

"The Filipino is a child of many languages." He is the descendant of a rich and shared heritage of cultures, languages, and peoples. His history is akin to a delicate tapestry, fragile (because for the most part it was oral and subject to embellishments and lapses based on the needs of the times) but exquisite (because of the multilingual and multicultural adaptations and adoptions as contact was made with diverse tribes and peoples through the centuries).

Scott (1968:139) has pointed out that:

[there is] a considerable discrepancy between what is actually known about the prehispanic Philippines and what has been written about it. The popular texts present a picture of law codes, membership in Asian empires, and political confederations projected against a background of 250,000 years of migrating waves of Filipino progenitors, almost complete with their points of departure, sailing dates, and baggage.

Apart from a few early Chinese and Indonesian documents concerning trade contacts with the early Filipinos, the bulk of any scientifically-derivable historical knowledge or evidence of early Philippine life must come from two sources: linguistic and archaeological evidence.

The historical picture that I will be sketching here is based solely on linguistic evidence, which is derived from the extensive run-through I have done on Tagalog in the preparation of the Core Etymological Dictionary of Filipino. Although only 60% of the manuscript has been typed to date, at least 95% of the research is finished. The historical-linguistic conclusions that have struck me over the last five ²⁰ years of research, when added to another five-years of research on Bisayan, have made me both ecstatic and enthusiastic about the prehistory of the Tagalog people. I am filled with awe and respect for this Philippine nation, because, as I see it, when my own European ancestors were still highly primitive (about 8000 years ago), Filipino-Austronesian forebears enjoyed a comparatively

sophisticated existence in smallish social groups that were tied together by moieties (social "halves" that co-existed in both cooperation and conflict),¹ and which adapted to new and far-flung environments not only by hunting and gathering, but by agriculture, animal-husbandry, sea-faring and fishing, trade, and house-construction. When any given social group became too large to support itself from the immediate environment, it fragmented, with select members going off to establish a new settlement--far or near did not matter much with the wisdom of the ocean currents and seasonal winds so firmly entrenched. Similarly, rifts in the social, political, or moiety-balance occasioned the establishment of new communities (with new contacts).

The words "civilized" and "civilization" are based on the Latin civitas for "city". I suppose that some anthropologists or political historians would therefore not apply these terms to early Austronesians or Filipinos, because society was structured in such a way that a settlement (rather than a city) was the highest unit of social organization. But this is perhaps an overly demanding application of the etymological semantics of the word. The early Austronesian ancestors of the Filipino people, given the time-period 5000 B.C. (or 8000 B.P.), must have been among, if not the, most highly "civilized" or sophisticated peoples in the world at that time. The linguistic evidence for this consists of similar (cognate) words found widely distributed in Philippine, Indonesian, Polynesian, Micronesian, and Formosan languages, which descend from words that probably existed in the parent language (in this case, called "Proto-Austronesian")--such words are called "reconstructions" because linguists calculate their approximate sound and meaning based on the existing forms in the widespread daughter languages. A sample of such forms is found in Table 1; a full^{er} treatment can be found in my article (1979 - P.JL.10:67-70), and also in Blust (1977) or Dyen (1976).

Place of origin: possibly southern Leyte as a single locus, but more widely the eastern Visayan region or northeastern Mindanao. Around this same period the Tausugs emigrated from the Butuan city area, and the Kagayanen-Manobos from northern Mindanao (currently Agusan or Misamis areas). The Hiligaynons are also reported to have come from Leyte (Kobak 1969:22), and Tagalog appears to have a special affiliation to Hiligaynon (a central Bisayan speech variety). Furthermore, the sound system of old Tagalog (see Table 3) is virtually identical to that reported for inland dialects of Waray, and must have been the same for old Hiligaynon. The formation of the numerals 'one' (isá), 'four' ('a:pat), and 'six' ('a:nəm) is identical in Hil and Tag, while Tag pronouns are closely matched to both Hil and War (witness War 'íyo, which became singular in Tag, but Hil 'ínyo which remains the plural form in Tag; Tag kanyá 'to him/her' finds a counterpart in Northern Samar kánya or Tausug kanya, while Tag kanilá 'to them' in N-S kanirá, Tsg kanila). The possibility that Tausug participated in the same dialect area from which Tagalog came is further strengthened by the shift of *l > Ø in an environment with *i, witness Tag ta'íña, Tsg taiñah 'ear', Tag 'uwi', Tsg 'uwi' 'return (home)'--a change that is not noted in any other Central Philippine language, where *i otherwise preserves the character of *l intact. The demonstrative system of Tagalog shows a considerable amount of innovation, but related forms ambiguously

point to various connections:

