

The morphosyntax of a created language of the Philippines: Folk linguistic effects and the limits of relexification

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Abstract. The Eskaya people of Bohol in the southern Philippines use the Eskayan language and script in specific domains: schooling, church, speechmaking and literary transcription. Both language and script are attributed to an ancestral creator known as Pinay. At first glance, Eskayan appears to be a simple relexification of the regional Visayan language of which Eskaya people are mother-tongue speakers, as translations of the traditional literature into Visayan have the appearance of word-for-word calques. However, the ostensibly straightforward relationship between the two lects becomes more problematic at the level of morphology. The 24 Visayan verbal affixes and their allomorphs are handled by just five Eskayan counterparts and traditional texts are replete with ambiguities that cannot always be resolved by Eskayan speakers. The review of Eskayan morphosyntax, and its relationships to Visayan structures, brings into focus the analytical categories that the putative creator Pinay brought to the task of constructing the language. More broadly, it draws attention to the scope for grammatical innovation in engineered languages, as well as the inherent constraints.

Keywords. morphosyntax, language engineering, contact lexicology, sociolinguistics, auxiliary languages

Abbreviations

AV	actor voice
COL	collectiviser
CV	conveyance voice
DAT	dative
DIST	distal
EX	exclusive
EXIST	existential
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund
IN	inclusive
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
LK	linker
LOC	locative
LV	locative voice
MED	medial
MED-PRX	medio-proximal
NEG	negative
NOM	nominaliser
NSPC	non-specific marker
NUM	number
NVOL	non-volitional
PART	particle
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
POT	potentive
PRX	proximal
PV	patient voice
RE	realis
SG	singular
SPEC	specific marker
S.T.	something
UG	undergoer

1. Introduction

The Philippine archipelago of the Visayas is home to about 20 million speakers of Visayan, a Western Austronesian language commonly known by the name of its prestige dialect, Cebuano. Although Visayans were among the earliest in the Philippines to submit to Christianisation and colonisation on the part of the Spanish, they have retained a vigorously independent culture and a reputation for rebelliousness. Nowhere is this more evident than in the Visayan island of Bohol, which as early as the 16th century became the site of organized revolts against Spanish rule, the most famous of which was the Dagohoy Rebellion of 1744 to 1829 (Romanillos 1997). When the 85-year insurrection was finally quelled, three generations of pacified rebels and their families were resettled in purpose-built towns. Throughout the remainder of the 19th century, Bohol remained relatively peaceful even when the Philippine Revolution reached its shores in 1898. While conflict was sweeping the north of the country, Bohol's Spanish colonists evacuated almost unscathed, and a junta of local elites quietly succeeded in forming an independent government (Luspo 2005). Styling itself the 'Gobierno de Canton de Bohol', the new government produced its own escutcheon (Scriven 1900) and from April 1899 was ruling over an island population of some 300,000 people. Though nominally answerable to the fledgling national government of Emilio Aguinaldo in Luzon, Bohol operated as a *de facto* republic having been effectively cut off from the northern front of the Philippine–American War. The junta was disbanded on 17 March, 1900 when US forces reached the island; open hostilities broke out later in the year. The ensuing war and its effects were brutal. Already weakened by a cholera epidemic, the people of Bohol were subjected to a shock-and-awe assault: almost all coastal towns were razed to the ground and the livestock slaughtered *en masse* (Gibbens 1904). The Boholanos resisted until December 1901 when US forces threatened the total destruction of the provincial capital Tagbilaran (Tirol 1998; Luspo 2005).

A small community of people from the ruined town of Loon on Bohol's west coast escaped, probably by sea, to the southeast of the island. Heading inland they eventually settled on a defensible upland plateau at a place called Biabas. Shortly after the war ended with the surrender of Bohol's army, the Biabas community became radicalized under the leadership of Mariano Datahan, a former Boholano

Today Datahan's recuperated language is known as *Iskaya'* (or Eskayan in English) and schools for teaching it are sited in Biabas and the nearby villages of Taytay and Lundag. Some 500 people alive today exhibit reasonable spoken and written competence in the language and all acquired their knowledge through attendance at these schools. Beyond the schools, Eskayan is used in church, for formal speechmaking and for the transcription of a body of traditional literature exceeding 25,000 words. Writing is, in fact, the single most important domain of Eskayan language use. In addition to folkloric narratives, the literary corpus includes reference syllabaries for reading and reproducing the script and a series of Visayan–Eskayan and Eskayan–Visayan wordlists. Older wordlists include Spanish or English glosses. For Eskaya people, the written word is considered primary and no distinction is drawn between the Eskayan script itself and the language it represents. Thus the written form of the greeting **abilaki** (*kumusta*, 'hello') is not construed as a representative medium for its acoustic form /abilaki/, but quite the reverse: the utterance /abilaki/ is understood as an acoustic by-product of the 'real' written word *abilaki*. Moreover, grammatical 'well-formedness' is judged by the extent to which an Eskayan utterance coincides with the written records. What I am calling the 'literality principle' is thus a corollary to grammatical intuition: the literary corpus is not only the arbiter of

‘correct’ Eskayan, it *is* Eskayan. As I have detailed in Kelly (2012, forthcoming), Eskayan is a language that effectively came into being in the process of its own documentation, and writing is central to its ontology.

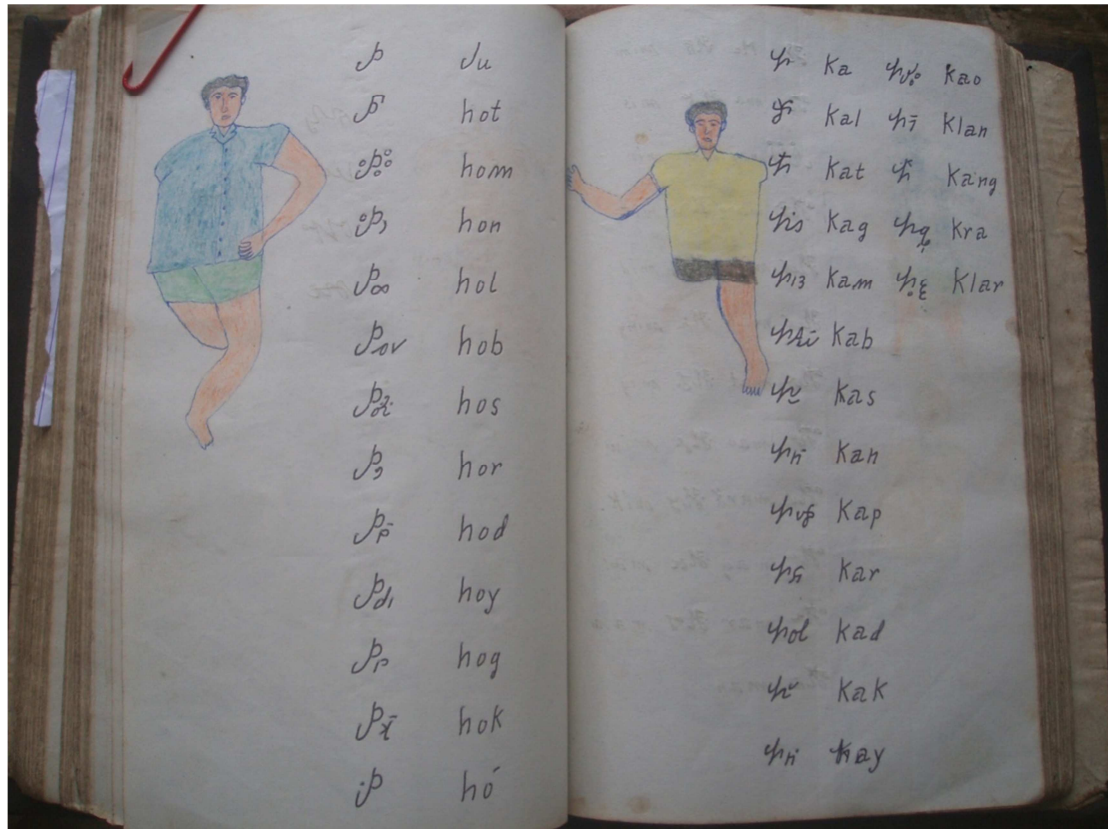


Figure 1. Pages from the **simplit** ('syllabary') of Alberta Galambao showing the relationship between character shapes of **hu**- and **ka**- syllables and body poses. Other characters are associated with specific body parts including internal organs.

Two prior researchers, Milan Torralba and Stella Consul have attempted partial descriptions of Eskayan (Torralba 1991, 1991, 1993; Consul 2005). Without ready access to the literary corpus, both approached Eskayan as if it were an undocumented spoken language and recorded their data via oral elicitation. When these researchers tried to elicit features that weren't attested in Eskayan records, the results were often uncertain and could not be reconciled between speakers, let alone the written record. My own attempts at oral elicitation have produced similarly unreliable results. In recognition of the primacy of written records for Eskayan speakers and the literality principle, my analysis is based entirely on the traditional Eskayan narratives with much interpretive assistance from my Eskaya consultants.

Aside from the florid script with its many redundant symbols, what is striking about Eskayan is that the language itself appears to have been created via a straightforward relexification of the Visayan language as it is spoken on Bohol. This impression is emphasized by the fact that Eskayan narratives are typically reproduced with an official Visayan translation on a facing page (see Figure 2). In reading these documents it quickly becomes evident that almost no line of Eskayan text exceeds or falls short of the number of words in its Visayan translation. Closer analysis shows that word and clause order across the two texts are also identical. All this points to the hypothesis that the putative creator Pinay simply grafted a new set of lexemes onto Visayan morphosyntax. These newly coined words follow the phonotactic rules of Visayan and a small proportion of them appear to be ‘loanwords’ from Visayan, Spanish or English. Most Eskayan words, however, cannot be decisively traced to a source even if their phonotactics are sometimes imitative of structures in colonial languages. The story of how Pinay carried out the task of relexification and the political circumstances that made the recuperation of Eskayan desirable is discussed in Kelly (2012, forthcoming). Here I am concerned specifically with the ‘unexpected’ effects of relexification. While on the face of it Pinay’s procedure involved a direct encoding of one lexeme for another, it is often the case that a sentence translated from Visayan to Eskayan (or vice versa) cannot always be mechanistically back-translated to the original. I argue that this apparent interference is a reflection of the relexification method as I have attempted to reconstruct it, and of the underlying folk-linguistic principles that guided the process. More generally, the analysis of Eskayan morphosyntax offers a minor case study for identifying ideological constraints on language engineering as a practice, as I intend to explain.

