

A LEXICAL AND GRAMMATICAL DOCUMENTATION OF BANTAYANON
THROUGH COLLABORATIVE COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

AN ABSTRACT

DEFENDED ON THE 19TH DAY OF APRIL 2022

TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

OF THE SCHOOL OF LIBERAL ARTS

OF TULANE UNIVERSITY

FOR THE DEGREE

OF

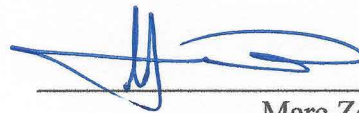
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY


Jarrette K. Allen

APPROVED:

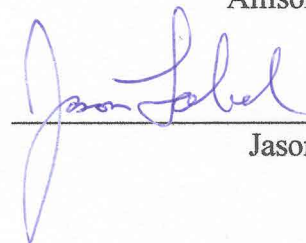

Judith Maxwell, Ph.D.,
Director



Marc Zender, Ph.D.



Allison Truitt, Ph.D.



Jason Lobel, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation describes a collaborative effort between myself and community members from Bantayan Island in Cebu province to begin the process of documenting and describing the Bantayanon language and reinvigorating it for future generations. Based on the precepts of the Sustainable Use Model, which argue that literacy and a literary tradition are major factors in language maintenance and revitalization, we have developed a proposed orthography for Bantayanon and have begun the process of developing a Bantayanon dictionary. I describe the process and methods by which a significant corpus of data was collected, by way of video interviews and a modified version of the Rapid Word Collection method. I also present a brief grammatical description of Bantayanon. In doing so, I focus on its unique features and present the scholarly arguments for situating Bantayanon linguistically among its related languages.

In doing so, it is my objective to provide a framework by which Bantayanon may continue to be documented and analyzed by future researchers and/or by the community itself and a basis for the development of elementary-level pedagogical materials in Bantayanon.

I finish by evaluating the final result in terms of what worked well and what did not and suggest ideas for further development and revitalization of the language, in the hope that this dissertation may also serve to inform researchers who attempt similar projects on other languages in the Philippines in the future.

A LEXICAL AND GRAMMATICAL DOCUMENTATION OF BANTAYANON
THROUGH COLLABORATIVE COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

A DISSERTATION

DEFENDED ON THE 19TH DAY OF APRIL 2022

TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

OF THE SCHOOL OF LIBERAL ARTS

OF TULANE UNIVERSITY

FOR THE DEGREE

OF

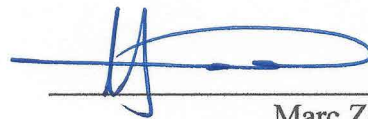
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

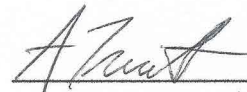

Jarrette K. Allen

APPROVED:

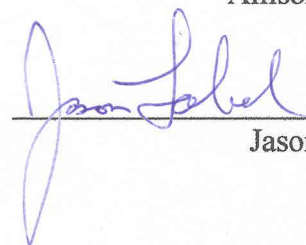

Judith Maxwell, Ph.D.,
Director



Marc Zender, Ph.D.



Allison Truitt, Ph.D.



Jason Lobel, Ph.D.

**© Copyright by Jarrette K. Allen, 2022
All Rights Reserved**

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As I will describe in the Methodology section, this was a *community-based* project, and many people played significant roles in the development of the Bantayanon Language Development Program this dissertation presents. I want to extend my gratitude here to them and to the ones in my life personally as well.

For the support, both financial and emotional, from my parents, James and Patricia Savage, I owe you a debt I could never repay. Before he died, my father, Thomas Allen, paid for my first trip to the Philippines. I wish he could have been here to see the results of his investment. Longtime friends like Jim Graham and Stephen Young have remained closer than brothers. To my wife and children, Pearl, Evelynne, Miguel, and Caleb, I am eternally grateful for all your love and support.

There is not another director I would rather have molding and directing my academic pursuits than Judith Marie Maxwell. Always patient with my questions, even when I should have already known the answer, and often sharp in her responses, she probably doesn't know how much she means to me. Thanks for playing, Judie.

When the Linguistics Department at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa put me in touch with Jason Lobel, I nervously emailed him. Hundreds of emails later (which probably would print out to over a thousand pages), I now consider Jason Lobel a mentor, an advisor and, most importantly, a friend. Jason has been quick to encourage me, to tell me when I'm wrong and even to tell me when I'm "completely wrong". Jason's proactive assistance in this dissertation has ensured that it is one I can safely ascribe my name to.

We PhD students stand on the shoulders of giants. I had always assumed that academics of renown would not have the inclination or time to actively assist a PhD student from another university who was starting at the beginning in their field of expertise in his research. But I was wrong when it came to three gentlemen. Michael Cullinane helped me investigate the history of Bantayan. John Wolff thoughtfully and patiently discussed with me my plans to work on Bantayan, what I could expect, what to look for and how to proceed on several fronts. David Zorc, on whose work over the decades so much of this one is based, helped me make correct analyses and provided resources to help ensure this work is factual and more than sufficient. He has checked in on me when he hasn't heard from me and has never ceased to be there for me when I had questions.

Several members of SIL not only advised me but also graciously and lovingly took an active role in helping me each step of the way. Steve Quakenbush and Bill Hall sat with me in the shade at the SIL Guesthouse in Manila and discussed options for my research. They both agreed: go to Bantayan. Brenda Boerger, Verna Stutzman and Will Reiman trained me at the SIL campus in Duncanville, TX on the method of Rapid Word Collection. Levi Cruz made a trip to Bantayan for me, when I couldn't go, to help me resolve some technical issues. Paul Kroeger helped me understand grammatical issues that I was struggling with. Finally, at one point when I was feeling the most disheartened, Steve Quakenbush listened patiently to me and, when I was done, said simply, "Jarrette, you're not giving up." I might have, had he not been there at that moment.

All my gratitude and affection to my dear Bantayanon friends who helped me interview and record the oral performances. You took me by pumpboat, by van, by

traysikul and by motorcycle to meet and interview community members all over the island and even on the islets. You arranged for the interviews, and you asked the questions. You made sure we had refreshments and sleeping arrangements. Together we learned to adjust our methods to make them more effective. And you did it all with a smile and a love for your community and your language. Along the way we became the deepest of friends. This work would have been impossible without you: Lupercio Fernandez, Art and Frankie Despi, Jocelyn Abenido, Gal Minoria, Minda Carabio-Sexon, Trizer Mansueto, Joanna Hoylar, Jose “Padi” Batayola, Francisco “Boy” Sandalo, Levi Negapatan, Maria Luisa Labores, Rosemarie Teaño, Girard “Gus” Orbeta, Analyn Cena. Thank you to Mayor Chris Escario and to Vince Escario for all they did as well.

To all the interviewees and to those who provided wordlists, your names and your contributions will be archived forever. The teachers who collected words all over Bantayan will have played a significant role in bringing Bantayanon textbooks to Bantayanon children.

Thank you also to Marc Zender and to Allison Truitt, who have read through this dissertation, provided invaluable insights, and have found it worthy of their signatures. To Keagan Lejeune and Michael Buckles at McNeese for their patience as I finished.

Finally, to Foundation for Endangered Languages for believing in our work to develop CollaLex SaaS, thank you.

In loving memory of

Thomas A. Allen, Dr. Ȯlanikę Ȯla Orie & Minda Carabio-Sexon

You have left your mark in me and in this dissertation.

Requiescat in pace.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSING CONVENTIONS.....	viii
LIST OF TABLES.....	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
LIST OF INTERVIEWEES.....	xiii
Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. PURPOSE OF THIS DISSERTATION.....	2
1.2. STRUCTURE OF THIS DISSERTATION	2
1.3. THE NAME “BANTAYAN”	4
1.4. A DESCRIPTION OF THE BANTAYANON-SPEAKING ISLANDS	5
Chapter 2. THEORETICAL MODELS AND IMPLEMENTATION	8
2.1. COMMUNITY-BASED LANGUAGE RESEARCH	8
2.2. THE SUSTAINABLE USE MODEL (SUM).....	11
2.2.1. The Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS)	11
2.2.2. The four “Inherently Sustainable Levels” of SUM.....	12
2.2.3. The FAMED conditions	15
2.2.4. Implementation	17
2.3. ZORC’S FUNCTOR ANALYSIS.....	18
2.3.1. Functors and contentives	19
2.3.2. Functor Analysis as lexicostatistics in the Philippine context	21
2.3.3. Zorc’s 100-Functor comparative list.....	24
CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGICAL MODELS AND IMPLEMENTATION.....	26
3.1. INITIAL CONTACTS AND ASSISTANCE RECEIVED	26
3.2. DATA COLLECTION	28
3.2.1. Technological considerations	29
3.2.2. Oral performances	30
3.2.1. Datamining	34
3.2.2. Elicitation of wordlists.....	35
3.2.3. Rapid Word Collection and Singga Na!	37
3.3. DATA MANAGEMENT, SYNTHESIS, ANALYSIS, & PRESENTATION.....	45
3.3.1. Data management & archiving	45
3.3.2. Transcripts & videos.....	46
3.3.3. Software & CollaLex SaaS.....	47
3.3.4. The Bantayanon Language Documentation Project website.....	49

Chapter 4. THE BANTAYANON LANGUAGE.....	51
4.1. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT	52
4.1.1. Spanish-era literature	54
4.1.2. The American period	58
4.1.3. Linguistic reconstruction	61
4.2. EXISTENT DOCUMENTATION	61
4.2.1. Modern literature and resources	62
4.2.2. Mentions in academic literature	63
4.2.3. Extant literature on related languages	65
4.2.4. Dictionaries	68
4.3. LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS	71
4.3.1. Is Bantayanon a “mixed” language?	71
4.3.2. Genealogical classification	73
4.4. SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION	75
4.4.1. Dialects	75
4.4.2. Domains of Use	76
4.4.3. Vitality Status	76
CHAPTER 5. PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY	81
5.1. PHONEMES AND ALLOPHONES	82
5.1.1. Consonants	84
5.1.2. Vowels	88
5.2. MORPHOPHONOLOGY	89
5.2.1. Phonological changes in affixation	90
5.2.2. The homorganic nasal	91
5.3. HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY	91
5.3.1. The “Byay Effect” (a diachronic change)	93
5.3.2. Dialectal double vowels (a synchronic change)	94
5.3.3. Glottal metathesis (a synchronic change)	96
Chapter 6. MORPHOLOGY, SYNTAX, AND FUNCTORS	98
6.1. MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC TYPES	98
6.2. SYNTACTIC CASE	99
6.2.1. Case markers	100
6.2.2. Pronouns	101
6.2.3. Case deictics	103
6.3. SYNTACTIC WORD CATEGORIES	103
6.3.1. Verbals	104
6.3.2. Nominals	105
6.3.3. Adjectivals	105
6.3.4. Particles	106
6.3.5. Ligatures	109
6.4. CLAUSE STRUCTURES	109
6.4.1. Equational clauses	110
6.4.2. Existential / Possessive clauses	110
6.5. TENSE-ASPECT-MOOD	111
6.6. SYMMETRICAL VOICE AND INFLECTIONAL VERBAL AFFIXES	112
6.6.1. Verbal inflectional affixes	114
6.7. OTHER FUNCTORS	114

6.7.1. Existential and verbal deictics	114
6.7.2. Locationals.....	115
6.7.3. Temporals	116
6.7.4. Cardinal numbers.....	117
6.7.5. Quantifiers	118
6.7.6. Interrogatives	119
6.7.7. Negatives	119
6.7.8. Conjunctions.....	120
Chapter 7. DEVELOPMENT OF A PROPOSED ORTHOGRAPHY.....	121
7.1. THE COMMITTEE ON BANTAYANON STANDARDIZATION	122
7.2. CONSIDERATIONS AND PRINCIPLES	123
7.2.1. Choice of script and sound-mapping (PRECISE).....	124
7.2.2. Existent orthographies from related languages (COMMON)	125
7.2.3. Will the people use it? (ACCEPTABLE)	126
7.2.4. The desire to be unique (UNIQUE)	127
7.2.5. Dialectical variation (GENERAL).....	128
7.2.6. Learnability and ease of use (LEARNABLE)	128
7.2.7. Technological considerations (TYPABLE)	129
7.3. THE BANTAYANON ORTHOGRAPHY	131
7.3.1. The IPA-equivalent phonemes: p b t d k g m n s h w l, a i u	132
7.3.2. The tap/flap/trill and the central approximant: r, y	133
7.3.3. The velar nasal: ng	133
7.3.4. The glottal stop: -, ` , or not represented.....	134
7.3.5. The digraphs: sy, ty, dy, ts	138
7.3.6. Diphthongs and long vowels.....	139
7.3.7. Vocalics and stress.....	141
7.3.8. Re-spelling of loanwords & proper names	143
7.3.9. Alphabetization.....	146
7.4. EXPECTATIONS FOR A SUCCESSFUL ORTHOGRAPHY	149
7.4.1. Expanded domains of use	150
Chapter 8. CONCLUDING EVALUATION	151
8.1. CHALLENGES	151
8.1.1. The Observer Effect in the recorded interviews	152
8.1.2. Technological difficulties	154
8.1.3. Sensitive issues as topics for interviews	155
8.1.4. Difficulties inherent in the community-based research approach.....	157
8.2. FUTURE RESEARCH	160
Appendix A: Example of semantic domain questions and prompts	162
Appendix B: Bantayanon Rapid Word Collection response sheet	163
REFERENCES	164
BIOGRAPHY	182

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSING CONVENTIONS

With few exceptions, the glossing conventions and abbreviated category labels follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie et al., 2015). The category labels used here are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: List of abbreviated category labels

1	first person	LV	location voice
2	second person	LOC	locative
3	third person	NCOMPL	non-completive
ABIL	abilitative	NEG	negation, negative
ADJ	adjective	NOM	nominative (or topic)
ADV	adverb(ial)	NPERS	non-personal
AV	actor voice	NREAL	non-realis
CASE	case marker	OBL	oblique
COMPL	completive	ORD	ordinal
CCONJ	coordinating conjunction	OV	object voice
DEF	definite	PART	particle
DEIC	deictic	PERS	personal
DU	dual	PL	plural
EXCL	exclusive	POSS	possessive
EXST	existential	PROH	prohibitive
GEN	genitive	PRO	pronoun
IMP	imperative	Q	question particle
INCL	inclusive	REAL	realis
INDF	indefinite	SCONJ	subordinating conjunction
LIG	ligature	SG	singular

Conventions for symbols and diacritics used in phonetic transcriptions, when necessary, follow the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) (International Phonetic Association, 2015) and are informed by Ladefoged and Johnson (2010). In addition, the in-text conventions in Table 2 will be used throughout the text.

Table 2: Formatting conventions & list of symbols used

*single asterisk	reconstructed forms
**double asterisk	ungrammatical or unattested forms
bold	Bantayanon letters or words
<i>italics</i>	wordforms in other languages
‘single quotes’	glosses
“quotation marks”	quotations
/slashes/	phonemic (broad) transcriptions
[brackets]	phonetic (narrow) transcriptions
á í ú	acute accent mark over a vowel indicates stress, e.g. ánay [ʔa.naj] ‘termite’, anáy [ʔa.'naj] ‘sow’
à ì ù	grave accent mark over a vowel indicates subsequent glottal stop /ʔ/, used orthographically only in word-final position e.g. kyáhà [ʔkja.haʔ] ‘frying pan’
â î û	circumflex over a vowel indicates both stress and subsequent glottal stop /ʔ/, used orthographically only in word-final position e.g. isdâ [ʔis.'daʔ] ‘fish’
-	hyphen indicates word-medial glottal stop /ʔ/
>	read “became” (diachronically)
<	read “comes from” (diachronically)
~	indication of variants, e.g. tám-is ~ tá-mis ‘sweet’

The abbreviations used for names of languages, their dialects, and language groups follow as closely as possible to Reid's (1992a) abbreviation conventions for Austronesian language names and are presented in Table 3. Languages are given three-letter codes as per the conventions, with one- or two-letter dialect abbreviations appended to the end. Language families are given two-letter codes, with P added to the beginning to indicate protolanguages. For cases in which multiple options were available, I prioritized accordingly: 1) abbreviations used extensively in the literature, especially Zorc (1977) and Lobel (2013), 2) forms used specifically by Reid, 3) the ISO 639-3 code available on the Ethnologue. I have strayed from Reid in the following ways: 1) the lowercase letters are printed here in SMALL CAPS, 2) Bisayan (BS) is treated here as a language family, not an individual language, and, consequently, 3) Bisayan languages are not presented as dialects, i.e., Cebuano is CEB (not BisC) and Ilonggo/Hiligaynon is ILO (not BisHI). Also, following Zorc (1977), capital letters are added to language group abbreviations to indicate subgroups, i.e., CBS for Central Bisayan.

Table 3: List of abbreviated language groups, languages and dialect labels

LANGUAGES	
BTY Bantayanon	MAS Masbatenyo
CEB Cebuano	SPA Spanish
ENG English	TAG Tagalog
ILO Ilonggo (Hiligaynon)	WAR Waray-Waray
LANGUAGE GROUPINGS	
BS Bisayan	PCPH Proto-Central Philippine
CBS Central Bisayan	PRE-BTY Pre-Bantayanon
PBS Proto-Bisayan	

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: List of abbreviated category labels	viii
Table 2: Formatting conventions & list of symbols used	ix
Table 3: List of abbreviated language groups, languages and dialect labels	x
Table 4: The Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS).....	26
Table 5: The EGIDS and the Four Levels of Sustainability	27
Table 6: Bantayanon and the FAMED conditions	29
Table 7: Sanger's demographic breakdown of Bantayan Island, 1905	72
Table 8: The consonantal phones of Bantayanon	97
Table 9: The vowels of Bantayanon	102
Table 10: Historical sound changes in Bantayanon and related languages	105
Table 11: The “Byay Effect”: PCPH *l or *-r- > y and syncope of unstressed syllable .	106
Table 12: Dialectal double vowels: PCPH *l or *-r- > h > Ø.....	108
Table 13: Glottal metathesis in selected Bantayanon words	110
Table 14: FUNCTORS: syntactic case markers	113
Table 15: FUNCTORS: pronouns by case.....	115
Table 16: FUNCTORS: syntactic case deictics	116
Table 17: FUNCTORS: grammatical and discourse particles	120
Table 18: FUNCTORS: ligatures.....	122
Table 19: FUNCTORS: existentials / possessives.....	123
Table 20: FUNCTORS: verbal inflectional affixes	127
Table 21: FUNCTORS: other deictics	127
Table 22: FUNCTORS: locational nouns	128
Table 23: FUNCTORS: temporals.....	129
Table 24: FUNCTORS: cardinal numbers.....	130
Table 25: FUNCTORS: quantifiers	131
Table 26: FUNCTORS: interrogatives	132
Table 27: FUNCTORS: negatives	132
Table 28: FUNCTORS: conjunctions	133
Table 29: Orthographic principles adopted.....	136
Table 30: The Bantayanon grapheme inventory	145
Table 31: Orthographic options considered for glottal stop	149
Table 32: Orthographic options considered for double vowels	152
Table 33: Alphabetization options for the velar nasal	161

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Bantayan and the neighboring language in the Visayas.....	19
Figure 2: Words for seashells in Bantayanon	42
Figure 3: Meeting with barangay captains to ask for help in locating participants	44
Figure 4: Interview with Colasa Bawi-in in Madridejos	45
Figure 5: Interviews with Rosa Nobleza and Eulalia Bawal in Sulangan, Bantayan	45
Figure 6: Interview with Mary Jane Escaran on the islet of Panangatan, Bantayan.....	46
Figure 7: Excerpts from the letter to DepEd Supervisors for the Singga Na! summit	52
Figure 8: Introductory session before Singga Na! summit	56
Figure 9: Practice session during Singga Na! summit	56
Figure 10: Zorc's classification of Bantayanon and associated languages	86
Figure 11: iPhone process to type accented vowels.....	144

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

The following community members participated in this project through video-recorded interviews. References to these interviews will be to the code provided.

BTY-002	Mary Claire I. Caraballe	BTY-022	Arthur E. Despi
BTY-003	Teresita Desamparado	BTY-023	Lila S. Escarro
BTY-004	Natalio C. Mansueto	BTY-024	Jesus K. de la Pena
BTY-005	Quirino J. Batiancila, Jr.		Erlinda D. de la Pena
BTY-006	Teresito I. Balila	BTY-025	Gal C. Minoria
BTY-007	Eulalia L. Bawal	BTY-026	Rosa Nobleza
BTY-008	(permission not granted)	BTY-027	Aurora de la Pieza
BTY-009	Francisco Sarraga	BTY-028	Eulogio Villabas & wife
BTY-010	Joemar Montales	BTY-029	Maxine Solmayor
BTY-011	Crestita E. Despi	BTY-030	Francisco Sandalo
BTY-012	Neptune Layan	BTY-031	Girard Orbeta
BTY-013	Maria B. Sapilan		
BTY-014	Evelyn Mata	MDJ-001	Evangeline Fernandez
BTY-015	Feoderico Gilarnon	MDJ-002	Colasa Bawi-in
BTY-016	Mary Jane Escaran		
BTY-017	Severino Despi	STF-001	Exequela Batobalonos
BTY-018	Joseph C. Gimenes	STF-003	Almera Caramonte
BTY-019	Levi Negapatan	STF-004	Shirley B. Villegas
BTY-020	Magdalena C. Carabio		Dorminia Gilbuena
BTY-021	Marta Destura		

Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

It is well-recognized both by the natives of Bantayan Island in Cebu, Philippines and by natives of surrounding areas that the speech variety of the people of Bantayan is unique. Unfortunately, as the island is located in and administered by Cebu, that language has too often been assumed to be a dialect of Cebuano. Indeed, early in the Spanish period, in 1603, the Augustinian historian Juan de Medina (Medina, 1893, p. 482) mistakenly claimed that the Bantayanons were only speaking Cebuano. More recently, linguist and Cebuano lexicographer John Wolff (1972a, p. vii) called Bantayanon a “widely aberrant form” of Cebuano. The *Ethnologue* did not even mention Bantayanon until its 10th edition in 1984, when it was listed as a dialect of Hiligaynon (Ilonggo). It would be another 20 years before that Jason W. Lobel and William C. Hall (2009) submitted evidence supporting a reclassification, and, in the 17th edition in 2014, Bantayanon was finally listed as a distinct language.

Although Bantayanons live in the linguistic shadow of Cebu, they know intuitively that their language is considerably different from Cebuano. Yet they still struggle to explain precisely *how* and *why* the language is not just a substandard variety of Cebuano or a mixture of the languages that have influenced the islands historically. They can point out the differences and, when visiting Cebu, often revert to Bantayanon without being understood. They lament the fact that the textbooks for their children are in Cebuano, and they are saddened by the obvious attrition of the language in favor of Cebuano.

1.1. PURPOSE OF THIS DISSERTATION

This dissertation is the result of a collaborative effort between myself and many Bantayanons to begin the to try to reverse the language's would-be demise. Herein, I describe the process undertaken to provide the first formal documentation and description of the Bantayanon language; to collect, analyze, and archive a significant corpus of language data for future use by other researchers; to provide a framework by which Bantayanon may continue to be documented and analyzed by future researchers and/or by the community itself; and to provide a basis for the development of elementary-level pedagogical materials in Bantayanon.

1.2. STRUCTURE OF THIS DISSERTATION

This dissertation is divided into chapters that describe Bantayan Island and its language diachronically and synchronically, present the theories behind and methods by which the work was done, provide a basic introduction to the grammar of Bantayanon, discuss the final result in terms of what worked well and what did not, and suggest ideas for further development and revitalization of the language. It is my hope that this dissertation may also serve to inform researchers who attempt similar projects on other languages in the Philippines in the future.

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical models that underlie the project. It begins with the Community-Based Language Research (CBLR) model and the Sustainable Use Model (SUM), reviewing why the project was organized according to these models. It finishes with R. David Zorc's *Functor Analysis* as a paradigm through which the grammar and lexicon of Bantayanon can be distinguished from other Philippine languages.

Chapter 3 recounts the methodologies employed to carry out the project. It relates how the project was initiated and planned, then describes how language data was collected and analyzed. Important methods described in this chapter are the recording of interviews and the use of a modified form of the Rapid Word Collection (RWC) method.

Chapter 4 presents the language from a historical and sociolinguistic standpoint. As there is no historical *primary data*¹ in the language itself, this chapter reviews the historical data, beginning in the Spanish-era literature (16th century), and presents a small number of modern secondary data sources that provide a foundation on which a description of Bantayanon can be developed. It continues with a linguistic analysis of the language including to what extent it might be a “mixed” language and how it is classified genealogically. Finally, I provide a sociolinguistic description of its dialects, domains of use, and vitality status.

Chapters 5 and 6 provide a general introduction to the grammar of Bantayanon. As Bantayanon is typical in most ways of Central Bisayan languages, emphasis is placed on describing the unique features of Bantayanon and in presenting basic grammatical concepts of Bantayanon for those unfamiliar with the Bisayan languages and other Central Philippine languages such as Tagalog.

Based on the descriptions in the two previous chapters, Chapter 7 recounts the process by which a committee of educators came together to formulate a proposed orthography for Bantayanon. It presents the different questions faced and the set of criteria by which each question was considered and decisions were made. The

¹ i.e., no naturally produced sources written in Bantayanon that can be analyzed for linguistic data

Bantayanon words in this dissertation are spelled according to the conventions of this proposed orthography.

Chapter 8 concludes the dissertation with an evaluation of the methodology employed, including its strengths and weaknesses, and discusses the challenges faced. Suggestions for future research and development of the Bantayanon language are also provided.

This dissertation cannot be properly understood other than from the viewpoint of a collaborative effort between a community and a linguistic anthropologist to pull the language out from under a linguistic shadow, situate it where it belongs among the languages of the Philippines, and provide a basis on which its survival can, as much as possible, be assured.

1.3. THE NAME “BANTAYAN”

The words *bantay* and *bantayan*, widespread Central Philippine words meaning ‘to watch over, keep watch’ and ‘watch tower’ respectively, give Bantayan its name. A more precise origin of the name, or when exactly it was applied, remains unknown, but it was likely early in the Spanish occupation of the Philippines when watchtowers were built on the islands to protect the people from the frequent slave raids propagated by the Sultanates of Mindanao and Sulu. What is certain is that the name Bantayan is not, as is often claimed, a reduction of the phrase “Bantayan sa Hari” ‘the king’s watchtower’. According to Michael Cullinane (personal communication), the *bantayan sa hari* and *baluartes* date from much later than the name Bantayan as applied in the early Spanish-era references to Bantayan Island. They were constructed in southeastern Cebu in the early 19th century by the Spanish royal government to protect from the raids, and more

were added up the eastern coast and on the western coast later in that century. Also, as a name, Bantayan sa Hari was an informal one at best. The site of the original town on Bantayan appears to have been the barangay of Sillon (on the east coast, facing Cebu), but it is not clear when “Bantayan” became the name for the island.

The name “Bantayan” can refer both officially and colloquially to three different geographic and administrative entities: (1) the island of Bantayan, the largest of the Bantayanon-speaking islands; (2) the town of the same name on that island; and (3) the group of islands consisting of the main island of Bantayan and the surrounding smaller islands (hereafter, "islets") that are included administratively in the three towns found on Bantayan Island. When needed in order to disambiguate, I will refer to (1) as “Bantayan Island” or “the island of Bantayan”, (2) as “Bantayan town” or “the town of Bantayan”, and (3) as “the islands of Bantayan” or “the Bantayanon-speaking islands”.

1.4. A DESCRIPTION OF THE BANTAYANON-SPEAKING ISLANDS

Bantayan is located in the Visayan Sea, surrounded by Panay and Negros Occidental to the west and southwest, Masbate to the north, Leyte to the east, and Cebu across the Tañon Strait to the southeast, the primary seacraft to Bantayan Island running from San Remigio on Cebu and Cadiz in Negros Occidental. Administratively, the islands of Bantayan are divided into three municipalities, all belonging to the province of Cebu: Bantayan, Madridejos (or Lawis), and Santa Fe². The islets to the southwest are included in the municipality of Bantayan. The ones to the east and northeast are part of Santa Fe.

² The province of Cebu, in turn, is part of Region VII, also known as the Central Visayas region, of the Philippines.

Figure 1: Bantayan and the neighboring language in the Visayas

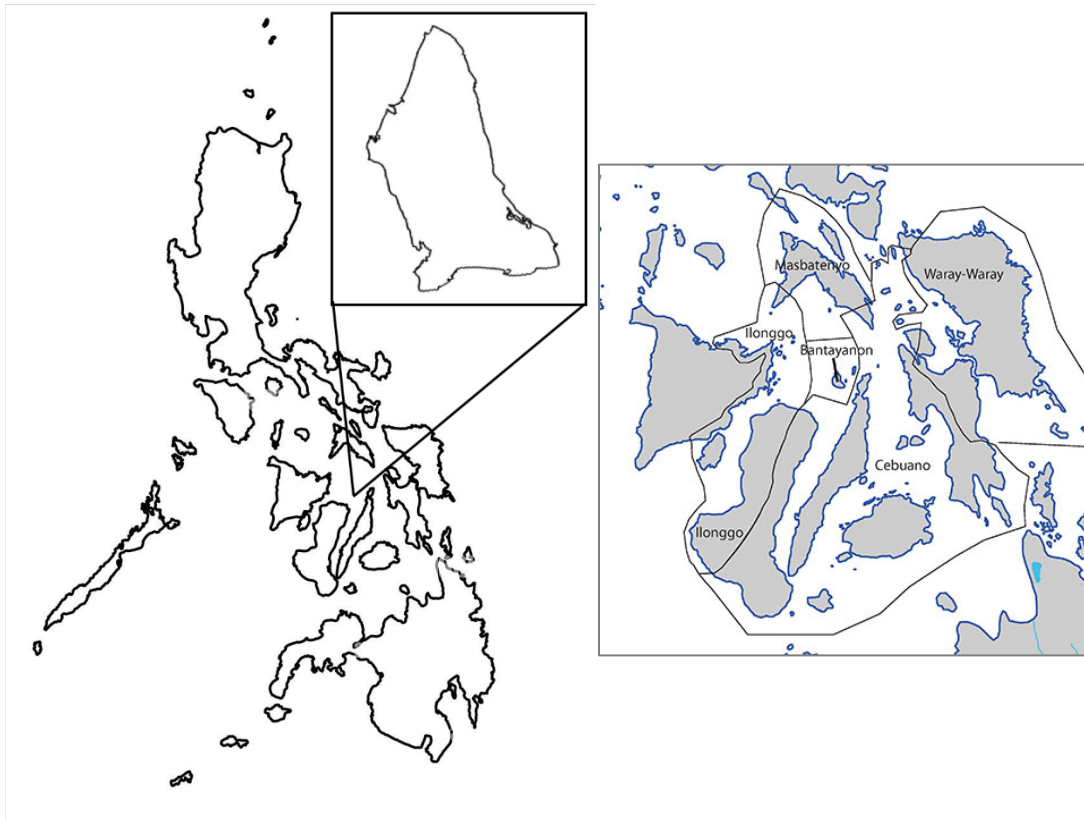


Figure 1 shows the location of Bantayan in the Philippines and the languages that surround it. Although slightly isolated geographically, Bantayan has not historically been isolated culturally or linguistically. Over the centuries, its location in the trading lanes has continually resulted in an inundation of commerce with surrounding islands. Bantayan is primarily a trading town, Madridejos is primarily a fishing village, and Santa Fe in recent years is increasingly becoming the village of the beach resorts that cater to international tourists. Because the Bantayan islands are coral islands, they are not suitable for large-scale agronomy. The islands do however dominate the egg and poultry industry in the Central Visayas and export large quantities of dried fish. They import rice, sugar, and salt from Panay; coco lumber and nipa (*Nipa fruticans*, a palm used for roofing) from Leyte

and Samar; and fruits and vegetables from Cebu island, and have benefited since the 20th century from the coming of RoRo (“Roll-on/Roll-off”, a term for cargo arriving on wheeled vehicles via boat or ferry) service to Santa Fe from Cebu island and, in the past few years, to Bantayan town from Cadiz, Negros Occidental.

This constant coming and going of people and products onto and off of Bantayan Island has resulted in a constant influence of outside languages and cultures as well. This dissertation will describe the Bantayanon language in this context and the process by which the community came together to work towards its preservation.

Chapter 2. THEORETICAL MODELS AND IMPLEMENTATION

This chapter presents the theoretical models that formed the basis and impetus for this dissertation. The *Community-Based Language Research* approach joins the expertise of the researcher with the language knowledge of the community to provide both academic research and materials usable by the community in the preservation and development of their language. The *Sustainable Use Model*, developed by Lewis, Simons, and Quakenbush (Lewis & Simons, 2011; Quakenbush & Simons, 2012, 2015),³ provides a reasoned argument for the development of written materials in a language, in order to reverse the processes of language attrition and loss. Finally, Zorc's *Functor Analysis* (1972, 1977, 1978) provides one framework by which language data can be collected and presented for historical analysis and inter-language comparison.

2.1. COMMUNITY-BASED LANGUAGE RESEARCH

The Bantayanon LDP is ideal for the Community-Based Language Research (CBLR) approach. CBLR is the application of collaborative research methods to linguist field research and argues for local autonomy and engagement in planning, directing and implementing language documentation and revitalization projects and collaboration by outside linguists in those efforts. Linguists such as Rice (2010, 2011, 2015), Garrett (2014), Glenn (2009), Leonard and Haynes (2010), Maxwell (2010), Yamada (2007), and

³ The SUM also built on the work of Mark E. Karan (2000, 2008, 2011).

Linn (2014) have argued and advocated for CBLR, and several organizations have been established to promote its use, such as the Centre for Community Based Research and Community-Based Research Canada. It is not without controversy, however, as can be seen in recent debates (Bowern & Warner, 2015; Crippen & Robinson, 2013; Robinson & Crippen, 2015). Additionally, it is a regular topic in particular in the journals *Language Documentation & Conservation* and *Language Documentation and Description*.

Rice (2015) names the distinguishing features of CBLR as 1) community-situated, 2) collaborative, and 3) action-oriented. She goes on to say that “it begins with a research topic of practical relevance to the community and is carried out in community settings”, that “community members and researchers equitably share control of the research agenda”, and that “the process and results can transform and mobilize diverse ideas, resources and experiences to generate positive action for communities”. It is based on the values of mutual respect and reciprocity, where the researcher and the community share both the burden and the rewards for their efforts.

Trained linguists provide expertise on language research (data collection, data analysis, description, documentation, archiving) while community members provide the expertise in their language. Maxwell (2010, p. 264) points out that, “[i]n those projects with strong community participation in planning and execution of the research project, some consultants may be designated by the community leaders. These participants may be chosen for their skills and availability or for political connections, as well as for their interest in the project or fluency in the language.” There is a shared sense of responsibility that extends even to financial issues: both linguist and community should

provide financial and material resources as they are able. The benefits to both linguist and community are significant. Maxwell continues,

Outside linguists may need help in learning what is acceptable to ask; inside linguists may need preparation in theoretical literature to learn what academia deems are the burning issues to address. Co-constructed projects promise to give both local and academic communities the greatest satisfaction in goals, products, applications, and dissemination. (2010, p. 274)

Because the Bantayanon LDP is a community-based collaborative project, it is crucial to have the full support and engagement of the community for its efforts. I received a letter from the former mayor of Bantayan, Ian Christopher G. Escario, welcoming our work on the language as a benefit to the linguistic and cultural awareness of the Bantayanon people, as well as a letter from the current mayor, Arthur E. Despi, welcoming me to Bantayan and committing to providing “knowledgeable reference persons and sources” needed for the research. His wife, Frankie Despi, is an integral participant in the project, seeing it as the very project she has envisioned for years. Trizer Mansueto (2013a, 2013b, 2014), a local historian, author, columnist and former professor in the History department at MSU-IIT, has returned to live in Bantayan and is part of our project. Other members of the community from around the island, such as a church leader, business owners, a fisherman, teachers, housewives and domestic helpers, all were eager to participate.

With a focus on Community-Based Language Research, this project laid the foundation for and enabled the Bantayanon people to continue work on their language after this project is completed. This type of sustainability allows them to continue as they themselves envision, as discussed above. Possible future projects may include the enlarging of their dictionary, creation of textbooks, storybooks, liturgies, etc. in the Bantayanon language.

Additionally, a large group of teachers representing the various schools in the two Department of Education (DepEd) districts of Bantayan are working alongside this project for the purposes of developing Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE) materials. More on this in section 3.2.3.

2.2. THE SUSTAINABLE USE MODEL (SUM)

The Sustainable Use Model (SUM) is a framework developed and presented over the past decade by Simons, Lewis, and Quakenbush,⁴ culminating with Lewis and Simon's (2016) *Sustaining Language Use: Perspectives on Community-Based Language Development*, along with Hanawalt, Varenkamp, Lahn, & Eberhard's (2016) *A Guide for Planning the Future of Your Language*. Citing the "lack of a generally accepted vocabulary and descriptive framework" for language vitality and endangerment and what Florey (2005, p. 44) calls a "profusion of terms used to characterize speech communities" based on the vitality status of the vernaculars, Quakenbush and Simons describe SUM as

a theoretical framework that can assist language researchers, analysts, activists and others to understand basic principles of language development, set realistic goals for a given context, and identify practical steps that can be taken to maintain or strengthen languages. SUM also provides useful notions for those interested in monitoring and evaluating the effectiveness of language development activities. (2015, p. 12)

2.2.1. *The Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS)*

The initial framework for the model had been proposed by Lewis and Simons (2010) when they expanded Fishman's (1991) 8-level *Graded Intergenerational Disruption*

⁴ For more reading about the FAMED conditions and the Sustainable Use Model, see Lewis and Simons (2010, 2011, 2016), Quakenbush and Simons (2012, 2015), Quakenbush (2015a, 2015b), and Hanawalt et al (2016).

Scale (GIDS) by merging it with the vitality categories of the 2009 Ethnologue and of UNESCO's (2003) *Language Vitality Index* to create the *Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale* (EGIDS), which "forms the backbone" of the more comprehensive Sustainable Use Model for language development. Table 4 illustrates the EGIDS, starting on the left with the key questions about community language use that enable the user to pinpoint the particular status of a language in question, then indicating the "identity function" of the language, and finishing with a brief description of the EGIDS status in further detail.

