

## 1. Inventory of Phonemes

Guininaang has eighteen segmental phonemes and at least one supra-segmental phonemic contrast. The segmental phonemes include fourteen consonants: b, k, d, g, l, m, n, ng, p, s, t, w, y, and the glottal stop, which will be represented by q; and four vowels: a, i, o, and u. The suprasegmental phonemic contrast is in stress.

## 2. Syllable Patterns

The syllable is the basic phonological unit of this dialect, and the phonemes may be combined to form syllables according to two patterns: CV - /no/ 'if', 'when' and CVC - /sin/ 'in', 'on'.

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(3) Guinaang is a barrio with an estimated population of between two and three hundred persons, located north of Lubuagan, a two and one-half to three hours' hike on the way to Balbalasang and the province of Abra.

(4) The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Richard S. Pittman and Alan Healey for their very valuable assistance in the preparation of this paper.

(5) The precedent for symbolizing the glottal stop by q has been adopted from the usage of Isidore Dyen in his THE PROTO-MALAYO-POLYNESIAN LARYNGEALS. (Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America, 1953).

Although for purposes of purely linguistic papers the usage of q to symbolize the glottal stop is advantageous, it has been deemed preferable, in the suggested orthography of Kinalinga, to follow the symbolization of the Philippines National Language--namely, word-initial and intervocalic, no symbol; syllable-initial following a consonant, a hyphen (-); and syllable-final, a grave accent (`), or, if that syllable is also stressed, a circumflex (^), over the vowel preceding the glottal stop.

Early in our study there appeared to be the possibility that one or two other syllable patterns, namely, CCV(C) and/or CVV(C), might exist. The words which gave rise to our questioning were those containing the suspect sequence of a semi-vowel followed by a vowel, such as [mampia], 'good (food)', [pioq] 'mud', [quig] 'coconut', [ɣua] 'two', [pɐui] 'layers of banana tree used as water shedding material', and [puog] 'knee'. Our questions took these forms: Is the consonant followed by the high front vocoid, [i], in these environments to be interpreted as palatalization, as /mampɣa/ would illustrate, or a consonant followed by the high back vocoid, [u], as labialization, as would be illustrated by /d<sup>w</sup>a/? Or, are these occurrences of consonant clusters, as /pyoq/ or /bwi/? On the other hand, are these actually single consonants followed by vowel sequences, as /qiyug/ or /puog/? Or finally, might it be that these would fit the non-suspect syllable patterns given above, and could be written, for example, as /duwa/ and /bwi/? Since, as will be seen in the next section of the paper, one of the variants of the phoneme *b* in this dialect is the voiceless bilabial palatalized stop, [p<sup>i</sup>], it appeared very likely that, at least in the case of [mampia], and of [piaqon] 'to like, desire, want', the stop followed by the front vocoid, [i], was an example of palatalization.

As far as the possibility of palatalization or labialization in these environments is concerned, it was observed, first, that these items were always pronounced unmistakably as two segments in deliberate speech. As a result, although there is a voiceless bilabial palatalized stop in the dialect, it does not occur in these situations, and, for the same reason, there is no labialization.

The issue, then, was whether or not the syllable patterns CCV(C) and/or CVV(C) exist in this dialect. Since in each of these instances one of the segments in question was a semi-vowel, always a suspect item due to its possible interpretation as either a consonant or a vowel or a sequence of both, this issue was decided upon the basis of the fact that, as yet, no instance of a cluster of non-suspect consonants or vowels has been observed in a single syllable of any "pure" Guininaang word. In view of that and its corollary, namely, that non-suspect phonemes have been found to combine only in the CV and CVC patterns, these questioned sequences have been interpreted as conforming to those patterns--that is, ..iya.., ..iyo.., ..iyu.., ..uwa.., ..uwi.., and ..uwo... Thus, we write /mampiya/ 'good (food)', /piyok/ or /pyoq/ 'mud', /qiyug/ 'coconut', /duwa/ 'two', /bwi/ 'layers of banana tree used as water shedding material', and /puwog/ 'knee'. This interpretation has appeared to be justified, since, on the one hand, in slow or moderate speech the words are spoken in this way, while, on the other hand, the more rapidly spoken forms as,

for example, [ɣwa] or [ppwɪ], are expected phonetic variations of the written phonemic representations.

