



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

*Differences between Tagalog and Bisayan.*—By DR. FRANK  
R. BLAKE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

OF the large number of languages which are spoken in the Philippine Islands, the two most important are without doubt Tagalog and Bisayan. Tagalog is the language of perhaps the most highly cultivated tribe in the Archipelago, and is spoken in the capital city of Manila, throughout middle Luzon, and on the coasts of Mindoro and some of the smaller islands south of Luzon. Bisayan in its various dialects, Cebuan, Panayan, Hiligayna, Samar-Leytean, etc., forms the language of the Bisayan Islands, and of the north and east coasts of Mindanao, and is spoken by more people than any other Philippine dialect.

As is the case with all the languages of the Archipelago, these two idioms belong to the same family of speech, the Malayo-Polynesian, and the relation subsisting between them is very close and intimate. The two languages present the same general grammatical characteristics.

1) Roots are for the most part dissyllabic, e. g. Tag. *gawá* 'do,' *súlat* 'write,' *káin* 'eat;' Bis. *buhát* 'do,' *sulat* 'write,' *kaon* 'eat.'

2) Derivation is accomplished:

(a) By means of various formative prefixes, infixes and suffixes, which are in a large number of cases identical in the two languages, e. g. active verbal prefixes *mag*, *man*, *pa*, *ma*, *maka*, *magpa*, *maki*; active verbal prefix and infix *um*; the common passive particles, prefixed *i*, and suffixed *an*; the nominal prefixes, *ka*, *pala*, *taga*; the adjectival prefix *ma*, etc.

(b) By various forms of reduplication; a diminutive meaning is imparted to adjectives in both languages by reduplicating the root, e. g. Tag. *ma-itim-itim* 'rather black,' from *ma-itim*; 'black;' Bis. *ma-itom-itom* from *ma-itom*; complete reduplica-

---

<sup>1</sup> As the accentuation of Bisayan words varies greatly according to the place in which the language is spoken (cf. Encarnación, *Diccionario Bisaya-Español*, 3<sup>a</sup> ed., Manila, 1885, Advertencias Preliminares II), the Bisayan words in this paper are given without accent marks, except in certain dialectic forms.

tion of a noun often imparts the idea of 'every,' e. g. Tag. *aḍawáḍaw* 'every day' from *áḍaw* 'day;' Bis. *adlawadlaw* from *adlaw*.

3) Inflection strictly speaking is confined to the pronouns.

4) The verb has usually the passive form, the object of the action or some accessory circumstance of the action being made the subject; e. g. the sentence 'Cain killed Abel' would be rendered by 'Abel was killed by Cain,' Tag. *si Abel ay pinatáy ni Cain*. The active is employed only when the agent of the action is specially emphasized, or when the object of the action is something indefinite, e. g. 'he killed a man,' Tag. *siyá'y pungmatáy nang táwo*.<sup>2</sup> In other words the most important or most emphatic element in the sentence is made the subject, and the verb put in the form required by that subject.

5) An extensive use is made of certain particles, Tag. *-ng, na*; Bis. *-ng, nḡa* to connect the parts of speech which modify each other, such as nouns and adjectives, adjectives and adverbs, verbs and adverbs, etc.; e. g. 'good man' is in Tagalog *mabúti-ng táwo*, in Bisayan, *maayo-ng tao* or *maayo nḡa tao*; 'larger, more large' is in Tagalog *lálo-ng malakí*, in Bisayan *labi-ng dako*.<sup>3</sup>

The two languages then are as closely related perhaps as Spanish and Italian or German and Dutch, but there are a number of important differences between them.

In the first place the two vocabularies, while possessing a large stock of common material, differ in many particulars. This is true not only in the case of presentive words, *i. e.* nouns,

<sup>1</sup> This *ḍ* is used to represent the Tagalog *r*, which is derived from intervocalic *d*, and is, according to the Spanish grammarians, a sound between *d* and *r*.