The Ethnologue has since adopted the EGIDS in place of its 2009 vitality categories, under "Language Status". For where Bantayanon falls in the scale, see section 4.4.3.

2.2.2. *The four "Inherently Sustainable Levels" of SUM*

According to Quakenbush and Simons, the Sustainable Use Model (SUM)

builds on the basic notion that there are four and only four inherently sustainable levels of language use for a minority language – history, identity, orality, and literacy – and that each of these levels builds on the preceding one. Certain conditions must be met for these sustainable levels to be reached or maintained. In today's globalizing world, without intentional effort on the part of speakers to reinforce the vitality of their language, there is an inevitable drift toward endangerment. This is especially true for languages that are already lower on the scale, and languages with a low number of speakers. (2015, pp. 1–2)

Those four "inherently sustainable levels" are *Sustainable Literacy*, *Sustainable Orality*, *Sustainable Identity* and *Sustainable History* (Lewis & Simons, 2011). The argument is that, unless a language is in one of these four "inherently sustainable levels", it will naturally drift down the scale towards further endangerment. See Table 5.

In Table 6 I have aligned the "Language Status" levels of the EGIDS with the four levels of sustainability of SUM. What must be noted is that it is only in the middle of the scale (between *4 Educational* and *6a Vigorous*) where a language is on any amount of

Table 4: The Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS)

Key Question	Key Subquestion	Final Possible Answers	IDENTITY FUNCTION	Level		Level Description
What is the level of official use?	international		VEHICULAR	0	International	The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions.
	national			1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level.
	regional			2	Regional	The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services.
	not official			3	Trade	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.
Are all parents transmitting the language to their children?	YES What is the literacy status?	institutional	HOME	4	Educational	Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.
		incipient		5	Written	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.
		none		6a	Vigorous	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.
	NO What is the youngest generation with proficient speakers?	children	HERITAGE	6b	Threatened	The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children.
		parents		7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves but none are transmitting it to their children.
		grandparents		8a	Moribund	The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.
		great-grandparents		8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.
				9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.
				10	Extinct	No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.

Table 5: The EGIDS and the Four Levels of Sustainability

LEVEL	LEVEL DESCRIPTION	INHERENTLY SUSTAINABLE LEVELS
0 International	The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions.	
1 National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level.	
2 Regional	The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services.	
3 Trade	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.	
4 Educational	Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.	SUSTAINABLE LITERACY • vigorous oral AND widespread written use • transmitted by sustainable institutions
5 Written	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.	<i>UNSTABLE</i> will fall without efforts to move up the scale
6a Vigorous	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.	SUSTAINABLE ORALITY • strong identity rooted in the language • vigorous oral use by all generations for day-to-day communication • language transmission takes place in the family or local community
6b Threatened	The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children.	<i>UNSTABLE</i> will fall without efforts to move up the scale
7 Shifting	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves but none are transmitting it to their children.	<i>UNSTABLE</i> will fall without efforts to move up the scale
8a Moribund	The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.	<i>UNSTABLE</i> will fall without efforts to move up the scale
8b Nearly Extinct	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.	<i>UNSTABLE</i> will fall without efforts to move up the scale
9 Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.	SUSTAINABLE IDENTITY • no fully proficient speakers • a community identifies with the language • used only ceremonially or symbolically
10 Extinct	No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.	SUSTAINABLE HISTORY • no remaining speakers • no one identifies with the language • a record of the language is preserved

firm footing. Once, however, it falls to *6b Threatened*, then attrition and decay begin to pose a serious threat to the language, as it is less and less transmitted in the home intergenerationally. The safest level for a language to be is *4 Educational* or above, where there is a literary tradition to accompany the regular oral use. Once the language falls to (or has never reached beyond) *6a Vigorous*, then it is still sustainable, but the task becomes much more difficult, as the language is vulnerable to the effects of encroachment by more dominant regional languages.

One of the underlying assumptions of SUM is that a language that finds itself in any of the “Sustainable” levels is only stable in that level if certain conditions are met. Otherwise, it will fall down the scale. The conditions are called the FAMED conditions.

2.2.3. *The FAMED conditions*

At the American Association for Applied Linguistics conference in 2011 in Chicago, Paul Lewis (Lewis & Simons, 2011) discussed the development, based on “aspects of broad diglossia” as in (Fasold, 1984), of five conditions that must be met in order to achieve sustainability of a language in a diglossic context. These five conditions are called the FAMED conditions, an acronym for **F**unction, **A**cquisition, **M**otivation, **E**nvironment, and **D**ifferentiation, as per Quakenbush and Simons (2015). Each of the four levels of sustainability must meet the FAMED conditions *specific to its level* in order to remain at that level.

In Table 7, I present the descriptions of each of the FAMED conditions, alongside descriptions provided by Lewis and Simons (2011) for the FAMED conditions at the *Sustainable Orality* and *Sustained Literacy* levels. After each, I provide a brief assessment of whether or not each condition is met for Bantayanon. SUM goes on to

Table 6: Bantayanon and the FAMED conditions

DESCRIPTION OF FAMED CONDITIONS	FOR THE SUSTAINABLE ORALITY LEVEL	BTY	FOR THE SUSTAINABLE LITERACY LEVEL	BTY
Functions: The functions for which the language is to be used at a particular level of sustainability exist and are in use by the community.	The language is used orally to meet the functions of communication within the home and community.	TRUE	Adequate vernacular literacy practices are in use to establish the value of reading and writing in the local language.	CURRENTLY FALSE
Acquisition: A sustainable means of acquiring the needed proficiency to use the language for those functions must be operational.	There is full oral transmission of the language to all children.	GENERALLY TRUE ⁵	Vernacular literacy is being taught by trained teachers under the auspices of a sustainable institution.	CURRENTLY FALSE
Motivation: Community members must be motivated to use the language for those functions.	Speakers perceive the benefits (economic, social, religious, identificational) of using their language orally.	FALSE	Speakers perceive the benefits (economic, social, religious, identificational) of reading and writing in the local language.	FALSE
Environment: The external environment (e.g., official policy, attitudes of the public at large) must not be hostile to the use of the language for those functions.	Official government policy affirms the oral use of the language.	FALSE, UNTIL RECENTLY	Government policy to cultivate this language is put into practice by sanctioning an official orthography and using public schools to transmit local language literacy.	CURRENTLY FALSE
Differentiation: Norms of use within the community must keep the functions assigned to the language distinct from the functions for L2.	Members of the language community have a set of shared norms as to when to use the local language orally versus when to use a more dominant language.	TRUE, BUT NOT IN A GOOD WAY ⁶	Speakers have shared norms for when to use the local language in writing versus when to use a more dominant language.	CURRENTLY FALSE
PROGNOSIS:	Hopeful, with an increased societal valuation of the language and more active government support.		Possible in the future, but improbable. MTB education at the elementary levels can accomplish much here.	

⁵ This is possible, but doubtful, at least on a sufficient scale.

⁶ Their “shared norms as to . . . when to use a more dominant language” is to use it in almost all domains outside of the home.

present various ways in which a language community can develop and implement strategies either to maintain their current status or to “make a ‘soft landing’ at the next sustainable level down the scale, or possibly even move up the scale” (Quakenbush, personal communication), so, to conclude the table, I provide a prognosis of the possibility of moving up into each level.

2.2.4. *Implementation*

Looking at the table, what is keeping Bantayanon out of the *Sustainable Orality* level is a lack of perceived benefits in using the language and the tendency of Bantayanons to use their language only with other Bantayanons (see section 4.4.3 for further details). Any attempt to move into the *Sustained Literacy* level would require, at minimum, the efforts underway with the project and with this dissertation, including, but not limited to, a sanctioned orthography, MTB elementary education, and significant governmental support. Quakenbush (personal communication) points out that Bantayanon “has no official recognition as a language in the Philippines” but that “at least there is no national level policy to suppress local languages, and local communities are allowed to promote the use of their languages”. It is no small advantage that the municipal government and the DepEd are both supportive of these efforts.

The purpose of this dissertation is not *per se* to develop a strategy to accomplish any of these goals. That would be a separate endeavor and would require efforts and collaborations not possible here. However, this dissertation and the project to develop and use MTB-MLE materials in the elementary schools will indeed provide many of the tools that could be used by future interested parties to begin such a process. According to the FAMED conditions for the *Sustainable Literacy* level, this would also include some type

of literature production, coupled with some domain in which writing Bantayanon is preferable to writing Cebuano.

2.3. ZORC'S FUNCTOR ANALYSIS

I am not interested here in treating detailed questions of subgrouping or classification, mostly because others more qualified than I have done exemplary work in this area. It is however one of my objectives to provide Bantayanon data to help fill in the lacunae in the comparative research that has been done so far. In Zorc's *Bisayan Dialects*, there are significant lacunae in his data for Bantayanon, one of only a few that suffered from lack of data; no fewer than 5 times does he cite "not enough information" available or "incomplete data sets/sources" for the language. Zorc only had a limited amount of time with his Bantayanon informant (personal communication), and his data for Bantayanon suffered from a lack of research on the island group. His *functor analysis* therefore provides a framework by which I can describe the language here, as well as fill in the lacunae of data in his seminal treatise on the classification of Bisayan languages.

Zorc (1978, p. 510) argues that basic function words, or *functors*, are an important part of any given speech variety, for they have a "tendency towards stability and a low rate of replacement" and a "high text frequency". Because of this, he says, they play an important role in the subgrouping or classification of languages. For a further discussion of his *functor classification*, see Chapter 7 of Zorc (1977, pp. 185–200).

2.3.1. *Functors and contentives*

The first use of the term *functor* seems to trace to Rudolf Carnap's (1937) *The Logical Syntax of Language*,⁷ in which he distinguished between *predicates* as “relation symbols” and *functors* as “function symbols” (Lapointe & Patterson, 2009, p. 29). Zorc's use of the term *functors*, however, draws heavily from Hockett, who argued that they are – with “its part-of-speech system”, “its grammatical categories”, and “its construction-types and constructions” – a basic element of the “grammatical core” of a language (Hockett, 1958, pp. 264–265). It is this grammatical core that is first acquired by a child and should be prioritized over vocabulary in the acquisition of a second language. In introducing *functors* and *contentives*, Hockett cited Fries (1952 and earlier works), as well as Carnap (above) and Quine's (1951) *Mathematical Logic*. As logicians, Carnap's and Quine's work focused primarily on the intersection of logic and philosophy, and, subsequently, the contrast they draw between the two terms is in the light of symbolic logic and only “something like” Hockett's intended meaning.

The distinction between *function words* and *content words* is part of the common parlance of linguists, but Hockett opted instead for *functors* and *contentives*, arguing that the forms covered by the terms are not always comprised of single words. Radford (1997, pp. 37–38) describes *contentives* as having “idiosyncratic descriptive content” and *functors* as those which “carry information about the grammatical function of particular types of expression” in the sentence. Contentives may have antonyms; functors never do.

⁷ The 1937 version, in translation from the original German, claims to be a reprint of an earlier 1919 version published in England, which I have been unable to locate precisely. That year would have predated Carnap's dissertation by at least two years.

In his list of functors, Radford lists the contentives as nouns, verbs, prepositions, adjectives, and adverbs, while including determiners, personal pronouns, auxiliaries, the infinitive particle *to*, and complementizers. Likening the distinction to that of a skeleton (the functors) and the flesh (the contentives), Hockett (1958, pp. 261–267) sees functors as more “important” because they cannot be deleted without substantially altering the language, while contentives come and go as languages acquire new ones and lose old ones, without any “drastic consequences” to the language itself. He also was unsure as to whether the borrowing of a functor could effect “essential grammatical change” in the borrowing language. Hockett’s functor list includes:

- (1) all *substitutes*, free or bound,
- (2) all *markers*, pure and impure,
- (3) all *inflectional affixes*, and possibly
- (4) abstract governing derivational affixes.

It is here that Zorc picks up with the term *functor* in developing a methodology of comparative analysis among languages, which he names *functor analysis*. Zorc’s (1978) “Functor Analysis: A Method of Quantifying Function Words for Comparing and Classifying Languages” is the primary descriptive development of the methodology, but he had already presented it in an Austronesian context in his (1972) paper “The western subgroup of Bisayan”, followed by his (1977) dissertation on the subgrouping and reconstruction of the Bisayan languages of the Philippines, although under the name of *functor classification*. In this thesis, that would turn out to be seminal work on the classification of the languages of the Visayas, Zorc employed the contentives from different lexicostatistical lists, and added to them a list he developed of 100 functors “found specifically in BS and other CPH languages”. With these, he individually employed three different methods – “lexicostatistics, functor analysis, and exclusively

shared innovations” – to achieve the subgroupings, all three of which generally produced the same results, arguing for the accuracy of his subgroupings.

2.3.2. *Functor Analysis as lexicostatistics in the Philippine context*

As previously mentioned, Zorc (1978, p. 510) argues that functors are an important part of any given speech variety, for they have a “tendency towards stability and a low rate of replacement” and a “high text frequency”, therefore playing an important role in the subgrouping or classification of languages. He drew here from McFarland’s (1974) *The Dialects of the Bikol Area* in many of his ideas (primarily the high frequency of occurrence and the syntactic importance of functors), while presciently avoiding other assumptions (namely, McFarland’s glottochronological beliefs in constant rates of linguistic change and divergence). McFarland rightly argued that, in the Philippine context, lexical variation is much more substantial and therefore informative than anything that may be gleaned from syntactic comparison.

As discussed in the preceding chapter the Bikol area dialects share substantially the same syntactic systems. For the most part the same basic constructions are found in all dialects; differences pertain primarily to the details of distribution. There are, on the other hand, many dialectal differences with regard to the morphemes which appear in these constructions, including the functor morphemes which mark or identify the various constructions. (1974, p. 121)

Yet he seems not yet to have made the distinction between lexicostatistics and glottochronology, arguing that:

If we assume that within a given class of morphemes, the probability of replacement of any given morpheme is approximately equal, then the number of replacements occurring within that class in a given speech variety over a period of time will be directly proportional to the length of time involved. Similarly the number of differences between two speech varieties with regard to that class will be directly proportional to the length of time since the two speech varieties separated from each other. This is the basic assumption underlying the lexicostatistical method--that replacements occurring within the basic vocabulary are about equally probable, and

that the cognate percentages in the basic vocabulary of two speech varieties are thus inversely proportional to the time of separation between them. (1974, pp. 121–122)

Although Hockett (1958) had expressed optimism that glottochronology held “great promise”, he wisely stated that it, at the time, was “not yet fully reliable” (p. 461) and that it was not possible to “be certain of its eventual value” (p. 529). He also had not yet made the distinction between glottochronology and lexicostatistics, but Zorc wisely embraced the latter and adroitly avoided the former.

Heggarty (2012) has recently discussed the clear and necessary distinction between the two. “A renewed confidence in lexicostatistical approaches”, he says, “is owed in large part to its much-publicized divorce from glottochronology, for the latter certainly does remain discredited for many linguists” (p. 113). Of the linguistic dating methods, glottochronology is only one, but it fails in its basic tenet that the rate of language decay and divergence is fixed on a ‘glottoclock’ that measures that fixed rate of lexical replacement. Lexicostatistics, on the other hand, is a measure of the degree of language divergence in basic vocabulary, a very useful tool if we can “escape from the distraction of imagining we can date from [lexicostatistical lists]”. Basically, according to Heggarty, we should talk “not of glottochronological dates but simply of lexicostatistical cognacy counts”. Hence the use of lexicostatistical word lists in determining the degree of divergence between two speech varieties is a legitimate pursuit, as long as we do not take the additional step of any “add-on application to chronological aims”.

It is both feasible and highly desirable to jettison the bathwater of the glottochronological formula, while taking care not to throw out with it the baby of the underlying raw lexicostatistical data. (p. 119)

Heggarty also points out that such methods have historically asked two “complementary types of research question”, namely the *degree* of relatedness of two

languages known to be related and the *fact* of relatedness of two languages not yet known or determined to be related. The former is on much firmer ground; the latter is more specious. The “core concept of cognacy” in the former is based on the crucial presupposition that

In order to carry out a traditional lexicostatistical study, we must be able to identify reliably in our data set which words are cognates, and which are not. And the concept of cognates is meaningful only for sets of languages that all go back to just one common ancestor. That is, the method can only be applied to a single known language family at a time. (p. 120)

Finally, Heggarty goes on to argue that it would be premature to assume more accurate results in lexicostatistical analyses could be gained by eliminating from our lists words that prove less stable over time, including in “detailed studies down to the dialectological level” (p. 135).

Of the three points above taken from Heggarty (the rejection of a constant rate of language decay, the firmer ground of comparison among closely related speech varieties, and the willingness to include less-stable words in the lists), Zorc’s methodology in classifying and subgrouping the languages of the Visayas has stood the test of time since he first presented it in the 1970s. To be accurate, his *functor analysis* relies on whittling down the lexicostatistical list to more stable forms, but, in order to achieve his final results, he was careful to present it as an “additional technique for subgrouping” alongside Swadesh’s traditional word list based primarily on the less stable contentives with “universal meanings”. He even concludes that, “[a]s different as the two methods are, the results for BS are comparable in most regards.” (1977, pp. 185–186)

2.3.3. Zorc's 100-Function comparative list

The actual 100-function list was presented in subsequently developed forms in Appendix 2 of Zorc (1972, pp. 131–134), Table 47 of his dissertation (1977, pp. 187–190) published in *Pacific Linguistics*, and finally in his paper (1978) dedicated to the methodology.

SUBSTITUTES

- pronouns (including various case forms, enclitics, alternates)
- deictics (including various case forms and verbal derivatives, e.g., *go there, come here*)
- locationals (*right, left, this side, other side, above, below, downriver, upriver, downhill, uphill, etc.*)
- temporals (*today/now, yesterday, tomorrow, temporarily, later on, earlier, late, early, last (night), etc.*)
- low numbers (including indicators of number, e.g., dual or plural affixes)
- quantifiers (*all, many, some, few, etc.*)
- interrogatives (most forms and derivatives, including the verbal *do what?* and the filler *what-you-may-call-it*)

MARKERS

- case, person, number, and class markers
- discourse particles (that indicate mood, attitude, belief, time, e.g., *maybe, indeed, don't know, hopefully, vainly, still, yet, only, just, so there, etc.*)
- negatives
- affirmatives
- connectives or conjunctions
- existentials
- pseudo-verbs or preverbs (e.g., *know how, can, want, like, may, might, should, etc.*)

INFLECTIONAL AFFIXES

- voice, tense, aspect, mode, case, number, gender, class, etc.

DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

- noun-, verb-, adjective-, and adverb-forming, etc.

Because Philippine languages are primarily differentiated lexically, and because Zorc's 1977 classification of Bisayan languages contained significant lacunae for

Bantayanon, part of an entire chapter (Chapter 6) is dedicated to providing the functors of Bantayanon.

The Bantayanon Language Development Project is therefore a *community-based* project that has brought together individuals from all over the community to collaborate on the revitalization and continued development of their language. Based on the principle from the Sustainable Use Model that *Sustainable Literacy* is vital to that process, the people of Bantayan have come together to propose an orthography, write a dictionary, and develop Bantayanon textbooks for the early grades. The next chapter discusses the methods by which this process was begun and by which much progress has been made.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGICAL MODELS AND IMPLEMENTATION

As part of my preparations prior to starting my dissertation fieldwork, I began collecting preliminary information and reaching out to individuals who could provide guidance and assistance in the initial stages, both in terms of background information as well as in methodologies. This chapter begins by describing how many individuals provided assistance. The remaining sections outline the methodological models that resulted from these resources and served as a basis for my field research, as well as how they were implemented on the field.

3.1. INITIAL CONTACTS AND ASSISTANCE RECEIVED

Early on, I reached out to Jason Lobel, a Philippine linguist from the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa who has worked on over 100 Philippine languages during his 20 years in the field. Dr. Lobel, who is on this dissertation committee as the outside reader, has been working with me ever since, giving advice, information, and suggestions, and even spending some time with me on Bantayan to help me get started.⁸ He also introduced me to Dr. R. David Zorc, who in turn has given generously of his time and knowledge in helping me develop this dissertation.

It was also recommended to me by contacts in the Philippines that I contact Dr. Brenda Boerger at the SIL, which I did in 2015. She invited me to a workshop that

⁸ I also spent time with him in the Bicol region of the Philippines, doing elicitation among the Manide, which helped prepare me for such work in Bantayan.

summer on their campus in Duncanville, TX, during which she, Verna Stutzman, and Will Reiman were preparing a team for fieldwork on the Natügu language of the Solomon Islands. I received a \$900 grant from the Linguistics Program at Tulane to attend this workshop and pay for housing, and it was there that I was introduced to and trained in the Rapid Word Collection (RWC) method that we later employed on Bantayan.

In 2016 I received a Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowship to study “Filipino” (i.e., Tagalog) for eight weeks at the Southeast Asian Studies Summer Institute (SEASSI) at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, which gave me my first formal training in the grammar of Philippine languages. It was there that I met Dr. Michael Cullinane, a prominent historian of Cebu, and soon discovered we had close ties to the very same people in the town of Bantayan. He was extremely generous in sharing his time, knowledge, and research concerning the history of Bantayan, and much of what I have included in this dissertation is due to his assistance.

I also benefitted from correspondence with Dr. John Wolff, which helped me to prepare myself and organize this project. Trizer Mansueto of Mindanao State University – Iligan Institute of Technology assisted me in locating historical references relating to Bantayan, and Minda Carabio-Sexon provided me with her master’s thesis, which plays a significant part in the research for this project, and accompanied us⁹ when collecting video-recorded interviews.

⁹ This project being based on a collaborative research model, the use of plural pronouns in this chapter is purposeful when it refers to team efforts.

A crucial element to the success of what we have accomplished is the generosity of community leaders during the time I have been working on Bantayan. Both Mayor Arthur E. Despi and Mayor Ian Christopher G. Escario welcomed and gave the work their official approval. Mayor “Art” was in office during the time that most of the research was done, and his office contributed greatly to the project in terms of resources, and no request I ever submitted went unfulfilled.

3.2. DATA COLLECTION

Initial data collection consisted of informally interviewing people to become familiar with the Bantayanon-speaking area. My first meeting was with a prominent community member, Gal Miñoria, who provided me with much information about the recent history and economy of Bantayan. We also talked about the language and what makes it unique. My second important meeting was with Mary Frances “Frankie” Villacastin-Despi, wife of Mayor Arthur Despi, both of whom would play an integral role in helping coordinate the project logistically.

I also began collecting short lists of words from various people around the islands. For example, we collected words for familial relations from Kinatarkan Island¹⁰ and words for shells in the town of Santa Fe. For me, this served as an introduction to the phonetics and phonology of the language.

The data collection that followed was accomplished through video-recorded interviews around the islands, by mining various sources for data, by eliciting various

¹⁰ also spelled Kinatarcan, Quinatarcan, and Quinatarcan, and alternatively known as Guintacan

wordlists created for the Philippine context, and by organizing a modified version of the Rapid Word Collection method. I discuss each of these in the sections that follow.

Figure 2: Words for seashells in Bantayanon



3.2.1. Technological considerations

Audio data was recorded digitally in WAV format at a 48 kHz sampling rate and 24-bit quality with a Zoom H4n Pro Handy Recorder, usually with an Audio-Technica ATR3350iS Omnidirectional Condenser Lavalier Microphone, sometimes with the two built-in unidirectional condenser microphones or, in rare cases, an Audio-Technica ATR6250 Stereo Condenser Video/Recording Microphone (a “shotgun” microphone). Video data was recorded in digital MP4 format with a Sony HDR-CX405 Handycam with Exmor R CMOS sensor. The audio captured by the built-in microphone served as a

backup to the better-quality audio recorded by the Zoom H4n Pro, in case of human or machine failure.

We used two relatively recent model laptops, one of my own and another generously donated by my colleague Lisa Sprowls. (See section 8.1.2 for a discussion of the problems faced with the laptops during fieldwork.)

3.2.2. Oral performances

In November of 2016, several individuals in the community, Luper Fernandez, Joanna Hoylar and Levi A. Negapatan, helped me begin collecting video-recorded interviews around the area. Minda Carabio-Sexon and her husband, Dennis, assisted with several of these interviews as well. With the assistance of Mayor Despi, who provided a van and two assistants, Francisco “Boy” Sandalo and Jose “Padi” Batayola, we travelled around the islands interviewing community members about various topics, often spending the night on one of the islets. Topics included in the 37 interviews collected were fishing and fish vending, net mending, seaweed farming, crab fishing, bread making, carving of gravestones, local legends, historical narratives, and personal stories.

Ages of the interviewees ranged from a young lady of 16 to older community members of over 100 years old. Many of these older interviewees were located with the help of the municipal office for senior citizens. Other interviewees were identified by Frankie Despi and also with the help of the barangay (‘neighborhood’) captains after a meeting held with them in which I explained our goals and asked for their assistance.

The interviews ranged from a few minutes to over an hour long. For each of the interviews, participants were asked to speak freely about different topics. The idea was to capture language in a natural setting, as opposed to a setting where the respondent only

Figure 3: Meeting with barangay captains to ask for help in locating participants



responds to prompts and questions from the interviewer. Although I had prepared a list of interview questions, the interviews were generally not scripted. The interviewers were given wide latitude to allow the interviewees to speak about whatever they wanted.

Interviewees were asked first to introduce themselves: their names, ages, and occupations; why they had agreed to participate; why they thought the project was important; etc. This was mostly a warm-up to put them at ease about being recorded but also provided biographical and demographic metadata to be linked to the interview. It was hoped that, by the time they reached the storytelling part, any nervousness would subside and their speech would be natural as the conversation progressed. It did indeed turn out to be, after an adjustment for the *observer effect* (see 8.1.1).

Figure 4: Interview with Colasa Bawi-in in Madridejos



Figure 5: Interviews with Rosa Nobleza and Eulalia Bawal in Sulangan, Bantayan



Figure 6: Interview with Mary Jane Escaran on the islet of Panangatan, Bantayan



They were then asked to talk about some specific aspect of their society or culture for which they were particularly knowledgeable or to relate a personal experience. For instance, a fisherman was asked to describe a typical day of fishing or a particularly memorable day fishing; a carpenter was asked to describe the process of building a home; and a mother was asked about her hopes and dreams for her children.

Also, video-recording the interviews allowed for the documentation of non-verbal cues, such as gestures, facial expressions, interactions with others in the room, etc. As these videos will be presented on the website (see 3.3.4 below) and archived at the KDLA (see 3.3.1 below), the data will be available to future researchers.

One dilemma I did face early on was a particular difficulty caused by the *observer effect*, for which I subsequently had to adjust our methods (see 8.1.1 for details).

3.2.1. *Datamining*

Several sources were mined for linguistic data. The first, “Sinultian nga Inisla”,¹¹ is a Facebook group which bills itself as “A forum geared towards the preservation of Bantayan Islands dialects”. Created by Lindo Gigante and moderated by Harley Rivera Ruedas, both native Bantayanons, this informal discussion board contained, at the time of this writing, 3,415 members around the world. Members post questions on the board, asking for the Bantayanon equivalents of words in other languages, or vice-versa, and other members comment and expound. They sometimes reminisce about memories of Bantayan. A large number of words and meanings have been gleaned from this board that otherwise would never have been discovered, and I have on a few occasions posted on the board requesting clarifications of my own. This is truly a remarkable resource, as it is an in-depth discussion *of* Bantayanon *by* Bantayanons. It is an excellent example of what Rundell (2017) calls *user-generated content*.¹²

Pre-existing wordlists by Carabio-Sexon (2007) and Layague (2016) gave us a considerable head start on the collection of vocabulary. In addition, Jocelyn Abenido offered to go through Wolfenden’s (2001) dictionary of Masbatenyo for equivalent words in Bantayanon, which she did. Finally, Maria Luisa Labores provided a list of over a thousand glossed Bantayanon verbs that can be inflected by the verbal prefixes **mag-**, **mu-**, and **maka-**. The roots of these verbs in this list were added to the lexical data.

¹¹ <https://www.facebook.com/groups/1643035535951589>

¹² As distinguished by Rundell from *the wiki model* and *crowdsourcing proper*.

3.2.2. Elicitation of wordlists

The elicitation of a large number of pre-prepared wordlists also helped us to compile our initial lexical data for Bantayanon. In addition to a Swadesh list, I also elicited the following wordlists from David Zorc, specifically prepared for Philippine vocabulary, morphology, and syntax:

- “Linguistic Checklist 1967”¹³
- “Proto-Philippine Worksheet”¹⁴ (along with completed versions for Ilonggo and Waray-Waray, as examples)
- “Philippine Discourse Particles”¹⁵
- “Focus on Philippine Discourse”¹⁶
- published paper on a “Definitive Philippine Wordlist” (1974)
- a list of negative constructions “found to be relevant throughout the Philippines” (personal communication)

During a visit to Bantayan by Dr. Lobel, we discussed the project and together took the opportunity to elicit a 1,000-item wordlist for Philippine and Philippine-type languages he had developed. As work progressed and an increasing amount of data was collected, he and I developed shorter wordlists tailored to the investigation of some of the more linguistically-interesting aspects of Bantayanon phonology and grammar:

- elicitation list for *medial glottal clusters* (section 5.3.3)
- elicitation list for *demonstratives and deictics* (section 6.2.3)
- elicitation list for various items including
 - **dy, sy, ty, ts** (section 7.3.5);
 - intervocalic **h** and doubled vowels (section 5.3.2);
 - *l > Ø; *l > y (section 5.3.1);
 - *dimensional adjectives*;
 - other miscellany

¹³ [https://zorc.net/RDZorc/publications/002x=LinguisticCheckList\[1967\].pdf](https://zorc.net/RDZorc/publications/002x=LinguisticCheckList[1967].pdf)

¹⁴ <https://zorc.net/RDzorc/publications/007b=ProtoPhilippineWorksheet.pdf>

¹⁵ <https://zorc.net/RDzorc/publications/009=PhilippineDiscourseParticles.pdf>

¹⁶ <https://zorc.net/RDzorc/publications/008=FocusOnPhilDiscourse.pdf>

Luper Fernandez and I elicited these lists in various locations, which provided a great deal of data concerning variation in Bantayanon from various locations around the islands.

Something interesting occurred early in my stay on Bantayan, after I was introduced to Jocelyn Abenido, who later played an integral role in this project. In preparation for the project, I had acquired a book entitled *Fishers of the Visayas* (Ushijima & Zayas, 1994) in which there was a chapter entitled “Types of fisheries and the distribution network of fish catch in Bantayan Island” (Ushijima, 1994). In this chapter, the author, Iwao Ushijima, presented lists of the names of fish, fishing gear, and fishing methods in the Bantayan islands. When I showed this list to Mrs. Abenido, she told me that she recognized the work, because the author’s source was her late husband, Dioscoro Abenido, and his colleague and friend, Santiago Lazarte, both of whom worked for the Bureau of Fisheries.

Finally, field guides provided an opportunity to elicit vocabulary. These resources were particularly useful because they also provided the scientific names for the various species. With the help of Jocelyn Abenido, who through her late husband still had contacts at the Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources in Cebu, I visited their office and obtained a detailed list of the aquatic life found in the region, together with pictures. Luper Fernandez and I took this resource to a fisherman on the islet of Doong, Jose “Turok” S. Fernandez, and elicited the Bantayanon equivalents.

I also purchased a field guide for birds entitled *Birds of Bohol and Cebu* (Arribas Jr. et al., 2014), which Mr. Fernandez and I used in one of our interviews on Doong. That interviewee, a 104-year old citizen named Aurora de la Pieza told us that the island had

gotten its name from a migratory bird that used to frequent the island in times past.

Further research by Dr. Lobel (personal communication) shows that this explanation for the name Doong agrees with both Sanchez' (1711, p. 181b) definition in Old Waray (*doong, cierta ave Marina grande, garza Marina*. 'a certain type of large sea bird, sea heron') and Métrida's (1637, p. 222) in Old Ilonggo (*doong. el surgidero* 'one who appears' or 'transient visitor').¹⁷

3.2.3. *Rapid Word Collection and Singga Na!*

In terms of quantity, the most successful method of word collection for the dictionary was through the method of Rapid Word Collection (RWC), pioneered by Ron Moe (2001, 2003, 2013) at the SIL. Due to circumstances on the field, I developed a modified version of RWC that turned out to be very successful in our context, as I used it as part of *Singga Na!*, a conference in April of 2018, discussed below.

3.2.3.1. *History and development of RWC*

Almost two decades ago, Ronald Moe (2003, p. 216) noted that minority languages face a “daunting challenge” in developing formal lexicons: few or no published texts, professional lexicographers, or funding sources, all critical components in the creation of a lexicon. Additionally, the task has traditionally taken many years to complete. Moe estimated that “it frequently takes 20 years to produce even a modest dictionary”. Indeed, over lunch in Mandaue City, John Wolff reminded me that his Cebuano dictionary was “the product of eleven years work by more than a hundred persons” and that “[i]n the

¹⁷ The bird she described seems to be some type of Cormorant.

earlier stages of gathering, transcribing, and indexing materials a huge number of people participated, too numerous to mention by name. The entire dictionary through the final composed product was compiled from notes on index cards in the course of twenty-six months” (1972a, p. iii). Wolff’s dictionary contains about 25,000 entries and a post-production addenda of 700 additional forms.

The assumption of RWC is that words can be elicited more easily and in greater number when a speaker is provided with prompts organized by semantic domain.¹⁸ Around the time we were completing our word collection on Bantayanon, Boerger & Stutzman (2018) published an evaluation of the method, comparing it to results from other methods. For further information about the methodology, see Boerger (2017), Boerger & Aviel (2019), and the website at <http://rapidwords.net>.

3.2.3.2. *The Singga Na! summit*

Believing that the dictionary project would be an invaluable asset to the preservation of the Bantayanon language, history, and culture, Vince Escario, then Municipal Consultant on Tourism and Cultural Affairs, invited me to be the keynote speaker for the first Bantayan Summit for Language and Culture, entitled *Singga Na!* (‘Tell it!’), to be held from April 21-23, 2018, in association with Mr. Lutgardo Labad of Kasing Sining Bohol and the National Commission for Culture and the Arts Subcommittee on Cultural Education. This summit would bring together the teachers in the community to focus on issues of cultural preservation through education.

¹⁸ RWC uses the semantic domains outlined at <http://semdom.org>.

Figure 7: Excerpts from the letter to DepEd Supervisors for the Singga Na! summit

Re: Linguistic Documentation and Research in Bantayan: SINGGA NA: The 1st Bantayan Summit on Local Language and Culture, April 21-23...

As you may know already, the LGU of Bantayan is facilitating a very special summit this weekend: SINGGA NA, THE 1ST BANTAYAN SUMMIT ON LOCAL LANGUAGE AND CULTURE. The summit's aim is to explore the science of Lexicography as a valuable tool that will help us, the Bantayanon community, to better explore, understand and, hence, protect and preserve our unique local language and culture. We are partnering together with the Anthropology Department of Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana, to further these goals...

We believe that cooperation between the Bantayanon community and the research of Mr. Allen is a rare opportunity that we must seize upon. To that end, we are requesting your assistance in providing *emissaries* from the local schools to participate in the summit this weekend and to help facilitate a very special "word collection" effort that will enable us 1) to collect, from all over the island, valuable Bantayanon words for the dictionary and 2) to provide linguistic clues as to how the culture and lifestyle of the Bantayanon continues to evolve.

Specifically, we are asking that you send two (2) of your finest teachers and also recruit three (3) other *emissaries*, possibly from the PTA, to participate this weekend. We only ask that, if at all possible, those that you send be *tagaBantayan*¹⁹...

During the summit, Mr. Allen will do two things: 1) he will provide a number of very informative sessions on Lexicography and how it can be used to promote and protect the unique Bantayanon language and culture, and 2) he will train the *emissaries* in a very special "word collection" technique that they, in turn, will be asked to carry out in their respective baryos, thereby helping to fill the dictionary with the words of our beautiful language!...

In truth, one man or one small group could never collect all the words of our language in a timely manner. But, with all of us working together, it can surely be achieved! We believe that we have lost – and continue to lose – our culture and language as time moves on and the world changes. This is our driving motivation: if these words are not collected and recorded, they will one day be lost.

Together we proposed a training session the day before the summit and a "word collection workshop" to serve as the key activity for the summit itself. Mr. Escario and I

¹⁹ 'native of Bantayan'

composed a letter addressed to the supervisors of the two DepEd districts – Dr. Delia Cases (District I) and Mrs. Virginia Jubiar (District II) – which spelled out our plans for the summit and asked for their assistance in recruiting teachers. Excerpts from that letter in Figure 7 illustrate the purpose and organization of the summit.

Mayor Chris Escario’s office provided resources for the summit, including:

- two snacks per day for the participants
- use of the municipal gym for each day, including 30 tables with chairs
- a projector and a screen onto which I could project a PowerPoint presentation (Allen, 2018)
- physical materials:
 - 126 folders for the questionnaires
 - 6 dozen black and 3 dozen red ballpoint pens
 - a printout of the entire questionnaire (559 pages) and 2200 copies of the response form
- any available field guides or books on the flora and fauna of the central Philippines
- the use of a table in a secure area for coordinating the outgoing collection teams

The following represents my initial description of how the process would work, according to the methodology of RWC:

Community members will meet together and divide into groups of five: a group leader and four others. The prompt from each of the 1800 semantic domains will have been printed on a single sheet of paper, and these 1800 semantic domain forms will be distributed evenly to the groups. The prompt will be read to the group, and the group then has 10 minutes to brainstorm all the words that come to their minds, based on the prompt given. The group leader records the words brainstormed.

For example, although we expect many more than this, if 30 community members met together each day at the workshop, they would be divided into 6 groups of 5 each, and each group would be given 300 forms. If each group spent 10 minutes on each semantic domain and worked for 5 hours per day (we will allow for 6), then they would complete 30 semantic domains in a day. With 6 groups working, then the entire collection of semantic domains would be completed in 10 days. Furthermore, the more community participation, the faster the semantic domains would be completed: i.e., with 60 community members (a distinct possibility), the 1800 semantic domains would be completed in a single week.

While I was on Bantayan doing field work in 2018, it became apparent that this methodology would not be feasible in our context for several reasons. The primary reason was that it was too difficult to find enough people from various demographics and areas of the islands to commit to attendance for 10 days. Transportation issues and other commitments such as work responsibilities left only a small number of people able to commit. One alternative idea was to see if a larger number of people could commit to shorter periods of time, instead of having everybody come every day, but that did not work either.

