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THE DIALECTS OF MARINDUQUE TAGALOG

by

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
SYMBOLS, ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS	ix
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
1.0. BACKGROUND	1
1.1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	2
1.2. SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	2
1.3. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY	3
1.4. THE SETTING	4
1.4.1. Topography and Economic Geography	4
1.4.2. Derivation of the Name Marinduque	6
1.4.3. Historical Background	6
1.5. RELATED STUDIES	8
1.6. METHODOLOGY	11
1.6.1. Sources of Data	11
1.6.2. Preliminary Survey	11
1.6.3. Informant Profile	13
1.6.4. Collection of Data	13
1.6.5. Method of Analysis	19
1.6.6. Plan of the Study	19
CHAPTER II: PHONOLOGY	21
2.1. THE SEGMENTAL PHONEMES	21
2.1.1. The Vowels	21
2.1.2. The Consonants	24
2.1.3. The Phonemes /r/ and /d/	28
2.1.4. The Diphthongs	29
2.2. CONSONANT CLUSTERS	30
2.3. SYLLABLE STRUCTURE	34
2.4. ACCENT	34

	<i>Page</i>
2.5. COMPENSATORY VOWEL LENGTH	36
2.6. INTONATION	37
2.6.1. Common Intonation Patterns	37
2.6.2. Dialectal Intonation Patterns	41
2.7. SUMMARY OF PHONOLOGICAL VARIATIONS	43
CHAPTER III: MORPHOLOGY	51
3.1. NOMINAL MARKERS	51
3.2. NOMINAL SUBSTITUTES	52
3.2.1. The Deictics	52
3.2.2. The Personal Pronouns	57
3.2.3. The Locatives	59
3.3. NEGATIVES	59
3.4. VERBAL AFFIXES	61
3.4.1. Actor-Topic Affixes	61
3.4.2. Goal-Topic Affixes	62
3.4.3. Distinctive Verbal Affixes	64
3.4.4. Aspect Formations	70
3.4.5. The Recent Perfective Aspect	78
3.5. NOMINAL AFFIXES	80
3.6. ADJECTIVAL AFFIXES	83
3.6.1. Shared Adjectival Affixes	83
3.6.2. Adjectival Affixes which Distinguish Dialectal Areas	85
3.7. ADVERBIALS	89
3.7.1. Enclitics	89
3.7.2. Temporals	92
3.7.3. Manner Adverbials	93
3.7.4. Sentence-Initial Adverbials	94
3.7.5. Sentence-Initiators	95
3.7.6. Sentence-Final Adverbials	95
3.8. SUMMARY OF DISTINGUISHING MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURES	96
CHAPTER IV: SYNTAX	103
4.0. INTRODUCTION	103
4.1. DEFINITION OF TERMS	103
4.2. BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE	104
4.2.1. The Predicate	104
4.3. THE INVERSION MARKER <i>qay</i>	109
4.4. ADVERBIALS	110
4.4.1. Enclitics	110

	<i>Page</i>
4.4.2. Movable Adverbs	110
4.4.3. Initial Adverbs	111
4.4.4. Final Adverbs	111
4.5. COORDINATION CONSTRUCTIONS	111
4.6. MODIFICATION CONSTRUCTIONS	112
4.6.1. Noun with Nominal Modifier	112
4.6.2. Noun and Adjectival Modifiers	113
4.6.3. Noun with Pseudo-Verbal and Verbal Modifiers	114
4.7. THE TOPICLESS SENTENCE	114
4.8. THE ORDER OF SENTENCE COMPONENTS	115
4.9. SENTENCE TYPES	116
4.10. SUBORDINATE CLAUSES	118
4.11. SUMMARY	120
CHAPTER V: LEXICON	121
5.0. INTRODUCTION	121
5.1. IDENTICAL TERMS IN MT AND ManT	121
5.2. PHONOLOGICALLY VARIANT FORMS IN MT AND ManT	128
5.2.1. Absence of Vowel Length in ManT	128
5.2.2. Loss of Glottal Stop Following a Consonant	129
5.2.3. Spanish Loanwords	130
5.2.4. Occurrence of /-la-/ and /-ya-/ in MT	130
5.2.5. Non-Occurrence of some Phonemes or Syllables in MT	130
5.2.6. Differences in Phonological Order of Segments	130
5.2.7. Differences in Vowel or Consonant	130
5.2.8. Combination of Phonological Differences	131
5.3. NON-COGNATE ROOTS	131
5.4. COGNATES WITH DIFFERENT MEANINGS	138
5.5. IDENTICAL TERMS IN MARINDUQUE DIALECT AREAS	143
5.6. PHONOLOGICALLY VARIANT FORMS	144
5.6.1. Differences in Vowel	144
5.6.2. Differences in Consonant	155
5.6.3. Differences in Phonological Order of Segments	155
5.7. NON-COGNATE ROOTS IN MARINDUQUE TAGALOG DIALECTS	161
5.8. PECULIAR TERMS	163
5.8.1. From Santa Cruz and Torrijos	163
5.8.2. From Santa Cruz	163
5.8.3. From Torrijos	164
5.8.4. From Boac	164
5.8.5. From Gasan and Buenavista	164
5.8.6. From Mogpog	164

	<i>Page</i>
5.9. COGNATES WITH DIFFERENT MEANING	164
5.10. SUMMARY	164
CHAPTER VI: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	181
6.0. INTRODUCTION	181
6.1. PHONOLOGY	182
6.2. MORPHOLOGY	184
6.2.1. Case Markers	184
6.2.2. Deictics	185
6.2.3. Personal Pronouns	185
6.2.4. Locatives	186
6.2.5. Verbal Affixes	186
6.2.6. Aspect Formations	187
6.2.7. Gerunds	188
6.2.8. Adjectivals	189
6.2.9. Enclitics and Other Adverbials	190
6.3. SYNTAX	191
6.4. LEXICON	192
6.5. SUMMARY	192
6.6. CONCLUSION	193
6.6.1. Communication Barriers	194
6.6.2. Internal Development Within Each Dialect	194
6.6.3. Borrowing	194
6.6.4. Influence of Other Cultures	194
6.6.5. Social Factors	195
6.7. SOME THEORETICAL INSIGHTS	195
6.8. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	196
APPENDIX A: SUMMARY OF RESPONSE TO PHONOLOGICAL AND LEXICAL ITEMS	199
APPENDIX B: LANGUAGE QUESTIONNAIRE	213
APPENDIX C: INFORMANT SITES AND THE RESPECTIVE INFORMANTS	221
BIBLIOGRAPHY	225

	<i>Page</i>
CHART 1: THE VOWEL PHONEMES OF MARINDUQUE TAGALOG AND MANILA TAGALOG	22
CHART 2: THE VOWEL ALLOPHONES OF MARINDUQUE TAGALOG	22
CHART 3: THE CONSONANTS OF MARINDUQUE TAGALOG	25
CHART 4: INITIAL-CONSONANT CLUSTERS	31
CHART 5: FINAL-CONSONANT CLUSTERS	32
CHART 6: NOMINAL MARKERS	51
CHART 7: THE DEICTICS	52
CHART 8: THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS	57
TABLE 1: MORPHOLOGICAL ITEMS DISTINGUISHING WM FROM EM	96
TABLE 2: MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURES DISTINGUISHING MARINDUQUE TAGALOG FROM MANILA TAGALOG	99
TABLE 3: IDENTICAL LEXICON IN MANILA TAGALOG AND MARINDUQUE TAGALOG DIALECTS	122
TABLE 4: COGNATES WITH MINIMAL PHONOLOGICAL VARIATION	126
TABLE 5: NON-COGNATE ROOTS IN MANILA AND MARINDUQUE TAGALOG DIALECTS	132
TABLE 6: IDENTICAL LEXICON IN MARINDUQUE TAGALOG DIALECTS	144
TABLE 7: PHONOLOGICALLY VARIANT FORMS IN MARINDUQUE TAGALOG DIALECTS	152
TABLE 8: NON-COGNATE ROOTS IN MARINDUQUE TAGALOG DIALECTS	162
TABLE 9: COGNATE ROOTS IN MARINDUQUE TAGALOG AND MANILA TAGALOG	165
MAP 1: THE PHILIPPINES: SHOWING MARINDUQUE AS PART OF THE TAGALOG REGION	xii
MAP 2: MARINDUQUE AND SURROUNDING ISLANDS AND PROVINCES	5
MAP 3: TOWN CENTRES AND BARRIOS SELECTED AS INFORMANT SITES	16
MAP 2.1: COMPENSATORY VOWEL LENGTH	45
MAP 2.2: INTONATION: YES-OR-NO QUESTIONS	46
MAP 2.3: INTONATION: CONFIRMATION QUESTIONS	47
MAP 2.4: EXCLAMATION OF NEGATIVE ATTITUDE	48
MAP 2.5: THE DIPHTHONG /iy/ IN THE WESTERN MARINDUQUE DIALECT AREA	49
MAP 3.1: PERSONAL PLURAL NOMINAL MARKERS	53
MAP 3.2: RETENTION OF /d/	55
MAP 3.3: PLACES WHERE qari 'this, Near Sp' AND gaqun 'like that' ARE USED	56
MAP 3.4: 'you (plural)'	58
MAP 3.5: 'here'	60
MAP 3.6: PLURAL-ACTOR OF -um-	66
MAP 3.7: RECIPROCAL ACTION	68
MAP 3.8: IMPERATIVE ASPECT OF mag-, mang-	69
MAP 3.9: PROSPECTIVE ASPECT OF mag- AND mang-	71

	<i>Page</i>
MAP 3.10: maka- AND maki- PROSPECTIVE ASPECT	74
MAP 3.11: maka- AND makl- IMPERFECT ASPECT	75
MAP 3.12: RECENT PERFECTIVE ASPECT	79
MAP 3.13: INTENSIFIERS	86
MAP 3.14: LIMITERS	88
MAP 3.15: INTERROGATIVE ENCLITICS	90
MAP 5.1: WORDS SHOWING VOWEL DIFFERENCES	154
MAP 5.2: baba:qe 'female'	156
MAP 5.3: 'human being'	157
MAP 5.4: to:toy 'young boy (a form of address)'	158
MAP 5.5: hindiq 'not; no'	159
MAP 5.6: ka:nimba:buy 'pig's feed'	160
MAP 5.7: 'piece'	168
MAP 5.8: 'piggy bank'	169
MAP 5.9: banliq 'scald'	170
MAP 5.10: meyron 'there is/are'	171
MAP 5.11: sa:luk 'scoop'	172
MAP 5.12: tu:suk 'prick'	173
MAP 5.13: tu:lak 'push'	174
MAP 5.14: OTHER NOUNS HAVING DIFFERENT ROOTS, SEPARATING THE WESTERN FROM THE EASTERN DIALECT AREA	175
MAP 5.15: NOUNS HAVING DIFFERENT ROOTS (cont'd from Map 5.14)	176
MAP 5.16: OTHER VERBS HAVING DIFFERENT ROOTS IN EM AND WM	177
MAP 5.17: DESCRIPTIVES HAVING DIFFERENT ROOTS IN WM AND EM	178
MAP 5.18: ta:yu na 'Let's go'	179
MAP 5.19: singko 'five-centavo piece'	180

## SYMBOLS, ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

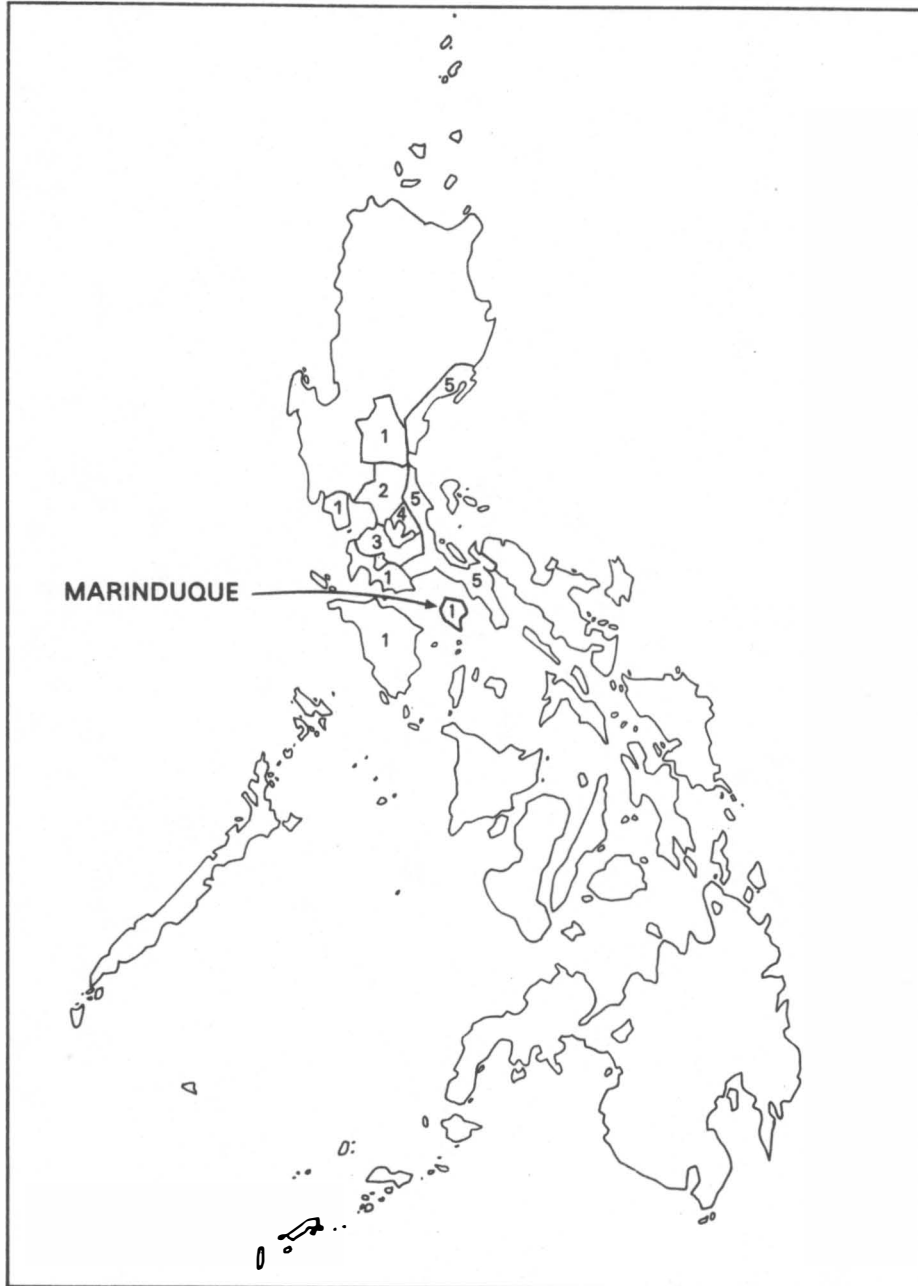
q	glottal stop
ng	velar nasal
V	vowel
C	consonant
C <sub>1</sub>	the first consonant in a base
C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub>	the first consonant and vowel in a base
B	base or stem, i.e. single (unaffixed) or composite (affixed) morpheme that can stand alone. <b>Base</b> is a cover term for the variable element that combines with affixes.
B <sub>2</sub>	reduplication of a base or stem
˘	a small curve underneath a vowel, indicating a raising of the vowel from the normal position
'	relative pitch prominence or accent; also used in this study to indicate emphasis
:	vowel length
[ ]	square brackets enclosing phones
/ /	slant lines enclosing phonemes
' '	single quotes enclosing English glosses
>	becomes or is changed to
<	comes from; is derived from
~	is in free alternation with
≠	is not equivalent or similar to
( )	parentheses enclosing optional occurrence of elements
{ }	braces enclosing alternative elements
=	is equivalent to
-	indicates position of an affix or a phoneme
+	concatenation in derivation or inflection
*	ungrammatical form or construction

The following abbreviations are used:

ManT	Manila Tagalog
MT	Marinduque Tagalog
B	Boac
G	Gasán
Bu	Buenavista
M	Mogpog
Sc	Santa Cruz
T	Torrijos
EM	Eastern Marinduque Dialect
WM	Western Marinduque Dialect

Areas sharing similar linguistic structures may be combined, such as GBu (Gasán and Buenavista), BM (Boac and Mogpog), ScT (Santa Cruz and Torrijos).





MAP 1: THE PHILIPPINES:  
SHOWING MARINDUQUE AS PART OF THE TAGALOG REGION

CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION

1.0. BACKGROUND

Variation in language has always been observed not only from one speech community to another, but also from one individual person to the next, and even among different members of the same family. People of different occupations, education, cultural influences or social classes within the same community may show peculiarities in their speech. Hence, it is not surprising that the problem of communication break-down may exist among inhabitants of a particular region. Francis (1958:42-5) states:

Every language is a collection of many dialects, all more or less mutually intelligible and sharing a common core of structure, but differing from one another in many ways. Each dialect is adapted to the needs and interests of the speech community that uses it, while at the same time making use of the features of structure that constitute the common language.

Sturtevant (1965:146) defines dialect as "a body of speech not containing within itself any differences that are commonly perceived as such by its users". This definition is amplified by Rundle (in Wilson 1967:86), who says that dialect is the form or variety of a spoken language peculiar to a region, community, social group or occupational group, and that contrary to popular beliefs, dialects are not deviations from an accepted modern standard. In fact, dialects include the modern standard speech which for cultural, political and geographic reasons has become the accepted standard today.

The study of the varying forms of speech in one language and of their geographic-social correlates is known as 'linguistic geography' or 'dialect geography' which leads to the understanding of relationships between language forms and the places where these forms are used.

According to Francis (1958:486) the principle upon which all linguistic geography is built is "the simple one of observing differences in grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary, determining the regional and social distribution of these differences, and seeking their historical and cultural applications".

### 1.1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Tagalog is one of the major Philippine languages and the Tagalog region is one of the major linguistic areas. The island province of Marinduque is considered part of the Tagalog region. However, when older members of this speech community come in contact with other Tagalog-speaking peoples, the latter experience some difficulty in understanding the former even when both are supposedly using the same medium of communication, Tagalog. This communication gap is seldom encountered in communicating with the younger native speakers, who almost instantly are able to switch to the accepted Modern Manila Tagalog whenever the situation demands it.

This is a problem which may be greatly reduced, if not eliminated, if one is aware of the peculiarities of the Tagalog spoken in Marinduque. Hence, this study seeks to describe dialectal variations in phonology, lexicon, morphology and syntax of what is referred to as Marinduque Tagalog. It maps the distribution of linguistic features in the different towns and barrios on the basis of one age-group level of the language users.

### 1.2. SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study attempts to examine only the dialects of Tagalog spoken in the island province of Marinduque in Southern Luzon, with particular attention to the speech of the native inhabitants who are fifty years old and above. The main interest is not in establishing the differences between Marinduque Tagalog and Modern Tagalog spoken in Manila, but in discovering variations across space with time being kept constant. Specifically, it seeks to answer the following questions: (1) Into how many major dialects is Marinduque divided? (2) What are the main similarities and differences among the major dialects in terms of phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax? (3) What are the most important factors affecting the locational distribution of dialect variations?

As secondary objectives, the study seeks to: (1) indicate the main differences between Marinduque Tagalog and the accepted Modern Tagalog spoken in Manila, on the bases of some common vocabulary and

morphological structures and (2) establish the core of linguistic structures shared by Modern Tagalog and Marinduque Tagalog.

### 1.3. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This particular study will be a direct contribution to Tagalog, which is the basis of the national language. Tagalog is presently spoken by 55.2 per cent of the population of the Philippines, either as a first or second language (*Philippine Yearbook* 1975:123). It is important to study the variations of this language at this time, inasmuch as the present trend is for the various dialects of Tagalog to be replaced by Standard Tagalog, so that in a few decades, these existing differences may have been wiped out. Thus unless these dialects are recorded right now, we may lose them forever.

In the pedagogical field, this piece of work will be useful in that just as contrastive analyses of Pilipino and other Philippine languages have facilitated the teaching of Pilipino to second-language learners, so an awareness of the peculiarities of Marinduque Tagalog can help teachers who will teach Pilipino in Marinduque to improve their teaching of the national language. The differences between Pilipino and Marinduque Tagalog are not much to cope with, compared to the differences between Pilipino and another Philippine language.

Another significance stems from the need to evaluate the progress of development toward the standardisation of the national language in the individual dialects of Tagalog. This research will reveal the extent to which the standardisation process has affected the dialects of Marinduque.

Furthermore, the study will be a basis for future studies in: (1) other dialects of Tagalog, inasmuch as the complete language is clearly discernible only as sufficient data are available from a larger variety of speakers; and (2) dialects of other Philippine languages. Local dialects are known to have preserved features which no longer exist in the modern standard language. Thus data unearthed in this research may help establish some proto-forms and provide us with some theoretical insights into the processes of language change. They may aid in recovering lost features and reconstructing the past history of Tagalog. For instance, some scholars may attempt to draw historical inferences, on the basis of more evidence, regarding the original form of Proto-Tagalic before it split into daughter languages. Zorc (in *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, June 1972:53), for one, has observed that Modern Tagalog has more words stressed on the ultima than on the penultimate syllable, and has raised the question as to whether

Proto-Tagalic inherited or innovated its ultimate stresses. He recommended a careful investigation of the lexicons of Tagalic and other Philippine languages.

Linguistic evidence from the dialects of Marinduque may shed light on the stress patterns of Tagalog and help account for anomalies in the data which linguists may now have on hand. As new data are accounted for, new horizons in Philippine linguistic theories may yet be opened.

#### 1.4. THE SETTING

Marinduque is a small island province located in the centre of Tayabas Bay (see Map 2). Its inhabitants take pride in emphasising that their heart-shaped island is at the very heart too of the Philippines. Surrounded by Oriental Mindoro on the west, Batangas on the northwest, Quezon (formerly Tayabas) on the north and northeast, and the islands of Tablas and Romblon on the south, the province of Marinduque belongs to the Southern Luzon region. It is, however, separated from the Luzon mainland by Tayabas Bay and Mompong Pass and is close to Bicolandia and the Visayas.

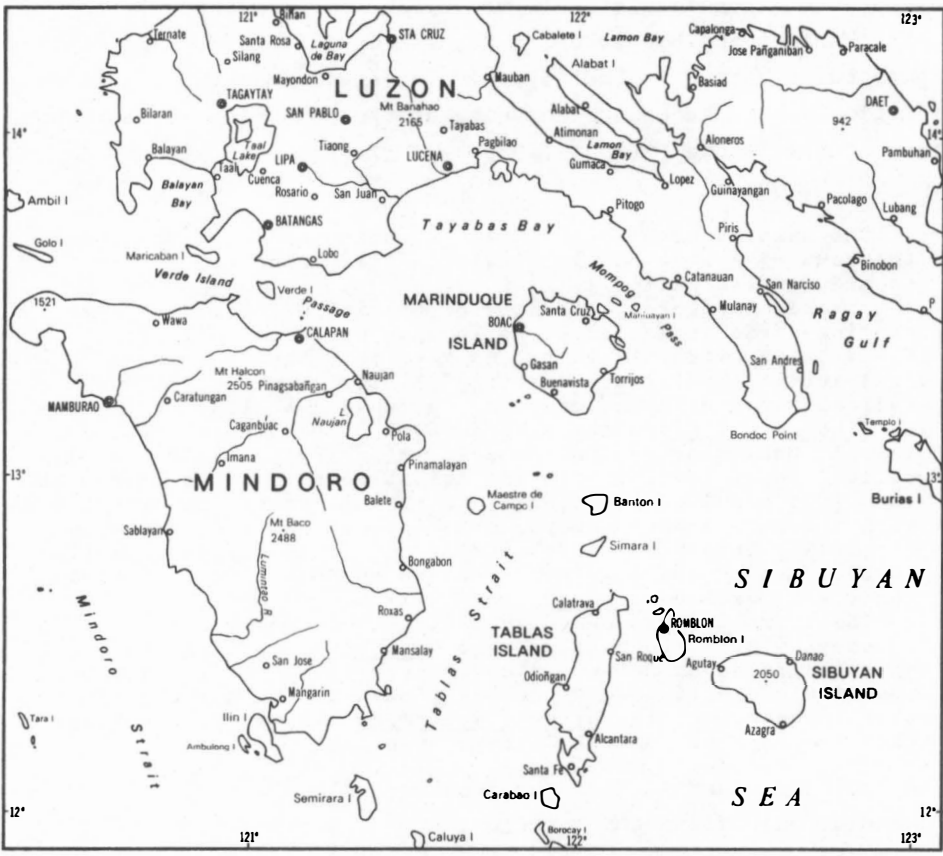
##### 1.4.1. TOPOGRAPHY AND ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY<sup>1</sup>

Covering a land area of 959.2 square kilometres or 95,920 hectares, the island province is composed of only six towns and 195 barrios. The 1970 census counted a population of 144,109 of which 99.9 per cent are native born. The varied topographical features include coastal plains around the island, mountains, rolling hills, forests, swamps and numerous valleys. The island is often visited by cyclonic storms and is exposed to the eastern monsoon. Two pronounced seasons prevail: dry from December to May and rainy throughout the rest of the year.

The centre of population and activity in each town is located along or near the coastline. The province is mainly accessible by water, and several motorised ferry boats provide water transportation. Air transportation is also provided daily through the airport at Gasan. Within the province all municipalities are accessible by buses and jeepneys.

Cultivated lands consist of more than half of the total land areas, planted to lowland and upland rice, root crops, coconut, abaca, sugarcane, tobacco and bananas. Livestock and poultry-raising help in the family income. Cottage industries include embroidery, basket-making, wood-carving, weaving and other handicraft. There are substantial

<sup>1</sup>Philippines: National Census and Statistics Office, *Marinduque census of population and housing, 1970*, xxi-xxiii.



MAP 2: MARINDUQUE AND SURROUNDING ISLANDS AND PROVINCES

mineral deposits of copper, silver and iron. During the last decade the province has considerably raised its income from mining.

#### 1.4.2. DERIVATION OF THE NAME MARINDUQUE

Different stories have been invented and told in connection with the source of the island's name. A prevailing fable relates the name to a certain 'Maring' and her lover, a Spanish duke (duque). Some believe the name to be rooted in the adjective *malandik* 'sloping', a fitting description of the tapering landscape of the mountains in the central portion of the island. Lopez (1925:6-7) gives a more scientific derivation of the name:

The name in question ... can be shown to be derived from the name of a high and particularly steep mountain on the island, called *Malindig*.

In old chronicles, the name of the island occurs in such varying forms as *Malinduc*, *Marinducq*, *Marinduc*, *Malindig*, forms quite evidently to be analyzed into the well-known 'adjectival' prefix *ma-* denoting chiefly existence, and a radical word, or stem, occurring in Tagalog as *lindig*, in Bikol as *lindog* or *lindug*, the second vowel of both forms (i.e. Tag. *i*, Bik. *o* or *u*), going back, in accordance with the so-called 'pepet law', to the indistinct vowel *e*. The change of the first sound of the stem, *l* to *r*, is likewise in consonance with a common Indonesian phonetic law, while the conversion of final *g* into the Spanish ending *que* finds an exact parallel in the case of the town of Parañaque on Manila Bay, which in Tagalog is called *Palañag*.

The stem *lindig* occurs, according to Noceda y Sanlucar, in the now obsolete Tagalog word *maglindig*, meaning 'rising up straight so as not to be covered by the water', while for the Bikol form *lindog*, Marcos de Lisbon states quite clearly that it means 'monte muy alto y derecho', both forms embodying thus the idea of English 'steep, towering'.

The Malindig mountain is at the southern tip of the island, between the towns of Buenavista and Torrijos.

#### 1.4.3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Linguistic geographers have given many and varied causes of the differences in the spoken dialects of any language. Chief among them is the historical precedent - the language used by previous generations, the source of that particular language or dialect, and the changes that have taken place since neighbouring languages or dialects also exert an influence.

The history of Marinduque has a significant bearing on the language development of the province and the dialectal variations observed in several places. A few but very significant items of information have been gathered which shed light on the linguistic geography of the

province. In addition to the island's geographic location, its early history (Torre 1963:12) reveals that it had at one time or another been interlinked with three larger provinces - Batangas, Mindoro and Tayabas (now Quezon). It was not until the American regime that the province became independent and administered by its own officials.

Digging deeper into its settlement history, we find that archaeological discoveries in Kay Mampok caves in the town of Santa Cruz show that the island had been inhabited by Mangyans and Malayan natives long before the coming of the Spaniards. The pieces unearthed were dated as belonging to the Sung Dynasty (960-1280 A.D.). The burial artifacts of primitive settlers all over the island included chinaware such as porcelain plates, pottery and other household utensils, both metallic and non-metallic (Mirafuente 1963:5). Evidences of early life abound in the numerous mountain caves in the island.

When the Spanish colonisers came during the last half of the sixteenth century, they found that the island was already well populated and was part of a large chain of barangays composing what is now known as Southern Luzon. Taken as a whole, the native settlement was first named Bombon, now Batangas (Madrigal 1963:37). During the Spanish era, Marinduque was included in the administration of Mindoro until the turn of the nineteenth century when it was placed under the political jurisdiction of Tayabas. Beginning with the year 1920 to the present, it became an independent province except for a brief period during the Japanese occupation when it was again annexed to Tayabas.

The first three towns to be established were Boac (1735), Santa Cruz de Napo [napó] (1790) and Gasan (1800). Before the towns of Mogpog, Torrijos and Buenavista became separate municipalities, Mogpog was a barrio of Boac, Torrijos was a grazing land of Santa Cruz, and Buenavista was a southern barrio of Gasan. Mogpog was established as a town in 1809, Torrijos in 1879 and Buenavista in 1919.

During the Japanese occupation, the names of places and some streets were translated or changed to Japanese. Marinduque was called 'Marindoko Jima', Buenavista was pronounced by the Japanese as 'Buenavisuta', Boac was 'Boakku', Gasan was 'Kasan', Mogpog was 'Mogopogu', Santa Cruz, 'Santa Kurusu' and Torrijos was 'Torurihosu'.

The Commonwealth census of January 1939 revealed that 99 per cent of the population spoke Tagalog with sprinklings of Bikolano and Bisayan. English was spoken by one-fourth of the inhabitants and only .08 per cent used Spanish occasionally as medium of communication. As of 1970 an estimated 88,497 individuals out of a population of 97,492, ten years of age and over, are literate. This literate population in 1970 was divided into 44,354 males and 44,143 females.

### 1.5. RELATED STUDIES

Although local differences of speech within an area have always been noticed, their significance began to be appreciated only toward the middle of the eighteenth century (Bloomfield 1965:321). Recognised as the pioneers in the field of modern dialectological studies were the European linguists. One of the earliest dialect surveys, according to Bloomfield, was conducted in 1876 by Georg Wenker, a German, among the German dialects. He used forty standard German sentences translated into several local dialects in the whole German empire. The transcription was done by a large number of people, mostly teachers, few of whom had adequate linguistic training. On the basis of this material, a large number of linguistic features were registered on dialect maps or atlases. One of Wenker's significant findings was that the local dialects were no more consistent than the standard language in their relation to older speech forms.

In France, Jules Gilliéron, editor of the French atlas, planned to avoid the shortcomings of Wenker. He selected and trained one worker, Edmond Edmont, who personally interviewed a native speaker in each village. In four years Edmont gathered material from 639 locations, providing much less coverage than had the German project. The French linguistic atlas was published in parts and became a classic work in dialectology.

The Italian atlas edited by Karl Jaberg and Jakob Jud mainly followed the plan of the French atlas but paid more attention to differences in culture that accompanied differences in dialect. Another innovation was the interviewing of two informants to record different cultural levels.

Smaller atlases exist, such as that one by Karl Haag in his study of a district in Southern Swabia (1898); by Bennicke and Kristensen for Denmark (1898-1912); G. Kloeke on the vowel phonemes of the words 'mouse' and 'house' in the Netherlands and Belgium (1927); and E. Gemillscheg's *Die Sprachgeographie*.

The advantages derived from the German and French dialect studies were applied to the New England atlas under the careful direction of Hans Kurath (1939), who gave great attention to: (1) selection and training of fieldworkers, (2) selection of informants and locations to investigate, and (3) preparation of a questionnaire. Two informants were used in the same locality to record different age-groups. Adequate information was collected to provide material for linguists, historians, geographers, sociologists and others interested in the social and cultural history of New England. Nine persons gathered material and finished the fieldwork in 25 months. An atlas was published in 1939, which

has developed more effective procedures and techniques in dialectological research.

Further collecting of data in the United States was carried out for the *Linguistic Atlas of the Eastern United States* (Language 39/2:303). To make the data readily accessible, smaller projects have been undertaken. The vocabulary, pronunciation and verb forms of the Middle Atlantic and South Atlantic atlas projects have been treated in three volumes by Kurath, Kurath and Raven McDavid, Jr, and E. Bagby Atwood (1953). Data from field records in other projects are available for most of the Northern United States, Colorado, New Mexico and the Pacific Coast, with some additional materials from Tennessee, Louisiana and Texas (Allen 1958:203-4). These have been used profitably for the preparation of a number of doctoral dissertations and various scholarly articles.

In the Philippines, one of the earliest studies on dialect geography was made by Cecilio Lopez, the first Filipino linguist, on the Boak Tagalog of Marinduque (1925). The speech of two prominent families who were natives of Boac, Marinduque, in addition to a popular native story told in the dialect, provided the basis for describing some peculiarities of the vocabulary, phonology and grammar of Boak Tagalog. A few items of vocabulary and grammar were compared with Manila Tagalog, as well as with the Tagalog dialects of Lipa (Batangas), Imus (Cavite), Lilio (Laguna), and Gumaca (Quezon). The study showed: (1) some words that were similar in form to Manila Tagalog but not in usage or shades of meaning, (2) words and idioms not occurring in Manila Tagalog, (3) phonetic and grammatical differences between Boak Tagalog and Manila Tagalog, and (4) the recurrence of a few idioms in the four Southern Tagalog dialects used as bases for comparison. On the whole, Lopez received the first impression that Boak Tagalog was a "simpler and more imperfect form of the more highly developed Manila Tagalog". Of special interest was his remark that such provincial forms of speech have been originally the roots, from which forms have sprung which have become standard and that in these dialects may be found remnants of older speech strata.

The most extensive study on Philippine dialect geography till 1952 was Pittman's *Notes on the Dialect Geography of the Philippines* (1952). Its main purpose was to compare translation equivalents of 50 words and phrases which were chosen on the basis of the following criteria: (1) maximum intelligibility, (2) maximum avoidance of borrowing, (3) maximum coincidence between English and Pilipino categories, and (4) maximum likelihood of plural correspondence. The project yielded an ample sampling of the phonology, vocabulary and grammatical constructions in

each of the 34 speech communities from Luzon to Mindanao. Results were plotted on isogloss maps.

Surveys have also been undertaken on the Bikol dialect areas. One such survey was conducted by Manuzon (1961) of the Institute of National Language in connection with the preparation of a multilingual vocabulary. He asked students from the Albay Normal School and the Ateneo de Naga to supply the dialect equivalents of 193 English words. He made the following conclusions: (1) The homogeneity implied by the term 'Bicolandia' is more politically than linguistically motivated, inasmuch as sharp differences to the point of unintelligibility exist within certain localities; (2) In the northern towns, like Camarines Norte, Tagalog is predominant, while in Camarines Sur, Albay, Catanduanes and the centrally located areas, Bikol is the usual dialect; (3) In places like Milagroso and Cataingan, Hiligaynon and Cebuano are clearly dominant; (4) Dialect variations of Bikol occur in Naga, Legaspi, Virac, Sorsogon and the coastal and mountain regions.

Using phonological criteria, Anderson (1973-74, prepared in 1960) divided the Bikol area into several dialects. This division is quoted in McFarland (1974:7-8) as follows:

- (1) 'coastal-peninsular Bikol' has /h/;
- (2) 'Southern Catanduanes Bikol' has /h/ and /L/, the latter being a 'voiced continuant made with the sides of the tongue tip interdental and the front of the tongue not touching the upper teeth';
- (3) 'Northern Catanduanes Bikol' has /h/ and /R/, the latter being a 'cacuminal lateral flap';
- (4) 'Interior Bikol' has no /h/.

The most recent study on Bikol was undertaken by McFarland (1974), whose division of the Bikol area dialects "did not substantially coincide with Anderson's". He used phonological, lexical and morphological criteria as the bases of his comparison. In comparing morphological features, he used a relatively new quantitative method, morphemic differentiae, based primarily on differences exhibited by equivalent paradigms in the respective dialects. He grouped the towns into "eleven well-marked dialect areas" which were further subgrouped into four: (1) Northern Catanduanes, (2) Coastal dialects (Southern Catanduanes, Standard Bikol), (3) Inland dialects (Daraga, Oas, Libon, Iriga, Buhí), (4) Southern dialects (Northern Sorsogon, Masbate, Southern Sorsogon). A subsequent extension of the comparison to Hiligaynon, Samar-Leyte and Tagalog showed that "the three southernmost dialects in the Bikol area belong to the Central Bisayan subgroup along with Hiligaynon and Samar-Leyte, but nevertheless occupy a transitional position between the Bikol area and the Bisayan dialects. No similar transition is found between the Bikol area and Tagalog".

Graduate students in colleges and universities of the country have likewise conducted dialect surveys in their respective areas (Baltazar 1967, Alvarez 1968, Emma Villa et al. 1968 and Catanyag et al. 1970) to find variations in homosemantic forms among different sexes and age levels of informants. Their studies showed, among others, that sex had no marked significance on the choice of the informants' responses and that the older speakers had a wider choice of expressions and vocabulary.

Another recent work that has relevance to this study was a survey of Panay - the main island of the West Visayas, comprising Capiz, Aklan, Antique and Iloilo - conducted by Griño (1974) to determine the nature and spread of speech(es) on the island. Around 500 lexical items were used as a basis for comparison of the dialects. On the basis of 60 per cent cognation and the highly similar grammatical systems, the study showed that there is one language in Panay which she called Panayan Bisayan. This language, in turn, has many subtypes or dialects. Three major dialects - Aklanon, Hiligaynon and Hinaray-a - were identified on basic phonetic criteria. Lexical criteria, coinage and intermingling of phonetic features tended to identify 'splinter' or 'sub-sub-dialects' in each main dialect. Geographical and economic reasons were indicated as the main causes of diversification of dialects in Panay.

It has been noted that most dialectological studies have been mainly concerned with comparison of lexical forms. Morphology has received little attention. Intonation has totally been left out. In this present research an attempt is made to include a description of the intonation patterns of the Marinduque Tagalog dialects.

## 1.6. METHODOLOGY

### 1.6.1. SOURCES OF DATA

Taped personal interviews and spontaneous conversations with or among native speakers provided the prime source of data for this study. My own knowledge of the language as a child made possible the evaluation of the speakers' responses and the checking of their statements.

### 1.6.2. PRELIMINARY SURVEY

An initial survey was conducted of the speech in the following communities: (1) each of the six population centres; (2) eight barrios along the national road - Ihatub and Bantad of Boac, Bachao of Gasan, Summangga and Magapoa of Mogpog, Daykitin of Buenavista, Malabon of Santa Cruz and Marlangga of Torrijos; (3) six inland barrios - Duyay of Boac, Tiguiyon of Gasan, Bagakay of Buenavista, Angas and Baguidbirin-

Pantayin of Santa Cruz and Sibuyao of Torrijos; (4) the island-barrio of Maniwaya of Santa Cruz. Two native speakers belonging to two different age brackets were interviewed from each of the places. The younger informants ranged from 17 to 32 years of age, while the older informants, from 45 and above. The purpose was to find out variations from one area to another and how these variations divided the whole province into dialect areas. This procedure was of invaluable help in the wise selection of items to include in the questionnaire, thus facilitating its construction. Through the contacts made with some families in each town, much time was saved later in looking for the right informants, establishing more contacts and achieving rapport with the people.

The items used in the initial survey were limited to a very few features of phonology, morphology and lexicon. They were prepared by a group of students in dialectology, with the help of their professor. It was part of the plan to operate the recorder as inconspicuously as possible to avoid distraction and unnatural responses. This strategy proved to be a success, for even some of the most educated informants did not notice that the tiny gadget was picking up their speech. Several informants asked questions like "How could you remember everything I said when you didn't write anything down?". Under such circumstances they spoke freely and naturally. Responses were transcribed phonetically.

One relevant observation pertained to the difference in the age of the speakers. There seemed to be a kind of bi-dialectalism prevailing on the island, especially among the younger speakers. In most of the interviews the younger informants made an effort to speak Modern Tagalog when talking with strangers and spontaneously switched to the local dialect when talking with one from their own community. A few older speakers attempted to do the same at the start of the conversation or when they felt that they were not making themselves clear. In most cases the old people had a more specific choice of words - a richer vocabulary - for some items than the younger informants who sometimes tried to respond with the more current forms. The former used some words which the latter recognised as 'old-fashioned'. Although some old speakers knew the current form, they indicated preference for the 'archaic' words which were not used by the younger ones or perhaps were unknown to them. The general behaviour seemed to confirm the observation that the younger generation is easily influenced by the school and other groups, whereas the older people are more resistant to change. This could also indicate a strong sense of identification of the old people with their culture.

As to the limited linguistic items checked, the following were the tentative findings:

- (1) The basic sounds - consonants and vowels - of Marinduque Tagalog were identical with those of the Manila variety. The main differences lay in some intonation patterns.
- (2) There were several variations in the lexicon and morphologic structures. A simple example was the personal pronoun used to designate the second person plural. In the towns of Boac, Gasan, Buenavista and Mogpog the term was [kəyo], while in Santa Cruz and Torrijos the form was [kəmo].

#### 1.6.3. INFORMANT PROFILE

The apparent bi-dialectalism observed among the younger generation, coupled with the rich vocabulary possessed by the old people, led to the decision to give particular attention to the speech of the native speakers 50 years old and above, irrespective of sex and formal education. That this was a wise choice of age group for this kind of study was borne out by speech surveys conducted by other graduate students in various colleges and universities indicating that older people are the more reliable source of this type of data. In general, older people are presumed to have sufficient experience within the confines of their environment. Thus it is natural to find them with a wider vocabulary relating to their experience and social life.

Actually, the informants who supplied the data for this study consisted of old people from different walks of life - retired and retirable public officials, farmers, housewives, storekeepers, aging pensioners, teachers, fishermen, grandparents who were idle or bed-ridden and others who could still do marketing and baby-sitting. Because they usually had much time to spare, they were most co-operative and helpful after having understood the purpose of the 'visit' to their homes. The use of older speakers as informants minimised to a considerable extent the problem of formal or bookish replies.

#### 1.6.4. COLLECTION OF DATA

On the basis of the preliminary survey two basic instruments were prepared for a more detailed coverage of the island. The first was a language questionnaire (Appendix B) containing the following items to be checked: (1) a background information sheet on the informant, (2) a list of 300 words and phrases for eliciting phonological and lexical data, (3) 83 sentences for eliciting morphological and syntactic data,

and (4) some basic numerals. The list of 300 words and phrases included the Swadesh 100-meaning list<sup>1</sup> and other items of varied semantic domains - flora, fauna, parts of the body, actions, descriptions and expressions. The sentences, on the other hand, were made up of statements and questions which included grammatical items such as verbal, adjectival and nominal affixes, aspectual and pronominal forms, interrogatives, adverbials and enclitics. After constructing the questionnaire, question guides for extracting the vocabulary were then prepared to avoid direct translations as much as possible. The sentences were to be translated into the local equivalents.

The second instrument prepared was a list of the towns and barrios to determine the geographical points at which usage would be checked. A detailed map of the island province of Marinduque was consulted in order to determine the speech communities to be covered. Making use of all the bits of valuable information gathered and observations made during the two-week preliminary survey, I chose as informant sites the six poblaciones (population centres) and 66 barrios out of the island's 195 barrios. These places are indicated on Map 3, and listed immediately following the map. The choice was primarily based on distance from the town centre and from one another, close-to-the-sides-and-boundaries criterion, barriers or access to communication, ease or difficulty of travel, socio-cultural history, economic growth, degree of industrialisation and agricultural development.

Equipped with tape recorders and questionnaires, I set out for the island with another lady friend who resided in the poblacion of Gasan. The trip was by bus from Manila to Lucena City, then by ferry to Balanacan in Mogpog. We took advantage of opportunities as they arose. For instance, at the Lucena pier, we made an effort to get acquainted with some elderly Marinduqueños who were likewise waiting for the boat. We would move to where conversations were going on, with the recorder unnoticed. In this manner, the intonation patterns and the structures were recorded in a natural setting. In the boat, we happened to occupy seats next to two old men from different places on the island. Friendly conversations were initiated and in the course of the exchanges, the purpose of the trip was explained to the elderly people who immediately showed interest. Learning that they were suitable informants who were

<sup>1</sup>The 100-basic vocabulary list most commonly used in lexicostatistical studies has been revised by Zorc (1973:25) for use in the Philippine context. On the basis of the revised list, there is a 99 per cent cognation between Marinduque Tagalog and Modern Tagalog. The lone word that differs is *MT panganu:rin* for *ManT qu:lap* 'rain cloud'.

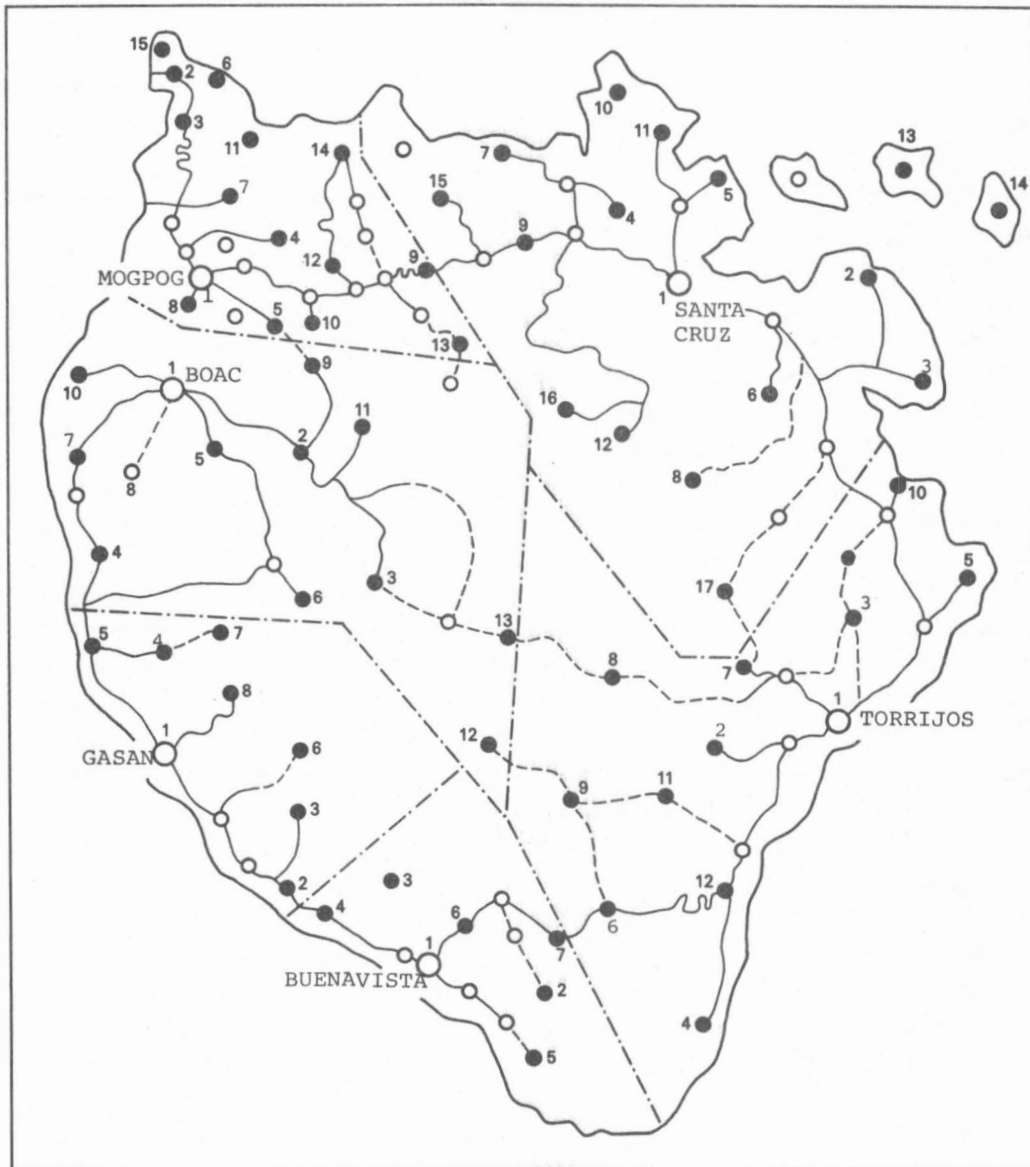
willing to help, we started eliciting the items in the questionnaire from them. In the course of the interview, relevant information was taken on their personal data. Thus during the three-and-a-half hour ferry ride, necessary data were elicited from two informants who further extended an invitation to visit their respective places, and volunteered their assistance in contacting other suitable informants. These are merely illustrations of the many opportunities that presented themselves in the course of data gathering.

Certain guidelines proved most helpful, such as: (1) making the purpose of the interview very clear, assuring the informants that it was merely for obtaining information on the dialect they spoke, (2) requesting the informants to give what was normally used in daily conversations.

During the fieldwork I was very fortunate to have been availed of the assistance of just the right people. In Buenavista, the Postmaster, who knew practically every home in the area, made arrangements for interviews with aged pensioners, saying they would come to claim their pensions on a certain date. He contacted some retirable as well as retired employees. His mail carrier pointed the way to the homes of some old people in the inland barrios. He also furnished the interviewers with an updated census (May 1970) of all the towns and barrios of Marinduque. Twelve informants representing ten places were interviewed in Buenavista.

In Gasan, collection of data was expedited by my companion's familiarity with the place and with the residents. In addition, an elderly farmer who was amused to hear his voice on tape went out of his way and gave a little 'party' at his home where he brought in four old relatives from the other barrios. Thus instead of a sampling from seven places as planned, ample material was obtained from twelve barrios and the poblacion.

After covering Buenavista and Gasan, the next target was Boac, the capital town, which has the largest number of barrios (54). Some valuable tips on each barrio were provided by no less than the Municipal Mayor, who gave further directions on less difficult routes to take in going to isolated barrios. With the aid of two out-of-school youths, two teams were formed. One youth accompanied each of the original interviewers to separate places each day. Because there were only 21 tapes, the time necessary for the transcription of data prevented collection of more data each day. After eliciting data from 30 informants representing three town centres and 27 barrios on the western side of the island province, further elicitation was not pursued of items which yielded identical responses in all the speech communities surveyed. Only the items which yielded variants and different roots were elicited



MAP 3: TOWN CENTRES AND BARRIOS SELECTED AS INFORMANT SITES

- Town Centres (6)
- Barrios (66)
- roads
- - - trails

## TOWN CENTRES AND BARRIOS SELECTED AS INFORMANT SITES

## 1. Municipality of Boac

- |              |             |              |               |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| 1. Poblacion | 5. Daig     | 9. Pawa      | 13. Tumagabok |
| 2. Balimbing | 6. Duyay    | 10. Poras    |               |
| 3. Binunga   | 7. Ihatub   | 11. Puyog    |               |
| 4. Bunganay  | 8. Mansiwat | 12. Tambunan |               |

## 2. Municipality of Mogpog

- |              |             |                  |                    |
|--------------|-------------|------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Poblacion | 5. Danao    | 9. Lamesang Bato | 13. Putingbuhangin |
| 2. Argao     | 6. Guisian  | 10. Mampaitan    | 14. Sayao          |
| 3. Balanacan | 7. Ino      | 11. Paye         | 15. Silangan       |
| 4. Bintakay  | 8. Hanagdon | 12. Pili         |                    |

## 3. Municipality of Santa Cruz

- |              |                |              |                 |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 1. Poblacion | 6. Banogbog    | 11. Kasily   | 16. San Antonio |
| 2. Alobo     | 7. Bathala     | 12. Labo     | 17. Tambangan   |
| 3. Angas     | 8. Devilla     | 13. Maniwaya |                 |
| 4. Baliis    | 9. Dolores     | 14. Mompong  |                 |
| 5. Balogo    | 10. Kalangkang | 15. Punong   |                 |

## 5. Municipality of Torrijos

- |              |              |               |             |
|--------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|
| 1. Poblacion | 4. Dampulan  | 7. Nangka     | 10. Suha    |
| 2. Bangwayin | 5. Kay Bulik | 8. Sibuyao    | 11. Talawan |
| 3. Bolo      | 6. Malibago  | 9. Sinambahan | 12. Tigwi   |

## 5. Municipality of Buenavista

- |              |              |           |         |
|--------------|--------------|-----------|---------|
| 1. Poblacion | 3. Bagtingon | 5. Lipata | 7. Sihi |
| 2. Bagakay   | 4. Daykitin  | 6. Malbog |         |

## 6. Municipality of Gasan

- |              |              |             |             |
|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1. Poblacion | 3. Dawis     | 5. Masiga   | 7. Tapuyan  |
| 2. Antipolo  | 4. Mangiliol | 6. Tablonan | 8. Tiguijon |

from the rest of the informants in Boac. A total of 29 informants were interviewed in that one community.

Collection of data from 22 of the 33 barrios of Mogpog was conducted during three separate trips. This was attributed mainly to difficulty of travel. Three isolated semi-mountainous barrios near the coast (Silangan, Guisian, Paye) were accessible either by trails or rough motorboat rides around the seaboard. Water travel was tediously slow and uncomfortable since the seas were always rough at those points. During subsequent visits to Mogpog, the 'universal' vocabulary items were likewise skipped. While much difficulty was encountered in these locations, it was also in one of these barrios where one of the oldest informants was contacted in a household of five generations. She placed her age at more than a hundred years. During the interview she was eagerly helped by a 61 year-old younger daughter, a 45 year-old granddaughter and several great-grandchildren. A good conversationalist herself, she showed off her clear eyesight by reading some items in the questionnaire. At times she was strong enough to tend the little store. It was quite common to find three generations in a household, but more than three was rare.

Data gathering from Santa Cruz and Torrijos was facilitated with the help of some friends and relatives. Some acted as guides and helped with the interview, others made their transportation facilities available, and still others brought informants to the house. In Torrijos, it was a privilege and a pleasure to have the company of social workers and barrio teachers who likewise helped with the interviews. Data were gathered from 25 places in Santa Cruz and 20 places in Torrijos.

All in all, a total of 129 informants and 119 speech communities were sampled with the widest possible distribution. (The complete list of informant sites is found in Appendix C.) The coverage was more than what was planned and expected. The data provided abundant material for the study.

The responses to the lexical items were tabulated in alphabetical order of the informant sites in each town. A table was made for each town. Where there were alternative responses, all were recorded in the order in which they were given. The tabulated responses were then edited to avoid unnecessary repetition. Barrios along the same route, except those on the boundaries between municipalities, were eliminated if the data showed no speech variation from the previous informant site. Finally, the responses were summarised and made ready for analysis. In the summary of responses (Appendix A) the alternatives for an item were listed according to frequency.

On the other hand, the sentence translations were too numerous to be tabulated so that a separate table was not made for them. They were only recorded on index cards and analysed for their morphologic and syntactic structures.

#### 1.6.5. METHOD OF ANALYSIS

For the purpose of this study the analytical procedures used were based on the methods of structural linguistics, using the criteria of form, meaning and distribution in describing linguistic elements. For phonology the basic techniques developed by Pike (1947) and Gleason (1955:48-50) were applied. From the actual utterances collected, the phones or speech sounds were identified and classified to ascertain their phonetic character. The phonetically transcribed data were simplified by isolating all the significant sounds by means of minimal pairs. The phonemic status of each sound was determined by opposition and contrast in identical or corresponding environments. From phonology, the analysis proceeded to morphology and syntax. The lexical items were treated last. The investigation on morphological structures concentrated on the constructions shared by all the speech localities and those which were specific to each community. With regard to syntax, only an outline of the basic syntactic structures was presented. *Tagalog Reference Grammar* (Schachter and Otanes 1972) was made the source for Manila Tagalog and extensively consulted for comparison with elements of the dialects of Marinduque. Lastly, comparison of lexical items was based on form and meaning. Identical terms, phonological variants and non-cognate roots were listed in separate tables. Geographic variations in phonological, morphological and syntactical features were indicated on dialect maps.

#### 1.6.6. PLAN OF THE STUDY

This paper is divided into six parts. Chapter I outlines the background of the study - its purpose, scope, delimitations and significance; gives a brief description and historical background of the speech communities studied; reviews previous dialectological studies which are relevant to this research; and discusses the methodology and research procedures followed to arrive at a picture of the present dialect situation in Marinduque. Chapter II presents the segmental phonemes of Marinduque Tagalog, the intonation patterns which are common to all the speech localities and those which are specific to each area. Chapter III identifies morphological structures which distinguish between the major dialects, as well as those structures which distinguish Marinduque

Tagalog from Manila or Modern Tagalog. Chapter IV gives an outline of the basic syntactic structures of Marinduque Tagalog, revealing their similarity to the syntactic structures of Manila Tagalog. Chapter V examines the lexical data to discover (1) the core vocabulary shared by the dialect areas, (2) the dialectal variants, and (3) the words specific to each speech community. The lexical items are also compared with Manila Tagalog equivalents for (1) identical terms, (2) phonologically variant forms, (3) different roots, and (4) cognate roots with different meanings. Chapter VI is the concluding portion of the paper; it summarises the findings of the study and gives some theoretical insights into the diversification of speech and the nature of language.

## CHAPTER II

### PHONOLOGY

2.0. The basic phonological structure of Marinduque Tagalog is presented in this chapter. The more familiar symbols in terms of the Roman alphabet are used. The symbol q is used to indicate the glottal stop. The digraph ng symbolises the velar nasal. V and C stand for vowel and consonant, respectively. The small curve (˘) underneath a vowel indicates a raising of the vowel from the normal position. Vowel length is marked by a colon (:). Relative pitch prominence is represented by an acute accent ('). The phones are enclosed in square brackets, while the phonemes are put between slant lines. English equivalents appear between single quotes.

#### 2.1. THE SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

The dialects of Marinduque Tagalog share the following segmental phonemes with each other and with Manila Tagalog: five vowels /i, e, a, o, u/, seventeen consonants /p, t, k, q, b, d, g, m, n, ng, f, s, h, l, r, w, y/ and six diphthongs /iw, ey, ay, aw, oy, uy/. The Western dialect area has an additional diphthong, /iy/, which is not found either in the Eastern dialect area or in Manila Tagalog. Borrowings were included in determining inventory of segmental phonemes.

##### 2.1.1. THE VOWELS

Most of the native speakers of Marinduque Tagalog have a three-vowel phoneme system: one high-front vowel phoneme, /i/, one low-central vowel phoneme, /a/, and one high-back vowel phoneme, /u/. However, the presence of borrowed words from Spanish and English has brought about the addition of two more vowel phonemes, /e/ and /o/, in the speech of educated speakers and/or of those familiar with those languages. Thus

some in whose speech these elements from a co-existent phonemic system are present make a phonemic distinction between /i/ and /e/ and between /u/ and /o/. The vowel phonemes may then be organised into the following system:

CHART 1

The Vowel Phonemes of Marinduque Tagalog and Manila Tagalog

	Front	Central	Back
High	/i/		/u/
Mid	/e/		/o/
Low	/a/		

The allophones of the five vowel phonemes are given in detail in Chart 2.

CHART 2

The Vowel Allophones of Marinduque Tagalog

		Front	Central	Back
High	upper	[i]		[u]
	lower	[ɪ]		[ʊ]
Mid		[e]		[o]
Low	upper	[ã]		
	lower	[a]		

2.1.1.1. Vowel Length

As in Manila Tagalog (Schachter and Otones 1972:15-17), relative vowel length in Marinduque Tagalog is phonemic, as shown by the difference in meaning between such minimal pairs as:

/qa:su/ 'dog'	/ba:tuk/ 'nape'	/la:mang/ 'only'
/qasu/ 'smoke'	/batuk/ 'dog bark'	/lamang/ 'advantage'
/ta:sa/ 'cup'	/qi:wi/ 'cradle a baby in arms'	
/tasa/ 'pencil point'	/qiwi/ 'scorpion'	

Vowel length may occur in syllable-final position but its occurrence does not change the meaning of the word.

[bá:ya:n] ~ [bá:yan]	'town'
[bundú:k] ~ [bundúk]	'mountain'
[tãhí:q] ~ [tãhíq]	'sew'

In Marinduque Tagalog, vowel lengthening may occur without an accompanying accent or relative pitch prominence, as in the following examples:

/na:ka:qin/ 'eats'  
 /ma:sa:ma/ 'will go along'  
 /na:kaki:ta/ 'can see'  
 /na:qi:kut/ 'turns'

These examples show that relative vowel length does not seem to be conditioned by accent.

Accent (or stress) normally occurs on the penultimate syllable having a lengthened vowel or on the ultimate syllable in the case of words without any long vowel. However, a shift of accent often occurs intonationally without changing the meaning of the word, as in the following examples:

[qá:su] ~ [qa:sú] 'dog'  
 [qásu] ~ [qasú] 'smoke'  
 [qí:wi] ~ [qi:wí] 'cradle a baby in one's arms'  
 [qíwi] ~ [qiwí] 'scorpion'  
 [pá:suk] ~ [pa:súk] 'enter'

The word [pa:súk] is a frequent cry of bus conductors.

Compensatory vowel lengthening as a morphophonemic process is discussed in section 2.5.

2.1.1.2. The vowel allophones have the following values:

Phonemes Allophones

/i/	[i]	an upper-high front unrounded vowel; usually long
	[I]	a lower-high front unrounded vowel; usually short
	[bI gáy]	'give' /bigay/
	[ngí: pIn]	'tooth' /ngi:pin/
	[bá: kId]	'big basket' /ba:kid/
	[bIg kIs]	'bundle' /bigkis/
	[pI lI pI tIn]	'dried anchovy' /pilipitin/ (WM)
	[gáb qí]	'night' /gabqi/
/a/	[a]	a low-central neutral open vowel; usually long
	[ǎ]	an upper-low central neutral vowel; usually short

[bá: kᵛ] 'cow' /ba:ka/  
 [tᵛ bí] 'side' /tabi/  
 [kᵛ bᵛ yá: nᵛn] 'town proper' /kabaya:nan/  
 [tᵛs tás] 'rip' /tastas/  
 [mᵛ tᵛn dáq] 'old' /matandaq/  
 [mᵛg qᵛ qᵛ lᵛ gáq] 'caretaker' /magqaqalagaq/

/u/ [u] a long, upper-high back rounded vowel  
 [U] a short, lower-high laxly rounded variant  
 [tú: hUd] 'knee' /tu:hud/  
 [pU lI púd] 'cowlick' /pulipud/  
 [kú: bU] 'nipa hut' /ku:bu/

A few minimal pairs contrasting /e/ and /o/ with /i/ and /u/, respectively, justify the addition of these two phonemes to the original three-vowel system of MT.

/e/ [e] a mid-front spread, lax vowel occurring in loanwords. In spite of instances of replacement of /e/ by /i/ in the speech of most rural folk, /e/ is a phoneme distinct from /i/ as shown in such minimal pairs as:  
 /be:lo/ 'veil'  
 /bi:lo/ 'thinly rolled cotton or paper-like material'  
 /me:sa/ 'table'  
 /mi:sa/ 'mass'

/o/ [o] a mid-back open rounded vowel  
 [qó: rᵛs] 'hour' /qo:ras/  
 [bó: to] 'vote' /bo:to/

Some minimal contrasts between /o/ and /u/ are seen in these pairs:

/bos/ 'boss'      /bus/ 'bus'  
 /qo:so/ 'bear'    /qu:su/ 'fashion, style'

### 2.1.2. THE CONSONANTS

Arranged in a chart opposite are the consonants, described according to their approximate position and manner of articulation.

CHART 3  
The Consonants of Marinduque Tagalog

	Labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop (v1)	p		t			k	q
Stop (vd)	b		d			g	
Nasal (vd)	m		n			ng	
Fricative (v1)		f	s				h
Lateral (vd)			l				
Tap (vd)				r			
Glide (vd)	w				y		

As in the case of the vowel phonemes the co-existence of Spanish and Tagalog sound systems in some speakers gives rise to the addition of two foreign phonemes: /f/ and /r/.

