Utudnon, an Undescribed Language of Leyte

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*It is my pleasure to honor Laurie Reid with a concise comparative description of a hitherto undescribed language spoken in five small villages in Central Leyte: Utúd, Gábas, Kilím, Pátag, and Pangasúgan. The variety reflected here represents the speech of Myrna Gamiao from the baranggay of Utúd (also called Guadalupe), and will therefore be referred to as Utudnon in this paper for lack of a conventionalized name. Like Surigaonon, it is pejoratively called '**Waya'Waya''** by outsiders, following the pronunciation of its equivalent for the negative existential **walá'**. The nearest urban center to the Utudnon-speaking areas is the town of Baybay, the site of the Leyte State University, formerly VISCA. The inhabitants of the town of Baybay speak a variety of Bisaya, mutually intelligible with standard Cebuano, referred to in this paper as Leyteño.* [1]

1. Phonology

The phonemes of Utudnon are those of Standard Cebuano with the addition of the alveopalatal affricate [j]. Both languages exhibit a three vowel system /i, a, u/ with phrase-final vowel lowering usually reflected in their orthographies, e.g. /u/ > [o] _#; /i/ > [e] _#.

The consonantal system differs only in the palatal region where the voiced palatal affricate is a single phoneme in Utudnon, but an allophone of a palatalized *t* in standard Cebuano.

Cebuano and Utudnon Consonantal Phonemes:

Bilabial	p, b, m
Dental	t, d, s, n, l, r
Palatal	j (Utudnon), y
Velar	k, g, ng (velar nasal), w
Glottal	- (glottal stop), h

A salient feature of the Utudnon language is that its phonological innovations closely resemble those of the Surigaonon dialects of Mindanao, Proto-Bisayan *l* after a vowel often changes to *y*, and Proto-Bisayan *y* becomes *j* except word-finally.[2]

(1) Nahú*y*og[iii] sa[iv] dang*y*óg[v] nga sa*y*óg[vi] an tu*y*ó[i] ka pali*j*á[ii] kakuyóp[vii]. (UW)
Nahú*l*og sa dang*l*og nga sa*l*og ang tu*l*o ka pali*y*á gahápon. (Ceb)
Nahúg sa dangog nga sawg ang tu: ka pali*y*a gahápon. (Cebu City)
'Three[i] bittermelons[ii] fell[iii] on[iv] the slippery[v] floor[vi] yesterday[vii].'

(2) Ha*j*áhay[iv] ga*j*ód[iii] an ákon[i] ubrá[ii] didí[v] pero[vi] a*j*áw[vii] isilíng[viii] kan Marta. (UW)
Ha*y*áhay ga*y*ód ang akong trabaho dinhí apán a*y*áw isultí kang Marta. (Ceb)
'My[i] work[ii] is really[iii] easy[iv] here[v] but[vi] don't[vii] tell[viii] Marta'.

Examples of words with the *l > y* change include (note that for many of the Cebuano forms given the intervocalic *l* is lost, reflecting modern speech):

*alimpú*y*os* 'whirlwind' (Ceb *alimpulos*)
*alimpu*y*ó* 'cowlick' (Ceb *alimpó*)
*á*y*ad* 'fence' (Ceb *alad, siklat*)
*a*y*ang-áng* 'step' (Ceb *ang-ang*)
*a*y*áng-a*y*áng* 'hesitation' (Ceb *ang-ang*)
*a*y*ap-áp* 'skin disease' (Ceb *alap-ap*)
*a*y*ugbáti* 'spinach' (Ceb *alugbáti*)
*á*y*um* 'mole' (Ceb *alum*)
*bagu*y*bágo*y** 'scalp' (Ceb *bagulbagol*)
*bagu*y*bó*y** 'mumble' (Ceb *bagulbol*)
*ba*y*at-ang* 'hips' (Ceb *bat-ang*)
*báso*y** 'regret; blame; hairy caterpillar' (Ceb *basul*)
*ba*y*ahíbu* 'body hair' (Ceb *balhibu*)
*ba*y*ás* 'sand' (Ceb *balas*)
*ba*y*átong* 'string beans (Ceb *ba:tung*)
*ba*y*áy* 'house' (Ceb *balay*)
*ba*y*úd* 'wave' (Ceb *baud, balúd*)
*bá*y*on* 'provisions' (Ceb *balon*)
*bungó*y** 'deaf' (Ceb *bungól*)
*bu*y*á'* 'bubble' (Ceb *bula'*)
*bu*y*ák* 'flower' (Ceb *bulak*)
*bú*y*an* 'moon' (Ceb *bulan*)
*bu*y*bú*y** 'pubic hair' (Ceb *bulbul*)
*bu*y*ú*y** 'stutterer' (Ceb *bulúl*)
*dang*y*úg* 'slippery' (Ceb *danglug*)
*da*y*ága* 'bachelorette' (Ceb *dalaga*)
*da*y*ágan* 'run' (Ceb *da:gan*)
*dá*y*an* 'road' (Ceb *daan*)
*da*y*ugdúg* 'thunder' (Ceb *dalugdug, dawgdug*)

*da*y*unggán* 'ear' (Ceb *daunggan*)
*duó*y** 'near' (Ceb *duól*)
*dú*y*og* 'lie down together' (Ceb *dulog*)
*gá*y*ay* 'edible shoots' (Ceb *ga:y*)
*ga*y*ámon* 'take care of' (Ceb *galmon*)
*hábo*y** 'blanket' (Ceb *habol*)
*hap*y*á'* 'fall on face' (Ceb *haplá'*)
*ha*y*áp* 'poor eyesight' (Ceb *ha:p*)
*há*y*as* 'snake' (Ceb *halas*)
*huy*bút* 'grab' (Ceb *hulbot*)
*hú*y*um* 'soak' (Ceb *húlum*)
*ila*y*úm* 'under' (Ceb *ilawm, ilalum*)
*kató*y** 'itchy' (Ceb *katol*)
*ka*y*ábaw* 'water buffalo' (Ceb *ka:baw*)
*ka*y*agká*y*ag* 'All Saints' Day' (Ceb *kalagkalag*)
*ka*y*áma*y** 'sugar' (Ceb *ka(la)may*)
*kigó*y** 'lower buttocks' (Ceb *kigól*)
*ku*y*ó* 'breadfruit' (Ceb *kuló*)
*kú*y*ba'* 'palpitating, nervous' (Ceb *kúlba'*)
*ku*y*um-ót* 'wrinkled up' (Ceb *kum-ót*)
*kú*y*un* 'clay cooking pot' (Ceb *kúlon*)
*mahú*y*ug* 'fall' (Ceb *mahagbung, mahu:g*)
*manánámba*y** 'quack doctor' (Ceb *mananambal*)
*nahibú*y*ong* 'confused' (Ceb *nahibung*)
*ngá*y*a'* 'pregnancy cravings' (Ceb *ngá:'*)
*pagsá*y*up sa adláw* 'sunset' (Ceb *pagsa(l)up sa adlaw*)
*pungkú*y** 'amputated limb' (Ceb *pungkól*)
*pu*y*á* 'red' (Ceb *pula*)

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2   The *l > y* change also occurs in Asi/Bantoanon, Romblomanon and Kawayan Hiligaynon. The *l > y* change took place before the *y > j* change, which also occurs in Southern Leyte and Boholano (Jason Lobel, pers. comm.).

puyú' 'island' (Ceb *púlu'*)
púyot 'pick up' (Ceb *pulot*)
santóy 'santol fruit' (Ceb *santól*)
sayá' 'transgression' (Ceb *sala'*)
sáyom 'dive' (Ceb *sálom*)
suúy 'stomach pain' (Ceb *suúl*)
suyát 'write' (Ceb *sulat*)
suyód 'inside' (Ceb *su:d*)
suyóm 'black ant' (Ceb *tulúm*)

tambáy 'medicine' (Ceb *tambal*)
tayúng 'eggplant' (Ceb *talung*)
tinúya 'chicken stew' (Ceb *tinula*)
tubóy 'hard bowels' (Ceb *tubol*)
tuyód 'push' (Ceb *tu:d*)
túyog 'sleep' (Ceb tu:g, *tulog*)
tuyúnghaán 'school' (Ceb *tunghaán*)
úyat 'scar' (Ceb *ulat*; Ley *uwat*)
úyod 'worm' (Ceb *ud, úlod*)

The *l* to *y* change is also present in the context of the high back upper vowel where modern Cebuano or Leyteño has lost the *l* and inserted the glide *w*:

buyád 'dry; dried fish' (Ceb *buwád*)
duyá' 'play' (Ceb *duwá'*)
guyáng 'old' (Ceb *guwáng*)
huyám 'borrow' (Ceb *huwam*)
huyát 'wait' (Ceb *huwat, hulat*)
limbáyot 'bristle; goosebumps' (Ceb *limbáwot*)
luyá' 'saliva; spit' (Ceb *luwá'*)

say-á 'catch it (Ceb *saw-a* /sa(l)ua/)
suyáng 'chin' (Ceb *suwáng*)
suyáw 'glare from light' (Ceb *suwáng*)
túyak 'stop raining (Ley *tuwak*)
uyág 'sex urge' (Ceb *uwág*)
uyák 'crow (Ceb *uwák*)
úyat 'scar' (Ceb *ulat*, Ley *uwat*)

The *l* to *y* change does have its phonological restrictions; most Bisayan dialects preserve the *l* in the context of the vowel *i* or, the palatal glide *y,* avoiding gemination, *e.g. atulí* 'earwax', *kasíli* 'eel', *ilimnún* 'drink', *ilóng* 'nose', *díla'* 'tongue', *hílut* 'massage', *tabilí* 'green lizard', *báling* 'fish net', *nalígo'* 'bathed', *sílung* 'downstairs', *silíngan* 'neighbor', *báylo* 'exchange', *búylo* 'speed', *háylo* 'entice', *káylab* 'spread'.

