

# Language Documentation and Description

ISSN 1740-6234

---

This article appears in: *Language Documentation and Description*,  
vol 17. Editor: Peter K. Austin

## **Calquing structure: how to say 'the' in Isinay, Philippines**

LAWRENCE A. REID

Cite this article: Reid, Lawrence A. 2020. Calquing structure: how to say 'the' in Isinay, Philippines. In Peter K. Austin (ed.) *Language Documentation and Description* 17, 1-24. London: EL Publishing.

Link to this article: <http://www.elpublishing.org/PID/179>

This electronic version first published: July 2020



This article is published under a Creative Commons License CC-BY-NC (Attribution-NonCommercial). The licence permits users to use, reproduce, disseminate or display the article provided that the author is attributed as the original creator and that the reuse is restricted to non-commercial purposes i.e. research or educational use. See <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>

---

## **EL Publishing**

For more EL Publishing articles and services:

Website: <http://www.elpublishing.org>  
Submissions: <http://www.elpublishing.org/submissions>

# Calquing structure: How to say ‘the’ in Isinay, Philippines

Lawrence A. Reid

*University of Hawai‘i, National Museum of the Philippines*

## Abstract

Isinay is a highly endangered Central Cordilleran language spoken in northern Luzon, Philippines. This paper discusses noun phrase structures in Isinay and how Spanish missionaries translating the Roman Catholic catechism in the 17th century created an innovative structure that marks definiteness by calquing from corresponding Spanish structures. We present arguments for a loan translation analysis and show how it cannot have developed from phrase structures inherited from an ancestor languages.

## 1. Introduction

Isinay is a Central Cordilleran language, of the Northern Luzon subgroup of Philippine languages, spoken in only three communities in the province of Nueva Vizcaya in northern Luzon, the Philippines: Aritao, Bambang and Dupax del Sur (See Figure 1 and Figure 2). Isinay is an endangered language, now primarily spoken by only middle-aged to old people. Conant (1915: 289) noted more than 100 years ago that it was rapidly becoming extinct, and is now considered ‘threatened’ (Eberhard et al. 2019) or ‘severely endangered’ (Cruz 2010). Data from the Ancestral Domain Areas Census Report (2012) indicate that people who identify as Isinay, who may not necessarily speak the language, are found in Dupax del Sur (population 8,988), Bambang (2,098), and Aritao (1,442). Cruz (2010: 2) reports that in Aritao, not more than 100 people can still speak the language (see also Gatan 1997: 110). Children only speak Ilokano, the current language of wider communication, and Tagalog/Filipino, which is the primary language used in schools (cf. Gallego, this volume). Each Isinay community has a distinct dialect, retaining many terms unique to their own community, and Dupax del Sur and Bambang have quite distinct phonologies (Aritao is almost the same phonologically as Dupax del Sur). The relationship between these varieties is discussed in Reid (2019).

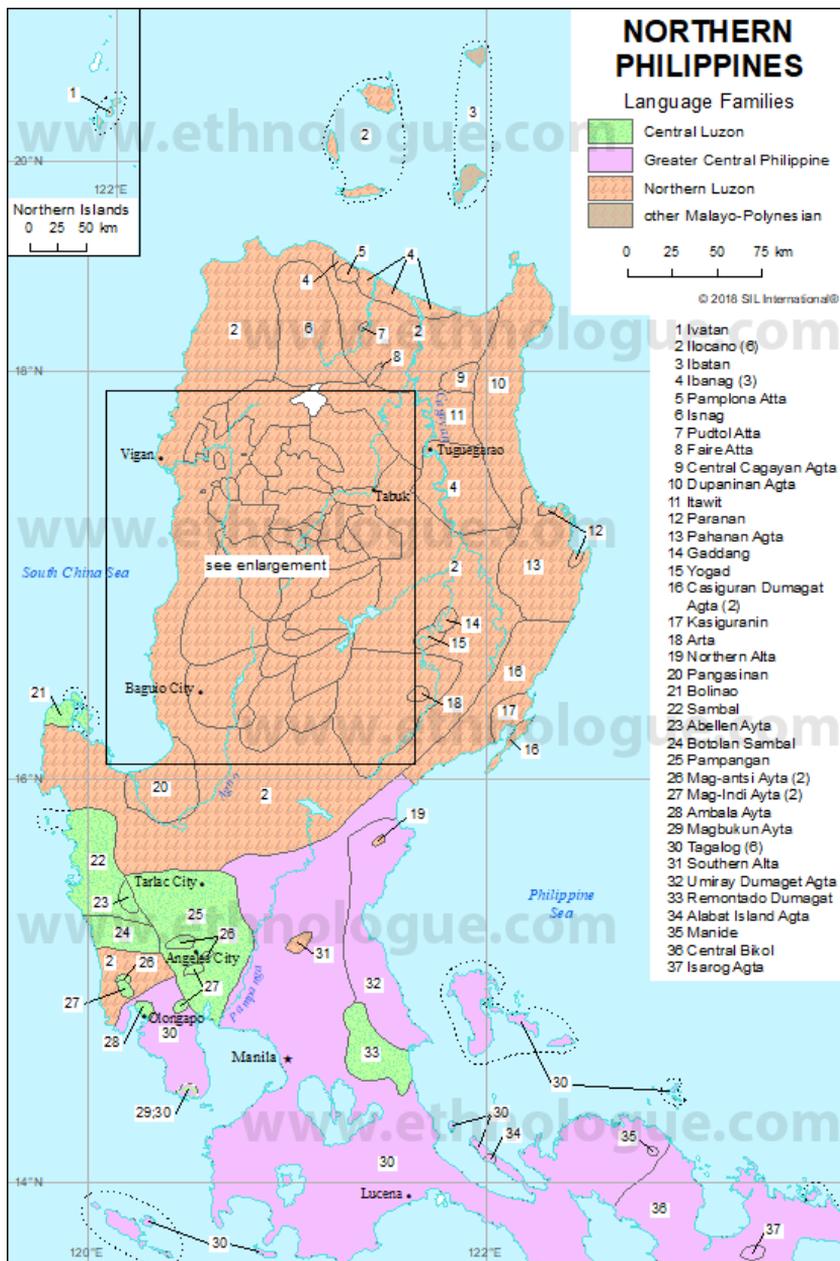


Figure 1. Northern Philippine languages (Eberhard et al. 2019)

