

5 CLASSIFIERS IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES*

Cecilio Lopez, 'Classifiers in Philippine languages', *The Philippine Journal of Science* 96(1): 1-7 (1967).

IN HIS ARTICLE "India as a linguistic area" *Language* 32 (1956) 10-11, M.B. Emeneau presents "in detail manner a matter which has not been noticed before. . . This is the use of 'classifiers' or 'quantifiers'. In constructions marked by these, when a noun is numerated by means of a numeral or a similar word, the construction contains also one of a smallish class of words or morphemes which we can call by either of these terms. The term classifier indicates that there are as many classes of nouns as there are classifiers; the term 'quantifier' indicates that in the numeration of nouns there is always specification of the type of units by which the species indicated by the noun is counted. The units indicated are of various kinds, either measured units of nondiscrete entities (e.g., a quart of liquid, an acre of land) or discrete entities as classed by various criteria (e.g., human vs. animal, animate vs. nonanimate, long and thin vs. flat and thin vs. spherical). Such quantifiers are, to be sure, used in probably all languages . . . the languages under discussion at the moment and a few others are not those in which only nouns denoting nondiscrete entities and a few others are classified and quantified, but those in which all or nearly all nouns are treated thus. Conspicuous as having such systems are Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Khmer, Thai, Burmese and Malay."

"The existence of classificatory systems in some of the languages of India has hardly been noted and is, as a matter of fact, difficult to get information on."

In the Philippine languages, to be sure, there are words which indicate measured units of nondiscrete entities. There are, likewise, a small number of words which indicate that in the enumeration of certain nouns there is specification of the type of

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units by which the species indicated by the noun is counted. In this paper I label these words 'classifiers', a subject which, as far as I know, has never been studied before.

The canonical structure of the phrase where the classifier occurs may be postulated as follows:

$$n \pm \text{lig.} + (ka-) \text{ Cl} \pm \text{lig.} + N,$$

where *n* stands for the numeral, *lig.* for the ligature, (*ka-*) facultative before *Cl*, which stands for the classifier, and *N* for the noun.

The languages examined are Tagalog (Tag., my idiolect), Sebu (Seb., Cebu City), Iloko (Ilk., Narvacan, Ilocos Sur), Bikol (Bkl., Irosin, Sorsogon), Samar-Leyte (Sam.-Ley., Carigara, Leyte), Pangasinan (Png., Manaoag, Pangasinan), Pampanga (Pmp., Mexico, Pampanga), Ibanag (Ibg., Ilagan, Isabela), Sambales (Sbl., Botolan, Zambales), and Taosug (Tao., Jolo, Sulu).¹

The phrase structure in each language has the following shape:

Tag. *n* + *lig.* for conjunctive attribution (conj. attr.) *na* / *-ng* + *Cl* + *lig.* for conj. attr. or for disjunctive (disj. attr.) *nang* + *N*.

Seb. *n* + $\emptyset$ *lig.* + *ka-Cl* + *lig.* for conj. attr. *nga* (rarely for disj. attr. *sa*) + *N*.

Ilk. *n* ± *lig.* for conj. attr. *-ng* (rarely the alternant *nga*) + *ka-Cl* (sometimes without *ka-*) + *lig.* for conj. attr. *a* + *N*.

The *lig.* for conj. attr. *-ng* is automatic when the *n* is *sa*, the clipped form of *maysa* 'one'. With *n* other than *sa*, the *lig.* is $\emptyset$.

Bkl. *n* ± *lig.* for conj. attr. *na* + *ka-Cl* + *lig.* for conj. attr. in free variation with the *lig.* for disj. attr. *san* + *N*.

The *lig.* for conj. attr. *na* alternates with *ka-*, that is, when *na* is used *ka-* is not, and vice versa, when *ka-* is used *na* is not. In Appendix B *ka-* is enclosed in parenthesis. Unique are *manada san karabaw*² (12) and *ulu san baka* (21) where *na* is obligatory before *manada* and *ulu*, and *ka-* never alternates with it.

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² The acute accent over a vowel indicates stress on the syllable. When the stress falls on the syllable before the last, the acute accent is not used.