<sup>2</sup> With this prevalence of passive construction is to be contrasted the use of the passive in Arabic. Here, if the agent is expressed, the construction must be active, e. g. قتل قابيل هابيل *qatala qáḡīnu hábīla* 'Cain killed Abel.' The passive form can be used only when the agent is understood, thus being a variety of intransitive verb (cf. my paper on the *Internal Passive in Semitic*, JAOS., vol. xxii, p. 45) e. g. قتل الرجل *qutīla 'rrajulu* 'the man was killed.'

<sup>3</sup> Compare the use of the *izáfet* in modern Persian; 'pure water' is not simply آب پاك *áb pák*, but آب پاك *áb-i pák* with a connective particle *i* between *áb* 'water' and *pák* 'pure.' Cf. Salemann u. Shukovski, *Persische Grammatik*, Berlin, 1889, p. 30, § 16.

adjectives, and verbs, where, especially in nouns, we find different words for the same idea even in the most closely related languages and dialects,<sup>1</sup> but also in that of symbolic words, *i. e.* pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbial particles.

In Tagalog the word for 'shirt,' which constitutes about one-half of the ordinary civilized male Filipino's costume, the garment being worn with its tails or skirts hanging down over the other half, the trousers, is *bádo*; in Bisayan it is *sinina*: the common adjectives 'good' and 'bad' are in Tagalog *mabúti* and *masamá*, in Bisayan *maayo* and *dautan*: the ordinary verb 'do, make' is in Tagalog *g-um-awá*, in Bisayan *mag-buhat*.

With regard to symbolic words, it is to be noted that the demonstrative pronouns, and in the case of the Cebuano dialect the interrogative pronouns, are different, *e. g.* 'this' is in Tagalog *yari* or *itó*, in Bisayan *kini* or *sini* according to the dialect; 'who' is in Tagalog *síno*, in Cebuano Bisayan *kinsa*. The conjunction 'and' is in Tagalog *at*, in Cebuano *ug*, in the Panayan and Hiligayna dialects *kag*, probably a contraction of the two particles *ka* and *ug*.

The sounds employed by the two languages are practically the same, and cognate words are usually identical. A Tagalog *i*, however, is frequently represented by a Bisayan *u* or *o*, *e. g.* the word for 'one' is in Tagalog *isá*, in Bisayan *usa*; 'black' is in Tagalog *maitím*, in Bisayan *maitom*; 'to hear' is in Tagalog *dinǵig*, in Bisayan *dunǵug*; the passive particle Tagalog *in* appears in Bisayan as *un* or *on*.

An original intervocalic *l* which is preserved in Bisayan is often lost in Tagalog,<sup>2</sup> compare Tagalog *dáan* 'road' with Bisayan, Bikol, Pangasinan, Pampanga, Ilokan, Ibanag, etc., *dalan*. Sometimes a secondary consonant is developed between the two vowels after the loss of the *l*, *e. g.* Tagalog *báhay* 'house,' *póvo* 'ten' = Bisayan *balay*, *polo*.

Morphological differences between the two languages, although not very numerous, are strongly marked. The definite article and the demonstratives have in Tagalog three cases, a nominative, genitive, and oblique, *e. g.* the article is declined *ang*, *nang*, *sa*; the demonstrative 'this,' *itó*, *nitó*, *díto*: in Bisayan,

<sup>1</sup> Compare American 'shoes' with English 'boots,' 'baggage' with 'luggage;' 'satchel' with 'bag,' 'shirt-waist' with 'wash-body,' etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brandstetter, *Tagalen und Madagassen*, Luzern, 1902, p. 41 f.

these pronouns have in general only two cases, a nominative, and an oblique which includes all other cases, e. g. in Cebuan the article is declined *ang, sa*, the demonstrative ‘this,’ *kini, niini*. In Hiligayna, however, the article has three cases, nominative *ang*, genitive *sang*, oblique *sa*.