Tag 'arí 'this' (S-L 'adí 'this')

Tag díní 'here' (Hil, S-L, But, Sur dínhi)

Tag 'itú 'this' (S-L 'itú 'that (not far)')

Tag 'iyán 'that (not far)' (Tsg 'iyan 'this', But 'iyán 'that (not far)')

Tag 'iyon 'that (far)' (Gubat yu'ún, Tsg ya'un, Sur ya'ún 'that (not far)')

Tag do'ón 'there (far)' (Gubat du'ún, Tsg du'un 'there (not far)')

The singular personal-name markers (si, ni, kay) point to Hil or Sur, while the plural name markers point to Romblon (sina, nina, kina); the common noun markers ('aŋ, naŋ, sa) point to Surigao and Romblon. All of this evidence indicates that there was considerable dialect diversity at the time of the emigration of the Tagalog-speaking peoples, but cautions against the isolation of any given spot of embarkation. Negative evidence is also helpful, in that no particularly close connection is exhibited between Tagalog and any of the following Central Philippine groups: West Bisayan (e.g., Kinaray'a, Aklanon, Kuyonon), Cebuano, or Bikol (including both coastal and inland varieties).

Early departure: (1) *ákən

(2) *r > l; but *l > Ø earlier still

(3) Heavy Kpm, SLz, NPh overlay

But all of this has to do with the common history of all Austronesian peoples, be they Tagalog, Ilokano, Bisayan, Pangasinan, Malay, Formosan, Fijian, Hawaiian, etc. The specific prehistory of the Tagalog people begins approximately a thousand years ago, when Tagalog can be identified as an individual and, to a certain extent, isolated Philippine speech variety. A concise summary of this is found in Table 2. Before embarking on an elucidation of these linguistically-derived conclusions, it is important to stress that chronology in such cases is only approximate and a leeway of at least 20% is necessary. Statements about months, or years, are impossible when they have not been recorded in writing, so that exact dates should be viewed with skepticism,³ and the lack of them should not be considered disappointing.

Table 1: CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTIONS FOR AUSTRONESIANS 8000 YEARS AGO.

- MOIETY: *báliw (Tg i-báyo 'opposite site').
- KIN: *áma 'father' [with vocatives: *amá', *amáH (Tg amá), *amáñ, etc.]
 *ina 'mother' [with vocatives: *iná', *inaH (Tg iná), *inan, etc.]
 *áNak 'child' [with vocative: *aNák (Tg anák)]
 *ama'an 'uncle (probably "father's brother", one who took over the rearing of the children if the father died, Tg ama'in)
 *ápu 'grandchild' [with vocative: *apú', *apuH (Tg apó)]
 *um-aNak-an 'nephew/niece' ("becoming one's child", Tg pamanak'in)
- BUILDING: *Gúmaq 'house' (old-Tg gúma' 'sheath (for bolo)'
 *baláy 'public building' (Tg bahay 'house')
 *qatəp 'thatch-roof' (Tg atip)
 *bubun 'ridge-beam' (Tg bubón, bubunán)
 *haDíGi 'pillar' (Tg haligi)
- HUNTING: *búsuG 'bow' (Tg búsoq)
 *panaq 'arrow' (Tg pana') * Dələs 'bowstring' (Tg dilis)
- GATHERING: *ála 'gather, collect' (Tg ala'ála 'recollection' < SLz)
- AGRICULTURE: *CaNém 'to plant' (Tg tanim)
 *Cúbuq 'to grow' (Tg túbo)
 *kaliH 'to dig' (Tg kali)
 *qúbih [yam] (Tg úbi)
 *təbuS 'sugarcane' (Tg tubó)
 *niúG 'coconut' (Tg niyóg)
 *bənSiq 'rice-seedling' (Tg binhf')
 *pájəy 'rice-plant' (Tg pálay)
 *bəGas 'milled-rice' (Tg bigas)
 *Səmay 'cooked-rice'/'set-aside for cooking' (Tg himáy 'shelled')
 *taSəp 'to winnow' (Tg tahip)
 *Gi'ək 'to thresh' (Tg gi'ik)
 *ZaRami 'rice-straw' (Tg dayami < SLz)
- SEAFARING: *lāyaG 'sail' (Tg láyag)
 *təkən 'punt-pole' (Tg tikin)
 *limás 'bailer' (Tg limás)
 *Calis 'rope' (Tg tali' < M1)
 *qañud 'to drift' (Tg ánod)
 *quZaN 'rain' (Tg ulán)
 *SabaGat '~~N~~ wind' monsoon wind
 *qamiSan 'N wind'
- FISHING: *púkət 'dragnet' (Tg púkot)
 *bubu 'fishtrap' (Tg búbo)
 *túbaH 'fish-poison' (Tg túba)
 *qíSuH 'shark' (old-Tg ího, Tg hiyó' < M1)
 *páGiH 'stingray' (Tg pági)
 *quDán 'shrimp/crustacean' (Tg ulán)
- CULTURAL/MISC: *CaSiq 'to sew' (Tg tahf')
 *ZaGum 'needle' (Tg karayom < SLz)
 *Hásaq 'to whet' (Tg hása')
 *sulúq 'torch' (Tg suló')
 *sələn 'resin' (Tg sahín)
 *púluq 'ten' (Tg sampó')

