

# STUDIES ON PHILIPPINE MINOR LANGUAGES

Proceedings of the Third Philippine Linguistics Congress  
held on May 31 - June 2, 1983 at the  
University of the Philippines, Quezon City

Edited by  
Consuelo J. Paz  
Anicia del Corro

A Publication of the  
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## Introduction

More than 80% of the Philippine languages are considered minor. What are the criteria to consider them as such? What is the nature of the studies that have been done on them? Are these languages considered at all in language planning for the nation?

These are some of the questions that this volume intends to answer, and in so doing, focus attention on Philippine minor languages, an aspect in Philippine linguistics which Philippine linguists have often neglected.

The articles are arranged from the general to the more specific in scope, geographically moving from the north to the southern part of the Philippines. Bonifacio Sibayan sets the perspective for this compilation with a general discussion of Philippine minor languages with reference to language planning. Each article has an original input into the field and more specially so for Jan Tan's study of Yadasen nouns and Tsunekazu Moriguchi's preliminary report on Karao, languages which have not been studied before and find print for the first time in this volume.

The paper of Consuelo Paz is valuable for the exhaustive listing and annotation of the early works on the Philippine minor languages. It should save a researcher much effort in searching for reference materials on these languages.

Antoon Postma, for Mindoro minor languages and Pedro Guasa for Bukidnon, present a survey and sociolinguistic analysis related to the use of these minor languages.



Yukihiro Yamada presents a structural analysis of Itbayat folktales, with the text included. A stress on semantic considerations is evident in Ernesto Cubar's study of functional shift in borrowed words from noun to verb, and Elmer Wolfenden's study of verb aspect in Masbateno discourse.

Evan Antworth's study of the correspondence of Proto-Austronesian phonemes as reflected in Sambal dialects is the only diachronic study in this volume.

Purita Quidlat uses the tagmemic model in the study on Higa-onon phrase structure. And Ernesto Constantino discusses a controversial issue in Philippine languages - the subject, predicate and focus, with application to Isinay.

It is my hope that this volume would be a start to a growing concern for Philippine minor languages.

A. del Corro



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## PHILIPPINE MINOR LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE PLANNING

BONIFACIO P. SIBAYAN

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It is a pleasure and a privilege to talk before you today to discuss the subject of Philippine minor languages and language planning (LP). I am specially pleased to have been invited because of my being considered a son of Kankana-ey speaking peoples. I am proud of my minority language background. It has made my life richer. I look back with a great deal of happiness to the mountain provinces and the people who speak their minor languages.

When we speak of minor languages (ML), I suggest that the focus be on the people who speak them. Such a concern for minor languages is a manifestation of our concern for the people who speak them. This will give us the proper perspective or at least a much better view when we talk of LP involving minor Philippine languages. It is appropriate that the theme of this Congress is the Philippine minor languages and the Filipino. Allow me to congratulate the organizers of this congress for the choice of the theme.

It is a good idea if we try, at the outset, to understand what we mean by language planning. In its broadest sense, LP is what a people do or what a nation does with language or languages. We may treat language as a resource, one of the most important resources. However, in LP the presence of too many minor languages may become a problem or a burden.



LP may be well-planned, well-financed, and pursued with vigor. LP may be engaged in by government through its legislature, its executive branch, and supported by the judiciary. LP may also be under the auspices of a private organization, a group, or by individuals.

We may look at Philippine minor languages in a negative way: any Philippine language that is not Cebuano, Tagalog, Ilocano, Hiligaynon, Waray, Kapampangan, Bikol, or Pangasinan is a minor language. You will please note at once that all major Philippine languages are spoken by Christian Filipinos. These constitute approximately 85 to 90% of the total Philippine population (1975 census). One of the main characteristics of a minor Philippine language is that it is spoken by less than 700,000 people (1975 figures). Another characteristic is that it does not have an extensive written literature.

Aside from the foregoing characteristics, what is the most important difference between a major Philippine language and a minor one? In my opinion, the most important difference is in how the government and other people treat the speakers of the minor language: the speakers of major languages have many advantages. For example, when the government translates important official documents into the Philippine languages other than Pilipino, the major languages get top priority. The Surian ng Wikang Pambansa translates many documents and papers for dissemination into the more important Philippine languages; never in very minor Philippine languages.

In the language of the common people and in Pilipino: "kawawa naman



ang mga speakers ng minor languages". They never seem to count in most planning, including LP.

This kind of treatment, of course, is not unfamiliar. The big and the powerful always have the best of everything. Most plans are for the 85-90% speakers of major languages. The possible exception to this are those in the Muslim areas but this is not due to the language they speak as we all know.

One of the most important difficulties that we face in treating minor Philippine Languages in LP is the lack of accurate information on ML on such important matters as 1) number of speakers, 2) where they live, 3) whether they want their languages maintained or are abandoning them in favor of a regional or local lingua franca (for example, many speakers of languages in the mountain provinces speak Iloko), 4) the kind of support both from government and the people themselves in "propagating" the language, for example the kind of literature that may be available in these languages.

The major sources of information on minor languages (as well as major languages) are the 1) official census taken by the Philippine government and 2) the work of linguistic scholars. As McFarland has pointed out (1980:8-9) the census figures are inaccurate for a number of reasons among the most important of which are 1) the people responding may not really know what is being asked or they may be giving different names for the same language or vice versa and 2) census takers are not really that informed on languages and (3) many speakers of minor languages are missed



by census takers because they live in remote communities.

It is in the area of accuracy that scholars such as those in the Summer Institute of Linguistics and Ernesto Constantino and his associates at the UP, to give one very good example, are needed. There is therefore much work to do just on accuracy of information and other data on minor languages if we are to engage in LP for the people who speak them.

To give you an example in the accuracy or inaccuracy of data, I will give figures on two very important so-called minor languages: Maranao and Magindanao. The 1975 census puts the speakers for Maranao as 602,613 and Magindanao as 503,097. A 1981 figure given by Allen quoting figures by Parshall gives Maranao 670,000 (an increase of roughly 68,000 people in six years) whereas for Magindanao it is 674,000 or an increase of 171,000 persons or almost three times that of Maranao.

It seems to me that soon Maranao and Magindanao may have to be declared major languages, making ten major languages instead of only eight. This will be good for many reasons - at least two major languages are spoken by many who profess the Muslim faith.

The 1973 Philippine Constitution is supposed to be translated into languages that are spoken by at least 50,000 people. Inasmuch as the census figures would be the basis for determining the languages, the Constitution would be translated only in 27 minor languages with a total population of 4,997,023 (1975 census quoted in McFarland 1980:14-15). The constitution would not be available to speakers of 37 minor



languages with a population of 474,394 or about half a million people. If you count those that were not included in the "net" of the census, the number can be much bigger.

That may not be a big number but if you think of the fact that these are the people who live in the mountains, in the hills, they are important. We need to communicate with our people who live in the hills because in these troubled times, the hills are very very important.

In my opinion, one of the most fruitful ways of discussing LP especially with reference to minor Philippine languages is to discuss LP in terms of language domains. Some of the most important domains of language are

- the home
- the community
- religion
- education
- government
- the courts and the law
- business and industry
- science and technology
- mass communication
- the military
- entertainment

Historically, LP with the use of the Philippine languages may be said to have started in the domain of religion with the learning of



the Philippine languages (dialects in the literature) by the Spanish friars to teach the Christian doctrine to the inhabitants of the Philippines formerly called derisively as indios (the term Filipino having been reserved to refer to Spaniards born in the Philippines).

I have no data on how many and which Philippine languages were learned by the friars and which were used to teach Christianity. I suggest that a student of Philippine languages do this for a term paper.

This tradition of using the local languages in the domain of religion has continued in Philippine life. There are three traditions in this regard: that of the Catholic church which went from partial use of the local language to full use when the Vatican finally allowed the use of the vernaculars in the mass so that today, it is possible to say the entire mass and all other transactions in the local language; 2) earlier of course the Aglipayan church conducted their religious rites in the local language thus antedating the Catholics by more than half a century; 3) most of the Protestant religious denominations including the Iglesia ni Cristo have used the local languages; and finally 4) the scientific study of the minor languages exclusively to bring the Bible to speakers of these languages, the most important of which is that by the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Allow me to digress here a little regarding the work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. A recent visitor to the Philippines, Professor Conrad Brann of Nigeria, questioned the wisdom or advisability of translating the bible into a language that is spoken by as few as less than



a thousand people. I told him that while I am not aware of the rationale of the SIL, I personally and professionally consider their work important. In the process of such translations, the languages which face the possibility of extinction are recorded. The SIL work is therefore a contribution to scholarship. Another reason I gave is the availability of God's Word in the people's native languages it would mean more to them. I do not know whether this kind of justification satisfies those in the SIL but that is what I told Dr. Brann.

Let us now address ourselves to some of the most important LP activities with special reference to Philippine minor languages.

The first major language planning activity that involved the entire Philippines in this century was the decision to use the English language in the education of the Filipinos at the turn of the century. In this decision, all the Philippine languages were set aside, none considered fit for the education of Filipinos on a national scale.

The second event of the utmost importance was made in 1936 when the Institute of National Language was established for the primary purpose of building a national language. In this historic move a token statement was made implying a consideration of the minor languages in the following words: "The National Language Institute shall make a study of the Philippine dialects in general for the purpose of evolving and adopting a common national language. . ." (Commonwealth Act No. 184 approved Nov. 13, 1936: Section 5.) However, the minor languages were



ignored by the same law by providing that the INL would "...make a study and survey of each of the chief tongues of the Philippines at present spoken by at least half a million inhabitants." (CA 184: Section 5(1).) From the best accounts of what really took place, this was not even done. From that day on, the minor languages have received the scantest official attention in terms of LP.

It is in the domain of education that the minor languages have received the most attention in LP. Beginning in 1939 when the late Jorge Bocobo declared that the vernaculars may be used as an auxiliary medium of instruction, the various Philippine languages have attained more importance in the education of the child. Even in this regard, however, the minor Philippine languages have practically been ignored. When the Philippine government with the aid of the U.S. Agency for International Development printed books in the local language, only thirteen languages were used - the major languages plus five of the minor languages. This project was discontinued, however, when the money was all used up.

What may be considered the golden years of LP in education for the minor languages were the years from 1957 to 1974 when they were used as medium of instruction in the first two grades. There is no accurate data, however, on how many Philippine languages were actually used in the education of the child. A study on this subject would be good for a M.A. thesis or a doctoral dissertation if properly planned and undertaken in depth. Some student of language and education should



really "revisit" the use of Philippine languages during this golden period. Today the local language is relegated to the status of auxiliary medium of instruction in the first four grades.

While it may be true that linguistics has very little to say on the teaching of language, there is one thing that a knowledge of the structure and grammar of a language can do for teaching and teachers: the knowledge will make a teacher understand the difficulties of a student learning a second language because of his first language. If only for this understanding, which is so important in education, that is enough.

One cannot talk of the use of language in the education domain without saying something about the intellectualization of that language. The reason English is used in Philippine schools aside from the fact that it was imposed on us in the beginning is that it is only in English that we may be able to get a full education in any discipline or area of knowledge at present. This is where Pilipino falls short: it is not yet intellectualized in many domains of language; many of the most important disciplines are not available in Pilipino. Physics, chemistry, mathematics, the most important of the social sciences including linguistics, sociology, the law and others are not available in Pilipino. So that Pilipino may be used as the main language of instruction in Philippine schools it needs to be intellectualized as rapidly as possible.

It is clear that no minor Philippine language will ever be intellectualized. Most of those that have been reduced to writing will there-



fore be good only for the initial education of the child — for the child to learn his alphabet and the initial notions of numeracy and writing. After that, the minor language has to give way to a partially intellectualized language which has to be learned because of nationalism and national unity and to an intellectualized language for the higher mental processes. This is a sad fact but part of the reality of life that we have been confronted with for many years.

In the other language domains such as those of international business and industry, the courts and the law, science and technology, the minor languages will practically have no part. Because of this harsh fact, the speakers of minor languages are doomed to the use of an imposed language, English, for the higher mental activities and to a national language in which their language will hopefully play some part in its building.

In the meantime I reiterate that our knowledge and information on minor languages should be improved so that any kind of planning in which they have to play a part will be done on a more intelligent and much more humanitarian basis. I suggest that a Committee on the Study of Philippine Minor Languages be formed. Count me as an applicant for membership. The speakers of very minor languages are truly at a disadvantage: not only are their lands being taken away from them, but also their languages.

Because of this, scholars like you must study their languages and their lives so that if someday these languages will lose their last



speakers as what happened with some American Indian languages, we will have a record of them.

Finally, this perhaps is the most important matter regarding LP with people who speak minor languages: What is it that we or the government want to do with speakers of minor languages: 1) do we want them to come to the fold of so-called civilized society, or 2) should we just allow them to live their own lives the way they have always lived, free - not even paying taxes, not even building schools for them because the school as we conceive it and run it and use it may not be what they really want, or 3) shall we do something between these two extremes? If so, what should be done? If we are to bring the school to them and that seem to be the policy, what is it that should be taught to them in terms of language? If English is to be taught to them, should we not make it possible for them to really benefit from learning such a language? If it is Pilipino, how should it be done? These and a host of other questions must be answered when we deal with speakers of minor languages.

We must engage the best scholarship to help find answers to these questions.

To all students of Philippine minor languages I extend my appreciation and best wishes. For the opportunity to say these things I want to thank you very much. To Ernie Constantino, linguistic scholar and friend, and his associates at the University of the Philippines go my most fervent thanks.



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## MGA UNANG PAG-AARAL TUNGKOL SA MGA MAYNOR NA WIKA

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Malamang, dahil sa ang hilig ko ay ang pag-iiba ng wika, nalikita ko ang importansyang malaman kung anu-ano ang mga unang pag-aaral at impormasyon tungkol sa isang wika.

Sa mga unang pag-aaral, maaaring malaman ang mga istruktura o mga porra ng wika na maaaring nagbago na, lalo na sa istruktura ng tunog, ng mga salita, at ng kahulugan ng mga salita. Malalaman rin ang mga mahahalagang impormasyong historikal tungkol sa wika—kaylan nagkaroon ng mga pag-aaral tungkol sa wika at sino ang nag-abala tungkol rito. Lalong totoo ito sa mga wika ng mga minoritya o mga tinatawag na maynor na wika na karaniwang hindi nabibigyan ng marapat na pansin.

Nalalaman na ng karamihan na labis sa isang daan ang iba't ibang wika sa Pilipinas, at halos di mabilang ang mga dayalek o mga iba't ibang anyo ng mga wikang ito. Ayon kay E. Constantino, 1971, may pitongpung malaking etnikong grupo rito, batay sa wikang ginagamit nila. Ayon rin sa kanya, ang walong wika ng mga nakakarami'y Tagalog, Sebuano, Ilokano, Hiligaynon, Bikol, Waray, Kapampangan at Pangasinan. Kaya masasabing maynor na wika ang lahat liban sa kababanggit pa lamang.

Binatay ang papel na ito sa patuloy kong pagrereserts sa mga pag-aaral na nagawa na tungkol sa mga maynor na wika sa Pilipinas. Umabot na ako sa mga pag-aaral na naisagawa buhat noong panahon ng Kastila hanggang 1976. Pero para sa papel na ito, babanggitin ko lamang ang



mga unang pag-aaral ng mga wikang ito, kaylan man nagawa ito sa loob ng panahong nasabi ko. Bukod dito, tatalakayin ko rin kung anu-anong mga klaseng pag-aaral ang mga unang ginawa tungkol sa mga maynor na wika.

May ginawang pag-aaral si Howard McKaughan tungkol sa paksang ito, 1971, kung saan niya tinalakay ang mga pag-aaral na nagawa na tungkol sa mga wikang ito. Pero ang tinalakay niya ay ang mga ginawa kamakaylan lamang. Meron ring pag-aaral si Laurence Reid na binasa niya sa isang lektyur noong 1975 tungkol sa mga pag-aaral na historikal ng mga maynor na wika sa panahong ngayon.

Ibig ko sanang bigyan pansin ang ilang katotuhanan na makakatulong sa pagbibigay ng kalinawan sa topik ng papel na ito. Kahit na masasabing hindi nakatapgataka, dapat pa ring sabihin na noong panahon ng mga Kastila at ganoon rin sa mga sumunod, nabigyan ng mas malaking pansin ang mga wikang sinasalita sa mga sentro kaysa sa mga wika na sinasalita sa mga liblib na lugar.

Kasama din rito ang malaking kinalaman ng mga misyonaryo, noon at ngayon pa rin, sa pag-aaral ng mga wika o sa pagbibigay ng impormasyong tungkol sa mga ito. Malakas kasi ang pagnanais nilang makalat ang Ibanghelyo. Bukod dito, naintindihan ng mga ito ang bisa at kakayahan ng sariling wika sa pagtanggap o pagpapalaganap ng anumang bagay. Pinagkaabalahan nilang maigi ang mga wikang malalapit sa kanilang mga misyon.

Malalaman sa mga historikal na rekord ng mga nakalipas na panahon



na pinaghati ang Pilipinas sa mga orden ng mga prayle noong 1594. Ang mga isla ng Bisayas, napunta sa kapangyarihan ng mga Agustino at Heswita, ang Ilokos at Pampanga sa mga Agustino, ang Pangasinan at Cagayan sa mga Dominikano, at ang Camarines sa mga Pransiskano. Kaya't ang mga unang pag-aaral ng mga wika'y mga gawa ng mga prayle ng mga orden na sumakop sa mga lugar ng mga nasabing wika.

Isa pang bagay na tungkol sa mga prayle'y ang pagtatatag ng mga imprenta ng mga iba't ibang orden. Unang-unang itinatag noong 1593 ang imprenta ng mga Dominikano, sumunod ang sa mga Pransiskano noong 1606, noong 1610 o bago nito, ang sa mga Heswita, at noong 1618 sa mga Agustino. Ang pagtatayo ng mga imprenta'y nakatulong sa pagprepreserb ng mga pag-aaral at dokumentong hinanda noong panahong iyon.

Ang isa pang bagay na ibig kong bigyang pansin ay ang wikang ginamit sa mga naunang pag-aaral. Mangyari pa't karamihan ng mga ito'y nasulat sa Kastila, may ilang, lahat halos ay ginawa noong ika-19 na sentyuri o sa unang bahagi ng ika-20ng sentyuri, na sinulat sa Aleman, Dutch, Pranses, Latin, Italyano, Portugis, at siyempre, sa Ingles. Ang karamihang sinulat pagkaraan ng ika-19 na sentyuri'y sa Ingles, at ilan sa mga kababanggit na mga banyagang wika. Halimbawa, may sinulat si Hendrik Kern, 1896, tungkol sa Agta sa Aleman. May parteng Arabic ang sinulat ng Heswitang Jacinto Juanmarti tungkol sa Magindanao, 1892 at 1888. Sa ginawa ni Cuarteron, 1855, may bokabularyo ng Sulu na ikinompara sa Italyano't Malay.

Halos hindi pinag-aralan ng mga Kastila ang mga wika sa Mt. Province,



kayat halos lahat nito'y nasa Ingles. Ang Nabaloi at Ifugao lang<sup>ang</sup> pinag-aralan sa Kastila. Ang dalawang wikang ito na kasama ng Bontok ay may pag-aaral sa Aleman. Si Alexander Schadenberg, 1889, gumawa ng pag-aaral sa Aleman tungkol sa Bontok at ilang iba pang wika sa Pilipinas. Si Rudolf Kern, 1934, naman ay gumawa ng pag-aaral na nakasulat sa Dutch. Ang Bontok lang ang pinag-aralan sa Indonesian, ginawa ito ni Renward Brandstetter, 1911.

Tulad rin ng mga wika sa Mt. Province, ang mga wika sa Mindanao, lalo na ang Tiruray at Magindanao, ay halos hindi nabigyan pansin ng mga Kastila. Samantala, ang mga wika sa Cagayan at Isabela ay ang mga wikang may pinakamaraming pag-aaral sa Kastila. Karamihan kasi ng mga pag-aaral ng nasabing wika'y ginawa noong panahon ng Kastila. Wala nga akong natagpuang pag-aaral tungkol sa Ibanag na nasa Ingles, hanggang 1976 man lamang, pero may nakasulat sa Aleman at Dutch.

May pag-aaral sa Pranses ang mga wika ng Ita sa Zambales, ng mga Mangyan, Tagabili, Atta, Tagakaolo, Bilaan, Magindanao, Samal at Tagbarwa.

Sa aking palagay, mas mabibisang pag-aaral ang mga nakasulat sa wikang katutubo o sa mismong maynor na wika. Halos lahat ng mga unang gawaing nakasulat sa mga wikang ito'y mga tungkol sa relihyon, liban sa ilang tinatawag na primer. Halimbawa may hinandang katekismo sa Ibanag noong 1652 na ginawa ni Martin Real de la Cruz. Noong 1873 naman may isinulat sa Bolinao na hinanda ni Florentino Saiz de la Virgen del Vico. Tunay na kapansin-pansin, sa palagay ko, ang



katekismong ginawa ni Bellasa Fernandez Calderon (O.P.), 1901, dahil ito'y isinalin buhat sa isang wika sa Pilipinas, Pangasinan, sa ibang wika rin sa Pilipinas, Ivatan. Mayamang mapagkukunan ng data ang mga ganitong pag-aaral.

Bago ko simulan ang pagtalakay ng topik ng papel na ito, nadikita kong kaylangang banggitin muna ang sorses ng impormasyong nilalaman ng pag-aaral kong ito. Dalawang klaseng impormasyon ito, ang iba nito'y galing sa mga pag-aaral na aktwal kong ireksamen at ang iba naman ay galing sa mga pinag-aralan kong mga bibliyograpi at dokumentong ganitong uri. Napakaraming ganitong sorses na maaaring banggitin, kaya lang hindi ito ang prinsipal na topik ng papel ko. Hindi naman maaaring hindi banggitin ang ilang importanteng pinagkunan ko ng impormasyon.

Ang ilan sa mga unang bibliyograping ito'y ang mga hinanda nina Charles Leclerc, 1867 at 1878; Wenceslao Retana, 1893, 1894 at 1895; Jose Toribio Medina, 1896, na sinundan ng ibang bersyon noong 1897 at pinalawak nina Perez at Guemes noong 1904; Appleton Prentiss Clark Griffin, 1901 at 1903; Julian Malumbres, 1918; Frank Blake, 1920; Felixberto Viray, 1943; Doris Welsh, 1950; Richard Thompson, 1953; C.O. Houston, Jr., 1960; Robert Streit at Johannes Dindinger, 1964; Gabriel Bernardo, 1968; Jack Ward, 1971; Nobleza A. Lande, 1971; at Isagani Medina, 1972.

Malaking bagay na pag-aralan ang mga dokumentang naglalaman ng mga progress report at mga pagtitipon ng mga bayograpi ng mga prayle na isinagawa ng mga myembro ng iba't ibang orden noong panahon ng Kastila.



Kadalasan, makukuhan ang mga ito ng impormasyon tungkol sa mga pag-aaral o mga sinulat ng bawat myembro ng orden. Halimbawa, ang hinanda ni Marcel Bernard (OMI) 1816-1895; ni Gaspar Cano, Agustino, 1864; ni Eusebio Gomez Platero, Fransiskano, 1880; ni Cecilio Rodeles Gomez, Heswita, 1912; ni Valentin Marin y Morales, 1901; ni Juan Medina, Agustino, 1893; ni Hilario Maria Ocio y Viana, Dominikano, 1895; ni Elviro Jorde Perez, Agustino, 1901; at ni Francisco Sadaba del Carmen, Rekolekto, 1906.

Sa mga bibliyograpi at mga dokumentong ito, malalaman kung anu-anong mga pag-aaral ang nanatiling manuskrip na hindi naimprenta. Marami sa mga pinakaunang pag-aaral ng mga maynor na wika ay mga manuskrip at ang karamihan ay hindi na matatagpuan o wala ng ebidensya tungkol rito, liban sa nababanggit sa mga lumang bibliyograpi at dokumento. Kadalasan walang petsa ang mga manuskrip at naipapalagay lang ito ayon sa petsa ng pagkamatay ng otor. Halimbawa, walang petsa ang manuskrip ng Gramatika Cuyuna ni Juan Jesus del Carmen pero walang dudang isinulat ito bago sya namatay noong 1878. Sumulat ng dalawang pag-aaral ang Agustinong Esteban Marin, ang Arte y Diccionario de la Lengua Igolota na makikita sa bibliyograpi ni Cano (1864) at ganon rin kay Blumentritt (1895), at Arte de la Lengua Zambala y Espanola na ayon kay Elviro J. Perez ay sinulat noong 1601, ang taon kung kaylen namatay si Marin.

Kung titingnan ang mga pag-aaral ng mga maynor na wika buhat sa pangkalahatang pananaw, mabubukod ang mga ito sa mga tungkol sa iisang wika at mga tungkol sa pagkokompara ng mga wika. Sa komparatibong



pag-aaral, kinokompara ang mga wika sa Pilipinas o di kaya, ang mga wika sa Pilipinas at ang mga wikang sinasalita sa ibang bansa. Pag-aaral ng iisang wika man o komparatibong pag-aaral, ang paksa ng mga ito'y mga tungkol sa gramar, mga diksyonaryo, bokabularyo o listahan ng mga salita, mga dayakronik na pag-aaral, mga pagsasalin ng bibliya, mga katekismo, mga nobena, at mga unang leksyon sa gramar ng wika o primer. Kung minsan, pinagsama ang ilan nito tulad nga ng 'Arte y Diccionario' na may bokabularyo o diksyonaryo at kasama nito ang kaunting impormasyon tungkol sa gramar ng wika.

Sa papel na ito, hindi tatalakayin ang mga pag-aaral tungkol sa relihyon o etnograpiya kung di ito ang unang-unang nagbibigay ng impormasyon tungkol sa wika, o kung walang ibang pag-aaral tungkol dito.

Sa humigit-kumulang limampung maynor na wikang natagpuan ko sa pagrereserts ko sa paksang ito, nalaman kong may ilan nitong walang masasabing pag-aaral na linggwistik. Ang kakaunting impormasyon tungkol sa mga ito'y makukuha sa mga pag-aaral na sa katumayan ay di linggwistik tulad ng mga pag-aaral na etnograpiya, sosyolohikal o kaya tungkol sa relihyon. Ang mga wikang ito'y Tinggian, Isneg o Apayao, Camarines Agta, Sama Bangingi, Agutaynan, wika ng mga Negrito ng Negros at Panay, at mga wika ng Romblon: Bantomanon, Odionganon at Sibuyan.

Ang mga unang pag-aaral na etnograpiya ang may impormasyong leksikal at mga teksto ng Tinggian. Halimbawa ang mga pag-aaral ni Hans Meyer, 1884, Isabelo de los Reyes, 1887, A.B. Meyer at A. Schandenbergh, 1890, at ito na ang mga gawa ni Fay Cooper Cole, 1915.



Bago lumabas ang Isneg-English vocabulary ni Morice Vanoverbergh, 1972, nabanggit lamang ang tungkol sa grammar ng Isneg sa gawa ni Fay C. Cole, 1909, at ni Laurence Wilason, 1947.

May ilang impormasyon tungkol sa Camarines Agta sa pag-aaral na etnograpik nina P. Castaño, 1895, at Hendrik Kern, 1896 na kung saan kinompara ni Kern ang Agta at ibang wika sa Pilipinas.

Halos wala pang nasulat tungkol sa mga wika sa Romblon. May tatlong pag-aaral na may ilang pagpupuna tungkol sa mga ito: Gabriel Fabella, 1957; Barbara Marcelo, at isang ginawa ng isang anonimus otor. Walang petsa ang dalawang huling nabanggit.

Makukunan ng mga datos ang nag-iisang pag-aaral tungkol sa Sama Bangingi ni John Gerard Riedel, 1868. Ito'y mga maligsing kwento.

May ilang mga nowts tungkol sa negrito ng Negros sa pag-aaral ni R. Rahmann at M. Maceda, 1955. Makukunan rin ito ng impormasyon tungkol sa mga ibang pag-aaral ng mga negrito sa mga ibang lugar. Sa sinulat ni Manuel Gloria, 1939, at Rahmann at Maceda, 1958 at 1962, may mga teksto ng wika ng mga negrito sa Negros at Iloilo.

Isang Doctrina Cristiana, Compendio de la Doctrina Cristiana, na hinanda noong 1891 ang nag-iisang pag-aaral na makukunan ng impormasyon tungkol sa Agutaynon.

Kahit na may mga lihitimong pag-aaral ng wika tulad ng grammar o bokabularyo ang mga maynor na wika, mabisa rin sa kaalaman ng mga ito ang mga pag-aaral na di-linggwistik dahil kadalasan sa mga gantong pag-aaral makikita ang kauna-unahang banggit tungkol sa wika.



Sa sinulat ni Thomas Forrest, 1779, tungkol sa paglalakbay nya, makikita ang unang-unang sinabi tungkol sa Magindanao at may listahan ng 14 na tinatawag ritong dayalek sa Mindanao. Sa sinulat ni John Leyden, 1886, makikita ang unang puna tungkol sa Maranao, at sa gawa ni Joseph Montano, 1885, may bokabularyo ng Bilaan, unang-unang impormasyon tungkol sa wikang ito. May bokabularyo rin ito ng Ata, Manobo, Samal, at Tagakaolo. Magaling na pagkukunan ng mga salitang luma ang mga unang bokabularyong tulad ng mga ito.

Tatalakayin ko muna ang mga unang pag-aaral na nagkokompara ng mga iba't ibang wika, dahil maraming mga maynor na wika na unang binanggit sa mga ganitong pag-aaral. Nabibilang sa mga kauna-unahang komparatibong pag-aaral ang mga ginawa ni Alexander Schadenberg. Sa isa nito'y 1889, unang sinama ang Ifugao at Bontok sa pagkokompara nya sa ibang wika tulad ng Tagalog at ang sa mga negrito ng Bataan at Pampanga, na may katumbas sa Aleman. Kinompara rin ni A. B. Meyer, 1873, and bokabularyo ng Negrito ng Mariveles at Zambales at ng Tagalog at Kapangpangan. May ginawa si Joseph A. Montano, 1885, na pagpapakompara ng mga salita ng Suluano, Samal, Manobo, Bagobo, Tagakaolo, Atta, Manobo at Bilaan. Sa mga maraming pag-aaral ni Frank Blake, sinama nya ang Bontok, Ibanag, Nabaloi at Magindanao sa mga pag-aaral nya noong 1910 at 1916. Sa mga sinulat ni R. Brandstetter, 1911 at 1917, sinama nya ang Ibanag, Itawis, Tiruray, Bontok at Magindanao sa una, at sa ikalawa, ang Sangir at Bontok. Kinompara naman ni Julian Malumbres, 1927, ang bokabularyo ng Itawis,



Yogad, Gaddang, Ibanag, at Isinay. Noong 1937, nagbigay si Morice Vanoverbergh ng listahan ng mga salita sa Agta, Ibanag, Isneg, Kanakanay, Bontok, Ifugao, Kalingga, Ibaloi at Ilongot at ipinaliwanag nya ang pagbibigkas ng mga ito batay sa mga salita sa Ingles, Pranses, Aleman at Datch. Mayroon rin syang sinamang impormasyon tungkol sa mga numero at pagbibilang sa mga maynor na wikang binanggit.

May ilang pag-aaral na kung saan tinalakay ang mga wika ng mga Aeta: Alexander Schadenberg, 1880, A. B. Meyer, 1873 at 1878, Hendrik Kern, 1887 at 1893, William Reed, 1905 (dito sinabi ni Reed na nawalan na ng sariling wika ang mga Negrito), G. A. Laer, 1907, Pedro Paterno, 1915 at Morice Vanoverbergh, 1925.

Matikita sa ginawang pag-aaral ni Cipriano Marcilla y Martin, 1895, ang pagkokompara ng mga iba't ibang iskrip ng mga wika sa Pilipinas pati na ang sa mga maynor na wika.

Kahit na sinulat ito noong 1965 lamang, kaylangang banggitin ang pag-aaral ni E. Constantino tungkol sa pagkokomparang tipolohikal dahil noon pa lamang napag-aralan ang ilan sa wikang sinama sa gawing ito. Ang mga maynor na wika'y Abak, Botolan, Malaweg, Sta. Fe Igorot, Ylanon at may mahigit kumulang na labing tatlo pang maynor na wika.

Bukod sa mga pagkokomparang tipolohikal o sinkronik, na tulad ng katatalakay pa lamang, meron ilang dapat banggitin na pagkokomparang historikal na kung saan dinidiskas ang pag-iiba ng mga tunog ng wika at ng pagrerekonstrak ng wika.



Ang mga gawa ni Carlos Everett Conant ay di lang mga isa sa unang pag-aaral kundi mga isa sa mga nangungunang historikal na komparatibong pag-aaral. Sinikap nyang ipakita ang mga korespondens ng mga ilang tunog sa mga wika sa Pilipinas.

Sa mga sinulat nya noong 1908, 1909, 1911, 1912 at 1916, sinama nya ang Bagobo, Bilaan, Gaddang, Ibanag, Itawis, Kalamian, Magindanao, Tagakaolo, Tiruray, Yogad, Ivatan, Ibaloi, Kankanay, Kuyunon, Sambal at Bolinao.

