-opisina</i>	'officemate'
<i>c. takki</i>	'feet'	<i>katakki</i>	'of the same feet size'
<i>bozes</i>	'voice'	<i>kabozes</i>	'of the same voice quality'
<i>d.</i>	'party (political)'	<i>kapartido</i>	'running mate in a party'
<i>relihiyon</i>	'religion'	<i>karelihiyon</i>	'of the same religious sect'
<i>e. biko</i>	'side'	<i>kabiko</i>	'seated beside'
<i>batug</i>	'same line'	<i>kabatug</i>	'of the same line'

- 19) **Kapartido'** yari
COM-party=GEN.1s REC

kauvovug ku.
COM-speak GEN.1s
'The one I was speaking with
is my party mate.'

4.2.4 Reciprocal nouns

Reciprocal nouns refer to a construction expressing the action or state of being of two individuals or entities to each other. When the prefix *mag-* is attached to a nominal referring to a person, it expresses kinship, either by consanguinity or affinity. And in keeping with the consonant doubling phenomenon in Ibanag, the last C in the prefix assimilates with the first C of the root word thereby producing consonant doubling. Consequently, the stress is now shifted, from the first syllable of the root word to the prefix. Note that the relationship expressed in the derivations could either be from the same generation or from older and younger generation.

Table 18

Reciprocal Nouns

Root	Gloss	Reciprocal Nouns	Gloss
<i>yamâ</i>	'father'	<i>mayyama</i>	'father and child'
<i>yenâ</i>	'mother'	<i>mayyena</i>	'mother and child'
<i>kapittâ</i>	'cousin'	<i>makkapittâ</i>	'cousins'
<i>wagî</i>	'sibling'	<i>mawwagi</i>	'brothers/sisters'
<i>kófun</i>	'friend'	<i>makkofun</i>	'friends'

- 20) **Makkofun** i RECI.friend
DET

mawwagi ira.
RECI.siblingPLU
'The siblings are friends.'

When the initial CV of the root is reduplicated, it means that the reciprocity is more than two.

21) **Makkokofun** ngamin ira
RECI- R-friend all PLU

totolay tari.
R-person there
'The people there are all friends.'

The *r* phenomenon in Ibanag is also seen as a variant in the plural forms of nouns, as in (22), where the root *wagi* 'sibling' becomes *mawwaragi* 'siblings', (and not **mawwawagi*) in the plural.

22) **Mawwaragi** kanu
REC- R(PLU)- sibling HRSY

i nobyo na
turi.
DET boyfriend
GEN.3sDIST
'Her boyfriends then were brothers.'

It is also possible that the prefix *mag-* is attached to a comitative noun. This expresses that the two who have blood relationship also share some characteristics.

23) Ari tam laman
NEG ABS.1pi only

makkadagun, **makka-bozes**
RECI-COM-age RECI-
COM- voice

tam paga.

ABS.1pi also
'We are not only of the same age but also of the same voice.'

24) **Mannobio** kanu yari

RECI-boyfriend HRSY DEM

makkadduba ta zita
RECI-neighbor OBL south
'The neighbors in the south are apparently boyfriends.'

4.2.5 Ownership and relative location

The prefix *makin-* (cf. Ilocano *akin-*) encodes both ownership and relative location. The derived noun refers to the owner of the entity or the relative location encoded by the root. When attached to a C-initial monosyllabic root, the initial consonant of the root geminates with the prefix, as in *makikua* 'owner'. No gemmination occurs though when the root is either di- or polysyllabic. When attached to a V-initial root, the derived word is hyphenated, as can be seen by the examples in the table below.

