A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ESKAYAN AND BOHOLANO-VISAYAN (CEBUANO) PHONOTACTICS: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ORIGINS OF ESKAYAN LEXEMES

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Abstract
When the Eskaya community first came to light on the island of Bohol in the southern Philippines, much speculation centred on the group's origins but there was no detailed analysis of their unusual language and script. Eskaya people consider their language to have been the deliberate creation of a legendary ancestor, a narrative that is consistent with the fact that Eskayan appears to be a near total relexification of Boholano-Visayan, the dominant language of Bohol. This paper outlines the phonotactic differences between the two languages, revealing that Boholano-Visayan native roots are disyllabic and take the form C (G) V (G)/(C) while Eskayan roots range from one to five syllables with the form C (C)/(G) V (G)/C (C). This structural discrepancy is less stark when borrowed terms are taken into consideration. In effect, the legendary creator did not confabulate new terms from scratch but relied on the nativised structures of Spanish and English words as lexical models.
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1 Introduction

The Eskaya (ᜰᜨᜲᜐ) people have only been known to the wider public since 1980 when agricultural advisors encountered an apparently isolated community in southeast Bohol in the southern Philippines (Ramos 1980, Abregana 1984). Early visitors were intrigued by the group's highly unusual language and writing system, speculating variously that the Eskaya were displaced migrants from beyond the region, a 'fossilised' pre-Hispanic community, a cult, or a hoax (for an overview of early claims see Kelly 2014b). These hypotheses were to remain untested since no systematic analysis of the Eskayan language or its script was undertaken at this time. Traditional local histories reproduced by Eskaya people in oral and written form were also sidelined by those who visited the group. In these accounts Eskaya people maintain that their language and script were both consciously created by an ancestral individual referred to as Pinay. Described as the first 'Pope' in the Philippines, Pinay is characterised as a pre-contact responsible for establishing an indigenous civilisation in Bohol. Today, those who are capable of speaking and writing Pinay's language number approximately 550 in five villages of southeast Bohol (Fig. 1.) and the domains of use are restricted to traditional schooling, praying,

singing, speech-making and the reading and writing of Eskaya literature. Never has the Eskayan language been used as a medium of day-to-day communication.
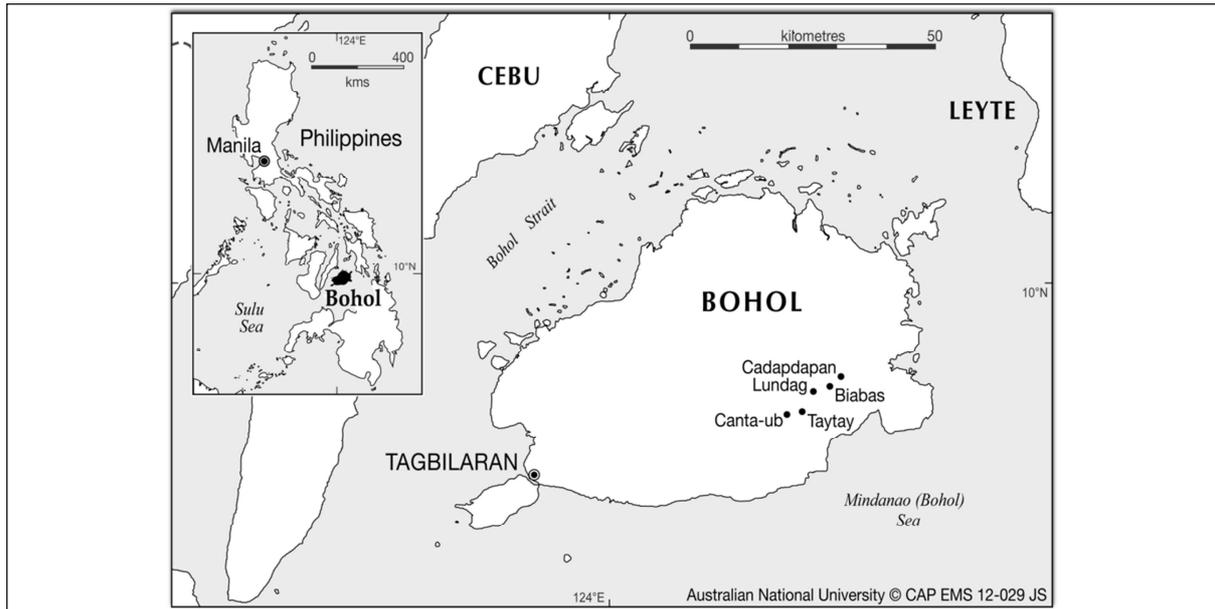

Figure 1: Villages with Eskaya populations in southeast Bohol.