The consonant allophones are as follows:

Phonemes    Allophones

- /p/            [p]    a voiceless bilabial stop  
                  [pá: qa] 'foot' /pa:qa/  
                  [kU lɔp nít] 'bat' /kulapnit/  
                  [há: yop] 'animal' /ha:yup/
- /t/            [t]    a voiceless dental stop  
                  [tɔy ngá] 'ear' /taynga/  
                  [but qú] 'bone' /butqu/  
                  [bI lút] 'puppy' /bilut/  
                  [lɔ túy] 'stringbeans' /latuy/  
                  [kí: ta] 'see' /kl:ta/
- /k/            [k]    a voiceless velar stop  
                  [kɔ máy] 'hand' /kamay/  
                  [bú: kId] 'farm' /bu:kId/  
                  [bɔ túk] 'dog bark' /batuk/

The voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ are sometimes released in syllable-final position.

- /q/ [q] glottal stop  
 [b̥ɔy q̥ wáng] 'waist' /bayqawang/  
 [q̥ sIk qá: sIk] 'rain-shower' /qasikqa:sik/  
 [b̥ɔ l̥ɔg há: riq] 'rainbow' /balagha:riq/  
 [b̥á: t̥ɔq] 'child' /ba:taq/  
 [m̥ɔg q̥ l̥s] 'to remove' /magqalis/

Examples contrasting the voiceless stops are:

- /pi:ta/ 'desire'  
 /ti:ta/ 'Tita, a girl's name'  
 /ki:ta/ 'visible'  
 /kipil/ 'mould by hand'  
 /kitil/ 'cut off'  
 /kikil/ 'filed'  
 /sa:luk/ 'scoop'  
 /sa:lut/ 'pestilence'  
 /halip/ 'nightmare' /halik/ 'kiss'  
 /balqun/ 'water well' /balkun/ 'balcony'  
 /mu:ra/ 'cheap' /mu:raq/ 'young coconut'

- /b/ [b] a voiced bilabial stop  
 [bɪ l̥í] 'buy' /bili/  
 [t̥ɔ q̥úb] 'capsize' /taqub/  
 [b̥á: bUy] 'pig' /ba:buy/

- /d/ [d] a voiced dental stop  
 [dU q̥ú: ngan] 'wharf' /duqu:ngan/  
 [dU g̥óq] 'blood' /duguq/  
 [lU k̥ád] 'copra' /lukad/  
 [tIn d̥íq] 'stand' /tindig/

- /g/ [g] a voiced velar stop  
 [g̥ɔ m̥út] 'medicine' /gamut/  
 [sIg q̥áng] 'soupy-sour dish' /sigqang/  
 [yá: k̥ɔg] 'invite along' /ya:kag/

Some minimal contrasts among the voiced stops are:

- /bu:lang/ 'thread a needle'  
 /du:lang/ 'long table'  
 /gu:lang/ 'age'  
 /lablab/ 'roast on fire'  
 /ladlad/ 'unfurl'  
 /laglag/ 'fall'

/kabkab/ 'big bite'  
 /kadjad/ 'unroll'  
 /kagkag/ 'scratch'

/m/ [m] a voiced bilabial nasal  
 [m̩ ta] 'eye' /mata/  
 [n̩ múk] 'mosquito' /namuk/  
 [gú:y̩m] 'ant' /gu:yam/

/n/ [n] a voiced dental nasal  
 [nI nú: nUq] 'ancestor' /ninu:nuq/  
 [qU lán] 'rain' /qulan/

/ng/ [ng] a voiced velar nasal  
 [ng̩y qún] 'now' /ngayqun/  
 [da t̩ng] 'arrival' /dating/  
 [qU ngús] 'upper lip' /qungus/

The phonemes /n/ and /ng/ in final position normally undergo assimilation to the consonants following them in a phrase, e.g.:

/hindiq mam puq/ hindiq man puq 'no, sir'  
 /sa bandam bunduk/ sa bandang bunduk 'towards the mountain'  
 /dalwan ta:qu/ dalwang ta:qu 'two people'  
 /lu:man damit/ lu:mang damit 'old clothes'  
 /walan salaq/ walang salaq 'no mistake'  
 /yun lukban/ yung lukban 'that pomelo'  
 /ba:gun relo/ ba:gung relo 'new watch'  
 /kapitam pu:dung/ Kapitang Pudong 'Barrio Captain Pudong'  
 /saqang kayaq/ saqan kayaq 'I wonder where'

The above examples show that assimilation has taken place in actual utterances.

/f/ [f] a labiodental voiceless fricative  
 Also a recent addition, this phoneme occurs only in words borrowed from Spanish and English. Many speakers consistently use /p/ for /f/ while others distinguish between the two in proper names, such as:

Pe /pe/ 'a familiar surname on the island'  
 Fe /fe/ 'a girl's name' (in contrast to Pe)

- /s/ [s] a voiceless dental fricative  
 [s̄á láq] 'mistake' /salaq/  
 [bú: k̄as] 'tomorrow' /bu:kas/  
 [qú: sUk] 'smoke' /qu:suk/
- /h/ [h] a voiceless glottal fricative  
 [hí: hIp] 'blow' /hi:hip/  
 [bá: h̄ay] 'house' /ba:hay/
- /l/ [l] a voiced dental lateral  
 [lU múd] 'swallow solids' /lumud/  
 [tú: l̄ak] 'push' /tu:lak/  
 [bU kál] 'spring' /bukal/
- /r/ [r] a voiced alveolar tap  
 [re ló] 'clock' /relo/  
 [lU gár] 'place' /lugar/  
 [qó: r̄as] 'hour' /qo:ras/  
 [yá: rIq] 'finish' /ya:riq/

The phoneme /r/ contrasts with /d/ and /g/ in the following words:

/rayu:ma/ 'rheumatism' /gayu:ma/ 'charm'  
 /balor/ 'value' /balod/ 'a kind of bird'

- /w/ [w] a voiced non-syllabic high-back, laxly rounded bilabial consonant  
 [w̄á lú] 'eight' /walu/  
 [qú: h̄aw] 'thirst' /qu:haw/  
 [q̄á wán] 'I don't know' /qawan/  
 [k̄á t̄aw qán] 'body' /katawqan/
- /y/ [y] a voiced non-syllabic high unrounded front consonant  
 [yá: k̄ag] 'invite along' /ya:kag/  
 [gú: l̄ay] 'vegetable' /gu:l̄ay/  
 [há: yin] 'set the table' /ha:yin/  
 [lí: yu] 'dizziness' /li:yu/

### 2.1.3. THE PHONEMES /r/ AND /d/

Most of the /r/ phonemes occur in Spanish and English borrowings. There are also positive indications that /d/ and the native /r/ were once allophones of the same phoneme and that /d/ is the basic phoneme

which is replaced by /r/ either optionally or obligatorily. In some remote barrios of Gasan, /d/ is retained in the deictics and enclitics, e.g.:

/qidi/ 'this' /qanu qidi/ 'What is this?'  
 /duqun/ 'there' /nilagay nya duqun/ 'He placed it there'  
 /di:tu/ 'here' /dalha di:tu/ 'Bring it here'  
 /dyan/ 'there' /may ta:qu baga dyan/ 'Is anybody there?'  
 /din/ 'also' /bahugi din yung qa:su/ 'Feed the dog, too'

Optional replacement of /d/ by /r/ in intervocalic position occurs but is not predictable in many speakers. Examples are:

/dinig/ 'hear' /nadi:dinig/ ~ /nari:rinig/ 'being heard'  
 /da:mi/ 'quantity' /mada:mi/ ~ /mara:mi/ 'many'  
 /dumi/ 'dirt' /madumi/ ~ /marumi/ 'dirty'  
 /da:han/ 'slowness' /mada:han/ ~ /mara:han/ 'slowly'

Obligatory replacement of /d/ by /r/ occurs in certain wordbases when /d/ becomes intervocalic as a result of prefixation or suffixation:

/du:sa/ 'suffering' /paru:sa/ 'punishment'  
 /da:pat/ 'should' /narara:pat/ 'proper'  
 /ba:kud/ 'fence' /baku:ran/ 'yard'  
 /ta:wad/ 'discount' /tawa:ran/ 'ask for a discount'  
 /pa:lad/ 'palm of hand' /pala:rin/ 'to be fortunate'

However, there are cases in which the /d/ is always retained, such as:

/dilim/ 'darkness' /madilim/ 'dark'  
 /da:hun/ 'leaf' /mada:hun/ 'leafy'  
 /duling/ 'cross-eyed' /naduling/ 'became cross-eyed'  
 /dagdag/ 'addition' /qa:dagdagan/ 'will be added to'

#### 2.1.4. THE DIPHTHONGS

Marinduque Tagalog has five fronting diphthongs, /iy/, /ey/, /ay/, /oy/, /uy/, and two backing diphthongs, /iw/ and /aw/.

/iy/ is found only in the Western dialect, in such words as:

/nagtiytindig/ 'stood by oneself, e.g. without any help'  
 /nagasiysindi/ 'lights automatically'  
 /qaliylima/ 'only five' /qapiypitu/ 'only seven'

The diphthongs /ey/ and /oy/ occur chiefly in words of foreign origin:

[réy na] 'queen' /reyna/  
 [ley] 'law' /ley/  
 [léy te] 'the province of Leyte' /leyte/  
 [béy bI] 'baby' /beybi/  
 [boy] 'Boy (a nickname)' /boy/

Examples of /ay/, /uy/ and /aw/ are:

[gú: l̩ay] 'vegetable' /gu:l̩ay/  
 [b̩ay q̩á wáng] 'waist' /bayqawang/  
 [t̩ay ngá] 'ear' /taynga/  
 [s̩á káy] 'ride' /sakay/  
 [b̩á ling húy] 'cassava' /balinghuy/  
 [quy] 'Uy (a Chinese surname)' /quy/  
 [h̩awh̩áw] 'rinse' /hawhaw/  
 [qI ní: h̩aw] 'broiled' /qini:haw/  
 [b̩ang q̩áw] 'mad dog' /bangqaw/  
 [k̩á t̩aw q̩án] 'body' /katawqan/  
 [q̩áw tu] 'car' /qawtu/  
 [gi l̩aw g̩áw] 'tickle' /gilawgaw/

On the other hand, /iw/ occurs mainly in syllable-final position:

[q̩á: giw] 'soot resulting from smoke' /qa:giw/  
 [bUn l̩íw] 'Bonliw (a barrio of Torrijos)' /bunliw/  
 [sí: siw] 'chick' /si:siw/

## 2.2. CONSONANT CLUSTERS

Clusters of two or three consonants occur in the dialects. A three-consonant cluster is rare and has been found only in syllable-final position in loanwords from English. Only /yds/ and /rds/ can be given here as illustrations: /qeyds/ 'age'; /bards/ 'barge'; /qa:bereyds/ 'average'. In general, the occurrence of consonant clusters in syllable-final position is limited to foreign words incorporated in the language. Chart 4 gives all the possible initial-consonant clusters. They are formed with the vertically arranged consonants as first members and the horizontally arranged consonants as second members.

CHART 4  
Initial-Consonant Clusters

	s	l	r	w	y
p		pl	pr	pw	py
t	ts		tr	tw	ty
k		kl	kr	kw	ky
b		bl	br	bw	by
d			dr	dw	dy
g		gl	gr	gw	
m				mw	my
n				nw	ny
f		fl	fr	fw	
s				sw	sy
h				hw	
l					ly
r				rw	ry

Examples of words with a consonant cluster in initial position are:

/pl/ /pla:to/ 'plate'  
 /pr/ /prime:ro/ 'first'  
 /pw/ /pwe:de/ 'possible'  
 /py/ /pya:no/ 'piano'  
 /ts/ /tsa/ 'tea'  
 /tr/ /traba:ho/ 'work'  
 /ty/ /tya:niq/ 'puller'  
 /kl/ /kla:se/ 'class'  
 /kr/ /krus/ 'cross'  
 /kw/ /kwarta/ 'money'  
 /ky/ /kyosko/ 'kiosk'  
 /bl/ /blu:sa/ 'blouse'  
 /br/ /bra:so/ 'arm'  
 /dr/ /dram/ 'drum'  
 /dw/ /dwindi/ 'elf'  
 /dy/ /dyunyor/ 'junior'  
 /gl/ /glorya/ 'glory'



Some loanwords having final consonant clusters are:

/lb/ /balb/ 'bulb'  
 /ld/ /qold/ 'old folk'  
 /rt/ /po:losyert/ 'polo shirt'  
 /rk/ /homwork/ 'homework'  
 /rd/ /re:kord/ 'record'  
 /rn/ /mo:dern/ 'modern'  
 /rs/ /nars/ 'nurse'  
 /wt/ /iskawt/ 'scout'  
 /wn/ /brawn/ 'brown'  
 /ws/ /blaws/ 'blouse'  
 /yp/ /istrayp/ 'stripe'  
 /yt/ /hayt/ 'height'  
 /yk/ /mayk/ 'mike'  
 /yd/ /reyd/ 'raid'  
 /yb/ /drayb/ 'drive'  
 /ym/ /taym/ 'time'  
 /ys/ /be:ysbol/ 'baseball'  
 /ks/ /ko:miks/ 'comics'  
 /ds/ /brids/ 'bridge'  
 /ts/ /bits/ 'beach'

Regarding the treatment of clusters by the old speakers, a few general tendencies may be observed. For instance, some cluster types are often avoided or simplified by inserting a vowel identical to the vowel of the syllable involved or by the process of metathesis. Examples showing insertion of identical vowel are:

/grego:ryo/ > /giligo:ryo/ 'Gregorio'  
 /traba:ho/ > /taraba:hu/ 'work'  
 /bra:so/ > /bara:su/ 'arm'  
 /krus/ > /kurus/ 'cross'

In the first illustration /e/ > /i/ in order to have the sound conform to the speaker's system of three-vowel phonemes. The same reason holds true for /o/ > /u/ in the subsequent illustrations. In addition, /r/ as a second member of a cluster is changed to /l/ by dissimilation.

In instances of metathesis the initial cluster /CCV/ becomes /CVC/; thus:

/prime:ro/ > /pirme:ro/ 'first'  
 /traba:ho/ > /tarba:hu/ 'work'  
 /prusisyon/ > /pursisyon/ 'procession'

## 2.3. SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

On the basis of the preceding data, it is practical to speak of two kinds of syllable structure in Marinduque Tagalog dialects, namely:

CV {<sup>c</sup>} in non-final position

CV(C) in final position

On the other hand, if the various consonant sequences clustering around a vowel in borrowed words are all taken into consideration, theoretically the maximum syllable structure that can be expected to occur in these dialects is CCVCCC. However, no word in the data exemplifies this structure.

In a disyllabic base, the penultimate syllable may be a CV, CV: or CVC and the ultimate syllable is either a CV or a CVC. The typical structure of most disyllabic bases is CV({<sup>c</sup>})CV(C). Examples are:

/bunduk/ 'mountain'	/tu:hud/ 'knee'
/bibig/ 'mouth'	/gabqi/ 'night'
/sa:ma/ 'accompany'	/laba/ 'laundry'

## 2.4. ACCENT

Accent is characterised by relative pitch and length prominence in non-final syllable position, or by relative pitch prominence in syllable-final position. Word accent normally occurs (1) on the ultimate syllable, if the word does not contain any significantly long vowel. In this position, accent is manifested by relative pitch prominence, and, perhaps, loudness. Examples are:

[bI b'íg] 'mouth' /bibig/  
 [mā lā k'í] 'big' /malaki/  
 [pU li p'úd] 'cowlick' /pulipud/  
 [mā kā pāg lā b'á] 'able to laundry' /makapaglaba/

(2) on the penultimate syllable containing a long vowel, as in:

[b'á: kId] 'big basket' /ba:kid/  
 [tú: hUd] 'knee' /tu:hud/  
 [kā sá: ma] 'companion' /kasa:ma/

A word having more than two syllables may have other accents besides the one on the ultima or the penultima. But not all long vowels have an accompanying pitch prominence. Examples are:

[na: ni wá: lāq] 'believing' /na:niwa:laq/  
 [bi: lí: hān] 'place for buying' /bi:li:han/

[qa: qi s̄ qí: s̄] 'only one' /qa:qisaqi:sa/  
 [ma: kú: h̄] 'will get' /ma:ku:ha/

When cited forms occur in phrases where the phonetically accented final syllable is followed by a monosyllabic enclitic or pronoun, or by a syllable (of a following word) having vowel length, their accent is generally lost or shifted to some other following syllable in the phrase. Thus

[m̄ l̄ kí + na] > [m̄ l̄ ki ná] 'already big'  
 [m̄ l̄ kím + bá: t̄q] > [m̄ l̄ kim bá: t̄q] 'big child'

On the other hand, the accent on a syllable having a long vowel is retained in intonation phrases, such as:

[k̄ sá: m̄ + kó] > [k̄ sá: m̄ kó] 'my companion'  
 [bá: h̄y + nI l̄] > [bá: h̄y nI l̄] 'their house'

Furthermore, although disyllabic CVCCVC forms are normally accented on the last syllable, they have been sporadically receiving an accent on either the penultimate or ultimate syllable without any resultant semantic shift. Thus

[bUg búg] ~ [búg bUg] 'beat'  
 [baI qún] ~ [báI qUn] 'a well'  
 [sag qúy] ~ [ság qUy] 'bump slightly'  
 [bun dúk] ~ [bún dUk] 'mountain'  
 [tin díg] ~ [tín dIg] 'stand'

Since accent is more or less predictable and does not seem to be distinctive in the dialects of Marinduque Tagalog, in this paper, it has been indicated only in phonetic transcriptions.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Schachter and Otones adopt the position that vowel length in Manila Tagalog is 'significant' (1972:15), therefore, phonemic. They suggest that stress is a correlate of vowel length: "all syllables that include significantly long vowels are stressed, whether the significant vowel length is an instance of inherent length, of compensatory length, or of coalescence length" (p.55). Bowen (1965:12) adopts the same view as that of Schachter and Otones, that vowel length is the significant feature: "vowel length distinguishes meaning". He claims that "in (Manila) Tagalog, the primary indicator of stress is vowel length". Llamzon (1966:35), on the other hand, posits two separate phonemes of vowel length and accent - phonemic accent and phonemic length. Gonzalez (in *Readings in Philippine Linguistics* (1973:557)) maintains that accent is normally characterised by all three features - "fundamental frequency, amplitude, and duration", that is, by relative pitch prominence, loudness and vowel length.

## 2.5. COMPENSATORY VOWEL LENGTH

Besides being phonemic in some non-final vowels, vowel lengthening may also compensate for the loss of a consonant or a syllable following a short vowel. In the Eastern dialect, vowel length replaces a non-phrase-final glottal stop, just as it does in Manila Tagalog. In Western Marinduque, the glottal is retained in non-phrase-final position. This contrast between EM and WM is seen in the following sentences:

WM /malayuqlayuq pa puq wa:riq yun/  
 EM /malayu:layu: pa pu: wa:ri: yun/  
*'I think that's still a little farther away'*

WM /walaq ya:taq nga:niq/  
 EM /qula: ya:ta: nga:niq/  
*'I think there's none'*

In the Western dialect, on the other hand, it is a common practice to replace with vowel length the reduplicated syllable of the actor focus affixes *maka-* and *maki-* in the prospective and imperfective aspects. Such examples as the following illustrate this phenomenon, which is not observed in the Eastern dialect:

/ma:kaku:ha/ ~ /makakaku:ha/ *'will be able to get'*  
 /ma:kibili/ ~ /makikibili/ *'will request the buying of'*  
 /na:kaki:ta/ ~ /nakakaki:ta/ *'is able to see'*  
 /ma:kipagqu:sap/ ~ /makikipagqu:sap/ *'will converse with'*  
 /na:kasa:ma/ ~ /nakakasa:ma/ *'is able to go with'*

The compensatory length in the above examples, if chosen in lieu of the variant reduplication, is the only variable that distinguishes between two aspectual forms of the same verb in the Western speech. To appreciate the distinction more fully, the following examples are given:

Prospective Aspect	Infinitive or Imperative
/ma:kaku:ha/ <i>'will be able to get'</i>	/makaku:ha/ <i>'to be able to get'</i>
/ma:kabili/ <i>'will be able to buy'</i>	/makabili/ <i>'to be able to buy'</i>
/ma:kipaglaruq/ <i>'will play with'</i>	/makipaglaruq/ <i>'play with'</i>
/ma:kiqu:sap/ <i>'will request'</i>	/makiqu:sap/ <i>'make a request'</i>
/ma:kipagqu:sap/ <i>'will converse with'</i>	/makipagqu:sap/ <i>'to converse with'</i>

Imperfective Aspect	Perfective Aspect
/na:kasakay/ 'is able to ride'	/nakasakay/ 'was able to ride'
/na:kaki:ta/ 'can see'	/nakaki:ta/ 'saw'
/na:kipaglaruq/ 'plays with'	/nakipaglaruq/ 'played with'
/na:kisabay/ 'goes together with'	/nakisabay/ 'went together with'
/na:kalabas/ 'is able to go out'	/nakalabas/ 'was able to go out'

## 2.6. INTONATION

Four relative pitch levels may be distinguished and conveniently designated by numbers as /1/ low, /2/ normal, /3/ high, and /4/ extra high. Emphasis is indicated by an acute accent above the number corresponding to the syllable emphasised. Terminal junctures are marked /+/- full fall, /1/- partial fall, /+/- rising, and /+/- sustained. Open transition is shown by blank spaces instead of plus signs. The intonation patterns common to all the speech communities are discussed first, and then those which are identified with certain specific localities. Examples are given in phonemic notation, followed by the English equivalent.

### 2.6.1. COMMON INTONATION PATTERNS

Eight intonation contours are used throughout the island. They are as follows:

#### 2.6.1.1. The /23+/- Pattern

The pitch begins with the relatively normal level /2/ and rises to /3/ on the last syllable or last long vowel of the phrase before dropping to a full fall /+/- . This pattern is used for casual statements, replies with deleted elements and non-emphatic commands and exhortations.

##### Casual Statements

/<sup>2</sup>tagari:tu qang qa:ming ma<sup>3</sup>gu:lang<sup>+</sup>/

'Our parents are from this place'

/<sup>2</sup>qaku puy pitumput pitu <sup>3</sup>na<sup>+</sup>/

'I'm seventy-seven years old now'

##### Reply with Deleted Elements

/<sup>2</sup>taga<sup>3</sup>ri:tu<sup>+</sup>/

'From this place'

(This is a reply to the question Tagasaan po ang iyong mga magulang? 'From where are your parents?')

/<sup>2</sup>na:sa ba<sup>3</sup>por<sup>+</sup>/

'In the boat'

## Non-Emphatic Command

/<sup>2</sup>pa<sup>3</sup>ri:ni pa<sup>↑</sup>/  
*'Come here'*

## Invitation to Non-Immediate Deliberate Action

/<sup>2</sup>magpabili kita nang <sup>3</sup>gas<sup>↑</sup>/  
*'Let's have someone buy kerosene'*

## Exhortation with Force of Command

/<sup>2</sup>magqalisqa:lis na kita <sup>3</sup>di:tu<sup>↑</sup>/  
*'Let's start leaving this place'*

2.6.1.2. The /2<sup>3</sup>+/ Pattern

An emphasis on a word or an element within an intonation phrase having the /23+/ intonation contour results in a /2<sup>3</sup>+/ pattern which is used for explanatory and contrastive statements and emphatic commands. Examples are:

## Explanatory Statement

/<sup>2</sup>bukud qang salitaq <sup>3</sup>dun qayq<sup>↑</sup>/  
*'It's because the speech there is different'*

## Emphatic Command

/<sup>2</sup>sar<sup>3</sup>hi<sup>↑</sup>/  
*'Close it!'*

## Contrastive Statement

WM /<sup>2</sup>qang na:pagsaqi:ngan qay <sup>3</sup>palyuk<sup>↑</sup>/  
 EM /<sup>2</sup>qang naga:saqi:ngan (na:min) qay <sup>3</sup>palyuk<sup>↑</sup>/  
*'(We) cook rice in a clay pot (not in a rice cooker made of steel or aluminium)'*

## 2.6.1.3. The /23+/ Pattern

Using a rising contour on the pitch-level sequences under discussion, gives a /23+/ intonation contour used for please-repeat questions, the first part of an alternative question, the first part of a tag question, and the first part of attention-directors. Examples:

## Please-Repeat Question

/<sup>2</sup>qa<sup>3</sup>nu<sup>↑</sup>/  
*'What (did you say)?'*

/<sup>2</sup>qaling bya:hi daw qang ma:qa<sup>3</sup>lis<sup>↑</sup>/  
*'Which trip did he say will leave?'*

## First Part of an Alternative Question

WM /<sup>2</sup>qaqintayin ta pa ba<sup>3</sup>ga<sup>↑</sup> <sup>2</sup>qu hindiq na<sup>↑</sup>/  
 'Shall I still wait for you or not?'

EM /<sup>2</sup>qakwa:qin mu baga qi<sup>3</sup>tu<sup>↑</sup> <sup>2</sup>qu qindiq<sup>↑</sup>/  
 'Are you going to get (buy) this or not?'

## First Part of Attention-Director

/<sup>2</sup>qabuta qiri <sup>3</sup>qay<sup>↑</sup> lo<sup>↑</sup>/  
 'Get this thing here'

/<sup>2</sup>qang bulsuk qay hanggang di:tu <sup>3</sup>qay<sup>↑</sup> lo<sup>↑</sup>qayu<sup>↑</sup>/  
 'The deep mud was up to here, you see'

## First Part of Tag Question

/<sup>2</sup>qinabut ku sa qi:<sup>3</sup>yu<sup>↑</sup> <sup>2</sup>qindi: baga<sup>↑</sup>/  
 'I handed it to you, didn't I?'

## 2.6.1.4. The /23+/- Pattern

When the pitch is sustained during the final syllable, this indicates that the speaker has more to say. The /23+/- intonation pattern is used for enumerations. Example:

/<sup>2</sup>may la<sup>3</sup>tuy <sup>2</sup>ka<sup>3</sup>ma:tis <sup>2</sup>qa<sup>3</sup>palyā<sup>↑</sup>/  
 'There are stringbeans, tomatoes, bitter gourd, ...'

2.6.1.5. The /23<sup>1</sup>/ Intonation Pattern

Sometimes the final contour does not drop all the way to a full fall but is suspended somewhere between levels /3/ and /1/. This is characteristic of follow-up statements or commands and mild admonitions.

## Follow-up Statements

/<sup>2</sup>qakaganari la:qang pati: kalala<sup>3</sup>ki qay<sup>1</sup>/  
 'And they are just this size' (This is said by a man trying to add to the statement of another about the small sizes of fish caught by their companions earlier.)

## Mild Admonition

/<sup>2</sup>magadala kayu nang <sup>3</sup>ba:qun<sup>1</sup>/  
 'You should take some food along' (An old lady gave this advice to some visitors who were not sure of coming back by mealtime.)

2.6.1.6. The /<sup>(3)</sup>3+/ Pattern

This is used for information questions, non-emphatic requests, and initial topics or adverbs. The parentheses indicate that the initial /3/ is present if there are syllables before the second /3/ having the same pitch level, as shown in the illustrations below.

## Information Questions

/<sup>3</sup>si:nu<sup>+</sup>/

'Who?'

/<sup>3</sup>tagasaqang ka puq naman <sup>3</sup>ta:biq<sup>+</sup>/

'From where are you? (if you don't mind my asking)'

(ta:biq means 'excuse me' or 'pardon me')

/<sup>3</sup>qa:qanhin qaring gulayin<sup>+</sup>/

'What will be done with these vegetables?'

## Non-Emphatic Request

/<sup>3</sup>bilhan daw qaku nang sabung panlaba<sup>+</sup>/

'Please buy me some laundry soap'

In longer utterances, the pitch level may gradually fall until it reaches a full fall:

/<sup>3</sup>lakaslakasi <sup>2</sup>daw qang salita:qin <sup>1</sup>mu<sup>+</sup>/

'Please speak a little louder'

## Initial Topics or Adverbs

/<sup>3</sup>sa lugar ninyo<sup>+</sup> <sup>2</sup>na:baha: baga<sup>+</sup>/

'In your place, does it flood?'

/<sup>3</sup>qamba:buy<sup>+</sup> <sup>2</sup>nabahugan na ga<sup>+</sup>/

'(How about) the pig, has it been fed?'

## 2.6.1.7. The /2+/ Pattern

This common contour is used for tag questions and the second part of alternative questions.

## Tag Questions

/<sup>2</sup>qan tu:qud na:tin qay mang<sup>3</sup>yan<sup>+</sup> <sup>2</sup>hindiq baga<sup>+</sup>/

'We call (them) 'Mangyan', don't we?'

/<sup>2</sup>kakaq sya sa lah<sup>3</sup>at<sup>+</sup> <sup>2</sup>qanu<sup>+</sup>/

'He's the eldest, isn't he?'

## Second Part of Alternative Question

/<sup>2</sup>ngayqun baga kita ma:par<sup>3</sup>qun<sup>↑</sup> <sup>2</sup>qu bu:kas<sup>↑</sup>/

*'Are we going there today or tomorrow?'*

## 2.6.1.8. The /2+ / Pattern

This contour applies to the rhetorical linker /qay/ ~ /qayq/ and to quotation tags.

## Rhetorical Linker

/<sup>2</sup>qayq<sup>↑</sup> <sup>3</sup>kaqilam puq kayu ma:parqun sa <sup>2</sup>qa:min<sup>↑</sup>/

*'Well, when are you going to our place?'*

## Quotation Tag

/<sup>2</sup>na:ganqun nama<sup>↑</sup>g <sup>2</sup>hindi q na puq qaku ma:<sup>3</sup>quliq<sup>↑</sup>/

*'He says, I won't do it again'*

/<sup>2</sup>sa:bi nga:ni qay<sup>↑</sup> <sup>3</sup>bu:kas<sup>↑</sup>/

*'They say it's tomorrow'*

## 2.6.2. DIALECTAL INTONATION PATTERNS

On the basis of intonation, Eastern Marinduque differs from Western Marinduque in two respects. First, Eastern Marinduque has a characteristic melodic glide, which gives the impression of a singsong. When the melodic glide occurs on the final syllable, the sentence has a rising intonation. In the illustrative sentences below, the glided syllables in Eastern Marinduque are underscored.

EM /<sup>2</sup>mala:qun na qaku <sup>3</sup>di:tu<sup>↑</sup>/

*'I have been (living) here (for a) long (time)'*

/<sup>2</sup>mati:tanda: qaku kay ta:<sup>3</sup>tay mu<sup>↑</sup>/

*'I'm a little older than your father'*

In Western Marinduque, this melodic glide does not occur, and the pitch more or less remains level on each successive syllable, except that in Boac and Mogpog, there is a greater incidence of jumping to a high pitch level followed by a partial fall. Examples of utterances from Boac and Mogpog are:

BM /<sup>2</sup>yum puq sa qa:min qayq <sup>4</sup>qiwi<sup>↓</sup>/

*'That in our place is (a) scorpion'*

/<sup>2</sup>na:kapagtraba:hu pa qaku sa <sup>4</sup>bu:kid<sup>↓</sup>/

*'I can still work in the farm'*

The second of two respects in which the intonation of Eastern Marinduque differs from that of Western Marinduque has to do with the

final contour. This contrast is apparent in three types of sentences: the yes-or-no questions, the confirmation questions, and exclamations expressing negative attitudes. In these utterances EM uses a full fall, while WM has a partial fall. Examples are given in the following sections.

#### 2.6.2.1. Yes-or-No Questions

In Marinduque Tagalog, a yes-or-no question typically begins with pitch level /3/. After this point, the pitch usually drops gradually, and EM ends with a full fall while WM ends with a partial fall. For instance, the question *Malayo бага yon dito?* 'Is that far from this place?' has two different terminal junctures:

ScT /32+/ /<sup>3</sup>mala:yu: ga yun <sup>2</sup>di:tu<sup>↑</sup>/  
 GBU /32<sup>↓</sup>/ /<sup>3</sup>mala:yuq бага <sup>2</sup>di:tu yun<sup>1</sup>/  
 BM /24<sup>↓</sup>/ /<sup>2</sup>mala:yuq бага yun <sup>4</sup>di:tu<sup>1</sup>/

Whereas in Santa Cruz and Torrijos (EM) the final contour drops to a full fall, in Gasan, Buenavista, Boac and Mogpog (WM), it is a partial fall. There is often a difference in attitude when /+/ is changed to /<sup>1</sup>/ with reference to ScT intonation, since the latter connotes doubt or uncertainty. In like manner, substituting /+/<sup>1</sup> for /<sup>1</sup>/ in the terminal juncture of the Gasan and Buenavista example changes the attitude to unbelief, meaning 'I don't believe it's far from this place'. The illustration from Boac and Mogpog is a little different from that of GBU in that the pitch remains wholly level at /2/, then rises sharply to /4/ on the penultimate syllable before dropping to a partial fall.

These Marinduque Tagalog intonation patterns contrast with Manila Tagalog, which has a rising intonation in yes-or-no questions:

ManT /2<sup>↑</sup>/ /<sup>2</sup>mala:yu: ba yun di:tu<sup>↑</sup>/

#### 2.6.2.2. Confirmation Questions

The preposed adverb *ba:gay* 'really' or 'is it true' is a term used in Western Marinduque for confirmation questions carrying the intonation pattern /3<sup>1</sup>/. An example is:

WM /<sup>3</sup>ba:gay patay na siqandang qananiq<sup>1</sup>/  
 'Is it true that (the) old (man) Anani is dead?'

Instead of *ba:gay* the term used in EM is *бага* 'is that so' or 'really' which is set off from the rest of the sentence, having the intonation contour /3<sup>+</sup>/ + /32<sup>+</sup>/.

EM /<sup>3</sup>baga<sup>†</sup> <sup>3</sup>qa:ti:tatlu <sup>2</sup>baga yan<sup>†</sup>/  
 'Really, are there only three?'

The intonation pattern for confirmation questions in Manila Tagalog is /2<sup>†</sup>/ + /2<sup>†</sup>/, as in: /<sup>2</sup>sya nga: ba<sup>†</sup> <sup>2</sup>patay na nga: ba si ...<sup>†</sup>/

### 2.6.2.3. Exclamations Expressing Negative Attitude

Whether the speaker is expressing surprise, irritation, disappointment or the like, the utterance is greatly affected by the feelings at the moment of speaking. The pattern may display lower pitch allophones in the speech of males. A usual complaint about the weather is heard thus

BM /341/ /<sup>3</sup>qanunang<sup>4</sup> qi:nit<sup>1</sup>/  
 GBu /231/ /<sup>2</sup>pagka<sup>3</sup>qi:nit<sup>1</sup>/  
 ScT /33<sup>+</sup>/ or /23<sup>+</sup>/ /<sup>3</sup>makamaqi:nit<sup>†</sup>/ /<sup>2</sup>makama<sup>3</sup>qi:nit<sup>†</sup>/  
 'Too hot'

Aside from variations in pitch, emphasis is also noticed, during which a maximum loudness is maintained, not necessarily accompanied by a rise in pitch. In comparison, Manila Tagalog uses a /23<sup>†</sup>/ contour for this type of expression. Thus

ManT /23<sup>†</sup>/ /<sup>2</sup>qang<sup>3</sup>qi:nit<sup>†</sup>/  
 'How hot it is'

## 2.7. SUMMARY OF PHONOLOGICAL VARIATIONS

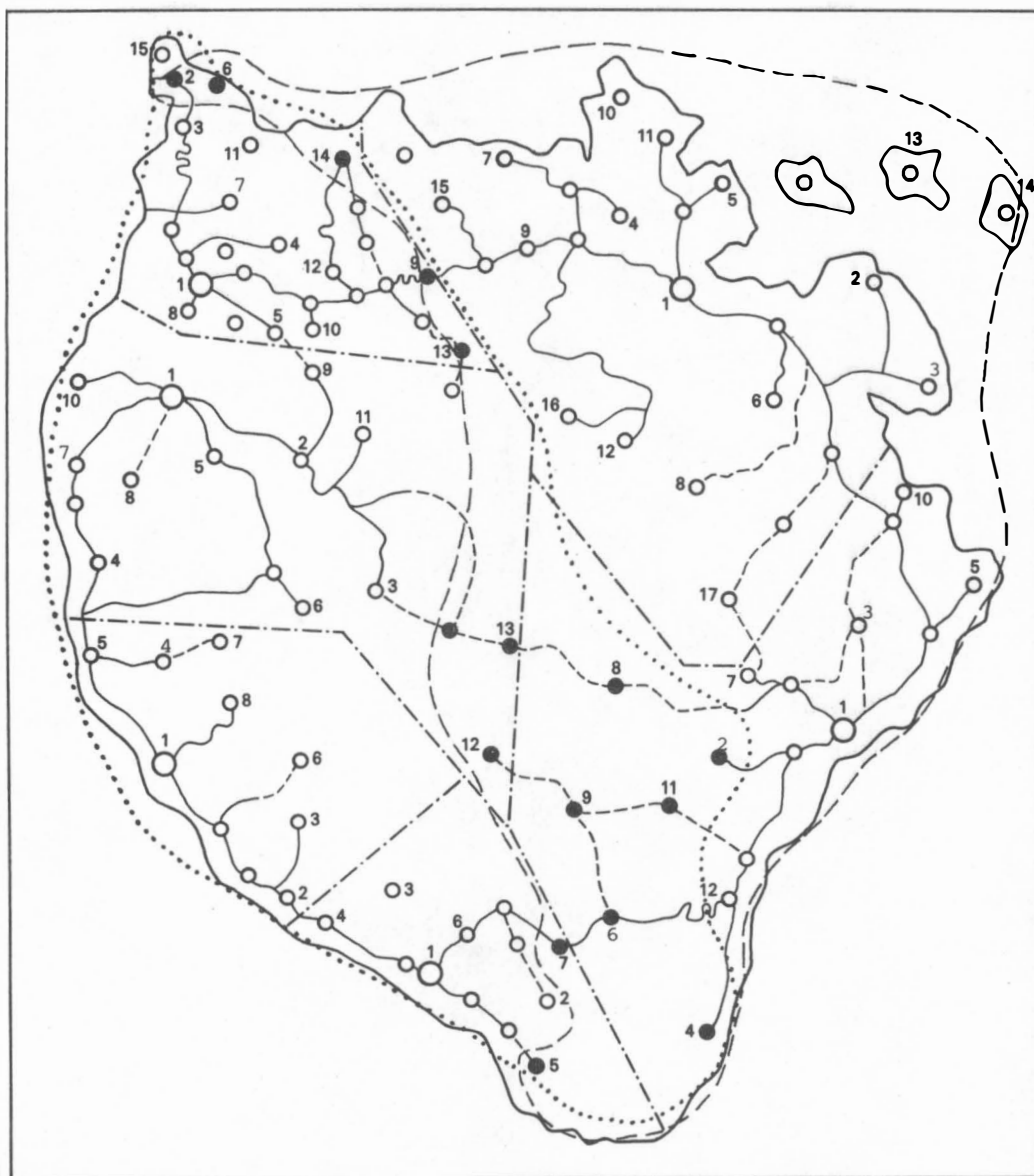
The dialect differences in Marinduque Tagalog phonology chiefly concern intonation contours and the glottal stop. The foregoing illustrative examples of intonation tend to delineate two major dialects of Marinduque Tagalog: the Eastern and the Western dialects. In the Western dialect, Boac and Mogpog differ slightly from Gasan and Buenavista on the south-western coastal area, by having a greater incidence of sharp rise in pitch before a partial fall. This characteristic of Boac and Mogpog has been repeatedly noticed in both young and old speakers. It is sometimes mimicked by ScT and GBu native speakers.

The Eastern Marinduque dialect has a melodic pattern or glide, which is absent in the Western Marinduque dialect.

With respect to the glottal stop, the Western dialect retains it in non-phrase-final position but the Eastern dialect replaces it by vowel lengthening, just as Manila Tagalog does.

Finally, Western Marinduque has a seventh diphthong, /iy/, which does not occur in the Eastern Marinduque dialect or in Manila Tagalog.

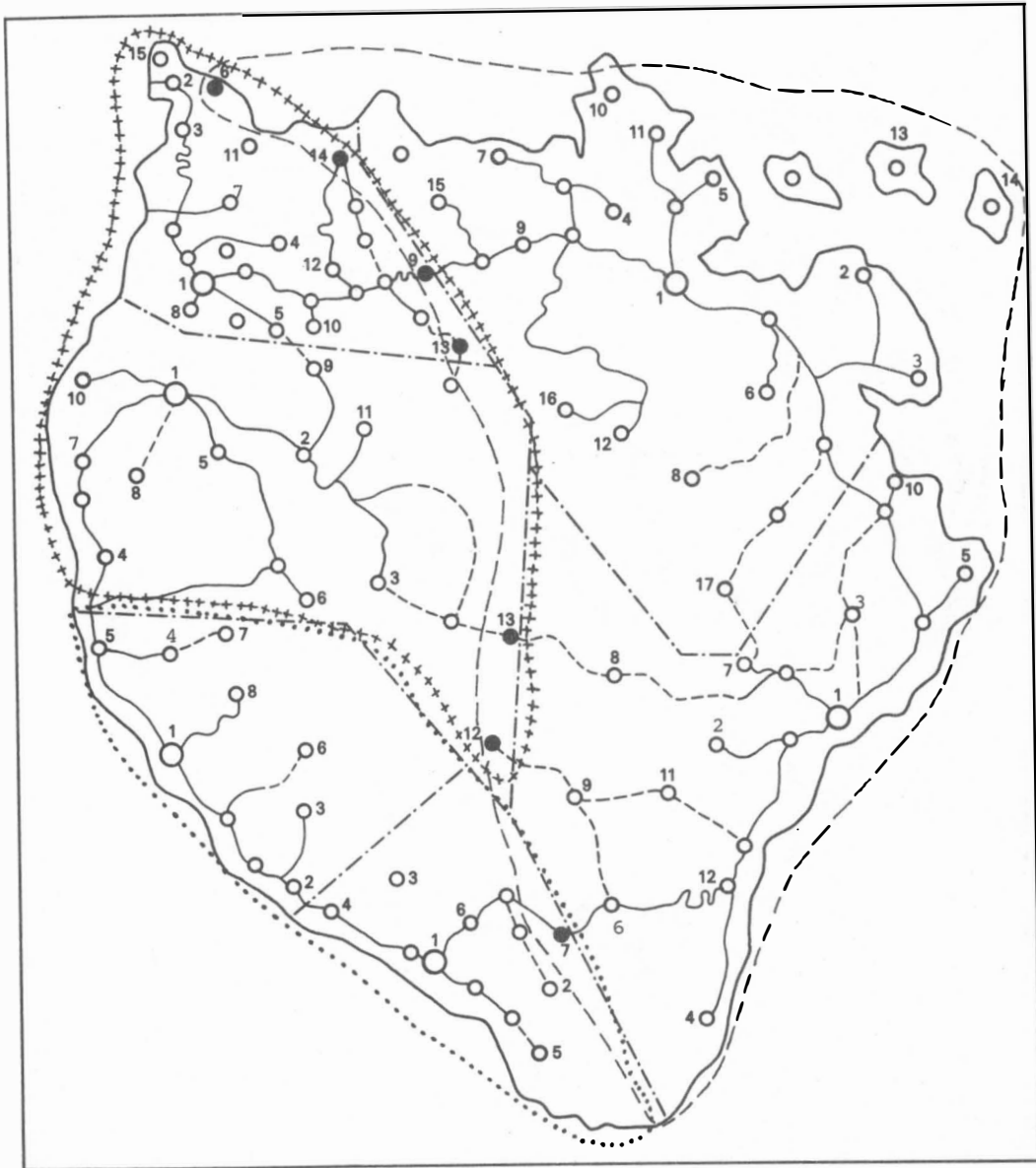
The situation presented by the phonological variations is shown in the form of dialect maps on pages 45 through 49.



MAP 2.1: COMPENSATORY VOWEL LENGTH

- ..... retention of non-final glottal stop
- vowel length replacing non-final glottal stop
- Both forms

(cf. Section 2.5.)

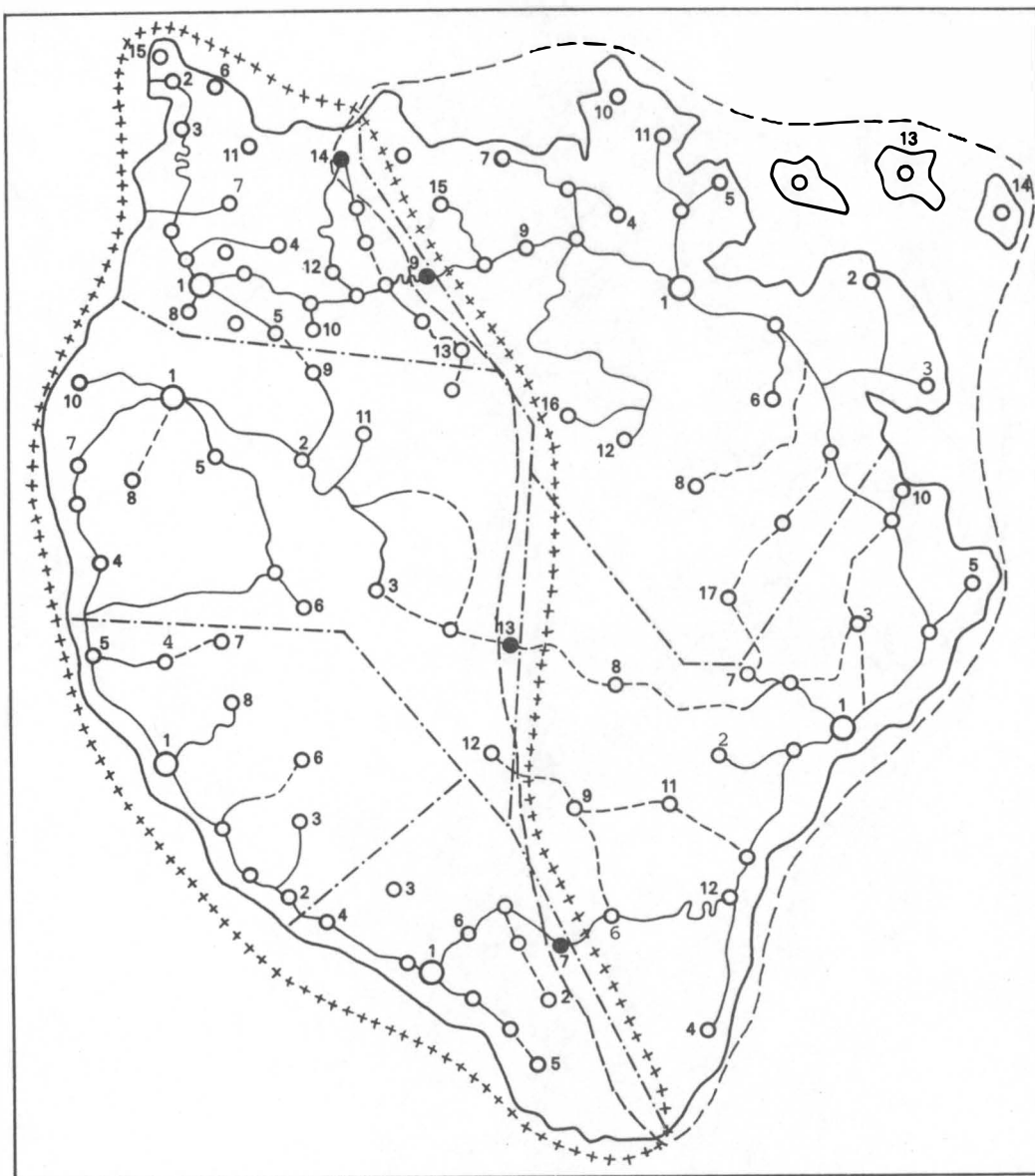


MAP 2.2: INTONATION: YES-OR-NO QUESTIONS

----- /32+/  
 ++++++ /24|/  
 ..... /32|/

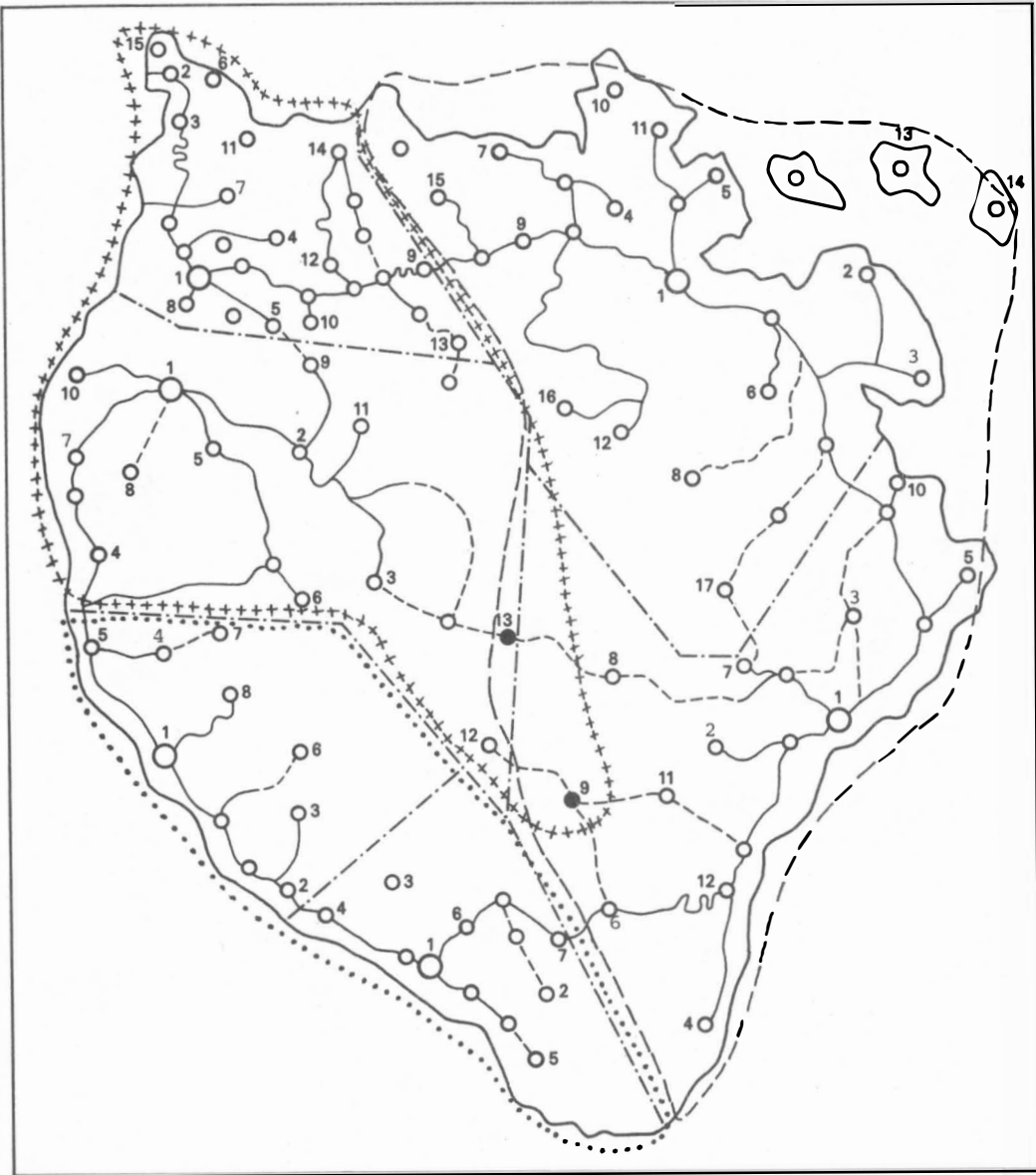
● Both forms

(cf. Section 2.6.2.1.)



MAP 2.3: INTONATION: CONFIRMATION QUESTIONS

- ++++ /3|/  
 --- /3+| + /32+/  
 ● Both patterns  
 (cf. Section 2.6.2.2.)



MAP 2.4: EXCLAMATION OF NEGATIVE ATTITUDE

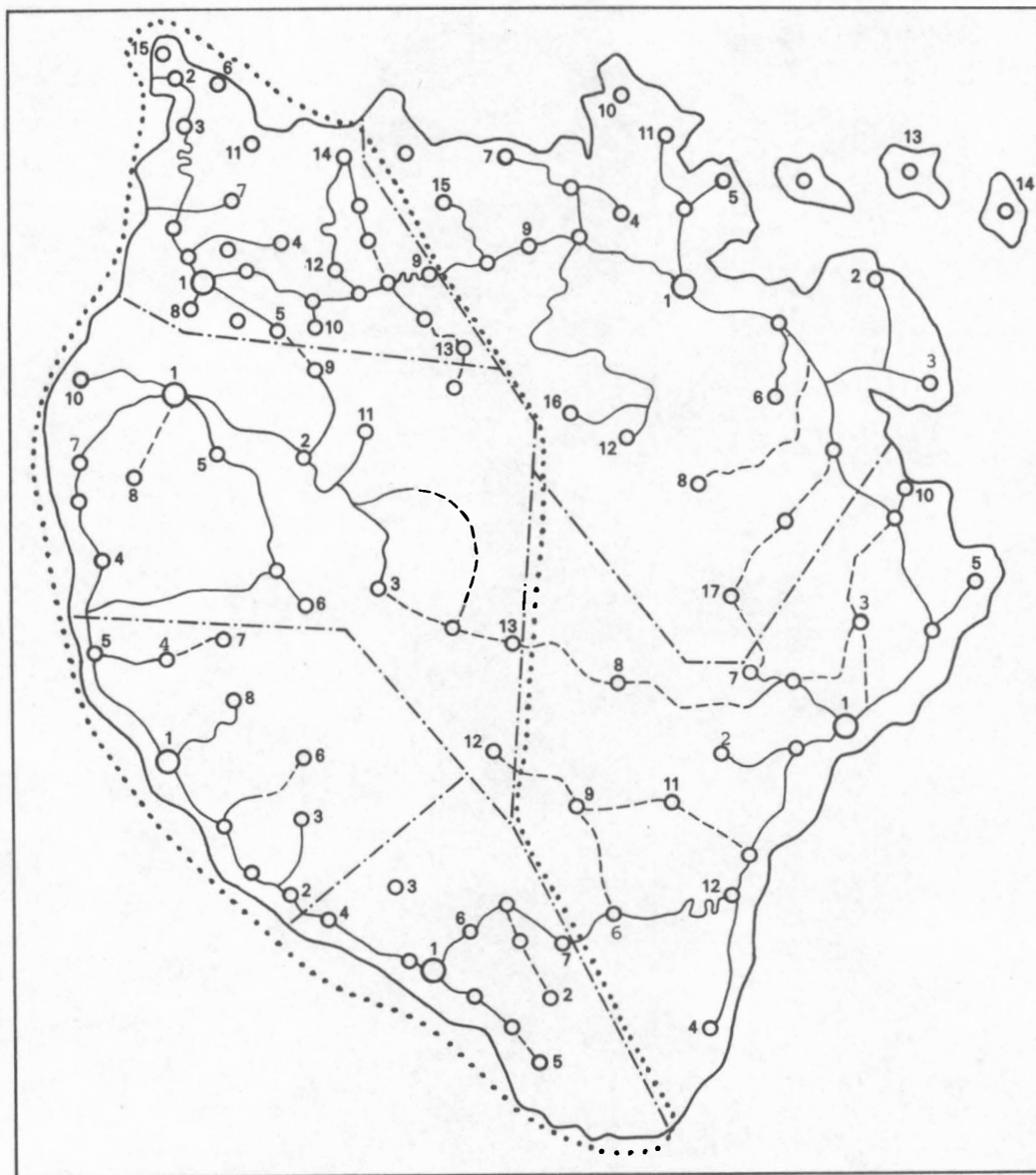
+++++ /34| ~ /23|/

..... /23|/

--- /33+| ~ /23+|/

● Both patterns

(cf. Section 2.6.2.3.)



MAP 2.5: THE DIPHTHONG /iy/ IN THE WESTERN MARINDUQUE DIALECT AREA

..... /iy/  
 (cf. Section 2.1.4.)



CHAPTER III

MORPHOLOGY

3.0. A number of morphological structures characteristic of Marinduque Tagalog account for its seeming unintelligibility to speakers of other Tagalog dialects. This chapter identifies the most distinctive of these structures, involving nominal and pronominal markers, derivational affixes and aspectual formations. Dialectal variations are indicated on maps. Examples of these variations are given in phonemic notation, excluding the slant lines. They are further identified by place-name abbreviations of dialect areas where they occur. Likewise, corresponding Manila Tagalog (ManT) forms are also given if they are different.

3.1. NOMINAL MARKERS

Nominals are either non-personal or personal and may be marked by any one of three corresponding case markers. The non-personal case markers are *qang*, *nang*, *sa* which are pluralised by adding the plural indicator *manga*. The respective personal counterparts of these nominal markers are the singular forms *si*, *ni*, *kay* and their plurals *sina/da*, *nina/da*, *kayna/kanda*.

CHART 6  
Nominal Markers

Non-Personal		Personal	
singular	plural	singular	plural
<i>qang</i>	<i>qang manga</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>sina; da (EM)</i>
<i>nang</i>	<i>nang manga</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>nina; da (EM)</i>
<i>sa</i>	<i>sa manga</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>kayna (WM); kanda (EM); kina (ManT)</i>

Chart 6 shows two different forms for the personal plural nominal markers. While Western Marinduque, comprising the towns and barrios of Gasan, Buenavista, Boac and Mogpog, uses *sina*, *nina*, *kayna*, Eastern Marinduque, which coincides with the upland towns and barrios of Santa Cruz and Torrijos, uses *da* and *kanda*. These two dialectal areas are referred to as WM and EM, respectively. Map 3.1 shows the areas being distinguished by the forms of personal plural nominals used.

In the whole island province, terms of address for family members are always treated as personal nouns, e.g. *si na:nay* 'mother', *si ku:ya* 'older brother', *si lo:lo* 'grandfather'. In Manila, they can be personal or non-personal nouns, e.g. *si na:nay ~ qang na:nay* 'mother'.

### 3.2. NOMINAL SUBSTITUTES

Nominals are replaced by corresponding non-personal and personal forms which fall into two types: the deictics and the personal pronouns.

#### 3.2.1. THE DEICTICS

Generally used as pointers, deictics are also known as demonstrative pronouns. The forms are given in Chart 7 according to case, distance from the speaker (Sp) and/or addressee (Ad), and number.

CHART 7  
The Deictics

Case	Near Sp-Ad 'this'	Near Sp 'this'	Near Ad 'that'	Far from Sp-Ad 'that yonder'
qang	qitu	qiri (WM)	yaqan (ManT qiyán)	yuqun (ManT qiyun)
	qiri (ManT)	qidi (G) qari (EM)		
nang	nitu	niri (WM)	nyaqan	nuqun
		nidi (G)	(ManT nyan)	
		nari (EM)		
sa	di:tu	di:ni	dyaqan	duqun
	di:ni (ManT)		dyan (ManT)	
The comparative deictics may be added, and they are:				
	ganitu	ganiri	ganyan	ganqun
	ganiri (ManT)	ganidi (G) ganari (EM)		gaqun (EM) ganuqun (ManT)



In some inland barrios of Gasan, particularly Tiguion, Tapuyan and Tablonan, some speakers have retained the /d/; others occasionally use /r/ after a vowel. Map 3.2 shows these places.

EM uses *qari* 'this, near speaker' and an alternant *gaqun* 'like that yonder'. Map 3.3 reveals the extent of their usage.

In Marinduque Tagalog, *yaqan* and *yuqun* are often shortened to *yan* and *yun*, respectively.

The use of the deictics is further illustrated in the following sentences, touching on various situations and noting the areas of their occurrence.

Sc *qaqanhin ku qaring gu:lay*  
*'What shall I do with the vegetables here (near me)?'* (The one asked is in the dining place a few steps away.)

Sc *ma:ku:haq pa qaku nang ganari*  
*'I'll get more like these'*

G *dalha di:ni yung posporo*  
*'Bring the match here'*  
*pakasakit niding bagqang ku*  
*'This molar of mine is terribly painful'*

*ganiri laqang qang liqit mu nun qay*  
*'You were only this small then'* (The speaker gestures to the addressee at the opposite side of the table.)