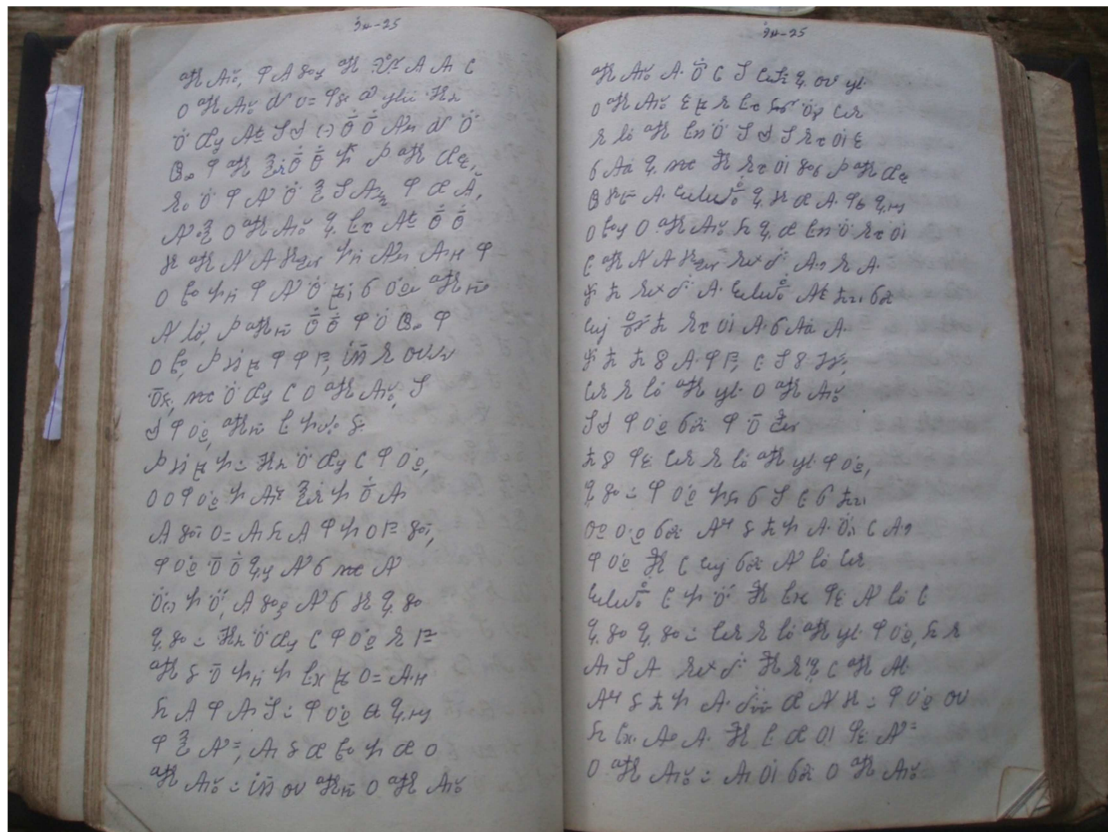


Figure 2. Eskaya literature from the notebook of Alberta Galambao. The right-hand page is in Eskayan and the left-hand page in Visayan.

Section 1 of this article provides an elementary introduction to Visayan while Section 2 compares Visayan morphosyntax with that of Eskayan drawing attention to the points divergence between the two systems. It will become clear that Eskayan structures are more reduced than their Visayan translations. A large proportion of Visayan words with bound and overt morphology do not exhibit the same morphological structure in their relexified Eskayan form. This suggests that the putative creator Pinay was focusing his relexification efforts on discrete words and that morphology was not his primary analytical concern. In Section 3, I introduce historical context to suggest that Pinay made use of existing Spanish–Visayan and Spanish–English–Visayan wordlists to assist in his relexification project. In so doing, Pinay was informed by folk-linguistic notions that writing is the authentic expression of language, that language is about words as opposed to grammar, and that words have inherent meaning and are substitutable between languages. These ideas are all reflected in the morphosyntax of Eskayan as it compares to its ‘parent’ language.

1. Basic Visayan morphosyntax

Eskayan has never been acquired as a native language; the mother tongue of all its speakers past and present is Visayan. An Austronesian language of some 20 million speakers, Visayan belongs to the Greater Central Philippine subgroup of Malayo-Polynesian and shares many typological characteristics with these languages (Adelaar & Himmelmann 2005). To avoid introducing a lengthy digression on Visayan morphosyntax, I have provided a condensed overview of its core features for the purposes of comparison with Eskayan. What follows is thus neither a sketch nor a condensed description of Visayan structures but an outline of those features that have the most significant comparative relevance. On the principle of minimal-description-for-maximal-comparison, my preference has been to compile morphological data in tables with accompanying example sentences. Areas that may be of more general or theoretical interest to grammarians but which hold less relevance to the relationship between the two lects are not treated here.

This section begins with a review of clauses and noun-phrase structure before moving on to clitics, verbal inflection and processes of nominalization. Terminologies for describing Visayan vary, particularly with regards to topicality and voice.¹ For the most part I have chosen to follow the conventions preferred by Himmelmann (2005a; 2005b; 2006) and Payne (1994).²

1.1 Clauses

In Visayan main clauses, predicates are in initial position, followed by the subject. Subjects are introduced with an article that may be specific (SPEC) or non-specific (NSPC). The specific article is of the form *si* when it occurs with personal names.

¹ The word *ang*, for example is variously defined as a topic marker, thematizer or specific article. Wolff (1972) does not use the specific terms ‘focus’ or ‘voice’ at all, but opts for ‘active’ and ‘passive’. In fact, there is not yet any standard set of terms for describing these features in Western Austronesian languages generally.

² Many of the example sentences are adapted or taken directly from Wolff (1972) and I have consulted Maria Dano, a native speaker of Boholano-Visayan to ensure their grammaticality. I owe an enormous debt to Himmelmann’s lucid and concise sketch of Tagalog (Himmelmann 2005a) which has inspired the structure of this overview and served as the model for some of my tables.

- (1) *Misumpa* *ang* *prisidinti*.
 AV:take.oath SPEC president

‘The president took oath.’

- (2) *Mihulpa* *ug* *dahun*.
 AV:fall NSPC leaf

‘A leaf fell.’

Existential clauses are preceded by the existential operators *anaa* and *aduna* (abbreviated as *naa* and *duna*), or the negative operator *wala'* (abbreviated as *wa'*).

- (3) *Naay* *ilaga* *nga* *nalata'* *sa* *tangki*.
 anaa-y ilaga nga na-lata' sa tangki
 MED-EXIST rat LK PV.RE.POT-rot LOC tank

‘There’s a dead rat that has rotted in the water tank.’

- (4) *Dunay* *libru* *sa* *lamisa*.
 aduna-y libru sa lamisa
 MED-EXIST book LOC table

‘There is a book on the table.’

- (5) *Wala'* *kny* *barku*.
 Wala' ku-y barku
 NEG 1s-EXIST boat

‘I am poor.’ (lit. ‘I don’t have a boat.’)

Typical predicates for simple main clauses are voice-marked words as seen in the first two examples. Voice marking will be covered in §1.4 below, but it is worth pointing out here that voice constructions are either actor-oriented or undergoer-

oriented. The predicate is marked for voice and the subject expression relates to the actor or undergoer of the predicate event.

Basic argument and adjunct expressions in Visayan are indicated by means of the grammatical function markers *ang* ('the') and *sa* ('to', 'of'). Arguments introduced with *sa* are of two categories: possessive/genitive or locative/dative. When it occurs with personal names *sa* becomes *ni* in possessive/genitive position and *kang* in locative/dative position (see example (6) and Table 1 below).

The order of arguments and adjuncts is not fixed but there is a preference for genitives to come straight after the predicate and subjects to be in clause-final position with locative phrases after the subject, as seen in example (6) below.

- (6) *Giabrihan sa pulis ang subri ni Juan*
 UG:open GEN police SPEC envelope GEN Juan
sa Tagbilaran.
 LOC Tagbilaran

'Juan's envelope was opened in Tagbilaran by the police.'

Table 1 lists the various ways for indicating *ang*-form and *sa*-form noun phrases, when they are introduced by common nouns, personal names, pronouns and demonstratives. The table is provided here as a basic reference for interpreting example sentences and will be returned to in §2.2 for comparison with Eskayan. (Note that all abbreviated forms are listed here in parenthesis; in example sentences, the non-abbreviated underlying forms are used in the interlinear layers that indicate morpheme breaks.)

	<i>Ang</i> -form (SPEC)	<i>Sa</i> -form1 (POSS/GEN)	<i>Sa</i> -form2 (LOC/DAT)
<i>Noun phrase markers</i>			
Common nouns	<i>ang</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>sa</i>
Personal names	<i>si</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>kang</i>
<i>Pronouns</i>			
1.SG	<i>aku</i>	<i>naku (ku)</i>	<i>kanaku (naku)</i>
2.SG	<i>ikaw (ka)</i>	<i>nimu (mu)</i>	<i>kanimu (nimu)</i>
3.SG	<i>siya</i>	<i>niya</i>	<i>kaniya (niya)</i>
1.PL.IN	<i>kita</i>	<i>natu (tu)</i>	<i>kanatu (natu)</i>
1.PL.EX	<i>kami</i>	<i>namu (mu)</i>	<i>kanamu (namu)</i>
2.PL	<i>kamu</i>	<i>ninyu</i>	<i>kaninyu (ninyu)</i>
3.PL	<i>sila</i>	<i>nila</i>	<i>kanila (nila)</i>
<i>Pronominal deictics</i>			
PRX (‘this here’)	<i>kiri, kari, (ri)</i>	<i>niiri (iri, ri), niari (ari, ri)</i>	<i>diri, ngari</i>
MED-PRX (‘this over here’)	<i>kini, kani, (ni)</i>	<i>niini (ini), niani (ani)</i>	<i>dinhi, nganhi</i>
MED (‘that there’)	<i>kana' (na')</i>	<i>niana' (ana')</i>	<i>dinba' (diba'), nganba</i>
DIST (‘that over there’)	<i>kadtu (tu)</i>	<i>niadtu (adtu)</i>	<i>didtu, ngadtu</i>
<i>Locative deictics</i>			
PRX (‘right here’)	<i>adia (dia)</i>	<i>ari</i>	<i>diri, ngari</i>
MED-PRX (‘here’)	<i>ania (nia)</i>	<i>anhi</i>	<i>dinhi, nganhi</i>
MED (‘there’)	<i>anaa (naa)</i>	<i>anba'</i>	<i>dinba' (diba'), nganba'</i>
DIST (‘over there’)	<i>aqua (tua)</i>	<i>adtu</i>	<i>didtu, ngadtu</i>

Table 1. Noun-phrase markers, pronouns and deictics.