Until recently, descriptive and analytical work on the Eskayan language has been limited to two scholars: Fr Milan Ted Torralba wrote several detail research proposals in the 1990s (Torralba 1991a, 1991b, 1993), and Stella Consul produced a sketch grammar of Eskayan in 2005 (Consul 2005). Noticing the structural symmetry between Eskayan and the Visayan language spoken in Bohol and its neighbouring islands, Consul concluded that 'the linearity of Iniskaya [Eskayan] is basically Malay sharing the same immediate constituents with the languages of the Central Philippines' (2005, 99). My own analysis has shown that Eskayan shares the same essential morphosyntax as Visayan — with some intriguing exceptions in certain bound forms and patterns of suppletion — but differs markedly in its lexicon (Kelly 2012a). In effect, it would appear that Pinay created Eskayan by relexifying Boholano-Visayan.

Visayan (*Bisaya'*), a language that is spoken by around 16 million people in the southern Philippines (Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2015)[1], is the dominant language of Bohol's 1.2 million inhabitants and the mother tongue of all Eskaya people today. As such, it is the most relevant comparator in any analysis of Eskayan. Visayan belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian family (Zorc 1977), and is the second most commonly spoken language in the Philippines after Tagalog. It is conventional for linguists to refer to Visayan as 'Cebuano', however this term is confusing since it can also specify the prestige dialect of Visayan spoken on the island of Cebu. Due to minor phonological differences between Visayan dialects, I will here distinguish the Bohol dialect as Boholano-Visayan.[2]

The late Hector Santos, an influential Philippine script enthusiast from California, was the first to point out that the Eskaya script included characters for representing syllable structures such as CCVCC that were atypical for Boholano-Visayan and Philippine languages generally (Santos 1996). Indeed, characters representing consonant clusters are found throughout the Eskaya writing system,

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[1]   The estimate provided in Ethnologue is probably conservative since it is drawn from census data and probably doesn't take into account second-language speakers of Visayan, particularly in coastal Mindanao.

[2]   My analysis of Boholano-Visayan relies on original descriptive work in Kelly (2012a) and grammatical descriptions of Cebuano-Visayan by Wolff (1972). The sole work on Boholano-Visayan phonology is Tinampay (1977).

faithfully reflecting the same structures in Eskayan lexemes. Such apparent idiosyncrasy in Eskayan syllable structure suggests a fruitful point of comparison between Eskayan and its grammatical progenitor Boholano-Visayan. This data paper contributes to the debate on the status, history and typology of the Eskayan language by bringing to light important phonotactic differences between Eskayan and Boholano-Visayan. In turn the data has the potential to inform the analysis of the Eskayan lexicon (and its history), and the relatively unsystematic Eskaya writing system (see Fig. 2 below, and Kelly 2014a).

***Figure 2**. Painted board depicting Eskayan ancestors with their names and roles from Taytay village. Pinay is in the top left corner.*

It should be noted that a small proportion of the roughly 3000 attested Eskayan lexemes show clear borrowing or 'inspiration' from Spanish and English even in core vocabulary.[3] However, the influence of these two colonial languages extends far beyond these terms and into the syllable structure of Eskayan words in all semantic domains. As the data presented below will show, consonant clusters typical of English and Spanish loaned vocabulary in Philippine languages are prominent in non-borrowed Eskayan terms, including core vocabulary. The pervasiveness of these 'colonial' structures throughout the Eskayan lexicon suggests that English and Spanish were available to the putative creator Pinay in his formulation of new Eskayan terms.

For clarity, Eskayan words below are in bold, Boholano-Visayan and Spanish words are italicised, and English words are enclosed in single quotation marks. The orthographies of both Boholano-Visayan and Eskayan follow the conventions for Cebuano-Visayan established by John Wolff (1972).