### 3. Description of Phonemes

3.1 The consonant phonemes may be divided into two groups: stops and continuants. The stops include a voiceless, unaspirated series: p, t, k, and the glottal stop, q, and a voiced series: b, d, and g. The continuants include a voiceless grooved fricative, s; a voiced nasal series: m, n, and ng; a voiced lateral, l; and two voiced semi-vowels: y and w.

Of the voiceless stops, p is bilabial; t is dental, being pronounced usually with the tongue tip behind the upper front teeth; and k is produced at the velar point of articulation. None of these exhibit any marked variants in different distributional positions. Examples: /pagta/ [páɣta] 'terms of a peace pact', /lapqat/ [lapqát] 'above', 'top'; /tali/ [talí] 'rope', /saqit/ [saqít] 'small thorn'; and /kaqin/ or /qaqin/ [káqin] or [qáqin] 'native skirt', /manuk/ or /manuq/ [manúk] or [manúq] 'chicken'. The fourth of the voiceless stops is the glottal, q. Examples: /qili/ [qíli] 'barrio', /padqing/ [padqíŋ] 'inside corner of a house'.

It may occur to the reader, in view of the alternation of k and the glottal stop, that perhaps these phones are sub-members of one phoneme. It is believed that the following examples of contrast in analogous environments are sufficient to demonstrate that they are separate phonemes:

kawa or qawa [káwa] or [qáwa] 'means for suspending jars'	qawak or qawaq [qáwak] or [qáwaq] 'waist'
kimat or qimat [kimát] or [qimát] 'eyelash'	qima [qíma] 'hand'
koltoy or qoltoy [kóltoi] or [qóltoi] 'epilepsy'	qoltot [qoɫtót] 'light rain'

In this sub-dialect wherever k may occur there is free variation between that phoneme and the glottal stop. In fact, the glottal stop is normally spoken in this barrio, but in public speaking or according to the speaker k may be substituted. But, they are not interchangeable at every occurrence of both. Rather, while the glottal stop may be substituted for every potential occurrence of k, the latter may not be substituted for every occurrence of q. Illustrations of this alternation are seen in the preceding two paragraphs. One of them, the word for 'native skirt', which may be spoken [káqin] or [qáqin] but not [kákin] or

[qákin], serves to show how the free variation is limited to possible occurrences of k.

In contrast to the voiceless series, the voiced stops manifest a number of variants. b is the voiced bilabial counterpart of p, but the norm, [b], occurs only in syllable-final position. Examples: /koblit/ or /qoblit/ [koblít] or [qoblít] 'skin', and /mangobqob/ [majobqób] 'She is a brooding hen.'. In syllable-initial position, preceding a, this phoneme occurs as a voiceless bilabial palatalized stop, [p<sup>i</sup>]. Examples: /banga/ [páŋa] 'clay pot' and /tubay/ [túpai] 'spear'. Before i, o, and u we find a voiceless bilabial affricate, [pp], as the variant. Examples: /bilig/ [pépilig] 'mountain', /bosat/ [pəosat] 'brother' 'sister', and /qabut/ [qappút] 'hole'. Occasionally, the voiced bilabial affricate, [bb], is heard, but no rules, if any, governing this occurrence have been observed. Example: /labi/ [labbi] 'night'.

The question may arise as to why the sounds [p<sup>i</sup>] and [pp], being phonetically complex items, have not been interpreted as two segments and symbolized, for example, by pi. However, in these environments they have been interpreted as single units because they are in complementary distribution with the phonetically simple [b]. Thus, the possible two-segment symbolizations of py and pi are not applicable in these occurrences.

