SPEECH DISGUISE IN ITBAYATEN NUMERALS

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1. Introduction

The present paper[1] is an attempt to analyze the numeral formation of the seven sets of Itbayaten[2] cardinal numbers, some of which are considered by the people to be archaic, semi-archaic, or of *anito*. The numbers under consideration are from 'one' to 'ten'.

There are two kinds of numeral systems being used at present: one is of the Austronesian origin, and the other is of foreign origin, *i.e.* Spanish. During my field work, several sets of cardinal numbers have been newly recorded, most of which show an interesting language play. Some of the cases illustrated below are definitely used as a secret language.

A speaker in a speech community may limit his communication with others. He may change the phonological shape of the original word and hide what he really means from other people. This type of conceal-

[2] Itbayaten is spoken in Itbayat which is the northernmost inhabited island in the Philippines. Its population is 2,760 according to the *1970 Census of Population and Housing* (Advance Report No. 8, Batanes), Bureau of Census and Statistics, Manila. I thank Mr. Rodolfo Q. Baliton, officer of the Bureau, who also furnished me with the same data when we were in Basco, 1971.

The consonants in Itbayaten are /p, b, t, d, k, g, q, č, ǰ, m, n, ñ, ŋ, v, s, x, h, l, r, w, y/ and the vowels are /i, a, o, e/, of which /q/ is the glottal stop, /x/ is the velar-uvular voiced fricative, and /e/ is the mid-high central vowel. /q/ which usually occurs in word-initial position before a vowel and in word-final position after a vowel in isolation is not spelled out in this paper. /Vv/ is a phonetically long vowel. For details, see my paper, "Phonology of Itbayaten," *Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. XCIV, No. 3 (1965).

ment is called speech disguise.[3] I was told that people of Marapoy in Itbayat are particularly skillful at this method of rearranging phonemes and that some of them can make a long speech or converse with each other by this method.

It is the present writer's hypothesis that the formation of those unfamiliar sets of cardinal numbers are explainable from the point of view of either rearrangement of the phonemes of the numbers being presently used, or sound change of the proto-Austronesian phonemes.

There are four major dialects in the linguistically and culturally homogeneous area which is located between Formosa and the Babuyanes islands North of Luzon. From North, they are Yami, Itbayaten, Divasay Ivatanen [Basco area], and Saamorong Ivatanen [area South of Basco, including Sabtang],[4] each of which has its indigenous cardinal numbers. The Yami living on Botel Tobago Island belong to Formosa, and the Itbayat and the Ivatan to the Philippines.

2. List of Numerals

In the following list, Sets 1 to 7 are cited from the Itbayaten data. The place where the data was gathered is indicated in the square brackets under the name of each dialect.

	Proto-Austro-nesian[5]	Yami [Imorod]	Set 1 Itbayaten [Mayan]	Divasay Ivatanen [Vasay]	Saamorong Ivatanen [Sabtang]
1	'eťa'	asa	aqsa	asa	asa
2	ḍuva'	dowa	doha	dadoa	dadoa
3	telu'	tilo/atlo[6]	atlo	tatdo	tatdo
4	'e(m)pat	apat	aqpat	apat	apat
5	lima'	ʎima	lima ' + hand '	dima	dadima
6	'enem	annem	aqnem	anem	anem
7	pitu'	pito	pito	pito	papito
8	valu[']	waw	waxo ' + ¢5'[7]	waho	wawaho
9	ťiva[']	siiyam	siam	siam	sasiyam
10	puluh	poxo	saapoxo	asapoho	asapoho

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[3] Harold C. Conklin, "Tagalog Speech Disguise," *Language*, Vol. XXXII (1956).

[4] The materials here listed were recorded at various times. (1) Yami: collected in April, 1971. I am very much indebted to Mme. Inez de Beauclair, Academia Sinica, Taipei, for taking me to Botel Tobago Island. See also Ogawa, Naoyoshi and Eirin Asai, *Taiwan Takasagozoku Densetsushû* [The Myths and Traditions of the Formosan Native Tribes], Taihoku, 1935. (2) Divasay Ivatanen: collected in June, 1965. (3) Saamorong Ivatanen [one cited here is that of Sabtang]: collected in May, 1966. Regarding the initial syllables of the Saamorong Ivatanen numbers, see their discussion on 'quasi-reduplicative' in Hidalgo and Hidalgo *The Structure of Ivatan*, University of the Philippines, 1970.

[5] Otto Dempwolff, *Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes*, Zeitschr. f. Eing.-Spr., Berlin; III. Band, Austronesisches Wörterverzeichnis, 1938. His schwa is 'e' in this paper.