Ang unang-unang pag-aaral tungkol sa Aklanon ay ang ginawa ni Otto Scheerer, 1920-21, na kung saan ipinakita ang korespondens ng mga tunog ng Aklanon sa Proto-Austronesian. Tinalakay naman ni Otto Dempwolff, 1926, ang mga korespondens ng Proto-Austronesian sa Ivatan. Ang ilan pang halimbawa ng mga historikal na pag-aaral ng mga maynor na wika'y: Fletcher Gardner, 1941, tungkol sa Mangyan; Leonard Newell, 1953; Richard Elkins, 1957 at 1963, tungkol sa Bukidnon Manobo; Norman Abrahams, 1963, tungkol sa Bilaan.

Mayroon rin mga komparatibong pag-aaral na ginawa upang maibukodbukod ang mga kamag-anakang wika o sabgruping. Halimbawa: Harold Conklin, 1952, Douglas Chretien, 1961, at Fox, Sibley at Eggan, 1953.

Ang karamihan sa mga unang pag-aaral na nagtatalakay ng isang maynor na wika lamang ay tungkol sa grammar. Kadalasan ito'y isang gramatikal iskets o di kaya tungkol sa isang parte lang ng grammar ng nasabing wika. Hindi katakataka na ang karamihang mga unang



pag-aaral tungkol sa grammar na ginawa ng mga banyaga ay batay sa grammar ng wikang Latin o Kastila. Ganoon rin ang mga unang diksyonaryo at bokabularyo ng mga maynor na wika na isinulat ng mga banyaga na hinanda para magamit ng mga kapwa banyaga rin. Makikita ang "linguistic bias" o pagdikiling nila sa sarili nilang wika sa pagbabaybay o pagsusulat ng mga tunog ng mga wika sa Pilipinas.

Marami sa mga pag-aaral tungkol sa iisang wika'y kombinasyon ng grammar at bokabularyo. Halimbawa, isang gramatikal iskets na may kasamang listahan ng mga salita, o di kaya isang diksyonaryo o bokabularyo na may maigsing gramatikal iskets.

Dahil hindi mababanggit ang lahat ng nasulat tungkol sa bawat maynor na wika, babanggitin ko lamang ang unang-unang naimprenta, o kung wala nito, mga manuskrip na naisagawa, at isa o dalawa pa na sa palagay ko'y dapat banggitin. Tatalakayin ko muna ang mga wikang walang mga pag-aaral noong unang panahon o walang mga hinanda bago ang sentyuring ito, o ang mga wikang pinag-aralan lamang noong kamakailan lang. Mapapansin na ang karamihan sa mga ito'y halos mga wika sa Mindanao at halos lahat ng mga ito'y nasa Ingles.

Agta, Cagayan - Mga pag-aaral ng myembro ng SIL ang mga sumulat tungkol sa wikang ito. Nagawa lamang noong 1955 ang isang bokabularyo na hinanda ni J. J. Oats, at isang grammar noong 1960 na ginawa ni Phillis Healy. Tungkol sa nonoloit ang mga ibang pag-aaral nito.

Aklanon - Maliban sa pag-aaral na historikal ni Scheerer, 1920-21,



ang unang sinulat tungkol sa gramar ng wikang ito'y ginawa ni Helen Black, 1942. Walang mga bokabularyong nagawa noong unang panahon.

Binukid - Kokonti rin ang mga ginawang pag-aaral tungkol rito at noong kamakaylan lang nagawa ito ng mga SIL. Halimbawa, ang mga pag-aaral ni William Atherton, 1953, Jeannette Forster, at William at Ruth Atherton, 1954.

Dibabaon - Katulad ng karamihang pag-aaral ng mga wika sa Mindanao, nitong gitna lamang ng sentyuring ito nagkaroon ng mga pag-aaral ng gramar ng wikang ito. Halimbawa, Jannette Forster, 1958. Si Forster na kasama ni Mary Lou Barnard ang naghanda ng diksyonaryo noong 1954.

Itbayat - Noon kamakaylan lang nasulat ang ilang pag-aaral tungkol sa Itbayat. Ang mga una nito'y mga pag-aaral ni Yukihiro Yamada, 1965 at 1966.

Kankanay - Karamihan ng mga pag-aaral tungkol sa Kankanay ay mga gawa ni Morice Vanoverbergh. Ang una'y ang gramar, 1917, na sinundan nya ng diksyonaryo noong 1933.

Kalinga - Bukod sa mga impormasyon sa mga pag-aaral etnograpik ni Otto Scheerer, 1909, 1921, noong kamakaylan lang nagkaroon ng mga pag-aaral tungkol sa gramar ng wikang ito. Ang pinakauna nito'y ginawa ni Richard Gieser, 1958.



Kinaray-a - Halos walang nagagawa pa tungkol sa wikang ito.<sup>1</sup>  
 Ang pinakauna'y kay Moises S. Dias, 1962. Bukod rito ay may impor-  
 masyong makukuha sa ilang pag-aaral na etnograpik ni Felipe Landa  
 Jocano, 1958, 1963 at 1964.

Mansaka - Walang mga pag-aaral ang wikang ito na nagawa noong  
 unang panahon. Ang pinakauna'y sinulat ni Gordon Svelmoe, 1957,  
 tungkol sa grammar at 1955, SIL, tungkol sa bokabularyo.

Mamanwa - Puro kamakaylan lang rin ang mga pag-aaral nito:  
 Doris Blood, 1962; Marie Verstaelen, 1965, tungkol sa grammar. Walang  
 diksyonaryo ang wikang ito. Mga word list lang ang nagawa: Gordon  
 Svelmoe, 1954 at Marcelino Maceda, 1963.

Manobo - Tatalakayin ko rito ng sunod-sunod ang mga wikang  
 kinikilalang Manobo sa mga pag-aaral na natagpuan ko.

Agusan Manobo - Kamakaylan lang ang mga pag-aaral nito tungkol  
 sa grammar: Daniel at Marilou Weaver, 1963, 1964, at tungkol sa  
 bokabularyo: Harold McKaughan at Percy Meiklejohn, 1954.

Atta Manobo - Ang unang banggit nito'y sa komparatibong pag-  
 aaral ni J. Montano. Ang mga nagawa na unang pag-aaral ng  
 wikang ito'y kina Virginia Morey Austin, 1964 at 1966; Ruth  
 Lusted, Claudia Whittle at Laurence Reid, 1964.

Cotabato Manobo - Mga hinanda ni Richard Elkins, 1954 at 1968



na diksyonaryo ang nagawa tungkol sa wikang ito. Ang huling binanggit ay may maigsing grammar at bibliyograpi.

Ilianen Manobo - Iilan at kamakaylan lang ang mga pag-aaral nito: Robert at Felicia Brichoux, 1963 at Jean Shand, 1964. Walang petsa ang mga ginawa nina Brichoux.

Saranggani Manobo - Dadalawa lang ang natagpuan kong pag-aaral tungkol sa wikang ito: Percy at Kathleen Meiklejohn, 1958, at Carl at Lauretta Dubois, 1967.

Bukidnon Manobo - Lahat ng mga pag-aaral nito'y gawa ni Richard Elkins, ang una'y lumabas noong 1953.

Tasaday Manobo - Iilang artikulong di pa matagal sinulat ang mga makukunan ng impormasyong tungkol sa wikang ito. Ang una'y sinulat ni Frank Lynch at Teodoro Llamson, 1971.

Tagakaolo - May dalawang manuskrip na bokabularyo at tatlong artikel tungkol sa grammar na ginawa ng mga SIL.

Tagabili - Ginawa ni Alice Lindquist, Vivian Forsberg at A. Healy, 1957, at Vivian Forsberg, 1966, ang tungkol sa grammar. Pinag-aralan rin ni Forsberg at Lindquist, 1955, ang tungkol sa bokabularyo.

Tausug- Ang mga pag-aaral sa grammar nito'y ginawa kamakaylan lang: Seymour Ashley at Lois Ashley, 1963 at 1971. Gumawa ng diksyonaryo si Rene Copet, OMI, noong 1957. May ilang manuskrip na bokabularyo



tulad ng kina Adolf Gunther at J. H. Whitaker, 1902.

Yogad - Bukod sa mga komparatibong pag-aaral ni Conant, 1904-05, at Malumbres, 1927, iisang pag-aaral ang may impormasyong tungkol sa grammar nito: Alan Healy, 1958. May sinabi sya tungkol sa ilang bagay sa morpoloji at sintaks ng wikang ito.

Ang mga wikang tatalakayin ko ngayon ay mga napag-aralan na noong unang panahon o bago dumating ang sentyuring ito.

Bagobo - Ang unang diksyonaryo ay hinanda ni Mateo Gisbert (SJ), 1892. Ito'y dalawang bolyum na irimprentang magkahiwalay. May maiging impormasyon tungkol sa grammar na itinulad sa grammar ng Latin.

Bontok - Ang unang bokabularyo ng Bontok ay hinanda ni W. C. Clapp, 1908. Sa sumunod na taon, 1909, lumabas ang unang grammar nito na ginawa ni Carl Seidenadel. May Tatlong parte ang grammar na ito. I grammar, II bokabularyo, at III teks.

Bilaan - Ang unang pag-aaral nito'y bokabularyong matatagpuan sa gawa ni Montano, 1885. Ang ibang pag-aaral nito'y nagawa nitong kamakaylan lang. Ang una'y tungkol sa ponim na sinulat ni James at Gladys Dean. May ilang nasulat na rin tungkol sa ponoloji, morpoloji at sintaks.

Chabakano - Sabay na didiskasin ang mga Chabakano: Zamboangeno at Ternateno, dahil may ilan sa mga pag-aaral tungkol dito na sabay tina-



talakay ang dalawang wikang ito. Ang isang unang pag-aaral ay nakasulat sa Aleman: Hugo Schuchart, 1883.<sup>2</sup> Ang mga pinakamalaman na pag-aaral ay kay Keith Whinnom, 1956, at kay Charles Frake, 1967. May isang pag-aaral na nakasulat sa Portugis: Graciete Nogueira Batalha, 1960, na nagpapakita ng mga pakakapareho ng mga Chabakano rito at sa Macau.

Kuyunin - Pinakaunang pag-aaral tungkol rito'y isang bokabularyong hinanda ni Geronima Virgen de Monserrate noong 1789, (Retana at Thompson) pero ayon kay Griffin nilimbag ito noong 1895. Nasa ginawa ni Retanang "Archivo" (1898) ang bokabularyong ito. May mga manuskrip tungkol sa grammar na sinulat noong matatapos na ang ika-19 na sentyuri at gitna ng ika-20 na sentyuri. Halimbawa ang trabaho ni Juan Jesus del Carmen (namatay, 1878), "Gramatica Cuyuna".

Dumagat - Ang unang pag-aaral nito'y mga manyuskrip na ginawa ni Bernardo de Santa Rosa, 1750, "Diccionario del idioma de los Aetas" at "Arte del idioma de los Aetas". Noong 1913 may ginawa si John Garvan na pinamagatang "Two Vocabularies from the Negritos of Tayabas". Mga etnograpik at komparatibong pag-aaral ang makukunan ng iba pang impormasyon tungkol sa wikang ito.

Gaddang - May isang grammar na sinulat noong 1889 na ginawa ni Isidoro Martinena. Bukod rito, maraming mga manyuskrip ng mga grammar at diksyonaryo ang wikang ito na hinanda noong ika-18 na



sentyuri, tulad ng kay Pedro Luis de Sierra, (1714-1768) O.P., "Diccionario Gaddang-Español" at "Gramatica para aprender el dialecto Gaddang". Isa pang manyuskrip na grammar-diksyonaryong walang petsa na hinanda ni Miguel Bonet ang "Diccionario Gaddan -Español y Español-Gaddan," sinulat malamang noong panahon ng kanyang "Camino del Cielo . . .", 1873.

Ibanag - Madalas na sinasama ang wikang ito sa mga medyor na wika, lalo na sa mga unang pag-aaral. Isa ito sa mga wikang may maraming pag-aaral. Ang unang grammar na nalimbag ay ginawa ni Fausto de Cuevas, 1854. Sinabi ni Cuevas sa introduksyon ng grammar na ito na may namang pag-aaral ito, ang kay Juan Yniqués (OP) na lumabas raw noong 1720 o 1730. Binanggit ni Streit at Dindinger (1964) at ni Ward (1971) si Juan Yniqués na maaaring iba lang ang ispelang ng pangalan ng otor na ito. May hinanda rin daw na diksyonaryo si Yniqués. Dalawa pang diksyonaryo ang lumabas noong unang panahon na hinanda ni Jose Bugarin at ni Rodríguez Ramos, 1854. Ayon kay Leclerc (1878) ang kay Bugarin ang unang-unang diksyonaryong Ibanag na naimprenta. May ilan pang pag-aaral ang nalimbag noong ikalawang bahagi ng ika-19 na sentyuri.<sup>3</sup>

Ifugao - May hinandang bokabularyo si Julian Malumbres noong 1911. Liban rito, may mga ginawang pag-aaral tungkol sa wikang ito kamakaylan lamang.

Ilongot - Ang pag-aaral ni Rafael Micoleta, 1897, ang unang



lumabas tungkol sa grammar ng Ilongot. Ito ang pangalawang edisyon pero walang ebidensyang may unang edisyon liban sa petsang nakalagay sa kompletong pamagat ng gawaing ito. May ilang manuskrip na ginawa sa panahong iyon tulad noong kay Francisco de la Zarza, "Arte del Idioma Egongot", walang petsa at mahuhulaan lamang ito batay sa pagkamatay ni Zarza noong 1810.

Isinay - Karamihan ng mga bibliyograpi'y bumabanggit ng "Gramatica" ni Jaun Belloxin na walang petsa. Namatay si Belloxin noong 1742. May ilang ginawang grammar at diksyonaryo ang Dominikanong si Juan de Ormaza kaya lang hindi napablis ang mga ito at iisa ang may petsa. Ito'y bokabularyo, 1743, kaya maaaring sa taong iyan rin natapos ang "Arte para aprender de Isinay" na ginawa nya. May dalawang grammar na anonimus, 1787, at isang napablis noong 1889 na ginawa ni Joaquin Lazaro, isang Dominikano rin. May ginawang listahan ng mga salita si Conant noong 1907 kaya lang manuskrip ito. Isa pang unang pag-aaral ang dapat banggitin, ito'y ang kay Otto Scheerer, 1915, tungkol sa mga partikulo na nagpapakita ng relasyon ng mga salita sa isa't isa.

Itawis - May binanggit si Streit at Dindinger na isang grammar na hinanda ni Juan Yniqués (OP) "Arte de lengua Itawes", pero walang petsa. Ang karamihang impormasyon tungkol sa wikang ito'y makikita sa mga komparatibong pag-aaral tulad ng kay Malumbres, 1927, at Vano-verbergh, 1929-30.



Ivatan - Ang mga unang pag-aaral ng wikang ito'y halos manuskrip lahat. Ang isa sa pinakauna'y ang grammar na ginawa ni Bartolome Artiguez (OP) 1786. Ang ilan pa nito'y mga walang petsa o di kaya anonymous ang otor. May mga manuskrip rin ng diksyonaryo at mga "word list": Otto Scheerer, walang petsa, na pinamagatang "Word list of Archaic Ivatan Words" at ayon kay Streit at Dindinger (1964) at Marin (1901) may manuskrip ng diksyonaryo na ginawa ni Baltazar Fernandez Calderon (OP) namatay noong 1815, *Diccionario de la Lengua de los Batanes*", at isang ginawa ni Francisco de Paula Mogallon at Nicolas Castaño, 1895-96, *"Diccionario Español y Batan"*.<sup>4</sup> Noong 1914 may napablis na diksyonaryo na hindi nalalaman kung sino ang may gawa pero may ginawang introduksyon si Otto Scheerer at napablis naman ito noong 1933. Tila hindi lang iisang Dominikano ang gumawa ng pag-aaral na ito. Kasama nito ang maigsing grammar at listahan ng mga pangalan ng tao.

Dapat ring banggitin rito ang pag-aaral ni Otto Dempwolff, 1926, tungkol sa mga korespondens ng Ivatan sa Proto-Austronesian.

Magindanao - Ang unang diksyonaryo'y gawa ni Jacinto Juanmarti (SJ) 1888 at 1892. Itong huli'y diksyonaryong may dalawang parte. Binibigay rito ang mga wikang pinanggalingan ng mga hiram ng salita at may halimbawang pangungusap at mga iba't ibang porma ng verb. May nauna rito, kaya lang bokabularyo lamang na kasama sa sinulat ni Thomas Forrest tungkol sa paglalakbay nya, 1779. May ginawa ring grammar si



Juanmarti, 1887 at 1892 na batay sa grammar ng Kastila. Pinakita rito ng otor ang mga ilang bagay sa grammar ng Kastila na wala sa Magin-danao. Tinumbasan nya sa sulat Arabik ang alpabetong Kastila. Madalas rin nyang ikompara sa Malay ang wikang ito. May salin sa Ingles ito na ginawa ni C.C. Smith, 1906.

Maranao - Ang unang-unang impormasyon tungkol sa grammar nito'y matatagpuan sa ginawang pag-aaral ni John Leyden, 1886.<sup>5</sup> Ang mga unang diksyonari'y kay Juan Ruiz de la Virgen del Socorro (namatay, 1910), OFSA, at isang manuskrip ni Charles Elliot, 1913, na may impormasyon tungkol sa "parts of speech" at bokabularyong sinaayos ayon sa mga kahulugan.

Mangyan - Karamihan ng mga pag-aaral ng Mangyan ay tungkol sa unang sistema ng pagsusulat o iskrip. Gawa ni Adolf Meyer, A. Schandenbergh at R. Foy, 1895 at C. Marcilla y Martin ang mga unang-unang nito. Kinompara nila ang iskrip ng Mangyan at Tagalog. Sinundan ito ng: F. Blumentritt, 1896; Willy Foy, 1901; Fletcher Gardner, 1939; at F. Gardner at E. Maliwanag, 1939-40 at 1943, at marami pang artikulo tungkol sa paksang ito.

Ang mga tungkol sa bokabularyo'y: Edwin Schneider, 1912 at Harold Conklin, 1953. Tungkol naman sa grammar: Gardner at Maliwanag, 1939-40 at Colin Twedell, 1958.

Nabaloi - Isang manuskrip ang masasabing unang-unang pag-aaral tungkol sa wikang ito: Esteban Marin, namatay 1601, OSA, na "Arte



y Diccionario". Ang unang napablis tungkol sa sintaks ay ang sinulat ni Otto Scheerer, 1905. Tinalakay nya rito ang mga tunog na kinompara nya sa mga wikang ginagamit sa mga karatig na lugar, at tungkol sa tens, pokus, plural at negatib. May bokabularyo at teks na kasama nito.

Sambal - Ito'y isa sa mga unang maynor na wikang pinag-aralan. Ayon kay E. Perez (1901), ginawa ni Esteban Marin ang "Arte de la Lengua Zambala y Española" noong 1601. Namatay si Marin noong taon na iyon kaya maaaring mas maaga pa sa 1601 nya natapos ang pag-aaral na ito. May ilan pang mga manuskrip na sinulat noong unang panahon: Felipe de Santa Ana (namatay, 1748) "Gramatica Zambal"; Blas de San Damian, 1755, "Arte de la lengua Masinloc" at "Diccionario del dialecto Zambales"; Florentino Saiz de la Virgen del Vico (1843-1920) ORSA, "Diccionario Zambal" at "Gramatica Zambal del Norte"; Andres Romero de la Concepcion (1850-1898), "Diccionario Zambal" at isang pag-aaral tungkol sa grammar. Bukod sa mga manuskrip, may ginawa si Viray at Scheerer, 1929, "The Sambali dialect of Bolinao".

Sambal Negrito - Kasama rito ang mga wika ng Ita sa Zambales, Pampanga at Bataan. Ang unang napablis na bokabularyo'y hinanda ni A. Baessler, 1890, "Vocabular con Negrito-Worten". May sinulat si A.B. Meyer tungkol sa wikang ito noong 1882, "Die Negrito Sprache und Herrn Mundt-Lauffs Forschungen auf den Philippinen".



Sangir - Karamihan ng pag-aaral tungkol dito'y mga komparatibong pag-aaral na historikal o di kaya tipolohikal. Kadalasan, kasama ang wikang ito sa pagkokompara ng mga iba't ibang wika sa mundo, halimbawa yung mga sinulat ni Kern, 1887 at Adriani, 1896. Kamakaylan lang ginawa ang mga tungkol sa grammar ng mismong wikang ito: K. Maryott, 1961 at A. Maryott, 1963.

Subanon - Ang unang bokabularyo'y hinanda ni Blas Lagorra, 1908. Noong 1913 may pag-aaral si John Finley at William Churchill na may tatlong parte. Ang ikalawa'y tungkol sa grammar at ang ikatlo'y bokabularyong Subanon-Ingles.

Sulu - May ilang pag-aaral tungkol sa Sulu pero hindi maliwanag kung aling wika ito: Tausug o Samal.<sup>6</sup> Ang unang-unang pag-aaral na may impormasyon tungkol dito ayon kay Ward, 1971, ay pinamagatang "Essays Towards an Account of Sulu", ni Alexander Dalrymple, 1792. Halos mga bokabularyo ang mga pag-aaral tungkol rito: T.H. Haynes, 1885 at 1886; A. Cowie, 1893; A. Gunther at J. Whitaker, 1902; W. D. Johnson, 1916; Francis Link, 1917, na may ilang puna tungkol sa grammar; R.T. McCuchen, 1918, na saan tinumbasan ng Sulu at Arabik iskrip ang mga salita sa Ingles.

Tiruray - Hinanda ni Guillermo Bennasar ang unang diksyonaryo ng wikang ito noong 1892-93 na may dalawang parte. Ang otor na ito ang sumulat rin ng grammar, 1892, kaya lang sa ilang bibliyograpi ito'y



nakalistang walang otor. Binatay rin ito sa Kastila kaya't kinompara ang mga iba't ibang aspeto ng wikang Tiruray sa nalalamang aspeto ng Kastila. Kaya siguro nasabi ng otor na ito na ang partikulong kinakabit sa mga salita (may ganito rin ang ilang ibang wika sa Pilipinas tulad ng Isinay) ay ginagamit lang na parang palamuti sa salita. Hindi nya nakita ang bisa ng partikulong ito sa sintaks ng wika. Isa pang unang pag-aaral ang isinulat ni Conant, 1913, tungkol sa ponoloji ng wikang ito.

Tagbanwa - Karamihan ng pag-aaral tungkol sa Tagbanwa'y tungkol sa iskrip na ginagamit roon. Halimbawa: Marcilla y Martin, 1895, Gerardo Diaz de la Concepcion, namatay 1892, isang manuskrip ito; Manuel Hugo Venturello, 1907; Norberto Romualdez, 1914; Norberto Villamor, 1914; Ignacio Villamor, 1922; Fletcher Gardner at Ildelfonso Maliwanag, 1939-40 at iba pa. Noong kamakaylan lang nagkaroon ng pag-aaral sa grammar. Ang mga nauna'y: Edward Ruch, 1961 at 1964. Walang diksyonaryo pero may ilang pag-aaral tungkol sa bokabularyo, halimbawa ang ginawa ni A.H. Everett, 1880 at ni H. Otley Beyer na manuskrip na walang petsa.

Yakan - Ang unang-unang pag-aaral nito'y kay F. Blumentritt, 1892, na sinundan ng mga bokabularyo: Adolf Gunther at J.H. Whitaker, 1902 at Robert McCutchen, 1918.

Sinikap kong maipakitang maraming mga maynor na wikang hindi



pa seryosong napapag-aralan at kung mayroon man ganitong pag-aaral, kakaunti pa lang at mga gawa ng mga banyaga. Kaylangang-kaylangang magkaroon ng mga lihitimong linggwistik na pag-aaral tungkol sa mga wikang ito. Kahit na hindi mga siyentipik na pag-aaral ang karaniwang binanggit ko rito, dahil wala pa rin namang ganitong karunungan noong unang panahon, dapat kilalanin rin ang importansiya ng mga ito di lang sa "historical value" kundi para sa mga pag-aaral tungkol sa histori at development ng wika, tulad ng pag-iiba ng mga tunog at mga salita.

Hindi nakakapagtaka na halos walang Pilipinong gumawa ng pag-aaral tungkol sa maynor na wika. Ang isang rason ay dahil wala pa sa kamalayan ng mga kababayan natin noong unang panahon, hanggang siguro nitong gitna ng sentyuring ito, ang tungkol sa linggwistiks. Kahit na ngayon, ilan pa ring Pilipino ang may seryosong interes sa linggwistiks o sa mga wika natin, lalo na sa mga maynor na wika. Nasa mga kakaunting ito ang responsibilidad na pag-aralan ang mga wika natin. Napakayamang larangan ito para sa reserts.

Dapat kilalaning talagang kaylangan ang kaalaman tungkol sa mga wika natin bilang kontribusyon sa pagbubuo ng kaalaman natin tungkol sa taong Pilipino. Ang pinakamabisang pinagkukunan ng kaalaman tungkol sa tao'y ang wika.



Mga Nowt

1. Hindi ko naisali ang pag-aaral ni Alonso de Mentrída na "Bocabulario de la Lengua Bisaya Hiligveyna y Harala de la Isla de Panai y Sugbu", na binanggit ni Prop. Isagani Medina sa mga puna nya noong binasa ko ang papel na ito dahil siguro nangunguna ang Hiligaynon, isang major na wika, sa panagat.
2. Ayon kay I. Medina, may manuskrip na hinanda ang unang prior ng Ternate, 1607-1608, si Roque de Barrionuevo, OSA, Arte y Vocabulario de la Lengua Mardica, at isa panghinanda ni Diego de Esquivel (1625-1665) SJ, na isang diksyonaryo at grammar ng Ternateño.
3. May mga manuskrip na hindi ko na binanggit na nauna sa isinama ritong mga nilimbag na pag-aaral. Dahil napuna ito ni I. Medina sa reaksyon nya, babanggitin ko rito ang ilan: Jose Bugarin (1606-1676) OP, "Gramatica del Idioma Ibanag" at "Diccionario Ibanag-Español; Ambrosio de la Madre de Dios, OP, 1605, Arte y Diccionario de la lengua Ibanag ; at Gaspar Zarfate (1621) Arte de la lengua (Ibanag) de los Indios dela Nueva Segovia .
4. Ayon kay I. Medina, nasa Biblioteca Nacional sa Madrid ang diksyonaryong ito.
5. Nauna raw rito ang manuskrip na diksyonaryo na hinanda ni Diego Patiño (1598-1657) SJ, ayon kay I. Medina.



6. Binanggit ni I. Medina sa reaksyon nya sa papel na ito, na nalaman nya sa pananaliksik nya na may dating grupong Muslim sa Ternate na tinatawag na Lutao. Mga ninuno raw sila ng mga Tausug. May isang manuskrip ayon sa kanya ng grammar ng wika nila na hinanda ni Alejandro Lopez (1604-1655) SJ, na pinamagatang "Gramatica y Diccionario de la lengua Lutuaya".



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# A MORPHOLOGICAL STUDY OF ITBAYAT FOLKTALES

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## 1. PURPOSE

The central theme of my paper is to analyze some of the Itbayat folktales from the structural point of view. I shall attempt to demonstrate that the folktale is a structured means of communication as is language, and that there may be a certain pattern of folktales favored by a people, a pattern which may reflect their world view.

## 2. LANGUAGE AND FOLKTALES

Before we analyze the folktales, I would like to examine the structure of the following three different sentences:

(a) The monkey cheated the turtle.

It is clear from its syntactic relation that the meaning of the sentence is: the monkey is the subject who cheats and the turtle is the object who is cheated.

(b) The chicken cheated the turtle.

(c) The deer cheated the turtle.

In Sentences (b) and (c), 'chicken' and 'deer' are used in place of 'monkey' of Sentence (a), but the function of 'chicken' and 'deer' is the same as that of 'monkey', i.e. SUBJECT, which occurs in the initial position of the sentence.

Suppose we use 'carabao' or 'Pedro' in place of 'turtle' of Sentence (a). The syntactic function of these is again the same as



that of 'turtle', i.e. OBJECT, which occurs in the final position of the sentence.

Words like 'killed' and 'loved' may be placed instead of 'cheated' without changing the function of 'cheated', i.e. VERB, which occurs between the subject and the object.

All the three sentences above enjoy the same structural pattern: S-V-O. The items (S, V, O) are significant emic units, while the specific items, 'monkey' ( $s_1$ ), 'chicken' ( $s_2$ ), and 'deer' ( $s_3$ ) for the subject position; 'turtle' ( $o_1$ ), 'carabao' ( $o_2$ ), and 'Pedro' ( $o_3$ ) for the object position; 'cheated' ( $v_1$ ), 'killed' ( $v_2$ ), and 'loved' ( $v_3$ ) for the verb position are all individually different etic units.

Emic:	/S	+	V	+	O/	Pattern
Etic	[ $s_1$ $s_2$ $s_3$ ]		$v_1$ $v_2$ $v_3$		[ $o_1$ $o_2$ $o_3$ ]	Sentence (a) Sentence (b) Sentence (c)

Folktales are, unlike the individual sentences, composed of several or more sentences, and consequently, of a series of events which constitute a whole. If we regard the three sentences above as three different stories, then S will be an emic event unit, i.e. a motifeme. The motifeme (S) is a functional unit abstracted from various etic events ( $s_1, s_2, s_3$ ) which may well be designated as allomotifs. The functional units V and O are also motifemes which have their allomotifs:  $v_1, v_2, v_3$  and  $o_1, o_2, o_3$  respectively.



Emic:	/S	+	V	+	O/	Pattern
Etic:	[ s <sub>1</sub> s <sub>2</sub> s <sub>3</sub>		[ v <sub>1</sub> v <sub>2</sub> v <sub>3</sub>		[ o <sub>1</sub> o <sub>2</sub> o <sub>3</sub>	Story (a) Story (b) Story (c)

The motifemes S, V, O, are in a syntactic relation, while allomotifs of S (s<sub>1</sub>, s<sub>2</sub>, s<sub>3</sub>), for instance, are in a paradigmatic relation. The substitution among allomotifs therefore will not affect the function of the motifeme S. A motifemic structure is the meaning of a folktale to the people of a culture.

### 3. DIFFERENT STORIES WITH AN IDENTICAL STRUCTURE

I will illustrate my point by presenting four folktales chosen at random from some one hundred stories so far collected. (Refer to the sample texts in the appendix.)

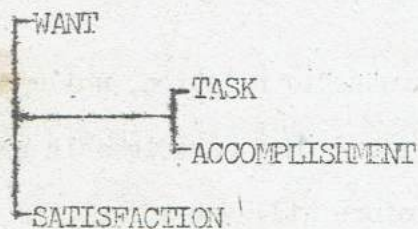
#### SAMPLE TEXT 1: Yaayen

When you read Sample Text 1, you will notice the following events: Yaayen wanted to marry, he found a beautiful girl and wooed her, she gave him an assignment, i.e. to sort out the corn grains "from the sand" in the required space of time, he turned to numerous birds for help, the beautiful girl found the job finished, and she married Yaayen.

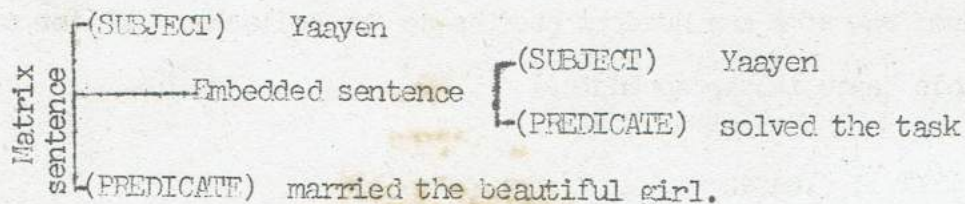
We can pick out some significant events out of the many that happened in this story: Yaayen wanted a wife (WANT), the girl gives an assignment (TASK), which was completed (ACCOMPLISHMENT), and Yaayen married her (SATISFACTION). The structure of the story can,



therefore, be illustrated as in the following.



This structure looks like that of a matrix sentence which includes an embedded sentence as a modifier. That is, the whole story that is composed of a series of events is now reduced to a single complex sentence.



#### SAMPLE TEXT 2: Anpanay

The events of Sample Text 2 are: the father ate his children whenever his wife gave birth (WANT), the mother had to protect the baby from the father (TASK), she put the baby in a cave in the mural cliffs by the shore, the father found the place and told the girl to hang down her golden hair to take her food, but she found the father holding on to the end of her golden hair and coming upward to her, she cut her hair, and the father fell down into the sea and died (ACCOMPLISHMENT), and the mother and the girl enjoyed their reunion (SATISFACTION).



We find again the same motifemic structure as Sample Text 1: a matrix (WANT)--(SATISFACTION) which contains an embedded (TASK)--(ACCOMPLISHMENT).

SAMPLE TEXT 3: Haxok who was taken by an anito

To outline Sample Text 3: the aunt sent Haxok down to the valley to get water but Haxok was taken by the anito (WANT), the aunt went to look for Haxok, another anito came and instructed her to slaughter a head of pig (TASK) which was not effective, so the anito gave her another instruction, that is, to get a white orchid which is called haxok and go to the cave and ask to open its mouth (TASK), the mouth opened (ACCOMPLISHMENT) and the first anito who took Haxok soon died and all the bones of the first anito changed into gold, so the aunt and Haxok lead a happy and wealthy life (SATISFACTION).

We see again a structure identical with those of Sample Texts 1 and 2.