Bu *dalha di:tu yung manga ba:taq bu:kas*  
*'Bring those children here tomorrow'*  
*qakaganqun laqang qang napagiukaran ta*  
*'We got only that much (money) from our copra-making'*

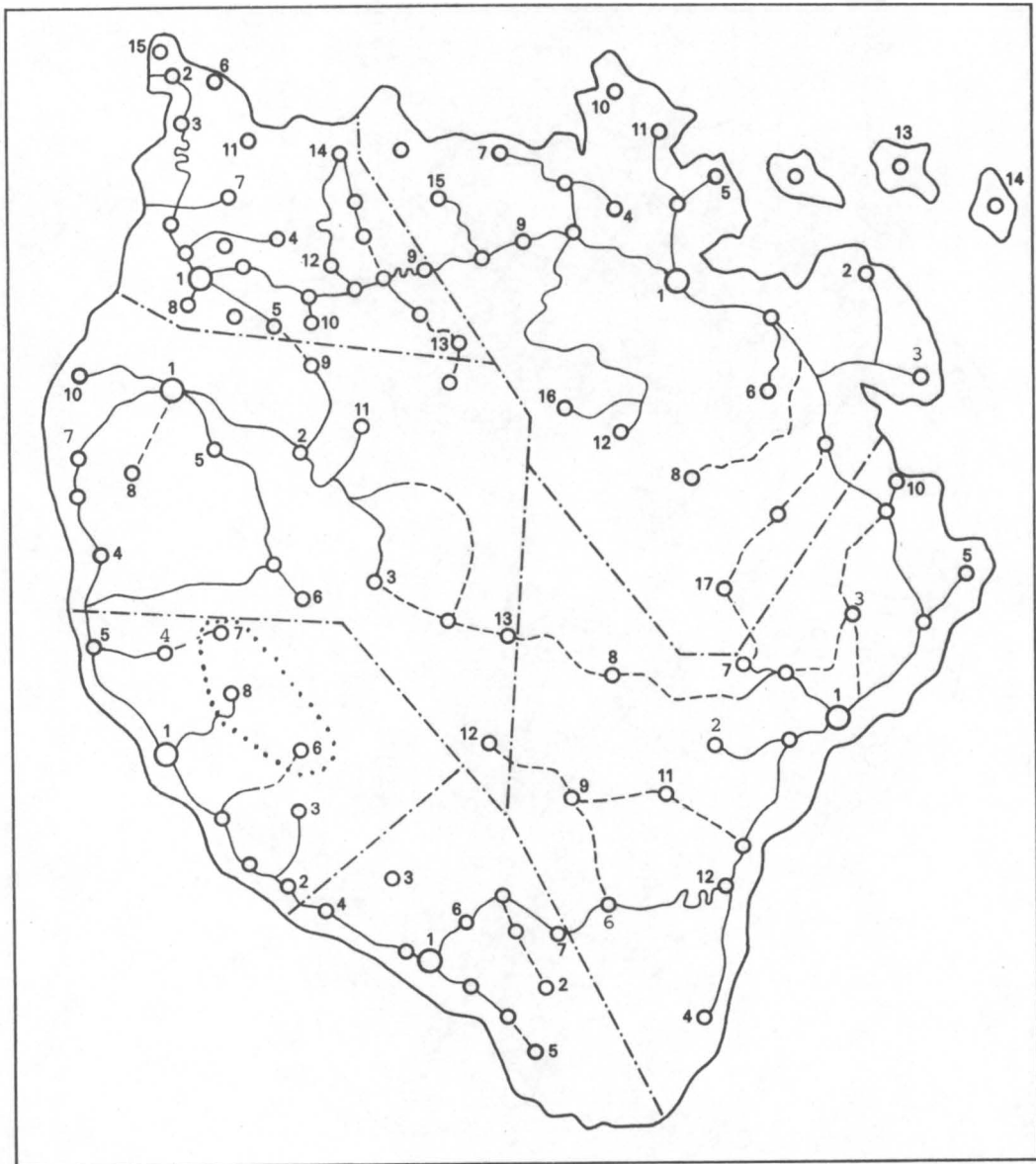
M *nakaki:ta na kami nang ganqun*  
*'We have seen one like that'*

B *ganitu qang dinala ku*  
*'I brought one like this'*

*sa:bi niri qay*  
*'This one says so'*

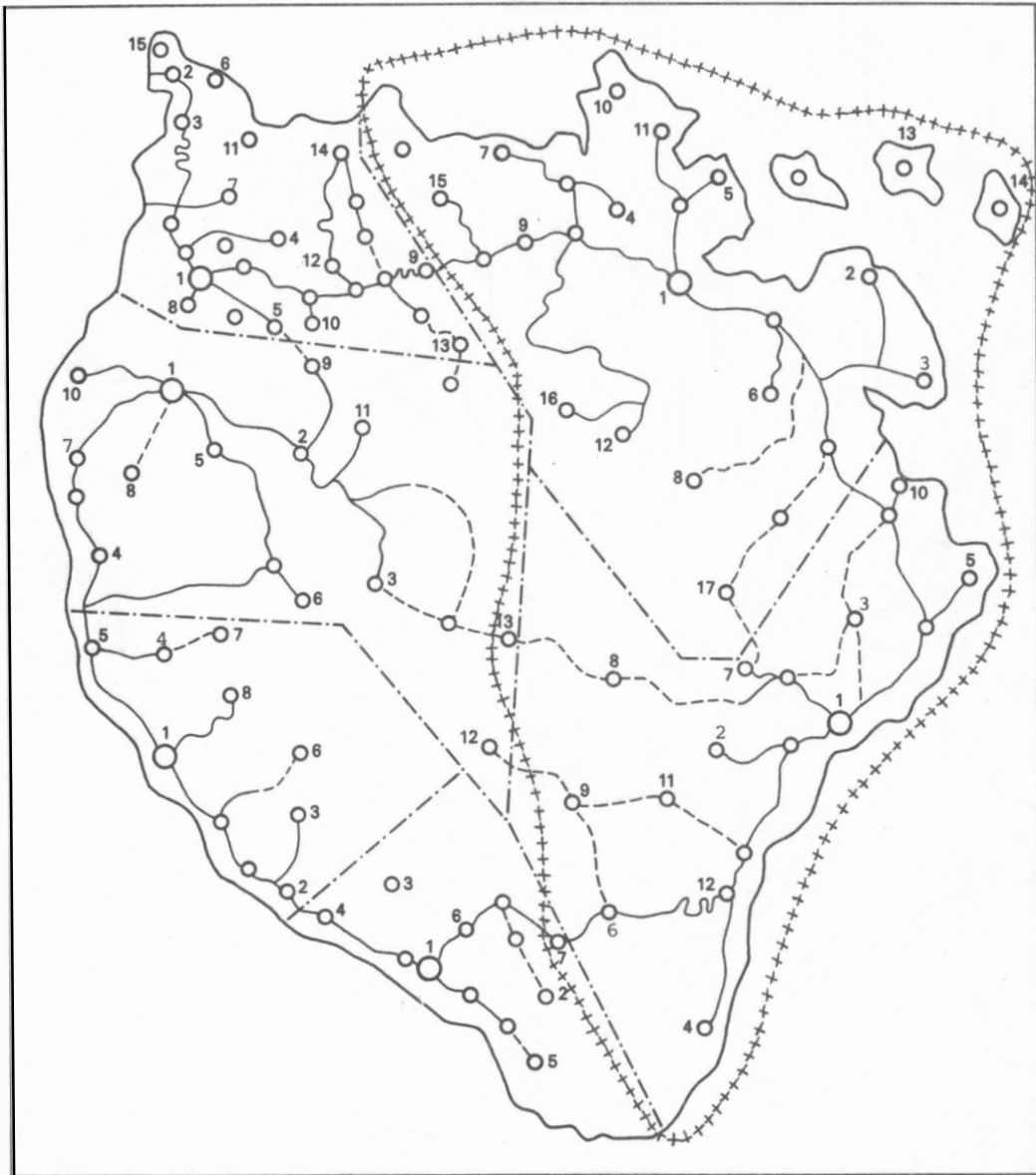
*qaqanhing ku qiring gulayin*  
*'What shall I do with these vegetables?'*

The native speakers differentiate the Near Sp-Ad deictics from the Near Sp forms and the older speakers seem to be more careful in making the distinction between the two forms.



MAP 3.2: RETENTION OF /d/

.... qidi 'this, near speaker'  
 (cf. Section 3.2.1.)



MAP 3.3: PLACES WHERE qari '*this, Near Sp*'  
AND gaqun '*like that*' ARE USED +++++

(cf. Section 3.2.1.)

## 3.2.2. THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The personal nominal substitutes are here also grouped according to person, case, number and position.

CHART 8  
The Personal Pronouns

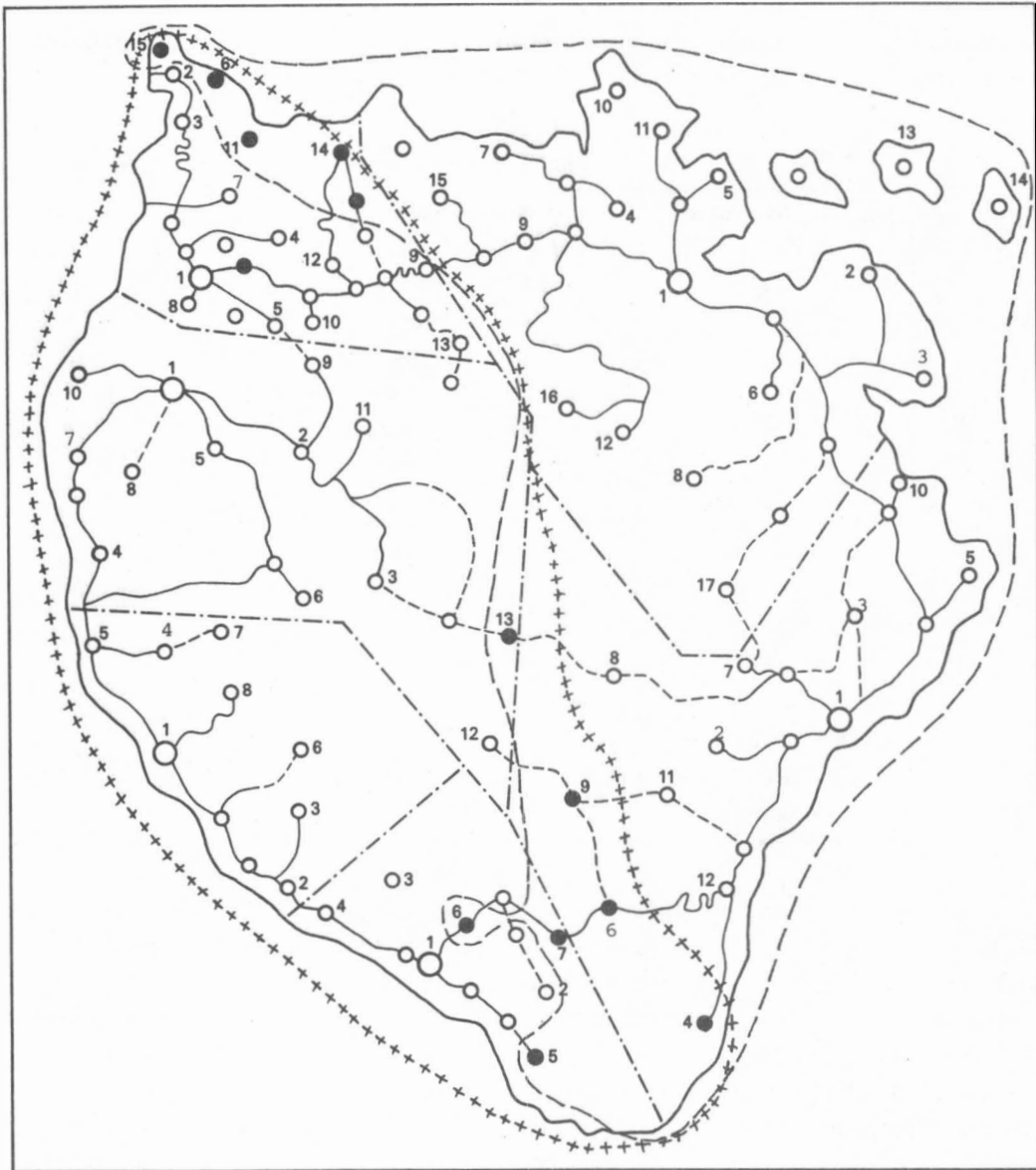
Case	Singular	Dual/Plural
1st Person		
qang	qaku	kita; ta:yu (inclusive) kami (exclusive)
nang	ku (enclitic)	ta; na:tin (inclusive) na:min (exclusive)
sa	qa:kin	qa:tin (inclusive) qa:min (exclusive)
2nd Person		
qang	qikaw ka (enclitic)	kayu; kamu (EM)
nang	mu (enclitic)	ninyu
sa	qi:yu	qinyu
3rd Person		
qang	sya	sila
nang	nya (enclitic)	nila
sa	kanya	kanila

The first person inclusive ta:yu and na:tin are not as prevalent and widespread as kita and ta, respectively. They are used in formal and official communications, and in speaking with non-Marinduqueños. The forms may have been later adoptions from Manila Tagalog or other neighbouring Tagalog areas (Quezon, Batangas, Laguna, Rizal and Cavite).

The second person plural kamu is a retention in the Eastern dialect, in the northern coastal barrios of Mogpog (Guisian, Silangan, Argao, Sayao and Tarug), and at the central boundaries of Boac and Buenavista where a few pockets of Bisayan settlements and old migrants from Eastern Marinduque are located (see Map 3.4). The original form kamu also appears in Bikol, Cebuano, Hiligaynon and other Bisayan languages. kayu is the regular form in Western Marinduque.

qikaw is used also with honorifics like puq. Actual speech, such as the following, identify the two major dialects in the island:

EM saqang kamu maparqun  
WM saqang kayu maparqun      *'Where are you (pl.) going?'*



MAP 3.4: 'you (plural)'

--- kamo

+ + + + + kayo

● Both forms

(cf. Section 3.2.2.)

The pronoun *kita* refers to the first person plural-inclusive *qang* case; *ta*, to the first person plural-inclusive *nang* case, as well as to the dual pronoun 'I' as actor and 'you' as object. Examples differentiating the two are:

- MT *ma:qa:ga kita bu:kas*  
*'We shall go early tomorrow'*
- qa:parqu:nan ta si tandang tere:sa*  
*'We shall go to Tandang Teresa'*
- qa:tawa:gin ta pagma:ga*  
*'I'll call you in the morning'*

### 3.2.3. THE LOCATIVES

The structure of the locatives parallels that of the deictics. These locatives are: *na:qitu* '*here, Near Sp-Ad*'; *na:qiri* (WM), *naqidi* (G), *na:qari* (EM) '*here, Near Sp*'; *nayan*, *naryan* '*there, Near Ad*' and *nayun*, *naruqun* '*there, Far from Sp-Ad*' (cf. ManT *na:ritu*, *na:rini*, *na:ryan/nandyan*, *na:ruqun/na:ndun*, respectively). *naqidi* is heard in the inland barrios of Gasan (see Map 3.5). The Eastern locatives are often heard with vowel lengthening on *na:-*, i.e. *na:qari*, *na:yan*, *na:yun*.

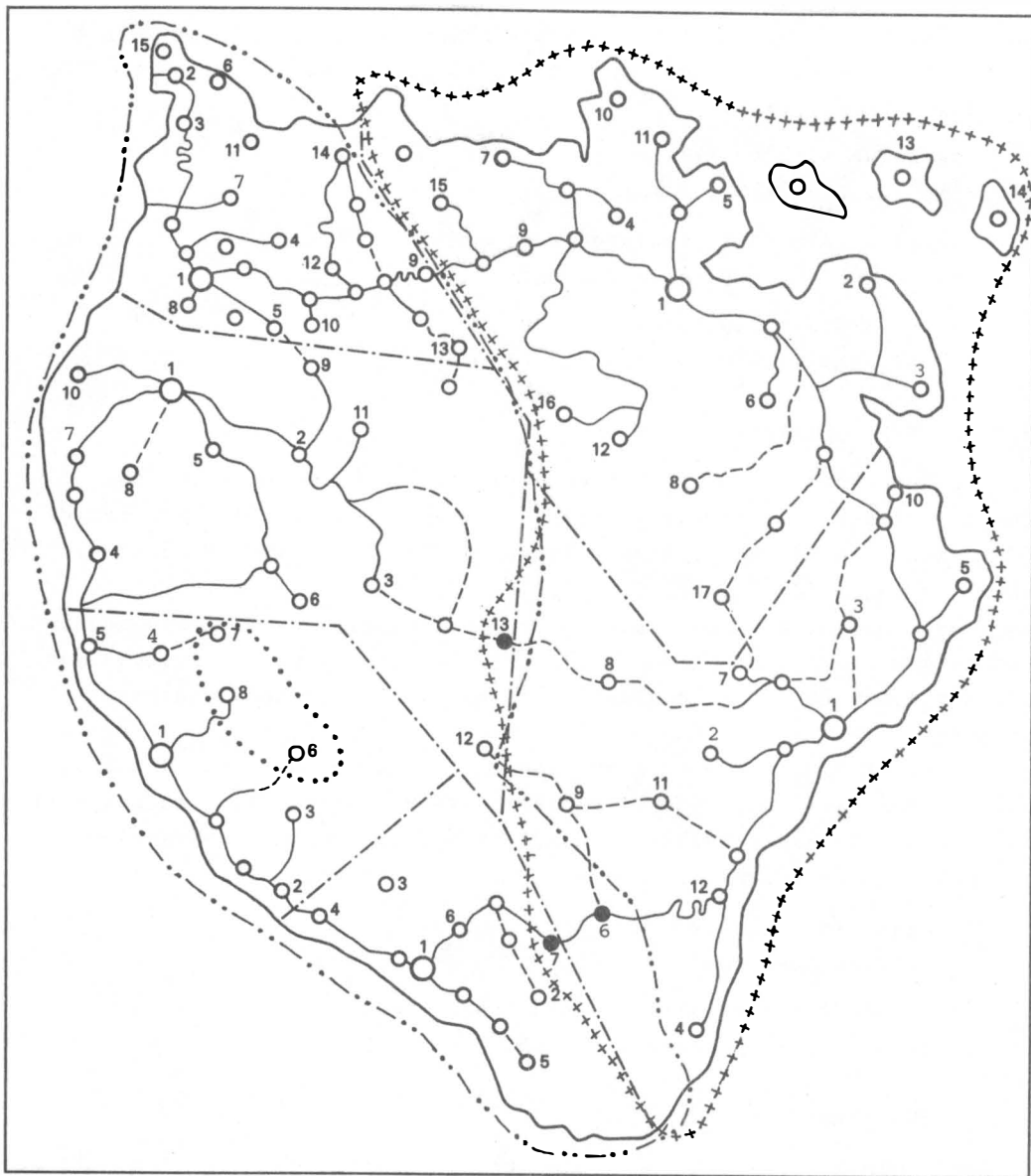
Eastern Marinduque has plural-subject forms for *na:qitu*, *na:qari*, *na:ryan* and *na:ruqun*. They are respectively, *nangqi:qitu*, *nangqa:qari*, *nanri:ryan* and *nanru:ruqun*. Western Marinduque and Manila Tagalog do not have equivalent plural forms for the locatives.

- EM *nangqi:qitu na sila*  
*'They are here now'*
- nangqaqari pu: sa si:lung qang manga manuk*  
*'The chickens are here under the house'*

### 3.3. NEGATIVES

As in Manila Tagalog, the island speech has three types of negatives: predicative, negative existential and prohibitive. The predicative, negative negates the meaning of any statement. This has two allomorphs: the Western form *hindiq* '*not*' and the Eastern term *qindiq*. The former bears an initial glottal fricative, the latter, an initial glottal stop. Examples are:

- WM *hindiq pa ma:quian*  
 EM *qindi: pa ma:quian* *'It won't rain yet'*



MAP 3.5: 'here'

--- naqiri

+ + + + + na:qari

..... naqidi

(cf. Section 3.2.3.)

The negative existential *walaq* also has two allomorphs: *walaq* is identified with the Western speech, whereas *qulaq* is distinctively Eastern.

WM *walaq kaming kasa:ma*  
*'We have no companion'*

EM *qula: pang bali:taq*  
*'There is no news yet'*

The third type of negative, *hwag* ~ *wag*, denotes prohibition.

MT *wag ka mu:nang ma:qalis*  
*'Don't leave yet'*

WM *hwag kang magatagal duqun*  
*'Don't stay there long'*

EM *wag kang maga:salita:qin kung namumuqa:lang ka*  
*'Don't talk when your mouth is full'*

### 3.4. VERBAL AFFIXES

The data for this study yielded about fifteen verbal affixes shared by all the speech areas. These affixes bear exact resemblances with affixes found in Manila Tagalog in terms of form, function and distribution. They can be divided into two: Actor-Topic affixes, since the majority of them have the performer of action as topic of the sentence, and the Goal-Topic affixes, or those which select the goal or receiver-of-action as topic of the sentence. Included in the Actor-Topic affixes are the Actor Focus (AF) prefixes, while in the Goal-Topic affixes are those which focus on the direct object (OF), location (LF), or direction (DF) of action, beneficiary (BF) and the instrument used to perform the action (IF). A generalised description of each affix is given, followed by examples:

#### 3.4.1. ACTOR-TOPIC AFFIXES

3.4.1.1. *mag-* intransitive or transitive verbs may denote intentional or deliberate action. Examples are: *magdala* 'bring', *magtinda* 'sell' and *magbigay* 'give'.

3.4.1.2. *-um-* intransitive or transitive verbs may denote casual or intentional action. Many bases take *-um-* for intransitive actions and *mag-* when an object is involved:

<i>tumindig</i>	<i>'to stand'</i>	<i>magtindig</i>	<i>'to build, put up'</i>
<i>humandaq</i>	<i>'be prepared'</i>	<i>maghandaq</i>	<i>'prepare something'</i>

3.4.1.3. The mang- verbal affix indicates plural, repeated, habitual or durative action. Many -um- and mag- verbs have derived mang- forms:

-um-/mag-	mang-
kumu:ha(q) 'get'	mangu:ha(q) 'gather'
magkuiut 'curl hair'	mangulut 'curl hair (as a job)'
humingiq 'ask for'	manghingiq 'to solicit'
bumaril 'to shoot'	mamaril 'to go hunting'

3.4.1.4. The ma- verbal prefix denotes state or condition; some verbs convey deliberate action.

making 'listen'	matu:tu 'learn'
mata:kut 'to fear'	mawalaq 'to be lost'

3.4.1.5. maka- denotes action coming about in the course of circumstances; may be involuntary or abilitative.

makaqa:iam 'to have knowledge of'
makadamdam 'to happen to feel'

3.4.1.6. maki- connotes social or participational action; may express a request, have -um-, mag- and mang- underlying forms.

Underlying Form	maki-
-um-	makisabay 'go at the same time with'
mag-	makipaglaruq 'play with'
mang-	makipamitas 'to join in picking'

3.4.1.7. mag-...-an. This affix combination denotes reciprocal or concerted action.

Reciprocal Action	Concerted Action
magmaha:ian 'love one another'	magtakbu:han 'run together'
magtulungan 'help one another'	magdati:ngan 'arrive as a group'

### 3.4.2. GOAL-TOPIC AFFIXES

3.4.2.1. -in denotes action which may directly affect or bring about a change in the condition, state or structure of the object of the action.

kaqi:nin 'eat'	guya:min 'be infested with ants'
----------------	----------------------------------

3.4.2.2. -an denotes action done to, towards or from a goal.

buksan 'to open' (GF)	lagyan 'to put' (LF)
parqunan 'to go to' (DF)	bawa:san 'subtract from' (LF)

Examples of -an verbs in sentences are:

qabutan mu qaku nang kustal  
'Hand me a sack' (DF)

sinula:tan ku sila  
'I wrote to them' (DF)

qa:buksan mu yung pintug  
'You will open the door' (GF)

qinatali:qan nya qang kustal  
'He is tying the sack' (GF)

3.4.2.3. ka-...-an is the locative focus or directional focus affix corresponding to ma- and a few maka- actor focus verbs.

ma-/maka-	ka-...-an
maga:lit 'be angry'	kagali:tan 'to be angry with' (DF)
mata:kut 'to fear'	kataku:tan 'to fear something' (DF)
makarinig 'to hear'	karinggan 'to hear at/from' (LF)

3.4.2.4. A few ma- verbs take pa-...-an instead of ka-...-an.

making 'listen' (AF)	pakinggan 'listen' (DF)
makiqalam 'meddle' (AF)	pakiqalman 'meddle with' (OF)

3.4.2.5. pag-...-an corresponds to mag-; may be object focus, locative/directional focus, or referential focus.

mag-	pag-...-an
magqu:sap 'converse'	pagqusa:pan 'talk about something' (RF)
magqa:ral 'study'	pagqara:lan 'study something' (OF)
maglagay 'put'	paglagyan 'put' (LF)

3.4.2.6. pang-...-an uses bases commonly affixed by mang-.

maniwa:laq 'believe'	paniwala:qan 'believe' (DF)
mangu:ha(q) 'gather'	pangu:nan 'gather from' (LF)
manga:kuq 'promise'	pangaku:qan 'promise' (DF)

3.4.2.7. ma- goal topic verbs occur as the circumstantial or abilitative form of -in and the object focus counterpart of maka-.

-in/maka-	ma-
ginawaq/nakagawaq 'made'	nagawaq 'able/happen to make'
binili/nakabili 'bought'	nabili 'happened/able to buy'
tawa:gin/makata:wag 'call'	mata:wag 'to be able to call'

3.4.2.8. qi- verbs generally denote motion or change of position of the goal of action. Some qi- forms focus on the direct object; others, on the beneficiary or instrument. Many qi- direct object-focus verbs correspond to mag-.

mag-	qi- (OF)
maghu:lug 'drop'	qihu:lug 'drop'
magtinda 'sell'	qitinda 'sell'
maglagay 'put'	qilagay 'put'

3.4.2.8.1. The actor-focus affixes correspond to the qi- beneficiary/instrument focus forms:

-um-	bumili 'buy'	qibili 'buy for/with'
mag-	maglu:tuq 'cook'	qipaglu:tuq 'cook for/with'
mang-	manghu:li 'catch'	qipanghu:li 'catch for/with'

3.4.2.8.2. qi- also combines with ka- to denote causative action of ma- stative or circumstantial verbs.

ma-	qika-
maga:lit 'to be angry'	qikaga:lit 'cause anger'
mabu:hay 'to live'	qikabu:hay 'cause survival'

3.4.2.8.3. qi- has a circumstantial form maqi-, a few examples of which are:

maqilagay 'to put' (OF)
maqibili 'to buy for/with' (BF/IF)
maqipaglu:tuq 'to cook for/with' (BF/IF)
maqipanghu:li 'to catch for/with' (BF/IF)

### 3.4.3. DISTINCTIVE VERBAL AFFIXES

A number of affixes involving pluralised verb forms in Marinduque Tagalog are divergent from Manila Tagalog and between Marinduque Tagalog dialects.

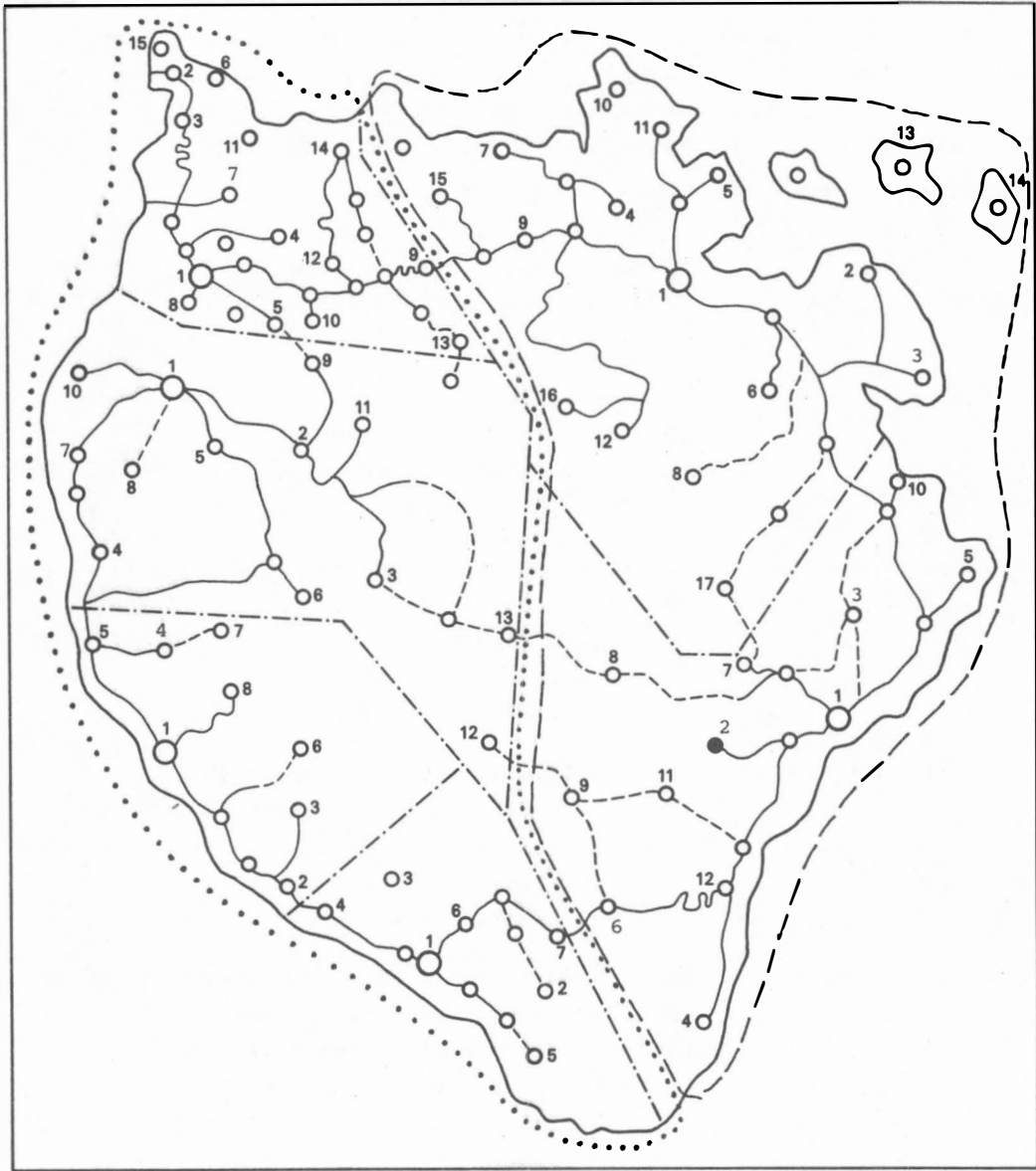
## 3.4.3.1. Plural-Actor or Subject

In Eastern Marinduque, mang- indicates plural-actor of -um- intransitive and transitive verbs; in the Western Marinduque dialect, as in Manila Tagalog, mag-...-an conveys the same meaning (see Map 3.6). Manila Tagalog also has magsi-.

dating 'arrive'	EM	manda:dating na sila
	WM	magadati:ngan na sila
	ManT	magda:da:ti:ngan na sila magsisidating na sila 'They will be arriving soon'
tu:lug 'sleep'	EM	nantu:lug sila sa labas
	WM	nagtulugan sila sa labas
	ManT	nagsitu:lug sila sa labas 'They slept outside'
ta:wa 'laugh'	EM	ba:kit nantata:wa kamu
	WM	ba:kit nagatawanan kayu
	ManT	ba:kit kayu nagta:tawanan ba:kit kayu nagsisita:wa 'Why are you laughing?'
ka:qin 'eat'	EM	nangka:qin kami nang kayami:tu
	WM	nagkaqinan kami nang kayami:tu
	ManT	nagka:qi:nan kami nang kayami:tu nagsika:qin kami nang kayami:tu 'We ate star apples'
ku:ha(q) 'get'	EM	nangku:haq sila nang kanyakanya
	WM	nagkuhaqan sila nang kanyakanya
	ManT	nagku:ha:nan sila nang kanikaniya nagsiku:ha sila nang kanikaniya 'They each got his/her own'

When Eastern Marinduque mang- plural-actor is prefixed to bases having initial stops, these stops do not undergo morphophonemic changes. This is not the case with mang- plural-action in which the initial stops are normally deleted. The following are sentences suggesting contrast between the two pluralising affixes:

/b/ = /Ø/	nambili kami nang kayami:tu 'We bought star apples'
	namili qaku/kami nang kayami:tu 'I/we bought star apples'



MAP 3.6: PLURAL-ACTOR OF -um-

— mang-

..... mag-...-an

(cf. Section 3.4.3.1.)

/k/ = /Ø/ di:tu sila nangku:ku:haq nang qu:ling  
'They get charcoal here'

di:tu qaku nangunguhaq nang baya:bas  
'I pick guavas here'

/p/ = /Ø/ namparqun sila nang maqa:ga  
'They went there early'

nami:liq qaku nang magaganda  
'I chose the pretty ones'

#### 3.4.3.2. mangag- = Ø

To indicate plural-actor of mag- verbs, the Eastern dialect uses mangag- with certain bases where the Western dialect is likely to use also mag-...-an, the plural-actor form used for -um-. A few of these bases are meryenda 'snack', li:guq 'bathe', lu:tuq 'cook'. mangag- is also an obsolescent form in Manila Tagalog.

EM nangagmeryenda na kami  
'We have had our snacks'

nangangaghambu sila sa busay  
'They are bathing in the waterfalls'

nangaglu:tu: mu:na kami  
'We cooked first'

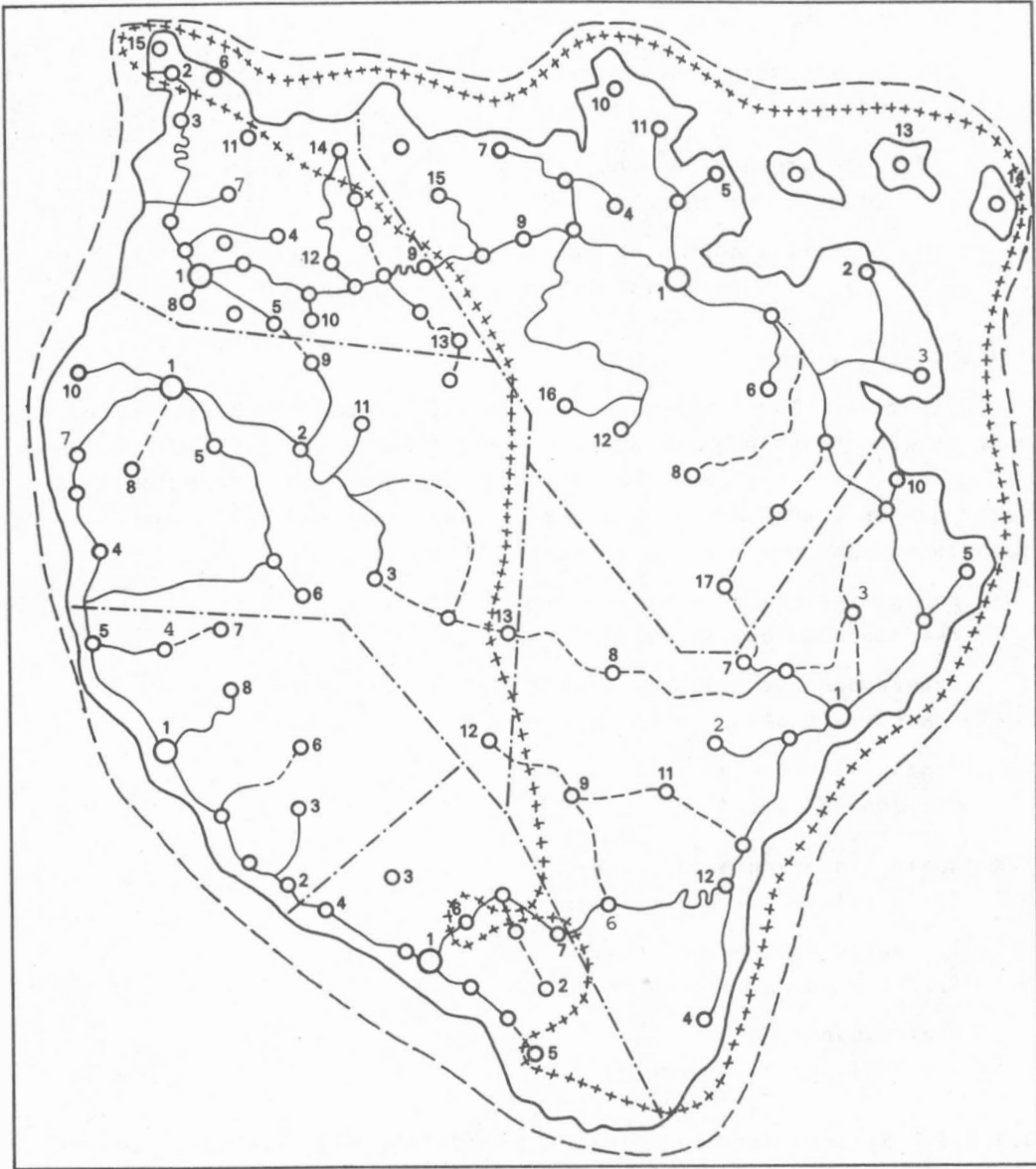
WM kamiy nagmeryenda:han qayq  
'It's because we had our snacks'

... ba:gu nagliguqan pa ...  
'... then we also went bathing ...'

naglutuqan mu:na kami  
'We (all) cooked first'

3.4.3.3. Eastern Marinduque has, in addition, mag-...-in-...-an reciprocal action, a combination which is widespread among Bisayan languages (see Map 3.7). Examples are:

pa:luq 'hit'	magpinaluqan 'hit each other'
qa:gaw 'grab'	magqinagawan 'grab something from each other'
qu:na 'first'	magqinunahan 'to race'
ta:guq 'hide'	magtinaguqan 'hide from one another'

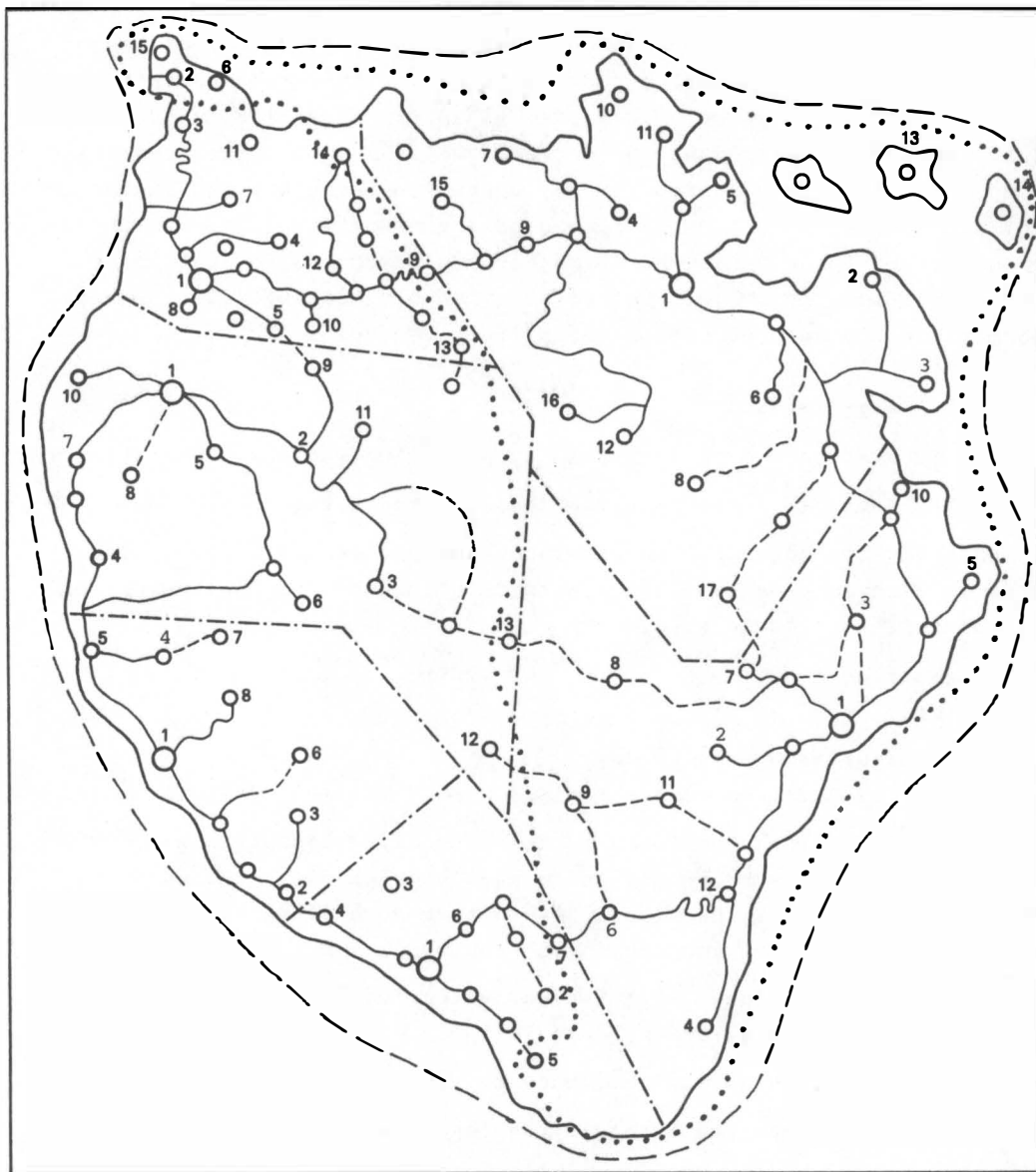


MAP 3.7: RECIPROCAL ACTION

+++++ mag-in-an

--- mag-...-an

(cf. Section 3.4.3.3.)



MAP 3.8: IMPERATIVE ASPECT OF mag-, mang-

— mag-, mang-

..... pag-, pang-

(cf. Sections 3.4.4.1. and 3.4.4.3.)

## 3.4.4. ASPECT FORMATIONS

Aspect is the characterisation of an event as begun or not begun, and if begun, as completed or not completed. The verbs are inflected for five kinds of action. They are; (1) prospective (PROS), or action contemplated or not begun, (2) perfective (PERF), or action begun and completed, (3) imperfective (IMPF), or action begun but continuing and not completed, (4) the basic form used as imperative (IMP) command or request, and (5) recent perfective, or action completed just prior to some specific time or just before the time of speaking. The aspect formations of the most common verbs are given below.

## 3.4.4.1. mag- Verbs.

The imperative aspect is formed by prefixing mag- to a verb base (B).

IMP > mag- +B > mag- +iu:tuq 'cook' > magiu:tuq 'cook'

Eastern Marinduque has an alternant imperative affix pag-, also used in Bisayan (see Map 3.8). When this is used, the second person singular pronoun is deleted.

pagiu:tuq  
'(You) cook'

pagiu:tu: kamu nang gu:lay  
'You (pl.) cook some vegetables'

In formal speech, the form of the prospective aspect is maga- +B. In less formal speech, the syllable ma- is deleted. In Eastern Marinduque, the affix carries a distinctive vowel length; in Western Marinduque, the vowel lengthening is absent (see Map 3.9).

EM PROS > (ma)ga:- +B > (ma)ga:iu:tuq 'will cook'

WM PROS > (ma)ga- +B > (ma)galu:tuq

The imperfective aspect is formed by prefixing naga- to the base.

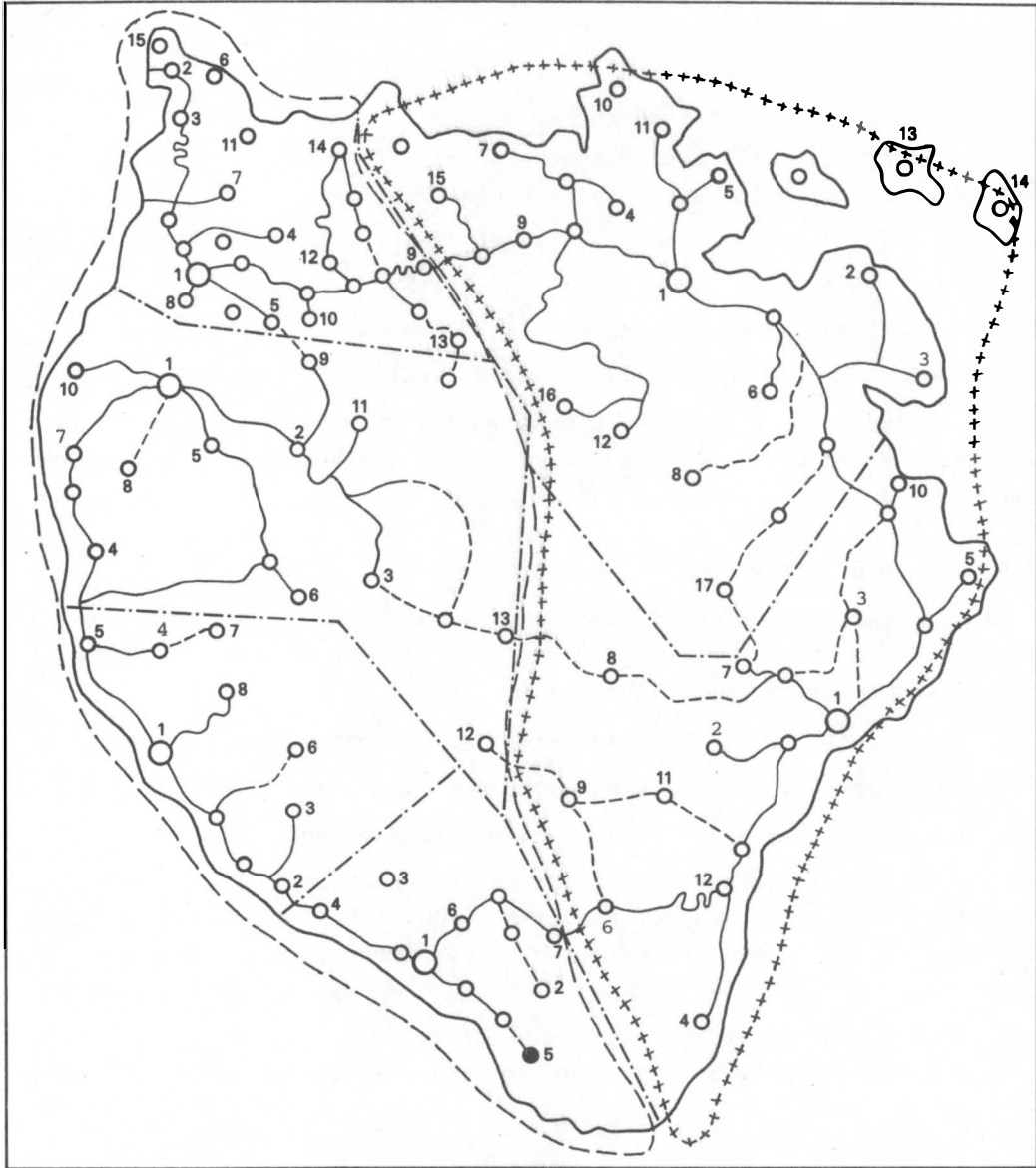
MT IMPF > naga- +B > nagalu:tuq 'cooking'

The perfective aspect is formed by adding nag- to the base.

MT PERF > nag- +B > nag- +iu:tuq > naglu:tuq 'cooked'

## 3.4.4.2. -um- Verbs

Like Manila Tagalog, EM and WM form the imperative and the perfective aspects by infixing -um- after the first consonant of the base.



MAP 3.9: PROSPECTIVE ASPECT OF mag- AND mang-

+++++ (ma)ga:-; (ma)ng- +  $C_1V_1$ :-

---- (ma)ga-; mang- +  $C_1V_1$ -

(cf. Section 3.4.4.3.)

IMP/PERF > -um- +B > -um- +tindig 'stand'  
 tumindig 'stand/stood'  
 tumindig ka 'You stand'  
 tumindig sya 'He stood up'

The imperative aspect is also expressed by the base alone. The second person singular actor is deleted.

tindig 'stand'      tindig kayu/kamu 'You (pl.) stand'

Unlike Manila Tagalog, however, the Marinduque Tagalog prospective aspect is formed by prefixing ma:- to the base.

PROS > ma:- +B > ma:- +tindig > ma:tindig 'will stand'

na:- added to the base gives the imperfective aspect, e.g., IMPF > na:- +B > na:- +tindig > na:tindig 'standing' MT dialects are in agreement with regard to the -um- inflection.

#### 3.4.4.3. mang- Verbs

In the formation of many mang- verbs, the affix undergoes assimilation to the initial consonant of the base, as has been shown in the phonological changes involving -ng in Chapter II.

IMP > mang- +B > mang- +ku:ha(q) 'get' > mangu:ha(q) 'gather'

Eastern Marinduque has again an alternant form, pang- (see Map 3.8).

pang- +B > pang- +ku:ha(q) > pangu:haq 'gather'

The prospective aspect distinguishes the Eastern from the Western speech by (1) lengthening of the first reduplicated vowel of the base ( $V_1$ ), and by (2) optional deletion of ma- with certain bases that would allow morphophonemic adjustments (see Map 3.9). To illustrate:

EM PROS > (ma)ng- + $C_1V_1$ : +B > ku:haq 'get'  
 (ma)ng- +ku: +ku:haq +B > mangu:ngu:haq > ngu:ngu:haq 'will gather'  
 hu:li 'catch'  
 mang- +hu: +hu:li > manghu:hu:li 'will catch'

ma- is not deletable with the base hu:li. Neither deletion of ma- nor lengthening of  $V_1$  occurs in the Western speech area, thus

WM PROS > mang- + $C_1V_1$  +B > mang- +ku +ku:ha > mangungu:ha;  
 mang- +hu +hu:li > manghuhu:li

The imperfective aspect is formed as follows:

EM IMPF > nang- + $C_1V_1$ : +B  
 nang- +ku: +ku:haq > nangku:ku:haq > nangu:ngu:haq 'gathering'  
 nang- +hu: +hu:li > nanghu:hu:li 'catching'

WM IMPF > nang- +ku +ku:ha > nangkuku:ha > nangungu:ha  
 nang- +hu +hu:li > nanghuhu:li

To form the perfective aspect, nang- is prefixed to the base both in WM and EM, thus

PERF > nang- +B > nang- +ku:ha > nangku:ha(q) > mangu:ha(q)  
 'gathered'

The distinctions in the mang- aspect forms are shown in Map 3.9.

#### 3.4.4.4. ma- Actor-Focus Verbs

IMP > ma- +B  
 ma- +kinig 'listen' > makinig 'listen'  
 ma- +ta:kut 'fear' > mata:kut 'fear, be afraid'  
 ma- +tu:tu 'learn' > matu:tu 'learn'

Eastern Marinduque optionally deletes ma- in the prospective aspect.

EM PROS > (ma)- +C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> +B tu:tu 'learn'  
 ma- +tu: +tu:tu > matu:tu:tu > tu:tu:tu 'will learn'

WM PROS > ma- +C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> +B  
 ma- +tu +tu:tu > matutu:tu 'will learn'

MT IMPF > na- +C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> +B  
 na- +tu +tu:tu > natutu:tu 'learning'

MT PERF > na- +B  
 na- +tu:tu > natu:tu 'learned'

#### 3.4.4.5. maka- Verbs

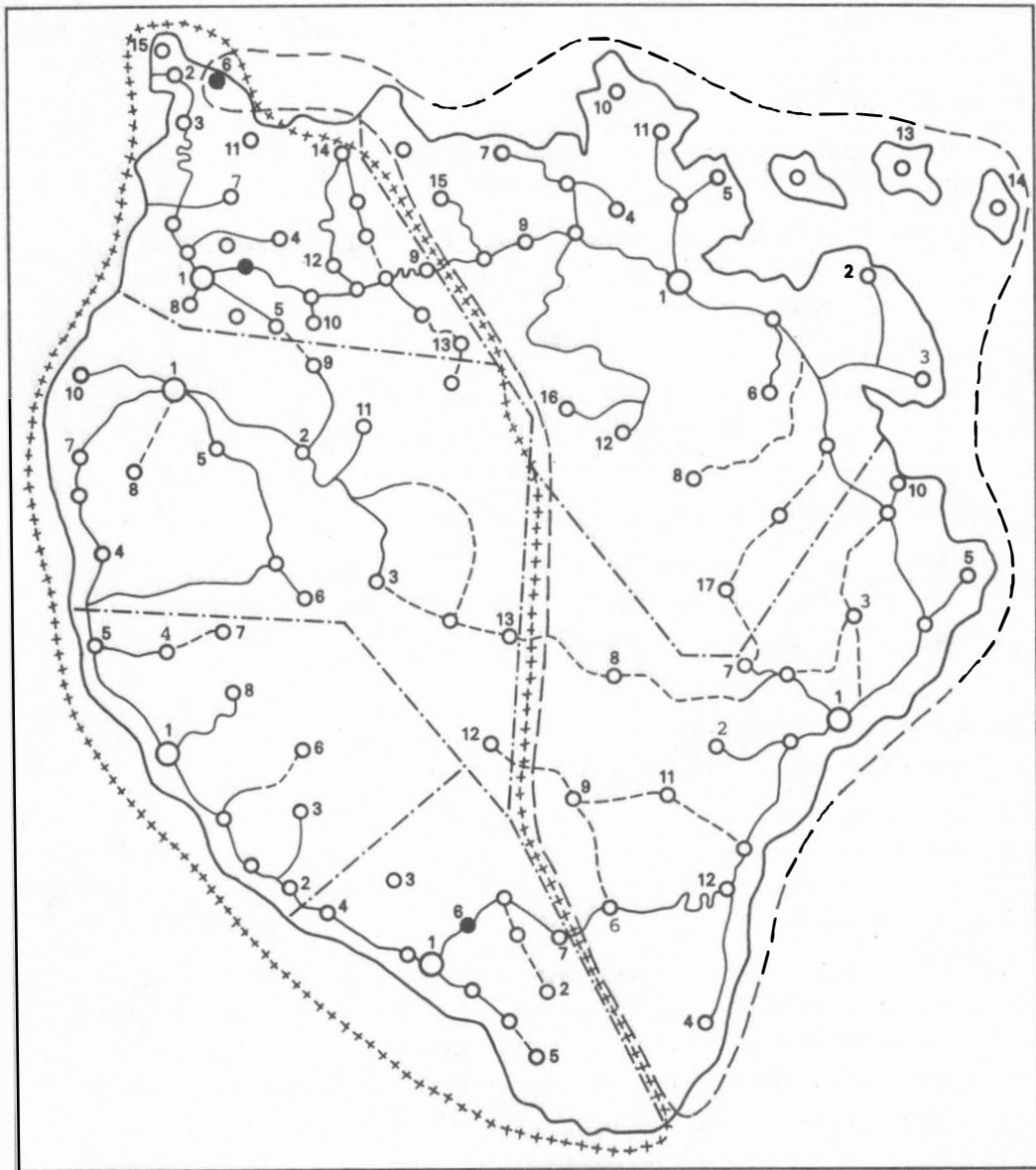
It has been noted that vowel length does not consistently occur in one dialect. In WM, length compensates for the optionally deleted -ka- in the prospective and the imperfective aspects (see Maps 3.10 and 3.11). For example, the prospective aspect is formed in the following ways:

EM PROS > (ma)kaka- +B > ku:haq 'get'  
 makaka- +ku:haq > makakaku:haq > kakaku:haq 'will be able to get'

WM PROS > makaka- +B > makaka- +ku:ha > makakaku:ha  
 ma:ka- +B > ma:ka- +ku:ha > ma:kaku:ha 'will be able to get'

In EM, there is an option to delete ma- without any resultant change in meaning. In WM the compensatory length significantly distinguishes between the imperfective and the perfective aspects; i.e. deletion of the vowel length changes the meaning to the perfective aspect in MT.

MT PERF > naka- +B > naka- +ku:ha(q) > nakaku:ha(q) 'got'



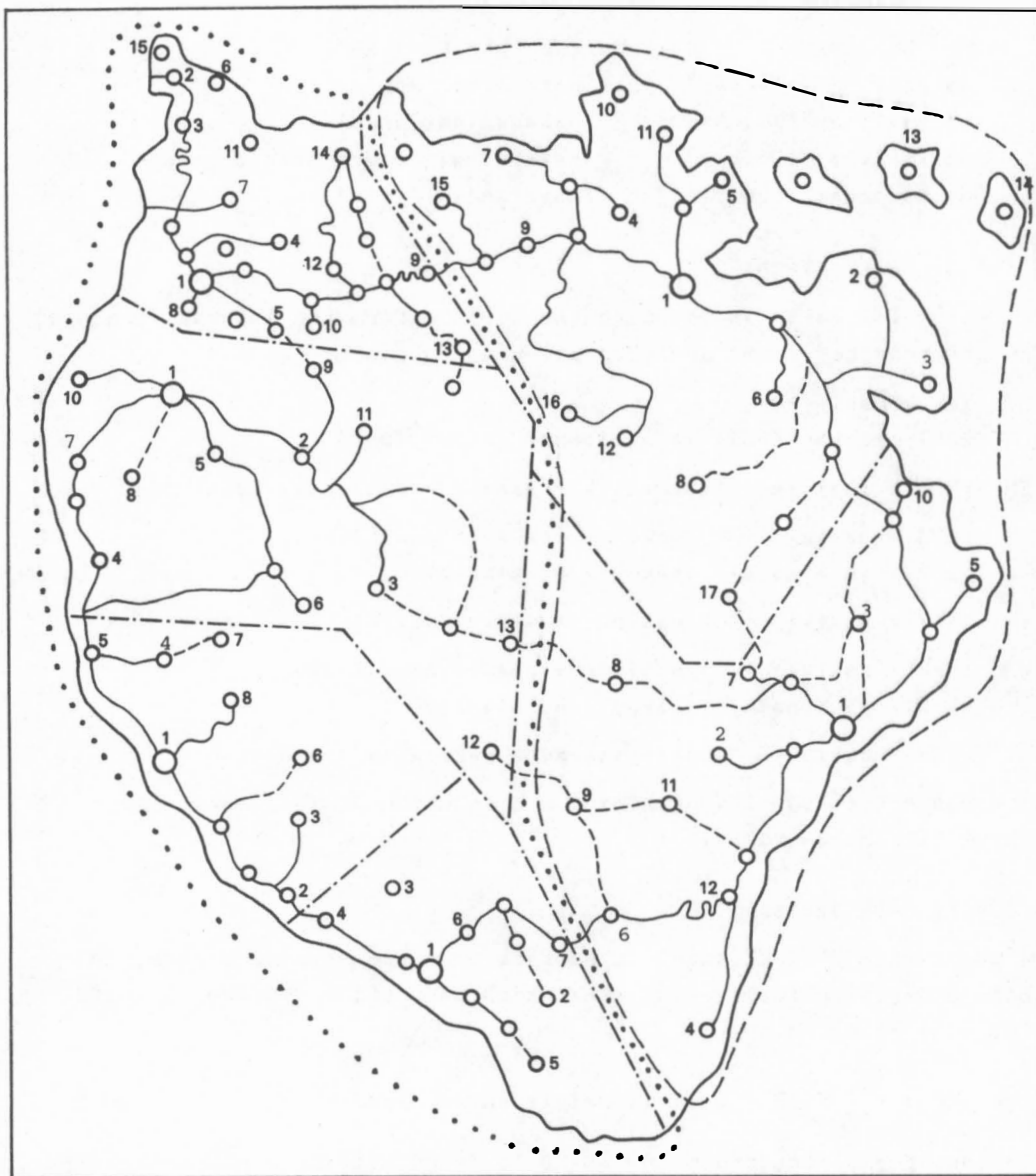
MAP 3.10: maka- AND maki- PROSPECTIVE ASPECT

+++++ ma:ka-; ma:ki-

--- (ma)kaka-; (ma)kiki-

● Both forms

(cf. Sections 3.4.4.5. and 3.4.4.6.)



MAP 3.11: maka- AND maki- IMPERFECT ASPECT

..... na:ka-; na:ki-

— — — nakaka-; nakiki-

(cf. Sections 3.4.4.5. and 3.4.4.6.)

More examples contrasting the two aspects are:

WM (IMPF)	WM and EM (PERF)
na:kaki:ta 'can see'	nakaki:ta 'saw'
na:kaqa:lam 'can know'	nakaqa:lam 'knew'
na:kaku:ha 'can get'	nakaku:ha(q) 'was able to get'
na:karamdam 'can feel'	nakaramdam 'felt'

#### 3.4.4.6. maki- Verbs

The prefix *maki-* is added to the base to form the imperative aspect. The other aspect forms are also given as follows:

- MT IMP > *maki-* +B  
*maki-* +*sakay* 'ride' > *makisakay* 'ride with'
- EM PROS > (ma)*kiki-* +B > *makiki-* +*sakay* > *kikisakay* 'will ride with'
- WM PROS > *makiki-* +B > *makiki-* +*sakay* > *makikisakay*  
*ma:ki-* +B > *ma:ki-* +*sakay* > *ma:kisakay*
- EM IMPF > *nakiki-* +B > *nakiki-* +*sakay* > *nakikisakay* 'rides with'
- WM IMPF > *nakiki-* +B > *nakiki-* +*sakay* > *nakikisakay*  
*na:ki-* +B > *na:ki-* +*sakay* > *na:kisakay*
- MT PERF > *naki-* +B > *naki-* +*sakay* > *nakisakay* 'rode with'

With respect to vowel lengthening and deletion of *ma-*, *maki-* verbs behave like *maka-* verbs.

#### 3.4.4.7. -in Verbs

Words with a final vowel in surface phonetic structure have, in their underlying forms, final /h/ which is retained before the suffixes *-in*, *-an*, *-i* or *-a*.

IMP > {<sub>-a</sub><sup>-in</sup>} +B    *ba:lut* 'wrap'; *ba:sa* 'read'

The less formal construction *-a* + B is found also in Bikol and Bisayan, but not in Manila Tagalog (cf. Bikol and Hiligaynon *bak(a)ia* 'buy it').

*-in* + B > *-in* + *ba:lut* > *balu:tin* 'wrap'  
*-a* + B > *-a* + *ba:lut* > *balu:ta* 'wrap'

*-in* imperative co-occurs with the second person singular and plural pronouns *mu* and *ninyu*, while *-a*, only with the plural form *ninyu*.

Examples:

balu:ta yan sa papel 'Wrap that with paper'  
 basa:ha mu:na ninyu yan 'You (pl.) read that first'  
 basa:hin mu mu:na yan 'You (sg.) read that first'  
 balu:tin ninyu yan sa papel 'You (pl.) wrap that with paper'

Both the -in and the -a suffixes are equally frequent.

The prospective aspect is formed by prefixing qa- and suffixing -in to the base.

PROS > qa- + B + -in > qa- +ba:lut + -in > qabalu:tin 'will be wrapped'

The imperfective aspect is formed by prefixing qina- to the base.

IMPF > qina- +B > qina- +ba:lut > qinaba:lut 'being wrapped'

Infixing -in- after the initial consonant of the base yields the perfective aspect. This is not different from Manila Tagalog.

PERF > -in- +B > -in- +ba:lut > bina:lut 'wrapped'

#### 3.4.4.8. -an Verbs

The imperative aspect is formed by suffixing -an or -i to the verb base.

IMP {<sub>-i</sub><sup>-an</sup>} +B tu:lung 'help'; ba:sa 'read'

The -i differs from the -an in the same way that -a differs from -in in the use of the second person pronouns.

PROS > qa- +B + -an > qa- +tu:lung + -an > qatulu:ngan 'will help'

IMPF > qina- +B + -an > qina- +tu:lung + -an > qinatulu:ngan 'helping'

PERF > -in- +B + -an > -in- +tu:lung + -an > tinulu:ngan 'helped'

#### 3.4.4.9. qi- Verbs

The aspect formations of the qi- verbs are as follows:

IMP {<sub>-an</sub><sup>qi-</sup>} +B bigay 'give'; ku:ha(q) 'get'

qi- +B > qi- + bigay > qibigay 'give'

-an +B > -an + bigay > bigayan > bigyan 'give'

PROS > qa- +B > qa- +bigay > qabigay 'will give'

IMPF > qina- +B > qina- +bigay > qinabigay 'giving'

PERF > qi- +B + -in- > qi- +bigay + -in- > qibinigay > binigay 'gave'

The above aspect forms of *qi-* show that in less formal speech the prefix *qi-* is usually deleted, making the perfective aspect homophonous with that of the *-in* verb. The imperfective aspect is likewise homophonous with that of the *-in* verb form. Examples:

- in kinu:ha nya qang ba:yad  
'He got the payment'
- qi- kinu:ha (< qikinu:ha) ka nya nang qisa  
'He got one for you'
- in qinabili nya qang ba:hay  
'He is buying the house'
- qi- qinabili ka nya nang ba:hay  
'He is buying a house for you'

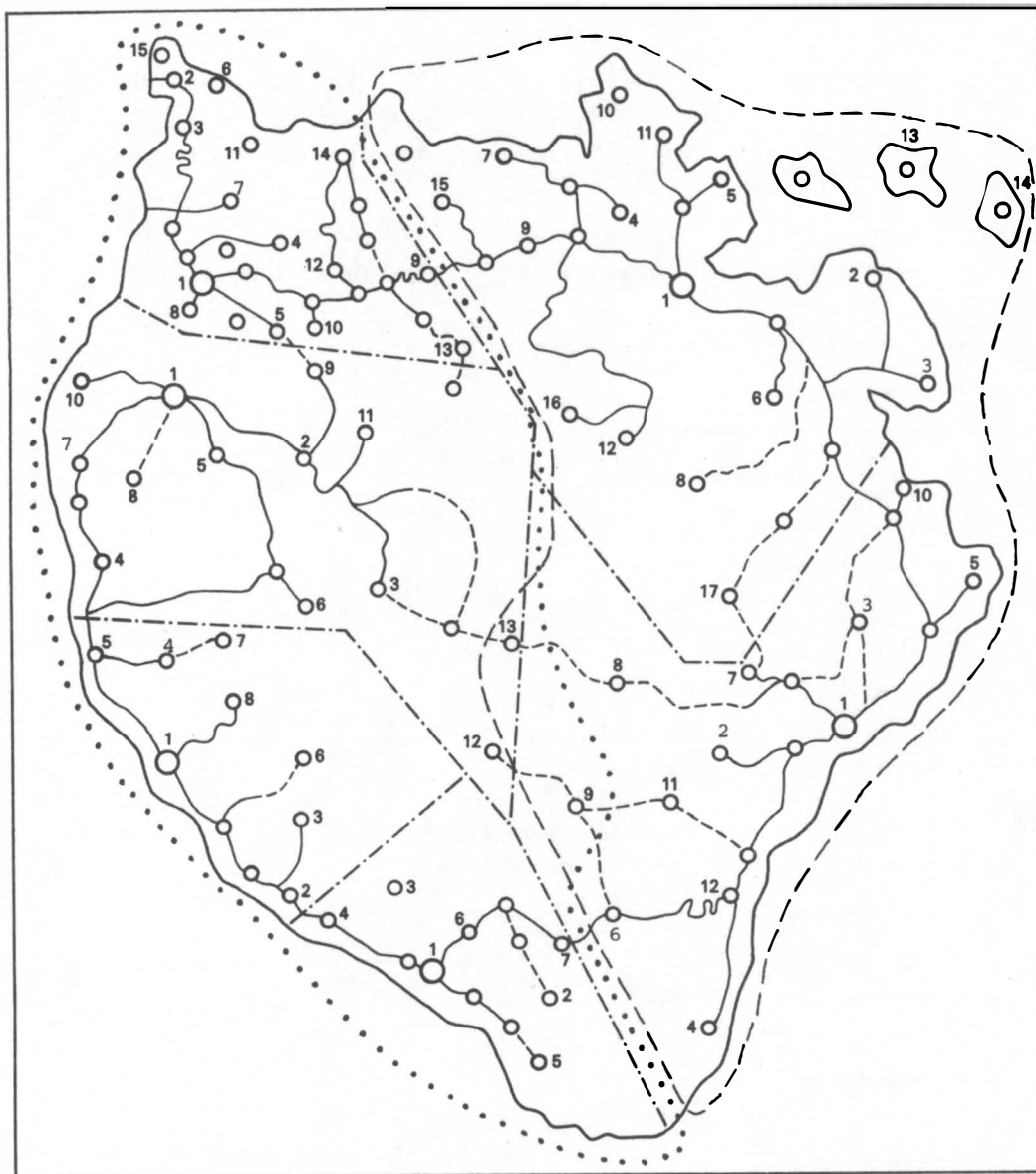
#### 3.4.4.10. ma- Goal-Focus Verbs

- EM PROS > (ma-) + C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> +B ki:ta 'see'  
ma- +ki: +ki:ta > maki:ki:ta > ki:ki:ta 'will see'
- WM PROS > ma- +C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> +B  
ma- +ki +ki:ta > makiki:ta 'will see'
- MT IMPF > na- +C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> +B > na- +ki +ki:ta > nakiki:ta 'sees'
- MT PERF > na- +B > na- +tu:tu > natu:tu 'learned'

#### 3.4.5. THE RECENT PERFECTIVE ASPECT

In the Eastern dialect, the recent perfective aspect is formed by prefixing *ka-/kapa:pag-/kapa:pang-* to the corresponding verb bases. The recent perfective aspect of *-um-* has the first consonant and vowel duplicated. In the Western dialect, however, vowel lengthening takes the place of reduplication (see Map 3.12). Additionally, the whole base may also be duplicated to mean '*very recently*'. Following are the recent perfective aspect formations given according to the underlying affixes to which they correspond.