Sam-Ley. $n + \emptyset$ lig. + *ka*-Cl + lig. for conj. attr. *nga* or lig. for disj. attr. *hin* + N.

Unique is *butúk nga sakati* (1) where the Cl takes no *ka*-.

Png. $n \pm$ lig. for conj. attr. $a / ya \pm ka$ -Cl + lig. for conj. attr. a or disj. attr. *na* + N.

When n is followed by the lig., Cl takes no *ka*- and when n is not followed by the lig. Cl takes *ka*-. As an alternant of the *n* *sakey* 'one', *sa* is used followed by (-*ng*); *sakey* is generally followed by the lig. but *sa* + (-*ng*) is not. A variant of *sa* + (-*ng*) is *sa* (-*ng*) + *ka*- meaning 'muchness'.

Pmp. $n +$ lig. for conj. attr. $a / -ng + ka$ -Cl + $\emptyset$ lig., or lig. for conj. attr. or (rarely) for disj. attr. *ning* + N.

Ibg. $n + \emptyset$ lig. + Cl + lig. for conj. attr. *nga / na* (with automatic morphophonemic change) or lig. for disj. attr. *tu* + N.

Sbl. $n +$ lig. for conj. attr. -*y* (shortened alternant of *ya*) + Cl + lig. for conj. attr. *ya* in free variation with the lig. for disj. attr. *nin* + N.

Tao. $n \pm$ lig. for conj. attr. -*ng* $\pm ka$ -Cl + $\emptyset$ lig. + N.

Except for the n *ha* 'one' and *walo* 'eights', the lig. after the n is $\emptyset$.

INTERPRETATION

I. Constituent analysis reveals the following structure of the languages:

I. Constituent analysis reveals the following structure of the Sam-Ley. (except 1), facultative in Ilk., Bkl., Png. and Pmp. and does not occur in the other languages. Where *ka*- occurs the lig. between n and Cl is $\emptyset$ in Seb., Bkl. and Sam-Ley. and in Ilk. and Pmp. the lig. is for conj. attr.

It might be mentioned here in passing that in Tag. certain constructions occur in free variation where n modifies N, without the Cl, like $n +$ lig. for conj. attr. + N, $n + \emptyset$ lig. + *ka*-N and $n +$ lig. for conj. attr. + *ka*-N, e.g., *dalarwáng tao / dalawá katao / dalawáng katao* 'two persons'.

2. Where *ka*- does not occur the lig. for conj. attr. is used in Ilk., Bkl., Png., Pmp., and Sbl., and the lig. is $\emptyset$ in Ibg.

3. There is always a lig. between Cl and N, either for conj. attr. or disj. attr. in Tag., Seb., Bkl., Sam-Ley., Png. and Ibg., for conj. attr. in Ilk. and for conj. attr. and disj. attr. in free variation in Bkl. and Sbl. In Pmp. it is either $\emptyset$ or either one of the two attributes.

4. Unique is Tao., with $\emptyset$ lig between Cl and N.

5. Where the lig. for conj. attr. alternates with the lig. for disj. attr., the Cl "generalizes" the N in the former and "specifies" in the latter.

II. "Specialized" and "transferred" Cl's.

1. Some Cl's are so specialized in the domain they cover that they occur only with the N they classify and because of this specialization they can occur unambiguously without the N. Other Cl's are transferred in the sense that they cover a wide domain and cannot occur without the N they classify because their basic meaning does not always refer to the N, and when they are used without the N they may be ambiguous.

2. Some selected specialized Cl's (numbers in parenthesis after the Cl's correspond to the numbers in the Appendix B) are Tag. *katay* (10), *pukyan* (14), *tangkás* (19), Seb. *lusók*, (8) *pundók* (20), Ilk. *dawis* (10), *singay* (14), Bkl. *putus* (6), *sapad* (13), Sam-Ley. *upung* (6), Png. *munél* (9), *sapár* (13), Pmp. *piling* (13), Ibg. *ringi* (2), *kaddáng* (4), Sbl. *bagaybáy* (2), Tao. *sulag* (8).