Table 19

Ownership Nouns

Root	Gloss	Ownership Nouns	Gloss
<i>kua</i>	'own'	<i>makikkua</i>	'owner'
<i>takay</i>	'car'	<i>makintakay</i>	'owner of the car'
<i>sinnun</i>	'clothes'	<i>makinsinnun</i>	'owner of the clothes'
<i>tienda</i>	'store'	<i>makintienda</i>	'owner of the store'
<i>atubang</i>	'chair'	<i>makin-atubang</i>	'owner of the seat'

25) Yayya i **makintakay**
ABS.3s DET OWN-car

ta BMW ta lawan.
OBL BMW OBL outside
'S/he is the owner of the BMW
outside.'

The same prefix is used to refer to the relative location of an entity. When the prefix *makin-* is attached to a locative or a lexical item referring to a location, it means the jurisdiction or area of responsibility. Some examples are presented below.

Table 20

Ownership-Locative Nouns

<i>batug</i>	'line'	<i>makinbatug</i>	'the one of the same line'
<i>likuk</i>	'back'	<i>makinlikuk</i>	'the one at the back'
<i>arubang</i>	'front'	<i>makin-arubang</i>	'owner of the front part'

26) Yari **makinlikuk** i
MED OWN-back DET

makinkua taw nga balay.
OWN-own DEM LIG house
'The owner of this house is the one at the back.'

4.2.6 Origin nouns

The prefix *taga-* encodes origin of different nature. This nominal prefix is shared by the majority of Philippine languages (cf. Rubino, 1997; Schachter

& Otañes, 1972). First, it designates the place of origin of a person. In this case, the specific name of place is attached to the prefix. This means that the person hails from this place. Some examples are listed below.

Table 21

Origin-Location Nouns

Origin Nouns	Gloss
<i>taga- Tuguegarao</i>	'from the province of Tuguegarao'
<i>taga- America</i>	'from the country of America'
<i>taga- Atulayan</i>	'from the barrio of Atulayan'
<i>taga- Mindanao</i>	'from the islands of Mindanao'

27) Ari nga nafuraw i
NEG LIG white DET

taga-Cagayan ira.
ORI- Cagayan PLU
'Those from Cagayan are not white(-skinned).'

Second, the prefix *taga-* designates the location of a person. It means that he or she lives or comes from the place or such a location. Note that the locative nouns in this case may not be a specific name of place. Some examples are provided below.

Table 22

Origin Nouns

Root	Gloss	Origin Nouns	Gloss
<i>bukulok</i>	'mountain'	<i>taga-bukulok</i>	'from the mountains'
<i>utun</i>	'upper floor'	<i>taga-utun</i>	'from the upper floors'
<i>arubang</i>	'front'	<i>taga-arubang</i>	'from the front'
<i>ili</i>	'town'	<i>taga-ili</i>	'from the town'
<i>zigattu</i>	'east'	<i>taga-zigatu</i>	'from the east'
<i>sigaran</i>	'north'	<i>taga-sigaran</i>	'from the north'

Table 23

Instigator Nouns

Root	Gloss	Instigator Nouns	Gloss
<i>gatang</i>	'to buy'	<i>para-gatang</i>	'buyer'
<i>tura</i>	'to write'	<i>para-tura</i>	'writer'
<i>lutu</i>	'to cook'	<i>para-lutu</i>	'cook'
<i>kansiyo</i>	'to sing'	<i>para-kansion</i>	'singer'
<i>tuddu</i>	'to teach'	<i>para-tuddu</i>	'teacher/tutor'
<i>babbal</i>	'to wash'	<i>para-babbal</i>	'laundry'

28) Maski *taga-anni* kamu,
even ORI-what ABS.2p

taga-zigattu onu *taga-taggapan*. . .
ORI- east or ORI- west
'Wherever you come from,
from the east or from the west. .
'

4.2.7 Instigator nouns

The prefix *para-* derives instigator nouns. If the prefix is attached to the base form of a verb, it means that a person is designated or employed to perform the action encoded by the base word. Since the counterpart of this prefix in Tagalog is *taga-*, it is possible to utilize either of the prefixes and the meaning is still the same.