In the presence of the voiced coronal consonant *d*, the change is less likely to have occurred, e.g. *tudlíng* 'row of plants', *túdlo'* 'point', *bálda* 'maim', *adláw* 'day', *badlís* 'smear', *budláy* 'tiresome', *budlót* 'protruding', *budlát* 'bulging eyes', *sudláy* 'comb; harrow', *kidláp* 'flash'.

With other coronals consonants, the change from *l* to *y* is more sporadic.

l-retaining words:

gúsla' 'famished', *kisláp* 'sparkle', *banláw* 'rinse', *búnlot* 'pull with force'

l > y words:

tusyók 'prick' (Ceb *tuslok*), *túsyo'* 'dip in liquid' (Ceb *tuslo'*), *tusyód* 'submerge' (Ceb *tuslod*), *asyóm* 'sour' (Ceb *aslom*), *kútyo'* 'cut off tops, pluck' (Ceb *kútlo'*), *busyót* 'hole' (Ceb *buslot*), *húsyo'* 'take off shoes' (Ceb *húslo'*), *husyót* 'take off ring' (Ceb *huslot*), *gutyáb* 'slash' (Ceb *gutlab*), *unyód* 'sink' (Ceb *unlod*), *tisyaúb* 'fall flat' (Ceb *tislaob*).

The *l* is also retained in many loanwords borrowed after the sound change took place: *tuláy* 'bridge', *lamísa* 'table, Sp.', *bála* 'bullet, Sp.', *bayli* 'dance, Sp.', *pusíl* 'gun, Sp.', *tartanílya* 'carriage', *bandíla* 'flag, Sp.', *kalabása* 'pumpkin, Sp.', *salámat* 'thanks, Tag.', *taplód* 'top of vehicle, Eng', *balót* 'fertilized duck egg, Tag.' *bálak* 'poem', but *púybo(s)* 'powder' (Ceb *pulbos,* Sp.). Word-initial *l* is more often retained than not, e.g. *lángaw* 'fly', *labúd* 'millipede', *lápuk* 'mud', *lamók* 'mosquito', *lílo'* 'whirlpool', etc, but *yaksót* 'ugly' (Ley *laksót*).

Like the Surigaonon dialects of Mindanao, the *y* to *j* change in all positions except word-finally is also widespread. This phonological change even applies to some Spanish loanwords, e.g. *sibújas* 'onions' (Ceb *sibuyas*); *dijós* 'god' (Ceb *diyos*); *pinjá* 'pineapple' (Ceb *pinya*), *jáwi'* 'key' (Ceb *yáwi'*).

Other examples of the *y* to *j* sound change include:

bagjó 'storm' (Ceb *bagyó*)
balantijóng 'bottle gourd' (Ceb *balantiyóng*)
bajáw 'sibling-in-law' (Ceb *bayáw*)
bájot, bajutón 'gay, effeminate' (Ceb *báyut, bayutún*)
bujóg 'bumblebee' (Ceb *buyóg*)
buwája 'crocodile' (Ceb *buwáya*)
dajúngan 'lift together' (Ceb *dayungan*)
gajód 'really' (Ceb *gayód*)
hájag 'bright' (Ceb *hayag*)
hajáhay 'easy' (Ceb *hayáhay*)
ilajá 'upland from sea' (Ley *ilayá*)
jabó 'pour' (Ceb *yabó*)
ja'já' 'untidy; slack' (Ceb *ya'ya'*)
jakmó' 'long chin' (Ceb *yakmó'*)
jamóg 'dew' (Ceb *yamóg*)
jáwa' 'devil' (Ceb *yáwa'*)
jungít 'speech defect' (Ceb *yungít*)
júta' 'land' (Ceb *yúta'*)

kapájas 'papaya' (Ceb *kapayas*)
kaj-ág 'mess up' (Ceb *kay-ag*)
kájat 'copulation' (Ceb *káyat*)
kayájo 'flame' (Ceb *kaláyo*)
kujáp 'faint' (Ceb *kuyáp*)
kujáw 'frightening' (Ceb *kuyáw*)
langajá 'procrastinator' (Ceb *langayán*)
luj-á 'ginger' (Ceb *luy-á*)
lúja' 'weak' (Ceb *lúya'*)
níja 'his/her' (Ceb *níya*)
nínjo 'your pl.(gen.)' (Ceb *nínyo*)
pajág 'hut' (Ceb *payág*)
palijá 'bittermelon' (Ceb *paliyá*)
putjúkan 'honeybee' (Ceb *putyúkan*)
sajó 'early' (Ceb *sayó*)
sápjot 'flat buttocks' (Ceb *sapyot*)
tiján 'stomach' (Ceb *tiyán*)
tújok 'spin' (Ceb *túyok*)
tujóm 'black sea urchin' (Ceb *tuyóm*)

Word-final *j* does not occur, as *y is preserved in this position; morpheme-final *-y* becomes *j* before a suffix. This phenomenon can be captured by the following two ordered rules. 1) Proto-Cebuano *y > *j*; 2) Utudnon *j* > *y* / _#.

ka- + kahuy + -an	kakahu*j*án	'forest'
baybay + -un	baybá*j*on	'beach'
ka- + bayay + -an	kabaya*j*án	'residential area'
taytay + -an	taytá*j*an	'makeshift bridge'
subay + -a ini	subá*j*a ini	'follow this'
buguy + -un	bugu*j*ún	'naughty'
tambay + -an	tambá*j*an	'native doctor'
tubuy + -un	tubú*j*un	'with hard bowels'
likay + -i sija	lika*j*í sijá	'avoid him'
tanday + -an	tanda*j*án	'wrap leg over'
mu- + subay	musuba*y*	'follow'

Other noteworthy consonantal alternations between Utudnon and Standard Cebuano include the following. It should be noted that the *r* ~ *l* and *d* ~ *r* alternations are also present in Waray.

	Utudnon	Ceb	English
r~l	ba*r*áto	ba*l*ato	'gambling winnings gift'
	ka*l*sáda	ka*r*sada/ka*l*sada	'road'
	áb*r*i	áb*l*i	'open'
j~w	ku*j*íntas	ku*w*entas	'necklace'
	pá*j*ung	pá*w*ung	'turn off'
d~r[3]	i*d*ú'	i*r*ú'	'dog'
	di*d*í	di*r*í	'here'
	há*d*as	há*r*as	'biting sensation from citrus'
	hu*d*ót	hu*r*ot	'finish, consume'
	*d*a	*r*a	'only'
	sú*d*uy-sú*d*uy	sú*r*uy-sú*r*uy	'stroll'
	ku*d*úg-ku*d*úg	ku*r*úg-ku*r*úg	'shiver'
	ku*d*át	ku*r*át	'startle'
	ú*d*um	ú*r*um	'nightmare'
	bá*d*ang	bá*r*ang	'magic spell'
	ku*d*ús	ku*r*ús	'cross (Sp.)'
	agu*d*úy	agu*r*úy	'ouch'
	alí*d*ung	alí*r*ung	'gather'
	mú*d*os	mú*r*os	'moor (Sp.)'
	sa*d*úk	sa*r*úk	'pointed leaf hat'
	tampa*d*ús	tampa*r*ús	'slap'
	tá*d*i'	tá*r*i'	'spur'

Glottal stop and fricative alternation:

pangadi'á	paari*h*a, pangari*h*a	'have someone come'
dáy*h*a ngadí	dad'a diri	'bring it here'
pangatu'á	paadtu*h*a	'send him there'
sinulti'án	sinulti*h*an	'speaking, language'

Vowel changes (non-predictable):

lí*n*dong	lá*n*dong	'shade'
li*s*áy	lu*s*áy	'swollen lymph node'
h*á*mut	h*u*mút	'fragrant'
k*u*yúnggu	k*a*lunggu	'wart'
b*i*tíis	b*a*tíis	'calf of leg'
kind*i*ng-kind*í*ng	kind*a*ng-kind*a*ng	'wobble; wiggle hips'
d*a*riyót	d*i*riyót	'almost'
t*i*ngkág	t*a*ngkag	'flap eared'

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[3] A peculiar change from *r* to *d* occurs with *pare* 'godfather of speaker's child, chum' which becomes *pading* before a name, e.g. *Pad*í*ng Celso*.

