A Cross-Generational View of Contact-Related Phenomena in a Philippine Language: Phonology*

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1. Introduction

The Philippines is a treasure house for the study of the effects of language contact. The extensive borrowing that occurred from Chinese and Malay-speaking traders (Wolff 1973-1974), prior to the coming of the Spanish in 1521, and from other foreign languages such as Spanish and English since then are well-known and often described (Wolff 1976). However, the influence of local Philippine languages on one another is another rich source of data on language contact, and one which has not often been as carefully explored. Probably all Philippine languages have large sets of lexical items which have been borrowed from one or another of the widely-spoken languages such as Filipino (Tagalog), Ilokano, Cebuano, Hiligaynon or Magindanao. The recognition of such borrowings though is sometimes obscured because of the similarity between the phonologies of the source languages and the donor languages.[1]

The primary purpose of this paper is to characterize and account for some of the massive changes that have taken place in the phonological system of one of the dialects of Central Bontok, that spoken in barangay Guinaang, over the last fifty years, primarily as a result of literacy in English, and the massive influx of Ilokano (and Tagalog) loanwords in the language. These changes have resulted in the addition of at least seven new phonemes in the language, two vowels /e/ and /o/[2], and five consonants. There are, in addition to the phonological changes, extensive lexical changes, and a fairly substantial set of morphological and syntactic changes as a result of contact, but these will not be discussed in this paper.

For phonological systems to be affected by loanwords from related and unrelated languages is well-known. The adoption of phonemes that occur in loanwords but are not part of the recipient language phonology is not unusual. The Mexican Mayan language Huastec, for example, has borrowed the phonemes /b/ and /d/ from Spanish, while some dialects of the Uto-Aztecan language Nahuatl have borrowed the phonemes /b, d, g, f, r̃/ from Spanish (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:80). The effect of borrowed Spanish terms on the phonology of the Negrito language, Atta, is discussed in Whittle and Lusted (1963). Tagalog has added at least two phonemes as a result of borrowings from Spanish and English, /č/ and /ǰ/, typically represented as *ts* and *dy* respectively, as in *tsuper*

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[1] Recent studies which have made a serious attempt to tease apart some of the layers of borrowed items in Philippine languages, include Blust (1992) and Burton (2003).

[2] This paper will not discuss further the introduction of the new vowel phonemes, which have entered the language as a result of the borrowing of Spanish loans via Ilokano.

'driver', and *dyip* 'jeep'.[3] Various other sounds such as [f], [v], [ʃ] and [ʒ] which are not found in the inherited phonological system of Tagalog are commonly heard in the speech of many Tagalog speakers, especially those with higher education in English, but their status as fully adopted phonemes in the language is questionable.

Another explanation for phonological change is the loss of conditioning factors so that what were earlier allophonic variants of one phoneme are elevated to the status of separate phonemes. This can result from either internal or external factors. For example, in Middle English there was no velar nasal phoneme /ŋ/. The sound did however occur in the language as an allophone, or variant pronunciation, of /n/, in the environment preceding a velar stop, so that ME *long* was actually pronounced with a final *g*, as [loŋg].[4] With the loss of word final voiced stops following nasals in late Middle English, the velar nasal stood alone at the end of a word and occurred in environments where it contrasted with /n/ (Lehmann 1992:187). This type of change is referred to as 'conditioned sound change'. In English the cause of the change was internal, but conditioned sound change can also result from external factors, such as language contact.

A change in the conditioning features of allophones can bring about a split in a phonological system whereby new phonemes result. In Old English, before the influx of loan words from French, [f] and [v] were allophones of a single phoneme, [v] only occurred between vowels, while [f] usually occurred only at the beginning and end of a word. With the borrowing of French words such as *village*, *veal*, *vine*, *very*, etc., the two sounds occurred in the same environment, the conditioning feature was lost, and the two allophones became separate phonemes, /f/ and /v/ in English (Bynon 1977:226). In Tagalog, prior to the arrival of the Spanish, most dialects of Tagalog only had a three-vowel system, the vowels [e] and [o] were probably allophonic variants of /i/ and /u/, respectively, but with the borrowing of words containing /e/ and /o/, these sounds acquired full status as phonemes in the language.