SAMPLE TEXT 4: Podaalan

The following is the outline of the story. Mother always gave untasty food to Podaalan and Podaalan felt discriminated against (WANT). He wanted to escape the maltreatment (TASK), and decided to stay out in the field. Having offered a sacrifice (ACCOMPLISHMENT), Podaalan's want was most probably fulfilled (SATISFACTION).

The motifemic structure of the story is the same as those of Sample Texts 1, 2, and 3.



The characters, events, and their results in Sample Texts 1, 2, 3, and 4 are different, and therefore, these stories seem completely different in their appearance. Yet the motifemic structure of the stories is the same: a matrix structure (WANT)-(SATISFACTION) plus an embedded structure (TASK)-(ACCOMPLISHMENT). Besides the stories examined above, there are many more stories which have the same structure. It may therefore be said that this is the favorite pattern of folktales among the Itbayat.

The theme of child-discrimination as in Sample Text 4 above is most popular and on everybody's lips. Since it is a very popular theme, I assume that the stories of the theme may be the expression of thoughts of the Itbayat people. It is therefore worthwhile to examine more stories of this theme, i.e. discrimination, in a more detailed way.

#### 4. STORIES OF DISCRIMINATION

The stories of discrimination appear to be both similar to and yet different from one another. They are 'similar' in that almost all discrimination stories in my collection include the giving of cheap food to the discriminated, the chore of feeding the goats, the loss of the hurt-feeling of the discriminated main character, goat-dividing, and so on. They are 'different' in that all the stories show some differences in the naming of the main character, the way the discriminated gets lost, the branching or development of embedded smaller stories, and so on. I would like to add three more stories of discrimination.



## SAMPLE TEXT 5: Podaalan and Gomaram

The story goes: The mother hated Podaalan and always gave him poor lunch, he felt sorry for himself, not satisfied with the treatment he was getting (WANT), (he thought of getting rid of this discrimination (TASK)), but he struck himself at the stomach with his own ax while chopping down trees in the field. He died and was buried. Podaalan after death still saw Gomaram who was in the world of living persons, Gomaram broke a promise with Podaalan that Gomaram will not tell their mother about their seeing each other in the field, and because of this violation Podaalan divided their goats and went into the sea with his share of goats (ACCOMPLISHMENT), and finally Podaalan was relieved of the hurt-feeling he suffered from the discrimination (SATISFACTION).

The motifemic structure of the story is the same as in the stories introduced above.

## SAMPLE TEXT 6: Valmang and Orayen

The main character is Orayen who was treated differently by his mother and felt discriminated against (WANT). He decided that he would leave home to avert the maltreatment (TASK), he was swallowed by a big fish. Valmang saw again Orayen in the state of anito when she fed their goats. Orayen gave instructions to Valmang so that the father could catch the big fish, cut it open and pour the medicine on his bones. He became a live person again, the mother was punished and the discrimination was terminated (ACCOMPLISHMENT). They lived a



happy life (SATISFACTION).

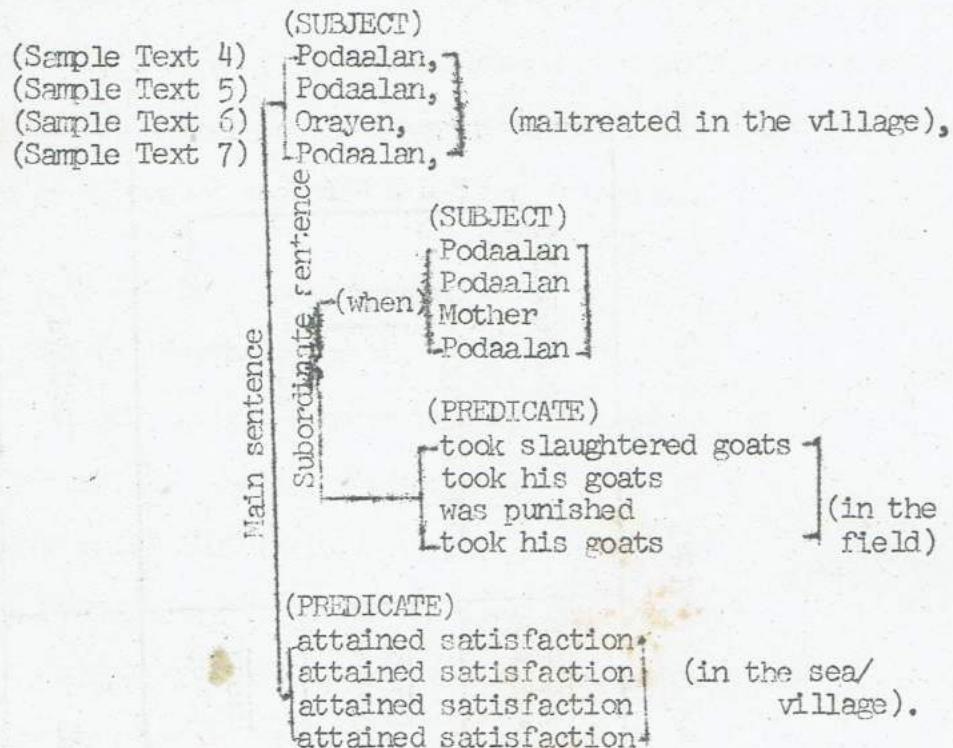
SAMPLE TEXT 7: Podaalan and Orayen

The story is as follows. The discriminated is Podaalan who was given only left-over food for his lunch (WANT). He left Orayen and headed towards the sea to avoid his mother's maltreatment (TASK). Orayen saw him again early in the morning when he who was now anito, came to feed goats in the field. They divided their goats and Orayen guided Podaalan and his wife to her place and they had a farewell meal (ACCOMPLISHMENT). Then Podaalan, the anito, invited Orayen to their residence where they were leading a married life (SATISFACTION).

As we have seen, the structure of the stories of discrimination is identical: the subordinate structure (TASK)--(ACCOMPLISHMENT) is embedded in the main structure (WANT)--(SATISFACTION). The actual items in the complex structure may vary from story to story, but their functions in the structure remain the same.

If you reduce the whole content of each story of discrimination to a single complex sentence, you will get the following and you can see more clearly the syntactic and paradigmatic relations of the items in the structure.





It is interesting to note that the anito, the transform of the main character, can go to the eternal immortal world, that is, the depths of the sea, only when it is offered an animal sacrifice, and that the anito may return to person only when it is offered a human sacrifice. Consequently the animal sacrifice and the human sacrifice are in complementary distribution, and the phenomena of transforming to fish and the returning to person are also in complementary distribution.

The interpretation that the main character transform to fish at the final stage as shown in Table 1 must be taken with some reservation since there are no straight forward descriptions concerning the habitant in the world under the sea. It is true, however, that



PATTERN	EVENT	MAIN CHARACTER (MC)	TRANSFORM OF MC	HABITAT OF MC
<p>MATRIX</p> <p>WANT</p> <p>EMBEDDING</p> <p>TASK</p> <p>ACCOMPLISHMENT</p> <p>WANT</p> <p>SATISFACTION</p>	discrimination ( <u>kenen</u> food)	person ( <u>tawo</u> )	alive ( <u>mavihay</u> )	village ( <u>hili</u> )
	sacrifice ( <u>radin</u> goat)	departed soul ( <u>arito</u> )	dead ( <u>maliman</u> )	wilderness ( <u>takev</u> )
	non-discrimination ( <u>sovo</u> felicity)	fish ? ( <u>among</u> )	blessed ( <u>maradinp</u> )	sea ( <u>hawa</u> )

Table 1. Model of the story of discrimination



the main character goes toward the sea when he is finally satisfied.

Table 1 is a structural representation of a complex but single life course of a person in the story of discrimination and it may be expressed by a complex sentence as in the following.

PERSON (tawo) who is  
 ALIVE ( mavihay) and the habitant of  
 VILLAGE (hili), when he feels invidious  
 DISCRIMINATION (kanen), transform to  
 DEPARTED SOUL (anito) who is  
 DEAD (naliman) and the habitant of  
 WILDERNESS (takey), and when he (now anito) takes  
 SACRIFICE (kadiñ); transforms to  
 FISH (among) who is  
 BLESSED (maradinep) and the habitant of  
 SEA (hawa), which leads to the  
 NON-DISCRIMINATION (soyot).

##### 5. COSMOLOGY OF THE ITBAYAT

The structure of the stories of discrimination as summarized in Table 1 seems to be the fundamental life principles or cosmology of the Itbayat people who have cherished and handed down those folktales from generation to generation.

A person is thought to be destined to die and becomes an anito which wanders about in the wilderness or field. The departed soul



anito wanders in the field because the person dies with some worldly desires left unsolved or unsatisfied and therefore he can not yet rest in peace. Until the time these worldly desires are satisfied, the anito remains in the wilderness which surrounds the village of the living people, and affects or controls them in such a way that it actually prescribes the way of daily life for the people. The anito gives instructions to the people through such means as dreams, diseases, accidents, calamities, mysteries, or practical jokes. The healer (mamihay) or the massager (mangaptos) is supposed to interpret these happenings and give people appropriate instructions, so that the anito may be propitiated.

It is true that people are scared of the anito, but they sometimes take advantage of it particularly when they go hunting, fishing, or clearing the forests for farming. It is, however, the people's fundamental attitude that they try to avoid the anito and hope it will not return to them again.

I would like to call your attention now to the position of the anito in the world view of the Itbayat people. The anito is the being which is still lingering over the human world because of the unsolved worldly desires and yet is doomed to final death, namely, the world of perpetuity or eternity.

The anito therefore is ambivalent facing both the mortal world and the immortal one. The world of the anito may then be regarded as the overlapping area that is common to both worlds. It is in this area of ambivalence that the Itbayat people practice taboos.



Table 2 illustrates the various aspects of the life of the people under the three categories: the mortal world, the ambivalent world, and the immortal world.

The analysis above of the understanding of the world of the Itbayat presupposes that the three divisions of their cosmological world are static, static in the sense that the three worlds simply exist there as they are.

Itbayat Island surrounded by precipitous cliffs is referred to as a boat (avang). Then the whole cosmological picture turns to be dynamic. It seems that the people regard the northern tip of the island as morong (bow) and the southern end as odi (stern). The residents in the village inland are rowing the boat with oars. One of the oars extends to the east coast and the other to the west coast where there are ports, the outlets of the island towards the outside world of new information. The anitos, habitants in the field, are the pilots and crew who roam in the field and guide the course of life of the people in the village. The rowers (human beings) obey the demands of the pilots (anitos) to give satisfaction to the anitos, that is by offering a sacrifice. Being satisfied, the anitos release themselves from the worldly desires and depart for the final destination, the world of eternity, Jalemag, in the depths of the sea.

This is the cosmology of the Itbayat people.



INFORMATION	VERB	SUBJECT	LOCATIVE		DIVISION OF WORLD	MORTAL WORLD	AMBIVALENT WORLD	IMMORTAL WORLD					
			SPACE DIVISION	SYMBOLIC PLACE NAME	GEOGRAPHICAL POINT	HOUSE	HABITANT	STATE OF BEING					
COMMUNICATION	MOVEMENT			hill (village)	Mayan (name of village)	xosong (valley, mortar)	kavaxayan (houses)	tawo (person)	mavlhay (life)	omol (go to village)	miyan (be in village)	chirih (language)	
	PRESENCE			takey (wilderness/field)	Karovooban (name of mountain)	tokon (mountain/high point)	kaaxasan (forests)	anite (departed soul)	naliman (death)	soml'bo (go to field)	mi'san (stay in field)	laagen (taboo)	
				hawwa (sea)	Jalemag (country under sea)	raxem (bottom)	kaayoyan (depths)	among (fish)?	maradinep (rest in peace)	somo'neb (dive into sea)	?	a'dep (silence)	

Table 2. Cosmology of the Itbayat



## 6. CONCLUSION

We have examined the structure of some Itbayat folktales and the world view of the people. I believe that our examination has brought to light two points: (1) the favorite motifemic structure of the Itbayat folktales is that of WANT-SATISFACTION; although their actual features are seemingly quite different from one story to another, and (2) the structure of motifemes of the folktales is the reflection of the cosmology of the Itbayat people.

I acknowledge lastly two works which are convenient for ready reference for the present essay: Ikegami, Yoshihiko (1982): Kotoba no Sigaku (Poetics of Language) (Tokyo), and Dundes, Allan (1964): The Morphology of North American Indian Folktales (Helsinki).



## APPENDIX

SAMPLE TEXT 1: Yaayen

Teofila Cabal  
May, 1977

Once there were children in Karovooban, and they went to different places to look for their spouses. Later they were able to find their spouses in this certain town. Karovooban is as far as Riposed. One of them found a beautiful girl whom he liked.

Yaayen, the man, said that he would like to marry her. "I don't like to be your wife, because it is not yet in my mind", said the girl. The man thought of a way to make her marry him. The girl tried to make it difficult for him. She said; "You may marry me, but I have something for you to do first", "So, you come here again tomorrow", said the girl. What the girl did was to get much sand and mix it with plenty of corn grains, and when she finished that, the man arrived the following day, and asked, "What do you want?" "Separate the corn from the sand." Half of their house was filled with the mixture. "Separate that quickly because if it takes too long, I will not marry you," said she. "Yes, I will try," said the man.

There were many birds which were all his friends. When he looked at the corn and sand, it was clear that he could not separate them on time. So he said, "My birds, you get together here and separate this in a short time."

They arrived enmasse with their flapping sound clouding up the sky. "Oh, Jesus, you separate and you place there what you have separated", he said. In a short time, they finished separating them by pecking, because there were many birds. When the girl saw that, she was reluctant to marry, but could not do anything because of the condition she set herself. "All right, I have finished separating it, so what would you say?", he asked.



"Well, wait a minute for I am still going to think," said she. But it was useless for her to think of something else because there was the condition which was still effective. She finally consented to the agreement and he went to the parents to consult on what was the best thing to do. Later, it was decided and they married and stayed together in the house.

SAMPLE TEXT 2: Anpanay

Dominga C. Irifol  
May, 1977

Once Anpanay had twelve children, but every time they were born he ate them. Because the mother felt sorry that the children were eaten as they were born, she went to look for a cave that was facing the sea, and she finally found one that faced toward the sea where there was clean and shallow water. Then she went to the cave and delivered her child there, and she went back to the village because she feared that Anpanay might get to know the place where she usually went. The newly born child was alone near the seashore and everyday the mother came to feed the baby.

When the child was grown up to be a lady, she was named Olaawan because she had beautiful braided golden hair.

When Mother cooked food, she used to separate the better portion from their food and placed it under a banara leaf. When she went to the cave in the field, she took the best food to Olaawan. She went to the cave and said, "Hair of Olaawan, come down for your food." And then she, Olaawan, brought down her hair and it produced the clink sound of gold.

Mother did this for a month. Anpanay was always watching her because she was choosing the best cooked food and took it with her to the field. "Where is she delivering our best food?" he wondered. Anpanay followed



her. The mother arrived and said, "Hair of Olaawan, come down for your food", and Olaawan brought down her hair and the gold sounded 'clink'. Mother tied up the food with her hair and then Olaawan pulled it up.

The following day, Anpanay got some cooked food and went to the field (cave) in the morning and said, "Hair of Olaawan, come down for your food". The father said it three time, but she did not let go her hair down. At the fourth time, she let go down her braided hair, but Olaawan was surprised to find that it was heavy for the father was holding on to it climbing up toward her. She cut at the middle of her hair and the father fell into the sea.

When the mother arrived, she said, "Hair of Olaawan, come down for your food". "It can not reach you, because I cut it for my father was coming upwards to me. I cut it and he fell directly into the sea", said Olaawan. "We have never expected this. So I'll go up and get you." Then the mother climbed up the rocky place to get her, and they went together to the field and went together back to the village. Their reunion was very good in their house without fearing anybody.

SAMPLE TEXT 3: Haxok who was taken by an anito

Raymunda Camacho  
June, 1977

The girl was named haxok (orchid) because haxok was used in persuading her who was taken by the anito. The aunt kept her only for a short period. When she grew bigger and she was about the size of the child, she could carry a coconut-shell container for half a gallon of water. She went to the place called Varit to fetch water, because her house was at the top of Karovooban.



"You go and fetch water," said the aunt, and she went to fetch water at Varit in the valley. Then, she went upward returning to her village, and the string of the container was cut. It rolled downward, and the child followed it. She cried because she could not catch it.

While she was crying, what I call kangdetan (anito) immediately saw her and said, "Why are you crying, I'm here". "Because the string of my water-container was cut." "You come to my place. Let's go", he said. The child agreed and they went to a cave in Pangengnevan. "You may know it, but I don't know where it is." And they went there and stayed there. The aunt who was taking care of her never knew this,

Another kangdetan, which is like the companion of hers and most probably an anito, went to her aunt and said, "Can you not find the child?" "No." "Then, kill your pig and prepare a share for the anito." This share, as you may know, is made of blood and fat that are plainly boiled. You don't chop but simply slice it.

"You take it," said the Kangdetan. "Take it because you will use it for persuading the Kangdetan of the cave, so that he will open the cave." The aunt took it to the cave but there was nothing, and she could not open it.

After a while, the Kangdetan came and said, "You get the flower of a haxok, the white orchid. Take it there and say 'Here is something for you, so open the cave'", said he.

It was a marvel. It was opened and the child who had been taken by the anito was already big, for he had fed her. Later on, the one who took her (and not the one who talked with the aunt) said, "I will stay here. You come often to see me. And when you see me facing the north, I am still alive", said he. "And when I face the west, you come to see me and get my bones, because they will be clinking gold".



It was true. The child obeyed what she was told and she was able to get the bones. That (gold) became their (her aunt and herself) means of livelihood. And this is all of the story related to me by your late aunt, Aplakaati.

SAMPLE TEXT 4: Podaalan

Juana T. Gordo  
February, 1971

Once there were a mother and a father who had two children, a boy and a girl. Everyday they went to give their goats leaves of trees as their food. The parents discriminated between their children's lunch: rice was for the girl and untasty yam for the boy. Because the brother resented this kind of treatment, he felt hurt. Since he felt hurt, he did not like to accompany his sister back to their father and mother. He remained in the field.

For three days the girl went to the place where their goats were but every time she arrived there, her brother had finished giving food to the goats and swept the floor of the goat-pen very clean. She returned to the village and told this to her mother. "You see where he is and ask what he did not like", said the mother. "I did not see him in person but I saw only what he had done," answered the sister.

On the third day, she saw her brother, and he said to her, "You go back to our mother and I'll not go with you because they discriminate between us. As the girl was looking at the boy who was turning his back and going away, the girl cried, "Shall we still see each other again?" He replied "We may see each other yet, but later." Seeing him leaving, the girl went back to the village and reported what had happened to her mother.



The next day, the father said, "Let's go and kill one of his goats for his share." So they killed one. After killing, they just left it in the field without eating it. The following day, they went to see the goat they had killed and found there was nothing there. They did not know if it was eaten by dogs or by the owner of the goat.

SAMPLE TEXT 5: Podaalan and Gomaram

Dominga C. Irifol  
May, 1977

Once there were children Podaalan and Gomaram. Their mother treated them differently. She gave Podaalan sweet potato for his lunch and she gave Gomaram yam for her lunch. They went to cut trees, and Gomaram said that she was given fried pork for her lunch, and Podaalan was given roasted mushrooms for viand. "You come here, brother, and let us eat together", said she. "No, I won't go with you, and you eat there because that was given to you as lunch by our mother and I will eat what our mother has given me for my lunch", said he. They ate, and after eating, they smoked. After smoking, they went to cut trees again.

For the first time Podaalan stroke his ax, it slipped off the handle and struck his leftside and on his stomach. When the sister saw it, she took off her clothes and tried it around his stomach so that blood would not come out. They went to the village and when they arrived at the village, he died. They buried him and Gomaram was sorry for her brother.

They had many goats near the seashore. "You cook lunch for me, Mother, because I'll go and see if our goats and those of Podaalan are still alive," said she. The mother asked her, "why do you go there, he might scare you?" "I am not afraid of Podaalan," said she and then went out. When she arrived there, the goats had just been fed with plenty of hay. "Who on earth is



kind to me to come and feed our goats?" she said to herself. For three days, they had been fed with plenty of hay when Gomaram arrived. She said, "I'll stay here." And she said to her mother, "Please cook something for my lunch, Mother, and don't expect me for supper. I'll stay in the field tonight, because I can not see one of the two goats of ours and Podaalan's which have big horns. I have to look for it." "Don't stay in the field for he will scare you", said Mother. "I'm not afraid of Podaalan", said she.

Then she went to stay in the field and at twilight she lifted the hay and inserted herself in it and went to sleep. When it was twilight (in the morning) she heard elaborate whistling. She was prepared for this occasion. Then Podaalan arrived and put down his hay, when Gomaram stood up and said, "I have guessed that I have a companion in feeding our goats. Please let us be together and talk in a comfortable way", she said. "Yes, even until you die we will remain and see each other here in the place where we have goats, but there is one condition, that you should not tell about me to our mother. If you should tell about me, that will be the end of our seeing each other," said Podaalan. So they were seeing each other when they come to feed their goats there.

The mother was wondering why her daughter always got plenty of food. "Who are you giving food and why do you stay where the goats are?" asked the mother. "Because I often see Podaalan." "So, you can still see him?" asked the mother. She answered, "Yes, I still see him at the place where our goats are." Podaalan already knew this. "Now, Gomaram, you have told about me to our mother, and therefore let us divide our goats, and that will be the end of your seeing me and this is the last time for me to see you too. We shall now divide our goats," said Podaalan.



Then Podaalan placed down a pole across their goats, and the goats for Gomaram were facing the east and the goats for Podaalan were facing the seashore. "Now, we leave you, and this will be the last time we see each other." "You go now," said he to his goats. And they went to the sea and their feet did not sink in the sea, and she also went but they had already left. She said, "Podaalan, shall we see each other again?" "We will see each other, but much later (far in the future)", he said and the Gomaram got her goats. This is the end.

SAMPLE TEXT 6: Vaknang and Orayen

Sandalo Salengua  
March, 1967

Once upon a time there lived a man and wife who had children. The children were called Orayen and Vaknang. Everyday their parents went to work. Every time the husband arrived, he asked his wife where Orayen was, and the wife simply said, "Maybe he is just around playing with his friends." Every time their father left their house for work, the wife treated their son and daughter so differently in everything especially in food, clothes, toys, and everything else. When she left them alone in their house or to their neighbors, she gave Vaknang rice for food (lunch) and she gave Orayen some sort of pig-food. But when they were alone (brother and sister) and when the mother did not see, Vaknang usually shared her rice food with her brother Orayen for she pitied him very much, but her brother refused everything that was offered to him because he feared that their mother would get angry. Orayen told Vaknang, "You eat whatever is given to you as mother told and I'll eat what is given to me by our mother no matter how poor it may be."



But Vaknang used to persuade him to partake in her lunch because she pitied him very much. Gradually Orayen came to know that their mother was treating them differently: she loved Vaknang much more than she did Orayen. One day Orayen told Vaknang that he would leave them. This is what Orayen said, "It may be better if I leave you for our mother does not love me as much as she loves you. She treats us so differently, for when she gives us food she gives you the sweetest food. Whenever she buys for us dresses and toys she gives you the nicest. So it would be better for me to leave you now and go where you can not see nor hear me any more. I will go and jump into the sea to be swallowed up by a big fish."

When Vaknang heard all this she began comforting him, who was determined to leave. She let Orayen have now some of her toys in order that Orayen would not leave them and this was what Vaknang said to Orayen, "Don't leave us, Orayen, for when you leave us I don't have a brother anymore and there will be no one who will feed our goats." Later, Orayen bade good-bye to Vaknang. He said, "Don't be lonely anyway, for you still have playmates other than me, and we still have our parents who will feed our goats. When our parents come back, you tell them that I left and went somewhere you cannot see me anymore for our mother doesn't love me as much as she loves you, and so good-bye." Orayen took his headgear and got started. Vaknang cried so hard holding onto Orayen's arm and clothes not letting him leave, but Orayen insisted on leaving.

When Orayen was already far on the way he still heard his sister crying after him. He waited for her. And then Orayen said to Vaknang that she should go back home for he was afraid their parents should scold her. But Vaknang followed him up to the seashore. Orayen said to Vaknang, "Go back now, our parents might miss you and it is getting dark."



You see already that big fish which, as soon as I jump in, will swallow me immediately." Then, Vaknang replied saying, "No, I will go with you." "Don't come with me but go home now," said Orayen. After a while, Orayen removed his hat, clothes, and pants, and dropped them one after another and the big fish swallowed them all. Then Orayen said, "Goodby, go home now and obey our parent's will." Vaknang replied, "Let's go home for I'll say to mother that from this time on she will treat you in the same way as me." Orayen didn't listen to this and he jumped into the sea, and the big fish swallowed him immediately and vanished.

Vaknang returned home crying hard. In the evening their parents arrived from work. Father asked Vaknang where Orayen was and Vaknang related to him what happened concerning Orayen's hurt-feeling due to their mother's treatment. Since Orayen was gone, naturally Vaknang had to go to feed their goats in the field and every time Vaknang went to feed their goats in the morning there was already hay newly hang. A few days after this, Vaknang thought of finding out who was doing the work for her without her knowledge, so one night she went to the goats' shed, and stayed there the whole night.. She hid herself in the hay and kept on watching. At dawn, the one who was giving the hay to the goats arrived. Vaknang immediately embraced him and asked who he was. The man answered, "I'm Orayen, your brother. And if you want me to come back and to be seen by all of you, you tell our father to prepare a big hook with a strong line and tell him where I jumped into the sea last time when I left you, and the big fish will swallow the hook as soon as he drops it. Once the fish is caught, he shall cut open the body and pour this medicine on my bones, and I'll return to be a person," replied Orayen.



So Vaknang obeyed all the instructions which Orayen had given her and so did her father. Thus Orayen was turned again into a form of person. After Orayen had returned, their father set a day for them to have a feast, and their father told Orayen to invite all their neighbors and their relatives as well. Their father told Orayen, "After the feast, you go to the field and get two fastest and biggest horses of ours." Being an obedient boy, Orayen went out for this: What their father did was to have one arm and a foot of his wife tied to the one horse and the other arm and foot to the other horse, and instructed the two horses to run on the opposite directions as fast as possible and to never come back so long as there was still parts of the one tied to their legs, or until when the wife's body was torn to pieces. From that time on, the family, Vaknang, Orayen, and their father, lived happily.

SAMPLE TEXT 7: Podaalan and Orayen

Andrea Ibanez

March, 1971

Once there was a mother who had two children, named Podaalan and Orayen. They were keeping goats and everyday they had to go and gather hay to be hung for the goats. The mother discriminated between Orayen and Podaalan in the kind of lunch prepared for them: she gave Orayen the better food, while Podaalan was given the left-over food for his lunch as they went to feed their goats. Orayen said, "Take some of my lunch." "I'll not take any because I have my own," said Podaalan.

Later on Podaalan said, "You go to the village now and I'll go my way because our mother treats us differently, as she loves you more than me."



And so good-bye, and I'll go to another town." "Good-bye," also said Orayen, "and I'll go now, but Podaalan, Podaalan, shall we meet each other again?" "We shall meet again, but after a long time," Podaalan replied. Then Orayen went back to the village weeping as Podaalan went away.

Later on, when Orayen went to hang food for the goats, she said, "maybe Podaalan is still alive because our goats' food is still new. How will I be able to see Podaalan? Never mind. I'll go and gather hay today in order that I'll be able to see him and I will wait for him." And so she gathered hay there the whole day and in the evening she said to herself, I'll stay in the field so that I'll be able to see Podaalan."

Later on, at twilight, Podaalan came carrying on his head a bundle of hay, and went to hang it for the goats. And so Orayen woke up and went to embrace Podaalan. "Is this your body (person) or your anito?" said she. "It is not my person but my anito," Podaalan answered. So they conversed because they have longed for each other. And later on Podaalan said, "Don't tell our mother about me so that we'll see each other." "Oh yes," said Orayen. So she went to town.

And later on as they were seeing each other where they were feeding their goats, Podaalan said, "Let's divide our goats for I'll bring my share to my village." "Yes, but have a bigger share because I can not take care of all of them." "Yes, on that day, you and your sister-in-law come and fetch me to our house," said he. Later on Orayen went to pack up her things and mother said, "Why do you suddenly put things in order in the house and who will be your visitors and who are they who shall come?" Orayen did not tell. And later on the couple arrived and greeted their mother and then entered.



Then, Orayen went to cook their meal. They all sat for their meal. Podaalan said, "We shall all eat together." For we do not know if we all will see one another again." So they ate and when they had finished eating, Podaalan said, "Pack your things, Orayen, and we'll go." And she packed and her mother said, "Take me with you and I'll go with you." "Don't come with us and just stay here and we will come and see you here," Podaalan said.

They went towards the sea. So the neighbors said to the mother when they left, "It serves you right! Because you treated them differently." They bade her farewell and then left for their village in Jalemag.

The night came while they were already in Jalemag. Podaalan said, "Go ahead and sleep, Orayen, for you might be afraid of us." "Why should I be scared of you, for I can see your person, and you are my brother," said Orayen. "No, you must go ahead and sleep," Podaalan insisted. So she went ahead to bed but was only pretending to sleep for she was watching them secretly and she saw that the wife turned into a duck and Podaalan into a snake which curled around his duck wife. The end.



# SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS OF YADASEN NOUNS

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Yadasen is spoken in Abra in the towns of Lagayan and Tineg and some parts of Lugangitong. But more specifically for the purpose of my paper, it is the dialect spoken in Ba-i Barrio. Yadasen, sometimes called Inidi, is only one of some many kinds of Itneg dialects which include Inlaud, Ilakub and I-yatib.

The data used in this research were based on two major lists: The Lexico-Statistic List for Philippine Languages and Test Sentences for Philippine Languages, both prepared by Dr. Ernesto Constantino. All the information used here has been gathered primarily from one resource person. My informant is a native speaker of Yadasen.

As a further introduction to the language, may I present some of the highlights of its Phonology.

Yadasen has 22 segmentals: p t k q b d g s ch m n ng l r w y i e  
ɔ a u o. (refer to the charts)

## Consonants:

	bil	dent	alv	pal	vel	glot
stops vl	p	t			k	q
vd	b	d			g	
fric vl			s			
affr vl			ch <sup>*</sup>			
nas	m	n			ng	
lat			l			
tril			r			
s-v	w			y		

\* found only in one word derecho 'straight' which is a borrowed word



Vowels:

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e	ɜ	o
low		a	

All stops are unaspirated. The r has a limited distribution occurring only in word-medial positions. Consonant clusters are found only across syllable boundaries. In Yadasen, it is very common to find gemination.

ex.	mattoy	'to die'
	dayyu	'far'
	tollu	'three'
	tawwon	'year'

The vowels, except ɜ which occur only in medial positions, are present in both the medial and final positions following the assumption that vowels are always preceded by a glottal stop in word-initial positions. Both rising and falling diphthongs may be found in the language.

ex.	qalgow	'day'
	qayqayam	'bird'
	wangag	'river'
	kumayab	'to hunt'

For this occasion, I will attempt to analyze the nouns of Yadasen and hopefully, be able to come up with an accurate description and classification of the syntactic functions of these nouns. Thus, the discussion will center on the functions of these nouns in various types of phrase and sentence constructions. Like other Philippine languages, Yadasen nouns are of different types based on morphological structure but this will not be discussed here due to certain limitations in the



data at hand, However, at this point, I would like to touch briefly on the construction markers of the language. Nouns in Yadasen are marked to show whether they are focused or not and to indicate their functions in the sentence. The noun phrase generally has the following form:

no. + marker = head

Focused nouns are marked by tu or Yo.

Nouns that are not focused are marked with:

an actor marker, nit as in

Kin-nan nit obbing tu mangga.  
(ate the child the mango)  
'The mango was eaten by the child.'

an object-marker, ko (indefinite) as in

angan ko mangga tu obbing.  
(ate the mango the child)  
'The child ate a mango.'

an object-marker, itu (definite) as in

Tu obbing yo nangan itu mangga.  
(the child the ate the mango)  
'It was the child who ate the mango.'

a locative-marker, kc as in

Narigat yo yo mappon ko Manila.  
(difficult the to go to Manila)  
'It is difficult to go to Manila.'

an instrumental marker, ko as in

Tu toloy tu nangputod ko kayu (kot nangosar) ko badang.  
(the man the cut the wood by means of the bolo)  
'It was the man who cut the tree with the bolo.'

a beneficiary marker, para ko as in

Ngirmina ko lemon tu baro itu obbing para ko balasang.  
(bought a candy the bachelor the child for the maiden)  
'The bachelor bought candy from the child for the maiden.'

a causative marker, ko as in

Gina tu ratay ko da-ig.  
(he the died of Tuberculosis)  
'It was he who died of TB.'

Thus, we see the common nouns as marked to show complementation.



Proper nouns are marked similarly.

e.g. focused: e as in

Nabilog ga nanagtag e Pedro.  
(fast ligature run marker Pedro)  
'Pedro runs fast.'

actor-marker: ne as in

Nginin-ngina-an ne Pedro tu baloy ko.  
(bought by Pedro the house mine)  
'My house was bought by Pedro.'

