PHILIPPINE AND NORTH BORNEAN LANGUAGES: ISSUES IN DESCRIPTION, SUBGROUPING, AND RECONSTRUCTION

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BY

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We certify that we have read this dissertation and that, in our opinion, it is satisfactory in scope and quality as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics.

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ABSTRACT

The Philippines, northern Sulawesi, and northern Borneo are home to two or three hundred languages that can be described as Philippine-type. In spite of nearly five hundred years of language documentation in the Philippines, and at least a century of work in Borneo and Sulawesi, the majority of these languages remain grossly underdocumented, and an alarming number of languages remain almost completely undocumented. This dissertation reports on the results of a decade of work aiming to address this lack of language documentation, with the author having conducted fieldwork on over three hundred speech varieties throughout most of the Philippines, as well as in northern Sulawesi and northern Borneo.

The issues discussed herein are some of those felt to be most important and most relevant: a reanalysis of Maranao phonology; a description of Manide and Inagta Alabat, two previously-undocumented languages that appear to form a primary branch of the Philippine macrogroup; a reanalysis of the subgrouping of the languages of northern Borneo, based on phonological and functor innovations instead of lexicostatistics; a reconsideration of the evidence for the position of Umiray Dumaget; an internal subgrouping of the Subanen languages, and evidence for the integrity of the Subanen subgroup and reconstructions of its protolanguage; a reconstruction of the pronominal systems of the protolanguages ancestral to the Philippine languages and the Southwest Sabah languages; a discussion of the Black Filipino ethnolinguistic groups of the Philippines and their languages; a description of the angry speech register found in many Greater Central Philippine languages; a discussion of the various developments in the verb systems of Philippine-type languages; and an analysis of the data contained in the Spanish-era dictionaries and grammars of various Central Philippine languages.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION. This dissertation is the product of approximately 84 months of fieldwork between 1999 and 2012, covering well over 200 speech varieties in the Philippines, northern Sulawesi (Indonesia), Sabah and northern Sarawak (Malaysia), and Brunei. More specifically, areas surveyed were virtually the entire Philippines except northern Luzon and the Sulu Archipelago; northern Sulawesi, Indonesia, from the city of Gorontalo in the west to Manado and Belang in the east; and northern Borneo including (1) Brunei Darussalam, (2) the Malaysian state of Sabah, (3) the Limbang, Lawas, Miri, Marudi, and Bintulu districts of Sarawak, Malaysia, and (4) the northernmost part of Kalimantan Timur, Indonesia, from Nunukan in the north to Tanjung Selor in the south and as far inland as Malinau, upriver from Tarakan.

Even though the documentation of Philippine-type languages technically began over 490 years ago with Antonio Pigafetta's collection of a Cebuano wordlist in 1521 during Magellan's voyage around the world, the vast majority of these languages remain underdescribed, a surprising number in fact completely undescribed, and some completely undiscovered by linguists until the past decade. Given these facts, the original intention of this dissertation was to survey the central Philippines in order to produce a fine-tuned dialect geography of that area, along the lines of surveys that had been done by Zorc (1977) and McFarland (1974) for more limited geographical areas (the Visayan Islands and the Bikol Region, respectively). However, after sampling neighboring areas it became apparent that there were also pressing linguistic needs elsewhere, and the dissertation research gradually expanded to include the entire Greater Central Philippines subgroup as defined by Blust (1991), neighboring languages and subgroups in Luzon, the Visayan Islands, Mindanao, and Palawan, as well as the Southwest Sabah subgroup of Philippine-type languages in northern Borneo, and most of the languages spoken exclusively by Black Filipino (or "Negrito") groups throughout the Philippines. As a result, the fieldwork period grew from the original 12-month plan (which was already in addition to 20 months of post-M.A. fieldwork from 1999-2001 and four additional months during the Summer of 2004) to the equivalent of five full years (60 months) in the field between May 2005 and July 2012.

While the vast majority of these languages are highly underdocumented or undocumented, different specific needs were found in each area. An innovation-based subgrouping was needed for the Southwest Sabah languages, for example, while a reconstruction was needed for Proto-Subanen. A study of the historical phonology was likewise needed for the Subanen languages, as well as for Maranao within the Danao subgroup, the latter of which contained some interesting phonological features that had been completely overlooked by a dozen linguists and other researchers over the past century (cf. Lobel and Riwarung 2009, 2011). Basic description was needed for some languages, such as Manide and Inagta Alabat, which were previously known only by name. The survey-type nature of the original dissertation concept is still reflected in the enormous amount of data collected, which contributed to pronominal reconstructions and typological chapters on phonology and verb morphology. But instead of being the centerpiece of this dissertation, the data from the 200-plus language survey shifted, in some sense, to the backdrop against which the chapters of this dissertation were written. For the first time, a historical-comparative and descriptive work on the languages of this area could be written from the point of view of a researcher who had single-handedly collected a substantial, largely consistent set of data from both his area of primary interest, and from languages in neighboring areas. The sheer quantity of data available to me for comparison is enough to outweigh the inevitable human error to which I am no less prone than any other fieldworker, and I therefore hope that the claims made in this dissertation will stand up to the closest scrutiny.

Needless to say, the dissertation does not contain everything from the author's fieldwork and analysis. Since the subject area contains over 200 speech varieties, and my field notes include data that could be used to describe the history and structure of all of these, some selection has been necessary. Instead, I have decided to offer a somewhat eclectic mix of topics highlighting some of the more important results of the fieldwork, including areas of reconstruction, typology, noteworthy phonological developments, subgrouping, and the description of previously undocumented languages. The unifying feature of the speech varieties described is that virtually all of them are Philippine-type languages, with the exception of a few that have lost some degree of their earlier structure

relatively recently (usually due to heavy contact with a non-Philippine-type language like Malay), but which clearly subgroup with languages that are Philippine-type in structure.

The dissertation is documentary, in the traditional sense of describing languages, as opposed to some more recent usages in which only certain types or methods of documentation are considered to be "documentary". The goal of my fieldwork was to document the linguistic situation in the central and southern Philippines, northern Sulawesi, and northern Borneo, as completely as possible, and to report on significant findings. It should be apparent from the large number of languages surveyed, and the comparatively short period of time spent with each, that the goals of this dissertation are different from those of a fieldworker who has done in-depth documentation of a single language over an extended period of time. The principal goals of this dissertation are to make a substantial contribution to the current body of literature on these languages, to describe previously undescribed and underdescribed languages, to make reconstructions where applicable, and to reconsider old subgrouping hypotheses where necessary. Major findings from the fieldwork are:

(1) a revision of the analysis of Maranao phonology (as previously noted in Lobel and Riwarung 2009, 2011);
(2) the establishment of an innovation-based subgrouping for the Southwest Sabah subgroup;
(3) the documentation of previously-undocumented languages like Manide, Inagta Alabat, Northern Binukidnon, Southern Binukidnon, Kinabalian, Inagta Rinconada, Inagta Partido, Romblomanon, and Kinamiging;
(4) a reconstruction of Proto-Subanen;
(5) the determination of the historical source of Southern Subanen aspirated consonants;
(6) the discovery of an angry register in various Greater Central Philippine languages;
(7) the analysis of important data in Spanish-era works relating to the historical development of several modern Philippine languages.

1.2 OUTSIDE SUPPORT. Conducting the tremendous amount of fieldwork for this dissertation would not have been possible without an equally tremendous amount of support of various types. First, invaluable support was provided by thousands of Filipinos, Indonesians, Malaysians, and Bruneians, who assisted me with language data, helpful information, and sometimes even food, accommodation, and/or transportation, between 1999 and 2012. These folks range from public transportation drivers, street vendors, manual laborers, mountain tribes, chieftains, priests, imams, students, teachers, government workers, church employees, and even local leaders hand-picked for their positions by the Sultan of Brunei. Their names are far too numerous to list here, but their contributions are clearly the most important in the process of dissertation research, as no amount of money, training, and effort could guarantee my success without the generous assistance of knowledgeable native speakers.

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1.3 PERIODS OF FIELDWORK. The fieldwork that contributed to this dissertation can be divided into three periods: (1) prior to beginning the Ph.D. program, (2) the summer of 2004 midway through my Ph.D. coursework, and (3) from mid-2005 to mid-2012.

The earliest 20 months of fieldwork were conducted in four trips after completing my M.A. in 1999, but prior to beginning my doctoral coursework in 2003:

- six months from June to November in 1999
- three months from January to March in 2000
- six months from May to October in 2000
- five months from January to May in 2001

Fieldwork was conducted in the Philippines for four additional months from April to September 2004, midway through my Ph.D. coursework. After defending my dissertation proposal in early 2005, I conducted additional fieldwork for the following periods:

- two years and three months in the Philippines between April 2005 and August 2007, including a month in northern Sulawesi, Indonesia, from April to May 2007
- a month in Sabah, Malaysia, from May to June in 2008
- two months in northern Sulawesi, Indonesia, from June to August in 2008
- three months in the Philippines from August to November in 2008
- a year in the Philippines from January 2009 to January 2010

- fourteen months from February 2010 to March 2011, including four months in northern Borneo and a month in northern Sulawesi
-one month in Sabah and Brunei from June to July 2012

The total amount of fieldwork that contributed to this dissertation was thus 20 months from 1999 to 2001, and 64 months between 2004 and 2012. Most of this was spent in the Philippines, although approximately seven months were spent in northern Borneo, and approximately four months in northern Sulawesi.

1.4 CONDITIONS OF FIELDWORK. Conditions naturally varied considerably over the cumulative equivalent of seven years of fieldwork that brought the writer to over a thousand towns or rural areas in four countries to collect data on over 200 speech varieties. Some fieldwork sites were along routes of regular public transportation, while others required the renting or chartering of a private vehicle, whether motorcycle, "tricycle",[1] jeepney, taxi, or double-outrigger canoe (usually motorized, but paddle-propelled on a few occasions). In a few cases, fieldwork sites required an hour or two hike into mountainous areas, crossing one or more rivers, from the nearest spot that was reachable by jeepney, tricycle, motorcycle, or boat. In other cases, one- or two-hour trips were required, via various forms of local transportation, but little in terms of travel on foot. However, in many other places, fieldwork was conducted in town centers, either with people met on the street, or in stores or restaurants, or with government employees working in their offices. Even in these cases, the locations of towns ranged from those where I was able to find acceptable accommodations, to those that were an hour or two away from the nearest amenities, requiring up to five or six hours of travel in a day, in addition to six to eight hours of fieldwork. At one extreme, it was necessary in some cases to spend a night or more sleeping on a wooden floor, or a wooden bench, in remote locations with no electricity, no running water, and no proper bathroom or bathing facilities. Thankfully, such cases were far outnumbered by situations where more modern

[1] A common form of public transportation in the Philippines, consisting of a motorcycle welded to a sidecar, and used for travel anywhere from the major roads of Metro Manila to tough mountain terrain in rural areas.

accommodations were available, although the size and quality of these also varied greatly. On a few occasions, fieldwork also brought me to small islands with no electricity, no public accommodations, and only one trip in or out per day. On occasion, severe weather caused a number of problems, such as a typhoon that hit during a trip to Banton Island in 2004, which cut off the six hours of electricity that was usually rationed to the island, and left me stranded for three days while the seas were too rough for boats to travel in or out. Even transportation itself could be extreme, such as a full-circle trip around Samar Island which took five days of motorcycle riding from morning to night with only short stops made every few hours, as well as two river crossings in which the motorcycle had to be carried across on a boat that was not much larger than the motorcycle itself. However, these hardships and challenges pale in comparison to those faced by the linguists who visited the Philippines and other parts of insular Southeast Asia decades ago, when travel in most areas was much rougher, took much longer, and was done in the absence of cell phones, internet cafes, and modern accommodations.

I was able to communicate adequately with most informants in the Philippines via Tagalog, although occasionally Cebuano or Ilonggo was needed with informants in certain parts of Mindanao and upland Negros. In Indonesia, communication was via Indonesian, except during my first one-month trip to Sulawesi Utara when I had the opportunity to work with English-speaking students, teachers, and staff members of Universitas Klabat, a Seventh-Day Adventist university in the town of Airmadidi, just east of the provincial capital, Manado, but had not yet acquired a sufficient command of that language. In northern Borneo, communication was via a mixture of Indonesian and the Sabah dialect of Malay, which also sufficed in Brunei and Sarawak, in spite of the considerable differences in the Malay dialects spoken there. Other than that first trip to Indonesia, English was used for elicitation only on two or three occasions in Sabah, Malaysia, where informants were more competent in English than I was in Malay.

With only a very few exceptions, fieldwork was conducted on each language in one or more of the towns where it has traditionally been spoken, either with an individual speaker or with a group of speakers. The most common situation was to have one fieldwork site per language, and either one informant working within earshot of other

native speakers, or two informants working together. For the few languages where this was not the case the language was spoken in an area unsafe for travel (e.g., the Tausug and Sama-Bajaw languages of the Sulu archipelago), or in an area too difficult to reach in the time available (e.g., the Pahanan Agta and Paranan languages of Palanan town in northeastern Luzon, or the Molbog language of Balabac Island).