However, the *Singga Na!* summit provided the opportunity to accomplish the same goals by modifying the process. Instead of organizing a group of community members to meet together for one or more weeks, the folders were divided up among the teachers who attended the conference, after they were trained in the process. We called them “emissaries”, as they then took the questionnaires to their respective communities and elicited the words themselves from community members, whom we called “participants”. Teachers who attended and completed these corresponding field activities earned certificates of credit towards their continuing professional development. This innovation was advantageous for our context because it provided capable and motivated individuals who elicited the words from areas all over the islands among various demographics of age, education, occupation, etc.

To prepare for the collection process, Luper Fernandez and I downloaded the following documents from the RWC website (all SemDom v4):

- “RWC Questionnaire”
- “Response sheet”
- “Folder Divisions”
- “Folder Labels”

I then customized the Response sheet for our needs. To be able to distinguish between forms filled out by the same or different consultants, I changed “Participants (initials)” in the header to “Ages of Participants”, and, after the “Date” and “Time” that the collection began, I added “Barangay”, in order to provide useful data for dialectal purposes. For the column titles, I changed “Word or Expression” to “Bantayanon Word or Expression” and “English Gloss” to “Cebuano Gloss” to ensure more accurate glosses. See Appendix B: for the form used.

Next, I e-mailed the document files for the needed documents to the mayor’s office, who, as mentioned above, printed out 2,200 copies of the customized Response sheet and the roughly 600 pages of the RWC Questionnaire (to which I had added line breaks in order to split the pages to be inserted individually into the folders).

The next task was to make a single folder for each of the 126 primary divisions of the Questionnaire, as delineated by the Folder Labels document. The pages of the Questionnaire were then placed in their corresponding folders, and an appropriate number of response sheets were included. Each semantic domain was checked off on the Folder Divisions printout as it was accounted for in the folders. See Appendix A for three randomly-chosen examples of the questions/prompts from the Questionnaire.

During the summit, there were sessions for training and for practice. The emissaries-in-training greatly enjoyed the process and the experience. They caught on easily and very much enjoyed the conversations about unique and funny words that many had forgotten over time. Many even learned new words they had never heard before.

Figure 8: Introductory session before Singga Na! summit



Figure 9: Practice session during Singga Na! summit



At the end of the summit, the folders were divided up among the emissaries, each taking four or five folders. Many of the folders were specifically chosen based on the expertise available in the areas where they would be eliciting words. For example, the semantic domains related to fish and fishing were taken to areas where there were lots of fisherman. The emissaries were reminded to write down every word they received, even if they had never heard it before, and to make sure to represent it orthographically as it was given to them by the participants. If they collected any words that were uncommon or otherwise problematic, they were asked to attempt to get a Cebuano gloss at the same time and to place it in the second column on the response sheet.

After a few days, the folders began to trickle back in to the “command center” we had set up in the Tourism Office next to the municipal gym. When the emissaries returned their folders, they were given their certificates. By the time I left Bantayan on that visit, not all of the folders had been returned, but Luper Fernandez later tracked them all down.

The next task was completed by a young man, Mark Jovem V. Pasco, who performed the laborious task of typing (or, in Philippine English, “encoding”) the tokens into the WeSay software installed on one of the laptops. Before the RWC collection, there were a little over 2,000 words collected; when he finished, we had 10,213 tokens. However, he also reported that many of the response sheets had been left blank, and, once these are completed, the number of tokens will be greater.

3.3. DATA MANAGEMENT, SYNTHESIS, ANALYSIS, & PRESENTATION

3.3.1. *Data management & archiving*

At the end of each day's data collection, two copies of all files from the audio and video recorders were made, organized into folders and saved, one onto a portable hard drive (which was not taken into the field for safety purposes) and one onto the main laptop used in the field. The files copied onto the laptop were subsequently synchronized to an off-site server, Dropbox, to which only Judie Maxwell and I had access.

All audio and video data files will be stored indefinitely on the portable hard drive on which they were first backed up. Once the processing is complete, these files, along with annotations and interlinear glosses, and the corresponding metadata, will be publicly archived at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa's *Kaipuleohone Digital Language Archive* in the same quality and format in which they were originally recorded. OLAC-compliant metadata was also collected for all files and will be included with the archived data. This data includes, but is not limited to, the speaker's initials, gender, age, occupation, and town of residence, as well as the location and date of the recording.

Scans of the IRB-required informed consent forms have been made and stored as well. Those names are listed in the LIST OF INTERVIEWEES page in the front matter above.

After being entered into the online dictionary, copies of all the written data will be made and the originals will be given to the community to be stored indefinitely in a location to be determined by the mayor of Bantayan, possibly in the municipal library. The data entered will remain indefinitely on the website server, accessible through the online dictionary interface.

3.3.2. *Transcripts & videos*

The processing of the transcriptions of the interviews includes three stages. The first is the transcriptions of the interviews, in which the dialogue is transcribed *verbatim*, without any editing or alterations to the actual words spoken. In the second stage, another individual double-checks the transcriptions for accuracy. Lastly, a *clean* version is produced using the orthographic principles and based on correct sentence structure and punctuation. After processing, the *clean* versions will then be scanned for words and structures not included in the dictionary, and an English translation will be provided for the future production of interlinear grammatical analyses.

Rosemarie Teaño began the work by typing in many of the interviews, segment by segment, into the SayMore software installed on the laptops. A number of transcripts of the video-recorded interviews were also provided by Maria Luisa N. Labores, a longtime English teacher in Bantayan. Seven interviews were selected as best representative²⁰ of the Bantayanon language and given to her on an mp3 player. She painstakingly transcribed each of them by hand.

Work was begun on entering these transcriptions into the software installed on the computers, namely the ELAN software, a widely-used “annotation tool for audio and video recordings.”²¹ However, due to many current challenges – primarily the difficulties encountered with the laptops and the 2019 coronavirus, or COVID-19, pandemic –, this work is ongoing. Two tasks remain for the transcriptions of the interviews.

²⁰ see section 8.1.1

²¹ <https://archive.mpi.nl/tla/elan>

The first is to finish typing the transcripts provided by Mrs. Labores. This work is currently being accomplished by Esther Aringoy, a PhD student at MSU-IIT who was raised in Bantayan. Esther is volunteering her time and effort to type the transcriptions into a shared online document in three columns: the “verbatim” version, the “clean” version, and the English translation. It should also be noted that Ms. Aringoy hopes to participate in the Bantayanon research in the coming years.

The second remaining task is to complete the transcriptions of the remaining interviews. This will be a long and laborious task, and funds will be needed to accomplish it. The current plan is for me to return to Bantayan this summer (2022) and coordinate the completion of this task.

Once the transcriptions are finished, the videos will be edited, provided with Bantayanon and English subtitles, and published to the Bantayanon LDP website at <http://bantayanon.ph>.

3.3.3. *Software & CollaLex SaaS*

The software used in this project included FieldWorks Language Explorer (FLEX) and WeSay for the lexicographic data and SayMore and ELAN for transcriptions of the video interviews. Language Depot was used as a cloud service to store and sync the lexicographic data. However, because of a number of challenges faced with the laptops and the software, I worked with Rebecca Moore at Tulane to develop a web-based software application that would serve our purposes better.

At the same time that I was working on Bantayan, my colleague Rebecca Moore was working in Guatemala among the Kaqchikel. We soon realized that we were facing many of the same challenges related to equipment and software:

- availability and cost of computers to all participants,
- constant data conflicts caused by intermittent synchronizations,
- loss of data caused by equipment failure,
- the various locations of the participants,
- the inability to use the software on a Mac computer,
- software updates that do not always go well and older computers that can't support them,
- the overly-technical nature of the software for many participants,
- and the slowing-down of the software as the lexicon grows.

Because of this, we decided to develop a website that would overcome these challenges. This site is now known as CollaLex SaaS. *CollaLex* is short for *Collaborative Lexicography*, and *SaaS* is the acronym for Software as a Service, “a cloud-based service where instead of downloading software [to] your desktop PC or business network to run and update, you instead access an application via an internet browser.”²²

CollaLex SaaS overcomes the aforementioned difficulties by running completely through an internet browser. This allows users from anywhere in the world to collaborate in real time to edit their lexicon and effectively eliminates all of the issues mentioned above. All a user needs to have is access to an internet browser, whether on a phone or a tablet; on a desktop computer at home, at a friend's house, at the library, or at an internet café; or at a workstation set up by the project.

Another unique feature of CollaLex (termed *CollaLex Live*) is the ability of a language documentation project to connect their website to the data on a central server, giving them the ability to display the progress of their dictionary development on their own website in real time.

²² <https://www.techradar.com/news/what-is-saas>

In 2021, Ms. Moore and I received a grant of \$900 from the Foundation for Endangered Languages to help begin the process of developing the software.²³ We presented our results at the annual conference in Tirana at the end of the year, and we found that several other researchers were interested in using the software for their own projects. Currently, a team of Computer Science students at McNeese State University in Lake Charles, Louisiana –Virsy Vardhani, Alex Mallett, and Pratchi Roy – under the leadership of Professor Jennifer Lavergne, is working to continue the development of the software.

For more detailed information about CollaLex SaaS, see <https://collalex.com>.

3.3.4. *The Bantayanon Language Documentation Project website*

The Bantayanon Language Documentation Project (LDP) is developing their own website at <http://bantayanon.ph>. When accessing the site, people first see a welcome message from Mayor Despi in Bantayanon and English describing the project. Other pages do the following:

- explain what the project is all about,
- provide for information about the language itself,
- showcase the interview videos with captioning,
- link to resources about the Bantayanon language,
- and provide a link to how people can contribute to the project.

The content of each page is presented by individuals who make posts to the site in each section. These posts are still being developed.

The primary page on the website, however, is the Bantayanon online dictionary. This page is fully functional and links to CollaLex Live (see 3.3.3 above), allowing users to

²³ <http://www.ogmios.org/grants/2021announce.php>

search for Bantayanon words and view their English glosses and definitions, as well as other relevant lexicographic details. The connection to CollaLex Live means that all of this data is updated in real time as it is edited on the CollaLex software by the participants in the project.

Chapter 4. THE BANTAYANON LANGUAGE

Bantayanon (ISO 639-3: BFX) is the native language spoken on and around the central Philippine island of Bantayan by the native-born among its 144,116 inhabitants (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2015). See section 1.4 for a fuller description of the island and its people.

Several lines of inquiry may inform the diachronic and synchronic analyses of the language of the Bantayan islands: 1) *historical data* that shed light on migration patterns and/or events and the linguistic geneology of the language, 2) *primary data* – e.g., linguistic fieldwork, live chats, official documents, correspondences or literature – written in the Bantayanon language, and 3) *secondary data* – i.e., any grammars, dictionaries or other language-related works – written “about” the language.

First, there are a small number of mentions in Spanish-era documents that may help shed light on the migration patterns by which the Bantayanon-speaking islands were populated and what their speech variety was at a particular point in time. This information, coupled with a comparative and reconstructive linguistic analysis, places us on firm footing as to how Bantayanon developed into the speech variety it is today.

Second, unfortunately no known primary data written in Bantayanon is known to exist. For what I believe to be reasons of language ideology and civil administration over the centuries in Spanish, English, Cebuano and Tagalog (referred to administratively as

“Filipino”)²⁴, my efforts to locate historical documents, personal or official correspondences, ecclesiastical records or literary compositions have proven fruitless. Without any data of this sort, the only primary data of Bantayanon is what we have collected as part of this research.

Finally, there has been a small number of attempts to document Bantayanon that have consisted almost completely of short amateur wordlists. However, more considerable and commendable scholarly efforts have been made by Carabio-Sexon (2007), Gigante & Ruedas,²⁵ and Layague (2016). These sources provide a great deal of synchronic, but little to no diachronic, data on the Bantayanon language.

In this chapter, I discuss these sources of linguistic data on Bantayanon. I then finish with a discussion of this particular speech variety today, particularly in sociolinguistic and anthropological terms.

4.1. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Since the arrival of the Spanish, the Bantayan islands have administratively always been part of the Province of Cebu (as it developed in the late 16th century) and within the Diocese of Cebu (established in 1598). Indeed, the first mission station outside of Cebu

²⁴ Filipino is the official name of the national language of the Philippines, but in actuality it is not a separate language from Tagalog (see Wolff (2006)). For the purposes of this dissertation, the language name used will be Tagalog, except in cases where it is referred to specifically in its role as the national language. For a history of the development of Filipino, see Gonzalez (2002).

²⁵ This is the “Sinultian nga Inisla” Facebook group presented in section 3.2.3.

City²⁶ was established there on June 11, 1580 (Bersales, 2013, p. 298).²⁷ While the Augustinian friars were initially assigned to Bantayan, their mission was abandoned in the early 17th century, with these islands becoming a secular jurisdiction for the remaining Spanish colonial period. Over the centuries, the people of the Bantayan islands – and their language – have been influenced by Cebuano and Ilonggo migration, as well as the administrative influences of the Spaniards, the Cebuanos, the Americans, and even the Tagalogs.

However, tracing the development of Bantayanon in the early years is difficult. Lacking primary data on the history of the Bantayanon language, it is informative to attempt, as best as possible, to trace the history of the people of the Bantayan islands in order to pinpoint the linguistic influences that have helped shape it.

²⁶ Cebu can refer to both the island, the surrounding province, or its principal city, depending on context and historical period. When ambiguity arises herein, I will indicate to which I am referring.

²⁷ Michael Cullinane (personal communication) suggests that research into ecclesiastical parish records may provide insight into the speech patterns of the Bantayanons by determining the languages of the priests being sent to Bantayan by the bishop of Cebu, since vernacular-speaking friars were being sent out to the local communities, and Bantayanon was not considered a separate language at the time. He points out that, by the 1830s, the bishops were requiring the seculars to submit reports, which are stored in the Archdiocesan Archives of Manila, and that the Archdiocese of Jaro (Ilonggo-speaking) was only established in 1865, then occupied by a bishop in 1868, after which time Bantayan was no longer connected to the Ilonggo region administratively. It remained under the Archdiocese of Cebu, where the two priestly languages were Cebuano and Samar-Leyte. He says that it would therefore be informative to know what language these friars were speaking (which could be determined by examining their last names) and what language the Mass was being performed in. Did he only ever send Cebuano-speaking priests, or was there ever a period in which he sent Ilonggo-speaking priests to Bantayan? This information could provide insights into whether the vernacular was a factor in the bishop's choice of priests and, if so, could indicate if he considered Ilonggo or Cebuano to be more easily understood by Bantayanons. By the 19th century, the bishop was sending Cebuano priests, but he may have simply been assuming that the Bantayanons could understand Cebuano, adamant that they should understand Cebuano, un-informed as to the vernacular, or unconcerned with that vernacular. This is an excellent topic for further study.

4.1.1. Spanish-era literature

Bantayan is mentioned intermittently in several works from the Spanish period (1565-1898),²⁸ and from these mentions I find a few hints about the populating of the island. Based on what is mentioned in these works, a narrative arises to inform the origins and evolution of the language. The earliest mention of Bantayan seems to be in 1582 from Miguel López de Loarca, who had accompanied Legazpi's expedition (Newson, 2009, p. 40):

... the Island of Bantayan...has **around one thousand natives**,²⁹ and it and the Island of Bohol mentioned above are under one encomendero. (1903, p. 54, translation and **emphasis mine**)

Nine years later, in 1591, Gomez Perez Dasmariñas put the population much higher:

BANTAYAN: *Minor son of Gamboa*³⁰ – The minor son of Gamboa collects, in Bantayan, one thousand six hundred and eighty-three tributes, which represent **six thousand seven hundred and thirty-two persons**. It has both justice and instruction. (1903, p. 131, translation by editors, **emphasis mine**)

In 1601, Gonzalo Ronquillo de Vallesteros and others write to the king of Spain to complain that, after a successful military campaign to conquer the kingdom of Mindanao, Doctor Antonio de Morga had authorized Don Francisco Tello, “without considering the state in which this matter lay, or reflecting upon the injuries which might result from

²⁸ Magellan landed in the Philippines in 1521 but was subsequently killed in Cebu. Spain did not have consequential permanent settlements in the Philippines until Miguel López de Legazpi, under the reign of King Philip II, established the first in Cebu in 1565 and a second on Panay in 1569, later conquering Manila in 1571.

²⁹ For the sake of clarity, Loarca used the Spanish term *indio*, which corresponds with the English term *indian*. *Indio* is a term which the Spaniards used to differentiate the natives of the Philippine islands from what they at that time called *Filipinos*, who were full-blooded Spaniards born in the Philippine islands. For this reason, I have opted for the more accurate “native”.

³⁰ The “Minor son of Gamboa”, according to the Dasmariñas’ preface to the account, would have been the *encomendero*.

issuing such orders as they did . . .,” to send Don Joan Ronquillo “an order to dismantle the fortifications of the said island, without leaving any fortified station, and to tear down the forts which your Majesty held there.” It was, according to the letter, due to this misdeed that the natives “from the said islands of Ufanos”, perceiving fear on the part of the Spaniards, “assembled, with others from other neighboring kingdoms, to come to work havoc in the lands of [his] Majesty”. Vallesteros writes,

Accordingly, in the past year of 1600 they came with a fleet of many vessels to the Pintados³¹ provinces, which are subject to your Majesty; and in the region known as **Bantayan they burned the village and the church, killed many, and took captive more than eight hundred persons.** (1904, pp. 237–239, translation by editors, **emphasis mine**)

After leaving, they did likewise on Panay. The Spaniards would launch a counter-campaign, but this was the first recorded episode of the slave raids perpetrated by the southern Philippine sultanates that would plague the island for centuries. These raids significantly affected the population of Bantayan. The Jesuit friar Pedro Chirino writes:

These enemies about whom the Father speaks are natives from the island of Mindanao, that conspire with the islands of Ternate and the Moluccas, where the sect of Muhammad is professed. Out of that people was formed an armada of 60 small ships that, descending upon those islands, subject to the government of Manila, did great damage in the year 1600. They **destroyed the Island of Bantayan and the river of Panay, where they burned the churches. They sailed the coastlines of other islands, stealing and killing, and ended up taking captive 1,200 souls.** (1604, pp. 156–157, translation and **emphasis mine**)

Later, in 1630, Juan de Medina writes:

These islets of Bantayan are many, all low and very small. The largest is the said one that, when they gave it to us, had many people, all of them of a quite nice appearance, tall and gallant. **But now, with the continuous invasions from Mindanao and**

³¹ “Pintados” was a term used to refer to the sometimes heavily-tattooed Bisayans.

Sulu,³² **they are very few.** And, in order to be able to settle down,³³ years ago we left this convent, **which had more than a thousand natives...**After we³⁴ left it, it has been in the hands of those with benefices, who, although having done their duty as zealous men, it has not been possible to do more, being at risk. **A great carnage has been what the above-mentioned enemies have made in these islands, taking captive an even greater number,** because they have nowhere to hide, and, as promptly as those in Cebu are notified, when rescue arrives, the enemy has already vanished. (1893, p. 137, translation and **emphasis** mine)

He also expresses his mistaken belief (1893, p. 482) that, upon the founding of the Augustinian convent on Bantayan in 1581, that they were speaking Cebuano (while referring to the vernacular on Panay as “Bisaya” on the preceding line). This is the earliest mention of language usage on Bantayan, and, if taken at face value, would give the impression that Bantayanons were speaking Cebuano even five centuries ago. However, when discussing Medina’s naming of the different languages in the region, Cullinane (2021, personal communication) points out, “I doubt if he was ever really there, but as a leading Augustinian, [he] got it in a report”. It is further unlikely, based on other data, that many Bantayanons were speaking Cebuano in 1581. It is more likely that Medina (like many after him, up to the present), lacking first-hand exposure to the language of the island, mentioned “Cebuano” simply because Bantayan was part of the province of Cebu.

The first mention of the actual origins of the people who first populated Bantayan comes from the Spanish historian and Jesuit missionary Ignacio Alcina, who wrote in 1668,

³² “Jológ” in the original, a rendition of the original name “Sulug” for what is now referred to in English as “Sulu”.

³³ literally, ‘in order not to have to live with our packs on our backs’

³⁴ i.e., the Augustinians

Finally, it could have happened that people from various larger or smaller islands passed over to the others, as is an established fact among them. For instance, those on the Island of Bantayan, which is near Cebu, **are actually descendants of the people living on Samar Island and on the western side or opposite that of Ibabao.**

Today, they admit that they are related by blood due to the fact that the latter were populated in more recent times. (2002, pp. 78–79, translation by editors, **emphasis mine**)

This and other passages written by Alcina would therefore indicate that some form of Old Waray was the original language spoken by the first inhabitants of Bantayan Island.

According to Cullinane's notes (2016, personal communication), Felipe Redondo y Sendino states that Bantayan was opened to Christian missionaries as early as 1580 under the Augustinians, but the parish records only go back to 1836.

Local legends say that during the administration of Gobernador General Don Juan Cerezo de Salamanca (1633), people from Kandaya (Daanbantayan), Kanjagas (San Remigio), and Bogo came to settle on what is now the island of Bantayan, mainly at barrio Sillon,³⁵ under the leadership of Dacandang; "a few months" later, people from Panay came to the opposite shore where the poblacion³⁶ is located today, under their leader Capitan Puragtong; the main reasons for these migrations at this time were Moro raids; Moros were a major threat and walls and towers were built all over³⁷

In the parish registers of the second half of the 19th century, Cullinane has found evidence of migration between the 1830s and the 1860s from Ilonggo-speaking Capiz to Bantayan,³⁸ which coincides with the integration of Cebuano priests onto the islands.

³⁵ Sillon is a barangay on the eastern side of the island, facing Cebu island.

³⁶ The *población* is the Bantayan town center on the western side of the island, facing Panay island.

³⁷ *Historical Data Papers* for Bantayan c. 1953. These papers have changed names since they were reviewed by Cullinane. However, they seem to still be archived under the original name at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa on Microfilm 831. The website for the Hamilton Library describes them as "Histories and customs of Philippine communities compiled by local public school teachers in response to an executive order issued by President Macapagal in 1951, and retained in the National Library's Filipiniana Division, Local history collection." I have attempted unsuccessfully to obtain copies from the library, most likely due to Covid-19 restrictions.

³⁸ The most famous of which is probably Capitan Tawi Rubio (Bersales, 2013), who built the church in Bantayan and whose descendants are still found in the town today.

To summarize, the Spanish documents provide little information as to the origins of the Bantayanon language. What does seem evident is that the original inhabitants arrived from the Eastern Visayas speaking some form of Old Waray, that they originally numbered only in the thousands, and that there were significant population shifts on and off the island during the 1600s, due to both migration and attacks and slave raids.

It was during the Spanish period that orthographical development began for the languages of the Philippines, with the work of the Spanish priests, who studied the major regional languages and produced grammars and dictionaries. Although those first orthographies were based on Spanish – and would need to be updated for the Philippine context in the coming centuries – in the process, they were the ones who provided the Romanized alphabet that has been used to write Philippine languages ever since.

4.1.2. *The American period*

In 1903, soon after the American victory in the Philippine-American War, General Joseph Prentiss Sanger directed a census of the Philippine islands (Sanger et al., 1905). Bantayan Island is recorded therein as having a population of 18,325, with a population density of 390 per square mile (p. 30). All of Bantayan's population was considered Christian (or "civilized") as opposed to "wild" (p. 123): 13,324 for Bantayan town, 4,025 for Santa Fe, and 3,127 for Madridejos (p. 129).³⁹ He breaks down the demographics for the island as in Table 7:⁴⁰

³⁹ These figures are broken down further into *barrios* on pages 156, 157, and 159. For reasons I was unable to determine, they do not match the total for Bantayan Island.

⁴⁰ Several other breakdowns are interesting. He also lists figures by age, marital status, education level, literacy, and occupation.

Table 7: Sanger's demographic breakdown of Bantayan Island, 1905

<i>Civilized population, classified by color and sex, by principal islands⁴¹</i>						
BANTAYAN	Brown	Mixed	Yellow	White	Black	Total
Male	8869	16	29	1	0	8915
Female	9394	16	0	0	0	9410
Total	18263	32	29	1	0	18325

Cullinane (personal communication) argues that, during the American period (1898-1946), the Cebuano language actually flourished and began to standardize its own orthography through the work and publications of Vicente Sotto, Carlos Everett Conant, Mariano Albao Cuenco, and, later, Vicente Rama, these men helped Cebuano further refine its orthography and move towards a more consistent usage. There had been no vernacular newspapers when Sotto began publishing the newspaper *Ang Suga* (1901-1911), which led in turn the Church's publication of *Ang Camatuoran*. Conant was an American orthographer and linguist⁴² who came to the Philippines during the Philippine-American War and, with Sotto, wrote an influential Cebuano dictionary.⁴³ In 1921, Rama changed the name of *Nueva Fuerza*, the Spanish-language periodical, to *Bag-ong Kusog*. These influential figures helped develop and standardize Cebuano vocabulary and orthography.

⁴¹ The using of the color terms for demographics is today extremely inappropriate; I have reproduced them here as he presented them. On page 44, he explains that "brown" is the majority of the population, "yellow" are the Chinese and Japanese, "mixed" are those from mixing with Chinese, Spaniards, and Americans, and "black" are discharged soldiers of African-American war regiments. From pages 251 and 282, it can be deduced that the "yellow" men on Bantayan were born in China and that the "white" man was born in Spain.

⁴² He was also a founding member of the Linguistic Society of America (LSA).

⁴³ Conant's dictionary, written with Sotto's collaboration, was never published.

At the same time, similar movements were progressing in Iloilo. In 1913, the first newspaper in Ilonggo (Hiligaynon)⁴⁴, *Makinaugalingon*, was founded by Don Rosendo Mejica, and a printing press was later begun with the same name. In 1934, the *Hiligaynon* magazine, which would remain in publication until 2019, was first published in the vernacular (although it was printed in Manila).

Newspapers were sold by subscription. By 1930, literate Bantayanons must have begun to see the importance of literacy in the the local languages and had probably begun reading *Bag-ong Kusog*.⁴⁵ With the new vernacular publication movements, people were also now being encouraged to write in regional languages, as early as the first decades of the 20th century. Indeed, two articles written in Cebuano by Bantayanons about Bantayan (Escario, 1941; Villkrim, 1930) were published in *Bag-ong Kusog*. This was good, in the sense that Bantayanons were seeing the value of literature and were being exposed to writing in Philippine languages, but it may also have been a negative, in that it probably reinforced the notion that only Cebuano and Ilonggo were appropriate for that literature.

The above development of Cebuano and Ilonggo writing and publications in the early 20th century must have exerted a tremendous influence on the speech patterns of the Bantayanons and likely marks the beginning of (or at least a rapid acceleration of) the replacement of earlier Bantayanon vocabulary by forms from Cebuano.

⁴⁴ *Ilonggo* is the autonym for the language referred to academically as *Hiligaynon*. It is the language spoken primarily on the eastern coast of Panay (including in Iloilo City) and the western half of Negros (including in Bacolod City). Henceforth, I will refer to the language as *Ilonggo*, except when quoting from others.

⁴⁵ I have been unable to determine whether they were reading publications from Cebu or from Iloilo, or both.

4.1.3. *Linguistic reconstruction*

Lobel's unpublished research and analysis indicates that the reconstructed linguistic development of Bantayanon lines up with the narratives received from the Spanish-era historians. He argues that modern Bantayanon is based on the grammatical substratum of an Old Waray dialect which was gradually overtaken by migrations of, and contact with, speakers of Cebuano, with the result being a lexicon heavily borrowed from the latter. His data and analysis show that the vast majority of what most believe to be Ilonggo borrowings in Bantayanon are actually inherited from an Old Warayan dialect spoken by a group of people who migrated across from western Leyte to northern Cebu (i.e., in the area of Bantayan), some of whom later migrated across to eastern Panay, where that same Old Warayan dialect was overtaken by loans from Kinaray-a (still the most widely-distributed language on Panay island outside of the eastern coast) and became modern Ilonggo. The original speech variety of the Bantayan islands is hence based on what that Old Warayan dialect was before it mixed with that of the native Karay-a peoples of Panay and became modern Ilonggo. After centuries of development *in situ*, Bantayanon was later overwhelmed by Cebuano vocabulary and morphology, a further stage in its development, but that pre-Cebuano Warayan substratum remains, and not all of it can still be found in modern Ilonggo (although, according to Lobel, most of it was still present in the Old Ilonggo documented by Fr. Métrida in the early 1600s).

4.2. EXISTENT DOCUMENTATION

When I first began this project, I was led to believe that there was no extant literature on the language and that I would be starting from scratch. Thankfully, this turned out to be incorrect.

4.2.1. *Modern literature and resources*

There are to date at least four significant recent contributions devoted solely to Bantayanon, all of which have been very helpful for our purposes, presented here in order of discovery on my part.

The first is the Facebook group “Sinultian nga Inisla” presented in section 3.2.1.

The second, “Bantayanon: A Lexical Comparison and Sociolinguistic Description”, is a Master of Arts thesis by Minda Carabio-Sexon (2007), in which she looks at the lexical relationship between Bantayanon and its neighboring languages, presents findings from mutual-intelligibility tests with related languages, and provides a sociolinguistic profile of the island’s inhabitants, including an analysis of Bantayanon’s speech domains. She also provides transcriptions and English translations of two of her collected interviews, which was very useful for this dissertation.

The third, “Bantayanon: Notes on the History of a Mixed Language of the Central Philippines” is a detailed analysis by Lobel (unpublished), in which he combines Spanish historical documents with his own extensive linguistic analysis of other Visayan languages to trace Bantayanon historically from its origins, and place it in context alongside the numerous other languages of the Visayas. He also provides copious examples of the historical sound changes he describes therein. This paper provides the primary analysis on which large portions of my own analysis in this dissertation are based, although in certain aspects my analysis and/or presentation may diverge slightly. Lobel is also a member of my dissertation committee. Henceforth, unless otherwise noted, any citation of Lobel should be understood as referring to this paper.

Next is a very extensive dictionary created and updated over the years by the laborious, attentive work of Bantayanon educator Mario B. Layague (2016). It was only by way of a passing comment from an acquaintance of his that I was made aware of his significant contribution to the documentation and preservation of the Bantayanon language. I performed a keyword search of Layague's dictionary, which revealed individual entries for at least 2,477 nouns, 1,258 verbs, 7,48 adjectives, 24 pronouns, 17 conjunctions, and 11 prepositions, for a total of approximately 4,535 unique entries. Discovering Layague's contribution was akin to finding gold on a remote tropical island. Mr. Layague is now a prominent member of this project, and our work is considerably more comprehensive due to his involvement.

More recently I have become aware of the first book to be published in Bantayanon. *Kinhas: Mga sinwat sa sinultihan sang Santa Fe, isla sang Bantayan*, edited by Jessrel E. Gilbuena (2021) is a collection of poems, short stories, and plays presenting the communal voice of the people of Santa Fe in their own dialect. The book features collected stories that portray people's varied experiences and issues around the community. It sold out quickly in its first printing, and efforts are currently underway to raise funds for another printing.

4.2.2. *Mentions in academic literature*

A number of modern linguists have mentioned Bantayanon in their works. Wolff calls it a "widely aberrant" (1972a, p. vii) form of Cebuano. Zorc calls it the "Bantayan Island

dialect”⁴⁶ and describes it thusly: “Bantayan I[sland] has a native dialect which, although replete with loans from Cebuano, shows its closest linguistic affiliation with some members of the [Central Bisayan] subgroup..., particularly [Masbatenyo] and [Hiligaynon].” (1977, p. 27) and briefly mentions its vocalic inventory. He also states,

In addition to such contact outside of Bs,⁴⁷ there has been much contact among the Bs dialects themselves. Two Bs speech types ([Cebuano] and [Hiligaynon]) have become major Philippine trade languages, which have been used by missionaries in their sermons and by teachers in the classroom. This state of affairs gives [Cebuano] and [Hiligaynon] – and, hence, the forms in those dialects – a certain prestige which leads to the replacement of native forms by the more prestigious forms. Besides this, the fact that most Bs communities have engaged in trading and fishing leads us to conclude that the names of many items of trade and culture were carried to or brought from sister dialects and distant languages and have since spread throughout the Bs and [Central Philippine] area. In cases of long-term contact this obscures either the distance between genetically remote languages or the proximity of genetically close dialects (if one has borrowed a foreign form while the other retains the inherited or innovated form).

The greatest amount of such distortion noted among the Bs dialects surveyed are the influence of [Cebuano] upon [Bantayanon], ... and of [Hiligaynon] upon [Kinaray-a] (and, to some degree, of [Kinaray-a] upon [Hiligaynon]). (1977, p. 29)

It is important to note that as Bantayanon was one of four languages for which Zorc had only abbreviated data sets, he notes on five occasions the inability to make certain assertions about Bantayanon. Both Llamzon (Llamzon, 1978, p. 25) and Lobel (2013) follow Zorc in classifying Bantayanon separately from Cebuano and together with Ilonggo in a Central Bisayan subgroup.

Lobel (2013) also makes frequent mention of Bantayanon in his extensive work on Philippine and North Bornean languages. Noteworthy mentions include that Bantayanon,

⁴⁶ Note that he referred to all of the speech varieties he covered by the term “dialects”, which should not be misconstrued as claiming that all of the Bisayan speech varieties are dialects of a single language.

⁴⁷ i.e., Bisayan

like Cebuano and other languages influenced by it has metathesized the infix <um> to prefix **mu-** (p. 41) and that some dialects of Bantayanon still contrast /ʔC/ and /Cʔ/ clusters (p. 263).

In his description of Utudnon, Rubino (2005) notes that BTY **kakyúp**⁴⁸ ‘yesterday’ is cognate with UTU *kakuyóp* and WAR *kakulóp* (p. 329) and that BTY **puyá** ‘child’ is cognate with UTU *pujá*, Abuyog Waray *puya*, and Porohanon *puza* (p. 333). Lobel notes that both *kakulup* and *puya* were also found in seventeenth-century Old Ilonggo.

In their pedagogical treatise on Cebuano, Bunye and Yap (1971a, p. xv) are accurate, if not precise, in their assertion that Cebuano is spoken on Bantayan and the Camotes islands.⁴⁹ More precisely, Cebuano is *spoken* on islands of Bantayan – for it is the provincial *lingua franca* and most Bantayanons understand and can speak it – but it is not *the native language* of Bantayan. Their description, along with the use of references to Bantayan in a myriad of their textual examples, gives the false impression that Cebuano is the only language native to Bantayan.⁵⁰

4.2.3. *Extant literature on related languages*

There is a significant amount of work published on the Philippine language type, as well as the individual Philippine languages that surround and have influenced Bantayanon. The following have published extensively on language groupings, semantic

⁴⁸ which he writes as **kakyóp**

⁴⁹ See Wolff (1967b) for a discussion of Cebuano on the Camotes islands.

⁵⁰ I personally believe that oversights such as this, as well as the ones previously mentioned, are due to the assumption that Cebuano is the language of the islands of Bantayan (possibly reinforced by locals who are not aware otherwise, because Bantayanons speak Cebuano when living in or visiting Cebu) and a resulting lack of investigation.

domains, and typologies of related languages in the Philippines from a historical and comparative perspective:

Blust (1991, 1994, 2001, 2005, 2013, 2014, 2019), Blust & Trussel (2013, 2020), Himmelmann (2005b, 2005a, 2008, 2016), Llamzon (1969, 1978), Llamzon & Martin (1976), Lobel (2004, 2013), Reid (1971, 1994, 2002), Reid & Liao (2004), Wolff (1967b, 1970, 1973, 2005), Zorc (1972, 1977, 1986, 1993, 2015)

As for the surrounding languages, descriptive and comparative works that have provided insightful background and analytical frameworks include (in order of genetic relationship to Bantayanon, closest first):

for Ilonggo (Hiligaynon): (Corradini, 2009; Fernandez, 1973; Gaitan-Bacolod, 2003; Meman, 1990; Métrida, 1894; Motus, n.d., 1971b; Peace Corps, 1968; Ruiz, 1968b, 1960, 1968a; Santos, 2013; Solis, 1969; Spitz, 2001, 2003; Uy-Griño, 1969; Wolfenden, 1971, 1972, 1975)

for Masbatenyo: (Lee, 2006, 2008)

for Waray-Waray: (Diller, 1971; Ezguerra, 1747, 1949; Paguio, 1969; Tayao, 1961)

for Cebuano: (Anderson, 1965; Andress & Daday, 1994; Bell, 1976, 1978, 1992; Bunye & Yap, 1971a, 1971b; Flores, 1962; Hsieh & Tanangkingsing, 2006; Interchurch Language School, 1963b, 1963d, 1965, 1963a; Llido, 2006; Luzares, 1977, 1978, 1979; Meman, 1993; Metillo & Laidig, 1996; Morey, 1961; Newton, 1991; Parnes, 2011; Pesirla, 2012; Pielago & Gonzaga, 2010; Shryock, 1993; Sityar, 2000; Tanangkingsing, 2009, 2013b, 2013a; Tanangkingsing & Huang, 2007; Tecson, 2014; Trosdal, 1971, 1990, 1995; Valkama, 2000; Walters, 1995; Wolff, 1966, 1967a, 1970; Yap, 1977)

Text analyses include:

Bloomfield (1917) and Wolff (1962)

Discussions of the topic/focus/voice system of Philippine languages include:

Blust (2002), De Wolf (1988), French (1987), Hidalgo (1970), Himmelmann (2002), Kelz (1996), Kess (1976, 1979), Kroeger (1993b, 1993a, 2010), McKaughan (1958, 1970, 1973), Parnes (2011), Payne (1994), Reid (1992b), Schachter (1973, 1976, 1996), Shibatani (1988), Spitz (2002), Starosta et al. (1982), Wolff (2002)

In addition to the common wordlists such as the 100- and 200-word⁵¹ Swadesh lists (1950, 1952, 1955, 1971)⁵² and the 372-item SIL list, Lobel has his own unpublished 1,000-item list, recently expanded to 1,800 items. Published discussions and presentations of relevant wordlists for Philippine languages include:

Conklin (1951), Department of Education Culture and Sports & The Summer Institute of Linguistics (1979), Interchurch Language School (1963c), Reid (1971), Zorc (1974)

I have also located various works that contain lexicographic information relevant to particular semantic domains:

Arribas Jr. et al. (2014), Blust (1994), Calderon-Hayhow (1994), Fadriquela (1978), Ferlus (2010), Herre (1927, 1953), Herre & Umali (1948), Jordan & Richardson (1910), Madulid (2001, 2005), Umali (1950b, 1950a), Ushijima (1994)⁵³

Finally, a massive number of publications on a large number of other Philippine languages are downloadable online from SIL Philippines.⁵⁴ For an extensive list of titles on Philippine linguistics, see Johnson's (1996) *A Bibliography of Philippine Linguistics*.