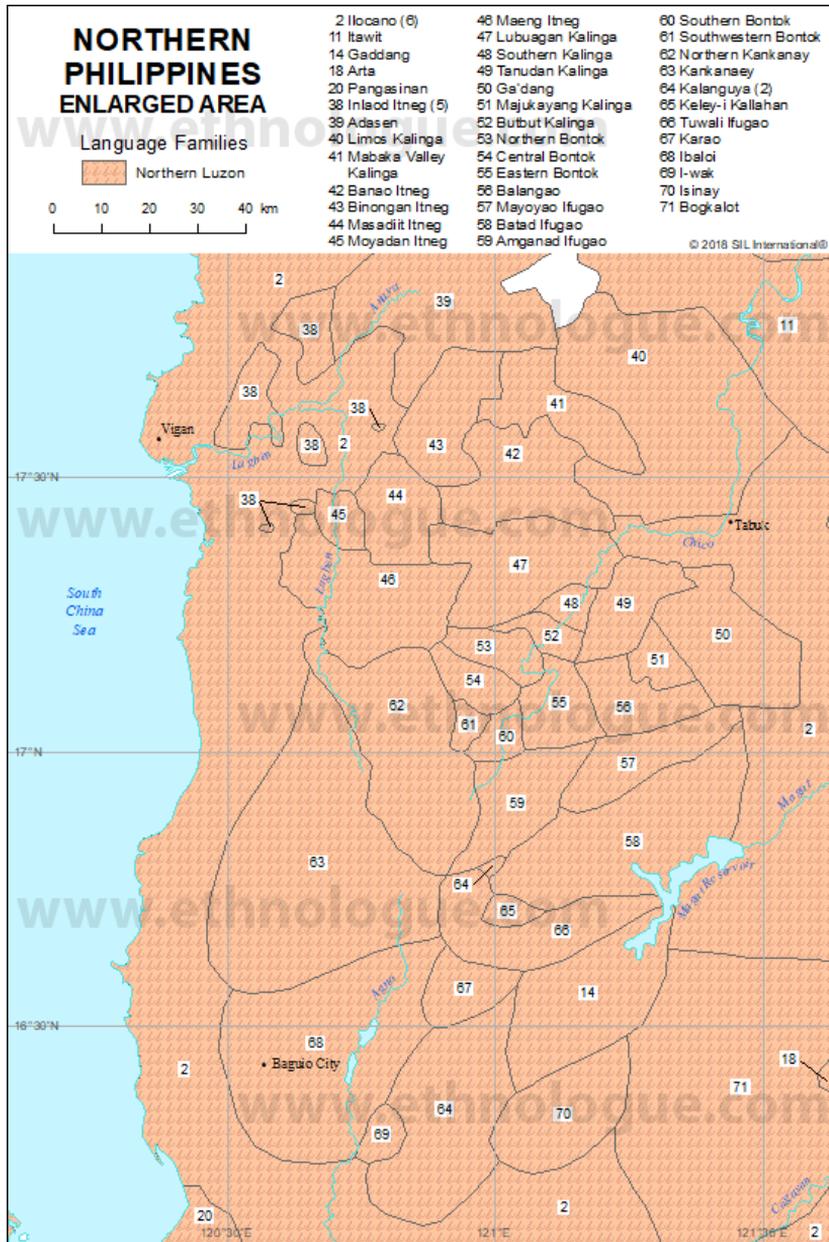


Figure 2. Northern Philippine languages, enlarged Isinay is #70. From Eberhard et al. (2019)

A calque is a ‘loan translation’, whereby a linguistic expression in one language is translated word-for-word into another language. For instance, words meaning ‘very tall building’ in many languages have lexical calques from English ‘skyscraper’, e.g., French *gratte-ciel* ‘scrape-sky’, Dutch *wolkenkrabber* ‘cloud-scraper’, and Indonesian *cakar-langit* ‘scrape-sky’. All calques are the result of bilingualism in a situation of contact between languages. Other types of calquing occur; Ross (1996: 182, 2007: 37) discusses syntactic calquing via metatypy or morphosyntactic diffusion between languages that are spoken long-term by a single community. In Malay, the word *kasi* ‘give’ which introduces an agent of one type of passive sentence is said to be a calque from Hokkien (Adelaar 2005: 2017). American Sign Language (ASL) calques from English occur frequently, e.g., the signs CANNOT STAND (lit. ‘unable to stand up’) are used in the meaning ‘dislike’ (Fischer 2015: 317).

It is well-known that missionaries and others attempting to translate religious literature or describing the languages they are working in, sometimes copy structures from their own languages, e.g., Engelenhoven & Williams-van Klinken (2005: 737) report that the 1834 Leti catechism is heavily ‘corrupted’ by Dutch calques.

There is a calqued structure in Isinay which translates Spanish definite determiners to produce a non-native definite noun phrase (NP) introduced either by *wad/war* or *ad/ar* ‘the’. It was apparently first introduced by Spanish missionaries translating the Roman Catholic catechism. The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: Section 2 discusses non-calqued NP structures in Isinay as a background for understanding the calqued structure. Section 3 introduces a definite NP enclitic that is the source of the calque, pointing out that it never occurs in other South Cordilleran or other Central Cordilleran languages. Section 4 discusses the calqued structure and how it is related to NP structures in Isinay and other Philippine languages. Section 5 gives an explanation of why the definite NP structure is identified as a calque, rather than an inherited or innovated structure. Section 6 is a conclusion.

## 2. Noun phrase structures in Isinay

Isinay NPs are typical of many other Philippine languages in requiring a (normally monosyllabic) form as the first element when serving as an argument (regardless of phrasal category), e.g., Tagalog *ang*. These forms syntactically select the following noun phrase, but in Isinay when the preceding word ends in a vowel, they are ditropic enclitics (Cysouw 2005), phonologically dependent on the preceding NP. When pronominal forms substitute for NPs, they mark case, but if a common or personal noun is the lexical head of the NP, the introducing form always marks or specifies the semantic features of the noun that follows. The form is glossed here as a

specifier (see Reid 2002), but has been glossed in various ways in descriptions of other Philippine languages, including as determiner, since in many cases it is translated into English by a determiner. Isinay, like most Philippine languages, is ergative: actors of intransitive clauses and patients of transitive clauses are marked as nominative, while agents of transitive clauses are marked as genitive.<sup>1</sup>

The relevant forms in Isinay are given in Table 1, with examples below. While the terms ‘nominative’, ‘genitive’, and ‘dative’/‘locative’ are used, these primarily distinguish pronominal forms (see Table 2). There is also a long form neutral pronoun which does not carry case,<sup>2</sup> and can function as the nominative (patient) of a transitive clause, and as a fronted topic.

There is no personal noun (or pronoun) for oblique phrases since all obliques are necessarily indefinite. Ditropic enclitics (marked as =xx in examples) occur when the preceding word ends in a vowel. Note that while personal pronouns have distinct nominative, genitive and dative/locative sets, the specifiers for common nouns are identical for nominative and genitive if the preceding form ends in a consonant, as in example (2). If it ends in a vowel, the genitive ditropic marker =n occurs, as in (3). One other fact about many Philippine languages, including Isinay, is that a ligature (or linker) occurs between all modifying structures, both noun and verb, as in (4) and

Table 1. *Isinay singular specifiers*<sup>3</sup>

	<b>Nominative</b>	<b>Genitive</b>	<b>Oblique</b>	<b>Dative/Locative</b>
Common	<i>di/ri</i> (=d/=r)	(=n) <i>di/ri</i>	<i>si</i> (=t)	<i>si</i> (=t)
Personal	<i>si</i> (=t)	(=n)	∅	<i>i</i>

<sup>1</sup> The term ‘nominative’ is used in preference to ‘absolutive’, and ‘genitive’ in preference to ‘ergative’ since these are the common labels in linguistic descriptions of Philippine (and Formosan) languages. Genitive NPs occur as agents of transitive sentences, as well as possessors of NP.

<sup>2</sup> The ‘neutral’ case marks a set of pronouns that are free forms, unmarked for case, having multiple functions, following the terminology of Ross (2006: 524).