Affix	EM (also ManT)	WM	Gloss
mag-	kapapag- +B	ka:pag- +B	'has/had just'
	kapapaglu:tuq	ka:paglu:tuq	'has just cooked'
	kapapaglaba	ka:paglaba	'has just laundered'



MAP 3.12: RECENT PERFECTIVE ASPECT

..... ka:pag- + B

----- kapapag- + B

(cf. Section 3.4.5.)

Affix	EM (also ManT)	WM	Gloss
-um-	ka- + C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> +B kalalabas	ka:- +B ka:labas	<i>'has just gone outside'</i>
		ka: +B <sub>2</sub> ka:labaslabas pa/la:qang	<i>'has just ... very recently'</i> <i>'has just gone out very recently'</i>
mang-	kapapang- +B kapapanganak	ka:pang- +B ka:panganak	<i>'has just given birth'</i>

ManT has ka- +C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>+B<sub>2</sub> for 'very recent perfective', as in:

kaku:kuhaku:ha lang  
*'has just very recently taken'*

Some sentence illustrations are:

EM and ManT

kapa:paglu:tu: ku pa  
*'I have just finished cooking'*

kala:labas pa nila  
*'They have just gone outside'*

kapa:panganak la:mang ni tasing  
*'Tasing has just given birth'*

WM ka:qalisqalis la:qang nang manga ta:wu  
*'The men have just very recently left'*

ka:lagaylagay ku pa nyan  
*'I have just placed it now'*

ka:dating pa ni ta:tay  
*'Father has just arrived'*

ka:paglu:tuq ku pa  
*'I just finished cooking'*

ka:kaqin ta pa  
*'We have just eaten'*

ka:pangga:ling la:qang nya sa bu:kid  
*'He just came from the farm'*

### 3.5. NOMINAL AFFIXES

There have been no observed variations in the kind of nominal forming affixes throughout the island. The base-affix combination may be modified by some processes such as reduplication, length shift and addition

of other derivational affixes. Moreover, the nominal affixes in ManT are also utilised in Marinduque. With regard to the gerunds, however, Manila Tagalog has developed a reduplication which distinguishes verbs that are basically mag- from those that are basically -um-. A few examples will illustrate the absence of this reduplication in Marinduque Tagalog gerunds:

Affix	MT	ManT	Gloss
-um-	pagtu:lug	pagtu:lug	'act of sleeping'
mag-	paglaba	paglalaba	'laundrying'
mang-	panghu:li	panghuhu:li	'catching'

The corresponding perfective aspect forms of the gerunds are:

Affix	MT	ManT	Gloss
-um-	pagkagawaq	pagkaka:gawaq	'act of having done'
mag-	pagkasa:bi	pagkaka:sa:bi	'act of having told'
		pagkaka:pagsa:bi	'act of having asked permission'
ma-	pagkadapaq	pagkaka:dapaq	'act of having fallen face downward'

Occasionally, an unaffixed nominal in Manila Tagalog is found occurring with certain affixes in Marinduque Tagalog with a slightly different shade of meaning; e.g., gu:lay 'vegetable' plus -in > gulayin 'uncooked or unprepared vegetable'; sa:yaw 'dance' (sayaw in ManT) plus -in > sayawin 'kind of dance', as in the sentence qanung sayawin yan 'What kind of dance is that?' or 'What do you call that kind of a dance?' salitaq 'word' plus -in > salita:qin 'language'.

The following are the more common nominal affixes in the island:

3.5.1. mag- +C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>+B denoting occupation. Long penultimate vowels are shortened and short penultimate vowels are lengthened. Examples are:

dala 'carry' magdada:la 'carrier'; magdada:la nang su:lat  
'mail carrier'  
dayag 'wash dishes' magdada:yag 'dishwasher'  
laba 'laundry' maglala:ba 'laundry woman'  
lu:tuq 'cook' maglulutuq 'a cook'  
hu:gas 'wash' maghuhugas 'washer'

3.5.2. C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>+B + -in denoting an object of the action of the verb base. Long penultimate vowels are shortened.

ku:ha(q) 'get' kukunin 'something to get'  
bili 'buy' bibilhin 'something to buy' (ManT bi:ll:hin)  
dala 'carry' dadalhin 'something to carry' (ManT da:la:hln)

3.5.3. C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>+B + -an denoting object or place of action of the verb base. Long penultimate vowels are shortened.

laba 'laundry' lalabhan 'something to laundry'  
 lagay 'put' lalagyan 'place for putting'  
 ba:yad 'pay' (ba)bayaran 'something to pay for'

MT lalabhan is equivalent to ManT la:ba:hin in the sentence mara:mi qakung la:ba:hin 'I have many things to wash', while bayaran and lalagyan are also the forms used in ManT.

3.5.4. B + -an denoting place or thing related to the noun or verb base. With noun bases, the penultimate syllable of the affixed form has vowel length:

bigas 'rice' biga:san 'rice container'  
 pa:laiy 'unhusked rice' pala:yan 'ricefield'  
 maqis 'corn' maqi:san 'cornfield'  
 ba:buy 'pig' babu:yan 'piggery'

With verb bases, short penultimate vowels are lengthened and long penultimate vowels are shortened:

higaq 'lie down' higa:qan 'place for lying down'  
 ka:qin 'eat' kaqinan 'eating place'  
 ta:pun 'throw away' tapunan 'place for throwing away'  
 tu:lug 'sleep' tulugan 'place for sleeping'

3.5.5. B + -an denoting reciprocity or simultaneity.

suntut 'box' suntu:kan 'boxing each other'  
 qinum 'drink' qinu:man 'drinking together' (ManT qi:nu:man)  
 dasal 'pray' dasa:lan 'praying together' (EM and ManT da:sa:lan)

3.5.6. ka- +B denoting participation or association.

qu:sap 'converse' kaqu:sap 'partner in conversation'  
 bayli 'dance' kabayli 'dance partner'  
 tabi 'side' katabi 'someone/something beside'

3.5.7. ka- +B + -an meaning group, class or abstract quality.

baba:qi 'female' kababaqi:han 'women group'  
 ganda 'beauty' kaganda:han 'beauty'  
 ba:taq 'young' kabata:qan 'youth'

3.5.8. mag- +B denoting relationship between people.

qasa:wa 'spouse' magqasa:wa 'husband and wife'  
pinsan 'cousin' magpinsan 'cousin-relationship'

Duplication of the first consonant and vowel of the base suggests more than two people in the same relationship: magpipinsan 'more than two cousins in a group'; magkakapatid 'more than two siblings'.

3.5.9. B + -in indicating relationship of one person to another. The term qamaqin 'uncle' (< qama 'father' + -in) is a similar form sometimes heard in Manila.

na:nay 'mother' nana:yin 'someone's mother'  
malakas pa qang nana:yin ni sisilya  
'Cecilia's mother is still strong'  
lo:la 'grandmother' lula:hin 'someone's grandmother'

3.5.10. mang- +C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>+B indicating occupation.

qisdaq 'fish' mangingisdaq 'fisherman'

3.5.11. pa- +B indicating something caused by the base to be done.

dala 'bring' padala 'something caused to be brought'  
ka:qin 'eat' paka:qin 'something/someone being fed'

3.5.12. taga- +B indicating origin or occupation.

ba:yan 'town' tagaba:yan 'someone from the town'  
bu:kid 'farm' tagabu:kid 'someone from the farm'  
bantay 'watch' tagabantay 'watcher'  
lu:tuq 'cook' tagalu:tuq 'a cook'

### 3.6. ADJECTIVAL AFFIXES

Almost all adjectival affixes are shared by the different speech communities; in fact, only a handful of intensifiers and comparatives distinguish the Eastern from the Western speakers. A list of the common adjectival affixes are given first, followed by the distinguishing ones.

#### 3.6.1. SHARED ADJECTIVAL AFFIXES

EM and WM share at least ten adjectival affixes as follows:

3.6.1.1. ma- + B denoting abstract or concrete quality.

ganda '*beauty*' maganda '*beautiful*'  
 bilug '*round*' mabi:lug '*round*'  
 batu '*stone*' mabatu '*plenty of stones*'

3.6.1.2. mapag- + B meaning inclination or partisanship.

mapag- + mata:qas '*high*' mapagmataqas '*given to pride*' or '*haughty*'

Other bases take mapang-, as in:

mapangqapi '*given to oppression*'

3.6.1.3. maki- + B meaning inclination to, partisanship, fondness for, comparable to ManT maka-.

qama '*father*' makiqama '*close to one's father*'  
 sibu:yas '*onion*' makisibu:yas '*fond of onions*'

3.6.1.4. ma- + B + -in also denoting inclination to what the base suggests.

ga:lit '*anger*' maga(ga)litin '*easily gets angry*'  
 qinip '*boredom*' maqini:pin '*easily bored*'  
 sakit '*disease*' masasaktin '*sickly*'

3.6.1.5. pala- +B indicating inclination to a thing or action. Short penultimate vowels of bases are lengthened and long penultimate vowels are shortened.

gataq '*coconut milk*' palaga:taq '*fond of using or eating foods  
with coconut milk*'  
 qupuq '*sit*' palaqu:puq '*fond of sitting*'  
 ta:wa '*laugh*' palatawa '*always laughing*'

3.6.1.6. naka- +B denoting position, state, appearance.

qupuq '*sit*' nakaqupuq '*seated*'  
 pa:qa '*foot*' nakapaqa '*barefoot*'  
 pula '*red*' nakapula '*wearing red*'

3.6.1.7. nakaka- +B with the meaning of causation.

pa:gud '*tiredness*' nakakapa:gud '*causing tiredness*'  
 hiyaq '*embarrassment*' nakakahiyaq '*causing embarrassment*'

3.6.1.8. -in +B meaning affected by or covered with.

galis 'skin sore' galisin 'full of skin sores'  
sipqun 'colds' sipqu:nin 'has a running nose'

Some bases take -an, e.g. su:gat 'wound' sugatan 'covered with wounds'.

3.6.1.9. pa- +B<sub>2</sub> meaning irregular or intermittent activity.

laqug 'roam' palaqugla:qug 'wandering'  
qalis 'leave' paqalisqa:lis 'coming and going'

3.6.1.10. pa- +B showing direction or manner of action. Long penultimate vowels are shortened.

ba:yan 'town' pabayan 'towards town'  
qu:rung 'backward' paqu:rung 'backward'  
biglaq 'abrupt' pabiglaq 'abruptly'

3.6.1.11. pang- +B, instrumental/reservational.

traba:hu 'work' pantraba:hu 'for use in work'  
sungkit 'pick down' panungkit 'something for picking down'  
dalwa 'two' pandalwa 'for two'  
mahal na qa:raw 'Holy Week' pangmahal na qa:raw 'for the Holy Week'

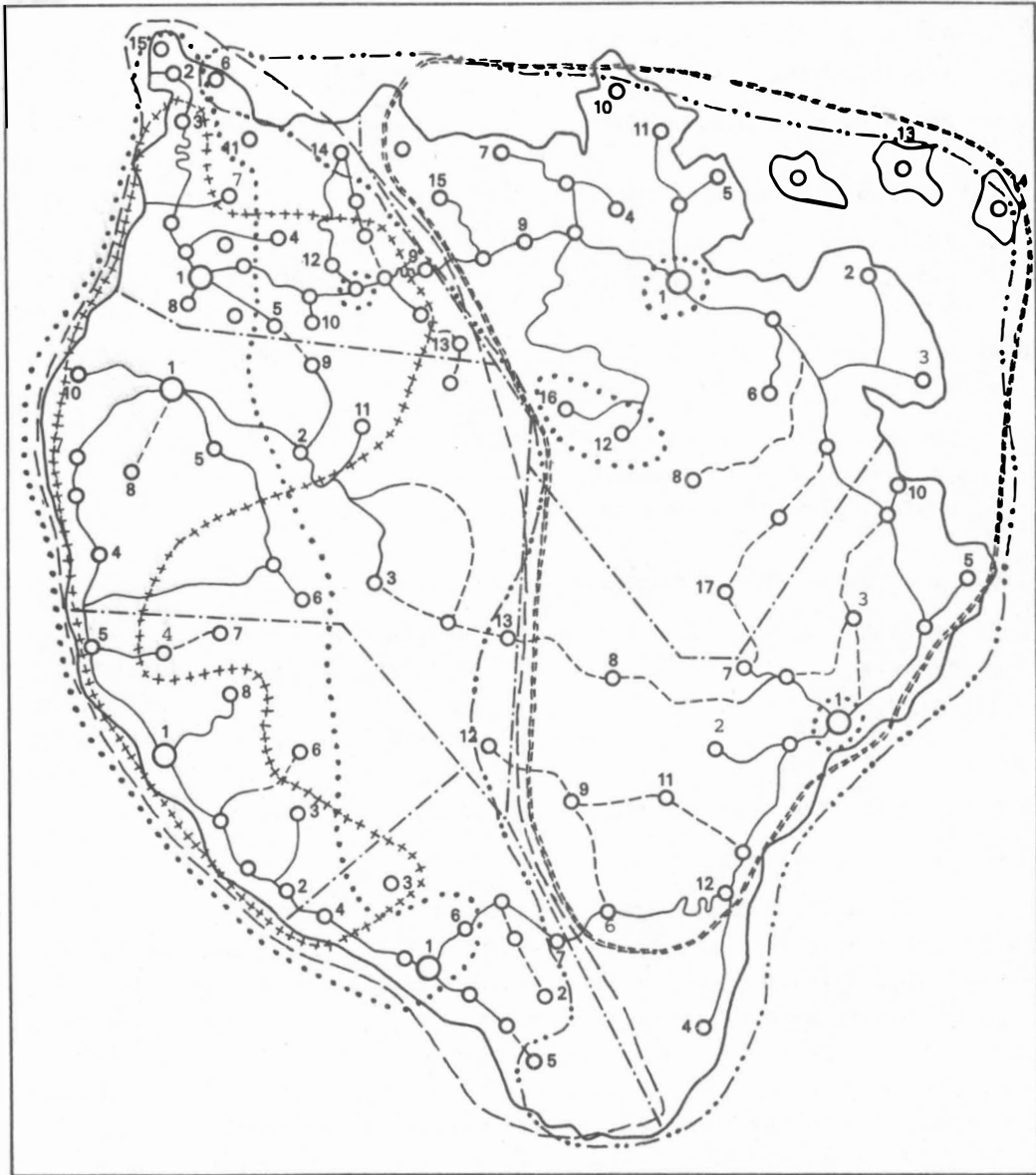
### 3.6.2. ADJECTIVAL AFFIXES WHICH DISTINGUISH DIALECTAL AREAS

#### 3.6.2.1. Intensifiers

To give an intensified meaning to an adjective, affixes as well as bases are used (see Map 3.13). In Eastern Marinduque, the prefix is maka-, e.g. mala:yuq 'far' + maka- > makamala:yuq 'very far'; puhang 'foolish' + maka- > makapuhang 'very foolish'. In Western Marinduque, the prefix is pagka- or paka- occurring with just the unaffixed base; e.g. pakala:yuq 'very far'. paka- is more frequently used than pagka-. The base may also be repeated as in pakalayuqla:yuq 'very very far'.

As to the bases used as intensifiers, Eastern Marinduque has ya:nung and minang which are generally contracted to yawng and ming, respectively. The counterparts in the Western speech are na:mang and gulping. Sometimes pwerte is heard. The word na:mang is a contraction of kaqina:mang. All these intensifiers are equivalent to the English 'very'. They have no exact equivalent in Manila Tagalog.

EM ya:nung laki 'very big' ming sa:muk 'very noisy'  
minang ganda 'very pretty' mintandaq 'very old'  
yawng da:mi 'very many' minang la:yuq 'very far'



MAP 3.13: INTENSIFIERS

- |                       |                |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| ----- maka- +adj      | +++++ gulping  |
| ----- paka-/pagka- +B | ----- na:mang  |
| ----- ya:nung         | ..... pwerteng |
| ----- minang          |                |

(cf. Section 3.6.2.1.)

WM na:mang qi:gi 'very well' gulping laki 'very big'  
 pwerteng ta:pang 'very strong (as in coffee)' na:mang sa:muk  
 'very noisy'  
 na:man tandaq na nun  
 'That (man) is already very old'  
 na:man lakas pa ni lo:lo  
 'Grandfather is still very strong'  
 gulping lalaki nang qa:lun  
 'The waves are very big'

### 3.6.2.2. Limiters

3.6.2.2.1. The prefix qa- is the most common limiter occurring with numerals:

qa- + dalwa 'two' > qadalwa 'only two'

Limiters are emphasised and each dialect area has distinctive processes of reduplication of numerals to show emphasis (see Map 3.14). The Eastern dialect has qa- + maka- + numeral or qa- + C<sub>1</sub>i: + numeral. Examples are:

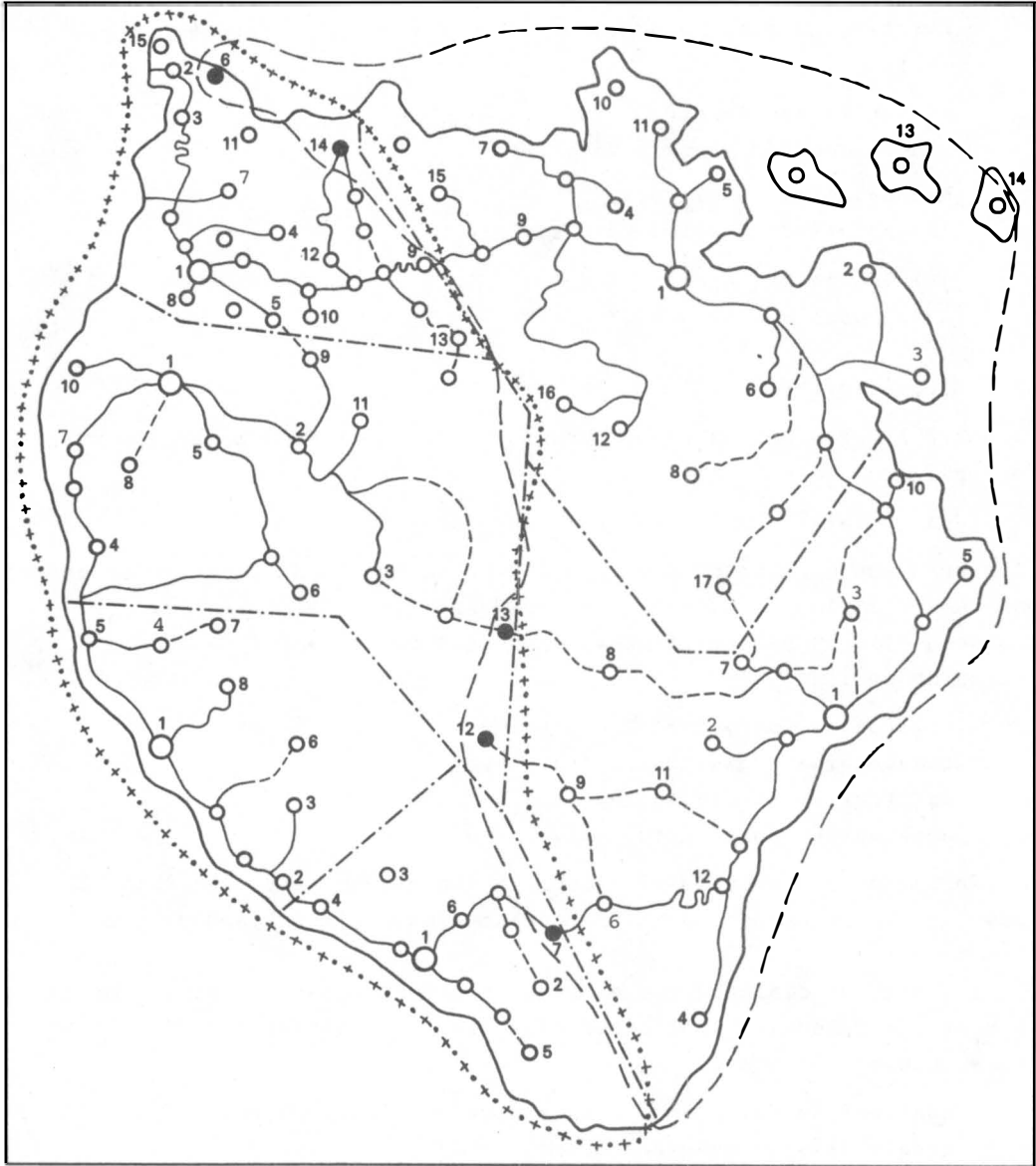
qamakaqisa 'only one' (no alternant form is heard)  
 qamakadalwa ~ qadi:dalwa 'only two'  
 qamakaqa:pat ~ qaqi:qa:pat 'only four'  
 qamakapitu ~ qapi:pitu 'only seven'

In the second process of reduplication of numerals, the initial vowel of the base becomes a high front tense /i/ followed by vowel length.

The Western dialect area also has two forms: qa- + numeral<sub>2</sub> or qa- + C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> + y + numeral. With bases qisa 'one' and qa:pat 'four' only the first pattern is heard.

qaqisaqi:sa 'only one' qaqapatqa:pat 'only four'  
 qadalwadalwa ~ qadaydalwa 'only two'  
 qatatlutatlu ~ qataytatlu 'only three'  
 qalimali:ma ~ qaliylima 'only five'  
 qapitupi:tu ~ qapiypitu 'only seven'

With bases having a penultimate CV, the penultimate syllable of the reduplicated base has vowel length.



MAP 3.14: LIMITERS

+ + + + + qa- + numeral<sub>2</sub>; qa- + C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> + y + numeral

— — — qa- + maka- + numeral; qa- C<sub>1</sub> + i: + numeral

(cf. Section 3.6.2.2.)

### 3.6.2.3. Comparatives

To express inferior quality, Eastern Marinduque has ka-...-an following the negative hindiq 'not'. Examples are:

EM qalam 'know a fact' + ka-...-an > kaqala:man + qindiq > qindi:  
kaqala:man 'not very knowledgeable'

laki 'big' + ka-...-an > kalaki:han + qindiq > qindi: kalaki:han  
'not very big'

The above pattern does not occur in the Western dialect.

## 3.7. ADVERBIALS

Some adverbials which distinguish Marinduque Tagalog from Manila Tagalog are here classified as enclitics, temporals, manner adverbials, sentence-initial adverbials and sentence-final adverbials. They may have similar forms but different functions or they may be totally different from those of Manila Tagalog.

### 3.7.1. ENCLITICS

Enclitic adverbials assume the nature of modifiers which expand the sentence. They usually consist of one or two syllables. Whether occurring singly or in a series, their order is rather fixed in the second position. When a series, monosyllables, as a general rule, precede the disyllables. They may number up to five in a sequence.

mamayaq pa naman puq wa:riq ma:qalis qang bapor  
'It seems that the boat will be leaving in a little while yet'

qasama:han ka na daw puq mandin nga:niq ni su:sing  
'He said that Susing was in fact going to accompany you now'

qindi: pa pu: pala nga:ni: naman malilimutin yung matandaq  
'I see that the old (lady) is indeed not forgetful yet'

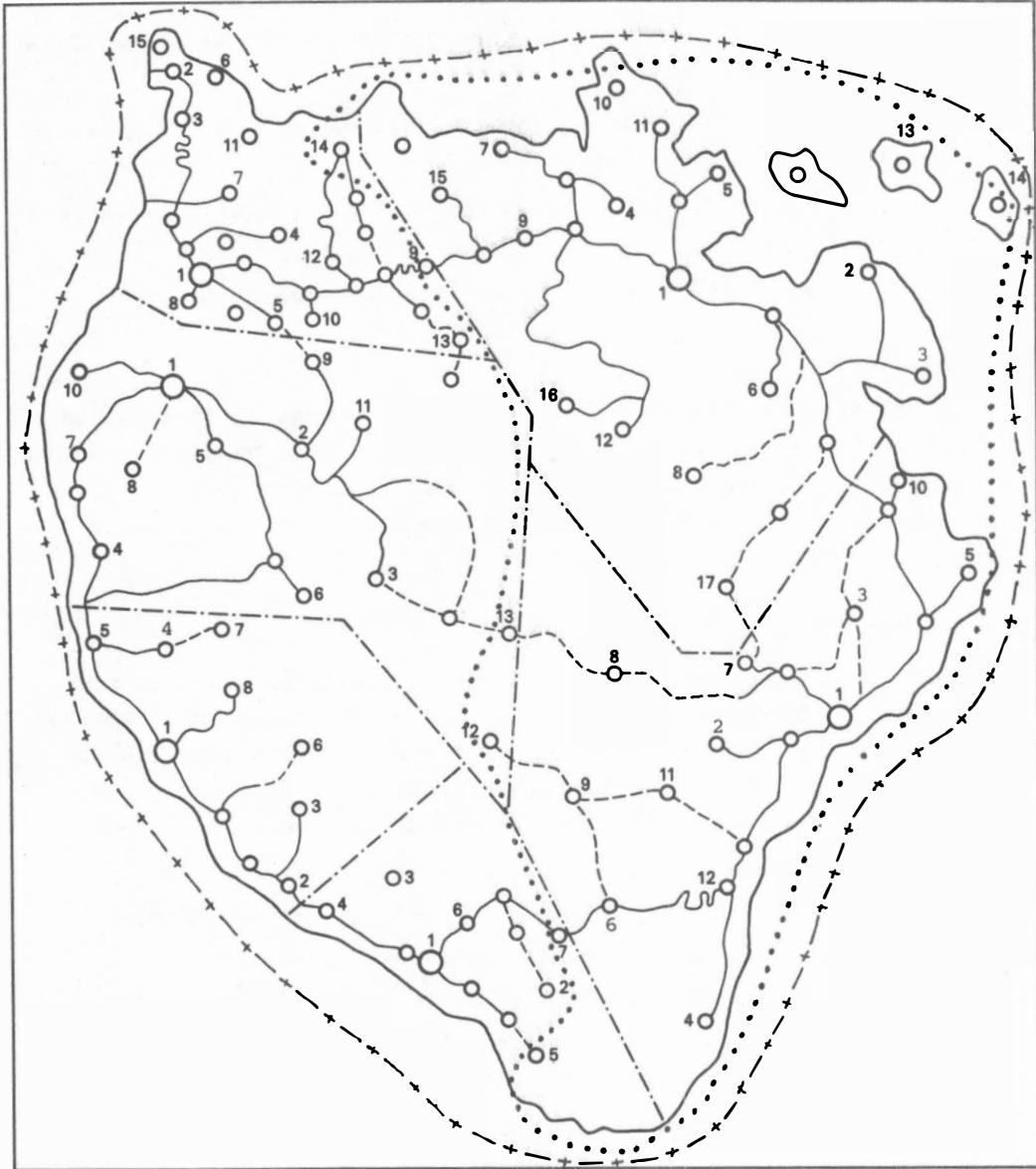
Monosyllabic pronouns precede all enclitics, as in the second sentence example.

#### 3.7.1.1. baga

baga is an interrogative adverbial particle frequently shortened to ga in Eastern Marinduque (see Map 3.15). Examples of its use are:

WM qaku baga qang qinatanung mu  
'Am I the one you're asking?'

EM nadi:dinig mu ga  
'Do you hear it?'



MAP 3.15: INTERROGATIVE ENCLITIC

+--+— бага

..... га

(cf. Section 3.7.1.1.)

## 3.7.1.2. daw

The addition of daw/raw to an imperative sentence makes the imperative a polite request.

WM laylaksi daw qang salitaq mu  
*'Please speak a little louder'*

EM li:laksi daw qang salita:qin mu  
*'Please speak a little louder'*

In optative constructions daw expresses a wish of moderate force, as in:

qa:tingnan ku daw  
*'I guess I should look at it'*

In sentences other than requests and optatives, daw expresses an indirect quotation or a reported speech.

qang baba:yi daw qay qipamimi:gay  
*'They say that girls are (destined) to be given away'*

## 3.7.1.3. bayaq

This particle expresses assurance or sureness of an event, etc., e.g.:

qa:di:dalwa bayaq qang na:tira  
*'Believe me, only two were left'*

## 3.7.1.4. mandin

mandin implies confirmation, as in:

mara:mi mandin  
*'That's right, there are many'*

## 3.7.1.5. nga:niq

This enclitic expresses affirmation. It is often used in addition to daw for polite requests and optatives.

kaqalis pa nga:niq ni ta:tay  
*'In fact, Father has just left'*

tulu:ngi daw nga:niq qaku  
*'Please help me'*

## 3.7.1.6. la:qang

la:qang is equivalent to la:mang 'only'. It has the same function as the Manila Tagalog lang or la:mang.

dalwa la:qang qang kaqila:ngang ku  
'I need only two'

## 3.7.2. TEMPORALS

These are adverbials that indicate time. They may be affixed or unaffixed.

3.7.2.1. pag- +C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>: +B

This form implies recurrent time. It occurs with the nang case as actor.

pari:tu 'come here' pag- +pa:+pari:tu  
pagpa:pari:tu (ku) 'every time (I) come' pagpa:pari:tu ku qay  
na:qulan 'Every time I come it rains'

## 3.7.2.2. pagkaq- or pag-

This suggests conditional action or event, thus

EM bi:kul pag qindi: makapagsalita:qin nang tuwid  
WM bi:kul pag hindiq makapagsalitaq nang tuwid  
'We say he's bikol when (he) cannot speak fluently'

## 3.7.2.3. pagka- or paka-

Prefixed to a base, paka-/pagka- has the meaning of pagkata:pus 'afterwards'.

pakasilid qay dinala di:tu  
'After putting (the dried coconut meat) in (the sack), they were brought here'

pagkadating nang bangkaq qay ma:larga din qagad yun  
'After the arrival of the boat, it will leave right away'

## 3.7.2.4. pagma:ga

This is a combination of pag- 'when' and ma:ga (from quma:ga 'morning'). The expression means 'in the morning' or 'tomorrow morning'.

pagma:ga na kami ma:la:kad  
'We shall leave in the morning'

pagma:ga na kamu  
 'You (plan to) leave tomorrow morning'

### 3.7.2.5. ba:gay

This temporal adverbial means 'whenever'.

EM ba:gay qakuy na:parqun sa su:ha qay ...  
 'Whenever I go to Suha ...'

WM ba:gay na:qulan qay ...  
 'Whenever it rains ...'

### 3.7.3. MANNER ADVERBIALS

As the term suggests, this kind of adverbial characterises the way actions are performed.

3.7.3.1. There is one manner adverbial incorporated into the verb and has the meaning of 'doing something by oneself or without any outside help'. This manner adverbial is formed in the following ways:

If the first syllable of a disyllabic base is open, the whole base is duplicated and the penultimate vowel is lengthened, thus

magqalisqa:lis 'leave by oneself' or 'remove something by oneself'  
 magkuha(q)ku:ha(q) 'get something by oneself'  
 naglutu:lu:tuq 'cooked by himself/herself'

If a disyllabic base has a closed penultimate syllable, EM has mag- +C<sub>1</sub>i: +B, while WM has mag- +C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> + y +B. Examples are:

Base	EM	WM	Gloss
parqun 'go there'	magpi:parqun	magpayparqun	'go by oneself'
luksu 'jump'	nagli:luksu	nagluyluksu	'jumped by himself'

Bases with more than two syllables follow the rule for the closed penultimate syllable, thus

sapa:tus 'shoes'  
 naga:si:sapa:tus (EM)  
 nagasaysapa:tus (WM)  
 'wears shoes by himself (without any help)'

kulambuq 'mosquito net'  
 nagki:kulambuq (EM)  
 nagkuykulambuq (WM)  
 'put up the mosquito net by himself'

Examples of the manner adverbials in sentences are:

- EM maglutu:lu:tu: ka na la:qang kung tangha:liq  
*'Just do your own cooking at noon'*
- WM maglutuqlu:tuq ...
- EM nagpi:parqun sya sa bunduk  
*'He went to the mountain by himself'*
- WM nagpayparqun sya sa bunduk
- EM nakakapagsi:sapa:tus na yan  
*'That (child) can put his shoes on by himself now'*
- WM nakakapagsaysapa:tus na yan
- EM naga:si:sindi qang qi:law kung gabqi
- WM nagasiysindi ...  
*'The light goes on automatically at night'*

### 3.7.4. SENTENCE-INITIAL ADVERBIALS

Some adverbials occurring in the first position in a sentence have been found in the data. Two are used as interrogatives: *baga* and *ba:gay*.

#### 3.7.4.1. *baga*

*baga* is set off from the rest of the utterance by a pause and copied in the second position as an enclitic. It expresses surprise with an added note of *'Is that so?'* or *'Really?'*. Example:

- EM /<sup>3</sup>baga<sup>†</sup> <sup>3</sup>nakaqa:hun na baga sila<sup>†</sup>/  
*'Is that right? Have they gone to the barrio?'*

#### 3.7.4.2. *ba:gay*

In Western Marinduque, the expression of surprise or disbelief is *ba:gay*. Unlike *baga* of the Eastern dialect, *ba:gay* is not copied as an enclitic. An example of its use is:

- WM /<sup>3</sup>ba:gay patay na si Tandang qananiq<sup>1</sup>/  
*'Is that right? Is the old man Anani dead?'*

#### 3.7.4.3. *qampay*

In Eastern Marinduque, *qampay* is used to denote resemblance. It is comparable to Manila Tagalog *pa:rang* *'like'* or *'similar'*.

- EM qampay ma:suga:hung na  
*'Looks like (he's) going to fall on his face' (suga:hung 'fall face forward')*

qampay puhang ka  
*'You are like a fool'*

### 3.7.5. SENTENCE-INITIATORS

In some idiolects in Western Marinduque, qay is pronounced qayq. This sentence-initiator serves as a linker between a preceding utterance and another that follows.

EM qay qindi qat qakuy dun na:tahan  
*'Well, no, because I live there'*

WM qay(q) kaqilang ka pa di:tu  
*'Well, how long have you been here?'*

Another sentence-initiator is paqanu. Followed by qay or y, paqanu expresses reason or cause. In Eastern Marinduque, the term is pagqanhin.

WM paqanuy gawaq nang trabahador qaku  
*'The reason is I'm a (manual) labourer'*

EM pagqanhin qay qinatanung ka ni sulping  
*'It's because Sulping was asking about you'*

### 3.7.6. SENTENCE-FINAL ADVERBIALS

There are particles that always occur as the last element in an utterance. The most common is qay or qayq with more or less similar functions to the Manila Tagalog e. It may express reason, contrary expectation, or may add emphasis to a statement.

WM hindiq ku naki:ta qay(q)  
*'It's because I didn't see him'*

pakunan yun qay  
*'Have someone get that one'*

EM nanta:ta:wa pa qay  
*'They were even laughing'*

The Eastern dialect has another sentence-final particle which is used to attract or direct the attention of an addressee. This is qayu, equivalent to 'look at' or 'see', and undoubtedly a combination of qay and qu. The latter is another attention-director. An example is:

EM /<sup>2</sup>qang bulsuk qay hanggang di:tu qay<sup>†</sup> qayu<sup>†</sup>/  
*'The deep mud was up to here, look'*

## 3.8. SUMMARY OF DISTINGUISHING MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURES

On the basis of morphology, the island province of Marinduque may be divided into two major dialect areas. The distinction is between the Eastern and the Western speech communities, with the bundles of isoglosses running from north to south. The Eastern dialect area geographically corresponds to the highland towns and barrios of Santa Cruz and Torrijos, while the Western dialect area coincides with the coastal towns of Gasan and Buenavista, the capital town (Boac), and the hilly town and barrios of Mogpog. Thirty-one most prominent morphological structures have been found to distinguish the two prevailing dialects. These structures include the personal plural nominal markers, some deictics, the second person plural pronoun, some pluralised verb forms, aspectual formations, adjectival affixes, and adverbial forms and affixes. Table 1 contains the morphological structures that mark the Western and the Eastern dialects, together with examples of each item. Table 2 also gives a detailed listing of the morphological structures which differentiate Marinduque Tagalog dialects from Manila Tagalog.

TABLE 1  
Morphological Items Distinguishing WM from EM

Western Marinduque	Eastern Marinduque	Gloss
<b>PERSONAL PLURAL NOMINAL MARKERS</b>		
1. sina sina ben	da da ben	'qang personal plural nominal marker' 'Ben and others'
2. nina kasa:ma nina ben	da kasa:ma da ben	'nang personal plural nominal marker' 'companion of Ben and the others'
3. kayna suma:ma kayna ben	kanda suma:ma kanda ben	'sa personal plural nominal marker' 'went with Ben and the others'
<b>DEICTICS AND LOCATIVES</b>		
1. qiri; qidi (G) qa:kin qiri/qidi	qari qa:kin qari	'this, Near Sp' 'this is mine'
2. ∅	gaqun	'like that'
3. ∅	pluralised forms for the locatives nangqaqari nanri:ryan qang manga ba:taq nangqi:qitu da mi:ming	'here' 'The children are there' 'Miming and the others are here'

TABLE 1 (cont'd)

Western Marinduque	Eastern Marinduque	Gloss
4. $\emptyset$	nanru:ruqun nanru:ruqun pa sila	'there (pl.)' 'They are still there'
PLURALISED VERB FORMS		
1. mag-...-an nagda:tingan sila	mang- nandating sila	'plural-actor of -um-' 'They arrived'
2. $\emptyset$	mangag- nangagli:gu: sila	'plural-actor of mag-' 'They bathed'
3. $\emptyset$	mag-in-an naghinabulan sila	'reciprocal action' 'They chased each other'
ASPECTUAL FORMULATIONS		
1. $\emptyset$	pag- + B pagli:nis kamu	'mag- imperative' 'You (pl.) clean'
2. $\emptyset$	pang- + B panghiram	'mang- imperative' '(You) borrow'
3. mang- +C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> +B mangungu:ha	(ma)ng- +C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> : +B (ma)ngungu:haq	'mang- prospective' 'will gather'
4. maga- +B magalu:tuq	maga:- + B maga:lu:tuq	'mag- prospective' 'will cook'
5. naga- +B nagalu:tuq	naga:- +B naga:lu:tuq	'mag- imperfective' 'cooks'
6. ma- +C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> +B makiki:ta	(ma)- +C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> : +B (ma)ki:ki:ta	'ma- GF prospective' 'will be seen'
7. na- +C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> +B nakiki:ta	na- +C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> : +B naki:ki:ta	'ma- GF imperfective' 'being seen'
8. ma:ka- +B ma:kaki:ta	(ma)kaka- +B (ma)kakaki:ta	'maka- prospective' 'will be able to see'
9. na:ka- +B na:kaki:ta	nakaka- +B nakakaki:ta	'maka- imperfective' 'is able to see'
10. ma:ki- +B ma:kisakay	(ma)kiki- +B (ma)kikisakay	'maki- prospective' 'will request a ride'
11. na:ki- +B na:kisakay	nakiki- +B nakikisakay	'maki- imperfective' 'requests a ride'

TABLE 1 (cont'd)

Western Marinduque	Eastern Marinduque	Gloss
12. ka:- +B ka:qalis pa	ka- +C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> +B kaqaqalis pa	'recent perfective' 'just recently left'
ADJECTIVAL AFFIXES AND FORMS		
1. pagka-/paka- +B pagkaganda or pakaganda	maka- +adj makamaganda	'intensifier' 'very pretty'
2. pagka-/paka- +B <sub>2</sub> pagkagandaganda or pakagandaganda	∅	'intensifier, with great intensity' 'very pretty'
3. na:mang/gulping +B na:mang ganda	ya:nung/minang/ming +B ya:nung ganda	'intensifier' 'very pretty'
4. qa- +numeral <sub>2</sub> qadalwadalwa	qa- +maka- + numer- al qamakadalwa	'limiter' 'only two'
5. qa- +C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> + y + numeral <sub>1</sub> qataytatlu	qa- +C <sub>1</sub> + i: + numeral <sub>1</sub> qati:tatlu	'limiter' 'only three'
ADVERBIAL FORMS		
1. ∅	qindiq + ka-...-an qindi:ka:laki:han	'inferior quality' 'not very big'
2. ∅	ga	'interrogative enclitic'
3. ba:gay ba:gay nasu:nug	baga nga:niq nasu:nug baga nga:niq	'adverb of confirmation' 'was it really burned?'
4. ∅	tutu:qu nili:nis na tutu:qu	'intensifier' 'was cleaned very well'
5. daw daw kaba:yu	qampay qampay kaba:yu	'initial adverb expressing simi- larity' 'like a horse'
6. ∅	pagqanhin qay	'sentence-initiator expressing reason'

In Table 2 below, forms in Marinduque Tagalog dialects which are similar or identical to those of Manila Tagalog are omitted; i.e. if a dialect area uses the same form as that of Manila Tagalog, the form is not listed for that dialect. For example: the first entry, ManT *sina*, is also *sina* in the Western dialect area, but *da* in the Eastern dialect area. Thus *sina* is not listed under WM; only *da*, under EM since *da* differs from ManT (and WM) *sina*.

TABLE 2  
Morphological Structures that Distinguish MT from ManT

ManT	WM	EM	Gloss
<b>PERSONAL PLURAL MARKERS</b>			
1. <i>sina</i>		<i>da</i>	'qang personal plural nominal marker'
2. <i>nina</i>		<i>da</i>	'nang personal plural marker'
3. <i>kina</i>	<i>kayna</i>	<i>kanda</i>	'sa personal nominal marker'
<b>DEICTICS AND LOCATIVES</b>			
1. <i>qiri</i>	<i>qidi (G)</i>	<i>qari</i>	' <i>this</i> , Near Sp'
2. <i>qiyān/yan</i>	<i>yaqan</i>	<i>yaqan</i>	' <i>that</i> , Near Ad'
3. <i>qiyun</i>	<i>yuqun</i>	<i>yuqun</i>	' <i>that yonder</i> '
4. <i>dyan</i>	<i>dyaqan</i>	<i>dyaqan</i>	' <i>there</i> , Near Ad'
5. <i>ganuqun</i>	<i>ganqun</i>	<i>ganqun/gaqun</i>	' <i>like that</i> '
6. <i>na:ritu</i>	<i>naqitu</i>	<i>na:qitu</i>	' <i>here</i> , Near Sp-Ad'
7. <i>na:rini</i>	<i>na:qiri/ naqidi (G)</i>	<i>na:qari</i>	' <i>here</i> , Near Sp'
8. <i>na:ryan</i>	<i>nayan</i>	<i>na:yan</i>	' <i>there</i> , Near Ad'
9. <i>na:ruqun</i>	<i>nayun</i>	<i>na:yun</i>	' <i>there yonder</i> '
<b>PERSONAL PRONOUNS</b>			
1. <i>ta:yu</i>	<i>kita</i>	<i>kita</i>	' <i>we (incl.)</i> '
2. <i>na:tin</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ta</i>	' <i>us (incl.)</i> '
3. <i>kita</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ta</i>	' <i>you ... by me</i> '
4. <i>kayu</i>		<i>kamu</i>	' <i>you (pl.)</i> '

TABLE 2 (cont'd)

ManT	WM	EM	Gloss
<b>PLURALISED VERB FORMS</b>			
1. mag-...-an nagkaqinan		mang- nangka:qin	'plural-actor of -um-' 'ate together'
2. mangag- nangaglu:tu sila nang pagka:qin	mag-...-an naglutuqan sila nang pagka:qin		'plural-actor of mag-' 'They cooked some food'
3. mag-...-an nagpaluqan		mag-in-an nagpinaluqan	'reciprocal action' 'hit each other'
<b>ASPECTUAL FORMULATIONS</b>			
1. Ø	Ø	pag- pagsa:bi	'mag- imperative' 'ask permission'
2. Ø	Ø	pang- pami:liq	'mang- imperative' 'choose'
3. mag- +C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> : +B maglu:lu:tuq	(ma)ga- +B (ma)galu:tuq	(ma)ga: +B (ma)ga:lu:tuq	'mag- prospective' 'will cook'
4. nag- +C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> : +B naglu:lu:tuq	naga- +B nagalu:tuq	naga:- +B naga:lu:tuq	'mag- imperfective' 'is cooking'
5. C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> : +B su:su:lat	ma:- +B ma:su:lat	ma:- +B ma:su:lat	'-um- prospective' 'will write'
6. C <sub>1</sub> +um-+V <sub>1</sub> +B sumu:su:lat	na:- +B na:su:lat	na:- +B na:su:lat	'-um- imperfective' 'writes'
7. mang- +C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> +B mangungu:ha		(ma)ng-+C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> +B (ma)ngungu:haq	'mang- prospective' 'will gather'
8. ma- +C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> +B maki:kinig		(ma)+C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> +B (ma)ki:kinig	'ma- AF prospective' 'will listen'
9. makaka- +B makakabili	ma:ka- +B ma:kabili	(ma)kaka- +B kakabili	'maka- prospective' 'will be able to buy'
10. nakaka- +B nakakabili	na:ka- +B na:kabili		'maka- imperfective' 'is able to buy'
11. makiki- +B makikisu:yuq	ma:ki- +B ma:kisu:yuq	(ma)kiki- +B	'maki- prospective' 'will request'
12. nakiki- +B nakikisu:yuq	na:ki- +B na:kisu:yuq		'maki- imperfective' 'is requesting'

TABLE 2 (cont'd)

ManT	WM	EM	Gloss
13. $\emptyset$	B+ -a walisa basa:ha	B+ -a walisa basa:ha	'-in- imperative' 'Sweep it off' 'Read it'
14. C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> +B +-in wawalisin	qa- +B +-in qawalisin	qa- +B +-in qawalisin	'-in- prospective' 'will be swept'
15. C <sub>1</sub> -in-V <sub>1</sub> +B binibili	qina- +B qinabili	qina- +B qinabili	'-in- imperfective' 'being bought'
16. $\emptyset$	B+ -i tulu:ngi sya	B+ -i tulu:ngi sya	'-an imperative' 'Help him'
17. C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> +B +-an tutulu:ngan	qa- +B +-an qatulu:ngan	qa- +B +-an qatulu:ngan	'-an prospective' 'will be helped'
18. C <sub>1</sub> -in-V <sub>1</sub> +B +-an tinutulu:ngan	qina- +B +-an qinatulu:ngan	qina- +B +-an qinatulu:ngan	'-an imperfective' 'is being helped'
19. $\emptyset$	B+ -an bilhan qaku	B+ -an bilhan qaku	'qi- imperative' 'Buy for me'
20. qi- +C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> +B qibibili	qa- +B qa:bili	qa- +B qa:bili	'qi- prospective' 'will buy for/with'
21. qi-+C <sub>1</sub> -in-V <sub>1</sub> +B qibinibili	qina- +B qina:bili	qina- +B qina:bili	'qi- imperfective' 'buys for/with'
22. ka-+C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> +B kararating pa	ka:- +B ka:dating pa		'-um- recent perfective' 'recently arrived'
23. kapa:pag- +B kapa:paglaba lang	ka:pag- +B ka:paglaba pa		'mag- recent perfective' 'just finished laundering'
24. kapa:pang- kapa:pamili pa	ka:pang- ka:pamili pa		'mang- recent perfective' 'just recently shopped'
<b>GERUNDS</b>			
1. pag- +C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> +B paglalaba	pag- +B paglaba	pag- +B paglaba	'mag- gerund form' 'act of laundering'
2. pang- +C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> +B panghuhu:li	pang- +B panghu:li	pang- +B panghu:li	'mang- gerund form' 'act of catching'
<b>ADJECTIVALS</b>			
1. maka- makaqina	maki- makiqina	maki- makiqina	'inclination to' 'close to one's mother'

TABLE 2 (cont'd)

MarT	WM	EM	Gloss
2. $\emptyset$	ka...-an kaganda:han	ka...-an ka:ganda:han	'superlative' 'prettiest'
3. na:paka- +B napakaganda	paka-/pagka- +B pakaganda/ pagkaganda	maka- +adj makamaganda	'intensifier' 'very pretty'
4. $C_1V_1$ + numeral da:dalwa	qa- + numeral qadalwa	qa- + numeral qadalwa	'limiter' 'only two'
5. $C_1V_1$ : + numeral <sub>2</sub> qi:qisaqisa	qa:- + numeral <sub>2</sub> qa:qisaqi:sa	qa:maka- + num- eral qamakaqisa	'limiter, more emphatic' 'only one'
6. $\emptyset$	qa- + $C_1V_1$ +y +B qadaydalwa	qa- + $C_1i$ : +B qadi:dalwa	'limiter' 'only two'
<b>ENCLITICS</b>			
1. ba	baga	baga/ga	'interrogative marker'
2. ngaq	daw	daw	'polite request or optative'
pakiku:ha ngaq	ku:na daw	kwa:qa daw	'Please get it'
kuku:ning ku ngaq	qa:ku:ning ku daw	qa:kwa:qin ku daw	'I guess I should get it'
3. $\emptyset$	bayaq huqu bayaq	bayaq ququ bayaq	'adverb of assurance' 'Yes, sure'
4. ngaq	nga:niq/mandin	nga:niq/mandin	'adverb of confirmation'
meyrun ngaq	merqun nga:niq	mayrun nga:niq	'Indeed, there is'
wala:ngaq	walaq mandin	qula:mandin	'There is none indeed'
<b>OTHER ADVERBIAL FORMS</b>			
1. $\emptyset$	pag- + $C_1V_1$ : +B pagpa:pari:tu ku	pag- + $C_1V_1$ : +B pagpa:pari:tu ku	'recurrent time' 'Every time I come'
2. $\emptyset$	ba:gay ba:gay walaq	ba:gay ba:gay qulaq	'whenever' 'Whenever there's none'

All the other morphological structures not listed in Tables 1 and 2 are identical in Manila Tagalog and the dialects of Marinduque Tagalog.

## CHAPTER IV

### SYNTAX

#### 4.0. INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter described several morphological structures which divide Marinduque Tagalog into two main areas - the Eastern and the Western dialects. It also described a large number of morphological structures which distinguish those dialects from Manila Tagalog.

The distinguishing structures include some nominal markers, deictics, personal pronouns, verbal and descriptive affixes, and aspect formations. Although members of the younger generation easily learn each others' dialects through constant association, migration and inter-marriage, a further, more significant fact is that the two dialects share a common syntactic system. This chapter outlines those basic syntactic structures of Marinduque Tagalog.

#### 4.1. DEFINITION OF TERMS

In this outline I adopt the terminology used by Schachter and Otanes (1972) for Manila Tagalog. Certain of the more important terms employed in this chapter are used with the following restricted definitions:

**Basic Sentence.** A basic sentence is the simplest type of complete sentence that can occur in the language. It is the underlying structure from which other, more complex types of sentences may be derived.

**Topic.** The topic is the part of the sentence that expresses the focus of attention in the sentence. It is equivalent to the 'subject' of Latin grammars.

**Predicate.** The predicate is that component of the sentence which represents what is said about the topic.

**Focus.** Focus is that feature of the verbal predicate, associated with the verbal affix, that determines the semantic relation between a predicate verb and its topic.

**qang-phrase.** qang-phrase or simply qang is an inclusive term for all qang and si forms of nominals, pronouns and deictics.

**nang-phrase.** nang-phrase or nang is a cover term for all nang and ni forms of nominals, pronouns and deictics. It includes nang-actor phrases and nang-object phrases.

**sa-phrase.** The sa-phrase or sa refers to all sa-marked nominals and their personal and non-personal substitutes.

**Unmarked nominal.** A noun without any nominal marker is an unmarked nominal.

#### 4.2. BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

There are two types of basic Marinduque Tagalog sentences. The predominant type consists of a topic (T) and a predicate (P). The topic is the 'subject' or 'focus of attention' signalled by the qang-phrase. It normally follows the predicate. The predicate tells something about or comments on the topic. The predicate is obligatory while the topic is optional. The second type, to be discussed in section 4.7., consists of a predicate without a topic. In the following sentences the predicate is shown in capital letters.

(1) NA:SAQAN si pi:na  
'WHERE is Pina?'

(2) NA:SA BA:HAY  
'AT HOME'

In sentence (2) the topic, si pi:na, is deleted as it is understood to be the subject of the conversation and is, therefore, 'old information'.

##### 4.2.1. THE PREDICATE

There are four types of basic predicates: (1) nominal, (2) adjectival, (3) pseudo-verbal, (4) verbal.

4.2.1.1. The nominal predicate is either a qang-phrase or its substitutes or an unmarked nominal. Examples of marked nominal predicates are shown in capital letters in the following sentences:

QANG MATANDA: qang mayqa:riq

*'The owner is THE OLD MAN'*

SYA qang mayqa:riq

*'The owner is HE'*

YAN qang mayqa:riq

*'The owner is THAT ONE'*

SI MANG QISKU qang mayqa:riq

*'The owner is MANG ISKO'*

An example of an unmarked nominal predicate is:

MAGBUBUKID qang tandaqing ku

*'My grandfather is a FARMER'*

4.2.1.2. The adjectival predicate is a descriptive word or phrase. It embraces all the (1) adjectives, (2) locatives, (3) temporals, (4) possessives, (5) reservationals, (6) referentials, and (7) existentials. Each type of adjectival predicate is exemplified and capitalised in the following sentences:

- (1) BULUBUNDU:KIN qang tamba:ngan

*'Tambangan is MOUNTAINOUS'*

QA:QISA qitu

*'This is ONLY ONE'*

KAQILA:NGAN qitu

*'This is NECESSARY'*

QA:RIQ yun

*'That's POSSIBLE'*

BA:WAL yan

*'That's FORBIDDEN'*

DA:PAT qitu

*'This is OBLIGATORY'*

MADA:MI sila

*'They are MANY'*

- (2) SA QIBABAQ qang ba:hay nila

*'Their house is DOWNHILL'*

NA:SA MERKA:DU si qina

*'Mother is IN THE MARKET'*

- (3) SA LU:NIS qang kapista:han  
*'The feast day is ON MONDAY'*
- (4) (SA) QA:MIN qitung basket  
*'This basket is OURS'*
- (5) PA:RA SA QINYU qitung maqis  
*'This corn is FOR YOU'*
- (6) TUNGKUL SA SALITA NA:TIN qang na:pagqara:lan nila  
*'They are studying ABOUT OUR SPEECH'*
- (7) MAY PUNTU qang taga mayni:laq  
*'Manilans HAVE AN ACCENT'*
- WALANG PUNTU qang salita:qing ku  
*'My speech HAS NO ACCENT'*

4.2.1.3. The pseudo-verbal predicate functions like a verb and has an actor-like complement but is not inflected for aspect. Examples are:

- QALAM KU yun  
*'I KNOW that'*
- GUSTU NI BEN qitu  
*'BEN WANTS/LIKES this'*
- NA:QIS NILA yan  
*'THEY DESIRE that'*
- QAYAW KU nyan  
*'I DON'T LIKE that'*
- KAQILA:NGANG KU yan  
*'I NEED that'*

The five pseudo-verbs above are followed by nang 'actor' complement. qayaw 'dislike', in addition, accepts a qang actor which then serves as topic of the sentence. When not a personal pronoun, the qang-actor may or may not immediately follow qayaw. This sequence is not common in Manila Tagalog. Thus the following also occur:

- qayaw nang karni SI LOLO }  
qayaw SI LOLO nang karni }  
*'GRANDFATHER doesn't like meat'*
- qayaw nang karni YAN }  
qayaw YAN nang karni }  
*'THAT ONE does not like meat'*

qayaw SYA nang karni  
'HE does not like meat'

The definite object of qayaw and gustu is expressed by sa. Thus

qayaw si ta:tay KAY SE:LO  
'Father does not like SELO'

gustu ni qa:ti SA QISA  
'Sister likes THE OTHER ONE'

gustu nang qiba SA KANYA  
'Others like HIM'

The indefinite object of gustu/qibig, qayaw is expressed by nang.  
Example:

gustu na:min NYAN  
'We want SOME OF THAT'

Pseudo-verbals may be linked by na or -ng or qay to other sentences.  
Examples are:

qalam na:min NA ma:dating kamu (EM)  
'We know THAT you are coming'

gustu nila QAY ma:kanta ka  
'They want you to sing'

gustu ku QAY duqun mu:na kita maparqun  
'I'd like for us to go there first'

Where the actor of the sentence has the same referent as the actor of the pseudo-verb, it is deleted. Thus

kaqila:ngan kung daladala:hin qitu <  
\*kaqila:ngan kung daladala:hing ku qitu  
'I need to carry this around'

qay is the linker between da:pat and kaqila:ngan pseudo-verbals and sentences having aspect-marked verbs.

kaqila:ngan/da:pat QAY qatanungin ta sila  
'It is necessary THAT we ask them'

da:pat QAY ginamut mu:na  
'It should have been treated first'

Sentences linked by na/-ng to pseudo-verbals may have verbs only in their basic form. Examples:

da:pat (na)/kaqila:ngang TANUNGIN mu sya  
*'You SHOULD ASK him'*

maqa:ring MAQABUT nang dyip yun  
*'That CAN BE REACHED by jeepney'*

#### 4.2.1.4. The Verbal Predicate

The primary difference between the pseudo-verbal predicate and the verbal predicate is that the latter contains an aspect-marked verb head which is simultaneously in a focus relation with the topic of the sentence. The topic, as indicated by the focus of the verbal affix, may be any of the following:

- (1) the actor/performer of the action

nagsa:qing na QAKU  
*'I have cooked rice'*

- (2) the direct object

qalubi:ding pu YAN  
*'THAT will be made into a rope'*

qina:lahuk pu QITU sa gu:lay  
*'THIS is being mixed with vegetables'*

- (3) the direction of action of the verb

nabaya:ran mu na бага SI LO:LING  
*'Have you paid LOLING yet?'*

ginupitan QAKU ni marya:nu  
*'I was given a haircut by Mariano'*

- (4) the location of action of the verb

qina:higaqan nang manga ba:taq qang MALAKING BA:TANG  
*'THE BIG LOG is being lain on by the children'*

- (5) the instrument used in the performance of the action

qinapamalit sa lu:mang damit qang BALINGHUY  
*'CASSAVA are exchanged for old clothing'*

- (6) the beneficiary of the action

qa:kuha ku si qo:ya nang qisa  
*'Oya will be gotten one by me'*

The verb may have one or more complements. The verbal complement is in a non-focus relation to the verb. There are eight verbal complements isolated:

- (1) actor complement  
 binu:nut NANG DENTISTA qiding bagqang ku (G)  
*'This my molar was pulled by THE DENTIST'*
- (2) direct object complement  
 nagbayu kami NANG PA:LAY  
*'We pounded SOME RICE'*
- (3) direction complement  
 tuma:pon SA DAMIT NYA qang sabaw  
*'The broth spilled ON HIS CLOTHES'*
- (4) location complement  
 namatay sya SA DAQAN  
*'He died ON THE ROAD'*
- (5) causative complement  
 namatay sya SA KATANDAQAN  
*'He died OF OLD AGE'*
- (6) measurement complement  
 qumu:rung NANG QISANG DANGKAL qang baruqin  
*'The cloth material shrunk BY A HAND'S BREADTH'*
- (7) instrument complement  
 naghambu si lo:lo NANG MAQI:NIT NA TU:BIG (EM)  
*'Grandfather bathed WITH WARM WATER'*
- (8) benefactive complement  
 magsa:qing ka PA:RA SA KANYA  
*'Cook some rice FOR HIM'*

#### 4.3. THE INVERSION MARKER qay

The topic or other sentence component (except the nang-phrase) may be emphasised by placing it in first position, followed by the inversion marker qay, or by a pause, and then the remainder of the sentence.

Thus:

si pi:na qay na:sa ba:hay  
*'Pina is in the house'*

si qu:tuy qay gustu nang sabaw (EM)  
*'Utuy wants some broth'*

qang qiba qay qayaw nitu  
*'Others don't like this'*

qakuy qayaw nang karni (EM)

*'I don't care for meat'*

sa ba:hay qay merqung dalwa

*'At home there are two'*

#### 4.4. ADVERBIALS

A sentence may contain one or more adverbials. With reference to their occurrence in sentences, adverbials are of four types: (1) enclitics, (2) movable adverbs, (3) initial adverbs, and (4) final adverbs.

##### 4.4.1. ENCLITICS

In normal sentence structure, enclitics generally occur after the basic predicate, but even in inverted sentences, the position of enclitics seems to be fixed in the second position. When occurring in a series, monosyllabic enclitics precede the disyllabics. If a monosyllabic personal pronoun is present, the monosyllabic pronoun automatically precedes the enclitic.

ma:parqun PA kami sa ba:yan

*'We will STILL go to town'*

maganda PALA qang bya:hi mu

*'SO, your trip was nice'*

si su:sing DAW qay ma:sa:ma

*'THEY SAY Susing will come along'*

na:ruqun ka RIN WA:RIQ sa binta:naq

*'I THINK you were ALSO at the window'*

naki:ta ku WA:RI: qikaw sa binta:naq

*'I THINK I saw you at the window'*

##### 4.4.2. MOVABLE ADVERBS

A movable adverb may occur (1) after the predicate, (2) after the topic, (3) between components of the predicate, without changing the meaning of the sentence. Some movable adverbs are linked by na/-ng to the predicate. Others, like the temporal adverb kaha:pun 'yesterday', do not require any linker. Thus:

(1) qinaghanda ni su:sing nang merye:nda KAHA:PUN si qa:ris

(2) qinaghanda ni su:sing si qa:ris KAHA:PUN nang merye:nda

(3) qinaghanda KAHA:PUN ni su:sing nang merye:nda si qa:ris

- (4) qinaghanda ni su:sing KAHA:PUN nang merye:nda si qa:ris  
*'Susing prepared some snacks for Aris YESTERDAY'*

Other sentences having movable adverbs are:

- (1) HA:LUS walang natira  
 (2) wala HA:LUS na natira  
*'ALMOST nothing was left'*
- (1) BIGLANG nadulas qang ta:qu  
 (2) nadulas na BIGLA qang ta:qu  
*'The man SUDDENLY slipped'*

#### 4.4.3. INITIAL ADVERBS

There are adverbs that always occupy initial position in relation to a sentence or predicate. Examples are:

- <sup>2</sup>BA:GAY sina:bi nya yun<sup>1</sup> (WM)  
*'Did he REALLY say that?'*
- MALI:MIT maglanguy sa da:gat qang manga ba:taq  
*'The children OFTEN swim in the sea'*
- PA:RANG ma:qulan  
*'LOOKS LIKE it will rain'*

#### 4.4.4. FINAL ADVERBS

Adverbs that always terminate an utterance are sentence-final adverbs. They are often accompanied by a characteristic intonation directing the attention of the hearer to something. Thus

- <sup>2</sup>ku:na daw qiri qay<sup>↑</sup> <sup>2</sup>QU<sup>↑</sup>  
*'Please get this one HERE'*
- <sup>2</sup>ma:parqun kita<sup>↑</sup> <sup>3</sup>HA<sup>↑</sup>  
*'We shall go there, RIGHT?'*
- <sup>2</sup>qinaqayqalisqis sya<sup>↑</sup> <sup>2</sup>QAY<sup>↑</sup> (WM)  
*'IT'S BECAUSE he is running a slight temperature'*

#### 4.5. COORDINATION CONSTRUCTIONS

Two or more sentence elements of equal status may be joined together resulting in a unit that functions in substantially the same manner as any of the linked elements. The elements are linked by coordinators, such as qat 'and' and qo 'or'. Examples are:

naglu:tu QAT naglaba  
'cooked AND laundered'

gu:lay QAT qisdaq  
'vegetables AND fish'

di:tu QO duqun  
'here OR there'

<sup>2</sup>sa bwak<sup>↑</sup> <sup>2</sup>ga:san<sup>↑</sup> <sup>2</sup>QAT bwe:na<sup>3</sup>bista<sup>↑</sup>  
'in Boac, Gasan AND Buenavista'

In the last example there is a rise in pitch after Gasan and Boac.