Further, in view of the voicelessness of the two variants, [p<sup>i</sup>] and [pp], and of the voicing of the bilabial stop phoneme, b, as presented above, one may wonder whether the alignment of the sub-members of b, as contrasted with that of p, best fits the 'voiced' - 'voiceless' dichotomy of the bilabial stop phonemes. Might not some grouping of these voiceless segments with [p]--for example, [p<sup>i</sup>], [pp], and [p] as sub-members of p versus [p], [p], and [b], respectively, as sub-members of b--be perhaps more appropriate?

To reply to this suggestion that [p<sup>i</sup>], [pp], and [b] have been found to be in complementary distribution carries no weight, because the same would be true for the alignment of [p<sup>i</sup>], [pp], and [p]. As a result, other considerations must decide the matter; and there are two factors which are, in themselves, sufficiently conclusive to indicate that the first grouping is to be preferred.

The first of these factors is informant reaction. Already in the mind of the literate Kalinga the variants [p<sup>i</sup>] and [pp] are regarded as manifestations of the phoneme b. (Orthographic note: Because of that it is reasonably certain that to attempt to introduce a new grouping of the variants and to teach the

voiceless segments [p<sup>1</sup>] and [pp] as sub-members of p, instead of b, and syllable-initial [p] as a sub-member of b, instead of p, would meet with considerable resistance.)

The second important, and more telling, factor comprises evidence derived from the morphophonemic structure of the language.<sup>6</sup> It has been found that final [b] in syllables to which -an and -on may be suffixed becomes [p<sup>1</sup>] and [pp], respectively, in such occurrences. Examples: /mangobqob/ [maɣobqóɓ] 'She is a brooding hen.' compared with /naqobqoban/ [naɣobqóɓian] 'It has been set on (of an egg, by a hen).'; and /mansobsob/ [mansobsóɓ] 'He extinguishes a fire.' compared with /sobsobam/ [sobsopiam] 'You (sing.) extinguish the fire.' In addition, comparison may be made between /qaltib/ [qaltíɓ] 'scissors' and /qaltibom/ [qaltíppom] 'You (sing.) use scissors', and between /manlukbub/ or /manluqbub/ [manlukpúb] or [manluqppúb] 'He lies on his stomach' and /manlukbubom/ or /manluqbubom/ [manlukpúppom] or [manluqppúppom] 'You (sing.) lay him on his stomach.'. It has also been noted that [p<sup>1</sup>] becomes [pp] when certain infixes are employed. Examples: [p<sup>1</sup>] in /mambasa/ [mampiasá] 'It is wet' becomes [pp] in /bumasa/ [ppumasá] 'It becomes, will become wet', and the same change in phones is seen between /mambayu/ [mampíayu] 'She pounds rice' and /binayu/ [ppináy] 'pounded rice'. Thus, from these data it becomes plain not only that the grouping of [p<sup>1</sup>] and [pp] as sub-members of b is to be preferred, but also that there is no alternative to that grouping.

The second of the voiced stop phonemes is d, the counterpart of the voiceless t. In syllable-final position it occurs as [d], but often one hears it in word-final position as a complete stop with an off-glide of greater or lesser degree of voiced alveo-palatal affrication, [ʤ to ʝ]--as [dʤ] to almost [ʝ] at

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(6) An additional factor, from the area of comparative studies, buttressing the alignment of [p<sup>1</sup>], [pp], and [b], is that what are found in other Philippine dialects as b are pronounced in Guininaang (Kal.) as [p<sup>1</sup>] and [pp]. To illustrate, a few examples, taken from the Philippine National Language (PNL) and Ilocano (Ilo.), follow: PNL /babaw/ 'shallowness', Ilo. /ababaw/ and Kal. /qababaw/ [qapíapíau] 'shallow'; PNL, Ilo. /baboy/ 'swine', 'pig', Kal. /babuy/ [píappú] 'wild pig'; PNL /balo/, Ilo. /balo a babai/, Kal. /balo/ [píálo] 'widow'; PNL, Ilo. /bato/, Kal. /batu/ [píatú] 'stone'; PNL /buwan/, Ilo. /bulan/, Kal. /bulan/ [ppulán] 'moon', 'month'. These examples are taken from A NATIONAL LANGUAGE - ENGLISH VOCABULARY (Manila: The Institute of National Language, 1950) and the POCKET ENGLISH-TAGALOG-ILOCANO VOCABULARY (Manila: Philippine Book Co., 1949).