The markers form their plurality generally by replacing

or prefixing with a d.

e (proper noun focused marker) - de (plural form)  
nitu (common noun actor-marker) - ditu (plural form)

#### Syntactic Functions of the Nouns

A. 1. Nouns function as head in attributive constructions.

These constructions are of the form:

attribute + ligature + head

- ex. (1) dakke ka toloy  
(bad modifier marker person)  
'bad person'
- (2) adu nga asin  
(much modifier marker salt)  
'much salt'
- (3) naunog ga obbat  
(deep modifier marker hole)  
'deep hole'
- (4) Lukup pa lulid  
(weak modifier marker rope)  
'weak rope'
- (5) dakkol la langay  
(big modifier marker fly)  
'big fly'

As can be observed from the above examples, the modifier marker varies



in form due to assimilation to the neighboring sounds, particularly to the last sound of the preceding word.

2. as head in locative constructions of the form:

locative marker + location

ex. (1) ko Manila  
(locative marker Manila)  
'to Manila'

(2) yo ginot  
(locative marker ground)  
'on the ground'

(3) itu tawtawaan  
(locative marker window)  
'from the window'

(4) idi pisong  
(locative marker lake)  
'in the lake'

3. as head in possessive constructions

a. constructions with pronouns of the form:

head + pronoun

ex. (1) kabasaan no  
(field your)  
'your field'

(2) nuang tidan  
(carabao our)  
'our carabao'

b. constructions without pronouns of the form:

head + (marker) + possessor

ex. (1) dung-ngol aso  
(bark dog)  
'bark of the dog'

(2) asawa ne Hwan  
(wife possessive proper noun marker Juan)  
'wife of Juan'



- (3) mata nyo kilow  
(eye possessive proper noun marker owl)  
'eye of the owl'

- (4) musung nitu nuang  
(mouth possessive common noun marker carabao)

4. as head in constructions with demonstrative pronouns:

head + modifier + demonstrative pronoun

- ex. (1) iyog ga idi  
(coconut modifier marker this)  
'this coconut'

- (2) ginubat ta toni  
(forest modifier marker that)  
'that forest'

B. In a definite sentence, the noun phrase functions as the subject.

The noun phrase consists of a noun marker and a noun. The noun marker e is used with proper nouns and tu with common nouns. Furthermore, these articles are adjusted to conform with the nouns in number.

- ex. (1) Tu obbing yo nagsikad.  
(the child the stood up)  
'It was the child who stood up.'

- (2) E Pedro tu nagsikad.  
(the Pedro the stood up)  
'It was Pedro who stood up.'

- (3) Ditu obbing yo nagsikad.  
(the children the stood up)  
'It was the children who stood up.'

- (4) Da Pedro tu nagsikad.  
(the Pedro the stood up)  
'It was Pedro and companions who stood up.'

In active verbal definite sentences, the noun occurs as complement head preceded by a complement marker.

1. with the indefinite goal marker



- ex. Tu obbing yo nangan ko mangga.  
 (the child the ate indefinite goal marker mango)  
 'It was the child who ate the mango.'

2. with the locative marker

- ex. Tu baro yo ngimmina ko lemon itu obbing  
 para ko balasang.  
 (the bachelor the bought candy from the child  
 for the maiden)  
 'It was the bachelor who bought a flower from the child  
 for the maiden.'

3. with the definite goal marker

- ex. Tu obbing yo nangan itu mangga.  
 (the child the ate definite goal marker the mango)  
 'It was the child who ate the mango.'

4. with the benefactive marker

- ex. Tu baro tu ngimmina ko lemon itu obbing para ko balasang.  
 (the bachelor the bought candy from the child  
 benefactive marker for the maiden)  
 'It was the bachelor who bought a candy from the child  
 for the maiden.'

5. with instrumental marker

- ex. Tu toloy tu nangputod ko kayo (kot nangosar)  
 ko badang.  
 (the man the cut the wood (by means of) the bolo)  
 'It was the man who cut wood by means of the bolo.'

In passive verbal definite sentences, the noun may function as subject with varying focuses. e. g. as goal noun, locative noun, benefactive noun, instrumental noun, reciprocal actor noun, and others, all correlating correspondingly to a passive affix.

- ex. (1) Tu balasang tu ningi-na-an nitu baro ko lemon.  
 (the maiden the was bought by the bachelor candy)  
 'It was the maiden who was bought candy by the bachelor.'
- (2) Tu badang ko tu nangputod nitu toloy ko kayo.  
 (the bolo my the was cut with by the man to the wood)  
 'It was my bolo which the man used in cutting wood.'

In nominal non-verbal definite sentences, the noun functions as the head of the predicate while in particular sentences it is the



head of the predicate while in particulate non-verbal definite sentences, the noun may be just part of the particulate phrase.

- ex. (1) Tu balasang yo wod ko baloy.  
(the maiden the there in the house)  
'It is the maiden who is in the house.'
- (2) Tu balasang yo wod sabong na.  
(the maiden the have flower her)  
'It is the maiden who has a flower.'

In indefinite sentences, the noun phrase functions as subject.

The noun phrase, however, consists of only a common noun and has no marker.

- ex. (1) Abugado tu kabsat na.  
(lawyer the brother his)  
'His brother is a lawyer.'
- (2) Nangga kano kin-nan nitu obbing.  
(mango said the was eaten by the child)  
'It was a mango which was eaten by the child.'

In situational sentences, the noun phrase also functions as the subject occurring right after the verb.

- ex. (1) Nagsikad tu obbing.  
(stood up the child)  
'The child stood up.'
- (2) Mangtag ko nabilog e Pedro.  
(ran fast the Pedro)  
'Pedro ran fast.'
- (3) Nagsina yo baro kon balasang.  
(separated the bachelor and maiden)  
'The bachelor and maiden separated.'
- (4) Napuskol yo atop nyo baloy ne Pedro.  
(thick the roof the house Pedro)  
'The roof of Pedro's house is thick.'
- (5) Pinakan nitu balasang tu aso.  
(was caused to eat by the maiden the dog my)  
'My dog was fed by the maiden.'



- (6) Ngimmina ko lemon tu **baro** itu obbing para ko balasang.  
 (bought candy the bachelor from the child for the maiden)  
 'The bachelor bought candy from the child for the maiden.'

- (7) Ningi-naan nitu baro tu balasang ko lemon.  
 (was bought by the bachelor the maiden candy)  
 'The maiden was bought candy by the bachelor.'

In these sentences, nouns may also occur as predicate complements.

- ex. (1) Nakipatang tu obbing e Pedro.  
 (talked with the child to Pedro)  
 'The child talked with Pedro.'

- (2) Netdan ne Pedro tu obbing ko kuwarta.  
 (given Pedro the child money)  
 'Pedro gave the child money.'

In ~~non~~-predicative sentences, the noun may occur as part of the complement.

- ex. (1) Awan toloy ko baloy.  
 (no man in the house)  
 'There is nobody in the house.'

- (2) Nakigi-gi-bot ko baloy.  
 (very dark in the house)  
 'It's very dark in the house.'

- (3) Panag-mumula ngin.  
 (planting season now)  
 'It's planting season already.'

The functions of the noun do not vary much in inverted sentences except for their position in sentences and the presence of a marker kat.

- ex. Tu obbing kat nagsikad.  
 (the child the stood up)  
 'the child stood up.'



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A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE KARAO LANGUAGE

IN BENGUET<sub>1</sub>

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(I)

The Karao language is a minority language in Bukod, Benguet<sub>2</sub> and is spoken only in two barrios - Karao and Ikip - which belonged to one barrio before.

The people in Karao and Ikip are tri-linguals: Karao, Inibaloy<sub>3</sub> and Ilocano. Inibaloy is a lingua franca in Bukod<sub>4</sub> and its vicinity, and Ilocano for Benguet province.

Although the people speaking Karao have been assimilated in- to the Inibaloy culture and language<sub>5</sub> with a lot of words observed in the language, Karao still keeps its independency. Even the people in Bukod, which lies only 6 kilometers away from Karao, can not understand the Karao language and its cognate languages have not been identified yet.

(II)

Most of the basic words are borrowed from Inibaloy and at first, the language seems to be one of the dialects of Inibaloy.

/toktok/	'head'	(=Inibaloy)
/bali/	'house'	(=Inibaloy)
/patan/	'hot'	(=Inibaloy)
/bulon/	'leaf'	(=Inibaloy)
/subil/	'lips'	(=Inibaloy)
/dali/	'male'	(=Inibaloy)
/bi'l/	'female'	(=Inibaloy)



But in addition to the large amount of borrowings, they are still using words of their own; that is, they are using genealogically different kinds of words for one meaning, one of which is a loan word from Inibaloy or Ilocano and the other of which belongs to their own language:

'to suck'	/supsup/	(=Inibaloy)
	/dupdup/	
'water'	/tʃanum/	(=Inibaloy)
	/otɔːŋ/	
'tasteless'	/dɛnsis/	(=Inibaloy)
	/talɪnɔv/	
'to burn'	/mɪˈpuulan/	(=Inibaloy)
	/mɪˈsɪfɛlan/	

But some words are of their own:

	KARAO	INIBALOY	
		Reid (1971)	Scheerer (1905)
'father'	/a:wa/	a:ma	a:ma
'fly (insect)'	/atɪmɔd/	paŋat	apaŋat
'anus'	/qayqaymɔt/	gwandɔs	obɔtɔ
'big'	/banay/	ʔabadag	abang
'butterfly'	/ta:taɪˈau/	boʔboʔdo.	bul-bul-o
'monkey'	/bulɛŋɔn/	ʔaqɪ	ba-xɛs



Too many borrowings from Inibaloy have introduced new phonemes into the Karao language.

Original Karao might not have differentiated the phonemes /t/ and /θ/. Generally speaking the phones [t] and [θ] are allophones which show the complementary distribution. That is, in the medial position the phoneme /t/ is changed into [θ]; in other positions /t/ becomes [t]. But the effect of the large amount of borrowings lets the phone [t] become distinctive in the medial position. As a result the allophones become distinctive; that is, two different phonemes.

/namat/ + /an/	— [namaθan]	'to taste'
/muθug/	[moθog <sup>o</sup> ]	'nose'
/k <sup>*</sup> tap/	[katap <sup>o</sup> ]	'blanket'
/butiq/	[butiq <sup>o</sup> ]	'one eyed person'

This is also the case with the phonemes /p/ and /f/.

/afay/	[ <sup>o</sup> afay]	'fire'
/kafəs/	[kafəs]	'cotton'
/apul/	[ <sup>o</sup> apul]	'line'
/dupa/	[dupa <sup>o</sup> ]	'face'

### (III)

Karao has 19 consonants and 2 semi-vowels and 4 vowels;

#### Consonants



	B.	LD.	D.	A.	PA.	V.	U.	G.
STOP	b			d		g		(+Voiced)
	p			t		k	q	(-Voiced)
							ʔ	(+Voiced)
FRICATIVE								(-Voiced)
		f	θ	s				
NASAL	m			n		ŋ		
LATERAL (Approximant)				l				
CENTRAL (Approximant)				r				
AFFRICATE						dz		(+Voiced)
						tʃ		(-Voiced)

# Semi Vowels

w

y

B = Bilabial  
LD = Labio-Dental  
D = Dental  
A = Alveolar

PA = Palato-Alveolar  
V = Velar  
U = Uvular  
G = Glottal

## Vowels

i

u

ə

a



(IV)

Consonants

/b/

/banay/	[banay]	'big'
/buwa/	[buwa <sup>?</sup> ]	'betel nut'
/mabiday/	[mabiday]	'alive'
/umban <sup>?</sup> at/	[ <sup>?</sup> omban <sup>?</sup> at <sup>o</sup> ]	'bad smelling'
/kurab/	[korab <sup>o</sup> ]	'blind'
/tayab/	[tayab <sup>o</sup> ]	'to fly'

/p/

/pili/	[pili <sup>?</sup> ]	'to choose'
/pispis/	[pispis]	'to choose'
/kulput/	[kolpot <sup>o</sup> ]	'cloud'
/dapuk/	[dapok <sup>o</sup> ]	'dust'
/kukip/	[kokip <sup>o</sup> ]	'dream'
/t <sup>?</sup> o <sup>?</sup> ap/	[t <sup>?</sup> chap <sup>o</sup> ]	'barefoot'

/d/

/dupa/	[dupa <sup>?</sup> ]	'face'
/dima/	[dima <sup>?</sup> ]	'five'
/iqdog/	[ <sup>?</sup> eqdog <sup>o</sup> ]	'egg'
/masdaw/	[masdaw]	'to get surprised'
/bilt <sup>?</sup> ad/	[bilt <sup>?</sup> ad <sup>o</sup> ]	'to lie down'
/dzin <sup>?</sup> ad/	[dzin <sup>?</sup> ad <sup>o</sup> ]	'nape'



/t/

/tinil/	[tinil]	'nipple'
/tu u/	[to o]	'man'
/ma <sup>2</sup> tən/	[ma <sup>2</sup> tən]	'raw'
/matpəl/	[matpəl]	'to roof'
/yakdut/	[yakdot <sup>o</sup> ]	'to roast'
/damut/	[damot <sup>o</sup> ]	'root'

/g/

/gaθas/	[gaθas]	'milk'
/guwa/	[gowa <sup>?</sup> ]	'to kill a carabao'
/ugi/	[ <sup>?</sup> ogi <sup>?</sup> ]	'yam'
/aguwab/	[ <sup>?</sup> agowab <sup>o</sup> ]	'to yawn'
/uət/	[ <sup>?</sup> oət <sup>o</sup> ]	'buttocks'
/uəŋ/	[ <sup>?</sup> oŋ]	'gray hair'
/bəŋəg/	[bəŋəg <sup>o</sup> ]	'back'
/kuməg/	[koməg <sup>o</sup> ]	'hard (of substance)'

/k/

/kawadzən/	[kawadzən]	'bamboo'
/kantʃin/	[kantʃin]	'goat'
/akəs/	[ <sup>?</sup> akəs]	'belly'
/busakan/	[busakan]	'east'
/buwək/	[buwək <sup>o</sup> ]	'hair'
/atak/	[ <sup>?</sup> atak <sup>o</sup> ]	'bolo'



/q/

The phoneme /q/ is different from the phoneme /k/;

/kapkap/	[kap <sup>o</sup> kap <sup>o</sup> ]	'to slice'
/qapqap/	[qap <sup>o</sup> qap <sup>o</sup> ]	'to touch'
/qaiwat/	[qaiwat <sup>o</sup> ]	'eel'
/qirul/	[qer <sup>o</sup> ol]	'thunder'
/siqmat/	[seq <sup>o</sup> mat <sup>o</sup> ]	'to catch'
/iqat/	[ <sup>o</sup> eqat <sup>o</sup> ]	'to tie'
/adaq/	[ <sup>o</sup> adaq <sup>o</sup> ]	'wine'
/puuq/	[puoq <sup>o</sup> ]	'typhoon'

/ʔ/

The glottal stop is distinctive only in the medial position. If a word begins or ends with a vowel, the glottal stop is automatically placed before or after the vowel:

sa <sup>o</sup> qi/ }	[sa <sup>o</sup> qe <sup>o</sup> ]	'one'
/saqi/ }	[saqe <sup>o</sup> ]	'leg'
/uqi/	[ <sup>o</sup> oqe <sup>o</sup> ]	'matter in the eyes upon awaking'
/ami <sup>o</sup> in/	[ <sup>o</sup> ami <sup>o</sup> in]	'all'
/tʃip <sup>o</sup> ul/	[tʃip <sup>o</sup> ol]	'ashes'
/paniqi/	[pa <sup>o</sup> neqe <sup>o</sup> ]	'bat'
/abusi/	[ <sup>o</sup> abosi <sup>o</sup> /]	'ant'



/f/

The phoneme /f/ appears only in the medial position, and the phoneme /p/ does appear even in the medial position, which makes the two distinctive.

/afu/	}	[ <sup>?</sup> afu <sup>?</sup> ]	'grand parents'
/in <sup>?</sup> apu/		[ <sup>?</sup> in <sup>?</sup> apo <sup>?</sup> ]	'son or daughter in law'
/difunak/		[difunak <sup>o</sup> ]	'a kind of banana'
/ufa/		[ <sup>?</sup> ofa <sup>?</sup> ]	'hen'
/a <sup>?</sup> ufa/		[ <sup>?</sup> a <sup>?</sup> ofa <sup>?</sup> ]	'hungry'
/tafay/		[tafay]	'rice wine'

/θ/

Just like /f/, the phoneme /θ/ appears only in the medial position. But the phonemes /t/ and /θ/ are in opposition.

/maθa/	}	[maθa <sup>?</sup> ]	'eye'
/patan/		[patan]	'hot'
/ba:θu/		[ba:θo <sup>?</sup> ]	'stone'
/muθug/		[moθog <sup>o</sup> ]	'nose'
/uθak/		[ <sup>?</sup> uθak <sup>o</sup> ]	'brain'
/piθu/		[piθo <sup>?</sup> ]	'seven'
/maθiba/		[maθeba <sup>?</sup> ]	'fat'



/b/

/b/ appears only in the medial position and is realized as three phones: [b], [X], [h].

(a) [b]

/b/ is realized as [b] in the environments below:

/u/ } \_\_\_\_\_ /1/  
 /a/ }  
 /i/ }

/i/ } \_\_\_\_\_ /a/8  
 /u/ }

/pubis/	[pubes]	'to cut one's hair'
/mubi/	[mube <sup>?</sup> ]	'meat'
/dabi/	[dabe <sup>?</sup> ]	'male'
/qibiy/	[qe <sup>?</sup> ey]	'eyebrow'
/qi <sup>?</sup> qibay/	[qe <sup>?</sup> qeken]	'ampit'
/amuba/	[ <sup>?</sup> amo <sup>?</sup> ba <sup>?</sup> ]	'dry'

(b) [x]

The phonem /b/ is realized as [x] in the environments below:

/i/ } \_\_\_\_\_ /u/  
 /a/ }  
 /u/ }  
 /i/ } \_\_\_\_\_ /a/



/iʔul/	[ <sup>?</sup> exol]	'tail'
/saʔat/	[saʔat <sup>o</sup> ]	'sick'
/uʔas/	[ <sup>?</sup> oxs]	'hard shell'
/si:bu/	[se:xp <sup>?</sup> ]	'elbow'

(c) [h]

The phoneme /b/ is realized as [h] in the environments below:

/u/ } \_\_\_\_\_ /u/  
/a/ }

/a/ \_\_\_\_\_ /a/

/aʔat/	[ <sup>?</sup> ahat <sup>o</sup> ]	'ginger'
/baʔul/	[bahol]	'old (female)'
/kuʔu/	[koho <sup>?</sup> ]	'nail'

/s/

/sa <sup>?</sup> wa/	[sa <sup>?</sup> gwa <sup>?</sup> ]	'a kind of banana'
/sunʔsunʔ/	[sonʔsonʔ]	'beak (of a bird)'
/sa <sup>?</sup> nit/	[so <sup>?</sup> nit <sup>o</sup> ]	'cleft of teeth'
/bulsis/	[bulsis]	'bile'
/ʔsap/	[ <sup>?</sup> osap <sup>o</sup> ]	'bubble'
/sisiw/	[sisiw]	'chicken'
/kal <sup>?</sup> as/	[kal <sup>?</sup> as]	'bark (of a tree)'
/manamus/	[manamus]	'to bathe'



/m/

/mapɔŋ/	[mapɔŋ]	'beautiful (as of voice)'
/maŋalkal/	[maŋalkal]	'to chew betel nut'
/umas/	[ʔomas]	'to break'
/amɪʔin/	[ʔamɪʔin]	'all'
/isanum/	[ʔisanum]	'to cook'
/tʃarəm/	[tʃarəm]	'deep (cliff)'

/n/

The phoneme /n/ is realized as [ɲ] before /i/ and [n] before any vowels other than /i/.

/qayʔinit/	[qayʔiɲit <sup>o</sup> ]	'to wink at'
/anini/	[ʔaɲiɲiʔ]	'evil spirit'

/nut/	[not <sup>o</sup> ]	'not (negative)'
/namit/	[namit <sup>o</sup> ]	'to taste'
/unʔus/	[onʔos]	'to hate'
/inum	[ʔinom]	'to drink'
/manan/	[manan]	'to eat'
/banun/	[banon]	'to get up'

/ŋ/

/ŋitŋit/	[ŋit <sup>o</sup> ŋit <sup>o</sup> ]	'to show teeth'
/ŋarub/	[ŋarob]	'young'
/bunun/	[bunon]	'dumb'



/aŋub/	[ <sup>ʔ</sup> aŋob <sup>o</sup> ]	'to smell'
/kuraŋ/	[ko <sup>ʔ</sup> raŋ]	'span'
/pasinsin/	[pasinsin]	'star'

## /l/

The phoneme /l/ appears only in medial and final positions.

/kilig/	[kilig <sup>o</sup> ]	'bank of the river'
/pultak/	[poltak <sup>o</sup> ]	'bald head'
/bilug/	[bilog <sup>o</sup> ]	'boat'
/tʃip <sup>ʔ</sup> ul/	[tʃip <sup>ʔ</sup> ol]	'ashes'
/pu:bol/	[pu:hol/]	'bones'

## /r/

The phoneme /r/ is realized as a tap and appears only in the medial position.

/karab/	[ka <sup>ʔ</sup> rab <sup>o</sup> ]	'to climb'
/baru/	[ba <sup>ʔ</sup> ro]	'clothing'
/narab/	[na <sup>ʔ</sup> rab <sup>o</sup> ]	'live coal'

## /dz/

The phoneme /dz/ appears only initially and medially.

/dzasdzas/	[dzasdzas]	'to breathe'
/dzugdzug/	[dzugdzug]	'earthquake'
/badzas/	[badzas]	'to borrow'



/traytɛɪzan/	[traytɛɪdʒan]	'bridge'
/kadzu/	[kadʒoʔ]	'tree'

/tʃ/

The phoneme /tʃ/ appears only in initial and medial positions.

/tʃaran/	[tʃaɾan]	'road'
/tʃintʃin/	[tʃintʃin]	'wall'
/tʃala/	[tʃalaʔ]	'blood'
/aɣtʃiʔin/	[ʔaɣtʃiʔin]	'to carry'
/maʔtʃim/	[maʔtʃim]	'afternoon'

### Semi-Vowels-

The phoneme /w/ is realized as two phones [w] and [gw]. The distribution of the two depends on the positions where the phoneme is.

- (a) [gw] Initially (# \_\_\_\_\_)  
 After a consonant (C \_\_\_\_\_)
- (b) [w] After a vowel (V \_\_\_\_\_)  
 at final position (\_\_\_\_\_ #)

- (a) [gw]



The phone [gw] is a kind of affricate, starting with [g] sound with lips sounded and followed by a labio-velar voiced fricative. In Reid (1971) and Ballard (1964) this sound is transcribed as 'b', and in Scheerer (1905) done as 'gua' or 'goa'. 9

/wara/	[gwa <sup>ʔ</sup> a <sup>ʔ</sup> ]	'none'
/wanan/	[gwanan]	'right hand'
/wili/	[gwili <sup>ʔ</sup> ]	'left hand'
/balwak/	[balgwak <sup>o</sup> ]	'bird trap'
/ta <sup>ʔ</sup> way/	[ta <sup>ʔ</sup> gway]	'to call'
/makwas/	[mak <sup>o</sup> gwas]	'deer'

(b) [w]

/kaibuwan/	[kaibowan]	'cogon'
/buwak/	[buw <sup>ʔ</sup> ak <sup>o</sup> ]	'hair'
/kawan/	[kawan]	'crow'
/mawsil/	[mawsil]	'to pursue'
/awili/	[ <sup>ʔ</sup> awili <sup>ʔ</sup> ]	'left'
/awanan/	[ <sup>ʔ</sup> awanan]	'right'
/miyaw/	[miyaw̃]	'cat'
/payuw/	[payow]	'paddy field'



/y/

/yapus/	[yapos]	'used up'
/yaskal/	[yaskal]	'to choke'
/payad/	[payad <sup>o</sup> ]	'wing'
/kayan/	[kayan]	'above'
/pilay/	[pilay]	'cripple'
/atay/	[ <sup>?</sup> atay]	'to dive'

Vowels

/a/

/anəl/	[ <sup>?</sup> anəl]	'body'
/asanəm/	[ <sup>?</sup> asanəm]	'later on'
/kalat/	[kalat <sup>o</sup> ]	'to bite'
/ba:la/	[ba:la <sup>?</sup> ]	'burned rice after cooking'
/paŋa/	[paŋa <sup>?</sup> ]	'branch'

/u/

The phoneme /u/ is realized as [u] or [o] freely.

/uə <sup>?</sup> t/	[ <sup>?</sup> o <sup>?</sup> ə <sup>?</sup> t <sup>o</sup> ]	'buttocks'
/ufa/	[ <sup>?</sup> ofa <sup>?</sup> ]	'hen'
/kulput/	[kolpot <sup>o</sup> ]	'cloud'



/cu:bu/	[cu:bu <sup>?</sup> ]	'to cook'
/sabuqu/	[sahuqu <sup>?</sup> ]	'cobra'
/sa:bu/	[sa:hu <sup>?</sup> ]	'comb'

/i/

The phoneme /i/ is realized as [i] or [e] and the two phones show complementary distribution:

[e]	Before or after /b/, /q/, or /y/
[i]	Any position other than before or after /b/, /q/ or /y/.

(a) [e]

/iqan/	[ <sup>?</sup> eqan]	'to give'
/iqat/	[ <sup>?</sup> eqat <sup>o</sup> ]	'to tie'
/yimin/	[yemin]	'beard'
/bayin/	[bayen]	'ashamed'
/paniqi/	[pañeqe <sup>?</sup> ]	'bat'
/dabi/	[dañe <sup>?</sup> ]	'male'

(b) [i]

/inapo/	[ <sup>?</sup> inapo <sup>?</sup> ]	'daughter or son in law'
/ili/	[ <sup>?</sup> ili <sup>?</sup> ]	'country'
/bilan/	[bilan]	'to count'
/bali/	[bali <sup>?</sup> ]	'house'



/ə/

/bədaquw/	[bədaqow]	'fox tail millet'
/tʃinal/	[tʃinal]	'to hear'
/bəl at/	[bəl <sup>?</sup> at <sup>o</sup> ]	'heavy'
/a <sup>?</sup> aθ w/	[ <sup>?</sup> a <sup>?</sup> aθ w]	'loss'
/akəw/	[ <sup>?</sup> akəw]	'day'

Accent (/:/)

Accent, which is time duration at the penultimate syllable, is distinctive.

c { /sɪ:bu/	[se:xo <sup>?</sup> ]	'elbow'
/sɪbul/	[sexol]	'hoarse'

/pu:bul/	[pu:hol]	'bone'
/kantʃa:ru/	[kantʃa:ɾo <sup>?</sup> ]	'cooking pot'
/a:wa/	[ <sup>?</sup> a:wa <sup>?</sup> ]	'father'
/ni:ni/	[ni:ni <sup>?</sup> ]	'to laugh'
/saqi/	[saqe <sup>?</sup> ]	'leg'
/bulan/	[bulan]	'moon'
/uθut/	[oθot <sup>o</sup> ]	'rat'



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The field-work on the Karao language reported in this paper started in April, 1982 and still continues, though the preliminary general survey in this area had been conducted several years before.

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I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Ernesto Constantino at the University of the Philippines, who encouraged me to study the Karao language and culture.

### Notes

- (1) At the Congress, the author discussed pronouns, linkers and basic sentence types in addition to the phonology. But in this paper, only the phonological aspect of the language is discussed.
- (2) The province of Benguet is located in the central part of the Luzon Island in the Philippines, and its capital is La Trinidad. Baguio is one of the biggest cities in Benguet.
- (3) The language name has been given variously as Nabaloy, Ibaloy or Inibaloy, all of which mean stranger or language of the stranger. In this paper, preference is given to Inibaloy.
- (4) Bukod is located in the eastern part of Benguet and Karao and ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~barrios~~ <sup>barrios</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> located about 6 kilometers away from Bukod.
- (5) Especially on the occasion of funeral, which is called 'Kaniyao', they do not use their own language but rather Inibaloy.



- (6) Karao uses *obat* for 'buffocks.'
- (7) In this paper 'q' and 'k' and 'b<sup>w</sup>' in Reid (1971) are transcribed as /ʔ/ and /q/ and /w/ ([gw]) respectively.
- (8) In the data the combination of /ʔ/ and /b/ could not be observed.
- (9) It is not sure whether the Karao language originally has the phone [gw]. It might be the influence of the Ibaloy language, as it has the phone or phoneme synchronically.

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## SUBJECT PREDICATE AND FOCUS MARKING IN ISINAY

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This paper is concerned with subject, predicate and focus marking in the Isinay language. The data used in this study come from the dialect of Isinay spoken in the town of Dupax, Nueva Vizcaya. This study aims to show the different ways of marking the three said grammatical functions in the Isinay language based on the use of markers. The examples used in this paper are simple verbal sentences with a subject and a predicate.

1. Let us consider sentences (1) and (2) which are situational sentences.

(1) Nanagtag di asuwar.  
 'The dog ran.'

(2) Nangan si mansanas di asuwar.  
 'The dog ate an apple.'

In these sentences, it can be seen that the predicate occurs before the subject. The subject of the two sentences consists of /di...-war/ and /asu/ 'dog'. Let us call /di...-war/ the subject marker in the two sentences. It can also be seen that the predicate of the two sentences has no marker.

Let us consider sentences (3) and (4).

(3) Nanagtag di asuwar dari.  
 'The dogs ran away.'

(4) Nangan si mansanas di asuwar dari.  
 'The dogs ate apples.'



The subject of these sentences two sentences is pluralized by the pluralizer /dari/.

2. Now let us consider sentences (5), (6) and (7) which are definite sentences.

- (5) Asuwar si nanagtag.  
'It was the dog which ran away.'
- (6) Asuwar si nangan si mansanas.  
'It was the dog which ate an apple.'
- (7) Asuwar si nangan si mansanasar.  
'It was the dog which ate the apple.'

The subject of these sentences is /asuwar/ and this occurs at the beginning of the sentences. /asuwar/ consists of /asu/ 'dog' and /-war/. Let us call /-war/ the subject marker.

The predicate of sentences (5), (6) and (7) has the marker /si/. The use of /di ...-war/ before the predicate of the three sentences is very rarely done and is perhaps not considered or accepted as normal.

- (8) ?Asuwar di nanagtagar.  
'It was the dog which ran away.'
- (9) ?Asuwar di nanganar si mansanas.  
'It was the dog which ate an apple.'
- (10) ?Asuwar di nanganar si mansanasar.  
'It was the dog which ate the apple.'

It is not also possible to use /di/ before the subject of sentences (5), (6) and (7). Thus, the following three forms are not considered grammatical in Isinay.

- (11) \*Di asuwar si nangtag.
- (12) \*Di asuwar si nangan si mansanas.
- (13) \*Di asuwar si nangan si mansanasar.



Let us compare sentence (6) with sentence (7). We will see that the object of sentence (6), /mansanas/ 'apple', is indefinite and that of sentence (7), /mansanasar/ 'the apple', definite. The definite object has the suffix /-ar/ and the indefinite object does not have this suffix.

It will be noticed that the suffix /-ar/ of the definite object and the suffix /-war/ of the subject are allomorphs of the same morpheme. Because of this, we will change the analysis of /-war/ as subject marker or part of the subject marker and consider it instead as solely a definitizing suffix. In this case, the subject of sentence (5), (6) and (7) has no subject marker but has only a definitizing suffix.

3. Let us consider sentences (14), (15) and (16) which are indefinite sentences.

(14) Asu di nanagtagat.  
'It was a dog which ran away.'

(15) Asu di nanganar si mansanas.  
'It was a dog which ate an apple.'

(16) Asu di nanganar si mansanasar.  
'It was a dog which ate the apple.'

It can be seen that the subject of these sentences has no marker nor definitizing suffix. On the other hand, the predicate has before it the marker /di/ and the definitizing suffix after its verb. The marker /si/ cannot be used before the predicate of these three sentences. Thus the following forms are not grammatical.

(17) \*Asu si nanagtag.

(18) \*Asu si nangan si mansanas.

(19) \*Asu si nangan si mansanasar.



4. On the basis of the preceding discussion, we can draw the following observations.

(a) Only one particle is used as subject marker in Isinay, the particle /di/.

(b) Two particles are used as predicate markers in Isinay, the particles /si/ and /di/.

(c) The particle /si/ which marks the object is different from the particle /si/ which marks the predicate.

(d) There are subjects and predicates which have no particulate markers.

(e) The particulate marker /di/ always has a definitizing suffix co-occurring with it. This suffix is placed at the end of the noun of the subject or at the end of the verb of the predicate.

(f) If the noun of the subject is definite, i.e. it has the definitizing suffix, the use of the definitizing suffix in the predicate verb is not grammatical.

(g) If the noun of the subject is not definite or does not have the definitizing suffix, the predicate verb must have the definitizing suffix.

(h) In the same sentence, the subject or the predicate must have a marker.

(i) In the same sentence, it is not possible for both the subject and the predicate to have their own markers.

(j) In the same sentence, it is not possible for both the subject and the predicate to have no markers.



5. Now, let us consider the following sentences which are inversions of the preceding sentences.

- (20) War asuwar ot nanagtag.  
'As for the dog, ran away.'
- (21) Wer asuwar ot nangan si mansanas.  
'As for the dog, it ate an apple!'
- (22) War nanagtagar or asuwar.  
'As for the one that ran away, it was the dog.'
- (23) War nanganar si mansanas ot asuwar.  
'As for the one that ate an apple, it was the dog.'
- (24) War nanagtagar ot asu.  
'As for the one that ran away, it was a dog.'
- (25) War nanganar si mansanas ot asu.  
'As for the one that ate an apple, it was a dog.'