Only in one case—the Tadyawan Mangyan language of northeastern Mindoro Island—was there a problem finding cooperative speakers. In this exceptional case several tribe members refused to cooperate on the grounds that their language was "sacred", which I found ironic since it is much easier to find ethnic Tadyawan who don't speak the language than those who do. In virtually all other situations, results were much more positive. In fact, in a number of situations—e.g., Inata of northern Negros Island, Ponosakan in Sulawesi Utara, and Ganâ in Sabah—I was able to find speakers of languages that other linguists had told me might already be extinct.

The ease with which my fieldwork was conducted owes much to the many linguists who have gone before me, documenting the existence and locations of various languages covered in this dissertation. Without this pre-existing knowledge base it would have been impossible to finish even a fraction of the fieldwork that I was able to carry out and the work reported here would have taken much longer to complete.

1.5 METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH TOOLS. Each researcher has his or her own methods and materials for conducting fieldwork and collecting data, either adopted wholesale or at least partially self-compiled. Where wordlists are used, they vary from researcher to researcher, as do lists of sentences chosen for eliciting various linguistic features, when applicable. While "basic" vocabulary may largely be the same from language to language, major grammatical differences between languages make it nearly impossible to create a "basic" list of sentences unless, as in my case, one is working on languages known to largely have the same structures. While my own research tools have admittedly evolved over the years, the most common treatment for a language was a 1,000-item wordlist and 100-300 sentences. The wordlist remained virtually the same throughout the research, except that only around 750 of the 1,000 items were elicited

where Indonesian/Malay was the research language (i.e., in Malaysia, Indonesia, and Brunei). The wordlist incorporated most if not all of the items on 100- and 200-item Swadesh lists, the 372-item SIL list, and R. David Zorc's 500-item wordlist. The sentences, on the other hand, varied depending on the features particular to each language, since the languages vary in the number and functions of affixes, pronouns, case markers, demonstratives, and other functors. The main goal with the sentences was to be able to elicit full sets of functors (pronouns, case markers, demonstratives, negators, adverbs of time, quantifiers, and adverbial particles), as well as full paradigms of verb forms including tense/aspect and focus.

While data was generally elicited from wordlists and sentence lists, and recorded on paper, audio—and sometimes video—recording was also done in the later years of the fieldwork when affordable compact audio recorders and digital cameras with high-quality (HD) video recording capability became available. Audio and video recording was not the goal of the dissertation, and was conducted either in fulfillment of outside grants (e.g., the ELDP grant for documenting the Inati language in 2009) or for separate academic publications (e.g., audio recording of Maranao for Lobel and Riwarung 2011, audio recording of Manide and Inagta Alabat for a similar type of article that is currently in preparation, and audio and video recording of Ponosakan for a separate project on that language). As such, the "documentary" nature of this dissertation conforms more to the traditional sense of surveying and transcribing language data, than the more recent sense of creating archive-quality audio and video recordings of languages. The sheer number of languages involved in the fieldwork for this dissertation largely ruled out the possibility of including audio and video recording, and especially during the earlier years of the fieldwork, tools for high-quality audio-visual recording did not fit my budget and were too large to be accommodated in the small amount of luggage I brought during most of my travels. In future fieldwork, researchers will certainly want to include audio and video recording of the more highly endangered languages as well as of languages with special phonological features. At the same time, I strongly believe that carefully prepared questions, and a good, attentive method when working with native speakers—including the real-time transcription of data while sitting in front of the native speaker consultant—

is the most important aspect of fieldwork, not the ability to make archive-quality recordings which may or may not be accessed by future generations. In the absence of a proper fieldwork method, any researcher analyzing archived audio and video recordings will be left wondering what linguistic insights might have been captured if the fieldworker had put as much thought into the fieldwork as was put into the technical specifications of their recording equipment.

1.6 THE AUTHOR'S BACKGROUND. Researchers also vary in terms of prior knowledge and experience with related languages, or languages with similar structure. Before beginning this enormous dissertation project, I had already been speaking Tagalog for several years, and had experience with related languages with similar structures, such as Cebuano, Ilonggo, Waray-Waray, and various Bikol languages and dialects. This background was absolutely invaluable, as without it, there would have been no way to communicate effectively with most speakers of the languages covered in this dissertation without an interpreter, which could have introduced a variety of additional problems. Starting in 2007, my newly-acquired interest in the Philippine and Philippine-type languages of Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei led to me to spend a year studying Indonesian from beginning to advanced levels at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and Universitas Sam Ratulangi in Manado, Sulawesi Utara.

1.7 STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION. This dissertation covers a wide selection of languages, a broad geographical area, and a variety of topics. My goal has not been to "reinvent the wheel" in areas where comprehensive studies have already been done, as long as these studies were methodologically and argumentatively sound (good fieldwork, proper comparative principles). Instead, I have chosen to concentrate on issues that have not previously been discussed in the literature, or areas where new discoveries were made, or where more modern approaches to data analysis have produced results that are felt to be more reliable than the findings of previous studies. Among these are reconstructions for the underdocumented Subanen subgroup, a discussion of the unique development of contrastive aspirated consonants in Southern Subanen, a reanalysis of

Maranao phonology based on the discovery of four typologically rare consonants that were previously overlooked, a description of two previously undescribed languages (Manide and Inagta Alabat), a reconsideration of the position of Umiray Dumaget and of the internal subgrouping of the languages of the Southwest Sabah subgroup, a discussion of the verb systems of both aberrant and elaborate types, an overview of the Black Filipino ethnolinguistic groups and their languages, a discussion of important data that can be found in the Spanish-era dictionaries and grammars of Philippine languages, and typological overviews of phonology, pronouns, and verb morphology, with reconstructions where applicable, based on the broadest set of data ever single-handedly collected on these languages.

The chapter-by-chapter contents of the dissertation are as follows:

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the Spanish-era documentation of Philippine languages such as Tagalog, Bikol, Waray, Cebuano, and Ilonggo, which started in the late 1500s, paying special attention to the insights that these texts provide about the development of these languages over the past 500 years.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the Black Filipino (or "Negrito Filipino") populations living in the Philippines, and the languages they speak.

Chapter 4 presents reconstructions of the pronominal systems of Proto-Philippines and Proto-Southwest Sabah, as well as discussing various noteworthy divergences from this reconstructable system.

Chapter 5 provides an overview of the Philippine-type verb system and the verbal morphology of some Philippine-type languages.

Chapter 6 discusses the angry speech register which is found in a number of Greater Central Philippine languages.

Chapter 7 discusses the position of a Black Filipino language, Umiray Dumaget, challenging an earlier claim that it belongs to the Greater Central Philippines subgroup. Two other Black Filipino languages that were previously undocumented, Manide and Inagta Alabat, are described in Chapter 8.

Chapter 9 presents a revised analysis of the phonology of Maranao.

Chapter 10 discusses the languages of the underdocumented Subanen subgroup and the development of Proto-Subanen from Proto-Greater Central Philippines, including over 600 Proto-Subanen lexical reconstructions.

Chapter 11 provides a new argument for the internal subgrouping of the Southwest Sabah languages, based on innovations in the functors and phonology.

1.8 A NOTE ON PREVIOUS LITERATURE. While dissertations normally contain a survey of previous literature in the opening chapter or two, the scope of this dissertation is so broad that a single review of this kind would be unfeasible. Therefore, literature reviews for each specific topic are included in the relevant chapters.

It is worth noting at this point, however, that this is not the first historical work on many of the languages covered here. Although none have previously covered such a large number concentrated in such a broad area, important historical works covering some of these languages include McFarland (1974) for the languages of the Bikol Region; Zorc (1977) for the Bisayan languages; Zorc (1974a) for the Mangyan languages; Allison (1979) for the Danao languages of Mindanao; Elkins (1974, 1974-75, 1984) and Harmon (1977) for the Manobo languages of Mindanao; Usup (1981, 1984, 1986), Sneddon and Usup (1986), and Sneddon (1991) for the Mongondow-Gorontalo languages of northern Sulawesi; Sneddon (1978) for the Minahasan languages and Sneddon (1984) for the Sangiric languages; Blust (2010) for the languages of northern Borneo; and Charles (1974), Zorc (1986) and Blust (1991) for the Philippine languages as a whole. In each case, my goal was to build on these earlier works, and no particular effort was made to challenge their subgrouping assumptions. Important works on the use of phonology and functors for the subgrouping of Philippine and/or Philippine-type languages include Blust (1991, among others), a variety of works by Zorc (including 1977), and McFarland (1974). A groundbreaking but largely overlooked work by Burton (1996) shed light on the problems inherent in using lexicon for subgrouping various languages that have been in borrowing relationships with other closely-related languages, providing one possible

methodology for distinguishing borrowings from inherited forms in such languages. Burton's study reveals both the importance and difficulty of such a task.

1.9 A NOTE ON THE CONCEPT OF "PROTO-PHILIPPINES" AND A PHILIPPINE MACROGROUP. It is assumed without demonstration that there is a Philippine macrogroup that includes (1) all indigenous languages of the Philippines except Sama-Bajaw, (2) Yami, southeast of Taiwan (a Batanic/Bashiic language), and (3) the Mongondow-Gorontalo, Minahasan, and Sangiric subgroups in northern Sulawesi, as defined by Zorc (1986). As Blust (1991) points out, somewhat similar subgroupings including most if not all of the languages of the Philippines plus languages in neighboring parts of Sulawesi and/or Borneo have been proposed by other authors, including Conant (1911), Dyen (1965), Charles (1974), Thomas and Healey (1962), Walton (1979), McFarland (1980), and Esser (1938).

However, support for a Philippine macrogroup is not universal. The first scholar to take issue with this subgroup was Reid (1982), who argued that nasal-plus-obstruent clusters in non-reduplicated bases were innovated in a language ancestral to all Malayo-Polynesian languages outside the northern Philippines (where such clusters reportedly are absent). Others have taken issue with Reid's analysis, as Zorc (1986:155-156), who pointed out over 25 years ago that "of the 22 forms cited from Bontok which do not show medial nasal clusters (Reid 1982:205f), only four have CPH and SPH cognates which unequivocally reflect a nasal…whereas eight have not been observed in these latter groups with any nasal…Note that NPH languages do have nasal clusters in etyma that are not likely to be loans…Nasal infixation (or its loss) is far from being established as a highly significant qualitative innovation." Reid's hypothesis of an innovative nasal infix that defines a split between the Northern Philippine languages and the languages of the central and southern Philippines is thus open to serious question. Zorc (1986) and Blust (1991, 2005) convincingly demonstrated that all languages of the Philippines, except Sama-Bajaw, together with the Sangiric, Minahasan and Mongondow-Gorontalo languages of northern Sulawesi belong to a discrete subgroup defined by numerous lexical innovations, some of which are clear replacement innovations.

More recently, Ross (2005) has also argued against the existence of a Philippine macrogroup, noting that it is supported only by putative lexical innovations, which could in principle also be explained as the result of early contact, or as PMP retentions that were lost outside of the Philippine area. While this is certainly possible, Blust (pers. comm., 2/11/12) disagrees, noting that "there are far too many exclusively shared forms that exhibit regular sound correspondences, some of which are found only in geographically separated languages." Blust also suggests (pers. comm, 8/28/12) that "no Philippine language distinguishes PMP *d and *z", a merger which "is much less common" than other mergers found in Austronesian languages and therefore "should be mentioned".

The issue of whether there was a Proto-Philippines will not be considered further in this dissertation. The evidence supporting its existence—at present, almost exclusively lexical in nature—is admittedly weaker than might be desired, but it is rather extensive, and there is no clear contrary evidence, Reid (1982) notwithstanding. The ultimate validity of the Philippine subgroup has no bearing on the arguments presented here, and the assumption that such a genetic unit exists simply presents a convenient point of reference against which the current discussions can be made.

1.10 GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS COVERED IN THIS DISSERTATION. This section will provide a glimpse at the geographical locations of the languages covered in this dissertation.

Map 1.1 illustrates the geographical areas surveyed in this dissertation which, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, covers most of the Philippines (excluding most of the northern half of the large northern island of Luzon and the Sulu Archipelago in the south); the northern part of Sulawesi Island in Indonesia; and the northern part of Borneo, including Brunei, the northern part of Kalimantan Timur, Indonesia, and the Malaysian state of Sabah as well as the northernmost part of Sarawak. Map 1.2 illustrates the areas specifically covered by this dissertation.