times. Example: /lagud/ [lágud<sup>h</sup>] to [lágud<sup>h</sup>] 'downstream', 'East'. Always in syllable-initial position this phoneme is heard as a voiced alveo-palatal affricate, [ɟ]. Examples: /dagun/ [ɟagún] 'dry season', /badang/ [p<sup>h</sup>ajáɟ] 'bolo'. There appears to be some degree of variation between the voiced, [ɟ] and voiceless, [tʃ] affricates. Example: /qadu/ [qaɟú] or [qačú] 'much', 'many'.

The third voiced stop phoneme is g, which corresponds to the voiceless stop, k, and it occurs as the norm in all positions. Occasionally, this phoneme is heard as a voiceless phone, for example, /tagu/ [tágu] or [táku] 'person'; however, as yet no governing rules, if any have been observed. Examples: /gabu/ [gapú] 'ashes', /longqag/ [loɟqág] 'body'.

Of the continuants, s is made with the tongue tip behind the upper front teeth. Examples: /saqis/ [saqís] 'ten centavos', /gaybas/ [gaip<sup>h</sup>ás] or [gep<sup>h</sup>ás] 'guava'. Very frequently in this sub-dialect, especially in the speech of the older people, but also often in the speech of other age groups, a non-phonemic voiceless glottal fricative, [h], is substituted for [s]. Examples: [hiná] for [siná] 'here' and [hin háʔi] for [sin sáʔi] 'now'. No rules governing this alternation have been noted as yet; but it has not been heard in other than syllable-initial positions, and [h] and [s] have never been observed to contrast.

The voiced nasal series, m, n, and ng, are made at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation, respectively. No marked variants of these phonemes have been heard. Examples: /tamudu/ [tamuʔú] 'finger', /danum/ [ʔanúm] 'water'; /qina/ [qiná] 'mother', /diqon/ [ʔiqon] 'cushion of any sort used for carrying loads on the head'; and /qinga/ [qigá] 'ear', /bodong/ [pɔoʔóɟ] 'peace pact'.

There is a voiced alveolar lateral phoneme, l. One variant, [l̥], occurs in the following environments:

- a. Word-initial, /lagan/ [lagán] 'sand'.
- b. In a geminate cluster, /qallong/ [qallóɟ] 'animal's nose ring', or as a reduplication of the syllable-final member of such a cluster, /qulqullitom/ [qulqullítom] 'You (sg.) tell a story'.
- c. Following consonants made at the dental, or alveolar, points of articulation, /manlanti/ [manlantí] 'green/blue', /manqadlos/ [manqadlóɟ] 'slippery (ground)', /naqatlu/ [naqatlú] 'three days'.
- d. Contiguous to l, /bali/ [p<sup>h</sup>áli] 'wind', 'storm', /dila/

[ʝíla] 'tongue', or if separated from a preceding i by a consonant, /qíplug/ [qíplúg] 'egg', /siklat/ or /siqlat/ [siklát] or [siqlát] 'tying of a fence'.

In all other environments the other variant, [ɿ], is found. This sub-member is a central resonant oral, produced by relaxing the tongue and placing the tip either behind the lower front teeth, or behind the lower lip. Examples: /qalang/ [qálaŋ] 'granary', /dalpong/ [ʝaɿpóng] 'fireplace for cooking', and /taklay/ or /taqlay/ [takláɿ] or [taqláɿ] 'arm'.

There are two voiced semi-vowels, y and w. The former is the high close front unrounded vocoid, and the latter is the high close back rounded vocoid. Examples: /payaw/ [payáu] 'rice terrace', /tipoy/ [típoi] 'dish(es) which accompany rice in a meal', and /sawang/ [sawáŋ] 'doorway', /qidaw/ [qíjw] 'small omen bird'.