1.2 Noun-phrase structure and linkers

Noun phrases are introduced with a proclitic phrase marker (this is *ang* in the example below). In sentences that include genitive-marked possessors, these follow the head.

- (7) *ang subri ni Juan*
 SPEC envelope GEN Juan
 ‘Juan’s envelope’

Modifying constructions require the linker *nga*. Deletion of the final *-a* is optional when *nga* follows words ending in vowels, glottals, *-y* or *-n*:

- (8) *daku nga barku*
 big LK boat
 ‘big boat’

- (9) *dakung barku*
 daku-nga barku
 big. LK boat
 ‘big boat’

The linker *ka* is used exclusively for numerals. The number precedes the linker and is followed by the head of the noun phrase.

- (10) *Naay upat ka butilya sa Tanduary.*
 anaa-y upat ka butilya sa Tanduary
 MED-EXIST four LK.NUM bottle GEN Tanduary
 ‘There are four bottles of Tanduary.’

Possession is indicated with the use of the relevant possessive pronoun, as indicated in Table 1, and illustrated in the example below.

- (11) *ang libru naku*
 SPEC book 1.SG.POSS
 ‘my book’

However, for a handful of Visayan pronouns and demonstratives, possession or attribution can also be indicated with *nga*. These are the 1.SG, 3.SG, 1.PL.IN pronouns and all demonstratives except those that are proximal. In this instance the pronoun or demonstrative goes before the head.

- (12) *ang atung damgu*
ang aku-nga damgu
 SPEC 1.PL.IN-LK dream
 ‘our dream’

- (13) *sa nianing balay*
sa niani-nga balay
 GEN MED.PRX-LK house
 ‘belonging to that house’

The linker *nga* is also used for marking relative clauses.

- (14) *Di ku makakang sudan nga giagi*
dili aku maka-kaun-ug sudan nga gi-agi
 NEG 1.SG POT-eat-NONSPEC food LK UG-go.through

ug mantika.
ug mantika
 NSPC fat
 ‘I can’t eat food that has been cooked in fat.’

1.3 Function words

Of relevance to Visayan word classes is the distinction between content words and function words. Content words (see §1.4 below) comprise an open class of lexemes that may denote things, the properties of things, and their real or potential actions. Function words belong to a closed class of lexemes whose role is to indicate relations between content words, and between clauses.

Visayan function words include proclitics which appear before a content word on which they depend phonologically. The clitic *mga*, for example, is used for

pluralizing a noun phrase. It is obligatorily placed directly before the content word it applies to.

- (15) *ang mga gastus*
 SPEC PL expense
 ‘the expenses’

Proclitics that are needed for introducing different kinds of Visayan clauses were discussed in §1.1 and are listed in Table 1 above. Other function words appear after the clause-initial word or constituent and directly before the subject. In sentence (16) below, the element *na* (‘now’) precedes a subject introduced by the proclitic *ang*.

- (16) *Mibukbad na ang buwak.*
 AV:open now SPEC flower
 ‘The flower opened.’

These elements, shown in Table 2 below, have occasionally been called clitics (Billings 2005; Dryer 2007) but since they are not phonologically reduced or affix-like I avoid that the term here.

<i>ba</i>	interrogative (obligatory in polar questions)
<i>diay</i>	expresses realization, curiosity, or indicates speaker has received new information
<i>lang, lamang</i>	‘only’, ‘just’
<i>man</i>	‘even’, ‘even if’, ‘although’
<i>na</i>	‘now’, ‘already’, ‘yet’
<i>pa</i>	‘still’, ‘else’, ‘in addition’, ‘yet’
<i>pud, sad</i>	‘too’, ‘also’
<i>tingali</i>	‘probably’, ‘seems’
<i>unta’</i>	expresses an unrealized condition; used as a softener in requests

Table 2. Common function words that appear after the clause-initial word or constituent

1.4 Content words

What I am choosing to categorize as Visayan ‘verbs’ are content words that attract voice and aspect/mood morphology; better evidence for more specific Visayan word classes must be left for another study. There are four distinct voices in Visayan. These are actor voice (AV) and three kinds of undergoer voice (UG), namely patient voice (PV), locative voice (LV) and conveyance voice (CV). Verbs are further inflected for aspect/mood, and for tense. They are marked as realis (RE) or irrealis (IRR), as well as perfective (PFV), imperfective (IPFV) or potentive (POT). A single affix marks both voice and tense-aspect-mood in any given instance. (Realis and irrealis are, however, contrasted with *n-* and *m-* forms respectively when it comes to actor voice in imperfective or potentive aspect; see Table 3 below).

	AV	PV	LV	CV
REALIS/ PERFECTIVE	<i><u>misuwat</u></i> ; <i>ni-</i> , <i>ning-</i> , <i>ming-</i>	<i><u>gisuwat</u></i>	<i><u>gisuwatan</u></i>	<i><u>gisuwat</u></i>
REALIS/ IMPERFECTIVE	<i><u>nagsuwat</u></i> ; <i>naga-</i> , <i>ga-</i>	<i><u>ginasuwat</u></i> (formal)	<i><u>ginasuwatan</u></i> (formal)	<i><u>ginasuwat</u></i> (formal)
REALIS/ POTENTIVE	<i><u>nakasuwat</u></i> ; <i>ka-</i>	<i><u>nasuwat</u></i>	<i><u>nasuwatan</u></i>	<i><u>nasuwat</u></i> ; <i>gika-</i>
IRREALIS/ PERFECTIVE	<i><u>musuwat</u></i>	<i><u>suwatun</u></i>	<i><u>suwatan</u></i>	<i><u>isuwat</u></i>
IRREALIS/ IMPERFECTIVE	<i><u>magsuwat</u></i> ; <i>maga-</i>	<i><u>pagasuwatun</u></i>	<i><u>pagasuwatan</u></i>	<i><u>igasuwat</u></i>
IRREALIS/ POTENTIVE	<i><u>makasuwat</u></i> ; <i>ka-</i>	<i><u>masuwat</u></i>	<i><u>masuwatan</u></i> ; <i>ka-an</i>	<i><u>masuwat</u></i> ; <i>ika-</i>

Table 3. Aspect/mood paradigm for *suwat* (‘write’). Allomorphs are listed after the semicolon.

The following sentences exemplify a selection of forms in Table 3.

- (17) *Musuwat* *ku* *nimu* *kun* *makahigayun*.
mu-suwat ku nimu kun maka-higayun
AV.IRR.PFV-write 1.SG 3.SG.DAT if AV.IRR.POT-opportunity

‘I’ll write to you when I have the time.’

- (18) *Suwatan* *pa* *naku* *si* *Alma*.
 suwat-an pa naku si Alma
 write-LV.IRR.PFV still 1.SG SPEC Alma

‘I still have to write to Alma.’

- (19) *Nakasiklit* *ku* *sa* *iyang gisumat*.
 naka-siklit ku sa iya-ng gi-suwat
 AV.RE.POT-glimpse 1.SG GEN 3.SG-LK PV.RE.PFV-write

‘I was able to get a glimpse of what he wrote.’

- (20) *Nagsuwat* *siyag* *sintas nga kawbuy*.
 nag-suwat siya-ug sintas nga kawbuy
 AV.RE.PFV-write 3.SG-NSPC story LK cowboy

‘He wrote a cowboy story.’

- (21) *Nganung gisuwatan* *man nimu ang bungbung?*
 nganu-ng <gi->suwat<-an> man nimu ang bungbung
 why-LK <LV.RE.PFV>-write PART 2.S SPEC wall

‘Why did you write on the wall?’

In addition to the inflectional morphology exemplified above, a set of non-aspect/mood prefixes may be added to verbal roots to emphasize volition or persuasion, or to signal more than one agent. Further, a small set of adverbial affixes can be added to basic verbal roots to mark reciprocal, intense, non-volitional or feigned actions. Since these forms are not attested in Eskaya literature, I have not described them here.

1.5 *Nominals and nominalizing morphology*

For the sake of simplicity, this overview has regarded any voice-marked formation as a ‘verb’. In keeping with this convention, verb formations that are not voice-marked are here labelled ‘nominal’. This section will also deal briefly with

nominals that are not derived from verbs, and their associated morphology (see §1.5.2).

1.5.1 *Gerunds*

Gerunds have no voice-marking, meaning that the action or state which they refer to is not oriented to a participant. A gerund is formed by adding *pag-* to a verbal root to create the meaning of ‘the-action-of-doing s.t.’, as in (22) and (23). These kinds of gerunds may also convey an imperative meaning, as in (24) below.

- (22) *Ang pagburunda sa simbahan di na kinahanglan.*
 SPEC GER-wear.veil LOC church NEG now necessary

‘It is no longer necessary to wear a veil to church.’

- (23) *Misuliyaw ang mga tawu pagdiskursu sa pulitiku.*
 mi-suliyaw ang mga tawu pag-diskursu sa pulitiku
 AV.RE-roar SPEC PL person GER-orate GEN politician

‘The people booed when the politician delivered a speech.’

- (24) *Paglikay anang bayhana kay ripurtir na'.*
 pag-likay niana-nga babayi-na kay ripurtir kana'
 GER-avoid MED-LK woman-PART since gossip MED

‘Keep away from that woman because she is a gossip.’

1.5.2 *Locations, abstracts, collectives and instruments*

A number of other affixes form locations, abstracts, collectives and instruments through productive nominalizing processes:

AFFIX	DERIVATIONAL PROCESS
<i>-an</i>	forms nominals which refer to a place where a thing is found or done habitually (25); or to a person possessing a supernatural power (26)
<i>ka-</i>	forms nominals meaning ‘the state of being s.t.’ (27), ‘one’s co-participant in s.t.’ (28)
<i>ka-an</i>	forms words meaning ‘the quality of s.t.’ (29); forms words meaning ‘a group of s.t.’ (30)
<i>paN-</i>	forms words meaning ‘instrument for [do]ing’ (31), or ‘sense of s.t.’ (32)

Table 4. Locations, abstracts, collectives and instruments.