MAP 1.1 THE PHILIPPINES, BORNEO, AND SULAWESI IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

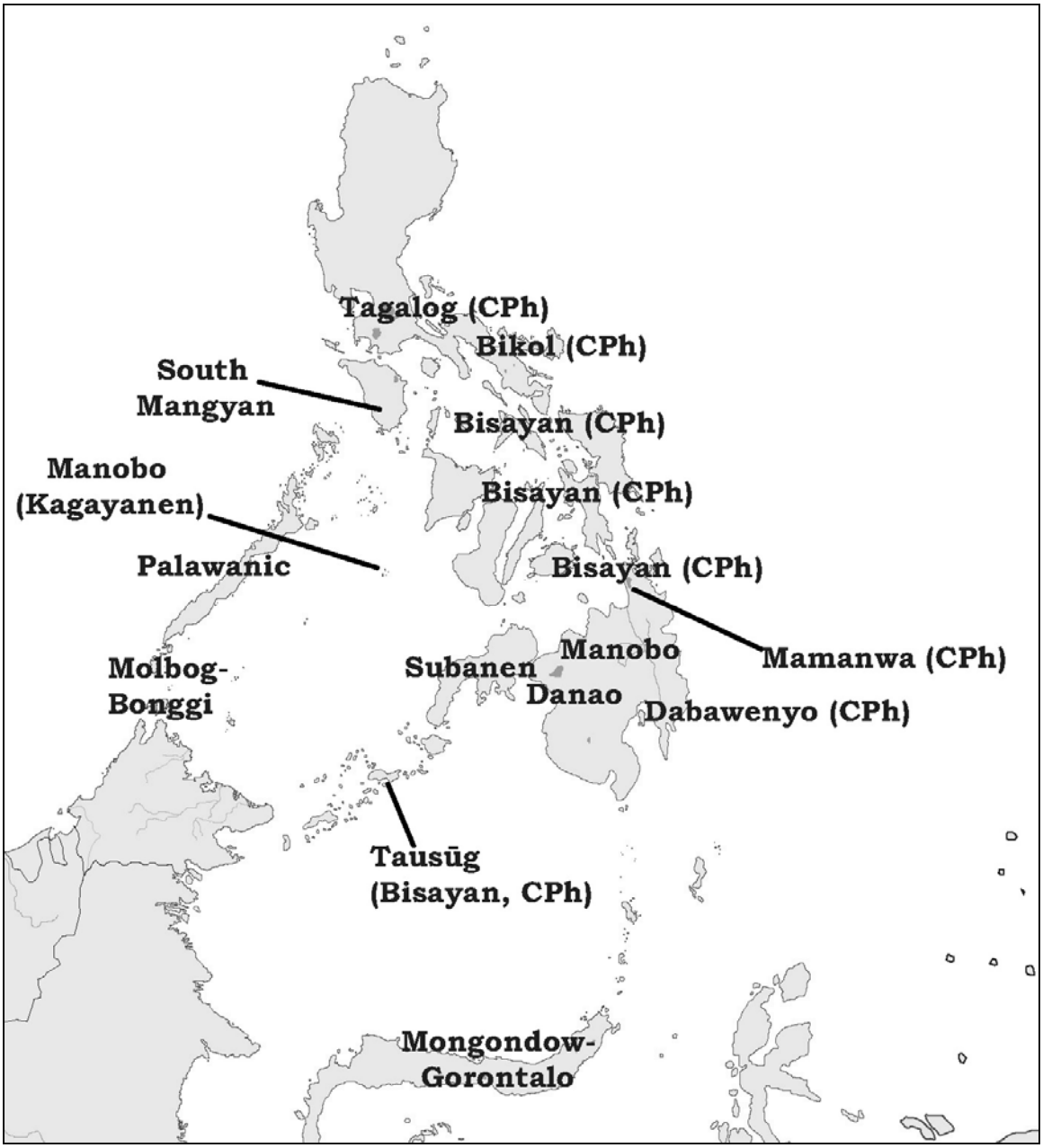
MAP 1.2 THE PHILIPPINES, NORTH BORNEO, AND NORTHERN SULAWESI

Most of the languages in the geographical area specifically covered in this dissertation belong to either the Greater Central Philippine subgroup (Map 1.3) as defined

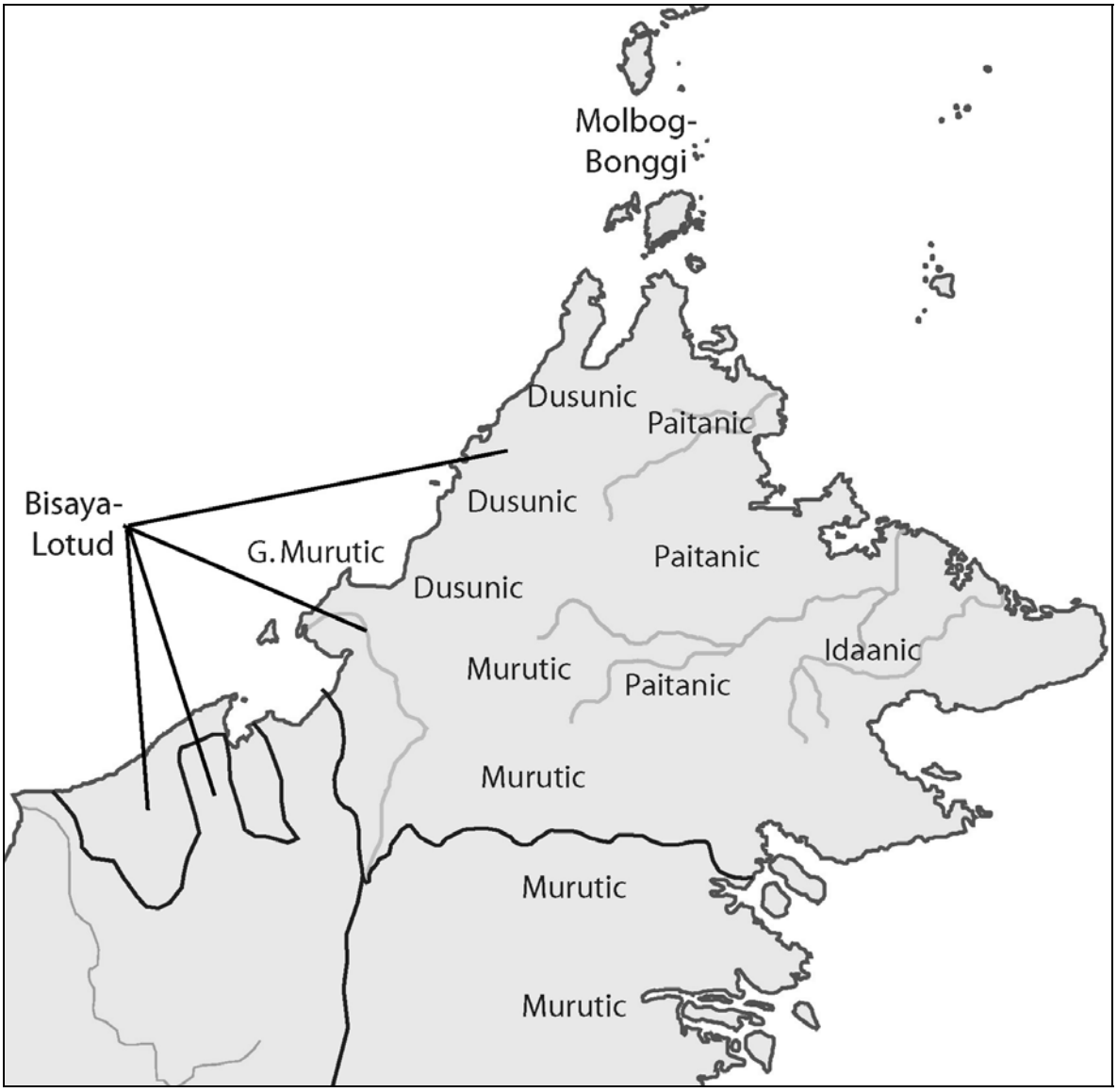
by Blust (1991), or the Southwest Sabah subgroup (Map 1.4[2]) as defined by Blust (2010) and the current author (Chapter 11 of this dissertation). Other subgroups which were also included in the fieldwork for this dissertation include the Minahasan and Sangiric subgroups of northern Sulawesi; the Idaanic languages of Sabah; the Central Luzon, Northeastern Luzon, and Manide-Alabat subgroups of Luzon; the Calamianic languages of northern Palawan; Umiray Dumaget; the Inati language of Panay in the Visayan Islands; the Molbog language of southern Palawan; the Bonggi language of northern Sabah; and the Bulungan language of northern Kalimantan Timur. With the exception of Southwest Sabah, Idaanic, Bulungan, and possibly Molbog and Bonggi, all of these subgroups belong to the purported Philippine subfamily of Malayo-Polynesian languages. Southwest Sabah, Idaanic, and Bonggi belong to the North Borneo subgroup, which Blust (2010) defines as having three primary branches: Southwest Sabah, North Sarawak, and Northeast Sabah. The current author uses the name "Idaanic" in place of Blust's "Northeast Sabah", indicating that the membership of this branch includes the Idaanic languages (including Idaan, Begak, and Sungai Seguliud) but not Bonggi, which according to functor evidence appears to subgroup more closely with Molbog in a Molbog-Bonggi subgroup whose linguistic affiliation remains unclear. The position of Molbog and Bonggi will not be discussed further in this dissertation, pending the need for further in-depth fieldwork on both languages.

[2] Note that while Map 1.4 only illustrates the subgroup dominant in each area, Map 11.1 later in this dissertation illustrates the approximate positions of the various Southwest Sabah languages.

MAP 1.3 GREATER CENTRAL PHILIPPINE SUBGROUPS PLUS MOLBOG-BONGGI



MAP 1.4 THE LINGUISTIC SUBGROUPS OF NORTHERN BORNEO



(Boundaries are only approximate, but are intended to roughly delineate the subgroup primarily spoken in each area)

Map 1.3 illustrates the locations of the subgroups belonging to Blust's (1991) Greater Central Philippines macrogroup: Central Philippines (represented by Tagalog, Bikol, Bisayan, Mamanwa, and Dabawenyo or Mansakan), Manobo, Palawanic, Southern Mangyan, Subanen, and Mongondow-Gorontalo. The Molbog-Bonggi subgroup is also indicated as it has traditionally been included in the Palawanic subgroup.

Map 1.4 illustrates the general locations of the Dusunic, Paitanic, Bisaya-Lotud, Greater Murutic, and Idaanic subgroups of northern Borneo. Note that Map 11.1 later in this dissertation illustrates the individual languages spoken in this area.

Map 1.5 illustrates the primary domain of the Central Philippine subgroups spoken in southern Luzon, the Visayan Islands, and northeastern Mindanao, as well as the other languages included in the area (the Mangyan languages, Inati, and Sama Abaknon).

MAP 1.5 THE CENTRAL PHILIPPINES: SOUTHERN LUZON, THE VISAYAN ISLANDS, AND NORTHEASTERN MINDANAO

(Note that subgroup names are in capital letters, while island names are in lower-case letters.)

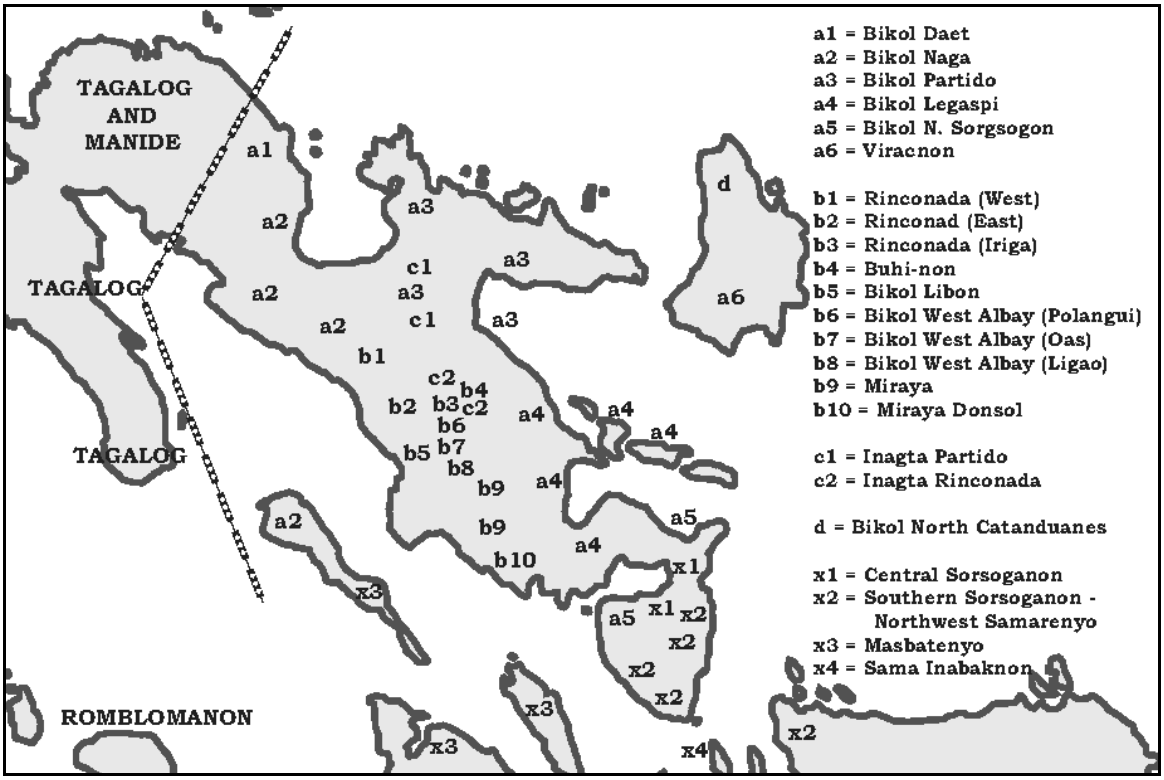
MAP 1.6 LUZON AND SURROUNDING ISLANDS

(Subgroup names are in capital letters, while individual language names are in lower-case letters.)