There is much work still to be done on Bisayan languages. The majority of linguistic work in the Philippines to this point has been in the areas on and around Luzon (in the north) and Mindanao (in the south) where the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and other groups have been very active. The Visayas have received considerably less attention over the past half-century.

⁵¹ As they are commonly referred to, but, more precisely, Swadesh's four lists contained 215, 200, 100, and 101 words, respectively.

⁵² For obvious reasons, no glottochronological analysis is included in my work.

⁵³ The late husband of one of the Bantayan women who participated in the the project was a major contributor to the Bantayanon list of fishes contained in this publication.

⁵⁴ <https://philippines.sil.org/resources>

4.2.4. Dictionaries

I have dedicated this separate section to the discussion of relevant, related dictionaries, since it is central to this dissertation. Although varying in quality and size, the dictionaries mentioned here provided not only models for layout but also clues to actual usage and accurate glossing in our dictionary. Bilingual dictionaries with glosses in English include (in order of genetic relationship to Bantayanon, closest first):

for Ilonggo (Hiligaynon): (Kaufmann, n.d.) (Motus 1971a) (Uy-Griño 2005)

for Masbatenyo: (Wolfenden 2001)

for Waray-Waray: (Tramp Jr. 1995) (Ortiz, n.d.) (Rosa, Alcazar, and Tramp 1999)

for Cebuano: (Wolff 1972a, 1972b) (Cabonce 1983) (Trosdal 1990) (Ruijter 1967) (Estorco, n.d.)

for Tagalog: (English 1986, 2008)

Dictionaries glossed in Spanish and other multilingual dictionaries include (in chronological order):

(Méntrida 1637) reprinted as (Méntrida 1841) *for Ilonggo and Spanish*

(Encarnacion 1885) *for Cebuano and Spanish*

(Hermosisima and Lopez Jr. 1966) *for Cebuano, English, and Tagalog*

(SIL 1980) *for Tboli, Pilipino, and Ilonggo*

(Quirino Jr. et al. 1987) *a simple, but large, glossing wordlist for English, Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilocano, Ilonggo, Bikol Naga, Waray, Kapampangan, Pangasinan, Maranao, Maguindanaon, and other languages*

(Guilingan et al. 1992) *for Central Subanen, Cebuano, Tagalog, and English*

(Alcantara 1997) *for Ilonggo and Tagalog*

(Abuyen 2005) (Tungol, n.d.) *for English, Waray-Waray, and Tagalog*

(Kintanar-Alburo 2009) *for Cebuano, Ilonggo, and Waray-Waray*

For an extensive list of Philippine language dictionaries, see Hendrickson and Newell's (1991) *A Bibliography of Philippine Language Dictionaries and Vocabularies*.

Lastly, I want to discuss two of these dictionaries in particular, both because they have been indispensable in this dissertation and because we have referred to them constantly in our development of the Bantayanon dictionary. We have relied primarily on Wolff's (1972a, 1972b) classic two-volume *A Dictionary of Cebuano Visayan* and on Uy-Griño's (2005) more recent *Diksyonaryo-Dictionary Hiligaynon-English, English-Hiligaynon*, for they are the most complete, accurate, and informative modern representations of two of Bantayanon's closest and most influential relatives.⁵⁵

Since its publication, Wolff's dictionary has been the gold standard of Cebuano dictionaries. No modern scholar of Bisayan languages disputes its authority, and no serious attempt has been made to supersede it. In addition to the original print copies, it is in the public domain, and has been made available for download online, along with a searchable online version (Hellingman, 2012), and a software application has also been developed for the Android mobile operating system in which the complete text is available (Hellingman, 2015). For our purposes, Wolff's dictionary is the default reference for all Cebuano forms included in our dictionary, and it likewise provided a framework by which to present the grammar sketch of Bantayanon. When possible, any Cebuano gloss in our dictionary is provided in the form found therein, and all senses were first checked against his dictionary before proceeding. This is not to say that every entry

⁵⁵ Note that in the context of analyzing the historical development of Bantayanon, Lobel relies heavily on Métrida's (1637) *Bocabulario de la Lengua Bisaya-Hiliguayna y Haraia de la Isia de Panai y Sugbu, y Para las Demas Islas* and Ezguerra's (1747) *Arte de la Lengua Bisaya de la Provincia de Leite*.

lined up correctly, or that all Cebuano glosses provided by the Bantayanon community were in full agreement with Wolff, but, on the rare occasions when this did occur, a note was provided accordingly. We have also followed Wolff in the use of a three-vowel orthography. Unless otherwise noted, any reference in this dissertation to Wolff is to this dictionary.

The late Uy-Griño's dictionary of Hiligaynon is a masterpiece of lexicographic scholarship. It is well-researched, beautifully presented, and completely accessible to both the average user and an advanced language student. It is more concise than Wolff's, due mainly to having included fewer examples in her entries, and is also more recent, having been published in 2005. She describes her dictionary as a "long overdue" (vii) reference for Hiligaynon (Kaufmann's seminal *Visayan-English dictionary - Kapulúñgan Binisayá-Ininglís* having been published over seven decades earlier), restricted to words that are "functional in Hiligaynon areas", as opposed to Kaufmann's inclusion of both Ilonggo/Hiligaynon and the various dialects of Kinaray-a spoken in Iloilo province. Indeed, in the process of this dissertation, I have noticed that Kaufmann and Uy-Griño diverge on occasion, notably on where stress is marked in a number of entries. Because Bantayanon is more closely related to Ilonggo – and because Uy-Griño's presentation is so accessible – we have relied on this dictionary for assistance in correctly defining Bantayanon words, used it as a model for our own in terms of presentation, and referred repeatedly to the extensive grammar sketch contained therein for guidance. Unless otherwise noted, any reference herein to Uy-Griño is to this dictionary.

4.3. LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

Attempts by local speakers to define the Bantayanon language linguistically yield various results. Bantayanons generally, but incorrectly, consider their language to be a “dialect”⁵⁶ of Cebuano or a “mixture” of one or more other larger languages in the region. Many perceive it to be a dialect inferior to what they consider a “pure” form of Cebuano, due primarily, I believe, to the fact that Bantayan is located administratively in Cebu and because Cebuano has been encroaching heavily on the local language for decades.

Others describe it as simply a mixture of two or more of the surrounding languages, usually Ilonggo, Masbatenyo, Waray-Waray, and Cebuano. Eslao-Alix’s description of Bantayanon is typical of this view:

Living in [sic] an island removed from the bigger mainland of Cebu resulted in an unusual dialect which is a *mélange* of words from the different provinces that have contributed to its population. The dialect consists of words from the dialects of Iloilo which is aptly called Ilonggo; Waray from the province of Samar, Cebuano from mainland Cebu; Kinaray-a from Antique; some words from Tagalog and some from the dialect of the Masbateños. What the Bantayanons speak now is a very charming, albeit peculiar mixture of all these dialects. (2014, p. 116)

4.3.1. *Is Bantayanon a “mixed” language?*

Indeed, Bantayanon is a “mixed” language, due primarily to what Lobel calls “the complicated history of migrations in the Visayan Islands over the past 500 years”.

However, the idea that it is a product simply of mixing is inaccurate historically. The answer to the question of how it should be classified linguistically is not straightforward;

⁵⁶ This is typical of the Philippines and hardly unique to Bantayan.

honestly, nor is the literature on the precise definitions of the terms (see Hickey, 2010; Matras & Bakker, 2003 for a full discussion). What can be said definitively is that Bantayanon is not a pidgin or a creole nor an “intertwined” language.⁵⁷

This question is complicated further by the fact that the grammatical system (phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax) is largely the same across the Bisayan languages, so the only significant differences often lie in the lexicon. Therefore, one Bisayan language could not be distinguished from another based on grammar, nor could one superstratum significantly affect the grammar of a substratum. However, because the grammatical differences are few, where they do exist they can provide significant evidence for genetic relationships, alongside lexical comparisons and known historical migration patterns. As will be shown below, Bantayanon is more closely related to Ilonggo than to Cebuano, and we see this in the BTY,ILO **sing/sang** genitive case marker distinction, as opposed to CEB *ug/sa*.⁵⁸

In the final analysis, Bantayanon is a unique Central Bisayan language, whose genetics and grammar most closely resemble Ilonggo (both having developed independently from the same source), whose lexicon has been profoundly influenced by waves of migration from Ilonggo- and Cebuano-speaking areas (among others) and from Spanish and later American governance, and which is currently losing ground to Cebuano, English, and Tagalog.

⁵⁷ See (Bakker, 2003) who describes *intertwined languages* as languages that “show a clear dichotomy of the lexicon and the grammatical system: the lexicon is of a different origin than the grammatical system (syntax, morphology, phonology).”

⁵⁸ See Zorc (1977) and McFarland (2004).

4.3.2. Genealogical classification

At least since Zorc's (1977) seminal classification of the Bisayan languages, linguists have recognized Bantayanon as, at minimum, a unique speech variety. More recent research has demonstrated it to be unique among its closest relatives, which are all classified as *Austronesian* > *Malayo-Polynesian* > *Philippine* > *Greater Central Philippine* > *Central Philippine*. Based on his own research, but drawing on previous classifications, Zorc further classifies Bantayanon with the Central Philippine subgroup as *Bisayan* > *Central Bisayan* > *Peripheral*, albeit only tentatively, due to the lacunae in his data. Figure 10 shows how Zorc (1977, p. 32) classifies Bantayanon in relation to the related languages discussed herein, beginning at *Central Philippine*:

Figure 10: Zorc's classification of Bantayanon and associated languages

<i>Tagalog</i>	—————			Tagalog
<i>Bisayan</i>	<i>Cebuano</i>	—————		Cebuano
<i>Bisayan</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Warayan</i>	Waray / Samar-Leyte	
<i>Bisayan</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Peripheral</i>	Masbatenyo	
<i>Bisayan</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Peripheral</i>	Bantayanon	
<i>Bisayan</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Peripheral</i>	Hiligaynon (Ilonggo)	
<i>Bisayan</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Kinarayan</i>	Kinaray-a	

In its 10th edition (1984), when it first began listing dialect names, the Ethnologue listed Bantayanon as a dialect of “Hiligaynon”. When I contacted him in early 2018, Charles Fennig, the Managing Editor, was unable to locate any written documentation indicating how this determination had been made, other than citing Zorc (1977). William

Hall, an SIL linguist with 60 years of experience in the Philippines, points out (personal communication) that in the early 1980s, the Visayas was one of the areas in the Philippines where detailed survey work of minority languages was lacking, and that there was a push to recruit and train surveyors for the task. The major languages of the Visayas were already known, and the language grid they were using “was fine for more general language identification and classification”, but it may not have been sensitive enough to accurately account for the linguistic situation in the Philippines.

Later, in the late 2000s, after a formal investigation of Bantayanon, and after having the proposal approved “by a panel of both SIL linguists and outside linguists at SIL-Philippines in July 2009”, Lobel and Hall (2009) argued that it is indeed a unique language and petitioned the Ethnologue to list it as such and to assign it its own ISO code. Their arguments that its having been listed as a dialect of Hiligaynon (Ilonggo) was “an unsupported error” were the following:

- It is not mutually intelligible with Ilonggo.
- Its speakers do not consider themselves or their language to be Ilonggo.
- Ilonggos in turn do not consider it to be Ilonggo.
- No published works have argued that it is a dialect of Ilonggo.

The Ethnologue removed it accordingly and assigned it the ISO 639-3 code BFX.⁵⁹ After having been listed in the 10th through the 16th editions as a dialect of Hiligaynon (Ilonggo), the change was made in the 17th edition (2014). The language is currently classified therein as *Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Greater Central Philippine, Central Philippine, Bisayan, Central*.

⁵⁹ As the Ethnologue lists thousands of languages, many of which have similar names, “it is not possible to provide identifiers that resemble a language name in every case”, as mentioned by Lobel and Hall on the *Request for New Language Code Element in ISO 639-3*.

4.4. SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION

4.4.1. *Dialects*

A more complete analysis of where/if isoglosses can be drawn on Bantayan and the surrounding islets has not been attempted for this dissertation. However, it is clear from my fieldwork that there is abundant dialectal variation. The three geographical dialects we have identified are the dialects of Bantayan town (Binantayanun, BTYB), Madridejos (Linawisanun, BTYM), and Santa Fe (Sinantapihanun, BTYS). Words used on the island to describe to me the rhythm (or “tune”) of the dialects are “**lánay**” (‘drawn out’, ‘melted’) for BTYS, “**tíg-a**” (‘hard’) for BTYB, and “**ábi**”, a filler word commonly associated with Madridejos, for BTYM.

The dialect on the island that gets the most commentary for its distinctiveness is the dialect of Santa Fe, which is said to have a singsong quality and a “different tune”. Jessrel E. Guilbuena of the Cebu Normal University is working on documenting and describing the dialect of Santa Fe in the coming years. He describes the dialects thusly:

There is a difference in accent among the three towns. Binantayanun and Linawisanun, though, are quite close, but there is still a distinction. The Sinantapihanun accent is indeed “lanay”, softer, compared to the other towns’ accents. In Santa Fe, we tend to prolong parts of words in different syllables. (personal communication)

It is reported that older people and people who inhabit the islets speak a “purer” Bantayanon, which Lobel and I have found to be accurate, in the sense that their speech is both more conservative and less influenced by Cebuano. There is a similar distinction between the dialects of the town centers and that of the barrios, what can be referred to as a contrast between Lungsuranun dialects (BTYLS) in the town centers and Baryuhanun dialects (BTYBR) elsewhere. The distinctions can cause a great deal of controversy

between what is considered “proper” or “correct” and what is seen as lowbrow, perceptions which are usually at odds with the varieties that are more linguistically conservative versus those that are recent developments.⁶⁰

4.4.2. *Domains of Use*

As is typical in many parts of the Visayas, the domains of language use on the Bantayanon-speaking islands are not clearly defined, especially from an outsider’s perspective. With Tagalog (or “Filipino”) and English being the official languages of the Philippines and the official languages of instruction in the schools nationwide, with Cebuano being the regional language used as the language of local administration and the language of instruction in the first three years of elementary education, the local vernacular is overshadowed in public settings. Likewise, public notices and signs, restaurant menus, price tags at the market, church schedules, etc. are all in one of these three Languages of Wider Communication (LWC). Bantayanon has never been considered a language of literacy, so that official documents and personal correspondences have always been in either Spanish, Cebuano, or, more recently, English or Tagalog. I myself have only rarely seen Bantayanon written publicly, usually just a few words on a handwritten sign.

4.4.3. *Vitality Status*

As mentioned in section 2.2, the Ethnologue has adopted the EGIDS in place of its 2009 vitality categories, under the category “Language Status”. Their Language Status

⁶⁰ Indeed, one person emphatically remarked to me once about *baryuhanun* speech patterns, “Those people just make stuff up.”

for Bantayanon until recently has been *6a Vigorous* (Simons & Fennig, 2017), most likely due to the fact that the language is fairly ubiquitous on the island and is being transmitted intergenerationally. However, I am not in full agreement with this assessment.

When Lobel and Hall (2009) submitted their “Request for New Language Code Element in ISO 639-3”, requesting that Bantayanon be reclassified as a language separate from Hiligaynon (Ilonggo), they indicated on the form that Bantayanon was a “living language”, that the population was 71,600 in 2007, and that Lobel had personally researched the language as one of 180 languages for which he had conducted extensive fieldwork. Lobel and Hall provided no information concerning “Language Development and Use”, nor did they provide any recommendations as to the vitality status of Bantayanon; their arguments were purely linguistic and historical in nature. Consequently, no support was offered for its classification as “*6a Vigorous*” which is a much more optimistic assessment than my own after having lived on the island for a considerable amount of time, researching the language in depth, and having numerous conversations about that topic.⁶¹

However, recently the Ethnologue seems to have recognized the need to point out where their data is insufficient to justify certain classifications. After I began my research and the writing of this dissertation, the 22nd edition was released in 2019, and an asterisk

⁶¹ There is no indication that either Lobel or Hall actually argued for the “*6a Vigorous* classification”. Likewise, while the fact that Lobel had personally researched the language *in situ* as one part of his impressively extensive fieldwork is remarkable, his research would not have addressed the question of language vitality because his research is almost exclusively historical and reconstructive, not sociolinguistic or anthropological, and therefore based on the elicitation of strategically-created word lists. His research and expertise would have put him on the firmest of ground to argue against Bantayanon being a dialect of Hiligaynon, however.

was added after the status, so that it now reads *6a* Vigorous*. In a post on the Ethnologue's website, Simons explains,

We are introducing the use of an asterisk as a modifier on an EGIDS estimate to indicate that it represents our editorial best guess in the absence of explicit information about the presence or absence of language shift. Thus 5* or 6a* indicates a language that we think is most likely to be vigorous, while 6b* indicates a language that we believe is most likely to be losing speakers. These judgments have been made by comparing the population of the language in question to the populations of all the other languages in the same country or region for which there was explicit data for assessing the language as being vigorous or as beginning to shift. The end result of this reanalysis is that some 400 of the languages previously assessed at level 5 or 6a have been moved down to 6b* in this edition. This impacts the worldwide picture as the gap between the larger 6a category and the smaller 6b category is now considerably narrower. We believe this to be more in line with the reality of the status of the world's languages and the growing rate of language shift occurring in all corners of the globe. This change in editorial policy constitutes an important step towards avoiding what we feel was an unduly optimistic tone in our previous reporting.⁶²

Indeed, I have already argued (Allen, 2019), that classifying Bantayanon as *6a Vigorous* is an inaccurate assessment. As Eslao-Alix herself states:

The combination of different languages truly makes the Bantayanon's speech distinct from any other Visayan dialect. What is sad to note is that less and less [sic] people seem to speak this dialect.⁶³ Because of the influx of migrants from the mainland and the great number of Bantayanons living in [sic] the mainland, especially in Cebu City, less and less [sic] Bantayanons speak their particular dialect. This is so sad because their dialect sets them apart in the Visayas region. It is something to be proud of and not to feel awkward about. (2014, p. 117)

Following the flow of questions from the EGIDS (see section 2.2.1), it is more accurate to say that Bantayanon is *6b Threatened*:

⁶² <https://www.ethnologue.com/ethnblog/gary-simons/welcome-22nd-edition>, dated Feb 21, 2019

⁶³ Note that Filipinos typically, but imprecisely, refer to any language other than the national language (Tagalog/"Filipino") as a *dialect*, usually including even other regional languages with millions of speakers such as Cebuano, Ilonggo, Waray-Waray, Bikol, and Ilokano. As mentioned earlier, Bantayanon, a minority language, even has its own dialects: Binantayanun (Bantayan), Linawisanun (Madrirdejos), and Sinantapihanun (Santa Fe), each having its own dialectal variation between the rural areas and the town centers.

Are all parents transmitting the language to their children? Many, if not most, are, but not all by any count. The majority of parents who are passing it on are in families who live outside of the town centers. In the town centers primarily, however, the speech of the young people is more and more indistinguishable from Cebuano.



NO

What is the youngest generation with proficient speakers? It is true, fortunately, that the language is still being passed on to many, if not most, of the children, albeit in increasingly diluted form. The teachers I have worked with report to me that their kids come to school in the initial years with the double duty of having to learn the Cebuano of the textbooks in order to learn to read.



CHILDREN

6b Threatened. The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children.

Although the classification of *6b Threatened* seems more accurate to me, based on my observations and data, I would correct it, in the case of Bantayanon, to read,

6b Threatened. The language is used orally by [many, if not all, members of] all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children [in an undiluted form].

If the language is still being transmitted intergenerationally, it is also losing ground to Cebuano in the process. Older members of the community lament the speech patterns and language attrition of the younger generation. The “purest” forms are said to exist today only among the elderly and among those who live outside the town centers or on the more isolated islets surrounding Bantayan Island.

The vitality status of Bantayanon is threatened additionally by an MTB-MLE policy in the first three grades of elementary school in which Cebuano is used as the “mother tongue” instead of Bantayanon, i.e., the pedagogical materials and the language of instruction (LOI) are in Cebuano. Current policy in the Philippines dictates that the

“mother tongue” be used as the LOI for grades 1 to 3.⁶⁴ Bantayanon is not used for two reasons. First, since Bantayan is part of Cebu administratively, it is often wrongly assumed that the mother tongue of Bantayan is *ipso facto* Cebuano, the recognized regional language. Also, although current policy allows for the use of local languages as the LOI in the early grades, pedagogical materials in Bantayanon are non-existent, so the Cebuano schoolbooks produced by the regional government are used instead. The implicit message, therefore, to a child using a Cebuano textbook to learn to read and write in their “mother tongue” is (1) that Bantayanon is not a real or unique language, and (2) that it has no educational or economic value to the student. The corollary to that message therefore is that the children would be better off and better prepared for life if they were to learn and use Cebuano (itself only a stepping stone in the transition to full Tagalog and English instruction from the fourth grade onward). The practical effect of this is that the students are not learning Bantayanon formally and its value is not being reinforced. This is a major – if not the primary – factor in the attrition of Bantayanon among younger speakers.

⁶⁴ for all subjects except Filipino and English. Also, instruction in Filipino and English is resumed from grade 4 onward.

CHAPTER 5. PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

Because there is not a great deal of phonetic or phonological variation among the Bisayan languages, I studied the existing literature on the surrounding regional languages in preparation for my description of Bantayanon. My research on the sounds of Bantayanon was guided and informed primarily by Zorc (1977) for the Bisayan languages generally and the following: Wolfenden (1971) and Uy-Griño (2005) for Ilonggo, Wolff (1972a) and Pesirla (2012) for Cebuano, and the previously cited introduction to Bantayanon by Lobel (unpublished), based on data collected during his extensive surveys of Philippine and North Bornean languages.

In this chapter, I will present the consonantal and vocalic phones (phonemes, allophones, and non-native phones) of Bantayanon speech and speech patterns, not all of which are represented in the orthography of the language, for various reasons that I will elaborate on. I will also discuss morphophonemic alternations (the homorganic nasal and other phonological changes resulting from affixation) in Bantayanon. I will finish by discussing the most salient cases of both diachronic and synchronic sound changes and the implications they have on perceptual dialectology across the various dialects of the island group, as well as on the development of the pedagogical literature and the dictionary. Only relevant questions of orthography will be discussed in this chapter, as Chapter 7 discusses orthographic questions in detail.

While traditional linguistic conventions in the Philippines have employed other means (primarily diacritics) of representing otherwise unwritten phonological features,⁶⁵ I have chosen herein to use the standard symbols and conventions of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) (International Phonetic Association, 2015) to present the words, their pronunciations, and their meanings. Terms and descriptions are based on Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996) and Ladefoged and Johnson (2010). The primary reason for this is for the benefit of those who are not familiar with Philippine linguistic traditions.

Words are presented in the orthography as proposed in this project (see Chapter 7) for the dictionary and in **bold** type, while adding an acute accent for stress (not marked in the orthography). Word-initial glottal stops are not marked. Phonetic (narrow) pronunciation guides, if necessary, follow in [brackets], with stress marked according to IPA convention with a raised vertical line (ˈ) before the stressed syllable and syllables are divided with a period (.). Wordforms in other languages are in *italics*, and glosses in English are in ‘single quotation marks’.

5.1. PHONEMES AND ALLOPHONES

The inventory of *consonantal* phones of Bantayanon can be divided into 3 categories: native phonemes, environmentally-conditioned allophones, and non-native phones. The *vocalic* phones can be grouped into native phonemes and non-native phones. These sounds are presented in Table 8 and Table 9 below, which chart each of these phones

⁶⁵ Orthographies in the Philippines do not mark stress and only mark glottal stops in limited positions. However, it has been conventional historically to mark stress (with an acute accent) and glottal stops (with a hyphen or a grave accent) on the wordform itself, thus not needing to present a separate pronunciation guide for the words being described.

according to place and manner of articulation and voicing (for consonants) and tongue position (for vowels), respectively.

The *native phonemes* are the sounds that can be considered indigenous to Bisayan languages and, by extension, to Bantayanon. These sounds 1) are contrastive and 2) cannot be considered to have been adopted from non-Austronesian contact languages, usually Spanish or English.

The *environmental* or *dialectal allophones* are the variations of native phonemes, usual in rapid speech, that occur regularly in and only in their particular environments and diverge from their corresponding phonemes in their manner of articulation, place of articulation or voicing. In other words, these do not include allophones that can be described more precisely by the use of diacritics; these will be presented in the descriptions of the individual phonemes.

The *non-native phones* are always found in adopted words and either 1) are used idiolectally in free variation with the native sounds or 2) occur in a small number of words that have been adopted without adaptation or accommodation, hence they have become phones of Bantayanon. In the case of the latter, this small group of words are the ones we have chosen generally not to respell.

All effort has been made to reconcile the assertions in this chapter with existent literature on Bantayanon and related languages, and, while the accuracy of these authors is never in dispute, where there are divergences, it is simply that I have striven for slightly more precision in my descriptions.

5.1.1. Consonants

The following table presents the consonants⁶⁶ of Bantayanon.

Table 8: The consonantal phones of Bantayanon

	LABIAL		CORONAL			DORSAL		LARYNGEAL
	bilabial	labiodental	dental (apical)	alveolar (apical)	post- alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
plosives or stops	p	b	t	d			k	g
nasal		m		n			ŋ	
trill				{r}				
tap or flap				r				
fricative		{f}	{v}	s	(ʃ)		(x) ⁶⁷	h
affricate ⁶⁸					(tʃ) (dʒ)			
central approximant						j	w	
lateral approximant				l				

Symbols in **bold type** are native phonemes that are represented in the orthography.

Symbols to the right in a cell are voiced, to the left are voiceless.

Symbols in parentheses () are environmental or dialectal allophones.

Symbols in curly brackets { } are non-native phones.

The term *plosive* is used here for what is often referred to as a *stop*, and, like the vast majority of Philippine languages, stops in Bantayanon are unaspirated and are unreleased in coda (syllable/word-final) position. The non-native phones /f/, /v/, and /r/ only appear in the speech patterns of educated people whose speech is highly influenced by English. Finally, the symbols marked in bold represent the phonemes in IPA, not necessarily the graphemes used to represent those phonemes in the orthography.

⁶⁶ All consonants are pulmonic, as there are no non-pulmonic sounds in Bantayanon.

⁶⁷ Many speakers of Bantayanon exhibit a fricative pronunciation of intervocalic /k/ in words like **aku** ‘I, me’. I was never able to precisely determine what conditions it, although it does appear to be idiolectal. What conditions it warrants additional investigation.

⁶⁸ Ladefoged and Johnson (p. 43) point out that “if we were to include [affricates] in the table, we would have the problem of deciding whether to put them in the palato-alveolar column (the place of the fricative element) or in the alveolar column (the place of the stop element).” I have chosen here to place them in the post-alveolar column because, in Bantayanon, 1) the plosives /t/ and /d/ are not alveolar, and 2) it is palatalization that conditions them and /ʃ/ as allophones, meaning the three are most appropriately discussed together.

5.1.1.1. Labial consonantal phones

All native Bantayanon labial phonemes – /p/, /b/, /m/ – are bilabial.

/p/ voiceless bilabial plosive	puyá	‘child’
	ílup	‘build a fire’
/b/ voiced bilabial plosive	báybay	‘sand’
	kubkúban	a type of boat
/m/ bilabial nasal	lamî	‘tasty, appealing’
	áhum	‘mole’ (on skin)

As is the case in most Philippine languages, when Bantayanon adopted words from Spanish, the Spanish *f* /f/ and *v* /b/ ~ /β/ were adapted⁶⁹ to **p** /p/ and **b** /b/, respectively.

- (1) **pamílya** < SPA *familia* ‘family’
- (2) **báka** < SPA *vaca* ‘cow’

Today, the only labiodentals – /f/, /v/ – are non-native fricatives used by some speakers in words adopted from English, generally idelectally, as fluency in English (or English-like pronunciations) is often viewed as a marker of social status. Thus, we have words like:

- (3) **písbul** < ENG *fishball*
- (4) **bakyum** < ENG *vacuum*

However, words continue to be adopted from English, and those who pronounce adopted English words with /f/ and /v/ are generally those whose speech is highly influenced by English (usually due to education and mass media, and often deliberately used as a marker of education and social class). Since this is a feature of English interference in the speech patterns of only a relatively small number of speakers, these

⁶⁹ The term *adaptation* (or *phoneme substitution*) refers specifically to a phonological process by which the phoneme is replaced by its “nearest phonetic equivalent” in the adopting language (Campbell, 1999, p. 61).

labiodental fricatives are not used in the orthography nor in this present description, i.e., they are not considered Bantayanon phonemes.

5.1.1.2. Coronal consonants

Native Bantayanon coronal phonemes are also *apical*, meaning that they are articulated with the tip, as opposed to the blade (i.e., *laminals*, as in English) of the tongue at the place of articulation. Those that are apically articulated on the upper teeth are the *dentals*: /t/, /d/, and /n/. In English, these phones are articulated slightly behind and without actually touching the teeth and are therefore *alveolars*.

/t/ voiceless apical dental plosive	tágù	‘hide’
	dágat	‘sea,ocean’
/d/ voiced apical dental plosive	dáman	‘nightmare’
	tinú-ud	‘true’
/n/ apical dental nasal	nípà	‘nipa palm’

The native alveolar coronal phonemes in Bantayanon are /ɾ/, /s/, and /l/.

/ɾ/ voiced apical alveolar tap	irû	‘dog’
	rila	‘small motorcycle jeepney’
/s/ voiceless apical alveolar fricative	sarâ	‘now, today’
	isdâ	‘fish’
/l/ voiced apical alveolar lateral approximant	lihúk	‘move’ (of body)
	kagú-ul	‘loneliness’

The non-native trill /r/ is also present in the speech of some older, educated Bantayanons, probably due to the lingering effects of Spanish.

The post-alveolar coronals in Bantayanon are /ʃ/, /tʃ/, and /dʒ/. They are *environmentally-conditioned allophones* of /s/, /t/, and /d/, respectively, when adapted from SPA or ENG *s*, *t*, *c*, or *d* before *i* or *u* (or when palatized by the “Byay Effect”, discussed in 5.3.1). The underlying /sj/, /tj/, and /dj/ are generally realized as **sy** /ʃj/, **ty** /tʃj/, and **dy** /dʒj/, and, less commonly, /ʃ/, /tʃ/, and /dʒ/.

<i>/ʃ/ voiceless post-alveolar fricative</i>	ahinsya	< SPA <i>agencia</i>	‘agency’
	altaprisyun	< SPA <i>alta presión</i>	‘high blood pressure’
	bisyu	< SPA <i>vicio</i>	‘vice’
	disgrasyada	< SPA <i>desgraciada</i>	‘abused’
	ginansya	< SPA <i>ganancia</i>	‘profit’
	pantasya	< SPA <i>fantasía</i>	‘fantasy’
	syimpri	< SPA <i>siempre</i>	‘of course!’
	adiksyun	< ENG <i>addiction</i>	
	tilibisyun	< ENG <i>television</i>	
	Tya	< SPA <i>Tía</i>	‘Aunt’
<i>/tʃ/ voiceless post-alveolar affricate</i>	Tyu	< SPA <i>Tío</i>	‘Uncle’
	adbintyur	< ENG <i>adventure</i>	
	amatyur	< ENG <i>amateur</i>	
	bulyur	< ENG <i>vulture</i>	
	kwistyun	< ENG <i>question</i>	
	sabstityut	< ENG <i>substitute</i>	
	tyutur	< ENG <i>tutor</i>	
<i>/dʒ/ voiced post-alveolar affricate</i>	adyus	< SPA <i>adiós</i>	‘goodbye’
	dyablu	< SPA <i>diablo</i>	‘devil, monster’
	dyamanti	< SPA <i>diamante</i>	‘diamond’
	dyis	< SPA <i>diez</i>	‘ten’
	gwardya	< SPA <i>guardia</i>	‘pea crab’
	istudyánti	< SPA <i>estudiante</i>	‘student’
	midya	< SPA <i>media</i>	‘half’
	midyas	< SPA <i>medias</i>	‘sock’
	rimidyu	< SPA <i>remedio</i>	‘remedy’
	trahidya	< SPA <i>tragedia</i>	‘tragedy’

The **dy** /dʒ/ sound is also an adaptation of English words with *j* or *g*.

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| (5) | alirdyi | < ENG <i>allergy</i> | |
| (6) | dyaging | < ENG <i>jogging</i> | |
| (7) | dyakpat | < ENG <i>jackpot</i> | |
| (8) | dyip | < ENG <i>jeep</i> | ‘jeepney’ |
| (9) | dyukir | < ENG <i>joker</i> | |
| (10) | imirdyinsi | < ENG <i>emergency</i> | |
| (11) | iskidyul | < ENG <i>schedule</i> | |
| (12) | madyik | < ENG <i>magic</i> | |
| (13) | multimidya | < ENG <i>multimedia</i> | |
| (14) | radyu | < ENG <i>radio</i> | |
| (15) | uridyinal | < ENG <i>original</i> | |

The palatal central approximant /j/ is written as **y**.

<i>/j/ voiceless palatal central approximant</i>	yáwi	‘key’
	dúgay	‘a long time’

5.1.1.3. Dorsal consonantal phones

The dorsal consonantal phonemes in Bantayanon are the velars /k/, /g/, and /ŋ/, and the labiovelar /w/.

/k/ voiceless velar plosive	káding	‘goat’
	búkbuk	‘weevil’
/g/ voiced velar plosive	gáras	‘small scratch on skin’
	abúg	‘dust’
/ŋ/ velar nasal	ngítngit	‘dark’
	kásingkásing	‘heart (organ)’
/w/ voiced labiovelar approximant	wà	‘(there is) none, nothing’
	karabáw	‘water buffalo’

5.1.1.4. Laryngeal consonants

The Bantayanon laryngeal phonemes are the glottals /ʔ/ and /h/.

/ʔ/ voiceless glottal stop	bínhì	‘seed’ (of rice)
	dí-in	‘where, whence’
/h/ voiceless glottal fricative	há-in	‘where, whither’
	kínhas	‘gather shells on the shore’

5.1.2. Vowels

Like many Central Philippine languages, Bantayanon has a three-vowel system of /a/, /i/, and /u/, after undergoing the same general merging of the pepet – or “indifferent” – vowel *ě* or *schwa* (Conant, 1913) of Proto-Austronesian (and Proto-Central Bisayan) with the close- or close-mid back vowel /u/: PCPH *ə, *u > /u/ (Lobel, unpublished). Many orthographic conventions, including for Ilonggo (Uy-Griño, 2005) and Tagalog (Himmelman, 2005a, p. 351; Wolff, 2006, p. 473) in the Philippines have innovated,⁷⁰ motivated by influence from Spanish, a 4 or 5 vowel orthography that distinguishes one

⁷⁰ see section 7.3.7 for further explanation

or both of *e* /ɛ/ from *i* /i/ and *o* /o/ from *u* /u/ and have hence incorporated *e* and *o* into their orthographies, “Filipino” being obviously the most influential example. As a result, many people use the **o** and the **e** when casually writing Bantayanon, but I have been unsuccessful in identifying any phonemic contrast in Bantayanon between /o/ and /u/ or between /ɛ/ and /i/⁷¹.

Table 9: The vowels of Bantayanon

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i		u
MID			
LOW		a	

In addition to the phonemes of the language, stress is contrastive.

- (16) **ánay** *noun* termite
 (17) **anáy** *noun* sow (pig)
 adverb for a brief moment

5.2. MORPHOPHONOLOGY

Bantayanon is an agglutinative language; its affixes and bases are generally composed of single, easily analyzable, and generally inalterable morphemes. For further discussion of Bantayanon affixation from a syntactic perspective, see the following chapter. In this section I will discuss a small number of phonological processes that occur when bases are affixed.

⁷¹ In some varieties of Bantayanon, especially the dialect of Santa Fe, this front vowel is audibly much more mid /ɛ/ than high /i/ in certain environments, which has developed into a good-natured caricature of the dialect of Santa Fe: e.g., **putí** БТҮ [pu.'tiʔ] compared to БТҮС [pu.'tɛʔ]. However, there is still no evidence that /ɛ/ and /i/ are contrastive even in Santa Fe.

Note that Bantayanon does not have a productive system of reduplication, as do some other Philippine languages like Tagalog or Ilocano. All such forms that I have found in Bantayan are fully reduplicated⁷² and are lexicalized.

5.2.1. *Phonological changes in affixation*

It is important to note that there are no vowel-initial syllables in Bantayanon. Although, when written, many words seem to begin with vowels, this is because there is no orthographic representation for the glottal stop in word-initial position; it can be assumed. Therefore, when a prefix is added, that glottal stop must be represented in the orthography to avoid incorrect analysis of the syllable boundaries.

- (18) **mag-** + **ilis** > **mag-ilis** [mag.'ʔi.lis] ****magilis** [ma.'gi.lis] ‘will change’
 (19) **na-** + **abut** > **na-abut** [na.'ʔa.but] ****naabut** [na.a.but]⁷³ ‘arrived’

Bases that end in a vowel, when suffixed with **-un** or **-an**,⁷⁴ add an **h** to separate the two vowels. These suffixes are also *non-neutral*; when affixed, stress is moved rightward and maintained in the penultimate (previously final) syllable.

- (20) **abu** [ʔa.bu] ‘ash(es)’ + **-an** > **abuhan** [ʔa.'bu.han] ‘fireplace’
 (21) **tinda** [tin.da] ‘goods’ + **-an** > **tindahan** [tin.'da.han] ‘store’

When bases ending in a consonant are suffixed with **-un** or **-an**, the consonant moves to the onset position of the syllable created by the suffix. If that consonant is a **d** /d/, it becomes a flap **r** /ɾ/.