2. Bontok Phonemic System: 1960

In order to be sure that a sound change has taken place in a language, it is essential to know what the phonological system of the language was at some earlier time period, with which the present sound system can be compared. For Central Bontok we are able to refer to the description in Reid (1963), which shows that forty years ago, the language had one of the simplest phonemic systems of all Philippine languages, with only fourteen consonant phonemes, four vowel phonemes and contrastive stress, as shown in Table 1.

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[3] The status of *ts* and *dy* as unit phonemes /č/ and /ǰ/ in Tagalog respectively is discussed in French (1988:56).

[4] Some phonologists would argue that there is still no /ŋ/ in English.

Table 1. Central Bontok Phonemic System in 1960

p	t	k	ʔ			
b	d	g		i	ɨ	u
m	n	ŋ			a	
	s					
	l			V́	(Vowel stress)	
w	y					

2.1 Bontok Voiced Stop Allophones

Bontok belongs to a fairly well-defined subgroup of the Cordilleran family of Philippine languages, called Central Cordilleran, the internal relationships of which are shown in Figure 1 (Reid 1974).

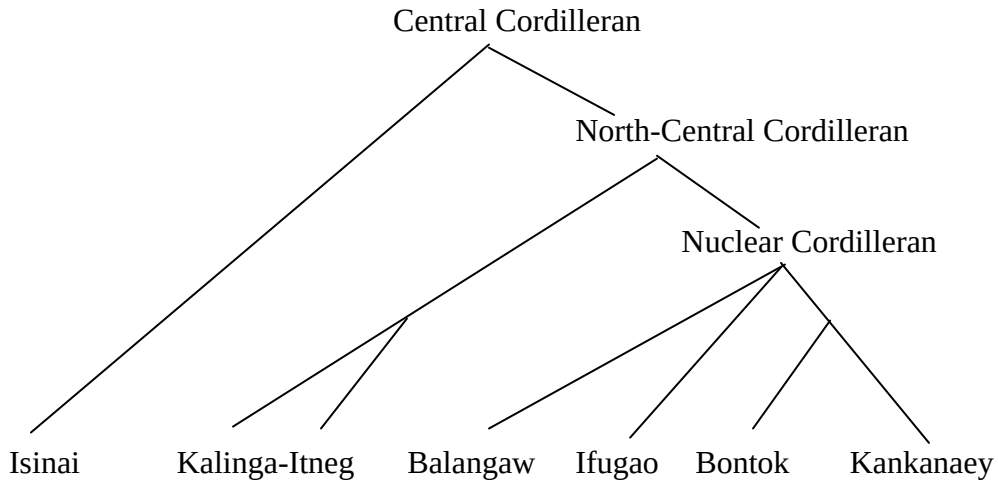

Figure 1. The Central Cordilleran Subgroup of Philippine Languages

Although all the North Central Cordilleran languages originally had exactly the same number of phonemes (Reid 1971, 1974), the phonological systems of these languages were very different from one another in terms of the actual pronunciation of the phonemes. In Kankanaey, a close sister language of Bontok, and some dialects of the other languages, the phonemes /b/, /d/, and /g/ could be pronounced as voiced stops in any consonant position in a word. However in Bontok, as well as in Northern Ifugao, Central Kalinga, and Eastern Itneg, they were restricted in their distribution. They were only pronounced as voiced stops [b], [d], and [g] at the end of a syllable, i.e., preceding another consonant, or immediately following a vowel at the end of a word. At the beginning of a syllable, i.e., immediately followed by a vowel, these phonemes were typically pronounced as voiceless allophones, either fricatives, affricates or aspirates. For a summary of the prevocalic allophones in each of these languages, see Himes (1984-

85:51).[5] The variants of the voiced stop phonemes in Guinaang Bontok are given in Figure 2.