[6] The Yami informant told me that *atlo* was used to count fish.

[7] Terms for counting money are not treated in this paper, but my data show that *waxo* also means 'five centavos, 2/5 real.' We can find *sikawalo* '1/2 real' in *Vocabulario Ibatán-Español* por varios PP. Dominicos Españoles Misioneros de Aquellas Islas, Manila, Imprenta de la Universidad de Sto Tomás, 1933.

	Set 2		Set 3	Set 4	Set 5
1	oono	< uno (Sp.)	sah	asqa	saqa
2	doos	< dos	doh	ahod	haqdo
3	tris	< tres	tlo	olta	[loqat]
4	kwatro	< cuatro	pat	tapa	{patqa]
5	siŋko	< cinco	lim	amil	[maqli]
6	sayis	< seis	nem	mena	[nemqa]
7	siiti	< siete	pit	otip	[toqpi]
8	oočo	< ocho	wax	owax	xoqwa
9	noybi	< nueve	sih	mayis	[amsi]
10	ǰiis	< diez	pox	oxopas	xosapo

	Set 6-a	Set 6-b	Set 7-a	Set 7-b	Set 7-c
1	ŋakasa	masaŋa	itti	itti	itti
2	ŋayoda	mayada	doyyi	doyyi	doyyi
3	naliod	talo	illo	illo	illo
4	taptap	atap	ippa	ippa	ippa
5	mila	mila	malana	lamana	malana
6	anim	anim	iddam	iddam	iddam
7	sipo	tipo	virigo	birigo	birigom
8	xayo	xayo	salago	salago	salagom
9	miiyas	miga	omayam	omayam	homayam
10	sop	sop	kaloyi	kalawič	kalawi

3. Discussion

3.1.   Set 1 is being used in daily life.

3.2.   Set 2 is at present used when one shouts time and counts money, while *aqsakasintimos* [aqsa-ka-sintimos] 'one centavo' is also often heard.

3.3.   Set 3 is often referred to as an archaic or semi-archaic numbers, and is rarely used. Each number is one syllable, composed of three phonemes. All are CVC except the case of *tlo*, and mostly made by omitting either an initial or final vowel of the shapes of Set 1.

3.4.   Set 4 is an example of complete reversal of the phonemic shapes of the word base in Set 1 (1-2-3-4 > 4-3-2-1). Some of them behave slightly different as follows:

tapa: aqpat [q→∅] > apat [reversal] > tapa
mena: aqnem [q→∅] > anem [reversal] > mena
owax: waxo [reversal of o] > owax
mayis: siam [ia→iya] > siyam [reversal] > mayis
oxopas: saapoxo [aa→a] > sapoxo [reversal] > oxopas

Although there are some phonological modifications as mentioned above, the major phenomenon in Set 4 is of the complete reversal type. This is an example of speech disguise which is active in formation at present, and that is also applicable to other words than numbers, as in an isolated word *rakox* > *hokar* 'big', and as in a sentence *akoh (o) vatah mo?* > *hoka qataw qom?* 'What did you say?'

3.5.   Set 5 is an example of reversal of the syllabic shape of the original form of Set 1 and the reversal is made in such a way that the last syllable of the original form is transferred to the initial position (1-2-3 > 3-2-1).

Shapes in the square brackets under Set 5 are not found in the collected data, and are constructed in accordance with the rule of syllable-reversal. As regards the form for 'ten', it seems that the long vowel of the original shape *saapoxo* is shortened. One may expect another form with a glottal stop, *i.e.*, *xoqsapo*.

The reversal is also observed in other words than numerals.

kaysoma   < somakay 'to ride'
manko   < koman 'to eat'
nomqomi   < ominom 'to drink'
yatmaŋba   < maŋbayat 'to go to Itbayat'
yiqay   < ayi 'foot'
yohmayay   < mayayoh 'to run'

The last two examples above show the split of *y* in the last syllable. In connection with this, it is worthy to note the fact which I experienced during the field work: the Itbayat people many a time used an inter-vocalic consonant in a word two times when they deliberately divided the word into syllables so that I could correctly write down what they said. Take *mayayoh* 'to run' and *karosokan* 'a place name' for example, they divided and pronounced them as *may-yay-yoh*, and *kar-ros-sok-kan*. The fourth example *yatmaŋba*, however, does not follow this method.