Highly specialized Cl's occur in Ilk. For 7 *karaqáy* is used for the smallest bundle, *karéppét* for medium sized and *kakarandóng* for the big bundle. For 14 *kasingay* is used for a bundle consisting of ten ears of corn and *kapungo* for two *kasingay* or a bundle of twenty ears of corn.

3. Some selected transferred Cl's are Tag. *taliq* (18), *ulo* (21), Seb. *bugkos* (1), Ilk. *pugqóng* (16), Pmp. *tumpúk* (20), Ibg. *ulú* (21), Sbl. *punpún* (15), Tao. *putós* (4). The majority, if not all, of the transferred Cl's are reflexes of PMP forms.

III. Differences due to culture traits and practices.

Because of differences in culture traits and practices, equivalents are not always found in all the languages. With Tag. as basis, equivalents which do not occur are some such items (short equivalents in English are given followed by numbers in parenthesis in Appendix A) as 'bunch' (19) in Seb., 'bundle' (1), 'bouquet' (15), 'roll' (17), 'bunch' (19) in Ilk., 'bundle' (1), 'school' (11) in Bkl., 'bunch' (10), 'school' (11), 'bundle' (14), 'roll' (16), in Sam-Ley., 'bunch' (2), 'bundle' (5), 'bundle' (6), 'bundle' (7), 'school' (11), 'roll' (16), 'roll' (17), 'head' (21) in Png., 'bunch' (10) in Pmp., 'school' (11), 'herd' (12), 'bouquet' (15), 'roll' (16), 'roll' (17), 'bunch' (19) in Ibg., 'bundle' (7), 'school' (11), 'herd' (12), 'bunch' (19) in Sbl., 'bundle' (6), 'bouquet' (15) in Tao. The absence of some equivalents are due to certain other reasons. In Ilk. roasted corn cooked in thick syrup is differently prepared from Tag., and not for commercial purpose, that 3 and 4 are not known. According to the informant in Bkl. horses are not raised in her town so there is simply no equivalent for 1. Other items are unknown in the other languages.

Appendix A, which is the list of phrases in Tagalog with the descriptive equivalents in English, serves as the guide to Appendix B, which is the list of the corresponding equivalents in the languages compared. The lists are not exhaustive, and only the Cl $\pm$ lig. + N is given in both; *q* represents the glottal stop, *ng* the velar nasal.

APPENDIX A

Tagalog	English
1. atado nang barit	bundle (usually a handful) of green fodder tied at the cut end with grass
2. bagaybáy nang bunga	bunch of areca nuts (<i>Areca catechu</i>)
3. baníg nang ampáw	preparation of roasted corn cooked in syrup (whole preparation is poured while hot on a low table and flattened by rolling over it a cylindrical object, usually an internode of a species of thick-walled bamboo)
4. bastá nang ampáw	bundle of 3, after this has been cut into squares, about ten-inch

Tagalog	Cebu	Iloko	Bikol
1. atado nang ¹ barit	kabugkos nga kumpáy		
2. bagaybáy nang bunga	kapungpung nga bunga	karaqáy a bwa	(ka)rawung san ⁴ bunga
3. baníg nang ampáw			
4. bastá nang ampáw			
5. bigkís nang pawid	kabugkos nga pawod		(ka)butúk san nipa ⁵
6. bulubod nang punlák	kabugkos ² nga binhí	kakêrkêr a bunubun	(ka)putus san dalugi
7. bungkos nang singkamás	kabugkos nga singkamás	karaqáy a singkamás	(ka)butúk san singkamás
8. butil nang bawang	kalusók sa ahos	kangipên a bawang	(ka)lisu ⁶ san bawang
9. buwig nang saging	kabulig nga saging	bulig sa sabá	(ka)bulig san saging
10. katay nang isdák	katuhog nga isda	kadawis a ikán	(ka)tuhug san isdaq
11. kawan nang isdák	kaduqót sa isdák		
12. manada nang karabáw	kapanón sa karabáw	arbán ³ a nuwáng	sanada san karabáw
13. píling nang saging	kasipiq nga saging	sapad a sabá	(ka)sapad san saging
14. pukyan nang maís	kapingkit nga maís	singay a maís	(ka)butúk san maqís
15. pungpóng nang bulaklák	kapungpong nga bulak		(ka)rangkúy ⁷ san burak
16. pusód nang bawang	kabugkos nga ahos	kapungqóng a bawang	(ka)rulyu san bawang
17. sukong nang yantók	kabugkos nga uwáy		(ka)butúk san uwáy
18. tali nang kamote	kabugkos nga udlót ('leaf') sa kamote	karêppêt a kamote	(ka)butúk san ugbús ('leaf') kamuti
19. tangkás nang ikmó			(ka)atadu san buyuq
20. tumpók nang sampalok	kapundók sambág	kaqatáy a salamagi	(ka)atadu ⁸ san sampalok
21. ulo nang baka	ulo sa baka	ipus a baka	ulu san baka