/b/		[b]	
/d/	→	[d]	/ V __ C, #
/g/		[g]	
/b/		[f]	
/d/	→	[ts]	/ __ V
/g/		[k_{+}^{h}]	

Figure 2. Central Bontok voiced stops (1960)

Examples illustrating the different allophonic variants of the voiced stop phonemes are given in (1). It should be noted that sounds and words listed in the examples in slant brackets represent the phonemic status of the language in 1960. In addition, /b/ was pronounced as either a voiced labiodental fricative [v], or a voiced bilabial fricative [β] when it was the first member of a geminate cluster.

(1) Examples of Central Bontok voiced stops[6]

/babá/	[fafá]	‘lowlands’
/babʔa/	[fabʔa]	‘tooth’
/bitîk/	[fitîq][7]	‘a bundle, as of rice’
/nabtik/	[nabtiq]	‘bundled’
/ʔubbu/	[ʔuvfu]	‘working group’
/dúdun/	[tsúːtsun]	‘locust’
/duwá/	[tsuwá]	‘two’
/sindudwa/	[sintsudwa]	‘a unit of two, pair’
/kuddu/	[qudtsu]	‘basket for transporting soil’
/gawîs/	[k_{+}^{h}awîs]	‘good’
/gagʔawîs/	[k_{+}^{h}agʔawîs]	‘very good’
/suggalît/	[sugk_{+}^{h}alît]	‘a kind of spear’
/pagpag/	[pagpag]	‘tree, shrub, bush’

[5] Himes (1984-85) provides an insightful explanation of the development of the various pre-vocalic allophones in these languages.

[6] Unless otherwise noted, all Bontok data come from Reid (1976).

[7] The symbol [q] is used here and throughout the paper in its IPA value (Pullum and Ladusaw 1986:130) to represent a voiceless, backed velar or uvular stop, and does not represent glottal stop, as is often found in literature on Philippine languages (e.g., Reid 1971). In Guinaang Bontok there is a clear difference between the point of articulation of the prevocalic allophone of /g/, which is a fronted velar or palatal stop (with light aspiration), and its voiceless counterpart /k/, which is always [q]. This is the usual point of articulation of /k/ in many Philippine languages. According to Jacobson (1979:143), this phone occurs in 60% of Philippine languages. In literature that uses [q] to represent a glottal stop, a backed velar stop is typically represented by [ķ].

2.2 Bontok /l/ allophones

In Bontok, the pronunciation of the phoneme /l/ differed depending on the dialect. The description which follows, which corresponds to that found in Reid (1963), is that of the dialect of Central Bontok spoken in Guinaang. There are two primary allophones of /l/ in Guinaang Bontok, [l] and [ɹ]. The latter is a voiced alveolar frictionless continuant, very similar to the *r* sound of many British and American English dialects. It is not flapped or trilled.[8]

Guinaang Bontok /l/ was pronounced as a voiced alveolar lateral continuant [l] in any environment in which the front of the tongue was either already in a raised position in the mouth as a result of a preceding vowel or consonant, or needed to be in such a position immediately following /l/. This condition therefore included words which had an /i/ vowel preceding /l/, whether or not there was an intervening consonant (and regardless of the point of articulation of the intervening consonant, such as a velar stop), as in (2), or immediately following the lateral, as in (3). It also included words with some vowel other than /i/ in the syllable preceding /l/, if there was an intervening apical consonant, /t/, /d/, or /s/,[9] as in (4).