29) Manga' kamu ta
get ERG.2p OBL

taga-munisipyo nga
ORI- municipal hall LIG

para-pirma ta dokumento.
INS- sign OBL document
'(You) get someone from the
municipal hall as (the) signer of
document.'

Likewise, the prefix *maC-*, where *C* refers to the initial *C* of the root, when attached to the root, refers to a person associated with the action encoded by the root. When the root refers to an object, the addition of the prefix *man-* means that the person has fondness to the object. These are called designation nouns here.

Table 24

Designation Nouns

Root	Gloss	Designation Nouns	Gloss
<i>dekô</i>	‘glutinous rice’	<i>manneko</i>	‘one who cooks glutinous rice’
<i>tabak ú</i>	‘cigar’	<i>mannabaku</i>	‘one who smokes cigar’
<i>sugal ilut</i>	‘gamble’ ‘massage’	<i>mannugal mangngilut</i>	‘gambler’ ‘one who massages’

When the root is a verb, the infix *-in-* is inserted in the prefix *maC-* thereby producing *minaC-*. This also refers to a person associated with the action encoded by the root or denotes fondness of something. These are called association nouns here.

Table 25

Association Nouns

Root	Gloss	Association Nouns	Gloss
<i>takaw bayle</i>	‘to steal’ ‘to dance’	<i>minattakaw minabbaylé</i>	‘thief’ ‘fond of dancing’
<i>pastor</i>	‘shepherd’	<i>minappastor</i>	‘fond of herding’
<i>lafug</i>	‘joke’	<i>minakkilaffug</i>	‘fond of joking’
<i>tagarul i</i>	‘sin’	<i>minattagarul i</i>	‘sinner’

30)I tolay nga
DET person REL

minakkilaffug, mammallag
ASSO- joke trust

ka sa
ABS.2s OBL.3s

anne ta ari
matannug.(P)
than DET NEG noisy
‘He who jokes around can be better trusted than he who is serious.’

4.2.8 Instrumental nominals

Instrumental nominals refer to objects used for a particular function. There are two ways to encode this type of noun. One is by prefixing the vowel *a-* to the root word. The initial consonant of the base word is reduplicated, as in the examples given below.

Table 26

Instrumental ag- Nouns

Root	Gloss	Instrumental Nouns	Gloss
<i>takkuwel</i>	‘pole’	<i>attakkuwel</i>	‘pole for picking fruit’
<i>bara</i>	‘bar’	<i>abbara</i>	‘door, window bar’
<i>malebay</i>	‘trap’	<i>ammalebay</i>	‘trap for wild chickens’

31) Manga' kamu labbi i
get ERG.2p first DET

attakkuwel tari.
INST-pole there
'(You) get first a pole (for
picking) there.'

Another way of forming instrumental nominals is by prefixing *paC-* to the base form of the verb. This denotes the instrument utilized in carrying out the action. Some examples are given in the table below.

Table 27

Instrumental pang- Nouns

<i>tura</i>	'write'	<i>pattura</i>	'writing instrument:pen'
<i>lakak</i>	'walk'	<i>pallakak</i>	'used for walking'
<i>lutu</i>	'cook'	<i>pallutu</i>	'used for cooking'
<i>zigu</i>	'bathe'	<i>pazzigu</i>	'used for bathing'
<i>vura</i>	'erase'	<i>pavvura</i>	'eraser'
<i>bayle</i>	'dance'	<i>pabbayle</i>	'used for dancing'

32) Gatto tu **pazzigu** na
milk DET INST-bathe
DET

prinsesa ira.
princess PLU
'Milk is what princesses use
for bathing.'

33) Awap=paga tu **pattura**
NEG.EXI=still DET INST-
write

anna **pavvura**'.
and INST-erase=GEN.1s
'I still don't have pen and
eraser.'