<sup>3</sup> The forms listed in Table 1 are singular. Common and personal specifiers have an added plural marker *da*, forming the combination *da=ri*. Plural personal nouns are marked simply as *da*. Enclitic forms in parentheses are ditropic and follow vowels. Alternatives (following slashes) are allomorphs that occur after a semi-vowel or *-r*. Nominative ditropic enclitic alternates (=d/=r) occur following word-final vowels. The form =d occurs following vowels in Bambang, while Dupax and Aritao have =r. Although these are traditionally allophonic, because of multiple borrowings they are now phonemic.

Table 2. *Isinay pronouns*<sup>4</sup>

	<b>Nominative</b>	<b>Genitive</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Dative/Locative</b>
1SG	= <i>a'</i>	= <i>'u</i> (=')	<i>sá'on</i>	<i>isá'on</i>
2SG	= <i>'a</i>	= <i>mu</i> (=m)	<i>si'á</i>	<i>isi'á</i>
1DU	= <i>ta</i>	= <i>ta</i>	<i>díta</i>	<i>iríta</i>
3SG	∅	= <i>na</i>	<i>síya</i>	<i>isíya</i>
1PL.EXCL	= <i>'amí</i>	= <i>mi</i>	<i>da'mi</i>	<i>ira'mi</i>
1PL.INCL	= <i>ta'ú</i>	= <i>ta'ú</i>	<i>díta'u</i>	<i>iríta'u</i>
2PL	= <i>'ayú</i>	= <i>yu</i>	<i>da'yu</i>	<i>ira'yu</i>
3PL	= <i>da</i>	= <i>da</i>	<i>díra</i>	<i>iríra</i>

(1) Common noun 'nominative' specifier, Bambang (Paz 1965: 116, with appropriate forms bolded)<sup>5</sup>

*nanagtag*        **di**        *atúwad.*  
 naN-tagtag      di        ?atú=wad  
 PFV.AV-run      SPCF    dog=the  
 'The dog ran.'

(2) Common noun 'nominative' specifier, after preceding word-final consonant, Bambang (Constantino 1982: 142)

*ot*        *atdiyón*      **di**        *ana'nad, ...*  
 ?ot        ?atdi-yón    di        ?ana?=na=d  
 then    say-PV        SPCF    child=GEN.3SG=the  
 'Then her child said, ...'

<sup>4</sup> Forms in parentheses are phonologically attached to preceding vowel-final words. In local writing, some pronouns are transcribed separately, following English practice.

<sup>5</sup> Sources of Isinay examples have widely different orthographies; examples are re-transcribed into the Isinay community practical orthography, also used in the Isinay Community Dictionary (Reid & Salvador-Amores 2016; Reid, ongoing). Examples in other languages follow the orthography of the source. Line 2 is a phonemic transcription of Line 1, showing morphology and enclitics. Angle brackets surround infixes, written before the root but occurring immediately following the initial consonant. Prefixes and suffixes are marked with hyphens. Line 3 provides English glosses of affixes, root words and pronouns; following the Leipzig glossing rules. Line 4 is an English free translation. Other gloss abbreviations are: AV – actor voice, CV – comitative voice, EXIST – existential, LG – ligature, LV – locative voice, MED – medial demonstrative, NEU – neutral, NP – noun phrase, PFV – perfective, RPRT – reportative, SPCF – specifier, ST – stative verb. Language abbreviations are: PMP – Proto-Malayo-Polynesian; Ilk – Ilokano, Tag – Tagalog.

(3) Common noun genitive specifier, after vowel-final word, Dupax (Constantino 1982: 14)

<i>bidán</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>ba'ú'uwar</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Aráw</i>
bidá=n	di	baʔúʔu=war	ʔon	si	ʔaráw
tale=GEN	SPCF	turtle=the	and	SPCF.PERS.SG	Monkey

'A tale of the turtle and Mr. Monkey.'

(4) Common noun oblique specifier, Bambang (Constantino 1982: 140)

<i>mantuttura'</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>apsi'oy</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>tuttud.</i>
man-tuttud=aʔ	si	ʔapsiʔoy	ʔan	tuttud
AV-tell.story=NOM.1SG	SPCF.OBL	short	LG	story

'I will tell a short story.'

(5) Common noun locative specifier, Bambang (Constantino 1982: 146)

<i>ni'ana'a'</i>	<i>situ</i>	<i>Bambang,</i>	<i>Nuweva</i>	<i>Biskaya.</i>
ni-ʔanaʔ=aʔ	si=tu	bamban	nuweva	biskaya
PFV.ST-child=NOM.1SG	SPCF.LOC=here	Bambang	Nueva	Viscaya

'I was born here in Bambang, Nueva Viscaya.'

(6) Personal noun 'nominative' specifier, Bambang (Constantino 1982: 146)

<i>ta'on</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Narsisa</i>	<i>Tungpalan.</i>
taʔon	si	narsisa	tunpalan.
NEU.1SG	SPCF.PERS.SG	Narcisa	Tungpalan

'I am Narcisa Tungpalan.'

(7) Personal noun oblique specifier, Dupax (Reid, ongoing: *amta*)

<i>inamtan</i>	<i>Gina</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>dimmatóng-a</i>
<in>ʔamta=n	jina	ʔan	<imm>datón=ʔa
<PFV >know=GEN	Gina	LG	<PFV.AV>arrived=NOM.2SG

<i>i</i>	<i>Tita</i>	<i>Jean.</i>
ʔi	títa	jin
SPCF.DAT	Tita	Jean

'Gina knew that you arrived with Tita Jean.'

(8) Personal noun oblique specifier, Bambang (Paz 1965: 123)

<i>nambeyoybeyóyan</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>Pídru</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>Maríya.</i>
nan-beyoybeyóyan	da	pídru	ʔi	maríya
PFV.AV-play.house	SPCF.PERS.PL	Pídru	SPCF.DAT	Maríya

'Pedro played house with Maria.'

The markers in Table 1 specify the semantics of the following noun, whether it is common or personal. They do not express case-marking (except for genitive following a vowel). For common nouns there is no distinction between nominative and genitive; the marking of personal and common nouns is also distinct for oblique and dative/locative. Since there is always a definite enclitic on definite NPs, specifiers are sometimes absent, especially if the following noun is clearly common or personal, as in:

(9) Missing ‘nominative’ specifier, Dupax (Reid, ongoing: *ap-ap*)

<i>I'ap-apmu</i>	<i>bevoymuwar.</i>
ʔiʔapʔap=mu	bevoy=mu=war
CV-put.away=GEN.2SG	toy=GEN.2SG=the
‘Put away your toys.’	

### 3. The definite noun phrase enclitic in Isinay

Isinay is distinct among Central and South Cordilleran languages in requiring an enclitic attached to every definite common core NP and definite nominal predicate (Conant 1915; Scheerer 1918; Paz 1965). This enclitic is =*ad* (with phonologically defined variants =*d*, =*wad* and =*yad*) in Bambang, and =*ar* (variants =*r*, =*war* and =*yar*) in Aritao and Dupax del Sur. The base forms =*ad* and =*ar* occur following consonants, as in (10)-(11). The variants =*d* and =*r* occur following the vowel *a* (12)-(13); variants =*wad* and =*war* follow *u* and *o*, as in (14)-(15); variants =*yad* and =*yar* follow *i* and *e*, as in (16)-(17).

(10) Definite enclitic =*ad*, Bambang (Constantino 1982: 148)

<i>immoy</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>baporad.</i>
<imm>ʔoy	si	bapor=ad
<PFV.AV>go	SPCF. LOC	boat=the
‘She went to the boat.’		