(2) Examples of Guinaang Bontok [l] with preceding /i/

/ʔumíla/	[ʔumíːla]	‘to look at’
/ʔitlɨk/	[ʔitlɨq]	‘to pierce something’
/ʔumiblay/	[ʔumiblay]	‘to make someone tired’
/biglάʔɨn/	[figlάːʔɨn]	‘to force something’

(3) Examples of Guinaang Bontok [l] with following /i/

/ʔumáli/	[ʔumáli]	‘to come’
/dálig/	[tsάːlig]	‘iron plough shear’
/mulîŋ/	[mulîŋ]	‘smooth water-worn rock’

[8] In Reid (1963), this phoneme is represented as /r/ because in Guinaang [ɹ] has a wider distribution than [l]. However, I now prefer to label the phoneme as /l/ rather than /r/, since historically, it developed from the merger of two proto-phonemes, */l/ and */r/, subsequent to the dispersal of Proto-Cordilleran. The resulting phoneme was typically pronounced as [l]. None of the languages in which the merger took place uses a flapped [ř] or trilled [r̃], of the type generally heard in languages such as Ilokano or Tagalog. Furthermore, the distribution of the [ɹ] allophone is much more restricted than the [l] allophone in some dialects, such as that of Bontoc Poblacion, in which [ɹ] has been lost in some environments.

[9] /n/ and /l/ are also apical consonants. However, /n/ only occurs immediately preceding /l/ as part of the infix *–in-*, which because of its vowel always maintains the following /l/ as [l], e.g., /tinlɨk/ → [tinlɨq] ‘pierced’, while /l/ as the first member of a geminate cluster /ll/ is pronounced as the lateral [l] if the immediately preceding vowel is /i/, e.g., /billabil/ → [fillafil] ‘kind of large edible snail’, or if the following vowel is /i/, e.g., /ballita/→ [fallita] ‘crowbar’. Otherwise the geminate cluster /ll/ is pronounce [ɹɹ], as in /ballakɨ́w/→ [faɹɹaqɨ́w] ‘pitcher plant’.

(4) Examples of Guinaang Bontok [l] following an apical consonant

/naputlak/	[naputlaq]	‘broken’
/mudlay/	[mudlay]	‘kind of rat’
/ʔadlan/	[ʔadlan]	‘kind of large white mushroom’
/nakaslaŋ/	[naqaslaŋ]	‘mixed’

In environments in which the apex of the tongue was non-high, /l/ was pronounced as [ɹ]. This included words in which the lateral was preceded and followed by a vowel other than /i/, as long as there was no intervening apical consonant, /t/, /d/, or /s/, as in (5).

(5) Examples of Guinaang Bontok [ɹ] in a low apical environment

/ʔumála/	[ʔumáːɹa]	‘to get’
/tɨlɨ̰k/	[tɨɹɨ̰q]	‘awl’
/bintúʔul/	[fintúːʔuɹ]	‘goiter’
/sumáʔal/	[sumáʔaɹ]	‘to return home’
/bablɨy/	[fabɹɨy]	‘village’

One other environment in which /l/ was typically pronounced as [l] is at the beginning of a word after a pause, regardless of the quality of the following vowel. Within a flow of speech, /l/ at the beginning of a word was pronounced as either [l] or [ɹ], depending on tongue position at the end of the preceding word.

2.3 Bontok /s/ allophones

There is one more phoneme, the variants of which were not discussed in Reid (1963), but which is relevant to an understanding of changes which are taking place in the language today. Adjacent to the high, front vowel /i/, Guinaang Bontok /s/ has an alveolar articulation point, similar to the pronunciation of /s/ in Tagalog, Ilokano and many other Philippine languages, as well as English, as in Bon. /sidúgan/ → [sitsúːk̟ʰan]. In other environments, /s/ is pronounced as a voiceless post-alveolar apical central fricative [s̻], i.e., in non-high front vowel environments, the body of the tongue is retracted, with the apex of the tongue pulled back to a post-alveolar position. This sound can also be described as a voiceless alveolar retroflexed grooved fricative [ʂ]. This sound occurs in several Central Bontok dialects, as well as in Eastern Bontok (Jacobson 1979:158). It also occurs in Tigwa Manobo in Mindanao (Strong 1979:167, Jacobson 1979:149). Examples are given in (6).

(6) Examples of Guinaang Bontok /s/ in a low apical environment.