- (25) *humayan*
 rice-place
 ‘rice field’
- (26) *barangan*
 insect.magic-person
 ‘shaman with magic insects at his disposal’
- (27) *ang katahum sa kalibut*
 ang ka-tahum sa ka-libut
 SPEC NOM-beautiful GEN NOM-go.around
 ‘the beauty of the surroundings’
- (28) *akung kaklasi*
 SPEC co-class
 ‘my classmate’
- (29) *kalipayan*
 <NOM>be.happy<NOM>
 ‘happiness’

- (30) *mga kabataan*
 PL <COL>child<COL>
 ‘(group of) children’
- (31) *panlaba.*
 NOM-wash.clothing
 ‘something to wash with’
- (32) *panimbut.*
 paN-simbut
 NOM-smell
 ‘sense of smell’

2. Comparison with Eskayan

The preceding sketch has endeavoured to introduce the core features of Visayan grammar so that its relationship to Eskayan is more easily discerned. As we have seen, Eskayan narratives are almost always reproduced with an accompanying Visayan translation, and this practice substantially facilitates systematic comparisons between the two languages. For clarity, examples from the bilingual literature (a page of which is shown in Figure 2) are romanized following a locally developed orthography and I have analysed both texts in parallel. All Eskayan words are rendered in bold while Visayan words are in italics. English glosses for both are in the Roman alphabet and are enclosed in inverted commas. Note too that the Eskayan phoneme /ɗʒ/ is orthographically represented by ‘chd’.

Although Eskaya literature is extensive, a number of ‘expected’ grammatical forms are rarely or never attested in the corpus. For example, only a few Eskayan counterparts of the verbal affixes in Tables 3 and 4 are ever exemplified. In consideration of the literality principle (see Introduction) these ‘limitations’ are best viewed as a real lacuna in the language as it is found—for Eskayan speakers there is no intuitively accessible *langue* existing above and outside the material text.

2.1 Structural consonance and homophony

A cursory review of the Visayan–Eskayan bilingual literature suggests a broad structural uniformity between the two languages from the level of the literary discourse right down to the word. Indeed, the traditional translations have the distinct quality of word-for-word calques or of encoded text. Consider the following Eskayan sentences together with their Visayan counterparts.

(33) **Yi Omanad aripirna huntun kun Jomabad.**

SPEC Omanad soldier under GEN Jomabad

Si Omanad sundalu ubus ni Jomabad.

SPEC Omanad soldier under GEN Jomabad

‘Omanad was a soldier under the command of Jomabad.’

(34) **Istu dirisil chdinchdiyumli yi Magellan giyu.**

istu dirisil chdin-chdiyumli yi Magellan giyu

SPEC sign AV.RE.PFV-understand SPEC Magellan immediately

Ang sinyas ningsabut si Magellan dayun.

ang sinyas ning-sabut si Magellan dayun

SPEC sign AV.RE.PFV-understand SPEC Magellan immediately

‘Magellan understood the sign straight away.’

At no point do the Eskayan or Visayan interlinear layers diverge, suggesting that the relationship between them is one of text to cipher-text. Even reduplicated Eskayan lexemes mirror equivalent reduplicative forms in Visayan, e.g. **araara** (*diyusdiyus*, ‘false god’). The structural equivalence is further reinforced by the fact that a pair of homophones in Visayan—acoustically identical but with different semantic values and etymologies—will have a corresponding set of homophones in Eskayan. This principle, which I am calling ‘symmetrical homophony’, is underpinned by a complementary asymmetrical principle whereby no Eskayan word is permitted to have the same acoustic value as a Visayan word. In other

words, Eskayan homophonic pairs mirror existing Visayan homophones, but no word in Eskayan is allowed to sound exactly the same as a word in Visayan. The effect is a kind of acoustic ‘rebus principle’ where the Eskayan homophonic pair cryptically references the Visayan sounds by drawing attention to their dual patterning. It is, of course, theoretically arguable that these are not symmetrical homophones at all but simply an instance of generalized semantics where multiple senses are collapsed into one word, as we will see in the case of **griyalu** in (36) and (37) below. However the fact that the homophones can have such wildly distinct senses or functions suggest otherwise. Consider example (35) below where the first instance of *ning* (‘this (one) here’) is an abbreviation of *kining*, formed by the binding of *kini* and *nga* (MED.PRX + LK) while the subsequent *ning-* is a bound verbal morpheme. Both, however, are translated with the homophonic pair **chdin** and **chdin-**:

(35)	Chdin	insil	Jomabad	chdinsamkis	ya	kulyar.
	chdin	insil	Jomabad	chdin-samkis	ya	kulyar
	MED.PRX:LK ³	be:LK	Jomabad	AV.RE.PFV-get	GEN	water
	<i>Ning</i>	<i>maung</i>	<i>Jomabad</i>	<i>ningkuha</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>tubig.</i>
	kini-nga	mau-nga	Jomabad	ning-kuha	sa	tubig
	MED.PRX-LK	be-LK	Jomabad	AV.RE.PFV-get	GEN	water

‘Jomabad, of whom we have just spoken, took the water.’

(lit: ‘This here Jomabad took the water.’)

Examples (33), (34) and (35) have all been excerpted from the literature in order to draw attention to the cipherlike relationship between Eskayan on Visayan, but this is not as straightforward as it first appears. As we have seen in (35), the first instance of **chdin**, and the word **insil**, are not analyzable in the same way as their Visayan counterparts (see also footnote ³). This subtle divergence in morphological systems challenges the outward perception that Eskayan is simply Visayan with a new set of sounds. As it happens, a careful reading of the literature

³ Those morphemes that are explicit in Visayan but implicit in Eskayan are separated in the Eskayan text with a colon (the corresponding break in Visayan is marked with a hyphen). This is in order to make Eskayan suppletion more visible and comparable.

reveals that Eskayan morphology is consistently more reduced than its corresponding Visayan text, as seen in these two sentences from the same story:

(36)	Griyalu	tisikdistimal	i	kubit.
	griyalu	tisikdistimal	i	kubit
	suitable	take.care:PV.IRR	and	prepare:PV.IRR
	<i>Angay</i>	<i>atimahun</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>hikayun.</i>
	angay	atiman-un	ug	hikay-un
	suitable	take.care- PV.IRR	and	prepare-PV.IRR

‘It is right to take care and be prepared.’

(37)	Aminahadu	istu	chdil	griyalu	ya bintud.
	aminihadu	istu	chdil	griyalu	ya bintud
	CV.NVOL:remain	SPEC	3.S-LK	NOM:PV.IRR:good	GEN place
	<i>Nabibilin</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>iyang</i>	<i>kamaayu</i>	<i>sa lungsud.</i>
	na-hi-bilin	ang	siya-nga	ka-ma-ayu	sa lungsud
	CV-NVOL-remain	SPEC	3.S-LK	NOM-PV.IRR-good	GEN place

‘The greatness of that place endures.’

Again, in (36), the words **tisikdistimal** and **kubit** are not segmented into two morphological components like their respective Visayan counterparts *atimahun* and *hikayun*. I would argue that the patient-voice irrealis suffix *-un* is semantically implicit in the Eskayan words, even if it is not morphologically explicit, just as if the Eskayan form were exhibiting suppletion.⁴ The verbal composite *nabibilin* in (37) with its non-volitional affix *-hi-* is likewise semantically equivalent to **aminahadu** even though no corresponding affix can be detected. Indeed, Eskayan-speaking consultants with a sophisticated grasp of both Visayan and Eskayan morphology were unable to point to which part of the word is doing the

⁴ I use ‘implicit’ here to refer to any covert morphology that corresponds to two or morphemes in Visayan but which is not segmentable in Eskayan.

inflection, responding simply that the word is ‘all in one’. Though speakers’ impressions do not of themselves constitute grammatical evidence, I aim to demonstrate that Eskayan is effectively more isolating than Visayan and abounds with irregular portmanteau inflection, not just in verbs but also in linked pronouns and demonstratives such as **chdil** (*iyang*, ‘its’) in (37) and the aforementioned **chdin** (*ning*, ‘this (one) here’).

Note too that semantic reduction is found in certain Eskayan lexical items, with a few lexemes doing the denotative work of several Visayan synonyms. In example (36) **griyalu** corresponds to the word *angay* (‘suitable’, ‘fitting’, ‘proper’), which is etymologically unrelated to the root *ayu* (‘good’) of *kamaayu* (‘greatness’) in (50); context alone determines the analysis of **griyalu** as *angay*, *kamaayu* or other attested synonyms like *maayu* (PV.IRR-good). The presence of the accompanying Visayan ‘translation’ in the traditional literature is thus indispensable for parsing reduced or irregular Eskayan forms and for resolving ambiguities. Further, the reductiveness in both morphology and semantics of the Eskayan layer points to the strong probability that the Visayan text was composed first before being shoehorned into a more rudimentary Eskayan mold. It is harder to explain a reverse trajectory whereby the Visayan text acquired more nuance in the process of its translation from Eskayan.

In the next sections basic features of Visayan for which comparable data are available in Eskayan are explored for the purposes of tracing the contours of Pinay’s translational template.

2.2 *Comparison of noun-phrase markers and pronouns*

Table 5 compares Eskayan noun-phrase markers and pronouns with the Visayan forms described in §1.1. Synonyms are separated by a comma, abbreviated alternatives are in parentheses and a blank space indicates that the relevant form is not attested in Eskaya literature.

	<i>Ang</i> -form (SPEC)	<i>Sa</i> -form1 (POSS/GEN)	<i>Sa</i> -form2 (LOC/DAT)
<i>Noun phrase markers</i>			
Common nouns	istu <i>ang</i>	ya <i>sa</i>	ya <i>sa</i>
Personal names	yi <i>si</i>	kun <i>ni</i>	puy, sam <i>kang</i>
<i>Pronouns</i>			
1.SG	narin <i>aku</i>	tumpuy (yu) <i>naku (ku)</i>	tumpuy <i>kanaku (naku)</i>
2.SG	samu (sam) <i>ikaw (ka)</i>	nistru <i>nimu (mu)</i>	nistru <i>kanimu (nimu)</i>
3.SG	atsil <i>siya</i>	mininus <i>niya</i>	mininus (ninus) <i>kaniya (niya)</i>
1.PL.IN	arhitika <i>kita</i>	<i>natu (tu)</i>	guchdirin <i>kanatu (natu)</i>
1.PL.EX	kim <i>kami</i>	<i>namu (mu)</i>	<i>kanamu (namu)</i>
2.PL	chdiktu <i>kamu</i>	<i>ninyu</i>	ridilyan <i>kaninyu (ninyu)</i>
3.PL	chdan <i>sila</i>	pirsiyan <i>nila</i>	pirsiyan <i>kanila (nila)</i>

Table 5. Comparison of noun-phrase markers and pronouns.