⁷² i.e., the entire base is repeated, never just part of the base

⁷³ Note that BTY ****naabut** would be acceptable in other Philippine orthographies, as the glottal stop is assumed between two vowels. However, due to the existence of dialectal double vowels in Bantayanon, those vowels are marked in the proposed orthography by doubling the vowel, hence we chose to mark all word-medial glottal stops with a hyphen (see section 7.3.4).

⁷⁴ These two suffixes inflect both nouns and verbs.

- (22) **káwut** ‘excavation’ > **kawútun** ‘excavate’
 (23) **gi-** + **pátid** ‘kick’ + **-an** > **gipatíran** ‘place where kicked’

The infix **-in-** is split by a syllable boundary when affixed to a base.

- (24) **Bantayánun** + **-in-** > **Binantayánun** [bi.nan.ta.'ja.nun] ‘in the Bantayanon way’

5.2.2. *The homorganic nasal*

The term *homorganic nasal* describes the morphophonemic process in which a nasal in the coda position of certain verb prefixes is realized as /m/, /n/, or /ŋ/ when it conditions progressive, complete assimilation with the initial consonant of the base to which it attaches. Hence, it is *prosodic*, in that its surface structure is dependent upon the base, predictable according to the particular onset consonant of that base, and of a constant maximal shape (Downing, 2006, pp. 2–4). The prefixes with homorganic nasals “(or cognates thereof) are found in virtually every Philippine and Philippine-type language, and even in plenty of non-Philippine-type Austronesian languages, like Malay/Indonesian” (Lobel, personal communication).

The nasal is written as N in the lexeme form of the prefixes **maN-**, **naN-**, and **paN-**, respectively the Class 3 irrealis, realis, and subjunctive forms of the *actor voice* (AV) prefixes (see section 6.6). The realization of the N is actualized by assimilating to the place of articulation of the onset consonant of the root.

5.3. HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

Lobel has done a thorough job of tracing the historical development of Bantayanon from its origins based on Old Waray to its current form as spoken today. For the purposes of this dissertation, two primary general sound shifts that occurred in the development of Bantayanon will be addressed, i.e., *l > y and *l > h, which diverged from the Old Waray

substratum earlier than Old Ilonggo did.⁷⁵ He points out that, as a consequence, they are not found in Modern Ilonggo, much less in Cebuano. In Table 10, I present data from Lobel concerning the three sound changes so far mentioned.

Table 10: Historical sound changes in Bantayanon and related languages

	MERGER OF PCPH *ə / *u	MERGER OF PBS *-r- / *-l-	SHIFT FROM PCPH *l > y
BANTAYANON	✓	✓	✓
ILONGGO	✓	✓	✗
CEBUANO	✗ ⁷⁶	✓	✗
MASBATENYO	✓	✗	✗
ROMBLOMANON	✓	✓	✓
ASI/BANTOANON	✓	✓	✓
AKLANON	✓	✓	✗
POROHANON	✓	✓	✗
BAYBAYANON	✓	✓	✓
KINABALIAN	✓	✓	✓
ALL WARAY DIALECTS ON LEYTE	✓	✗	✗
SURIGAONON	✗ ⁷⁷	✓	✓
NORTHERN BINUKIDNON	✓	✓	✓
INATA	✓	✓	✓
MANIDE	✗	✓	✓
INAGTA ALABAT	✗	✓	✓
AGUSAN MANOBO	✗	✓	✓

It is not my objective here to repeat what Lobel has already accomplished, but I do want to further discuss historical processes, for they have been very salient in this particular project: a diachronic change, what I will call here the “Byay Effect” (the most

⁷⁵ Other diachronic sounds changes identified by Lobel are *l > Ø, *-d- > *-r-, and *ə > /u/, and, prior to those shifts affecting *l, he has identified *-r- > *l.

⁷⁶ Lobel (personal communication) notes that the *ə > /u/ shift occurred in all Cebuano dialects on the islands of Cebu, Negros, and Mindanao, as well as in western Bohol and northwestern and southeastern Leyte, while PBS *ə is retained as /ə/ in the Cebuano dialects of eastern Bohol and southwestern Leyte.

⁷⁷ Lobel (personal communication) notes that the *ə > /u/ shift occurred in all Surigaonon dialects except that of Gigaquit town.

recognized feature) and two synchronic changes in process: the development of dialectal double vowels and glottal metathesis (two controversial features).

5.3.1. The “Byay Effect” (a diachronic change)

Although it is not unique to Bantayanon, as seen above, Lobel says that, in the other languages that have it, the PCPH *l > y shift is “usually in more widespread environments than in Bantayanon” but that it is, “[t]o its speakers and their neighbors, the most distinctive feature of Bantayanon vis-à-vis neighboring major languages such as Cebuano, Ilonggo, and Waray-Waray”. He continues:

Instead, the one thing that truly makes Bantayanon unique is its particular combination of reflexes of Proto-Bisayan *l (and *-r-). In fact, in Bantayanon, there are no less than four reflexes of earlier *l: /y/, /h/, /l/, and zero, all of which appear in other languages as reflexes of *l, but not in the same configuration as in Bantayanon.

In the “Byay Effect”, named for its most recognizable example, the PCPH *l > y is followed by syncope of the vowel in the preceding, unstressed syllable, e.g., PCPH *ba.láy > BTY **byáy** ‘house’ (ILO,CEB *baláy*). This shift occurred in words having an earlier intervocalic *l at the beginning of a stressed syllable and either /a/ or /u/ on both sides. In Table 11, I present a list of these words, using some of the examples from Lobel and adding in several more of my own.

Table 11: The “Byay Effect”: PCPH *l or *-r- > y and syncope of unstressed syllable

PCPH,PBS > PRE-BTY	ENGLISH	BANTAYANON
*sə.léd > *su.yúd	‘inside’	syúd
*ba.láy > *ba.yáy	‘house’	byáy
*tu.lú > *tu.yú	‘three’	tyú
*ka.lá.may > *ka.yá.may	‘sugar’	kyámay
*ka.rá.ha? > *ka.yá.ha?	‘frying pan’	kyáhà
*la.lá.ki > *la.yá.ki	‘male’	lyáki
*ka.kə.ló.p > *ka.ku.yú.p	‘yesterday’	kakyúp
*da.rá.ga > *da.yá.ga	‘maiden’	dyága

Indeed, the “Byay Effect” of Bantayanon does set it apart in the minds of speakers of neighboring Ilonggo and Cebuano, and vice-versa. Although inaccurate, it is widely believed by Bantayanons that their language is unique in having **kakyúp** ‘yesterday’ (ILO *kahápon*; CEB *gahápun*), **sarâ** ‘today, now’ (ILO *subong*; CEB *karun*), and **bwas** ‘tomorrow’ (ILO *buwás*; CEB *ugmà*). It is also often reported that non-Bantayanons joke using **Ang kyamay mikyaput sa kyaha!** ‘The sugar stuck to the frying pan!’ as a caricature of the unique speech of a Bantayanon. Hence, the Bantayanon words **byay**, **kakyup**, and **kyamay** are some of the more well-known examples of this feature in Bantayanon.

5.3.2. *Dialectal double vowels (a synchronic change)*

Lobel further presents the shift from PCPH *l or *-r- > h, seen in the first column of Table 12, and notes that they are “in complementary distribution” with PCPH *l > y. With few exceptions, he says, “there is little to no overlap between” the two.⁷⁸

He then goes on to discuss a further sound change that I discovered in my fieldwork, namely the subsequent loss of the *h*, which has conditioned a bimoraic doubling of either the /a/ or /u/ that surrounded it in certain dialects. The result is that both forms are present in Bantayanon-speaking areas today. The primary difference between the “Byay Effect” discussed above and the dialectal double vowels is that the stressed syllable preceded the *l in the former but followed the *l in the latter.

⁷⁸ The difference being, in the former, the stress is on the syllable after the *l or *r, while, in the latter, it is on the syllable after it. See **syúd** and **súhud** ~ **suud** which both began as **sulud**.

We chose to account for this double vowel in the proposed orthography by doubling the vowel, which necessitated the marking of all word-medial glottal stops with a hyphen, unlike in the orthographies of other Philippine languages, where a glottal stop can be assumed to occur between two adjacent vowel graphemes (see section 7.3.4).

Table 12: Dialectal double vowels: PCPH *l or *-r- > h > Ø

PCPH, PBS > PRE-BTY	ENGLISH	BANTAYANON
*dálan > *dáhan	‘road, path’	dáhan ~ dáan
*túrug > *túhug	‘sleep’	túhug ~ túug
*úlu > *úhu	‘head’	úhu ~ úu
*napúlu? > *napúhu?	‘nine’	napúhù ~ napúu
*sulúd > *súhud	‘comb’	súhud ~ súud

This particular sound change is controversial, however, among Bantayanons. The /h/ is no longer pronounced today by most speakers from the town centers and is typical only of many speakers who live outside the towns, regardless of age. It is controversial because most town-center Bantayanons do not even recognize that the /h/ is still pronounced in some areas, to the point of becoming very adamant that it is not “Bantayanon”. However, with Lobel’s direction, I created a wordlist to research this /h/, and Luper Fernandez and I elicited the wordforms in different areas. What we found is that the /h/ is very much still a part of Bantayanon today, even among younger speakers.

When presented with these findings, the town-center speakers often attribute the /h/ to an innovation in the rural areas. Lobel’s analysis demonstrates clearly that, in truth, the /h/ is the more conservative form and that there is a shift “towards a more [North] Cebuano-sounding derivative”.

Furthermore, pedagogically and orthographically this /h/ presents the added difficulty of choosing between one or the other when formulating the elementary school textbooks. I fear that opting for the town-center double vowel forms will hasten the demise of the

/h/, but the /h/ form has so far appeared unacceptable to those who are in a position to make the decision. A final decision has not been made. In the dictionary, however, both forms will be present and accounted for as variants.

5.3.3. *Glottal metathesis (a synchronic change)*

Another sound change occurring presently in Bantayanon is glottal metathesis. It is controversial for the same reasons as the loss of *h*, described in the previous section. Those speakers who have the forms that more closely resemble Cebuano typically do not recognize the other as “Bantayanon”.

Word-medial consonant clusters (final two syllables) in Proto-Bisayan roots could appear as either *Cʔ* and *ʔC*, depending on the root; in other words, Proto-Bisayan allowed both **Cʔ* and **ʔC* orders (Lobel, personal communication). However, as the Bisayan languages diverged from one another, they tended to independently develop a preference for one or the other, hence leveling occurred among the words that have word-medial glottal clusters. What we see is that Bantayanons today have a clear preference for one or the other in these words, but that this preference is idiolectal, as opposed to virtually all other Central Philippine languages, in which the preference is dialectal (Lobel, personal communication).

Again, under Lobel’s direction, I created a wordlist to research this phenomenon, and Luper Fernandez and I elicited the wordforms in various places. What we found is that this variation has a different distribution than the *h*-forms vs. the dialectal double vowels (see 5.3.2 above). This particular variation did not seem to be conditioned by age at all, although those in the town-centers did have the more Cebuano-like forms.

Table 13: Glottal metathesis in selected Bantayanon words

/ʔC/ FORM		/Cʔ/ FORM	ENGLISH
ba-gang	~	bag-ang	‘molar’
ba-gu	~	bag-u	‘new’
du-gab	~	dug-ab	‘burp’
ga-bi	~	gab-i	‘evening’
kaka-nu	~	kakan-u	‘when’ (past)
kali-nu	~	kalin-u	‘whose’
ka-nun	~	kan-un	‘cooked rice’
lu-ya	~	luy-a	‘ginger’
pu-nan	~	pun-an	‘add to’
sa-ba	~	sab-a	type of banana
si-nu	~	sin-u	‘who’
su-nad	~	sun-ad	‘cook’
ta-bang	~	tab-ang	‘bland’
ta-mis	~	tam-is	‘sweet’
ta-naw	~	tan-aw	‘look’
ti-ga	~	tig-a	‘hard’ (not soft)
ti-naw	~	tin-aw	‘clear’ (water)

As in the previous section (5.3.2), this sound change presents the added difficulty of deciding which form to include in the elementary textbooks. Both forms will, however, be indicated in the dictionary.

Chapter 6. MORPHOLOGY, SYNTAX, AND FUNCTORS

This chapter will present the basic morphology and syntax of Bantayanon, using Zorc's (1978) *Functor Analysis* as a framework to present the relevant function words involved in the grammar (see section 2.3 for an introduction to Zorc's *Functor Analysis* as a methodology). Below are full paradigms of the Bantayanon functors on Zorc's list, included in each section as appropriate. The numbers in curly brackets {x} correspond to his "Table 3: List of 100 functors chosen for Bisayan (Philippine) classification" in Zorc (1978), further described in Table 47 of Zorc (1977, pp. 187–190). Where no number {x} is indicated, I have included additional, appropriate entries in the list.

The titles, descriptions, and glosses are my own. For the sake of space, I have followed the orthography as proposed in Chapter 7, with one exception: I have followed the traditional descriptive convention of marking stress with an acute accent (á, í, ú). The explanations below the charts are my own and may vary slightly from the analyses of others. I have attempted to use terms and paradigms most common and recognized by the broader linguistics community, thus I may diverge on occasion from terms and paradigms as employed in the literature specific to Philippine linguistics.

6.1. MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC TYPES

Morphologically, Philippine languages are generally considered to be agglutinative, and Bantayanon is no exception, but this must be clarified. Bantayanon is *primarily* agglutinative in that there are clear boundaries between the affixes and the bases, and

there are very few phonological changes or alternations involved in affixation. However, it also exhibits *inflecting* or *fusional* features, as a single morph can “represent several morphemes simultaneously” (Katamba & Stonham, 2006, p. 60). This is primarily seen in the verbal prefixes (which encode for mood and voice and mode) and pronouns and case markers (which encode for person, number, and clusivity).

Bantayanon contentives do not inflect morphologically for gender or number, with the exception of a small number of gendered words borrowed from Spanish, e.g.

- (25) **gwápu / gwápa** < SPA *guapo / guapa* ‘handsome’ / ‘pretty’
 (26) **dyús / dyúsa** < SPA *dios / diosa* ‘god’ / ‘goddess’

Syntactically, Bantayanon is a typical Philippine language in that it does not have a strictly defined word order. The unmarked order would be *verb-initial* but only in *verbal* clauses, in which the argument structure of the predicate (verb) is determined by the affix on the verb, and the order of the arguments is not strict. The argument in the nominative case of the clause can be considered the subject of the clause,⁷⁹ and the remaining arguments are either in the genitive or oblique cases. Thus, it is most accurate to describe Bantayanon’s word order in verbal sentences as V(X)(S), with no unmarked order for the arguments. One major factor in determining NP position is its length: smaller NPs, like pronouns, usually take second position, while longer NPs tend to take later positions.

6.2. SYNTACTIC CASE

There are three syntactic cases in Bantayanon phrasal arguments: nominative (NOM), genitive (GEN), and oblique (OBL). Semantic role relations between the nominative and

⁷⁹ The use of the term *subject* for the phrase marked by *ang* is not universal (Kroeger, 2010).

genitive cases are determined by the voice alternation directed by the affixed verb. The *actor* (or *agent*) and the *undergoer* (or *patient*) alternate according to the voice structure directed by the verb. The oblique can be locational, directional, temporal, or instrumental.

6.2.1. Case markers

The argument phrases in each case are indicated by determiners usually called “case markers” (Table 14). An interesting feature of Philippine languages is that the case markers also encode for a *non-personal* / *personal* (i.e., people’s names) noun distinction. The particle **mga** [ma.ʔa] is used to encode for plural.

Table 14: FUNCTORS: syntactic case markers

CASE MARKERS FOR NON-PERSONAL NOMINAL PHRASES		
{33}	NOM.SG (PL)	ang (mga)
{34}	GEN.INDF.SG (PL)	sing (mga)
{35}	GEN.DEF.SG (PL)	sang (mga)
{36}	OBL (PL)	sa (mga)
CASE MARKERS FOR PERSONAL NOMINAL PHRASES		
{38}	NOM.SG	si
{39}	GEN.SG	ni
{40}	OBL.SG	kang
{41}	NOM.PL	silá si
{42}	GEN.PL	níla ni
{43}	OBL.PL	sa íla ni

When asked about **ang imu mga uyab** ‘your suitors’,⁸⁰ Aurora (BTY-027) responds:

- (27) **Ang kapitan, ang una nga naglingkud dira si Pendoy.**
CASE. captain CASE. first LIG AV.REAL.sit there CASE. Pendoy.
NOM. NOM. NOM.
NPERS NPERS PERS
‘The captain, the first who sat down there was Pendoy.’

⁸⁰ She apparently got a bit mixed up and responded about the barangay captains instead.

6.2.2. *Pronouns*

Case markers do not appear in an NP in the form of pronouns (Table 15), which take their forms based on the syntactic case. For each of the three cases, the pronouns are inflected for person (1st, 2nd, and 3rd) and number (singular and plural), as in English, with an additional distinction being made in the first person plural for clusivity, i.e., whether or not the person being addressed is included in the ‘we’. Zorc’s functor list calls for the first person dual inclusive form because some Philippine languages have that form, but this is not typical of Bisayan languages. Pronouns are not inflected for gender.

The nominative case pronouns⁸¹ replace nominative phrases, introduced by **ang** and **si** (see 6.2.1 above), which serve as the subject argument of a verbal clause or in the predicate position of an equational clause (see 6.4.1 below). Note that the stress in the nominative case pronouns is on the final syllable. The following examples, therefore, are in nominative (or subject) case.

Zorc (1978) lists {9} – {16} as “Genitive” pronouns and {17} as “Oblique/formative”, noting at the bottom that he leaves out “oblique pronouns” because they are “cognate with genitive”. Yet in (1977) he lists {9} – {16} as “Oblique Pronouns” and {17} as the “Dative (Referent) Pronoun”, which he calls the “formative element for dative pronoun sets *kan-/*sa-”, while earlier (pp. 72-75) he separates them out as Nominative, Genitive, and Oblique. This seems to be due to the fact that PBs *kan-/*sa- is added to the second set to form the third set, hence Zorc’s item {17} covers the entire set of oblique case pronouns.

⁸¹ what Zorc (1977, p. 187) also calls “topic”

Table 15: *FUNCTIONS: pronouns by case*

NOMINATIVE PRONOUNS: FULL FORMS / SHORTENED FORMS			
{1}	1SG	‘I; me’	akú / ku
{2}	2SG	‘you’	ikáw / ka
{3}	3SG	‘he, she, it; him, her’	syá
{4}	1PL.EXCL	‘we, us’	kamí / mi
{5}	1DU.INCL	‘we, us’	—
{6}	1INCL	‘we, us’	kitá / ta
{7}	2PL	‘you’	kamú / mu
{8}	3PL	‘they’	silá
GENITIVE PRONOUNS: PREPOSITIONED			
{9}	1SG	‘my, mine, I’	ákun
{10}	2SG	‘your, yours, you’	ímu
{11}	3SG	‘his, her, hers, its, he, she’	íya
{12}	1PL.EXCL	‘our, ours, we’	ámun
{14}	1INCL	‘our, ours, we’	átun
{15}	2PL	‘your, yours, you’	ínyu
{16}	3PL	‘their, theirs, they’	íla
GENITIVE PRONOUNS: POSTPOSITIONED			
{9}	1SG	‘my, I’	nákun
{10}	2SG	‘your, you’	nímu
{11}	3SG	‘his, her, he, she’	níya
{12}	1PL.EXCL	‘our, we’	námun
{14}	1INCL	‘our, we’	nátun
{15}	2PL	‘your, you’	nínyu
{16}	3PL	‘their, they’	níla
OBLIQUE PRONOUNS			
{17}	1SG	‘to/by me’	sa ákun
{17}	2SG	‘to/by you’	sa ímu
{17}	3SG	‘to/by him, her, it’	sa íya
{17}	1PL.EXCL	‘to/by us’	sa ámun
{17}	1INCL	‘to/by us’	sa átun
{17}	2PL	‘to/by you’	sa ínyu
{17}	3PL	‘to/by them’	sa íla

- (28) **ang putì nga iring** ‘the white cat’ → **sya** ‘it’
(29) **ang mga itum nga irù** ‘the black dogs’ → **sila** ‘they’
(30) **Nalipay si Lula.** ‘Grandma is happy.’ → **Nalipay sya.** ‘She is happy.’
(31) **sila si Jessica kag si Bernadita** ‘Jessica and Bernadita’ → **silá** ‘they’
(32) **sila si Jessica** ‘Jessica (and those with/associated with her)’ → **silá** ‘they’
(33) **aku kag ikaw** ‘you and I’ → **kita** ‘we’ (INCL)
(34) **aku kag si Boy** ‘Boy and I’ → **kami** ‘we’ (EXCL)
(35) **Aku si Luper.** ‘I am Luper.’

6.2.3. Case deictics

Case markers also do not appear in an NP in the form of deictics (Table 16), which are inflected for case, person,⁸² and clusivity.

Table 16: *FUNCTORS: syntactic case deictics*

NOMINATIVE ⁸³ DEICTICS			
{18}	1EXCL	‘this (one)’	iní
{19}	1INCL	‘this (one)’	iní
{20}	2	‘that (one)’	inâ
{21}	3	‘that (one)’	ádtu
GENITIVE DEICTICS			
	1EXCL	‘of/by this (one)’	siní
	1INCL	‘of/by this (one)’	siní
	2	‘of/by that (one)’	sinâ
	3	‘of/by that (one)’	sádtu
OBLIQUE ⁸⁴ DEICTICS			
{22}	1EXCL	‘here (by me)’	dirí, ngári
{23}	1INCL	‘here (by you and me)’	dínhi, ngánhi
{24}	2	‘there (by you)’	dirâ, ngarâ
{25}	3	‘there’ (yonder)	dídtu, ngádtu

- (36) **Nanu ang tawag sini?**
 what CASE.NOM.NPERS call GEN.DEIC
 ‘What is this called?’

6.3. SYNTACTIC WORD CATEGORIES

The words of Bantayanon, as in other Philippine languages, can be grouped into four basic “word classes”: nominals, verbs, adjectives and particles. Verbs and adjectives belong to an open, lexical class; some nominals (nouns and personal names) are open and

⁸² Marking of grammatical person by Zorc for deictics includes 1 (1EXCL, near speaker), 1+2 (1INCL, near speaker and addressee), 2 (near addressee), 3 (yonder, far from both)

⁸³ what Zorc also calls “topic” (1978, p. 515) or “demonstrative” (1977, p. 187)

⁸⁴ what Zorc also calls “locative” (1977, p. 187, 1978, p. 515)

lexical, while others (pronouns, deictics) are in a closed, functional class. Particles in Philippine languages are closed and functional.

Because root words in Philippine languages are not easily categorized in distinction to each other, there is slight disagreement on the arrangement and classification of words into these categories. Some authors eschew the traditional terms of *nouns* and *verbs*, choosing instead to group them together as *roots* or *root bases*. Wolfenden says that “root bases in Hiligaynon cannot be divided into parts of speech on the basis of their form. Roots which intuitively (to an English speaker) would seem to be verbs may be used as ‘nouns’ just as easily as verbs, and vice versa” (1971, p. 82).⁸⁵ This is undoubtedly true when categorizing them *semantically* and in isolation. However, while there may be ambiguity in the lexically morphemic forms of roots, there is no ambiguity of “roots” in syntactic (cased) and morphological (affixed) environments. For this reason, I have chosen to use the term *syntactic categories* instead of *parts of speech*. The syntactic category of words are hence not always determined lexically, but by their *syntactic distribution* in light of words with which they cooccur in phrases and clauses or by particular derivational affixes.

6.3.1. *Verbals*

Roots that are affixed with verbal affixes and serve as the predicate of the clause are verbals. They can be derived from lexical nouns:

- | | | | |
|------|------------------|-------------|---------------------------------------|
| (37) | anak | | <i>noun</i> ‘child’ (son or daughter) |
| (38) | Mang-anak | sya | bwas. |
| | AV.NREAL | PRO.NOM.3SG | tomorrow |

⁸⁵ David Gil has written on this matter (1995, 2000, 2005, 2009, 2013). See also Kroeger (1998).

'She will give birth tomorrow.'

or adjectives:

- (39) **dakù** *adjective 'big, large'*
- (40) **Nagdakù** **aku** **sa** **Suba.**
 AV.REAL.big PRO.NOM.1SG CASE.OBL Suba.
'I grew up in Suba.'

6.3.2. Nominals

Pronouns and words serving as the headwords for clausal arguments in the various cases are nominals. These can be lexical nouns:

- (41) **ang** **irù**
 CASE.NOM.NPERS dog
'the dog'
- (42) **sang** **puyá**
 CASE.GEN.NPERS.DEF child
'of/by the child'

or nominalized verbals:

- (43) **Ikaw** **ba ang** **maglutù?**
 PRO.NOM.2SG Q CASE.NOM.NPERS AV.NREAL.cook
'Are you the one who is going to cook?'

6.3.3. Adjectivals

Adjectivals can be lexical adjectives:

- (44) **mapwá ~ pwá** 'red'
 (45) **nindút** 'pretty, lovely' (of a common noun)

or derived by certain prefixes:

- (46) **upat** 'four'
 (47) **ika-upat** 'fourth'

6.3.4. *Particles*

Bantayanon, like other Philippine languages, is characterized by the heavy use of particles to indicate various grammatical functions and/or nuances of meaning. The meaning of the term *particle* is generally well defined in the linguistic literature, although the boundaries of what words are grouped into this class are sometimes quite broad, sometimes more restricted. In discussing particles borrowed by Mayan languages from Spanish, Brody says they are both grammatical and lexical, listing them as “conjunctions, connectives, interjections, and discourse and conversation elements such as hesitation fillers, and tags” (1987, p. 507). Himmelmann (2005b, p. 133) refers to many of the Philippine particles as clitics. The following formal definition is from Radford:

Particle This is a pre-theoretical term used to describe a range of items which are invariable in form, and which don’t fit easily into traditional systems of grammatical categories. For example, infinitival *to* (cf. Try **to** be nice) is said to be an *infinitive particle*, and *not/n’t* are said to be *negative particles*. The term is sometimes extended to include prepositions used without a complement (e.g. *up* in *Give up!*). (1997, p. 267, *emphasis* original)

Indeed, Carnie calls them “a class of prepositions that don’t require a following NP” (2013, p. 80). In the context of Philippine languages, Wolfenden says,

Independent uninflected words distinguished from substitutes and bases are labeled Particles in this grammar. Some particles are lexical fillers which add semantic information to phrases and clauses; others are grammatical markers which signal syntactic constructions. (1971, p. 47, *emphasis* original)

Zorc (1977) says that particles are the free morphemes that do not fall into any of the other categories and “can be classified on the basis of their function (e.g., case markers or ligatures), their meaning (e.g., temporal or attitudinal particles), or the environments in which they occur (e.g., enclitics, conjunctions)”. In other words, Philippine languages being agglutinative, *particle* is a catch-all term to classify together all the function words

that cannot be inflected or derived by affixation and are usually “either modifiers or markers of syntactic relations”⁸⁶ (Constantino, 1965, p. 76).

Table 17: *FUNCTIONS: grammatical and discourse particles*

GRAMMATICAL PARTICLES			
{44}	COMPL.aspect	‘now, already’	na
{45}	NCOMPL.aspect	‘still, yet’	pa
	Q.interrogative		ba
DISCOURSE PARTICLES			
{46}	patience	‘first, please’	anáy
{47}	excusing	‘because’	ábi
{48}	ignorance	‘I do not know’	ambút
	confirming		gani
	limiting	‘only’	da
	quotative	‘it was said’	kunú
	consequence	‘then’	dayún
	immediate	‘right away’	dayún
	discovery	‘Oh my!’, ‘Wow’	hay
	answering		man

Wolfenden (1971, p. 48) calls the particles **na** and **pa** *temporal* particles and notes that they are often glossed into English as ‘now’ or ‘already’ and ‘still, yet’ respectively. However, although they are the closest approximations, these glosses do not precisely express the function of these particles. There is no tense *per se* in these particles; they can be used for conditions in the past, present, or future. More precisely, they are *aspect* particles, namely *completive* and *non-completive*.

The particle **na** is probably the most frequently used particle in Bantayanon discourse.⁸⁷ It indicates that an event or condition has or will have transitioned, changed

⁸⁶ i.e., the *syntactic case markers* in Table 14

⁸⁷ followed closely by **lang**

in status, or been completed. It does not mean ‘now’ in the sense of ‘at this moment’; it means ‘now’ in the sense of ‘X wasn’t true before, but it is *now*’. For this reason, it is possible in Bantayanon to say **nyan na lang**, meaning ‘X will be true later on’:

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------|---|
| (48) | Ara ka’y sinumun? | ‘Do you have cinnamon rolls?’ |
| | Wà. Nyan na lang. | ‘No, (I will) later.’ |
| (49) | Ari na ku sa Suba. | ‘I am (now) in Suba.’ (i.e., ‘I have made it to Suba.’) |
| (50) | Ka-un ka na? | ‘Have you eaten (yet)?’ |
| (51) | Gwapu ka. | ‘You are handsome.’ |
| | Gwapu ka na! | ‘You look good (now)!’ (e.g., after a haircut) |
| (52) | Nakapalit ka? | ‘Were you able to buy (it/some)?’ |
| | Nakapalit ka na? | ‘Have you been able to buy (it/some)?’ |

The particle **na** can also refer to something that must happen (transition) immediately:

- | | | |
|------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| (53) | Dali na! | ‘Come here real quick!’ |
| (54) | Ka-un na ta! | ‘Let’s eat now!’ |
| (55) | Diri na lang, Kuya! | ‘(Stop) right here, Kuya!’ |

The particle **pa** indicates that the event or condition has not, had not, or will not have transitioned, changed in status, or been completed. It can be glossed as ‘still’.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------|---|
| (56) | Ari pa sya kakyup. | ‘He was still here yesterday.’ |
| (57) | Ari pa ku sa Suba. | ‘I am still in Suba.’ |
| (58) | Ari pa mu kwas? | ‘Will you (PL) still be here tomorrow?’ |

Also, **pa** can have the meaning of ‘something additional’. In this sense, it can be glossed as ‘another’ (of the same variety), ‘more’, or ‘else’:

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| (59) | Usa pa, Day. | ‘(Please give me) one more, Day.’ |
| (60) | Nanu pa, Dong? | ‘What else (can I get you), Dong?’ |

Notice the differences between **na** and **pa** in the following example pairs:

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------|---|
| (61) | Wà na. | ‘There is no more.’, ‘We are (now) out.’ |
| | Wà pa. | ‘There still is none.’, ‘We still have none.’ |
| (62) | May-ara na. | ‘There is some now’, ‘We now have some.’ |
| | May-ara pa. | ‘There is still some.’, ‘We still have some.’ |
| (63) | Ara ka’y sinumun? | ‘Do you have cinnamon rolls?’ |
| | Nyan na lang. | ‘(Not yet but) later.’ |
| | Bwas pa. | ‘Not until tomorrow.’ |

The particle **ambút** is a *verbal* particle (Wolfenden, 1971, p. 56), the only particle restricted to one grammatical person and number: the first person singular. It means ‘I don’t know’ and is often heard employed in the expression **Ambut sa imu.**, loosely ‘I don’t know. It’s up to you’. It is also the only particle that can be derived into a verb: **mang-ambut** ‘will say ‘I don’t know’’.

6.3.5. Ligatures

Bantayanon uses two ligatures, **nga** and **ka**, to join words and phrases to modify other words and phrases. The ligature **nga** can join an adjective or a subordinate clause to the noun it modifies. It can join in rapid speech as **-ng** to the words it follows. Numbers that modify nouns are connected with **ka**.

Table 18: FUNCTORS: ligatures

joins ADJ to N, or joins NP to VP to create relative phrase joins number to N					nga ~ -ng ka
(64)	ang	lyaki	nga	wà	tubig
	CASE.NOM.NPERS	man	LIG	EXST.NEG	water
	<i>‘the man who has no water’</i>				
(65)	Pila	na	ka	tu-ig ... ?	
	how many	PART.COMPL	LIG	years	
	<i>‘How many years ... ?’</i>				
(66)	... mga	dusi	na	ka	tu-ig.
	PART.PL	twelve	PART.COMPL	LIG	years
	<i>‘Twelve years (already).’</i> (BTY-002)				

6.4. CLAUSE STRUCTURES

There are three basic clause structures in Bantayanon: equational, existential / possessive, and verbal. The first two are presented here. See 6.6 below for the structure of verbal clauses.

6.4.1. Equational clauses

There is no copula in Bantayanon. Clauses formed in English with the verb *be* are formed in Bantayanon by placing a nominative phrase, a pronoun, or an adjective in apposition with another NOM clause or pronoun serving as the argument.

- (67) **Gwapa sila.**
 pretty PRO.NOM.3PL
'They are pretty.'
- (68) **Malipay ang babayi.**
 happy CASE.NOM.NPERS woman
'The woman is happy.'

In negative constructions, a pronoun moves behind the negative.

- (69) **Malipay kami.**
 happy PRO.NOM.1PL.EXCL
'We are happy.'
- (70) **Dili kami malipay.**
 NEG PRO.NOM.1PL.EXCL happy
'We are not happy.'

6.4.2. Existential / Possessive clauses

The existential word is used to express the equivalent of 'there is/are'. When it is followed by a nominative phrase or pronoun, it denotes possession.

Table 19: FUNCTORS: existentials / possessives

{37}	EXST	may, may-ara
{29}	NEG.EXST	wà

- (71) **May tubig sa byay.**
 EXST water CASE.OBL house
'There is water at the house.'
- (72) **May sapi ka ba?**
 EXST money PRO.NOM.2SG Q
'Do you have any money?'

In negative constructions, a pronoun moves behind the negative.

- (73) **May sapi aku.**
 EXST money PRO.NOM.1SG
 'I have (some) money.'
- (74) **Wà ku sapi.**
 EXST.NEG PRO.NOM.1SG money
 'I don't have (any) money.'

6.5. TENSE-ASPECT-MOOD

For those who opt to describe verbs in Bisayan languages as having tense – formally, as an indicator of time in relation to the present, marked with verbal inflection – the formatives given are most commonly *past*, *future*, and *subjunctive* (see Wolff, 1972a, p. xv); *past*, *non-past*, and *imperative* (see Lobel, 2016); or *non-future* and *future/potential* (see Tanangkingsing, 2009, p. 559). I choose, however, to follow (Himmelman, 2005b, pp. 167–170) in preferring a modal distinction between *realis*, *non-real*, and *subjunctive/imperative*, for several reasons.

- The paradigms for the verbal affixes are grouped in threes: **mag-**, **nag-**, **pag-** (*actor voice*), but these are not distinctions of tense in the formal sense, primarily because *subjunctive*, *imperative*, and *potential* are not tenses; they are moods.
- None of the above-mentioned methods for categorizing the distinctions between the verbal affixes as being based on tense allow for a present tense, as if Bisayan languages do not account for the present at all. Indeed, Bantayanon accounts for a past/present distinction, just not through verbal affixation. Hence *past* alone, with no allowance for *present*, does not seem to be an accurate category, as it suggests that Bantayanon does not account for the present.
- Bantayanon can distinguish the position in time for the verb, but it does so using time-indicating adverbs relative to the present, such as **sádtu** 'in the past', **kalína** 'earlier, a while ago', **kakyúp** 'yesterday', **sará** 'now, today', and **nyan na** 'later on, in a little while' among others (see 0 below).
- The distinction between *realis* and *non-real* is evident in the very words that negate the verbs. The word **wà** is a *non-existential*, used to negate only the *non-real* mood.
- Bantayanon can position a non-verbal clause in time.

The question, therefore, seems instead to be one of mood: whether something is actualized (i.e., it happened/was true or happens/is happening/is true) or contemplated/not yet actualized (i.e., it has yet to occur). Therefore, a *realis*, *non-realis*, *subjunctive* (serving as the *imperative*) distinction is more precise and avoids employing terms of tense that do not refer to formal tense at all.

Aspect is marked in the clause using particles, primarily by way of the transitional/completive **na** or durative/non-completive **pa** (see 6.3.4 above).

6.6. SYMMETRICAL VOICE AND INFLECTIONAL VERBAL AFFIXES

The syntactic relations in Philippine and other Austronesian languages between the affixed verb and its arguments is most commonly referred to as the *focus system* of these languages. The terms *focus* and *topic* are used respectively to refer to the case alignment of the verb and to the phrasal argument designated by that alignment as the nominative phrase. Many linguists, however, prefer to use different terminology for this phenomenon, preferring not to use *focus* in the context of Philippine languages differently that it is used in linguistics generally. As Himmelmann argues:

First, it obscures the fact that Philippine-type 'focus', though differing from the English active/passive alternation on a number of counts, is essentially a voice phenomenon. Second, it does not tally well with the concept of pragmatic focus which is widely used in general linguistics. (2002, p. 11)

It does not “tally well” with *focus* as understood more widely in that it 1) it does not mark new information, 2) does not provide contrastive emphasis, and 3) indicates a syntactic relationship, not one of “pragmatic highlighting or emphasis” (2002, p. 13). This is not to say that it is equivalent to the English active/passive alternations, but they do share essential similarities:

The essential point of similarity between the Philippine-type ‘focus’ and the English active/passive alternations is that in both kinds of alternations a different argument is put into pivot (or subject) function and that this change in the alignment between semantic role and syntactic function is marked morphologically on the verb. (2002, p. 11)

The designation of this phenomenon as one of *voice* becomes even more accurate if the nominative phrase is treated as the subject of the sentence. A “change of voice signals a change in the alignment of semantic roles and syntactic positions” and “both constructions share the same transitivity value” (2002, p. 14).

Thus, in English, the *subject* and *object* are marked by their syntactic positions (SVO) in the clause. In an *active voice* clause (75), the thematic role of the subject is the *actor* (or *agent*) and the thematic role of the object is the *undergoer* (or *patient*). In a *passive voice* construction (76), the thematic role of the syntactic subject alternates to *undergoer*, and the thematic role of *actor*, if present, is expressed in an oblique phrase, as there are no syntactic objects in passive constructions.