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[3] For access to Eskayan dictionary files and corpora, see The Eskaya Digital Archive (http://catalog.paradisec.org.au/collections/PK2/)

2 Phoneme inventories

Since borrowed vocabulary is particularly relevant to the analysis of Eskayan syllables, phones that occur only in borrowed terms are included in the inventories below, but marked with a dagger (†).

Table 1: Boholano-Visayan

p	t	†tʃ	k	ʔ	i	u [ə]
b	d	†ʤ [dy]	g			
	s			h	a	
m	n		ŋ			
	l [w], r [ɹ]					
w	j [ʤ] ('y')					

Table 2: *Eskayan*

p	t	tʃ	k	ʔ	i	u
b	d	ʤ [dy]	g			
	s			h	a	
m	n		ŋ			
	l, r [ɹ]					
w	j ('y')					

In both systems, the allophonic [ɹ] is optionally realised directly after a vowel. It is observed more frequently in the speech of those under the age of 50 and suggests an increased influence of Philippine English phonology in recent generations. In Visayan, the coda -/r/ is exceedingly rare as it is found only in words borrowed from Spanish and English, such as *diskumpiyar* ('be suspicious'; from Sp. *desconfiar*) and *sirkul* ('circle'). In Eskayan, on the other hand, -/r/ is highly prominent, appearing in almost 15 per cent of all lexical items.[4]

One of the more striking discrepancies between the two phoneme inventories above is the fact that /tʃ/ and /ʤ/ are loaned phonemes in Visayan but are 'native' in Eskayan; that is to say they appear in Eskayan words that show no traces of having been adapted or borrowed from other languages. Further, the allophone [ʤ], characteristic of the East Boholano-Visayan dialect spoken in the Eskaya villages (Fig. 1), is contrastive in Eskayan while [ə] is absent entirely. Notably, the phone [ʤ] is a socially marked feature of Boholano-Visayan, which, despite being native to the eastern half of the island is regarded as emblematic of Boholano speech generally. Elsewhere in the Visayas the rare phoneme /ʤ/—alternatively realised as [dy]—is restricted to English loans such as 'George' and 'joker'.

Differences between the two sound systems are more marked when it comes to the ways in which these sets of phonemes combine to form discrete syllables. Contrary to the norm for Philippine languages, native Eskayan roots may range in length from one syllable, as in **lu'** ('valley'), to as many as five, as in **wasnangpanudlu** ('think'). In Visayan, native root words are of two syllables and always adhere to the sequence CVCCVC (e.g., *panday* /panday/ 'forge') or CVCVC (e.g., *iru* /ʔiruʔ/ 'dog'). However, words that are borrowed into Visayan from other languages display a greater diversity of structures. Borrowings such as *prak* [prak] ('frock'), and *klirk* [kliɹk] ('clerk') exhibit CCVC and CCVCC shapes, which can also feature in components of loaned roots with more than one syllable such as *prisintar* ('present oneself', from Sp. *presentar* 'to present') and *wik-ind* ('weekend').

The structure of Eskayan syllables is such that Visayan-like shapes of CVCCVC, as in the word **pulhal** ('sigh'), and CVCVC as in the word **sikaw** ('keep watch over'), are permissible. What is

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[4] I have identified a total of 105 instances of -/ar/, 242 of -/ir/, and 79 of -/ur/ in an Eskayan lexicon of 2948 items.

telling, however, is that consonant clusters typical of Spanish and English are found frequently in *non-*borrowed Eskayan words and they even turn up in core vocabulary. Consider, for example, **krat** ('thirty') and **prindidu** ('tooth'), both of which would be phonotactically impossible in Visayan even though the Eskayan words have evidently not been loaned from other languages.

Of further interest is the fact that in neither language is any word permitted to begin with /s/-followed by a consonant. English words with this sequence that are borrowed into Visayan undergo vowel epenthesis. Thus words such as 'sponsor' are nativised as *ispunsur* /ʔispunsuɹ/. Spanish, likewise, does not permit /s/- to be followed by a consonant in word-initial position, and Spanish speakers adopt a similar strategy when nativising these kinds of words. It appears that a version of this kind of cluster-resolving strategy is at work Eskayan, but, again, the 'epenthesis' occurs in ostensibly in vocabulary that is *not* loaned from Spanish, such as **istaku** ('right side'), **isturisti** ('shy'), **iskurada** ('bravery'), **istrapiradu** ('flower') and even **Eskaya**.