Of interest is the fact that *sa*-form1 and *sa*-form2 pronouns are often expressed with the same word in Eskayan. My tentative explanation is that this pattern follows the principle of homophony explained earlier, but may also reflect semantic reduction described above with respect to **griyalu** and which is also a feature of other auxiliary languages such as Australian mother-in-law registers. In Visayan the locative/dative is, more often than not, expressed in its abbreviated form, as shown above in parenthesis. Thus the 2.SG possessive/genitive *nimu* (‘of you’) is acoustically indistinct from the locative/dative *nimu* (from *kanimu*, ‘for you’, ‘with you’), inviting a homophonous pairing in Eskayan. Instances where

abbreviated forms are also lexified in Eskayan are intriguing. On one occasion in the traditional literature, the 3.SG locative/dative pronoun **mininus** is abbreviated as **ninus** presumably following the analogy of *kaniya* to *niya* (though in all other instances the unabbreviated **mininus** is preferred in *sa*-form2). Likewise the 2.SG **samu** is abbreviated as **sam**, on the Visayan analogy of *ikaw* to *ka*. Meanwhile the abbreviated possessive/genitive 1.SG pronoun *ku* is rendered in Eskayan as **yu**, and this is not ostensibly a contraction of **tumpuy**.⁵

2.3 *Deixis*

Only fourteen of the twenty-four Visayan deictics have counterparts attested in Eskayan literature. Proximals are not shown as these are not attested in Eskayan. Again, those Visayan forms that appear to have shared formal elements do not appear to be etymologically related in their Eskayan translations. Consider the pronominal distal set *kadtu*, *niadtu* and *didtu* where the *-dt-* cluster has no correspondingly consistent pattern in the Eskayan equivalents **tuylup**, **tadlang** and **binil**. Meanwhile, the medio-proximal and medial locatives *(a)nia* and *(a)naa* are both lexified as **istalyi**, although the abbreviation *naa* is optionally represented as **istal**. It would appear, then, that while Eskayan lexemes consistently match homophonous Visayan pairs, this patterning does not necessarily extend to groups of Visayan words with shared etymologies. A review of the linked forms of Eskayan pronouns and demonstratives brings this trend into sharper relief.

⁵ The form **yu** is possibly a borrowing from Spanish *yo* ('I').

		<i>Ang</i> -form (SPEC)	<i>Sa</i> -form1 (POSS/GEN)	<i>Sa</i> -form2 (LOC/DAT)
Pronominal	MED-PRX (‘this over here’)	simri <i>kini, kani, (ni)</i>	<i>niini (ini), niani (ani)</i>	dil <i>dinbi, nganbi</i>
	MED-PRX (‘here’)	istalyi <i>ania (nia)</i>	<i>anbi</i>	dil <i>dinbi, nganbi</i>
Locative	MED (‘that there’)	karku <i>kana' (na')</i>	dilyaki <i>niana' (ana')</i>	<i>dinba' (diba'), nganha</i>
	MED (‘there’)	istalyi (istal) <i>anaa (naa)</i>	yardi <i>anha'</i>	<i>dinba' (diba), nganha'</i>
Pronominal	DIST (‘that over there’)	tuylup <i>kadtū (tu)</i>	tadlang <i>niadtū (adtū)</i>	binil <i>didtu, ngadtū</i>
	DIST (‘over there’)	tugarira <i>atua (tua)</i>	agad <i>adtū</i>	binil <i>didtu, ngadtū</i>

Table 6. *Deixis*.

2.4 Linked forms

As described in §1.2 Visayan possession and attribution may be indicated with the use of the linker *nga* on 1.S, 3.S, 1.PLIN pronouns and all non-proximal demonstratives. Attested Eskayan equivalents are tabulated below; note that **ri** is the Eskayan lexeme representing *nga*. Not enough data are available in the literature to compare locative/dative forms of linked demonstratives.

	<i>Visayan</i>		<i>Eskayan</i>	
1.SG	aku + nga	<i>akung</i>	narin + ri	damu
3.SG	siya + nga	<i>iyang</i>	atsil + ri	chdil
1.PL.IN	kita + nga	<i>atung</i>	arhitika + ri	chdiyar
MED.PR	kini, kani + nga	<i>kining, kaning (ning)</i>	simri + ri	simri (chdin)
MED	kana' + nga	<i>kanang</i>	karku + ri	karku
DIST	kadtu + nga	<i>kadtung</i>	tuylup + ri	[unattested]

Table 7. Comparison of linked pronouns and demonstratives.

What is evident from the final column of the table is that the ‘linked’ Eskayan pronouns are not derived by means of the same process as their Visayan equivalents and appear, instead, to have been lexified independently. Thus *aku* → *akung* is represented as **narin** → **damu**. For demonstratives, meanwhile, no distinction is made between linked and unlinked forms.⁶ Thus *kana/kanang* appear to be treated as if they were homophones and expressed as **karku**. Similarly, as we have seen, when *kining* is abbreviated to *ning* it is paired with the verbal affix *ning-* and expressed in both cases as **chdin**.

All this suggests that the putative creator Pinay was adhering to a general folk linguistic principle whereby the canonical unit of syntactic analysis was the word in isolation. (The extent to which this reflected a naive analysis of Visayan morphology cannot be known, but it is at least conceivable that Pinay did not recognize any etymological relationship between, for example *iyang* and its derivative components *siya + nga*.) Words in Visayan that look and sound notionally different from the perspective of Pinay were represented with different-looking Eskayan lexemes; while words that look and sound sufficiently

⁶ This is also the case with the Visayan number linker *ka* which is elided altogether in Eskayan translations such that the morphology becomes covert. Thus:

<i>upat</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>lungsud</i>
four	LK	place
pan	bintud	
four.LK	place	
‘four places’		

similar are represented with a homophonous pair. In this scenario, ‘difference’ could be as little as a single morpheme as in the vase of *aku* → *akung*. If it was relevant at all, actual morphological structure was secondary to the perceived distinctiveness between one word and another. That is not to say that the morphological structure of Visayan words has no bearing whatsoever on Pinay’s language. As we have seen in (35) above, Eskayan has at least one morpheme (**chdin-**) that is attached to a verbal root in the manner of a typical Visayan inflectional prefix. The extent to which Pinay relexified these relatively ‘conspicuous’ inflectional affixes is reviewed below.

2.5 Explicit verbal morphology

The table below shows Eskayan inflectional affixes attested in the traditional literature and their Visayan equivalents.

	AV	PV	LV	CV
REALIS/ PERFECTIVE	chdin- <i>mi-; ni-, ning-, ming-</i>	ri- <i>gi-</i>	dil-, pur-, muy- <i>gi-an</i>	ri- <i>gi-</i>
REALIS/ IMPERFECTIVE	muy- <i>nag-; naga-, ga-</i>	<i>gina-</i> (formal)	<i>gina-an</i> (formal)	<i>gina-</i> (formal)
REALIS/ POTENTIVE	dil- <i>naka-; ka-</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>na-an</i>	<i>na-; gika-</i>
IRREALIS/ PERFECTIVE	muy-, pur- <i>mu-</i>	<i>-un</i>	<i>-an</i>	muy- <i>i-</i>
IRREALIS/ IMPERFECTIVE	muy- <i>mag-; maga-</i>	muy- <i>paga-un</i>	<i>paga-an</i>	<i>iga-</i>
IRREALIS/ POTENTIVE	muy- <i>maka-; ka-</i>	muy- <i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-an; ka-an</i>	<i>ma-; ika-</i>

Table 8. Comparison of aspect/mood morphology.

The fact that many Visayan grammatical forms do not have Eskayan counterparts in the corpus means that it is difficult to identify the same sort of patterns witnessed in the pronoun paradigm. However, from the comparative data that are available it is clear that only five Eskayan affixes are doing the work of several Visayan morphemes on the reductive principle of many-to-one discussed in §2.1. Evidently the principle of symmetrical homophonic pairing does not extend to inflectional morphology. Thus **muy-** denotes forms that are as acoustically distinct as *maka-*, *paga-un* and *i-*, while the various Visayan allomorphs are not independently relexified with corresponding Eskayan forms; for example, the actor-voice realis allomorphs *ni-*, *ning-*, and *ming-* are all represented by **chdin-**. Conversely, Eskayan variants represent inflections that are not allomorphic in Visayan, as seen in the various realis/perfective forms in undergoer voice.

The choice of Eskayan variants does not appear to be conditioned by anything in their environment, however the corpus is not large enough to test this definitively. There is, for example, only one instantiation of the irrealis conveyance voice *i-* (**muy-**) in the literature. It is of course conceivable that Pinay was not relexifying directly from Visayan, but developing his own distinct verbal categories from the ground up. This possibility can be tested by briefly reviewing the distribution of the four Eskayan verbal affixes:

chdin- encodes AV.RE.PFV

dil- encodes LV.RE.PFV; AV.RE.POT

muy- encodes AV.RE,IPFV; AV.IRR,IPFV; AV.IRR.POT

pur- encodes AV.IRR.PFV; LV.RE.PFV

ri- encodes PV.RE.PFV; CV.RE.PFV

If the classes of Eskayan verbal inflections represent a home-grown innovation then the irrealis/realis distinction was not a defining feature (**muy-** and **pur-** can mark both), nor was actor/patient voice (**dil-** and **pur-** can do both), nor perfective/imperfective (**pur-** can do both), nor patient/conveyance voice (**ri-** can do both). In fact, the most that can be said is that Eskayan has two absolute inflectional categories: **chdin-** (AV.RE.PFV) and everything else. But the **chdin-**

/non-**chdin-** distinction, if descriptively relevant at all, has little to offer a student of Eskayan. When non-**chdin-** forms are encountered in a reading of Eskaya literature, they appear merely to signal a kind of unspecified ‘verbiness’ that is *not* actor-voice-realis-perfective. Nonetheless, it is arguable that the morphological simplication is not bulldozing a meaningful distinction but simply eliminating a redundancy since the non-**chdin-** undergoer voice forms (PV, LV, CV) can all be specified within a phrase by prepositions. But even this is unnecessary for actual comprehension amongst Eskaya readers—in practical terms, ambiguities are resolved either by consulting the Visayan translation, or by simply knowing the conventional meaning through an existing familiarity with the text.