/ʔásu/	[ʔáːʂu]	‘dog’
/ʔustu/	[ʔuʂtu]	‘enough’
/masdáʔaw/	[maʂtsáːʔaw]	‘surprised’
/sɨksɨk/	[ʂɨqʂɨq]	‘sparrow’

3. Bontok Phonemic System: 2000

The discussion of the Bontok phonemic system in 1960 sets the stage for understanding the changes that have taken place, during the past 40+ years. During this

period, education, particularly literacy in English and Ilokano, has played a major role in affecting the phonology of the language.

It has long been claimed (Sapir 1949) that for native speakers it is the phonemes of their language that are the contrastive units in their sound system, and which therefore have psychological reality. That is why the most efficient writing systems are those that provide a single grapheme to represent each phoneme. Allophones, on the other hand, are generally considered to function below the level of psychological awareness of native speakers. Their production is automatic, following the phonological rules of the language. In the 1960's, native speakers of Guinaang Bontok who had never been to school were easily able to learn to read their own dialect, given an alphabet that only represented phonemes (Reid 1968). The symbol *b* (for example) was automatically pronounced [f] before a vowel, and as [b] after a vowel. However, native speakers who had been to school, and had learned to read and write English had more difficulty learning to read their own dialect, given an alphabet that did not provide symbols for the voiceless allophones of the voiced stop phonemes. The symbol *b* (for example) would only be pronounced as [b], regardless of its environments. The Bontok dictionary (Reid 1976) which did not represent the prevocalic voiceless allophones of the voiced stops was thought by some to be a dictionary of one of the Western Bontok (or Northern Kankanay) dialects, which do not have voiceless variants of the voiced stops. From the initial grades in elementary school, native speakers of Bontok were taught the English values of *f, v, ch* (pronounced as [ts], the prevocalic variant of the Bontok /d/ phoneme), and *r* (corresponding almost exactly to the [ɹ] variant of the Bontok /l/ phoneme), as well as a number of other sounds, such as *j* and *h*, which although not present in the Guinaang dialect, are present in other Bontok dialects.

Learning the sound values of the English alphabet did not in itself affect the phonology of the Bontok language; however, it did lay the groundwork for the changes by creating in native speakers an awareness of the sounds, and by allowing allophones to be used in environments in which they had not previously occurred. In the early part of this century, borrowings from Ilokano, the trade language of the area, and from English were not uncommon;[10] however, they were typically adapted to the Bontok sound system. Thus Ilk. *bisíta* (from Sp. *visita*) 'visitor' was pronounced [fisíːta], with initial [f]. Similarly Ilk. serbí (from Sp. *servir*) 'service; use', was pronounced [s̪iɹfi], and Ilk. básol 'sin, fault; mistake' was pronounced [fáːs̪or]. English 'hospital' was reinterpreted as a locative phrase and pronounced [ʔas̪[11] pitáɹ], literally 'at/to the hospital'.

Whereas in 1960 there was only an elementary school with six grades in Guinaang, and only a few girls had had any school education, today there is a full elementary and high school in the village. A young person in Guinaang today generally has at least an elementary school education, and in many cases a high school and college education as well. English, although not commonly spoken in the village, is typically understood, and probably most people are bilingual in Ilokano, and to some extent in Tagalog.

[10] More than 150 Ilokano loanwords of Spanish origin are found in Reid (1976).

[11] In Guinaang Bontok, /ʔas/ is a locative preposition.

Loanwords from Ilokano now permeate the language, with loanwords from Tagalog and English becoming more common. No longer are loanwords adapted to the old Bontok phonological system. The conditioning factors that formerly operated in the language have been lost, and former allophonic variants now function as distinct phonemes in the language, resulting in the phonological system shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Central Bontok Phonemic System in 2004

p	t		k̟	ʔ			
f		ts	k̟^{h}				
b	d		g		i	ɨ	u
m	n		ŋ			e o	
	s	(ʂ)		h		a	
	l						
	r				V́ (Vowel stress)		
w	y						