In Tagalog the personal pronoun *kitá* is the dual of the first person meaning ‘we two;’ in Bisayan it is regularly the plural ‘we’ which includes the person addressed, and which would be used for example when a Spaniard says ‘we Spaniards’ in addressing his fellow-countrymen, but not if he used the same expression in speaking to Filipinos. In this case another pronoun, *kami*, must be employed. In Cebuan *kitá* means ‘you’ (dual) and *kíta*, ‘you’ (pl.).

In Tagalog the tens, ‘twenty,’ ‘thirty,’ ‘forty,’ etc., are formed by multiplication of ‘ten,’ *pówo*, viz. ‘two tens,’ ‘three tens,’ etc., e. g. *dalawá-ng pówo, tatló-ng pówo*, etc. In Bisayan, although the above mode of formation is found, especially in Hiligayna, the tens are regularly made from the units by prefixing *ka* and suffixing *an*, which is one of the most usual ways of forming abstract nouns in Tagalog:<sup>1</sup> e. g. ‘twenty’ is *ka-luha-an* from *duha* ‘two,’ *l* and *d* interchanging as in Latin *lacruma* and *dacruma* ‘tear,’<sup>2</sup> ‘thirty’ is *ka-tlo-an* from *tolo* ‘three,’ etc.<sup>3</sup>

In Tagalog the future and present active of a verb with the prefixed monosyllabic particle *mag*, e. g. *maglaldó* ‘play’ from the root *laldó*, are made by reduplicating the first syllable of the root, *m* of the particle becoming *n* in the present, e. g. future *maglalaḏó*, present *naglalaḏó*. In Bisayan, although

<sup>1</sup> E. g. *ka-bandal-an* ‘virtue’ from *bandal*, *ka-lakás-an* ‘strength’ from *lakás*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss der Vergl. Gram. d. Indogerm. Sprachen*, 2te Bearb., Bd. 1, 1te Hälfte, § 587, p. 533; 1te Bearb., § 369, p. 282; Eng. ed. vol. i, § 369, p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> With these abstract formations may be compared the Indo-European words for 100, Latin *centum*, Greek *é-κατόν*, which stand for original *dekmtóm*, an abstract derivative with suffix *-to* from *dekḡ* ‘ten’ meaning ‘ten-hood.’ Cf. Brugmann, *op. cit.*, Bd. 2, 2te Hälfte, § 164, p. 464; § 179, p. 501; Eng. ed. vol. iii, § 134, p. 2 f.: § 179, p. 42. Similarly the tens in Semitic are expressed by the plural of the units, plural and abstract ideas being closely connected. Cf. Zimmern, *Vergl. Gram. d. Sem. Sprachen*, Berlin, 1898, p. 182.

this formation occurs in the Hiligayna dialect, the most usual and characteristic mode of forming these tenses is by adding an *a* after the particle *mag*, changing the *m* to *n* in the present, e. g. from *mag-buhat* 'do, make' are formed the future *maga-buhat* and present *nagabuhat*. This formation seems to have originated in roots with initial *a*, as e. g. *asawa* 'spouse.' The verb made by combining this root with the verbal particle *mag* has the same tense stems in both languages, viz. Inf. *magasawa*, Pret. *nagasawa*, Fut. *magaasawa* and Pres. *nagaasawa*, the double *a* in future and present being due to the reduplication of the first syllable *a* of the root *asawa*. In Bisayan, however, the first *a* was regarded as belonging to the verbal particle, *maga* and *naga* being considered the particles of the future and present respectively. Therefore from a root with initial consonant like *buhat* 'do make,' was formed the future *maga-buhat*, and the present *naga-buhat*.<sup>1</sup>

Many classes of verbs in Bisayan, especially in the Cebuan dialect, have only two tense forms, there being no distinction between infinitive and future, and between preterite and present respectively, e. g. the root *lohod* 'kneel' combined with the particle *man* makes *man-lohod* infinitive and future, and *nan-lohod* preterite and present. In Tagalog, on the other hand, four tense stems are distinguished in all the verbal classes.