As we will see, Eskayan codas are not quite so variable and tend to match what is permissible in Boholano-Visayan. One possible reason for this is that Visayan syllable codas already have a high degree of consistency with their Spanish counterparts—all the marked differences occur at the beginning of words and syllables.

3 Comparative syllable structure

In Boholano-Visayan, native monosyllabic lexical roots have the shape CVC, while disyllabic roots take the form CVCVC or CVCCVC. Lexemes that orthographically begin or end in a vowel are realised with a glottal onset or coda; the glottal is only represented if it belongs to a stressed syllable that is not word-initial. The shapes CGVC and CGVCVC, where 'G' is a glide, are attested in rare native words such as *twagsik* ('for liquid to fly and scatter') and *tyabaw* ('cry out in pain') though these may be realised with epenthesis as [tu'wagsik] and [ti'yabaw]. Semivowels are also present in Boholano-Visayan codas as components of diphthongs with the shape CVG.

However, the vast majority consonant-semivowel onsets in Boholano-Visayan are found in Spanish loanwords, as shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Consonant-semivowel onsets in Boholano-Visayan and Spanish

Boholano-Visayan	**Spanish (Castillian)**	**Gloss**
dwindi /dwindi/	*duende* /dwende/	'house spirit'
gwapa /gwapa	*guapa* /gwapa/	'pretty'
nyibi /nyibi/	*nieve* /nyeβe/	'snow'
syudad /syudad/	*ciudad* /syudad/	'city'

Again this kind of cluster is often resolved through vowel epenthesis. Spanish loans beginning with the sequence /nwi/ or /kwi/ are nativised as /nuy/ and /kuy/. Thus *cueba* /kweba/ is rendered as *kuyba* /kuyba/ ('cave') and *nueve* /nwebe/ as *nuybi* /nuybi/ ('nine'). This suggests that while CG-onsets are attested in native and nativised lexemes they are nonetheless dispreferred.

In short, native Boholano-Visayan syllable structure can be summarised in the following rubric where parentheses enclose optional elements: CV(G)/(C). It should be further noted that not all possible realisations of CVC are available in Boholano-Visayan. For example, no native Boholano-Visayan word begins with *r-*, *wu-* or *yi-*, even though European borrowings allow these onsets in words such as *rayna* ('queen'; from Sp. *reina*), *wul* ('woollen cloth'; from Eng. 'wool') and *yilu* ('ice'; from Sp. *hielo*).

By stark comparison, Eskayan includes all of these native Boholano-Visayan syllable structures but also permits 'loaned' structures, even in those Eskayan words that do not appear to have been modelled on Spanish or English. To put it more succinctly, clusters of the type CCVC and CVCC are

found to occur in basic Eskayan roots. For example: **blasim** ('eyelid') and **rusult** ('husked corn'). Eskayan syllable structure can thus be summarised as: C (C)/(G) V (G) C (C).

3.1 Boholano-Visayan and Eskayan onsets

Table 4 below provides a comparative inventory of onsets. An asterisk indicates that the onset is unattested and thus provisionally dispreferred, though not necessarily impermissible. Clusters that are unattested in either language are not listed. A dagger (†) indicates that the feature is the result of a loan (or foreign 'modelling' in the case of Eskayan). Note, in these instances, that loanwords are only employed as examples wherever non-loans cannot be found to illustrate the feature in question. Only word-initial sequences are listed here as these provide unambiguous evidence for syllabification. In a few cases, supplementary evidence is gleaned from medial onsets that are reasonably clear on the basis of known structures. However, word-internal clusters are not systematically compared here.