¹In 1, 12, 18 and 21-*ng* alternates with *nang*; ²or *kabutók*; ³also used for mass noun with *san* in all cases; ⁵or *paqwud*; ⁶or *pisúg*; ⁷or *rakúy*; ⁸or *atadu*; ⁹or *kapayung*; phonemic change, sandhi in 6, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 18, 20 and 21; ¹⁷*takêl* alternates with *pi*

APPENDIX B

	Iloko	Bikol	Sam-Ley.	Pangasinan	Pampangan	Ibanag	Sambales	Taosug
s nga áy ung unga	karaqáy a bwa	(ka)rawung san ⁴ bunga	butúk nga sakati karawug ⁹ nga bunga	balkót ¹¹ a ¹² diká	kaptás (a) barit kapungol a bungang areka	ringí nga vua	pêtêh ¹⁷ nin ¹⁸ barit bagaybáy nin bunga	kabutók sagbut kapungod bunggaq
s nga s ² nga s nga más sa nga nga sa	kakêrkêr a bunubun karaqáy a singkamás kangipên a bawang bulíg sa sabá kadawis a ikán	(ka)butúk san nipaq ⁵ (ka)putus san dalugi (ka)butúk san singkamás (ka)lisu ⁶ san bawang (ka)bulig san saging (ka)tuhug san isdaq	kabutúk nga ¹⁰ pawud kaupung nga gani kabutúk nga singkamás kalisu nga lasuná kabulig nga saging	ngipên na bawang munél a punte dêyêng a ¹³ ikan	kaptás a pinawd kaptás punla kaptás sikamás kabutíl bawang kabuling saging grupung asán grupung damulag	kaddáng nga ampáw futúq tu pinóg semilya nap ¹⁶ palay kaddáng nga singkamás aggáq naq qafus tapág nad dupóq kaddáng nas sirá	pêtêh nin dalakêrêk pêtêh nin pawed pêtêh nin kamá butil nin bawang buuy ¹⁹ nin haqa halulúy nin ikán grupo nin ikán	putos ampaw kabutók atup nipa pungod singkamás kasulag bawang puti ('white') bulig saying katuhog istáq kabaqanan istáq
sa aw nga it nga ong ulak s nga s nga s nga (‘leaf’) note k g baka	arbán ³ a nuwáng sapid a sabá singay a maís kapungqóng a bawang karêppêt a kamote kaqatáy a salamagi ipus a baka	sanada san karabáw (ka)sapid san saging (ka)butúk san maqís (ka)rangkúy ⁷ san burak (ka)rulyu san bawang (ka)butúk san uwáy (ka)butúk san ugbús (‘leaf’) kamuti (ka)atadu san buyuq (ka)atadu ⁸ san sampalok ulu san baka	kanapún nga karabáw kasipiq nga saging kaurapung nga bukád kabutúk nga uwáy kabutúk nga kamuti kabutúk nga buyuq kapunduk nga tamarindo kabuqúk nga baka	sapár a punté balibal a ¹⁴ mais kumpóg a rosas balkót a bulúng (‘leaf’) na kamote salansán ¹⁵ na lawér atado na salumagi	kapiling saging kaptás pusung (pusuq ‘car’) maís kapungul a bulaklák kaptás bawang sukung ning yantók kaptás bulúng (‘leaf’) kamuti kapiling luyus tumpúk ning sampalok ulung baka	tapág nad dupóq futúq nam mangiq vuntúl nak kalamagi ulú nab baka	pêtêh nin maqi punpún nin bulaklák pêtêh nin bawang hukung nin lawí pêtêh nin bulung (‘leaf’) kamuti tumpuk nin sampalók ulo nin bakaq	kasipi saying sulag gandom kapungod bawang puti ('white') kabutok uway hutok dahong (dahon ‘leaf’) panggi kahoy uu ²¹ sapi