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|----------------|------------------------------------|
| (75) | <u>The man</u>
SBJ.actor | will buy | <u>the bread.</u>
OBJ.undergoer |
| (76) | <u>The bread</u>
SBJ.undergoer | will be bought | <u>by the man.</u>
OBL.actor |

As in other Philippine languages, in Bantayanon the ordering of the constituents plays little to no role in predicate-argument relations. Instead, the thematic roles of the arguments pivot based on the particular voice-marking affix on the verb. The affix indicates that the thematic role of the nominative phrase is the subject of the clause and that the nominative phrase is definite: an *actor voice* (AV) affix marks the nominative phrase as the actor, an *object voice* (OV) affix marks the nominative phrase as the object,

and a *locational voice* (LV) prefix marks the nominative phrase as an oblique.⁸⁸ Also, the genitive **sing/sang** alternation in Bantayanon also marks for definiteness.

6.6.1. Verbal inflectional affixes

Table 20: FUNCTORS: verbal inflectional affixes

	AV	AV	AV	OV	LV	OV2
NREAL	mu-	mag-	maN-	-un	-an	i-
REAL	mi-, ni-	nag-	naN-	gi-	gi-...-an	gi-
IMP	—	pag-	paN-	-a	-i	i-
NREAL.ABIL	maka-	makapag-	makapaN-	ma-	ma-...-an	
REAL.ABIL	naka-	nakapag-	nakapaN-	na-	na-...-an	

6.7. OTHER FUNCTORS

Below are the remaining functors from Zorc's presentation, with explanations.

6.7.1. Existential and verbal deictics

Table 21: FUNCTORS: other deictics

EXISTENTIAL / LOCATIONAL DEICTICS			
	1	'be here', 'have here'	ári
	2	'be there', 'have there'	ára
	3	'be there', 'have there'	ádtu
VERBAL DEICTICS			
{26}	1EXCL	'come here'	kari
	1PL,INCL	'come here'	kanhí
	2	'go there'	karâ
{27}	3	'go there'	kádtu

Existential / locational deictics serve as the predicate of a clause and indicate existence, possession, or location of the argument.

⁸⁸ Thus, the English voices of *active* and *passive* are not equivalent to the Bantayanon voices of *actor*, *object*, and *locational*, as the three argument phrases in Bantayanon only alternate thematic roles, hence the *subject* (the nominative phrase) cannot be eliminated.

- (77) **Ari pa si Minda sa tyanggi.**
 DEIC.1 PART.NCOMPL CASE.NOM.PERS Minda CASE.OBL market
'Minda is still here at the market.'
- (78) **Mukari ba si Minda sa tyanggi bwas?**
 AV.NREAL. Q CASE. Minda CASE. market tomorrow
 come NOM.PERS OBL
'Will Minda come to the market tomorrow?'

6.7.2. Locationals

Locational nouns (Table 22) indicate a physical position. When modified by **sa**, they indicate an oblique case phrase: **sa syud** 'on the inside', **sa wa** 'to the left'.

Table 22: *FUNCTORS: locational nouns*

{69}	'on top of, above, upstairs'	ígbaw
{70}	'under'	íláwm
	'below'	ubús
	'downstairs'	sílung
{71}	'across'	píkas
	'over'	súbra
{72}	'left'	wa
{73}	'right'	tú-u
{74}	'inside, within'	syud
	'outside'	gawás
	'abroad'	gawás sa násud
	'middle'	túngà
	'beside', 'edge'	kílid / tupád
	'front'	atubáangan
	'facing'	átbang
	'ahead'	lapaw
	'back'	líkud
	'behind'	luyú
	'around'	palíbut / líbut / tuyúk
	'close, near' (in time or place)	lápít
	'far, distant' (in time or place)	layú
	'downriver'	láawd

6.7.3. Temporals

Temporals serve as adverbs fixing the action in time.

Table 23: *FUNCTIONS: temporals*

RELATIVE TEMPORALS	
{76} ‘day’	ádlaw
‘week’	simána
‘month’	bwán
{77} ‘year’	tú-ig
‘early morning’ (1am-5pm)	amagáhun
{83} ‘morning’	ága
‘noon’	údtu
‘early afternoon’	palís
{84} ‘afternoon’	hápun
{75} ‘evening, night’	gá-bi ~ gáb-i
‘midnight’	tungáng gá-bi ~ gáb-i
{78} ‘today, now’	sará
‘sometimes’	usáhay
FIXED TEMPORALS	
{79} ‘tomorrow’	bwás
{80} ‘yesterday’	kákyup
‘tonight’, ‘this evening’	sará nga ga-bi ~ gab-i
‘last night’, ‘last evening’	kaga-bi ~ kagab-i
{81} ‘later on, in a little while’	nyan (na)
{82} ‘earlier, a while ago’	kalína
‘in the past’	sádtu

6.7.4. Cardinal numbers⁸⁹Table 24: *FUNCTORS: cardinal numbers*

	‘zero’ ⁹⁰	síru
{63}	‘one’	usá
{64}	‘two’	duhá ~ duwá
{65}	‘three’	tyú ⁹¹
{66}	‘four’	upát
	‘five’ ⁹²	limá
{67}	‘six’	unúm
	‘seven’	pitú
	‘eight’	wahu ~ wau
	‘nine’	syám
{68}	‘ten’	napúhù ~ napúù
	‘hundred’	gátus
	‘thousand’	libu

Bantayanons, like most Bisayans, employ three sets of cardinal numbers with a base-10 counting system. The first set may be called the *counting set*, the second may be referred to as the *measuring set*, and the third is used when telling time.

The counting set of cardinal numbers is composed of native Bisayan words for numbers 0-10 and words of Spanish origin for numbers higher than 10. They are, generally speaking, used in most contexts for counting. When using these numbers,

⁸⁹ Zorc only includes “low numbers” in his functor list. The chart includes these low numbers, but I will take the opportunity in this section to discuss Bantayanon numbers in more detail.

⁹⁰ As previously mentioned, Zorc readily admits lacunae in his data sets for Bantayanon. However, he includes Bantayanon in several of his numbers in Tables 21a and 21b “Bisayan Numerals” (1977, p. 101). In this table, he gives BTY **usá-** ‘one’, **duhá-** ‘two’, **tulú-** ‘three’, **upát** ‘four’, **unúm** ‘six’, **walú-** ‘eight’, **napúlù** ‘ten’, and **libu-** ‘thousand’. His Bantayanon consultant appears to have given him the Cebuano forms for ‘three’, ‘eight’, and ‘ten’ instead of the Bantayanon forms **tyu**, **waaw**, and **napúhù ~ napúù**.

⁹¹ Many if not most Bantayanons are shifting to the Cebuano form, *tulú*, although it is unclear when this shift began. Many Bantayanons today do not even recognize the form **tyu**.

⁹² Zorc excludes numbers “most likely to be different” among Bisayan dialects (1977, p. 186).

Bantayanons use the **ka** ligature to join them to the noun they are modifying, and the **ika-** prefix to form ordinals.

- (79) **Ikatulu aku sa amun mag-utud.**
 ORD.three PRO.NOM.1S CASE.OBL PRO.GEN.1PL.EXCL siblings
'I am the third of our siblings.'

The second set of cardinal numbers are of English origin. They can be called the *measuring set* because they are generally used when modifying units of measure such as length, distance and time. They are also used when reciting numerals, such as when giving one's phone number or reading out the number of an ID card. Idiolectically, these numbers may be pronounced as in English (i.e., /fayv/), or phonological accommodation may be made (i.e., /payb/). When using the English-based measuring set of numerals, the **ka** ligature is not employed.

Finally, when telling time, Bantayanons adopt words from Spanish for numbers 1-12.

- (80) **alas dus** 'two o'clock'

6.7.5. *Quantifiers*

Table 25: *FUNCTORS: quantifiers*

'all'	tanán
'few'	dyútay
'many'	dámù ⁹³
'self'	mísmu
'only, just, precisely'	lang
'very'	ka-áyu
'really' (truly)	gayúd
'also'	lat
'may, maybe'	bási
'just about'	hápit
'this/that very one'	sya

⁹³ Zorc (1977, p. 102) gives BTY **damû** for 'many'. See footnote 90.

6.7.6. Interrogatives

Table 26: FUNCTORS: interrogatives

{52}	‘what?’	nánu
{53}	‘who?’ (NOM)	sí-nu ~ sín-u
{54}	‘whose?’ (GEN)	kalí-nu ~ kalín-u
	‘to/for whom?’ (OBL)	
{55}	‘when?’ (NREAL)	sá-nu ~ sán-u
{56}	‘when?’ (REAL)	kaká-nu ~ kakán-u
{57}	‘where?’ (REAL)	dí-in
{58}	‘where?’ (NREAL)	há-in
{59}	‘why?’	ngáa (man)
{60}	‘how many?’	pilá
{61}	‘how much?’	tagpíla
	‘how many times?’	kapíla
{62}	‘how?’ (degree)	nánu ka-
	‘how?’ (manner)	gi-ánu
	‘which’ of these (1EXCL)	há-in siní
	‘which’ of those (2)	há-in sinâ
	‘which’ of those (3)	há-in sádtu

Interrogatives are used in the predicate position of a clause, either as the predicate (non-verbal clause) or to modify the verbal predicate. The interrogatives **nanu**, **pila**, and **tagpila** cannot be used in verbal clauses.

- (81) **San-u mubalik si Mario?**
 when AV.NREAL.return CASE.NOM.PERS Mario
 ‘When will Mario return?’

6.7.7. Negatives

Negatives can negate both verbs and existentials.

Table 27: FUNCTORS: negatives

{28}	NEG.NOM	—
{30}	NEG.REAL	wà
{31}	NEG.NREAL	díli
{32}	NEG.PROH	ayáw ⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Note that TAG *áyaw* means ‘don’t like’ or ‘don’t want to’ and is an *accent pair* with BIS *ayáw* (Zorc, personal communication).

6.7.8. Conjunctions

Conjunctions function as they do in English, by joining two phrases or clauses.

Table 28: *FUNCTORS: conjunctions*

{49}	CCONJ	‘and’	kag
	CCONJ	‘but’	piru
	CCONJ	‘or’	u
{50}	SCONJ	‘if’, ‘when(ever)’	kung
{51}	SCONJ	‘because’	kay
	SCONJ	‘so that’	bási
	SCONJ	‘until’	hángtud

Chapter 7. DEVELOPMENT OF A PROPOSED ORTHOGRAPHY

Lamenting that the development of an orthography is usually neglected by linguists, Seifart (2006) argues that it is an “absolutely necessary task” in the “early phase” of a language documentation project, especially considering that much of the success of the project depends on “casting [transcriptions of video-recorded speech events] in an orthography that appeals to the speech community”. Considering that we had no significant written tradition to base the orthography on⁹⁵ and that the hope is that the documentation will provide a basis for future literature production, namely the elementary school textbooks, this was one of the first tasks we undertook. Although it may have been tempting to neglect this initial task, relying on the orthographic conventions for Tagalog/“Filipino” or Cebuano, we perceived early on that those conventions were not sufficient to accurately represent the Bantayanon language.

The development of an official orthography was indeed, as Grenoble and Whaley (2006) say, the “chief consideration” in the standardization of the Bantayanon language. Lüpke (2011) mentions that there are “historical, religious, cultural, identity-related and practical factors in addition to linguistic ones” to be considered in the creation of a successful orthography. Indeed, of these factors, we had to consider all but any religious ones. This chapter will deal with what part these considerations played in the

⁹⁵ i.e., one specific to Bantayanon, outside of the Cebuano, Ilonggo, and Tagalog orthographies in which Bantayanons are literate and which do not vary greatly from what could be used for Bantayanon

development of the orthography, as well as the standards by which we chose to make our decisions when choosing among various options.

The process, and thus this chapter, were informed primarily and generally by Grenoble and Whaley (2006), Simons (1977, 1994), Lüpke (2011), Seifart (2006); for the Philippine context by Santiago (1978), Stone and Zamora (2010), Dekker (2010), and Ilao, Santos, and Guevara (2012); and for a broader Asian context by Burusphat (2004), Oko (2018), and Omar (1972).

7.1. THE COMMITTEE ON BANTAYANON STANDARDIZATION

Lüpke (2011, p. 333) points out that sometimes difficult questions in orthography development can be presented to the community, as opposed to placing that burden solely on the linguist. As stated by Grenoble and Whaley (2006, p. 137),

Regardless of how linguistically and technically sound an orthography might be, its initial (and continued) acceptance by the people for whom it is designed is critical in determining its eventual effectiveness and use. Therefore, local leaders and native speakers must be integrally involved in the process of developing an orthography regardless of their supposed linguistic awareness.

Indeed, and this principle is also consistent with the Community-Based approach I adopted from the beginning of the project. In late May of 2018, a group of educators from Bantayan, most of whom had participated in the *Singga Na!* workshop (see section 3.2.3.2) and who also were working on the translation of the MTB-MLE⁹⁶ materials, met together to discuss these issues. This chapter is a result of that meeting.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education, the acronym for the official MTB policy of the Philippines

⁹⁷ It is the desire of all involved to present the suggested standard orthography to the municipalities for official approval. However, for several reasons, this has not yet been accomplished. Therefore, the specifics in this chapter may change once (or if) that approval is requested and granted.

7.2. CONSIDERATIONS AND PRINCIPLES

For the meeting, I presented to the committee a document outlining the questions and considerations to be addressed, and I proposed to them a set of principles to be followed in determining how they wanted to handle the different orthographic questions relevant to Bantayanon. They agreed on the principles, which are outlined in Table 29.

Table 29: Orthographic principles adopted

THE BANTAYANON ORTHOGRAPHY SHOULD BE...	
<i>linguistic considerations:</i>	
PRECISE:	Whenever possible, there should be one-to-one mapping of grapheme to phoneme.
<i>historical considerations:</i>	
COMMON:	Orthographic rules should parallel, whenever possible, the most widely known and established principles of Philippine languages. Any adjustments must be made judiciously and with clear justification in terms of the unique features of the Bantayanon language.
<i>cultural considerations:</i>	
ACCEPTABLE:	Orthographic decisions should be made in consideration of what the Bantayanon community will actually use.
<i>identity-related considerations:</i>	
UNIQUE:	Whenever possible, without sacrificing important other principles, the orthography should seek to account for any unique features in the language.
GENERAL:	The orthography should seek to minimize, without sacrificing accuracy, the variation found in the three primary dialects of Bantayanon. In other words, the orthography should “work” for all three dialects.
<i>practical / technological considerations:</i>	
LEARNABLE:	The orthography should be easy to teach, easy to learn, easy to use and easily understood by other Filipinos.
TYPABLE:	The symbols of the orthography should be easy to produce on computer keyboards and handheld devices.

In this section, I present a more detailed explanation of each of the principles on which the orthographic discussions were based.

7.2.1. *Choice of script and sound-mapping (PRECISE)*

The choice of writing system and script-type was never in question. There was no reason to abandon the alphabetic system as it is used in English and Spanish and in the languages of the Philippines. In fact, the question was never raised.

Bantayanon, like Philippine languages generally, has a relatively simple phonotactic system. The choice of graphemes we adopted follows Grenoble and Whaley's argument for a *phonemic representation*. A "principle of sound-symbol correspondence" based on one-to-one *grapheme-phone* mapping is unworkable, for it cannot account well for phonetic variation or allophonic representations of morphemes and it would require different spellings for words in the various dialects. The advantages of a *grapheme-phoneme* system, besides being more stable, are that morphemes are generally recognizable in all their environments and dialectal differences are obscured while still being accurately represented. Indeed, Lüpke argues that, since Pike (1947), this approach is customarily considered optimal and ideal.

The alphabet used was based on the Tagalog *abakada*. Ilao et al. (2012)⁹⁸ write that

The Abakada was a 20-letter phonemic alphabet often taught with a simple rule of *kung ano ang bigkas siya ang baybay* or "words are written as pronounced." The orthography was simple and adequate for the Tagalog-based national lingua franca which turns out to be both the boon and bane of the spelling system. It seemed to have been very effective in teaching the Filipino language which was in its early stage of emerging from its Tagalog roots. But since the Filipino language was envisioned to

⁹⁸ See also Sibayan (1991).

be enriched by both local and foreign languages, some reforms were made and the number of letters was changed twice within the past 30 years. [*italics original*]

The current official Filipino alphabet has 28 graphemes, the 26 letters of the English alphabet plus ñ and ng. The term *grapheme* is used instead of *letter* because several phonemes in Bantayanon are not represented by single letters. The velar nasal (**ng** /ŋ/) and the double vowels (**aa**, **uu**) are represented by two letters. Additionally, the one-to-one principle was abandoned for the glottal stop /ʔ/, which is represented by a hyphen (-) word-medially and a grave accent (à, ì, ù) word-finally and is unrepresented word-initially. Each of these is described further in the following sections.

7.2.2. *Existent orthographies from related languages (COMMON)*

Grenoble and Whaley argue that those developing orthographies “must take into account how national regulations and laws affect orthographic choices” and must “be aware of conventions, such as spelling or punctuation, that are used in the national languages or other languages in a region, because local opinion might call for either conformity with, or divergence from, such conventions”. Lüpke points out that the “retention of graphemes already in use in the speech community or in nearby literacies will situate the orthography within their tradition”.

In the development of the Bantayanon orthography, we did not face any *legal* constraints or prescriptions, but we were indeed influenced on a *practical* level by the existing systems of the official, national “Filipino” orthography and the Cebuano orthography, primarily by way of the Cebuano textbooks. These two orthographies are what Bantayanons are taught in school, what they are accustomed to seeing in print, and what they use when writing informally. For the most part, this was a tremendous advantage: most of the orthographic decisions were already made. When certain

adjustments to the orthography were needed in order to make it more accurately represent certain features of the language (particularly in the exclusion of the graphemes *e* and *o*), there was initially, on the parts of some, a hesitancy to adjust. However, once each adjustment was fully considered, the entire committee endorsed the changes.

Because of a well-established literary tradition in the Philippines, many of the challenges or requirements for orthographic development presented in the literature were not issues we had to confront. We did not have to choose a script, nor consider the “determination of rules specifying word boundaries and punctuation” (Lüpke, 2011).

7.2.3. Will the people use it? (ACCEPTABLE)

A linguist may be able to determine the optimal writing system for a particular language, but if the native speakers of the language do not appreciate it, it will not be used. (Stone & Zamora, 2010)

There are a number of considerations involved in the question of whether a people will use the orthography as agreed upon and recommended by a small group among them. Will this group be seen as knowledgeable, authoritative, and/or well-intentioned enough to make such decisions? Will the decisions they make be too innovative for most people to adjust to? Will people take the time to learn the new system?

At the outset, this can only be guessed at. In truth, even well-established orthographies are not well-followed, so whether Bantayanons would make the requested changes to their habits remains an open question. This principle was applied by the committee relying on their intuitions to answer this question for any proposed orthographic conventions. This principle was mostly applied as a safeguard against ideas that, although well-reasoned, would never be accepted or used in the community.

In addition, they hoped that granting the orthography official status and beginning to use it (especially in the elementary textbooks) would help to ensure its use.

7.2.4. *The desire to be unique (UNIQUE)*

Grenoble and Whaley (2006, 143) continue: “Besides scripts carrying certain religious and political associations, other choices in orthography are also often considered as markers of identity in different ways; choices in orthography reflect the desire of a group to distinguish itself from surrounding groups or, sometimes, to align itself with certain groups.”

For us, this principle did not mean that we sought uniqueness *for the sake of* being unique. Indeed, we actively considered certain adjustments that would have accomplished just that: the use of the ŋ grapheme for the velar nasal, representing all glottal stops with a single grapheme (a hyphen, an apostrophe, or *q*), and obligatorily marking stress with an acute accent (á, í, ú). Each of these adjustments were rejected on the basis of one or more of the other principles (see below sections for each).

Instead, we followed this principle to innovate in order to represent features in which Bantayanon is indeed unique. This included marking all long vowels by doubling them and, as a consequence, marking all but word-initial glottal stops (see 7.3.4 below). By doing so, we violated the COMMON principle, and we discussed the possibility that some Filipinos would read the Bantayanon **aa** /a.a/ as /aʔa/ or the **uu** /u.u/ as /uʔu/. In the end, it was based on this principle, coupled with the PRECISE principle, that we decided to adopt the changes. The members of the committee were quite happy with this decision, as it gave us a justifiable and legitimate feature by which to distinguish Bantayanon from its neighbors.

7.2.5. *Dialectical variation (GENERAL)*

Simons (1977, 1994, p. 13) discusses the advantages of a *multidialectal orthography*, which he defines as “one in which the phonologies of many dialects of a language are compared and accounted for in designing the orthography”. This, he argues, is not “dialect mixture” but “dialect comparison to discover the levels of phonological structure at which skewed phonemic systems converge”. Note that he is not discussing a situation in which Bantayanon would take Cebuano or Tagalog into consideration in developing its orthography, but one in which the orthography of Bantayanon would provide for a single spelling of “differing pronunciations of the same word” among the various dialects of Bantayanon itself. The value in such an orthography provides “linguistic unity”, “cultural solidarity”, and “economic value” (efficiency of a single orthography for producing literature). It should be designed as to require the least effort to learn and use, while maintaining a correctness acceptable to the speech community. Discussing Simons, Grenoble and Whaley (2006, 151–52) point out that, “[i]n language revitalization situations, where the number of people using a language is often small, cultural divisions stand as obstacles to success, and employing a single orthography offers a way to remove one division.”

Developing a multi-dialectal orthography for Bantayanon (see section 4.4.1 for a discussion of the dialects) was not a difficult task, as the dialectal variations were generally allophonic and environmentally conditioned. We did have one situation, however, that was not readily resolvable. This is covered in section 7.3.4 below.

7.2.6. *Learnability and ease of use (LEARNABLE)*

One test of a good orthography is that the speaker of the language be able to learn to read and write it. Or to put it another way, the written language should be readily

teachable. This makes consistency a very important factor in developing an orthography. It also means we need to keep relearning to a minimum. **Thus what is already being taught by local school and for the national language is a heavy factor to consider.** Having learned to read the national language or the trade language of the area, a reader should be able to read in his native language with as little difficulty as possible as the transference of the value of the symbols. (Stone and Zamora 2010, p. 3, **emphasis** original)

In the Philippines, students are required to take the national language as an academic course, starting at a young age. They are also exposed to Tagalog constantly, both orally and visually, in media. Whether under the name “Tagalog”, “Pilipino”, or “Filipino”, this language’s standardized orthography is not significantly different from the orthography used by the regional language of Cebuano. Thus, Filipinos grow up exposed to and using a fairly consistent set of orthographic principles and spelling conventions. *Learnability* (or *teachability*) therefore dictates that the Bantayanon orthography adhere as closely as possible to this standard.

Another consideration in this principle is the ease by which other Filipinos, accustomed to the same general standard, will be able to read texts written in Bantayanon. That is not to say that they will be familiar with all the wordforms, but it does mean that they should not have to learn a new orthographic system when attempting to read Bantayanon texts.

7.2.7. Technological considerations (TYPABLE)

For an orthography in the modern age, we no longer have the luxury of considering symbols that are easily writable by hand. Much, if not most, of the “writing” we do is on electronic media that use keyboards with a limited number of symbol options readily available to the user, and such communication is expected to be rapid and efficient, particularly on handheld devices. In the Philippine context, technology is US-driven,

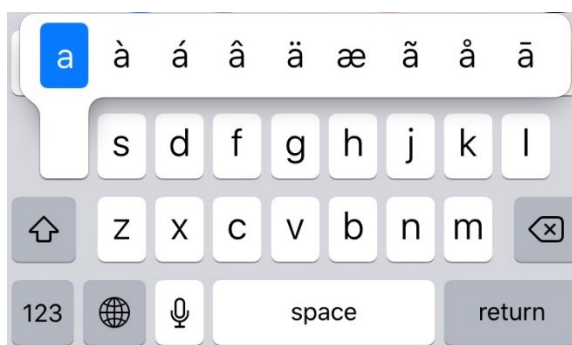
meaning that they use the QWERTY keyboard of the English-speaking world⁹⁹ on their computers and handheld devices. Easily (by a single stroke or touch) typable are the standard letters of the English alphabet and the numerals: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0.

What are not easily typable on the keyboard used by the English-speaking world are any other symbols or accented versions of the basic ones.¹⁰⁰ As an example, Figure 11 is a screenshot from an iPhone. In order to type an accented vowel – in this case, an *a* – one must push the *a* key, hold it down for a moment until the accented options appear, and then slide their finger across the screen, releasing their finger once the desired symbol is highlighted. Typing such characters on a desktop computer is slightly more complicated, involving optionally memorizing a set of 4-digit codes (e.g. ALT + 0225 just for an *á*) or going through the process of setting up a special keyboard input method on the computer to produce the symbols with two successive strokes (e.g. ' then a for an *á*). These graphemes are therefore not impossible, for most are typable in a multi-step process and would be readily available for a typist who has time to organize the text, such as for a book, a magazine, a website, a public sign, or a pamphlet, but this requirement is not one that would ever be accommodated by today's user when sending a text message or posting on a social media platform. This is the primary reason why the committee rejected the marking of stress (*á, í, ú*) on the vowels, although one such symbol was agreed upon (marking final glottal stop, i.e., *à, ì, ù*). Both cases will be discussed below.

⁹⁹ QWERTY is named for the first six letters on the top row of letters. Other keyboards, like those used by the French and the Germans, are laid out differently on the top row.

¹⁰⁰ For example, on the AZERTY keyboard used in France the accented letters are readily available on the keyboard.

Figure 11: iPhone process to type accented vowels



Lüpke reminds his readers also that it is important not to stray beyond Unicode characters, so as to ensure that the symbols of the orthography remain available to any “possible future developments that would make computers more accessible to the language community”.

7.3. THE BANTAYANON ORTHOGRAPHY

In this section, I present the various orthographic questions we addressed, along with the decisions made, based on the principles. Not all of the principles applied significantly to each question, so I limit my discussion to the salient principles for each question.

There are only 16 native consonants in Bantayanon: /b/, /d/, /g/, /h/, /k/, /l/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /p/, /r/, /s/, /t/, /w/, /j/, /ʔ/ and 3 vowels: /a/, /i/, /u/. Generally, the graphemes map to their equivalents in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), as is typical in the Philippines. Those that do not are the velar nasal (/ŋ/ written **ng**), the tap/flap or trill (/r/, /r/ written **r**), the central approximant (/j/ written **y**), and the glottal stop (/ʔ/ written either with an apostrophe, with a hyphen, or not at all).

Table 30: The Bantayanon grapheme inventory

The IPA-equivalent graphemes (unigraphs)

p	b	t	d	k	g	m	n	s	h	w	l	a	i	u
/p/	/b/	/t/	/d/	/k/	/g/	/m/	/n/	/s/	/h/	/w/	/l/	/a/	/i/	/u/

Non-IPA-equivalent graphemes

r	y	ng	Ø - `
/ɾ/	/j/	/ŋ/	/ʔ/

sy	ty	dy	ts
/ʃj/, /ʃ/, /sj/	/tʃj/, /tʃ/, /tj/	/dʒj/, /dʒ/, /dj/	/tʃ/, /ts/

Graphemes reserved for names and adopted words not respelled

c	j	qu	ll	x	z	f	v	e	o
/k/, /s/	/h/, /dʒ/	/k/	/lj/, /l/	/h/	/z/	/f/	/v/	/ɛ/, /e/, /i/	/o/, /u/

Stone and Zamora (2010) present a list of “potential problem areas for Philippine languages” when developing an orthography in the Philippines: use of “o and u”, symbolization of the offglides (e.g. *sya*, *bwaya*), symbolizing the glottal stop, representation of the juncture of “n” and “g” when they do not form “ng”, readability of reduplication (use of hyphen), hyphenation, vowels that are dropped from words during affixation (also fast speech although it is normally written in the full form), contractions, consonant gemination, pronoun attachment, and compound words. These are indeed pertinent questions to ask when working on an orthography in the Philippines, although not all of these were significantly relevant to Bantayanon. Those that were, however, are included in the discussion in this section.

7.3.1. *The IPA-equivalent phonemes: p b t d k g m n s h w l, a i u*

These twelve consonantal and three vocalic graphemes all are equivalent to the IPA symbols in their pronunciations and are standard in Philippine languages. Hence, they did not present any difficulties in the orthographic considerations.

7.3.2. *The tap/flap/trill and the central approximant: **r**, **y***

The **r** in Bantayanon represents the phonemic tap/flap /ɾ/. However, although the sound represented may be a trill /r/ or an alveolar approximant /ɹ/ (as in English),¹⁰¹ this is only dialectal or idiolectal and is a feature of Philippine languages in general, due to Spanish and English influences. For this reason, using **r** to represent all three articulations did not pose any problems with the orthographic considerations, for, being allophonic, no contrast is neutralized by a uniform representation.

The use of **y** to represent the central approximant /j/ posed no difficulties either. In reality, most grammars of Philippine languages and academic publications by well-respected Austronesian linguists do not even belabor the point, and they use **y** even in their pronunciation descriptions. Again, no issue was raised here in relation to the orthographic considerations.

7.3.3. *The velar nasal: **ng***

The *grapheme-phoneme* principle does not allow for two graphemes to represent a single phoneme, such as in the case of **ng** to represent the velar nasal /ŋ/.¹⁰² The first difficulty raised was the dilemma **ng** presents in alphabetization (see 7.3.9 below for further discussion). The other question that arose from this representation stemmed from the fact that it violates the PRECISE principle, i.e., it is not a single grapheme for a single phoneme. Using a single grapheme would indeed make the Bantayanon orthography

¹⁰¹ This is a recent development and is generally restricted to the speech of a small number of speakers who do so to mimic English.

¹⁰² Omar (1972, p. 8) points out correctly that the “one-to-one phoneme-grapheme rule has never been followed with much loyalty by the natural languages of the world”.

UNIQUE, since there are no Philippine languages who do not use **ng**, and this also wouldn't violate the GENERAL principle for the dialects.

One suggestion was to use the **ŋ** grapheme, and this possibility was discussed.

- (82) **ang** written as **aŋ** NOM.DEF.SG case marker
 (83) **kumingking** written as **kumiŋkiŋ** 'little finger'

Using this grapheme would maintain precision and create uniqueness, while also eliminating questions of alphabetization (simply, **n** followed by **ŋ**). However, it was quickly rejected because the advantages of UNIQUENESS, PRECISION, and easy alphabetization in this grapheme were greatly outweighed by the other principles. It was not COMMON, wouldn't be ACCEPTABLE or easily LEARNABLE, and is not easily TYPABLE.

7.3.4. *The glottal stop: -, ` , or not represented*

The glottal stop in Philippine languages is phonemic but has not been treated as such with its own unique grapheme. This is probably due to the fact that neither of the two languages that have most influenced writing in the Philippines, Spanish and English, have this consonant as a phoneme.¹⁰³ Today, the Indo-European languages on which much of the modern keyboards have been based do not include a grapheme for the glottal stop. Consequently, the glottal stop has been represented in various ways in Philippine orthographies. In other words, there is not a readily available single grapheme in the alphabet (or, in modern times, a symbol on the keyboard) for the glottal stop.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ See footnote ¹⁰² above.

¹⁰⁴ Because there is no uniform way of representing the glottal stop in Philippine orthographies, the phoneme has not been conceptualized as a distinct consonant in the minds of the vast majority of Filipinos. Indeed, in my discussions, I have noticed that many do not even recognize it (especially in word-final position) until it is pointed out to them.

Traditionally in the orthographies of related languages, this phoneme has been represented differently according to where in the word it occurs, and only when necessary. Otherwise, it has generally been assumed. This is a case of what Seifart (2006) called orthographic *underrepresentation*, one which Filipinos have found acceptable. Word-initially, there is actually a glottal stop before any word that is otherwise written vowel-initially; however, this glottal stop is never represented. Word-medially, the glottal stop is represented by a hyphen (-)¹⁰⁵ when necessary for correct syllabification orthographically and optional between two vowels (since it can be assumed in that position). For example, the hyphen ensures that CEB *Nag-unsa ka?* ‘What are you doing?’¹⁰⁶ is not pronounced [na.'gun.sa.ka], and CEB [ma.'ʔa.yu] can be written *maayu* or *ma-ayu* ‘good’. Word-finally, the glottal stop is never found in a consonant cluster, and therefore is only present phonologically following a vowel. However, it is typically unrepresented orthographically for what seem to be aesthetic reasons. The glottal stop in this position was the most difficult segment for me to hear as I was studying Bantayanon, and I often needed assistance in determining if it was present in a word. In truth, even many Bantayanons did not notice final glottal stops until I discussed their existence with them.

For their part in analyses, descriptions, and reconstructions, linguists have represented the glottal stop in its various positions in a number of ways. One way has been to

¹⁰⁵ Interestingly, in informal text, such as on the internet and in text messages, I have also seen the glottal stop represented as a period (.) or even a blank space, especially after prefixes. In some anthropological literature, I have seen it represented with an apostrophe (').

¹⁰⁶ In truth, this glottal stop is not “added”, since it is already present in *unsa* ['ʔun.sa], which is why the word is pronounced [nag.'ʔun.sa] and not **[na.'gun.sa].

represent it with a **q** in all positions, or at least medially and finally.¹⁰⁷ Another, based on historical conventions, has been to employ a hybrid of the hyphen (-) medially and a grave accent (`) finally (since it can be assumed in word-initial position). Also, stress typically being indicated with an acute accent (´), the convention is to use a circumflex (^) over the vowel when the two coincide. Therefore, the Bantayanon word for ‘fish’

[ʔis.ˈdaʔ] could be written in any of the following ways:

- (84) **isdà**
isdâ
isdáq
qisdáq

Because of a situation in Bantayanon in which double vowels had become dialectal (see section 5.3.2), we determined to mark all medial glottal stops. In order to facilitate the discussion, I presented to the committee four possibilities for representing the glottal stop if each were used consistently in both medial and final positions,¹⁰⁸ along with visual representations of how each would look. That presentation is reproduced in Table 31.

Table 31: Orthographic options considered for glottal stop

	‘mackerel’	‘good’	‘star’	‘foot’	‘fish’	‘tasty’	‘staple’ (food)
1. (´)	aguma’a	ma’ayu	bitu’un	ti’il	isda’	lami’	kan’un / ka’nun
2. (q)	agumaqa	maqayu	bituqun	tiqil	isdaq	lamiq	kanqun / kaqnun
3. (-)	aguma-a	ma-ayu	bitu-un	ti-il	isda-	lami-	kan-un / ka-nun
4. (`)	agumàa	màayu	bitùun	tìil	isdà	lami	kañun / kànun

Here the committee faced multiple options to weigh against the principles:

¹⁰⁷ i.e., in their linguistic descriptions, not in the orthographies

¹⁰⁸ We never even seriously considered representing it in initial position.

PRECISE. Options 1, 2, and 3 are precise. Option 4 is not, because it represents the glottal stop as a feature of the preceding segment, not a phonemic consonant.

COMMON. Option 3 is well-attested and widely recognized in the Philippines, options 1 and 4 are less so, and option 2 is not at all.

ACCEPTABLE. Word-medially, it was believed that Bantayanons would not actually use option 2 and that they would probably not use options 1 or 4. Also, word-finally, it was believed that option 4 is the only one Bantayanons would possibly use.

UNIQUE. Options 1, 2, and 4 would be unique; option 3 would be unique obligatorily between vowels.

GENERAL. All options would be generalizable dialectically.

LEARNABLE. All options would be easy to teach, learn, and use.

TYPABLE. Options 2 and 3 would be easy to type, while option 1 would be slightly more difficult. Typing option 4 would present considerable difficulty,¹⁰⁹ especially for a consonant (kañon).

Additional concerns were expressed in this discussion. It was generally agreed that many of the wordforms in the table were “ugly”, especially the **q** and the hyphen at the end of the word. It was also noted that the apostrophe could be used more effectively in other contexts, as in contracted words, e.g. **Nanu m’ini?** (i.e., **Nanu man** + **ini**) ‘What is this?’. Options 1 and 2 were therefore rejected immediately.

¹⁰⁹ Accent marks on modern keyboards require considerable extra steps to be typed. One would either have to change their keyboard settings on their computer, learn a set of “alt codes” that correspond to each symbol, or, mostly on phones, hold down the letters and allow for pop-ups to appear with the accented letters. This is not convenient for efficient typing on a computer and much less for texting on a smart phone.

Neither the hyphen nor the acute accent worked both word-medially and -finally for the committee. As noted above, the hyphen was considered “ugly” in final position, and the grave accent was cumbersome to type onto a consonant. The hyphen was the best option for most of the principles, so it was accepted for the orthography with one exception: word-finally, the glottal stop would be represented with the acute accent, despite the imprecision of doing so.¹¹⁰ Therefore, the glottal stop would be represented in the words as such:

(85) **aguma-a, ma-ayu, bitu-un, ti-il, isdà, lamì, kan-un ~ ka-nun**

In the end, the fact that the glottal stop is the only single phoneme represented in multiple ways was undesirable but unavoidable; orthographic inertia would have it no other way. It remains to be determined if anybody will actually use the hyphen between vowels or the acute accent in final position, however, because it is a new concept and is not generally used in other languages.¹¹¹

7.3.5. *The digraphs: sy, ty, dy, ts*

The digraphs **sy**, **ty**, and **dy** represent a regular regressive sound change in Bantayanon that has resulted from the palatalization of /s/, /d/, and /t/ when undergoing what I have termed the “Byay Effect” (see 5.3.1 for a full explanation). Typically, there is partial assimilation, /ʃj/, /tʃj/, and /dʒj/, respectively, but they can also obtain as full assimilation /ʃ/, /tʃ/, and /dʒ/ in the rapid speech of some. Although not unattested, no palatalization at all, as in /sj/, /tj/, and /dy/, is rare.

¹¹⁰ I actually advocated for **q** word-finally, but this was rejected.

¹¹¹ Additionally, even in the more established orthographies, Filipinos are often inconsistent.

The **ts** /ts/ sound is common to Philippine languages and is most commonly seen in Spanish loanwords, such as BTY **litsún** ‘roasted pig’ < SPA *lechón*. As such, it is often written in the Philippines with its Spanish spelling. In speech, the sound represented can be pronounced /ts/ or /tʃ/.

7.3.6. *Diphthongs and long vowels*

Often imprecisely referred to as *diphthongs* in the Philippine context, the combination of the standard vowels and the off-glides /w/ and /j/ are written **aw** /aw/, **ay** /aj/, **iw** /iw/, and **uy** /uj/.

None of the above digraphs presented any difficulties for the committee in reference to the orthographic principles. However, the double vowels did, due to Bantayanon having developed them in some dialects, resulting in no small controversy (see 5.3.2).