The preterite passive of Tagalog verbs is characterized by a particle *in* which is infixes in roots or stems with initial consonant, and prefixed to a root with initial vowel, e. g. *g-in-awá* from *gawá* 'do, make,' *inádal* from *ádal* 'teach.' In Bisayan, instead of this *in*, a prefix *gi* or *gin* is regularly employed, e. g. from *buhat* 'do, make' is formed the preterite, Cebuan *gibuhat*, Panayan and Hiligayna *ginbuhat*. Forms with *in* (e. g. *b-in-uhat*) like the Tagalog forms, however, also occur, especially in the Panayan and Hiligayna dialects.

---

<sup>1</sup> Similar instances of such a wrong division of words are English 'an orange' for 'a norange' (Spanish *naranja*), 'an adder' for 'a nadder' (German *Natter*); cf. Giles, *Manual of Compar. Philol.*, 2d ed., London, 1901, p. 207 f.: and the German suffix *-keit*, which was formed in the middle German period by the 'clipping' of the final *k* sound of adjectives in *-ec*, e. g. *miltec-heit* > *miltekeit*, *-keit* being then used to derive many words not ending in a *k* sound, e. g. *bitter-keit*; cf. Willmanns, *Deutsche Gram.*, Strassburg, 1893-96, 2te. Abt., § 290.

In the domain of syntax the following are the most important differences. In Tagalog a cardinal numeral is regularly joined to the noun which it modifies by the connective particle or ligature *-ng*, *na*, e. g. *dalawá-ng táwo* 'two men,' *ápat na libro* 'four books.' In Bisayan no ligature is employed in this case, the noun instead taking the prefix *ka* which denotes 'one, single, individual,' e. g. *duha ka-tao*, *upat ka-libro*. This construction of cardinal numeral adjective with a noun derived with the prefix *ka* of individuality occurs also in Tagalog, e. g. *isá ka-táwo* 'one man,' *dalawá ka-pótol* 'two pieces,' but it is far less common than the construction with the ligature.

In Tagalog the ligature is regularly employed to join an infinitive to a governing verb ending in a vowel, or, when one or more words are inserted between governing verb and infinitive, to join the infinitive to the word directly preceding, e. g. *akó'y tungmakbó-ng umalis* 'I hastened to go,' *madálanung ka-ng sumúlat* 'do you know how to write?', where the infinitives *umalis* and *sumúlat* are joined to the preceding word by the ligature *-ng*. In Bisayan, as a usual thing, no ligature is used before a dependent infinitive in this case, e. g. *kinsa'y nahagugma pumalit sa kabayo* 'who wants to buy the horse?', *brut ka ba uminom bisan onsa* 'do you wish to drink anything?', where no ligature is employed before the infinitives *pumalit* and *uminom*.

In Tagalog the particle *ay*<sup>1</sup> is regularly used between subject and predicate when the subject precedes, e. g. *akó ay (akó'y) sungmusúlat* 'I am writing.' In Bisayan in this case, although *y* may be used after a subject ending in a vowel, e. g. *si Pedro'y maluhuyon* 'Pedro is merciful,' it is regularly omitted, e. g. *ang ia-ng balay dako* 'his house is large,' *ako nagasulat* 'I am writing.'

The particle *y* is employed in Bisayan in some constructions where the ligature is used in Tagalog. In the latter language a definite noun following an interrogative pronoun is preceded either by the article *ang* or the ligature *-ng*, e. g. *anó ang (anó-ng) ginawá mo* 'what did you do?' In Bisayan the article may be replaced, not by the ligature, but by the particle *y*, e. g. Cebuan *onsa ba ang (onsa'y) gibuhát mo* 'what did you do?' The

---

<sup>1</sup> Probably of pronominal origin, cf. my paper on *Analogies between Semitic and Tagalog*, JHU. Circ. No. 163, p. 66.

interrogative particle *ba* is regularly employed in Cebuan in connection with an interrogative followed by the article, less frequently with *y*. In Tagalog also the equivalent particles *bagá* or *kayá* may be used in connection with an interrogative pronoun, e. g. *anó bagá ang (anó bagá-ng) ginawá mo*.