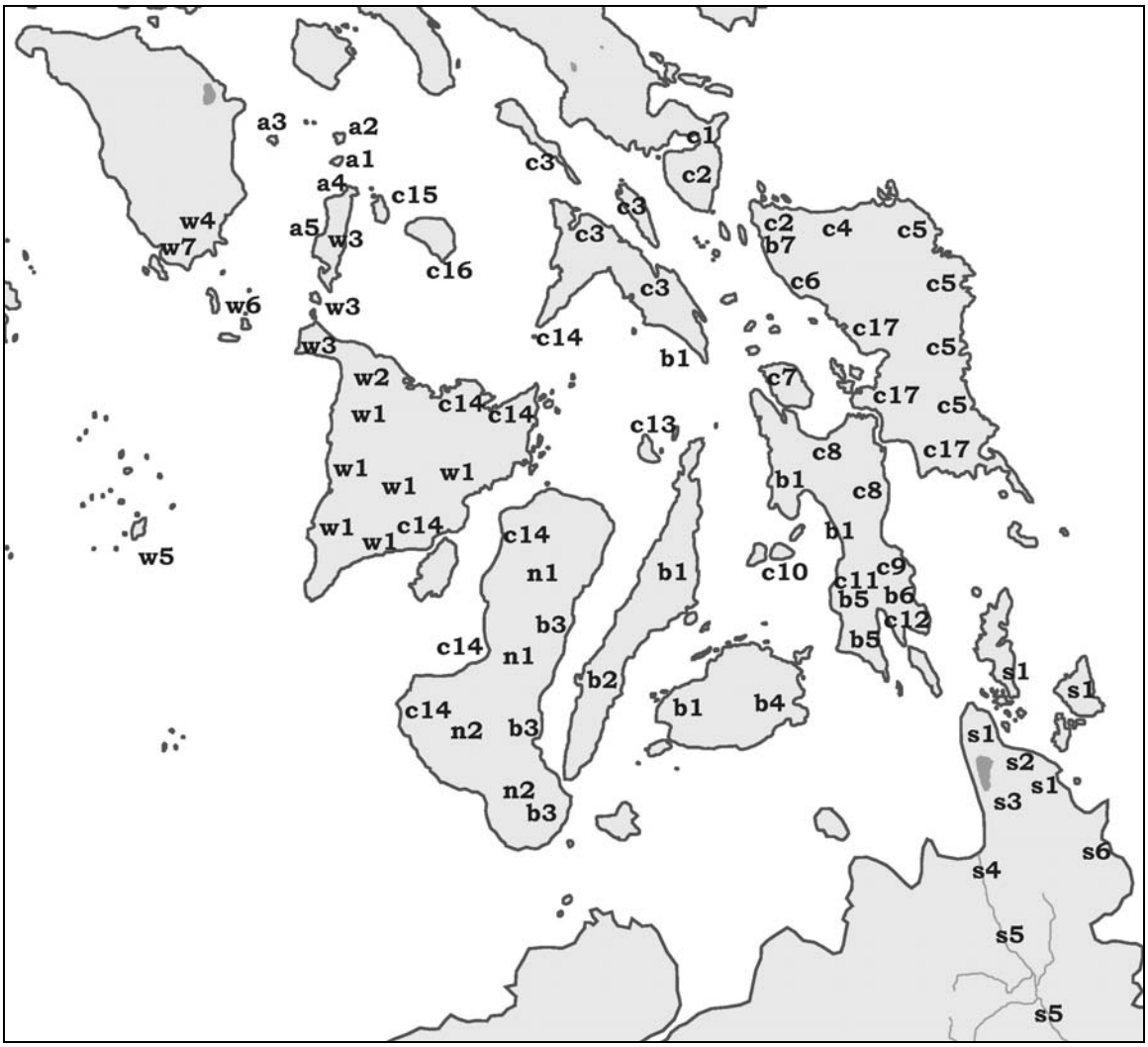
"Central Philippines" as a geographical term generally refers to the southern part of Luzon and the islands between Luzon and Mindanao, including the Bikol Region of

southern Luzon (Map 1.7) and the Visayan Islands (Map 1.8). Also included in this general area are the Cuyo Islands (west of Panay), northeastern Mindanao (the Surigao and Agusan provinces), and Cagayancillo Island west of Negros. Included among the "islands between Luzon and Mindanao" from west to east are Lubang, Mindoro, the Cuyo Islands, Cagayancillo, Marinduque, Sibale (a.k.a. Maestro de Campo), the islands of Romblon Province (Tablas, Romblon, Sibuyan, Banton, and Simara), the Caluya Islands, Panay, Boracay, Guimaras, Negros, the islands of Masbate Province (Masbate, Burias and Ticao), Bantayan, Cebu, Siquijor, Bohol, the Camotes Islands, Camiguin, Leyte, Liloan, Dinagat, Siargao, Biliran, Capul and Samar, and a plethora of other, even smaller islands.

MAP 1.7. THE BIKOL LANGUAGES



MAP 1.8. THE BISAYAN LANGUAGES



KEY TO MAP 1.8

a1 = Asi/Bantoanon; a2 = Asi Simara; a3 = Asi Maestra de Campo; a4 = Asi Calatrava; a5 = Asi Odiongan

b1 = Cebuano North Cebu; b2 = Cebuano South Cebu; b3 = Cebuano Negros Occidental; b4 = Cebuano East Bohol; b5 = Cebuano Southern Leyte; b6 = Cebuano Southeast Leyte; b7 = Cebuano Northwest Samar

c1 = Central Sorsoganon; c2 = Southern Sorsoganon & Northwestern Samarenyo; c3 = Masbatenyo; c4 = Northern Samarenyo; c5 = Eastern Samar Waray; c6 = Calbayog Waray; c7 = Culaba Waray; c8 = Leyte Waray; c9 = Abuyog Waray; c10 = Porohanon; c11 = Baybayanon/Utudnon; c12 = Kinabalian; c13 = Bantayanon; c14 = Ilonggo; c15 = Romblomanon; c16 = Southern Sibuyan Romblomanon; c17 = Waray West/South Samar

n1 = Northern Binukidnon; n2 = Southern Binukidnon

s1 = central Surigaonon; s2 = Surigaonon Gigaquit; s3 = Southwest Surigaonon; s4 = Butuanon; s5 = Upper Agusan Butuanon; s6 = Tag-onon/Tandaganon (cf. Map 1.9 for position of Tausug)

w1 = Kinaray-a (individual dialects not indicated on map); w2 = Aklanon; w3 = Inunhan; w4 = Bulalakawnon; w5 = Kuyonon; w6 = Caluyanen; w7 = Ratagnon

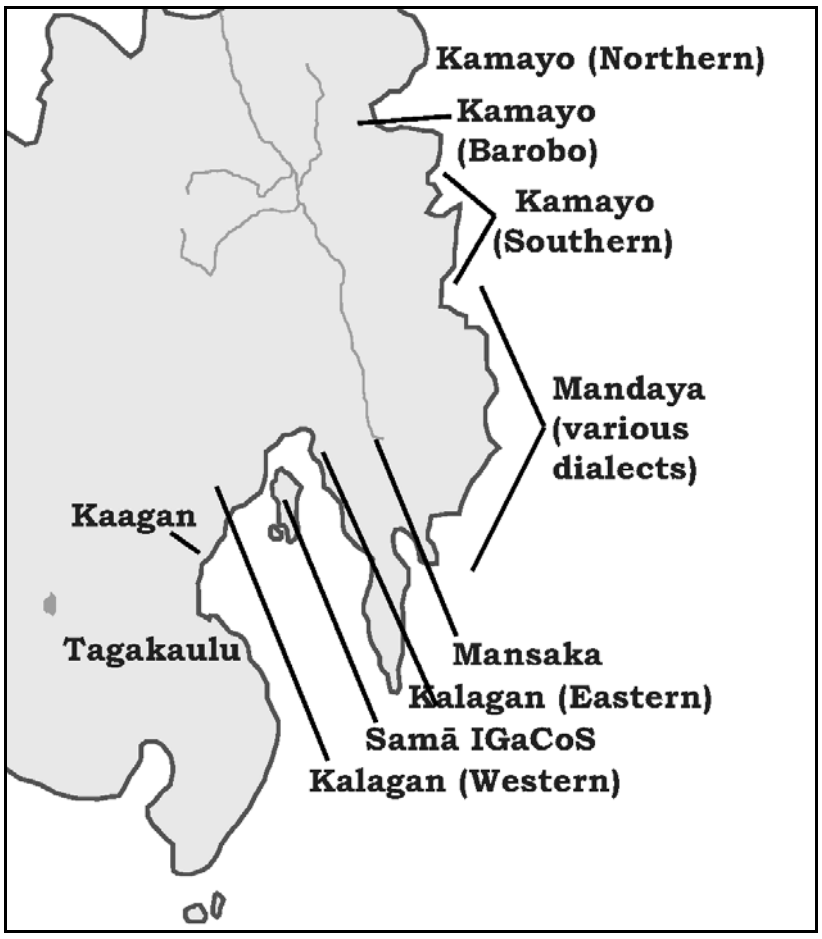
Map 1.9 illustrates the Greater Central Philippine languages spoken on the large southern Philippine island of Mindanao (note that the Bilic, Sama-Bajaw, and Sangiric languages are not indicated). As might be expected from an island of its considerable size, Mindanao is home to a large number of languages, with roughly the following distribution: Central Philippine languages in the east (South Bisayan and Dabawenyo languages as well as Mamanwa, Map 1.10); Manobo languages in the central and eastern-central parts (Map 1.11); Subanen languages in the Zamboanga peninsula in the west (Map 1.12); Danao languages in the west-central part, largely facing Illana Bay (Map 1.13); Bilic (or "South Mindanao") languages in the southern parts. The Sulu archipelago to the southwest is primarily home to Sama-Bajaw languages, but the central area around Jolo is home to Tausug, which is also a language of wider communication throughout the Sulu Archipelago. The islands to the immediate south are home to Sangil and Sangir,

Sangiric languages spoken in the islands spread out between Mindanao and Sulawesi. Note the locations of Camiguin and Cagayancillo Islands, home to the only two Manobo languages not spoken on mainland Mindanao.