Table 32: Orthographic options considered for double vowels

	‘hair whorl’	‘gizzard’	‘head’	‘sleep’	‘palm’	‘path’
1. macron	alimpū	batikūn	ū	tūg	pād	dān
2. colon	alimpu:	batiku:n	u:	tu:g	pa:d	da:n
3. -h-	alimpuhu	batikuhun	uhu	tuhug	pahad	dahan
4. doubled letter	alimpuu	batikuun	uu	tuug	paad	daan

The orthographic difficulty however arises from the fact that 1) this is a sound change *in progress* and not all the dialects have been affected, 2) there is no mechanism in Philippine orthographies to represent double vowels, and 3) doubled vowels in Philippine orthographies represent two vowels with an intervening glottal stop. Four possibilities

were therefore suggested: a macron over the vowel, a colon after the vowel,¹¹² an **-h-** between the two vowels,¹¹³ and doubling of the vowels.

All options were considered PRECISE and LEARNABLE, which was important to the committee because this was recognized as a UNIQUE feature of the language. Option 1 failed because it was not easily TYPABLE, and neither option 1 nor 2 was considered COMMON or ACCEPTABLE.

The dilemma was in whether option 3 or 4 was GENERAL, because both are attested on the islands, although this fact is not well-recognized among many. Jason Lobel and I investigated this extensively, and what we found was that the intervocalic /h/ is actually a precursor to – and therefore a more conservative form of – the more recent reflex in which the /h/ has been lost, with resulting bimoraic double vowels. The former appears more in the areas between the town centers, the latter among the more linguistically prestigious dialects of the town centers, i.e., the power structure. This question is further complicated by the question of which will be used in the MTB-MLE textbooks. The choice of one would prioritize it over and threaten the other.

This was one of the few times during the orthographic discussions that I made an active suggestion to the committee. My suggestion was to use **-h-**, which could represent both versions in a GENERAL way, i.e., ACCEPTABLE and PRECISE in all dialects. In the end,

¹¹² To mimic the triangular colon that indicates vowel length in the IPA, as it was believed to be a question of vowel length until the intervocalic /h/, the conservative form, was discovered outside the towns. Note that this analysis as one of “double vowels” updates an error in a previous working paper (Allen, 2019).

¹¹³ It therefore could represent the word for both those who pronounce this **-h-** and those that do not (see section 5.3.2).

my suggestion was not accepted, due primarily to the fact that those in the meeting believed the dialectal double vowels to be “correct” Bantayanon.

It was therefore decided to accept option 4, doubling the vowels (**aa**, **uu**), and, in order to avoid pronouncing the two vowels with an intervocalic glottal stop, to mark all word-medial glottal stops with a hyphen.

For the sake of correctness, I am hoping that the final version of the dictionary will include both forms as variants. I, however, will present both variants in publications of my own.

7.3.7. *Vocalics and stress*

Despite the existence of **e** and **o** in the standard “Filipino” orthography, which has influenced both current orthographic usage among Bantayanons as well as current pedagogical materials in Cebuano,¹¹⁴ we chose to follow Wolff (1972a, 1972b) and others in this matter and only use the three vowels **a** /a/, **i** /i/, and **u** /u/. As Wolff points out (personal communication), the letters **e** /ɛ/ and **o** /o/ are used to represent lowered allophones of the phonemes /i/ and /u/, respectively.

It is often incorrectly asserted that some languages in the Philippines (e.g., Tagalog) have innovated a five-vowel system, justifying the continued use of *e* and *o* in the orthographies. However, it is more accurate to say that, because of the tradition of the Spanish orthography¹¹⁵ and the influence of Spanish and English in the Philippines, many

¹¹⁴ Since Bantayan is located in the Province of Cebu, the only elementary-level educational materials available are in Cebuano, but this will hopefully change as such materials are developed in Bantayanon.

¹¹⁵ Because *e* and *o* do occur allophonically, the Spanish were able to hear the two vowels and, having corresponding letters in their orthographies, used them to write Philippine languages.

people, primarily the educated and those living in major urban areas, are more easily able to distinguish between *i/e* and *u/o* when they do occur allophonically. However, it is not correct to assert that the languages themselves have innovated *e* and *o* as phonemes.

Due largely to the influence of the traditional Spanish and official Tagalog/Pilipino/Filipino orthographies, many orthographies use *e* and *o* even though they are not phonemic, believing them necessary and accurate for any Philippine language. However, any presence of **e** /*ɛ*/ or **o** /*o*/ in Bantayanon is allophonic (i.e., in conditioned environments) and/or idiolectal at best. Therefore, it is more accurate to write Bantayanon with only three vowels. This means that the use of only three vocalic graphemes is PRECISE, UNIQUE, GENERAL, LEARNABLE, and TYPABLE. Although it may not be COMMON *per se*, the committee was of the opinion that it would be ACCEPTABLE to most Bantayanons.

Stress is contrastive but unmarked in Philippine orthographies. Seifart (2006) discusses the extent to which distinctive features should be represented in an orthography, i.e., *orthographic depth*, in terms of each features *functional load* and the amount to which speakers can tolerate a certain amount of *underrepresentation* when those features can easily be distinguished in context.

- (86) **hábuy** *noun* blanket
- (87) **habúy** *adjective* dull (not sharp)

Although stress is indeed contrastive (marking it would be PRECISE), it was decided that doing so would be an unnecessary burden, as stress has a low functional load due to a relatively small number of homographs and because it would be an unnecessary departure from typical Philippine orthographies (COMMON), thus an acceptable degree of underrepresentation for the sake of ease of use. Although not inconceivable, a situation in

which the failure to mark stress on words like **anay** in a text (as opposed to a list of words in isolation, such as a dictionary) may cause confusion would be very rare indeed.

Finally, the acute accent (') needed to indicate stress would not easily be TYPABLE, and this change would probably not be ACCEPTABLE to most Bantayanons. Therefore, there was no need for it, even though it would be GENERAL and easily LEARNABLE.

7.3.8. Re-spelling of loanwords & proper names

In Allen (2019) I discussed in much detail the decision we made to spell most loanwords according to the orthographic rules established for Bantayanon. I also discussed arguments for and against this practice, especially in light of English's (1986)¹¹⁶ arguments *for* maintaining the English spelling of words adopted into Tagalog.¹¹⁷ One of the primary motivating factors for the attrition of minority languages among younger speakers in the Philippines is a perceived unsuitability of their languages in assisting them to participate in a global economy that prioritizes hegemonically dominant languages such as, in our case, Cebuano, Tagalog, and English. Our decision to spell adopted words in Bantayanon according to the Bantayanon orthographic system must be understood in light of one of our objectives in embarking on such a project: to promote literacy and pride in the language, thereby hopefully slowing its attrition in the short term, and providing tools and fertile ground for future use of the language in expanded domains. Partly for this reason, we chose to spell *most* Bantayanon words,

¹¹⁶ For a more well-reasoned and contextualized discussion of respellings in Tagalog, see Santiago (1978).

¹¹⁷ I also pointed out that, despite his insistence on maintaining English spellings in adopted words, he seemed to not be bothered in the least by the ubiquitous re-spellings of words adopted from Spanish.

irrespective of their provenance, using Bantayanon orthographic principles and in accordance with the phonological, morphological, and semantic rules that govern Bantayanon.

In addition to our belief that Bantayanon must first be considered a unique and valuable language in order to begin to turn the tide of language encroachment, we also understood that the words of Bantayanon belong to Bantayanon, irrespective of whatever their provenance may actually be. Consider for a moment one example of the ingenuity and creativity of language. From ENG *tricycle*, Bantayanon has adopted the word **traysikul**, a vehicle for public transportation which adds a side-car to a motorcycle. But many of these vehicles are not propelled by motorcycles but by bicycles that drivers must manually pedal. Bantayanon has the word **sikad** for ‘pedal’, which is strikingly similar to the **-sikul** in **traysikul**, hence a convenient word for the pedaled version of the vehicle: **traysikad**. This productivity must be predicated on the fact that **traysikul** is a Bantayanon, and not an English, word. The Bantayanon words **bakasyun** ‘vacation’ and **gustu** ‘want, like’ (< SPA *gusto*¹¹⁸) are Bantayanon words in their own right, and they must be treated that way.

Furthermore, adopted words do not always carry the same meaning as their counterparts in the donor language. Consider one example: a BTY **traysikul** is not a ENG *tricycle*. And oh the irony when you consider that an English speaker on Bantayan would have to adopt the new word **traysikad** into his English vocabulary! Other examples

¹¹⁸ Indeed, in adopting SPA *gusto*, Bantayanon and other Philippine languages re-analyzed it syntactically, because the syntax governing SPA *gustar* does not coordinate well with the one governing BTY **gustu**.

would be BTY **istambay** ‘loitering’ (< ENG *stand by*), BTY **intiryur** ‘innertube’ (< ENG *interior*), BTY **limunsitu** ‘calamondin’ (< SPA *limoncito*), and BTY **publasyun** ‘town center’ (< SPA *población*), all words which have only a partial correspondence semantically with their counterparts. Consider also that a **sinamun** refers uniquely to a type of ‘cinnamon roll’ which is not the equivalent of the sweet pastry familiar to people in America, and the **spagiti** preferred by people in the Philippines is very sweet and substitutes slices of hotdog wieners for the ground beef Americans would include in their decidedly unsweet *spaghetti*.

In Allen (2019), discussing our decision to spell loanwords in Bantayanon according to the Bantayanon orthography, I argue that contrary approaches are often (usually?) governed more by prescriptive aesthetics than by descriptive accuracy, that they are the natural outworking of an attitude among academics and policy makers that generally views all things “English” as a standard to strive for. With this attitude so prevalent among the academic and political elites, it is no wonder that the speakers of minority languages feel, as Eslao-Alix (2014) says, “awkward about” their languages. It is also no wonder that such language attitudes at the highest levels of academia that inform language policy in the Philippines contribute greatly to the attrition of minority languages across the archipelago.

We did however opt to maintain the foreign spellings in certain cases. Primary among these were any and all proper names. In doing so, we maintained letters such as

- (88) **c** (Escario, Jocelyn, Charo)
- (89) **j** (Madrirdejos, Juanita)
- (90) **qu** (Quiamco)
- (91) **ll** (Sillon)
- (92) **x** (Roxas)
- (93) **z** (Zoren)

- (94) **f** (Santa Fe, Fernandez)
- (95) **v** (Vicente, Levi)
- (96) **e** (Bantigue, Despi)
- (97) **o** (Mohon, Doong, Obo-ob)

In addition, many words are left in their English forms either because they generally appear in English domains of use (i.e., they are only ever seen in English and have no apparent equivalents in Bantayanon), because they are so ubiquitous in writing across the Philippines that they are easily recognized spelled the way they are (and re-spelling them would actually cause confusion), because they contain phones that are not easily adapted into the Bantayanon orthography (rare), or because they are neologisms unique to Philippine English. These words are judged on a case-by-case basis. Examples include **comfort room** ‘restroom’, **drive-thru**, **load** (pre-paid credit for mobile phones), and **3-in-one** (instant coffee in a sachet with creamer and sweetener). The primary reason for not respelling these words is because they are *already* and *only* recognized spelled the way they are.

7.3.9. *Alphabetization*

The question of letter ordering presents itself in the formation of dictionaries and various lists (including proper names). For our purposes on the Bantayanon orthography, this was a fairly straightforward process, as the ordering of the alphabet is well established in tradition. We were however faced with questions concerning the **k**, the velar nasal **ng**, the glottal stop, and other consonant clusters. Dictionaries of varying levels of quality and sophistication (i.e., quality academic dictionaries and commercial “pocket” dictionaries) have all taken one or the other of the options presented below for the ordering of each of these symbols.

Where to put k? The traditional *abakada* in the Philippines, having removed the **c**, moves the **k** into the hole left by its absence in the third position (**a b k d ...**), but many lexicographers have chosen to follow the traditional order instead, leaving **k** between **j** and **l** (**... j k l ...**). This question is not relevant to the principles PRECISE, UNIQUE, GENERAL, LEARNABLE, or TYPABLE. The questions of whether it was COMMON or ACCEPTABLE were relevant however.

The *abakada* is an established paradigm in the Philippines, so it is common. It is relevant here to examine what others have done and are doing, i.e., what Filipinos are accustomed to seeing done. Wolff (1972a), Reyes, Zorc & Prado (1969), and Motus (1971a) use **a b k d** for Cebuano, Aklanon and Ilonggo¹¹⁹ respectively, while Kaufmann (n.d.) uses **j k l** and Uy-Griño (2005) uses **i k l** for Ilonggo. In the Bantayanon context, Layague (2016) chose **a b k d** for his Bantayanon dictionary.

The question of acceptability, in this case, seems to be focused primarily on the question of where the users will “go looking” for **k**. Although the committee could evidently not predict where everybody would “go looking”, it was agreed that, for the children, the *abakada* is being taught in school and, for adults, most modern dictionaries of quality use the *abakada* (including Layague’s). Hence, it was believed, most people today would look for **k** after **b**.

Do we split the ng? The question of where to order the velar nasal /ŋ/, traditionally represented as **ng**, stems from the fact that it is a single phoneme represented graphemically by two letters. Thus, for alphabetization purposes, we must consider the

¹¹⁹ Note that early lexicographers such as Métrida (1637) were, of course, still using Spanish orthographies and hence not spelling words with *k*’s, so they were not concerned with this question.

following options: 1) treat it as a *single grapheme* and order it between two others or 2) treat it as *two graphemes* and alphabetize accordingly. The use of the grapheme **ŋ** was rejected (see 0 above), although it would have been the most PRECISE and UNIQUE option. Table 33 visually illustrates the two remaining possible options in word-initial position, but the same principles hold in medial positions as well.

Table 33: Alphabetization options for the velar nasal

OPTION 1:	OPTION 2:	REJECTED:
<i>single grapheme</i>	<i>two graphemes</i>	<i>the ŋ grapheme</i>
<u>nanu</u>	<u>nanu</u>	<u>nanu</u>
<u>nimu</u>	<u>ngabil</u>	<u>nimu</u>
<u>ngabil</u>	<u>nimu</u>	<u>ngabil</u>

Of the dictionaries mentioned previously, Reyes, Zorc & Prado (Aklanon), Méntrida, and Motus (Ilonggo) opted for option 1, while Wolff (Cebuano), Kaufmann, Uy-Griño (Ilonggo), and Layague (Bantayanon) opted for option 2.

It would seem that, to be PRECISE, it would be best to represent the **ng** as the single phoneme it is, which is what is typical of the *abakada*, but in actuality it is not clear whether precision would dictate the ordering of letters/graphemes or phonemes, being previously done both ways. Neither option would be COMMON or UNIQUE, and both would be GENERAL, TYPABLE, and LEARNABLE. Like the question of the **k**, it came down to which option would be ACCEPTABLE to most Bantayanons, i.e., where they would “go looking” for it in a dictionary. This question ultimately was not resolved in the committee meeting. Fortunately, there is still time, as the current form of the dictionary is not printed.

Where does the glottal stop go? This question was not given in-depth consideration, due mainly to the fact that the glottal stop is not represented by a letter.

(98)	paghinulsol	<i>noun</i>	repentance
	pag-inambitay	<i>noun</i>	sharing
	pag-init	<i>noun</i>	heating
	pag-inupdanay	<i>noun</i>	companionship
	paglahutay	<i>noun</i>	perseverance, tenacity, steadfastness

Also, it sometimes “appears”¹²⁰ upon affixation of roots (e.g. when **init** becomes **pag-init**), meaning that the above ordering in Layague would be impossible. The alternative would depend solely on where in the alphabet ordering the glottal stop would be placed, and there is no tradition that I know of that has addressed this question.

The only other consideration was the rare occurrence in which a glottal stop may appear in word-final position as one of what would otherwise be two homographs (e.g. **wa** ‘left (side)’, **wà** ‘none’). The word with the final glottal stop will immediately follow the one without.

7.4. EXPECTATIONS FOR A SUCCESSFUL ORTHOGRAPHY

As of this writing, the suggested orthography has not yet been submitted to the mayors or the town councils, for two reasons. First, it is hoped that the approval process will include all three municipalities, and, second, the disruptions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic have put the entire process on hold. However, in expectation that some form of this orthography will be established for Bantayanon, it is prudent to discuss the expectations for its success.

¹²⁰ Again, it is present at the beginning of all words that are spelled with a vowel, but it is not represented. When prefixes that end in a consonant are attached, the initial glottal stop must be represented in order to maintain proper syllabification.

7.4.1. *Expanded domains of use*

Lüpke (2011) points out that it is “important to identify an ecological niche for writing in the endangered language, that is, registers and contexts which are predisposed for writing in it instead of in a contact language” and that “[a] written form for their languages features among the strongest wishes of many endangered language communities. However, these positive attitudes towards literacy are not necessarily matched by actual literacy practices.” The extent to which it will catch on in quotidian use among Bantayanons remains to be seen. There is, however, a desire among many to build upon the work being done by developing opportunities for Bantayanons to express themselves in written forms in their own language.

In describing the “Key Components of a MTBMLE Program”, Dekker (2010) advocates for a “[a] process of developing and testing a writing system that will be acceptable to the majority of mother tongue speakers, to the government and will encourage members of the language communities to continue reading and writing in their language.” The orthography developed is intended to be employed initially in the Bantayan Elementary School Dictionary and any official documents or public signage by the municipal governments, with the hopes that it will later be employed in the development of literature in the Bantayanon language.

Chapter 8. CONCLUDING EVALUATION

This dissertation has described the process by which a community-based language research project was implemented on the Philippine island group of Bantayan in Cebu province to begin the process of documenting and describing the Bantayanon language and reinvigorating it for future generations. Based on the precepts of the Sustainable Use Model, which argue that literacy and a literary tradition are major factors in language maintenance and revitalization, we have proposed an orthography for Bantayanon and have begun the process of developing a Bantayanon dictionary. I have described the process and methods by which data was collected, by way of video interviews and a modified version of the Rapid Word Collection method. I have also presented a brief grammatical description of Bantayanon, including the function words. In doing so, I have focused on its unique features and present the scholarly arguments for situating Bantayanon linguistically among its related languages.

The remainder of this concluding chapter is an evaluation of the project in terms of what worked and what did not. I discuss challenges encountered in the fieldwork and make suggestions for how they could be resolved. Finally, this dissertation is concluded with suggestions for future research and further development of a Bantayanon literary tradition.

8.1. CHALLENGES

The primary challenges to completing this dissertation were related to financial considerations and the COVID-19 pandemic, both of which caused significant restrictions to my ability to spend time in the Philippines, as well as a number of difficulties inherent with implementing the community-based research approach as a doctoral research project in the Philippines.

8.1.1. *The Observer Effect in the recorded interviews*

The *Observer Effect*¹²¹ is a phenomenon in linguistic fieldwork in which the researcher's presence can, for various reasons, cause the participant to adjust their speech in some way, in effect tainting the “naturalness” of the linguistic data. The dilemma is that the most obvious solution, collecting linguistic data surreptitiously, is unethical.

Early in the process of doing our video-recorded interviews,¹²² we realized that the interviewees were in large part answering questions and talking to us in Cebuano, despite repeated gentle reminders to speak Bantayanon. We speculated that they were doing so either out of accommodation to me as the interviewer (i.e., so that I would understand)¹²³ or, less likely, out of some sense of shyness to speak to a foreigner in Bantayanon. It

¹²¹ Labov (1972, p. 209) first describes this phenomenon – terming it the *Observer's Paradox* – and notes that one way to overcome the effect is to “change the structure of the interview situation by one means or another.”

¹²² It is important to make a distinction in this section between the many hours of “video-recorded interviews”, in which participants were asked to speak freely, and the lexical elicitations, in which participants were asked to provide lexical judgements for individual words. This section discusses the former; the latter did not present the same difficulties and is commonly employed by linguists with few issues.

¹²³ This is not to say that I can understand Cebuano on an advanced level, but presenting to them a Cebuano translation of the consent form may have given them that impression. Also, the interviewees who did this would not have been able to speak English competently, so Cebuano was their language of wider communication with people from outside Bantayan.

could have been a combination of both. Either way, it did seem clear that I was the one causing the effect.

I adjusted by removing myself from the scene and by having a Bantayanon perform the interview. I would set up the camera and the microphones, and I would be present to answer any questions while obtaining informed consent, but the Bantayanon would do all of the talking. When everything was ready to begin, I would walk away, out of sight of the interviewee, and the interview would commence. We noticed an immediate change: the interviews from that point forward were in Bantayanon.

Recently, I got some indication as to what was occurring. In the fall of 2021, while giving a series of lectures as a Visiting Professor at Mindanao State University – Iligan Institute of Technology, I mentioned this dilemma in a presentation on field methods. After that lecture, one of the participating students, Esther Aringoy, who had lived in Bantayan during her grade school years, wrote me a long email about her thoughts on various things I had mentioned in the lecture. In her email, she addressed the question:

This is my second time listening to your lecture. I was really amazed when I heard you talking about your research done on Bantayan Island. I lived there for 10 years. I started in first grade till high school (grade 10).

It was my first time to know that Bantayanon was considered a language. I thought it was a dialect of either Cebuano or Ilonggo. Come to think of it, people from Cebu who visited the Island couldn't understand our language. As kids we would make fun of these Cebuanos and talk behind their backs.

I remember in your lecture you asked why we (Bantayanons) shift to Cebuano or Bisaya when talking to outsiders. One main reason is because they don't understand us and it is the dominant language spoken by the majority. If that person can't understand Bisaya, we talk to the person in Filipino or Tagalog. If that person can't understand either Bisaya or Tagalog, we then talk to them in English.

When you asked a Bantayanon if she was proud of her language and she said yes, I wasn't surprised. Growing up, I could sense my friends' superiority in the uniqueness of the Bantayanon language. This feeling of superiority is not true in other languages though. As a Bisaya speaker myself, I know that many Bisaya/Cebuanos feel inferior

and try to hide that we're Bisaya when we're in another place that doesn't speak it. I think one reason is because of the stereotype that if you speak Bisaya you come from the hinterlands, you are uneducated and possibly working as a maid.

I read her comments to mean that, yes, it is true that many speakers of Bisayan languages feel some level of embarrassment when communicating with speakers of Tagalog or English, but not Bantayanons. Bantayanons, on the other hand, are proud of their language, but they are also considerate enough to accommodate their interlocutors by speaking to them in a language that they can understand.

8.1.2. *Technological difficulties*

Having received ample preparation from Will Reiman at the workshop discussed in section 3.1, in terms of interview practices and technological considerations, we encountered very few difficulties in the collection of the oral interviews. The only instance of a significant mistake was due to human error on my part when I neglected to press the “record” button twice on the Zoom recorder, consequently not having the better-quality audio and having to use the audio from the camcorder instead.

The primary technological challenge I faced was in relation to the laptops used to synthesize and analyze the lexicological data. Words were entered into the software installed on both laptops, and the data were synced by way of the cloud storage provided by Language Depot (languagepot.org). Initially, the laptops and the software served us well. However, difficulties soon arose when I began to notice a cumbersomely large number of data conflicts needing resolution after syncing. Then it became apparent that two laptops were not sufficient, especially when the software installed began to crash regularly and the laptops themselves began to not function properly, which were probably related issues. Additionally, we noticed that, when the software only contained the 2,000

words collected before the RWC workshop, the software handled them with no difficulty, but, once that number increased to over 10,000 words upon entering the results from the RWC collection, the responsiveness of the software (or of the laptops) decreased significantly. Because the software was only produced for Windows-based computers, we were also unable to use my Apple MacBook laptop, and purchasing new laptops was not financially feasible. As a result of these challenges, data entry languished from that point forward. Later, an unknown sync error occurred between Language Depot and the laptops, and most of the data entry was subsequently lost (although the data itself, on paper, remained safe).

Fortunately, none of the actual data was lost, because it was all written down (with the exception of the words entered by Jocelyn Abenido from the Masbatenyo dictionary, see section 3.2.1). Nevertheless, it became apparent that we were not being well-served by the laptops and software available. We therefore adjusted in two ways. First, we began to develop the CollaLex SaaS web application (see section 3.3.3). Second, all data needing further processing were entered into an Excel spreadsheet, formatted, and printed out to be worked on by hand.

Despite attempting to follow best practices by backing up the data entered (onto Language Depot and synced onto two laptops), what I did not foresee was that a sync failure would corrupt all three backups. This could have been avoided by exporting the data regularly from the software and saving it on removable storage media.

8.1.3. *Sensitive issues as topics for interviews*

Another issue we encountered once was the unwillingness of certain individuals to speak about certain topics. In one barangay we visited after the meeting with the

barangay captains, we arrived at the precise moment that many senior citizens were leaving a meeting at the barangay hall. We asked several of them if they would like to be interviewed, and many did.

One lady, however, became upset at one of our proposed interview topics. We were hoping to investigate the origin and meaning of the interjection *kulira!*, which was reported to have originated from that barangay in times past due to an outbreak of cholera. This lady flatly and emotionally refused to be interviewed, stating that her mother had died of cholera and it was a sensitive topic for her that she did not want to discuss.

The community-based research model provides a possible solution for avoiding these types of missteps in the field, as community members themselves could have organized the interviewees and discussed the topics with them beforehand. Instead, in this particular instance, this was not done.

On the whole, however, people in the Philippines are very open in the range of topics of conversation, more so than even Americans tend to be. This particular incident was an isolated case, and no other similar reactions came to my attention. There was however the concern on the part of several participants that I was only there to get what I could from them, meaning that I would not return and they would never see the final result. I learned that I was not the first researcher to visit Bantayan asking questions and that many of the locals had grown accustomed to researchers never following up with them.¹²⁴ This can

¹²⁴ There has been much scientific research done on Bantayan, as it is an attractive locale for such, due primarily to its fishing industry. Virtually no linguistics research of this type, however, is generally done in the Philippines, so most of the previous researchers had likely been non-linguists.

obviously be resolved for linguists doing research among local populations by understanding that the people who willingly provide data for their research are stakeholders in their language (a key component of community-based research) and are worthy of being treated as such. Once completed, each and every person who assisted in this project will be presented with the final product derived from their contribution.

8.1.4. *Difficulties inherent in the community-based research approach*

In a recent academic discussion on the Community-Based Language Research (CBLR) model I advocate and on which this project is structured, Crippen & Robinson (2013) point out a few difficulties for those like me working on early-career projects, including:

For students and other early-career field linguists, there are additional obstacles to collaboration. First, students often must do ‘lone wolf’ projects. PhD dissertations and master’s theses must be sole-authored, and highly collaborative work can therefore create authorship problems. Second, early-career researchers do not always have access to generous funding sources, which are necessary for large collaborative projects employing community members... Third, academic linguists need research publications for their careers. This does not apply only to students, but to all academics, as publications are a requirement for graduation, attaining a job, and applying for tenure and promotion. (emphasis original)

As much as I advocate for CBLR, I also recognize that CBLR and the linguist-working-alone models both have inherent strengths and weaknesses.¹²⁵ For the reasons laid out in 2.1 above, this project was based on the CBLR approach, but that approach was not ideal in every way to the context. Indeed, after collecting the required data, the ability of “lone wolf” linguists to complete their research depends solely on themselves. I

¹²⁵ See Crippen & Robinson (2013), Bower & Warner (2015), and Robinson & Crippen (2015). The importance of this minor matter is exaggerated, in my opinion, and it is not my view that one is proper and one is inappropriate. A disinterested reader would recognize that both approaches have strengths, both have weaknesses, and both have contexts in which they are the preferable approach.

will add to Crippen & Robinson's list above that an honest evaluation of the CBLR model must confront the harsh reality that it is very difficult in many contexts to coordinate a sufficient number of individuals willing and able to make the commitments necessary to accomplish the work, especially when a particular task requires a significant time commitment and, for many tasks, a certain level of expertise. Enthusiasm for the work itself is often not accompanied by individual follow-through.

There are a number of reasons for this in the Philippines, many of them legitimate. Primarily, most people cannot leave the jobs that support their families to commit the time and/or resources necessary. Retired people are often tired and do not have the energy or the technological expertise. Students have responsibilities at school and to their families. Many people find it impolite to overtly refuse, despite having no intention to participate. Others feel inadequate for the task and therefore shy away. Some people are only motivated to complete tasks that benefit them personally.

None of the above is particularly unique to the Philippines. However, in some ways, there are aspects of the culture in the Philippines that make CBLR projects more difficult to accomplish. One of these is the tendency of people in the Philippines to prefer working cooperatively in groups, under the direction of a capable coordinator.¹²⁶ It may seem counter-intuitive that this cultural preference would work against the CBLR approach,¹²⁷ but it actually does in some circumstances. CBLR does not mean that everybody is always working together on a task. Instead, it often means that tasks are distributed

¹²⁶ This is my observation, as well as the observation of others who have worked in the Philippines for much longer periods of time and with whom I have discussed the issue.

¹²⁷ Indeed, it served the RWC project very well.

among those offering to do them. When, therefore, certain tasks are distributed to individuals, it was my experience that those tasks were the ones that often were not completed, with the obvious exception of those in this dissertation credited with helping accomplish significant tasks.

The lack of access to “generous funding sources” mentioned by Crippen & Robinson above also hindered progress. Based on wise counsel received before completing my Institutional Review Board (IRB) application, the ability to pay participants was not included,¹²⁸ and I was not able to secure the necessary funding that I had requested for the fieldwork. The result was that I was not able to spend more than a few months at a time on Bantayan, meaning much was left undone several times in anticipation of my return.

For the reasons discussed in this section and others, much of the work initially projected remains unfinished, including the processing of much of the data collected. Furthermore, attempts to coordinate group training and working sessions have been hindered by the COVID-19 pandemic but are still in progress. We are also currently working to set up a secure workstation – complete with a computer, internet access, and a printer – on the extension campus of Cebu Technological University in Bantayan. My current plan is to return to Bantayan this summer (2022) to help to coordinate the completion of the remaining tasks.

Those remaining tasks include the re-entering and processing of the 10,000 lexical items collected, this time into CollaLex. The processing of these items will include:

¹²⁸ Questions of money and payments can be problematic in the Philippines, to say the least.

- “cleaning up” the words (to eliminate duplicates and Cebuano words, move morphological forms into their correct entries, and account for the various senses of each headword),
- glossing (or defining) them correctly,
- providing pronunciation guides (primarily for stress),
- providing examples of usage.

Ideally, whenever possible, the examples should come from the hours of video-interviews we recorded. In order to accomplish this, the following must be done for those recordings:

- transcribing the interviews,
- mining the interviews for missing lexical items.

Also, it is our goal to publish the interviews, subtitled in Bantayanon and English, on the project website, and to archive all audio and video data at the *Kaipuleohone Digital Language Archive*. Finally, the objective is to publish the elementary-school dictionary first, to help advance the process of developing the textbooks, and later to publish a more complete Bantayanon dictionary.

8.2. FUTURE RESEARCH

As any effort to maintain – or, better, to revitalize – endangered languages is by its nature an ongoing process, several topics for future research can be proposed for Bantayanon.

From an anthropological viewpoint, I do hope in the future to further investigate the tendency among Bantayanons not to speak Bantayanon in certain scenarios with outsiders (see 8.1.1 above). This may provide helpful insights to future researchers for how to recognize and otherwise avoid this “observer effect” in the languages they are studying.

From a linguistic standpoint, there are many additional topics for research on Bantayan.

Jessrel Guilbuena, a native of Santa Fe, is a linguistics graduate and instructor at Cebu Normal University. I was happy to learn, just before submitting this dissertation, that he is working on documenting and describing the unique features of the Sinantapihanun dialect. This is the most obvious topic for further research, as this dialect is unique among Bantayanons. There are lexical, phonological, and syntactical features that distinguish the speech of those from Santa Fe, and these variations must be accounted for in the Bantayanon dictionary.

Also, it is incumbent upon future researchers to do a more thorough dialect study of the islands. As noted in this dissertation, there is significant variation in Bantayanon among the municipalities, among the generations, and between those who live inside and outside the town centers. Where isoglosses can be drawn between those who have double vowels and those who do not (see section 5.3.2), as well as those who metathesize the glottal stop as described in section 5.3.3, would also be very informative.

Finally, efforts should be made to develop a literary and publishing tradition in Bantayanon. Many ideas have been suggested: literary contests, musical productions, radio broadcasts. These and numerous other projects are wonderful ideas. The community must come together, with the support of the municipal governments, to promote such use of Bantayanon.

Appendix A: EXAMPLE OF SEMANTIC DOMAIN QUESTIONS AND PROMPTS

Below are three examples of the semantic domain descriptions provided for use in a Rapid Word Collection (see section 3.2.3). The full list is found at <https://semdom.org>.

1.6.1.5 Fish

Use this domain for fish (phylum Chordata, class Osteichthyes).

(1) What general words refer to animals that live in the water?

- *fish, water animal, sea creature*

(2) What species of freshwater fish are there?

- *trout, minnow, catfish, mudfish, perch*

(3) What species of saltwater fish are there?

- *anchovy, barracuda, bass, blackfish, bonefish, bream, carp, cod, codfish, crappie, darter, flatfish, flounder, gar, garfish, garpike, goldfish, grouper, guppy, halibut, herring, lungfish, mackerel, marlin, pickerel, pike, piranha, pollack, pompano, sailfish, salmon, sardine, sea horse, shad, sole, spearfish, sturgeon, sucker, sunfish, swordfish, tarpon, tuna, turbot, whitefish, whiting, wrasse*

(4) What words refer to the very small animals in the ocean?

- *plankton*

(5) What words describe where a fish lives?

- *freshwater, saltwater, pelagic, marine, aquatic*

(6) What words describe fish?

- *bony, finned, jawed, jawless, lobe-finned, poisonous, snouted*

4.7.5.3 Accuse, confront

Use this domain for words related to accusing someone of doing something bad.

(1) What words refer to accusing someone?

- *accuse, confront, accost, incriminate, blame, point the finger at, criticize, hold responsible, find fault with, be direct with, don't mince words, tell off, rebuke, reprove, remonstrate, to rebuke, correct, reproof, remonstrance, castigate, cast aspersions, prove, offer proof*

(2) What words refer to the person who accuses another person?

- *plaintiff*

(3) What words refer to the person who has been accused of something?

- *the accused, the defendant*

8.4.5 Relative time

Use the domains in this section for words that relate one time to another. Use this domain for words that indicate a temporal relation between situations.

(1) What general words refer to one time in relation to another time?

- *relative to, in relation to, before or after*

Appendix B: BANTAYANON RAPID WORD COLLECTION RESPONSE SHEET

The Rapid Word Collection “Response sheet”, modified for our use (see section 3.2.3).

Semantic Domain Number: _____		 ☐	 ☐	 ☐
Domain Name: _____		Filled out by _____		
Ages of Participants: _____				
Collection began:	Date _____	Time _____	Barangay: _____	
Bantayanon Word or Expression		Cebuano Gloss		
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				
7.				
8.				
9.				
10.				
11.				
12.				
13.				
14.				
15.				
16.				
17.				
18.				
19.				
20.				
21.				
22.				
23.				
24.				
25.				
26.				
27.				
28.				
29.				
30.				

REFERENCES

- Alcina, I. F. (2002). *History of the Bisayan People in the Philippine Islands. Evangelization and Culture at the Contact Period (Historia de la Islas e indios de Bisayas... 1668)* (C. J. Kobak & L. Gutiérrez (Eds. & Trans.); Vol. 1). UST Publishing House.
- Allen, J. K. (2018). Using Lexicography as a Tool for Examining Local Language and Culture. *Singga Na!: The 1st Bantayan Summit on Local Language and Culture*. <https://bantayanon.ph/documents/Allen-2018-Using-Lexicography-as-a-Tool-for-Examining-Local-Language-and-Culture.pdf>
- Allen, J. K. (2019). The Respelling of Loanwords in the Bantayanon Orthography, with a Response to Leo James English on the Matter. In *Fleur de Ling: Tulane University Working Papers* (Vol. 4).
- Anderson, T. R. (1965). *A contrastive analysis of Cebuano Visayan and English*. University of California - Los Angeles.
- Andress, M. W., & Daday, L. P. (1994). *Understanding Cebuano Grammar, Book 1: Basic Grammar*. Philippine Baptist Mission, Foreign Mission Board, SBC.
- Arribas Jr., N., Kintanar, B., & Puentespin, R. B. (2014). *Birds of Cebu and Bohol, Philippines*. University of San Carlos Press.
- Bakker, P. (2003). Mixed languages as autonomous systems. In Y. Matras & P. Bakker (Eds.), *The Mixed Language Debate: Theoretical and Empirical Advances* (pp. 107–150). Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bell, S. J. (1976). *Cebuano Subjects in Two Frameworks*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Bell, S. J. (1978). Two Differences in Definiteness in Cebuano and Tagalog. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 17(1), 1–9.
- Bell, S. J. (1992). On the order of nouns and modifiers in literary Cebuano. In M. D. Ross (Ed.), *Papers in Austronesian Linguistics No. 2* (pp. 53–85). Pacific Linguistics.
- Bersales, J. E. R. (2013). Looking for Capitan Tawi: Memory and Myth-Making in Bantayan Island, Cebu. *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, 41(3/4), 295–316.

- Bloomfield, L. (1917). *Tagalog Texts with Grammatical Analysis*. University of Illinois Press.
- Blust, R. (1991). The Greater Central Philippines Hypothesis. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 30(2), 73–129.
- Blust, R. (1994). Austronesian sibling terms and culture history. In A. K. Pawley & M. D. Ross (Eds.), *Austronesian Terminologies: Continuity and Change* (pp. 31–72). Pacific Linguistics.
- Blust, R. (2001). Reduplicated colour terms in Oceanic languages. In A. Pawley, M. Ross, & D. Tryon (Eds.), *The boy from Bundaberg: Studies in Melanesian linguistics in honour of Tom Dutton* (pp. 23–49). Pacific Linguistics.
- Blust, R. (2002). Notes on the history of “focus” in Austronesian languages. In F. Wouk & M. Ross (Eds.), *The history and typology of western Austronesian voice systems* (pp. 63–78). Pacific Linguistics.
- Blust, R. (2005). The Linguistic Macrohistory of the Philippines: Some Speculations. In H. Liao & C. R. G. Rubino (Eds.), *Current Issues in Philippine Linguistics and Anthropology: Parangal kay Lawrence A. Reid* (pp. 31–68). Linguistic Society of the Philippines and SIL Philippines.
- Blust, R. (2013). *The Austronesian languages* (Revised). Asia-Pacific Linguistics.
- Blust, R. (2014). Some Recent Proposals Concerning the Classification of the Austronesian Languages. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 53(2), 300–391.
- Blust, R. (2019). The Resurrection of Proto-Philippines. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 58(2), 153–256.
- Blust, R., & Trussel, S. (2013). The Austronesian Comparative Dictionary: A Work in Progress. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 52(2), 493–523.
- Blust, R., & Trussel, S. (2020). *The Austronesian Comparative Dictionary, web edition*. <https://www.trussel2.com/ACD>
- Boerger, B. H. (2017). Rapid Word Collection, dictionary production, and community well-being. *5th International Conference on Language Documentation and Conservation (ICLDC)*. <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/41988>
- Boerger, B. H., & Aviel, J. (2019). Rapid Word Collection: Why & how to do them. *6th International Conference on Language Documentation and Conservation (ICLDC6)*.
- Boerger, B. H., & Stutzman, V. (2018). Single-event Rapid Word Collection workshops: Efficient, effective, empowering. *Language Documentation & Conservation*, 12, 147–193.