The form /war/ at the beginning of these sentences consists of /wa/ and /-r/. /-r/ is an allomorph of the subject marker /di/. /wa/ is the focus marker. The particle /ot/ marks the inversion of the immediate constituents of the sentence.

In sentences (20)-(25), /wa, or /wa/ and /di/, cannot be deleted. Thus the following forms are not grammatical.

- (26) \*Di asuwar ot nanagtag.
- (27) \*Asuwar ot nanagtag.

6. We can see in sentences (20)-(25) that it is not only the subject which can be found but also the predicate. The constituent of the sentence which can be focused is always the second constituent, whether this be the subject of the predicate. However, a predicate which had the marker /si/ cannot be focused even if this occurs as the second constituent of the sentence. Thus the following forms are not grammatical.



(28) \*Wat nangtag ot asuwar.

(29) \*Wat nangan si mansanas ot asuwar.

What this means is that only the second constituent of the sentence which has the marker /di/ and the definitizing suffix /-ar/ can be focused.

7. In conclusion, I want to point out what I consider to be the most important contribution of this short paper to be the analysis of the syntax of Isinay and also of the other Philippine languages. This contribution consists of the demonstration that focus is distinct from subject though they often times occur together in the same constituent. The subject and predicate in Isinay have their own markers and positions in the sentence. On the other hand, focus has its own marker, /wa/, which is distinct from the markers of the subject and predicate. Also, focus has its own distinct position, that before /ot/. Thus in Isinay, and presumably also in the other Philippine languages, the processes of subjectivalization and focusing are not the same nor are they coterminus.. The constituent which is focused need not be the subject, and the subject need not be in focus.



FROM BORROWED NOUN TO VERB:  
A STUDY OF FUNCTIONAL SHIFT IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

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Lexical borrowing is generally an uninteresting phenomenon, at least to those interested only in the study of morphology and syntax. It does not seem to be anything more than the use of a foreign word in a suitable position in a sentence in the borrower language, usually a noun filling a position reserved for nouns, a verb in a slot for verbs, an adjective in a slot for adjectives, and so on. Thus in Tagalog we have sentences like

- (1) Bumili ako ng Betamax.  
isang cranky-ng habae  
magclassify ng data

But the study of loan words can be of interest to a syntactician. There is, for instance, one aspect of borrowing going on in Philippine languages, both major and minor, that is of potential interest and relevance to the study of grammatical structure. I refer to the widespread and commonly observed phenomenon of borrowed noun forms being readily convertible into verbs. We have, again in Tagalog, the following:

- |               |                      |
|---------------|----------------------|
| (2) magbeer   | magdenims            |
| maghamburger  | magBetamax           |
| maghelicopter | magkutsara           |
| magtaxi       | magpocket calculator |
| mag-English   |                      |



(For easier communication, the examples will be mainly from Tagalog, and occasionally from Ilocano when I am not sure of the Tagalog examples. I believe that on the basis of some inquiries that I have made, the processes described in this paper are also found in the minor languages of the Philippines, or have the potential to occur in these languages. The big difference is that the incidence of borrowing in minor languages is not as high as in the major ones, especially those spoken in highly urbanized areas, where contact with the outside world is greater. For instance, the equivalent of mag-Betamax would be unlikely in a remote Tinggian village in Abra. But I suppose inarmalite is fairly common now in that province, considering the peace and order situation there.)

There have been studies of loan words in Philippine languages, especially in the major ones. But these studies consist mainly of lists of the more readily recognizable loans. One or two have gone beyond mere listing and have attempted to trace the phonological and semantic changes that loan words have undergone, but as far as I know very little has been done to investigate the nature of functional shift, particularly the formation of verbs out of nouns, both native and borrowed, and to connect this kind of investigation to the study of grammatical structure. Some questions, I believe, are worth asking. For instance, why is the process of verbalizing loan noun forms so easy and natural? Why is it that between mag and um or their equivalents, in languages that overtly make a distinction between the two, verbalized nouns invariably take mag? As case grammar has shown,



convincingly I believe, a major function, if not the main function, of verbal affixes is to indicate the semantic role of the subject of the sentence. That is, the affix indicates whether the subject of the sentence is an agentive (doer), a locative (place), an instrument, or an objective, and so on. Words like beer, eroplano, and Betamax are unquestionably nouns. Yet every verbalized forms like those in (2) has a clear verbal reading or interpretation. Mag-eroplano, for instance, is commonly understood to mean "ride on an airplane" (one may prefer "take" to "ride" but cannot deny the verbal sense). If the affix mag is not the source of the specific verbal reading "ride", and if eroplano is clearly a noun, how does one explain how the interpretation is ever possible?

I suggest that verb forms like magbeer, maghelicopter, magtaxi, and mag-English are syntactically complex. They carry more grammatical categories or elements than surface phonological signals appear to indicate. It is proposed that the common formula for the verbs in (2) is the following:

(3)

magVERB	{	ng beer
		ng hamburger
		ng helicopter
		ng English
		ng taxi
		ng denims
		ng Betamax
		ng kutsara
		ng pocket calculator



The nouns come into the borrower language as nouns, functioning as nominal constituents of a sentence. As will be shown later, they function as agentive, objective, instrument, locative, etc.

The question about the formula is, what is the entity labelled "VERB"? Casilda Luzares says it represents an underlying verb. She was one of the first to make this claim. In a section of her dissertation on Cebuano verbs, she claimed that the underlying verb is a real verb, a real lexical item, which is replaced by the accompanying noun. Applying her analysis to Tagalog, the forms in (2) would have to be originally the following:

- (4)
- uminom ng beer
  - kumain ng hamburger
  - sumakay sa helicopter
  - sumakay sa taxi
  - magsalita ng English
  - magsuot ng denims
  - manood ng Betamax
  - gumamit ng kutsara
  - gumamit ng pocket calculator

Luzares had no explanation why the short forms (the verbalized ones) all take mag, while some of the replaced (replaceable, she calls them) verbs take um, others take mag, and still others take mang. For some verbalized forms, there can be more than one choice of a replaceable verb. No principled basis was offered for a choice. In magrocking chair,



is the replaceable verb gumamit, umupo, or mag-uguy-ugoy "to rock"?

In armalite-in, is the replaceable verb patayin (sa pamamagitan ng), or barilin?

Discovering that she could not find an existing verb for some verbalized nouns, Luzares posited an abstract verb in those particular verbalized forms.

In her view, abstract verbs never come to the surface in any form. She listed only four (BEAR, CONSIDER, FEEL, OFFER) for the Cebuano language.

There was no attempt to show any relationship between abstract and replaceable verbs.

I have attempted a different analysis on three different occasions.

My proposal is to regard all verbalized nouns as having an underlying abstract verb. In my view, abstract verbs are relatively simple in meaning and are, in some sense, generic. They occur only in the semantic consciousness of the speaker and do not surface as lexical items; that is, they do not have phonetic realization. The place of an abstract verb in a sentence is filled by a noun constituent of that sentence, which then serves as stem of the surface verb. However, when a modification is made of the general meaning of an abstract verb, as when a more specific meaning is intended, the abstract verb surfaces as a specific verb that contains the modification.

In the analysis proposed here, there is a single common abstract verb, which I shall label "USE", for the verbal items in (2). (Henceforth a word in capital letters is meant to refer to a semantic entity, as an abstract verb is.) This abstract verb is in a sense the meaning common to them. In some important sense, beer, eroplano, Betamax, English, kutsara, denims, and pocket calculator are "used". The general formula, then, should be something like



(5)

magUSE	{	ng beer
		ng hamburger
		ng taxi
		.

It is the presence of an underlying verb that accounts for the general verbal sense. This general meaning may be modified by the semantic content of the accompanying noun. For instance, part of the semantic content of beer is that it is something to drink, part of the meaning of taxi is that it is something to ride in, and part of the meaning of denims is that it is something to wear. It is the combinations of "USE for drinking", "USE for riding", "USE for wearing (all very awkwardly put, I admit) that are realized as the specific verbs uninom, sumakay, and magsuot. Without modification, an abstract verb remains unrealized.

① In short, replacing a verb, according to Luzares's pioneering work, is a kind of deletion. But the present analysis has nothing to do with the deletion of actual lexical items.

The abstract verbs that underlie verbalized nouns are few in number. Presumably, they are found in all languages, except that in some languages, some of them are regularly lexicalized.

The following is a tentative list of abstract verbs:

- |                      |                       |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| (6) a. USE           | g. EXIST              |
| b. BECOME            | h. INFEST/ATTACK      |
| c. DO/ENGAGE         | i. MOVE/DIRECT TOWARD |
| d. HAVE/COME TO HAVE | j. MOVE AWAY FROM     |



e. MAKE/CREATE

k. CAUSE

f. OCCUR/HAPPEN

Verbalized forms in (6a) (with underlying USE) are probably the most numerous, since most borrowed nouns refer to objects or articles that are "used", and since there are also several native nouns used as verbs, like itak in mag-itak "to use a bolo" and gunting in maggunting "to use/cut with scissors" in Tagalog and kumpay in agkumpay "to use a sickle" and tabako in agtabako "to smoke tobacco" in Ilocano. There can be as many verbalized borrowed nouns in a Philippine language as its speakers care to borrow from other languages.

Verb forms with underlying BECOME include the following:

- |                 |                    |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| (7) mag-artista | maghuwes           |
| magjanitor      | magsystems analyst |
| mag-astronaut   | mag-assemblyman    |
| mag-BSE         | mag-abogado        |

The nouns in this group make up a well-defined class of nouns, all referring to a profession, calling, or trade. If a noun, native or borrowed, does not refer to a member of a profession, the verbalized form cannot have the reading BECOME. Thus, in Ilocano, aganak does not mean "to become a child/baby", and agtricycle does not mean "to become a tricycle", but "to have a child" and "to ride/use a tricycle", respectively. BECOME often surfaces as a specific verb: maging in Tagalog and agbalin in Ilocano.

Verb forms with underlying DO/ENGAGE IN all refer to activities, like magbasketball, magchess, magtango, magswimming, magmountain-climbing, manghusband-hunting, and maglogging. Because of the sense "sports" in the first two, the verbs may surface as maglaro ng basketball and maglaro ng chess.



Magtango may be made more specific: sumayaw ng tango. As far as I can determine, the rest do not allow any specific verb.

Verb forms with underlying abstract verb HAVE/COME TO HAVE cannot readily take borrowed nouns as stems. The choice seems to be limited to those nouns that are perceived as natural parts of the referent of the subject. For instance, in

- (8) Ilk. Nagsabong diay bayabas. (sabong "flower")

The guava tree bore flowers.

the semantic reading of HAVE is clear because of flower is a natural part of a tree. However, in Nagcoat and tie si Jose, the reading HAVE is not natural, since a coat and a tie are not an inherent part of a man. Magcoat and tie belongs to the USE group, like magbeer, mag-English. In Ilocano, as in many other languages, including minor ones, illnesses are perceivable as natural to man. Thus

- (9) ag-TB

ag-H fever

agherpes

ag-VD

aggurigor "to have a fever"

have the readings "to HAVE TB", "to HAVE H-fever", "to HAVE herpes", "to HAVE VD", and "to HAVE a fever." These verbs have in fact alternate forms with the surface verb adda "to have" (may in Tagalog):

- (10) Adda TB ni Jose. "Jose has TB."

Adda H-fever ni Jose.

Adda herpes ni Jose.

Adda gurigor Ni Jose.



Verb forms with underlying MAKE/CREATE, like those with HAVE/COME TO HAVE, do not take borrowed nouns as stems. Mag-Betamax, mag-calculator, and mag-TB, as has already been shown, can only have the sense USE, never HAVE, since the nouns used as stems are not felt to be native or natively made in the Philippines. Magpancake, which has a borrowed stem, may have the reading MAKE in a suitable context, as when it is uttered in a private home, where one does his own cooking, but even then, since pancake is still felt to be foreign, the ultimate interpretation of mag-pancake is that it belongs to the USE group, as do maghamburger, magpansit, magpizzapie, and mag-ice cream. All these verb forms, when uttered outside the context of a home or by someone who is not known to be a cook, do not have the reading MAKE/CREATE. But take a verb form with a native noun as stem, or even borrowed but no longer felt to be foreign, like suman and basi (Ilocano wine), and the interpretation is unmistakably MAKE/CREATE. Some typical examples: agbasi "to make basi", "agtagapulot "to make sugar", agbalay "to build a house", agtambak "to build a dike".

Verbalized noun forms with underlying OCCUR/HAPPEN are not so many. The following, all from Ilocano, are typical examples:

- |                             |                                |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (11) <u>Nagmartial law.</u> | Martial law OCCURED/HAPPENED.  |
| <u>Nag-World War II.</u>    | World War II OCCURED/HAPPENED. |
| <u>Nagtidal wave.</u>       | A tidal wave OCCURED/HAPPENED. |

When modified in meaning, OCCUR surfaces in the form of a specific verb, as in

- |   |                            |
|---|----------------------------|
| (12) <u>Idi nagbettak ti World War II . . .</u> | When WW II broke out. . .  |
| <u>Idi immay ti martial law . . .</u>           | When martial law came . .  |
| <u>Idi immay ti tidal wave . . .</u>            | When a tidal wave came . . |



The modified meaning "OCCUR with a sudden beginning" is lexicalized as agbettak, and "OCCUR moving in one's direction" is lexicalized as umay.

A similar analysis can be made of verb forms with nouns referring to meteorological phenomena like agtudo "to rain", agkimat literally "to lightning", and aggurruod "to thunder." It is interesting to note that sentences with OCCUR/HAPPEN verbs do not require a surface subject. According to the proposed analysis subjectless sentences of this kind have an underlying subject. It is just that it has been verbalized or incorporated in the verb, thereby leaving the subject position empty.

Existence and occurrence are semantically very similar, but there is some semantic-syntactic basis for a separate abstract verb EXIST. There are in fact existential sentences in all Philippine languages. The meteorological verb forms discussed above may also be expressed with may in Tagalog and adda in Ilocano, both with meaning "there is", as in

(13) Adda kimat.

May lindol.

May ulan.

Meteorological nouns may therefore be perceived as occurring or existing.

Man-made happenings like martial law and War War II, on the other hand, are only interpretable as occurring. Incidentally, In Philippine languages the abstract OCCUR does not always take a noun stem. When this is the case, the resulting sentence appears as a verbless sentence. Notice the following:

(14) Kailan ang pista?

Sa Lunes ang kasal ni Tetchie.

Sa June 18 and commencement exercises.



Literally, these sentences translate into "When the fiesta?". "Tetchie's wedding on Monday", "The commencement exercises on June 18". The time expression kailan, Lunes, and June 18 are not being predicated of the event nouns pista, kasal, and commencement exercises, as the surface structure minus its meaning would indicate. It is occurrence on the dates expressed by the time expressions that is being said of the subject nouns. Like martial law and World War II, pista, kasal and commencement exercises are man-made, and the unmistakable reading is that they occur. Depending on the event noun used as subject, OCCUR may be realized as "ganapin," ipagdiriwang,... and other similar verbs.

Typical verbalized nouns with underlying INFEST/ATTACK are anayin, langawin, amagin, lagnatin, ginawin, and ahasin. The nouns anay "termite," langaw "fly", amag "mold", lagnat "fever", ginaw "cold", and ahas "snake" INFEST/ATTACK what is referred to by the subject, as in Lalanggam in ang asukal literally "The sugar will be anted" but more correctly, according to the proposed analysis, "The ants will INFEST/ATTACK the sugar." Without modification, INFEST/ATTACK gets no phonological representation. The agentive or doer noun then fills the position of the verb, leaving the position of the agentive noun empty. The diagram below shows the process just described.

(15) ATTACK/INFEST-in ng langgam ang asukal.

(La)langgam-in \_\_\_\_\_ ang asukal.

Note that the fully represented sentence patterns exactly like a passive sentence with a surface verb, like Kakagatin ng aso ang bata, where the phrase ng aso is agentive.



The verbalized nouns with underlying INFEST/ATTACK analyzed so far are all native, but any foreign noun that can be perceived as attacking or infesting can be freely verbalized. Many examples come to mind: NPA-in, E.T.-in, Hapon-in, karma-hin, and Ilocano landing-en "to be married, abused, taken away by someone who landed from abroad, like a soldier, returning resident or a newcomer from the United States."

Verb formation with the underlying abstract verb MOVE/DIRECT TOWARD is a highly productive process in all Philippine languages that I have some knowledge about. In this process, an object perceived as being put, placed, moved toward, applied on another or place becomes a verb stem, as in magpinta ng bahay, magdamit ng bata, magbubong ng bahay, and mag-asin ng ulam. The nouns pinta "paint", damit "clothes/dress", bubong "roof", and asin "salt" are moved in the direction of the house, child, and ulam. The nouns toward which the motion is made are in fact viewed as "places" of locative, as shown by the fact that when passivized, all these verbs take the suffix -an (pintahan ang bahay, damitan ang bata, bubungan ang bahay, as (1) nan ang ulam). This productivity of the process extends to the use of borrowed nouns as nouns as verbs, like pinta (already mentioned), lipstick, pulbos, coppertone, sapatos, scotch tape, ponada, grade and many other foreign nouns. The requirement that a noun must meet in order to be verbalizable with the meaning DIRECT TOWARD is that it must not be an inherent part of the object to which it is moved or applied on.

The opposite of verb forms with underlying DIRECT TOWARD are those verb forms with underlying MOVE AWAY FROM. Typical of this group are the verbs in magbalat ng mangga "to peel a mango" and magtalbos ng kamote.



"to pick kamote tops". In order for the MOVE AWAY FROM reading to be possible, the verbalized noun must be an inherent part of the entity from which the noun is moved away. The "skin: or peelings are part of a mango, so the interpretation of magbalat is "away from". On the other hand, a lipstick is not an inherent part of a woman (though they are often inseparable). Maglips-tick, predictably, has the meaning "toward". Since most borrowed nouns refer to objects that are not natural parts of objects in the world of the speakers of the borrower language, it is easy to see why borrowed nouns are not normally convertible into verbs with the reading "away from." (The interpretations "toward" and "use overlap in borrowed nouns like lipstick.)

The last on the list is CAUSE. This abstract verb always has a phonological realization, making its inclusion in the list questionable. The realization, however, is not in the form of a full lexical item but in the affix pa-, at least in the languages that I know a little about. In Ilocano, we have pagkapien (pa-agkapi-en), paglipsticken, pag-Englishen, meaning "to cause to drink coffee", "to cause to use lipstick", and "to cause to speak English", respectively.

The list of abstract verbs presented in this paper is a highly tentative one. The classification needs refinement, and the labelling or terminology is not satisfactory. But the list and the analytical problems encountered, I would like to claim, are highly suggestive of the direction of further work.

As mentioned in the first part of this paper, the abstract verb analysis includes positing verbalized nouns as nominal constituents with roles like agent, instrument, locative and object in the full underlying



form of a sentence. Again, there are grammatical as well as semantic bases for this analysis. The following is a brief discussion of the functions of the nouns in verbalized forms.

As agent. Nouns that go with ATTACK/INFEST like anay in anayin have been shown above as agentives. And so are the nouns used as stems in in-NPA, Hinapon, and in-E.T.

As object of motion. Nouns that go with MOVE/DIRECT TOWARD are objects of motion, as in lipstickan and koronahan. Korona and lipstick are directed toward or moved toward some place of object. Nouns that go with MOVE AWAY FROM are also objects of motion, except that they are not borrowed.

As direct object.. Most nouns that go with the abstract verb USE are objective in the underlying form, like kape in magkape.

As instrumental. The sentence Inarmalite ako ng mga rebelde would be properly analyzed as In-ATTACK ako ng mga rebelde (sa pamamagitan) ng armalite, where armalite is clearly instrumental. Included in this class are the stems of verbs like balisungin, itakin and Ilocano kwarenta y singkuen, the last one meaning "to hit/attack/shoot with a .45 caliber gun." It would seem that the underlying abstract verb that takes an instrument is a subclass of INFEST/ATTACK/. However, there are verbalized forms that do not have the "attack" sense; instead, the reading is "do something by means of", as in the Ilocano katamen "to finish/smoothen with a plane."

As-locative. Aside from movable objects, locatives may also be verbalized with underlying MOVE/DIRECT TOWARD. Typical examples are itaxi, iradio, i-airmail, ideep freeze, imakinilya, and many other similar verbs.



The pattern here is that of ibulsa from i-MOVE/DIRECT TOWARD sa bulsa, which may surface as ilagay sa bulsa, where bulsa is clearly locative. One can form similar verbs with nouns like front page and balcony.

As reservational noun (what Schachter and Otanes define as the entity for which something is intended or reserved). On the pattern of pang-tusok "used for or reserved for piercing", where tusok is a verb, Philippine languages have words equivalent to the Tagalog pang-Linggo, pang-Christmas, pang-center fold, pang-old maid, pang-cold weather, and pang-Tiktik cover. The process involved here is more instrumental noun formation (pang is an instrumental prefix) rather than verb formation, and is not properly a part of the subject of this paper but would have to be included in a broader study of functional shift.

Final remarks. Hundred of words from foreign sources have poured into the vocabulary of Philippine languages in the past. This kind of change will continue unabated for some time, especially in the languages spoken in highly urbanized areas. When the nouns among the loans are verbalized, the verbal reading is clear and unmistakable. The explanation offered here is that an abstract verb underlies all formation of verbs from nouns. The process is productive because there is an existing pattern for the verbalization of native nouns. Borrowed nouns fitting into the pattern are therefore readily verbalizable.



## SAMBAL REFLEXES OF PROTO-AUSTRONESIAN PHONEMES

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The Sambal languages of the Philippines are a group of three closely related speech varieties, here referred to as Bolinao Sambal (Bl), Tina Sambal (Tl), and Botolan Sambal (Bt). Zorc 1977 groups Sambal with Ivatan, Kapampangan, and North Mangyan as the North Extension of the Southern Philippine branch of languages. However, he notes that Reid and McFarland have independently concluded that Sambal and Kapampangan are genetically Northern Philippine languages. Using a lexicostatistical method based on shared cognate percentages, Walton 1977 has placed the Sambal languages in the Central Philippine branch of languages, which includes Kapampangan, Tagalog, Bikol, and Visayan. The uncertain genetic affiliation of the Sambal languages will not affect the analysis presented in this paper.

I have adopted a deductive approach; I start with Proto-Austronesian (PAN) phonemes and ask what their reflexes are in the Sambal languages. Thus Proto-Sambal (PS) phonemes are reconstructed only when they can be traced back to Proto-Austronesian. I will make special note of splits and mergers, problems presented by the Sambal data, and any bearing the Sambal evidence has on current views of Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Philippine (PPH) phonology.

### 1 VOWELS

#### 1.1 PAN \*i, \*a, and \*u



The PAN vowels \*i, \*a, and \*u are retained as i, a, and u, respectively, in all three Sambal languages:

	<u>PAN</u>	<u>Bolinao</u>	<u>Tina</u>	<u>Botolan</u>	
19	*dilaq	di:laq	di:laq	di:laq	'tongue'
430	*babuy	ba:buy	ba:buy	ba:buy	'pig'

## 1.2 PAN \*e

PAN \*e, the pepet vowel, has several reflexes. When PAN \*e occurs in ultimate position in a word, it becomes e in Bl, u in Ti, and e in Bt. This holds regardless of what vowel occurs in the penult:

20	*ngipen	ngi:pen	ngi:pun	ngi:pen	'tooth'
46	*pusej	pu:ser	pu:sul	pu:hel	'navel'
471	*tazem	matadem	matarum	matarem	'sharp'

When PAN \*e occurs in both the ultima and penult of a word, it shows the regular reflexes e in Bl and Bt and u in Ti:

274	*teken	teken	tukun	teken	'boat pole'
-----	--------	-------	-------	-------	-------------

When PAN \*e occurs in penultimate position with i in the ultima, it becomes i in all three languages; in penultimate position with u in the ultima, \*e becomes u in all three languages; and in penultimate position with a in the ultima, \*e becomes u in all three languages:

101	*benhiq	bibiq	biniq	biniq	'seed'
104	*tebuS	tubu	tubus	tubu	'sugarcane'
481	*Depa	dupa	dupa	dupa	'fathom'

In the correspondence where \*e precedes i and u the resulting reflexes are apparently due to assimilation. However, assimilation does not explain the u reflex of \*e before a. It may be that since u is the regular reflex of \*e in Tina, it spread to the other two languages just in words of this form. (Tina is geographically located between Bolinao and Botolan.)



The Proto-Sambal reflex of PAN \*e is reconstructed as PS \*e; the reflexes i and u are either independent innovations or due to assimilation or borrowing.

## 2 CONSONANTS

### 2.1. PAN \*m, \*n, \*ñ, and \*ng

PAN \*m, \*n, and \*ng become m, n, and ng, respectively, in all three Sambal languages:

	<u>PAN</u>	<u>Bl</u>	<u>Tl</u>	<u>Bt</u>	
433	*manuk	manuk	manuk	manuk	'chicken'
249	*ngajan	nga:ran	nga:lân	ngalan	'name'

PAN \*ñ merges with \*n, as it does in other Philippine languages:

394	*qañuz	qa:nur	qa:nul	qa:nul	'carried by current'
-----	--------	--------	--------	--------	----------------------

### 2.2 PAN \*s and \*c

PAN \*s becomes s in Bl and Tl and h in Bt; since the h reflex is a Bt development, \*s is posited as the Proto-Sambal reflex:

38	*susu	su:su	su:su	hu:hu	'breast'
----	-------	-------	-------	-------	----------

The putative PAN phoneme \*c merges with \*s in Sambal, as it does in other Philippine languages:

82a	*cincin	singsing	singsing	hinghing	'ring'
-----	---------	----------	----------	----------	--------

### 2.3 PAN \*l and \*r

PAN \*l becomes l in all three Sambal languages:

364	*langit	la:ngit	la:ngit	la:ngit	'sky'
-----	---------	---------	---------	---------	-------

The putative PAN phoneme \*r is attested only in loanwords in Sambal where it merges with \*l; thus Sambal provides no evidence for PAN \*r.

### 2.4 PAN \*R, \*y, and \*w

PAN \*R has two reflexes in Sambal. Its first reflex merges with y:

530	*Rabi	yabi	yabi	yabi	'night'
-----	-------	------	------	------	---------



Its second reflex is g:

	<u>PAN</u>	<u>Bl</u>	<u>Tl</u>	<u>Bt</u>	
271	*layaR	la:yag	la:yag	la:yag	'sail'

It has been generally assumed that y is the reflex of \*R in Sambal (Zorc 1977, Charles 1974). If so, then words reflecting \*R as g must be borrowed.

PAN \*y and \*w become y and w, respectively, in Sambal:

301	*bayaD	mama:yad	ba:yar	ba:yad	'pay'
33	*wanan	wanan	wanan	wanan	'right'

## 2.5 PAN \*q and \*h

PAN \*q becomes q in all three Sambal languages:

105	*qubi	qu:bi	qu:bi	qu:bi	'yam'
531	*taqun	taqun	taqun	taqun	'year'
228	*panaq	pa:naq	pa:naq	pa:naq	'bow and arrow'

PAN \*h loses its contrast with \*q; it is reflected as q in initial position and as zero in medial and final positions:

466	*hasang	qa:sang	qa:sang	qa:hang	'gills'
101	*benhiq	biniq	biniq	biniq	'seed'
162	*baRah	ba:ya	ba:ya	ba:ya	'ember'

## 2.6 PAN \*p, \*t, \*C, and \*k

PAN \*p, \*t, and \*k become p, t, and k in all three Sambal languages:

41	*pusuq	pu:suq	pusuq	pusuq	'heart'
402	*batu	batu	batu	batu	'stone'
235	*qanak	qanak	qanak	qanak	'child'

PAN \*C merges with \*t, as it does in other Philippine languages:

7	*maCa	mata	mata	mata	'eye'
---	-------	------	------	------	-------

## 2.7 PAN \*b and \*g

PAN \*b becomes b in all three Sambal languages:

374	*bulan	bu:lan	bu:lan	bu:wan	'moon, month'
-----	--------	--------	--------	--------	---------------

The putative PAN phoneme \*g is attested only in loanwords in Sambal, thus offering no evidence for the existence of PAN \*g.



2.8 PAN \*D, \*Z, and \*j

The reflexes of PAN \*D, \*Z, and \*j present the major problems in reconstructing Proto-Sambal phonology.

2.8.1 PAN \*D- > PS \*d-, \*l-

PAN \*D has two reflexes in initial position: PS \*d- and \*l-. Proto-Sambal \*d- becomes d in all three languages:

	<u>PAN</u>	<u>Bl</u>	<u>Ti</u>	<u>Bt</u>	
64	*DaRaŋ	da:yaŋ	da:yaŋ	da:yaŋ	'blood'
316	*Dakep	manakep	dakup	dakep	'catch thief'

PS \*l- becomes r in Bl and l in Ti and Bt:

108	*Danum	ranum	lanum	lanum	'water'
155	*DingDing	ringring	lingling	lingling	'wall'

2.8.2 PAN \*-D- > PS \*-d-, \*-l-

PAN \*D has two reflexes in medial position also: PS \*-d- and \*-l-.

PS \*-d- becomes d in Bl and r in Ti and Bt:

120	*kuDen	ku:den	ku:run	ke:rən	'cooking pot'
369	*kuDug	kudur	kurul	kurul	'thunder'

PS \*-l- becomes r in Bl and l in Ti and Bt:

437	*quDang	qurang	qulang	qulang	'shrimp, lobster'
396	*tuDuq	tumu:ruq	tu:luq	tu:luq	'drip'

2.8.3 PAN \*-D > PS \*-l

In final position PAN \*D becomes r in Bl and l in Ti and Bt:

262	*haNteD	mangiyater	qatul	qatel	'escort'
-----	---------	------------	-------	-------	----------

Other irregular correspondences, however, suggest a PS \*-d reflex of PAN \*D:

56	*tuhud	tu:qud	tu:qur	tu:qul	'knee'
301	*bayaD	mama:yad	ba:yar	ba:yad	'pay'

2.8.4 PAN \*-Z- > PS \* d-

In initial position PAN \*Z becomes d in all three languages:

	<u>PAN</u>	<u>Bl</u>	<u>Ti</u>	<u>Bt</u>	
267	*Zalan	da:lan	da:lan	daan	'path'



## 2.8.5 PAN \*-Z- &gt; PS \*-d-

In medial position PAN \*Z becomes d in Bl and r in Tl and Bt:

471	*taZem	matadem	matarum	matarem	'sharp'
367	*quZan			quran	'rain'

One word, however, indicates an l reflex of \*Z:

126	*hiZaw		naqilo	'unripe'
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## 2.8.6 PAN \*-Z &gt; PS \*-l

In final position PAN \*Z becomes r in Bl and l in Tl and Bt:

394	*qañuZ	qa:nur	qainul	qa:nul	'carried by current'
-----	--------	--------	--------	--------	----------------------

## 2.8.7 PAN \*j &gt; PS \*l

PAN \*j is not reconstructed in initial position. In both medial and final positions \*j becomes r in Bl and l in Tl and Bt:

163	*ujing	qu:ring	qu:ling	qu:ling	'charcoal'
249	*ngajan	nga:ran	nga:lan	ngalan	'name'
46	*pusej	pu:ser	pu:sul	pu:hel	'navel'
426	*qulej	qu:rer	qu:lul	qu:wel	'worm'

## 2.8.8 Discussion of Sambal reflexes of PAN \*D, \*Z, and \*j

The following chart summarizes the reflexes of PAN \*D, \*Z, and \*j in Sambal:

	<u>initial</u>	<u>medial</u>	<u>final</u>
PAN *D > PS	*d, *l	*d, *l	[*d], *l
PAN *Z > PS	*d	*d, *l	*l
PAN *j > PS	-	*l	*l

CHART 1: PS REFLEXES OF PAN \*D, \*Z, and \*j

The major problem is the double reflexes of PAN \*D. In initial position, if the correct reflex of \*D is d, then \*D and \*Z merge in Sambal as expected; but if the correct reflex of \*D is l, then \*D and \*Z do not merge, contrary to



Charles's (1974) reconstruction of Proto-Philippine phonology. The l reflex of initial \*D could be explained as an analogical creation, parallel to the explanation of initial l in Tagalog given by Dyen (1947). An example of this analogical l in Sambal may be the following:

	<u>PAN</u>	<u>Bl</u>	<u>Tl</u>	<u>Bt</u>	
521	*Dalem	qara:rem	mala:luq	mala:leq	'deep'

The adjectival prefix ga- or ma- places the initial \*D in intervocalic position where it becomes l by analogy with words such as PAN \*quDang, Sambal qulang 'shrimp, lobster'. The problem with this explanation for Sambal is that many of the words that show initial l for \*D are seldom prefixed; for example lanum 'water' and lingling 'wall' cited in section 2.8.1.

The hypothesis that initial l is an analogical development requires that the intervocalic reflex of \*D be l. If so, then the instances of intervocalic d from \*D must be accounted for. It is true that the evidence for intervocalic d from \*D is rather slender, the forms for 'cooking pot' and 'thunder' cited in section 2.8.2 being the only reliable words found so far. However, both words are from basic vocabulary and cannot be rejected out of hand.