   Certain words that metathesize in Cebu City Cebuano do not metathesize in Utudnon, e.g. *inum* + *-a* 'drink' = *imna* (Cebu), but *inumá* (UW); *tanum* + *-i* 'plant' = *tamni* (Ceb) but *tanumí* (UW); however, *bilin* + *-i* 'leave' = *binli* or *biliní* (UW).

2. Morphosyntax

   Although much of the lexicon of Utudnon is strikingly similar to the Bisayan dialect spoken in the nearby town of Baybay, referred to as Leyteño in this paper, there are enough divergent morpho-syntactic features in Utudnon to classify it as a separate language. Utudnon must have originally been a Warayan language that took on a Cebuano lexicon and verb structure over time but kept several vestiges from the indigenous language. This pattern of Cebuano language dominance can also be seen in the Porohanon language spoken to the west on the Camotes Islands (Wolff 1967).

   In this section, I will outline a number of Warayan grammatical features in Utudnon, contrasting them to their equivalents in standard Cebuano, the most closely related language to modern Utudnon.

2.1 Pronouns

   Utudnon pronouns are given in Table 1, where pronouns that differ from their equivalents in Standard Cebuano are listed in bold.[4] A major difference between Utudnon and Standard Cebuano is the absence of a ligature between a preposed genitive pronoun and its phrase in Utudnon:

(3)   Dúro'   gajód   nga   tayúng   in   *íja*   *gi*líbud. (UW)
      many   really   LIG   eggplant   NOM   3s.GEN   REAL.sold

      Daghán gyúng talúng ang iyá**ng** gibaligyá'. (Ceb)
      'S/he sure sold a lot of eggplants.'

(4)   Pamilngá   an   *ija*   bayáy. (UW)
      look.for   NOM   3s.GEN   house

      Pangitaá ang iya**ng** baláy. (Ceb)
      'Look for his house.'

(5)   Kapuyós   ba   sin   *ímo*   báyon. (UW)
      tasteless   EMPH   GEN   2s.GEN   provision

      Kaway-lamí' ba sa ímo**ng** báon. (Ceb)
      'Your provisions are no good (tasteless).'

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[4]   For a more thorough overview of the Cebuano pronominal system, see Bunye and Yap 1971:25–31.

Table 1. Pronouns

	Nominative		Preposed Gen		Postposed Gen		Oblique*	
	UW	Ceb	UW	Ceb	UW	Ceb	UW	Ceb
1s	akú, =ku		***ákon***	ako'	***nákon***	náko'	***kanákon***	kanáko'
2s	ikáw, =ka		ímo		nímo		***sa ímo***	kanímo
3s	***síja***	síya	***íja***	íya	***níja***	níya	***kaníja***	kaníya
1p. exc	kamí, =mi**		***ámon***	ámo'	***námon***	námo'	***kanámon***	kanámo'
1p. inc	kitá, =ta**		***áton***	áto'	***náton***	náto'	***kanáton***	kanáto'
2p	kamó, =mo**		***ínjú***	ínyo	***nínjo***	nínyo	***kanínjo***	kanínyo
3p	silá		íla		níla		***sa íla***	kaníla

*Oblique pronouns in Cebuano may also be formed with *sa* followed by the preposed genitive form, the preferred way of forming oblique pronouns in Utudnon, e.g. *sa ákun = kanakun* 'to me'.

**The Cebuano shortened nominative forms =*mi*, =*ta* and =*mu* from *kamí, kitá*, and *kamó* are not used in Utudnon.

***The first person genitive pronoun is *ta* when it represents an agentive referent before the enclitic =*ka*.

(6)   ***Íja*** *gi*silíng   ***sa ákon***. (UW)
        3s   REAL.say   OBL 1s

        Íyang gisúlti kanáko'. (Ceb)
        'She told me'.

(7)   ***Átun***   putuy-putuj*ón*   an   bayáni   sin   sayád. (UW)
        1p.INCL   cut-RED.PAT   NOM   banana.stem   GEN   knife

        Atong putul-putulon ang ba:ni ug saggót. (Ceb)
        'We'll cut the banana stem with the knife.'

(8)   Upud-upód   lámang   dida'   sa   ***ímo***   bugto'. (UW)
        accompany-RED   just   there   OBL   2s.GEN   sibling

        Uban-uban lang dínha' sa ímong igsúon. (Ceb)
        'Just keep tagging along there with your sibling.'

(9)   *Gi***pa**dayá   na   ***nákon***   an   sayapí'   ***sa***   ***íja***
        REAL:PAT.CAUS.send   already   1s.NOM   NOM   money   OBL   3s

        kakuyúp. (UW)
        yesterday

        Gipadá: na nako ang kuarta sa iya kagahápon. (Ceb)
        'I already sent the money to him yesterday.'

(10) Damó*y*   suyóm   sa   iláyom   sin   ***ámon***   bayáy. (UW)
     many=INDEF   ant   OBL   under   GEN   1p.EXCL.GEN   house

Dagháng hulmígas sa ilawm sa ámong ba:y. (Ceb)
'There are lots of ants under our house.'

(11) Mas   nangísog   ***síja***   kay   ***sa***   ***ákon***. (UW)
     more   upset   3s.NOM   than   OBL   1s

Mas naglágot siya kay kanáko'. (Ceb)
'S/he is more upset than I am.'

Like standard Cebuano, the first person genitive *nako'* does not appear before the second person singular enclitic pronoun =*ka*. *Ta* is used in its place.

(12) *Gi*sungyóg   ***ta***   da   ***ka***. (UW)
     REAL:PAT.tease   1s.GEN   just   2s.NOM

Gisúngog ta ra ka. (Ceb)
'I'm just teasing you.'

(13) Bijá*an*   ***ta***   ***ka***   kun   dili'   ko   nimom
     leave.DIR   1s.GEN   2s.NOM   if   NEG   1s.NOM   2s.GEN

aburusán. (UW)
impregnate

Biyáan ta ka ug/kung dili' ko nimo mapamabdusan. (Ceb)
'I'll leave you if you don't get me pregnant.'

2.2 Ligature

The general ligature in Utudnon is *nga* regardless of phonetic environment, and the numerative ligature is *ka*. No ligature is used between independent nominative pronouns and numbers, e.g. *kami tuyu* 'the three of us' (Ceb *kaming tulo*). The ligature -*n* is employed after the nominative deictics, e.g. *íla adton bayáy* 'their house', *inín buyák* 'this flower'.

(14) Updi   an   buyóy   ***nga***   bají /   dúro   ***nga***   isdá' (UW)
     accompany.IMP   NOM   stammer   LIG   girl /   many   LIG   fish

Ubani ang bulól *nga* babayi / daghá*ng* isdá' (Ceb)
'Go with the stammering girl.' vs. 'lots of fish'

(15) Sa   suyód   sin   tuyó   ***ka***   adláw. (UW)
     OBL   within   GEN   three   LIG   day

Sa sulód sa tuló ka adlaw. (Ceb)
'within three days'

2.3 Deictics

Deictics are given in Table 2, illustrating a closer affinity to the Warayan dialects of Leyte and Samar than to Cebuano. Utudnon does not seem to have a distinction between the two proximal categories. The column Prox1 in the table denotes the area closest to the speaker and Prox2 denotes an orientation near both the speaker and addressee. The nominative forms take the linker -*n* before nouns, the equivalent of the Cebuano -*ng* after vowels, e.g. Utudnon *Gayáma inin idú'* 'Take care of this dog' (cf. Ceb *Galma kining irú'*). Non-Utudnon data in Table 2 are from Zorc (1977:78–79).

Table 2. Deixis

		Nom	**Gen**	**Obl**	**Existential**	**Verbal**
Prox1	**UW**	iní	siní	didí	ádi	ngadí, mukadí
	Ceb	kirí	niarí	dirí	dia	ngarí
	War	adí	hadí	didí	ádi	kadí
	Cam	zarí	sarí	dirí	ári	
Prox2	**UW**	–	–	–	–	–
	Ceb	kiní	niíni	dínhi	nía	ngánhi
	War	iní	hini	dínhi	ánhi	kanhi
	Cam	iní	sin(í)	dínhi	ánhi	
Medial	**UW**	na' itón	sitó niána'	dida' dínha'	áda' na'a	ngadá', mukadá' nganha'
	Ceb	kana	hiton	dida'	áda'	kadá'
	War	ito(n)	haná'	dirá'	ára'	
	Cam	zaná'				
Distal	**UW**	ádto	sádto	dídto	ádto	ngadto; mukadto
	Ceb	kádto	niádto	dídto	tua	ngadto
	War	ádto	hádto	dídto	ádto	kadto
	Cam	zádto	sádto	dídto	ádto	
Gloss		'this; that'	'of this; of that'	'here; there'	'is here; is there'	'come here; go there'

Nominative:

(16)   Áno   da   ***adto***? (UW)
        what   just   that

        Unsa ra to? (Ceb)
        'What is that?'

(17)   Kú*h*a   dida'   ***íton***   ímo   sankídoy! (UW)
        get.IMP   there   that   2s.GEN   leg

        Kuhaa ang imong tiíl diha'. (Ceb)
        'Get your feet off there!'