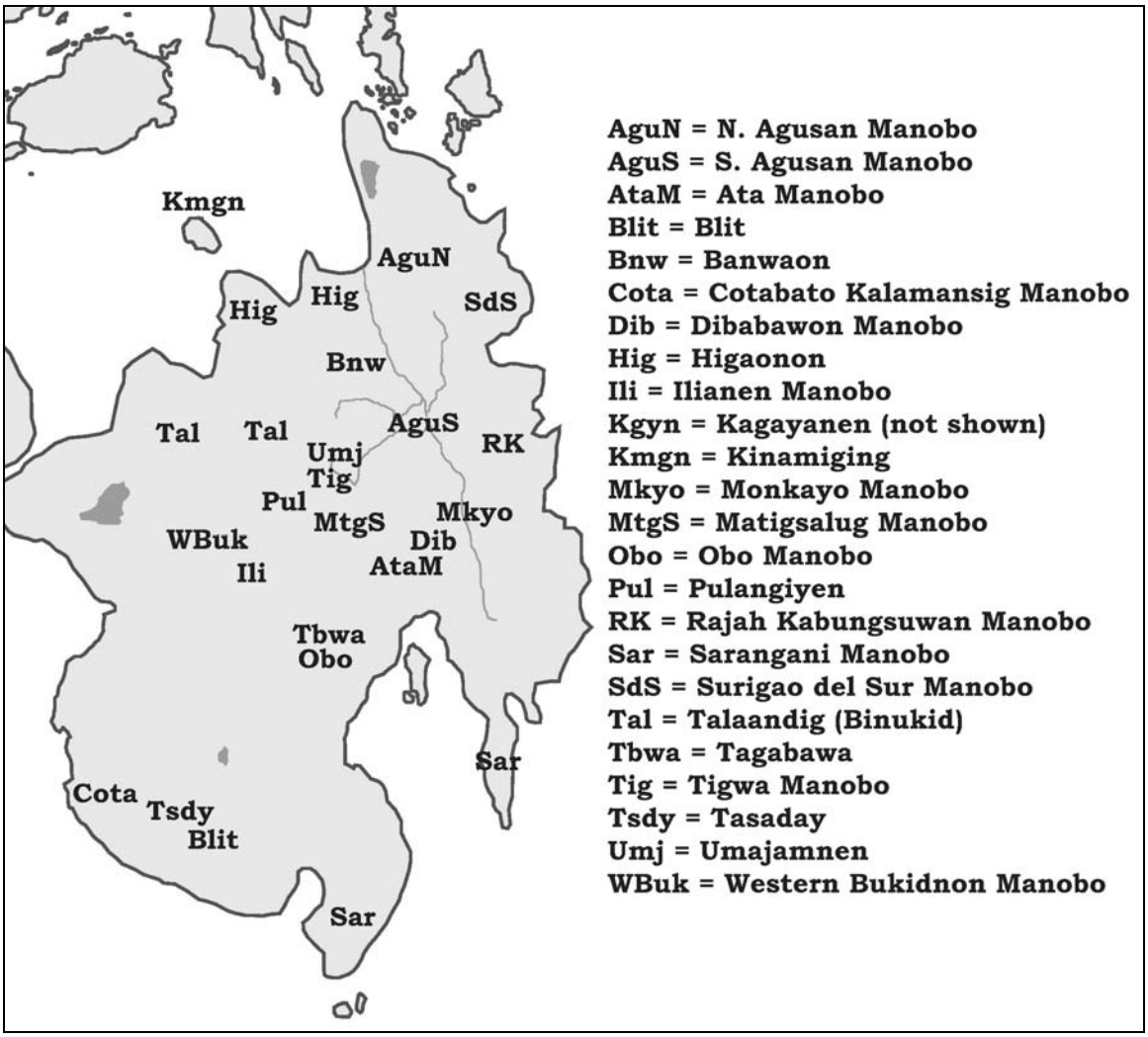
MAP 1.9 GREATER CENTRAL PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES IN MINDANAO AND SURROUNDING ISLANDS

(Subgroup names and language names are in capital letters, while island names are in lower-case letters.)

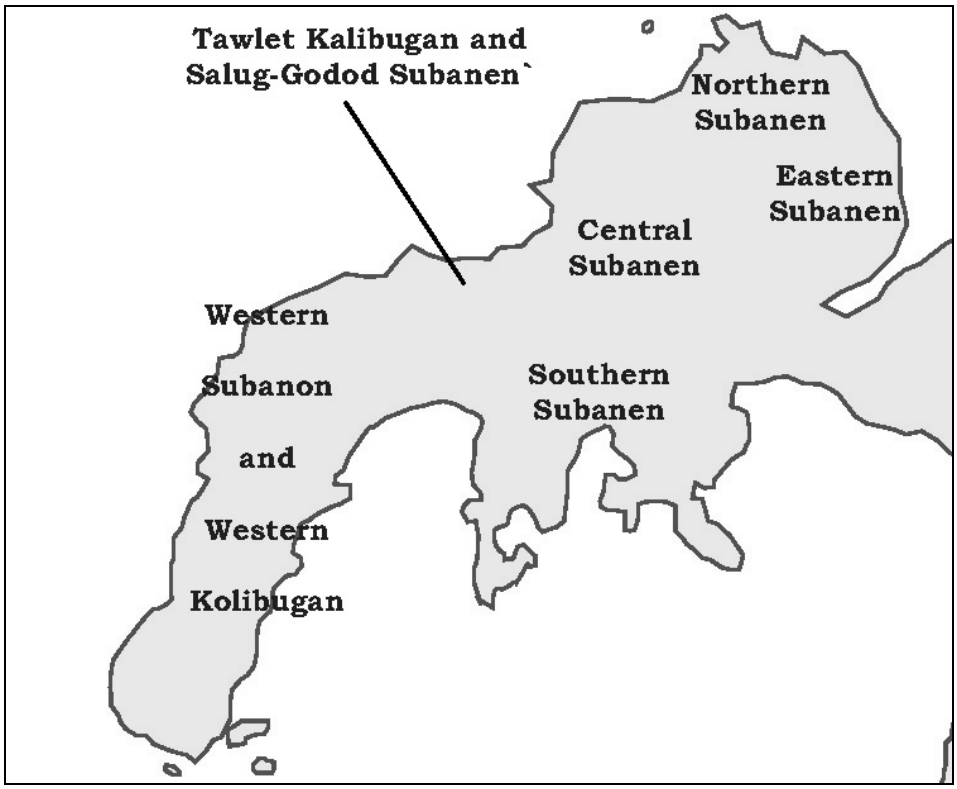
MAP 1.10. THE DABAWENYO LANGUAGES



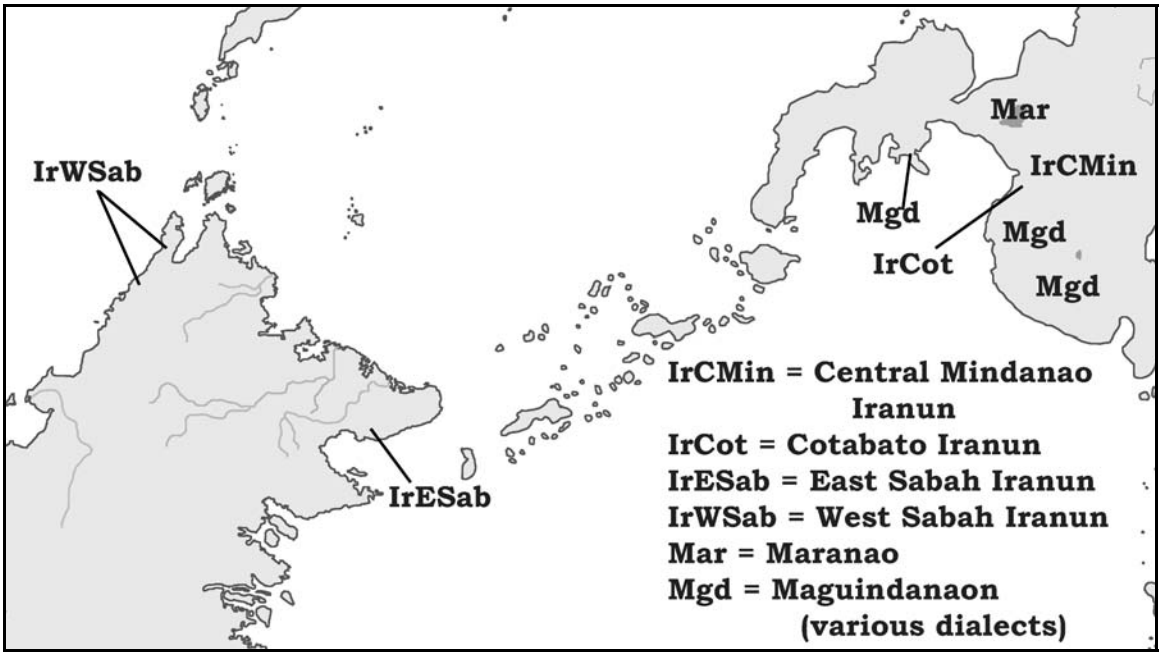
MAP 1.11. THE MANOBO LANGUAGES



MAP 1.12. THE SUBANEN LANGUAGES



MAP 1.13. THE DANAO LANGUAGES OF MINDANAO AND BORNEO



Map 1.14 illustrates the position of the Mangyan languages and other languages native to Mindoro Island.

MAP 1.14. THE MANGYAN LANGUAGES

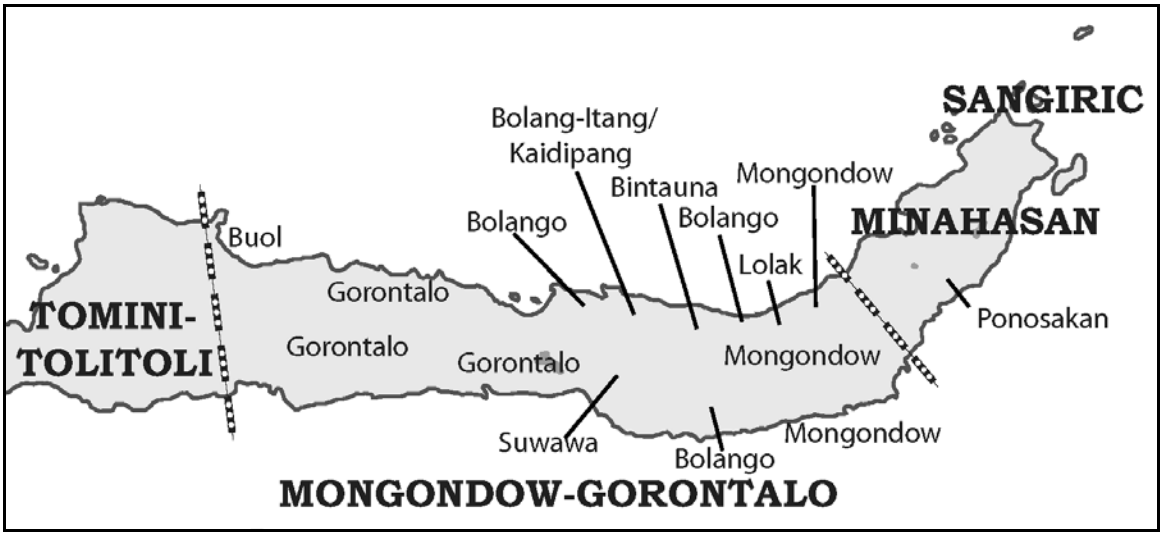
Map 1.15 illustrates the languages spoken on and around Palawan Island in the western Philippines. The periphery of the Sulu Sea was probably the site of important trade routes for over a millennium, and is bounded by Palawan to the west, Sabah (Malaysia) to the southwest, the Sulu Archipelago to the south, the Zamboanga Peninsula to the southeast, the Western Visayan islands of Negros and Panay to the northeast, and the Cuyo Islands, the Calamian Islands, and Mindoro to the north. In this area we find languages belonging to three primary subgroups of the Philippine family: Calamianic, Ati, and five Greater Central Philippine subgroups (Mangyan, Palawanic, Subanen, Manobo, and Bisayan), plus two non-Philippine subgroups (Sama-Bajaw and Sabahan) and Molbog-Bonggi, which doesn't fit neatly with either the Philippine or Sabahan subgroups.

MAP 1.15 PALAWAN AND SURROUNDING ISLANDS

(Language names are in capital letters, while island names are in title case.)

Map 1.16 illustrates the languages spoken in the northern part of the large central Indonesian island of Sulawesi. Included in this area are the Sangiric, Minahasan, Mongondow-Gorontalo, and Tomini-Tolitoli subgroups, the first three of which belong to the Philippine subfamily. The nine languages of the Mongondow-Gorontalo subgroup, which in turn belongs to the Greater Central Philippine macrogroup (Blust 1991), are indicated on Map 1.16.