Table 4: *Boholano-Visayan and Eskayan onsets with example terms*

Boholano-Visayan		Eskayan	
p-	*pihig* ('slanting')	p-	**pida** ('greater')
	payag ('hut')		**panagang** ('thumb', 'big toe')
	pulus ('be of use')		**pul** ('stub or stump of s.t.')
t-	*tigib* ('chisel')	t-	**tibuhal** ('concealment')
	taas ('long, tall, high')		**tagni** ('rotten')
	tu'ali ('be upside down')		**tudli** ('line')
†c-	†*tsinilas* ('slippers')	tʃ-	**tsiyamuli** ('grass', 'weed')
	†*tsarlistun* ('Charleston')		**pa.tsam** ('take s.t. s.w.')
	†*tsukulati* ('chocolate')		**ri.tsu.wing** ('to worsen')
k-	*kilat* ('lightning')	k-	**kidusir** ('folk doctor')
	kabanayan ('group of people related by blood')		**kaydi** ('back of the mouth')
	kudlit ('make a scratch on s.t.')		**kudalu** ('delirium'; 'be delirious')
ʔ-	*ibid* ('k.o. lizard')	ʔ-	**ikir** ('last')
	abang ('rent')		**abisihaba** ('west')
	ugbuk ('plant or stick s.t. upright')		**uti** ('pay attention to')
b-	*bili* ('price')	b-	**bichdin** ('get acquainted')
	ba'ba' ('mouth')		**badi** ('gall')
	budlay ('tiring', 'tiresome')		**bukdriski** ('mung bean')
d-	*dilaab* ('for a fire to become blazing')	d-	**dibir** ('choosy')
	daan ('old')		**dadama** ('assemble', 'gather')
	du'aw ('visit')		**dul** ('post of house or fence')
dʒ-	*yamu* ('none')	dʒ-	**chdidlin** ('enthusiasm')
	bad.yu' ('for sweet potatoes to taste rotten')		**chdaru** ('buried')
	pang.ad.yi ('prayer')		**chduri** ('cut throat of animal')
g-	*ginikanan* ('parents')	g-	**gim** ('put s.t. down!')
	gabuk ('rotten')		**gawus** ('divide into portions')
	guba' ('destroy')		**gud** ('mound', 'hill')
s-	*sidlakan* ('east')	s-	**siri** ('slippery')
	sa ('at', 'to')		**sabira** ('open s.t.')
	suba' ('river')		**sudayis** ('place')

h-	*hikug* ('strangle')	h-	**himawa** ('immigrant')
	hagdan ('stairs', 'ladder')		**haldu** ('loud')
	hukum ('pass judgment')		**huk** ('itchy')
m-	*minatay* ('human corpse')	m-	**mita** ('understand')
	mabaw ('shallow')		**malakun** ('envy')
	mugna' ('create')		**muldi** ('inferior')
n-	*nigu* ('rattan winnowing tray')	n-	**nibnid** ('blame')
	nanay ('mother')		**napuykiri** ('while')
	nuka ('sore', 'infection')		**nukir** ('soup')
ŋ-	*ngisi* ('grin')	ŋ-	**ngiyus** ('darkness')
	ngabil ('lips')		**ngadyu** ('fruit')
	ngutngut ('painful')		**ngu** ('take refuge')
l-	*libut* ('surround')	l-	**libar** ('pronounce')
	laay ('monotonous')		**lagsu** ('uncooked')
	luag ('loose')		**luhip** ('pull')
†ri-	†*rilu* ('watch or clock')	r-	**ribul** ('catch on fire')
†ra-	†*rayna* ('queen')		**radiyu** ('happen')
†ru-	†*rulkul* ('call the roll')		**rubus** ('sprinkle water on s.t.')
wi-	*wilik* 'remove s.t. from oneself'	w-	**winchdit** ('stench'),
wa-	*wagtang* ('lose s.t.')		**wadru** ('measure with a measuring vessel')
†wu-	†*wul* ('woollen cloth')		
			wus ('cheek')
†yi-	†*yilu* ('ice'; 'yellow')	y-	**yi'ulsamris** ('shy')
ya-	*yam-id* ('sneer')		**yaduwal** ('slaughtered')
yu-	*yukbu'* ('bow down')		**yudusim** ('pay a visit')
†pl-	†*pligrawun* ('playground')	pli-	**pay.pay.pling** ('butterfly')
	†*plata* ('silver')	pla-	**plantis** ('roof')
	†*pluma* ('fountain pen')	plu-	**plukitus** ('unbaptised')
†pr-	†*pridiktar* ('foretell')	pr-	**prindidu** ('tooth')
	†*prak* ('frock)		**pratda** ('good', 'well behaved')
	†*prubinsiya* ('province')		**pruk** ('barrio')
†tr-	†*triplit* ('triplets')	†tri-	†**tri** ('two')
	†*trabahu* ('work')	tra-	**tralpuy** ('shoved')
	†*trumpa* ('trumpet')	†tru-	†**trupa** ('troops')
†kl-	†*klirk* ('clerk')	kl-	†**klir** ('clear')
	†*klasi* ('class')		**klabu** ('sound')
	†*klus* ('being close, intimate')		**klupir** ('night')
†kr-	†*kristal* ('crystal', 'glass')	kr-	**krim** ('dishwater')
	†*kras* ('crash')		**kratu** ('chin')
	†*krus* ('cross')		**krup** ('evening')
†bl-	†*blid* ('razor blade')	bl-	**blasim** ('eyelid')
	†*blakburd* ('blackboard')		**bluy** ('well', 'alright')
	†*blusa* ('blouse')		
†br-	†*brid* ('breed')	br-	**brislumin** ('gold')
	†*brawun* ('brown')		**bradi** ('contrary to one's liking')
	†*brudkas* ('broadcast')		**win.brus** ('proceed!')
†dr-	†*dribul* ('dribble a ball')	dr-	**drisu** ('contest')
	†*drayb* ('drive')		**drar** (meaning unknown)
	†*druwir* ('drawer')		**drusir** ('freedom')