In comparing the intervocalic reflexes of \*D and \*Z, we see that if the correct reflex of intervocalic \*D does turn out to be l, and if the intervocalic reflex of \*Z is d, then a system results in which \*D and \*Z do not merge; but, rather \*D and \*j merge. While this is possible, it would make Sambal very exceptional, since in other Philippine languages \*D and \*Z merge and in non-Cordilleran languages \*j merges with them. It is more plausible that if \*D and \*j can be shown to merge then in reality all three, including \*Z, merge. What stands in the way of this conclusion are the examples of d for intervocalic \*Z. The two best examples are 'sharp'



and 'rain' cited in section 2.8.5. Both words are from basic vocabulary and seem unassailable. The intervocalic l from \*Z that we expect had been found in only one word: 'unripe', cited in section 2.8.5.

The problems concerning \*D, \*Z, and \*j can be summarized as follows. In the case of initial \*D, analogy is a possible source of the double reflex; thus d is chosen as the PS initial reflex of \*D. For medial, \*D, analogy offers no ready explanation of the double reflexes of d and l, and no phonetic conditioning has been discovered. The only explanation left is borrowing, presumably dialect borrowing. Of the two reflexes, l is more common, and indeed is necessary to explain the analogical l which occurs initially. Thus l is chosen as the dominant PS medial reflex of \*D.

The double reflex of intervocalic \*Z is more difficult to account for. As was noted above, if d is the correct reflex of medial \*Z, then \*Z does not merge with \*D and \*j, which would contradict the current reconstruction of Proto-Philippine phonology. On the other hand, if l is taken as the dominant PS reflex of medial \*Z then \*D, \*Z, and \*j can all merge. This is the more conservative solution, since this is what regularly happens in non-Cordilleran languages. Since the evidence to the contrary is far from convincing, this should be our working hypothesis.



## APPENDIX 1: SAMBAL CORRESPONDENCE SETS

## (1) PAN \*i &gt; PS \*i

	<u>PAN</u>	<u>Bolinao</u>	<u>Tina</u>	<u>Botolan</u>	
19	*dilaq	di:laq	di:laq	di:laq	'tongue'
463	*ikuR	qi:kuy	qi:kuy	qi:kuy	'tail'
210	*sakit	masakit	masakit	mahakit	'painful'
144	*paqit	mapaqit	mapaqit	mapaqit	'bitter'

## (2) PAN \*a &gt; PS \*a

161	*qabu	qabu	qabu	qabu	'ashes'
402	*batu	batu	batu	batu	'stone'
65	*quRaC	quyat	quyat	quyat	'vein'
457	*lintaq	lintaq	lintaq	lintaq	'leech'

## (3) PAN \*u &gt; PS \*u

430	*babuy	ba:buy	ba:buy	ba:buy	'pig'
427	*qasu	qa:su	qa:su	qa:hu	'dog'
374	*bulan	bu:lan	bu:lan	bu:wan	'moon'
334	*huRas	mangu:yas	qu:yas	quyah	'wash'
451	*kuCu	k i:tu	ku:tu	ku:tu	'louse'

## (4) PAN \*e &gt; PS \*e

471	*taZem	matadem	matarum	matarem	'sharp'
145	*qalsem	maqalsem	maqalsum	maqa:hem	'sour'
521	*Dalem	qara:rem	mala:luq	mala:ləq	'deep'
251	*Dateng	rumateq	latuq	lateng	'arrive'
20	*ngipen	ngi:pen	ngi:pun	ngi:pen	'tooth'
443	*qipes	qi:pes	qi:pus	qi:peh	'cockroach'
28	*liqeR	li:qey	lu:quy	le:qey	'neck'
46	*pusej	pu:ser	pu:sul	pu:hel	'navel'
375	*bituqen	bitu:qen	bitu:qun	bitu:qen	'star'
176	*ules	qules	qulus	quweh	'blanket'
426	*qulej	qu:rer	qu:lul	qu:wel	'worm'
135	*sepsep	manepsep	supsup	hephep	'suck'
274	*teken	teken	tukun	teken	'boat pole'
376	*Delem	madeblem	marublum	mareg:lem	'dark'
101	*benhiq	biniq	biniq	biniq	'seed'
58	*Betiis		bitis	biti	'foot'
104	*tebuS	tubu	tubus	tubu	'sugarcane'
522	*penuq	napnuq	punuq	punuq	'full'
137	*besuR	nabsuy	busuy	buhuy	'sated'
	*telu	tulu	tulu	tatlu	'three'
	*Dewha	ruwa	luwa	luwa	'two'
481	*Depa	dupa	dupa	dupa	'fathom'
84	*beRas	byas	buyas	buya	'husked rice'
330	*Rebaq	maybaq	naybaq	yubaq	'collapse'
273	*beRsay	bugsay	bugsay		'paddle'



(5)	PAN *p >	PS *p			
	<u>PAN</u>	<u>Bl</u>	<u>TH</u>	<u>Bt</u>	
41	*pusuq	pu:suq	pusuq	pusuq	'heart'
83	*pajey	pa:ri	pa:li	pa:li	'rice plant'
20	*ngipen	ngi:pen	ngi:pun	ngi:pen	'tooth'
443	*qipes	qi:pes	qi:pus	qi:peh	'cockroach'
135	*sepsep	manepsep	supsup	hephep	'suck'
(6)	PAN *t >	PS *t			
415	*tubuq	tumu:buq	tu:buq	tu:buq	'grow'
42	*tian	tyan	tiyan	tiyan	'belly'
402	*batu	batu	batu	batu	'stone'
221	*patey	mati	mati	mati	'die'
364	*langit	la:ngit	la:ngit	la:ngit	'sky'
421	*lumut	lu:mut	lu:mut	lu:mut	'moss'
(7)	PAN *C >	PS *t			
231	*Cau	ta:wu	ta:wu	ta:wu	'person'
7	*maCa	mata	mata	mata	'eye'
451	*kuCu	ku:tu	ku:tu	ku:tu	'louse'
313	*kaRaC	mangayat	kayat	kayat	'bite'
65	*quRaC	quyat	quyat	quyat	'vein'
(8)	PAN *k >	PS *k			
120	*kuDen	ku:den	ku:run	ke:ren	'cooking pot'
451	*kuCu	ku:tu	ku:tu	ku:tu	'louse'
210	*sakit	masakit	masakit	mahakit	'painful'
232	*laki	lala:ki	lala:ki	lala:ki	'male'
235	*qanak	qanak	qanak	qanak	'child'
5	*qutek	qu:tek	qu:tuk	qe:tek	'brain'
(9)	PAN *b >	PS *b			
374	*bulan	bu:lan	bu:lan	bu:wan	'moon'
430	*babuy	ba:buy	ba:buy	ba:buy	'pig'
161	*qabu	qabu	qabu	qabu	'ashes'
530	*Rabi	yabi	yabi	yabi	'night'
(10)	PAN *D >	PS *d			
64	*DaRaQ	da:yaq	da:yaq	da:yaq	'blood'
316	*Dakep	manakep	dakup	dakep	'catching thief'
120	*kuDen	ku:den	ku:run	ke:ren	'cooking pot'
369	*kuDug	kudur	kurul	kurul	'thunder'
56	*tuhud	tu:qud	tu:qur	tu:qul	'knee'
301	*bayaD	mama:yad	ba:yar	ba:yad	'pay'
(11)	PAN *D >	PS *l			
108	*Danum	ranum	lanum	lanum	'water'
155	*DingDing	ringring	lingling	lingling	'wall'
437	*quDeng	qurang	qulang	qulang	'shrimp, lobster'
396	*tuDuq	tumu:ruq	tu:luq	tu:luq	'drip'
262	*haNter	mangiyater	qatul	qatel	'escort'



(12) PAN \*Z &gt; PS \*d

	PAN	Bl	Tl	Bt	
267	*Zalan	da:lan	da:lan	daan	'path'
471	*taZem	matadem	matarum	matarem	'sharp'
367	*.uZan			quran	'rain'

(13) PAN \*Z PS \*l

126	*hizaw			naqilo	'unripe'
384	*qanuZ	qa:nur	qa:nul	qa:nul	'carried by current'

(14) PAN \*j &gt; PS \*l

163	*ujing	qu:ring	qu:ling	qu:ling	'charcoal'
249	*ngajan	nga:ran	nga:lan	ngalan	'name'
46	*pusej	pu:ser	pu:sul	pu:hel	'navel'
426	*qulej	qu:rer	qu:lul	qu:wel	'worm'

(15) PAN \*s &gt; PS \*s

38	*susu	su:su	su:su	hu:hu	'breast'
427	*asu	qa:su	qa:su	qa:hu	'dog'
176	*ules	qules	qulus	quweh	'blanket'
443	*qipes	qi:pes	qi:pus	qi:peh	'cockroach'
41	*pusuq	pu:suq	pusuq	pusuq	'heart'
230	*saksak	saksak	saksak	saksak	'stab'
79	*kapas	ka:pas	ka:pas	ka:pa	'cotton'
84	*beRas	byas	buyas	buya	'husked rice'

(16) PAN \*c &gt; PS \*s

82a	*cincin	singsing	singsing	hinghing	'ring'
285	*baca	mama:sa	mama:sa	ba:ha	'read'

(17) PAN \*m &gt; PS \*m

433	*manuk	manuk	manuk	manuk	'chicken'
7	*maCa	mata	mata	mata	'eye'
	*lima	lima	lima	lima	'five'
421	*lumut	lu:mut	lu:mut	lu:mut	'moss'
132	*inum	minum	minum	minum	'drink'
108	*Danum	ranum	lanum	lanum	'water'
521	*Dalem	qara:rem	mala:luq	mala:leq	'deep'

(18) PAN \*n &gt; PS \*n

62	*naqnaq	na:naq	na:naq	na:naq	'pus'
228	*panaq	pa:naq	pa:naq	pa:naq	'bow and arrow'
267	*Zalan	da:lan	da:lan	daan	'path'

(19) PAN \*ñ &gt; PS \*n

394	*qanuZ	qa:nur	qa:nul	qa:nul	'carried by current'
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(20) PAN \*ng &gt; PS \*ng

	PAN	Bl	Ti	Bt	
249	*ngalan	nga:ran	nga:lan	ngalan	'name'
20	*ngipen	ngi:pen	ngi:pun	ngi:pen	'tooth'
364	*langit	la:ngit	la:ngit	la:ngit	'sky'
87	*bunga	bu:nga	bu:nga	bu:nga	'fruit'
123	*DangDang	rangrang	qilanglang	langlang	'warm by fire'
155	*DingDing	ringring	lingling	lingling	'wall'

(21) PAN \*l &gt; PS \*l

364	*langit	la:ngit	la:ngit	la:ngit	'sky'
232	*laki	lala:ki	lala:ki	lala:ki	'male'
224	*talul	mata:lu	ta:lu	ta:lu	'lose'
	*walu	walu	walu	walu	'eight'
136	*bitil	mabitil	mabitil	mabitil	'hungry'
246	*balu	ba:lu	ba:lu	ba:wu	'widow'
255	*laRiw	malayu	mulayu	muwayu	'run'
176	*ules	qules	qulus	quweh	'blanket'
175	*lamak			qamak	'mat'
267	*Zalan	da:lan	da:lan	daan	'path'
358	*selsel			he:he	'regret'

(22) PAN \*R &gt; PS \*y

530	*Rabi	yabi	yabi	yabi	'night'
411	*Ramut	yamut	yamut	yamut	'root'
162	*baRah	ba:ya	ba:ya	ba:ya	'ember'
334	*huRas	mangu:yas	qu:yas	quyah	'wash'
463	*ikuR	qi:kuy	qi:kuy	qi:kuy	'tail'

(23) PAN \*R &gt; PS [\*g]

192	*Rabuk		gabuk	gabuk	'dust'
395	*qaRus	quma:gus	qa:gus	qa:guh	'flow'
307	*suRuq		su:guq	hu:guq	'send on errand'
271	*layaR	la:yag	la:yag	la:yag	'sail'

(24) PAN \*y &gt; PS \*y

271	*layaR	la:yag	la:yag	la:yag	'sail'
301	*bayaL	mama:yad	ba:yer	ba:yad	'pay'
439	*buqaya	buqa:ya	buqa:ya	buqa:ya	'crocodile'
273	*begsay	bugsay	bugsay		'paddle'
309	*away	manga:way	qa:way	qa:way	'quarrel'
151	*balay	bali	bali	bali	'house'
44	*qaCey	qagtay	qagtay	qagtay	'lever'
83	*pajey	pa:ri	pa:li	pa:li	'rice plant'
221	*patey	mati	mati	mati	'die'
159	*qapuy	qapuy	qapuy	qapuy	'fire'
430	*babuy	ba:buy	ba:buy	ba:buy	'pig'



## (25) PAN \*w &gt; PS \*w

	<u>PAN</u>	<u>B1</u>	<u>T1</u>	<u>Bt</u>	
	*walu	walu	walu	walu	'eight'
244	*qasawa	qasa:wa		qaha:wa	'spouse'
328	*gawaq	mangwaq	gawaq	gawaq	'make, do'
304	*takaw	mana:kaw		ta:kaw	'steal'
447	*langaw	la:ngu	la:ngu	la:ngu	'housefly'
373	*qaNjaw	qawru	qawlu	qallu	'day, sun'
255	*laRiw	malayu	mulayu	muwayu	'run'

## (26) PAN \*q &gt; PS \*q

395	*qaRus	qama:gus	qa:gus	qa:guh	'flow'
426	*qulej	qu:rer	qu:lul	qu:wel	'worm'
437	*quDang	qurang	qulang	qulang	'shrimp, lobster'
105	*qubi	qu:bi	qu:bi	qu:bi	'yam'
439	*buqaya	buqa:ya	buqa:ya	buqa:ya	'crocodile'
531	*taqun	taqun	taqun	taqun	'year'
505	*daqan	maqran	da:qan	da:qan	'old'
228	*panaq	pa:naq	pa:naq	pa:naq	'bow and arrow'
350	*piliq	mami:liq	pi:liq	pi:liq	'choose'
396	*tuDuq	tumu:ruq	tu:luq	tu:luq	'drip'

## (27) PAN \*h &gt; PS \*q, Ø

191	*hasaq	manga:saq	qa:saq	qa:haq	'sharpen'
312	*hajek	mangarek	qaluk	qalek	'kiss'
466	*hasang	qa:sang	qa:sang	qa:hang	'gills'
101	*benhiq	biniq	biniq	biniq	'seed'
148	*bahew			maba:wuq	'bad-smelling'
162	*baRah	ba:ya	ba:ya	ba:ya	'ember'



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## MINOR LANGUAGES OF MINDORO

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Talking about the "Minor Languages of Mindoro" might come as a surprise to someone who knows that Mindoro Island, with its two provinces, Oriental & Occidental, belong to REGION IV, or to the Southern Tagalog Region, alongside Batangas, Laguna and neighboring Tagalog speaking provinces. So why then talk about Mindoro's "Minor Languages"?

Actually, this "someone" might be in for another surprise if he looks up the latest Population Census of the Philippines, and discovers that in Mindoro are spoken as original "mother tongues" at least some 50 different languages, from Ibanag to Isinai, from Agutayano to Manobo. Indeed, Mindoro has attracted many immigrants from every corner of the Philippines, especially during the last 30 years or so, as evidenced by the 398% increase in population, from 167,705 in 1948 to 667,882 in 1980.

All this, however, would hardly justify a separate treatment of Mindoro's Minor Languages, because anybody settling down in Mindoro, would soon have to adapt himself to the Tagalog language, the "Lingua Franca" of Mindoro, spoken in the coastal towns and barangays around the Island, be it with a recognizable Ilocano or Bisayan intonation.

When I received the kind invitation of Dr. Ernesto Constantino and Prof. Anicia Del Corro to present a talk about the Minor Languages of Mindoro, it was clear to me that they meant the languages spoken by Mindoro's 40,000 or so original inhabitants, generally known as the Mangyans. Less generally, however, is it known that these so called Mangyans, are easily distinguished into a number of separate ethno-



linguistic groups, based on their different languages, customs and cultural expressions.

Permit me to trace back somewhat in past history the first contacts of the "outside world" (Spanish) with Mindoro's indigenous population. As far as I can ascertain, the first mention made of Mangyans in Mindoro (sometimes they are also mentioned to be in Tablas, Romblon and Palawan!), is recorded by Juan de Medina, an Augustinian priest who wrote about Mindoro in 1630, or roughly 60 years after it had been "discovered" by Spanish colonizers.

In these missionary reports, we read about the Mangyans, mostly living in the mountains, and different from the coastal-dwelling Tagalog speaking population. The Mangyan language was already recognized as a different vernacular from those known at that time, and by chance, the first sample of a Mangyan vocabulary was recorded. It was the word DAYO, meaning: "I don't like", still commonly used today in some Mangyan languages. Actually, it is still a socially - and culturally - "loaded" word, expressing the refusal of the Mangyans to accept or associate with the ways of the "outsiders".

In various subsequent publications (often assiduously copied from earlier sources!), the Mangyans are mentioned as the original inhabitants of Mindoro, frequently described in a most exciting and fantastic way, e.g. as having tails, and being "whiter" than the other Filipino people. The whiteness of skin attributed to a genetic mixture with supposedly shipwrecked Dutch sailors, who got stranded on Mindoro's coasts in the early 17th century. Even today still, some people are seriously asking me if it is true that the Mangyans have tails!



At first contact, at different places in Mindoro, the Mangyans were considered as belonging to one homogeneous group, speaking the same language, and belonging to the same tribe. But gradually, in the course of time, racial differences were brought out and distinct tribe's names being recognized. Spanish government records of early 1800 mention the Ilayas (Iraya) in Northern Mindoro as a tribe different from the other "Manguianes". Subsequent travellers, government officials and researchers added to the increasing number of tribal names, that were usually based on a topical description or geographical locality. By 1885, Jordana brings out 10 different tribes of Mangyans living in Mindoro, and later, Blumentritt published these names in his work on Tribal Filipinos. Gardner (1906) and Ordóñez (1906) still add new names to this number, and when Conklin (1949) publishes the result of his fieldwork in Mindoro in 1947, he writes that ... "nine main ethnographic or tribal groups were located, each speaking a separate language ...", bringing to a total of about 20 the names of Mangyan tribes (and/or languages?) mentioned thus far. The latest addition to the Mangyan tribal list, are the Furuan, mentioned in a survey study of a DAF team, conducted around 1975.

The main reason for the great diversity of Mangyan tribal and language names, and the confusion resulting from it, is undoubtedly the lack of understanding between the researcher, his interpreter and the Mangyan informant. This is clearly illustrated by the research of Fletcher Gardner (1906), who called the indigenous group in Southern Mindoro the Hampangan-Mangyans, and a team of U.P. students in linguistics (1974), who called the ethnic-group in Paitan (near Baco) the Iplaong-Mangyans. In my opinion, both researchers made the same mistake when inquiring from the Mangyans by



means of Tagalog or thru an interpreter, how they are called, or what the name of their languages is. The Mangyan answer was simply a translation of the word: "language, talk, speech", or: hampang and iplaong respectively, which was understood by the researchers as being the name of tribe and /or language group!

Extensive field-research by Tweddell (1956-70) reduced and narrowed down the number of tribal and language groups fusing and/or correcting or discarding some names that had been presented by previous researchers. from Jordana to Conklin, describing their approximate locations and boundaries, thus clearing up controversial basic issues concerning Mangyan tribal and language distribution in Mindoro.

Tweddell's research reduced the number of distinct ethno-linguistic groups, collectively called the Mangyans, to seven, namely: the Iraya, Alangan and Tadyawan, located in the northern half of Mindoro, the Batangan, Buhid, Hanunoo-Mangyan and Ratagnon, located in the southern half of Mindoro. It was further concluded that the tribes in each of the main groups, North and South, had their own interrelated linguistic and tribal characteristics. The Ratagnon, located at the extreme southwest of Mindoro, was considered by Tweddell as "not originally indigenous to the island "because of its high common score with a Bisayan language: Cuyunon.

Barbian (1977) continued along the same lines, and confirmed in general the 7 linguistic groups' conclusion of Tweddell, further defining the individual areas of these distinct groups. Although subgroups are being established with more or less dialectical differences, like the Baribi and Taubuid with the Buhid, and Balabaan with the Tadyawan, the essential linguistic features remain the same, and at the present state



of research, does not warrant the addition of another ethno-linguistic group to the established number of seven.

After having presented here the tribal distribution of the Mangyan groups coinciding with their linguistic identity, I'd like to acquaint you briefly with the efforts and the findings of past linguistic research among the Mangyan languages themselves, their internal and external relationships and their positions in the Malayo-Polynesian language tree as it is branched out in the Philippine archipelago.

Linguistic research among the Mangyan languages took a long time to start and to develop. Apparently, the Mangyan inhabitants of mountainous Mindoro were so elusive and hard to contact that little or no reliable information could be obtained by any would-be researchers on their customs or speech.

Mindoro, moreover, was an island with a bad reputation as a shelter for Moro pirates, refuge for escape convicts and graveyard for civilized man because of its unhealthy climate. No wonder that Mindoro's Mangyan inhabitants could continue their centuries-old customs in relative quietness and seclusion, without being bothered by influences and innovations introduced by other cultural contacts.

The only occasional contacts with the Mangyans made in the past, were established by missionaries, merchants or government officials who showed scant interest in their cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

During the last part of the 19th century the first scientific reports were published about the Mangyan tribes of Mindoro. What first attracted the attention of the scientific world was the old Filipino writing system still in practical use among the Mangyan tribes. I'll deal with that further on.



The beginnings of the 1900 saw the first publications on one of the Mangyan languages, namely, the southern (Hanunoo) Mangyans. Fletcher Gardner, a U.S. contract surgeon got interested in, what he called, the Hampangan Mangyans, and published in 1905 and 1906 two vocabularies and a grammar of the Hanunoo-Mangyan language.

From 1902 till around 1912 Dr. E. Miller visited various regions in Mindoro and located cultural and linguistic data from three Mangyan groups called nowadays the Iraya, Tadyawan and Hanunoo-Mangyans. Vocabularies of more than 100 basic words belonging to these linguistic groups were published in 1912 by E.E. Schneider, compared with each other and with a large (50) number of known Philippine languages. However, no conclusions or theories were drawn up about the position of these Mangyan languages in the linguistic picture of the Philippines in general.

In the following years, nothing of importance was written on the Mangyans, aside from the sensational travelogues and journeys through Mangyan Territory that were more confusing than clarifying about the diversity of the Mangyan ethno-linguistic groups.

Only in 1939 another linguistic study about the Southern Mangyan language was presented by the veteran Fletcher Gardner. It comprised a great number of Hanunoo-Mangyan bamboo writings with tentative translations, and an elaborate grammar with Mangyan vocabulary. He was the first who attempted to translate the Ambahan poetry, but underestimated the near to impossible task of the interpreter to explain the poetry to him. After the war, Harold Conklin (1949) conducted his field studies in the Hanunoo-Mangyan area and published his Hanunoo-English Vocabulary



(1953), followed by a long series of publications on various aspects of Mangyan life and livelihood, culture and language. All of it, however, concentrated on the Southern (Hanunoo) Mangyan groups.

Gradually other Mangyan linguistic groups were studied and the results published. About the Iraya by Tweddell (1958), the Buhid by Barham (1958), a comprehensive study of all the groups by Tweddell (1970), the Iraya by Nicole Macdonald (1971), relationships of all the groups by Zorc (1974), the Buhid and Taubuid by Penoyer (1976), and the latest comprehensive and comparative study of all the Mangyan linguistic groups by Barbican (1977). My own contributions of linguistic research among the Mangyan language groups have largely remained unpublished, since they were intended in the first place for my own practical use in dealing with them. In 1968 I started collecting extensive wordlists on the major Mangyan languages (Iraya, Alangan, Tadyawan with Balabaan, Buhid with Baribi and Taubuid, and Hanunoo-Mangyan). I surveyed the extent of the written language among the Hanunoo-Mangyan and the Northern Buhid. Collected thousands of Mangyan Ambahan poems and studied the poetic language compiling the individual words into an Ambahan vocabulary that is still growing.

The diversity of the different Mangyan languages has now been established, and their number has been fixed to the above mentioned 7, of which Patagnon is still under discussion whether it should be a sub-group of a Bisayan dialect (Cuyonon), or as a Mangyan language influenced by Bisayan settlers, but originally related to the Hanunoo-Mangyan. I personally believe, that the historically established residence of Mangyans on Iling Island and the opposite Mindoro coast in the South, would favor a strong argument for accepting Patagnon as the 7th Mangyan language group.



In determining the internal and external relationships of the Mangyan languages among themselves and with neighboring Tagalog and Bisayan languages, David Zorc has been particularly active.

Through lexicostatistical evidence, first presented by Isidore Dyen in 1962 and published in 1965, the Mangyan languages got their definite place in the linguistic picture of the Philippine languages, establishing a Northern and Southern Mangyan language group beyond any doubt.

Lexical and morphological evidence has further made clear the internal relationships of the Mangyan languages, although incomplete and incorrect wordlists and errors of understanding and/or interpretation leaves still plenty of room for future clarification, so that the last word on the closeness of the Mangyan linguistic relatives has not been said.

Short vocabularies have been published of all the Mangyan languages, the most extensive with 759 words by Barbican (1977) in his interesting and unique culturally oriented wordlist. However, Conklin's Hanunoo-English vocabulary (1953) is the most elaborate so far, and the only one of that caliber of any of the Mangyan languages. A thorough dictionary of a Northern Mangyan language or of Batangan would be a real asset for the deeper understanding of the relationship and origin of the languages still being spoken extensively by the mountain people of Mindoro.

Since external relationship of the Mangyan languages point rather to the Bisayan South than to the Tagalog North, it can be said that Mindoro linguistically, as far as the Mangyan languages are concerned, belongs rather to a Northern Bisayan than a Southern Tagalog Region.

But knowledge in linguistic and other scientific circles takes a long time to be taken up and shared in, let's say, official government circles.



The latest census figures reveal that there is only ONE single indigenous group in Mindoro, speaking as their mother tongue ONE single language, namely MANGYAN, alongside Ibanag, Isinai, Manobo, etc.

What will be the future of the Mangyan languages? Can they survive the influence of Pilipino in radio, education, trade and even intertribal language? So far there is no indication that the Mangyan languages are in danger of becoming extinct, except, maybe, where the contact with Tagalog neighbors has been of considerable intensity and duration like among some of the Irayas in Northern Mindoro. Interest and pride in their own culture play also an important role. But in general it can be said that the various Mangyan languages are still very much alive, and spoken by the younger generation which is the best guarantee of hope for survival in the future.

By way of illustration of the different means of applying and using their language, and thereby as a sign of vitality, ingenuity and love of the Mangyans for their mother tongue, I'll make a few observations on the language spoken by the so-called Hamnoo-Mangyans in Southern Mindoro.

Since I have stayed with these Mangyans for quite some time, I have observed the various ways wherein they have used their language as a tool of their intelligence and joy.

The first thing the scientific world noticed about the Mangyans of Mindoro, was the amazing fact that they employed a writing system of their own.

Pedro A. Paterno wrote in his book about the Aetas (Los Itas, 1890), that the Mangyan tribes in the Mountains of Mindoro were still using the old-Filipino script. As proof, he presented a letter allegedly written by a Mangyan woman, without mentioning his source..



The German trio, Meyer, Schadenberg and Foy (1894) wrote a learned treatise on the Mangyan script, and they were the first to suggest that there might still be a second writing system among another Mangyan tribe in Mindoro.

Marcilla (1898) reproduced two samples of Mangyan writing, copied from a bamboo that was collected in Mansalay, Southern Mindoro.

And so, this scriptural fossil that was considered to be extinct already, came to life again in the bamboo-writing of a hidden mountain tribe in Mindoro.

For the Hanunoo-Mangyans themselves, there was nothing exciting about all this, because they had been using this method of recording their language, scratched with a sharp knife on a piece of bamboo, as long as they could remember. The oldest sample of Mangyan writing can be found on an old Spanish document of 1792 where some Mangyan leaders from Mansalay had attached their signatures.

Actually, the writing system as such was not very well suited to the Mangyan language with so many closed syllables, because the syllabic character of the script represented always an open syllable, and one had to guess from the context what the meaning was of the written word. When the script character read "TO DO", it could be understood as dubdob, dumdom, dusdos, etc. depending of the rest of the sentence. A very keen mind was needed to read the script, and make it work in practical use. And yet, until this very moment it is still being used by the Hanunoo-Mangyans. The script is an effective means of communication, but above all it is used for recording the ancient poetic songs that are copied in a continuous chain from the remote past to the present day.



Maybe the reason why the writing system survived, was the urgent wish to keep alive the poetic language of the Ambahan. For sure, much of the ancient speech would have disappeared by now were it not for the existence and use of the script.

That the Hanunco-Mangyans do love their Ambahan poetry is clear to anyone who has witnessed their gatherings, especially during the evening. Someone might be inspired and start off reciting the rhythmic and rhyming chant and when he is finished, another person, man or woman, will answer him in the same symbolic and allegoric language, to the enjoyment of all who have quickly gathered around the two bards. This kind of verbal contest can go on until the small hours of the next day, without causing boredom or sleep to the intent listeners.

Exotic script, archaic language, symbolic poetry, what else could the Mangyan do with his language? Like in Tagalog, when you say: pogi, dihin goli, the Mangyans also know their inverted speech, called pasayod, but it's more sophisticated. When they would say: This is our mountain, or Inda kami bantod, in pasayod it would be dan-i mingka tunbad. Only the open syllable is transferred and the final consonant of each syllable left in place. In this way, they can keep a rapid conversation with each other, that can't be understood by another Mangyan who is not part of the plot.

A couple of years ago, a complicated type of pasayod was in use among the young people that baffled and frustrated the older generation. The pasayod or inverted word was created by means of an intermediate word.

For example, using the word asawa (spouse) the intermediate word was sawa (type of snake) and the pasayod word was ulay (snake in general).



So instead of asawa you said ulay. If you did not know the in-between word, it was impossible to find out the real meaning.

Other examples:

<u>Daraga</u> (young girl)	>	<u>darag</u> (fallen leaf)	>	<u>labong kayo</u> (tree leaf)
<u>Kaati</u> (now)	>	<u>atis</u> (fruit)	>	<u>guyibano</u> (fruit)
<u>Masiyado</u> (very much)	>	<u>anisado</u> (strong drink)	>	<u>mapepsi</u> (soft drink)

This type of inverted language was in use for about half a year before the youth got tired of it. But the enjoyment they had in using it was worthwhile the effort to learn it by heart.

A final example of how the technique of speech is used as disguise for one's person; it is done by a boy who goes courting a girl and doesn't want to be recognized. He wraps himself in a blanket and disguises his voice inhaling while speaking, instead of exhaling. It would sound very strange if you'd say: "How are you tonight? Everything's okay?" It seems to me quite an exhausting affair, but it had to be a Mangyan to invent this breath-twister.

I hope that by presenting this to you, I have given some idea of the different Mangyan languages still very much alive in Mindoro and loved by its different users.

Let us hope that these Mangyans may continue using their individual mother tongues among each other, but at the same time learn to know their fellow-Filipinos and feel united with them in the use of one National Language called Filipino.



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# Appendix 1

Some Samples of the Mangyan Languages and the Southern Mangyan Script

MANGYAN WORDS (after own research & BARBIAN)

ENGLISH	IRAYA	ALANGAN	TADYAWAN	BATANGAN	BUHID	HANUNOO	RATAGNON
BLOOD	daya	daya	pilit	tagok	fulot	dugo	dugo
KNEE	dulang	dulang	utol	tud	twud	tuod	tuod
NAIL	lekeb	lukob	nangas	go	guho	kuko	kuko
NOSE	urong	urong	ngulong	dungos	uyong	irong	irong
RAIN	udan	udan	basa	moyan	mwayan	uran	uran
SUN	aldaw	ibong	meybong	menit	myanit	init	init
TAIL	ikoy	ikoy	ikoy	iyog	ihog	ikog	ikog
YES	hee	awn	aon	ken	ala	ho	oon
+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

MANGYAN SENTENCES (after BARBIAN)

ENGLISH:	HOW	BIG	IS	YOUR	HOUSE ?
IRAYA:	umaning	kakol		komo	balay ?
ALANGAN:	ang ka	lakoy		kaymo	balay ?
TADYAWAN:	ang ka	koy			balayo??
BATANGAN:	se	daul		m	bale ?
BUHID:		dao da		m	balay ?
HANUNOO:	kabitay	kadaka		kanmo	balay ?
RATAGNON:	paywan	kabaol	ang imo nga		balay ?

/ / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / /



MANGYAN WRITING AND POETRY

si ay- pod bay u- pa- dan

You, my friend, so dear to me,

no kang ti-na- gin-du- man

thinking of you makes me sad...

may u- lang ma- di kag-nan

rivers deep are in between,

may ta- kip ma- di kay-wan

forests vast keep us apart.

no kang ti-na- gin-du- man

but thinking of you with love

ga si- yon di sa ad- ngan

as if you are here nearby

ga pag-tang- da- yon di man

standing, sitting at my side.