(18)   Ajáw   pagduyujá   ***íton***   ímo   bugto'. (UW)
        don't   pester   that   2s.GEN   sibling

        Ayáw pagsungúga kanáng ímong igsúon. (Ceb)
        'Don't pester your sibling.'

Genitive:

(19) Kabayó   síja   ***sito***;   Kabayó   síja   ***sitón***
      know   3s.NOM   that.GEN   know   3s.NOM   that.GEN=LIG

      ímo   *gi*silíng. (UW)
      2s.GEN   REAL:PAT.say

      Kahibalo siya ana'; Kahibalo siya sa imong gisulti. (Ceb)
      'She knows that... She knows what you said.'

(20) Sin-o   ba   ***sitó***   an   imo   bagsók? (UW)
      who   QUES   that.GEN   NOM   2s.GEN   child

      Kinsa ba niána' ang imong anák? (Ceb)
      'Who of those is your child?'

(21) Ano   ba   ***sitó***   an   ímo   gusto? (UW)
      what   QUES   that.GEN   NOM   2s.GEN   want/like

      Asa ba niána' ang imong gusto? (Ceb)
      'Which of those do you like?'

Oblique/Locative:

(22) Nakaayó   síja   mungadá'   ***dida'***. (UW)
      STAT.shame   3s.NOM   go   there

      Mauwáw síya muanhá' dinha. (Ceb)
      'S/he's ashamed to go there.'

(23) Mukadá'   ko   ***dida'***. (UW)
      go   1s.NOM   there

      Muanha' ko diha. (Ceb)
      'I'm going there.'

(24) Adi   da   didí;   haya'   ***dida'***. (UW)
      EXIST.here   just   here   NEG.EXIST   there

      Niá ra dirí; wa' dinha. (Ceb)
      'It's over here; it's not there.'

Verbal:

(25) Kun   dili'   ka   ***mungadtó***,   ngádi   didí. (UW)
      if   NEG   2s.NOM   go.there   come   here

      Kung dili' ka muadto, anhi dinhí. (Ceb)
      'If you're not going there, come here.'

(26) Silíng   nímo   ***mungadí***   sijá. (UW)
      say   2s.GEN   come   3s.NOM

      Íngon nímo munganhí síya. (Ceb)
      'You said she is coming (here).'

Predicative:

(27) Aduy,   ***adto***   na   lát   an   pagót   didto
      oh.my   EXIST.there   >>   again NOM   promiscuous   there

      sa   íja   bayáy. (UW)
      OBL   3s.GEN   house

      Naku, tua na sád ang burikát didto sa iyang ba:y. (Ceb)
      'Oh my, the whore is there again at his house.'

(28) ***Adto***   si   Pupuy   Inggo   sa   subá'. (UW)
      EXIST.there   NOM   grandpa   Inggo   OBL   river

      Tua si Lolo Inggo sa sapa'. (Ceb)
      'Grandpa Inggo is at the river.'

2.4 Case-marking particles

Like Cebuano and Waray, case marking particles have three cases. The *in* vs *an/sin* vs *san* definiteness distinction in the nominative and genitive cases is a feature that also appears in Waray. Unlike Waray, there is no past/non-past distinction with the definite case marking particles.

(29) Hamót   ***an/in***   ímo   buhók. (UW)
      fragrant NOM   2s.GEN   hair

      Humot ang ímong buhók. (Ceb)
      'Your hair smells good.' (*an* 'specific', *in* 'generic')

(30) Maájo   gajód   ***in***   mga   idú'. (UW)
      good   really   NOM   PL   dog

      Maáyo gayód ang mga irú'. (Ceb)
      'Dogs are really good.'

For common and personal nouns, the nominative category corresponds to the absolute case, marking single arguments of intransitive predicates and objects of transitive predicates in both languages. Common noun genitive case markers in Utudnon are used to indicate possessors, agents of transitive verbs, and notional patients of intransitive verbs in antipassive constructions, an oblique category.

Table 3. Case marking particles

	Nominative		Genitive (UW) / Agentive/Gen (Ceb)		Oblique*	
	Utudnon	**Ceb**	**Utudnon**	**Ceb**	**Utudnon**	**Ceb**
common, sg	an (def) in (indef)	ang	san sin	sa ug (indef)	sa	sa
common, pl	an mga in mga	ang mga	san mga sin mga	sa mga ug mga	sa mga	sa mga
personal, sg	si	si	ni	ni	kan	kang
personal, pl	sila	sila	nila	nila	kaníla	kanila

*The oblique column represents locatives, benefactives, and recipients in Utudnon and Cebuano. The genitive markers are also used for oblique referents that appear as patients in antipassive constructions (see ex. 32).

(31) Sakutí   ***sin***   ságing   ***an***   landáng. (UW)
      add.THM:IMP   GEN   banana   NOM   coconut.stew.ball

      Saguli ug saging ang ginataán. (Ceb)
      'Add banana to the *landáng* (coconut stew balls).'

(32) *Nag*líbud   síja   ***sin***   damú'   nga   isda'. (UW)
      ACT:REAL.sell   3s.NOM   GEN   many   LIG   fish

      Nagbalígya' siya ug daghang isda'. (Ceb)
      'She sells a lot of fish.'

(33) Gái   ko   ***sin***   sayapi'.//   Gái   ko   ***san***   ímo   sayapí'. (UW)
      give   1s.NOM   GEN   money //   give   1s.NOM   GEN   2s.GEN   money

      Tagai kog kuwarta. // Tagai ko sa imong kuwarta. (Ceb)
      'Give me some money. // Give me your money.'

(34) Gipágud   ug   gipúybo   nga   tambubúkag   amuy
      roasted   and   pulverized   LIG   flying.lizard   IDP=INDEF

      tambáy   ***sin***   húbak.   Básin   ipiktibo,   *i*sákot
      cure   GEN   asthma   so.that   effective   THM.mix

      sa   pagkáun   ***sin***   pujá. (UW)
      OBL   food   GEN   child

      Gipágod ug gipulbos nga tambuká'ká' mau ang tambál sa húbak. Arón ipiktibo, iságol sa pagkáun sa báta'. (Ceb)
      'Roasted and pulverized flying lizard is used as a cure for asthma. In order to be effective, it is mixed with children's food.'

(35)   *Na*bákoy   ***an***   púpuy   ***san***   pujá...   Aytá. (UW)
       STAT.cripple   NOM   grandpa   GEN   child   believe.it

       Nabakol ang apuhan sa báta'. Maó ba. (Ceb)
       'The child's grandpa is a cripple... Believe it!'

(36)   *Na*súnog   ***an***   bayáy   ***san/sin***   íja   púpoy. (UW)
       STAT.burn   NOM   house   GEN   3s.GEN   grandfather

       Nasúnog ang ba:y sa iyang apohán (nga lalaki). (Ceb)
       'His grandfather's house burned down.'

The =*y* enclitic linker substituting for the non-specific nominative article in certain circumstances follows the patterns of standard Cebuano.

(37)   Waya***y***   íja   báyon. (= Waya' sija***y*** báyon.) (UW)
       NEG.EXIST=INDEF   3s.GEN   provision (*siyay* = 3s.NOM=INDEF)

       Wa***y*** iyang balon. = Wa' siya***y*** balon. (Ceb)
       'He has no provisions.'

(38)   Buwás   dúro***y***   bisíta   nga   mungadí'. (UW)
       tomorrow   many=INDEF   guest   LIG   come

       Ugma' dagha***y*** bisitang munganhí. (Ceb)
       'Tomorrow many visitors are coming.'

(39)   Damú'   gajú***y***   ímo   sayapí'. (UW)
       many   really=INDEF   2s.GEN   money

       Daghán gyúy imong kuwarta. (Ceb)
       'You really have a lot of money.'

2.5 Temporals

Many temporal adverbials in Utudnon are quite distinct from their Cebuano counterparts and have closer equivalents in the Warayan dialects of Northern Leyte and Samar (see Table 4).

Table 4. Bisayan temporals

	'now'	'later'	'tomorrow'	'earlier'	'yesterday'
Utudnon	sadá'	niján	buwás	ganína	(ka)kuyóp
War	yaná'	unína	buwás	kanína	kakulúp
Ley	karón	únja'	úgma'	(ka)ganíha	gahápun
Ceb	karón	únya'	úgma'	ganína	gahápun
Boh	karón	únja'	əgma'	(ka)ganíha	gahápun
Sur	kumán	ngáj'an	silúm	kanína	kahápun

(40) *M*alipájon   síja   kay   wayá*y*   suyód   ***sadá'***. (UW)
      STAT.happy   3s.NOM   because   NEG.EXIST=INDEF   enter   now

Malipáyon síya kay waláy su:d karún. (Ceb)
'She's happy because there is no class/work today.'

(41) An   ámon   suyá'   ***sada'***   salmón   kay
      NOM   1p.EXCL.GEN   viand   now   salmon   because

      *naka*lugsóng   kamí   sa   sáwang   ***kakuyóp***. (UW)
      POT.go.down   1p.EXCL.NOM   OBL   town   yesterday

Ang among sud-an karún salmon kay nakangadto mi sa lungsod gahapon. (Ceb)
'Our viand now is salmon because we were able to go (down) to town yesterday.'