*gli-	†*glab* ('gloves')	*gl-	
†gla-	†*glu* ('glue')		
†glu-			
†gr-	†*gridir* ('road grader')	gr-	**grisalwi** ('fortunate')
	†*grasya* ('grace', 'blessing')		**grabanti** ('siblings')
	†*grupu* ('group')		**grumir** ('earthquake')

Excluding all loanwords from Boholano-Visayan, and all identifiable foreign selections from Eskayan, it is evident that Eskayan naturalistically permits a far greater range of consonant clusters in its syllable onsets. In fact, /tri/- and /tru/- are the only Eskayan onsets in the comparison table above that are limited to 'loans'. Boholano-Visayan, on the other hand, prefers a basic CV- onset in all native roots.

3.1.1 Consonant-semivowel onsets and epenthesis

Native Boholano-Visayan CG- onsets are rare, though examples can be found for /py/-, /ty/- and /ky/-. Loaned words expand this to include /pw/-, /bw/-, /dw/-, /kw/-, /sw/-, /sy/-, /ny/- and /ly/-. An optional epenthetic [i] may be inserted prior to /y/ and a [u] prior to /w/ in every case. The examples *pligrawun* ('playground'), *brawun* ('brown') and *druwir* ('drawer') likewise illustrate that similar epenthesis occurs after the glide, to resolve the illicit sequence -GC.

One of the challenges of Eskayan literality—the notion that writing is the 'true' embodiment of language (Kelly 2012b)—is that certain forms of epenthesis, that may not be represented in phonemic orthographies of Boholano-Visayan, may well have arrived ready-packaged in Eskayan writing systems. Thus, without sufficient minimal pairs and naturalistic spoken evidence there is no way of knowing whether /dwal/ is the 'underlying' form of the Eskayan word conventionally written as ⟨du⟩⟨wal⟩ ('dead'). This state-of-affairs is an innate characteristic of the language as it is found and makes a genuine comparison of equivalent CG- onsets a tricky proposition. In fact, the only unambiguous CG- onset available in Eskayan is /ly/-.

A search of the Eskayan lexicon for CVG- onsets brings up a number of terms that may be comparable to epenthesised CG- onsets in native Boholano-Visayan vocabulary: **piyami** ('do s.t. inadvertently'), **piyapit** ('k.o. spiny shrub'), **tiyalka** ('finish!'), **kiyabi** ('failed'), **kiyur** ('seize prey', 'abduct'), **pirkiya** ('female saint'). Likewise the kinds of Boholano-Visayan CG- onsets found in Spanish borrowings alone have analogues in non-Hispanic Eskayan words: **puwim** ('red'), **buwasir** ('chief'), **duwis** ('stare into space'), **kuwirdidami** ('amusement', 'activity'), **suwip** ('consumed'), **siyaw** ('made half conscious') and **niyaba** ('tail'). It is arguable therefore, that Eskayan has CG-onsets of both the native Boholano-Visayan type (ie, /py/-, /ty/- and /ky/-) and the 'loaned' Hispanic type. Importantly, all types are found to occur in lexical items whose origins cannot be traced to colonial contact languages.