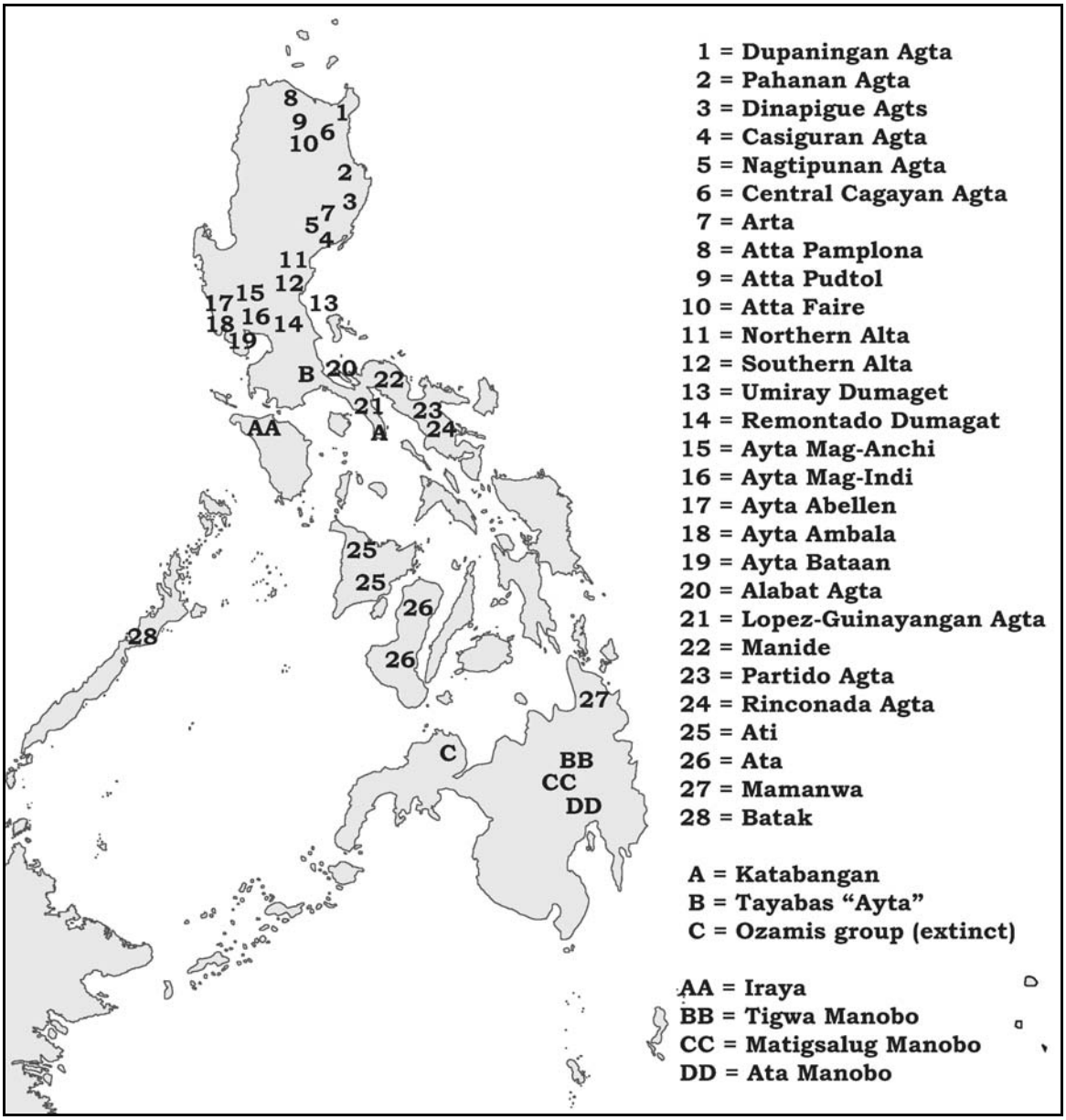
MAP 1.16 NORTHERN SULAWESI



(Subgroup names are written in all-capital letters, while individual language names are written in regular case.)

Finally, Map 1.17 illustrates the locations of the Black Filipino (or "Negrito") populations in the Philippines. As discussed in Chapter 3, these languages do not form a single linguistic subgroup, but it is often convenient to discuss them together, because of their common pre-Austronesian ethnic origin, and many shared socio-economic traits.

MAP 1.17 BLACK FILIPINO POPULATIONS



CHAPTER 2
ON THE SPANISH-ERA DOCUMENTATION OF PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

2.1 INTRODUCTION. As mentioned in Chapter 1 and also noted by Blust (2009:20),[1] the documentation of Philippine languages began not in the past century or two, but instead, over 400 years ago, during the first decades of the Spanish occupation of the Philippines, much earlier than the first scholarship in much of the rest of the Austronesian world. Having come to the Philippines to evangelize as well as to colonize, the motivations of the Spanish friars who were the Philippines' earliest language documenters undoubtedly centered around the conversion of the Philippine natives to Christianity. However, considering the comprehensiveness of many of their works, it is clear that these priests had a great interest in analyzing and documenting languages that must have seemed quite exotic and difficult to native speakers of Romance languages, especially at that time. Whatever the motivation, this early Spanish effort to document and describe Philippine languages resulted in the compilation and publication of dozens of dictionaries and grammars which offer important insights into earlier stages of several Philippine languages, but which have unfortunately been overlooked by the vast majority of linguists, especially in their earliest editions.

Beginning in the early years of the Spanish occupation, a number of friars were involved in the description of the native languages of the Philippines, with "eighty-one books printed between 1593 and 1648," including thirty five grammars and dictionaries, "the majority of which were in Tagalog" (John Carter Brown Library 2011).

The first book printed in the Philippines was the Doctrina Christiana in 1593, which contained the Catholic Catechism in Spanish along with two Tagalog versions, one in the Latin script, and another in the native Baybayin script which was in widespread use among various Philippine ethnolinguistic groups from at least the 1500s until well into the 1800s, and now appears on the 2012 redesign of the Philippine peso bills under President Benigno "Noynoy" Aquino. But while this book is fascinating in itself, and certainly has an important place in historical and social contexts, it is near the bottom of

[1] Blust (2009) also goes on to give a thorough overview of the history of Austronesian scholarship up to the present.

the list of Spanish-era works in terms of importance to linguists (except for those interested in early Southeast Asian orthographies). On the one hand, it potentially offers a specimen of 16th-century Tagalog; on the other, it is unclear whether its Tagalog passages were translated by a native Tagalog speaker or by a learned Spaniard, and the most interesting information to be gleaned is probably the circumstantial evidence that the Baybayin was so widespread in the late 1500s that the Spanish friars felt that it should be used in their religious materials for Tagalogs.

While Tagalog—which in the 20th century would become the national language of the Philippines—was obviously the center of attention as the language of one of the Philippine Islands' most important trading centers in the 1500s (and which would later become the Philippine capital), it was hardly the only Philippine language that caught the friars' attention at that time. From Naga (known at the time as Nueva Caceres), where the Spanish administered not only the Bikol Region but also northern Samar and the Pacific coast of northern and central Luzon, Fr. Marcos de Lisboa, who held various positions during his 1602-1611 tenure in the country, compiled the first Bikol dictionary. Published posthumously, Lisboa's dictionary was a 522-page masterpiece consisting of thousands of Old Bikol roots, including dozens of affixed forms and for many verb entries, multiple sentence examples. Around the same time, Fr. Alonso de Mentrida—best known for his later work on Ilonggo and Kinaray-a—headed the "house of studies of grammar" based at the convent of the Santo Niño de Cebu starting in 1599 (Basilica del Sto. Niño 2011), before being assigned the priorship of Santa Monica Church in Pan-ay town on the northern coast of Panay Island in 1607 (Ateneo de Manila University 2011). Only a few decades later, Manila-born Francisco Ezguerra (1601-1672) compiled what could be considered the first attempt at a comparative grammar of Philippine languages, the *Arte de la lengua Bisaya de la Provincia de Leite,* first printed in 1663 (one of the few early Philippine grammars and dictionaries that were actually published during the author's lifetime), which presented data not only for his primary language of interest, Old Waray, but also for Old Cebuano and Old Boholano.

The diverse catalog of Spanish-era dictionaries and grammars, some dating from the late 1500s and early 1600s, has much to offer linguists, especially historical linguists,

but limited supply made accessing these works prohibitively difficult prior to recent initiatives by various institutions and organizations to make scanned copies available online, often free of charge. As a result, few linguists knew of these works, and even fewer have used them, especially the earliest publications, which have the most to offer historical linguists. This is especially unfortunate because, despite the undeniable value of the comparative method, there are certain parts of a language that cannot be reconstructed based on the modern languages, such as lost lexicon, or earlier complexity in the verbal morphology which has since disappeared. Likewise, while we can determine that certain phonological shifts have taken place, it is next to impossible to pinpoint even the century in which these shifts took place without a thorough written record of the language's past. In other words, having 400-year-old documentation for a language takes at least some of the educated guesswork out of historical linguistics. For example, even for innovations that we know to have taken place (e.g., *s > /h/ in Waray functors, or the loss of the <um> paradigm in Bikol), having a century-by-century record of a language often allows us to narrow down the beginning and, where applicable, the end of the active period of that innovation.

In spite of all that these early descriptive works have to offer, no attempt has been made to describe the Spanish-era grammars of Old Tagalog, Old Bikol, Old Cebuano, Old Waray, or Old Ilonggo, even though doing so provides us with a stepping stone in the reconstruction of Proto-Central Philippines, and allows us an insight into the actual development of these languages over a period of more than 400 years, including the effects of Spanish and English influence, influence from Tagalog which has been the national language since 1937, and influence from neighboring languages. That these written records exist in part of the Austronesian world should, in fact, be of interest not only to Austronesianists but to historical linguists in general, as they provide a relatively rare opportunity to test scientific methodology against more than 400 years of language documentation in a part of the world where such records are usually unavailable.

The only language for which Spanish-era works have been used is Old Bikol, which has been studied extensively by Mintz (1991) and Lobel (2005) for the angry register (cf. Chapter 8), by Lobel (2004) regarding changes to the verb system from Old

to Modern Bikol, and by Mintz (2000) for lexical clues about Bikolano culinary habits during Lisboa's time in the Philippines from 1602-1611.[2] More recently, Mintz completed two decades of work translating the entries from Lisboa (1865) and incorporating them into the third edition of his dictionary (2004), a task that he had begun even earlier with the second edition of his dictionary (Mintz and Britanico 1985). Mintz is the only linguist to have translated any of the Spanish-era language records on Bikol, and although Mintz's analysis of Old Bikol grammar differs in several ways from that of the current author,[3] Mintz's translations of Lisboa's dictionary entries are a significant contribution for scholars who either do not have access to the Spanish originals, do not have a sufficient command of Old Spanish[4] to utilize the Spanish originals, or do not have the background in Bikol to analyze Lisboa's Old Bikol vis-à-vis modern Bikol.

This chapter will take a look at some of the important information that can be extracted from the Spanish-era documentation of Old Tagalog, Old Bikol, Old Cebuano, Old Waray, and Old Ilonggo, beginning with a summary of some of the earliest, most important works on these languages (without claiming to be complete). The primary goal is to call attention to the study-worthiness of these works, not to provide a comprehensive inventory or description of the earlier languages recorded in them, which would take much more than a short chapter like this. In fact, an analysis of each of these earlier languages could be a dissertation in itself, and it is certainly hoped that such studies will be forthcoming.

2.2 THE LANGUAGES DOCUMENTED DURING THE SPANISH OCCUPATION.

In the Central Philippine subgroup, five languages were documented during the Spanish occupation of the Philippines: Old Tagalog, Old Bikol, Old Cebuano, Old Waray, and Old Ilonggo.

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[2] Note that many of Mintz's articles have been reworked into a recent monograph (Mintz 2011).

[3] Mintz's analysis of the Old Bikol suffered from his lack of background in other modern and ancient Philippine languages, a knowledge of which is necessary in order to fully understand the structure and morphological rules that operated in the earlier stages of the Bikol languages especially in its 17th-century form.

[4] Even for native speakers of Spanish, Old Spanish can be difficult to understand, and Philippine language scholars who can competently work with Old Spanish, as Mintz has done, are virtually absent.

2.2.1 Tagalog. As the language of what would become the capital of the Philippines, it is unsurprising that the largest number of Spanish-era linguistics works were about Tagalog, which continues to be the most commonly analyzed Philippine language in the linguistics literature today. Some of the noteworthy Spanish-era works on Tagalog include the grammars of Francisco de San Joseph (1752), Gaspar de San Agustin (1787), Sebastian de Totanes (1850, 1865), Don Arisdo Vallin at Bustillo, and Don Z. Villamarin (1886), and the lesson books of Jose Hevia Campomanes (1872), and Toribio Minguella (1878). Even in the early years, of thirty-five dictionaries and grammars published in the Philippines between 1593 and 1648, "the majority…were in Tagalog." (John Carter Brown Library 2011)

While there are some insights that can be gained about the grammatical changes that took place between the Old Tagalog of the early Spanish period and modern Tagalog, there have on whole been relatively few changes to the basic structure of the Tagalog language, especially in comparison to the changes from Old Bikol to modern Bikol, Old Ilonggo to modern Ilonggo, or Old Cebuano to modern Cebuano. In fact, it is likely that a dedicated, in-depth analysis would show that there have been more lexical changes to Tagalog over the past 400 years than structural changes. However, a few morphological changes have taken place which were documented in the Spanish-era works and which are otherwise not reconstructable due to the lack of any surviving evidence in modern Tagalog. Two of these changes will be discussed in Sections 3.3 and 3.4: the allomorphs of the infixes of the <um> paradigm on root words beginning with certain consonants (Section 3.3), and the earlier form of the past and present <*um*> infix.

2.2.2 Bikol. Another Philippine language that was well-documented during the Spanish occupation of the Philippines was Old Bikol, works on which included a dictionary by Marcos de Lisboa (1754, 1865), compiled between 1602 and 1611; grammars by Andrés de San Agustin (1739, 1795, 1879) and Roman Maria de Vera (1904), and a lesson book by Santos Herrejon (1882). The historically-documented dialect of Bikol is that of modern Naga City (formerly "Nueva Caceres"), capital of the archdiocese of Caceres, which administers to the entire Bikol region, and in earlier times, even to parts of the

Pacific coast of northern and central Luzon, and northern Samar. The earliest known documentation of Bikol was by Lisboa, although his dictionary was not published until 1754, 132 years after his death, and was re-published in 1865 without any apparent changes in content, unlike many other works that were re-edited to bring them up to date. In terms of the chrononolgy of composition, a grammar—San Agustin's *Arte de la Lengua Bicol* (1739)—follows Lisboa's dictionary. San Agustin's grammar was reworked in 1879 by Manuel Maria Crespo, who updated language information to account for aspects of the language that had changed in the 239 years since San Agustin's time, and provided some helpful notes in places where structures recorded by San Agustin were no longer in use.