Table 2: BRIEF HISTORICAL SUMMARY

- 2000 B.P. Settlement of southern Luzon region by Sambal, Kapampangan, Sinauna, with expansion into Mindoro, [*R > y; *butʔul 'bone', kadáyum 'needle']
- 1000 B.P. Arrival of Tagalogs from Eastern Visayas or Northeastern Mindanao (compare Tausug settlement of Jolo from Butuan, Kagayanen settlement of Cagayancillo around the same period)
- Primarily cooperative interaction with Southern Luzon linguistic groups (trade, agriculture, inter-marriage), with ultimate displacement or re-location (to the north) of Kapampangan, Sambal, Pangasinan.
- 800 B.P. Establishment of a Malay community in or near Tondo from Brunei; gradual and limited expansion of Islam into southern Luzon, with much greater activity in Mindanao.
- Continued expansion of the Tagalog community across southern Luzon, and into Marinduque, resulting in the extinction of several "Sinauna" speech varieties, but numerous Tagalog dialects begin to differentiate themselves (borrowing from "Sinauna", but also through normal/natural linguistic changes arising from isolation).
- 600 B.P. Brunei-Malay communities in Manila-area and on Jolo begin to thrive. Malay briefly becomes the "lingua-franca" and wields strong influences on Tagalog and Kapampangan. Tagalogs emulate the practices of the Malay traders, with influences in the social-political structure and increased contacts in the entire archipelago. Malay, via Tagalog, makes its mark on many Philippine languages. [parás < MI vs ʔanhán 'spicy']
- 500 B.P. The Spanish arrive in the Philippines, and introduce Christianity to the Luzon lowlands and the Visayas. The political, sociological, and economic center becomes Manila (now primarily controlled by the Tagalogs). The process of linguistic differentiation is changed in favor of Spanish, and later of Manila-Tagalog.

Table 3: THE SOUNDS OF TAGALOG 1000 YEARS AGO.

Voiced stops:	b	d ¹	g		
Voiceless stops:	p	t	k	'	[NB: Glottal stop is often found
Nasals:	m	n	ŋ		on vowel-final loanwords from Malay
Fricatives:		s		h	or Spanish, presumably dating to
Lateral:		ɭ ²			the late-Malay, early-Spanish period,
Semivowels:	w	y			c.400-600 years B.P.]
Vowels:	u	i	ə ³	a	

¹ Possibly had [r] as an allophone in some dialects, cf: bakoor; this later changed to [l], cf: ulán 'rain', lánaw 'lake'.

² Possibly had a weak or slightly fricative pronunciation, witness shift to ∅, cf: buwán 'moon', puwíŋ 'blinded', ta'íŋa, téŋa 'ear'; some dialects then inserted [h] in the position of *∅, cf: bahay 'house', sahiŋ 'resin', sahiŋg 'floor'.

³ Witness independent shift to [i] found only in Tagalog, cf: ká'in 'eat', bituwín 'star', but only after contact with SLz, witness páwis (Kpm páwas < *páwəs) 'sweat', bahid (Kpm balad < *baləd) 'stain'.