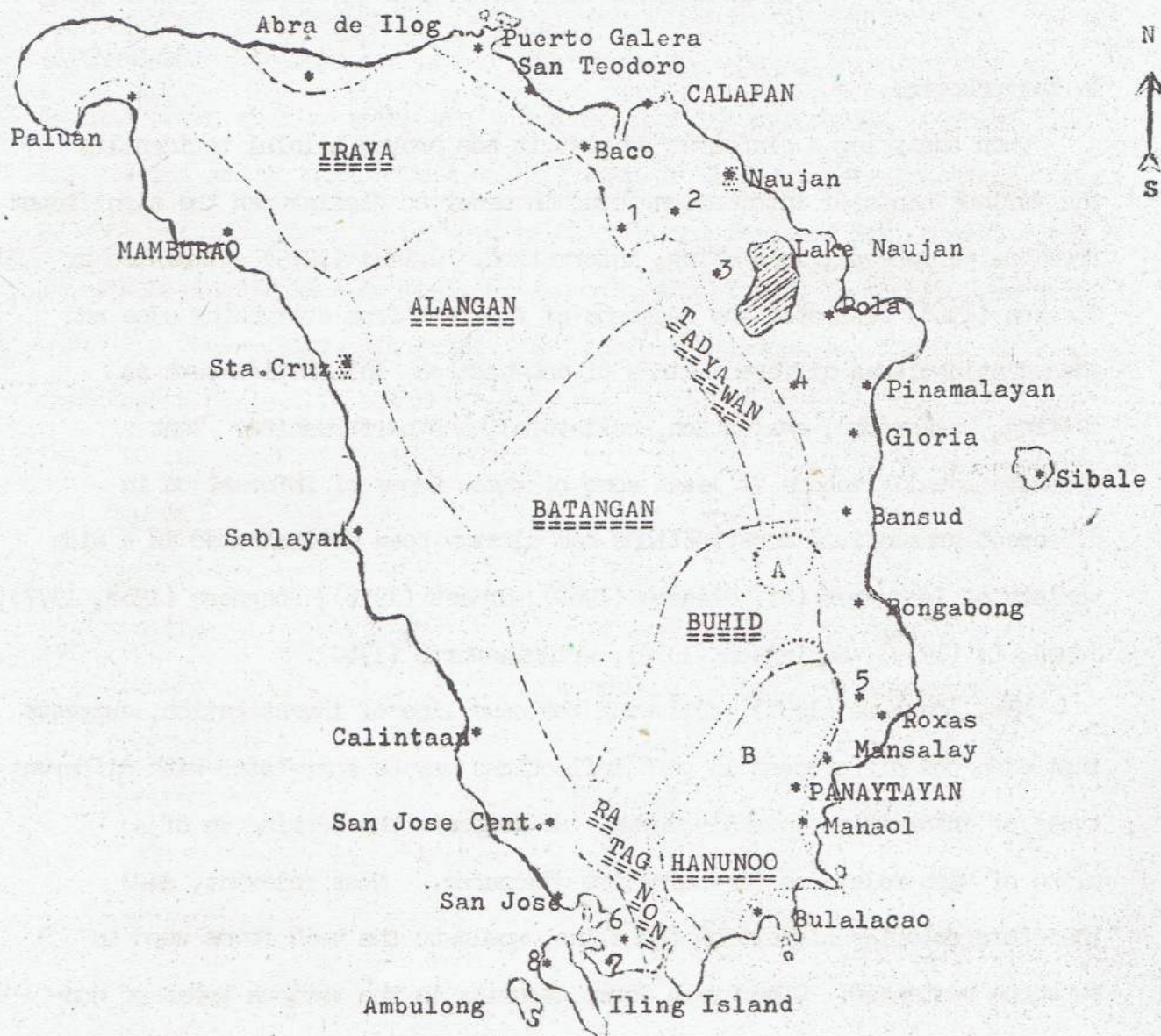
(from: Treasure of a Minority by A. Postma. p. 112)



Ethnic Map of M I N D O R O, Philippines.

With approximate Mangyan Tribal & Language Distribution.

SCALE: 1 : 1.000.000



----- = Tribal & Language Boundaries (approximately).

..... = Script areas: A. Northern Buhid; B. Southern (Hanunoo) Mangyan.

- |              |   |                 |
|--------------|---|-----------------|
| 1. Comunal   | / | 5. San Mariano  |
| 2. Barcenaga | / | 6. Magsaysay    |
| 3. Victoria  | / | 7. Santa Teresa |
| 4. Socorro   | / | 8. Iling.       |

Sources: BTSM Maps, Edition 1961  
USA Map, ONC K-11, Ed. 3, 1967.  
Field Research.

Antoon Postma SVD, May, 1983



# VERB ASPECT IN MASBATENO DISCOURSE

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## 1. Introduction.

When analyzing a discourse or text it has proven helpful to identify the various kinds of information found in order to distinguish the significant from the peripheral, supporting, information. Grimes (1975) stimulated by Gleason (1968) separates the backbone of the text from everything else and then distinguishes different kinds of non-backbone information such as setting, background, evaluation, collateral, and performative. That speakers usually encode at least some of these types of information in different grammatical constructions has already been demonstrated in a wide variety of languages (cf. Gleason (1968), Grimes (1978), Longacre (1968, 1977), Jones, L. (1979), Errington (1979), Wrigglesworth (1980).

Now, Longacre (1981), following the same line of investigation, suggests that even the differences in verb inflections may be correlated with different types of information in a discourse. He proposes the setting up of a cline of verb relevance for narrative discourse.<sup>1</sup> Most relevant, and therefore occurring highest on the cline, would be the verb forms used in backbone sentences. Other verb forms occurring in the various types of non-backbone sentences would be assigned succeeding lower places on the cline as less relevant. Furthermore, he postulates that different discourse types will have different clines of verb dynamism, which in turn may provide diagnostic clues for distinguishing discourses. This paper reports on a study of verb usage in narrative, explanatory, and hortatory discourse investigating the feasibility of such verb clines for Masbateno.<sup>2</sup>



### 1.1 Summary of Masbateno verb aspects.

Verbs in Masbateno are inflected for aspect rather than tense. This means that it is the quality of the action which is signaled by the verb inflection rather than its time. The system is somewhat simpler than in English where regular verbs are inflected for two tenses and, with the auxiliaries and modals, have a multiplicity of tense/aspect/mode/voice forms. By contrast, Masbateno verbs have an uninflected form and four aspect forms. One of the latter is a neutral, or generic, aspect verb-form while the other three are prospective, progressive and perfective aspects. One set of these basic aspects is illustrated by the inflected forms of the root bakal 'buy' in the chart of Figure 1.<sup>3</sup>

<u>Aspect</u>	<u>Verb Form</u>	
uninflected root	bakal	'buy'
generic	magbakal	'to buy'
prospective	magabakal	'is going to buy'
progressive	nagabakal	'is buying'
perfective	nagbakal	'bought'

Figure 1.

Illustration of the aspect inflections of Masbateno verbs.

### 1.2 Verb aspect and time of an action.

Since the verbs of Masbateno are unmarked for time, they can be used equally well in either past, present, or future time discourse. In present-time passages, that is, in utterances oriented towards the moment of the narrator's speaking, past, present and future time correlate fairly well.



with the perfective, progressive and prospective aspects. Perfective aspect can be understood as referring to past time, progressive aspect to present time and prospective aspect to future time. Generic aspect in this situation functions like imperatives and infinitives. This is the usual situation, for example, in quotations. Note examples (1) and (2).<sup>4</sup>

- (1) "Wara ka matuod makahuyot  
not you true to-hold-on  
san imo suweldo san usad  
of-the your wage of- the one

1. "You truly are not able to hold on (gen-inf) to your salary from a vacation job but count up (gen-impv) how much tuition you paid (perf) at the school.

na bakasyon piro kuwentaha kon  
lk vacation but count-up if

pira an tuition na  
how-much the tuition lk

ginbayadan mo sa  
paid-at by-you to-the  
eskwela."  
school.

- (2) "Tabangi man niyo  
help? also by-you-pl

2. "You all help (gen-impv)  
my child lest he drown  
(pros) there."

an akon bata kay adto  
the my child because there

malulumos."  
will-drown.

Though the verb form makahuyot 'to hold on' is ambiguously either generic aspect or prospective aspect, depending on the context, in (1) it is interpreted as generic aspect functioning as an infinitive. The form kuwentaha 'count up' is generic aspect functioning as an imperative and ginbayadan 'paid at' is perfective aspect interpreted as past time. In (2) tabangi 'help' is generic aspect functioning as an imperative and malulumos 'will drown' is prospective aspect interpreted as future time.



In non-present-time discourses ascertaining the time of the verb aspect is more problematical. In narrative discourse which reports past events, for example, the progressive and prospective aspects do not correlate with present and future time at all. So one question we will try to answer is how the forms of an aspectual system correlate with the different types of information in a discourse.

## 2. Distinguishing types of information in Narrative Discourse.

Narrative discourse refers to those texts which tell stories, either fiction or real, report current events, personal experiences, or the like. The backbone of a narrative discourse consists of those events which carry forward the action of the story. Events are reported by verbal clauses. Some verbs, however, are considered less dynamic than others. Verbs of motion, sensation, awareness, and psychological states or logical consequences of preceding actions are less dynamic than others since they either bring a pause in the action or are only continuations of earlier actions. On the other hand, comments, conditions, reasons, results and amplifications are background information.

2.1 Backbone information. For a story which occurred, or was completed, prior to the telling of the story by a narrator, the backbone sentences typically have verbs in the perfective aspect although such verbs are not limited to backbone sentences. These verb forms are not an analytical problem in this discourse type. In the accompanying narrative text, "My Personal Experience," the backbone verbs are underlined.



(3)

AN AKON SADIRI NA EXPERENSYA  
'My Personal Experience'

1. Nadumduman ko sadto'n  
remembered by-me of-that

tulo pa Yang ako ka tuig,  
three still only I 1k year

2. gin-upod ako san akon  
accompanied I by-the my

ama na magkita sin programa  
father 1k to-see of-a program

halapit sa may kapitolyo.  
near to-the there-is capitol-

3. Harayo ini sa  
building. far this to-the

amon balay kay sadto didto  
our house because then there

pa kami nagaistar  
still we (exc) were-living

sa halapit sa merkado.  
at-the near to-the market.

4. Nagpaaram ako sa akon  
informed I to-the my

ama na makita ako sa  
father 1k will-see I at-the

halapit san entablado.  
near by-the stage

5. Pagkatapos san programma,  
after-finish of-the program

nagbalik ako kon hain  
returned I if where

nagaingkod an akon ama pero wara  
was-sitting the my father but not

5

1. I remember when I was  
still just three years old,

2. my father took me with  
him to see a program near  
the capitol building.

3. This was far from our  
house because at that time  
we were still living there  
near to the market.

4. I informed my father  
that I would watch from  
near the stage.

5. After the program was  
finished, I returned to  
where

my father was sitting  
but he was not there.



na siya didto. 6. Ginhunga ko  
now he there asked by-me

an iya mga kaupod kon hain siya  
the his pl companion if where he

pero dili ninda aram. 7. Tungod  
but not by-them know about

kay madulom na, nag-uli  
because dark already, went home

na lang ako.  
now only I

8. Primero ko pa lang idto  
first by-the yet only-that

na maglakat na solo kag gab-i  
lk to-walk lk alone and night

na, kaya nagadalagan kag nagatangis  
already so was-running and was crying

ako kay nahadlok ako na basi  
I because afraid I lk maybe

ako mawara kag dili ko  
I will-be-lost and not by-me

masyado kahisado an agihan  
very sure the way

pauli. 9. Nakaabot man gihapon  
to-go-home arrived also again

ako sa balay. 10. Nagparatangis  
I at-the house cried-and-cried

lang gihapon ako tungod sa kahadlok  
only again I because of-the fear

kag nakakaturug ako na wara magkaon.  
and able-to-sleep I lk not to-eat

6. I asked his com-  
panions where he was  
but they did not know.

7. Because it was  
already dark, I just  
went home.

8. That was just my  
first time to walk home  
alone and at night,  
so I was running and  
crying because I was

afraid that I might get  
lost and I was not  
very sure of the way  
home.

9. I finally reached  
home again.

10. I cried and cried  
again because of my  
fear and I feel asleep  
without eating supper.

The first backbone event verb is gin-upod 'accompanied/took with'  
in sentence two; it is a perfective aspect verb. The verb nadumduman



'remembered' of sentence one is also perfective aspect but does not qualify as a backbone event because it is a stative verb (marked by the *na-* prefix) and represents a psychological state. This verb sets the stage for the story which is to follow. The rest of the underlined verbs carry the backbone of the story and are all perfective aspect verbs. Two other perfective aspect verbs are not underlined since they are not considered backbone events either. The verb nakaabot 'arrived' in sentence 9 and nagparatangis 'cried and cried' in sentence 10 are reporting background information because (1) nakaabot is a stative verb which is in tight sequence to naguli in sentence 7 and is considered part of that action of returning home; and (2) nagparatangis has back reference to another background action in 8, that of crying.

## 2.2 Non-backbone information.

Besides the setting information in sentence 1, there are several other kinds of information in this text. In sentence 2 the generic aspect verb, maglita 'to see' functions as an infinitive and gives a reason for the action of the backbone event gin-upod. So, it is background information. Sentence 3 is another piece of setting information given as a Descriptive clause. The progressive aspect verb, nagaistar 'were living', is the main verb of the embedded clause in the middle of sentence 3 and it also reports background information as a reason for the setting given in the first half of this conjoined sentence. The progressive aspect verb naga-ingkod is the main verb of a dependent clause attributive to the backbone event verb nagbalik 'returned and indicates the goal of that verb's action.



At the end of sentence 6 is a conjoined negative verbal clause with a simple root as the main verb. The verb, aram 'know', is interpreted as perfective aspect in harmony with the aspect of the backbone event verb<sup>6</sup> at the beginning of the sentence. Negated clauses give collateral information since it is action which never actually occurred. There is more non-backbone information in the remainder of the story but this much will suffice to give a sample of such information and some of the grammatical devices used to report it.

### 2.3 A cline of verb dynamism for narrative discourse.

Having summarized the interpretation of the verb aspects for backbone and non-backbone information we can now proceed to construct a cline of verb relevance for narrative discourse. The most dynamic verbs will be those used in the backbone of the story. The least dynamic will be those used only rarely and then only in non-backbone information. Based on an analysis of fourteen texts a cline of verb dynamism for Masbateno narrative discourse is given in Figure 2.

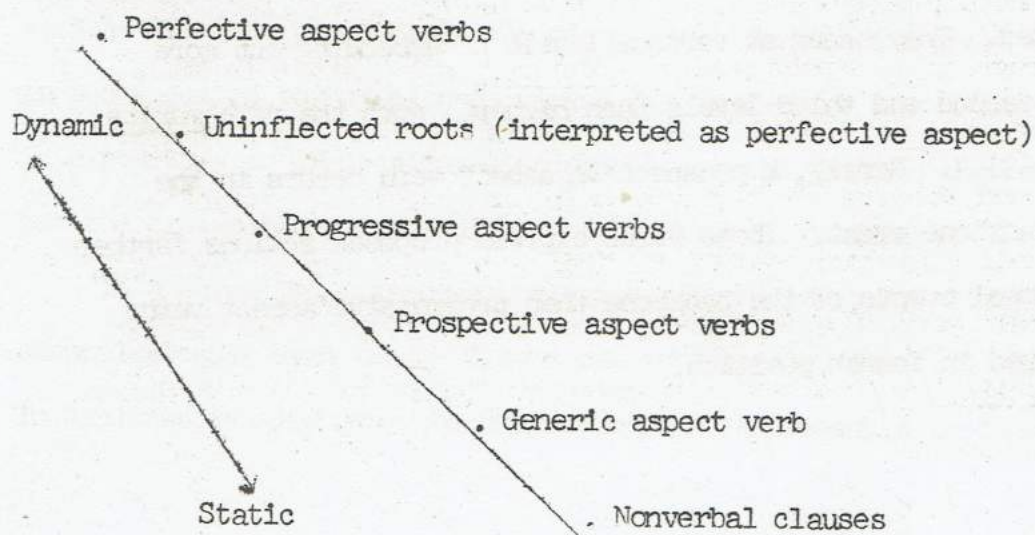




Figure 2.

## Ranking of verbs in Masbateno narrative discourse.

In narrative discourse the perfective aspect verbs are the most dynamic because they appear regularly in the backbone sentences as well in some setting and background information. The uninflected roots are a step down on the cline because their grammatical status as perfectives depends on the presence of a dominating, inflected, perfective aspect verb. Though these uninflected verb roots occur in both backbone and non-backbone sentences, they are much less frequent than the perfective verbs.

Progressive aspect verbs appear in the third position on the cline because they still represent real actions involving the main participants although the actions mark background information of reason, result, or participate in tight script sequences giving expected follow-up action rather than new information. They often occur also in first level embedding more frequently than any of the other remaining verb forms. Note, for example again, the verb nagaistar 'were living' in (3).3 of the illustrative text.

Prospective aspect verbs report collateral information, that is, actions not yet realized. They occur at various levels of embedding but more frequently at second and third levels than higher. Note the verb makita 'will see' in (3).4. Rarely, a prospective aspect verb occurs in the setting of a backbone event. These verbs express proposed actions farther away from the real events of the backbone than progressive aspect verbs and so are ranked in fourth position.



Generic aspect verbs are ranked fifth on the cline because, as infinitives reporting reason, result, or application information, they are well in the background. As imperatives and in negated predicates they report collateral information several steps away from the backbone events.

Nonverbal clauses are included in the ranking as representing a zero verb occurrence. On this cline for narrative discourse nonverbal clauses are the most static and therefore least dynamic because they do not express actions at all. They describe, identify, or state the existence of something and usually report setting, comment, and application information. Note the Descriptive clause of sentence 3 which reports setting information. There are no other types of non-verbal clauses in the narrative text "My Personal Experience."

### 3. Distinguishing types of information in Expository Discourse.

Expository, or explanatory, discourse has a very different grammatico-semantic structure than narrative discourse. In narrative discourse the participants in the story or event are prominent and their actions form the backbone of the discourse. These actions are expressed in sequences of verbal clauses marked for perfective aspect in Masbateno. In expository or explanatory discourse it is not the participants in a plot but the explanation of a subject matter which is prominent.

In a narrative discourse the events of the story are linked together chronologically even though events can be presented out of sequence. In explanatory discourse the subject matter is presented through a series of



points which develop the explanation or argument logically rather than by a sequence of time-based actions. Finally, a salient feature of most narrative discourses is the climax or peak of the story which is preceded by a build-up of tension or excitement. Expository discourse characteristically lacks that build up of tension leading to a peak of excitement. It is instead a rather level presentation of facts. These may be interspersed with illustrations which add some color or excitement but they are always peripheral to the main purpose of the discourse.

### 3.1. Backbone information in expository discourse.

The backbone of an expository discourse is carried by clauses which describe, explain, or identify in present time. There is relatively little fluctuation to past and future time. In Masbateno this distinction is marked by regular use of nonverbal clauses or progressive aspect verbs in backbone sentences. Example (4) is an excerpt from an expository text and illustrates the marking of backbone information in such texts.

(4) 1. Kada 'summer nagatukdo  
each summer am-teaching

ako sin 'First Aid' sa mga  
I a first aid to-the pl

eskwela nga nagabarakasyon didi  
student lk are-vacationing here

sa Masbate. 2. Sakop ini san  
in-the Masbate part this of-the

akon trabaho sa Red Cross.  
my work in-the Fed Cross

1. Each summer I am  
teaching First Aid to  
the students who are  
vacationing here in  
Masbate.

2. This is a part of  
my work in the Red  
Cross.



3. Parte san trabaho san Red  
part of-the work of-the Red

Cross an magpaaram kag magtukdo  
Cross the to-inform and to-teach

sa mga tawo na magin andam pirmi  
to pl person lk become ready always

sa anuman na aksidente o emergency  
in whatever lk accident or emergency

na pwede mangyari sa inda. 4. Dili  
lk can to-happen to them not

ta masabi kon san-o  
we-inc can-say if when

mangyayari o kon kanay  
is-to-happen-pros or if to-whom

mangyayari an aksidente,  
is-to-happen-pros the accident

kay sa uruadlaw ta na  
because in daily our-inc lk

pagpangabuhay dili gayod maiwasan  
livelihood not really can-avoid

an mga remalaso na dili man  
the pl misfortune lk not also

untani ginatuyo. 5. Amo ini  
really is-purposing it-is this

an rason kon nano kay an Red  
the reason if why the Red

Cross nagatalinguha gayod sa  
Cross is-striving really in-the

pagtukdo sin kaaraman sa  
teaching of-the knowledge in-the

"First Aid", kay agod an  
First Aid because so-that the

tawo dili natataranta kag  
person not are-panicing and

3. Part of the work of  
the Red Cross is to  
inform and teach people  
who will always be  
ready for whatever  
accident or emergency  
might happen to them.

4. We cannot say when  
or to whom an accident  
will happen.

because we really cannot  
avoid unfortunate in-  
cidents in our daily  
work which are really  
unintentional.

5. This is the reason  
why the Red Cross is  
really striving in  
teaching the

knowledge of First Aid,  
so that people are not  
panicing or being con-  
fused when accidents  
have happened.



nagririsang kon naabot an  
being-confused if has-arrived the

mga remalaso. 6. An "First Aid"  
pl unfortunate the First Aid

amo an simple na pag-agap kag  
it-is the simple lk rescuing and

pagbulig sa mga naaksidente o  
helping of-the pl victims or

nagkakasakit sin biglaan na dili  
made-sick of-a sudden lk not

nanginginahanglan sin mga medisina  
needing of-a pl medicine

hasta nga mag-abot o madara  
until lk to-arrive or to-be-carried

sa doktor an pasyente.  
to-the doctor the patient

6. First Aid is the simple immediate rescuing and helping accident victims or the sick who are not needing medicine until the doctor arrives or the patient can be taken to the doctor.

Sentence 3 is an Equational clause giving backbone information by stating what part of the work of the Red Cross is. Sentence 6 is another Equational clause giving backbone information by giving the definition of first aid. These are the only two backbone sentences in this excerpt.

### 3.2. Non-backbone information in Expository discourse.

Non-backbone information in expository discourse is of the same sort as for narrative discourse but its specific content is different and its surface structure is also different. Sentence 1 of excerpt (4) is setting information. It is a progressive aspect verbal clause in which the narrator sets the stage for the explanation of first aid.

Sentence 2 is an equational clause giving background information as amplification of the first statement. Sentence 4 is a negated stative verb



clause reporting customary action as collateral information. Sentence 5 is an equational clause giving background information which specifies another reason why the Red Cross teaches first aid. We may note in passing how the statements are linked logically as points in the on-going explanation rather than being linked chronologically.

### 3.3. A cline of verb dynamism for expository discourse.

In comparison with the cline of verb ranking for narrative discourse we note that the cline set up for expository discourse is roughly the reverse of the former. See Figure 3.

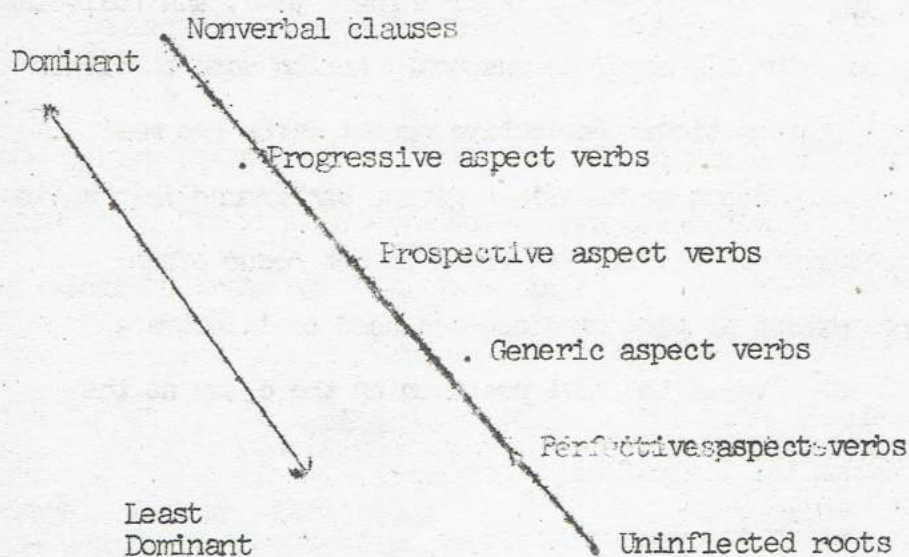


Figure 3.

Verb ranking for subject-matter oriented explanatory discourse.

Nonverbal clauses are the predominant clauses of this expository discourse. They carry most of the backbone information as well as much non-backbone information. The non-verbal clauses which are significant.



in Masbateno expository texts are equational, descriptive, and existential.

Progressive aspect verbal clauses rank below the non-verbal clauses. Progressive verbs carry setting, and various background information. In expository discourses on subject matter progressive verbs occur only rarely in backbone clauses. Prospective aspect verbs carry collateral information. They also occur in explanatory statements as part of background information, usually in dependent clauses. Prospective aspect verbs are ranked below nonverbal and progressive aspect verbal clauses since they are also less frequent.

Generic aspect verbs are ranked next on the cline functioning as infinitives which are complements giving collateral information. They also are the automatic verb form following *wara*, 'not' in past time, and following time particles. They occasionally occur as customary action verb as either collateral or background information. Perfective aspect verbs are most commonly found in embedded clauses as modifiers giving background information but they are rare in occurrence. Uninflected roots do not occur often in expository discourse except as part of dialogues used to illustrate explanatory points, so they are in the last position on the cline as the least prominent form of all.

#### 3.4. Variations of the cline for expository discourse.

There are some variations in the cline of relevance for expository discourse which are correlated with differences in the theme of the discourses. Figure 4 gives a cline of relevance for person-oriented expository discourse.



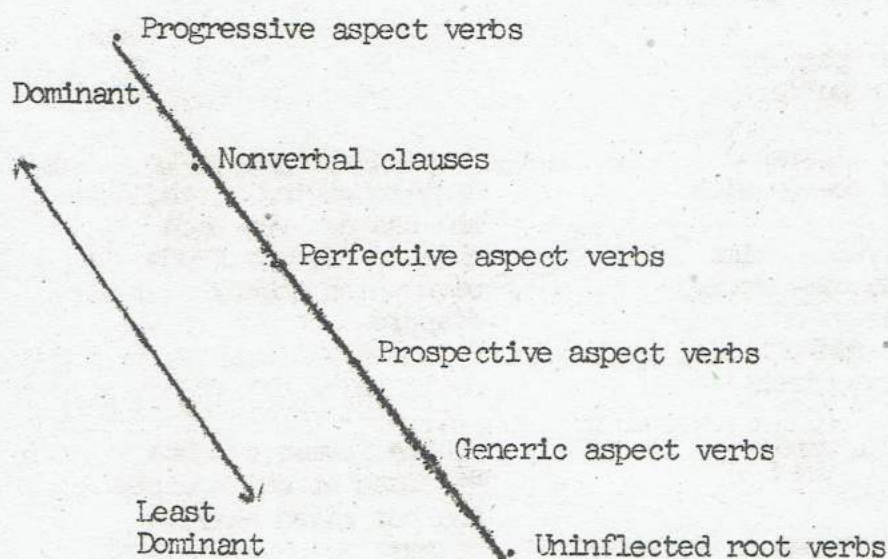


Figure 4.

Verb ranking in a person-oriented expository discourse.

One of the texts used for this study is an explanation of a person's situation. It is told as a third-person oriented expository discourse. An excerpt of that text is given in (5).

(5) 1. Aga na nagsusuay na  
morning yet is-arguing now

naman an mag-ilog kay  
in-turn the mother-son because

ginapatrabaho san iloy  
is-sending-to-work by-the mother

an iya anak agod igwa  
the her child so-that there-is

man lang ikabakal sin pan-  
also only to-buy-with of-a

talon. 2. Nababatyagan san  
pants is-being-felt by-the

iloy an inda kawarad-on kay  
mother the their hardship because

1. While still early in the morning, the mother and son were already arguing again, because the mother was sending her son to find a job so that he would have money to buy pants with.

2. The mother is feeling their poverty because never before have they lacked like their present distress.



tunatuna wara pa sinda matikapo  
from-beginning not yet they lack/short-

na pareho san inda pagtios  
of lk like of-the their suffering

niyan. 3. Maski ngani ibarakal  
now even indeed to-buy-with

sin lampin wara pa siya makatima  
of-a diaper not yet she can-prepare

na halapit na siya mag-anak.  
lk near lk she to-give-birth

4. An dati niya na mga gamit  
the former her lk pl used

sa pag-anak naipanghatag  
in-the giving-birth was-given-away

na niya sa iba. 5. Kag  
already by-her to-the other and

datidati harayo pa an iya  
usually far still the her

anakan preparado na gayod  
birth-date prepared now really

siya san iya mga "baby's layette".  
she of-the her pl baby's layette

6. Niyan kay mawalo na an iya  
now because eight now the her

anak kag igwa pa sin  
child and there-is yet of-the

nagaadal sa kolehiyo na  
is-studying in-the college lk

duha, medyo iwat siya sin  
two somewhat scarce she of-the

pagpagoigo san kuwarta.  
sufficient of-the money

7. Usad pa siya san mga na-  
one yet she of-the pl

3. Even though she is  
near to giving birth,  
she has not yet been  
able to prepare funds  
with which to buy  
diapers.

4. The former clothes  
she used at child birth  
she has given away to  
others.

5. And previously she  
had really prepared  
her baby's layette well  
in advance of the birth.

6. Now, because she  
has eight children at  
home and two others  
studying in college  
it was rare that she  
had sufficient funds.

7. She is also one of  
those suspended from  
work because of her



suspindi sa trabaho  
suspended from-the work

being charged in a case.

dahilan san pagkasangkot niya  
because of-the being-charged her

sa usad na kaso. 8. Ginaporbahan  
in-a one lk case is-being-tried

8. She is really being  
tested by the Lord as  
to where is her faith  
in Him.

gayod siya san Ginoo kon hasta  
really she by-the Lord if until

diin an iya pagtuod sa Iya.  
where the her believing in-the Him

In this text the progressive aspect verbs occur in most of the backbone sentences and are thus considered to have greater dominance than the nonverbal clauses. Nonverbal clauses do occur in a few backbone sentences, but are used more commonly to describe the situations as they are explained. The perfective aspect verbs, which rank next to the bottom in the subject-matter discourses, rank third in this text. Their higher ranking is based on two factors: they occur as the verb of some independent clauses even though they are carrying background information (usually as verbs of motion, awareness, sensation, psychological states, etc.) and they are more frequent than the lower ranked verb forms.

#### 4. Types of information in a Hortatory discourse.

4.1. The purpose of hortatory discourse is the giving of advice. In this type of text imperative verbal clauses usually carry the backbone information, but if the narrator senses that the blunt commands of imperative verbs would be too harsh he may use other verb forms to mitigate the commands.

The cline of verb relevance shown in Figure 5 for hortatory discourse reflects the verb usage in the accompanying hortatory text of (6) whose theme



consists of personal advice on a medical problem.

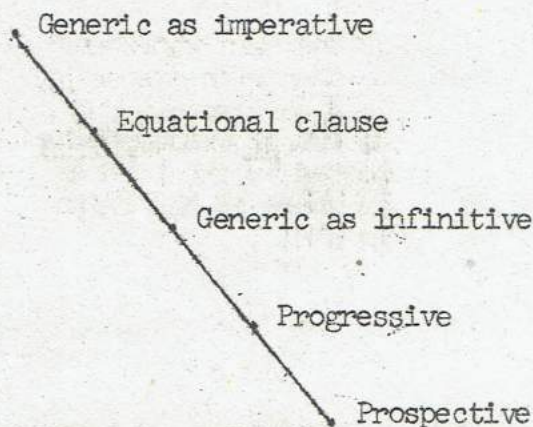


Figure 5.

A cline of verb relevance for hortatory discourse.

(6)

AN MGA PAAGI NA MAHALI AN PONGGOD

'The Ways to Remove Pimples'

1. Kadamuan sa ginaponggod  
most of-the having-pimple

idto'n mga dose pabiente anyos  
that-lk pl twelve to-twenty years

an edad, piro mawawara  
the age but can-be-eliminated

man lang ini. 2. An kinahangalan  
also only this the needed

na himuon sa igwa sani amo  
lk to-do when there-is of-this it-is

an:  
the

3. Maglabar san bayhon sa  
wash of-the face in-the

aga kag sa gab-i  
morning and in-the evening

pag-abot hali sa eskwelahan  
arriving from the school

1. Most of those who  
are afflicted with  
pimples are between  
the ages of 12 to 20  
years old, but this  
condition will event-  
ually disappear.

2. The necessary thing  
to do when this con-  
dition exists is:

3. Wash the face morn-  
ing and evening on ar-  
riving home from school  
or work.



o sa trabaho.  
or the work

4. Mainit-init na tubig an gami-  
lukewarm lk water the to-

ton kag magsabon sin sabon na  
use and soap the soap lk

ginagamit paglaba o sabon  
being-used laundering or soap

na wara'n pahumot.  
lk not-of-the perfume

5. Pagkatapos nusunasan sin twalya  
afterwards rub-with the towel

hasta na magsara, kag  
until lk to-dry and

6. pidlitan para magluwas an  
squeeze so-that go-out the

mga puti kag iton na naka-  
pl white and black lk is-

bara sa mga pino na  
blocking at-the pl tiny lk

buho san panit.  
hole of-the skin

7. Mag-ehersisyo sa luwas  
exercise at-the outside

agod mainitan san  
so-that will-be-heated by-the

adlaw para magbaktak an sa  
sun so-that to-peel the on-the

luwas na panit, piro dili mag-  
outside lk skin but not to-

pabalhas sin sobra.  
sweat in-the excess

4. Use warm water and  
soap up with a soap  
used for laundry or  
one that has no per-  
fume.

5. Afterwards, rub with  
towel until dry, and

6. pinch the pimple so  
that the white and  
black stuff which blocks  
the tiny pores (holes)  
of the skin will come  
out.