Typically, distinct phonemes in a language can be demonstrated by the existence of minimal pairs. Thus, /l/ and /r/ can be shown to be separate phonemes in English because of the presence of pairs of words, such as *led* and *red* in which the difference in meaning is signaled only by the difference in the pronunciation of the first sound in the words. Where two words differ in the pronunciation of only a single segment in the same position of the word, but the meaning of the word does not change, the alternating segments are not generally considered to be separate phonemes in the language; they are considered to be allophones of the same phoneme, in free variation. Speakers are generally unaware of the differences in pronunciation, and freely alternate between one allophone and the other. Although in Guinaang, there are few if any minimal pairs to demonstrate the phonemic nature of what were formerly allophones, speakers are quite conscious of the differences in the sounds, and conscious choices are made between them. The use of the voiced stop variants in prevocalic positions in a word marks a speaker as being able to speak Ilokano, as having been to school, and in many cases as having lived and worked in an Ilokano-speaking community.

All of the examples of borrowings in the following Tables are taken from three short stories written at my request by two sisters from Guinaang,[12] to provide me with samples of today's language typically used by young people in the village. Examples of borrowings which demonstrate the prevocalic use of voiced stops are given in (7) – (9).

[12] Susan and Antonette Catay, aged 17 and 22 years of age respectively, both with high school education.

(7) Examples of Guinaang Bontok prevocalic [b]

Guinaang	**Ilokano**		
bigla	biglá		‘suddenly’
sakbay	sakbáy		‘before’
baka	baká	(also Tag.)	‘perhaps’
laban	lában	(also Tag.)	‘fight, quarrel’
baryo	barrio	(Sp. barrio)	‘village’
ebedensiya	ebidénsia	(Sp. ebidénsia)	‘evidence’
imbita	imbíta, imbitár	(Sp. invitar)	‘invite’
grabe	grábe	(Sp. grave)	‘serious’
sulbar	solbár	(Eng. solve)	‘solve’

(8) Examples of Guinaang Bontok prevocalic [d]

Guinaang	**Ilokano**		
napadas	padasen		‘to try, attempt; test’
dakkel	dakkél		‘big, large; great’
indanon	dánon		‘reach’
mo di ket	no di ket		‘but rather’
umad-adayo	adayó		‘far, distant’
Diyos	diós	(Sp. diós)	‘god’
sigurado	sigurádo	(Sp. segurado)	‘sure’
trabahodor	trabahadór	(Sp. trabajador)	‘worker’
ebedensiya	ebidénsia	(Sp. ebidénsia)	‘evidence’
doblien	dublí	(Sp. doble)	‘double’
disiplina	disiplína	(Sp. disciplina)	‘discipline’
dismaya	dismayá	(Sp. desmayar)	‘upset, distress’

(9) Examples of Guinaang Bontok prevocalic [g]

Guinaang	**Ilokano**		
garod	garúd		‘so, then’
igid	ígid		‘edge, border’
narigat	narigat		‘difficult, hard’
pinanggarop	ipagarup		‘to guess; suppose’
ninrugian	rugian		‘to begin, start’
talaga	talagá	(also Tag)	‘really, truly’
sigurado	sigurádo	(Sp. segurado)	‘sure’
grabe	grábe	(Sp. grave)	‘serious’

Examples are provided in (10) and (11) which illustrate the loss of the old conditioning factors for variants of the /l/ phoneme.

(10) Examples of Guinaang Bontok [ɪ] adjacent to [i], or an apical consonant

Guinaang	**Ilokano**		
narikna	marikna		‘to feel; perceive’
rinamanan	ramanan		‘taste; experience’
narigat	narigat		‘difficult, hard’
nenrugian	rugian		‘to begin, start’
pabrika	pábrika	(Sp. fábrica)	‘factory’
resulta	resúlta	(Sp. resulta)	‘result; consequence’
istoriya	istória	(Sp. historia)	‘story’
irespito	respéto	(Sp. respeto)	‘respect’
parehas	parého	(Sp. parejo)	‘same, similar, equal’
regalo	regálo	(Sp. regalo)	‘gift, present’
inreport	report	(Eng)	‘report’
parents	-------	(Eng)	‘parents’
marecall	-------	(Eng)	‘recall’
maremember	-------	(Eng)	‘remember’
restauran	-------	(Eng)	‘restaurant’