Bisayan *y* corresponds in its use to the Tagalog ligature also in the constructions which express the ideas of the possession and non-possession of something indefinite.<sup>1</sup> In Tagalog the particles *may* and *walá* are employed for this purpose, in Bisayan, usually *may*, *aduna* and *wala*, *walá* and *wala* being the negative of the other particles. The thing possessed stands after the particle without article. The possessor is in Tagalog always put in the nominative; in Bisayan it may stand in the nominative, or it may be expressed by a possessive adjective modifying the thing possessed or object of the particle, and joined to it by the ligature. The ligature in Tagalog and the particle *y* in Bisayan are added, in most of these constructions, to the word that immediately precedes the object, which may consist of a single word or a word and its modifiers, e. g.

Tagalog: *may salapí akó*  
*may akó-ng salapí* } 'I have money.'  
*akó'y walá-ng salapí* }  
*walá akó-ng salapí* } 'I have no money.'

Bisayan: *may bino ako* (nom.) }  
*may ako-ng* (poss. adj.) *bino* } 'I have wine.'  
*aduna'y amo-ng* (poss. adj.) *tiempo* 'we have time.'  
*aduna ba kamo* (nom.) 'y *tiempo* 'have you time?'  
*wala'y ila-ng* (poss. adj.) *tiempo* 'they have no time.'  
*wala kamo* (nom.) 'y *tiempo* 'we have no time.'

In Tagalog the indefinite character of the object of an action, as e. g. the words 'some water' in the sentence 'take some water,' is expressed by putting the verb in the active with its object preceded by the genitive of the definite article, which has here of course no definite meaning, but simply denotes the case, e. g. *kumúha ka nang túbig*. 'Take the water' (definite) would be expressed by the passive, viz. *kinúha mo ang túbig*. In Bisayan, what might be called an indefinite accusative par-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my paper cited above, *loc. cit.*



ticle has been developed, which is used instead of the case form of the article before the indefinite object of an active verb, e. g. the above sentence 'take some water' would be rendered by *kumuha ka ug tubig* or *kumuha ka sing tubig*, *ug* being the indefinite particle in Cebuan, *sing* in the Panayan and Hiligayna dialects.

This indefinite particle is also employed before the indirect object of a passive verb, e. g. *ibuhát mo ako ug (sing) kape* 'make me some coffee (*lit.* let me be made for by thee with respect to coffee),' where Tagalog uses the definite article, e. g. *ibili mo ang bátà nang kánin* 'buy the boy some food (*lit.* let the boy be bought for by thee with respect to food);' and also before an adverb which stands after the verb it modifies, e. g. *nakapamolong ba kami ug maayo* 'do we speak well?', *siya nagasulat ug (sing) maayo* 'he writes well,' where Tagalog employs the genitive of the definite article or the ligature, e. g. *hampásin mo siyá nang malakás* 'beat him soundly,' *itó'y gaw-in ninyó-ng mahúsay* 'do this well.'

In the Hiligayna dialect the particle *sing* is often employed before the indefinite object of the negatives *wala, wa* 'have not, there is not,' instead of *y* (cf. above), e. g. *wala na sing bato sa bukid* 'there are no stones on the mountain,' *wala kami sing humay* 'we have no rice;' where in Tagalog the ligature is employed, viz. *walá-ng bató sa bundók, walá kami-ng pálay*.

The two principal languages of the Philippine Islands, therefore, while perhaps more closely related than any other two of the important languages of the Archipelago, present a number of differences in vocabulary, phonology, morphology, and syntax. The difference in vocabulary is found not only in the case of presentive, but also in that of symbolic words; phonetic changes are few; morphological differences concern chiefly the verb, but also occur in the pronouns and numerals. In the syntax we find the differences principally in the use of various particles, especially the ligature and the particle *ay, y*, and in the expression of the indefinite object of an action. In general, the Hiligayna and Panayan dialects show more resemblance to Tagalog than does the Cebuan.