(42) ***Niján***   da   kami   *mu*pasilíng   didá'. (UW)
      later   just   1p.EXCL.NOM   ACT.head.towards   there

Unya' ra mi munganha' dinha'. (Ceb)
'We're going there later.'

(43) An   ímo   husbák   nga   bugtó'   mukadá'   ***buwás***   didá'. (UW)
      NOM   2s.GEN   lazy   LIG   sibling   go   tomorrow   there

Ang imong tapulan nga igsuon muanha' ugma' dinha. (Ceb)
'Your lazy sister is going there tomorrow.'

2.6 Interrogatives

The interrogatives in Utudnon share more affinities with Waray and the Surigaonon dialects of Mindanao than with standard Cebuano (see Table 5).

(44) ***Áno***   ba   adá'   an   ámon   suyá'   niján? (UW)
      what   QUES   EXIST   NOM   1p.EXCL.GEN   viand   later

Unsa ba kahá' ang among sud-án unya'? (Ceb)
'What will our viand be later I wonder?'

(45) ***Anóy***   puyós   siní? //   Waya'   kay   puyós. (UW)
      what=INDEF   use   GEN.this //   NEG.EXIST   2s.NOM=INDEF   use

Unsáy gámit ani? // Wa' kang pu:s. (Ceb)
'What use is this? // You're useless.'

(46) ***Sin-ó/Ano***   (an)   ímo   ngáyan? (UW)
      who/what   (NOM)   2s.GEN   name

Kinsa ang imung pangan? (Ceb)
'What is your name?'

(47) ***Háin***   na   adá'   adto? (UW)
      where   now   EXIST   that

Ása na kahá' to? (Ceb)
'Wherever can s/he be?'

Table 5. Interrogatives

	Utudnon	**Ceb**	**Sur**	**War**
'What'	anú	únsa	únu	anú
'Who'	sin-ó	kínsa	sín-o	hín-o
'Whose'	kan nin-ó; kan sin-ó	kang kínsa	kanín-o	kanáy
'When (past)'	san-ó	kanús-a	kagán-o	kakán-o
'When (future)'	san-ó	anús-a	kún-o	sán-o
'Where (past)'	diín	diín	diín	diín
'Where (future)'	háin	ása	kaín	háin
'Where (present)'	háin	háin	háin	háin
'Where (movement)'	ngain	ása	kaín	ngaín
'How many'	pilá	pilá	pilá	pirá
'How much'	tagpíla	píla, tagpíla	tagpíla	tagpíra
'Why'	ngáno	ngáno	unú man	kay anó
'How + (to do)'	anuón	unsáon	únhon	áanhon

(48) ***San-ó*** kamó *mi*ngadtó? (UW)
       when   2p.NOM REAL:ACT.go

       Kanus-a mu ningadtó/miadtó? (Ceb)
       'When did you go?'

(49) ***San-ó*** kamó *mu*ngadtó? (UW)
       when   2p.NOM ACT.go

       Anus-a mo mangadtó/muadtó? (Ceb)
       'When will you go?'

(50) ***Ngaín*** ngaj-an kamó paduyóng? (UW)
       where   really   2p.NOM heading

       Asa man gayud mu padung? (Ceb)
       'Where are you really going?'

(51) ***Ngaín*** ka *nag*pujó'?   Didí akú *nag*hunóng. (UW)
       where   2s.NOM REAL:ACT.live   here 1s.NOM REAL:ACT.stay

       Asa ka nagpuyó'? Dinhi ko nagpuyó'. (Ceb)
       'Where do you live? I stay here.'

(52) ***Anuón***   man   na'   nímo'? (UW)
      what.do   SOFTEN   that   2s.GEN

      Unsáon man kaná' nímo'? (Ceb)
      'What are you going to do with that?'

(53) ***Pila***   (ka   buok)   in   imo   bugto'? (UW)
      how.many   (LIG   piece)   NOM   2s.GEN   sibling

      Pila ang imong igsuon? (Ceb)
      'How many siblings do you have?'

(54) ***Pila*y**   presyo   sin   ímo   bayáy? (UW)
      how.much=INDEF   price   GEN   2s.GEN   house

      Pilay presyo sa ímong ba:y? (Ceb)
      'How much is your house?'

(55) ***Kan***   ***sín-o***   bayáy   na'? (UW)
      OBL   who   house   that

      Kang kinsang ba:y kaná'? (Ceb)
      'Whose house is that?'

(56) ***Anó***   ***ka***lajuón   an   simbahán? (UW)
      what   NML.far   NOM   church

      Unsa kalay-on ang simbahán? (Ceb)
      'How far is the church?'

2.7 Negation

     Negation in Utudnon follows the regular patterns found in other Eastern Bisayan languages, with three separate negative particles, shown in Table 6. There is no separate negator for predicate NPs and adjectives (cf. Tausug *bukun*). Negative particles differ expectedly from their Eastern Bisayan counterparts only in their phonology: *$*l > y$; $y > j$.

Table 6. Bisayan negative particles

	Predicative	Prohibitive	Existential; Perfective Verbs	Nonperfective verbs; statives
Utudnon	–	ajáw	haya', waya'	dili'
Cebuano	–	ayáw	waláy	díli', di'
Camotes	–	azáw	wa'	di'
Waray	–	ayáw	waráy	díri'
Surigaonon	–	ajáw	hayá'	díli'
Leyteño	–	ajáw	waláy	díli'
Tausug	bukun	ayáw	wayruun	di'

Ajáw:

(57)   **Ajáw**   *pag*ngadtó!   *Pag*hunóng   didí. (UW)
          don't   IMP:ACT.go   IMP:ACT.stay   here

        Ayáw ug adtú! Pagpuyó' diri. (Ceb)
        'Don't go. Stay here!'

(58)   **Ajáw**   *pag***pa**uyán /   *pag***pa**uyán-uyán. (UW)
          don't   IMP:ACT.CAUS.rain   IMP:ACT.CAUS.rain.REDUP

        Ayáw pagpaulán / pagpataligsík. (Ceb)
        Ajáw pagpauwán / pagpaalindáhaw. (S. Ley, Boh.)
        'Don't get caught in the rain / shower.'

(59)   **Ajáw**   *pang*ága'   dida'. [*pangága' = paN- + kága'*] (UW)
          don't   IMP:ACT.lie   there

        Ayáw pamakák diha. (Ceb)
        'Don't lie (tell an untruth) there!'

Waya'/Haya':

(60)   **Waya'**   gajód   kamí   bugás.
          NEG.EXIST   really   1p.EXCL   rice

        Walá' gayod mi bugás. (Ceb)
        'We really don't have any rice.'

(61)   An   kalibrí   sa   kayáha'   **wayá'**   pa   nagámon. (UW)
          NOM   cassava   OBL   pot   NEG.EXIST   still/yet   cooked

        Ang kasaba sa káha' walá' pa malúto'. (Ceb)
        'The cassava in the pan is not yet cooked.'

(62)   **Waya'**   man   ko   nangísog   nímo. (UW)
          NEG.EXIST   part   1s.NOM   angry   2s.GEN

        Wala' man ko nasukó' nímo. (Ceb)
        'I am not upset with you.'

Dili':

(63)   **Dili'**   *mag*sákot   an   túbig   ug   lána. (UW)
          NEG   ACT.mix   NOM   water   and   oil

        Dili' magságol ang túbig ug lána. (Ceb)
        'Water and oil don't mix.'

(64)   **Dili'**   man   gud   uy   síja   langkawág. (UW)
          NEG   PART   really   EMPH   3s.NOM   skinny

        Di' man gyud siya kaayo níwang. (Ceb)
        'He's not really skinny.'

2.8 Existentials and affirmatives

    The existential in Utudnon contains deictic reference (see Table 7). *Adi* is used for proximate referents and *ada'* for medial and distal, e.g. **Adín** *kandíng sa bayáy* 'There's a

goat (here) in the house'; {***Adi** da didi / **Ada'** da dida'*} *an ímo kandíng* 'Your goat is {here/there}.' ***Adi** kuy iring / **Adi** akon iríng* 'I have a cat (with me now)' vs. ***Ada'** kuy iríng* 'I have a cat.' As in its sister languages, the existential encodes both existence and possession: ***Ada** ka ba-y asawa* or ***Ada'** bay ímo asáwa* 'Do you have a wife'; ***Ada'** ba an ímo asáwa* 'Is your wife there?'

Table 7. Eastern Bisayan existentials and affirmatives

	'There is' (clitic)	'There is' (independent)	'many'	'yes'
Utudnon	ádi, áda'	áda'	damó', dúro	ú'u
Ceb	(a)dúna-y	deictic form*	daghán	ú
Sur	may	jaún, jaú-y	hamok	ú'u
War	may, may-áda'	deictic form*	dámo'	ú'u

*Cebuano and Waray do not have a generic independent existential particles. Spatial deictic forms are used instead, e.g. Cebuano *dia, nia* 'here is' vs. *naa, tua* 'there is'.

