

BUHID AND TAUBUID:
A NEW SUBGROUP IN MINDORO, PHILIPPINES

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1. INTRODUCTION

Field research in interior Mindoro, Philippines, has indicated that Taubuid (Batangan), a previously insufficiently documented and thus unclassified language, is closely related to Buhid.¹

Buhid has heretofore been classified with Hanuno'o in a putative Hanunoic subfamily (Dyen 1965:30) or South Mangyan group (Zorc 1974). This Hanuno'o/-Buhid group is opposed to North Mangyan (Zorc 1974) or the Irayic Hesion group (Dyen 1965:30), which in turn is comprised of Iraya, Alangan, and Balaban (Tadyawan). When these classifications were made, data were not available from Taubuid, a language spoken by some five thousand people living in the highlands of central Mindoro. The Taubuid region extends south to the Buhid of the South Mangyan group, and north and east to the Alangan and Balaban of the North Mangyan group.

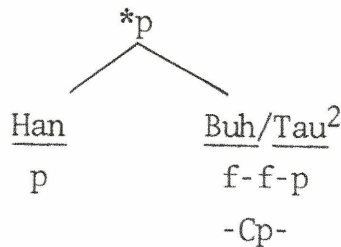
Preliminary systematic phonological comparisons between Southern Buhid and Eastern Taubuid, and the rest of the Mindoro languages, suggest that a revision of the presently accepted subgroupings is necessary. Rather than Hanuno'o and Buhid forming a discrete subgroup, the mutually unintelligible languages of Buhid and Taubuid are shown in this paper to form an immediate subgroup. The shared phonological features which segregate Buhid and Taubuid from all of the Mindoro languages, especially Hanuno'o, are set forth herein.

Additionally, a discussion of some of the specific problems of subgrouping the languages is presented at the conclusion.

2. BUHID/TAUBUID FEATURES

2.1 *Obstruents and Spirants*. Peripheral (labial, velar) voiceless obstruents become spirants in initial and intervocalic positions in Buhid/Taubuid. Word finally and in clusters these segments remain obstruents. Buhid and Taubuid are the only Mindoro languages in which these segments are reflected as non-obstruents.

	<u>Hanuno'o</u>	<u>Buhid</u>	<u>Taubuid</u>
'other side'	dipay	difay	dife
'(particle)'	pag	fag	fag
'a handle'	angkap	angkap	angkap
'gall'	apdu		apdu
'full'		mapnu	mapnu



The voiceless velar obstruent *k is realized word initially and intervocalically as [h] in Buhid, and as ∅ (or, better, "smooth breathing" syllable breaks) in Taubuid:

	<u>Hanuno'o</u>	<u>Buhid</u>	<u>Taubuid</u>
'fingernail'	kuku	huhu	uu
'it is said'	kunu	hunu	unu
'Canarium sp.'	daka	daha	da
'go'	lakaw	lahaw	lo ³
'arm'	takyay	takyay	takke
'sickness'	sakit	sahit	sait
'honey'	daykut		deut
'white'	?abukay	abuhay	abue ('chicken')
'frog'	pikaw		fio
'roof pole'	sukub	suhub	sub
'fish dam'	bakud		baud
'cave, hole'	lukib	luhib	luib
'Artocarpus sp.'	balukuk		baluk

'kin
'fles
'sepa
'bamb

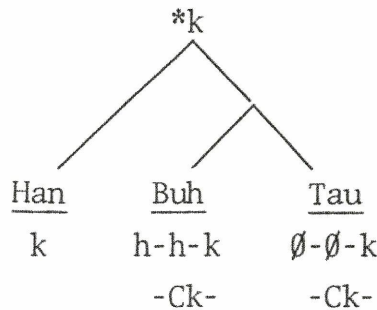
In the
that wh
vice ve

'older :
'ride'
'shirt'