2.6 *Implicit verbal morphology*

What I have described above are ‘regular’ Eskayan verbs that follow a broadly consistent combinatorics, in that the relevant inflectional morpheme is overtly prefixed to a root. This cannot be generalized to all Eskayan verbs; the traditional literature includes a large number of irregular verbs with unanalysable covert morphology that appears to be ‘implicit’ in the whole word. These unanalysable or suppletted verbs have much in common with the kind of reduced or embodied morphology described above in §2.1 and are analogous to the way the English word ‘went’ encodes a past tense without recourse to a productive segment such as ‘-ed’. In the examples below, no part of the word **bintaal** (*migamit*, ‘used’) in (38) can be isolated as the inflectional component, just as in (39) **imprus** (*gipuslan*, ‘was taken on’) is unsegmentable or ‘all in one’. Once again, this invites the hypothesis that Pinay’s analytical focus was on orthographically discrete words and that bound morphology was of secondary concern to his creative enterprise. Further, it raises the possibility that Pinay was purposefully including suppletion as a feature of his language.

- (38) **Yi Tumud Babaylan bintaal ya bidaryu ya Ara.**
 yi tumud babaylan bintaal ya bidaryu ya ara
 SPEC Tumud Shaman AV.RE.PFV:use GEN language GEN God

<i>Si</i>	<i>Tumud Babaylan</i>	<i><u>mi</u>gamit</i>	<i>sa pinulungan</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>Diyus.</i>
si	tumud babaylan	mi-gamit	sa pinulungan	sa	diyus
SPEC	Tumud Shaman	AV.RE.PFV-use	GEN language	GEN	God

‘Tumud the Shaman used the language of God’.

(39)	<i>Imprus</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>rimuy</i>	<i>bultu</i>	<i>purgampi</i>	<i>pruk.</i>
	imprus	ya	rimuy	bultu	purgampi	pruk
	PV.RE.PFV:take.on	DAT	PL	person	hail.from	neighbourhood
	<i><u>Gi</u>puslan</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>tawu</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>tagi bariu.</i>
	gi-puslan	sa	mga	tawu	nga	tagi bariu
	PV.RE.PFV-take.on	DAT	PL	personLK	hail.from	neighbourhood

‘It was taken on by the people of the neighbourhood.’

It is not clear if there is any categorical principle determining which kinds of verbal roots are analysable and which are not. However it is worth noting that unanalysable verbs are more frequently found in Eskayan wordlists than in the traditional narratives. In terms of the actual structure of Eskayan morphosyntax this fact may be considered peripheral, but it nonetheless sheds light on the circumstances in which the Eskayan language was devised, and the relexification method Pinay may have employed to achieve this. Eskayan wordlists, including older manuscripts belonging to deceased Eskayan speakers, provide crucial insights into how Eskayan words were assigned to Visayan equivalents.

2.7 Morphology in Visayan–Eskayan wordlists

Prototypical traditional wordlists run from Eskayan to Visayan and are written in the Eskayan script, as shown in Figure 3 below. Words are organized by the first syllable of the Visayan gloss, with one section devoted to *ka*- words, another to *ti*-, and so on. There is no consistent order within or between syllable groupings from wordlist to wordlist.

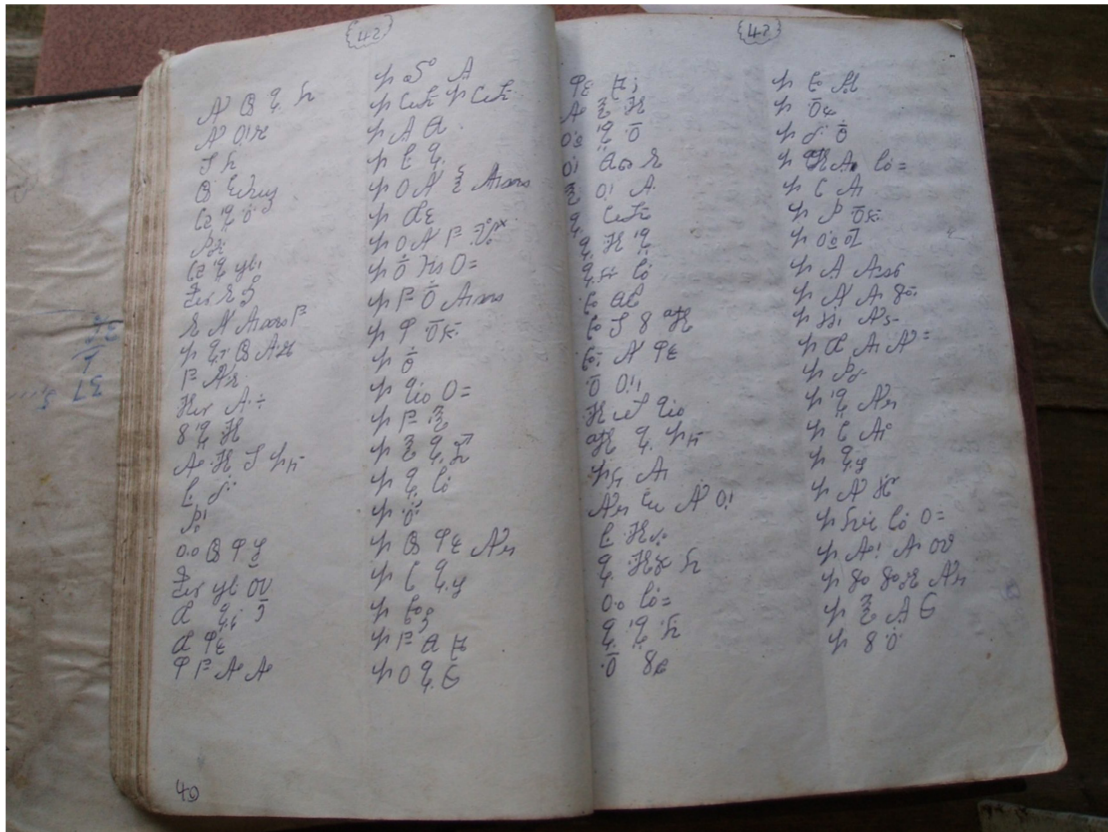


Figure 3. Pages from an Eskayan-Visayan wordlist, Alberta Galambao, Taytay.

Larger wordlists are comprised of almost 3000 lexical items, many of which are not attested in the traditional literature; likewise, the traditional literature includes items that are not attested in the wordlists. The juxtaposition of Visayan and Eskayan words draws attention to the different morphological structures in the two lexicons. Interestingly, inflected verbs listed as headwords in the wordlists do not always coincide with their *actual use* in Eskaya literature. Compare Table 8 above, which summarizes verbal inflection attested in the literature, with the set of headwords beginning with *gi-* from Sisinia Peligro's Visayan-Eskayan wordlist.

<i>Visayan</i>	Eskayan	Gloss
<i>gi-</i>	yi-	marks realis, undergoer voice, perfective
<i>gibabagan</i> [<i>balabag</i>]	muyyupin	‘laid across a path’
<i>gibasulan</i>	riyablansu	‘was blamed for’
<i>gibati</i>	yitalim	‘felt effects in the body’
<i>gibuhat</i>	muyistawitis	‘did work, ‘made’, ‘created’
<i>gidakup</i>	digu	‘was caught, ‘was arrested’
<i>gidamag</i>	dililu	‘caused to become sick by ghosts’
<i>gidistinu</i>	muytuyu	‘was assigned for employment’
<i>gidulngan</i> [<i>dulung</i>]	lakiri	‘was approaching’
<i>gigaid</i>	bahiw	‘was tied’
<i>gigamit</i>	bintaal	‘used s.t.’
<i>gibandum</i>	riihada	‘was recalled and thought of fondly’
<i>gihapun</i>	rigani	‘still’, ‘as before’
<i>gihay</i>	guldami	‘petal’
<i>gihimu</i>	rinarilya	‘was done’, ‘was made’
<i>gibukman</i> [<i>bukum</i>]	sandiya	‘was judged by’
<i>giibaw</i>	yaduwal	‘slaughtered (of an animal)’
<i>giila</i>	iriyukisim	‘was identified, recognized’
<i>giilu</i>	gamyu	‘lost a parent’, ‘became deprived’
<i>giilung</i> [<i>lilung</i>]	yadinal	‘was concealed’; ‘was made dizzy’
<i>giingun</i>	risinglun	‘was like’, ‘was similar to’
<i>gilibutan</i>	ligarti	‘was surrounded by’
<i>gilingkusan</i>	dildawusdami	‘was curled up or knotted by’
<i>giluiban</i>	gruwirtiri	‘was betrayed by’
<i>gilukdu</i>	muruki	‘was carried on the head’
<i>gilungguan</i> [<i>lunggu</i>]	muybanal	‘was beheaded by’
<i>gilungkat</i>	riklus	‘was pried open’
<i>giluwatan</i>	yupir	‘was accidentally let go’
<i>gimabayan</i>	aymahan	‘was subjected to feelings of hurt by’
<i>ginapus</i> [<i>gapus</i>]	dilbi	‘was continuously bound or tied down’

Table 9. *gi-* words in the Peligro wordlist. Visayan verbal roots are reproduced in square brackets where their underlying form is not easily discernible.