2.2.3 Waray. The earliest grammar of Waray is that of Ezguerra (1663), which appears to be based mainly on a dialect of Old Waray spoken around the central-northern coast of Leyte, specifically around the towns of Carigara, Capoocan and Jaro. In contrast with the documentation of other early Central Philippine languages, Ezguerra provides more notes on dialectal variation in Waray, including notes on the dialects spoken at that time in "Ibabao" (the early name of Samar Island, or part thereof) and Palapag.

The Old Waray documented by Ezguerra (1663) contains a number of grammatical similarities to surviving Waray dialects along the westernmost edge of the Waray-speaking area. It is interesting that this dialect is quite distinct from Tacloban Waray, although the latter is the language of the Catholic Church and the earliest Waray Bible translations available to the current author are also written in Tacloban Waray. It is unclear why Ezguerra chose this particular dialect to write about, except that Carigara was a rather significant town in earlier Spanish times. It is also worth noting that Ezguerra (1663) also includes rather extensive notes on Old Cebuano and Old Boholano, therefore providing the earliest glimpses of Cebuano, other than Pigafetta's highly problematic 1521 wordlist.

Other works on Waray during the Spanish occupation of the Philippines include a grammar by Figueroa (1872) and a dictionary by Antonio Sanchez de la Rosa (1895)

2.2.4 Ilonggo. The early effort to document Ilonggo was likely motivated by the fact that during the early years of the Spanish occupation of the Philippines, Iloilo was an important trading center second only to Manila, and, at least in earlier years, preferable to Cebu, which experienced shortages of food and supplies (Scott 1992:3). A number of works exist on early Ilonggo, including a dictionary by Alonso de Mentrida (1637, reprinted in 1841), a grammar also by Mentrida (1818, reprinted in a 1894 edition revised by José Aparicio), and a 1876 lesson book and 1892 grammar by Raymundo Lozano.

An interesting aspect of the early works on Ilonggo is that they often include Kinaray-a forms intermixed with Ilonggo forms, but unlike Ezguerra (1663/1747) who was usually careful to differentiate Cebuano forms from Waray forms, it can often be quite difficult to tease apart Old Ilonggo forms from the Kinaray-a forms in Mentrida's works. This may be the result of the sociolinguistic situation of Old Ilonggo during Mentrida's time, as all indications are that Ilonggo developed from a Warayan dialect that migrated to southeast Panay Island, which had previously been inhabited only by speakers of Western Bisayan languages like Kinaray-a, besides the Ati population.[5] Zorc (1977:45) even notes that "Alzina recorded the fact that the Hiligaynons of Oton (and elsewhere on Panay) traced their origin to Leyte (Kobak 1969:22)." The linguistic evidence also concurs with the historical record, as Zorc (1977) places Ilonggo in his Central Bisayan subgroup along with Waray-Waray, Central and Southern Sorsoganon, Northern Samarenyo, Porohanon, and Bantayanon.

2.2.5 Cebuano. Cebuano is the first Austronesian language known to have been recorded by westerners (Blust 2009:506), being the subject of a short wordlist collected by Antonio Pigafetta during the Magellan expedition in1521 (Blair and Robinson 1908:189-199). A number of Pigafetta's Cebuano forms are problematic, partly due to his Italian-influenced spelling system, under which the recorded Cebuano often shows suspicious inconsistencies with both the modern Cebuano form, and cognates in other Central Philippine languages, as well as the form reconstructed for Proto-Bisayan, Proto-Central

[5] Note that Panayan Binukidnon (sometimes referred to as "Sulod") is a Western Bisayan language closely related to the other languages surrounding it on Panay. This is in contrast to the Binukidnon languages of Negros Island, which do not immediately subgroup with the migrant Cebuano and Ilonggo languages surrounding them, except as members of the larger Bisayan subgroup.

Philippines, or higher-level protolanguages. Many other forms are Malay, perhaps inadvertently recorded by Pigafetta from his Malay-speaking guide, not realizing that these were not the actual Cebuano forms.

Setting aside Pigafetta's problematic wordlist, our earliest reliable glimpse of Old Cebuano comes not from a Cebuano text but from the 1663 Waray grammar by Francisco Ezguerra, who was born in Manila in 1601 and died in 1672 (Ezguerra 1747). Although Ezguerra's work was largely about Old Waray, he included many forms from the varieties of Old Cebuano spoken in Cebu and Bohol Islands, and Old Cebuano and Old Boholano forms are often presented side-by-side with the Old Waray. Ezguerra's inclusion of Cebuano is fortunate, as the first dedicated grammar of Cebuano—Francisco Encina's 1801 *Arte de la Lengua Zebuana*—would not appear until nearly a century and a half after the first printing of Ezguerra's Old Waray *Arte.* Encina lived from 1715 to 1760, so his Cebuano grammar was not compiled until nearly a century after Ezguerra's time. Other works on Cebuano from the Spanish occupation of the Philippines include dictionaries by Mateo Sanchez (1711), Francisco Encina (1836), and Juan Felis de la Encarnacion (1833, 1850, 1866), and grammars by San Joaquin (1871) and Felix Guillen (1898).

2.3. ARCHAIC <um> ALLOMORPHS. One area where early Spanish records bring us some interesting insights is in the area of verb morphology. From the early dictionaries, grammars, and lesson books, we get a picture of languages whose morphologies were quite different from those of their modern descendants, so much so that in some cases, the casual observer might be inclined to second-guess the ancient authors or write off the odd-looking forms as typographical errors. However, a careful analysis of these works and comparison to one other, along with a knowledge of other Philippine and Philippine-type languages (which would not have been available to the Spaniards at that time), reveals that the odd morphology was the retention of ancient Austronesian morphological rules that have since been lost in modern Tagalog, Bikol, Ilonggo, Waray-Waray, and Cebuano, as will also be shown in sections 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6.

One such example of archaic morphology involves allomorphy in the form of the <um> and <in> infixes conditioned by the initial segment of the root words to which they were affixed. Allomorphy in these two infixes is absent in the vast majority of modern Central Philippine languages. In modern Tagalog and virtually all other modern Central Philippine languages where an <*um*> infix is found (whether as a distinct paradigm or as a marker of an alternate, imperative, or dependent verb form, as in most Bikol and Western Bisayan languages), <*um*> is always realized as an infix, without any other allomorphs.[6] In a few languages such as Cebuano, Surigaonon, Butuanon, Tandaganon, Baybayanon, Porohanon, Bantayanon, and Kinabalian, *mu-* occurs instead of <*um*>, but even in these languages, there are no allomorphs other than this prefix. Interestingly, however, centuries-old works on Old Tagalog, Old Bikol, and Old Waray show that this was not true in earlier times. The only alternation that exists in modern Tagalog occurs with the non-Actor Focus past/begun infix <*in*>, which surfaces as *ni-* when affixed to roots beginning with /l/, /r/, or /y/, the retention of an earlier alternation also found in languages such as Mongondow, where non-Actor Focus infix <*in*> becomes prefix *i-* (reflecting loss of the initial *n- also observable in the genitive case marker) when affixed to roots with initial /l r y/. It is noteworthy that in Old Tagalog, the infix <*ungm*> ~ <*ingm*>, in spite of deriving from the combination of *<um> and *<in>, behaved as a unit, as opposed to Mongondow, where the combination of *<um> and *<in> on roots with initial /l r y/ is *i-...<um>* ~ *i-...<im>* (the latter occurring on roots whose first vowel is /i/ or /e/), or Kasiguranin, whose usual past Actor Focus infix <*inum*> is instead realized as *ni-...<um>* on roots beginning with /l r y/.

San Joseph (1752:60-63) notes that in Old Tagalog, if a root began with a vowel, the conjugations in the <*um*> paradigm were *m-* in the infinitive, *n-* in the past, *nVn-* in the present, and CV- in the future, as in the example of *alis* 'leave' in Table 2.1 below. San Joseph noted, however, that other speakers at that time simply conjugated orthographically vowel-initial roots in the same way as consonant-initial roots (i.e., they conjugated glottal-initial roots the same as roots starting with other consonants), indicating that even at that time, there was already a change in progress from the more

[6] Tausug is one of the rare Central Philippine languages to retain more than one allomorph of *<um>.

conservative allomorphically-complex conjugation rules to a more uniform conjugation of <*um*> verbs.[7]

TABLE 2.1. <um> CONJUGATIONS OF VARIOUS OLD TAGALOG ROOTS

	ALIS 'LEAVE'	*PASOK* 'ENTER'	*PANHIK* 'ASCEND'	*PATAY* 'KILL'	*LITAW* 'FLOAT'
INFINITIVE	*malis*	*masok*	*manhik*	*matay*	*(lumitaw ~ limitaw)§*
PAST	*nalis*	*nasok*	*nanhik*	*natay*	*lungmitaw ~ lingmitaw*
PRESENT	*nanalis*	*nanasok*	*nananhik*	*nanatay*	*lungmilitaw ~ lingmilitaw*
FUTURE	*aalis*	*papasok*	*papanhik*	*papatay*	*lilitaw*

§ These forms are not cited in San Joseph (1752) but can be inferred from the vowel assimilation in the other tense-aspect forms cited for *aral* and *litaw,* as well as for other root words.

Similarly, roots that began with /b/ or /p/ dropped that initial consonant in all but the future form, and followed the same paradigm as vowel-initial roots, as observable in the roots *pasok, panhik,* and *patay* in Table 2.1 above. San Joseph goes on to state that the same paradigm is followed by a few dozen roots including *bili* 'to buy', *buca* 'to open', *bilis* 'to become faster', and others (1752:63). While on the surface, the conjugation of these roots with initial /b/ or /p/ looks similar to the <*um*> conjugations of vowel-initial roots, the historical motivation in this case is what Blust refers to as pseudo nasal substitution (Blust 2004:76), harking back to an ancient Austronesian rule in which word-initial sequences of *bum- and *pum- were disallowed, and under infixation, word-initial sequences *b<um>- and *p<um>- were reduced to *m-.

The following Old Tagalog sentences (1)-(4) from San Joseph (1752:190-191) illustrate the use of some of these verbs in sentence context:

(1) *Huwag kayong matay ng isa mang tao.* 'Don't kill anyone.' (OTAG *matay* = Modern TAG *pumatay*)
(2) *Huwag kang muha ng kalatas doon.* 'Don't get paper there.' (OTAG *muha* = Modern TAG *kumuha*)
(3) *Muha ka niyon.* 'Get that.' (OTAG *muha* = Modern TAG *kumuha*)
(4) *Nuha ka kaya ng libro doon?* 'Did you get a book there?' (OTAG *nuha* = Modern TAG *kumuha* < *k<umin>uha)

[7] Another possible analysis is that in Old Tagalog (especially for more conservative speakers), these roots really were vowel-initial—i.e., they did not have an initial glottal stop—and that it was only a later development that an initial glottal stop was added to all vowel-initial roots.

Old Tagalog was not the only Central Philippine language to retain these allomorphs, as Ezguerra (1747) also describes similar allomorphs for Old Waray, as illustrated in Table 2.2. Unfortunately, Ezguerra did not list the present and future verb forms for Old Waray, perhaps because the Waray dialect he documented in Dagami, Leyte, had been influenced by Cebuano and did not have distinct present and future verb forms (similar to the Warayan outlier languages like Porohanon, Baybayanon, and Kinabalian), unlike other Waray dialects spoken in eastern Leyte, eastern Biliran, and throughout Samar.

TABLE 2.2. <um> CONJUGATIONS OF VARIOUS OLD WARAY ROOTS

	kuha 'get'	**uli 'go home'**	**anhi 'come here'**	**adto 'go there'**	**buhat 'do'**
INFINITIVE	*muha*	*muli*	*manhi*	*madto*	*muhat*
PAST	*minuha*	*minuli*	*minanhi*	*minadto*	*minuhat*

One obvious difference between the Old Tagalog and Old Waray <*um*> conjugations on vowel-initial roots is that while the Old Waray past retained the full *min-* prefix, Old Tagalog shortened this to *n-*. Old Tagalog was unique in this regard, as other languages that retain these allomorphs keep the full *min-* prefix for the past form.

Mongondow in Northern Sulawesi is one of the modern GCPH languages that largely retain the same allomorphs on vowel- and labial-initial roots that Old Tagalog, Old Bikol, and Old Waray once had. Table 2.3 compares the allomorphs of <um> and <umin>/<inum> for the past and non-past/infinitive in Old Tagalog, Old Bikol, Old Waray, and modern Mongondow.