5. Borrowed Nouns

Since Ibanag is highly influenced by other contact languages, its lexicon also reveals numerous borrowed words. Most of the borrowed words come from Spanish, others from Itawes, Ilocano or even Tagalog. The Holy Bible of Ibanag exhibits numerous Spanish loaned words. Older generation Ibanag speakers still use these borrowed words. The younger generation, on the other hand, tend to borrow more from Tagalog or from Ilocano. Some of the common borrowed nouns in Ibanag are presented in the table below.

Table 28

Borrowed Nouns

Borrowed Nouns	Gloss	Borrowed Nouns	Gloss
<i>pabbawti</i>	'baptism'	<i>probinsiy</i>	'province'
<i>zo</i>		<i>a</i>	
<i>bendisyon</i>	'blessing'	<i>apostol</i>	'apostle'
<i>pruweba</i>	'proof'	<i>tiyempo</i>	'time'
<i>espiritu</i>	'spirit'	<i>serbisyo</i>	'service'
<i>gubernad</i>	'governor'	<i>seremoni</i>	'ceremony'
<i>or</i>		<i>ya</i>	

34) Ari tam nga
NEG ABS.2pi LIG

mammakatalo ta panuttul
trust OBL external

ta **seremoniya** (Filipos
3:3)

OBL ceremony

'We do not put any trust in
external ceremonies.' (Phillip
3:3)

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have presented the different properties of nouns in Ibanag. First, the number marking of nouns is explained which consists of two processes of marking plurality, the particle *ira* and reduplication. Following this are the various reduplicant shapes that form plural nouns. There are various reduplicant shapes presented to illustrate the derivation of nouns. The gender of Ibanagnouns is also discussed.

To explain the morphological characteristics of nouns, the various derivational affixes are exemplified. The derived nouns consist of the following: abstract, locative, comitative, reciprocal, ownership, origin, instigator, and designation nouns. Various examples are given to show the derivation processes. Also, accompanying utterances are provided to illustrate the syntactic properties of these nouns. And since Ibanag draws quite a few from Spanish loanwords, examples of these are also included in this paper.

Morphosyntactically, nouns in Ibanag, are names of persons, places, animals, things, events, or ideas which can be pluralized through some reduplication process or through the particle *ira*. Additionally, these items can be prefixed, suffixed, circumfixed, or infixes to form other categories of nouns which can function as agents, patients, themes, or locatives in a sentence.

This paper has so far discussed one important lexical category in Ibanag, that is, nouns. It is recommended that further studies be conducted on some aspects of the language. As for the reduplication feature of the language, an exhaustive study just like Lopez's (1950) would be interesting. The

nominalization process of verbal phrases is another area worth investigating.

References

- Dita, S. N. (2010). *A reference grammar of Ibanag*. Saarbrücken, Germany: Lambert Academic Publishing.
- Dita, S. N. (2011). Ibanag nominal marking system. In S.N. Dita (Ed.), *Issues and trends in Applied Linguistics in the Philippines: A decade in retrospect* (pp. 152-165). Manila, the Philippines: Vibal Publishing.
- Lewis, M. P. (Ed.). (2009). *Ethnologue: Languages of the world: Sixteenth edition*. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com/>
- Lopez, C. (1950). Reduplication in Tagalog. In B. tot de Taal (Ed.), *Land- en Volkenkunde 106*, 151-312.
- Nadarajan, S. (2006). A cross-linguistic study of reduplication. *Arizona Working Papers in SLAT*, 13, 39-53.
- Reid, Lawrence A. and Liao, Hsiuchuan. 2004. A brief syntactic typology of Philippine languages. *Language and Linguistics 5* (2), 433-490.
- Rubino, Carl Ralph Galvez. (1997). *A reference grammar of Ilocano*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara.
- Schachter, P. & Otnes, F. (1972). *Tagalog reference grammar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Appendix