(11) Definite enclitic =*ar*, Dupax (Constantino 1982: 102)<sup>6</sup>

<i>miliyu'uy</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>avu'avúng</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>danúmar.</i>
mi-liyuʔuy	si	ʔavuʔavuŋ	di	danúm=ar.
ST.CV-swept.along	SPCF.LOC	current	SPCF	river=the
‘that was being swept along by the current of the river.’				

---

<sup>6</sup> The third word has a typographical error in the source.

(12) Definite enclitic =*d*, Bambang (Constantino 1982: 140)

<i>nakottong</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>uyunad</i>	
na-kottong	di	ʔúyu=na=d	
PFV.SV-cut.off	SPCF	head=GEN.3SG=the	

'His head was cut off.'

(13) Definite enclitic =*r*, Dupax (Constantino 1982: 104)

<i>ináwis</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>ba'ú'uwar</i>	<i>si</i>
<in>ʔáwis	di	baʔúʔu=war	si
<PFV>invite	SPCF	turtle=the	SPCF.PERS.SG

<i>Aráw</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>beyóynar.</i>	
ʔaráw	si	beyóy=na=r.	
monkey	SPCF.LOC	house=GEN.3SG=the	

'The turtle invited Mr. Monkey to his house.'

(14) Definite enclitic =*wad*, Bambang (Paz 1965: 116)

<i>nanagtag</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>atúwad.</i>
naN-tagtag	di	ʔatú=wad
PFV.AV-run	SPCF	dog=the

'The dog ran.'

(15) Definite enclitic =*war*, Dupax (Constantino 1982: 104)

<i>ináwis</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>ba'ú'uwar</i>	<i>si</i>
<in>ʔáwis	di	baʔúʔu=war	si
<PFV>invite	SPCF	turtle=the	SPCF.PERS.SG

<i>Aráw</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>beyóynar.</i>	
ʔaráw	si	beyóy=na=r.	
monkey	SPCF.LOC	house=GEN.3SG=the	

'The turtle invited Mr. Monkey to his house.'

(16) Definite enclitic =*yad*, Bambang (Paz 1965: 116)

<i>bokátad</i>	<i>ya'</i>	<i>inatód</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>bavayíyad</i>
bokát=ad	yaʔ	<ʔin>ʔatód	di	bavayí=yad
rice=the	SPCF.TOP	<PFV>give	SPCF	woman=the

<i>si</i>	<i>mampalpalemúsad.</i>
si	mampalpalemús=ad.
SPCF.LOC	begging.person=the

'As for the rice, it was given to the beggar by the woman.'

(17) Definite enclitic =*yar*, Dupax (Constantino 1982: 106)

<i>inatdín</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>ambuvussiyar</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>Aráw...</i>
<in>ʔatdín=n	di	ʔambuvussi=yar	ʔi	ʔaráw...
<PFV>say=GEN	SPCF	ambuvussi=the	SPCF.DAT	monkey...

‘The *ambuvussi* said to Mr. Monkey...’

Personal nouns and pronouns are inherently definite and do not themselves carry the enclitic. However, common nouns having a possessive enclitic are followed by the definite enclitic, as in (18), as are personal nouns that are possessors of nouns, as in (19), since the definite enclitic is a phrasal enclitic, and has the whole phrase in its scope.

(18) Definite enclitic =*war* following a possessed noun, Dupax (Scheerer 1918: 12)

<i>neyír</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>ána’uwar.</i>
neyír	ri	ʔánaʔ=ʔu=war
NEG.EXIST	SPCF	child=GEN.1SG=the

‘My child is not here.’

(19) Definite enclitic =*wad* following a modified noun, Bambang (Paz 1965: 120)

<i>sinilá’</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>tumbuk</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>Pedru’wad.</i>
<in>silá=ʔ	di	tumbuk	ʔan	Pedru’=wad
<PFV>lose=GEN.1SG	SPCF	key	LG	Pédru=the

‘I lost Pedro’s key (the key of Pedro).’

Definite nominal predicates or fronted nominative phrases which in other Philippine languages are preceded by a pre-nominal definite specifier, such as Tagalog *ang*, in Isinay are pre-nominally unmarked; their definiteness is encoded by the enclitic =*ad* or =*ar* (or one of their variants). Paz (1965: 117) comments on the pre-nominal form *wad* in Bambang, noting that it is found in ‘formal speech’, however she does not say when formal speech occurs. ‘When the order of IC’s [immediate constituents]... is reversed the P [predicate] is marked by /yaq/.... The S [subject] which is now sentence initial is not preceded by *di*. However, in formal speech, the S is preceded by /wad/ in this order of IC’s’ Paz (1965: 117). See (20)a-c.

(20) Fronted nominative phrases, Bambang (Paz 1965: 117)

a.	( <i>wad</i> )	<i>maserútað</i>	<i>beváyí</i>	<i>ya’</i>	<i>nitumbub.</i>
	(wad)	ma-serút=ad	beváyí	yaʔ	ni-tumbub
	(the)	STV-pretty=the	woman	SPCF.TOP	PFV.SV.CV-fell

‘As for the pretty woman, she was the one that fell.’

- b. *atúwad*      *ya’*                      *nanagtag.*  
 ?atú=wad      *ya?*                      naN-tagtag  
 dog=the              SPCF.TOP              PFV.AV-run  
 ‘The one that ran was the dog.’
- c. *bokátad*      *ya’*                      *inatód*              *di*  
 bokát=ad      *ya?*                      <?in>?atód      di  
 rice=the              SPCF.TOP              <PFV>give              SPCF  
*bavayíyad*              *si*                      *mampalpalemúsad.*  
 bavayí=yad              si                      mampalpalemús=ad.  
 woman=the              SPCF.LOC              begging.person=the  
 ‘As for the rice, it was given to the beggar by the woman.’

#### 4. A calqued definite noun phrase structure in Isinay

The Isinay were one of the northern Philippine groups first visited by Spaniards in 1591 (see Gatan 1997 for a history of Spanish exploration). A Dominican mission was established there in 1609, and one of the first works translated into Isinay was the Roman Catholic catechism. The original author and date of this work is not known, but it was copied, corrected, annotated, and published by Francisco Rocamora, a priest in Dupax 1830-1840 (Rocamora 1876; Conant 1915: 289), so the dialect represented is Dupax. In the catechism (see Appendix) there are more than 160 lines which begin with the Spanish word *el* ‘the (masc.sg)’, as in (21), or *la* ‘the (fem.sg)’. These were translated into Isinay with the form *Uar* (/war/), corresponding to the Spanish *el* and *la*, as in (22).