That a morphologically complex word can serve as a lemma is not surprising as this practice is still commonplace in Visayan dictionaries produced today. More interesting is the variability in how *gi-* is morphologically represented, or not represented. A scan of the list brings up a number of likely Eskayan affixes for expressing *gi-*, namely **dil-**, **muy-**, **ri-**, **yi-** and **yu-**. Of these, only **ri-** (*gi-*) is attested in the literary corpus despite the list's conspicuous specification of **yi-** as the Eskayan gloss of *gi-*. That **yi-** is sometimes doing the work of *gi-* in the wordlist is evident from the word **yitalim** (*gibati* 'felt effects in the body'), since the root **talim** (*bati*, 'feel s.t. in the body') is attested in the corpus. Likewise **ri-** in **rinarilya** (*gihimu*, 'was done') and **risinglun** (*giingun*, 'was similar to') is clearly expressing *gi-* due to the availability in the corpus of the roots **narilya** (*himu*, 'do', 'make') and **singlun** (*ingun*, 'be like'). However, the segmentation of other words in this list cannot be made with confidence due to the absence of the relevant roots in the corpus. Adding even more complexity to the picture, the word **bintaal** is here glossed as *gigamit* ('was used' UG.RE.PFV) while in Eskaya literature it is analysed as *migamit* (AV.RE.PFV.use; see (38) above). Regularity in the selection of verbal inflection—be it implicit or explicit—and its associated function or meaning is evidently not a defining characteristic of Eskayan morphosyntax. Again, this serves to highlight the Eskayan use of affixation for signalling a more abstract 'verbiness', and allowing context (largely in the form of an available Visayan translation) to do the work of specifying a narrower meaning.

Certain non-verbal content words attract cranberry morphemes; that is to say, morphemes with a contrastive function but no actual semantic content, in the manner of 'cran-' in 'cranberry' (Carstairs-McCarthy 2002). Consider these lexical entries that have **bultu** (*tawu*, 'person'), **limur** (*away*, 'quarrel') or **luris** ('evil') as their root.

<i>Visayan</i>	Eskayan	English
<i>tawu</i>	bultu	‘person’
<i>katamhan</i>	bultulis	‘people’
<i>pagkatamnu</i>	iklabultu	‘birth’, ‘giving birth’
<i>natawun</i>	ilkabultu	‘born’, ‘newly born’
<i>away</i>	limur	‘quarrel’
<i>awayan</i>	limurdil	‘this specific fight’
<i>awayun</i>	limursidi	‘will fight’
<i>kaaway</i>	anchdiyaasu	‘enemy’
<i>kaawayan</i>	nintiyasas	‘group of enemies’
<i>dautan</i>	luris	‘bad in character or effect’, ‘sorcery’
<i>himaya</i>	lurisima	‘glory’, ‘spiritual joy’,
<i>kadautan</i>	luriski	‘wickedness’, ‘evil’
<i>mangilad</i>	muyluri:s	‘cheat’, ‘swindle’

Table 10. Eskayan cranberry morphology.

Below is a hypothetical interlinear analysis of the derived words listed in Table 10 in which the ‘root-like’ portion is isolated for comparison with a segmented Visayan gloss. I have marked the Eskayan column with an asterisk to emphasize the fact that the segmentation is speculative and cannot be resolved with corpus evidence. The Eskayan analysis column is marked with an asterisk to indicate that the morphemic gloss itself is hypothetical, the only available evidence comes from the structure of the corresponding Visayan gloss: the putative morphemes **-lis**, **ikla-**, **ilka-**, **-dil**, **-sidi**, **-ima** and **-ki** do not feature elsewhere in any wordlist with the same function.

<i>Visayan</i>	Morphemic analysis	*Eskayan	*Morphemic analysis
<i>ka-tawu-an</i>	COL-person-COL	bultu-lis	person-COL
<i>pagka-tawu</i>	NOM-person	ikla-bultu	NOM-person
<i>na-tawu</i>	PV.RE-person	ilka-bultu	PV.RE-person
<i>away-a</i>	quarrel-SPEC	limur-dil	quarrel-SPEC
<i>awayun</i>	quarrel-PV.IRR	limur-sidi	quarrel-PV.IRR PV.IRR
<i>ka-away</i>	NOM-quarrel	anchdiyaasu	NOM:quarrel
<i>ka-away-an</i>	COL-quarrel-COL	nintiyasas	COL:quarrel:COL
<i>himaya</i>	glory	luris-ima	glory
<i>ka-daut-an</i>	NOM-harm-NOM	luris-ki	harm-NOM
<i>mang-ilad</i>	PL-cheat	muy-luris	PL-cheat

Table 11. Hypothetical segmentation of cranberry morphemes.

The affix **-lis** is plausibly a collectivizer in **bultulis** (‘people’) but it has a different function in the word **pirlis** (*mangingisda*, ‘fisherman’) which is included in the same wordlist and seems to be formed from the root **pir** (*isda*, ‘fish’). Other professions in Eskayan are indicated with the productive suffix **-ur** as in **sidur** (*sikritariyu*, ‘secretary’), **ridur** (*supirintindinti*, ‘superintendent of public schools’) and **bidur** (*tinudlu* ‘appointee’). Ecclesiastic ranks take **-iktur** as a suffix, as seen in **inmunsiktur** (*papa*, ‘pope’), **insiktur** (*ubispu*, ‘bishop’), and **witsiktur** (*arsubispu*, ‘archbishop’). The Eskayan suffixes **-dur** and **-tur** are reminiscent of the suffixes *-dor* and *-tor* found in Spanish professional terms like *contador* (‘accountant’), *embajador* (‘ambassador’), *doctor* (‘doctor’) and *agricultor* (‘farmer’). The influence of Spanish and other languages on Eskayan lexical roots will not be discussed here, but the association of the Hispanic-like suffix **-ur** with titles and professions introduced to the Philippines by Spanish administrators bears examination as it suggests that Pinay took inspiration from Spanish morphology when lexicalizing terms associated with Spanish colonial rule. This, however, is not generalisable to all Eskayan ranks and professions. The non-Hispanic morpheme **bagan**, which

appears to denote an individual of high office, is found in **baganhunda** (*hunwis*, ‘judge’), **baganiring** (*kumandanti*, ‘commandant’) and **sutbagani** (*hari*, ‘king’). Thus the possibility that **-lis** is a productive affix for either collectivizing or denoting a profession cannot be definitively proven from the evidence and Eskayan has other ways to specify these meanings in particular semantic domains. Fascinatingly, **luris** (‘bad’) becomes its semantic obverse **lurisima** (‘glory’) with the addition of **-ima**, and both words feature frequently in Eskayan prayers. Cranberry morphology in Eskayan, with all its quirks, is consistent with the widespread suppletion in the verbal system. Just as there are a number of affixes for indicating ‘verbiency’, cranberry morphemes like those projected in Table 11 above signal a contrast only. The meanings must be learnt independently, or provided by the translational context.

3. Relexification as an historical practice

No sooner had the Boholano–American war ended than the US administration began constructing schools in Bohol for both adults and children; throughout the country, a popular propaganda slogan of the time was ‘The Spaniards built churches but the Americans are building schools’ (Luspo 2001). The language of instruction, at all levels, was English. Eskaya people today maintain that the first Eskaya school was constructed in Biabas in 1920 and there is evidence that Mariano Datahan wrote to President Manuel Quezon in October 1937, inviting him to observe classes.⁷ In his letter he used the American term ‘night classes’ perhaps in order to present his school as a normalized institution compatible with the national education system. But the parallels between the Biabas school and the American school system on Bohol run deeper.

In the early years of the 20th century, no textbooks were available for teaching English to speakers of Visayan. One strategy for overcoming this was to modify existing textbooks designed for teaching Spanish to Visayan speakers. As Lumin

⁷ The letter itself has not survived but a transcript of the reply from Quezon’s secretary Jorge Vargas, dated 11 November, 1937, was carved onto wooden sign boards and where it remains on prominent public display in Biabas with duplicates in Taytay. The reply includes a brief description of the content of Datahan’s letter and mentions an enclosed notebook with ‘lessons in Boholano dialect’.

B Tirol has documented, these Spanish-era textbooks were repurposed with English glosses and republished for distribution in Bohol (1975). The reinscription of bilingual texts with an additional language provided a ready precedent for the method adopted by Datahan in his recuperation of ‘Bisayan Declarado’. A document held by the Bohol Museum, attributed to a secretary of Mariano Datahan by the name of Domingo Castañares is a hand transcription of one such modified Spanish textbook. Embedded within it is a Spanish–English–Visayan wordlist of several thousand items, with accompanying example sentences and bilingual translations. What is unique about the Castañares document is that it includes a further modification: the Visayan layer is entirely supplanted by Eskayan words to produce a Spanish–English–Eskayan wordlist with example sentences. A page from this document is shown in Figure 4 below.

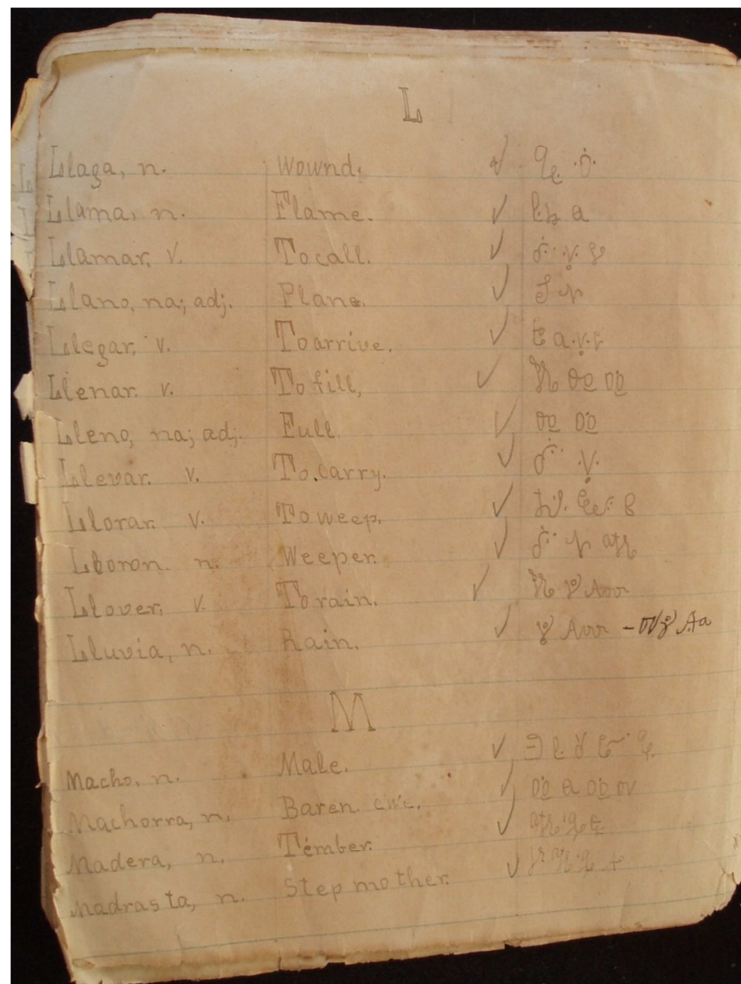


Figure 4. Section of a Spanish–English–Visayan wordlist, attributed to Domingo Castañares.