To the non-Kalinga ear the phones [ɿ] and [y] may be confusing, since both are vocoids which are not greatly different in production; as a result, it may be questioned whether or not one may be a variant of the other. The following minimal pairs, among others, illustrate their phonemic contrast:

dala [ʝála] 'blood'

daya [ʝáya] 'upstream', 'West'

qapul [qapúɿ] 'lime for  
betel nut chewing'

qapuy [qapúi] 'fire'

3.2 The vowel phonemes include a voiced high close front unrounded vocoid, i, which varies from the close position, [i], to open [ɨ]. Example: /qinit/ [qínit] or [qínɨt] 'sun'. One instance has been observed of this phoneme occurring as the voiced mid close front unrounded vocoid, [e]. The example is /qakiyot/ [qakeyót] or [qaqeyót] 'very little'. There is also a voiced low open central unrounded vocoid, a, which may vary from the usual low, [a], to a rather infrequent mid, [ʌ], position. Example: /samling/ [sámliŋ] or [sʌmliŋ] 'glass', 'bottle'.

As illustrated by /qakiyot/ in the preceding paragraph, there are occasional occurrences of the voiced mid close front vocoid, [e]. Attention is drawn to this phone because it occurs not only as a variant of a vowel phoneme, as shown by the example above, but also as the result of a slurring together of two vowels. Although normally there are no vowel clusters in Guininaang, instances have been observed of loss of an intervocalic glottal stop and the resulting [a..i] sequence slurring together to form a third vocoid, [e]. An example of this is /naqid pon/ [naqid pon]

or [nepón] 'there is none'. This phone may also be heard as a variant of the [ai] sequence functioning as syllabic-non-syllabic ay in a non-final syllable followed by a consonant. Examples: /wayno/ [wáino] or [wéno] 'You (sg.) come', /daykot/ or /dayqot/ [jáikot] or [jáiqot] or [yékot] or [yéqot] 'glutinous rice'.

The other two vowels are the voiced high close back rounded vocoid, y, and the voiced mid close back rounded vocoid, o. The former varies from the close, [u], to the open, [ʊ], position: while the latter may vary from the mid close position, [o], to the low close, [ɔ]. Examples: /qugud/ [qúgud] or [qúgud] 'dialect' and /qotok/ or /qotoq/ [qótok] or [qótoq] or [qótək] or [qótəq] 'brain'.

Since y and o are very much alike in production, and since they often alternate, difficulty is experienced at times in distinguishing them. The following minimal and analogous pairs, among others, are listed, to substantiate their phonemic status:

tupong [túpoŋ] 'light  
storm'

topong [topóŋ] 'a measuring  
container'

luput [lúput] 'clothing'

lupot [lupót] 'childless  
woman'

qotup [qotúp] 'kind of  
knot'

qotop [qotóp] 'roof'

Although its governing rules, if any, have not been determined, considerable alternation between y and o, as mentioned above, is heard. Examples: /buku/ or /buqu/ or /boko/ or /boqo/ [pəukú] or [pəuqú] or [pəokó] or [pəoqó] 'node of bamboo' and /qulu/ or /qulo/ [qúlu] or [qúlo] 'head'.

Frequently it is desirable to know whether the [au] sequence, which commonly occurs in Philippine languages, contrasts with, or is a sub-member of, certain vowel phonemes with which it is suspect. Those vowels are usually the back ones, y and o. In order to show that this sequence in Guininaang consists of two phonemes, a and w, it will be contrasted with each of those vowels.

[au] in this dialect occurs most frequently in the final syllable of basic vocabulary terms and stems, but it has been noted in word-initial and word-medial syllables, as illustrated by /qawni/ [qauní] 'later' and /mansagawsaw/ [mansagaúsau] 'She is removing weeds from the soil of the rice terrace (prior to transplanting seedlings).'