(21) Catechism commandments, Spanish (Rocamora 1876)

*El primero, amarás a tu dios sobre todas las cosas.*  
*El segundo, no tomarás en falso el nombre de dios.*  
*El tercero, santificarás las fiestas.*

(22) Catechism commandments, Isinay (Rocamora 1876)

*Uar maunar tongtong: aruom di Diosar mu si lomanar.*  
*Uar aruanar: marrian manpajuben manguisumpat masantoar ngaron di Diosar.*  
*Uar atlunar: manpaniaw at Simbardari, on fiesta.*

#### 4.1 Grammatical descriptions

Conant (1915) was the first to describe both the ‘postpositive’ enclitic =*war* (and its alternative =*ar*) in the Isinay catechism and its equivalent ‘prepositive’ form, labelling them definite articles. He claimed in effect that *war* is used when a nominative NP is topicalized, and *ar* when the NP is a non-verbal predicate. Note that both *Santo* and *atlu*n also have definite enclitics attached, =*ar* on *Santo* (pronounced today *santo*=*war*) and -*ar* on *atlu*=*n* ‘third’, which in itself is ungrammatical. The definite enclitic would never follow a ligature in Isinay.<sup>7</sup>

*War* is used when the word stands in the relation of subject of a copulativ [sic] verb. And *ar* when it stands in the relation of predicate. The folloing [sic] example wil [sic] illustrate both cases: ***War Espiritu Santo*** *ar ot ar atlu*n *ar personas*. ‘The Holy Ghost is the third person.’ (Conant 1915: 291)<sup>8,9</sup>

The form *ot* (/ʔot/) in Isinay is a ligature between a fronted (topicalized) noun phrase and a verbal or non-verbal predicate, compare Ilk. *ket* (/kət/) in which \*k became Isinay glottal stop and schwa became Isinay /o/. In fact, *ar* ‘the’ was used by the Spanish whenever there was a preceding nominal form, whether it was a predicate noun phrase or not (see the list of seven sacraments, Constantino 1982: 536-537), e.g., ***Uar aruanar: Confirmacion, ar pampasdear si panutuar***. ‘The second (sacrament): Confirmation, the act of strengthening belief.’

Otto Scheerer noted the use of prepositive definite articles in the catechism and discussed it with his language assistant who he studied Dupax Isinay with in Manila.

---

<sup>7</sup> *Espiritu Santo* ‘Holy Spirit’ is a direct borrowing from Spanish, while *atlu*n *personas* is a mixed (ungrammatical) calque. *Atlu*=*n* ‘third=LG’ is Isinay, *personas* is Spanish, but like many Spanish nouns it is plural; the structure is calqued, and an Isinay translation of ‘the third person’ would be *atlu*n *tahuwar*, with the definite enclitic on the Isinay word for ‘person’. The source of Conant’s example can not be determined; it does not form part of the catechism of Rocamora given in Constantino (1982).

<sup>8</sup> Conant published his article using a reformed English spelling system that deleted unpronounced letters. It is no longer used.

<sup>9</sup> In Galang (1935: 507) a description of the ‘dialect’ of Isinay is copied in full from Conant (1907), including his statement that one of its most distinctive features is the definite article. Conant’s distribution rules for *war* and *ar* are also repeated in full.

Mention may be made here of a prepositive particle *ar*, which is frequently found in Rocamora's catechism, but which, since the time that book was written, seems to have gone out of use, either generally or locally. My teacher, a native of Dupax, regularly took exception to it when used by me tentatively, alleging that it was heard only occasionally in the mouth of old people, especially in the town of Bambang, and at this place as *ad*. (Scheerer 1918: 19)

The extensive texts of Constantino (1982) show multiple uses of prepositive *wad/war* 'the' by native speakers, especially in the titles of stories and songs (23), where it is clearly a literal translation of the word 'the'. However, it also appears in the body of written texts (24), but it does not occur in normal conversation, as Scheerer noted.

(23) Calqued title of a story, Bambang (Constantino 1982: 146)

<i>wad</i>	<i>atúwad</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>amtanán</i>	<i>mamba 'ba'</i>
wad	?atú=wad	?an	?amta-on=na=n	man-ba?ba?
the	dog=the	LG	know-PV=GEN.3SG=LG	AV-talk

'The dog that knew how to talk.'

(24) Calqued noun phrase in a written text, Bambang (Constantino 1982: 146)

<i>wad</i>	<i>ngaróndad</i>	<i>ya'</i>	<i>Huwána,</i>	<i>Magaríta</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>Maryá</i>
wad	ŋaron=da=d	ya?	huwána	margaríta	?on	maryá
the	name=3PL=the	SPCF.TOP	Juana	Margarita	and	Maryá

'Their names were Juana, Margarita and Maria.'

## 4.2 Topicalisation

As noted above, Isinay does not allow a definite fronted NP to occur with a specifier, even if it is a fronted nominative NP, which is always definite, since definiteness is always marked by the post-nominal enclitic. However, Isinay can mark a fronted or topicalized noun phrase by a demonstrative, of which there are many, including singular and plural forms in at least three spatial varieties, as in (25) and (26).<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> One distinction between the Bambang and Dupax phonological systems is that Bambang changes PMP \*s to /t/, except before /i/, and also changes PMP \*t to /s/ before /i/. Thus Bambang *tasiyé* 'this' is cognate with Dupax *satiyé* 'this'.

(25) Fronted NPs marked by demonstratives, Bambang (Constantino 1982: 172)

<i>tarasiyé</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>nginadna'</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>tarátut</i>
ta-ra-siye	ʔan	<in>ɲadn-a=ʔ	ya	ta-rá=tu=t
TOP-PL-this	LG	<PFV>name-LV=GEN.1SG	and	TOP-PL=this=SPCF
<i>opát</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>danúm...</i>		
opát	ʔan	danúm...		
four	LG	river		

‘These I have named and these four rivers...’

(26) Fronted NPs marked by demonstratives, Dupax (Constantino 1982: 114)

<i>satiyé</i>	<i>alpombra'ar</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>itáyav</i>	<i>dita'ú.</i>
sa-tiyé	ʔalpombra=ʔ=ar	ya	ʔi-táyav	ditaʔú
TOP-this	carpet=GEN.1SG=the	and	CV-fly	NEU.1PL.INCL

‘This carpet of mine will fly us.’

## 5. Evidence that *war/ar* ‘definite article’ is a calque

This section provides evidence that the use of the pre-nominal definite article is a calque.

### 5.1 Comparative

No other language among the Central Cordilleran languages has a construction like the preposed article (Reid 1974: 512, 2006). Consider the following comparative examples showing that the specifier which marks a fronted common noun NP is precisely the same as that which marks a nominative common NP. This shows that *war/ar* ‘definite article’ in Dupax Isinay is innovative, and not an inherited construction.

(27) Fronted NP in Balangao (Shetler 1983: 167)

<i>hen</i>	<i>manad-an</i>	<i>anda</i>	<i>makolang,</i>	<i>adi</i>	<i>up-upean</i>	<i>dida.</i>
hen	manadʔan	ʔan=da	makolaŋ	ʔadi	ʔupʔupe-ʔan	dida
SPCF	old.women	with=PL	old.men	NEG	mock-LV	NEU.3PL

‘As for old men and old women, don’t mock them (they are not to be mocked).’

(28) Fronted NP in Kadaclan, Eastern Bontok (Fukuda 1983: 121)

<i>hen</i>	<i>ok</i>	<i>choros</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>ikaqiw</i>	<i>yo.</i>
hen	ʔok	dolos	ʔat	ʔi-kaʔiw	=yo
SPCF	GEN.1SG	bolo	SPCF.TOP	CV-wood	=GEN.2PL

‘As for my bolo, it is what you get wood with.’

(29) Fronted NP in Talubin, Southern Bontok (Kikusawa & Reid 1983: 108)

*han ji juyu é hukung, tinuktuk.*  
 han ji juyu ʔe hukun <in>tuktuk  
 SPCF that bowl LG hollow <PFV>chip  
 'As for that hollow bowl, it was chipped.'

(30) Fronted NP in Mainit, Central Bontok (Nava 1986: 62)

*na unga et tinmakjeg*  
 na ʔunja ʔət <inm>takdæg  
 SPCF child LG <PFV.AV>stand.up  
 'As for the child, it stood up.'

(31) Fronted NP in Batad Ifugaw (Newell 1993: 266)

*han babuy Magga' ya iba'idah mowod*  
 han babuy maggaʔ ya ʔi-baʔi=da=h mowod  
 SPCF pig Magga' LG CV-sacrifice=3PL=LOC.FUT early.evening  
 'As for the pig of Magga', they will sacrifice it early evening.'

(32) Fronted NP in Kiangan Ifugaw (Lambrecht 1978: 173)

*han babléda ya uggék tiníbo.*  
 han bable=da ya ʔugge=k <in>tibo  
 SPCF village=3PL LG NEG=GEN.1SG <PFV>see  
 'As for their village, I did not see it.'

(33) Fronted NP in Binongan Itneg (Walton 1975: 10)

*sit olo nit baboy, siya kan si*  
 sit ʔolo nit baboy siya kan si  
 SPCF head SPCF pig NEU.3SG RPRT SPCF  
*idawis=da kanta bakes*  
 ʔi-dawis=da kan=ta bakəs  
 CV-portion=3PL OBL=SPCF old.woman  
 'The head of the wild pig, that is (reportedly) what they give to the woman as her portion.'

(34) Fronted NP in Guinaang Kalinga (Gieser 1987: 31)

*sit natulod on bubai, ina*  
 sit na-tulod ʔon bubaʔi, ʔi=na  
 SPCF PRF.ST-brave LG woman go=GEN.3SG  
*inayagan dat anakna*  
 <in>ʔayag-an dat ʔanak=na  
 <PRF>call-LV PL.SPCF child=GEN.3SG  
 'The brave woman, she went to call her children.'

## 5.2 The form of the enclitic

The second line of evidence is the form itself. The basic form in Dupax (=ar) comprises an enclitic ligature *a* and a following demonstrative, probably *di* ‘that one, distal demonstrative’, which is found in all other members of Central Cordilleran, see Reid (2006).

Table 3. *Isinay basic demonstratives*

PROXIMAL	<i>tu</i>
MEDIAL	<i>na</i>
DISTAL	<i>di</i>

(35) Proximal demonstrative (Constantino 1982: 146)

<i>ni'ana'a'</i>	<i>situ</i>	<i>Bambang,</i>	<i>Nuweva</i>	<i>Biskaya.</i>
<i>ni-ʔanaʔ=aʔ</i>	<i>si=tu</i>	<i>bamban</i>	<i>nuweva</i>	<i>biskaya</i>
PFV.ST-child=I	LOC=PROX	<i>Bambang</i>	<i>Nueva</i>	<i>Viscaya</i>

‘I was born here in Bambang, Nueva Viscaya.’

(36) Medial demonstrative (Constantino 1982: 148)

<i>Siran</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>in-awaramad</i>	<i>sinaʔ</i>
<i>siran</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>ʔinʔawara=m=ad</i>	<i>si=na</i>
<i>why</i>	SPCF	PFV.CV-exist=GEN.2SG=the	LOC=MED

‘Why are you there?’

(37) Distal demonstrative (Constantino 1982: 276)

<i>Siriye</i>	<i>pitu</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>sinaw-on-uwad...</i>
<i>si=ri=ye=n</i>	<i>pitu</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>&lt;in&gt;tawʔon=ʔu=wad</i>
LOC=DIST=ye=LG	<i>seven</i>	SPCF	<i>&lt;PFV&gt;age=GEN.1SG=the</i>

‘When I was seven years old...’

The structure consisting of a postposed ligature =*a* and a demonstrative is reconstructible as far back as Proto-Austronesian, but with different demonstratives. Evidence from Bashiic languages, including Itbayat (38) and Ivatan (39), suggests the same structure occurred in Proto Malayo-Polynesian, cf. Reid (2010).

(38) Post-nominal demonstrative in Itbayat (Yamada 2014: 104)

<i>arayo</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>among</i>	<i>aya.</i>
<i>ʔarayo</i>	<i>ʔo</i>	<i>ʔamong</i>	<i>ʔa=ya</i>
<i>dolphinfish</i>	SPCF	<i>fish</i>	LG=this

‘This fish is a dolphinfish.’

(39) Post-nominal demonstrative in Ivatan (Reid 1966: 142)

<i>qápat</i>	<i>qa</i>	<i>kavohan</i>	<i>qo</i>	<i>kakapet</i>	<i>qaya</i> .
ʔápat	ʔa	kavohan	ʔo	kakapet	ʔa=ya.
four	LG	month	SPCF	maturation	LG=this

'The maturing period is four months.'

### 5.3 Phonemicization of a glide

The third line of evidence is in the presence of *w* in the calqued form *war* that is the result of the phonemicization of a glide inserted after back vowels, *u* and *o*. The enclitic =*war* can only occur after back vowels. These facts were not apparent to Spanish missionaries. However, they were apparently aware that the variant =*war* was the most common enclitic variant in Dupax, apart from =*r* that occurred following a root-final *a*, but this single consonant variant could not be fronted as a calque. Thus, Reid (ongoing), which has 10,343 entries, has 1,003 forms ending in *u* or *o*, 1,054 ending in *a*, and 710 ending *i* or *e*.

## 6. Conclusion

The definite articles in Spanish apparently created a problem for priests not familiar with the structure of Philippine languages when translating religious material into Isinay. While many languages, such as Tagalog, use a form that introduces a nominative common NP, which is typically definite, when the NP is topicalized, or when a definite noun functions as a predicate, Isinay relies on an enclitic alone to mark definiteness. (The question of why all nominative common nouns are definite is not considered here but has been claimed by many linguists, even for Tagalog.) There is no Isinay specifier equivalent to, say, Tagalog *ang*. In Isinay, all nominative NPs take enclitics, and definite NPs with other syntactic cases, such as genitive and dative/locative, are also encliticized. Spanish priests created a calqued definite NP structure by using two of the enclitic allomorphs, Dupax =*war* and =*ar* (Bambang =*wad* and =*ad*), as equivalents of Spanish *el* and *la*.

The great majority of Isinay people belong to the Roman Catholic faith and regularly attend masses held in the cathedrals in the main towns. Currently, Isinay priests still use the old catechism published by Rocamora (1876) and sing Isinay hymns, so that the calqued structure is commonly heard in the church. While the calqued structure does not appear in everyday conversation, it is found in the titles of songs and in stories written by Isinay people; many of the stories relate to mythical events. Some written texts are apparently translations from English, or written by students who learned English in school, e.g., example (3) above repeated below as (35). While this

example is lexically and otherwise syntactically appropriate, the order of the adjective and noun follows English, while typically in Isinay the noun would precede and be linked to a following modifier, as in (36a, b, c), or a following relative clause, as in (37).<sup>11</sup>

(35) English order of modifier and noun, Bambang (Constantino 1982: 140)

<i>mantuttura'</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>apsi'oy</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>tuttud.</i>
man-tuttud=a?	si	ʔapsiʔoy	ʔan	tuttud
AV-tell.story=NOM.1SG	SPCF.OBL	short	LG	story
'I will tell a short story.'				

(36) Isinay natural order of noun and modifier, Aritao (Constantino 1982: 18, 22, 24)

a.	<i>laman</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>mamis</i>
	laman	ʔan	mamis
	dried.meat	LG	tasty
	'dried meat that is tasty'		

b.	<i>ungán</i>	<i>man-okeng</i>
	ʔunja=n	man-ʔokenj
	child=LG	AV-small
	'a small child'	

c.	<i>le'in</i>	<i>amma'i</i>
	leʔi=n	ʔammaʔi
	male.child=LG	big
	'a big boy'	

(37) Traditional order of noun and modifier, Dupax (Reid, ongoing: *dariyé*)

<i>Gosto'</i>	<i>dariyé</i>	<i>lamósar</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>béyun</i>	<i>éya.</i>
gosto=ʔ	dariyé	lamós=ar	ʔan	béyu=n	ʔéya
like=GEN.1SG	PL.DIST	vegetable=the	LG	new=LG	get
'I like vegetables that are freshly gotten.'					

Calqued **indefinite** noun phrases are also commonly found in grammars of Philippine languages written by non-Philippine speakers (Herrejón 1882; Scheerer 1905, etc.),<sup>12</sup> and in Isinay texts written by native speakers. Since there is no literal translation in Philippine languages of the English indefinite

<sup>11</sup> Numerals, which are nominal in Philippine languages but adjectival in English, typically appear before their modifiers.

<sup>12</sup> I am grateful to Richard Scheerer for bringing these works to my attention.

article ‘a’, early authors often included the word for ‘one’ as an indefinite article, modelled on Spanish, where *un/una* is both an indefinite article and the cardinal numeral ‘one’, as in:

(36) Calqued indefinite noun phrases in Bikol (Herrejón 1882: 23)

a. *Un hombre me robó. Hinabonan aco nin saró catauo.*  
Intended meaning: ‘A person robbed me’, not ‘One person robbed me’.

b. *Dí limosna à una mujer. Naglimos aco sa sarong babae.*  
Intended meaning: ‘I gave (something) to a woman’, not ‘I gave (something) to one woman’.

c. *Tengo un asunto. Igua aco sarong catuyohan.*  
Intended meaning: ‘I have a purpose’, not ‘I have one purpose’.

In each of these Bikol sentences, however, *saró* ‘one’ makes the NP explicitly singular. The concept of a non-specific, indefinite NP is carried by the Oblique form of the NP, marked by *nin*, and the Locative form, marked by *sa*. The equivalent sentences to (36a-c) in modern Bikol with clearer English translations are:

(37) Indigenous indefinite noun phrases in Bikol (Mylene Balaguer, pers. comm.)<sup>13</sup>

a. *Hina-bonan ako nin tawo.*  
‘A person robbed me.’

b. *Naglimos ako sa babaye.*  
‘I gave (something as alms) to a woman.’

c. *Igwa ako nin katuyuhan.*  
‘I have a purpose.’ (In answer to ‘Why are you going there?’)

Scheerer (1905: 107) describes both definite and indefinite articles for Nabaloi, with the indefinite being a form transcribed as *saxei* ‘one’. He did note that he was using grammatical categories that were common in European grammars, although they did not necessarily fit a Philippine language. However, Nabaloi *sakey* ‘one’ is a cardinal numeral (Ballard 2011: 408) and is never used as an equivalent for the indefinite article. In Scheerer’s (1918) description of Isinay, however, he was careful to note that in effect all nouns are basically abstract, and that indefinite nouns are affixed or derived, with the enclitic =*ar* changing the meaning from abstract or indefinite to definite

---

<sup>13</sup> As modified by an anonymous reviewer.

(Scheerer 1918: 22). In contrast, in Constantino (1982) there are multiple instances where the indefinite article is given in Isinay as *osa*, which in spoken Isinay only means the cardinal numeral ‘one’, as in (38a-g). By way of comparison, a Guina-ang Bontok text (Text C01 in Reid 1992) of 193 sentences contains more than 40 instances of *esa* ‘one’, of which at least 38 express a cardinal numeral, while a few others are translated with an indefinite article (which could be definite as well).

(38) Calqued indefinite noun phrases in Dupax Isinay (Constantino 1982: 110, 112, 118, 120, 122, 134, 136)

a. *ya iníla rat osán mantaytayáv...*

Intended meaning: ‘and they saw a bird’, not ‘and they saw one bird’

b. *Diyóy si osán sutsur’u si uritti’.*

Intended meaning: ‘I have a story which is short’, not ‘I have one story which is short.’

c. *ya diyóy si osán bavayin nambeyu...*

Intended meaning: ‘and there was a woman who was a widow’, not ‘and there was one woman who was a widow’

d. *amung osán sipa an naping-awan.*

Intended meaning: ‘like a plate which is chipped’, not ‘like one plate which is chipped.’

e. *osán bavayin mandam-ot.*

Intended meaning: ‘a woman who was pregnant’, not ‘one woman who was pregnant.’

f. *ya osán grupon si misyoneros si dimmatong...*

Intended meaning: ‘and a group of missionaries arrived’, not ‘and one group of missionaries arrived.’

g. *ngaron si osán Ilungut.*

Intended meaning: ‘name of an Ilongot’, not ‘name of one Ilongot.’

## References

- Adelaar, Alexander. 2005. Structural diversity in the Malayic subgroup. In Alexander Adelaar & Nikolaus P. Himmelmann (eds.) *The Austronesian languages of Asia and Madagascar*, 202-226. London: Routledge.
- Ballard, Lee (compiler). 2011. *Ibaloy dictionary*. Baguio: Diteng, Inc. and Cordillera Studies Center, University of the Philippines Baguio.
- Conant, Everett C. 1915. Grammatical notes on the Isinai language (Philippines). *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 35, 289-292.

- Constantino, Ernesto. 1982. *Isinay texts and translations*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of the Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Cysouw, Michael. 2005. Morphology in the wrong place: A survey of preposed enclitics. In Wolfgang U. Dressler, Dieter Kastovsky, Oskar E. Pfeiffer & Franz Rainer (eds.) *Morphology and Its Demarcations*, 17-37. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Cruz, Celina Maria E. 2010. Revitalization challenges for small languages: The case of Isinai. Paper presented at the 1<sup>st</sup> Philippine Conference-Workshop on Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education. Capitol University, Cagayan de Oro City, 18-20 February.
- Eberhard, David M., Gary F. Simons & Charles D. Fennig (eds.) 2019. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Twenty-second edition. Dallas: SIL International. <http://www.ethnologue.com> (accessed 2020-07-13)
- Embick, David & Rolf Noyer. 1999. Locality in post-syntactic operations. In Vivian Lin, Cornella Krause, Benjamin Bruening & Karlos Arregi (eds.) *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 34, 265-317.
- Fischer, Susan. 2015. Sign languages in their historical context. In Claire Bowerman & Bethwyn Evans (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, 442-465. London: Routledge.
- van Engelenhoven, Aone & Catherina Williams-van Klinken. 2005. Tetun and Leti. In Alexander Adelaar & Nikolaus P. Himmelmann (eds.) *The Austronesian languages of Asia and Madagascar*, 735-768. London: Routledge.
- Fukuda, Takashi. 1983. A discourse-oriented grammar of Eastern Bontoc. MA thesis, University of Texas at Arlington.
- Galang, Ricardo E. 1935. Ethnographic notes on the Isinays of Nueva Vizcaya. *Philippine Journal of Science* 4, 503-511.
- Gatan, Fe Y.V. 1997. Isang duruwangan sa kasaysayang lokal ng Nueva Vizcaya: Ang nakaraan ng mga Isinay at Ilongot, 1591-1947. (An examination of the local history of Nueva Vizcaya: The history of the Isinay and Ilongot 1591-1947.) MA thesis, University of the Philippines.
- Gieser, C. Richard (compiler). 1987. *Guinaang Kalinga texts*. Studies in Philippine Linguistics, Supplementary Series: Philippine Texts, No. 4. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines & Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Herrejón, Santos. 1882. *Lecciones de Gramatica Bicol-Hispana*. [Lessons in Bicol-Spanish grammar]. Binondo, Manila: Establecimiento Tipografico de M. Perez, hijo.
- Kikusawa, Ritsuko & Lawrence A. Reid. 2003. A Talubin text with wordlist and grammatical notes. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 65, 89-148.
- Lambrecht, Frans H. 1978. *Ifugaw-English dictionary*. Baguio: The Catholic Vicar Apostolic of the Mountain Province.
- Nava, Betty A. 1986. A grammatical sketch of Mainit Bontoc. MA thesis, University of the Philippines.