3.6.   Sets 6-a and 6-b seem to be known to a very limited number of old people. The old woman who gave me Set 6-a calls it *vilavilaŋ no anito* 'counting or number of *anito*',[8] but she does not know of its use or its significance. It was probably once used as a secret language, for many of the numbers of Sets 6-a and 6-b can be explained by such phenomena as partial reversal of the phonemic shape of the word base (metathesis), loss or change of phonemes, and the like.

Set 6-a taptap: aqpat [q→∅] > apat [p-t metathesis] > atap
                  [a→∅] > tap [reduplication] > taptap
         mila: lima [l-m metathesis] > mila
         sipo: pito [p-t metathesis] > tipo [t→s] > sipo
         xayo: waxo [w-x metathesis] > xawo [w→y] > xayo
         miiyas: siam [y-accretion] > siyam [i-lengthening] > si-
                  iyam [s-m metathesis] > miiyas

Set 6-b talo: atlo [a-t metathesis] > talo
         atap: See *taptap* above.

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[8] Supernatural being, ghost, spirit, of which people are usually afraid.

tipo: See *sipo* above.

miga: Cf. *miiyas* above. siyam [s-ṁ metathesis] > miyas
          [y→g] > migas [s→∅] > miga

The rest are difficult to solve. *Sop* can be regarded as having derived
in the following way: $saapo_1xo_2$ [aa-o_1 metathesis] > *sopaaxo* [aaxo→∅]
> *sop*. The shape *asa* (< *aqsa*) may be extracted from *ŋakasa, masaŋa,*
but. it is hard to explain the remaining part. As for *ŋayoda* and *mayada,*
see *doyyi* of Set 7. The numbers 'one' and 'two' in both Sets 6-a
and 6-b are alliterative. *Naliod* 'three' is so far unexplainable.

3.7.   Sets 7-a, 7-b and 7-c are called among the Itbayat *vilavilaŋ no
tawo aŋkakohay* 'counting system of people in older times' or *vilavilaŋ
no inannoma* 'ancestral way of counting', and are also known only to
a small number of old people.

    Although it is not so fruitful to consider the derivatives from proto-
Austronesian forms and to try to explain their historical changes, there
are some interesting features. Suppose *a* took the place of *i* in numbers
'one', 'two', 'three',. 'four', and 'six', the results are *atta, doyya, allo,
appa,* and *addam,*[9] which are somewhat comparable with the forms of
the corresponding numbers of Set 1.

aqsa   [q→t] > atsa [s→t] > atta
doha   [h→yy] > doyya
atlo   [t→l] > allo
aqpat   [q→p] > appat [t→∅] > appa
aqnem   [q→t] > atnem [t→d] > adnem [n→d] > addem
          [e→a] > addam

'Five' has two forms, *malana* and *lamana.* The first two syllables are
easily traced back to the original form *lima.* Cf. Set 6. Final vowels in
Set 7-b rhyme: i-i, (o), a-a, (m), o-o, (m, č), the three vowel phonemes
(i, a, o) being equally distributed in rhyming. In all the three sets, 7-a,
7-b, and 7-c, the numbers 6 and 9, and 7 and 8 rhyme: *-am, -go,* and
-gom. The phonemes *lo* of the second syllable of 'ten' in Set 7-a may
be derived from *law* in Sets 7-b and 7-c.

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[9] In Itbayaten, the consonant C_2 in a two-syllable word $[(C_1)VC_2V(C_3)]$ with
an accent on the last syllable tends to be phonetically slightly longer, but it is
interpreted phonemically as a single consonant. Words of two syllables in Set 7,
however, are pronounced with an intervocalic consonant which is twice as long as
a single consonant in duration, and they are spelled out doubly.
    It should be referred to here that Ibanag, spoken in the northern part of Luzon,
has some similar forms to those in Set 7. The Ibanag numbers from 'one' to 'ten'
are *itte, due, tallu, appat, lima, annam, pitu, ualu, siam,* and *ma-fulu.* This list
was quoted from Izui, Hisanosuke, *Hikaku Gengogaku Kenkyû* [Etudes Comparatives
des Langues du Sud], Tokyo and Osaka, 1949, p. 81.

4. *Conclusion*

The formation of the numbers of Sets 3, 4, and 5 is explainable from the forms of Set 1, and Set 6 is partly explainable. Sets 4 and 5 show examples of language disguise which are significant in their present day life, while Sets 3, 6, and 7 are inactive now, being known only to a limited number of old people. The process of formation of the forms of Set 7 and some of the forms of Set 6 are hard to explain linguistically and to trace back. While the method of formation represented by Sets 4 and 5 is active in Itbayaten, the method exhibited in other sets of numerals seems to have been fossilized.