			NOM	-	nominalizer
			OBL	-	oblique
1	-	1 st person	PAR	-	particle
2	-	2 nd person	PERF	-	perfective
3	-	3 rd person	PERS	-	personal
ABS	-	absolutive case	PLU	-	plural marker
BEN	-	benefactive	R	-	reduplication
CAU	-	causative	REL	-	relativizer
COM	-	comitative	TEMP	-	temporal
COMP	-	complementizer	TL	-	topic linker
CONT	-	continuative	p	-	plural
DEF	-	definite	s	-	singular
DEM	-	demonstrative	(P)	-	proverb
DET	-	determiner	(R)	-	riddle
DIS	-	distal	(c)	-	conversational
ERG	-	ergative	(w)	-	written
IMP	-	imperfective			
LIG	-	ligature			
LOC	-	locative			
NEG	-	negative			

**Tagalog Particles in Philippine English:
The Case of *Ba*, *Na*, 'No, and *Pa***

JooHyuk Lim

*Department of English and Applied Linguistics
De La Salle University*

E-mail: joohyuklim@yahoo.com

Ariane Macalinga Borlongan

*Department of English and Applied Linguistics
De La Salle University*

E-mail: arianemacalingaborlongan@yahoo.com

This paper reports on corpus-based case analyses of *ba*, *na*, and *pa* when these enclitic particles are inserted in Philippine English texts. The corpus exploration made also furthers on Bautista's (2011) initial investigation of 'no in Philippine English, because she has considered the focal word to be a pragmatic particle in the variety of English in the Philippines. The analyses made for this paper were on ICE-PH with the aid of WordSmith Tools 5.0. *Ba* was shown to alternate with auxiliary inversion in Philippine English *yes-no* questions and intensify the interrogative force of *wh*-questions where auxiliary inversions necessarily take place. *Na* and *pa* also allow for alternative variants in the expression of various meanings in Philippine English, continuity, recentness, tentativeness, and urgency, among others. Lastly, 'no was seen to be functioning in place of the very frequent English tag questions in Philippine English, which are morphosyntactically more complicated.

Key words Philippine English, Tagalog, particles, code-switching

1. Introduction

"A *small but important* class of words that occur in certain fixed word-order relations to other sentence elements" [emphasis added] (Schacter & Otones, 1972, p. 82) exists in Tagalog and they are called enclitic particles (or sometimes enclitic adverbials). Enclitic particles in Tagalog belong to the broader grammatical category of adverbials. There are 18 enclitic particles in Tagalog, further grouped into four classes:

Class 1: *na*, *pa*

Class 2: *man*

Class 3a: *ba*, *din*, *kasi*, *ho*, *lamang*,
nga, *po*

Class 3b: *daw*, *muna*, *naman*

Class 4: *kaya*, *pala*, *sana*, *tuloy*, *yata*

These particles carry a range of functions and meanings (e.g. force, modality, orientation, politeness) that it is not impossible for a clause's semantics to change with these particles' mere presence or absence.

In an attempt to shed light on the phenomenon of Tagalog particle insertions in Philippine English, this paper reports on corpus-based case analyses of *ba*, *na*, and *pa* when these enclitic particles are inserted in Philippine English texts. The corpus exploration made also furthers on Bautista's (2011) initial investigation of 'no in Philippine English, because she has considered the focal word to be a pragmatic particle in the variety of English in the Philippines. The selection

of cases examined in the analyses made were primarily based on the simplicity of their phonological structure, having only three phonemes at the most, with the third phoneme being the practically unnoticeable voiceless glottal fricative /h/, i.e. *ba* – /bah/, *na* – /nah/, ‘no’ – /no/, and *pa* – /pah/.

The Philippine component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-PH) provides an available dataset for analyses such as the analyses reported here. Though conceived to document hypothetically English-only language use in the Philippines, ICE-PH has, Bautista (2011a, b) notes, a significant amount of clauses in full Tagalog and English-Tagalog code-switching recorded, which is why Bautista (2011b) was able to do an initial of ‘no’ in Philippine English. The analyses made for this paper were on ICE-PH with the aid of WordSmith Tools 5.0.