7. Exercise outside to

get a little sunburn  
so that the outer skin  
will peel off but do  
not sweat too much.



8. Magkaon sin damo na prutas kag  
eat of-a many lk fruit and

malikay sa mga matam-is pareho  
avoid of-the pl sweet like

sa tsokolate kag iba pa. Amo  
the chocolate and other yet it-is

man an asin na 'iodized'.  
also the salt lk iodized

9. Dili magbutang sin mga pampatahom  
not put-on of-a pl make-up

sa bayhon o polbo kay  
on-the face or powder because

makasira ini.  
can-damage this

10. Dili mag-inom o maglahid sin  
not drink or wipe-on of-a

mga bulong na may asupre kag  
pl medicine lk there-is sulfa and

penicilin.  
penicilin

11. Maghunga anay sa doktor  
ask first to-the doctor

san pamilya bag-o magpakita  
of-the family before to-show

sa especialista na doktor sa  
to-a specialist lk doctor of-the

sakit san panit.  
sick of-the skin

8. Eat lots of fruit  
and avoid sweets like  
chocolate and the like.  
Likewise, avoid iodized  
salt.

9. Do not put makeup  
on the face or use  
powder either because  
this can damage it.

10. Do not take or  
apply medicines that  
contain sulfa or  
penicilin.

11. Ask your family  
doctor first before  
seeing a specialist  
for this skin infec-  
tion.

The cline of Figure 5 reflects the grammatical prominence of verb usage in the hortatory text given in example (6). In this text, the generic aspect verbs which function as the predicate head word in the backbone clauses are interpreted as imperatives as seems appropriate in the



context. Thus, the generic-as-imperative verbs dominate the text and are assigned the highest position on the cline.

The equational clauses are ranked second on this cline because they are the next prominent form of independent clause. They carry setting information. In the next position are the generic aspect verbs which occur as infinitives. These carry background information of reason and amplification.

Last in the cline are the progressive and prospective aspect verbs, in that order. The progressive verbs occur in nominal phrases as headwords or modifiers of headwords and so are far removed from the backbone information. The prospective aspect verb gives a comment on the setting situation of sentences 1. This comment is collateral information.

Since the text is very short, there are no examples of some of the verb forms, so they are not ranked on the cline.



## FOOTNOTES

1

By 'cline' Longacre refers to a ranking of the verbs' inflectional forms according to their importance to a text.

2

Masbateno is spoken in the island province of Masbate in central Philippines. There are approximately 600,000 people in the province and about two-thirds speak Masbateno as their mother tongue; the rest are bilingual in it, but speaking one of the surrounding major languages as their mother tongues.

Data for this study were gathered in Masbate between 1973 and 1979 by the author under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. This project was completed at a workshop in the Philippines directed by Robert E. Longacre consultant for the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I am appreciative of the stimulation from his seminars and the helpful comments he made on earlier drafts of this paper.

3

There are three alternate sets of aspect forms in Masbateno. The choice of set is determined by the verb focus. The set given in Figure 1 is the active verb focus set. The passive set is Ø (zero), Ø (zero), gina- and gin-. The stative set has ma- for generic and prospective aspects and na- for progressive and perfective although some speakers add a reduplicated syllable for prospective and progressive aspects.

4

Abbreviations used in the examples are:

lk - linker na/nga connects head words with modifiers;

ka is sometimes used in place of na/nga to



connect count words (e.g. isad 'one', duha  
'two, etc.) as modifiers to head words.

pl - plural

gen - generic

impv - imperative

inf - infinitive

perf - perfective

prog - progressive

pros - prospective

5

The text is from Miriam V. Barlet of Masbate, Masbate.

6

Wayne Dye (via Longacre, 1972) reports a somewhat similar situation for the Bahinemo language of Papua New Guinea. There the time of action is set by a dependent verb in the opening sentence of a paragraph which is the only verb in the paragraph which marks real time in relation to the real world situation. The rest of the verbs in a Bahinemo paragraph are independent but neutral in time. Their tense inflection is interpreted in relation to that dependent verb.

7

In an article on the discourse structures of Border Cuna of Panama Keith Forster classifies this type of discourse as Behavioral, rather than Expository, because it has a prominent third person agent. That groups it together with such other discourse types as nominating speeches and employee reference reports. Whether that is true for Masbateno discourse must await further analysis.



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## TALAANDIG OR BUKIDNON?

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### Introduction

I would like to thank the Department of Linguistics and Asian Languages, College of Arts and Sciences of the University of the Philippines, for inviting me to read a paper in this Third Philippine Linguistics Congress, which occasion, I understand, is a part of a series of activities of the University to celebrate her Diamond Jubilee this year. Moreover, I am also grateful that the focus of our attention in this Congress is the minor languages of the Philippines. On the other hand, I would like to apologize to Prof. Anicia del Corro, Chairman of the Steering Committee, for my failure to furnish her a copy of my paper in time for it to be mimeographed and also to be read by the reactors.

My paper this afternoon consists of two parts: first, an indorsement and/or recommendation for the recognition/acceptance of Talaandig or Tinalaandig as one of the minor languages of the Philippines and second, a socio-linguistic discussion of the languages in the province of Bukidnon.

### The Province

During these recent months, the Province of Bukidnon has been featured on the front pages of our newspaper concerning such news reports as: the longest student boycott at Central Mindanao University, Musuan, which resulted in the ouster of the president; the evacuation of 10,000 barangay residents of Valencia to the poblacion, which is quite an exaggeration; the cannibalism and savage killings allegedly perpetrated by members of the CHDF in Valencia;



and the merciless killing of Ruben Borben, our national duckpin champion, allegedly by a member of the military.

Bukidnon is the second largest province in Region X after Surigao del Sur in terms of area. It has a population of 631,812 distributed among 22 towns (National Census and Statistics 1980). More than 50% or 351,207 of the population are Cebuano speakers, followed by the Bukidnons with 83,237, the Hiligaynon with 46,940, Manobo with 18,125, Ilocano with 14,686, Tagalogs with 4,626, Maranao with 2,923, Samar-Leyte (Waray) with 2,370 and Ivatans with 1,670 (National Census and Statistics 1975). With the on going operation of the Bukidnon Sugar Company (BUSCO), the Hiligaynon speakers have increased tremendously, which also means that the town of Quezon where BUSCO is located has already exceeded the population of Malaybalay, the capital. The municipality of Valencia has the largest population with 81,835 (NCS 1980).

Some of you might wonder why the Ivatans from the Batanes Islands are now in Bukidnon. This group was ferried there by the government sometime in the late 60's or early 70's as part of its program of "land for the landless." They live together in Barangay Malinao, Kalingang, on the southwestern portion of the province, near the border of Lanao del Sur.

The general atmosphere in Bukidnon today is one of uneasiness, insecurity and resignation. This is so because one does not really know what is happening, or when one receives a threatening letter with a bullet inside. There is the feeling of resignation because one does not have the power to change things or manipulate the condition obtaining in the province. I know of a fraternal brother who had to leave his business in Valencia to a relative because his life was in danger.



As a consequence of this situation, anyone who wishes to conduct a research among the minority ethnic groups must do so with prior clearance and proper identification from the provincial PANAMIN Office, through the recommendation of an office or a funding agency, for as the PANAMIN people say, "who knows, you might belong to the other side! Or, it is possible for you to disappear without a trace by being caught in the crossfire." For my part, I had to have more courage to go into the interior parts, especially after being warned by my colleagues not to venture into those places alone.

In my talk with Datu Ligdin Luminton, the Project Officer (PO) and tribal chieftain at the Umayamnon PANAMIN Development Project (PDP) in Katablaran, Kabanglasan, he told me that anyone who enters his settlement is stopped 10 meters away by the CHDF guards with guns pointed at the person and anything he is carrying must be thrown to the guard for inspection before he is allowed to enter.

#### Bukidnon Languages

There are two native languages in Bukidnon--the Talaandig, which includes the Bukidnon and the Umayamnon, and the Manobo, which includes the Tigwahanon and the Matigsalug. Other languages brought in by migrants are Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Waray, Ilocano, Ivatan and Maranao.

#### PANAMIN Development Projects

PANAMIN runs five development projects (settlement) for the minority ethnic groups in Bukidnon. The first is the Freedom PDP for Bukidnons located at Manyagahon, with satellites in barangay Mariposa and Panamokan. Another satellite will be opened soon at Agtulawan, Impasugong. This PDP at Freedom is headed by Mr. Teodoro Perino or Datu Sanglu-an, the tribal chieftain. The



second is the Matigsalug PDP located at Kalagangan, San Fernando under PO Andronico Lara with Datu Panoda Aldo as the tribal chieftain. Its satellites are barangay Dalwang, Kulaman, Santol, and the Tigwahanon PDP at Katipunan, San Fernando under Datu Basilio Lintawod. The third is the Mando PDP at Anggaan, Limulog and Pigta-oranan, Pangantucan under PO Enrique Tagawasan with Datu Pinto as tribal chieftain. The fourth is the Umayamnon PDP at Tagbakan, Kalomatay and Umagay-ay under Datu Ligdin Luminton. And the fifth is the Talaandig PDP at Songco, Lantapan, with satellites at Kibangray, Kibuda and Mirayon. It also covers the municipality of Talakag. This PDP is under PO Anastacio Saway or Datu Kinulintang, the tribal chieftain.

Talaandig?

A while back, I said I was endorsing and/or recommending the name Talaandig to replace Bukidnon as the name for one ethnic group in Bukidnon and for their language. I am quite sure that should this be accepted, no less than the provincial government and probably the PANAMIN itself will howl in protest, for I know that "Bukidnon" has already become popular and accepted. And besides it bears a strong political weight. Now why should Talaandig replace Bukidnon?

In my interview with Mr. Anastacio Saway or Datu Kinulintang, a Talaandig datu recognized by no less than the important people in the PANAMIN hierarchy and by a number of officials in the region and in Mindanao, he amazes me with his expostulation on why Talaandig should be the name used to identify the native residents of Bukidnon, excluding the Manobos, and his narration on the ethnic history/origin of the native inhabitants, despite the fact that his only civilized talent is to write his name.



As handed down to him by his parents and great grandparents, he told me that there were only four major tribes in Mindanao: the Talaandigs, the Manobos, the Maranaos and the Maguindanaos. Of course this is quite open to question. In Bukidnon, he said, the Talaandigs and Manobos live harmoniously but separately from each other in the central-northern and southern parts of the province, respectively, and that the Bukidnon as they are called today belong to the Talaandig tribe. This is also true with the Umayamnon which have developed a dialectal variation of the Talaandig language. On the otherhand, the Tigwahanon and the Matigsalug belong to the Manobo group, but have adopted the name of the river Tigwa and Salug, respectively, where they are presently residing, just like the Umayamnon, from the Umayam river.

Datu Kinulintang further said that the Talaandigs are divided into the three groups, occupying within territorial boundaries marked by a number of tulogan (a central house in a community for conferences; meetings and peace pacts). The communities which have a tulogan still bear Talaandig names.

The first group is the Talaandig Ibuntoran, who live in the central and mountainous portion of the province; the second, the Talaandig Iluntaron, who live near the seashore as in Misamis Oriental, even including the subprovince of Camiguin Island; and the third, the Talaandig Ibal-uton, who live between the first and the second. The natives living in the first still call themselves as Talaandig, but those in the third are now called Bukidnon.

The name Bukidnon has been given to them by dumagats (migrants from the Visayas and Luzon) and it is a name which has political, personal and emotional overtones.

In fact, he says that those who call themselves Bukidnons are really Talaandigs, for the name Talaandig has been handed down to them



since time immemorial. He cites the fact that the Maranaos, their neighbors to the west of the province, and the Manobos in the south refer to them as Talaandig. To be able to believe his statements, I asked several educated Bukidnons and they too admitted that they are Talaandigs but would much prefer to be called Bukidnons, for according to them, the Talaandigs have often been called paglong (ignorant, illiterate, mountain people). Commenting on the so - called educated Bukidnons with biting sarcasm, Datu Kinulintang said: "Don't they remember that their parents and grandparents used to wear-g-strings and chew betel nut? Why should they be ashamed of being called Talaandigs? They speak my language, which is Tinalaandig; they tell the same Talaandig stories as I do; although, theirs are bookish. We both appreciate an Olaging (Talaandig epic poem) and exalt its main hero, Aglo. We both recite the limbay, sing the sala (mournful song which narrates about problems, sorrows, sadness, difficulties, misfortunes, etc.), tell the nanungon (folk stories, legends, fables). play the same musical instruments as the katyapi and the dayuday, dance the same tribal dances like the dugso, practice the same rituals and ceremonies. These people who are trying to forward the cause of the Bukidnon cannot face me in a confrontation about our true origin and name. Now, what did they do? They stopped the "Kaamulan" because they said they were being robbed of their Bukidnon heritage by the Talaandig. This was due to the fact that everytime it was held, I, a Talaandig, was always at the head of the celebration, participated in by so-called Bukidnons.

I performed the rites in making President Marcos a supreme datu and Madame Marcos a supreme ba-i, besides conferring the title of datu to Brig. Gen. Emilio Luga, to 17 MAR directors and other government officials. Who is always by the government to settle tribal disputes through a tampuda,



not only among the people in Bukidnon but also among the Bilaans and a number in Davao? If there is a minority tribe called Bukidnon, why did Pres. Marcos declare Oct. 14 of every year as "Talaandig Day" and not as "Bukidnon Day"?

Please do not misunderstand me as one trying to be partial with Datu Kinulintang's cause nor should you think that I am making a mountain out of a molehill, because it is probably that most, if not all, of you do not know about this conflict on names. Be that as it may, I have more reasons to believe Datu Kulintang is right and I told him I shall be one of his believers.

In my initial fieldresearch, supposedly on the Bukidnon language, the people I approached and those who were referred to me never mentioned the name of Datu Kinulintang. I now suspect they were unwittingly trying to bring me away from him.

In the light of what you have just heard, I do believe that there is a need to replace the term "Bukidnon" to properly identify the native inhabitants of Bukidnon. I am aware that some of you will have objections yourselves based merely on "let everything be". This is objectionable especially to those who have already passed themselves off as Bukidnons. Incidentally, in yesterday's issue of the PANORAMA, Ms. Margot Bateria had an article listing the ethnic tribes of the Philippines and she mentioned Bukidnon as one of them in the Province of Bukidnon. But no Talaandig nor Manobo was ever mentioned in that article.

At this point in my paper, I beg your indulgence to allow me to digress from my topic by bringing to your attention a case nearly similar in nature as the one I have just presented. It is a case which I call an anthropological misclassification of the minority ethnic tribes in Bukidnon that could affect future researches there. In the ethnological map of the Philippines by Fox



and flory, they placed the Talaandigs, Bukidnons and Umayamons under the Manobo tribes. I asked about this and they were quite adamant in telling me that they are not Manobos and they would never countenance being called one, because they say that the Manobos are a different people with different tribal customs and traditions and language. Now, I leave this case to you for you to make your own decision.

### Language Use

In terms of language use, Cebuano is the lingua franca of the province. As they say, "When in doubt as to what language to use with any person at any time and at any place, use Cebuano; or sometime, Tagalog. Non-Cebuano speakers may be able to use their own native languages when they meet their own people and in places where they outnumber other ethnic groups. For example, both Cebuano and Hiligaynon are used interchangeably in the municipality of Kalilangan, but only Hiligaynon is used in the outlying barangays. Hiligaynon is also used with the compound of BUSCO, where most of its employees are Hiligaynons.

As to the Talaandig, it was surprising to note that despite the pre-dominance of the Talaandig populace in such municipalities as Sumilao, Talakag, Lantapan, Impasugong, and in the PDs visited, Cebuano is the one used as the lingua franca. However, it is used in their more intimate conversations at home or in public when no dumagat is present, in their rituals, ceremonies, pamuhat (peace offering to their gods), tampuda, marriages, etc. Among the middle-ages and educated group, there is a tendency for them to shift to Cebuano. The youth are especially less eager to speak in



Talaandig in their conversations. It was only in the PANAMIN office where I heard them speak in their own language quite freely.

On the other hand, the Manobos use their language in a similar manner as the Talaandigs, the Ilocanos, the Tagalogs, the Warays, and the Ivatans when certain situations give them the opportunity to do so. It should be noted however, empirically speaking, that when it comes to shifting of codes, the Manobo would readily shift to Talaandig than the Talaandig to Manobo, when both are proficient in the two languages. When both cannot speak the language of the other, Cebuano again becomes handy.

Finally with the fast inroads of the Cebuano speakers into the hinterlands, despite the settlements of PDPs, the rapid acculturation of the native inhabitants, the dying of the old men and women who until now still hold onto their native customs and traditions and language, and the intermarriages with Dumagats, I fear that the Talaandigs and the Manobos will be completely assimilated by the Cebuanos in the not too distant future, just like some other minor tribes in the Philippines. But before that happens, let us exert our effort to record a facet of their lives for posterity. Let us not wait for foreigners to teach us about our ourselves. Today's Congress augurs well for the minor languages of the Philippines.



## HIGA-ONON PHRASE STRUCTURE

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### Introduction

Higa-onon or Iga-onon refers to the language spoken by some 3,000 Higa-onons living in sitio Kalamalamahan, Barangay Rogongon, Iligan City. Rogongon which is about 35 kms. away from the poblacion and accessible by logging trucks, is located close to the boundaries of Lanao del Norte and Bukidnon.

The origin of the Higa-onon has yet to be ascertained. Based on an interview with the informants, the term Higa-onon comes from the word gaun which means to rise. They claimed to have lived originally along the coastline of Lanao del Norte and Misamis Oriental but they moved 'gaun' to the upland following the route of the river banks to avoid conversion to Islam. The Higa-onons claimed that the Maranaos are the Islamized Higa-onons.

Fieldwork on Higa-onon was conducted in Kalamalamahan, Rogongon, a community of about 3,000 Higa-onons. Information was obtained from Higa-onon informants who are conversant in Higa-onon and in Cebuano (the medium of communication between informants and the investigator).

### Higa-onon Phonemes

Higa-onon has 19 segmental phonemes and one suprasegmental phoneme which is stress. The consonants are /p t q (glottal stop) b d g l m n ng h s w y/. The vowels are low central /a/, high front /i/, mid central /e/, and high back /u/.



### Phrase Construction

The purpose of this paper is to describe the structure of phrases in Higa-onon by using the tagmemic method of analysis.

A phrase in Higa-onon may be defined as a construction which typically expounds tagmemes on the clause level or it may also occur on the phrase level as an embedded phrase. By its internal features, the phrase in Higa-onon is a unit of modification or conjunction whose head tagmeme is manifested by a member of one of the major word classes. Traditionally, phrases have been assumed to be composed of more than one word. In description with the tagmemic model, however, conciseness and simplicity of statement is gained by considering phrases to include those single words which are expandable to include more than one word.

#### 1. Simple Noun Phrase (SmPh)

A simple noun phrase consists of a Noun Head preceded by an optional plural marker (pl) and followed by an optional possessive tagmeme (Poss). There are two subtypes of simple noun phrases: the Personal Noun Phrase (PNPh) and the Common Noun Phrase (CNPh).

##### 1.1 Personal Noun Phrase (PNPh)

Formula: PNPh = +Head



That is, a personal noun phrase consists of an obligatory Head slot filled by a personal noun followed by an optional possessive tagmeme (Poss). The possessive tagmeme may be filled by the <ku> class of possessive personal pronouns, or a relator axis phrase (ReAxPh) introduced by the relator <hi> .



ku Possessive Personal Pronouns (pm<sub>1</sub>)

	Singular		Plural	
First	ku	'my'	ta(dual) taw(incl) day(excl)	'our'
Second	nu	'your'	yu	'your'
Third	din	'his' 'hers' 'its'	dan	'their'

Examples:

1. Maymāyan 'my father'
2. qāmay ku
3. qinay hi Luciano 'Luciano's mother'  
mother of Luciano
4. qapuq hi Imahan 'Imahan's grandparents'

1.2 Common Noun Phrase (CNPh)

Formula: CNPh =

+pl	+Head	+Poss
Mga	cn AdjPh PossPh	pm ReAxPh

That is, a common noun phrase consists of an obligatory Head slot filled by a common noun preceded by an optional plural marker (pl) and followed by an optional possessive tagmeme (Poss). The Head slot may be filled by an adjective phrase or a possessor phrase. The possessive tagmeme may be filled by the ku class of possessive personal pronouns or a relator axis phrase introduced by the relator <hi>.

Examples:

1. bugtaq 'earth'
2. mga bātaq 'children'  
pl child
3. qasāwa hi Berto 'Berto's wife'
4. lapis din 'her pencil'
5. mga quyūgan day 'our animals'  
pl animal our
6. mga malāmbuq ha bātaq 'fat children'  
pl fat lg child



## 2. Adjective Phrase (AdjPh)

Formula: AdjPh =	+Mod	+lg	+Head
	PNPh	ha	CNPh
	CNPh		SerPh
	NuPh		
	AdjPh		

That is, an adjective phrase has an obligatory modifying tagmeme followed by a ligature plus a descriptive Head. Mod and Head may permute but not when Mod is expounded by a NuPh.

## Examples:

- malambuq ha bāhi 'fat woman'  
fat lg woman
- madakel ha mga babuy daw mga buding 'many pigs and cats'  
many lg pl pig and pl cat
- nangka buuk ha tagbis 'one bird'  
one piece lg bird

3. Possessor Phrase (Poss<sub>h</sub>)

Formula: Poss <sub>h</sub> =	+Mod	+lg	+Head
	pm <sub>2</sub>	ha	CNPh
	ReAxPh <sub>1</sub>		SerPh

That is, a possessor phrase consists of an obligatory modifying slot plus an obligatory Head preceded by a ligature. The expounding relator of the relator axis phrase is ki.

## Examples:

- kanak ha kalasan 'my forest'
- ki qamay ha kalabaw 'father's carabao'
- kanuy ha qamay daw qinay 'our parents'
- ki Pedro ha qikam 'Pedro's mat'



## 4. Locative Phrase (LocPh)

Formula:	LocPh =	+part loc	+gen loc
		<sampaw> 'top'	<balay> 'house'
			ReAxPh NSPh

That is, a locative phrase (LocPh) has an obligatory tagmeme of a particular location filled by a class of particular location of the sampaw class plus an obligatory tagmeme of general location of the balay class, or the ReAxPh<sub>2</sub> or a NSPh.

## Examples:

1. sampaw hu trak      'top of the truck'  
   top   the truck
2. dadálem ta sáeg      'under the floor'  
   under   the floor
3. layun ta dalan      'across the road'
4. qubay ta balay      'near the house'

## 5. Demonstrative Phrase (DmPh)

Formula:	DmPh =	+Mod	+lg	+Head
		dm prn	ha	CNPh LocPh

That is, a demonstrative phrase (DmPh) consists of an obligatory modifier tagmeme filled by a demonstrative pronoun followed by an obligatory Head tagmeme filled by either a common noun phrase or a locative phrase introduced by the ligature <ha> .

## Demonstrative Particles:

ha-i	'this'	hayan	'that near you'
ha-ini	'this here'	ha-en	'that there'
hayaq	'that far away'		



When the demonstrative particles are preceded by the relators *sa* and *ta*, the *ha* or the first syllable of the demonstrative is dropped, and the relator assimilates the remaining syllable of the demonstrative particle.

Thus,

<i>sa</i> + <i>ha-i</i> ~ <i>sa-i</i>	<i>ta</i> + <i>hayaq</i> ~ <i>tayaq</i>
<i>sa</i> + <i>hayaq</i> ~ <i>sayaq</i>	<i>ta</i> + <i>ha-en</i> ~ <i>ta-en</i>
<i>ta</i> + <i>ha-i</i> ~ <i>ta-i</i>	

When the particles are preceded by words ending in consonants, the consonant *h* of the demonstrative is dropped and the consonant ending of the preceding word is reduplicated. There is morphophonemic change occurring across word boundaries. Thus,

<i>kanak ha-i</i> ~ <i>kanak ka-i</i>	'this is mine'
<i>kandin hayaq</i> ~ <i>kandin nayaq</i>	'that is his'
<i>qetaw hayan</i> ~ <i>qetaw wayan</i>	'that person'

Examples:

1. *hayaq ha mga bataq* 'those children'  
that lg pl child
2. *ha-i ha sigupan ku* 'this cigarette of mine'  
this lg cigarette my
3. *hayaq ha sampaw hu kayu* 'that one on top of the tree'  
that lg top the tree

## 6. Numeral Phrases (NuPh)

Numeral phrases are classified into: NuPh<sub>1</sub> and NuPh<sub>2</sub>.

### 6.1 NuPh<sub>1</sub>

Formula:	NuPh <sub>1</sub> =	<u>+pl</u>	<u>+Head<sub>1</sub></u>	<u>+/-(+lk)</u>	<u>+head<sub>2</sub></u>
		<i>mga</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>daw</i> 'and'	<i>num</i>
					NuPh



That is, a numeral phrase consists of an obligatory Head filled by a numeral followed by an optional linker <daw> 'and' plus a second Head tagmeme filled by a numeral or a Numeral phrase. The numeral expounding Head<sub>2</sub> are the numerals 1-9.

Examples:

- |                       |          |                             |              |
|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------------|--------------|
| 1. sabuwa             | 'one'    | 3. mga tatelu               | 'three'      |
|                       |          | pl three                    |              |
| 2. sampulu daw sabuwa | 'twelve' | 4. mga kaluwa-an daw haenum | 'twenty six' |
| ten and one           |          | pl twenty and six           |              |

## 6.2 NuPh<sub>2</sub>

Formula: NuPh <sub>2</sub> =	+num	+whole
	NuPh	prn <sub>2</sub>
	<alan> 'all'	

That is, a NuPh<sub>2</sub> consists of an obligatory numeral plus an obligatory tagmeme denoting 'whole'. The numeral slot may be filled by a numeral phrase or by <alan> 'all'. The following slot is filled by the <kanak> class of personal pronouns (prn<sub>2</sub>). The prn<sub>2</sub> expounding whole is always plural.

Examples:

- |                                |                      |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. qalan kandin                | 'all of them'        |
| 2. madakel kanay               | 'many of us'         |
| 3. kaluwa-an daw sabuwa kandan | 'twenty-one of them' |
| 4. atiyuay kanay               | 'a few of us'        |
| 5. daduwa kandan               | 'two of them'        |

## 7. Nonspecification Phrase (NSPh)

Formula: NSPh =	+gen term	+Head
	<bisan> 'even'	<sin-u> 'who'
	(isan)	



That is, an nonspecification phrase (NSPh) consists of an obligatory general term tagmeme filled by *bisan* or *isan* 'even' plus an obligatory Head slot filled by a class of question words *sin-u* 'who'.

Examples:

- |                                 |                                  |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. <i>bisan sin-u</i> 'anyone'  | 3. <i>bisan kan-u</i> 'anytime'  |
| 2. <i>qisan qinu</i> 'anything' | even when                        |
| even what                       | 4. <i>qisan hindu</i> 'anywhere' |
|                                 | even where                       |

### 8. Relator Axis Phrase (ReAxPh)

A relator axis phrase (ReAxPh) consists of a relator expounded by various relators and an axis expounded by different types of phrases. The relator axis phrase are classified into  $\text{ReAxPh}_1$  and  $\text{ReAxPh}_2$ .

#### 8.1 $\text{ReAxPh}_1$

Formula:  $\text{ReAxPh}_1 =$

+re	+Axis
si hi ki	PNPh

That is, this type consists of an obligatory relator of the  $\langle \text{si} \rangle$  class followed by an obligatory axis filled by a personal noun phrase.

Examples:

- |                                    |   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>si Piansa</i> "piansa"       | 4. <i>say Piansa</i> 'Piansa and them'      |
| 2. <i>hi bataq ku</i> 'your child' | 5. <i>hay qinay ku</i> 'my mother and them' |
| 3. <i>ki Berto</i> 'Berto'         | 6. <i>kay Berto</i> "Berto and them"        |

#### 8.2 $\text{ReAxPh}_2$

Formula:  $\text{ReAxPh}_2 =$

+re	+Axis
ga(su) ta hu	dm prn <sub>2</sub> CNPh DmPh LocPh NuPh



That is,  $ReAxPh_2$  consists of an obligatory relator of the  $\langle sa \rangle$  class plus an obligatory Axis filled by a demonstrative particle or any of the phrases indicated in the formula.

Examples:

1. su tangila<sup>1</sup> din<sup>1</sup> 'his ears'  
the ear his
2. sa talikudan<sup>1</sup> nu<sup>1</sup> 'your back'  
the back your
3. sa-i<sup>1</sup> ha qetaw<sup>1</sup> 'this man'  
sa ha-i lg man
4. hu atiyuay<sup>1</sup> ha bahi<sup>1</sup> 'the small woman'  
the small lf woman
5. ta-i<sup>1</sup> ha mga dumaq<sup>1</sup> ku<sup>1</sup> 'These companions of mine'  
ta ha-i lg pl companion my
6. sa haenum<sup>1</sup> ha budung day<sup>1</sup> 'our six cats'  
the six lg cat our

kanak Personal Pronouns ( $pm_2$ )

	Singular		Plural	
First	kanák 'me'		kanit(dual) 'Us'	
			kanuy (incl)	
			kanay (excl)	
Second	qimu/qikaw 'you'		qinyu 'you'	
Third	kandin 'him'		kandan 'them'	

As compared to  $pm_1$ ,  $pm_2$  indicates a more specific type of possession and is commonly used as referent, direct or indirect.

#### 9. Time Phrase (TiPh)

Formula: TiPh = +gen. time

+part time

$\langle qiman \rangle$  'present'

$\langle lunes \rangle$  'monday'  
 $\langle nangka... \rangle$  'one...'  
AdjPh



That is, a TiPh consists of a general time tagmeme filled by a class of general time words <qiman> 'present' plus an obligatory particular time words like <lunes> 'monday' and <nangka...> 'one...' or an AdjPh. The relators of the <lunes> class expounding particular time are <ku> and <su> 'when'. NuPh<sub>1</sub> is the exponent of the Mod of AdjPh expounding Axis. When <nangka...> or an AdjPh expounds particular time, it may permute with <qiman.>

Examples:

1. qiman ku lunes 'this monday'  
present when monday
2. qiman ku daleman 'tonight'  
present when night
3. qasem ku maanglaw 'tomorrow'  
future when day
4. nangkatuig qiman 'a year from now'  
one year future
5. tatelu ha makapitu qiman 'three weeks from now'  
three lg week present
6. quman sase lum 'every morning'  
every morning

#### 10. Beneficiary Phrase (BenPh)

Formula: BenPh = +re(ben)	+Axis(ben)
<para> 'for'	pm <sub>2</sub>
	ReAxPh
	SerPh

That is, a BenPh consists of an obligatory benefactive relator <para> 'for' plus a benefactive Axis filled by pm<sub>2</sub> or a ReAxPh or a SerPh. The relator of ReAxPh which expounds Axis are <ki> and <lu>.



## Examples:

1. para kanak 'for me'
2. para ki Onotan 'for Onotan'
3. para hu atiyuay ha laga 'for the small maiden'  
for the small lg maiden
4. para hu mga bataq daw mga la-asen 'for the children and the old'  
for the pl child and pl old
5. para hu qinay ku daw hu qapuq ku ha bahl  
for the mother my and the granparent the female  
'for my mother and my grandmother'

## 11. Serial Phrase (SerPh)

Formula: SerPh =	+Head	±(lk	+Head) <sup>n</sup>
	pm <sub>3</sub>	daw 'and'	pm <sub>4</sub>
	CNPh		ReAxPh
	ReAxPh		NSPh

That is, a SerPh consists of two or more phrase types joined by <daw> 'and' or by juxtaposition.

## Examples:

1. ka daw siak 'you and myself'  
you and myself
2. si Maymayan daw siak 'Maymayan and myself'
3. sa qetaw daw sa mga bataq 'the person and the children'  
the man and the pl child
4. hi qamay daw hi qinay 'father and mother'  
re father and re mother
5. hu mga bakbak daw hu qasu daw bisan qinu  
the pl frog and the dog and even what  
'the frogs and the dog and whatever'
6. tukab wulang suluq 'eyelid face fingernail'



Subject/Topic pronouns (prn<sub>3</sub>)

	Singular		Plural	
First	a(d)	'I' 'me'	ki(d)(dual) kiw (incl) kay (excl)	'we'
Second	ka(d)	'you'	kaw	'you'
Third	Ø	'he' 'she'	sidan	'they' 'them'

Reflexive pronouns (prn<sub>4</sub>)

	Singular		Plural	
First	siak	'I myself'	sik <sup>1</sup> it (dual) sik <sup>1</sup> uw (incl) sik <sup>1</sup> ay(excl)	'we ourselves'
Second	sikaw	'you yourself'	sinyu <sup>1</sup>	'you yourselves'
Third	Ø	'he himself'	sidan	'they themselves'



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