#### 4.6. MODIFICATION CONSTRUCTIONS

A construction having the constituents of a basic predicate frequently serves as a modifier of a nominal or construction with the same structure. The nominal or element being modified is central to the construction; hence, the head of the construction. The function of the whole unit is substantially like the function of the head. The modifier may be a word, a phrase, or a clause.

In some constructions the modifier has a fixed position. It may either follow or precede the head. In others, the modifier may follow or precede the head without changing the meaning of the construction. The elements are linked by na/-ng. Examples of modification constructions are:

##### 4.6.1. NOUN WITH NOMINAL MODIFIER

(In all the examples the head is capitalised.)

BA:HAY na pa:wid  
'nipa HOUSE'

BA:TAng yan  
'that CHILD'

QANG MAYQA:RI na si mang qisku  
'THE OWNER who is Mang Isko'

The qang-personal pronouns are not used as modifiers.

When both the head and the modifier are nouns, the old information, which generally corresponds to the topic of a basic sentence, precedes the modifier. The above constructions would then be considered as derived from their respective predicate-topic underlying forms:

pa:wid qang ba:hay  
'The house (is made of) nipa'

yan qang ba:taq  
*'That is the child (we are referring to)'*

si mang qisku qang mayqa:rlq  
*'Mang Isko is the owner'*

#### 4.6.2. NOUN AND ADJECTIVAL MODIFIERS

Adjectival modifiers include all phrases and clauses that function like single adjectives.

LUGAR na bulubundu:kin ~ bulubundu:king LUGAR  
*'mountainous PLACE'*

PAGKA:QING ba:wal ~ ba:wal na PAGKA:QIN  
*'FOOD that is prohibited'*

TU:LUNG na kaqila:ngan ~ kaqila:ngang TU:LUNG  
*'needed HELP'*

QANAK na qa:makaqisa ~ qa:makaqisang QANAK  
*'only-one CHILD'*

BA:HAY na na:sa qibabaq ~ na:sa qibabang BA:HAY  
*'HOUSE downhill'*

MAQIS na pa:ra sa qinyu ~ pa:ra sa inyung MAQIS  
*'CORN that is for you'*

TAGA MAYNI:LAQ na may puntu ~ may puntu na TAGA MAYNI:LAQ  
*'MANILANS who have an accent'*

The free ordering of the head-modifier in the above examples apparently does not change the meaning of the construction. As a general rule, however, numerals and limiters precede the head.

dalwang TAQUN  
*'two YEARS'*

qikalwang TAQUN  
*'second YEAR'*

mara:ming TAQUN  
*'many YEARS'*

The sa possessives also precede the head of a modification construction.

(sa) qa:king KASA:MA  
*'my COMPANION'*

kay ta:tay na SUMBRE:RO  
*'Father's HAT'*

The nang possessives, on the other hand, always follow the head of the construction.

KASA:MA ku

*'my COMPANION'*

SUMBRE:RO ni ta:tay

*'Father's HAT'*

LARU:QAN nang ba:taq

*'child's TOY'*

PUTUD nitu

*'SHORT PANTS of this one'*

#### 4.6.3. NOUN WITH PSEUDO-VERBAL AND VERBAL MODIFIERS

KWARTAng kaqila:ngan nya

*'MONEY that he needs'*

SALITANG qalam nya

*'WORD that he knows'*

BIGAS na sina:qing ku

*'RICE that I cooked'*

TA:QUnG nagsa:bi sa qa:kin

*'PERSON who told me'*

The modifiers may include as many complements as possible. They may follow or precede the head, but when they are longer than the head of the construction, the head-modifier order is preferred.

PUSPURUnG pinabili ku sa qi:yu kaha:pun sa ba:yan

*'MATCH which I had you buy in town yesterday'*

BABA:QInG bumili sa qa:kin nang pi:sung qu:lam

*'WOMAN who bought a peso worth of fish from me'*

#### 4.7. THE TOPICLESS SENTENCE

Besides sentences whose topics are deleted, there are sentences, too, that obligatorily do not have any topic. They are not elliptical sentences since the addition of a topic changes the meaning of the sentence. Like the adjectival and verbal modifiers, the topicless sentences are similar in structure to the predicates. The following are some examples:

ma:qulan

*'It will rain'*

na:kulug

*'It's thundering'*

may ta:qu sa pintu:qan

*'There's someone at the doorway'*

walang ba:hay duqun

*'There's no house there'*

A topicless sentence may have modifiers and adverbials.

qumulan pala nang malakas kaha:pun di:tu sa qinyu

*'I see that it rained hard yesterday here at your place'*

#### 4.8. THE ORDER OF SENTENCE COMPONENTS

As previously discussed, the usual arrangement of basic sentences has the entire predicate or part of it preceding the topic. The order of the components of the sentence is relatively free. Consider the various ways to express the equivalent of the English sentence *'The child dropped ten centavos in his piggy bank today'*:

NAGHU:LUG NANG DYIS QANG BA:TA SA QARKANSI:YA NYA NGAYQUN

naghu:lug ngayqun sa qarkansi:ya nya nang dyis qamba:taq

naghu:lug qam ba:ta: nang dyis ngayqun sa qarkansi:ya nya

Other arrangements of the verbal complements, the adverb and the topic are possible, following the verb, without changing the meaning of the utterance.

In cases where the predicate complement or the topic is a monosyllabic pronoun, it precedes all other complements and the monosyllabic enclitics if there are any (see section 4.4.1.).

kumu:ha ka rin nang qisa para sa qa:kin

or qiku:ha mu rin qaku nang qisa

*'Get one for me too'*

qalsan mu daw nang laman qang kahun

*'He says you remove the contents from the box'*

naki:ta ku pu qikaw sa binta:naq

*'I saw you at the window'*

For reasons of style or emphasis on a particular component, a complement (except the nang-phrase) may precede the predicate. The meaning of the resultant sentence differs slightly from that of the underlying sentence.

sa qarkansi:ya nya naghu:lug qang ba:ta nang dyis ngayqun  
*'It was in his piggy bank where the child dropped ten centavos today'*

ngayqun naghu:lug nang dyis sa qarkansi:ya nya qam ba:taq  
*'It was today that the child dropped ten centavos in his piggy bank'*

qang ba:ta qay naghu:lug nang dyis sa qarkansi:ya nya ngayqun  
*'The child dropped ten centavos in his piggy bank today'*

Many feel that the order of the last sentence (with the inversion marker qay) is characteristic of formal style in Manila Tagalog. Among old speakers of Marinduque Tagalog, this order is as frequent as the predicate-topic order.

#### 4.9. SENTENCE TYPES

The major sentence in Marinduque Tagalog can be classified into three types: statements, commands and questions. Each type has a characteristic sequence of components with an accompanying intonation pattern.

A statement generally has a falling terminal pitch contour. It does not contain any of the question markers, but a tag question can be added to it.

<sup>2</sup>pinapaltan nya qang pin<sup>3</sup>tu:ra<sup>†</sup>  
*'He had the paint changed'*  
<sup>2</sup>gustu kung qumuwi <sup>3</sup>mu:na<sup>†</sup>  
*'I want to go home first'*  
<sup>2</sup>qindi: mandin na:qulan<sup>†</sup>  
*'It's not raining'*

A command contains a verbal predicate the verb of which is in the imperative aspect. The actor (expressed or understood) is the second person, or the first person plural inclusive.

<sup>2</sup>magdayag ka <sup>3</sup>mu:na<sup>†</sup> (EM)  
*'Wash the dishes first'*  
<sup>2</sup>dalhin ta qang malaking bas<sup>3</sup>ket<sup>†</sup>  
*'Let's take the big basket along'*  
<sup>2</sup>pagsa:qing na ki<sup>3</sup>ta<sup>†</sup> (EM)  
*'Let's cook rice now'*  
<sup>3</sup>ku:na daw yung salaming ku<sup>†</sup>  
*'Please get my eyeglasses'*

<sup>2</sup>wag ninyung qaqiwa:nan qang <sup>3</sup>pa:yung<sup>†</sup>  
*'Don't you leave the umbrella'*

The second to the last sentence has the enclitic particle daw 'please' which expresses a request. The last example is a negative command which expresses a reminder. It contains the adverb of prohibition (h)wag 'don't'.

A question is identified by any of the question-word markers or by intonation. There are three types of questions: yes-or-no questions, information questions, and confirmation questions.

Unlike in Manila Tagalog where a yes-or-no question has a rising final contour, in Marinduque Tagalog, a yes-or-no question marked by the enclitic бага/gа has a falling pitch contour. This is one big difference between Manila Tagalog and Marinduque Tagalog phonology. Examples are:

WM <sup>3</sup>nakaku:ha ka бага nang quway<sup>†</sup>  
*'Were you able to get some rattan?'*

EM <sup>3</sup>na:rung ga yung matandaq<sup>†</sup>  
*'Was the old man there?'*

ManT <sup>2</sup>na:ndum ba:ng matandaq<sup>†</sup>  
*'Is the old man there?'*

On the other hand, a yes-or-no question without the marker бага/gа may have a rising or falling contour in Marinduque Tagalog. Thus

MT <sup>2</sup>narinig mu yun<sup>†</sup> }  
<sup>2</sup>narinig <sup>3</sup>mu yun<sup>†</sup> }  
*'Did you hear that?'*

ManT <sup>2</sup>na:rinig mu yun<sup>†</sup>

An information question usually starts with an interrogative which substitutes for an element in the sentence:

MT <sup>3</sup>nagqanu kamu dun<sup>†</sup>  
*'What did you do there?'*

<sup>3</sup>qanung kina:qin ninyu<sup>†</sup>  
*'What did you eat?'*

EM <sup>3</sup>ba:kit qinaga:qa<sup>2</sup>ra:lan qang qa:ting salita:qin<sup>†</sup>  
*'Why is our speech being studied?'*

Marinduque Tagalog shares this intonation pattern with Manila Tagalog. For example:

- Mant <sup>3</sup>nagqanu ka run<sup>†</sup>  
*'What did you do there?'*  
<sup>3</sup>qanung kina:qin ninyu<sup>†</sup>  
*'What did you eat?'*

A confirmation question usually ends with a tag question - hindi baga/ga or qanu *'isn't it?'*.

- WM <sup>2</sup>hustu qang sina:bi <sup>3</sup>nya<sup>†</sup> <sup>2</sup>qanu<sup>†</sup>  
*'What he said was correct, right?'*  
 EM <sup>2</sup>qiba qang puntu sa ka<sup>3</sup>bila<sup>†</sup> <sup>2</sup>qanu<sup>†</sup>  
*'The intonation on the other side is different, isn't it?'*

In Western Marinduque, the initial adverb ba:gay *'really'*, which is not found in Eastern Marinduque, marks a confirmation question:

- WM <sup>3</sup>ba:gay sina:bi nya yun<sup>†</sup>  
*'Did he really say that?'*  
<sup>3</sup>ba:gay hindiq pa sila na:kaqa:ni<sup>†</sup>  
*'Have they really not been able to harvest (rice) yet?'*

To express the same thought, Eastern Marinduque uses the interrogative marker (ba)ga plus the adverb of confirmation nga:niq following the verb, which construction also occurs in Western Marinduque.

- EM <sup>3</sup>hindi: pa ga nga:ni: sila nakakaqa:ni<sup>†</sup>  
*'Have they really not been able to harvest yet?'*  
<sup>3</sup>kuma:qin na <sup>2</sup>ga nga:ni: kamu<sup>†</sup>  
*'Have you really eaten already?'*

#### 4.10. SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

There are three types of clauses that can be subordinated to basic sentences: subordinate clauses, infinitive clauses and gerund clauses.

A subordinate clause is introduced by a subordinate conjunction and has the form of a basic sentence. In the examples below, the subordinating conjunctions are capitalised:

- EM PAG narinig mu qang salita: na:min qay baka: hindi: mu maqintindihan  
*'When you hear our speech, you might not understand it'*  
 WM PAG nagasalitaq kayu qay qalam na:ming lahat qang na:sa:bi ninyu  
*'When you speak, we know (understand) everything you say'*

The subordinate clause is introduced by the conjunction pag *'when'* or *'at the time'*. The verb of the subordinate clause may be in the perfective or imperfective aspect.

Another example of a subordinate clause occurs in the following sentence:

WM kita na QAT nagatangis na qang ba:taq  
*'Let's go because the baby is crying'*  
 (cf. EM hamus na QAT na:qi:yak na qang ba:taq)

In the above sentence, the conjunction qat is an explanatory conjunction.

An infinitive clause is also introduced by a subordinating conjunction. Its verb head is in the basic form, base plus affix. An infinitive clause occurs as a complement of a pseudo-verb linked to it by na/-ng. For example:

MT gustu nyaNG PITASIN QAGAD NI DA:RYO QANG HILAW NA NANGKAQ  
*'He wants Dario TO PICK THE GREEN JACKFRUIT right away'*

An infinitive clause also occurs as a subordinate to a main clause:

MT MASKI QILUBUG MU SA TU:BIG YAN qay hindi mababasaq  
*'EVEN IF YOU DIP THAT IN WATER, it won't get wet'*

The verb qilubug 'to dip' has a direct object focus with yan 'that' as its object topic.

A gerund clause consists of a head formed by one of the prefixes pag- or pagka-/paka- plus a verb base and an optional nang-actor or other complements similar to those occurring in verbal predicates. A gerund may occur as a topic or as a complement:

MT maganda QANG PAGKAGAWA NYA NANG NGI:PING KU  
*'HIS WAY OF FIXING MY TEETH was good/nice'*

In the above example, the gerund is the topic. The prefix pagka- implies perfective action. Other examples of gerund clauses are found in the following sentences:

MT nagkasakit si da:duq SA PAGQAQALA:GA NYA NANG MANGA HA:YUP sa  
 bu:kid  
*'Dado became sick IN HIS TAKING CARE OF THE ANIMALS in the farm'*

The gerund in this case is a causative adverbial, stating the cause of the illness. In the next example below, the gerund is the object complement of the verb:

MT nanu:qud qaku nang PAGGAWA NILA NANG KALAMAYHATIQ  
*'I watched THEIR MAKING OF COCO HONEY'*

A gerund clause may function as a temporal adverbial:

MT qang balik nila qay SA PAGQANIHAN NA  
*'Their return will be AT HARVEST TIME'*

## 4.11. SUMMARY

In summary, the Western Marinduque sentence structure using the initial adverb of confirmation *ba:gay* appears to be the only syntactic construction which has no parallel in either Eastern Marinduque Tagalog or Manila Tagalog (see section 4.4.3.). Examples:

WM <sup>3</sup>*ba:gay natatandaqan* <sup>2</sup>*mung lahat yun*<sup>1</sup>  
*'Do you really remember all of that?'*

EM <sup>3</sup>*natatandaqan mu* <sup>2</sup>*ga nga:ning lahat yun*<sup>†</sup>

ManT <sup>2</sup>*natatandaqan mu nga: bang lahat*<sup>3</sup> *yun*<sup>†</sup>

There is one sentence structure not used in Manila Tagalog but is still common in the Tagalog dialects of Marinduque. This pertains to the occurrence of the topic *qikaw* 'you (sg.)' in other positions than preceding the inversion marker *qay* (sections 4.4.1. and 4.8.).

EM *naki:ta ku wa:ri qikaw sa binta:naq*  
*'I think I saw you at the window'*

MT *naki:ta ku pu qikaw sa binta:naq*  
*'I saw you at the window'*

ManT *na:ki:ta kita sa binta:naq/qikaw qay na:kita ku sa binta:naq*  
*'I saw at the window'*

Some uses of *qay* with pseudo-verbals are very rarely heard in Manila. Examples are:

MT *si ti:na daw qay gustung qumuwiq*  
*'They say that Tina wants to go home'*

*si lo:lo qay qayaw nang karni*  
*'Grandfather does not like meat'*

The Tagalog dialects of Marinduque share a common core of syntactic structures with each other and with Manila Tagalog. Their substantially uniform syntactic structures justify the assumption that they belong to one language.

## CHAPTER V

### LEXICON

#### 5.0. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the lexical data collected from the responses to the 300-item vocabulary list used in this dialectological survey. A summary of the responses is found in Appendix A. The vocabulary list used in the survey consists of the Swadesh 100-item basic vocabulary revised by Zorc (1973) to suit the Philippine context plus another 200 common words and expressions, many of which were purposely selected to obtain differences between Manila Tagalog and Marinduque Tagalog dialects. Being a native speaker of Eastern Marinduque Tagalog, I was aware of some items that would likely yield differences between the Marinduque Tagalog dialects and between them and Manila Tagalog.

Two main comparisons were made. First, the lexical items in Marinduque Tagalog and Manila Tagalog were examined for four kinds of data: (1) identical terms, (2) phonologically variant forms, (3) non-cognate roots, and (4) cognates with different meanings. Next, the lexical terms gathered from the towns and barrios in the whole island province were compared to find out (1) the core vocabulary shared by the dialects, (2) the dialectal variations, and (3) the vocabulary peculiar to each place. Lexical differences are plotted on isogloss maps, using various kinds of lines and symbols to set off areas exhibiting different features from each other.

#### 5.1. IDENTICAL TERMS IN MT. AND ManT

In terms of phonological sequence, meaning and distribution, 143 of the 300 items are identical in Marinduque Tagalog and Manila Tagalog. 140 items come from the Western dialect area and 137 from the Eastern dialect area. Table 3 gives the list of the identical lexicon in Manila and Marinduque, constituting approximately 48 per cent of the lexical data.

TABLE 3  
Identical Lexicon in Manila and Marinduque Tagalog Dialects

Manila	Western Marinduque	Eastern Marinduque	Gloss
<b>A. NOUNS</b>			
001. qabu	qabu	qabu	'ashes'
002. qalamang	qalamang		'tiny shrimps'
003. qapuy	qapuy	qapuy	'fire'
004. qa:raw	qa:raw	qa:raw	'sun'
005. qasu	qasu	qasu	'smoke'
006. qa:su	qa:su	qa:su	'dog'
007. qatay	qatay	qatay	'liver'
008. baba:qi		baba:qi	'female'
009. balahi:bu	balahi:bu	balahi:bu	'feather'
010. balat	balat	balat	'skin'
011. batu	batu	batu	'stone'
012. bibig	bibig	bibig	'mouth'
013. binhiq	binhiq	binhiq	'seed'
014. bituqin	bitu:qin	bitu:qin	'star'
015. buha:ngin	buha:ngin	buha:ngin	'sand'
016. buhuk	buhuk	buhuk	'hair'
017. bunduk	bunduk	bunduk	'mountain'
018. buntut	buntut	buntut	'tail'
019. ka:huy	ka:huy	ka:huy	'tree'
020. kamay	kamay	kamay	'hand'
021. karni	karni	karni	'meat'
022. kuku	kuku	kuku	'fingernail'
023. ku:tu	ku:tu	ku:tu	'louse'
024. daqan	da:qan	da:qan	'way'
025. da:gat	da:gat	da:gat	'sea'
026. da:hun	da:hun	da:hun	'leaf'
027. di:laq	di:laq	di:laq	'tongue'
028. duguq	duguq	duguq	'blood'
029. du:hat	du:hat	du:hat	'blackberry-like fruit'
030. ha:nip	ha:nip	ha:nip	'chicken louse'
031. qi:bun	qi:bun	qi:bun	'bird'
032. qikmu	qikmu	qikmu	'betel leaf'
033. qi:lug	qi:lug	qi:lug	'river'
034. qilung	qilung	qilung	'nose'

TABLE 3 (cont'd)

Manila	Western Marinduque	Eastern Marinduque	Gloss
035. qisdaq	qisdaq	qisdaq	'fish'
036. qitlug	qitlug	qitlug	'egg'
037. lala:ki	lala:ki	lala:ki	'male'
038. lalamu:nan	lalamu:nan	lalamu:nan	'throat'
039. liqig	li:qig	li:qig	'neck'
040. lu:paq	lu:paq	lu:paq	'earth'
041. mangkuk	mangkuk	mangkuk	'bowl'
042. mata	mata	mata	'eye'
043. nga:ngaq	nga:ngaq		'betel and areca nut chew'
044. ngi:pin	ngi:pin	ngi:pin	'teeth'
045. paqa	pa:qa	pa:qa	'foot'
046. panga:lan	panga:lan	panga:lan	'name'
047. pira:su	pira:su	pira:su	'piece'
048. pu:suq	pu:suq	pu:suq	'heart'
049. puyu	puyu		'cowlick'
050. salitaq	salitaq	salitaq	'word'
051. sanduk	sanduk		'ladle'
052. saranggo:la	saranggu:la	saranggu:la	'kite'
053. simulaq	simulaq	simulaq	'beginning'
054. si:ngku	si:ngku	si:ngku	'five-centavo piece'
055. su:ngay	su:ngay	su:ngay	'horn'
056. su:su	su:su	su:su	'breasts'
057. tabaq	tabaq	tabaq	'fat'
058. ta:qu		ta:qu	'human being'
059. tyan	tyan	tyan	'belly'
060. tu:big	tu:big	tu:big	'water'
061. tu:hud	tu:hud	tu:hud	'knee'
062. tuyuq	tuyuq	tuyuq	'dried fish'
063. qugat	qugat	qugat	'root'
064. qu:lu	qu:lu	qu:lu	'head'
065. qu:suk	qu:suk	qu:suk	'smoke'
<b>B. VERBS</b>			
066. qakyat	qakyat	qakyat	'go up'
067. qalam	qalam	qalam	'know fact'
068. qa:yaw	qayaw	qayaw	'dislike'
069. banliq	banliq	banliq	'scald'

TABLE 3 (cont'd)

Manila	Western Marinduque	Eastern Marinduque	Gloss
070. bigay	bigay	bigay	'give'
071. bu:nut	bu:nut	bu:nut	'pull out'
072. kabit	kabit	kabit	'attach'
073. kagat	kagat	kagat	'bite'
074. ka:qin	ka:qin	ka:qin	'eat'
075. ki:ta	ki:ta	ki:ta	'see'
076. dating	dating	dating	'arrive'
077. dinig	dinig	dinig	'hear'
078. halbut	halbut	halbut	'grab'
079. ha:saq	ha:saq	ha:saq	'sharpen'
080. higaq	higaq	higaq	'lie down'
081. qigib	qigib	qigib	'fetch water'
082. qi:haw	qi:haw	qi:haw	'broil'
083. qinum	qinum	qinum	'drink'
084. la:kad	la:kad	la:kad	'walk'
085. languy	languy	languy	'swim'
086. li:guq	li:guq	li:guq	'bathe'
087. lipad	lipad	lipad	'fly'
088. mamatay	mamatay	mamatay	'to die'
089. mapatay	mapatay	mapatay	'to kill'
090. palakpak	palakpak	palakpak	'clap'
091. sa:bi	sa:bi	sa:bi	'say'
092. sa:luk	sa:luk		'scoop'
093. sa:bug	sa:bug	sa:bug	'scatter'
094. su:nug	su:nug	su:nug	'burn'
095. tadtad	tadtad	tadtad	'chop'
096. tu:lug	tu:lug	tu:lug	'sleep'
097. qulan	qulan	qulan	'rain'
098. qupuq	qupuq	qupuq	'sit'
099. qu:sap	qu:sap	qu:sap	'converse'
C. ADJECTIVES			
100. ba:gu	ba:gu	ba:gu	'new'
101. baluktut	baluktut	baluktut	'crooked'
102. bilug	bilug	bilug	'round'
103. bungiq	bungiq	bungiq	'with missing tooth'
104. kaquntiq	kaquntiq	kaquntiq	'small amount'

TABLE 3 (cont'd)

Manila	Western Marinduque	Eastern Marinduque	Gloss
105. dilaw	dilaw	dilaw	'yellow'
106. hilaw	hilaw	hilaw	'unripe'
107. qisa	qisa	qisa	'one'
108. qitim	qitim	qitim	'black'
109. lukuluku	lukuluku		'crazy'
110. maki:nis	maki:nis	maki:nis	'smooth'
111. madulas	madulas	madulas	'slippery'
112. maha:baq	maha:baq	maha:baq	'long'
113. maqi:nit	maqi:nit	maqi:nit	'hot'
114. malaki	malaki	malaki	'big'
115. mala:put	malaput	malaput	'thick as in liquid'
116. manipis	manipis	manipis	'thin'
117. mapurul	mapurul	mapurul	'dull'
118. mara:mi	mara:mi	mara:mi	'many'
119. marumi	marumi	marumi	'dirty'
120. mata:las	mata:las	mata:las	'sharp'
121. pa:ngit	pa:ngit	pa:ngit	'ugly'
122. pi:pi	pipi	pipi	'mute'
123. pula	pula	pula	'red'
124. punuq	punuq	punuq	'full'
125. putiq	putiq	putiq	'white'
126. tuyuq	tuyuq	tuyuq	'dry'
D. ADVERBS			
127. kaha:pun	kaha:pun	kaha:pun	'yesterday'
128. hindiq	hindiq		'no; not'
129. hwag	hwag	hwag	'don't'
130. walaq	walaq		'none'
131. qaku	qaku	qaku	'I'
132. qanu	qanu	qanu	'what'
133. ka	ka	ka	'you; thou'
134. kami	kami	kami	'we (excl.)'
135. ganyan	ganyan	ganyan	'like that'
136. kaqilan	kaqilan	kaqilan	'when'
137. lahat	lahat	lahat	'all'
138. paqanu	paqanu	paqanu	'how'
139. saqan	saqan	saqan	'where'

TABLE 3 (cont'd)

Manila	Western Marinduque	Eastern Marinduque	Gloss
140. qitu	qitu	qitu	'this'
141. si:nu	si:nu	si:nu	'who'
E. PHRASES AND EXPRESSIONS			
142. kargahin qang ba:taq	kargahin qang ba:taq	kargahin qang ba:taq	'carry the child'
143. magpagupit	magpagupit	magpagupit	'have a haircut'

TABLE 4  
Cognates with Minimal Phonological Variants

Manila	Marinduque	Gloss
A. NOUNS		
01. qalkansya	qarkansi:ya	'piggy bank'
02. qalikabuk	qalbuk	'dust'
03. qalima:sag	kasag	'crab'
04. qalupi:han	qaluhi:pan qulahi:pan	'centipede'
05. qampalaya	qapalya	'bitter gourd'
06. baba:qe	baba:yi (WM)	'female'
07. bagang	bagqang	'molar'
08. bahagha:riq	balagha:riq (EM)	'rainbow'
09. balun	balqun	'a well'
10. ba:ngaw	bayangaw	'large fly'
11. beywang	bayqawang	'waist'
12. bukungbu:kung	bukubu:ku (WM)	'ankle'
13. butu	butqu	'bone'
14. kalaba:sa	kaluba:sa	'squash'
15. kalabaw	karabaw	'carabao'
16. kalamansiq	kalamqi:san (EM)	'calamansi (Citrus microcarpa)'
17. kamyas	kalamyas	'a sour fruit'
18. katawan	katawqan	'body'
19. dalanghi:ta	daranghi:ta	'orange'
20. daqu:ngan	duqu:ngan	'wharf'
21. dikin	gikin	'clay pot stand'

TABLE 4 (cont'd)

Manila	Marinduque	Gloss
22. di:lis	du:lis (WM)	'anchovy'
23. duraq	luraq	'spittle'
24. du:ngis	qu:ngis	'face dirt'
25. gabi	gabqi	'night'
26. lamuk	namuk	'mosquito'
27. ngu:suq	qungus	'upper lip'
28. pagung	pagqung	'turtle'
29. palayuk	palyuk	'clay pot'
30. pe:klat	pi:lat	'scar'
31. pigi	pigqi	'buttocks'
32. pusun	pusqun	'lower abdomen'
33. ta:qu	ta:wu (WM)	'human being'
34. tigdas	tikdas	'measles'
35. to:toy	qu:tuy (EM) quduy (M)	'address to a young boy'
36. tro:so	turu:su	'log'
37. tso:nggo	qunggoy	'monkey'
38. qu:qud	qu:hud	'worm'
<b>B. VERBS</b>		
39. qa:hin	ha:yin	'set the table'
40. banlaw	qanlaw hanlaw hawhaw	'rinse'
41. bu:nut	bugnut (WM)	'pull out'
42. kalabit	kublīt kablīt kudlīt	'tap lightly'
43. kilitiq	kitiq	'tickle'
44. halakhak	talanhak	'guffaw'
45. higab	hikab (EM)	'yawn'
46. hi:lu	li:yu	'dizzy'
47. hintay	qintay	'wait'
48. qi:hip	hi:hip	'blow'
49. lunuk	lunquk	'gulp'
50. meyrun	mirqun merqun mayrun	'there is/are'
51. sa:giq	sagquy	'bump slightly'

TABLE 4 (cont'd)

Manila	Marinduque	Gloss
52. sa:luk	ka:lus	'scoop'
53. sipun	sipqun	'colds'
54. tu:lak	tuklang	'push'
55. tu:suk	tursuk	'prick'
	tulsuk	
	tusluk	
	turuk	
C. ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS		
56. dalawa	dalwa	'two'
57. lukut	yukus	'crumpled'
58. mabigat	mabigqat	'heavy'
59. mara:mi	mada:mi	'many'
60. marumi	madumi	'dirty'
61. tulis	tilus	'pointed'
62. hindiq	qindiq (EM)	'no; not'
63. ngayon	ngayqun	'now'
64. walaq	qulaq (EM)	'none'
65. hwag	wag	'don't'

## 5.2. PHONOLOGICALLY VARIANT FORMS IN MT AND ManT

In addition to the 143 terms which are identical in Marinduque Tagalog and Manila Tagalog, 65 items from MT contain minimal phonological variation (see Table 4 above) from ManT as a result of such phonological differences as (1) vowel lengthening, (2) occurrence of glottal stop following a consonant, (3) occurrence or non-occurrence of phonemes or syllables, (4) differences in vowels and consonants, (5) differences in phonological order of segments, and a (6) combination of two or more of these differences. Examples of these variations are given below:

### 5.2.1. ABSENCE OF VOWEL LENGTH IN ManT

In the following words, Manila Tagalog shows an absence of vowel lengthening in the penultimate syllable preceding a glottal stop or a bilabial glide:

MT	ManT	Gloss
pa:qa	paqa	'foot'
li:qig	liqig	'neck'
da:qan	daqan	'way'
bitu:qin	bituqin	'star'
bu:wan	buwan	'moon'
lu:qub	luqub	'inside'
tu:wing	tuwing	'every time'
mali:qit	maliqit	'small'
qu:wiq	quwiq	'go home'

Marinduque Tagalog and some other Tagalog-speaking areas south of Manila, like Batangas, Laguna and Quezon, have vowel length in the penultimate syllable in words of the shape CV: {<sup>q</sup><sub>w</sub>} VC.

On the other hand, three Manila Tagalog words have vowel length on the penultimate syllable where Marinduque Tagalog counterparts have short vowels:

MT	ManT	Gloss
qayaw	qa:yaw	'dislike'
malaput	mala:put	'thick, as in liquids'
pipi	pi:pi	'mute'

### 5.2.2. LOSS OF GLOTTAL STOP FOLLOWING A CONSONANT

In Manila Tagalog, glottal stop which historically followed a consonant was lost (Zorc 1972:46-7). Glottal stop in this position was retained in Marinduque Tagalog. Therefore, there are a number of words differing in this respect. Examples are:

MT	ManT	Gloss
-Cq-	C <sup>0</sup> -	
butqu	butu	'bone'
gabqi	gabi	'night'
lunquk	lunuk	'gulp'
mabigqat	mabigat	'heavy'
ngayqun	ngayun	'now'
pagqung	pagung	'turtle'
pusqun	pusun	'lower abdomen'
sipqun	sipun	'colds'
ganqun	ganun	'like that'
katawqan	katawan	'body'
pigqi	pigi	'buttocks'

## 5.2.3. SPANISH LOANWORDS

In three Spanish loanwords, Marinduque Tagalog has retained the /r/ which has become /l/ in Manila Tagalog.

MT	ManT	Gloss
karabaw	kalabaw	'carabao'
daranghi:ta	dalanghi:ta	'orange'
qarkansi:ya	qalkansi:ya	'piggy bank'

There are also a number of pairs of words which are sufficiently similar to be considered to have come from a common source but which differ phonologically in ways which cannot be readily explained in terms of any phonological change. Some of these show:

## 5.2.4. OCCURRENCE OF /-la-/ AND /-ya-/ IN MT

MT	ManT	Gloss
kalamyas	kamyas	'a sour fruit-vegetable'
bayangaw	ba:ngaw	'a large fly'

## 5.2.5. NON-OCCURRENCE OF SOME PHONEMES OR SYLLABLES IN MT

MT	ManT	Gloss
palyuk	palayuk	'clay cooking pot'
dalwa	dalawa	'two'
qalbuk	qalikabuk	'dust'
kitiq	kilitiq	'tickle'
qapalya	qampalaya	'a bitter gourd'

## 5.2.6. DIFFERENCES IN PHONOLOGICAL ORDER OF SEGMENTS

MT	ManT	Gloss
qaluhi:pan	qalupi:han	'centipede'
qalahi:pan		
kalamqi:san (EM)	kalamansi q	'calamansi (Citrus microcarpa)'
ka:lus	sa:luk	'scoop'
ti:lus	tu:lis	'pointed'
qungus	ngu:suq	'upper lip'

## 5.2.7. DIFFERENCES IN VOWEL OR CONSONANT

MT	ManT	Gloss
kaluba:sa	kalaba:sa	'squash'
duqu:ngan	daqu:ngan	'wharf'
du:lis	di:lis	'anchovy'
gikin	dikin	'a clay pot stand'

MT	ManT	Gloss
luraq	duraq	'spit'
namuk	lamuk	'mosquito'
qindiq (EM)	hindiq	'no; not'
balagha:riq (EM)	bahagha:riq	'rainbow'

The term for 'rainbow' in the Western dialect is balangaw so that /-l-/ in balagha:riq may be a case of contamination.

#### 5.2.8. COMBINATION OF PHONOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

MT	ManT	Gloss
sagquy	sa:giq	'bump slightly'
ha:yin	qa:hin	'set the table'
li:yu	hi:lu	'faint'
kalbit	kalabit	'tap lightly'

#### 5.3. NON-COGNATE ROOTS

Table 5 gives 148 stimulus items which elicited non-cognate roots in Marinduque Tagalog for the same meaning in Manila Tagalog. 40 of these roots (marked in the list with asterisks) are in competition with the Manila Tagalog terms which are also common throughout the province. Of the non-cognate roots, 95 occur in both EM and WM; 52 occur only in WM and 53, only in EM. In 15 cases, the MT term slightly differs in meaning from the Manila Tagalog term. These terms are:

(1) MT tunsuy ~ MT and ManT tuyuq. tunsuy is a specific kind of dried fish which has some oil preservative besides salt. tuyuq is a generic term for 'dried fish'.

(2) sampa ~ qakyat 'go up'. sampa is, more specifically, getting on or on top of a place: sumampa sa lame:sa 'got on top of the table'; sumampa sa bus 'got on the bus'.

(3) li:yu ~ lu:laq for ManT hi:lu 'faint', lu:laq is 'dizzy'.

(4) bangi ~ qi:haw 'broil on live coal'. bangi is restricted to root-crops and corn on the cob, or the like.

(5) pangi:ki ~ ngi:ki for ManT nginig 'tremble'. pangi:ki is 'trembling with malaria'. It is sometimes used synonymously with malaria.

(6) taphig for ManT sa:giq 'bump slightly'. taphig is actually a harder bump, almost brushing aside an object.

(7) bi:kul for ManT qatal 'stammering'. The term bi:kul has a historical significance in that the early migrants from the Bikol area

naturally could not speak Tagalog fluently. Thus the term is used to describe a person who has difficulty in speaking Tagalog, or a child who has not attained fluency in speech.

(8) bulug ~ gupit '*haircut*'. Some speakers use bulug exclusively for '*shearing animals' hair*'. Others apply the term to the '*cutting of thick hair*' whether referring to animals or humans.

(9) WM ka:ray ~ ManT nginig '*tremble*'. ka:ray is usually accompanied by fear.

(10) WM kalambri, another variant of kilig '*tremble*', is a result of staying too long in water; it is equivalent to English '*chill*'.

(11) WM quga:sik ~ qula:sik for ManT palahaw '*scream*'. The WM terms refer to some kind of a shrieking cry.

(12) EM linuq for ManT ka:nimba:buy '*pig's feed*'. linuq consists mostly of rice washings or other liquids and crumbs rinsed off the dishes.

(13) EM sakad ~ qakyat '*go up*'. sakad is similar to sampa '*getting on or on top of a place*'.

(14) EM quga:hang ~ ManT palahaw '*scream*'. quga:hang is '*loud weeping*'.

(15) EM tipuq ~ lungas ~ bungiq '*with missing teeth*'. lungas is equivalent to bungal '*almost all teeth missing*' in ManT.

In addition to the non-cognate roots discussed above, it is also apparent that there are many terms known and used by older speakers which are not intelligible to speakers of Manila Tagalog or even to the younger generation in Marinduque.

TABLE 5

## Non-Cognate Roots in Manila and Marinduque Tagalog Dialects

Manila	Western Marinduque	Eastern Marinduque	Gloss
<b>A. NOUNS</b>			
001. qalakdan	qiwi	qatangqa:tang	' <i>scorpion</i> '
002. qalamang		balaw	' <i>tiny shrimp</i> '
003. qalkansya	bungku:gan bungbung (GBu)		' <i>piggy bank</i> '
004. qali:laq	bata:qan	bata:qan	' <i>servant</i> '
005. qalima:ngu	katang butut (M)	katang	' <i>swamp crab</i> '

TABLE 5 (cont'd)

Manila	Western Marinduque	Eastern Marinduque	Gloss
006. qa:sung qulul	bangqaw	bangqaw	'mad dog'
007. ba:baq	sihang	sihang	'chin'
008. baklaq	binabayi	binabaqi	'effeminate'
009. bahagha:riq	balangaw		'rainbow'
010. balakang	pagqung	pagqung	'hip'
		tabugiq	
	pigqi	pigqi	
011. balaku:bak	dalikdik	kuli:sap	'dandruff'
012. ba:ngaw	langug		'large fly'
013. biqik	bulaw	bulaw	'piglet'
014. bi:luy	tagunyaq	tagunyaq	'dimple'
015. bu:ku	mu:raq	mu:raq	'young coconut fruit'
016. bukungbu:kung		buqul	'ankle'
017. kaqing	ba:kid	ba:kid	'big basket'
	ba:kul	ba:kul	
018. kalamansiq	da:yap		'calamansi (Citrus microcarpa)'
	kalamunding		
019. kamo:teng ka:huy	balinghuy	karlu:bang	'cassava root'
020. ka:nimba:buy	lagmaw	sagmaw	'feed for pigs'
		linuq	
021. ka:ninglamig	ba:haw	ba:haw	'cold leftover rice'
022. ka:puk	ka:yu	bulaksi:naq	'cotton tree'
023. ko:pra	lukad*	lukad*	'dried coconut meat'
024. ko:rto	putud	putud	'short pants'
025. kulungan nang ba:buy	qulbuq	banlat	'pigpen'
026. da:qing	binislad	binislad	'thin-sliced dried fish'
027. dalanghi:ta	kahil		'orange'
	sintu:ris		
028. di:lis	pilipitin	bulinaw	'anchovy'
029. du:hat	lumbuy* (BM)		'blackberry fruit'
030. du:ngis	qa:mus	qa:mus	'face dirt'
	tapqing	tapqing	
031. gagamba	la:waq	la:waq	'spider'
032. gila:gid	ngidngid	ngidngid	'gums'
033. ha:nip	da:paw		'chicken louse'
034. qikmu	mamqin*		'betel leaf'

TABLE 5 (cont'd)

Manila	Western Marinduque	Eastern Marinduque	Gloss
035. qitlug nang qisdaq	bi:hud	bi:hud	'fish roe'
036. qi:pis	bangku:kang	bangku:kang	'cockroach'
037. lalamu:nan	lalaqu:gan*	lalaqu:gan*	'throat'
038. langgam	gu:yam	gu:yam	'ant'
039. mangkuk	hawung*	sulyaw*	'bowl'
040. munggu	bala:tung	bala:tung	'bean'
041. nga:ngaq		mamaq	'betel-areca nut chew'
042. pagung	baqu*		'turtle'
043. pale:ngke	pla:sa	merka:do	'market'
044. pamingga:lan	pa:ga taqu:ban banggerahan	banggerahan	'dish rack'
045. pani:ki	kabug	kulapnit	'bat'
046. paruparu	bilabila	kulili:paw	'butterfly'
047. pigi	sasapnan*		'buttocks'
048. pira:su	pilanggut* (GBu) piranggut* (GBu) pilandut* (GBu)	pi:sang*	'piece'
049. puyu		pulipud	'cowlick'
050. sa:ku	kustal*	kustal*	'sack'
051. sanduk		sampi*	'ladle'
052. sa:put	ba:hayang nang la:waq	ba:hayang nang la:waq	'cobweb'
053. sigari:lyas	kalamismis	ka:bay	'a vegetable'
054. simulaq	pu:nuq	pu:nuq	'beginning'
055. si:nat	qalisqis landang	qalisqis	'slight fever'
056. sinunga:ling	bula:qan	bula:qan	'liar'
057. si:ngku	walu:hin bagul bagun		'five-centavo piece'
058. si:taw	ki:bal lu:baw (BM) putulin (BM)	latuy	'stringbeans'
059. su:haq	lukban	lukban	'pomelo'
060. tagulabay	qala:put	qala:put	'skin rash'
061. talun	busay	busay	'waterfall'

TABLE 5 (cont'd)

Manila	Western Marinduque	Eastern Marinduque	Gloss
062. ti:naq	kolor	kolor	'bluing'
063. tirador	palapa: tik	palapa: tik	'slingshot'
064. tirintas	sula: pid	sala: pid	'braid'
065. tro: so	ba: tang*	ba: tang*	'log'
066. tso: nggo	qamuq	qamuq	'monkey'
067. tu: taq	bilut	bilut	'puppy'
068. tuyuq	tunsuy*	tunsuy*	'dried fish'
069. qu: lap	panganu: rin	panganu: rin	'cloud'
070. qakyat	sampa	sampa	'go up'
		qadyu*	
		sakad	
071. qambun	qasikqa: sik qalanda: haw (BM)	qasikqa: sik	'shower'
072. qanggi	qampi: yas	qampi: yas	'rain ... wind blown'
073. balatan	talupan	tali: pan	'peel'
074. balingynguy	tunggu	tunggu	'nosebleed'
075. banliq	disluq dinli* lapdus daysuq (M) dansuq (B)	paslut panlus	'scald'
076. kabit	kanaq*	kanaq* takid*	'attach'
077. kibuq	qimik	qimik	'respond orally'
078. kilitiq	gilawgaw	gilawgaw	'tickle'
079. ga: ya	tu: lad* qu: ray*	tu: lad* qu: ray*	'imitate; mimic'
080. halbut	habnit*	habnit* hiklas*	'grab'
081. higab	hakay	hakay	'yawn'
082. hi: lu	lu: laq	lu: laq	'dizzy'
083. hi: waq	ga: yat	ga: yat	'slice'
084. qigib	ti: gis	tabuq* kadluq	'fetch water'
085. qi: haw	bangi	bangi	'broil'
086. qinis	su: ra	qinggit su: sut	'irritate feeling'
087. li: guq		hambu	'bathe'

TABLE 5 (cont'd)

Manila	Western Marinduque	Eastern Marinduque	Gloss
088. lingaq	pa:ngag	pa:ngag	'look around'
089. lulun	lumud	lumud	'swallow'
090. nabulu:nan	naluqu:gan natigqa:kan	naluqu:gan natigqa:kan	'choked on food'
091. nginig	ka:ray kalambri pangi:ki	pangi:ki	'tremble'
092. palakpak	tapiq* talpak	tapiq* tamu:yuq	'clap'
093. palahaw	quga:sik kula:rat (GBu) qula:sik (GBu)	quga:hang	'scream'
094. sa:bi	ganqun*	gaqun*	'say'
095. sa:bug		salwag* sambu:lat*	'scatter'
096. sa:giq	taphig	da:gil taphig	'bump slightly'
097. salampak	lapa:nak	lupa:giq	'sit on floor'
098. salu	sambut	sakap sambut	'catch'
099. tahu1	batuk	batuk	'bark'
100. tayuq	tindig*	tindig*	'stand'
101. ti:laq	hu:law	hu:law	'stop; subside, e.g. rain'
102. tu:lak		tunyud*	'push'
103. tu:suk	tundus turuk	turuk	'pierce'
104. qu:sap	pu:lung*	qergo*	'converse'
105. baluktut		kiluw*	'crooked'
106. bilasaq	hampuk	hampuk	'spoiled, e.g. fish'
107. bungiq		tipuq* lungas	'with missing tooth' 'almost all teeth missing'
108. kalbu	panut* qupaw bungkug	panut* qupaw qanit	'bald'
109. lukuluku		puhang	'crazy'
110. lukut		kuyumus gusamut	'crumpled'

TABLE 5 (cont'd)

Manila	Western Marinduque	Eastern Marinduque	Gloss
111. maqalinsa:ngan	mapula:hil	mabanas	'warm and humid'
112. maqaskad	maka:hat	maka:hat	'bitter-pungent'
113. maqanta	maqangal	maqangal	'rancid'
114. maba:gal	mahi:naq	mahi:naq	'slow'
115. maki:nis	malu:muy*		'smooth'
116. maginaw	malamig	malamig	'cold'
117. mahi:lab	matu:buq	matu:buq	'fluffy, e.g. rice'
118. maqi:ngay	masa:muk	masa:muk	'noisy'
119. maliq	salaq	salaq	'wrong'
120. manhid	ngimi	ngimi	'numb'
121. manipis	silag*	silag*	'thin'
122. mapanghi	mapa:lut	mapa:lut	'smell of urine'
123. mapurul	bungul*	bungul*	'dull'
124. mara:mut	maqi:mut	maqi:mut	'selfish'
125. pa:ngit	kaqiba*	katu:waq*	'ugly'
126. pi:pi	qapaw*	qapaw*	'mute'
127. pipiq	tumiq (BM) tимиq (BM) yupit	yupit	'smashed'
128. sanay	biha:sa	biha:sa	'trained'
129. ta:maq	hustu	hustu	'correct'
130. qatal	ma:ngul bi:kul qatqat	ma:ngul bi:kul	'stammering'
131. quntiquntiq	qutayqutay qutikqutik	qutayqutay	'little by little'
D. PHRASES			
132. sunug na sunug	tuquk	tuquk	'charred'
133. magpaka:qin nang ba:buy (o qa:su)	magbahug	magbahug	'feed the pig/dog'
134. ta:yu na	kita na ta:mus na (BM)	ha:mus na	'let's go'
135. kargahin qang ba:taq		sabi:hin* qang ba:taq	'carry the child'
136. dagdagan nang tu:big	tibhawan timbawan bantuqan	tibhawan	'dilute'

TABLE 5 (cont'd)

Manila	Western Marinduque	Eastern Marinduque	Gloss
137. qituk <u>su</u>	qitu:pu qi <ul style="list-style-type: none">lit</ul>	qitu:pu	'tease/match with someone'
138. maglaru nang tu:big	maglandiq	maglandiq	'play with water'
139. maglu:tuq	magpaqanyuq*	magpaqanyuq*	'cook meal'
140. ka:ku	qana:kin	qana:kin	'I said'
141. maruming damit	lamug	lamug	'dirty clothes'
142. magli:nis nang bigas	maghi:rang magli:naw	maghi:rang	'clean the rice'
143. punuq qang bibig	samu:qal	namumuqa:lan	'having a mouthful'
144. tangha:li nang gi:sing	mu:quk	mu:quk	'late rising from sleep'
145. magpagupit	magpabulug*	magpabulug*	'have a haircut'
146. maghu:gas nang kina:nan		magdayag	'wash dishes'
147. palu:qin nang kamay sa pigi	dapliqan tagpian	dapliqan	'spank on the buttocks'
148. nila:gang sa:ging	nila:bung sa:ging	nila:bung sa:ging	'boiled bananas'

## 5.4. COGNATES WITH DIFFERENT MEANINGS

Several terms used in Manila have a different shade of meaning or manner of application in Marinduque. Following are some of the most conspicuous identical forms that vary semantically in the two dialects. A few sentences illustrate the semantic differences in cases needing further clarification of meaning.

## (1) bahug

MT *'feed, pertaining to pigs, dogs or cats and the like'*  
 magbahug ka nang ba:buy  
*'You feed the pig'*

ManT *'mix liquid (broth, soup, milk, coffee, etc.) with rice'*  
 mahi:lig syang magbahug nang kape sa ka:nin  
*'He is fond of mixing coffee with rice'*

## (2) balakang

MT *'the part of the human anatomy between the thighs'*  
 ManT *'the lower hips'*

## (3) kaqina:man &lt; root qi:nam

In MT, kaqina:man has two meanings which are opposite each other.

(1) When used with la:mang 'only', the term means 'just enough' or 'just right': kaqina:man la:mang qang qasin 'The salt is just right' or 'The food has just the right amount of salt'. (2) When used alone, the term means 'excessive' or 'very much': kaqina:man qang ga:lit ni Manuel sa qi:yu 'Manuel is very angry with you'. The term is frequently shortened to na:man, as in: na:mang la:yuq nang ba:hay nila (WM) 'Their house is very far'. In ManT, the term means 'goodness, beauty, advantage': qang kaqina:man nang lugar ninyu qay mala:pit kayu sa se:ntro 'The good thing about your location is you are near the centre (of activities)'.  
 'Don't move' (cf. ManT ki:lus, galaw)

## (4) kibuq

MT 'move'

hwag kang ma:kibuq

ManT 'respond orally; say something'

hwag kang ki:kibuq

'Don't say anything'

## (5) galaw

MT 'tease, joke'

WM talagang magalaw si dali:nu

'Dalino is really a big tease'

EM qikaw gay naga:gagalaw

'Are you joking?'

ManT 'move'

guma:galaw qang mata nya

'His eyes are moving'

hwag kang ga:galaw

'Don't move' or 'You should not move'

## (6) gila:gid

MT 'a stylish braiding or knotting of rattan to hold bamboo slats together'

qinagila:gid puq qang sahig na kawa:yan para hindiq maghiwalay

'Bamboo floor slats are braided in order not to fall apart'

ManT 'gums'

dumu:duguq qang gila:gid ku

'My gums are bleeding'

## (7) hi:lab

MT 'stomach pain or spasm'

qina:hila:ban ya:ta qaku sa da:mi nang qa:king kina:qin  
'I think I'm having a stomach ache from eating too much'

ManT 'fluffy, e.g. cooked rice'

mahi:lab qang sina:qing  
'The rice is fluffy'

## (8) qinuse:nte

MT 'ignorant'

There is a semantic shift from the original Spanish *inocente* 'innocent'. This is revealed by comments like the WM example:

<sup>2</sup>qāy <sup>2</sup>na:sa hu:luq <sup>3</sup>puq yun<sup>↓</sup>. <sup>2</sup>marā:mi qang qinusin<sup>3</sup>ti dun<sup>↓</sup>

'Oh, those (people) are in the interior. There are still many ignorant people there'

<sup>2</sup>mīnsan la:mang sa qisang taqun na:lu:sung<sup>3</sup>sila<sup>↓</sup>

'They come down only once a year'

ManT 'innocent'

## (9) qinggit

EM 'irritate (feeling)'

nakakaqinggit ka  
'You're irritating me'

ManT 'envy; jealousy'

nakakaqinggit ka  
'I envy you'

## (10) lulun

MT 'roll, e.g. folding a mat'

lulunin mu yung banig  
'Roll the mat'

ManT 'swallow food'

lulunin mu qang pagka:qin  
'Swallow the food'

## (11) pagung

This is one of the words that have retained the prevocalic glottal stop in word-medial position. MT pagung has two referents: 'turtle' and 'lower hips'. ManT pagung commonly refers to 'turtle' only.

## (12) sigang

MT sigqang refers to cooking something-in-the-pot (on the stove).

WM merqun pa qakung nakasigqang na sina:qing  
'I still have the rice (cooking) on the stove'

ManT uses the root sa:lang in this situation.

EM qa:sunud mung qisigqang qang sina:qing  
'You will put the rice next on the fire'

ManT sigang commonly appears with the infix -in-, as in sinigang 'a soupy-sour dish of fish mixed with vegetables; also, a way of cooking the dish'. An example of a dish cooked in this manner is sinigang na bangus (bangus 'milkfish').

## (13) tagpiq

The term has two meanings in MT: (1) 'patch a hole'

qa:tagpiqan ku qang bu:tas nang putud ni ta:tay mu  
'I will patch the hole in your father's short pants'

(2) 'spank on the buttocks'

qa:tagpiqan ta ...  
'I will spank you ...'

In ManT, the term has only the first meaning - 'patch a hole'.

## (14) ti:naq

In MT, the term refers to 'dye' only.

tini:naq ku qang kupas na ba:ruq  
'I dyed the faded clothes'

In ManT, ti:naq refers to 'dye' as well as 'bluing' to make white clothes look whiter. (cf. MT kolor 'bluing'.) Thus the sentence 'Apply some bluing on the white clothes' will be:

ManT lagyan mu nang ti:naq qang putiq

MT lagyan mu nang kolor qang putiq

## (15) ta:ngus

MT 'wear out, e.g. heels of shoes or slippers' (cf. ManT pudpud)  
madaling mata:ngus qang takung nang sapa:tus sa batuhan  
'Shoe heels easily wear out on stony places'

ManT 'high, e.g. bridge of the nose'

mata:ngus qang qilung nya  
'He has a high nose'

## (16) qi:pis

MT 'a young tiny cockroach in the moulting stage'. A mature cockroach is called bangku:kang.

ManT 'a generic term for cockroach in any stage of maturity'

## (17) kuli:sap

EM 'dandruff'

ManT 'insect'

## (18) li:gaw

MT 'forcibly sneak into a girl's sleeping place to molest her'. However, the term is now used by the younger generation with the ManT meaning and has now come to be accepted by the older generation. Some informants have explained its current usage this way: masamaq di:tu sa qa:min yun nung qa:raw pe:ro ngayqun qay na:ga:mit na nang manga ba:taq qat qina:ga:ya na nang matatandaq 'This used to be a bad term here but now it is being used by the young and (being) imitated by the old people'

The remaining words have other meanings in MT besides the meanings similar to the ManT equivalent:

## (1) hinug

MT and ManT 'ripe'; WM 'ripe banana'

## (2) qiba

MT and ManT 'different'

In WM, when prefixed with ka-, the resultant combination means 'bad' or 'improper'.

kaqiba puq di:tu yang salitang yan  
'That's a bad word here'

kaqiba qang paki:ta sa kanya nang kanyang kapatid  
'He is not being treated well by his brother'

## (3) qi:ngay

MT and ManT 'noise'

When used as an imperative in MT, it means 'stop making noise'. This is parallel to the Hiligaynon ga:hud which literally means 'noise' but is used to mean 'stop making noise'. A common expression in MT is:

/<sup>2</sup>qi:ngay na pa qa<sup>†</sup>/

'Stop making noise now'

### 5.5. IDENTICAL TERMS IN MARINDUQUE DIALECT AREAS

The lexical comparisons in the preceding pages establish Marinduque Tagalog as a dialect distinctly different from Manila Tagalog. In the following sections I will compare lexical items from the two dialect areas of the island itself. This section and the three subsequent ones are respectively devoted to the presentation of shared lexicon, phonologically variant forms, non-cognate roots, peculiar items and cognates with different meanings in the Marinduque dialect areas. The various sets of lexicon are also listed in accompanying tables. Phonologically variant forms, non-cognate roots, peculiar items and cognates with different meanings are further indicated on dialect maps.

The total set of vocabulary items common to the Eastern and Western Marinduque dialects is listed on Table 6, numbering 245 or approximately 82 per cent of the lexical data. The high percentage undoubtedly indicates a correspondingly high degree of intelligibility among the dialects. Both dialects have some vocabulary in common with Bisayan dialects on the island of Panay, with Bikol and Romblon. The following are Marinduque Tagalog words found in those other languages but not in Manila Tagalog:

- (1) qanglit '*small pot*' (Romblon, Bikol)
- (2) bala:tung '*mungo beans*' (Hiligaynon '*stringbeans*'; Bikol '*a kind of bean*')
- (3) bikig '*fishbone stuck in the throat*' (Aklan '*fishbone*')
- (4) bi:kil '*a swelling*' (Aklan, Capiz)
- (5) bubuq '*pour*' (Bikol, Sebuwano buqbuq '*pour*')
- (6) bulug '*cut hair*' (Bikol, Antique, Hinaray-a)
- (7) daguidul '*roaring sound*' (Daraga, Iriga '*thunder*')
- (8) ga:yad '*hemline*' (Aklan, Capiz, Bikol)
- (9) gila:gid '*gums*' (Romblon)
- (10) halhal '*gasp with tongue hanging out*' (Bikol qalqal)
- (11) qi:wang '*clean oneself after defecation*' (Bikol, Aklan)
- (12) larga '*leave*' (Bikol)
- (13) lunut '*soft, over-ripe, e.g. bananas*' (Aklan)
- (14) panga:nud '*cloud*' (Ilonggo panganu:rin; Bikol)
- (15) pingga '*pole to balance loads from the shoulder*' (Hinaray-a)

- (16) *singkaw* 'yoke' (Bikol, Hinaray-a)  
 (17) *tapqing* 'face dirt' (Ilonggo)  
 (18) *tuklang* 'push a person' (Bikol)  
 (19) *tunqug* 'dew, mist' (Bikol tuqnug; Capiz)  
 (20) *tu:sik* 'bird's beak'; 'peck' (Capiz)

The term *larga* 'leave' is a Spanish loanword which has been preserved in the MT dialects and in Bikol.

### 5.6. PHONOLOGICALLY VARIANT FORMS

Most common among the observed phonological variations between some items are those that involve differences in vowels and consonants. A few items show differences in phonological order of segments and occurrence or non-occurrence of phonemes. The differences are comparatively minimal, as shown in Table 7. Some examples are:

#### 5.6.1. DIFFERENCES IN VOWEL

(see Map 5.1, page 154).