alternates with nang; ²or kabutók; ³also used for mass nouns, fish and other four-footed animals in which case it is preceded by the marker for substantives and not by n; ⁴na in free variation; ⁵or pisúg; ⁶or rakúy; ⁷or atadu; ⁸or kapayungyung; ⁹In 5, 7, 8, 9, 13, 17, 18 and 20 hin alternates with nga. ¹¹or bêrbêr; ¹²or na; ¹³or na; ¹⁴or ya; ¹⁵or kasalansán; ¹⁶Note morpho-; 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 18, 20 and 21; ¹⁷takêl alternates with pêtêh in all cases where this occurs; ¹⁸ya in free variation with nin in all cases where this occurs; ¹⁹uu is long; ²⁰aa is long; ²¹uu is long u.

squares, a number of which are

NOMEN AGENTIS

MOD

		Modus realis	
Categories	Types	Praeteritum	Praesens
Procedure Activity	internum	um-(-um-)	um- + Red.
	externum	nag-	nag- + Red.
Occurrence Event	circumstanciale spontaneum	na- + Pnl. + Red.	na- + Pnl. +
		na-	ma- + Red.
Possibility	potentiale	nagká-	nagkáka-
Provocation	causativum	naka-, nakapag-, napa-	naka- + Red., nakapapag-, napapa-
Comprehension	collectivum	nagpa-	nagpapa-
Participation	sociale	nagka-	nagkaka-
Suddenness	subitaneum	naki-	nakiki-
Involuntary	involuntarium	nagpati-, napati-	nagpapati-, napapati-
Plural	plurale	nagkang-	nagkakang-
Superlative	superlativum	nagsi-	nagsisi-
Imitatory	imitator	nagpaka-	nagpapaka-
		nagsa-	nagsasa-

TABLE I

OMEN AGENTIS		MODUS AND TEMPUS				NOMEN	
Types		Modus realis		Modus imaginationis		Agendi	Substantivum
		Praeteritum	Praesens	Futurum	Hortativum		
internum externum		um-(-um-) nag- na- + Pnl. + Red.	um- + Red. nag- + Red. na- + Pnl. + Red.	Red. mag- + Red., ma- + Pnl. + Red.	um-(-um-) mag-, ma- + Pnl.	pag-, pa- + Pnl. + Red.	mag- + Red.
circumstanciale spontaneum		na- nagká-	ma- + Red. nagkáka-	ma- + Red. magkáka-	ma- magká-	pagka-, pagka- + Red. of ka-	
potentiale		naka-, nakapag-, napa- nagpa-	naka- + Red., nakapapag-, napapa- nagpapa-	maka- + Red., makapapag-, mapapa- magpapa-	maka-, makapag-, mapa- magpa-	pagpa- + Red. of pa-	
causativum		nagka-	nagkaka-	magkaka-	magka-	pagka- + Red. of ka-	
collectivum		naki-	nakiki-	makiki-	maki-	paki- + Red. of ki-	ka-
subitaneum		nagpati-, napati- nagkang- nagsi- nagpaka-	nagpapati-, napapati- nagkakang- nagsisi- nagpapaka-	magpapati-, mapapati- magkakang- magsisi- magpapaka-	magpati-, mapati- magkang- magsi- magpaka-	pagpati- + Red. of pa- pagkang- + Red.	
involuntarium plurale superlativum						pagpaka- + Red. of pa-	
imitator		nagsa-	nagsasa-	magsasa-	magsa-	pagsa- + Red.	