(65)   ***Áda'***   dida'   si   Rick?   Hayá'   man   didí.   Adto
        EXIST   there   NOM   Rick   NEG.EXIST   part   here   EXIST

        síja   dídto. (UW)
        3s.NOM   there

        Na'a ba si Rick? Walá' siya dinhi. Tua siya didto. (Ceb)
        'Is Rick there? He's not here. He's over there.'

(66)   ***Damóy***   tambarúray   *nag*lupad-lúpad   sa   babáw
        many=INDEF   dragonfly   ACT.fly.REDUP   OBL   over

        sa   subá'. (UW)
        OBL   river

        Dagháng alindanaw nga galupád ibabáw sa sapá'. (Ceb)
        'There are many dragonflies flying over the river.'

(67)   ***Ada'***   ka*y*   uyáng? (UW)
        EXIST   2s.NOM=INDEF   shrimp

        Ada'   ka   ba*y*   uyáng? (UW)
        EXIST   2s.NOM   QUES=INDEF   shrimp

        Náa ka bay uwang? (Ley, Ceb)
        Aduna ka bay pasáyan? (Ceb)
        'Do you (sg.) have any shrimps?'

(68)   *Ma*tagtikí'   ba   ***adá'***   o   púnggud   adto*n*   dida'
        boil   QUES   EXIST   or   pimple   EXIST   there

sa	kigóy	san	bungóy	nga	bají? (UW)
OBL	rectum	GEN	deaf	LIG	girl

Hubág ba kahá' o bugás ang tua sa kigól sa bungól nga babayi? (Ceb)
'Is that a boil or a pimple on the deaf girl's rectum?'

(69) **Ka**d**úro**   ba   sin   mga   tao! (UW)
     NML.many   EMPH   GEN   PL   people

Kadaghán gyug tawo! (Ceb)
'There are so many people.'

2.9 The identificational particle

The identificational particle serves to emphatically point out a referent to the addressee. Because of its contrastive function, it is preclausal and often occurs before deictics. It appears in many Western Bisayan languages such as Aklanon, Romblomanon, and Odionganon as *imáw*, and as *maó* in Cebuano, Boholano, and Leyteño. However, in Utudnon, the particle is *amo*, as it appears in Hiligaynon, Kinaray-a, Masbateño, Porohanon, Surigaonon, and Tausug.

(70) **Amo** ngaj-án *na*ájo   an   ákon   sikdó'   kay
     IDP   really   STAT.well   NOM   1s.GEN   hiccough   because

íja   ko   *gi***pa**kudat*án*. (UW)
3s.GEN   1s.NOM   REAL.CAUS.startle.DIREC

Maó diay nga naáyo ang ákong sid-ók kay íya kung gipakuratán. (Ceb)
'The reason why my hiccoughs are gone is because he startled me.'

(71) **Amo** ngaj-an   an   ija   *gi*silíng? (UW)
     IDP   EXIST   NOM   3s.GEN   REAL:PAT.say

Unsa diay ang iyang gisulti? (Ceb)
'Is that really what he said?'

(72) **Amo**   adto   akon   *gi*silíng. (UW)
     IDP   EXIST   1s.GEN   REAL:PAT.say

Mao tu ang akong giingún. (Ceb)
'That's what I said.'

2.10 Verbal morphology

The morphology of the basic dynamic verb classes is strikingly similar to Cebuano. Unlike Waray Waray, Utudnon does not employ initial reduplication to express the progressive, nor does it employ the realis infix *-in-* in its full form. However, the infix *-um-*, which occurs in modern Cebuano as the prefix *mu-*, is retained for some forms in Utudnon and this infix fuses with the realis infix *-in-* in its realis form (see Table 8).

Table 8. Verbal morphology

Verb class	Realis	Irrealis/ Infinitive	Imperative	Gloss
mu-	*mi*tángis	*mu*tángis	tángis	'cry'
-um-	t*im*ángis	t*um*ángis	tángis	'cry'
mag-	*nag*huyát *naga*huyát (prog)	*mag*huyát *maga*huyát (prog)	*pag*huyát	'wait'
i-	*gi*sákut	*i*sákut	sakut*i*	'mix'
-un	*gi*pájung	pajúng*un*	pajúng*a*	'turn off'
-an	*gi*tilaw*an*	tilaw*án*	tilaw*í*	'taste'

Realis forms:

(73) **Mi**tángis   an   bají'   kay   **gi**hudót
REAL:ACT.cry   NOM   female   because   REAL:PAT.consume

sin   ulít   nga   pujá   an   íja   taná*ng*   uyáng. (UW)
GEN   voracious   LIG   child   NOM   3s.GEN   all=LIG   shrimp

Mihílak ang babayi kay gihurot sa hakóg nga báta' ang tanán niyang pasáyan. (Ceb)
'The girl cried because the voracious child ate all her shrimp.'

(74) **Mi**dukót   an   buyád   sa   kayáha'. (UW)
REAL:ACT.stick   NOM   dried.fish   OBL   pot

Midukot ang bulád sa ká:ha'. (Ceb)
'The dried fish stuck to the pot.'

(75) **Gi**gámon   níja   an   kalibrí   kakuyóp. (UW)
REAL:PAT.cook   3s.GEN   NOM   cassava   yesterday

Gilúto' níya ang kamoteng-kahoy gahápon. (Ceb)
'She cooked the cassava yesterday.'

(76) **H**i**m**únong   kami   sa   bayáy   ni   Rick. (UW)
drop.by{REAL:ACT}   1p.EXCL   OBL   house   GEN   Rick

Mihapít mi sa ba:y ni Rick. (Ceb)
'We dropped by Rick's place.'

(77) Nangísog   síja   kadá'   **mi**katáwa. (UW)
angry   3s.NOM   then   ACT.laugh

Nasukó' siya humán mikatáwa. (Ceb)
'She got upset and then laughed.'

Irrealis forms:

(78) Básin **mutúbo'** an ímo mga buyák jab-í sin íhi'. (UW)
so.that ACT.grow NOM 2s.GEN PL flower pour.IMP GEN urine

Arún mutúbo' ang imong mga buwák, yab-í ug íhi'. (Ceb)
'So that your flowers will grow, pour some urine (on them).'

(79) Dayhá didí an ímo báyon kay
bring.IMP here NOM 2s.GEN provision because

akon **tilawán** an imo bayátong. (UW)
1s.GEN taste.DIREC NOM 2s.GEN bean

Dad-a dinhí ang imong báon kay akong tilawán ang ímong balátong. (Ceb)
'Bring your food provisions here, I want to taste your beans.'

(80) **Tubújon** ka gajód kun **magkinaún** ka sin
hard.bowel.PAT 2s.NOM really if ACT.eat.up 2s.NOM GEN

damó' nga santóy.
much LIG santol.fruit

Tublon ka g(a)yud ug magkinaún ka ug dagháng santól. (Ceb)
'You'll have hard bowel movements if you eat lots of *santol* fruit.'

Imperative forms:

(81) **Sug-á** an ímo *gi*silíng.
repeat.PAT:IMP NOM 2s.GEN REAL:PAT.say

Usba ang imong gisulti'. (Ceb)
'Repeat what you said.'

(82) **Pasabsába** an kayábaw sa kasiután. (UW)
CAUS.graze.IMP NOM carabao OBL grassy.area

Pasabsába ang ká:baw sa kasagbután. (Ceb)
'Set the water buffalo out to pasture in the grass.'

(83) **Ajui** ko sin kalamúnggay. (UW)
ask.for.IMP 1s.NOM GEN horseradish.leaves

Pangayui ko ug kamunggay. (Ceb)
'Ask for some horseradish leaves for me.'

(84) **Pagsábud** sin humáy sa pilápil. (UW)
IMP:ACT.sow GEN rice.seeds OBL rice.field

Pagsabuag ug humay sa humayán. (Ceb)
'Sow the rice seeds in the rice field.'

Potentive and stative verb paradigms follow those of standard Cebuano.

(85) **Natumtumán** nákon an ímo *gi*silíng. (UW)
POT.remember 1s.GEN NOM 2s.GEN REAL:PAT.say

Nahinumdumán náko' ang ímong gisúlti. (Nakahinumdum ko sa ímong gisulti.) (Ceb)
'I remember what you said.'

(86) ***Nahúyog*** síja kakuyóp sa subá'. (UW)
REAL:POT.fall 3s.NOM yesterday OBL river

Nahu:g siya kagahapon sa sapa'. (Ceb)
'She fell in the river yesterday.'

(87) ***Nasangkídoy*** ko tungod níja. (UW)
REAL:POT.trip 1s.NOM because 3s.GEN

Natakilpó' ko tungod niya. (Ceb)
'I tripped because of her.'

(88) Huyum-húyom ánay didá básin ka ***mahilísan***. (UW)
soak-REDUP for.while there so.that 2s.NOM POT.digest.POT

Hulum-húlom lang dínha' árun ka mahilísan. (Ceb)
'Just soak yourself for a while so you'll digest.'

(89) Dili' ko ***kasabút*** kun an kayábaw *mu*káun
NEG 1s.NOM STAT.know if NOM carabao ACT.eat

sin háyas; an mga buwája sigurádo gajód. (UW)
GEN snake NOM PL crocodile sure really

Wala' ko kahibalo ug mukaon ba ang kabaw ug bitín; ang mga buwaya mukáun
gayód. (Ceb)
'I don't know if water buffaloes eat snakes, crocodiles certainly do.'