The contrasts between y and [au] are in identical environments; those between o and [au] are in analogous environments.



kayu or qayu [káyu] or  
[qáyú] 'wood'

qayaw [qáyau] 'attack'

buku or buqu [pɸukú] or  
[pɸuqú] 'node of bamboo'

bukaw or buqaw [pɸukáu] or  
[pɸuqáu] 'rice stem borer'

silu [sílú] 'loop in rope'

silaw [siláu] 'light'

tanso [tánsó] 'five  
centavos'

kaqisaw or qaqisaw [kaqisáu]  
or [qaqisáu] 'dirty'

qalqo [qalqó] 'Pestle'

qannaqaw [qannáqau] 'kind of  
native rain cape'

namango [namaŋó] 'He is  
leading'

ngangaw [ŋaŋáu] 'back tooth'

3.3 Stress has not been fully studied as yet; therefore, little more than its phonemic status can be declared at this point. Examples of its contrast are these:

bálat [p<sup>1</sup>álat] 'banana'

balát [p<sup>1</sup>alát] 'soup',  
'broth'

káwa or qáwa [káwa] or [qáwa]  
'means for suspending jars  
away from rats, etc.'

kawá or qawá [kawá] or  
[qawá] 'spider'

sánga [sáŋa] 'anger'

sangá [saŋá] 'branch'

#### 4. Distribution of Phonemes

4.1 In Section 2 above it was stated that the non-suspect syllable patterns of this dialect are CV - /no/ 'if', 'when' and CVC - /sin/ 'in', 'on'. Within these patterns all the consonants are found to occur in the initial position in word-initial, -medial, and -final syllables. Examples: /babalu/ [p<sup>1</sup>ap<sup>1</sup>alú] 'young man', /kakayu/ or /qaqayu/ [kakáyú] or [qaqáyú] 'trees', /dingding/ [ʃiŋʃiŋ] 'wall', /gagatol/ [gagátol] 'scabies', /lalaki/ or /lalaqi/ [laláki] or [laláqi] 'man', /mammiqis/ [mammiqís] 'sweet', /niwanit/ [niwánit] 'open', /ngangaw/ [ŋaŋáu] 'back tooth', /pongpongo/ [poŋpoŋó] 'wrist', /sissiwit/ [sissiwit] 'bird', /todtod/ [todtód] 'drop of water', /wangwang/ [waŋwáŋ] 'river', and /yumangoyango/ [yumaŋoyaŋó] 'She (progressively) goes in the sun without anything on her head.'

Likewise, all consonants occur in syllable-final position in word-initial, -medial, and -final syllables. Examples:

/gabgab/ [gabgab] 'blossom of a kind of tree', /mansaksak/ or /mansaqsas/ [mansaksák] or [mansaqsáq] 'She is washing (clothes)', /paladpad/ [paladpád] 'first course of roofing material laid', /sigsigqok/ or /sigsigqoq/ [sigsigqók] or [sigsigqóq] 'hiccough', /mansalsal/ [mansalsái] 'He is tamping soil', /kumkum/ or /qumqum, [kumkúm] or [qumqúm] 'joint in a living being', /mantongnin/ [mantognín] 'It is cold', /qagungqong/ [qagunqóq] 'nest for a hen', /mansapsap/ [mansapsáp] 'He is shaping wood by cutting longitudinally', /palispis/ [palispís] 'kind of small fish found in the rice terraces', /dutdut/ [ʔutʔút] 'feather', /mansagawsaw/ [mansagausáu] 'She is removing weeds from the soil of a rice terrace (prior to transplanting seedlings)', and /sagaysay/ [sagaisái] 'comb'. The glottal stop has not been observed to occur in syllable-final position in any basic vocabulary word, except as it has been substituted for k, as illustrated by /mansaqsasaw/ above.

Concerning the distribution of the semi-vowels, it has been noted, first, that neither of them occurs in syllable-final position following its syllabic counterpart. That is, w has not been found to occur syllable-final after u, or o which is also a back vocoid, nor y after i. These two semi-vowels may, however, follow their respective syllabics if they are separated by a syllable boundary. Thus, syllable-initial y may follow i, e.g. /qiyug/ [qiyúg] 'coconut', even though i followed by syllable-final y has not been noted; and syllable-initial w may follow u, e.g. /buwa/ [ppuwa] 'areca palm'.