WM	EM	Gloss
/u/	/a/, /i/	
<i>sula:pid</i>	<i>sala:pid</i>	'braid'
<i>qula:put</i>	<i>qala:put</i>	'skin rash/allergy'
<i>talupan</i>	<i>tali:pan</i>	'peel'

TABLE 6  
 Identical Lexicon in Marinduque Tagalog Dialects

Gloss	Gasán and Buenavista	Boac and Mogpog	Santa Cruz and Torrijos
<b>A. NOUNS</b>			
001. 'ashes'	<i>qabu</i>	<i>qabu</i>	<i>qabu</i>
002. 'piggy bank'	<i>qarkansi:ya</i>	<i>qarkansi:ya</i>	<i>qarkansi:ya</i>
003. 'dust'	<i>qalbuk</i>	<i>qalbuk</i>	<i>qalbuk</i>
004. 'servant'	<i>qutusan</i>	<i>qutusan</i>	<i>qutusan</i>
	<i>bata:qan</i>	<i>bata:qan</i>	<i>bata:qan</i>
005. 'swamp crab'	<i>katang</i>	<i>katang</i>	<i>katang</i>
006. 'sea crab'	<i>kasag</i>	<i>kasag</i>	<i>kasag</i>
007. 'centipede'	<i>qaluhi:pan</i>	<i>qaluhi:pan</i>	<i>qaluhi:pan</i>
008. 'fire'	<i>qapuy</i>	<i>qapuy</i>	<i>qapuy</i>

TABLE 6 (cont'd)

Gloss	Gasan and Buenavista	Boac and Mogpog	Santa Cruz and Torrijos
009. 'sun'	qa:raw	qa:raw	qa:raw
010. 'dog'	qa:su	qa:su	qa:su
011. 'smoke'	qasu	qasu	qasu
012. 'mad dog'	bangqaw	bangqaw	bangqaw
013. 'liver'	qatay	qatay	qatay
014. 'chin'	sihang	sihang	sihang
015. 'molar'	bagqang	bagqang	bagqang
016. 'feather'	balahi:bu	balahi:bu	balahi:bu
017. 'skin'	balat	balat	balat
018. 'a well'	balqun	balqun	balqun
019. 'stone'	batu	batu	batu
020. 'waist'	bayqawang	bayqawang	bayqawang
021. 'mouth'	bibig	bibig	bibig
022. 'piglet'	bulaw	bulaw	bulaw
023. 'dimple'	tagunyaq	tagunyaq	tagunyaq
024. 'seed'	binhiq	binhiq	binhiq
025. 'star'	bitu:qin	bitu:qin	bitu:qin
026. 'young coconut fruit'	mu:raq	mu:raq	mu:raq
027. 'sand'	buha:ngin	buha:ngin	buha:ngin
028. 'hair'	buhuk	buhuk	buhuk
029. 'mountain'	bunduk	bunduk	bunduk
030. 'tail'	buntut	buntut	buntut
031. 'bone'	butqu	butqu	butqu
032. 'moon'	bu:wan	bu:wan	bu:wan
033. 'tree'	ka:huy	ka:huy	ka:huy
034. 'big basket'	ba:kid ba:kul tiklis	ba:kid ba:kul tiklis	ba:kid ba:kul tiklis
035. 'squash'	kaluba:sa	kaluba:sa	kaluba:sa
036. 'carabao'	karabaw	karabaw	karabaw
037. 'hand'	kamay	kamay	kamay
038. 'a sour fruit'	kalamyas	kalamyas	kalamyas
039. 'cold rice'	ba:haw	ba:haw	ba:haw
040. 'meat'	karni	karni	karni
041. 'body'	katawqan	katawqan	katawqan
042. 'dried desiccated coconut'	lukad	lukad	lukad
043. 'short pants'	putud	putud	putud

TABLE 6 (cont'd)

Gloss	Gasán and Buenavista	Boac and Mogpog	Santa Cruz and Torrijos
044. 'fingernail'	kuku	kuku	kuku
045. 'louse'	ku:tu	ku:tu	ku:tu
046. 'road'	da:qan	da:qan	da:qan
047. 'sea'	da:gat	da:gat	da:gat
048. 'thin-sliced dried fish'	binislad	binislad	binislad
049. 'wharf'	duqu:gan	duqu:gan	duqu:gan
050. 'stand for clay pot'	gikin	gikin	gikin
051. 'tongue'	di:laq	di:laq	di:laq
052. 'blood'	duguq	duguq	duguq
053. 'spittle'	luraq	luraq	luraq
054. 'night'	gabqi	gabqi	gabqi
055. 'spider'	la:waq	la:waq	la:waq
056. 'gums'	ngidngid	ngidngid	ngidngid
057. 'chicken louse'	ha:nip	ha:nip	ha:nip
058. 'bird'	qi:bun	qi:bun	qi:bun
059. 'betel leaf'	qikmu	qikmu	qikmu
060. 'river'	qi:lug	qi:lug	qi:lug
061. 'nose'	qilung	qilung	qilung
062. 'cockroach'	bangku:kang	bangku:kang	bangku:kang
063. 'fish'	qisdaq	qisdaq	qisdaq
064. 'egg'	qitlug	qitlug	qitlug
065. 'fish roe'	bi:hud	bi:hud	bi:hud
066. 'male'	lala:ki	lala:ki	lala:ki
067. 'throat'	lalamu:nan	lalamu:nan	lalamu:nan
	lalaqu:gan	lalaqu:gan	lalaqu:gan
068. 'mosquito'	namuk	namuk	namuk
069. 'ant'	gu:yam	gu:yam	gu:yam
070. 'neck'	li:qig	li:qig	li:qig
071. 'earth'	lu:paq	lu:paq	lu:paq
072. 'eyes'	mata	mata	mata
073. 'beans'	bala:tung	bala:tung	bala:tung
074. 'teeth'	ngi:pin	ngi:pin	ngi:pin
075. 'upper lip'	qungus	qungus	qungus
076. 'foot'	pa:qa	pa:qa	pa:qa
077. 'clay pot'	palyuk	palyuk	palyuk
078. 'laundry paddle'	panlaba	panlaba	panlaba
079. 'name'	panga:lan	panga:lan	panga:lan

TABLE 6 (cont'd)

Gloss	Gasan and Buenavista	Boac and Mogpog	Santa Cruz and Torrijos
080. 'scar'	pi:lat	pi:lat	pi:lat
081. 'heart'	pu:suq	pu:suq	pu:suq
082. 'lower abdomen'	pusqun	pusqun	pusqun
083. 'sack'	kustal	kustal	kustal
084. 'fish trap'	sakag	sakag	sakag
	salakab	salakab	sakalab
085. 'word'	salitaq	salitaq	salitaq
086. 'cobweb'	baha:yan nang la:waq	baha:yan nang la:waq	ba:hay nang la:waq
087. 'kite'	saranggu:la	saranggu:la	saranggu:la
088. 'beginning'	simulaq	simulaq	simulaq
089. 'slight fever'	qalisqis	qalisqis	qalisqis
090. 'liar'	bula:qan	bula:qan	bula:qan
091. 'pomelo'	lukban	lukban	lukban
092. 'horn'	su:ngay	su:ngay	su:ngay
093. 'breasts'	su:su	su:su	su:su
094. 'fat'	tabaq	tabaq	tabaq
095. 'skin rash'	qala:put	qala:put	qala:put
096. 'waterfall'	busay	busay	busay
097. 'ear'	taynga	taynga	taynga
098. 'measles'	tikdas	tikdas	tikdas
099. 'bluing'	kolor	kolor	kolor
100. 'belly'	tyan	tyan	tyan
101. 'log'	turu:su	turu:su	turu:su
102. 'monkey'	qamuq	qamuq	qamuq
	qungguy	qungguy	qungguy
103. 'water'	tu:big	tu:big	tu:big
104. 'knee'	tu:hud	tu:hud	tu:hud
105. 'puppy'	bilut	bilut	bilut
106. 'dried fish'	tuyuq	tuyuq	tuyuq
107. 'root'	qugat	qugat	qugat
108. 'cloud'	panganu:rin	panganu:rin	panganu:rin
	qalapa:qap	qalapa:qap	qalapa:qap
109. 'head'	qu:lu	qu:lu	qu:lu
110. 'worm'	qu:hud	qu:hud	qu:hud
<b>B. VERBS</b>			
111. 'climb'	qakyat	qakyat	qakyat
	panhik	panhik	panhik

TABLE 6 (cont'd)

Gloss	Gasán and Buenavista	Boac and Mogpog	Santa Cruz and Torrijos
112. 'set the table'	ha:yin	ha:yin	ha:yin
113. 'know fact'	qalam	qalam	qalam
114. 'drizzle'	qasikqa:sik	qasikqa:sik	qasikqa:sik
115. 'rain ... wind blown'	qampi:yas	qampi:yas	qampi:yas
116. 'dislike'	qayaw	qayaw	qayaw
117. 'rise suddenly from bed'	bungka:was bukla:was	bungka:was bukla:was	bungka:was bukla:was
118. 'nosebleed'	tunggu	tunggu	tunggu
119. 'rinse'	hawhaw	hawhaw	hawhaw
120. 'give'	bigay	bigay	bigay
121. 'pull out'	bu:nut	bu:nut	bu:nut
122. 'attach'	kabit	kabit	kabit
123. 'bite'	kagat	kagat	kagat
124. 'eat'	ka:qin	ka:qin	ka:qin
125. 'respond orally'	qimik	qimik	qimik
126. 'tickle'	kitiq	kitiq	kitiq
	gilawgaw	gilawgaw	gilawgaw
127. 'see'	ki:ta	ki:ta	ki:ta
128. 'arrive'	dating	dating	dating
129. 'hear'	dinig	dinig	dinig
130. 'imitate'	qu:ray	qu:ray	qu:ray
131. 'guffaw'	talanhak	talanhak	talanhak
132. 'grab'	halbut	halbut	halbut
133. 'sharpen'	ha:saq	ha:saq	ha:saq
134. 'lie down'	higaq	higaq	higaq
135. 'yawn'	hakay	hakay	hakay
136. 'dizzy'	li:yu	li:yu	li:yu
137. 'wait'	qintay	qintay	qintay
138. 'slice'	ga:yat	ga:yat	ga:yat
139. 'fetch water'	qigib	qigib	qigib
140. 'broil'	qi:haw	qi:haw	qi:haw
141. 'blow'	hi:hip	hi:hip	hi:hip
142. 'irritate'	quyamut	quyamut	quyamut
143. 'drink'	qinum	qinum	qinum
144. 'boiled, e.g. bananas'	la:bun	la:bun	la:bun
145. 'walk'	la:kad	la:kad	la:kad
146. 'swim'	languy	languy	languy

TABLE 6 (cont'd)

Gloss	Gasán and Buenavista	Boac and Mogpog	Santa Cruz and Torrijos
147. 'look around'	pa:ngag	pa:ngag	pa:ngag
148. 'fly'	lipad	lipad	lipad
149. 'swallow'	lumud	lumud	lumud
150. 'gulp'	lunquk	lunquk	lunquk
151. 'to die'	mamatay	mamatay	mamatay
152. 'to kill'	mapatay	mapatay	mapatay
153. 'choke on food'	naluqu:gan natigqa:kan	naluqu:gan natigqa:kan	naluqu:gan natigqa:kan
154. 'tremble'	kilig	kilig	kilig
155. 'clap'	tapiq	tapiq	tapiq
156. 'scream'	pala:kat	pala:kat	pala:kat
157. 'say'	sa:bi	sa:bi	sa:bi
158. 'scatter'	sa:bug	sa:bug	sa:bug
159. 'bump slightly'	sagquy	sagquy	sagquy
160. 'colds'	sipqun	sipqun	sipqun
161. 'burn'	su:nug	su:nug	su:nug
162. 'chop'	tadtad	tadtad	tadtad
163. 'dog bark'	batuk	batuk	batuk
164. 'stand'	tindig	tindig	tindig
165. 'stop, e.g. rain'	hu:law	hu:law	hu:law
166. 'sleep'	tu:lug	tu:lug	tu:lug
167. 'prick'	turuk	turuk	turuk
168. 'rain'	qulan	qulan	qulan
169. 'sit'	qupuq	qupuq	qupuq
170. 'converse'	qu:sap	qu:sap	qu:sap
171. 'invite along'	ya:kag	ya:kag	ya:kag
<b>C. ADJECTIVES</b>			
172. 'new'	ba:gu	ba:gu	ba:gu
173. 'crooked'	baluktut balikut	baluktut balikut	baluktut balikut
174. 'spoiled, e.g. fish'	hampuk	hampuk	hampuk
175. 'round'	bilug	bllug	bilug
176. 'bald'	panut qupaw	panut qupaw	panut qupaw
177. 'small amount'	kaquntiq	kaquntiq	kaquntiq
178. 'two'	dalwa	dalwa	dalwa
179. 'yellow'	dilaw	dilaw	dilaw

TABLE 6 (cont'd)

Gloss	Gasan and Buenavista	Boac and Mogpog	Santa Cruz and Torrijos
180. 'unripe'	hilaw	hilaw	hilaw
181. 'one'	qisa	qisa	qisa
182. 'black'	qitim	qitim	qitim
183. 'crumpled'	yukus	yukus	yukus
184. 'rancid'	maqangal	maqangal	maqangal
185. 'bitter-pungent'	maka:hat	maka:hat	maka:hat
186. 'slow'	mahi:naq	mahi:naq	mahi:naq
187. 'heavy'	mabigqat	mabigqat	mabigqat
188. 'slippery'	madulas	madulas	madulas
189. 'cold weather'	malamig	malamig	malamig
190. 'long'	maha:baq	maha:baq	maha:baq
191. 'fluffy, e.g. cooked rice'	matu:buq	matu:buq	matu:buq
192. 'good at'	maqi:gi	maqi:gi	maqi:gi
193. 'noisy'	masa:muk	masa:muk	masa:muk
194. 'hot'	maqi:nit	maqi:nit	maqi:nit
195. 'big'	malaki	malaki	malaki
196. 'thick, e.g. liquid'	malaput	malaput	malaput
197. 'wrong'	salaq	salaq	salaq
198. 'numb'	ngimi	ngimi	ngimi
199. 'thin'	manipis	manipis	manipis
200. 'smell of urine'	mapa:lut	mapa:lut	mapa:lut
201. 'dull'	mapurul	mapurul	mapurul
	bungul	bungul	bungul
202. 'many'	mara:mi	mara:mi	mara:mi
203. 'selfish'	maqi:mut	maqi:mut	maqi:mut
204. 'dirty'	marumi	marumi	marumi
205. 'sharp'	mata:las	mata:las	mata:las
206. 'ugly'	pa:ngit	pa:ngit	pa:ngit
207. 'mute'	pipi	pipi	pipi
208. 'red'	pula	pula	pula
209. 'full'	punuq	punuq	punuq
210. 'white'	putiq	putiq	putiq
211. 'trained'	biha:sa	biha:sa	biha:sa
212. 'charred'	tuquk	tuquk	tuquk
213. 'correct'	hustu	hustu	hustu
214. 'pointed'	tilus	tilus	tilus
215. 'dry'	tuyuq	tuyuq	tuyuq
216. 'stammering'	ma:ngul	ma:ngul	ma:ngul

TABLE 6 (cont'd)

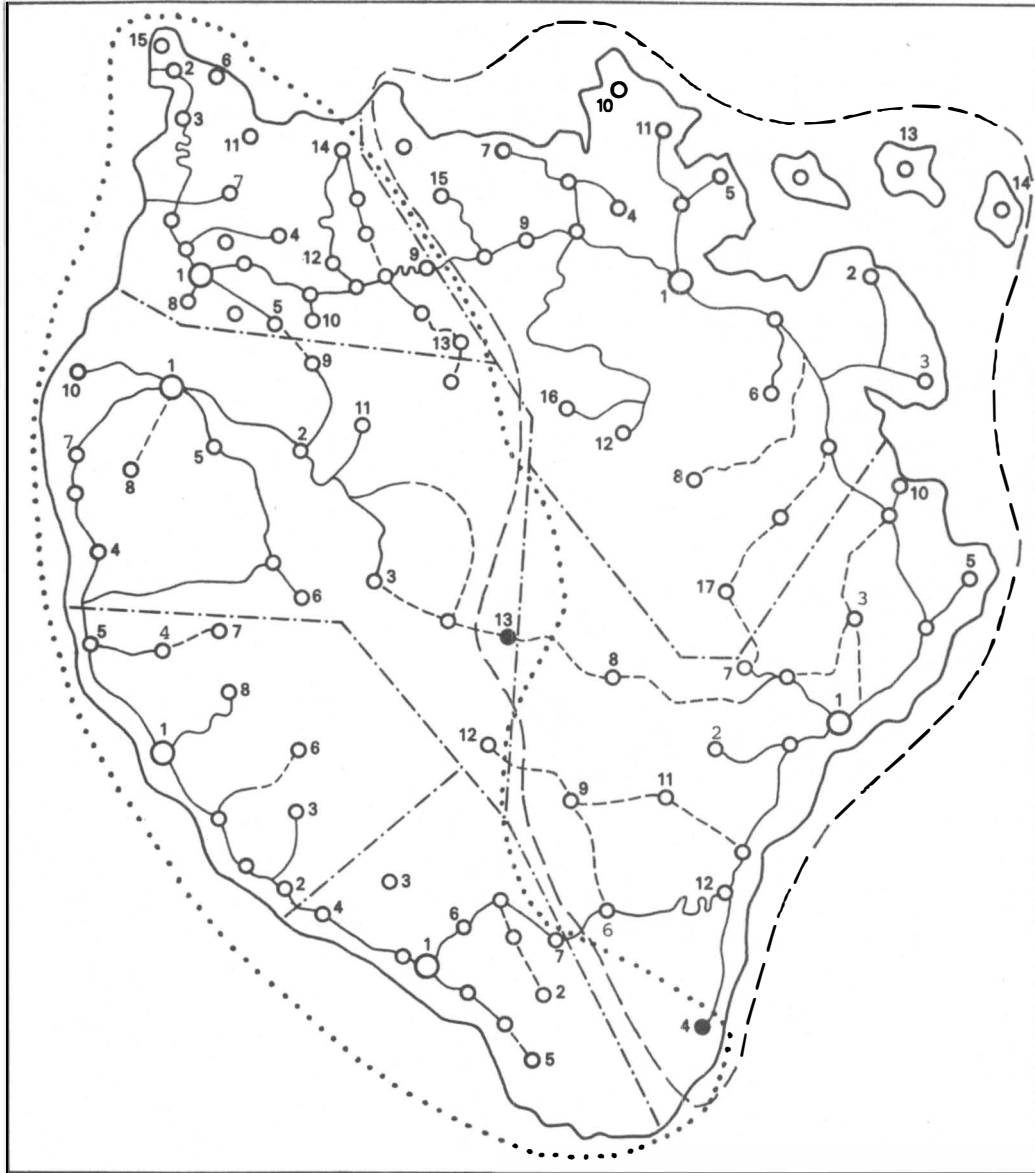
Gloss	Gasan and Buenavista	Boac and Mogpog	Santa Cruz and Torrijos
<b>D. ADVERBS, PRONOUNS, INTERROGATIVES</b>			
217. <i>'yesterday'</i>	kaha:pun	kaha:pun	kaha:pun
218. <i>'little by little'</i>	qutayqutay	qutayqutay	qutayqutay
219. <i>'I'</i>	qaku	qaku	qaku
220. <i>'you'</i>	ka	ka	ka
221. <i>'we (excl.)'</i>	kami	kami	kami
222. <i>'when'</i>	kaqilan	kaqilan	kaqilan
223. <i>'all'</i>	lahat	lahat	lahat
224. <i>'this'</i>	qitu	qitu	qitu
225. <i>'who'</i>	si:nu	si:nu	si:nu
226. <i>'that'</i>	yuqun	yuqun	yuqun
227. <i>'where'</i>	saqan	saqan	saqan
228. <i>'how'</i>	paqanu	paqanu	paqanu
229. <i>'like that'</i>	ganyan	ganyan	ganyan
<b>E. PHRASES AND EXPRESSIONS</b>			
230. <i>'I don't know'</i>	qawan	qawan	qawan
231. <i>'don't'</i>	hwag	hwag	hwag
232. <i>'feed (the pig)'</i>	magbahug	magbahug	magbahug
233. <i>'hold the child'</i>	kargahin qang ba:taq	kargahin qang ba:taq	kargahin qang ba:taq
234. <i>'dilute'</i>	tibhawan	tibhawan	tibhawan
235. <i>'play with water'</i>	maglandiq	maglandiq	maglandiq
236. <i>'cook meal'</i>	magpaqanyuq	magpaqanyuq	magpaqanyuq
237. <i>'dirty clothes'</i>	lamug	lamug	lamug
238. <i>'I said'</i>	qana:kin	qana:kin	qana:kin
239. <i>'clean the rice'</i>	maghi:rang	maghi:rang	maghi:rang
240. <i>'wake up late'</i>	mu:quk	mu:quk	mu:quk
241. <i>'have a haircut'</i>	magpagupit	magpagupit	magpagupit
242. <i>'spank on buttocks'</i>	dapliq	dapliq	dapliq

TABLE 7  
Phonologically Variant Forms in Marinduque Tagalog Dialects

Gloss	Western M	Eastern M
01. 'braid'	sula:pid	sala:pid
02. 'carabao'	karabaw kalabaw	karabaw
03. 'centipede'	qaluhi:pan qulahi:pan	qaluhi:pan
04. 'dilute'	timbaw	tibhaw
05. 'dirty'	marumi madumi	marumi madumi
06. 'effeminate'	binabayi	binabaqi
07. 'egg'	qitlug qiklug	qitlug qiklug
08. 'five-centavo piece'	bagun bagul	
09. 'human'	ta:wu	ta:qu
10. 'like that'	ganqun	gaqun
11. 'many'	mada:mi mara:mi	mara:mi mada:mi
12. 'no; not'	hindiq	qindiq
13. 'peel'	talū:pan	tali:pan
14. 'piece'	kapi ranggut (GBu) kapi langgut (GBu) kapi landut (GBu)	
15. 'pig's feed'	lagmaw	sagmaw
16. 'prick'		tulsuk tursuk tusluk
17. 'push'	su:lung	sudlung
18. 'rinse'	hawhaw hanlaw banlaw	qanlaw
19. 'say; tell'	ganqun	gaqun
20. 'scoop'	sa:luk	ka:lus
21. 'scream'	quga:sik (GBu) qula:sik (GBu) qulapsik (GBu)	
22. 'skin rash/allergy'	qula:put	qala:put
23. 'smashed; dented'	tumiq timi q	

TABLE 7 (cont'd)

Gloss	Western M	Eastern M
24. 'tap lightly'	kublīt kudlīt	kablīt duklīt (T)
25. 'there is/are'	mirqun merqun	mayrun
26. 'let's go'	ta:mus na (BM)	ha:mus na
27. 'young boy'	tu:tuy quduy (M)	qu:tuy



MAP 5.1: WORDS SHOWING VOWEL DIFFERENCES

..... u  
 --- i, a

WM	EM	Gloss
sula:pid	sala:pid	'braid'
qula:put	qala:put	'skin rash/allergy'
tal:pan	tali:pan	'peel'

## 5.6.2. DIFFERENCES IN CONSONANT

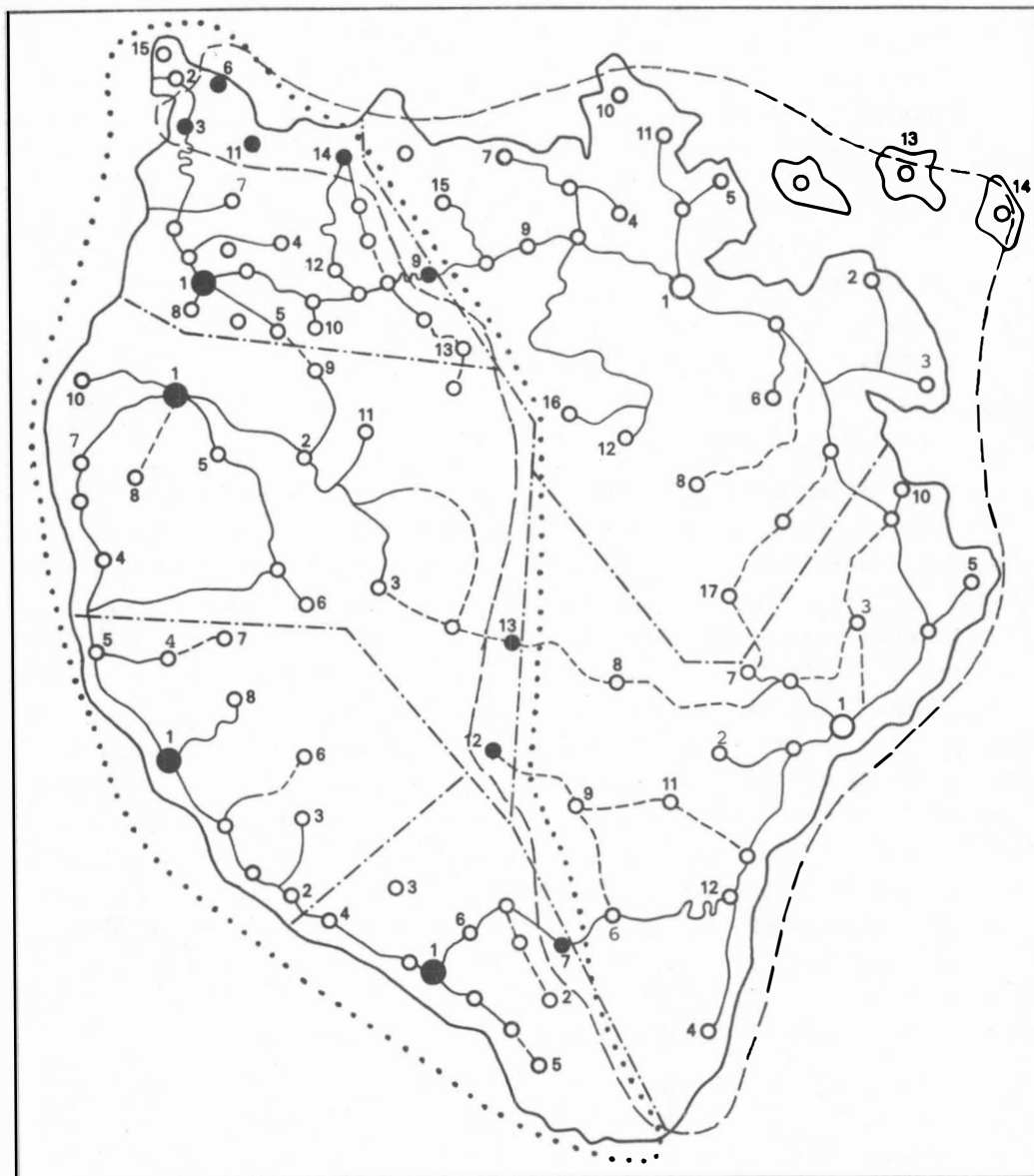
WM	EM	Gloss
/-y-/	/-q-/	
baba:yi	baba:qi	'female'
binabayi	binabaqi	'effeminate'
/-w-/	/-q-/	
ta:wu	ta:qu	'human'
/t-/ , /h-/	/q-/	
tu:tuy	qu:tuy	'young boy (a form of address)'
hindiq	qindi q	'no; not'
/l-/	/s-/	
lagmaw	sagmaw	'pig's feed'

These differences in consonant cannot be readily explained, except that the /-q-/ forms in Eastern Marinduque are like those of Manila Tagalog, while the Western Marinduque forms, /-y-/ and /-w-/ are like those of some Bisayan (Hiligaynon, Aklanon, Romblon) dialects.

Differences in vowel and consonant occur also within the same dialect. In Gasan and Buenavista, /l/ ~ /r/ and /g/ ~ /d/ in the terms for 'piece': kapilanggut ~ kapinganggut ~ kapilandut; /g/ ~ /l/ in the terms for 'scream': quga:sik ~ qula:sik ~ qulapsik. In Boac and Mogpog, /n/ ~ /l/ as in 'five-centavo piece': bagun ~ bagul; /u/ ~ /i/ in 'smashed' or 'dented': tumiq ~ timiq. In Santa Cruz and Torrijos (EM), the word for 'prick' has three variants: tulsuk ~ tursuk ~ tusluk, also showing /l/ ~ /r/, and a difference in the phonological order of phonemes in the case of the last term. Likewise, in many idiolects all over the island, /t/ ~ /k/ in the word for 'egg': qitlug ~ qiklug.

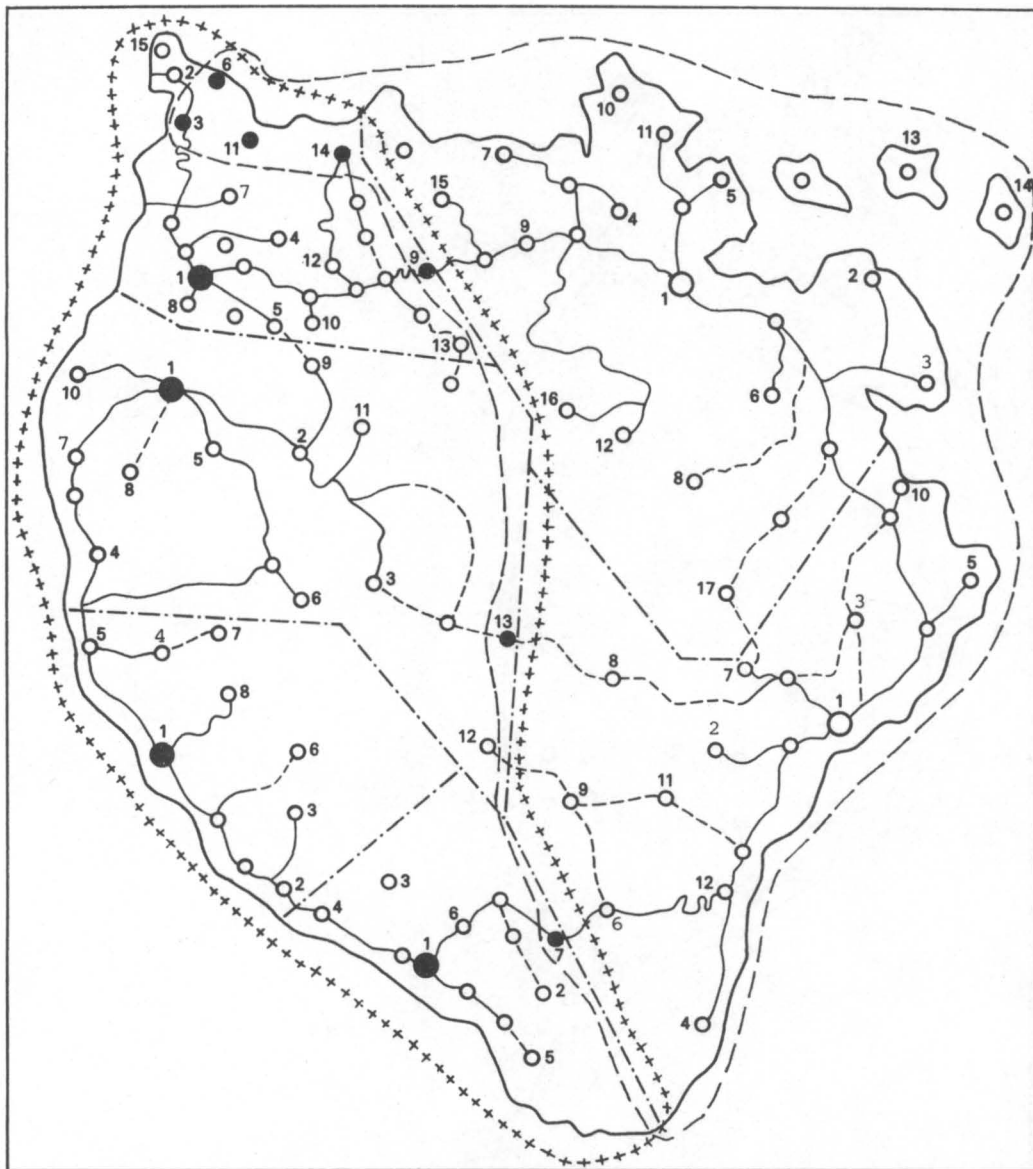
## 5.6.3. DIFFERENCES IN PHONOLOGICAL ORDER OF SEGMENTS

WM	EM	Gloss
sa:luk	ka:lus	'scoop'
mirqun, merqun	mayrun	'there is/are'



MAP 5.2: baba:qe 'female'

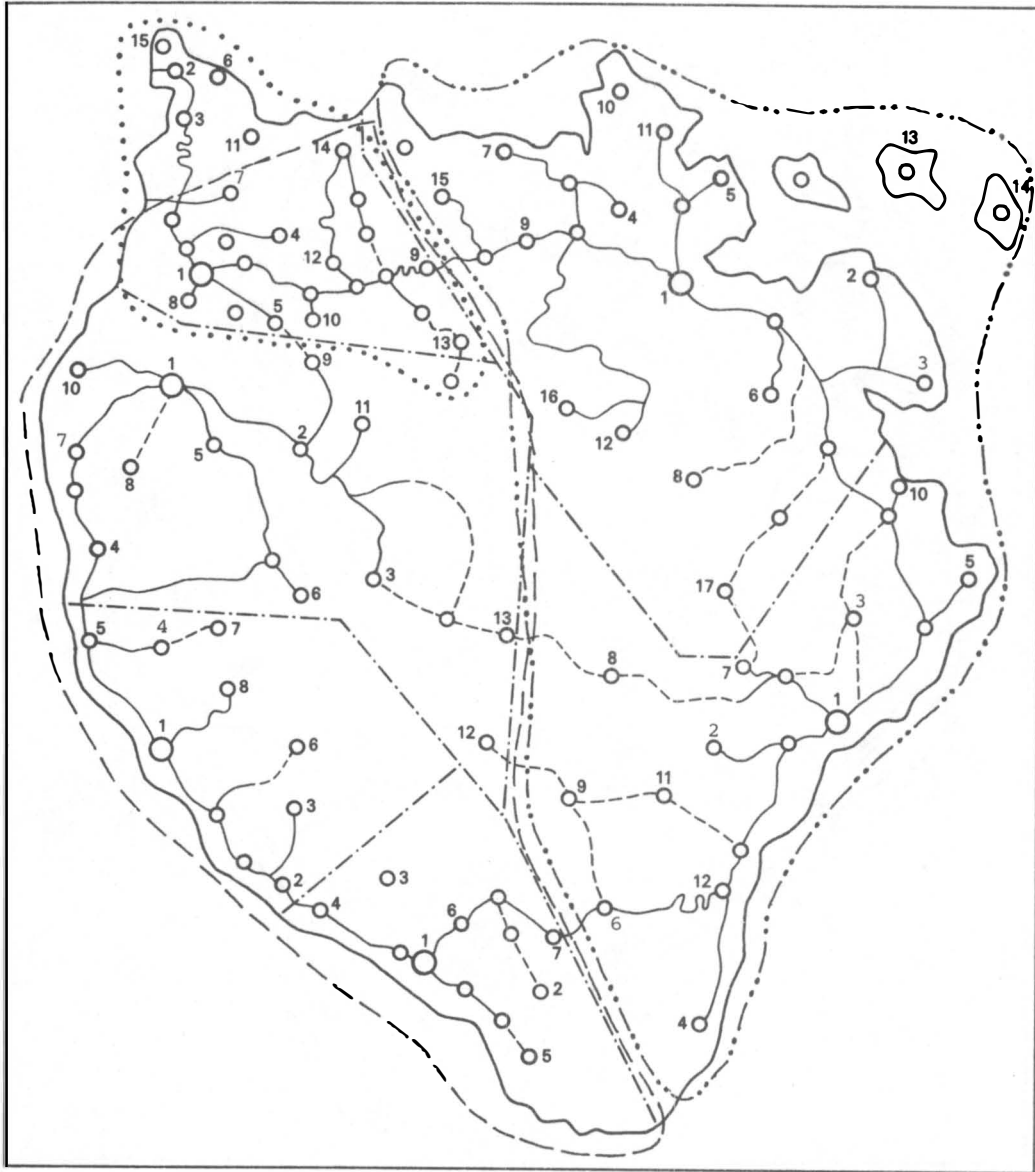
- ..... baba:yi
- baba:qi
- Both forms



MAP 5.3: 'human being'

++++ ta:wu

---- ta:qu

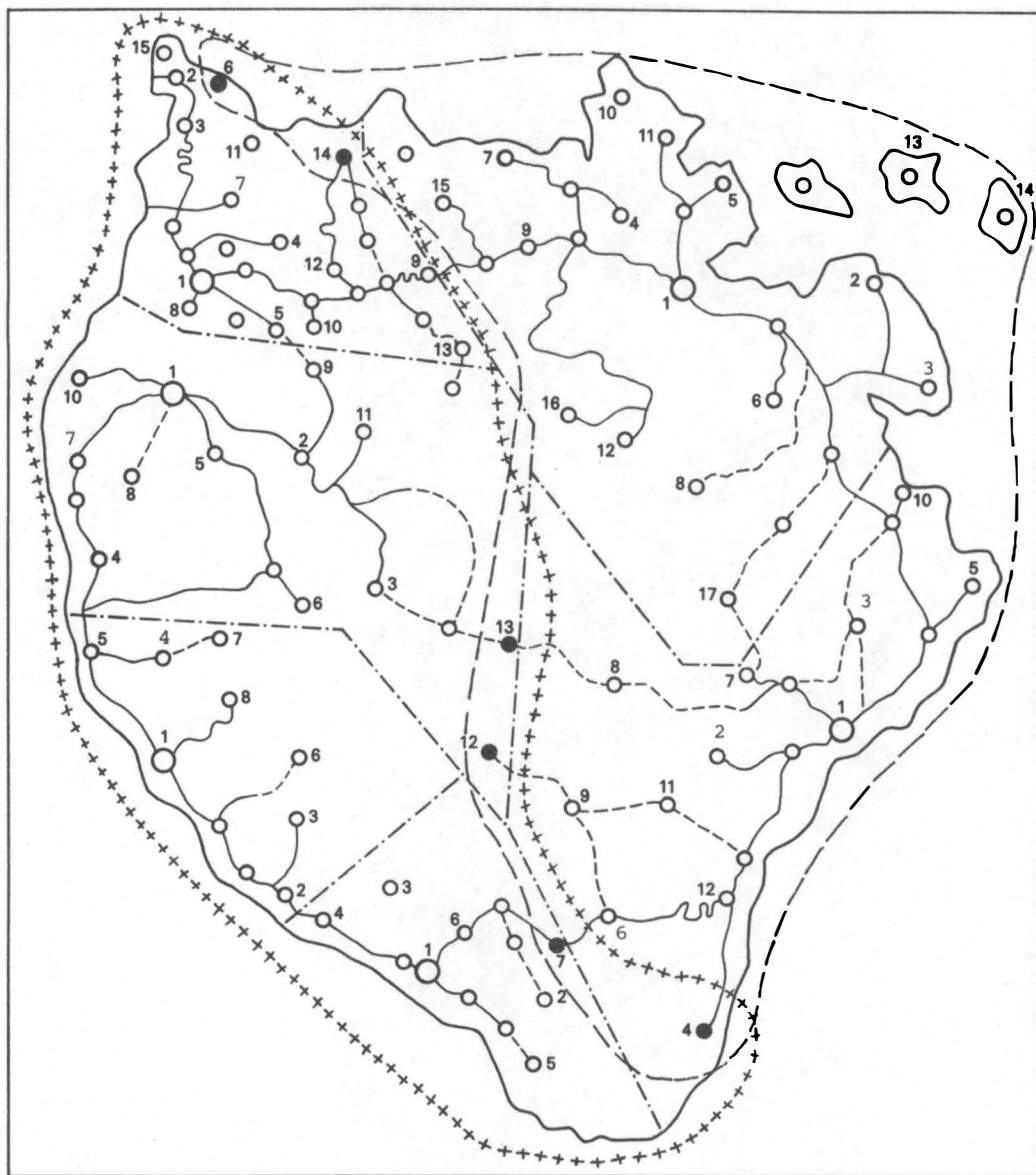


MAP 5.4: to:toy 'young boy (a form of address)'

— tu:tuy

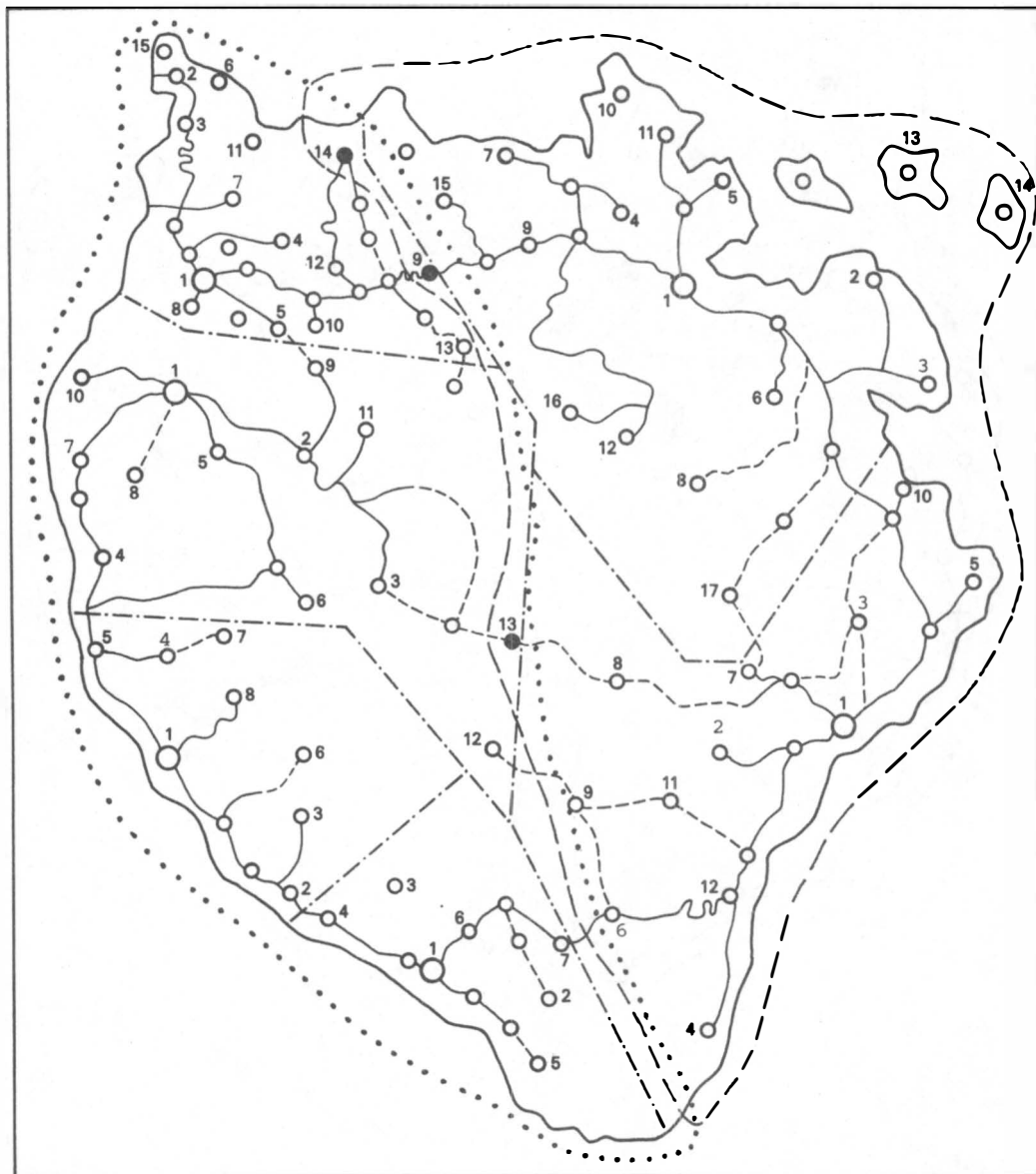
- - - qu:tuy

· · · · quduy



MAP 5.5: hindiq 'not; no'

- +++++ hindiq
- qindiq
- Both forms



MAP 5.6: ka:nimba:buy 'pig's feed'

- ..... lagmaw
- - - - - sagmaw
- Both forms

### 5.7. NON-COGNATE ROOTS IN MARINDUQUE TAGALOG DIALECTS

While there are many terms shared in common by the Western and the Eastern dialects, 33 items have also been found to distinguish between the two main speech areas. These items given in Table 8 include 20 nouns, seven verbs, four descriptives and two phrases. Maps 5.15, 5.16 and 5.17 show how these terms divide the island.

The item for '*five-centavo piece*' drew archaic terms from three sections of the island: Gasan and Buenavista walu:hin, Boac and Mogpog bagun ~ bagul, Santa Cruz and Torrijos bunguy (Map 5.19). These terms have been replaced by the Spanish loanword *singku*.

Speakers of one dialect tend to borrow from the other dialect terms which are similar or identical to Manila Tagalog. Other items more subject to borrowing are loanwords from Spanish. Thus the EM terms used as alternants in WM are: baba:qi (for baba:yi), qikmu, pagqung, ta:qu (for ta:wu), maki:nis, banggerahan, likewise, Eastern Marinduque uses as alternants such WM terms as mangkuk, pira:su, li:guq, walaq.

Each dialect of MT has words common in the Bisayan dialects. The following EM words occur in Bisayan:

- (1) hibiq '*weep*' (Ilonggo, Hinaray-a)
- (2) qindiq '*no*' (Bisayan, Romblon)
- (3) latuy '*stringbeans*' (Capiz)
- (4) tusluk '*prick*' (Panayan, Romblon)

Likewise, the following words in the WM dialect are also found in Bisayan and Bikol:

- (1) qalibu:tud '*centre of fruit*' (Aklan)
- (2) qamama:kul '*mushroom*' (Hiligaynon, Aklan, Capiz)
- (3) balinghuy '*cassava*' (Hiligaynon, Aklan, Capiz, Romblon, Bikol)
- (4) baqu '*turtle*' (Romblon, Bikol)
- (5) bilabila '*butterfly*' (Romblon)
- (6) kabug '*fruit bat*' (Romblon, Bikol)
- (7) dalikdik '*dandruff*' (Aklan)
- (8) dutdut '*remove feathers*' (Bikol '*feather*')
- (9) huqu '*yes*' (Aklan, Capiz, Romblon)
- (10) sundang '*bolo*' (Bikol, Romblon)
- (11) tagudtud '*hill*' (Aklan)
- (12) ti:pig '*fold clothes*' (Capiz, Bikol)

TABLE 8  
Non-Cognate Roots in Marinduque Tagalog Dialects

Gloss	Western M	Eastern M
<b>A. NOUNS</b>		
01. 'anchovy'	du:lis	bulinaw
02. 'dried anchovy'	pilipitin	tuyung bulinaw
03. 'ankle'	bukubu:ku	buqul
04. 'betel-areca nut chew'	nga:ngaq	mamaq
05. 'bowl'	hawung	sulyaw
06. 'butterfly'	bilabila	kulili:paw
07. 'cassava'	balinghuy	karlu:bang
08. 'cotton plant'	ka:yu	bulaksi:naq
09. 'cowlick'	puyu	pulipud
10. 'dandruff'	dalikdik	kuli:sap
11. 'ladle'	sanduk	sampi
12. 'large fly'	langug	bayangaw
13. 'lemon'	kalamunding	kalamqi:san
	da:yap	
14. 'market'	pla:sa	merka:do
15. 'pig pen'	qulbuq	banlat
16. 'rainbow'	balangaw	balagha:riq
17. 'scorpion'	qiwi	qatangqa:tang
18. 'stringbeans'	ki:bal	latuy
19. 'tiny shrimps'	qalamang	balaw
20. 'turtle'	baqu	pagqung
<b>B. VERBS</b>		
21. 'catch'	sambut	sakap
22. 'converse'	pu:lung	qergo
23. 'draw water'	ti:gis	tabuq
		kadluq
24. 'scald'	dinli	panlus
	disluq	
	daysuq (M)	
	dansuq (B)	
25. 'push'	tuklang	tunyud
26. 'sit on floor'	lapa:nak	lupa:giq
27. 'wash dishes'		dayag

TABLE 8 (cont'd)

Gloss	Western M	Eastern M
C. ADJECTIVES		
28. 'bald'	bungkug	qanit
29. 'crazy'	lukuluku	puhang
	siraq	
30. 'warm (weather)'	mapula:hil	mabanas
31. 'ugly; improper'	kaqiba	katu:waq
D. PHRASES AND EXPRESSIONS		
32. 'let's go'	kita na	ha:mus na
33. 'tease; match with'	qitu:pu	qiqulit

## 5.8. PECULIAR TERMS

A term may be found only in a particular dialect. It may either be the regular term used for a referent or it may be an alternative for a word common to both MT dialects. Of such items, more have come from Santa Cruz and Torrijos than from the other places. The items peculiar to each dialect are:

## 5.8.1. FROM SANTA CRUZ AND TORRIJOS

- (1) ka:samahin 'servant'
- (2) da:gil 'bump'
- (3) hiklas 'grab'
- (4) sa:bi 'hold/carry a child'
- (5) sakad 'get on'
- (6) sambu:lat 'scatter' (cf. ManT ka:lat)
- (7) takid 'attach, fasten'
- (8) quga:hang 'weep aloud'
- (9) kiluq 'crooked'

## 5.8.2. FROM SANTA CRUZ

- (1) linuq 'pig's feed'
- (2) hambu 'bathe'
- (3) salwag 'scatter'
- (4) su:sut 'irritate feeling'
- (5) qu:lam 'fish' (ManT 'viand')
- (6) tamu:yuq 'clap'

## 5.8.3. FROM TORRIJOS

- (1) qu:lam 'meat' (cf. Sc 'fish'; WM and ManT 'viand')

## 5.8.4. FROM BOAC

- (1) qalanda:haw 'drizzle'  
 (2) lu:baw 'stringbeans, long variety'  
 (3) putulin 'stringbeans, short variety'  
 (4) lumbuy 'blackberry-like fruit' (Panay, Bomblon)  
 (5) tundus 'prick'

## 5.8.5. FROM GASAN AND BUENAVISTA

- (1) qalpug 'dust'  
 (2) bungku:gan 'a coconut-shell piggy bank'  
 (3) bungbung 'a bamboo piggy bank'  
 (4) la:yug 'soar' (Bikol)  
 (5) talpak 'clap'  
 (6) da:paw 'chicken louse'  
 (7) li:naw 'clean the rice'

## 5.8.6. FROM MOGPOG

- (1) butut 'crab'  
 (2) quduy 'young boy (form of address)'

## 5.9. COGNATES WITH DIFFERENT MEANING

At least three terms were found to have similar forms but different references. In the Western dialect, dalikdik means 'dandruff'; in Eastern Marinduque, it means 'rapid speech'. Another term is kulapnit which is 'tiny bat' in WM but a generic term for 'bat' in EM. Incidentally, the term for 'small bat' in Eastern Marinduque is pani:ki which, in turn, is 'bat' in Manila Tagalog.

## 5.10. SUMMARY

In examining the lexicon of Marinduque Tagalog, the Tagalog spoken by educated speakers in Manila was made the basis for comparison. Equivalent of 300 Manila Tagalog words and expressions were elicited from older native residents, 50 years of age and above, in the six population centres of town and 113 barrios. Tape-recorded responses to the items were listed in the order of frequency, whenever the informants gave more than one equivalent. Appendix A shows the tabulated

summary of the lexical corpus. The various tables in this chapter were extracted from the summary of responses.

Personal observation, confirmed by testimonies from the islanders and visitors alike, showed that the 300 Manila Tagalog terms are all known to Marinduque Tagalog speakers. In fact, Manila Tagalog is 100 per cent intelligible to the native residents. However, the responses indicated that more than half of the Manila Tagalog items are not normally used. A few were given as alternants to their first responses. Only 143 Manila Tagalog terms or 48 per cent are commonly used. This is evident from the 140 items that come from the Western dialect and 137 from the Eastern dialect that are identical to the Manila Tagalog terms.

In addition, 65 items from each dialect contain minimal phonological variation from Manila Tagalog as a result of such phonological differences as vowel length; occurrence of glottal stop following a consonant; phoneme or syllable occurrence or non-occurrence or difference; difference in phonological order of segments; and a combination of these differences.

Viewed from a different angle, if the 143 terms identical to Manila Tagalog are added to the 65 items containing minimal phonological variants, the result will be a total of 208 items or 69 per cent lexical similarity between Manila Tagalog and Marinduque Tagalog. The total number of cognates in MT and ManT, based on the 300-item vocabulary list, is given in Table 9.

TABLE 9  
Cognate Roots in Marinduque Tagalog and Manila Tagalog

Identical Terms in MT and ManT		Phonologically Variant Terms in MT and ManT		Total Number of Cognates in MT and ManT	
48%		21%		208 - 69%	
No. of Items		No. of Items		No. of Items	
WM	EM	WM	EM	WM	EM
141	137	65	65	206	202

On the other hand, 148 items elicited non-cognate roots, 95 of which are common to the dialects in the island. 40 of these roots are in competition with terms identical to the Manila Tagalog items. They are roots that do not exist in Manila Tagalog.

Aside from the 148 items that drew different roots, 20 terms were identical in form to Manila Tagalog terms but different in meaning or manner of usage.

After comparing the MT terms with those of ManT, the lexical equivalents collected from the areas covered in the survey were then compared to look for similarities and variations as well as items peculiar to particular dialect areas. To recapitulate the findings on the MT lexicon observed areawise, the following inferences are made:

5.10.1. The island province of Marinduque is divided into two main dialects: the Western dialect and the Eastern dialect. 51 lexical items reinforce the dialect boundary between them. These items are broken down into 33 non-cognate roots, 15 phonologically variant forms, and three cognate roots having different meanings in each dialect.

The Western dialect is spoken in Western Marinduque, which comprises the coastal towns of Gasan and Buenavista, the capital town of Boac and its adjacent town on the north, Mogpog. The Eastern dialect is spoken in Eastern Marinduque, which comprises the highland towns and barrios of Santa Cruz and Torrijos.

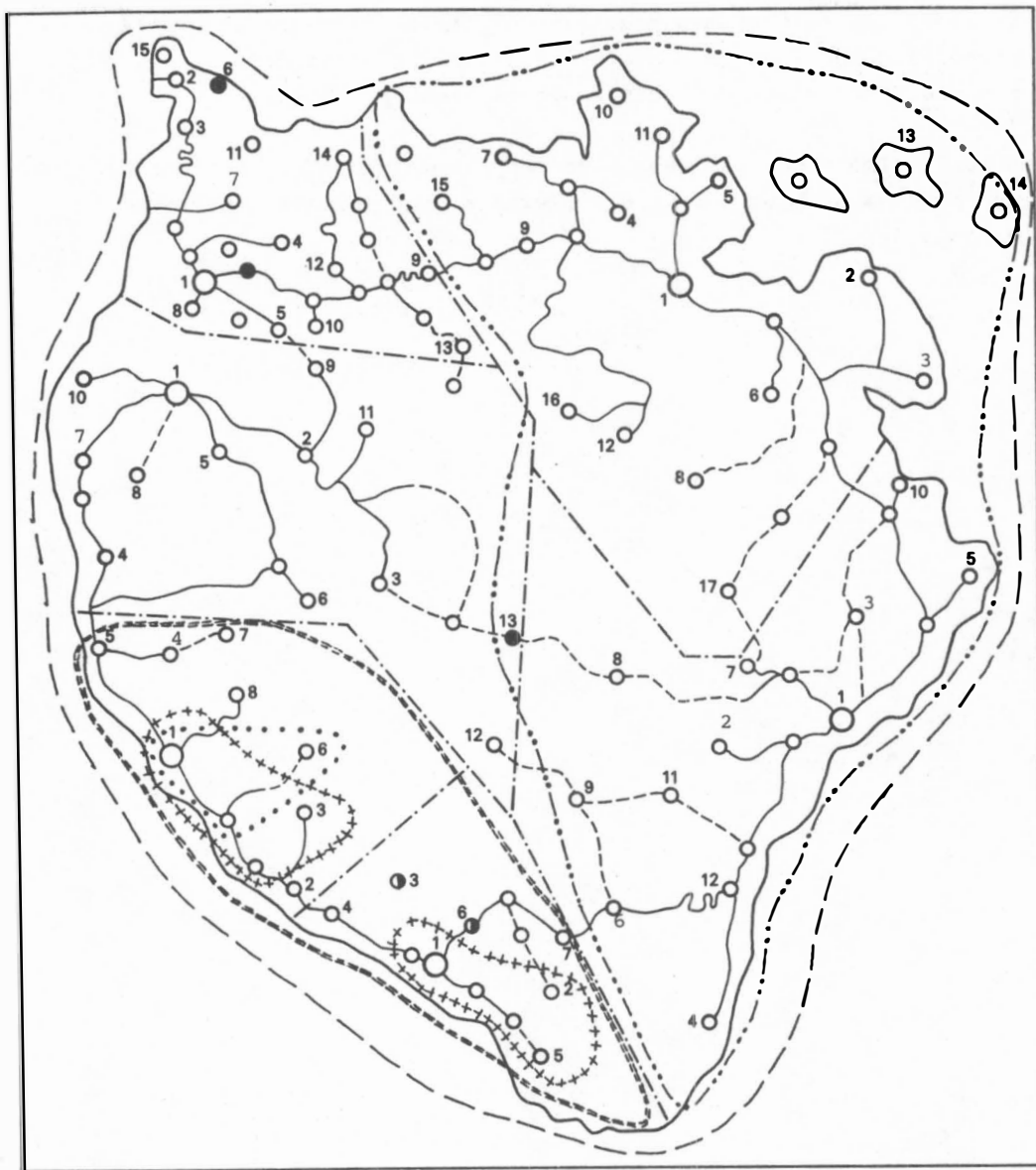
5.10.2. The two major dialects share a core vocabulary of 245 items or 82 per cent of the 300-meaning list, indicating a very slight degree of variation between them. All speakers on the island use these common terms. Ordinarily, speakers are more readily identified by their intonation than by their vocabulary.

Some terms in one dialect have been incorporated into the other and vice versa. The borrowing seems to follow a certain pattern; i.e. the terms most subject to borrowing are those shared with Manila Tagalog as well as loanwords from Spanish. It seems, too, that the reason is simple: Manila Tagalog has the distinction of being the prestige language and therefore enjoys the highest social distinction. The same reason holds true for Spanish during the time of the colonizers.

One dialect sometimes has more equivalents for one stimulus item but practically all the forms found in that dialect are known, though not used, by the other dialect speakers. This situation was observed many times during the interviews. An informant would say 'That is called \_\_\_ in this place, but \_\_\_ in that place' (referring to another dialect area).

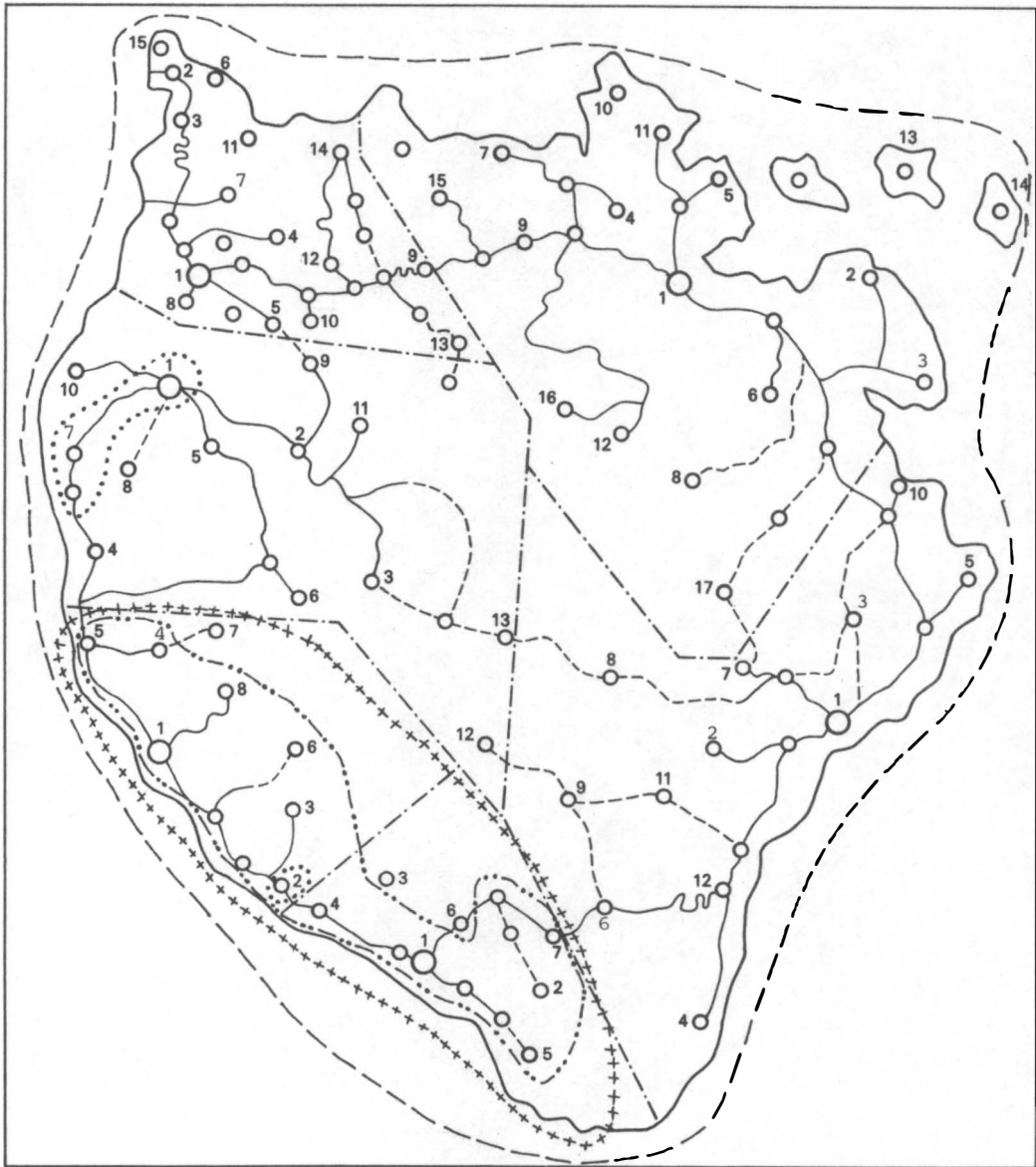
5.10.3. There are but a few terms peculiar to individual towns and barrios. It is presumed that some of these words are innovations; others are borrowed from dialects outside the island and still a few are old words which have become obsolescent.

5.10.4. The older speakers have many terms which are not intelligible to speakers of Manila Tagalog or even to the younger generation in Marinduque.