Table 4 above indicates that the word-initial cluster /sC/- is not permitted in either language. Loans of this shape will give rise to another kind of epenthesis unrelated to semivowels. English words loaned into Boholano-Visayan that begin with /sC/- will take an obligatory [ʔi]- epenthesis in word-initial position. Thus 'sponsor' is nativised in Boholano-Visayan as *ispunsur* /ʔispunsuɹ/ and 'sleeveless (dress)' as *isliblis* /ʔisliblis/. Since a similar epenthetic process is found in Spanish—including Spanish loans into Boholano-Visayan like *ispada* ('sword', Sp *espada*)—it is likely that Boholano-Visayan speakers have simply 'pseudo-Hispanicised' these English loans as a strategy for resolving the illicit onset.

Similarly, Eskayan does not permit /sC/- onsets however there are numerous word-initial sequences in the lexicon that look suspiciously like Hispanic or pseudo-Hispanic epenthesis, such as those mentioned earlier: **istaku** ('right side'), **isturisti** ('shy'), **iskurada** ('bravery'), **istrapiradu**

('flower') and **Eskaya** ('Eskaya'). Contrary to expectations, none of these items can be traced to English or Spanish.

3.2 Boholano-Visayan and Eskayan codas
The relative asymmetry of Boholano-Visayan and Eskayan onsets does not extend to their respective codas, as witnessed in Table 5 below.

Table 5 *Boholano-Visayan and Eskayan codas with example terms*

Boholano-Visayan		Eskayan	
-p	*talip* ('slice root crops into strips')	-p	**tip** ('imitate')
	alap-alap ('be in doubt')		**asap** ('before', 'earlier')
	tidlup ('dive sharply')		**up** ('take!')
-t	*hungit* ('put s.t. into the mouth')	-t	**chdisit** ('thirsty')
	tapat ('be loyal to s.o.')		**kirat** ('move')
	hugut ('pull in a rope')		**punggut** ('large earthen jar')
†-c	†*pits* ('peach')	*-c	
	†*lastats* ('last touch in basketball')		
	†*kuts* ('coach of a team')		
-k	*atik* ('boastful')	-k	**ritik** ('salt')
	ambak ('jump down')		**larak** ('field of rice')
	ibyuk ('sugar palm')		**lyusguk** ('able to win')
-ʔ	*mini'*	-ʔ	**tipi'** ('put s.t. into the mouth')
	kana'		**lu'** ('valley')
	lutu' ('cook')		**himawa'** ('immigrant')
-b	*luib* ('be unfaithful')	-b	**saklirilib** ('coconut buds')
	kayab ('to flap')		**rupab** ('cut', 'hack')
	gahub ('noisy', 'tumultuous')		**lyub** (k.o. pumpkin)
-d	*ganid* ('invite s.o. to go s.w.')	-d	**baldid** ('fend off')
	tupad ('next to')		**tuwad** ('go behind s.t.')
	tungud ('due to')		**sudsud** ('slippers')
-g	*sangig* ('k.o. aromatic herb')	-g	**pilig** ('crush to powder')
	sayag ('cheerful')		**salagsag** ('fruit')
	pugpug ('covered with dust')		**hundug** ('above')
-s	*nipis* ('thin')	-s	**gartis** ('nape of the neck')
	tigas ('tough', 'fearless')		**kirluwas** ('futile')
	layus ('wither')		**plusus** ('fitting', 'proper')
-m	*kalalim* ('sweetness')	-m	**ligardim** ('roll', 'roll s.t.')
	tagamtam ('have a taste')		**kiram** ('peep at s.t. while hidden')
	laum ('rely')		**likriyum** ('overcome', 'surmount')
-n	*hangin* ('air', 'wind')	-n	**brimin** ('stick to s.t. loyally')
	ulan ('rain')		**dusyan** ('real', 'genuine')
	alun ('long rolling wave')		**silmun** ('write s.t.')
-ŋ	*dating* ('not to be shy to speak a language one doesn't know well')	-ŋ	**mining** ('patience')
			dilyamtakang ('lunch')
	kibhang ('be lessened')		**datung** ('give')
	sulung ('see', 'look at')		