In contrast, it has been observed that the front semi-vowel, y, may be followed in the same syllable by its syllabic counterpart, i. Example: /mangiyidaw/ [magiyíʔau] 'one to consult the /qidaw/'. No instance of syllable-initial w followed by u has been noted; however, w, if preceded by a, i, or u, may be followed by o. Examples: /qawos/ [qawós] 'best clothes', /qiwoy/ [qiwói] 'rattan', and /puwog/ [puwóg] 'knee'.

As stated, there are no consonant clusters within syllables in Guininaang. It is only across a syllable boundary that a consonant cluster--of no more than two segments--is found. No system limiting the combinations of consonants has been observed as yet, and most of the possible combinations have been noted.

4.2 There are no vowel-initial syllables in Guininaang; therefore, single vowels occur only in syllable-medial and syllable-final positions. Examples; /sallikop/ or /salliqop/ [sallikóp] or [salliqóp] 'small bird which preys on chicks', /botad/ [pəotád] 'native stone hammer', /dupinqay/ [ʔupinqái] 'sloping rock', and /sagud/ [ságud] 'below', 'under'.

Although as stated above, no clusters of non-suspect vowels occur within a syllable, various combinations of a vowel and a semi-vowel have been noted. These include: [ai], /qaysan/ [qaisán] or [qesán] 'He is gone.', /qiday/ [qí]ai 'forehead'; [au], /qawni/ [qauní] 'later', /lingaw/ [lí]gau 'fly (insect)'; [ia], /yumangoyango/ [yumaŋoiáŋo] 'She (prog.) goes in the sun without anything on her head.'; [iu], /qisyu/ [qisiú] 'chick', /salli/ [salliú] 'purchase of wine for a special occasion'; [oi], /boykas/ or /boyqas/ [pəoi]kás or [pəoi]qás 'diarrhea', /tudoy/ [tú]oi 'water spout'; [ua], /wasay/ [uásai] 'axe (native-made)', /qalwa/ [qalú]á 'wide'; and [ui], /witig/ [uí]tig 'small stick of wood', /butuy/ [pəutú]i 'calf of the leg'.

It will be noted that in the foregoing examples the semi-vowels have been interpreted on the basis of the CV, CVC, syllable patterns, already mentioned, writing them as i and u when they pattern as syllabics and as y and w when they pattern as non-syllabics.

## 5. Text: Anop (Hunting with Dogs)

1 no imóykami<sup>7</sup> manganóp awitúmi dan ásun mingól. (When go-we hunt take-we dogs trained.) 2 no awád paltúg awitónmibus kan túbay ad nambináyukami kan mandinaánkami. (If there is gun take-we-also and spear and take supply of husked rice-we and take lunch-we.) 3 no lumibbátkami ilánmi no awád mambukón ad sin dалан mangídawkami. (When start-we see-we if there is sneezing and on way consult small omen bird, called idaw-we.) 4 no lawwíng nan idawmi mampaulíkami ómya no mambalú itúloymi on imóy manganóp. (If bad omen-our return-we but if good continue-we go hunt.)

5 no inggáwkami sin ginúbat inwadími dan ásun mansingít si ugsá ónno babúy. (When are-we in forest dispatch-we dogs look for deer or wild pig.) 6 manggiyákda ad ammaánmi sipótan no dínun mangiyapnánda sin giyákonda ad asímiyot balwabáwan nan lumayúganna ónno totdákonna ad isanópmisdi. (Bark-they and are careful-we ascertain where will be taken-they from barking-their and then-we cut across to intercept place where jumps down-it or trail-its and prepare to kill-we-there.)

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(7) Although in Guininaang the glottal stop is usually spoken instead of k in ordinary speech, in view of the geographic limitation of that phonetic practice, and in accordance with the preference of Guinaang literates, it has been deemed expedient to write the k wherever it may occur. The orthography of the glottal stop is that given in footnote 5, page 11.

OCEANIA LINGUISTIC MONOGRAPHS

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