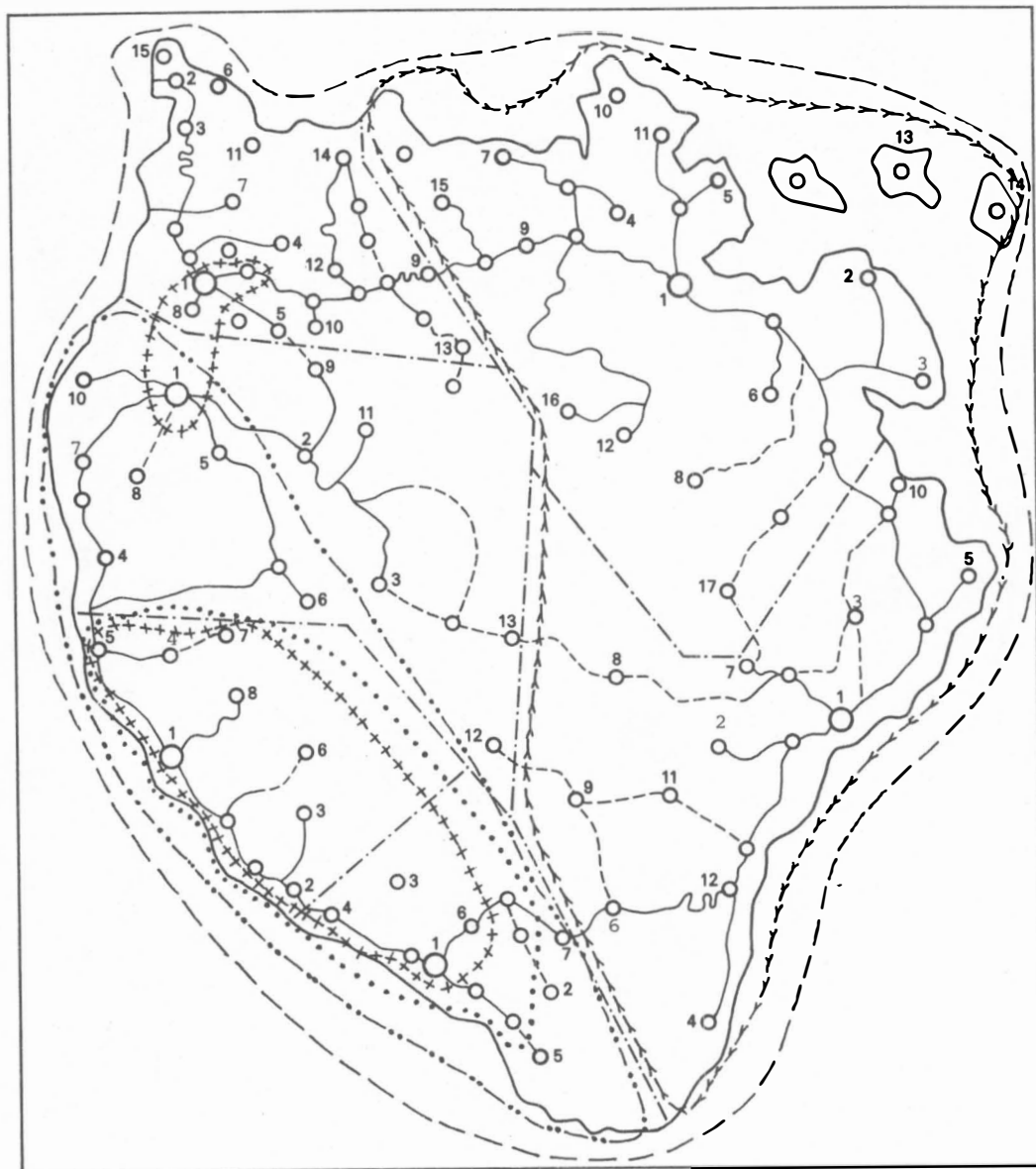
MAP 5.7: 'piece'

- kapira:su
- .-.- kapi:sang
- kapinggut
- + + + + kapilanggut
- ..... kapilandut



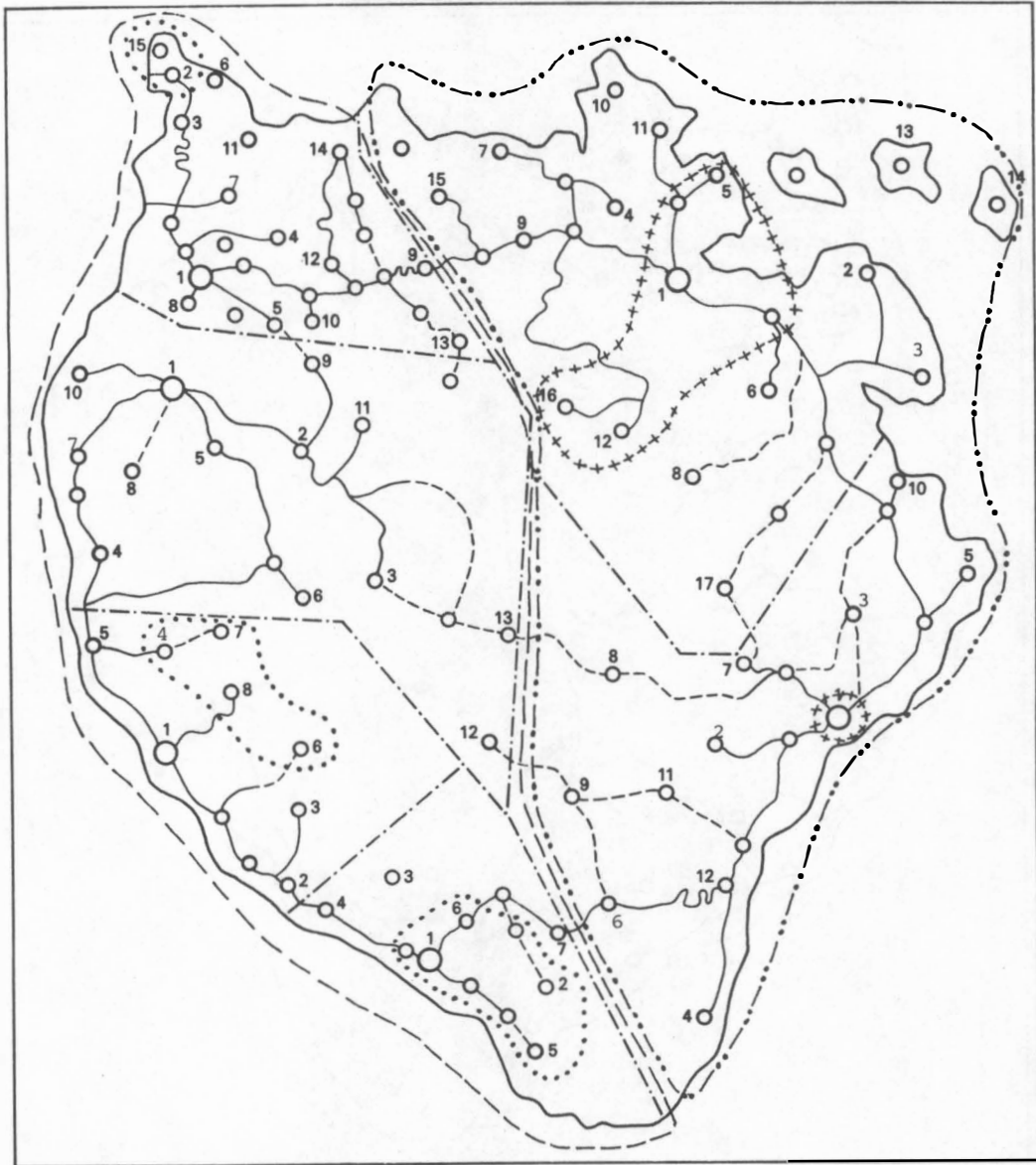
MAP 5.8: 'piggy bank'

- — — qarkansi:ya
- +++++ bungku:gan
- ..... qalkansi:ya
- .-.-.- bumbung



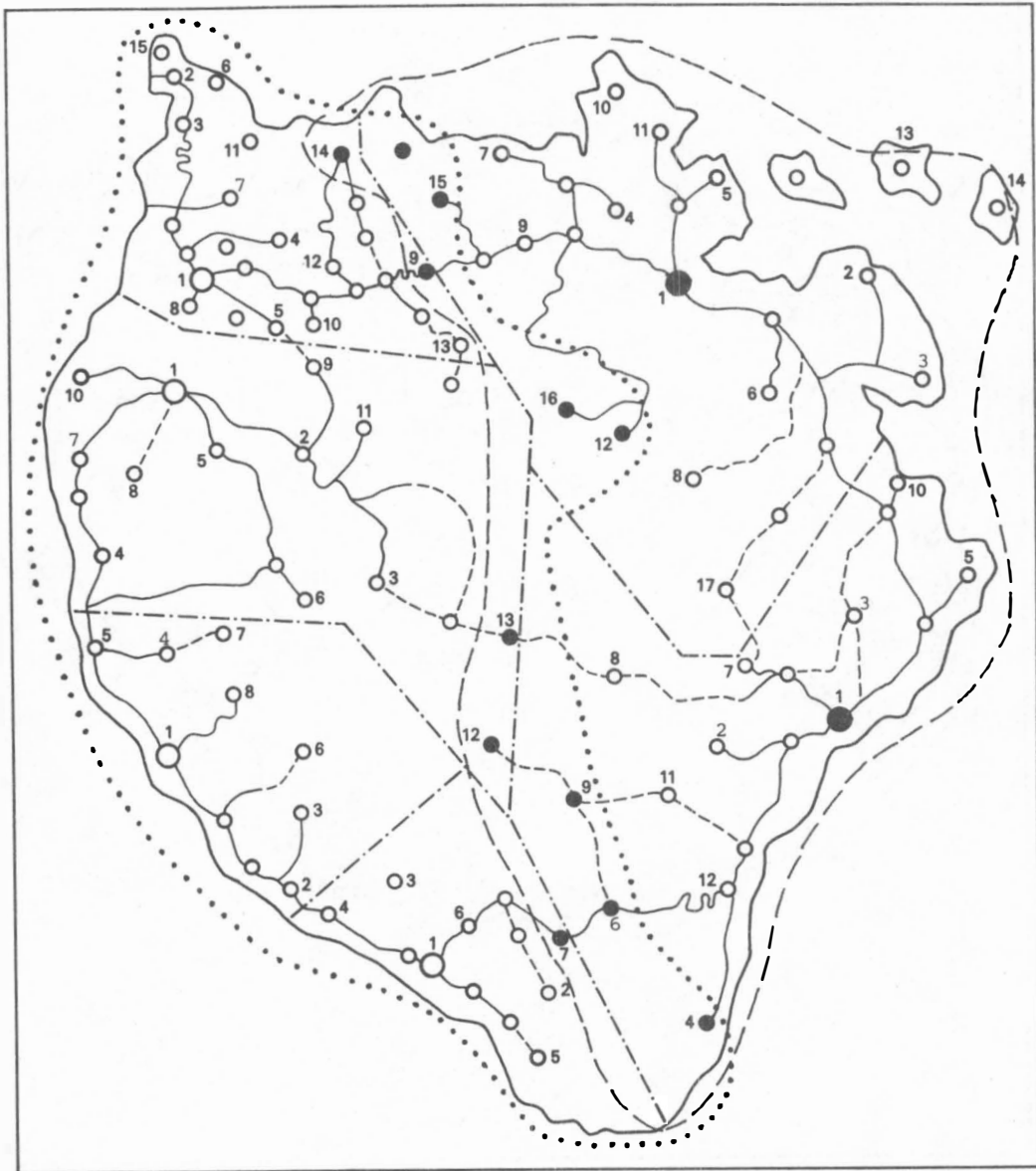
MAP 5.9: banliq 'scald'

- — — banliq
- +++++ paslut
- ..... disluq
- · - · - · dinli
- < - < - < panlus



MAP 5.10: meyron 'there is/are'

- ..... mirqun
- +++++ meyron
- .-.-.- mayrun
- merqun

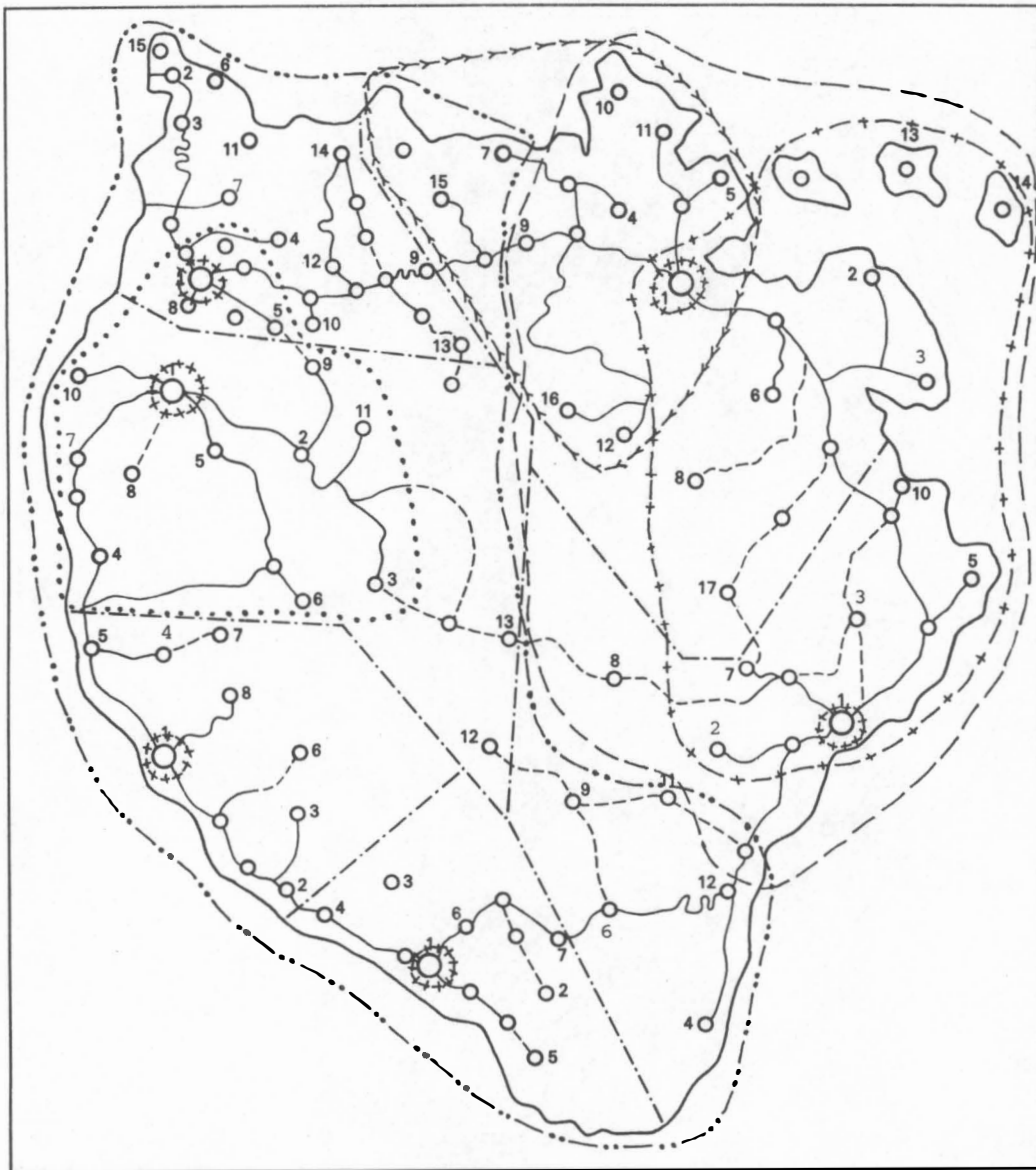


MAP 5.11: sa:luk 'scoop'

..... sa:luk

----- ka:lus

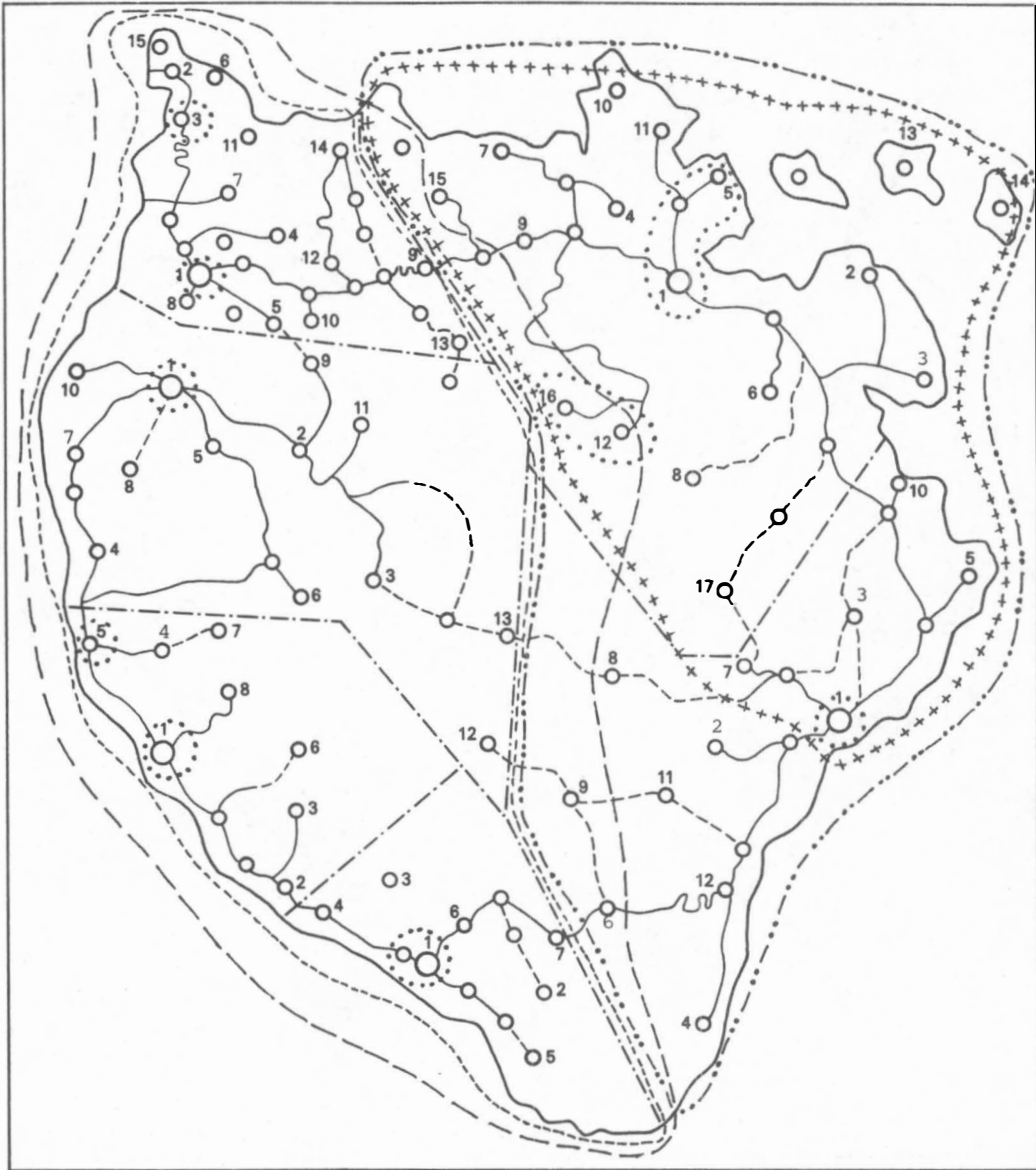
● Both forms



MAP 5.12: tu:suk 'prik'

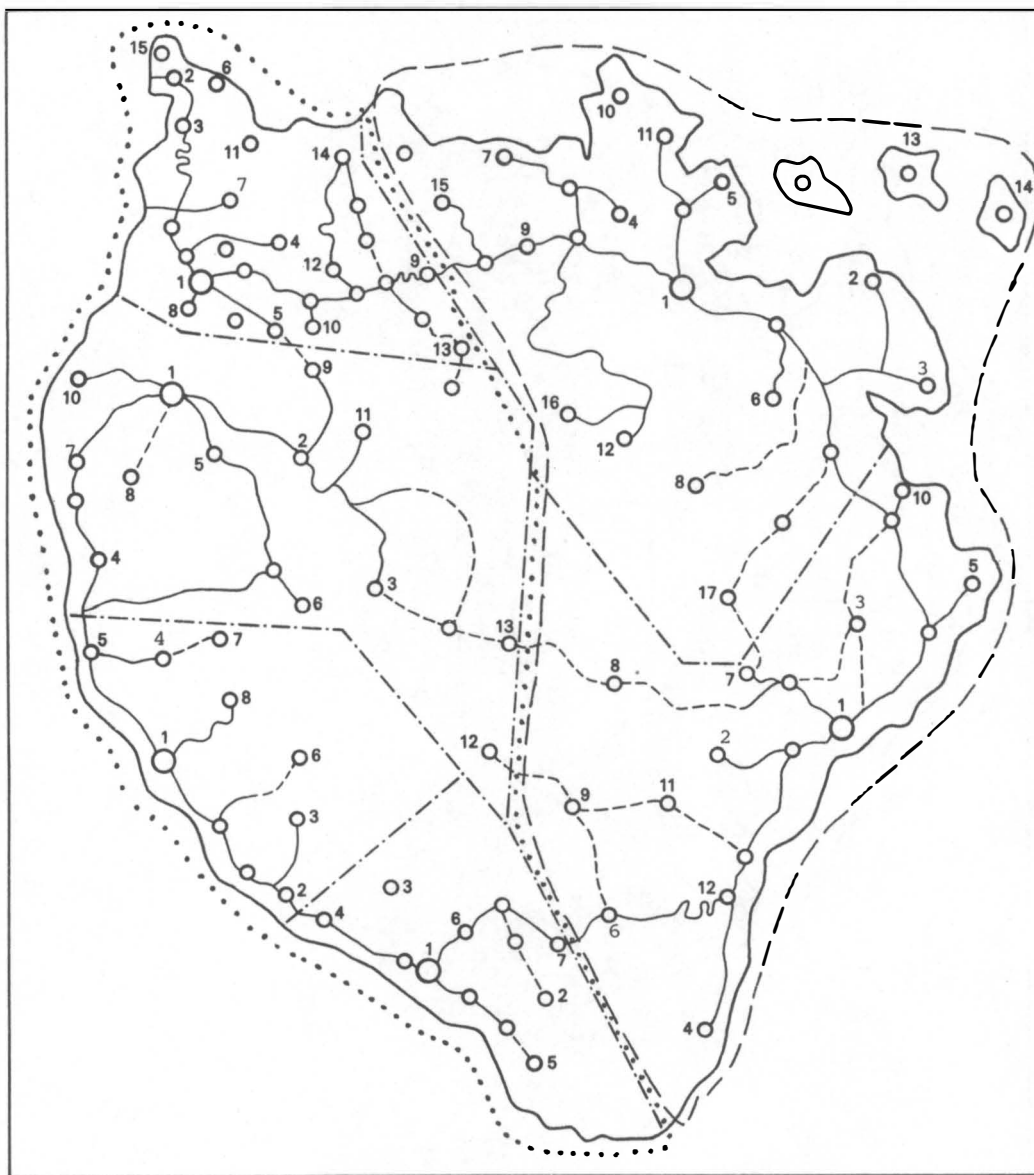
— · — · turuk  
 · · · · tundus  
 + + + + tu:suk

←←← tusluk  
 + + + tulsuk  
 --- tursuk



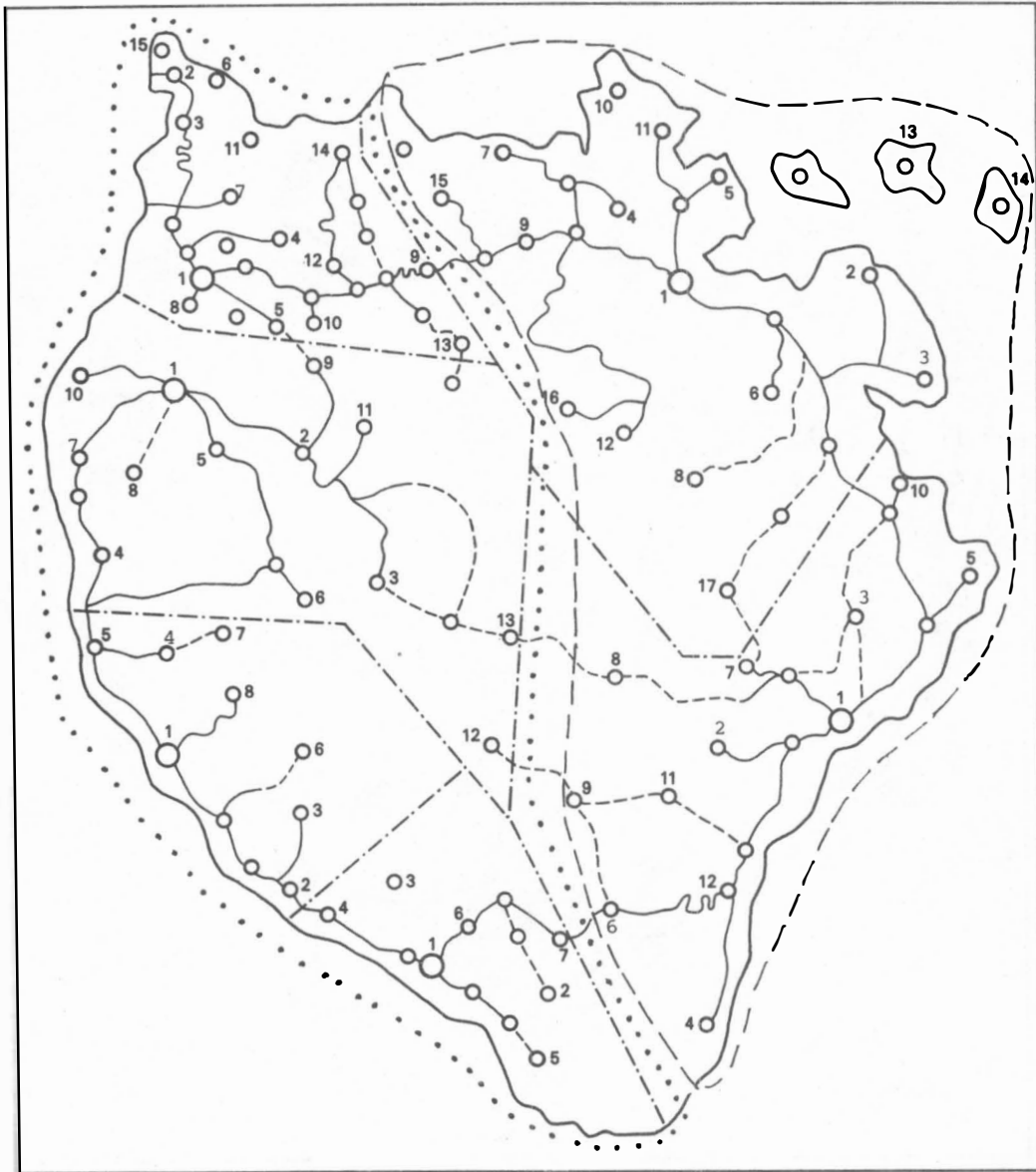
MAP 5.13: tu:lak 'push'

- tuklang
- . - . tunyud
- su:lung
- + + + + + sudlung
- ..... tu:lak



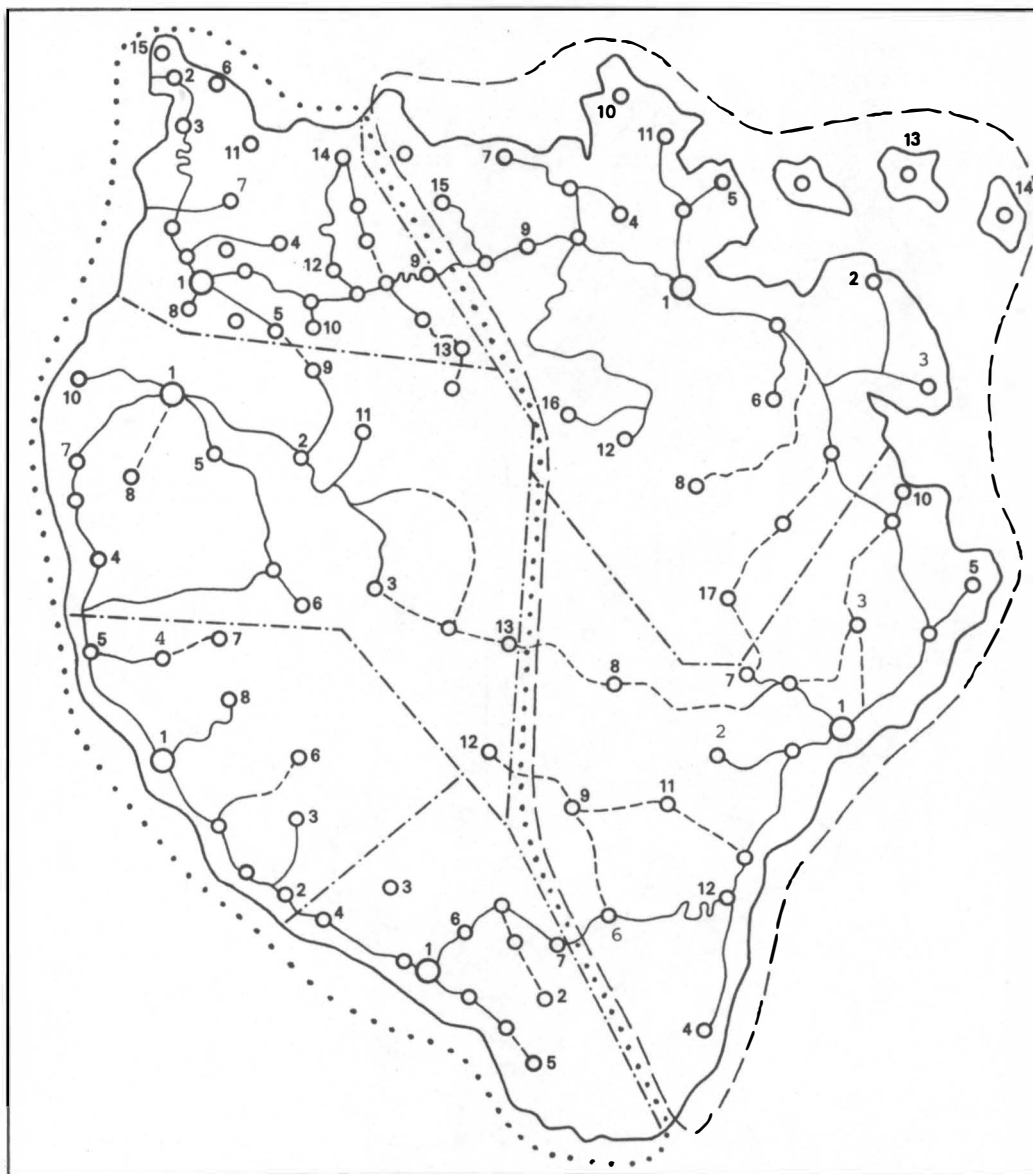
MAP 5.14: OTHER NOUNS HAVING DIFFERENT ROOTS, SEPARATING THE WESTERN FROM THE EASTERN DIALECT AREA

Gloss	WM . . . . .	EM - - -
1. 'anchovy'	du:lis	bulinaw
2. 'dried anchovy'	pilipitin	tuyung bulinaw
3. 'ankle'	bukubu:ku	buqul
4. 'betel-areca nut chew'	ngangaq	mamaq
5. 'bowl'	hawung	sulyaw
6. 'butterfly'	bilabila	kulili:paw
7. 'cassava'	balinghuy	karlu:bang
8. 'cotton tree'	ka:yu	bulaksi:naq



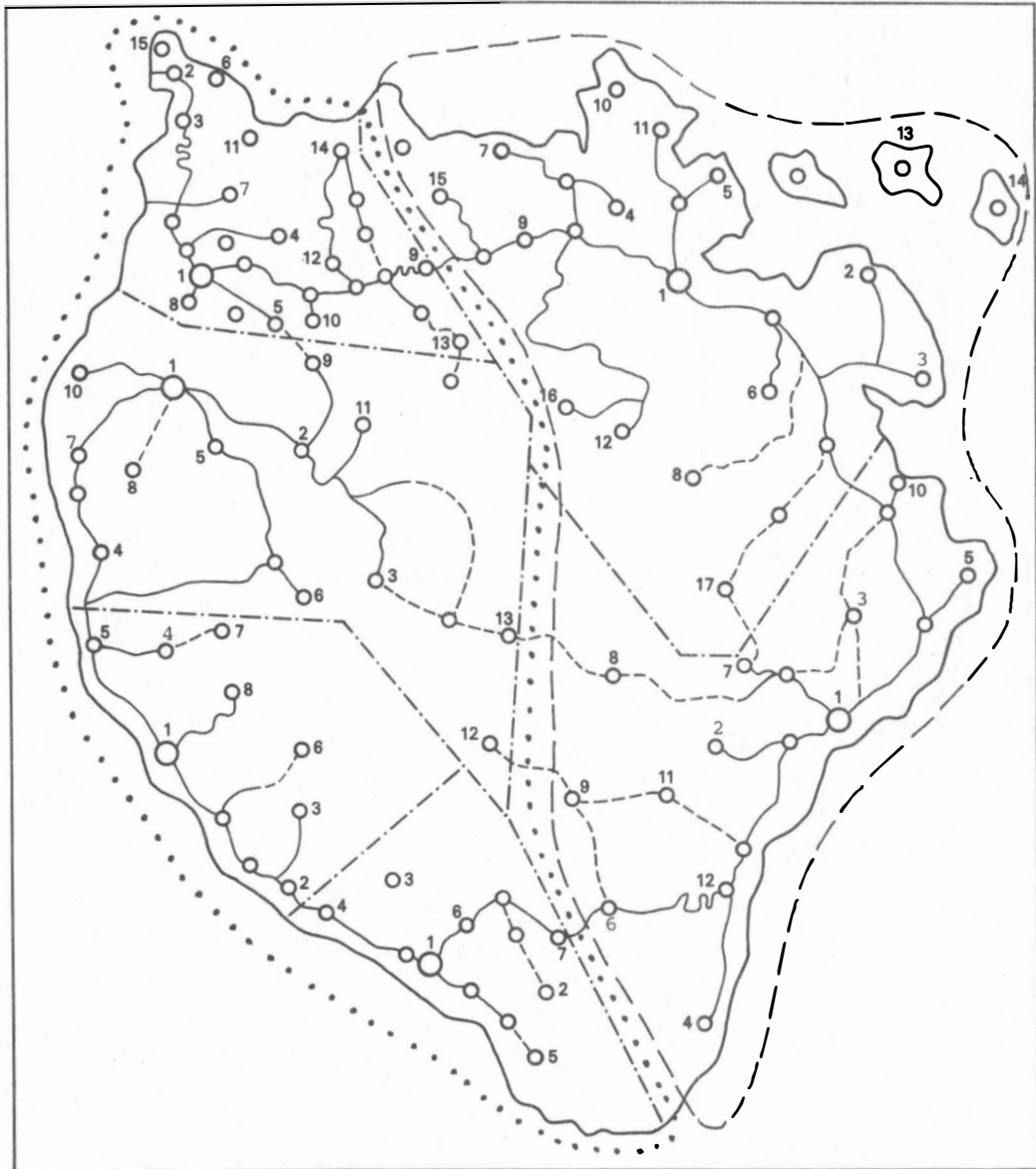
MAP 5.15: NOUNS HAVING DIFFERENT ROOTS (cont'd from Map 5.14)

Gloss	WM . . . . .	EM - - - - -
9. 'cowlick'	puyu	pulipud
10. 'dandruff'	dalikdik	kuli:sap
11. 'ladle'	sanduk	sampi
12. 'calamansi'	kalamunding	kalamqi:san
13. 'market'	pla:sa	merka:du
14. 'pig pen'	qulbuq	banlat
15. 'rainbow'	balangaw	balagha:riq
16. 'scorpion'	qiwi	qatangqa:tang
17. 'stringbeans'	ki:bal	latuy



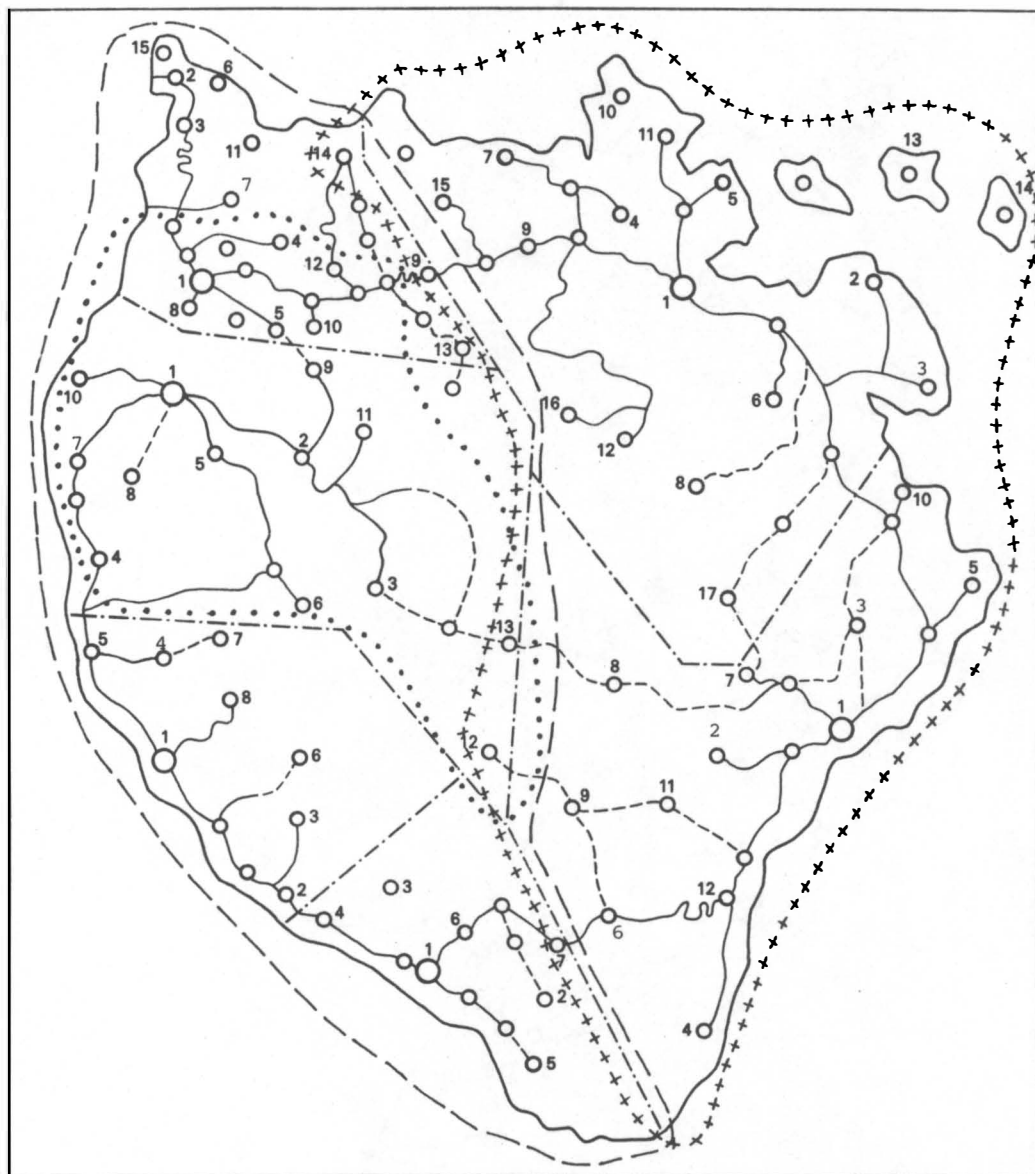
MAP 5.16: OTHER VERBS HAVING DIFFERENT ROOTS IN EM AND WM

Gloss	WM ·····	EM — — —
1. 'catch'	sambut	sakap
2. 'converse'	pu:lung	qergo
3. 'sit (e.g. on floor)'	lapa:nak	lupa:giq
4. 'draw water'	ti:gis	tabuq; kadluq
5. 'wash dishes'	hu:gas	dayag



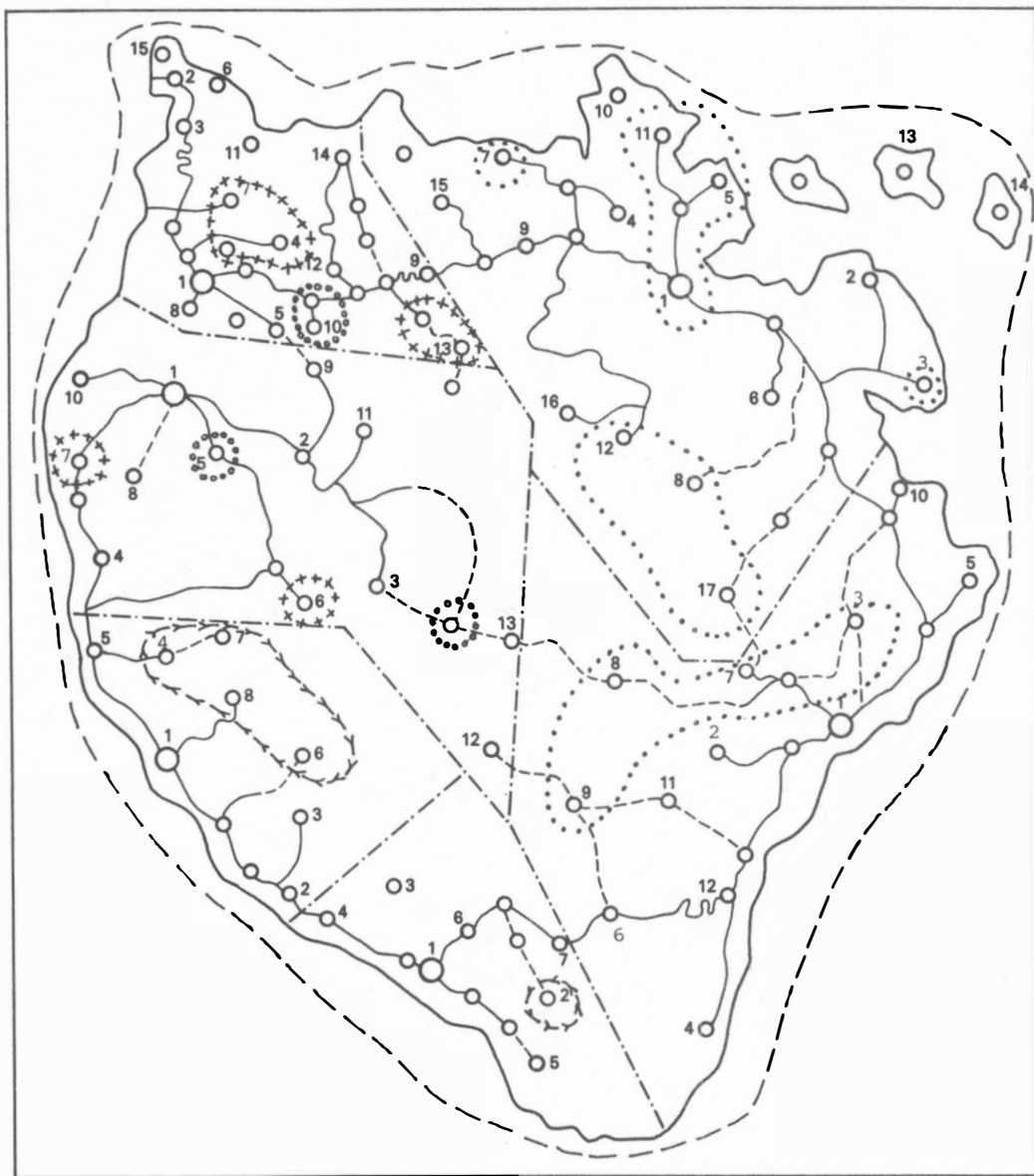
MAP 5.17: DESCRIPTIVES HAVING DIFFERENT ROOTS IN WM AND EM

Gloss	WM ·····	EM - - - -
1. 'bald head'	bungkug	qanit
2. 'crazy'	lukuluku	puhang
3. 'warm (weather)'	mapulu:hil	mabanas
4. 'ugly, improper'	kaqiba	katu:waq



MAP 5.18: ta:yu na 'Let's go'

- kita na
- + + + + + hamus na
- ..... ta:mus na



MAP 5.19: singko 'five-centavo piece'

- singko
- <-<-< walu:hin
- ..... bagun
- +++++ bagul
- ..... bunguy

## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.0. INTRODUCTION

This dialectological study is limited to the island province of Marinduque in Southern Luzon. Marinduque is considered part of the Tagalog region, but its speech is not easily understood by speakers from the Manila area. This study attempted to examine the phonological system, the basic morphological structures, a 300-item list of words and expressions and the basic syntactic structures of Marinduque Tagalog for the main purpose of discovering dialectal variations and gaining an insight into the most important elements causing variation. As a secondary objective, the study sought to indicate the main linguistic similarities and differences between Marinduque Tagalog and Manila Tagalog.

To accomplish these objectives, a survey was made of the speech of 129 native residents, 50 years old and above, from the six population centres and 113 barrios throughout the island province, covering a wide network of speech communities. Data were collected via tape-recorded interviews with the aid of a language questionnaire (Appendix B) and spontaneous conversations with or among the native speakers. Equivalents to the 300-list of Manila Tagalog words and expressions elicited from the informants were summarised in tabulated form (Appendix A). In addition, translation equivalents of 83 sentences were examined for various morphological and syntactic features. For the purposes of this study, the linguistic structures were analysed on the bases of form, meaning and distribution. The description started from phonology and proceeded to morphology and syntax. The lexical items were compared last. Dialect maps were drawn to show the distribution of linguistic items and to plot isoglosses.

For each linguistic component, structural features which are identical in Manila and Marinduque were indicated, as well as those which are

different. Differences in structural features between the main Tagalog dialects of Marinduque were plotted on isogloss maps to determine the geographical boundaries of use.

This concluding chapter summarises the findings of the four linguistic levels, each pointing to a division of Marinduque into two major dialect areas, Eastern Marinduque and Western Marinduque.

### 6.1. PHONOLOGY

Except for the diphthong /iy/ which occurs in Western Marinduque, the dialects of Marinduque Tagalog share the same segmental phonemes and combinations with each other and with Manila Tagalog, as follows:

5 vowels /i, e, a, o, u/

6 diphthongs /iw, ey, ay, oy, uy, aw/

17 consonants:

stops /p, t, k, b, d, g, glottal stop/

nasals /m, n, ng/

fricatives /f, h, s/

lateral /l/

tap /r/

glides /w, y/

Western Marinduque retains the glottal stop in non-phrase-final position, while Eastern Marinduque, like Manila Tagalog, replaces the glottal with vowel lengthening (Map 2.1, p.45).

WM *dun nga:niq si minya nagtu:ruq sa yuquk mu:na qayq*  
'It was there in Yook where Minia first taught'

EM *mamaya: pa wa:ri: qang dating nila*  
'I think they will be arriving later'

ManT *matanda: na sya*  
'He is already old'

Western Marinduque has a diphthong, /iy/, which is equivalent to Eastern Marinduque /i:/, but which does not occur in Manila Tagalog.

WM	EM	Gloss
qaliylima	qali:lima	'only five'
nagasiysindi	naga:si:sindi	'lights automatically'
biybihi:raq	bi:bihi:raq	'seldom'

The MT dialects have the following suprasegmentals:

**pitch levels:** /2/, normal; /3/, high; /1/, low; /4/, extra high (in Boac and Mogpog). Manila Tagalog also has pitch levels /2/, /3/ and /1/.

**terminal contours:** /+/, full fall; /'/, partial fall; /↑/, rising and /→/, sustention. Manila Tagalog uses the same terminal contours. The extra-high pitch level is found only in Boac and Mogpog, which towns together may be considered as giving evidence of sub-dialect of Western Marinduque.

Relative vowel length is phonemic, as shown by a number of minimal pairs, such as:

/ba:tuk/ 'nape'	/batuk/ 'dog bark'
/bi:lut/ 'roll'	/bilut/ 'puppy'
/hu:li/ 'catch'	/huli/ 'late'
/na:ku:ha(q)/ 'gets'	/naku:ha(q)/ 'was able to get'

Word stress or accent is normally predictable on the final syllable of a word not containing any distinctive vowel length, e.g. [m̩al̩al̩akí] 'big ones'; [m̩s̩s̩s̩akt̩ín] 'sickly', or on the penultimate syllable containing a significantly long vowel, e.g. [bá:s̩] 'read'; [ma:bá:sa] 'will read'.

Words containing closed penultimate syllables are variably accented on the ultima or the penultima, without any corresponding change in meaning: [bundúk] ~ [búnduk] 'mountain', [b̩agyú] ~ [b̩agyU] 'storm', [tUgtúg] ~ [túgtUg] 'play musical instrument', [sagqút] ~ [s̩ágqUt] 'answer'. In Manila Tagalog those words are normally accented on the last syllable. Variability of stress or accent in Marinduque Tagalog may be an illustration of Dempwolf's (1971:27) statement that "... stress (strong accent) and the pitch (musical accent) do not play as important a role in Tagalog, Toba Batak and Javanese as the sound quality".

The basic phonological differences between EM and WM chiefly concern intonation and the treatment of the non-phrase-final glottal stop. EM has a characteristic melodic glide within the syllable, especially in the sentence-final syllable, giving the impression of a singsong. Among the four towns of Western Marinduque, this melodic glide is absent and the pitch more or less remains level on each successive syllable, except that in Boac and Mogpog, there is a greater incidence of jumping to a higher pitch level followed by a partial fall. In the illustrative sentences below, the glided syllables in Eastern Marinduque are capitalised:

- EM /<sup>2</sup>maLA:qun na qaku <sup>3</sup>di:TU<sup>↑</sup>/  
*'I have been (living) here (for a) long (time)'*  
 /<sup>2</sup>mati:tanDA qaku kay ta:<sup>3</sup>tay MU<sup>↑</sup>/  
*'I'm a little older than your father'*

In yes-or-no questions containing the question marker (*baga* or *ga*), Marinduque Tagalog uses a falling terminal juncture, but the contrast between the dialects is shown in EM ending in a full fall and WM, in a partial fall (Map 2.2, p.46). Manila Tagalog uses a rising final contour.

- ScT /<sup>3</sup>marɑ:mi gang ta:qu sa mer<sup>2</sup>ka:du<sup>↑</sup>/  
 GBu /<sup>3</sup>marɑ:mi bagang ta:wu sa <sup>2</sup>pla:sa<sup>↑</sup>/  
 BM /<sup>2</sup>marɑ:mi bagang ta:wu sa <sup>4</sup>pla:sa<sup>↑</sup>/  
 ManT /<sup>2</sup>marɑ:mi bang ta:qu sa pale:ng<sup>3</sup>ke<sup>↑</sup>/  
*'Are there many people at the market?'*

Without the question marker, Eastern Marinduque Tagalog, like Manila Tagalog, has a rising final contour while Western Marinduque Tagalog has a partial fall:

- EM /<sup>2</sup>marɑ:ming ta:qu sa merka:du<sup>↑</sup>/  
 WM /<sup>2</sup>marɑ:ming ta:wu sa <sup>3</sup>pla:sa<sup>↑</sup>/  
 ManT /<sup>2</sup>marɑ:ming ta:qu sa pale:ng<sup>3</sup>ke<sup>↑</sup>/

The intonation contour for confirmation questions in WM is /3<sup>↑</sup>/; in EM, /3+<sup>↑</sup>/; in ManT, /2<sup>↑</sup>/ (Map 2.3, p.47).

- WM /<sup>3</sup>ba:gay natatandaqan mung lahat yun<sup>↑</sup>/  
 EM /<sup>3</sup>baga<sup>↑</sup> <sup>3</sup>nata:tandaqan mu gang lahat yun<sup>↑</sup>/  
 ManT /<sup>2</sup>nata:tandaqan mu nga: bang lahat yun<sup>↑</sup>/  
*'Do you really remember all of that?'*

In general, intonation is more difficult to measure objectively because of the individual differences in mood, emotion, motives of the speaker, as well as his pitch range.

## 6.2. MORPHOLOGY

### 6.2.1. CASE MARKERS

Differences between EM and WM case markers occur only in the personal plural forms. While EM has *da*, *da*, and *kanda*, WM has *sina*, *nina* and *kayna*, respectively. The case markers of Manila Tagalog are identical with those of Western Marinduque Tagalog with the exception of *kina*. (Map 3.1, p.53 shows the differences between EM and WM case markers.)

ManT/WM	EM	Gloss
sina ben	da ben	'Ben and others'
nina ben	da ben	'of, by Ben and others'
kina ben (ManT)	kanda ben	'to, for Ben and others'
kayna ben (WM)		

### 6.2.2. DEICTICS

MT qitu 'this' refers to nouns near the speaker and the addressee, while WM qiri, EM qari 'this' (Map 3.3, p.56) and their corresponding forms in the nang and sa cases apply to objects near the speaker. In three inland barrios of Gasan, some people have preserved qidi in their speech (Map 3.2, p.55). In Manila, qiri and qitu are often used interchangeably. The rest of the deictics differentiating Manila Tagalog from Marinduque Tagalog are:

ManT	MT <sup>1</sup>	Gloss
qiyan	yaqan	'that, Near Ad'
qiyun	yuqun	'that yonder'
nyan	nyaqan	'that, Near Ad'
dyan	dyaqan	'there, Near Ad'
ganun, ganuqun	ganqun	'like that yonder'
	gaqun (EM)	

### 6.2.3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Differences in personal pronouns occur in the first person plural inclusive, the second person plural, and the dual form.

ManT	MT	Gloss
ta:yu	kita, ta:yu	'we (incl.)'
na:tin	ta, na:tin	'us (incl.)'
kita	ta	'you - by me'
kayu	kamu (EM) <sup>2</sup>	'you (pl.)'
	kayu (WM)	

The second person plural kamu is used in Eastern Marinduque, in the northern coasts of Mogpog and at the eastern boundary of Boac and Buenavista where old migrants from the Bisayas and from Santa Cruz have settled (Map 3.4, p.58). kayu is used in Western Marinduque.

<sup>1</sup>Deictics similar to the MT forms occur in some Bikol dialects. Examples are: Northern Catanduanes yaqan 'that, Near Ad', yuqun 'that yonder'; Buhi nuqun 'of that, by that'.

<sup>2</sup>kamu appears also in Bikol, Sebuwano, Hiligaynon and other Bisayan dialects.

The forms *ta:yu* and *na:tin* are alternants of *kita* and *ta*, respectively, but are less frequently used. They may have been later adoptions from Manila Tagalog or the Tagalog dialects of Quezon, Laguna and Batangas, inasmuch as they are not as prevalent and frequent as *kita* and *ta*.

#### 6.2.4. LOCATIVES

Subject-plural forms of MT *naqitu* 'here, Near Sp-Ad', EM *naqari* 'here, near Sp', *na:ryan* 'there, Near Ad', *na:ruqun* 'there, yonder' occur in the Eastern Marinduque dialect. They are, respectively, *nangqi:qitu*, *nangqa:qari*, *nanri:ryan*, *nanru:ruqun*. Equivalent plural forms do not occur in Western Marinduque and in Manila Tagalog. Examples of EM sentences with plural-subject locatives are:

- EM *nangqi:qitu na da ben*  
'Ben and the others are here now'
- ba:kit nangqaqari sa si:lung qang manga bisi:ta ta*  
'Why are our visitors here downstairs?'
- nanri:ryan sa kahun*  
'(They) are there in the box'
- nanru:ruqun pa pu: sa bu:kid da ta:tay*  
'Father and the others are still in the farm'

#### 6.2.5. VERBAL AFFIXES

The dialects of Marinduque Tagalog differ from each other and from Manila Tagalog only in three verb forms: the EM plural-actor of *-um-*, the WM plural-actor of *mag-* and the EM alternant form for the reciprocal action.

ManT	MT	Gloss
<i>mag-...-an</i> (also WM)	<i>mang-</i> (EM)	'-um- plural actor'
<i>magda:ti:ngan</i>	<i>mandating</i>	'to arrive'
<i>nangka:qi:nan kami</i>	<i>nangka:qin kami</i>	'we ate'
<i>mangag-</i> (also EM)	<i>mag-...-an</i> (WM)	'mag- plural-actor'
<i>nangaglu:tu: sila</i> <i>nang ba:qun</i>	<i>naglutuqan sila</i> <i>nang ba:qun</i>	'They cooked some provisions'
	<i>mag-in-an</i> (EM) <sup>1</sup>	'reciprocal action'
	<i>nagpinaluqan</i>	'hit each other'
	<i>maghinabulan</i>	'to chase each other'
	<i>nagatinaguqan</i>	'playing hide and seek'

<sup>1</sup>Hiligaynon has a parallel structure for the reciprocal action, *mag-in-ay*, e.g. *magsinumbagay* 'box each other', *magbinuligay* 'help one another'.

## 6.2.6. ASPECT FORMATIONS

MT dialects have less formal command forms besides the more formal constructions which they have in common with Manila Tagalog. These forms consist of the base plus a suffix, corresponding to major verbal affixes as follows:

-in	-an	qI-
B + -a	B + -i	B + -an
bilha 'buy it'	bilhi 'buy from it'	bilhan 'buy for/with it'
		< *qi + bilih + -an

In addition, EM has alternants for the imperative forms of mag- and mang- for which WM and ManT have no counterparts (Map 3.8, p.69).

ManT	WM	EM <sup>1</sup>	Gloss
∅	∅	pag- + B	'mag- imperative'
		paglu:tu:na	'(You) cook now'
∅	∅	pang- + B	'mang- imperative'
		panghu:li	'(You) catch'

Other observed differences between Marinduque Tagalog and Manila Tagalog aspectual forms involve the prospective and imperative aspects. Where ManT has reduplication of the first consonant and vowel of the base, MT has -a-.<sup>2</sup>

ManT	MT	Gloss
maglu:lu:tuq	(ma)galu:tuq (WM)	'will cook'
	(ma)ga:lu:tuq (EM)	
naglu:lu:tuq	nagal:tuq (WM)	'is cooking'
	naga:lu:tuq (EM)	
tatawa:gin	qatawa:gin	'will be called'
tina:ta:wag	qina:ta:wag	'is being called'
gugupitan	qa:gupitan	'will be given a haircut'
ginugupitan	qina:gupitan	'is being given a haircut'
qibi:bill	qa:bili	'will be bought with/for'
qibini:bill	qina:bili	'is being bought with/for'

<sup>1</sup> pag- and pang- imperatives occur also in Bikol and Bisayan:  
 pagbakal kamu 'You buy'  
 paglu:tuq kita 'Let's cook'  
 pang:taq (Hiligaynon) 'Go find (something)'

<sup>2</sup> Similar prospective and imperfective forms with -a- are also found in some Bikol and Bisayan dialects. Example: Bikol and Hiligaynon (ma)galu:tuq 'will cook'.

In Western Marinduque, the more common form for *maka-* and *maki-* prospective and imperfective aspects has vowel lengthening rather than reduplication of the second syllable of the prefix, as in Manila Tagalog:

na:kabili for nakakabili 'able to buy'  
 na:kisu:yuq for nakikisu:yuq 'requesting'

Likewise, Western Marinduque does not have reduplication in the recent perfective forms:

ManT/EM	WM	Gloss
kapa:paglaba lang	ka:paglaba pa	'just finished washing clothes'
kaqaqalis pa nila	ka:qalis pa nila	'They have just left'
kapa:pamili pa	ka:pamili pa	'has just come from shopping'

In less formal speech, Eastern Marinduque optionally deletes the prefix *ma-* in verbal affixes starting with *ma-*.

ManT	WM	EM	Gloss
mangu:ngu:ha	mangungu:ha	(ma)ngu:ngu:haq	'will gather'
maglu:lu:tuq	(ma)galu:tuq	(ma)ga:lu:tuq	'will cook'
maki:kinig	makikinig	(ma)ki:kinig	'will listen'
maki:ki:ta	makiki:ta	(ma)ki:ki:ta	'will be seen'
makakaki:ta	makakaki:ta	(ma)kakaki:ta	'will be able to see'
makikisu:yuq	makikisu:yuq	(ma)kikisu:yuq	'will request'

Western Marinduque deletes *ma-* only in the *mag-* prospective aspect. Deletion of *ma-* does not occur in Manila Tagalog.

Finally, in Marinduque Tagalog, the prospective and imperfective aspects of *-um-* follow the formal pattern for the verbal affixes having an initial *ma-*, rather than the expected basic form for *-um-*.

ManT	MT	Gloss
C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> : +B	ma:- +B	'prospective'
su:su:lat	ma:su:lat	'will write'
C <sub>1</sub> +um- +V <sub>1</sub> +B	na: +B	'imperfective'
sumu:su:lat	na:su:lat	'writes'

The aspect formations not discussed in this section are similar for Manila Tagalog and the Marinduque Tagalog dialects.

#### 6.2.7. GERUNDS

Unlike in Manila Tagalog, Marinduque Tagalog gerund forms have no reduplication of the first consonant and vowel of the base:

Affix	MT	ManT	Gloss
mag-	paglu:tuq	paglulu:tuq	'cooking'
mang-	panghu:ll	panghuhu:li	'catching'

Manila Tagalog perfective gerunds likewise have reduplication which does not occur in Marinduque Tagalog:

ManT mahu:say qang pagkaka:gawa: nang ngi:ping ku

WM maqi:gi qang pagkagawaq nang ngi:ping ku

*'The manner of fixing my teeth was excellent' (The dentist did a good job ...)*

#### 6.2.8. ADJECTIVALS

Four adjectival forms differentiate MT dialects from ManT, as follows:

MT has maki- where ManT has maka- to denote 'inclination to' or 'fondness for': MT makiqama = ManT makaqama 'close to one's father'.

WM has the intensifiers paka-/pagka- +B and pagka-/paka- +B<sub>2</sub> corresponding to ManT napaka- +B and pagka- +B<sub>2</sub>. EM has only maka- + adj. Thus: WM pakalaki/pagkalaki 'very big'; pakalakilaki/pagkalakilaki 'very very big'. EM makamalaki 'very big'. ManT napakalaki 'very big'; pagka:lakilaki 'very very big'.

In addition to affixes, Marinduque Tagalog uses proclitic intensifiers not found in Manila Tagalog: WM na:man (a contraction of kaqina:man), gulpi, pwerte; EM minang or ming and ya:no.

WM na:mang/gulping/pwerteng lakas  
'very strong'

EM minang/ming/ya:nung lakas  
'very strong'

The superlative affix ka-...-an is common in Eastern Marinduque but not found in Western Marinduque nor in Manila Tagalog.

EM ka:ganda:han  
'the prettiest'

ka:taqa:san  
'the tallest'

Manila Tagalog has ka- +B<sub>2</sub> -an used in formal speech: kataqastaqa:san 'highest'.

In the limiters, as in the prospective and imperfective aspects, reduplication in ManT and qa- in MT again mark the difference between these dialects.

ManT	MT	Gloss
C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> + numeral	qa:- + numeral	'limiter'
da:dalawa	qa:dalwa	'only two'
C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> + numeral <sub>2</sub>	qa:- + numeral <sub>2</sub> (WM)	'limiter, more emphatic'
qi:qisaqisa	qaqisaqi:sa	'only one'
	qamaka- + numeral (EM)	'limiter, more emphatic'
	qamakaqisa	'only one'
	qa- +C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> +y + numeral (WM)	'limiter, more emphatic'
	qadaydalwa	'only two'
	qa- +C <sub>1</sub> +i: + numeral (EM)	'limiter, more emphatic'
	qadi:dalwa	'only two'

#### 6.2.9. ENCLITICS AND OTHER ADVERBIALS

Corresponding to Manila Tagalog interrogative enclitic *ba* is MT *baga* and EM *ga*; to ManT adverb of confirmation *ngaq* is MT *nga:niq*. For polite requests and optatives, ManT has *ngaq* and MT, *daw*.

ManT /<sup>2</sup>may kasa:ma ka ba<sup>†</sup>/  
 WM /<sup>3</sup>may kasa:ma ka baga<sup>†</sup>/  
 EM /<sup>3</sup>may kasa:ma ka baga/ga<sup>†</sup>/  
 'Do you have a companion?'

ManT qumu:qulan nqaq  
 MT naqulan nga:niq  
 'It's raining indeed'

ManT patulu:gin mu nga: yum ba:taq  
 MT patulu:ga daw yum ba:taq  
 'Please put the baby to sleep'

The remaining five Marinduque Tagalog adverbial constructions and enclitics do not occur in Manila Tagalog:

6.2.9.1. pag- +C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>+B (used with the nang case as subject) 'recurrent event or action'.

pagpa:pari:tu ku ...  
 'everytime I come ...'

6.2.9.2. ba:gay 'whenever'

ba:gay naqulan  
 'whenever it rains'

## 6.2.9.3. bayaq 'adverb of assurance'

qa:bigyan ta bayaq

*'believe me, I shall give you (some)'*

## 6.2.9.4. mandin 'adverb of confirmation'

naqitu mandin si kwan

*'That's right, so-and-so is here'*

## 6.2.9.5. may ka-...-an 'superlative' (EM), occurring with nang case as subject.

/<sup>2</sup>may kalayu:<sup>3</sup>qan nun<sup>1</sup>/*'That's very far'*

## 6.3. SYNTAX

Marinduque Tagalog dialects have substantially uniform syntactic structures which they share with Manila Tagalog. Only two sentence structures found in Marinduque are not used in Manila Tagalog. One is common to both Marinduque Tagalog dialects and concerns the occurrence of the topic qikaw 'you (sg.)' in other positions than preceding the inversion marker qay (see Sections 4.4.1. and 4.8. of Chapter IV).

Examples are:

WM nagparitu pala qikaw kaha:pun

*'So you came here yesterday'*EM /<sup>3</sup>nakakapana:qug pa pu: baga <sup>2</sup>qikaw<sup>†</sup>/*'Are you still able to go downstairs?'*

The Manila Tagalog equivalents to these two sentences are:

ManT napari:tu ka pala kaha:pun

/<sup>2</sup>nakakapana:qug pa pu: ba kayu<sup>†</sup>/

In the second sentence, kayu is used instead of qikaw, because in Manila Tagalog, the honorific puq does not normally co-occur with qikaw.

The other sentence structure is peculiar to the Western Marinduque dialect area and involves the use of the WM initial adverb of confirmation ba:gay (see Section 4.4.3.). For example:

WM /<sup>2</sup>ba:gay patiq tara:quk nang manuk qay na:run<sup>1</sup>/*'Is the crowing of the cock really (recorded) there too?'*

Finally, the use of pseudo-verbals in inverted sentences, like the examples below, is rarely heard in Manila Tagalog.

MT si mi:nda qay qayaw kumanta

*'Minda does not want to sing'*

qaku rin qay gustung makaqabut dun  
*'I too want to be able to reach that place'*

#### 6.4. LEXICON

The 300 Manila Tagalog vocabulary items used in this study are all known to Marinduque Tagalog speakers but only 143 items or 48 per cent are normally used. These items are identical in Marinduque Tagalog and Manila Tagalog. 65 items or 21 per cent contain minimal phonological variations. 148 terms yielded non-cognate roots, 40 of which are in competition with the Manila Tagalog terms, which are also common throughout the province. 95 items or 64 per cent of the non-cognate roots occur in both EM and WM dialects. In 15 cases, the MT terms and the ManT terms are used with slightly different meaning. The complete lists are contained in Table 5.

18 terms are cognates (with Manila Tagalog) with different meanings. It is also apparent that there are many terms known and used by older speakers, which are not intelligible to speakers of Manila Tagalog or even to the younger generation in Marinduque.

The lexicons of Eastern Marinduque and Western Marinduque differ very slightly from each other. Of the 300-item vocabulary list, they have 245 terms or 82 per cent in common. At present, speakers of each dialect understand the peculiarities of the other dialect.

Both Marinduque Tagalog dialects have preserved forms which are also found in Bikol and Bisayan.

#### 6.5. SUMMARY

In summary, we have just seen how five items of phonology, about 30 morphological forms, 50 lexical items and only one syntactic structure tend to divide the island province of Marinduque into two main dialect areas. We have also seen how the two dialects have near identity with Manila Tagalog in terms of basic phonological and syntactic structures, basic vocabulary, and major verbal, nominal and adjectival affixes. The near identity of the two speech varieties with Manila Tagalog on the basis of the four linguistic levels justifies the assumption that they are dialects of Tagalog and not different languages.

The Tagalog dialects of Marinduque are more similar to each other than they are to Manila Tagalog. When a native of Marinduque speaks, another native listener can readily tell the dialect area from which the speaker hails. His speech is marked by a characteristic intonation, the presence or absence of non-phrase-final glottal stop, a few items of different vocabulary and morphological structures. On the other

hand, when a speaker of Manila Tagalog hears Marinduque Tagalog for the first time, he will notice the same variation in phonology as has been recognised by a native speaker of Marinduque Tagalog but more differences between their vocabulary and morphological forms. The reason is that, although there is a 69 per cent lexical similarity between Manila Tagalog and Marinduque Tagalog, there are a number of MT vocabulary items used in competition with Manila Tagalog terms. Added to these lexical terms are variant forms of pronouns and deictics; the imperative, prospective and imperfective aspectual forms; some pluralised verb forms, and a few adjectival and adverbial forms and affixes not found in Manila Tagalog.

#### 6.6. CONCLUSION

The bundles of isoglosses which divide Marinduque into two main Tagalog dialect areas constitute a boundary which geographically separates the highland towns from the lowland towns as well as the Eastern area from the Western area. The two dialect areas have a common central boundary which runs from north to south. The Western dialect is predominant in the coastal towns of Gasan and Buenavista, the capital town of Boac and its adjacent town on the north, Mogpog. The Eastern dialect is predominant in Santa Cruz and Torrijos.

Contrasting items occur in some speech communities as a result of physical geography, contact, migration and borrowing. Tambunan and Tumagabok, for instance, are barrios in the mountain forests of Boac, towards the central boundary between Boac and Torrijos. Although they belong to Boac, they are separated from the rest of the town by mountain forests, a situation which has led to closer contact with Torrijos on the eastern side of the island. This contact has made them linguistically attached to Torrijos. Until now, these two barrios are less difficult to reach by way of the mountain trails of Torrijos. In fact, some families from Tambunan - the barrio which hangs at the tail-end of Boac - preferred to bury their dead in Torrijos, instead of Boac to which they belong.