squares, a number of which are

Nomen actionis in Praeteritum	GENUINE		
	Simplex	Loci	Complex
externum	in-(-in-), pinag-, pina-	in-....-an, pinag-....-an, pina- + Pnl. + -an	i-, in-, ipinag-, ipina- + Pnl.
spontaneum			
potentiale		kina-....-an, pinagka-....-an	ikina-, ipinagka-
causativum collectivum sociale	pina- pinaki-	pina-....-an, pinaki-....-an	ipina- ipinaki-

Pronomina personalia			As S. and P.
Number	Person		Independent
Singular	{	1.	akó
		2.	ikáw
		3.	siyá
Dual		1. inclusive	kitá, katá
Plural	{	1. inclusive	tayo
		1. exclusive	kamí
		2. 3.	kayó silá

TABLE II

GENUINE			PSEUDO		NOMEN		
Simplex	Loci	Complex	Simplex	Loci	Agentis	Agendi	Substantivum
in-(-in-), pinag-, pina-	in-....-an, pinag-....-an, pina- + Pnl. + -an	i-, in-, ipinag-, ipina- + Pnl.	na-, napag-	na-....-an, napag-....-an	nag-	pag-, pa- + Pnl + Red.	mag- + Red.
pina-	kina-....-an, pinagka-....-an, pina-....-an,	ikina-, ipinagka- ipina-		nagka-....-an	nagka- naka-	pagka-	
pinaki-	pinaki-....-an	ipinaki-			nagka-	pa- paki-	

TABLE III

Pronomina personalia		As S. and P.	Only as S.	As attribute		As locative
Number	Person	Independent	Enclitic	Independent	Enclitic	Independent
Singular	1.	akó	ka siyá	akin	ko	sa akin
	2.	ikáw		iyó	mo	sa iyó
	3.	siyá		kaniyá	niyá	sa kaniyá
Dual	1. inclusive	kitá, katá		kanitá, kanatá	ta	sa kanitá, sa kanatá
Plural	1. inclusive	tayo		atin	natin	sa atin
	1. exclusive	kamí		amin	namin	sa amin
	2.	kayó		inyó	ninyó	sa inyó
	3.	silá		kanilá	nilá	sa kanilá

- squares, a number of which are wrapped in dry banana leaves and bundled together, sometimes about one meter high
5. bigkís¹ nang pawid bundle of nipa shingles for thatching
 6. bulubod nang punlág bundle (usually a handful) of rice seedlings gathered from the seed-bed for transplanting in the field
 7. bungkós nang singkamás bundle of *singkamás* a climbing herbaceous plant with edible turniplike watery tuber, *Pachyrrhizus erosus*) with the stem tied together
 8. butil nang bawang clover of garlic
 9. buwíg nang saging bunch of bananas (the whole stem with the fruits)
 10. katay nang isdág bunch of fish tied together with a small and thin strip of rattan or bamboo piercing the gills
 11. kawan² nang isdág school of fish
 12. manad³ nang kalabáw herd of carabaos
 13. píling nang saging "hand" (as part of a bunch) of bananas
 14. pukyán nang maqís bundle of ears of corn with the leaves pulled up and tied together
 15. pungpóng nang bulaklák bouquet
 16. pusód nang bawang roll of garlic (in the stems)
 17. sukong nang yantók roll of strips of rattan (used for lattice work of beds and chairs)
 18. tali⁴ nang kamote bundle (of shoots or young leaves) of sweet potato, *Ipomea batatas*
 19. tangkás nang ikmó bunch, "hand," of betel leaves (for chewing)
 20. tumpók⁵ nang sampalok small heap of tamarind fruits
 21. ulo⁶ nang baka head of cattle

¹also for such things like firewood, sugar cane; ²also for people, as group or crowd; ³also for cattle, horses and other big four-footed animals; ⁴also for young leaves of other plants, for string beans; ⁵also for other fruits, usually used for seasoning, for small shrimps, fish; ⁶also for carabaos, horses and other big four-footed animals.