2.11 The discourse particle *duy*

A highly salient final particle in Utudnon which does not have an equivalent in
standard Cebuano is the sentence final particle *duy*, used by speakers to solicit further
interaction or confirmation of their message, much like the Canadian sentence final
particle *eh. Duy* is realized as *uy* after the intensifier *gajúd/gud* 'really'.

(90) Sin-o ba*y* imu pangáyan, ***duy***? (UW)
who QUES=LIG 2s.GEN name *duy*

Unsa bay imong ngan? (Ceb)
'What is your name?'

(91) Ngain kamó paduyóng ***duy***? (UW)
where 2p.NOM heading *duy*

Asa mo padong? (Ceb)
'Where are you going?'

(92) Ajaw **gud** *uy* sija pagkugnaa. (UW)
don't really *uy* 3s.NOM convince

Ayaw gyud siya pagdaniha. (Ceb)
'Don't you dare convince her, OK?'

(93)   Pasíling-síling   da   **gud**   *uy*   iní   nga   dáto'
        pretending   just   really   *uy*   this   LIG   rich

        pero   pubrí   ngaj-án. (UW)
        but   poor   so

        Nagpakaarun-ingnon lang kini nga dato' apan pobri diay. (Ceb)
        'These (people) are just pretending to be rich but they are indeed poor.'

3. Lexicon

I will conclude this paper with a sampling of a few words in Utudnon that are divergent from their Standard Cebuano counterparts. I have segregated words relating to insects, animals and genitalia from the others to show how certain lexical fields can be quite distinct in closely related languages.

Genitalia:

bulí'	'genitalia'	Ceb *kinatawo*; War *bulí'*; Tsg *bulí'* = buttocks
búto'	'scrotum'	Ceb *lagáy*; Ceb *bútu'* = vagina; Sur *bútu'*
butuón	'scrotal hernia'	War *búyong, putay*
gití'	'vagina'	Ceb *buto, bilát*; *puki*; Ley *bisóng*; Ceb, War *pudáy*; Sur *pípi', gití, bilát*
kigóy	'lower rump'	Ceb *kigól*
lubót	'buttocks'	Sur *kalibangan, labót*; Ceb *sampot, dapí-dápi'*; Ley *lubót*; Bik lubót
lagáy	'penis'	Ceb *lúso', pikóy, utin*; Ceb *lagáy* = testicles
pisóy	'penis'	Ceb *lúso', pikóy*; Ceb, War, Sur *utin*; War *búto', potoy, sili*; Hil *pitoy*
putájon	'scrotal hernia'	War *búyong, putay*

Animals and insects:

antipayó, tipay-o	'glowworm'	Ceb *tipal-o*; War *urarámag, aninípot, bukátkat*
bají-bají	'praying mantis'	Ceb *baying-baying*; War *ayam-ayam*
butó'	'stud pig'	Ceb *barako*
hantík	'big black ant'	Ceb *sulóm*; War *hamtik*
hinigtán	'fighting cock'	Ceb *hiniktán*
kaba'kabá'	'big black butterfly'	Ceb *alibangbang*; War *rapudapó*

kuyapnít	'bat (generic)'	Ceb *kwaknit*; Ceb *kabóg* (large bat); War *kulalápnit*
lagá	'red ant'	Ceb. *hulmigas*
lawa'lawá'	'spider'	Ceb *kaka'*; Sur, War *láwa'*
pikóy	'parakeet'	Ceb *piriko; pikoy* = penis; War *pikóy*
pungák	'owl'	Ceb *ngiwngiw, mingok*
sayapáti	'pigeon'	Ceb *pati, sayampati*
tambarúray	'dragonfly'	Ceb *handanaw, sandanaw, alindahaw, silisili*; War *tambubúray*
tambubúkag	'flying lizard'	Ceb *tambukâkâ*
utitód	'little ant'	Ceb, Ley *utitod*
uyáng	'shrimp'	Ceb *pasayan*; Ley *uwáng*; War *uráng*; Sur *uyáng*
sigbín	'dog (slang)'	Ceb *sigbin* = mythological animal; NE Samar *sigbín* 'dog (said in anger)' (Jason Lobel, pers. comm.)

Common adverbials and functors:

adá'	'I wonder'	Ceb *kahá'*
aduy	'oh my'	Ceb *uy, naku*
amo > amo ini	'contrasting particle; this'	Ceb *mao*; War *amo* > Ceb *mao kini*
ayta	'believe it or not'	Ceb *maú ba*
basin	'so that'	Ceb *arón*; *basin* = lest; optative
buwás	'tomorrow'	Ceb *úgma'*
du:y	'affirmative sentence-final particle'	Ceb no equivalent
kadá'	'and then'	Ceb *human*
kakuyóp	'yesterday'	Ceb *kagahapon*; War *kakulóp*; Ban *kakyóp*
na lát	'again'	Ceb *na pód, na sád*
ngaín	'where (movement)'	Ceb *asa*
ngaj-án	'surprise particle; really'	Ceb *tinuud* (really), *diay* (surprise); Abg, War *ngay-an*

niján	'later'	Ceb *únya'*; War *niyán*; Sur *ngáj-an*
sadá' > sadá na	'now' > 'hold on'	Ceb *karón*; Cam *zaná'*; Sur *kumán* > Ceb *karon na*
san-o	'when'	Ceb *kanus-a*; War *sán-o*
tagna'	'I don't know'	Ceb, War *tágna'* = predict, divine

Other Utudnon words that are divergent from Cebuano:

alingásag	'noisy'	Ceb *alingugngóg*; Ley *alingása*
ayagtáng	'forehead'	Ceb *agtang, buna*; Sur *baj-u*
ayát	'salty'	Ceb *parát*; Mindanao Ceb *asgád*; War *árat*
áyo > makaaaáyo > makaayó	'shame' > 'embarrassing' > 'embarrassed'	Ceb *uwáw*; *áyo* = fix, good for; War *álo* > Ceb *makauuwaw*
bagsók	'child'	Ceb *báta'*
bají	'woman'	Ceb, War *babaye*; Kan, Sur *babáji*
bálsa	'ferry boat'	Ceb *bángka'*
bangá'	'clay waterpot'	Ceb *bánga'*
bángaw	'rainbow'	SL *balangáw*; Ceb *balángaw*; Sur *bayángaw*
banjás, badjás	'drift in water'	Ceb *padpád*; Ley *badlás, banlás*
banjós	'rub on medicine'	Ceb *banlos*; Ley *banyos*
banwa	'thicket'	Ceb *kasagbutan*; Ceb *banwa* = city, town
básong	'water trough'	Ceb *pasungan, bahoganan*
bayága'	'ember'	Ceb *bága'*
bayasón	'stupid'	Ceb *habol, dumpol, bugók*
bigatlón	'flirt'	Ceb *bigáon*
bilíng (mamilíng)	'look for'	Ceb *mangita'*; War *bilíng*
bilyón > bilyunón	'crazy' > 'nutty'	Ceb *buang, siaw*; Abg *bilyón* > Ceb *buangbuang, kuwanggol*
binandáy	'cross legs'	Ceb *hinambíd*; Ley *bangdáy*
budbód	'untangle'	Ceb *pitla*; *budbud* = wind

budlóng	'kind of fish'	Ceb *budlóng* = cornstarch sweet; dig out deep-rooted plants
budús	'pregnant'	Ceb *mábdus, sabák*; War *búrod*
bugsók	'pole for ground'	Ceb *tukón* (supporting prop), *tugsók* (impale)
bugtó'	'sibling'	Ceb *igsúon*; War *búgto'*
butídik	'big belly'	Ceb *buy-ay*; Ley *butírik*
buyód	'hill'	Ceb, Sur *bungtod*; War *búkid*
buyumbún	'fontanel'	Ceb *hubón*; War *bubón*
búyon	'choke on food'	Ceb *tuúk*
dagmít	'hurry'	Ceb *dalí'*
dayágom	'needle'	Ceb *dagom*
dughít	'fruit picking pole'	Tag *sungkit*
dúnot	'spoiled; old; flimsy'	Ceb *latá'*; Utudnon *latá'* = rotten; War *dunót* 'rotten (eggs)'
duyóm	'night'	Ceb *gabii*
duyóy	'tease; annoy; bother'	Ceb *sungóg, sámok*
gámon	'cook starches'	Ceb, Sur War *luto'*; Utudnon *luto'* = cook rice; Ceb *lung-ág*
gayasgás	'scratch'	Ceb *garás*
halí	'hurry'	Ceb *dalí'*
higót	'rope, leash'	Ceb *hikót*; War *higót*
hikí' (hiki'hikí')	'smile' ('giggle')	Ceb *hiyóm*; War *ngisi*
himají	'womanizer'	Ceb *himamáy*; War *makibabáyi*
hinangáy	'dilly dally'	Ceb *langan-langan*
hunóng	'live; stay'	Ceb *puyó* (live); *húnong* = stop
húpit	'wet'	Ceb *basá'*
husbák	'lazy'	Ceb *hubyá', tapulán*
huyáw	'calm weather'	Ceb *huwáw* = drought; Ceb, War *línaw*; Akl *hueaw* 'let off (a storm)'