As was mentioned earlier, ICE-PHI is interspersed with Tagalog; some are just mere English-Tagalog code-switching but there are, quite naturally though, clauses in full Tagalog, too. During the analyses, it was deemed important to separate occurrences of the focal words in full Tagalog clauses because the interest of the analyses was on how the Tagalog particles interact with Philippine English. The guiding criterion to separate them was the syntax of the clause in question: If the clause basically follows Tagalog syntax, it was removed from the final analysis.

2. *Ba*

Of the four particles reported in this paper, the enclitic *ba* is the most straightforward; it only has one use, which may even be optional in quite a number of instances (Schacter & Otones, 1972). It is a question marker obligatory in formulaic yes-no questions *hindi ba*, *hindi ba*’t, and

dili nga ba, with all easily categorizable as invariant tag questions, as in:

- (1) *Libro mo ito, hindi ba?*
‘This is your book, isn’t it?’

However, *ba* may be dropped in information questions (English’s wh-questions) and yes-no questions:

- (2) *Aalis ka na (ba)?*
‘Are you leaving now?’

The particle *ba* has recorded 286 occurrences in ICE-PH. Of these 286 occurrences, 73 occurrences were considered to be in full Tagalog and so they were dropped. *Ba* in Tagalog questions (i.e. *hindi ba*, ‘*di ba*) was a separate case so that were excluded in the analysis and so with five occurrences that could not be easily categorized if they are syntactically English or Tagalog. Thus, only 11 occurrences then went on to the final analysis.

Ba was used in two *yes-no* questions and in ten *wh*-questions. The particle may actually be substituting for the auxiliary inversion, which takes place in the formation of English *yes-no* questions. Perhaps, the reason why *ba* was used by the speakers here is because it is morphosyntactically less complex than auxiliary inversion. For example, an empty or dummy operator DO needs to be introduced here because the verb phrase in the utterance only contains a full verb:

- (3) <ICE-PHI:S1A-006#64:1:A>
<.> Y <./.> you find this fulfilling
<indig> *ba* </indig>
‘Do you find this fulfilling?’

Here is the other occurrence of *ba* in a *yes-no* question in ICE-PH:

- (4) <ICE-PHI:S1A-097#125:1:B>
 You're in the office <indig> *ba*
 </indig>
 'Are you in the office?'

Casual observation would tell that auxiliary inversion and *ba* insertion may occur together, as in these interpretations of (1) and (2):

- (5) Do you find this fulfilling *ba*?
 (6) Are you in the office *ba*?

The insertion of the enclitic particle may have been done for emphasis in these types of cases. However, no attestations of these cases are found in ICE-PH.

But it is in English *wh*-questions that *ba* was used together with auxiliary inversion, feasibly because *wh*-questions perennially require auxiliary inversion to be grammatically correct whereas *yes-no* questions in English may be in the form of a declarative question, i.e. "identical in form to a declarative, except for the final rising question intonation" (Quirk,

Greenbaum, Leech, & Svartvik, 1985, p. 814). And *ba* may not necessarily be in the canonical clause-final position but interspersed in the clause, right after the *wh*-element, as in the last in the examples below of *ba* in *wh*-questions:

- (7) <ICE-PHI:S1A-059#32:1:A>
 Oh what kind of soap <.> *ba* </.>

- (8) <ICE-PHI:S1A-070#295:1:A>
 What do you like what else is problematic <indig> *ba* </indig>

- (9) <ICE-PHI:S1A-006#54:1:A>
 What sort of people <indig> *ba*
 </indig> do you have to deal with

3. *Na* and *Pa*

Na and *pa* are taken together in this paper, in the same way as Schacter and Otnes' (1972, p. 415-419) treatment of the two enclitic particles. The two enclitic particles would have uses that need to be in a specific grammatical context and each of them would articulate to seemingly opposite uses. Schacter and Otnes' description of their uses with corresponding examples (lifted from Schacter and Otnes, also) is neatly summarized in Table 2: