

**Morphological and Lexical Variations of *Isnag, Isneg Yapayao, and Itneg Tingguian* as Spoken in Ilocos Norte**

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**Abstract**

This study looked into the morphological and lexical variations of Isnag, Isneg Yapayao, and Itneg Tingguian as spoken in Ilocos Norte in terms of nouns, pronouns and deixis, verbs, adjectives, and negation and interrogatives. These three language varieties that coexist with Ilocano, the lingua franca of Ilocos regions, are spoken in ten municipalities in Ilocos Norte, particularly in three major areas where indigenous communities are located, namely, Carasi, Dumalneg, and Nueva Era. Such an analysis was done to initially describe the morphological and lexical variations of languages spoken by the three groups of indigenous people (IP) of Ilocos Norte, and to help provide the Province, particularly the National Commission on Indigenous People-Ilocos Norte Provincial Office (NCIP-INPO), a reference material for future studies on the linguistic profile of the IP. Data were gathered through a 158-item lexical test among 90 participants, with 30 each from the three IP groups. Responses were analyzed following Dita's (2011) structural analysis of Ibanag nominal markers and Ruffolo's (2004) morphophonemic analysis of Ibaloy. Based on the morphological and lexical analysis made, reduplication pattern (CV and CVC) is commonly used to denote plurality of nouns across the three language varieties. While ISA uses *daya* as a plural marker, ITE uses *adu a* and *dia*. While ISA and ISE are lexically different from each other in terms of the use of gender-specific nouns, ITE is lexically closer to Ilocano. All personal pronouns across the three languages differ. While ITE possessives follow the same morphological process as ISE, the latter was found to be somewhat similar with Ilocano possessives. All of the deictic demonstratives were encoded entirely differently across the three languages. ISA, ISE, and ITE inflect their lexical verbs by reduplication, phonemic substitution, and affixation. The three language varieties have monomorphemic as well as derived adjectives just like their Ilocano counterparts. Most quantification terms and interrogatives were found to be varied across the three languages. Among the language varieties, ISA was found to be morphologically and lexically different from ISE and ITE.

**Keywords:** Morphological features, lexical variations, Philippine language

**1. Introduction**

In the Philippines where there are 192 living languages, which make up 2.70 percent of the 1,221 living Austronesian languages in the world, 181 are classified as indigenous, and 11 immigrant (Ethnologue – Languages of the World, 2012). Northern Philippines, particularly the Ilocos regions, has its regional lingua franca, which is *Ilocano*, and a number of minority languages worth-documenting. Such minority languages include the *Itneg* language, which, according to De los Reyes and De los Reyes (1987), is spoken by the *Itneg* people who reside in Luzon. Based on different accounts on *Itneg* as an indigenous group in Ilocos Norte, it can be inferred that *Itneg* people speak three language

varieties, namely, *Itneg Tingguian, Isneg Yapayao, and Isnag*. As per 2012 IP community census, a total population of 10,609 *Itneg* tribe members, including leaders and/or elders, was noted (National Commission on Indigenous Peoples-Ilocos Norte Provincial Office, 2013). Some of them are legitimate residents of the municipalities of Bangui, Dingras, Marcos, Pagudpud, Solsona, Vintar, Carasi, Dumalneg, Adams, and Nueva Era (The Tingguian Ethno-history, 2012; NCIP-INPO, 2013). Although articles have been published locally and nationally on the sociolinguistic mapping of these indigenous groups, an initial morphological and lexical description of the aforementioned language varieties is essential to the NCIP-INPO and the province of Ilocos Norte as a whole for profiling and documentation

purposes. The findings of this study, therefore, could serve as a springboard to further documentation of these indigenous communities in Ilocos Norte and to map out their language profile.

### 1.1 Review of Related Literature

In northern Philippines, several ethnolinguistic groups have inhabited the Cordillera region for more than five centuries. They have developed independent communities, which are politically and economically autonomous from each other (Prill-Brett, 2007). These major ethnolinguistic groups are distinguished as Isneg and/or Isnag of Apayao, Itneg Tingguian of Abra and Ilocos Sur, Kalinga, Bontok, Ifugao, Kankana-ey, and Ibaloy. However, the Itneg Tingguian, Isneg Yapayao, and Isnag in Ilocos Norte have not been included in the list of major ethnolinguistic groups in Northern Philippines as seen in Figure 1.

As reflected in the ethnolinguistic map of Northern Philippines, indigenous communities can be found within the borders of Kalinga (Isnag), Apayao (Isnag), Abra (Itneg), and Ilocos Sur (Inlaod Itneg). However, based on the map, Isneg Yapayao, the language spoken by those IP in Dumalneg, is not among those language families in Northern Luzon. It is clear, therefore, that not all indigenous communities speaking minority languages located in Ilocos Norte have been recognized by Ethnologue (2012). In the accounts of Valera (2010), out of approximately 12 million indigenous Filipino citizens, a little more than one million of them and a total of 110 ethnolinguistic groups including the Isneg Yapayao, the Itneg Tingguian, and the Isnag, are located in the Ilocos region. This puts the three IP communities out of record, which eventually led the present study to investigate their language focusing primarily on its morphological and lexical properties.

In the study of Dita (2011) on the morphological characteristics of nouns in Ibanag, it was found that nouns contain various derivational affixes. The derived nouns consist of the following: abstract, locative, comitative, reciprocal, ownership, origin, instigator, and designation. Morphosyntactically, nouns in Ibanag refer to names of persons, places, animals, things, events, or ideas, which can be pluralized through reduplication process or through the particle *ira*. It was also found that these items can be prefixed, suffixed, circumfixed, or infixes to form other categories of nouns that can function as agents, patients,

themes, or locatives in a sentence. Ruffolo (2004), on the other hand, described selected aspects of the grammar of Ibaloy, a member of the Northern Philippines subgroup of Austronesian languages spoken on the island of Luzon in the Philippines. In her study, the phonological and morphological processes involved in Ibaloy were given attention. Based on the results, it was found that several morpho-phonemic processes apply to words when they take part in particular word-derivational processes. Ibaloy has an elaborate derivational system. Nouns typically occur underived as monomorphemic words. Verbs are typically derived with a system of affixes. Different categories of verbs and nouns are identified on morpho-syntactic criteria. Using Ruffolo's approach to describing the Ibaloy language in terms of its morpho-phonemic features and incorporating Dita's (2011) lexical description of Ibanag, the present study focused only on the major processes involved in the morphological and lexical features of Itneg, Isneg, and Isnag, and eventually compared these features from one language to another.

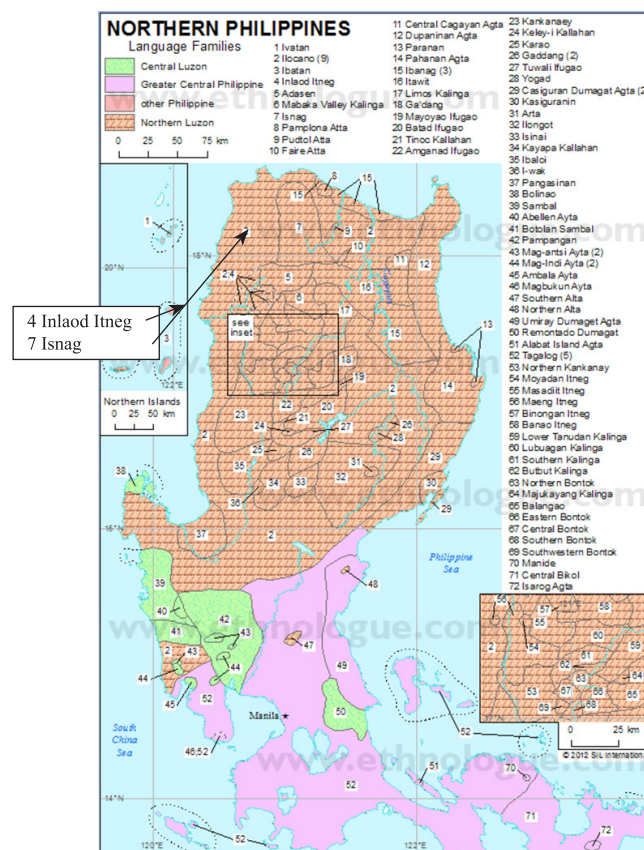


Figure 1. The ethnolinguistic map of Northern Philippines (Ethnologue, 2012)

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## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

This study was conducted to describe the morphological and lexical variations of Isnag, Isneg Yapayao, and Itneg Tingguian in terms of:

- 1.2.1 Nouns
- 1.2.2 Pronouns and Deixis
- 1.2.3 Verbs
- 1.2.4 Adjectives
- 1.2.5 Negation and Interrogatives

## 1.3 Framework for Analysis

Since the researcher’s primary aim is to look into the morphological and lexical variations of the three language varieties as spoken in the province of Ilocos Norte, only the major processes involved in the morphological and lexical features of the language were described using, in part, Dita’s (2011) structural analysis of Ibanag nominals and Ruffolo’s (2004) lexical description of Ibaloy as framework. However, only grammatical items such as nouns, pronouns and deixis, verbs, adjectives, negation, and interrogatives were included for analysis. This limitation aims to provide initial data for further description of the three language varieties in question.

## 2. Method

### 2.1 Research Design

The quantitative-qualitative approach was utilized in this study. Through a pilot-tested 158-item lexical test (see Appendix A) focusing on nouns, pronouns and deixis, verbs, adjectives, negation, and interrogatives, and informal interview with the

participants, responses were subjected to analysis. At least two raters or evaluators were identified from each tribe through the help of NCIP-INPO for the validation of the responses.

### 2.2 Sources of Data

To establish ease of access to the target participants, the NCIP-INPO identified respective tribe leaders and council of elders from each group who served as the preliminary source of data for the semi-structured interviews and initial surveys. However, members of each tribe of different age groups regardless of title or position in the tribe were purposively identified as participants in the lexical test. Hence, the participants from each of the three IP communities were chosen based on three age groups: (1) *Young-aged group* (30 years old and below), (2) *Middle-aged group* (31-59 years old), and (3) *Old-aged group* (60 years old and above). Such age grouping was done to achieve a full representation of the tribe members and to have a comparison of the responses across generations. At the initial stage of the study, it was decided upon by the researcher that each age group should be composed of ten (10) representatives, or a total of 30 participants from each of the three research sites, thereby, having a total of 90 respondents. However, because of nonavailability of demographic details of the tribe members, adjustments in the number of respondents for each age group were made (see Table 1).

The lexical test is designed in such a way that the Tagalog/Filipino and Ilocano versions of the wordlist are given. Items included in the test on nouns were those basic sight words, as well as flora and fauna present in the research communities such as *dahon* (leaf), *ilog* (river), *kalabaw* (carabao), *kamote* (sweet potatoes), among others. Thirty (30) items were given in this particular portion of the lexical test, focusing on the singular and

**Table 1. Distribution of participants per IP community**

IP COMMUNITY	AGE GROUP			TOTAL
	Young-aged (30 years and below)	Midde-aged (31- 59 years)	Old-aged (60 years and above)	
Isnag	16	12	2	30
Isneg Yapayao	7	18	5	30
Itneg Tingguian	12	14	4	30
TOTAL	35	44	11	90

plural forms of the items given. This was followed by items focusing on the gender of nouns (16), body parts (16), reciprocal nouns (5), comitative nouns (5), instigator nouns (5), and locative verb + *-an* nouns (5), for a total of 82 items. The rest of the items were on pronouns and deixis, verbs, adjectives, negation, and interrogatives. All respondents from each tribe took the lexical test in written form where they were expected to give the ISA, ISE, or ITE equivalents of the listed words. Two raters from each tribe were then tapped for the validation of the responses.

### 2.3 Data-gathering Procedure

Indigenous Peoples or Indigenous Cultural Communities, such as those situated in Ilocos Norte, are governed by the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) recognizing the fact that these communities have developed independent communities, which are politically and economically autonomous from each other (Prill-Brett, 2007). Previsit and ocular inspection of the research sites were done upon issuance of the Free, Prior,

**Table 2. Number of nouns in Isnag**

TAGALOG (TAG)		ILOCANO (ILO)		ISNAG (ISA)	
SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1. bulaklak	mga bulaklak	sabong	sabsabong	sabong	sabsabong
2. dahon	mga dahon	bulong	bulbulong	adun	ad-adun
3. ilog	mga ilog	karayan	dagiti karayan	apayaw	ap-apayaw
4. bundok	mga bundok	bantay	banbantay	bantay	banbantay
5. puno	mga puno	kayo	kaykayo	ayo	ay-ayo
6. sanga	mga sanga	sanga	sansanga	panga	pang-panga
7. gulay	mga gulay	nateng	natnateng	inalpan	in-inalpan
8. ugat	mga ugat	urat	ur-urat	ugat	ug-ugat
9. lupa	mga lupa	daga	dagdaga	lusa	lus-lusa
10. ulap	mga ulap	ulep	ul-ulep	angap	ang-angap
11. kamote	mga kamote	kamutig	kamkamutig	amosi	am-amosi
12. saging	mga saging	saba	sabsaba	dupat	dupdupatan
13. sanga	mga sanga	sanga	sangsanga	panga	pangpanga
14. bagyo	mga bagyo	bagyo	dagti bagyo	annag	an-annag
15. bigas	mga bigas	bagas	bagbagas	baggat	bagbaggat
16. kalabaw	mga kalabaw	nuang	nunuang	nuang	daya nuang
17. kabayo	mga kabayo	kabalyo	kabkabalyo	kabalyo	daya kabalyo
18. manok	mga manok	manok	manmanok	ano	an-ano
19. langgam	mga langgam	kuton	kutkuton	uton	ut-uton
20. ibon	mga ibon	tumaytayab	dagti tumaytayab	ano	an-ano
21. kambing	mga kambing	kalding	kalkalding	kalding	kalkalding
22. aso	mga aso	aso	as-aso	ato	at-ato
23. baboy	mga baboy	baboy	babbaboy	aboy	ab-aboy
24. isda	mga isda	ikan	ik-ikan	begal	beg-begal
25. hipon	mga hipon	udang	ud-udang	lasi	las-lasi
26. bayawak	mga bayawak	banyas	banbanyas	banyas	banbanyas
27. ahas	mga ahas	uleg	ul-uleg	ba-lat	babalat
28. usa	mga usa	ugsa	uugsa	ukta	uk-ukta
29. paru-paro	mga paru-paro	kulibangbang	kulkulibangbang	kulibangbang	kulkulibangbang
30. pugad	mga pugad	umok	um-umok	umo	um-umo

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and Informed Consent (FPIC). Through the help of the NCIP-INPO, the researcher sought permit to conduct the study from respective municipal mayors and Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG) officers.

The lexical test was conducted with the help of the Community Development Officer who acted as the facilitator, assigned staff of the NCIP-INPO, and in coordination with the DILG officer from each of the three municipalities. Each of the three communities has its own leader, locally known as the “*panglakayen*” who

acted as the host throughout the data-gathering stage and was responsible in convening the participants. It was indeed a great opportunity to have tapped the NCIP-INPO staff as facilitators because some of them are speakers of Isnag, Isneg Yapayao, or Itneg Tingguian. In fact, two of them served as raters or evaluators in the written lexical test. An informal interview after the written test was randomly conducted for the validation and clarification of responses.

**Table 3. Number of nouns in Isneg Yapayao**

TAGALOG (TAG)		ILOCANO (ILO)		ISNEG YAPAYAO (ISE)	
SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1. bulaklak	mga bulaklak	sabong	sabsabong	sabong	sabsabong
2. dahon	mga dahon	bulong	bulbulong	dun	duddudon
3. ilog	mga ilog	karayan	dagiti karayan	wangwang	wangwangwang
4. bundok	mga bundok	bantay	banbantay	bantay	banbantay
5. puno	mga puno	kayo	kaykayo	kayo	kaykayo
6. sanga	mga sanga	sanga	sangsanga	sanga	sangsanga
7. gulay	mga gulay	nateng	natnateng	tagalimpa	tagtagalimpa
8. ugat	mga ugat	urat	ur-urat	ugat	ug-ugat
9. lupa	mga lupa	daga	dagdaga	lutak	lutlutak
10. ulap	mga ulap	ulep	ul-ulep	ulap	ul-ulap
11. kamote	mga kamote	kamutig	kamkamutig	kamutig	kamkamutig
12. saging	mga saging	saba	sabsaba	bagat	bagbagat
13. sanga	mga sanga	sanga	sangsanga	sanga	sangsanga
14. bagyo	mga bagyo	bagyo	dagiti bagyo	bagiw	bagbagiw
15. bigas	mga bigas	bagas	bagbagas	baggas	bagbaggas
16. kalabaw	mga kalabaw	nuang	nunuang	nuang	nunuang
17. kabayo	mga kabayo	kabalyo	kabkabalyo	kabalyo	kabkabalyo
18. manok	mga manok	manok	manmanok	manok	manmanok
19. langgam	mga langgam	kuton	kutkuton	kuton	kutkuton
20. ibon	mga ibon	tumaytayab	dagiti tumaytayab	ballit	balballit
21. kambing	mga kambing	kalding	kalkalding	kalding	kakalding
22. aso	mga aso	aso	as-aso	aso	as-aso
23. baboy	mga baboy	baboy	babbaboy	baboy	babbaboy
24. isda	mga isda	ikan	ik-ikan	ikan	ik-ikan
25. hipon	mga hipon	udang	ud-udang	lagdaw	laglagdaw
26. bayawak	mga bayawak	banyas	banbanyas	banyas	banbanyas
27. ahas	mga ahas	uleg	ul-uleg	baklat	bakbaklat
28. usa	mga usa	ugsa	uugsa	ugsa	ug-ugsa
29. paru-paro	mga paru-paro	kulibangbang	kulkulibangbang	kulibangbang	kulkulibangbang
30. pugad	mga pugad	umok	um-umok	umok	um-umok

**3. Results and Discussion**

**3.1 Nouns**

**3.1.1 Number of Nouns**

It can be worth noting that most Philippine languages, including Ibanag and Ibaloy which are both Cordilleran languages, encode plurality of nouns by the use of a determiner before a head noun and

reduplication (Dita, 2011; Ruffolo, 2004). Tables 2, 3, and 4 contain the list of nouns in Tagalog and Ilocano with their Isnag (ISA), Isneg Yapayao (ISE), and Itneg Tingguian (ITE) equivalents.

Rubino's (1997) findings on how Ilocanos encode plurality of nominals show that the most common process is through reduplication and the use of the determiner *dagiti*. Dita's (2011) analysis on Ibanag nominal markers revealed that the use of the plural marker *ira* and reduplication are the two processes of

**Table 4. Number of nouns in Itneg Tingguian**

TAGALOG (TAG)		ILOCANO (ILO)		ITNEG TINGGUIAN (ITE)	
SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1. bulaklak	mga bulaklak	sabong	sabsabong	ballad	adu a ballad
2. dahon	mga dahon	bulong	bulbulong	addon	adu a addon
3. ilog	mga ilog	karayan	dagiti karayan	wangag	dia wangag
4. bundok	mga bundok	bantay	banbantay	binaer	dia binaer
5. puno	mga puno	kayo	kaykayo	kayo	kaykayo
6. sanga	mga sanga	sanga	sangsanga	panga	dia panga
7. gulay	mga gulay	nateng	natnateng	sisida	dia sisida
8. ugat	mga ugat	urat	ur-urat	ugat	dia ugat
9. lupa	mga lupa	daga	dagdaga	ginet	dia ginet
10. ulap	mga ulap	ulep	ul-ulep	angep	dia anjep
11. kamote	mga kamote	kamutig	kamkamutig	ketla	dia ketla
12. saging	mga saging	saba	sabsaba	bagat	dia bagat
13. sanga	mga sanga	sanga	sangsanga	panga	pangpanga
14. bagyo	mga bagyo	bagyo	dagiti bagyo	anneg	dia anneg
15. bigas	mga bigas	bagas	bagbagas	baggas	adu a baggas
16. kalabaw	mga kalabaw	nuang	nunuang	nuang	adu a nuang
17. kabayo	mga kabayo	kabalyo	kabkabalyo	kabayo	kabkabayo
18. manok	mga manok	manok	manmanok	anok	an-anok
19. langgam	mga langgam	kuton	kutkuton	ubo	dia ubo
20. ibon	mga ibon	tumaytayab	dagiti tumaytayab	sibot	sibsibot
21. kambing	mga kambing	kalding	kalkalding	kalding	dia kalding
22. aso	mga aso	aso	as-aso	aso	as-aso
23. baboy	mga baboy	baboy	babbaboy	aboy	ab-aboy
24. isda	mga isda	ikan	ik-ikan	begal	begbegal
25. hipon	mga hipon	udang	ud-udang	lagdaw	laglagdaw
26. bayawak	mga bayawak	banyas	banbanyas	siley	silsiley
27. ahas	mga ahas	uleg	ul-uleg	baklat	bakbaklat
28. usa	mga usa	ugsa	uugsa	ugsa	ug-ugsa
29. paru-paro	mga paru-paro	kulibangbang	kulkulibangbang	kulibangbang	kulkulibangbang
30. pugad	mga pugad	umok	um-umok	sukbot	suksukbot

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noun pluralization in Ibanag. In the list in Table 2, it is evident that reduplication is commonly used to denote plurality of nouns in Isnag (ISA), as in:

- (1) *Sabong - Sabsabong*  
'flower' - 'flowers'
- (2) *Adun - Ad-adun*  
'leaf' - 'leaves'

Further, when the first syllable of the noun has a consonant (C) and a vowel (V), then the CV reduplication pattern is formed, as can be seen in (2). If the first syllable with (CV) is followed by a (C), then the CVC reduplication pattern is formed as in (1). Another way on how plurality is encoded in Isnag is the use of a determiner (DET) which is *daya*, as used in:

- (3) *Nuang - Daya nuang*  
'carabao' - 'carabaos'
- (4) *Kabalyo - Daya kabalyo*  
'horse' - 'horses'

It was not explained further, however, by the respondents why *daya* as a determiner was used only for *nuang* and *kabalyo* to denote plurality. One of them narrated

during an informal interview that they use *daya* only when they refer to more than one bigger form of animal.

Lexically, only six or 20 percent of the 30 words have the same Ilocano equivalent. This only shows that Isnag is lexically different from Ilocano, which is the lingua franca in Ilocos Norte. The use of reduplication to indicate plurality in Isnag, in a way, conforms to findings on the plural markers used in Ilocano and Cordilleran languages such as Ibanag and Ibaloy. The plural marker, *daya*, however, needs further investigation as to its extent and context of use, which the present study failed to look into. Having its own lexical equivalents, Isnag may possibly grow as a language spoken by the IP communities in Ilocos Norte despite its close encounter with Ilocano.

Isnag Yapayao (ISE), on the one hand, has the same way of encoding plurality in nominals, that is, reduplication pattern, both CV and CVC, as seen in the following examples:

- (5) *Ugat - Ug-ugat*  
'root' - 'roots'
- (6) *Tagalimpa - Tagtagalimpa*  
'vegetable' - 'vegetables'

**Table 5. Gender of nouns across L1 communities**

ITEM NO.	TAGALOG	ILOCANO	ISNAG	ISNEG YAPAYAO	ITNEG TINGGUIAN
1	tatay/ama/itay	tatang/ama/tata	ama	ama	ama
2	kuya	manong	parsut/agi	manong	kaka
3	uncle/tito/tiyo	uncle/uliteg	ulitag	uncle/ulitag	ulteg
4	lolo	apo lakay/lolo/lolong	akay	kakay	apo
5	binata	baro	bagbago	bago	bagbago
6	bayaw	bayaw/kayong	tayug	bayaw/kayong	kayong
7	hipag	ipag	ipag	kayong	ipag
8	tiya/tita/auntie	auntie/ikit	ikit	ikit	ikit
9	ate	manang	parsut/agi	manang	manang/kaka
10	lola	lola/lila/apo baket	ako	apo	apo baket
11	dalaga	balasang	balbalasang	balasang	balbalasang
12	nanay/inay/ina	nanang/nana/ina	ina	ina	ina
13	babae	babai	babay	babay	babey
14	lalaki/lalake	lalaki	lalahi	lalaki	lalake
15	inahin	upa	gaggana	upa	gagunak
16	tandang	kawitan	awitan	kawitan	kawitan

The use of the determiner *dagiti* in Ilocano plurals, however, was not evident in ISE. In terms of lexicon, 18 or 60 percent of the 30 words are the same with Ilocano, both singular and plural. This shows that ISE is closer to Ilocano language in terms of lexicon compared to ISA. Isneg Yapayao, unlike Isneg, seems susceptible to gradual assimilation into the Ilocano language. This could be brought about by intermarriage and high incidence of migration of ISE speakers to nearby Ilocano communities to pursue education and to look for jobs. The town of Dumalneg, where ISE speakers are located, is relatively more accessible than the town of Carasi where ISA communities could be found.

Itneg Tingguian also follows the reduplication patterns, CV and CVC, in forming the plurals of nouns. It is interesting to note, however, that there are two determiners used to encode plurality. These are *adu a* and *dia*, as used in the following examples:

- (7) *Ballad - Adu a ballad*  
‘flower’ - ‘flowers’
- (8) *Baggas - Adu a baggas*  
‘rice’ - ‘much rice’
- (9) *Sisida - Dia sisida*  
‘vegetable’ - ‘vegetables’
- (10) *Ubo - Dia ubo*  
‘ant’ - ‘ants’

Notice that the determiners *adu a* and *dia* are used before a count noun and a mass noun. In a conversation with one of the respondents, it was revealed that they use these determiners interchangeably and in no particular type of noun for that matter. When it comes to lexicon, only 20 percent (6 out of 30 words) had the same Ilocano equivalent. Again, this shows that ITE is lexically different from the Ilocano language. Nueva Era, compared to Dumalneg and Carasi, is biggest in terms of population size. Eight of its barangays are occupied by ITE speakers alongside Ilocano communities. Its vulnerability as an exclusive language of the ITE tribes seems higher compared to Isneg. Having the plural markers, *adu a* (a plural marker variant of *adu* of the Ilocanos) and *dia*, could somehow make the Itneg Tingguian different from Isneg and Isneg Yapayao.

Comparing these three languages, ISA turned out to be morphologically and lexically different

from ISE and ITE, having seven (7) out of 30 lexical items that are totally different, i.e., *ayo* (‘tree’), *dupat* (‘banana’), *baggat* (‘rice’), *ato* (‘dog’), *lasi* (‘shrimp’), *balat* (‘snake’), and *ukta* (‘deer’). ISE and ITE had the same lexicon for the said nouns. ISE and ITE had only four (4) items differently labelled from each other and that of ISA. There were four instances, however, when these three languages encoded items similarly like *ugat* (‘root’), *kalding* (‘goat’), *nuang* (‘carabao’), and *kulibangbang* (‘butterfly’). Eleven (11) items or 37 percent of the total number of words were encoded differently among the three languages. This implies that ISA, ISE, and ITE have different labels for the basic sight words listed. More so, these three language variants pose different levels of variations vis-a-vis the Ilocano language because of geographical location and accessibility, and perhaps the instrumental value of these IP languages. This aspect of the three languages in question, however, needs further scrutiny.

### 3.1.2 Gender of Nouns

Gender-specific nouns in Philippine languages, especially Tagalog, are borrowed from Spanish. Masculine gender nouns usually end with *o* (e.g., *hijo*, *tito*), while feminine gender ones end with *a* (e.g., *hija*, *tita*). However, there are also kinship terms and titles that have local counterparts.

It is common among the three languages that *Tatay* or *Ama* (‘father’) and *Ina* (‘mother’) are also called *Ama* and *Ina*, respectively. However, the difference lies in the phonological aspect of the words *ama* and *ina*. For Tagalog speakers, the primary stress lies on the second syllable. But for ISA, ISE, and ITE, the primary stress falls on the first syllable. Except the terms *ama*, *ikit*, and *ina*, all other terms have their ISA, ISE, and ITE equivalents. Even among these three languages, gender-specific nouns are encoded differently, as in the following examples:

- (11) ISA - *Parsut/Agi*  
ISE - *Manong*  
ITE - *Kaka*  
‘older brother’
- (12) ISA - *Gaggana*  
ISE - *Upa*  
ITE - *Gaguna*  
‘hen’



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**Table 6. Body parts and their ISA, ISE, and ITE equivalent**

ITEM NO.	TAGALOG	ILOCANO	ISNAG	ISNEG YAPAYAO	ITNEG TINGGUIAN
1	mata	mata	kilkilab	mata	mata
2	mukha	rupa	muhat	bagong	rupa
3	kamay	ima	ima	ima	ima
4	talampakan	dapan	taha	dapan	dapan
5	kilay	kiday	iday	kiday	kiday
6	paa	saka	dapan	saka	saka
7	ilong	agong	igong	igong	agong
8	baywang	siket	bihat	awak	awang
9	tuhod	tumeng	utod	buwal	tumang
10	likod	bukot	addag	salli	ukod
11	daliri	ramay	kamay	ramay	kurimeng
12	bituka	bagis	sinay	bituka	simay
13	balakang	patong	ubat	purot	patong
14	ugat	urat	ugat	ugat	ugat
15	nunal	siding	siding	siding	siding
16	tenga	lapayag	talinga	talinga	tenga

There are those words, however, that are encoded almost similarly, with slight difference in phonemes, as in:

- (13) ISA - *Babay*  
ISE - *Babay*  
ITE - *Babey*  
‘female’, ‘girl’
- (14) ISA - *Lalahi*  
ISE - *Lalaki*  
ITE - *Lalake*  
‘male’, ‘boy’

From the wordlist in Table 5, ISA and ISE are lexically different from each other in terms of the use of gender-specific nouns, while ITE is lexically

closer to Ilocano. Interestingly, ISA had the same feminine-masculine term for *kuya* (‘older brother’) and *ate* (‘older sister’), i.e., *parsut/agi*. Out of 16 gender-specific terms, five (5) of them were found to be lexically different (e.g., *kuya* ‘older brother’, *lolo* ‘grandfather’, *lola* ‘grandmother’, *lalaki* ‘male’, and *inahin* ‘hen’). Based on the findings, Itneg Tingguian, which is spoken alongside Ilocano, is most lexically akin to Ilocano. This could be attributed to the community set-up of the ITE speakers; that is, based on first-hand observation during the data-gathering, ITE households do not occupy a barangay exclusively for them. Thus, assimilation of the Ilocano kinship terms and gender-specific titles may take place.

**Table 7. Reciprocal nouns in ISA, ISE, and ITE**

ITEM NO.	TAGALOG	ILOCANO	ISNAG	ISNEG YAPAYAO	ITNEG TINGGUIAN
1	mag-asawa	agasawa	magatawa	agasawa	agakbang
2	magpinsan	agkasinsin	makpinsan	agkapinsan	agpinsan
3	magkapatid	agkabsat	magwagi	agwagi	agkabsat
4	magkapitbahay	agkarruba	makkelyan	agkelyan	agkarruba
5	magkaedad	agkataeb	magkadagon	agkataab	agkaarpad

### 3.1.3 Body Parts

In terms of body parts, ITE had the most number of items similarly encoded with Ilocano, having 62.5 percent of the total wordlist, while ISA had the most number of items (87.5 percent) differently encoded from Ilocano. This only means that ISA is lexically exclusive from a more dominant language, Ilocano. Such observation may clarify Jocano’s (1988, as cited in Kobari, 2005) finding that the role of language among indigenous ethnic communities in Mindanao is that it is the only distinguishing element in ethnic cultures, particularly those who occupy adjacent and contiguous territories. Like the Isnag-speaking community in Carasi, they want to maintain their language as their distinction from nearby communities in Ilocos Norte.

Further, it was noted that ISA had the most number (25%) of terms for body parts different from ISE and ITE; ISE did not show any instance where its terms for body parts are different from at least one of the other two languages. Out of 16, there were seven (44%) terms encoded differently among the three languages. These were *mukha* (‘face’), *baywang* (‘waist’), *tuhod* (‘knee’), *likod* (‘back’), *daliri* (‘finger’), *bituka* (‘intestine’), and *balakang* (‘thigh’). This means that the three languages have their own terms for body parts.

### 3.1.4 Reciprocal Nouns

Only five (5) reciprocal nouns were included in the wordlist; however, the result was sufficient to draw implications in terms of the morphological and lexical features of ISA, ISE, and ITE. In ISA, the prefix (PREF) *mag-* and *mak-* are added to the root word (RW) to form reciprocal nouns, as in:

- (15) *Magatawa*  
*Mag- atawa*  
 PREF RW  
 ‘couple’, ‘husband and wife’
- (16) *Makkelyan*  
*Mak- kelyan*  
 PREF RW  
 ‘neighbors’

For ISE and ITE, the prefix *ag-* is added to the root word, similar to that of the noun reciprocals in Ilocano. Interestingly, resulting reciprocal nouns across three languages were encoded differently, as shown in the following examples:

- (17) ISA - *Magatawa*  
 ISE - *Agasawa*  
 ITE - *Agakbang*  
 ‘couple’/‘husband and wife’
- (18) ISA - *Magkadagon*  
 ISE - *Agkataab*  
 ITE - *Agkaarpad*  
 ‘of the same age’

Again, this shows that each language has its own lexical term despite similarities in derivational process.

### 3.1.5 Comitative Nouns

Comitative nouns are those that refer to persons in which something is accomplished with their existence or company. In Tagalog and Ilocano, this is formed by adding the prefix *ka-* to the root word. Given the word, *kasama*, the prefix *ka-* is attached to *sama* to mean ‘company’. Comitative nouns can show associations such as spatial relations, membership, origin, activity, occupation, among others.

Table 8. Comitative nouns in ISA, ISE, and ITE

ITEM NO.	TAGALOG	ILOCANO	ISNAG	ISNEG YAPAYAO	ITNEG TINGGUIAN
1	kamag-anak	kabagian	magkabagian	kabagian	aggayyam
2	kaklase	kaklasi	magkaskol	kaklasi	agkaeskwelaan
3	kapitbahay	karruba	akelyan	kelyan	karruba
4	kapatid	kabsat	agi	agi	kabsat
5	kausap	kasasao	kasarsarita	kasasao	kapatpatang

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**Table 9. Instigator nouns in ISA, ISE, and ITE**

ITEM NO.	TAGALOG	ILOCANO	ISNAG	ISNEG YAPAYAO	ITNEG TINGGUIAN
1	tagawalis	parawalis	paraaged	parasagad	tagakaged
2	tagaluto	paraluto	tagapoton	paraapoy	tagauto
3	tagahugas	parainnaw	tagaugat	paralisaw	tagalisaw
4	tagalinis	paradalus	tagaaner	paradalus	tagadalus
5	tagalaba	paralaba	tagalaba	parapas-ak	tagalaba

For ISA, there are two ways on how to form comitative nouns. One is by adding the prefix (PREF) *mag-* and the infix (INF) *ka-* to the root word, as shown in the example below:

- (17) *Magkabagian*  
*Mag- ka- bagian*  
 PREF INF RW  
 ‘relatives’

Another way is by adding the prefix *ka-* to the root word, as shown in this example:

- (18) *Kasarsarita*  
*Ka- sarsarita*  
 PREF RW  
 ‘someone you speak with’

Still another way is by having the entire word encoded differently, as in *Agi* (‘sibling’) and *Akelyan* (‘neighbor’).

For ISE and ITE, the prefix *ka-* is also added to the root word to form comitative nouns. There are likewise terms encoded differently from their Ilocano counterparts. However, for ITE, the prefix *ag-* is used, as shown in this example:

- (19) *Aggayyam*  
*Ag- gayyam*  
 PREF RW  
 ‘relatives’

This finding only shows that ISA has the most distinctive way of forming comitative nouns compared to ISE and ITE, and Ilocano as well. Again, this could be explained by the fact that the town of Carasi is secluded from other municipalities where ISA speakers get more in tact and solid because of fewer incidences of intermarriage, emigration, and migration. As revealed by one of the key informants during the informal interview, ISA women prefer to marry men from their own tribe, particularly those whose cultural beliefs are the same with theirs.

### 3.1.6 Instigator Nouns

Instigator nouns in Ilocano and Ibanag are formed by adding the base word to the prefix *para-* and the prefix *taga-* for Tagalog. In an instigator noun, someone is designated or employed to perform the action encoded by the base word (Dita, 2011). At times, however, as a native speaker of Ilocano, the researcher may use *para-* and *taga-* as prefixes for instigator nouns interchangeably without changing the meaning of the resulting word. Such

**Table 10. Locative *pag-* *-an* nouns in ISA, ISE, and ITE**

ITEM NO.	TAGALOG	ILOCANO	ISNAG	ISNEG YAPAYAO	ITNEG TINGGUIAN
1	lutuan	paglutuan	pagisaangan	paglutwan	paglutuan
2	hugasan	paginnawan	pagugatan	paglisawan	paglisawan
3	higaan	pagiddaan	pagiddaan	pagiddaan	pagiddaan
4	tulugan	pagturugan	patudugan	pagtudugan	pagtudugan
5	liguan	pagdigusan	pagdigutan	pagdigusan	pagdigusan

observation was found true to ISA, as in:

- (20) *Para- aged*  
 PREF ‘to sweep’  
 ‘sweeper’
- (21) *Taga- poton*  
 PREF ‘to cook’  
 ‘cook’

For ISE, the prefix *para-* is exclusively used to form instigator nouns, while ITE uses *taga-*. Once more, ISA was found lexically different from ISE and ITE.

### 3.1.7 Locative *pag- -an* Nouns

Locative nouns in Ibanag, according to Dita (2011), are morphologically derived by adding the base word to the suffix *-an* and other various prefixes. These affixes when attached to the base word would refer to a place associated by the action encoded by the base word. In Tagalog, these are called locative verb *+an* nouns. An example of this would be:

- (22) TAG - *Lutuan*  
*Luto + -an*  
 RW   SUF  
 ‘place for cooking’

For ISA, ISE, and ITE, the prefix *pag-* and the suffix *-an* were commonly used to form locative nouns, as shown the following examples:

- (23) ISA - *Pagisaangan*  
*Pag- isaang - an*  
 PREF ‘cook’   SUF  
 ‘place for cooking’

- (24) ISE - *Paglutwan*  
*Pag- luto -an*  
 PREF ‘cook’   SUF  
 ‘place for cooking’

- (25) ITE - *Paglutuan*  
*Pag- luto -an*  
 PREF ‘cook’   SUF  
 ‘place for cooking’

**Table 11. Personal pronouns in ISA, ISE, and ITE**

ITEM NO.	TAGALOG	ILOCANO	ISNAG	ISNEG YAPAYAO	ITNEG TINGGUIAN
1	ako	siak	iya	yakan	iyak
2	kami	dakami	dahami	dakami	dikkami
3	ikaw	sika	ihaw	ikaw	ikow
4	kayo	dakayo	dahayo	dakayo	dikayo
5	silá	isuda	baggida	aggidu	igida
6	siya	isuna	baggina	agginu	igina

**Table 12. Possessive pronouns in ISA, ISE, and ITE**

ITEM NO.	TAGALOG	ILOCANO	ISNAG	ISNEG YAPAYAO	ITNEG TINGGUIAN
1	akin/ko	bagik/kukuak	uwa	bagik/kuak	kuak
2	iyo	bagim/kukuam	uwam	bagim/kuam	kuam
3	kanila	bagida/kukuada	uwada	bagidu/kuadu	kukuada
4	inyo	bagiyo	uwano	bagiyo/kuayo	kuano
5	amin	bagimi	uwami	bagimi	kuami
6	kanya	bagina	uwana	kuanu	kukuanayan

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**Table 13. Deictic demonstratives in ISA, ISE, and ITE**

ITEM NO.	TAGALOG	ILOCANO	ISNAG	ISNEG YAPAYAO	ITNEG TINGGUIAN
1	ito	daytoy	todi	id	odi/idi
2	mga ito	dagitoy	todayo	didiya	didi
3	iyang	dayta	heyang	yan	oyang
4	mga iyang	dagita	todayang	dayang	odiang
5	iyon	daydiay	hetoni	kuyo	ditoni
6	mga iyon	dagidiay	hedayang	kuyudo	ditonida
7	dito	ditoy	iddi	id/diya	idi
8	diyang	dita	itonni	yan	noyang
9	doon	idiay	antonni	tonyu	annan/itoney

Notice that since ISE and ITE have the root word *luto*, which ends with a vowel sound for ‘cook,’ ISE replaces /o/ with /w/ when adding the suffix *-an*, while ITE changes the phoneme /o/ with /u/. In an interview with some ISE respondents, they confirmed that they practice the same in other locative nouns. For ITE, this is also evident in their sample text, “A Guide to Conversational Tingguian Dialect,” where the suffix *-an* is added to root words that end with a vowel /o/, as seen in the following examples:

- (26) *Magustuak*  
*Ma- gusto -ak*  
 PREF ‘like’ GEN.1s  
 Ma- ‘like’ ‘I’  
 ‘I like’

- (27) *Pagletratuan*  
*Pag- letrato -an*  
 PREF ‘picture’ SUF  
 ‘a place for taking pictures’

Lexically, ISA differed in two (2) items from ISE and ITE. However, there was only one lexical item where the three languages differed from one another.

### 3.2 Pronouns and Deixis

This section of the lexical test focuses on personal and possessive pronouns as well as deictic demonstratives. The personal pronouns given here are limited to independent pronominal forms: first, second, and third person, and singular, dual, and plural number, which are mostly used as topics and, thus, occur in a pre-predicate position (Ruffolo, 2004).

**Table 14. Lexical verbs in ISA, ISE, and ITE**

ITEM NO.	TAGALOG	ILOCANO	ISNAG	ISNEG YAPAYAO	ITNEG TINGGUIAN
1	kakain	mangan	magnabaw	mangan	mangan
2	kumain	nangan	nagnabaw	nangan	nangan/nanganin
3	kumakain	mangmangan	madama magnabaw	mangmangan	mangan tidon
4	kumain nang kumain	nangnangan	tada nga magnabaw	nangnangan	mangan kayo ngas
5	maligo ka na.	agdiguskan.	magdigot angin.	agdigus ken.	weka agdigusin.
6	naliligo ka na?	agdigdigus kan?	magdigdigot a?	agdigdigus ken?	maweka agdigusin?
7	naligo ka na?	nagdiguskan?	nagdigot angin?	nagdigus ken?	nagdiguskan?
8	punta ka dito.	umayka ditoy.	umangka annod.	umayku kaid.	umbet ka idi.
9	pumunta ka dito?	immayka ditoy?	umangkanto annod?	immayku kaid?	inumbet ka idi?

Personal pronouns mainly encode information about case, number, and person. As many authors claim, all Philippine languages have three number distinctions: singular, dual, and plural. Possessives also include first, second, and third cases, while deictic demonstratives include proximal, medial, and distal forms.

### 3.2.1 Personal Pronouns

All personal pronouns across the three languages differ. ISA and ITE slightly differ in the phoneme /k/ for the first person singular (1S), i.e., *iya* and *iyak* ('I'). For the first person plural (1P), ISA and ISE slightly differ in the phoneme /k/ and /h/ as in *dahami* and *dakami* ('we'), respectively. The phoneme /h/ in *ihaw* (2S) for ISA makes it different from *ikaw* and *ikow* for ISE and ITE, respectively. The rest of the personal pronouns are encoded differently for ISA, ISE, and ITE.

### 3.2.2 Possessive Pronouns

It can be seen in Table 12 that ISA possessives basically derive from the morpheme /uwa/ and undergo cliticization processes. ISE, on the other hand, is somewhat similar with Ilocano possessives, except with *kuano* (3S, 'his/hers'). ISE possessives derive from the morpheme /kua/ and /bagi/, which in Ilocano literally stands for 'possession'. ITE possessives follow the same morphological process as ISE, only that the former undergoes reduplication as in *kukua* ('possession'), a term that can be used interchangeably with *kua* in Ilocano. This is exemplified in *kukuada* (3P, 'theirs') and *kukuanayan* (3S, 'his or hers'). Generally, ISA is lexically different from ISE and ITE.

### 3.2.3 Deixis

This part analyzes deictics according to their morphological features and their meanings. Morphologically, deictic demonstratives are all complex forms. According to Ruffolo (2004), Ibaloy distinguishes three deictic forms reflecting three separate degrees of distance. The first is used to refer to entities located near the speaker, termed as "proximal". The second refers to entities located near the addressee or not too far away, here named "medial". These entities are usually visible. The third refers to entities located away from both the speaker and the addressee,

here named "distal". These entities are usually located further away than the medial ones and are usually not visible. Table 13 summarizes the deictic demonstratives in ISA, ISE, and ITE.

Items 1 to 6 are nominative deictic determiners with their singular and plural forms. Items 7 to 9 are deictic forms reflecting the three degrees of distance. Interestingly, all of these deictic demonstratives are encoded entirely different across three languages.

For ISA, *todi* ('this'), *todayo* ('these'), and *todayan* ('those', medial distance) contain a common morpheme /to/ representing nominative deictic determiners. *Hetoni* ('that', distal form) and *hedayan* ('those', distal) are singular and plural, respectively. Deictic forms *itonni* ('there', medial) and *antonni* ('there', distal) contain the morpheme /tonni/.

For ISE, *id* can be used to mean 'this' and 'here'; *yan* for both 'that' and 'there' for medial distance. *Dayan* is used to demonstrate 'those' for medial distance, while *kuyo* ('that', distal form) and *kuyudo* ('those', distal form). It seems that morphologically, ISE is more complex compared to ISA.

For ITE, the phonemes /o/ and /i/ are common among the nominative deictic determiners (e.g. *odi/idi* 'this', *oyan* 'that', *odian* 'those', medial, *idi* 'here').

Overall, these three languages have their own set of deictic expressions used.

## 3.3 Verbs

Verb is the name given to a particular class of words sharing certain grammatical and semantic characteristics. Since no two languages are grammatically identical, verbs as a class must differ from language to language, but they have enough common grammatical features across languages to merit such shared features (Allerton, 2006). In Philippine languages, some authors have attempted analyzing the valency and tense/aspect as well as the transitivity features of verbal clauses in Ilocano (Rubino, 1997), Ibaloy (Ruffolo, 2004), and Subanon (Daguman, 2004) to name a few. These studies, however, highlighted different features of the said languages. In this study, the researcher primarily focused on the lexical features of each of the three languages. Adopting Ruffolo's (2004) verb categorization where Ibaloy main verb clauses are classified according to the transitivity of their head, only the inflection of the lexical or main

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verb *kain* ('eat') used in the future (FUT) aspect, past (P) tense, and present progressive (PresP) across the three languages was considered for analysis (see items 1, 2, 3, and 4 in Table 14). Meanwhile, the verb *ligo* ('take a bath') was analyzed focusing on how it is used in sentence types (see items 5, 6, and 7), and *punta* ('come') in items 8 and 9, respectively. Sentence types here refer to either imperative or interrogative. Still, the purpose of limiting down to imperative and interrogative types is to complement the observation made in the inflection of the lexical verb in items 1 to 3.

For the lexical verb *kain* ('eat'), ISA encoded it differently as *nabaw*, while ISE and ITE had the same root as *pangan*. In terms of aspect, ISA uses the prefix *mag-* to signal future action, while ISE and ITE substituted the phoneme /p/ from the root word *pangan* with the phoneme /m/ to denote futurity. To show past action, ISA substituted the prefix *mag-* with *nag-*; ISE and ITE both changed the phoneme /p/ of the root word *pangan* to /n/, as in *nangan* ('ate'). The three languages, however, have different ways in forming their present progressive. ISA, in this particular aspect, uses an aspectual auxiliary, which can carry either an imperfective, continuative, or progressive aspect.

The aspectual auxiliary, according to Ruffolo (2004), attracts any second-order constituent part of the main or lexical verb. In this case, ISA uses the aspectual auxiliary, *madama* ('currently' or 'presently') preceding the main verb *magnabaw* ('eating'). ISE, on the other hand, uses the CVCC reduplication of *mangan* ('to eat') to come up with a progressive verb *mangmangan* ('currently eating'). ITE uses an aspectual auxiliary, but this comes after the main verb as in *mangan* ('eating') and *tidon* ('presently') to mean *mangan tidon* ('presently eating'). However, this can only be true to lexical constructions and not when used in a

complete sentence, as revealed by the respondents. For item number 4, the continuative aspect of *kain* ('eat'), which is *kumain nang kumain* ('ate again and again'), is analyzed. Here, ISE uses the CVCC reduplication of *nangan* ('ate') as in *nangnangan* ('ate again and again'). ISA and ITE used the aspectual auxiliary, *tada nga* and *kayo ngas*, respectively. Again, such construction is applicable only to lexical constructions or short responses.

For item 5, an imperative is given where the main verb used is *ligo* ('take a bath'). Still, the prefix *mag-* in ISA imperative is used to show that the action has to be done by the receiver in the future. This conforms to the use of the prefix *mag-* in ISA lexical terms to show future action. ISE and ITE, on the other hand, uses the prefix *ag-* to begin their imperatives, as in *agdigos* ('take a bath'). Such construction, however, can also be used in lexical constructions or short responses, e.g., *aggapas* ('to harvest'), *agsala* ('to dance'). Similarly, the prefix *nag-* is used to denote past actions when used in interrogatives, as in ISA *nagdigot angin*, ISE *nagdigus ken*, and ITE *nagdiguskan*, to mean 'Have you taken a bath?' The same observation on the lexical construction for item 1 applies to imperatives as can be seen in item 8. Another lexical construction for ISE and ITE is a phoneme substitution to show past actions. The following examples explain this:

- (28) ISE - /U/mayku - /I/mmayku  
 FUT=ku - P=ku  
 'to come' - 'came'  
 ITE - Umbet - Inumbet  
 FUT - P  
 'to come' - 'came'

**Table 15. Dimension adjectives in ISA, ISE, and ITE**

ITEM NO.	TAGALOG	ILOCANO	ISNAG	ISNEG YAPAYAO	ITNEG TINGGUIAN	GLOSS
1	malaki	dakkel	dahal	dakkal	dakkel	'big'
2	maiksi	ababa	ababba	appasi	bebbet	'short'
3	mahaba	atiddog	adaddo	annadu	deddo	'long'
4	malapad	akaba	nawagnad	akaba	lempad	'wide'
5	masikip	nailet	nagilat	nailat	nagilet	'narrow'
6	malalim	nauneg	adallam	alinam	nalungog	'deep'

Table 16. Comparative adjectives in ISA, ISE, and ITE

ITEM NO.	TAGALOG	ILOCANO	ISNAG	ISNEG YAPAYAO	ITNEG TINGGUIAN	GLOSS
1	mas malaki	dakdakkal	daddahal	dakdakkal	dakdakkal	'bigger'
2	mas maiksi	ab-ababa	ab-ababba	ap-apassi	bebbebet	'shorter'
3	mas mahaba	at-atiddog	ad-adaddo	an-annadu	deddeddo	'longer'
4	mas malapad	ak-akaba	nawagwagnad	ak-akaba	lemlempad	'wider'
5	mas masikip	nail-ilet	nagilgilat	nail-ilat	nagilgilet	'narrower'
6	mas malalim	naun-uneg	ad-adallam	al-alinam	nalunglungog	'deeper'

In general, ISA, ISE, and ITE inflect their lexical verbs by reduplication, phonemic substitution, and affixation. Lexically, these three languages, especially ISA, are encoded differently in terms of verbs.

### 3.4 Adjectives

This section analyzes one of the open word class categories, the adjectives. In an article published by Liao (2004), he asserted that seemingly adjective items in Philippine languages are stative verbs for the very reason that these words share a characteristic of verbs, which is affixation. Ruffolo (2004) likewise argues that Ibaloy does not have adjectives; it has only stative verbs. However, modifiers in Ibaloy, for Ruffolo (2004), are in the form of a relative clause since Ibaloy is a head-initial (or right-branching) language. In a noun phrase, modifiers typically follow the noun they modify. In a clause, verbal complements, adjuncts, and modifiers of the predicate typically occur after the predicate. But then, Rubino (1997) strongly claims that there is a separate lexical class of adjectives in Ilocano, having functions as predicate or modifiers to nouns, nouns, and verbs.

Additionally, only a few of these Ilocano adjectives are monomorphemic, including adjectival concepts and color terms, and physical attributes as well.

For an English lexicon to be labelled as an adjective, it must meet a set of criteria; that is, it can occur both in the NP and VP position; it can occur in attributive function; it can be pre-modified by the intensifier 'very'; and it can take a comparative and superlative form (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, & Svartvik, 1985). Given the following categories of adjectives, I focused my discussion on the morphological features of dimension adjectives, comparative adjectives, superlative adjectives, and quantifying adjectives in ISA, ISE, and ITE using four (items 1 to 4) monomorphemic and two (items 5 and 6) derived (prefix *na-*) Ilocano adjectives, as shown in Table 15.

#### 3.4.1 Dimension Adjectives

Based on the entries in Table 15, only ITE has an Ilocano borrowed word for 'big' *dakkal* although ISA and ISE are slightly phonologically different from ITE (i.e., ISA - *dahal*; ISE - *dakkal*). It is also observed from the given examples that the three languages have

Table 17. Superlative adjectives in ISA, ISE, and ITE

ITEM NO.	TAGALOG	ILOCANO	ISNAG	ISNEG YAPAYAO	ITNEG TINGGUIAN	GLOSS
1	pinakamalaki	kadakkelan	daddaddahal	kadaklan	kadakkelan	'biggest'
2	pinakamaiksi	kaababaan	ab-abab-ba	kaapasian	kabebet	'shortest'
3	pinakamahaba	kaatiddugan	ad-adaddo	kaanudnan	kadadduan	'longest'
4	pinakamalapad	kaakabaan	nawagwagnad	kaakabaan	kalempyadan	'widest'
5	pinakamasikip	kaiiletan	nagilgilat	kailatan	kagigiletan	'narrowest'
6	pinakamalalim	kauunegan	ad-adadallam	kaalinaman	kalulungugan	'deepest'



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**Table 18. Quantification terms in ISA, ISE, and ITE**

ITEM NO.	TAGALOG	ILOCANO	ISNAG	ISNEG YAPAYAO	ITNEG TINGGUIAN	GLOSS
1	isa	maysa	isa	isa	isa	‘one’
2	dalawa	dua	dua	dua	dua	‘two’
3	tatlo	tallo	tallo	tallo	tallo	‘three’
4	apat	uppat	appat	appat	appat	‘four’
5	lima	lima	lima	lima	lima	‘five’
6	anim	innem	annam	annam	annem	‘six’
7	pito	pito	pitto	pito	pito	‘seven’
8	walo	walo	walo	walo	walo	‘eight’
9	siyam	siyam	siyam	siyam	siyam	‘nine’
10	sampu	sangapulo	sangapulo	pullo/sangapulo	pulo	‘ten’
11	sandaan	sangagasut	isa gasut	siyen/sangagasut	sangagasot	‘one hundred’
12	sanlibo	sangribu	sangaribu	sangaribu	sangaribu	‘one thousand’
13	una	umuna	mon-una	muna	nuna	‘first’
14	ikalawa	maikadua	mehadua	mekadua	maikadua	‘second’
15	wala	awan	awan	awan	awan	‘there is no/none’
16	meron	adda	atan	asan	uwad	‘there is’

monomorphemic as well as derived adjectives just like their ILO counterparts. Lexically, the three languages are encoded differently. However, slight phonemic variation was found in some words, as in:

- (29) ISA - Nagilat  
 - Na=*gilat*  
 - PREF=‘narrowness’  
 - ‘narrow’

- (30) ISE - Nailat  
 - Na=*ilat*  
 - PREF=‘narrowness’  
 - ‘narrow’

- (31) ITE - Nagilet  
 - Na=*gilet*  
 - PREF=‘narrowness’  
 - ‘narrow’

Just like Ilocano-derived adjectives, ISA, ISE, and ITE use the prefix *na-* with root words to form dimension adjectives.

### 3.4.2 Comparative Adjectives

The comparative degree of Ilocano adjectives is formed through reduplication. This process is done when the stem has a closed syllable (CVC or CV); that is, if the first syllable of the stem is open (CV), then the first consonant of the second syllable is borrowed in the reduplication (Rubino, 1997). If the second syllable begins with a vowel, then a hyphen is necessary in the reduplication process. This feature is illustrated in the given examples in Table 16.

It can be clearly seen in the table that reduplication process to form the comparative degree of the ISA, ISE, and ITE adjectives takes place. Even with adjectives with the prefix *na-*, the closed syllable of the stem is reduplicated.

### 3.4.3 Superlative Adjectives

In Ilocano, the superlative degree of adjectives is formed by adding the prefix *ka-* and the suffix *-an* to the root word.

ISA is notably different in terms of the derivational process in forming the superlative degree compared to ISE and ITE. While ISE and ITE attach the

Table 19. Negation and interrogatives in ISA, ISE, and ITE

ITEM NO.	TAGALOG	ILOCANO	ISNAG	ISNEG YAPAYAO	ITNEG TINGGUIAN	GLOSS
1	hindi	haan/saan	akkan	dini	akkan/beken	‘no’
2	wala na	awanen	awannin	awanin	awanin	‘no more’
3	ano	ania	ingkana	anto	agana	‘what’
4	sino	sinnu	ingkaano	nain	agankadyan	‘who’
5	kailan	tun anu/kaanu	anungayna	kanangway	nungey	‘when’
6	saan	ayanna	awagiyana	didiyana no	awak idi	‘where’
7	paano	kasanu/innudtoy	pahanyan	kanya	kumaanna	‘how’
8	bakit	apay	tanya	ape	ape	‘why’
9	magkano	sagmamanu	pigayan	manu	sagpipiga	‘how much’
10	ilan	manu	piga	manu	piga	‘how many’
11	alin	ayanna	awana	andi	giyanna	‘which’
12	kanino	sinnu akinbagi/ akinbagi	inka mahinwa	akinkukua kaid/ kinbagi kaid	agan makinkua idi	‘whose’

prefix *ka-* and the suffix *-an* to the root word, ISA uses intensive reduplication of the closed syllable (CVC or CV) of the stem, as shown in the example given below:

- (32) ISA - Daddaddahal  
 - Dad=dad=*dahal*  
 - CVC=CVC=‘big’  
 - ‘biggest’

Similarly, it was observed that in the case of derived adjectives with the prefix *na-*, the comparative and superlative degrees in ISA are morphologically the same. Both ISE and ITE adjectives form their superlative degrees by attaching the prefix *ka-* and the suffix *-an* to the root word, a morphological process similar to ILO superlative adjectives.

Ibanag, however, not having adjectives as a lexical class, uses the circumfix *ka- -an/ka- -an/* to derive superlative nouns from any root containing a gradable component. This circumfix indicates the prominence of this gradable element in the derived noun. However, the intensity of its presence can be varied through reduplication.

### 3.4.4 Quantification Terms

Quantification terms included here are cardinals (items 1 to 12), ordinals (items 11 and 12), and existentials (items 13 and 14). Cardinals are

numerals that express quantity. Ordinals express time, order, or rank. Existentials are particles that express both existential and possessive constructions. For the Ilocanos, the positive existential *adda* (‘there is’) shows absolute possession and current possession. *Awan* (‘there is no’) is its negative counterpart.

In terms of cardinals, eight (67%) out of 12 were found lexically the same across the three languages. For ordinals, they were almost the same, except for a slight phonemic variation, as in:

- (33) ISA - *Mehadua*  
 - Me/h/a=dua  
 - PREF=‘two’  
 ISE - *Mekadua*  
 - Me/k/a=dua  
 - PREF=‘two’  
 ITE - *Maikadua*  
 - Ma/i/k/a=dua  
 - PREF=‘two’

It can be observed that ITE has the same morphological components with those of ILO. The negative existential *awan* (‘there is no’) is used across the three languages, while the positive existential *adda* (‘there is’) is encoded differently. Generally, ISA, ISE, and ITE are lexically akin to ILO in terms of quantification. This somehow reflects the extent of the pragmatic and economic use of such quantification

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terms of the three IP communities. The slight phonemic variations of the three language varieties and their close similarity with those of the Ilocano counterparts indicate that such terms could have been influenced by economic interaction with the host community language, which is Ilocano.

### 3.5 Negation and Interrogatives

Rubino (1997) looked into predications in Ilocano classified into affirmative and negative types. Particularly, Rubino (1997) dealt with negation of existentials and negation of responses. Here, only the negative responses (items 1 and 2), *hindi* ('no') and *wala na* ('no more') were asked for their ISA, ISE, and ITE counterparts. Items 3 to 12 are interrogatives. According to Ruffolo (2004), Ibaloy has several words for unknown quantities, entities, or times in either interrogative or indefinite contexts. They include the following:

sipa/sipa/'who, whom'  
towa/towa/'where'  
ngan(=to)/Nan(=to)/'what, which(=3/gen)'  
ngaran(=to)/Nadan(=to)/'what, which(=3/gen)'  
to=y/to=j/'what=nom'  
sa'no/saPno/'how'  
kasa'no/kasapno/'how'  
piga/piga/'how many, how much'  
pigan(=to)/pigan(=to)/'when(=3/gen)'  
ngantoy/Nantoj/'why'  
apay=nga/Papaj=Na/'why=lk'

Clearly, this class of interrogatives crosses word class boundaries. Such indefiniteness of these interrogatives also appears in ILO where some are used according to pragmatic context (Rubino, 1997). Unlike Ibaloy and ILO, TAG has definite interrogatives assigned to English question words.

Looking at Table 19, it can be gleaned that ISA and ITE use *Akkan* ('No') for a negative response, while ISE uses *Dini*. All three languages, however, use almost the same form for *Awanin* ('No more'), which is a slight phonological modification of its ILO counterpart, *Awanen*. In ILO, *Awanen*, as a negative response, is often used to intensify the absence of or

negativeness of *Awan* ('None') at the time of speaking. Its derivation is shown in the following example:

(34) ILO - *Awanen*  
- *Awan*=(e)n  
- NEG=now

In an interview conducted among selected respondents and as observed during the survey, most of them produce the /e/ sound as either /i/ or /ə/. This possibly explains the morphological composition of *Awanin/Awannin*. Such observation, however, is inconclusive and needs to be studied further. In the case of interrogatives, all terms used across the three languages are encoded differently. This may be explained by the fact that since these tribes speak their first language at home, they also ascribe to these words their local accent and, thus, adds to the morphological variations of these words.

Overall, it can be inferred that while Isnag appears to be more lexically different from Ilocano than Itneg Tingguian and Isneg Yapayao, factors other than those partly mentioned by the researcher that could have influenced such lexical variations of the three languages may be explored.

## 4. Conclusion

The morphological and lexical analysis of the languages spoken by these IP communities indicates that reduplication pattern, just like in Ilocano and other Cordilleran languages, seems to denote plurality of nouns in Isnag, Isneg Yapayao, and Itneg Tingguian. With such limited number of lexical items analyzed, lexical borrowing is also evident in these three languages, which is a common feature in most Philippine languages. Further, similarities in word-formation processes are fairly evident in each of the three languages. The seclusion of the Isnag community may have helped its language lexically exclusive from Ilocano, while the inclusivity of the Itneg Tingguians opens itself to a much higher incidence of lexical borrowing from Ilocano. Affixation, reduplication, and phonemic substitution are the three major lexical formation processes involved in Isnag, Isneg, and Itneg Tingguian languages. For quite a few number of lexical items analyzed, it may be inconclusive that these three

minority languages are morphologically diverse and lexically different from one another.

<http://kaitnogan.blogspot.com/2010/04/itneg-people-of-northern-luzon.html>

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**Appendix A. Lexical Test**

Name (Optional): \_\_\_\_\_  
 Location/Municipality: \_\_\_\_\_

Age: \_\_\_ Gender: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tribe: \_\_\_\_\_

**Directions:** Complete the table by giving the Isnag/Isneg Yapayao/Itneg Tingguian equivalent of the following words and expressions:

**1. NOUNS**

**1.1 Number of Nouns**

TAGALOG (TAG)		ILOCANO (ILO)		Isnag/Isneg Yapayao/Itneg Tingguian	
SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1. bulaklak	mga bulaklak	sabong	sabsabong		
2. dahon	mga dahon	bulong	bulbulong		
3. ilog	mga ilog	karayan	dagiti karayan		
4. bundok	mga bundok	bantay	banbantay		
5. puno	mga puno	kayo	kaykayo		
6. sanga	mga sanga	sanga	sangsanga		
7. gulay	mga gulay	nateng	natnateng		
8. ugat	mga ugat	urat	ur-urat		
9. lupa	mga lupa	daga	dagdaga		
10. ulap	mga ulap	ulep	ul-ulep		
11. kamote	mga kamote	kamutig	kamkamutig		
12. saging	mga saging	saba	sabsaba		
13. sanga	mga sanga	sanga	sangsanga		
14. bagyo	mga bagyo	bagyo	dagiti bagyo		
15. bigas	mga bigas	bagas	bagbagas		
16. kalabaw	mga kalabaw	nuang	nunuang		
17. kabayo	mga kabayo	kabalyo	kabkabalyo		
18. manok	mga manok	manok	manmanok		
19. langgam	mga langgam	kuton	kutkuton		
20. ibon	mga ibon	tumaytayab	dagiti tumaytayab		
21. kambing	mga kambing	kalding	kalkalding		
22. aso	mga aso	aso	as-aso		
23. baboy	mga baboy	baboy	babbaboy		
24. isda	mga isda	ikan	ik-ikan		
25. hipon	mga hipon	udang	ud-udang		
26. bayawak	mga bayawak	banyas	banbanyas		
27. ahas	mga ahas	uleg	ul-uleg		
28. usa	mga usa	ugsa	uugsa		
29. paru-paro	mga paru-paro	kulibangbang	kulkulibangbang		
30. pugad	mga pugad	umok	um-umok		

## Agnes Catalan-Francisco

### 1.2 Gender of Nouns

TAGALOG	ILOCANO	Isnag/Isnag Yapayao/Itneg Tingguian
tatang/ama/tata	tatay/ama/itay	
manong	kuya	
uncle/uliteg	uncle/tito/tiyo	
apo lakay/lolo/lolong	lolo	
baro	binata	
bayaw/kayong	bayaw	
ipag	hipag	
auntie/ikit	tiya/tita/auntie	
manang	ate	
lola/lila	lola	
balasang	dalaga	
nanang/nana/ina	nanay/inay/ina	
babai	babae	
lalaki	lalaki/lalake	
upa	inahin	
kawitan	tandang	

### 1.3 Body Parts

ILOCANO	TAGALOG	Isnag/Isnag Yapayao/Itneg Tingguian
mata	mata	
rupa	mukha	
ima	kamay	
dapan	talampakan	
kiday	kilay	
saka	paa	
agong	ilong	
siket	baywang	
tumeng	tuhod	
bukot	likod	
ramay	daliri	
bagis	bituka	
patong	balakang	
urat	ugat	
siding	nunal	
lapayag	tenga	

### 1.4 Reciprocal Nouns

ILOCANO	TAGALOG	Isnag/Isnag Yapayao/Itneg Tingguian
agasawa	mag-asawa	
agkasinsin	magpinsan	
agkabsat	magkapatid	
agkarruba	magkapitbahay	
agkataeb	magkaedad	

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### 1.5 Comitative Nouns

ILOCANO	TAGALOG	Isnag/Isneg Yapayao/Itneg Tingguian
kabagian	kamag-anak	
kaklasi	kaklase	
karruba	kapitbahay	
kabsat	kapatid	
kasasao	kausap	

### 1.6 Instigator Nouns

ILOCANO	TAGALOG	Isnag/Isneg Yapayao/Itneg Tingguian
parawalis	tagawalis	
paraluto	tagaluto	
parainnaw	tagahugas	
paradalus	tagalinis	
paralaba	tagalaba	

### 1.7 Locative Verb + *-an* Nouns

ILOCANO	TAGALOG	Isnag/Isneg Yapayao/Itneg Tingguian
paglutuan	lutuan	
paginnawan	hugasan	
pagiddaan	higaan	
pagturugan	tulugan	
pagdigusan	liguan	

## 2. PRONOUNS AND DEIXIS

### 2.1 Personal Pronouns

ILOCANO	TAGALOG	Isnag/Isneg Yapayao/Itneg Tingguian
siak	ako	
dakami	kami	
sika	ikaw	
dakayo	kayo	
isuda	sila	
isuna	siya	

### 2.2 Possessives

ILOCANO	TAGALOG	Isnag/Isneg Yapayao/Itneg Tingguian
bagik/kukuak	akin	
bagim/kukuam	iyo	
bagida/kukuada	kanila	
bagiyo	inyo	
bagimi	amin	
bagina	kanya	

### 2.3 Deixis

ILOCANO	TAGALOG	Isnag/Isneg Yapayao/Itneg Tingguian
daytoy	ito	
dagitoy	mga ito	
dayta	iyan	
dagita	mga iyan	
daydiay	iyon	
dagidiay	mga iyon	
ditoy	dito	
dita	diyan	
idiay	doon	

### 3. VERBS

ILOCANO	TAGALOG	Isnag/Isneg Yapayao/Itneg Tingguian
mangan	kakain	
nangan	kumain	
mangmangan	kumakain	
nangnangan	kumain nang kumain	
agdiguskan.	maligo ka na.	
agdigdigus kan?	naliligo ka na?	
nagdiguskan?	naligo ka na?	
umayka ditoy.	punta ka dito.	
immayka ditoy?	pumunta ka dito?	

### 4. ADJECTIVES

#### 4.1 Dimension Adjectives

ILOCANO	TAGALOG	Isnag/Isneg Yapayao/Itneg Tingguian
dakkel	malaki	
ababa	maiksi	
atiddog	mahaba	
akaba	malapad	
naiilet	masikip	
nauneg	malalim	

#### 4.2 Comparative Adjectives

ILOCANO	TAGALOG	Isnag/Isneg Yapayao/Itneg Tingguian
dakdakkel	mas malaki	
ab-ababa	mas maiksi	
at-atiddog	mas mahaba	
ak-akaba	mas malapad	
nail-ilet	mas masikip	
naun-uneg	mas malalim	



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### 4.3 Superlative Adjectives

ILOCANO	TAGALOG	Isnag/Isneg Yapayao/Itneg Tingguian
kadakkelan	pinakamalaki	
kaababaan	pinakamaiksi	
kaatiddugan	pinakamahaba	
kaakabaan	pinakamalapad	
kaiiletan	pinakamasikip	
kauunegan	pinakamalalim	

### 4.4 Quantifying Adjectives

ILOCANO	TAGALOG	Isnag/Isneg Yapayao/Itneg Tingguian
maysa	isa	
dua	dalawa	
tallo	tatlo	
uppat	apat	
lima	lima	
innem	anim	
pito	pito	
walo	walo	
siyam	siyam	
sangapulo	sampu	
umuna	una	
maikadua	ikalawa	
awan	wala	
adda	meron	
sangagasut	sandaan	
sangaribu	sanlibo	

## 5. NEGATION AND INTERROGATIVES

ILOCANO	TAGALOG	Isnag/Isneg Yapayao/Itneg Tingguian
haan/saan	hindi	
awanen	wala na	
ania	ano	
sinnu	sino	
tun anu	kailan	
ayanna	saan	
kasanu	paano	
apay	bakit	
sagmamanu	magkano	
manu	ilan	
ayanna	alin	
sinnu akinbagi	kanino	