2.2 *
glide (y
Mindoro

'nose'
'name'
'try'
'srimp'
'sleep'
'bird sp.'
'mavel'
'mandanus

	<u>Hanuno'o</u>	<u>Buhid</u>	<u>Taubuid</u>
'kin group'	tal'anak'an	talalahan	talanan
'flesh'	paknul ('hide')	faknul	faknul
'separate'	buskad		buskad
'bamboo sp.'	balkawi		balawi (ordinary speech) balkawi (ritual chants)

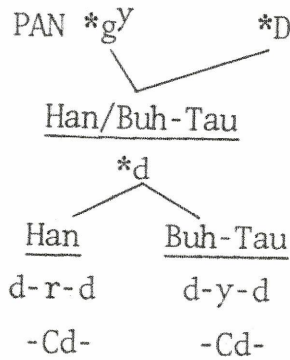


In the limited number of exceptions to the above, it is noteworthy that whenever Buhid has an irregular reflex, so does Taubuid, and vice versa:

	<u>Buhid</u>	<u>Taubuid</u>
'older sibling'	kaka	kaka
'ride'	sakay	sakay
'shirt'	balukas	balukas

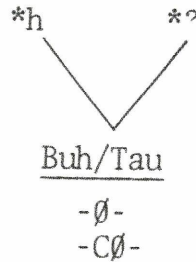
2.2 **d Becomes a Glide.* A proto *d (< PAN *g^y + *D) becomes a glide (y) intervocalically and in consonant clusters. All other Mindoro languages show resonants in these positions:

	<u>Hanuno'o</u>	<u>Buhid</u>	<u>Taubuid</u>
'nose'	irung	uyung	uyung
'name'	ngaran	ngayan	ngayan
'dry'	mamara	mamaya	mamaya
'shrimp'	urang	uyang	uyang ('fish')
'sleep'	turug	tiyug	tiyug
'bird sp.'	balud		balud
'navel'	pusud	fusud	fusud
'pandanus'	pangdan		fangdan ('woven mat')



2.3 *h and *ʔ Merge to ∅. A proto *h and *ʔ have merged to ∅ intervocally and in consonant clusters:

	<u>Hanuno'o</u>	<u>Buhid</u>	<u>Taubuid</u>
'Livistonia'	anahaw	anaw	ano
'vine (sp.)'	lumhay	lumay	lumay
'knee'	tuhud	tud	tud
'runny sore'	baghak		bagak
'new'	bagʔu	bagu	bagu
'teeth'	bagʔang	bagang	bagang
'hunger'	lumʔus	lunus	lunus
'old'	daʔan	dan	dan
'neck'	liʔug	liyug	liug
'clean'	-liʔaw		-lio



2.4 *-ai- and *-au- Are Restructured. Subsequent to the merger shown in 2.3, resultant medial vowel sequences (*ai, *au) have been restructured as V + glide (ay, aw) in Buhid/Taubuid. Buhid has then metathesized these sequences as -ya- and -wa- respectively, while Taubuid treats them phonetically as single vowels (e, o):

	<u>Hanuno'o</u>	<u>Buhid</u>	<u>Taubuid</u>
'eat'	kaʔun	kwan	kon
'return'	(*pa-)ʔuli	fwali	foli
'rain'	(*ma-)ʔuran	mwayan	moyan
'sun'	(*ma-)ʔinit	myanit	menit
'wild'	maʔila	myala	mela
'bad, misfortune'	daʔut	dwat	dot ('cobra') ka-dot-tama ('anger', 'male')

2.5 Taubuid *-ay and *-aw. In Taubuid, final V + glide sequences (*-ay, *-aw) are also treated phonetically as single vowels (e, o).⁴ Note also that Buhid does not metathesize these sequences in final position:

	<u>Hanuno'o</u>	<u>Buhid</u>	<u>Taubuid</u>
'a fly'	langaw	langaw	lango
'wake up'	pulaw	fulaw	fulo
'shoulder'	labay	labay	labe
'house'	balay	balay	bale

The behavior of final [-e, -o] (< *-ay, *-aw) in Taubuid when they undergo affixation indicates that [e] and [o] are phonetic, not phonemic:

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------|
| | <u>+ -an</u> | <u>+ -un</u> |
| (1) sakbo 'enter' | sakbu-an | sakbo-un |
| | but: sakbaw-an 'doorway'
(frozen form) | |

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| | <u>+ -an</u> | <u>+ -an</u> |
| (2) talete 'walk on log' | taleti-an | talete-un |
| | but: talaytay-an (ritual
speech) | |

In these examples it appears that the underlying glides of these sequences actually have vowel allophones, and, under certain conditions not yet fully determined, vowel-deletion rules result in loss of the underlying vowel and realization of the glides as full (surface) vowels. In the case of suffixation of *-an*, some sort of vowel dissimilation may be a conditioning factor.

*au)
d.
le

3. CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of shared phonological innovations, Buhid and Taubuid form a clearly defined subgroup. It remains to be seen whether or not this subgroup will be found to be most closely related to Hanuno'o or to some other Mindoro languages. Clearly the problem is so complex that any solution that is attempted without further field research will undoubtedly only act to reinforce the old broad generalizations on Mindoro subgroupings. A collection of word lists and simple sentences from each language will not suffice. In-depth research is needed with particular attention directed to dialectal divergence as Taubuid has two dialects, and Buhid and Balaban have at least two of each.

Researchers should also be aware of the problems created by multilingual speakers. For example, most Balaban speak a little Taubuid; some can converse in simple Alangan. Collecting quick word lists in these areas only serves to create linguistic nightmares. The Balaban may shift back and forth between their own language, Taubuid, and Alangan, and may even pass off Tagalog loan words as "Balaban."

It is tempting to use lexical innovations as supportive evidence for drawing immediate genetic connections between Mindoro languages. Taubuid and Buhid share a large number of apparently exclusive innovations, e.g., *magdanun* 'moon'; Hanuno'o *bulan* 'moon' is found only in Taubuid ritual chants. However, Hanuno'o and Buhid also share innovations, e.g., *pangasan*, *fangasan* 'star', as do Taubuid and Balaban, e.g., *galeme*, *galaymay* 'star'. This type of comparison is interesting but inconclusive due to a number of factors including the inadequacies of incomplete lexical lists from each language, borrowing, and loss and replacement. Thus, little weight should be placed on lexical "innovations."

More conclusive results can be obtained by investigating phonological innovations. In this way, a distinctive process can be evidenced in not just a single comparative example, but in many. In 2.4, such a process is demonstrated--the restructuring of the medial vowel sequences *-ai- and *-au-. The examples also show another type of innovation. Buhid and Taubuid share a frozen prefix *ma- in the words for rain (*mwayan*, *moyan*) and sun (*myanit*, *menit*).⁵ These types of innovations provide strong evidence that Buhid and Taubuid form a distinct subgrouping among the Mindoro languages.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Dye

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Pen

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1. My field research in southeast Mindoro covered a period from July 1973 to July 1974 (see Penoyer 1975). Support funds came from the Philippine-American Educational Foundation (Fulbright Award) and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. During the write-up time (1974-1975), the National Institute of Mental Health provided a fellowship. Additional support came from the Department of Anthropology, Washington State University (WSU). I am thankful to Raleigh Ferrell (WSU) for his help on earlier versions of this paper.
2. -Cp- indicates that the reflex is [p] in clusters.
3. The /o/ in Taubuid is a low back vowel [ɔ].
4. This rule generally holds true for the two main dialects of Taubuid--Western (Occidental Mindoro) and Eastern (Oriental Mindoro) Taubuid. Apparently, there are a few Taubuid areas where these V + glide sequences are not treated as single vowels. The data presented here are from an Eastern Taubuid region where this rule is followed. A rare exception is found in 2.3, i.e., *lumay* should be *lume*.
5. No other Mindoro language, or to my knowledge Philippine language, has a frozen *ma- prefix in the word for rain. Balaban, however, also shows this feature in the word for sun, *maybing* (< *ma-ibing).

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