If Eskayan had been lexified using existing wordlists as a template it would explain many of the apparent irregularities in the morphology. Datahan, or his ancestral muse Pinay, would not necessarily feel compelled to consistently imitate Visayan morphological structures in his lexicon when equivalent morphology was not obvious in the Spanish and English glosses. Indeed, both Spanish and English exhibit conspicuous suppletion in such frequent verbs as ‘go’ (→ ‘went’), ‘be’ (→ ‘am’, ‘are’, ‘is’), *poder* (‘be able to’ → *puedo*, *puedes* etc), *pensar* (‘think’ → *pienso*, *piensas* etc). I have not come across any instances of verbal suppletion in Visayan. In essence, Pinay’s utilization of irregularity in many Eskayan verbs has the effect of evoking a kind of linguistic otherness, with inspiration from Spanish and English as the archtypes of foreignness. Though superficially imitative of Spanish/English suppletion, Eskayan irregularity does not cluster around verbs of high frequency. This tendency runs contrary to the so called *Nahbereich* (German: ‘vicinity’) theory of suppletion which expects infrequently needed words to be more regular, and frequent words to be relatively irregular.⁸ A frequent word, it is argued, can afford to be supplented on the basis that its continual use renders its meaning transparent. But such an observation, if relevant, is here trumped by the literality principle: in Eskayan there is no necessary relationship between frequency and intelligibility when ‘meaning’ is determined by the written record.

Mel’čuk has pointed out that suppletion appears to violate “an important linguistic (in fact semiotic principle): ‘express the similar through the similar’” (1994:342). As such, it appears to be semiotically ‘unnatural’ and that “[i]n a formal artificial language suppletion would hardly be tolerated” (392). Nevertheless, he was at pains to assert that suppletion is linguistically natural in so far as it appears “spontaneously to fill some needs of the language” and that “it is never imposed on a language, but develops in it, as it were from within” (392). What is intriguing about Eskayan is that Pinay appears to have deliberately imposed ‘naturalistic’ suppletion on his language from the outside in order to fill a paradoxical sociolinguistic need, namely to highlight both the essential otherness of Eskayan as well as its (typological) sameness to colonial languages.

⁸ The *Nahbereich* account was first proposed by Osthoff (1899). For a summary of how this idea was since developed and critiqued see (2003).

Not all Eskayan irregularity can be attributed to Pinay. One cultural protocol, stemming from a belief that Eskayan words are in some ways equivalent to their referents, proscribes any crossing out of Eskayan text. As a result, transcription errors are a driver of language change and Eskaya people identify certain words in older manuscripts as archaic or even unintelligible. Thus further irregularities in wordlists might reasonably be expected to accrue through the intergenerational process of retranscription, reversals, and transliteration into Roman letters and back into Eskayan.⁹ Importantly too, Eskayan was lexified in an environment in which linguistic ‘otherness’ and unintelligibility was politically institutionalized. Relatively few Boholanos had access to Spanish, the language of administration, and even fewer were educated in Latin, the language of the church. Indeed, the opacity of Latin probably contributed to its unorthodox use in traditional shamanic ceremonies known as *urasiyun*.¹⁰

I have argued (2012, forthcoming) that Pinay-Datahan’s lexification of Eskayan was part of a political reaction to the introduction of English to Bohol. His production of pedagogical materials and institutions that were imitative of the American model reflected a popular notion, widely circulated in the period, that language—especially language codified in a written form—was an index of nationhood and had the power to legitimize claims to territory. Springing from such a powerful assumption about the nature and potential of language, Pinay’s creation reflected the political concerns of its creator.

⁹ Reversals are especially problematic. Conceivably, when a morphologically complex Visayan definition of a Spanish or English term is forced to function as a headword, the isolated lexical root automatically loses its prominence. Indeed, for many Visayan speakers the isolated lexical root is considered too abstract to act as a headword and in popular Visayan dictionaries verbs are usually preceded with the actor-voice irrealis perfective prefix *mu-* and are often listed again under the prefix *mag-*. Naturally this creates practical problems for dealing with the letter ‘M’ as *all* verbs would need to be listed (sometimes more than once) under this letter in the dictionary. John Wolff (p.c.) gave me an account of a Visayan dictionary that was serialized in a local magazine in Cebu. Having begun in the 1920s with ‘A’, by 1960 the compilers had got as far as words beginning with *mag-a* and ten years later were still at *mag-a*.

¹⁰ This widespread Philippine practice involves the use of garbled Latin—written or spoken—in rituals of power and healing, and in the production of charmed objects (Retana 1894; Pajo 1954; Demetrio 1969; Gaabucayan 1971; Aparece 2003; Cannell 2006; Kawada 2006).

Summary and conclusion

In many of its particulars, the unique morphosyntax of Eskayan indexes a complex of linguistic ideologies that underpin Pinay's essentialist vision of language. As we have seen, while Eskayan and Visayan coincide on a broad syntactic level this parallelism does not extend to bound morphology. When juxtaposed with Visayan as a 'standard' comparator, Eskayan morphology deviates to a surprising degree. Verbal inflection may be implicit and learnt by convention, or it may be overtly marked with one of several highly polysemous affixes. Wordlists display evidence of multiple 'one off' cranberry morphemes that cannot be resolved by derivational axioms. Nonetheless, the idiosyncrasies of Eskayan morphology are rarely a source of confusion or debate amongst Eskayan speakers. Traditional narratives and wordlists constitute that which is known without recourse to extrapolation from an abstract rule. Hence, 'language' for Eskaya people is not transmitted but transcribed; not what is known intuitively but what has been recorded beforehand. That language is material and exterior as opposed to abstract and intuitive is witnessed in the conflation of language and script and in the traditional story of Eskayan's origins in the human body. Here Eskayan irregularity offers a useful analogy: like unsegmentable morphology Eskaya linguistic knowledge is ultimately embodied and not inferred.

The 'word', understood as an orthographically distinct unit, is core to the Eskaya understanding of language. It has analytical primacy and an inherent meaning independent of its context. The principle of symmetrical homophony suggests an unmediated and almost onomatopoeic or rebus-like relationship between the phonetic form of these word units and their referents. Further, the calquing of Visayan points to an assumption that words are ultimately substitutable between languages and the learning a new language involves a straightforward memorization of a lexicon as opposed to any grammatical analysis. In Pinay's world, dictionaries with descriptive definitions would be superfluous as a single gloss provides all the necessary and sufficient semantic information. Such lexical substitutability is witnessed in common transcription errors found in Eskaya literature where words from the Visayan layer are often accidentally transposed into the Eskayan text and vice versa.

Pinay's complex of linguistic ideologies is clearly not confined to the Eskaya community. The belief that writing confers political and empirical authority is widespread in literate and non-literature communities the world over, and this attitude is certainly in evidence in Bohol. To take one example, dissertations with an oral history component that are submitted to Bohol's two universities are typically accompanied by signed affidavits from the oral sources themselves. Likewise, the precedence given to discrete words, as opposed to structures, in popular ideas about what constitutes language, is in evidence in Visayan lexicographic practice (see footnote 9). Calquing too has any number of precedents in commonplace Visayan expressions, particularly greetings, formulas for telling the time and quantifying formulas.¹¹ Thus the Eskayan phrase **Griyalu aga** ('good morning') is a literal translation of the Visayan *Maayung buntag* ('good morning'), which is itself a calque of the Spanish *Buenos días* ('good morning'; 'good day').

As a language engineering experiment, Pinay's creation of Eskayan was guided by his assumptions about the nature and potential of language. Though ostensibly produced through a process of encryption, Pinay's transformation of Visayan into Eskayan delivered surprising and variable results. When writing was granted precedence 'normal' language change and development was routed onto a new trajectory. And when native grammatical intuition was outsourced to the page, the relationship between linguistic competence and performance was fundamentally altered. In effect, Pinay's creation was forced to adapt to its specific uses by human agents.¹²

Pinay's conjuring of linguistic materiality from abstraction was analogous to the political project of his successor (or alter ego) in the person of Mariano Datahan.

¹¹ Other Visayan calques include *Ginuu ku!* from Spanish *¡Dios mio!*; *Matag karun ug unya* from English 'Every now and then' (but in Visayan this means 'frequently' as opposed to 'sporadically'); *Mas... [adj] sa... [adj]* from Spanish *Más... que* ('More s.t. than s.t. '); *Daghang salamat* from Spanish *Muchas gracias*; and *Kumusta ka?* from Spanish *¿Como estás?* or *¿Cómo está Usted?*

¹² Although Eskayan is not used for every-day communication, there can be little doubt that the actual use of the language exposes it to new constraints, bringing about incremental changes unanticipated by its creator. For example, the cultural attitude to writing as inviolable has accelerated lexical replacement (see Section 3). In a similar vein it has been noted (Zuckermann & Walsh 2011) that constructed or revived languages exhibit the same kinds of hybridity, syncretism and interference as 'naturally' evolving languages. My thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

The ambitions that Datahan held for Biabas as the cultural epicentre for a revived Visayan nationalism were manifested in his recuperation of Pinay's language. That his folk linguistic conception of Visayan was linguistically naive and off-base is arguably beside the point. While other post-Revolutionary nativist communities in the Philippines quickly collapsed (Sturtevant 1976), Biabas has continued to survive and thrive. Indeed, in recent years its political ambitions have been carefully adapted to the discourses of NGO-led development and national legislation enacted to serve the interests of cultural minorities. In a similar manner, 'Bisayan Declarado', rebranded as 'Eskayan', has continued to be transmitted, spoken, sung in and prayed in. Eskayan teachers at the traditional schools use the standard rote-learning pedagogical techniques that were popular a century ago but some have adopted contemporary methods that encourage spontaneity. A salient and recent example of Eskayan adaptivity is the successful introduction of an Eskayan-language component into the publically funded elementary school in Taytay.

Natural languages do not simply change but *are changed* by their speakers who adapt them to their needs, hopes and ideologies. Created languages like Eskayan—be they auxiliary languages, anti-languages, cants or codes—offer a stark but enlightening perspective on how our ideas about language are powerful enough to refashion communication in our own image and to reify tacit aspirations as palpable realities.

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