ilajá	'upland (directional)'	-
iláod	'down to sea level, down to shore'	Ceb *ilawud* = to open sea (not shore)
imburnál	'canal'	Ceb *kanál*
ísuy-ísoy	'chicken coccyx'	Ceb *ísol*
íwas	'exit (leave the house)'	Ceb *hawa*; War *gawás*
kabó'	'fetch water; dipper'	Ceb *káos* (fetch water); *kabó'* (dipper)
kadá'	'(and) then'	Ceb *human*
kága'	'lie (untruth)'	Ceb *bakák*; War *kága'*
kahímo'	'face'	Ceb, War *nawóng*; Sur *wayóng*; War *kahímo'*
kajáw	'wave'	Ceb *kawáy*
kajingkíng	'little finger'	Ceb *kumingkíng*; War *kumayingking*
kakahuján	'forest'	Ceb *kalasangán*
kalibrí	'cassava'	Ceb *bulanghoy, binggalá*; War *balánghoy*
kan-ón	'cooked rice'	Ceb *luto'*; War *kán-on, tinúon*
kapuyós	'ugly; rotten'	Ceb *maot, ngilad* (ugly); *latá'* (rotten)
karída	'run'	Ceb *dágan*
katumtumán	'remember'	Ceb, War *hinumdumán*
kaupód	'companion'	Ceb *kaubán*; War *kaupod*
kayadkád	'boil'	Ceb, War *bukal*; War *kaladkád*; Ceb, War *lá'ga'*
kayáha'	'small pan'	Ceb *kaha*; War *karáha'*
káyat	'scatter'	Ceb *sabuag*; Ley *kálat*
káyot, kámot	'scratch'	Ceb *kawot, kaut, garás*; Sur *káyot*; Ley *kámot*; War *kalot*
kíjod	'copulate'	Ceb *pagpanghilawas*; *kíyod* = thrust
kiláya	'know'	Ceb *ka-ilá*; War *kilala*
kugna'	'persuade'	Ceb *daní*
kuyujót	'shriveled up'	Ceb *kurayot, kunót*

lambód	'knot'	Ceb *baligtós, lukót*; Utudnon *lukót* = wrinkled, creased
landáng	'coconut stew ball, *guinataán*'	Ceb *binignít*
langkawág	'tall and lanky'	Ceb *wangkíg*
langkáy	'skinny and flexible'	Ceb *langkáy* = palm frond; old maid
langkóy	'overstretched'	Ceb *luyát*
laugán	'gallivant'	Ceb *libodlibod, suroy-suroy, laróylaróy*; War *sibróng, layawláyaw*
líbod	'peddle'	Ceb *suroy-balígya'*
litî'	'lightning and thunder'	Ley *lintí'*; Ceb *kílat* (lightning)
lukpít	'fold a mat'	Ceb *pilo'*; War *lúkot* (roll up mat)
lung-ág	'cook'	Ceb, War *luto'*
mangadjí'	'pray'	Ceb *ampu'; War mangadí'*
matagtikí'	'boil with pus'	Ceb, War, Sur *hubág*; War *báos, búrsot*; Abg *matastíki*
maulhí	'late'	Ceb *maulahi*; War *úrhi*
mayá	'dry'	Ceb *ugá*, Negros *malá*
muy-ók	'die'	Ceb *patay*
nangísog	'angry'	Ceb *nasuko*; War *ísog*
ngá'ngá'	'stutter'	Ceb *ká'ká'*
pagót > pagutón	'whore' > 'promiscuous'	Ceb *burikát* > Ceb *bigáon*
pajók	'livid bruise'	Ceb *bun-og*; Ley *payók*
památi'	'listen'	Ceb *pamínaw*; Ley *památi'*
pasíling-síling	'pretend'	Ceb *nagpakaaron-ingnon*
pilápil	'rice field'	Ceb *humayán*, War *tanumán, hagnà*; War *pilapil* = water terrace
pujá	'child'	Ceb, Sur, War *bata'*; Abg, Ban *puya*; Por *puza*
punggód	'pimple'	Ceb *bugás*; War *punggód*

púngko'	'sit down'	Ceb *púngko'* = squat; War *pungkúan* = chair; Hil *púngko'*
púpoy	'grandparent'	Ceb *apohán*; War *apoy*
púso	'faucet (Sp.)'	Ceb *grípo* (Sp.)
puy + Name	'grandparent (vocative)'	-
sabáng	'brackish water'	Ceb *subá'*
sabsáb	'graze; eat voraciously'	Ceb *tugwáy* (graze); *habháb* (eat voraciously)
sábod	'sow rice'	Ceb *sabuag, pugás*; War *sábod*
sákot	'mix, add to'	Ceb *ságol*; War *salakot*
sampán	'flat raft'	Ceb *gakit*
sangkídoy	'knee; leg; trip'	Ceb *tuhod*; *tiil* (leg); *pandól* (trip)
sáwang	'downtown'	Ceb *lungsód, dakbayán*; Abg *sáwang*
say-ád	'hang'	Ceb *sab-ong, bitay* (hang); *sagbáy* (hang clothes)
sayád, sayáy	'curved knife'	Ceb *sanggót*
saying	'catch water'	Ceb *saod*
sáyumsáyum	'dawn'	Ceb *banagbanag, kaadlawon*, War *balasibas*
sijáb	'set fire to'	Ceb *sílab*
sikdó'	'hiccough'	Ceb *sid-ok, sikyo'*; Sur *síkyo'*; War *sikló'*
silíng	'say'	Kan *laúng*; Sur *súlti*; War *siring*; Hil *silíng*
sipóy	'knife with small blade for cutting rice'	Sur *sipóy* = knife
sí-ut	'grass; trash'	Ceb, Sur *sagbut*; War *banwa*
subá'	'river'	Ceb *sapa'*; *subá'* = brackish water; War *sapsapa*; Sur *subá'*
sudjút	'sprout'	Ceb, Ley *sudlut*
sugá'	'change; repeat'	Ceb *ílis* (change); *usáb* (repeat)
sukút	'collect (money)'	Ceb *singil*
sung-ág	'cook starches'	Ceb *lung-ág*
sungyugón	'tease'	Ceb *sungúgon*; War *súnglog*

supyút	'wear'	Ceb *sul-ob*
suyá'	'viand'	Ceb *sud-án*; Ley *suwá'*
suyóp	'dusk'	Ceb *saop, salumsom*
takúdo	'taro (grown in dry places)'	-
takyúp	'lid, cover'	Ceb *taklób*
tambukaka'	'sitting idly'	Ceb *tambuká'ká'* = flying lizard
tangís	'cry'	Ceb *hilak*; War *tangís*; Sur *tuwáw*
tangkóng	'water spinach'	Ceb *kangkóng*
tasyakán	'scaredy cat'	Ceb *talawán*; Ley *taslakán*
tawtáw	'pupil of eye'	Ceb *kalimutáw*; Ley *náwutawó*; Marupipi War *tawutawu*
tidók	'squish louse'	Ceb *pislit*; Abg *idók*
tijáob	'fall flat'	Ceb *tislaob*
tínda'	'sell (Sp.)'	Ceb, Sur *balígya'*; War *baligyá'*; Sur *balígja'*
tubód	'leak; spring'	Ceb *tu:*
tukdú'	'put on head'	Ceb, Ley *lukdu'*; War *túkdo'*
tukób	'bite'	Ceb *paak*
tunturugók	'stupid'	Ceb *tonto*
údtong ládok	'high noon'	Ceb *udtong tútok*; War *adláway*
ulít	'voracious'	Ceb *hangúl*; War *dagkò, hingaón*
upód	'go with'	Ceb *ubán*; War *upód*
utód	'cut off'	Ceb *putul*; War *utód*; Sur *híwa'*
yaksót	'ugly'	Ceb *ngil-ad, maot*; Ley *laksot*; War *mayáot, maráksot*

Abbreviations

>>	part of a multiword collocation (see next gloss)	LIG	ligature
		NML	nominalizer
		NOM	nominative
Abg	Abuyog Waray	OBL	oblique
ACT	actor/agent orientation	PART	particle
Akl	Aklanon	PAT	patient orientation
Ban	Bantayanon	PL	plural
Bik	Bikol	Por	Porohanon
Boh	Boholano	POT	potentive
CAUS	causative	QUES	interrogative
Ceb	Standard Cebuano	REAL	realis
DIREC	directional/locational orientation	RED	reduplication
		S. Ley.	Southern Leyteño
EMPH	emphatic (particle)	SOFTEN	softening particle
EXCL	exclusive (of addressee)	STAT	stative
EXIST	existential	Sur	Surigaonon
GEN	genitive	Tag	Tagalog
Hil	Hiligaynon	THM	theme/conveyance orientation
IDP	identificational particle		
IMP	imperative	Tsg	Tausug
INCL	inclusive (of addressee)	UW	Utudnon (Utudnon Waya' Waya')
Kan	Kantilan		
Ley	Central Leyteño	War	Waray Waray

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