(11) Examples of Guinaang Bontok [l] not adjacent to [i], or an apical consonant

Guinaang	**Ilokano**		
dakkel	dakkél		‘big, large’
nangsulbar	solbár		‘to solve’
katulong	túlong		‘helper’
manglaban	lában	(also Tag.)	‘fight, quarrel’
alahas	aláhas	(Sp. alajas)	‘jewels’
solusyon	-------	(Eng)	‘solution’

In section 2.3 above, I discussed the two allophones of /s/ in pre-1960 Bontok phonology. Because of the similarity in pronunciation between the voiceless alveolar retroflexed grooved fricative [ʂ] and the English voiceless palatal fricative [ʃ], which children learn to write in school with the digraph *sh*, young people today are now aware of the distinction between the two variants, always writing Bontok /s/ as *s* when adjacent to /i/, and typically writing it as *sh* when adjacent to other vowels. Although the latter representation is common, the retroflexed variant is not as carefully distinguished in writing from the alveolar variant as, for example, the stop and lateral variants are. I therefore consider that these sibilant sounds are not yet fully established as distinct phonemes in the language, and so represent [ʂ] in Table 2 in parentheses. The examples in (12) are taken from the young people’s written language.

(12) Representation of Guinaang Bontok /s/ in 2004

Words with [s] adjacent to [i]		**Words with [ʂ] non-adjacent to [i]**	
si	‘personal noun marker’	karsha	‘road’
isang	‘one’	oshto	‘enough’
ebedensiya	‘evidence’	shungit	‘anger’
siya	‘he/she’	karofasha	‘squash’
sigurado	‘surely’	mashayangan	‘wasteful’
matiis	‘to bear, tolerate’	mar-osh	‘pass by’
dismaya	‘distress’	akhesh	‘also’

Finally, the new phonology contains an /h/ phoneme that was not present in the old phonology. While in some dialects of the Bontok language, such as that spoken in Mainit only a few kilometers north of Guinaang, a regular, unconditioned sound change has occurred by which Proto-Cordilleran *s has become /h/, in Guinaang dialect it is only in recent years that /h/ has become part of the phonology, and in all instances it is the result of borrowings, typically of Spanish loans via Tagalog and/or Ilokano, and English as illustrated in (13).

(13) Examples of Guinaang Bontok /h/ in 2004

Guinaang		
pamasahe	(Tag.)	‘fare’
tauhan	(Tag.)	‘followers’
hotel	(Eng.)	‘hotel’
alahas	(Sp. alajas)	‘jewels’
parehas	(Sp. pareja)	‘same’
trabahodor	(Sp. trabajador)	‘worker’

4. Conclusion

This paper has described changes that have taken place in the phonological system of Guinaang Bontok over the last half century. These are mostly the result of extensive lexical borrowings, typically Spanish forms that have been incorporated into the lexicon of Ilokano and Tagalog and which in recent years have been borrowed also into the lexicon of Bontok. These borrowings have resulted in loss of the conditioning factors for several of the allophonic variants of the inherited phonemes and established them as separate phonemes in the language. In addition, an awareness of the phonology of English because of the educational policies being implemented in the local schools, has made residents of the Bontok communities conscious of the allophonic variants of inherited phonemes, to the degree that they now typically represent them in writing, and to all intents and purposes have internalized them as separate phonemes in their phonological system.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988:83) characterize various degrees of interference through borrowing. Guinaang Bontok appears to fit the borrowing scale labeled as ‘Intense Contact with Moderate Structural Borrowing.’ In this paper we do not have the space to do more than outline the range of structural changes that are taking place in the language as a result of the contact. They include introduction of new adpositions, significant changes in the morphology of verbs, copying of Ilokano aspectual marking (co-occurring in some instances with inherited aspectual marking), calquing of Tagalog syntactic structures, and borrowing of both Ilokano and Tagalog adverbial forms. These changes will be discussed in a future paper.

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