- Bowern, C., & Warner, N. (2015). 'Lone Wolves' and Collaboration: A Reply to Crippen & Robinson (2013). *Language Documentation & Conservation*, 9, 59–85.
- Brody, M. J. (1987). Particles Borrowed from Spanish as Discourse Markers in Mayan Languages. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 29(4), 507–521.
- Bunye, M. V. R., & Yap, E. P. (1971a). *Cebuano for Beginners*. University of Hawai'i Press.
- Bunye, M. V. R., & Yap, E. P. (1971b). *Cebuano Grammar Notes*. V, 109.
- Burusphat, S. (2004). Hlai orthography. In W. Khanittanan & P. Sidwell (Eds.), *SEALS XIV: Papers from the 14th annual meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society* (Vol. 1, pp. 67–79). Pacific Linguistics.
- Calderon-Hayhow, M. J. (1994). Appendix: Fishing Material Culture of Fishermen in Barrio Ajong, Sibulan, Negros Oriental. In I. Ushijima & C. N. Zayas (Eds.), *Fishers of the Visayas* (pp. 393–464). CSSP Publications & University of the Philippines Press.
- Campbell, L. (1999). *Historical Linguistics: An introduction*. MIT Press.
- Carabio-Sexon, M. (2007). *Bantayanon: A Lexical Comparison and Sociolinguistic Description*. Mindanao State University - Iligan Institute of Technology.
- Carnap, R. (1937). *The Logical Syntax of Language*.
- Carnie, A. (2013). *Syntax: A Generative Introduction* (3rd ed.). Wiley-Blackwell.
- Chirino, P. (1604). *Relacion de las islas filipinas i de lo que en ellas an trabaiado, Los Padres dæ la Compañia de IESVS*. Estevan Paulino.
- Comrie, B., Haspelmath, M., & Bickel, B. (2015). *The Leipzig Glossing Rules: Conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses*. <https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>
- Conant, C. E. (1913). *The Pepet Law in Philippine Languages*. The University of Chicago.
- Conklin, H. C. (1951). *Lexical check list for Philippine languages*.
- Constantino, E. (1965). The sentence patterns of twenty-six Philippine languages. *Lingua*, 15, 71–124.
- Corradini, R. (2009). A Peircian Approach to Hiligaynon Causatives. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 48(2), 337–345.
- Crippen, J. A., & Robinson, L. C. (2013). In Defense of the Lone Wolf: Collaboration in Language Documentation. *Language Documentation & Conservation*, 7, 123–135.

- Dasmariñas, G. P. (1903). Account of the encomiendas in the Philippine Islands [Manila, May 31, 1591]. In E. H. Blair & J. A. Robertson (Eds.), *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898: Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and their Peoples, their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as related in contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts...: Vols. VIII-1591-* (pp. 96-141). The Arthur H. Clark Company.
- De Wolf, C. M. (1988). Voice in Austronesian languages of Philippine type: Passive, ergative, or neither? In M. Shibatani (Ed.), *Passive and Voice* (pp. 143-193). John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Dekker, D. (2010). Key Components of a MTBMLE Program. *1st MLE Conference: Reclaiming the Right to Learn in One's Own Language*.
- Department of Education Culture and Sports, & The Summer Institute of Linguistics. (1979). *Languages of the Southern Gateway: A Phrase Book of Chavacano, Sinama, Tausug, Yakan and including English and Pilipino*. The Summer Institute of Linguistics. <https://www.sil.org/resources/archives/23913>
- Diller, T. C. (1971). *Case Grammar and Its Application to Waray, a Philippine Language*. University of California Los Angeles.
- Downing, L. J. (2006). *Canonical Forms in Prosodic Morphology*. Oxford University Press.
- English, L. J. (1986). *Tagalog - English Dictionary*. National Book Store.
- Escario, A. (1941, April 4). Ang Nakalumpag sa 24 ka Tuig nga Gahum sa Bantayan. *Bag-Ong Kusog*, 10, 31.
- Eslao-Alix, L. T. A. (2014). *The History of Bantayan*. The Provincial Government of Cebu.
- Ezguerra, D. (1747). *Arte de la Lengua Bisaya de la Provincia de Leite* (Google scan). Compañía de Jesus.
- Ezguerra, D. (1949). *Arte de la lengua bisaya de la provincia de Leyte*. Librería General V. Suárez.
- Fadriquela, C. S. (1978). Towards a Lexicon of Philippine Dichotyledonous Wood Terms from 16th to 19th c. Sources: A Preliminary Listing. *Agham-Tao*, 1, ??
- Fasold, R. (1984). *The Sociolinguistics of Society: Introduction to Sociolinguistics, Volume I*. Basil Blackwell.
- Ferlus, M. (2010). The Austroasiatic Vocabulary for Rice: its Origin and Expansion. *Journal of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society*, 3.2, 61-76.

- Fernandez, D. G. (1973). Ten Hiligaynon Poems: Translations and an Introduction. *Philippine Studies*, 21(1/2), 187–205.
- Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*. Multilingual Matters.
- Flores, F. G. (1962). *A Contrastive Analysis of Selected Clause Types in Cebuano and English*. University of Michigan.
- Florey, M. (2005). Language shift and endangerment. In A. Adelaar & N. P. Himmelmann (Eds.), *The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar* (pp. 43–64). Routledge.
- French, K. M. (1987). The Focus System in Philippine Languages: An Historical Overview. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 18(2), 1–27.
- Fries, C. C. (1952). *The Structure of English: An Introduction to the Construction of English Sentences*. Harcourt, Brace and Company.
- Gaitan-Bacolod, M. A. (2003). *Grammatical aspects of Hiligaynon-Filipino translation*. University of the Philippines.
- Garrett, E. (2014). Participant-driven language archiving. In D. Nathan & P. K. Austin (Eds.), *Language Documentation and Description*, vol. 12: *Special Issue on Language Documentation and Archiving* (Vol. 12, pp. 68–84). SOAS, University of London.
- Gil, D. (1995). *Towards a Theory of Syntactic Categories*.
- Gil, D. (2000). Syntactic Categories, Cross-Linguistic Variation and Universal Grammar. In P. M. Vogel & B. Comrie (Eds.), *Approaches to the Typology of Word Classes* (pp. 173–216). Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gil, D. (2005). Word Order Without Syntactic Categories: How Riau Indonesian Does It. In A. Carnie, H. Harley, & S. A. Dooley (Eds.), *Verb First: On the syntax of verb-initial languages*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Gil, D. (2009). Austronesian Nominalism and the Thinginess Illusion. *Theoretical Linguistics*, 35(1), 95–114.
- Gil, D. (2013). Riau Indonesian: A Language without Nouns and Verbs. In J. Rijkhoff & E. van Lier (Eds.), *Flexible Word Classes: Typological studies of underspecified parts of speech* (pp. 89–130). Oxford University Press.
- Gilbuena, J. E. (Ed.). (2021). *Kinhas: Mga sinwat sa sinultihan sang Santa Fe, isla sang Bantayan*. Kasingkasing Press.
- Glenn, A. (2009). Five Dimensions of Collaboration: Toward a Critical Theory of

- Coordination and Interoperability in Language Documentation. *Language Documentation & Conservation*, 3(2), 149–160.
- Gonzalez, A. (2002). Language Planning and Intellectualisation. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 3(1), 5–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14664200208668034>
- Grenoble, L. A., & Whaley, L. J. (2006). *Saving Languages: An introduction to language revitalization*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hanawalt, C., Varenkamp, B., Lahn, C., & Eberhard, D. (2016). *A Guide for Planning the Future of Your Language*. SIL International.
- Heggarty, P. (2012). Beyond lexicostatistics: How to get more out of “word list” comparisons. In S. Wichmann & A. Grant (Eds.), *Quantitative Approaches to Linguistic Diversity: Commemorating the centenary of the birth of Morris Swadesh* (pp. 113–137). John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Hellingman, J. (2012). *Wolff’s Cebuano-English Dictionary*. <https://www.bohol.ph/wced.php>
- Hellingman, J. (2015). *Cebuano-English Dictionary*. <https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=ph.bohol.dictionaryapp>
- Herre, A. W. (1927). *Gobies of the Philippines and the China Sea*. Bureau of Science.
- Herre, A. W. (1953). *Check List of Philippine Fishes* (Research Report 20). United States Government Printing Office.
- Herre, A. W., & Umali, A. F. (1948). *English and Local Common Names of Philippine Fishes* (Circular 14). United States Government Printing Office.
- Hickey, R. (Ed.). (2010). *The Handbook of Language Contact*. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Hidalgo, A. C. (1970). Focus in Philippine languages. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 1(1), 25–32.
- Himmelman, N. P. (2002). Voice in western Austronesian: an update. In F. Wouk & M. Ross (Eds.), *The history and typology of western Austronesian voice systems* (pp. 7–16). Pacific Linguistics.
- Himmelman, N. P. (2005a). Tagalog. In A. Adelaar & N. P. Himmelman (Eds.), *The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar* (pp. 350–376). Routledge.
- Himmelman, N. P. (2005b). The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar: typological characteristics. In A. Adelaar & N. P. Himmelman (Eds.), *The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar* (pp. 110–181). Routledge.
- Himmelman, N. P. (2008). Lexical Categories and Voice in Tagalog. In P. K. Austin &

- S. Musgrave (Eds.), *Voice and Grammatical Relations in Austronesian Languages* (pp. 247–293). CSLI Publications.
- Himmelman, N. P. (2016). Notes on “Noun Phrase Structure” in Tagalog. In J. Fleischhauer, A. Latrouite, & R. Osswald (Eds.), *Explorations of the SyntaxSemantics Interface* (pp. 319–341). Düsseldorf University Press.
- Hockett, C. F. (1958). *A Course in Modern Linguistics*. The Macmillan Company.
- Hsieh, F., & Tanangkingsing, M. (2006, January). The Empty Root in Cebuano and Kavalan: A Cognitive Perspective. *Tenth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (10-ICAL)*.
- Ila, J. P., Santos, T. I. D., & Guevara, R. C. L. (2012). Comparative analysis of actual language usage and selected grammar and orthographical rules for Filipino, Cebuano-Visayan and Ilokano: a Corpus-based Approach. *2nd Philippine Conference Workshop on Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education (MTBMLE 2)*.
- Interchurch Language School. (1963a). *Cebuano for Missionaries, Phase One: Getting Started*. Interchurch Language School.
- Interchurch Language School. (1963b). *Cebuano Outline Guide, Part One: Description*. Interchurch Language School.
- Interchurch Language School. (1963c). *Cebuano Outline Guide, Part Three: Word Lists*. Interchurch Language School.
- Interchurch Language School. (1963d). *Cebuano Outline Guide, Part Two: Drills*. Interchurch Language School.
- Interchurch Language School. (1965). *Cebuano for Missionaries, Phase Two: Enrichment*. Interchurch Language School.
- International Phonetic Association. (2015). *Full IPA Chart*.
<http://www.internationalphoneticassociation.org/content/ipa-chart>
- Johnson, R. E. (1996). *A Bibliography of Philippine Linguistics*. Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Jordan, D. S., & Richardson, R. E. (1910). *Check-list of the Species of Fishes Known from the Philippine Archipelago*. Bureau of Science.
- Karan, M. E. (2000). Motivations: language vitality assessments using the perceived benefit model of language shift. In G. Kindell & M. P. Lewis (Eds.), *Assessing Ethnolinguistic Vitality: Theory and Practice, Selected Papers from the Third International Language Assessment Conference* (pp. 65–77). SIL International.

- Karan, M. E. (2008). The importance of motivations in language revitalization. *2nd International Conference on Language Development, Language Revitalization, and Multilingual Education in Ethnolinguistic Communities, Bangkok, July 1-3, 2008*.
- Karan, M. E. (2011). Understanding and forecasting Ethnolinguistic Vitality. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 32(2), 137–149.
- Katamba, F., & Stonham, J. (2006). *Morphology* (2nd ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kaufmann, J. (n.d.). *Visayan-English dictionary = Kapuluñgan Binisayá-Ininglís*.
- Kelz, H. (1996). Problems of Filipino as a Foreign Language: The Focus System and Passive Voice. In E. S. Castillo (Ed.), *Alay sa Wika: Essays in honor of Fe T. Otones on her 67th Birthday* (pp. 15–23). Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Kess, J. F. (1976). Reconsidering the notion of focus in the description of Tagalog. In N. D. Liem (Ed.), *South-east Asian Linguistic Studies Vol. 2* (pp. 173–186). Pacific Linguistics.
- Kess, J. F. (1979). Focus, topic, and case in the Philippine verbal paradigm. In N. D. Liem (Ed.), *South-east Asian Linguistic Studies Vol. 3* (pp. 213–239). Pacific Linguistics.
- Kroeger, P. R. (1993a). Another look at subjecthood in Tagalog. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 24(2), 1–16.
- Kroeger, P. R. (1993b). *Phrase Structure and Grammatical Relations in Tagalog*. CSLI Publications.
- Kroeger, P. R. (1998). *Nouns and Verbs in Tagalog: a reply to Foley*.
- Kroeger, P. R. (2010). McKaughan's analysis of Philippine voice. In L. Billings & N. Goudswaard (Eds.), *Piakandatu ami: Dr. Howard P. McKaughan* (pp. 207–212). Linguistic Society of the Philippines and SIL Philippines.
- Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Ladefoged, P., & Johnson, K. (2010). *A Course in Phonetics* (6th ed.). Cengage Learning.
- Ladefoged, P., & Maddieson, I. (1996). *The Sounds of the World's Languages*. Blackwell Publishers.
- Lapointe, S., & Patterson, D. (2009). Carnap's Logical Syntax of Language. *Carnap's Logical Syntax of Language*. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230235397>
- Layague, M. B. (2016). *Bantayanon-English nga Diksyonaryo*.
- Lee, C. C.-Y. (2006, January). Clitic pronouns in Masbatenyo. *Tenth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (10-ICAL)*.

- Lee, C. C.-Y. (2008). Clitic Pronouns in Masbatenyo. *Studies in Philippine Languages and Cultures*, 17, 121–136.
- Leonard, W. Y., & Haynes, E. (2010). Making “collaboration” collaborative: An examination of perspectives that frame linguistic field research. *Language Documentation & Conservation*, 4, 268–293.
- Lewis, M. P., & Simons, G. F. (2010). Assessing Endangerment: Expanding Fishman’s GIDS. *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique*, 55(2), 103–120.
- Lewis, M. P., & Simons, G. F. (2011, March 26). Ecological Perspectives on Language Endangerment: Applying the Sustainable Use Model for Language Development. *Annual Conference of the American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL)*.
- Lewis, M. P., & Simons, G. F. (2016). *Sustaining Language Use: Perspectives on Community-Based Language Development*. SIL International.
- Linn, M. S. (2014). Living archives: A community-based language archive model. In D. Nathan & P. K. Austin (Eds.), *Language Documentation and Description*, vol. 12: *Special Issue on Language Documentation and Archiving* (Vol. 12, pp. 53–67). SOAS, University of London.
- Llamzon, T. A. (1969). *A Subgrouping of Nine Philippine Languages*. Springer.
- Llamzon, T. A. (1978). *Handbook of Philippine Language Groups*. Ateneo De Manila University Press.
- Llamzon, T. A., & Martin, M. T. (1976). A subgrouping of 100 Philippine languages. In N. D. Liem (Ed.), *South-east Asian Linguistic Studies Vol. 2* (pp. 141–172). Pacific Linguistics.
- Llido, P. (2006, January). Inflectional case assignment in Cebuano. *Tenth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (10-ICAL)*.
- Loarca, M. de. (1903). Relacion de las Yslas Filipinas [Arevalo, June, 1582]. In E. H. Blair & J. A. Robertson (Eds.), *The Philippine Islands 1493-1803: Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and their Peoples, their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as related in contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts...: Vols. V–1582–158* (pp. 34–187). The Arthur H. Clark Company.
- Lobel, J. W. (2004). Old Bikol -um- vs. mag- and the Loss of a Morphological Paradigm. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 43(2), 469–497.
- Lobel, J. W. (2013). *Philippine and North Bornean Languages: Issues in Description, Subgrouping, and Reconstruction*. University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.
- Lobel, J. W. (2016). Notes from the Field: Ponosakan: The Sounds of a Silently Dying Language of Indonesia, with Supporting Audio. *Language Documentation &*

- Conservation*, 10, 394–423.
- Lobel, J. W., & Hall, W. (2009). *ISO 639-3 Registration Authority Request for Change to ISO 639-3 Language Code*. SIL International.
- Lüpke, F. (2011). Orthography development. In P. K. Austin & J. Sallabank (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages* (pp. 312–336). Cambridge University Press.
- Luzares, C. E. (1977). Cebuano Verb Morphology, an Application of Case Grammar, Part I. *Studies in Philippine Linguistics*, 1(2), 73–109.
- Luzares, C. E. (1978). Cebuano Verb Morphology, an Application of Case Grammar, Part II. *Studies in Philippine Linguistics*, 2(1), 49–72.
- Luzares, C. E. (1979). *The Morphology of Selected Cebuano Verbs: A Case Analysis*. Pacific Linguistics.
- Madulid, D. A. (2001). *A dictionary of Philippine plant names*.
- Madulid, D. A. (2005). Problems and Solutions in Documenting Local Plant Names in the Philippines. In H. Liao & C. R. G. Rubino (Eds.), *Current Issues in Philippine Linguistics and Anthropology: Parangal kay Lawrence A. Reid* (pp. 261–265). Linguistic Society of the Philippines and SIL Philippines.
- Mansueto, T. D. (2013a, March 22). Holy Week procession showcases tradition, faith of Bantayan folk. *Inquirer Visayas*. <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/378177/holy-week-procession-showcases-tradition-faith-of-bantayan-folk>
- Mansueto, T. D. (2013b, August 31). Preserving Cebuano and other languages. *Inquirer Visayas*. <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/478167/preserving-cebuano-and-other-languages>
- Mansueto, T. D. (2014, April 14). Despite typhoon, Bantayan ready for Semana Santa. *Inquirer Visayas*. <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/594092/despite-typhoon-bantayan-ready-for-semana-santa>
- Matras, Y., & Bakker, P. (Eds.). (2003). *The Mixed Language Debate: Theoretical and Empirical Advances*. Mouton de Gruyter.
- Maxwell, J. M. (2010). Training graduate students and community members for native language documentation. In L. A. Grenoble & N. L. Furbee (Eds.), *Language Documentation: Practice and values* (pp. 255–274). John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- McFarland, C. D. (1974). *The Dialects of the Bikol Area*. Yale University.
- McFarland, C. D. (2004). The Philippine language situation. *World Englishes*, 23(1), 59–

75.

- McKaughan, H. P. (1958). *The inflection and syntax of Maranao verbs*.
- McKaughan, H. P. (1970). Topicalization in Maranao—an addendum. In S. A. Wurm & D. C. Laycock (Eds.), *Pacific Linguistics Studies in Honour of Arthur Capell* (pp. 291–300). Linguistic Circle of Canberra.
- McKaughan, H. P. (1973). Subject versus topic. In A. B. Gonzales (Ed.), *Parangal kay Cecilio Lopez* (pp. 206–213). Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Medina, J. de. (1893). *Historia de los sucesos de la Orden de N. Gran P. S. Agustin de estas islas Filipinas, desde que se descubrieron y se poblaron por los españoles, con las noticias memorables*. Tipo-Litografia de Chofré y Comp.
- Memam, P. B. (1990). *Ilonggo Language Packet*. Peace Corps Philippines.
- Memam, P. B. (1993). *Cebuano Language Packet*. Peace Corps Philippines.
- Méntrida, A. de. (1637). *Bocabulario de Lengua Bisaia Hiligueyna, y Haraia de la Isla de Panai y Sugbu, y para las demas islas*. Imprenta del Colegio de S. Thomas de Aquino.
- Méntrida, A. de. (1894). *Arte de la lengua Bisaya-Hiligayna de la Isla de Panay*. Pequeña Tipo-Litografía del Asilo de Huérfanos de Nuestra Señora de la Consolación.
- Metillo, L. D., & Laidig, W. D. (1996). *Understanding Cebuano grammar II, book 2: Advanced grammar*. Philippine Baptist Mission, Foreign Mission Board, SBC.
- Moe, R. (2001). Lexicography and mass production. *Notes on Linguistics*, 4(3), 150–156.
- Moe, R. (2003). Compiling dictionaries using semantic domains. *Lexikos*, 13(July 2002), 215–223.
- Moe, R. (2013). Producing Dictionaries Using Semantic Domains. *Translation and Bilingual Dictionaries*.
- Morey, V. (1961). *Cebuano Reference Materials* (H. P. McKaughan (Ed.)). The Summer Institute of Linguistics, Philippines and The Philippine Association for Language Teaching.
- Motus, C. L. (n.d.). *Hiligaynon for Beginners*.
- Motus, C. L. (1971a). *Hiligaynon Dictionary (U Hawaii digitized version)*. University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Motus, C. L. (1971b). *Hiligaynon Lessons*. University of Hawai‘i Press.

- Newson, L. A. (2009). *Conquest and Pestilence in the Early Spanish Philippines*. University of Hawai'i Press.
- Newton, B. (1991). The Cebuano Language and Generative Phonology. *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, 19(4), 253–263.
- Oko, C. M. W. (2018). Orthography development for Darma (The case that wasn't). *Language Documentation & Conservation*, 12, 15–46.
- Omar, A. H. (1972). Language and the Uniformity of Spelling. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 3(1), 7–14.
- Paguio, M. N. N. A. (1969). *An Investigation of Waray Phonology*. University of Missouri.
- Parnes, A. T. (2011). *Ang marks the what?: An analysis of noun phrase markers in Cebuano*. Yale University.
- Payne, T. E. (1994). The pragmatics of voice in a Philippine language: Actor-focus and goal-focus in Cebuano narrative. *Voice and Inversion*, 317–364.
- Peace Corps. (1968). *Supplementary Materials in Hiligaynon* (Mimeograph). Peace Corps Philippines.
- Pesirla, A. O. (2012). *Ang Linggwistika sa Sugbu-Anung Binisaya: The Linguistics of Cebuano Visayan*. Anvil.
- Philippine Statistics Authority. (2015). *Population of Region VII - Central Visayas (Based on the 2015 Census of Population)*. <http://psa.gov.ph>
- Pielago, M. R., & Gonzaga, J. (2010). *Conversational Cebuano*. Cebuano Studies Center and University of San Carlos Press.
- Pike, K. L. (1947). *Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing*. University of Michigan Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/410413>
- Quakenbush, J. S. (2015a, May 14). An Ecological Perspective on Languages of the Philippines. *International Sanrokan Conference on Biocultural and Environmental Studies*.
- Quakenbush, J. S. (2015b, July 21). Introducing “A Guide for Planning the Future of Our Language.” *13th International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (13-ICAL)*.
- Quakenbush, J. S., & Simons, G. F. (2012). Looking at Austronesian Language Vitality through EGIDS and SUM (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale and Sustainable Use Model for Language Development). In *12th International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (12-ICAL)*.

- Quakenbush, J. S., & Simons, G. F. (2015). Looking at Austronesian language vitality and endangerment through EGIDS and the sustainable use model. In I. W. Arka, N. L. N. S. Malini, & I. A. M. Puspani (Eds.), *Language Documentation and Cultural Practices in the Austronesian World: Papers from 12-ICAL, Volume 4* (pp. 1–17). Asia-Pacific Linguistics.
- Quine, W. V. O. (1951). *Mathematical Logic*. Harvard University Press.
- Radford, A. (1997). *Syntax: A minimalist introduction*. Cambridge University Press.
- Reid, L. A. (1971). *Philippine Minor Languages: Word Lists and Phonologies*. University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Reid, L. A. (1992a). Comments on Abbreviation Conventions for Austronesian Language Names. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 31(1), 131.
- Reid, L. A. (1992b). On the Development of the Aspect System in Some Philippine Languages. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 31(1), 65–91.
- Reid, L. A. (1994). Terms for rice agriculture and terrace building in some Cordilleran languages of the Philippines. In A. K. Pawley & M. D. Ross (Eds.), *Austronesian Terminologies: Continuity and Change* (pp. 363–388). Pacific Linguistics.
- Reid, L. A. (2002). Determiners, Nouns, or What? Problems in the Analysis of Some Commonly Occurring Forms in Philippine Languages. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 41(2), 295–309.
- Reid, L. A., & Liao, H. (2004). A Brief Syntactic Typology of Philippine Languages. *Language and Linguistics*, 5(2), 433–490.
- Reyes, V. S., Zorc, R. D. P., & Prado, N. L. (1969). *A Study of the Aklanon Dialect, Volume Two: Dictionary [of root words and derivations], Aklanon to English*. Peace Corps.
- Rice, K. (2010). The linguist’s responsibilities to the community of speakers. In L. A. Grenoble & N. L. Furbee (Eds.), *Language Documentation: Practice and values* (pp. 25–36). John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Rice, K. (2011). Documentary Linguistics and Community Relations. *Language Documentation & Conservation*, 5, 187–207.
- Rice, K. (2015, January 10). Collaboration in Language Documentation and Revitalization: Community-based Research. *90th Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America*.
- Robinson, L., & Crippen, J. (2015). Collaboration: A Reply to Bower & Warner’s Reply. *Language Documentation & Conservation*, 9, 86–88.

- Ruiz, M. B. (1960). *An Intensive Course in Hiligaynon*.
- Ruiz, M. B. (1968a). *A Study of the Behavior of Hiligaynon Verb Roots with Particular Reference to the Actor and Goal Focus Affixes: A Report Presented to the National Science Development Board, Quezon City, Philippines*.
- Ruiz, M. B. (1968b). *The Behavior of Hiligaynon Verb Roots*. Central Philippine University.
- Rundell, M. (2017). Dictionaries and crowdsourcing, wikis and user-generated content. In P. Hanks & G.-M. de Schryver (Eds.), *International Handbook of Modern Lexis and Lexicography* (pp. 1–16). Springer.
- Sanchez, M. (1711). *Vocabulario de la lengua Bisaya*. Colegio de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesus.
- Sanger, J. P., Gannett, H., & Olmsted, V. H. (1905). *Census of the Philippine Islands: Taken Under the Direction of the Philippine Commission in the Year 1903, in four volumes: Vol. II: Popula*. United States Bureau of the Census.
- Santiago, A. O. (1978). Phonemicity of Pilipino Orthographic System: A Blessing or a Curse. In A. Q. Perez, A. O. Santiago, & N. D. Liem (Eds.), *Papers from the Conference on the Standardisation of Asian Languages, Manila, Philippines, December 16-21, 1974* (pp. 319–338). Pacific Linguistics.
- Santos, M. C. (2013). A Simplified Stem-Based System Description of Hiligaynon, Nouns, Adjectives, and Verbs. *Philippine ESL Journal*, 11, 138–158.
- Schachter, P. (1973). Focus and Relativization. *Language*, 49(1), 19–46.
- Schachter, P. (1976). The Subject in Philippine Languages: Topic, Actor, Actor-Topic, or None of the Above. In C. N. Li (Ed.), *Subject and Topic* (pp. 491–518). Academic Press.
- Schachter, P. (1996). *The Subject in Tagalog: Still None of the Above* (UCLA Occasional Papers in Linguistics 15).
- Seifart, F. (2006). Orthography development. In J. Gippert, N. P. Himmelmann, & U. Mosel (Eds.), *Essentials of Language Documentation* (pp. 275–299). Mouton de Gruyter.
- Shibatani, M. (1988). Voice in Philippine languages. In M. Shibatani (Ed.), *Passive and Voice* (pp. 85–142). John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Shryock, A. (1993). A metrical analysis of stress in Cebuano. *Lingua*, 91(2–3), 103–148.
- Sibayan, B. P. (1991). The intellectualization of Filipino. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 88(1), 69–82. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl.1991.88.69>

- Simons, G. F. (1977). Principles of Multidialectal Orthography Design. In R. Loving & G. F. Simons (Eds.), *Language variation and survey techniques* (pp. 325–342). Summer Institute of Linguistics. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>
- Simons, G. F. (1994). Principles of Multidialectal Orthography Design. *Notes on Literacy*, 20(2), 13–34.
- Simons, G. F., & Fennig, C. D. (Eds.). (2017). *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. SIL International. <http://www.ethnologue.com>
- Sityar, E. (2000). The Topic and Y Indefinite in Cebuano. In I. Paul, V. Phillips, & L. Travis (Eds.), *Formal Issues in Austronesian Linguistics* (pp. 145–165). Springer Netherlands.
- Solis, M. T. (1969). *A descriptive-contrastive analysis of Hiligaynon and Tagalog noun reduplication patterns*. University of the Philippines, Diliman.
- Spitz, W. L. (2001). *Hiligaynon / Ilonggo*. Lincom Europa.
- Spitz, W. L. (2002). Voice and role in two Philippine languages. In F. Wouk & M. Ross (Eds.), *The history and typology of western Austronesian voice systems* (pp. 379–404). Pacific Linguistics.
- Spitz, W. L. (2003). Determinacy in Hiligaynon. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, 22(2).
- Starosta, S., Pawley, A. K., & Reid, L. A. (1982). The evolution of focus in Austronesian. In A. Halim, L. Carrington, & S. A. Wurm (Eds.), *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Volume 2, Tracking the Travellers* (pp. 145–170). Pacific Linguistics.
- Stone, R., & Zamora, N. (2010). Designing an Alphabet for an Unwritten Language. *1st MLE Conference: Reclaiming the Right to Learn in One's Own Language*.
- Swadesh, M. (1950). Salish Internal Relationships. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 16(4), 157–167.
- Swadesh, M. (1952). Lexico-Statistic Dating of Prehistoric Ethnic Contacts: With Special Reference to North American Indians and Eskimos. In *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society: Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge: Studies of Historical Documents in the Library of the American Philosophical Society* (Vol. 96, Issue 4, pp. 452–463). The American Philosophical Society.
- Swadesh, M. (1955). Towards Greater Accuracy in Lexicostatistic Dating. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 21(2), 121–137.
- Swadesh, M. (1971). *The Origin and Diversification of Language* (J. Sherzer (Ed.)). Aldine Atherton.

- Tanangkingsing, M. (2009). *A Functional Reference Grammar of Cebuano*. National Taiwan University.
- Tanangkingsing, M. (2013a). A study of second-position enclitics in Cebuano. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 52(1), 222–248.
- Tanangkingsing, M. (2013b). A study on the behavior of Cebuano pronouns in discourse. *Concentric: Studies in Linguistics*, 39(1), 59–89.
- Tanangkingsing, M., & Huang, S. (2007). Cebuano passives revisited. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 46(2), 584–584.
- Tayao, M. L. G. (1961). The Phonology of Waray-Waray. *Philippine Journal for Language Teaching*, 1(1/2), 3–5.
- Tecson, L. N. (2014). *Similarities and Dissimilarities In Meaning And Usage of Some Cebuano And Tagalog Words*. Xlibris Corp.
- Trosdal, M. B. (1971). Semantics of Parole Parlée. The Contextual Formal-Functional Analysis of a Cultural Feature among the Cebuanos of the Philippines. *Anthropos*, 66(5/6), 839–862.
- Trosdal, M. B. (1990). *Formal-Functional Cebuano-English Dictionary with an English-Cebuano lexicon and special articles: The Cebuanos * The Semantic-Cultural Content of a Lexical Entry * A Brief History of the Cebuano-Bisayan Language*. Mimi B. Trosdal.
- Trosdal, M. B. (1995). Formal-Functional Analysis of the Cebuano Language. *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, 23(3/4), 197–360.
- Umali, A. F. (1950a). *Guide to the Classification of Fishing Gear in the Philippines* (Research Report 17). United States Government Printing Office.
- Umali, A. F. (1950b). *Key to the Families of Common Commercial Fishes in the Philippines* (Research Report 21). United States Government Printing Office.
- UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages. (2003). *Language Vitality and Endangerment*.
- Ushijima, I. (1994). Types of fisheries and the distribution network of fish catch in Bantayan Island. In I. Ushijima & C. N. Zayas (Eds.), *Fishers of the Visayas* (pp. 53–74). CSSP Publications & University of the Philippines Press.
- Ushijima, I., & Zayas, C. N. (Eds.). (1994). *Fishers of the Visayas*. CSSP Publications & University of the Philippines Press.
- Uy-Griño, E. Y. (1969). *Types of sentences in hiligaynon, a member of the Philippine group of speech systems*. University of Michigan.

- Uy-Griño, E. Y. (2005). *Diksiyonaryo-Dictionary Hiligaynon-English, English-Hiligaynon*. Central Philippine University.
- Valkama, K. (2000). *Grammatical Relations in Cebuano*. University of Helsinki.
- Vallesteros, G. R. de. (1904). Complaint of the cabildo of Manila against Morga [Manila, July 20, 1601]. In E. H. Blair & J. A. Robertson (Eds.), *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898: Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and their Peoples, their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as related in contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts...: Vol. XI* (pp. 235–250). The Arthur H. Clark Company.
- Villkrim, D. (1930). Buut ka moila kon unsa ang pulo sa Bantayan, diin atua karon nanghabas and kolira. *Bag-Ong Kusog*, July 4, 7, 19 ??
- Walters, D. E. (1995). *Discourse Based Evidence for an Ergative Analysis of Cebuano*. University of Texas at Arlington.
- Wolfenden, E. P. (1971). *Hiligaynon Reference Grammar*. University of Hawai'i Press.
- Wolfenden, E. P. (1972). *A Description of Hiligaynon Phrase and Clause Constructions*. University of Hawai'i.
- Wolfenden, E. P. (1975). *A Description of Hiligaynon Syntax*. Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma.
- Wolfenden, E. P. (2001). *A Masbatenyo-English Dictionary*. Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Wolff, J. U. (1962). *A Description of Cebuano Visayan (Texts, Analysis and Vocabulary)*.
- Wolff, J. U. (1966). *Beginning Cebuano, Part I*. Yale University Press.
- Wolff, J. U. (1967a). *Beginning Cebuano, Part II*. Yale University Press.
- Wolff, J. U. (1967b). History of the Dialect of the Camotes Islands, Philippines, and the Spread of Cebuano Bisayan. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 6(2), 63–79.
- Wolff, J. U. (1970). The Classification of Cebuano Verbs. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 1(1), 74–91.
- Wolff, J. U. (1972a). *A Dictionary of Cebuano Visayan, Volume I (A - K)*. Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program and Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Wolff, J. U. (1972b). *A Dictionary of Cebuano Visayan, Volume II (L - Y)*. Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program and Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Wolff, J. U. (1973). The character of borrowings from Spanish and English in the languages of the Philippines. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 4(1), 72–81.

- Wolff, J. U. (2002). Final words: the development of the focus system. In F. Wouk & M. Ross (Eds.), *The history and typology of western Austronesian voice systems* (pp. 437–449). Pacific Linguistics.
- Wolff, J. U. (2005). The Philippine Languages and the Determination of PAN Syllable Structure. In H. Liao & C. R. G. Rubino (Eds.), *Current Issues in Philippine Linguistics and Anthropology: Parangal kay Lawrence A. Reid* (pp. 69–80). Linguistic Society of the Philippines and SIL Philippines.
- Wolff, J. U. (2006). Tagalog. In K. Brown (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics* (2nd ed., Vol. 12, pp. 472–475). Elsevier.
- Yamada, R.-M. (2007). Collaborative Linguistic Fieldwork: Practical Application of the Empowerment Model. *Language Documentation & Conservation*, 1(2), 257–282.
- Yap, L. E. P. (1977). *Cebuano Case Grammar: Basic Semantic and Morpho-Syntactic Aspects*. Georgetown University.
- Zorc, R. D. P. (1972). The western subgroup of Bisayan. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 11(2), 110–139.
- Zorc, R. D. P. (1974). Towards a Definitive Philippine Wordlist: The Qualitative Use of Vocabulary in Identifying and Classifying Languages. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 13(1/2), 409–455.
- Zorc, R. D. P. (1977). *The Bisayan Dialects of the Philippines: Subgrouping and Reconstruction*. Pacific Linguistics.
- Zorc, R. D. P. (1986). The genetic relationships of Philippine languages. In P. Geraghty, L. Carrington, & S. A. Wurm (Eds.), *FOCAL II, Papers from the Fourth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics* (pp. 147–173). Pacific Linguistics.
- Zorc, R. D. P. (1993). Overview of Austronesian and Philippine accent patterns. In J. A. Edmondson & K. J. Gregerson (Eds.), *Tonality in Austronesian Languages* (pp. 17–24). University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Zorc, R. D. P. (2015). *The Genetic Relationships of Philippine Languages*. 147–173. <https://doi.org/10.15144/PL-C94.147>
- Zorc, R. D. P. (1978). Functor analysis: A method of quantifying function words for comparing and classifying languages. *The Fifth LACUS Forum*, 510–521.

BIOGRAPHY

Jarrette K. Allen, a native of Louisiana, is currently the Assistant Professor of French at McNeese State University in Lake Charles. He has a MA in French language studies from Louisiana State University and has taught language classes at all levels over his career, in both the US and in France, and has experience working in linguistics projects in Brazil. He is a fluent speaker of English, French, and Brazilian Portuguese. His current research and activities include the development of CollaLex SaaS, the writings of the Ursulines in Old and New France, and the documentation of the Bantayanon language in the Philippines.