A few migrants from the Eastern dialect area use their native terms in competition with the terms prevalent in their present settlement. Examples of this situation are shown by the occurrence of contrasting morphological forms in Guisian and Sumangga (of Mogpog) and Malbog (of Buenavista). The informants from these barrios spent the early years of their life in Santa Cruz (of Eastern Marinduque).

Some items, which are shared with Manila Tagalog, like the personal plural nominal markers *sina* and *nina*, have been adopted by the population centres and some barrios of Eastern Marinduque.

The most important factors that have contributed to speech variation in Marinduque are summarised as follows:

#### 6.6.1. COMMUNICATION BARRIERS

Natural barriers, bad roads, poor transportation facilities have prevented the spread of linguistic features of each dialect. For hundreds of years, long before the construction of roads, the dialect areas had been separated by high mountains and vast forests in the central portion of the island province. The people talked much more to each other than to people who lived on the other side of the mountains.

#### 6.6.2. INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT WITHIN EACH DIALECT

Dialect areas have created terms to label or describe certain concepts. Gasan and Buenavista have bungku:gan and bumbung, which are terms for 'piggy bank'; taqu:ban 'dish rack'. Boac has putulin for describing the 'long variety of stringbeans'; Santa Cruz has qu:lam for 'fish' while Torrijos has the same term, qu:lam, for 'meat'. Within each dialect area, some words vary in some phonological segments: GBu kapilanggut ~ kapinganggut ~ kapilandut for 'piece'; kublilit ~ kudlilit for 'tap lightly'; Boac has tumiq ~ timiq 'dented' or 'smashed'; Santa Cruz has tursuk ~ tusluk ~ tulsuk for 'prick'.

#### 6.6.3. BORROWING

Each dialect area has borrowed from the speech of immigrants and traders from adjacent provinces. Santa Cruz and Torrijos may have adopted ga 'interrogative enclitic' from many natives of Batangas who have settled in the poblacion and neighbouring barrios. The terms sinturis and daranghita seem to be late adoptions to identify the fruit which resembles the native kahel 'orange'. When the need to identify objects and new concepts arises, it is easier to borrow an existing term than to create one.

#### 6.6.4. INFLUENCE OF OTHER CULTURES

In Eastern Marinduque, there are some morphological structures which are also found in neighbouring Bisayan dialects: mag-in-an 'reciprocal action'; in Western Marinduque, there is a replacement of the syllable ka- and ki- by vowel lengthening, a feature also found in some Bikol dialects (McFarland 1973). Both dialects of Marinduque Tagalog have some grammatical structures different from what we teach in Pilipino grammar but obviously related to some Bisayan structures. Examples of these structures are several aspectual formations.

Marinduque is rather geographically isolated from the Luzon mainland. Its proximity to Southern Quezon, Batangas, Mindoro, Bikol and the Western Bisayas is another reason for the existence of morphological and lexical variations in each dialect. The occurrence of a glottal stop in the environment of a CVC\_VC is part of the phonological shapes of Marinduque Tagalog and most Bisayan and Bikol dialects: *butqu* 'bone'; *gabqi* 'night'; *mabigqat* 'heavy'; *ngayqun* 'now', etc.

Although Marinduque Tagalog reveals a clear affinity to Bikol and Bisayan dialects, the similarities are not sufficient as to consider them as dialects of Bikol and Bisayan. The similarities only suggest earlier periods of contact with these languages. All informants agree that they speak Tagalog, except two or three who believe that they speak a mixture of Tagalog and Bisayan and/or Bikol. In fact, not a few have stated that they thought they spoke just like the Tagalog radio commentators.

#### 6.6.5. SOCIAL FACTORS

The fact that the 300 words used in this study are all known, although not commonly used in Marinduque, no doubt indicates that Manila Tagalog has the distinction of being the prestige language and therefore, enjoys the highest social recognition.

Speakers from one dialect area try to adopt the peculiarities of the other dialect at will, when communicating with them in their (the other's) own linguistic territory. The frequent adoption at will developed into a habit, resulting in a mixture of the peculiar intonation adopted and their dialect's own features partly retained.

With the use of Pilipino as medium of instruction in the lower grades, with mass media, and with the growing mobility of population, the residents tend to use more and more Manila Tagalog without abandoning the local dialect, so that there exists a state of bi-dialectalism especially among the younger speakers.

#### 6.7. SOME THEORETICAL INSIGHTS

The dialectology of Marinduque Tagalog has provided us with some theoretical insights into the nature of language:

6.7.1. Intonational peculiarities, which are subject to many variations, are really not a barrier to comprehensibility of the dialects of a language. One clear element that differentiates Marinduque Tagalog dialects from each other and from Manila Tagalog is intonation; yet, the speakers understand one another.

6.7.2. Normally, a yes-or-no question has a rising intonation. In Eastern Marinduque, the yes-or-no question, which is signalled by the question marker *baga* or *ga*, does not have a rising intonation, as in:

EM /<sup>3</sup>ma:paɾqun ka pa ga<sup>↑</sup>/  
 'Are you still going there?'  
 /<sup>3</sup>gustu ga nya nitu<sup>↑</sup>/  
 'Does he like this?'

This phenomenon may not be unique; that is, some other languages of the world may have a falling intonation on certain yes-or-no question patterns. However, the phenomenon is uncommon. It seems to cast doubt on the universality of the rising intonation for the yes-or-no question.

## 6.8. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

6.8.1. In Marinduque Tagalog, there is clear evidence of the distinction between vowel length and accent or stress. Vowel length is phonemic, as in:

/qa:su/ 'dog'	/qasu/ 'smoke'
/ba:tuk/ 'back of the neck'	/batuk/ 'dog bark'
/bi:lut/ 'roll'	/bilut/ 'puppy'
/na:ku:ha(q)/ 'gets'	/naku:ha(q)/ 'was able to be taken'

whereas, stress is not phonemic:

[qá:su] ~ [qa:sú] 'dog'  
 [qásu] ~ [qasú] 'smoke'  
 [pá:suk] ~ [pa:súk] 'enter'  
 [bundúk] ~ [búnduk] 'mountain'  
 [bagyú] ~ [bágyu] 'storm'

There is a long standing controversy as to the phonological status of stress in Manila Tagalog. (See footnote on page 35.) It seems that the evidence from Marinduque Tagalog sheds light on this present controversy. A fresh look into Manila Tagalog on the basis of the data from Marinduque, and working only with stress as a phoneme, might yield a better insight into the problem.

6.8.2. Another area for further investigation is the stress patterns of Tagalog in larger contexts or in discourse. The study should indicate the conditions for maintenance or shift of stress in longer utterances.

6.8.3. As a follow-up of this study on Marinduque Tagalog, a research into the source of the vocabulary of these Tagalog dialects will be useful. This should be done by looking at the Bikol and the Bisayan languages to confirm which features are native Tagalog and which belong to Bisayan and Bikol. The study should be extended to the morphology in order to have a systematic inventory of both the loan and the native linguistic features which make up these dialects.

6.8.4. If we are to find new terminology for the Filipino language, we need to discover all the potentials of the lexicon of the other Tagalog dialects. They may have many more expressive one-word terms for concepts which are expressed in phrases in Manila Tagalog. Apparently, many handy terms, such as *dayag* 'wash dishes', *muquk* 'wake up late', *la:bun* 'boil bananas, corn or root crops', have not found their way in current Tagalog dictionaries.

6.8.5. This study may, likewise, serve as a springboard for further research into the other dialects of Tagalog, for the purpose of finding the actual boundaries of Tagalog. In other words, we need to know how far Tagalog is really spoken in the areas politically considered as part of the Tagalog region.

6.8.6. Finally, a necessary outcome of these dialectological studies is a dialect dictionary of Tagalog, which will include all current terms in the other dialects, with reasonable care in the definition of meanings.



APPENDIX A

SUMMARY OF RESPONSE TO PHONOLOGICAL AND LEXICAL ITEMS

Manila (Gloss)	Buenavista and Gasan	Boac and Mogpog	Santa Cruz and Torrijos
NOUNS			
001. qabu 'ashes'	qabu	qabu	qabu
002. qalakdan 'scorpion'	qiwi	qiwi	qatangqa:tang
003. qalamang 'tiny shrimp'	qalamang	qalamang	
		balaw (M)	balaw
004. qalkansya 'piggy bank'	qarkansi:ya bungku:gan bungbung	qarkansi:ya	qarkansi:ya
005. qalikabuk 'dust'	qalbuk	qalbuk	qalbuk
006. qali:laq 'servant'	qutusan bata:qan	qutusan bata:qan	qutusan bata:qan ka:samahin
007. qalima:ngu 'swamp crab'	katang	katang	katang
008. qalima:sag 'sea crab'	kasag	kasag	kasag
009. qalupi:han 'centipede'	qaluhi:pan qulahi:pan	qaluhi:pan qulahi:pan	qaluhi:pan
010. qapuy 'fire'	qapuy	qapuy	qapuy
011. qa:raw 'sun'	qa:raw	qa:raw	qa:raw
012. qa:su 'dog'	qa:su(q)	qa:su	qa:su
013. qa:sung qulul 'mad dog'	bangqaw	bangqaw	bangqaw
014. qasu 'smoke'	qasu	qasu	qasu
015. qatay 'liver'	qatay	qatay	qatay
016. ba:baq 'chin'	sihang	sihang	sihang
017. baba:qe 'female'	baba:yi baba:qi	baba:yi baba:qi	baba:qi

Manila (Gloss)	Beunavista and Gasan	Boac and Mogpog	Santa Cruz and Torrijos
018. baklaq 'effeminate'	binabayi	binabayi binabaqi	binabaqi
019. bagang 'molar'	bagqang	bagqang	bagqang
020. bahagha:riq 'rainbow'	balangaw	balangaw	balagha:riq
021. balakang 'hips'	pagqung pigqi	pagqung pigqi tabugiq	pagqi tabugiq
022. balaku:bak 'dandruff'	dalikdik	dalikdik	kuli:sap
023. balahi:bu 'feather'	balahi:bu	balahi:bu	balahi:bu
024. balat 'skin'	balat	balat	balat
025. balon 'a well'	balqun bubun	balqun	balqun
026. ba:ngaw 'big fly'	langug	langug	bayangaw
027. batu 'stone'	batu	batu	batu
028. beywang 'waist'	bayqawang	bayqawang	bayqawang
029. bibig 'mouth'	bibig bunga:ngaq	bibig bunga:ngaq	bibig bunga:ngaq
030. biqik 'piglet'	bulaw	bulaw	bulaw
031. bi:luy 'pimple'	tagunyaq	tagunyaq	tagunyaq
032. binhiq 'seed'	binhiq	binhiq	binhiq
033. bituqin 'star'	bitu:qin	bitu:qin	bitu:qin
034. bu:ku 'young fruit of coconut'	mu:raq	mu:raq	mu:raq
035. bu:kungbu:kung 'ankle'	bukubu:ku	bukubu:ku	buqul
036. buha:ngin 'sand'	buha:ngin	buha:ngin	buha:ngin
037. buhuk 'hair'	buhuk	buhuk	buhuk
038. bunduk 'mountain'	bunduk	bunduk	bunduk
039. buntut 'tail'	buntut	buntut	buntut
040. butu 'seed, bone'	butqu	butqu	butqu
041. buwan 'moon'	bu:wan	bu:wan	bu:wan
042. ka:huy 'tree'	ka:huy	ka:huy	ka:huy
043. kaqing 'big basket'	ba:kid ba:kul tiklis	ba:kid ba:kul tiklis	ba:kid ba:kul tiklis
044. kalaba:sa 'squash'	kaluba:sa	kaluba:sa	kaluba:sa
045. kalabaw 'carabao'	karabaw	karabaw	karabaw
046. kalamansiq 'lemon'	da:yap kalamunding	da:yap kalamunding	kalamqi:san
047. kamay 'hand'	kamay	kamay	kamay

Manila (Gloss)	Buenavista and Gasan	Boac and Mogpog	Santa Cruz and Torrijos
048. kamo:teng ka:huy ' <i>cassava root crop</i> '	balinhuy	balinhuy	karlu:bang
049. kamyas ' <i>a sour fruit-vegetable</i> '	kalamyas	kalamyas	kalamyas
050. ka:nimba:buy ' <i>pig's feed</i> '	lagmaw	lagmaw sagmaw (M)	sagmaw linuq
051. ka:ning lamig ' <i>cold rice</i> '	ba:haw	ba:haw	ba:haw
052. ka:pok ' <i>cotton plant</i> '	ka:yu bu:lak	ka:yu	bulaksi:naq
053. karni ' <i>meat</i> '	karni	karni	karni
054. katawan ' <i>body</i> '	katawqan	katawqan	katawqan
055. ko:pra ' <i>dried desiccated coconut</i> '	lukad	lukad	lukad
056. ko:rto ' <i>shorts</i> '	putud	putud	putud
057. kuku	kuku	kuku	kuku
058. kulungan nang ba:buy ' <i>pig pen</i> '	qulbuq	qulbuq	banlat
059. ku:tu ' <i>louse</i> '	ku:tu	ku:tu	ku:tu
060. daqan ' <i>road</i> '	da:qan	da:qan	da:qan
061. da:gat ' <i>sea</i> '	da:gat	da:gat	da:gat
062. da:hun ' <i>leaf</i> '	da:hun	da:hun	da:hun
063. da:qing ' <i>dried fish</i> '	binislad bislad	binislad	binislad
064. dalanghi:ta ' <i>orange</i> '	sintu:ris kahil	sintu:ris kahil	daranghi:ta
065. daqu:ngan ' <i>wharf</i> '	duqu:ngan	duqu:ngan	duqu:ngan pantalan
066. dikin ' <i>a stand for clay pot</i> '	gikin	gikin	gikin
067. di:laq ' <i>tongue</i> '	di:laq	di:laq	di:laq
068. di:lis ' <i>anchovies</i> '	du:lis pilipitin	du:lis pilipitin	bulinaw
069. duguq ' <i>blood</i> '	duguq	duguq	duguq
070. du:hat ' <i>blackberry-like fruit</i> '	du:hat	lumbuy du:hat (M)	du:hat
071. duraq ' <i>spittle</i> '	luraq	luraq	luraq
072. du:ngis ' <i>dirt on face</i> '	qu:ngis	qu:ngis	qa:mus tapqing
073. gabi ' <i>night</i> '	gabqi	gabqi	gabqi
074. gagamba ' <i>spider</i> '	la:waq	la:waq	la:waq
075. gila:gid ' <i>gums</i> '	ngidngid	ngidngid	ngidngid
076. ha:nip ' <i>chicken louse</i> '	ha:nip da:paw	ha:nip	ha:nip

Manila (Gloss)	Buenavista and Gasan	Boac and Mogpog	Santa Cruz and Torrijos
077. qi:bun 'bird'	qi:bun	qi:bun	qi:bun
078. qikmu 'betel leaf'	qikmu	qikmu	qikmu
	mamqin	mamqin	
079. qi:lug 'river'	qi:lug	qi:lug	qi:lug
080. qilung 'nose'	qilung	qilung	qilung
081. qi:pis 'cockroach'	bangku:kang	bangku:kang	bangku:kang
			qi:pis
082. qisdaq 'fish'	qisdaq	qisdaq	qisdaq
083. qitlug 'egg'	qitlug	qitlug	qitlug
	qiklug	qiklug	qiklug
084. qitlug nang qisdaq 'fish roe'	bi:hud	bi:hud	bi:hud
085. lala:ki 'male'	lala:ki	lala:ki	lala:ki
086. lalamu:nan 'throat'	lalamu:nan	lalamu:nan	lalamu:nan
	lalaqu:gan	lalaqu:gan	lalaqu:gan
087. lamuk 'mosquito'	namuk	namuk	namuk
088. langgam 'ant'	gu:yam	gu:yam	gu:yam
089. leqeg 'neck'	li:qig	li:qig	li:qig
090. lu:paq 'earth'	lu:paq	lu:paq	lu:paq
091. mangkuk 'bowl'	mangkuk	mangkuk	mangkuk
	hawung	hawung	sulyaw
092. mata 'eye'	mata	mata	mata
093. munggu 'beans'	bala:tung	bala:tung	bala:tung
094. nga:ngaq 'betel and areca nut chew'	nga:ngaq	nga:ngaq	mamaq
		mamaq (M)	
095. ngi:pin 'teeth'	ngi:pin	ngi:pin	ngi:pin
096. ngu:suq 'upper lip'	qungus	qungus	qungus
097. paqa 'foot'	pa:qa	pa:qa	pa:qa
098. pagung 'turtle'	baqu	baqu	pagqung
	pagqung	pagqung	
099. palayuk 'clay cooking pot'	palyuk	palyuk	palyuk
100. pale:ngke 'market'	pla:sa	pla:sa	merka:do
	pali:ngki	pali:ngki	pali:ngki
101. palupa:luq 'laundry paddle'	panlaba	panlaba	panlaba
102. pamingga:lan 'dish rack'	pa:ga	pa:ga	banggerahan
	banggirahan	banggirahan	
	taqu:ban		
	pamingga:nan		
103. pani:ki 'bat'	kabug	kabug	kulapnit
	kulapnit	kulapnit	

Manila (Gloss)	Buenavista and Gasan	Boac and Mogpog	Santa Cruz and Torrijos
104. panga:lan 'name'	panga:lan	panga:lan	panga:lan
105. paruparu 'butterfly'	bilabila	bilabila	kulili:paw
106. pe:klat 'scar'	pi:lat	pi:lat	pi:lat
107. pigi 'buttocks'	sasapnan pigqi	sasapnan pigqi	pigqi
108. pira:su 'piece'	pira:su pilanggut piranggut pi landut puknit	pira:su	pi:sang puknit
109. pu:suq 'heart'	pu:suq	pu:suq	pu:suq
110. pusun 'lower abdomen'	pusqun	pusqun	pusqun
111. puyu 'cowlick'	puyu pulipud	puyu pulipud	pulipud
112. sa:ku 'sack'	kustal balanggut	kustal balanggut	kustal balanggut
113. salakab 'fish trap'	sakag salakab	sakag salakab	sakag sala:kab
114. salitaq 'word'	salitaq	salitaq	salitaq salita:qin
115. sanduk 'ladle'	sanduk	sanduk	sampi
116. sa:put 'cobweb'	baha:yan nang la:waq	baha:yan nang la:waq	ba:hay nang la:waq
117. saranggu:la 'kite'	saranggu:la	saranggu:la	saranggu:la
118. simulaq 'beginning'	simulaq	simulaq	simulaq pu:nuq
119. si:nat 'slight fever'	laylagnat qalisqis	laylagnat qalisqis landang	li:lagnat qalisqis
120. sinunga:ling 'liar'	bula:qan	bula:qan	bula:qan
121. si:ngku 'five-centavo piece'	walu:hin si:ngku singku:hin	bagul bagun si:ngku	bunguy si:ngku
122. si:taw 'stringbeans'	ki:bal	ki:bal lu:baw putulin	latuy
123. su:haq 'pomelo'	lukban	lukban	lukban
124. su:ngay 'horn'	su:ngay	su:ngay	su:ngay
125. su:su 'breast'	su:su	su:su	su:su

Manila (Gloss)	Buenavista and Gasan	Boac and Mogpog	Santa Cruz and Torrijos
126. tabaq 'fat'	tabaq	tabaq	tabaq
127. tagulabay 'skin allergy'	qala:put qula:put	qala:put	qala:put
128. ta lon 'waterfall'	busay	busay	busay
129. ta:qu 'human'	ta:wu	ta:wu ta:qu	ta:qu
130. te:nga 'ear'	taynga	taynga	taynga
131. tigdas 'measles'	tikdas	tikdas	tikdas
132. ti:naq 'bluing'	kolor	kolor	kolor
133. tirador 'slingshot'	palapa:tik	palapa:tik paltik	paltik
134. tirintas 'braid'	sula:pid	sula:pid	sala:pid
135. tyan 'belly'	tyan	tyan	tyan
136. to:toy 'form of address to a young boy'	tu:tuy	tu:tuy quduy (M)	qu:tuy
137. tro:so 'log'	turu:su ba:tang	turu:su ba:tang	turu:su
138. tso:nggo 'monkey'	qamuq qungguy	qamuq qungguy	qamuq qungguy
139. tu:big 'water'	tu:big	tu:big	tu:big
140. tu:hud 'knee'	tu:hud	tu:hud	tu:hud
141. tu:taq 'puppy'	bi lut	bi lut	bi lut
142. tuyuq 'dried salted fish'	tuyuq tunsuy	tuyuq tunsuy	tuyuq tunsuy
143. qugat 'root'	qugat	qugat	qugat
144. qu:lap 'cloud'	panganu:rin	panganu:rin	panganu:rin
145. qu:lu 'head'	qu:lu	qu:lu	qu:lu
146. qu:qud 'worm'	qu:hud	qu:hud	qu:hud
<b>VERBS</b>			
147. qakyat 'climb'	qakyat sampa panhik	qakyat qadyu panhik sampa	qakyat qadyu panhik sakad sampa
148. a:hin	ha:yin	ha:yin	ha:yin
149. qalám 'know fact'	qalam	qalam	qalam
150. qambun 'drizzle'	qasikqa:sik	qasikqa:sik qalanda:haw (B)	qasikqa:sik
151. qanggi 'rain ... windblown'	qampi:yas	qampi:yas	qampi:yas

Manila (Gloss)	Buenavista and Gasan	Boac and Mogpog	Santa Cruz and Torrijos
152. qa:yaw 'dislike'	qayaw	qayaw	qayaw
153. balatan 'peel'	talu:pan	talu:pan	tali:pan
154. balikwas 'rise suddenly from bed'	bungka:was	bungka:was	bungka:was
155. balinguynguy 'nosebleed'	tunggu	tunggu	tunggu
156. banlaw 'rinse'	hawhaw	hawhaw	hawhaw
		qanlaw	hanlaw
157. banliq 'scald'	disluq	dinli	banliq
	dinli	dansuq	
	paslut	paslut	panlus
158. bigay 'give'	bigay	bigay	bigay
159. bu:nut 'pull out'	bu:nut	bu:nut	bu:nut
	bugnut	bugnut	hugkut
160. kabit 'attach'	kabit	kabit	kabit
	takid (Bu)	takid (M)	takid
	kanaq	kanaq	kanaq
161. kagat 'bite'	kagat	kagat	kagat
	kalut	kalut	kalut
162. ka:qin 'eat'	ka:qin	ka:qin	ka:qin
163. kalabit 'tap lightly'	kublilit	kublilit	kablilit
	kablilit	kablilit	kublilit
	kudlilit (G)		
164. kibuaq 'respond ... orally'	qimik	qimik	qimik
165. kilitiq 'tickle'	kitiq	kitiq	kitiq
	gilawgaw	gilawgaw	gilawgaw
166. ki:ta 'see'	ki:ta	ki:ta	ki:ta
167. dating 'arrive'	dating	dating	dating
168. dinig 'hear'	dinig	dinig	dinig
169. ga:ya 'imitate'	ga:ya	ga:ya	ga:ya
	qu:ray	qu:ray	qu:ray
	tu:lad	tu:lad	tu:lad
170. halakhak 'guffaw'	talanhak	talanhak	talanhak
171. halbut 'grab'	halbut	halbut	halbut
	habnit	habnit	habnit
	hiklas (Bu)		hiklas
172. ha:saq 'sharpen'	ha:saq	ha:saq	ha:saq
173. higaq 'lie down'	higaq	higaq	higaq
174. higab 'yawn'	hakay	hakay	hakay
		hikab	

Manila (Gloss)	Buenavista and Gasan	Boac and Mogpog	Santa Cruz and Torrijos
175. hi:lu 'dizzy'	li:yu lu:laq	li:yu lu:laq	li:yu lu:laq
176. hintay 'wait'	qintay	qintay	qintay
177. hi:waq 'slice'	ga:yat	ga:yat	ga:yat
178. qigib 'fetch water'	qiglb	qigib	qigib tabuq
179. qi:haw 'broil'	qi:haw	qi:haw	qi:haw
180. qi:hip 'blow'	qi:hip	qi:hip	qi:hip
181. qinis 'irritate'	quyamut	quyamut su:ra	quyamut qiyamut qinggit su:sut
182. qinum 'drink'	qinum	qinum	qinum
183. la:gaq 'boil, e.g. rooterops, bananas'	la:bun	la:bun	la:bun
184. la:kad 'walk'	la:kad	la:kad	la:kad
185. languy 'swim'	languy	languy	languy
186. li:guq 'bathe'	li:guq	li:guq	hambu li:guq
187. lingaq 'look around'	pa:ngag	pa:ngag	pa:ngag
188. lipad 'fly'	lipad	lipad	lipad
189. lulun 'swallow'	lumud	lumud	lumud
190. lunuk 'gulp'	lunquk	lunquk	lunquk
191. mamatay 'to die'	mamatay	mamatay	mamatay
192. mapatay 'to kill'	mapatay	mapatay	mapatay
193. me:yron 'there is/are'	mirqun	merqun	ma:yrun
194. nabulu:nan 'choked on food'	naluqu:gan natiqqa:kan nahiri:nan	naluqu:gan natiqqakan nahiri:nan	naluqu:gan natiqqa:kan nahiri:nan
195. nginig 'tremble'	kilig kaligkig ka:ray kalambri pangi:ki	kilig kaligkig	kilig kaligkig
196. palakpak 'clap'	tapiq talpak palakpak	pangi:ki tapiq palakpak	pangi:ki tapiq tamu:yuq palakpak

Manila (Gloss)	Buenavista and Gasan	Boac and Mogpog	Santa Cruz and Torrijos
197. palahaw 'loud cry'	pala:kat quga:sik kula:rat qula:sik	pala:kat quga:sik	pala:kat   quga:hang
198. sa:bi 'say, tell'	sa:bi ganqun	sa:bi ganqun	sa:bi ganqun
199. sa:bug 'scatter'	sa:bug  ka:lat	sa:bug  ka:lat	sa:bug salwag ka:lat sambu:lat
200. sa:giq 'bump slightly'	sagquy  taphig	sagquy  taphig	sagquy da:gil taphig
201. salampak 'sit on floor'	lapa:nak	lapa:nak	lupa:giq
202. salu 'catch'	sambut	sambut	sakap
203. sa:luk 'scoop'	sa:luk	sa:luk	ka:lus
204. sipun 'colds'	sipqun	sipqun	sipqun
205. su:nug 'burn'	su:nug	su:nug	su:nug
206. tadtad 'chop'	tadtad	tadtad	tadtad
207. tahul 'bark'	batuk	batuk	batuk
208. tayuq 'stand'	tindig	tindig	tindig
209. ti:laq 'stop, as in rain'	hu:law	hu:law	hu:law
210. tu:lak 'push'	tuklang tu:lak su:lung	tuklang tu:lak su:lung	tunyud tu:lak sudlung
211. tu:lug 'sleep'	tu:lug	tu:lug	tu:lug
212. tu:suk 'pierce'	turuk	turuk tundus (B) tu:suk	turuk tulsuk tusluk tursuk
213. qulan 'rain'	qulan	qulan	qulan
214. qupuq 'sit'	qupuq	qupuq	qupuq
215. qu:sap 'converse'	pu:lung qu:sap	pu:lung qu:sap	qergo qu:sap
216. ya:yaq 'invite along'	ya:kag	ya:kag	ya:kag
<b>ADJECTIVES</b>			
217. ba:gu 'new'	ba:gu	ba:gu	ba:gu

Manila (Gloss)	Buenavista and Gasan	Boac and Mogpog	Santa Cruz and Torrijos
218. baluktut ' <i>crooked</i> '	baluktut balikut	baluktut balikut	baluktut balikut kilug
219. bilasaq ' <i>spoiled, as in fish</i> '	hampuk	hampuk	hampuk
220. bilug ' <i>round</i> '	bilug	bilug	bilug
221. bungiq ' <i>with missing tooth</i> '	bungiq bungal lungas	bungiq bungal lungas	tipuq lungas
222. kalbu ' <i>bald</i> '	panut  qupaw	panut  qupaw	panut qanit qupaw
223. kaquntiq ' <i>small amount</i> '	kaquntiq	kaquntiq	kaquntiq
224. dalawa ' <i>two</i> '	dalwa	dalwa	dalwa
225. dilaw ' <i>yellow</i> '	dilaw	dilaw	dilaw
226. hilaw ' <i>unripe</i> '	hilaw	hilaw	hilaw
227. qisa ' <i>one</i> '	qisa	qisa	qisa
228. qitim ' <i>black</i> '	qitim	qitim	qitim
229. lukuluku ' <i>crazy</i> '	siraqsiraq siraq	lukuluku luku	puhang
230. lukut ' <i>crumpled</i> '	yukus	yukus	yukus kuyumus gusamut
231. maqalinsa:ngan ' <i>very warm</i> '	mapula:hil	mapula:hil	mabanas
232. maqanta ' <i>rancid</i> '	maqangal	maqangal	maqangal
233. maqaskad ' <i>acrid</i> '	maka:hat	maka:hat	maka:hat
234. maba:gal ' <i>slow</i> '	mahi:naq	mahi:naq	mahi:naq
235. mabigat ' <i>heavy</i> '	mabigqat	mabigqat	mabigqat
236. makinis ' <i>smooth</i> '	malu:muy maki:nis	malu:muy maki:nis	maki:nis
237. madulas ' <i>slippery</i> '	madulas	madulas	madulas
238. maginaw ' <i>cold</i> '	malamig	malamig	malamig
239. maha:baq ' <i>long</i> '	maha:baq	maha:baq	mama:baq
240. mahi:lab ' <i>fluffy, as in cooked rice</i> '	matu:buq	matu:buq	matu:buq
241. mahu:say ' <i>good at</i> '	maqi:gi	maqi:gi	maqi:gi
242. maqi:nit ' <i>hot</i> '	maqi:nit	maqi:nit	maqi:nit
243. maqi:ngay ' <i>noisy</i> '	masa:muk	masa:muk	masa:muk
244. malaki ' <i>big</i> '	malaki	malaki	malaki
245. mala:put ' <i>thick, as in liquid</i> '	malaput	malaput	malaput

Manila (Gloss)	Buenavista and Gasan	Boac and Mogpog	Santa Cruz and Torrijos
246. maliq 'wrong'	salaq	salaq	salaq
247. manhid 'numb'	ngimi	ngimi	ngimi
248. manipis 'thin'	manipis	manipis	manipis
	silag	silag	silag
			masi:lag
249. mapanghi 'smell of urine'	mapa:lut	mapa:lut	mapa:lut
250. mapurul 'dull'	mapurul	mapurul	mapurul
	bungul	bungul	bungul
251. mara:mi 'many'	mara:mi	mara:mi	mara:mi
	mada:mi	mada:mi	mada:mi
252. mara:mut 'selfish'	maqi:mut	maqi:mut	maqi:mut
253. marumi 'dirty'	marumi	marumi	marumi
	madumi	madumi	madumi
254. mata:las 'sharp'	mata:las	mata:las	mata:las
			matalim
255. pa:ngit 'ugly'	pa:ngit	pa:ngit	pa:ngit
	kaqiba	kaqiba	katu:waq
256. pi:pi 'mute'	pipi	pipi	pipi
	qapaw	qapaw	qapaw
257. pipiq 'smashed'	yupit	tumiq	yupit
	yupiq	timiq	
		yupit	
		yupiq	
258. pula 'red'	pula	pula	pula
259. punuq 'full'	punuq	punuq	punuq
260. putiq 'white'	putiq	putiq	putiq
261. sanay 'trained'	biha:sa	biha:sa	biha:sa
262. sunug na sunug 'burned black'	tuquk	tuquk	tuquk
263. ta:maq 'correct'	hustu	hustu	hustu
264. tulis 'pointed'	tilus	tilus	tilus
265. tuyuq 'dry'	tuyuq	tuyuq	tuyuq
266. qatal 'stammering'	ma:ngul	ma:ngul	ma:ngul
	bi:kul	bi:kul	bi:kul
<b>ADVERBS</b>			
267. kaha:pun 'yesterday'	kaha:pun	kaha:pun	kaha:pun
268. hindiq 'no, not'	hindiq	hindiq	qindiq
269. ngayun 'now'	ngayqun	ngayqun	ngayqun

Manila (Gloss)	Buenavista and Gasan	Boac and Mogpog	Santa Cruz and Torrijos
270. qunti:quntiq	qutayqutay qutikqutik	qutayqutay	qutayqutay
271. walaq 'none'	walaq	walaq	qulaq
PRONOUNS AND INTERROGATIVES			
272. qaku 'I'	qaku	qaku	qaku
273. qanu 'what'	qanu	qanu	qanu
274. ka 'you, thou'	ka	ka	ka
275. kami 'we (excl.)'	kami	kami	kami
276. kaqilan 'when'	kaqilan	kaqilan	kaqilan
277. lahat 'all'	lahat	lahat	lahat
278. qitu 'this'	qitu	qitu	qitu
279. qiyun 'that'	yuqun yun	yuqun yun	yuqun yun
280. si:nu 'who'	si:nu	si:nu	si:nu
281. saqan 'where'	saqan	saqan	saqan
282. paqanu 'how'	paqanu	paqanu	paqanu
283. ganyan 'like that'	ganyan	ganyan	ganyan
EXPRESSIONS AND PHRASES			
284. qe:wan 'I don't know'	qayqawan qawan	qayqawan qawan	qayqawan qawan
285. hwag 'don't!'	hwag wag	hwag wag	hwag
286. magpaka:qin nang ba:buy 'feed the pig'	magbahug	magbahug	magbahug
287. tayu na 'let's go!'	kita na	kita na	ha:mus na
288. kargahin qang ba:taq 'carry the child'	kargahin	kargahin	kargahin sabi:hin
289. dagdagan nang tubig 'dilute'	tibhawan timbawan bantuqan	tibhawan timbawan bantuqan	tibhawan
290. tuksu 'tease, match with'	tu:pu	tu:pu	qulit
291. maglaru nang tubig 'play with water'	maglandiq	maglandiq	maglandiq
292. maglu:tuq 'cook meal'	magpaqanyuq	magpaqanyuq	magpaqanyuq
293. ka:ku 'I said'	qana:kin	qana:kin	qana:kin
294. maruming damit 'dirty clothes'	lamug	lamug	lamug
295. magli:nis nang bigas 'clean the rice'	maghi:rang magli:naw	maghi:rang	maghi:rang

Manila (Gloss)	Buenavista and Gasan	Boac and Mogpog	Santa Cruz and Torrijos
296. punuq qang bibig ' <i>having a mouth- ful</i> '	samu:qal	samu:qal	namumuqa:lan
297. tangha:li nang gi:sing ' <i>late waking up</i> '	mu:quk	mu:quk	mu:quk
298. magpagupit ' <i>have a haircut</i> '	magpagupit magpabulug	magpagupit magpabulug	magpagupit magpabulug
299. maghu:gas nang kina:nan ' <i>wash dishes</i> '	maghu:gas	maghu:gas	magdayag
300. palu:qin nang kamay sa pigi ' <i>spank with hand</i> '	dapli:qan tagpiqan parapa:kan	dapli:qan	dapli:qan





## I. WORDLIST FOR ELICITING PHONOLOGICAL AND LEXICAL DATA

- |                                |                                      |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. abó 'ashes'                 | 41. buwán 'moon'                     |
| 2. alakdán 'scorpion'          | 42. káhoý 'tree'                     |
| 3. alamáng 'tiny shrimp'       | 43. kaíng 'big basket'               |
| 4. alkansyá 'piggy bank'       | 44. kalabasa 'squash'                |
| 5. alikabók 'dust'             | 45. kalabáw 'carabao'                |
| 6. alílaq 'servant'            | 46. kalamansiq 'lime'                |
| 7. alimángo 'swamp crab'       | 47. kamáy 'hand'                     |
| 8. alimásag 'sea crab'         | 48. kamóteng káhoý 'cassava'         |
| 9. alupíhan 'centipede'        | 49. kamyás 'a sour fruit'            |
| 10. apóy 'fire'                | 50. káning báboy 'pig's feed'        |
| 11. áraw 'sun'                 | 51. káning lámíg 'cold rice'         |
| 12. áso 'dog'                  | 52. kápok 'cotton plant'             |
| 13. ásong ulól 'mad dog'       | 53. karné 'meat'                     |
| 14. asó 'smoke'                | 54. katawán 'body'                   |
| 15. atáy 'liver'               | 55. kopra 'dried desiccated coconut' |
| 16. bábaq 'chin'               |                                      |
| 17. babáe 'female'             | 56. kórto 'shorts'                   |
| 18. bakláq 'effeminate'        | 57. kukó 'fingernail'                |
| 19. bagáng 'molar'             | 58. kulungán ng báboy 'pig pen'      |
| 20. bahagháriq 'rainbow'       | 59. kúto 'louse'                     |
| 21. balakáng 'hips'            | 60. daán 'road, way'                 |
| 22. balakúbak 'dandruff'       | 61. dágat 'sea'                      |
| 23. balahíbo 'feather'         | 62. dáhon 'leaf'                     |
| 24. balát 'skin'               | 63. dáing 'dried fish'               |
| 25. balón 'a well'             | 64. dalanghíta 'orange'              |
| 26. bángaw 'big fly'           | 65. daúngan 'wharf'                  |
| 27. bató 'stone'               | 66. dikín 'pad for pots'             |
| 28. beywang 'waist'            | 67. dílaq 'tongue'                   |
| 29. bibíg 'mouth'              | 68. dílis 'anchovies'                |
| 30. bík 'piglet'               | 69. dugó 'blood'                     |
| 31. bíloy 'dimple'             | 70. dúhat 'blackberry-like fruit'    |
| 32. binhíq 'seed'              |                                      |
| 33. bituín 'star'              | 71. duráq 'spittle'                  |
| 34. búko 'young coconut fruit' | 72. dungis 'dirt smear'              |
| 35. bukungbúkong 'ankle'       | 73. gabí 'night'                     |
| 36. buhángin 'sand'            | 74. gagambá 'spider'                 |
| 37. buhók 'hair'               | 75. gilágid 'gums'                   |
| 38. bundók 'mountain'          | 76. hánip 'chicken louse'            |
| 39. buntót 'tail'              | 77. íbon 'bird'                      |
| 40. butó 'bone'                | 78. ikmó 'betel leaf'                |

79. ílog 'river' \_\_\_\_\_
80. ilóng 'nose' \_\_\_\_\_
81. ipis 'cockroach' \_\_\_\_\_
82. isdáq 'fish' \_\_\_\_\_
83. itlóg 'egg' \_\_\_\_\_
84. itlóg ng isdá 'fish roe' \_\_\_\_\_
85. laláki 'male' \_\_\_\_\_
86. lalamunan 'throat' \_\_\_\_\_
87. lamók 'mosquito' \_\_\_\_\_
88. langgám 'ant' \_\_\_\_\_
89. leég 'neck' \_\_\_\_\_
90. lúpaq 'earth' \_\_\_\_\_
91. mangkók 'bowl' \_\_\_\_\_
92. matá 'eye' \_\_\_\_\_
93. monggó 'beans' \_\_\_\_\_
94. ngángaq 'betel and areca nut chew' \_\_\_\_\_
- 
95. ngípin 'teeth' \_\_\_\_\_
96. ngúsoq 'upper lip' \_\_\_\_\_
97. paá 'foot' \_\_\_\_\_
98. pagóng 'turtle' \_\_\_\_\_
99. palayók 'clay cooking pot' \_\_\_\_\_
100. paléngke 'market' \_\_\_\_\_
101. palupáloq 'laundry paddle' \_\_\_\_\_
102. paminggálan 'dish rack' \_\_\_\_\_
103. paníki 'bat' \_\_\_\_\_
104. pangalan 'name' \_\_\_\_\_
105. paruparó 'butterfly' \_\_\_\_\_
106. péklat 'scar' \_\_\_\_\_
107. pigí 'buttocks' \_\_\_\_\_
108. piráso 'piece' \_\_\_\_\_
109. púsoq 'heart' \_\_\_\_\_
110. pusón 'lower abdomen' \_\_\_\_\_
111. puyó 'cowlick' \_\_\_\_\_
112. sáko 'sack' \_\_\_\_\_
113. salakáb 'fish trap' \_\_\_\_\_
114. salitáq 'word' \_\_\_\_\_
115. sandúk 'ladle' \_\_\_\_\_
116. sápot 'cobweb' \_\_\_\_\_
117. saranggola 'kite' \_\_\_\_\_
118. simuláq 'beginning' \_\_\_\_\_
119. sínat 'slight fever' \_\_\_\_\_
120. sinungáling 'liar' \_\_\_\_\_
121. síngko 'five-centavo piece' \_\_\_\_\_
122. sítaw 'stringbeans' \_\_\_\_\_
123. súhaq 'pomelo' \_\_\_\_\_
124. súngay 'horn' \_\_\_\_\_
125. súso 'breasts' \_\_\_\_\_
126. tabáq 'fat' \_\_\_\_\_
127. tagulabáy 'skin allergy' \_\_\_\_\_
128. talón 'waterfall' \_\_\_\_\_
129. táo 'numan' \_\_\_\_\_
130. ténga 'ear' \_\_\_\_\_
131. tigdáas 'measles' \_\_\_\_\_
132. tínaq 'bluing' \_\_\_\_\_
133. tiradór 'slingshot' \_\_\_\_\_
134. tirintás 'braid' \_\_\_\_\_
135. tyán 'belly' \_\_\_\_\_
136. tótoy 'affectionate address to a young boy' \_\_\_\_\_
137. tróso 'log' \_\_\_\_\_
138. tsónggo 'monkey' \_\_\_\_\_
139. túbig 'water' \_\_\_\_\_
140. túhod 'knee' \_\_\_\_\_
141. tútaq 'puppy' \_\_\_\_\_
142. tuyóq 'dried salted fish' \_\_\_\_\_
143. ugát 'root' \_\_\_\_\_
144. úlap 'cloud' \_\_\_\_\_
145. úlo 'head' \_\_\_\_\_
146. úod 'worm' \_\_\_\_\_
147. akyát 'climb' \_\_\_\_\_
148. áhin 'set the table' \_\_\_\_\_
149. alám 'know fact' \_\_\_\_\_
150. ambón 'drizzle' \_\_\_\_\_
151. anggí 'rain windblown' \_\_\_\_\_
152. áyaw 'dislike' \_\_\_\_\_
153. balatán 'peel' \_\_\_\_\_
154. balikwás 'rise suddenly from bed' \_\_\_\_\_
- 
155. balinguyngóy 'nosebleed' \_\_\_\_\_
156. banláv 'rinse' \_\_\_\_\_
157. banlíq 'scald' \_\_\_\_\_
158. bigáy 'give' \_\_\_\_\_
159. búnot 'pull out' \_\_\_\_\_

160. kabít 'attach' \_\_\_\_\_  
 161. kagát 'bite' \_\_\_\_\_  
 162. káin 'eat' \_\_\_\_\_  
 163. kalabít 'tap lightly' \_\_\_\_\_  
 164. kibóq 'respond orally' \_\_\_\_\_  
 165. kilitíq 'tickle' \_\_\_\_\_  
 166. kíta 'see' \_\_\_\_\_  
 167. datíng 'arrive' \_\_\_\_\_  
 168. diníg 'hear' \_\_\_\_\_  
 169. gáya 'imitate' \_\_\_\_\_  
 170. halakhák 'guffaw' \_\_\_\_\_  
 171. halbót 'grab' \_\_\_\_\_  
 172. hásaq 'sharpen' \_\_\_\_\_  
 173. higáq 'lie down' \_\_\_\_\_  
 174. higáb 'yawn' \_\_\_\_\_  
 175. hílo 'dizzy' \_\_\_\_\_  
 176. hintáy 'wait' \_\_\_\_\_  
 177. híwaq 'slice' \_\_\_\_\_  
 178. igíb 'fetch water' \_\_\_\_\_  
 179. íhaw 'broil' \_\_\_\_\_  
 180. íhip 'blow' \_\_\_\_\_  
 181. inís 'irritate' \_\_\_\_\_  
 182. inóm 'drink' \_\_\_\_\_  
 183. lágaq 'boil' \_\_\_\_\_  
 184. lákad 'walk' \_\_\_\_\_  
 185. langóy 'swim' \_\_\_\_\_  
 186. lígoq 'bathe' \_\_\_\_\_  
 187. lingáq 'look around' \_\_\_\_\_  
 188. lipád 'fly' \_\_\_\_\_  
 189. lulón 'swallow' \_\_\_\_\_  
 190. lunók 'gulp' \_\_\_\_\_  
 191. mamatáy 'to die' \_\_\_\_\_  
 192. mapatáy 'to kill' \_\_\_\_\_  
 193. méyron 'there is' \_\_\_\_\_  
 194. nabulúnan 'choked on food' \_\_\_\_\_  
 195. nginíg 'tremble' \_\_\_\_\_  
 196. palakpák 'clap' \_\_\_\_\_  
 197. palaháw 'scream' \_\_\_\_\_  
 198. sábi 'say, tell' \_\_\_\_\_  
 199. sábog 'scatter' \_\_\_\_\_  
 200. ságiq 'bump slightly' \_\_\_\_\_  
 201. salampák 'sit on floor' \_\_\_\_\_  
 202. saló 'catch' \_\_\_\_\_  
 203. sálok 'scoop' \_\_\_\_\_  
 204. sipón 'colds' \_\_\_\_\_  
 205. súnog 'burn' \_\_\_\_\_  
 206. tadtád 'chop' \_\_\_\_\_  
 207. tahól 'bark' \_\_\_\_\_  
 208. tayóq 'stand' \_\_\_\_\_  
 209. tílaq 'stop, as in rain' \_\_\_\_\_  
 210. túlak 'push' \_\_\_\_\_  
 211. túlog 'sleep' \_\_\_\_\_  
 212. túsok 'pierce' \_\_\_\_\_  
 213. uían 'rain' \_\_\_\_\_  
 214. upóq 'sit' \_\_\_\_\_  
 215. úsap 'converse' \_\_\_\_\_  
 216. yáyaq 'invite' \_\_\_\_\_  
 217. bágo 'new' \_\_\_\_\_  
 218. baluktót 'crooked' \_\_\_\_\_  
 219. bilasáq 'spoiled, as in fish' \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 220. bilóg 'round' \_\_\_\_\_  
 221. bungí 'with missing teeth' \_\_\_\_\_  
 222. kalbó 'bald' \_\_\_\_\_  
 223. kauntí 'small amount' \_\_\_\_\_  
 224. dalawá 'two' \_\_\_\_\_  
 225. diláw 'yellow' \_\_\_\_\_  
 226. hiláw 'unripe' \_\_\_\_\_  
 227. isá 'one' \_\_\_\_\_  
 228. itím 'black' \_\_\_\_\_  
 229. lukulukó 'crazy' \_\_\_\_\_  
 230. lukót 'crumpled' \_\_\_\_\_  
 231. maalinsangan 'very warm weather' \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 232. maantá 'rancid' \_\_\_\_\_  
 233. maaskád 'bitter-pungent' \_\_\_\_\_  
 234. mabágal 'slow' \_\_\_\_\_  
 235. mabigát 'heavy' \_\_\_\_\_  
 236. makínis 'smooth' \_\_\_\_\_  
 237. madulás 'smooth' \_\_\_\_\_  
 238. magináw 'cold weather' \_\_\_\_\_  
 239. mahábaq 'long' \_\_\_\_\_

240. mahílab 'fluffy, e.g. rice' \_\_\_\_\_
241. mahúsay 'good at' \_\_\_\_\_
242. maínit 'hot' \_\_\_\_\_
243. maíngay 'noisy' \_\_\_\_\_
244. malakí 'big' \_\_\_\_\_
245. maláput 'thick, e.g. liquids' \_\_\_\_\_
246. malíq 'wrong' \_\_\_\_\_
247. manhíd 'numb' \_\_\_\_\_
248. manipís 'thin' \_\_\_\_\_
249. mapanghí 'smell of urine' \_\_\_\_\_
250. mapurúl 'dull' \_\_\_\_\_
251. marámi 'many' \_\_\_\_\_
252. marámot 'selfish' \_\_\_\_\_
253. marumí 'dirty' \_\_\_\_\_
254. matálas 'sharp' \_\_\_\_\_
255. pángit 'ugly' \_\_\_\_\_
256. pípi 'mute' \_\_\_\_\_
257. pipíq 'smashed' \_\_\_\_\_
258. pulá 'red' \_\_\_\_\_
259. punóq 'full' \_\_\_\_\_
260. putíq 'white' \_\_\_\_\_
261. sanáy 'trained' \_\_\_\_\_
262. sunúg na sunóg 'charred' \_\_\_\_\_
263. támaq 'correct' \_\_\_\_\_
264. tulís 'pointed' \_\_\_\_\_
265. tuyóq 'dry' \_\_\_\_\_
266. utál 'stammering' \_\_\_\_\_
267. kahápon 'yesterday' \_\_\_\_\_
268. hindíq 'no, not' \_\_\_\_\_
269. ngayón 'now' \_\_\_\_\_
270. untí-untíq 'little by little' \_\_\_\_\_
271. waláq 'none' \_\_\_\_\_
272. akó 'I' \_\_\_\_\_
273. anó 'what' \_\_\_\_\_
274. ka 'you, thou' \_\_\_\_\_
275. kamí 'we(excl.)' \_\_\_\_\_
276. kailán 'when' \_\_\_\_\_
277. lahát 'all' \_\_\_\_\_
278. itó 'this' \_\_\_\_\_
279. iyón 'that' \_\_\_\_\_
280. síno 'who' \_\_\_\_\_
281. saán 'where' \_\_\_\_\_
282. paáno 'how' \_\_\_\_\_
283. ganyán 'like that' \_\_\_\_\_
284. éwan 'I don't know' \_\_\_\_\_
285. hwag 'don't' \_\_\_\_\_
286. magpakáin ng báboy 'feed the pig' \_\_\_\_\_
287. táyo na 'let's go' \_\_\_\_\_
288. kargahín ang bátaq 'hold/carry the child' \_\_\_\_\_
289. dagdagán ng túbig 'dilute with water' \_\_\_\_\_
290. tuksuhín, ituksó 'tease/match with' \_\_\_\_\_
291. maglútoq 'cook meal' \_\_\_\_\_
292. maglaró ng túbig 'play with water' \_\_\_\_\_
293. káko 'I said' \_\_\_\_\_
294. marumíng damít 'dirty clothes' \_\_\_\_\_
295. maglínis ng bigás 'clean the rice' \_\_\_\_\_
296. puno ang bibíq 'having a mouthful' \_\_\_\_\_
297. tangháli ng gísing 'wake up late' \_\_\_\_\_
298. magpagupít 'have a haircut' \_\_\_\_\_
299. maghúgas ng kinanan 'wash dishes' \_\_\_\_\_
300. palúin ng kamay sa pigí 'spank with hand' \_\_\_\_\_

## II. SENTENCES FOR ELICITING MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC DATA

1. Áanhin ko iring gúlay?
2. Alin po ba ang báhay nina Áling Séla?
3. Anó ang kúlay noón?
4. Anó ang masaráp na lúto sa dáhon ng gábi?
5. Anó po ang ginágawa ninyo pagkatápos ng trabáho?
6. Ayaw niyang magkakaín ng matitigás.
7. Baka táyo abútan ng ulán.
8. Bangá ang pinagsísidlan námin ng túbig na inumin.
9. Bíbilhin daw po itó noong táong iyón.
10. Butó ang ipinakakáin namin sa áso.
11. Bigyán mo akó ng kapidásong tinápáy.
12. Buksán mo na ang alkansiya mo.
13. Káin natin itong búko.
14. Kabibigay ko lamang sa iyó ng péra.
15. Káin na kayó ng kamóteng káhoy.
16. Kami pó ay magpapaálam na.
17. Kanínong tindáhan iyán?
18. Katáng dalawá ang sásakay sa karitón.
19. Káwit ang ipinanungkít nila ng búko.
20. Kinúha sa akin ni Tonyo ang salakót.
21. Kulay ano itó?
22. Kumakain sila ng dúhat.
23. Kunin mo ang pósporo sa Tátay.
24. Dárating na ang mga anak ko.
25. Hindí na umaanggí.
26. Hindí pa umúulan.
27. Huwag kang magsásalita kung punó ang iyong bibíng.
28. Ibig kong pumuntá sa mga báryo.
29. Ibilí mo akó ng sabóng panlaba.
30. Ibiníbigay nila ng maméra ang ikmó.
31. Ikaw ba ang pinasasáma niya sa ámin?
32. Ikúha mo sila ng túbig sa bangá.
33. Iháhanda ko itó para sa kanilá.
34. Inínom din ba itó?
35. Ipakilála mo nga kamí sa iyong mga magúlang.
36. Ipakibigay mó ang péra sa lólo mo.
37. Ipag-aadóbo niya kayó ng báboy.
38. Ipagbíbili natin itó sa kanilá.
39. Ipapápatay námin ang manók mamaya.
40. Ipinagbíbili pó ba ninyo iyán?

41. Itó ang gágawin ko.
42. Makalalákad pa silá ng maláyo.
43. Magkakáno ang kalamansí kina Áling Tóning?
44. Maglúto ka na at tangháli na.
45. Malígo na táyo.
46. Maráming babáing naglálaba sa ílog.
47. Masayá ang pagtataním ng pálay.
48. Maupó po kayó.
49. Nákina Mang Jose ang kasáma nátin.
50. Naghíhilik ang matandáng laláki.
51. Nagpapakáin siya ng báboy.
52. Nagtátawanán ang mga táo hábang naglálakad sa daán.
53. Nalilígo sa ílog ang mga táo.
54. Óras na ng pagsasáing.
55. Kailán ang anihán sa inyong náyon?
56. Nahuhúli sa dágat ang alimásag.
57. Pabilhin mo si Inéng ng asúkal kina Nída.
58. Pakikúha nga ang ilawán sa sílong.
59. Pahíhramin kitá ng sombréro.
60. Palabhán na nátin ang marurumíng damít.
61. Palayok ang pinagsasaíngan námin.
62. Papúpuntahan kó kay Tótoy ang manggugúpit/barbéro.
63. Patayin mo ná ang ílaw.
64. Pinápatay mo ba ang ílaw sa gabí?
65. Pinakakáin din ni Bérto ang kalabáw.
66. Pinagháhanda na niyá ng pagkáin si Níta para sa kanilá.
67. Pumaparoon kami sa báyan kung áraw ng tiánggi.
68. Pupunta táyong dalawá sa bundók na iyón.
69. Saán kayó makahuhúli ng alimángo?
70. Nakahuhúli sila ng ganoon kalalakí.
71. Sa bangá pinalálamig ang túbig.
72. Sinísbak na niyá ang áting panggátong.
73. Síno ang paglálabhin nátin ngayón?
74. Susulátan kitá pagdatíng ko roón.
75. Tawágin mo ang áting kasáma.
76. Tayo lamang ang úwi sa bayan búkas.
77. Títtingnan ko muna ang sinasabi niyang balón.
78. Tiníttingnan niyá ang nasa biláo.
79. Umiinom silá ng tubá araw-araw.
80. Umulán ba ríto kahápon?
81. Uulan na po yáta.
82. Wala ríto sa kulungan ang baboy.
83. Yári sa buli ang banig na ganoón.

III. NUMERALS

A. Cardinals

B. Ordinals

C. Distributives

1

2

3

4

10

12

20

100

102

400

1,000

10,000

1 milyon

APPENDIX C

INFORMANT SITES AND THE RESPECTIVE INFORMANTS

A. BOAC, THE CAPITAL TOWN

Site	Informant, Age	Occupation and Other Information
1. Poblacion	Celso Mirafuente, 68	Retired teacher and scout leader
2. Amoingon	Lino Esturillo, 70	Farmer
3. Balagasan	Demetria Jalotjot, 63	Housewife
4. Balaring	Aquilina Jabal, 60	Housewife
5. Balimbing	Bernarda Hinang, 82	Housewife
6. Bangbangalon	Isidro Gutierrez, 56	Barrio Councilman
7. Bantay	Eugenio Malagutnut, 89	Farmer
8. Binunga	Giligoria Mascareñas, 88	Housewife
9. Can-at	Aurelio Mutya, 70	Farmer
10. Daig	Macario Lumalang, 70	Farmer
11. Duyay	Andrea Justifiano, 64	Housewife
12. Hinapulan	Antonio Opis, 68	Farmer
13. Ihatub	Isaias Mondragon, 100+	Farmer (bed-ridden)
	Magdaleno Jandusay, 62	Farmer
14. Laylay	Severino Libelo, 88	Retired public official
15. Lupac	Higino Mahaba, 90	Farmer
	Feliciana Mahaba, 61	Housewife (Higino's daughter)
	Felix Mahaba, 70	Farmer (Higino's son)
16. Mansiwat	Pilar Orilla, 85	Housewife
17. Maybo	Teodulo Solas, 52	Farmer
18. Ogbac	Pedro Magkulang, 74	Farmer
19. Pawa	Pedro Labay, 64	Teacher
20. Poctoy	Tomasa Montecclaro, 55	Teacher
21. Poras	Josefa Mendoza, 70	Housewife
22. Putingbuhangin	Eufrocina Ayorindo, 68	Housewife
23. Puyog	Nazario Maililom, 74	Farmer

Site	Informant, Age	Occupation and Other Information
24. Sawl	Maria Malcus, 74	Housewife
25. Tambunan	Mariano Opis, 80+	Farmer
26. Santol	Macario Arias, 70	Retired Warden
27. Tugos	Casiano Larga, 71	Farmer
28. Tumagabok	Leon Mirambil, 49	Farmer
	Gabriela Magdalita, 70+	Housewife
29. Tumapon	Pomposa Olivar, 74	Housewife
<b>B. BUENAVISTA</b>		
1. Poblacion	Ciriaco Arevalo, 78	Municipal Vice-Mayor
	Isidro Opis, 56	Market Collector
	Marcilino Magaling, 55	Postmaster
2. Bagakay	Gregorio Buenaventura, 80+	Farmer
	Rifino Lincallo, 81	Farmer
3. Bagtingon	Antonina Lundag, 78	Housewife (pensioner)
4. Caigangan	Tomas Magbago, 90+	Old Pensioner
5. Daykitin	Felisa de Guevara, 77	Housewife (pensioner)
6. Malbog	Protacio Pelaez, 55	Street Cleaner
7. Sihu	Doroteo Privado, 59	Farmer
8. Timbo-Sanggulong	Fidel Soto, 70	Farmer
9. Tungib	Agustin Pamplona, 56	Farmer
10. Yook-Lipata	Paula Rianzares, 73	Laundrywoman
<b>C. GASAN</b>		
1. Poblacion	Pedro de Leon, 74	Retired public official
	Maria Santic, 74	Housewife
2. Antipolo	Trinidad Soto, 55	Barrio Councilwoman
3. Bacongbacong	Librada Silva, 70	Retired teacher
4. Banot	David Sena, 60	Farmer-Fisherman
5. Cabugao	Nieves Sevilla, 73	Housewife
6. Dawis	Anastasia Pabaliña, 53	Housewife (parents are from Rcmblon)
7. Mang-illiol	Jacinta Soldevilla, 72	Housewife
8. Masiga	Maria Mabunga, 80	Housewife
9. Matandang Gasang	Dominga Mendieta, 55	Housewife
10. Pangl	Catalino Acuzar, 68	Farmer
11. Tablonan	Felicidad Maapoy, 70	Housewife-Farmer
12. Tiguion	Gelacio Serdeña, 79	Farmer
	Agueda Serdeña, 63	Housewife (Gelacio's daughter)
	Marcelina Zoleta, 56	Seamstress

## D. MOGPOG

Site	Informant, Age	Occupation and Other Information
1. Poblacion	Several old storekeepers at the market	
2. Argao	Severino Jugno, 80	Retired fisherman
3. Balanacan	Basilisa Labagis, 75	Housewife
4. Banto	Atilano Magahis, 63	Farmer
5. Bintakay	Constancio Villanueva, 90+	Farmer
6. Bocboc	Enriquez Lagang, 66	Farmer
7. Butansapa	Eustaquio Lugmao, 80+	Farmer
8. Candahon	Silvestre Labagis, 90+	Farmer
9. Capayang	Quirico Mampalata, 54	Farmer
10. Danao	Florentina Manuba, 70+	Housewife
11. Guisian	Rafael Lecaroz, 58	Fisherman-Farmer
12. Ino	Juan Laserna, 90	Farmer
13. Hanagdon	Pacifico Mistal, 80+	Farmer
14. Lamesa	Ambrosio Linis, 74	Farmer
15. Magapoa	Aquilino Nolos, 79	Farmer
16. Mampaitan	Juan Mapacpac, 60	Farmer
17. Paye	Camilo Regis, 60+	Fisherman-Farmer
18. Pili	Pedro Moong, 90+	Farmer
19. Sayao	Braulio Estrada, 79	Fisherman-Farmer
20. Silangan	Marciano Ibahan, 60+	Fisherman (from Leyte; lived in Silangan for more than 40 years)
21. Sumangga	Simeona Jardeleza, 100+	Housewife
	Salud Nuñez, 61	Housewife (Simeona's younger daughter)
22. Tarug	Pedro Makunat, 70+	Farmer

## E. SANTA CRUZ

1. Poblacion	Mariano Rabe, 78	Barber
2. Alobo	Mauricia Robedillo, 79	
3. Angas	Anacleto Regis, 63	Fisherman-Farmer
4. Baguidbirin	Arcadia Resido, 82	Farmer-Housewife
5. Baliis	Lazaro Peregrin, 73	Farmer
6. Balogo	Maximiana Padilla, 70	Housewife
7. Banogbog-Hagumit	Leoncia Arellano, 78	Housewife-Storekeeper
8. Bathala	Joaquin Murillo, 68	Farmer
9. Devilla	Manuel Peñaverde, 58	Farmer
10. Dolores	Aniceto Regencia, 50	Musician
11. Hupi	Pelagia Bansaga, 70	Housewife
12. Jolo	Cesario Pereda, 74	Farmer
13. Kalangkang	Bernarda Villanueva, 77	Housewife

Site	Informant, Age	Occupation and Other Information
14. Kasily	Pelagio Ricohermoso, 58	Carpenter
15. Ipil	Juan Paras, 72	Farmer
16. Labo	Eugenio Riego, 77	Farmer
17. Landy	Ino Constantino, 77	Farmer
18. Maniwaya	Policarpio Pernia, 70	Fisherman
19. Mompong	Lorenzo Belarmino, 68	Government employee
20. Morales	Isaac Ricafrente, 63	Farmer
21. Napo	Ana Fernandez, 78	Housewife
22. Polong Parang	Apolonia Peñaverde, 76	Seamstress
23. Punong	Cirilo Peñaverde, 76	Farmer
24. San Antonio	Dionisio Ampiloquio, 80+	Farmer
25. Tambangan	Leoncio Rosas, 62	Farmer

## F. TORRIJOS

1. Poblacion	Sotero Olea, 80	Retired employee
	Feliciana Valencia, 70	Retired teacher
2. Bangwayin	Florencio del Mundo, 62	Farmer
3. Bolo	Catalino de Sena, 78	Farmer
4. Bonliw	Esperanza Paralejas, 60	Housewife
5. Dampulan	Antonio de Guzman, 70	Farmer-Fisherman
6. Kay Duke	Doroteo Real, 82	Fisherman
7. Kay Bulik	Natalia Gimena, 52	Housewife
8. Mabuhay	Candido Permejo, 81	Fisherman-Farmer
9. Malawayan	Arturo Revilla, 65	Farmer
10. Malibago	Esteban Regio, 76	Farmer
11. Malinao	Ignidio Quijano, 80	Fisherman
12. Maranlig	Isidro Regalado, 63	Farmer
13. Marlangga	Francisco Reginio, 78	Farmer
14. Nangka	Eulogia Padilla, 84	Housewife
15. Payanas	Marciana Par, 56	Housewife
16. Poctoy	Juliana Rodil, 69	Housewife
17. Sibuyao	Victorio Palmero, 80	Farmer
18. Suha	Leoncia Quindoza, 90+	Housewife
19. Talawan	Melecio Llante, 70+	Farmer
20. Tigwi	Jose del Mundo, 73	Farmer

All of the informants are literate; i.e. they can at least read and write. While some of the old women have learned the 'cartilla' or have gone to night (adult) school in the olden days, most of the old men have at least gone through the first four years of school.

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