-l	*tangil* ('charm worn for protection')	-l	**purdil** ('drunk')
	mahal ('expensive')		**rikal** ('exact')
	dahul ('coarse grained')		**chdirul** ('fish corral')
†-ɹ	†*lidir* ('leader')	-ɹ	**gintir** ('let it fall!')
	†*lugar* ('place')		**pustar** ('tiring', 'tiresome')
	†*tinidur* ('fork')		**kur** ('tangerine')
-iw	*iliw* ('long for s.t.')	-w	**baksiw** ('dishonest')
-aw	*lutaw* ('float')		**sayaw** ('dance')
*-uw			**Buuw** ('Bohol')
*-iy	*salikway* ('to reject')	*-iy	**insay** ('shout at s.o.')
-ay	*taghuy* ('whistle')	-ay	**chduy** ('tell s.o. to do s.t.')
-uy		-uy	
*-lt		*-ilt	**rusult** ('husked corn')
		*-alt	
		-ult	
*-ɹk		*-iɹk	**guyurk** ('maltreatment')
		*aɹk	
		-uɹk	
*-etc	*paswurd* ('password')	*-ɹd	
†-ɹd			
*-etc	*jurj* ('George')	*-ɹʤ	
†-ɹʤ			

The near uniformity of coda options for both languages is of some interest. Even [ʤ], so prevalent in Eskayan onsets, is nowhere to be found in its syllable codas, just as one would not expect to find it in native Boholano-Visayan endings. The only true oddities are the Eskayan -[ult] and -[uɹk] of which **rusult** ('husked corn') and **guyurk** ('maltreatment') are the sole examples exhibiting this cluster even though they don't appear to have come from English, in the manner of *paswurd* ('password') and *jurj* ('George') which exemplify -[ɹd] and -[ɹʤ] in Boholano-Visayan. Likewise, the coda -[ɹ] is only found in foreign loans into Boholano-Visayan, while the Eskayan examples with this ending are not traceable to outside languages.

4 Conclusion

In this paper I have presented comparative data on syllable structure in the Boholano-Visayan and Eskayan languages. I have outlined the phonotactics of loaned vocabulary in Boholano-Visayan (the mother-tongue of Eskaya people and the basis of Eskayan morphosyntax) and found it to be isomorphic with the cluster-heavy syllables of Eskayan. In summary, when all foreign loanwords are excluded, Eskayan syllables naturalistically permit the sound sequences available in Boholano-Visayan native lexemes *in addition to* those found in Spanish and English loans. These findings are condensed in Table 6 below.

Table 6: *Phonotactic table for native and loaned Boholano-Visayan in comparison to Eskayan*

Terms	Phonotactics
Boholano-Visayan	C (G) V (G)/(C)
Spanish loans into Boholano-Visayan	C (C)/(G) V C (C)
English loans into Boholano-Visayan	C (C) V (C) (C)
Eskayan	C (C)/(G) V (G)/C (C)

This outcome has a number of historical and sociolinguistic implications that exceed the scope of a constrained comparative analysis. For example, while those who spontaneously construct 'new' words cannot easily escape their native phonologies (Motley 1981) it is possible that Pinay incorporated foreign-sounding structures into general vocabulary as part of a conscious or unconscious strategy of emulating linguistic otherness. In other words, colonial languages in the Philippines served as his primary examples of what an exotic 'foreign' language ought to sound like. Secondly, the lexical and phonotactic influence of Spanish and English within the Eskayan lexicon as a whole suggests, circumstantially, that the language was produced at a time in Bohol's history *after* English had become established through the US school system in 1901 but before the 1940s at which time Spanish competency had disappeared almost entierely (Gonzalez 1980). Although not explored here, the hybrid Eskaya writing system may well be elucidated with reference to the complex and 'permissive' phonotactics of Eskayan lexemes. This system has alphabetic, alphasyllabic and strictly syllabic features with an inconsistent system of consonant diacritics and over thirty characters for representing phonotactically unattested syllable shapes such as ⟨gli⟩ (Kelly 2014a). Lastly, the phonotactic comparison outlined here invites wider cross-linguistic studies of other constructed linguistic registers in the Asia-Pacific region, including the Kalam Pandanus Language (Pawley 1992) and Hidden Talk (Hoenigman 2012) of Papua New Guinea, and the Li Garan register on the island of Buru in Indonesia, among others (Maryott and Grimes 1994).

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