- Newell, Leonard E. (compiler). 1983. *Batad Ifugao dictionary*. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Paz, Consuelo J. 1965. –ad in Isinai. *Asian Studies* 3(1), 114-125.
- Reid, Lawrence A. 1966. *An Ivatan syntax*. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 2. Honolulu: Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute, University of Hawaii.
- Reid, Lawrence A. 1974. The Central Cordilleran subgroup of Philippine languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 13, 511-560.
- Reid, Lawrence A. 1992. *Guinaang Bontok texts*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of the Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa. Revised version online at [http://www2.hawaii.edu/~reid/Guina-ang Bontok Texts--Local Orthography/c01\\_lo.pdf](http://www2.hawaii.edu/~reid/Guina-ang_Bontok_Texts--Local_Orthography/c01_lo.pdf).
- Reid, Lawrence 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, Lawrence A. 2006. On reconstructing the morphosyntax of Proto-Northern Luzon. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 37(2), 1-66.
- Reid, Lawrence A. 2010. Palauan velar nasals and the diachronic development of PMP noun phrases: A response to Blust 2009 (OL48: 307-336). *Oceanic Linguistics* 49(2), 436-477.
- Reid, Lawrence A. 2019. Reassessing the position of Isinay in the Central Cordilleran family. In Aldrin Lee & Vincent C. A. Santiago (eds.) *The Archive Special Publication* 16, 1-32. Manila: University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Reid, Lawrence A. (compiler). Ongoing. *Isinay community dictionary*.
- Reid, Lawrence A. & Analyn Salvador-Amores. 2016. *Guide to Isinay orthography*. Baguio: Cordillera Studies Center, University of the Philippines, Baguio.
- Rocamora, Francisco. 1876. *Catecismo de la Doctrina Cristiana en la lengua de Isinay ó Inmeas, corregido, añadido y redactado en mejor forma del antiguo manuscrito*. [Catechism of the Christian Doctrine in the language of Isinay or Inmeas, corrected, annotated and written up in a better form from the ancient manuscript.] Manila: Imprenta de Santo Tomás.
- Ross, Malcolm. 1996. Contact-induced change and the comparative method: Cases from Papua New Guinea. In Mark Durie & Malcolm Ross (eds.) *The comparative method reviewed: Regularity and irregularity in language change*, 180-217. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ross, Malcolm. 2006. Reconstructing the case-marking and personal pronoun systems of Proto-Austronesian. In Henry Y. Chang, Lillian M. Huang & Dah-an Ho (eds.) *Streams converging into an ocean: Festschrift in honor of Professor Paul Jen-kuei Li on his 70<sup>th</sup> birthday*, 521-563. Language and Linguistics Monograph Series Number W-5. Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica.
- Ross, Malcolm. 2007. Calquing and metatypy. *Journal of Language Contact* 1(1), 116-143.

- Scheerer, Otto. 1905. *The Nabaloi dialect*. Department of the Interior, Ethnological Survey Publications, vol. 2, part 2. Manila: Bureau of Public Printing.
- Scheerer, Otto. 1918. *The particles of relation of the Isinay language*. 's-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff.
- Shetler, Joanne. 1976. *Notes on Balangao grammar*. Language Data, Asian-Pacific Series No. 9. Huntington Beach: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Walton, Janice. 1975. *Binongan Itneg sentences*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Yamada, Yukihiro. 2013. *A grammar of the Itbayat language of the Philippines*. Himeji: Himeji Dokkyo University.

## Appendix

The following is part of the Spanish catechism that was translated into Isinay. The Isinay translations of the ten commandments are copied using Constantino's orthography, along with his English translations (Constantino 1982: 524-561). All Spanish material that begins with *el* 'the (masc. sg)' or *la* 'the (fem. sg)' is translated into Isinay with *uar*.

### Los Mandamientos de la Ley de Dios

*Uar tongtong di Diosar, ot sinpiura: Uar tiuardarin maunan tongtong, ot tonan di panguigalangar si Diosar: Uar urrumardarin pitun miseseunur ot tonan di panpebbesar, on panguigalangar is ysuar taju.*

The commandments of God are ten: The first three commandments pertain to the honoring of God: The other seven which follow pertain to good conduct, and respect for fellow men and women.

El primero, amarás a tu dios sobre todas las cosas.  
*Uar maunar tongtong: aruom di Diosar mu si lomanar.*  
 'The first commandment: love your God above all.'

El segundo, no tomarás en falso el nombre de dios.  
*Uar aruanar: marrian manpajuben manguisungpat masantosar ngaron di Diosar.* Constantino (1982: 533) translates the third as the second, and has no translation for the second.

El tercero, santificarás las fiestas.  
*Uar atlunar: manpaniao at Simbardari.*  
 'The second (i.e., the third): practice abstinence every Sunday and holy day.'

El cuarto: honrarás a tu padre y madre.

*Uar apatnar: igalang mu ra amam, on ynam.*

‘The fourth: honor your father and mother.’

El quinto: no matarás.

*Uar alimantar: marrián mamatóy.*

‘The fifth: don’t kill.’

El sexto: no fornicarás.

*Uar anomnar: marrián amoy si boonar asauam.*

‘The sixth: don’t go to one who is not your spouse.’

El séptimo: no hurtarás.

*Uar apitunar: marrián manga-ao.*

‘The seventh: don’t steal.’

El octavo: no levantarás falso testimonio ni mentirás.

*Uar aueunar: marrián mangatajatao, on manburburuy.*

‘The eighth: don’t make false accusations and don’t tell lies.’

El noveno: no desearás la mujer de tu prójimo.

*Uar asiamnar: urriam ylueán di ysumar taju.*

‘The ninth: don’t covet the spouse of your fellow men and women.’

El décimo: no codiciarás los bienes ajenos.

*Uar apiuanar: urriam ylueán pay di bandin di ysumar taju.*

‘The tenth: don’t covet also the goods of your fellow men and women.’