TABLE 2.3. <um> PARADIGMS IN FIVE GCPH LANGUAGES

		MONG	**OBIK**	**OTAG**	**OWAR**	**MARANAO**
NON-PAST		<um>	<um>	<um>	<um>	<om>
	_i	<im>	<im>	<im>	<im>	<om>
	p/b/V_	m-	m-	m-	m-	m-
PAST		<inum>	<imin>	<ungm>	<inm> ~ <inn>	<omi>
	_i	<inim>	<imin>	<ingm>	<inm> ~ <inn>	<omin>
	p/b/V_	min-	min-	n-	min-	mi-, min-

Note that these allomorphs on vowel-initial roots are not an innovation in the Greater Central Philippines subgroup, but are at least as old as Proto-Malayo-Polynesian, as is evidenced by their presence in the Southwest Sabah macrogroup, among others.

2.4 OLD TAGALOG <*ungm*>. Most Philippine and Philippine-type languages have an <um> Actor Focus paradigm whose past is formed with an infix that derives from the combination of <um> and <in>, surfacing as <umin>, <inum>, <imin>, <inm>, <imn>, <imm>, <ĩn>, <inn>, <umm>, <unn>, etc. (cf. Table 3.3 above). In Modern Tagalog, however, the infinitive and past are both formed with <um>, the present by C<um>V- (where CV is the first consonant and vowel of the root), and the future simply by CV- reduplication. In this regard, modern Tagalog is unlike most other Philippine languages, since its past and infinitive forms are homophonous, and the present form is likewise marked by the <*um*> infix, with the addition of CV- reduplication.

In contrast, the Spanish-era works on Old Tagalog agree that the <*um*> paradigm consisted of <*um*> in the infinitive, <*ungm*> in the past,[8] *C*<*ungm*>*V*- in the present, and CV- in the future (except for glottal-initial, labial-initial, and sometimes, *k*-initial roots, as shown in Section 3.3). Interestingly, San Joseph (1752:56-57) documents a bit of 18th-century change in progress, namely, that Tagalog speakers who weren't as careful with the pronunciation of their language had already reduced the consonant cluster in <ungm> to <um>, observing that the past form for these speakers was identical to the infinitive/imperative (*"el pret. es por agora como el imp."*). Both of the competing Old Tagalog <*um*> paradigms are illustrated in Table 2.4, along with that of modern Tagalog.

TABLE 2.4. TWO COMPETING OLD TAGALOG CONJUGATION PARADIGMS FOR THE ROOT *SULAT* 'TO WRITE'

	OLD TAGALOG (CONSERVATIVE)	OLD TAGALOG (COLLOQUIAL)	MODERN STANDARD TAGALOG
INFINITIVE	*sumulat*	*sumulat*	*sumulat*
PAST	*sungmulat*	*sumulat*	*sumulat*
PRESENT	*sungmusulat*	*sumusulat*	*sumusulat*
FUTURE	*susulat*	*susulat*	*susulat*

[8] With <*ungm*> being a reduction of the earlier sequence *<umin> deriving from the combination of the Actor Focus infix *<um> and the infix *<in> marking past and/or begun action.

It is interesting to point out that, in an attempt to explain the development of the modern Tagalog <*um*> paradigm—and without knowledge of the <*ungm*> infix attested in the Spanish-era works—Reid (1992:82) hypothesized a series of events quite similar to those that were actually documented by the Spanish friar-linguists. Reid proposed that the past and present forms in the Tagalog <*um*> paradigm, albeit currently homophonous with the infinitive of the <*um*> paradigm, must have originated from a combination of *<um> and *<in>, as in virtually all other Philippine languages. This combination of *<um> and *<in>, presumably *<umin>, would then have been shortened to *<umn>, which later shifted to *<umm> before the geminate shortened to produce *<um>, homophonous with the simple <*um*> infix. Reid's hypothesis contributes a previously-absent historical-comparative perspective to the development of this paradigm, as there has never been a thorough analysis of the Old Tagalog works from a linguistic perspective. Without prior knowledge of other Philippine-type languages or of the reconstruction of morphological paradigms for higher-order subgroups, as well as a systematic analysis of the occurrence of <*um*> vs. <*ungm*> in the Spanish-era works, it is easy to write off the occurrences of "*ungm*" as a recurring typographical error. However, a systematic study of the Old Tagalog works shows that <*um*> is used consistently for the infinitive form, while <*ungm*> is used consistently in the past and present forms, exactly where a reflex of *<umin> (or *<inum>) would be expected. While Spanish-era records show the details of Reid's hypothesis to be incorrect (his proposed series of events did not produce <*ungm*>, nor would Tagalog or Old Tagalog phonology have likely allowed for a geminate consonant cluster as in **<*umm*>), Reid nevertheless was the first author to attempt to explain the synchronic facts of the Tagalog <*um*> conjugation from a historical perspective, and the appearance of the <*ungm*> infix in the Spanish-era works validates his main point, that what appears as <*um*> in the past and present conjugations must have evolved from *<um> plus *<in>. In this way, the <*ungm*> infix of Old Tagalog is actually the missing link in our understanding of the development of the modern Tagalog <*um*> paradigm from its Proto-Central Philippine antecedent.

2.5 OLD BIKOL *mag-* VS. <*um*>. The <*um*> paradigm that is virtually omnipresent in Philippine and Philippine-type languages is nowhere to be found in the Bikol languages (with the single exception of Rinconada Bikol[9]), and its functions have been taken over by the *mag-* paradigm, although individual affixes from earlier <*um*> remain as alternate conjugations for the *mag-* paradigm. In light of this fact—and since the Rinconada Bikol data was unknown before 2004—a fair assumption about Proto-Bikol would have been that it did not have a distinct <*um*> paradigm. Here again, a Spanish-era work tells us something that we otherwise wouldn't have known about the earlier stages of a Philippine language during historical times. Lisboa, documenting Old Bikol in the opening decade of the 1600s, recorded a language that still had distinct <*um*> and *mag-* conjugations, similar to the morphological dichotomy found in Tagalog (Pittman 1966, Ramos 1974), Waray-Waray, and many other Philippine languages. As a result, we can safely assume that it was only in the past 400 years that Bikol lost its <*um*> paradigm, and, coupled with the Rinconada data, we are also faced with a scenario in which the <*um*> paradigm was lost independently in each of the Bikol languages, since Rinconada belongs to a different primary branch of the Bikol subgroup than Old Bikol. Although the motivation for this shift is unclear, it is worth noting that the <*um*> paradigm was also lost in the Western Bisayan subgroup independently of Bikol, and in Ilonggo, due to the influence of Western Bisayan languages.

Table 2.5 illustrates the <*um*> and *mag-* conjugations of Old Bikol, while Table 2.6 compares the Actor Focus <*um*> and *mag-* conjugations from Old Bikol to Modern Bikol, and Table 2.7 compares the Old Bikol <*um*> conjugation with those of modern Waray-Waray and Southern Tagalog.

[9] As discussed in Lobel (2004), Rinconada Bikol has a full <*um*> paradigm, but even this is interchangeable in most cases with the *mag-* paradigm.

TABLE 2.5. OLD BIKOL <um> AND mag- CONJUGATIONS

		-um- VERBS	*mag-* VERBS
AF	**INFINITIVE**	-um- ~ -im-	mag-
	PAST	-imin-	nag-
	PRESENT	na-	nag-R-
	FUTURE	ma-	mag-R-
	PAST SBJ	ø-	pag-
	FUTURE SBJ	R-	pag-R-
OF	**INFINITIVE**	-on	pag-…-on
	PAST	-in-	pinag-
	PRESENT	-in-R-	pinag-R-
	FUTURE	R-…-on	pag-R-…-on
	PAST SBJ	-a	pag-…-a
	FUTURE SBJ	R-…-a	pag-R-…-a
LF	**INFINITIVE**	-an	pag-…-an
	PAST	-in-…-an	pinag-…-an
	PRESENT	-in-R-…-an	pinag-R-…-an
	FUTURE	R-…-an	pag-R-…-an
	PAST SBJ	-i	pag-…-i
	FUTURE SBJ	R-…-i	pag-R-…-i
OF2	**INFINITIVE**	i-	ipag-
	PAST	i-…-in-	ipinag-
	PRESENT	i-…-in-R-	ipinag-R-
	FUTURE	i-R-	ipag-R-
	PAST SBJ	-an	pag-…-an
	FUTURE SBJ	R-…-an	pag-R-…-an

TABLE 2.6. OLD BIKOL VS. MODERN BIKOL ACTOR FOCUS CONJUGATIONS, BASED ON LISBOA (1865) AND SAN AGUSTIN (1879)

	OLD BIKOL (C. 1610)		**MIDDLE BIKOL (C. 1879)**		**MODERN BIKOL**
	-um-	***mag-***	***-um-***	***mag-***	***mag-***
INFINITIVE	*-um-*	*mag-*	*-um-*	*mag-*	*mag-*
PAST	*-imin-*	*nag-*	*-imin- ~ -umin-*	*nag-*	*nag-*
PRESENT	*na- ~ mina-*	*nag-R-*	*mina-*	*nag-R-*	*nag-R-*
FUTURE	*ma-*	*mag-R-*	*ma-*	*mag-R-*	*ma:-*
PAST SBJ.	*ø-*	*pag-*	---	---	---
FUTURE SBJ.	*R-*	*pag-R-*	---	---	---

TABLE 2.7. OLD BIKOL, WARAY, AND SOUTHERN TAGALOG ACTOR FOCUS CONJUGATIONS

		OBIK	WARAY	STAG
-um-	**INFINITIVE**	-um- ~ -im-	-um-	-um-
	PAST	-imin-	-inm- ~ -imn- ~ -in- ~ -iːn-[10]	-um-
	PRESENT	na- ~ mina-	naː-	naː-
	FUTURE	ma-	maː-	R-; maː-
	PAST SBJ	ø-	ø-	---
	FUTURE SBJ	R-	R-	---
mag-	**INFINITIVE**	mag-	mag-	mag-
	PAST	nag-	nag-	nag-
	PRESENT	nag-R-	nag-R-	nag-R-
	FUTURE	mag-R-	mag-R-	mag-R-
	PAST SBJ	pag-	pag-	---
	FUTURE SBJ	pag-R-	pag-R-	---

2.6 ANOTHER LOST <um> PARADIGM: OLD ILONGGO. As already noted, it is not only Bikol languages that have lost the <*um*> paradigm; all Western Bisayan languages, as well as the Ilonggo language, and even some dialects of Camarines Norte Tagalog, have also lost this feature within historical times. Nearly 400 years ago, Mentrida (1841, but first published in 1637) documented an Old Ilonggo that also had an <*um*> paradigm, in which <*um*> was used for the infinitive, <*inm*> for the past, and *C*<*um*>*V*- for the future. It is clear, then, that the <um> paradigm of Old Ilonggo was lost between Mentrida's time and the present as Ilonggo converged with Western Bisayan languages like Kinaray-a and Aklanon which surrounded it in its newly adopted home of Panay Island.[11]

[10] *-in-* ~ *-iːn-* < *-inn-* < *-inm-* < ***-inum-** or ***-imin-**. Ezguerra (1663/1747) documents three allomorphs of the past tense *-um-* conjugation in Old Waray circa 1663: *-in-*, *-inn-*, and *-inm-*. No dialect of modern Waray-Waray has a reflex with the geminate consonant for AF past tense in the *-um-* paradigm, although a plethora of other forms are found (*-inm-*, *-imn-*, *-in-*, *-iːn-*, and *min-*). Note that no dialect of modern Waray appears to allow morpheme-internal geminate consonants.

[11] That the Ilonggo language converged with Western Bisayan languages in verb structure as well as lexicon begs the question whether this happened due to native speakers of Old Ilonggo adopting these features from contact with Western Bisayan speakers. Over the past century, many native speakers of Western Bisayan languages have migrated to Ilonggo-speaking territory (southeastern Panay Island, western Negros Island, and some parts of southern and western Mindanao) and Ilonggo has become their children's native language. As such, it seems quite possible that the shifts in Ilonggo happened not because of a shift in usage by the original native Ilonggo speakers themselves, but instead due to a

2.7. AFFIXES *mu-* AND <*um*> IN OLD CEBUANO. Spanish-era works also contain valuable information about the verb morphology of Old Cebuano. There has been some debate among Philippine linguists regarding the origin of the Cebuano prefix *mu-,* which is generally understood as an innovative reflex of earlier infix *<um>, since modern Cebuano has only *mu-* and never <*um*>. However, Old Cebuano as documented by Francisco Encina in the mid-1700s (Encina 1804, 1836) had an <*um*> (or "*mu-*") paradigm in which both <*um*> and *mu-* were present: <*um*> marking the infinitive and the imperative forms, and *mu-* marking the future. This distribution is similar to that of another speech variety, the Donsol dialect of Miraya Bikol, where <*um*> marks the imperative, and *mu-* marks the future (with *mag-* marking the infinitive). However, in Donsol Miraya, these affixes are found in the *mag-* paradigm, since, as noted in Section 2.5, most Bikol languages do not have a separate <*um*> paradigm. On the one hand, this can be interpreted as indicating that both *<um> and *mu- were present in Proto-Central Philippines, since Donsol Miraya and Cebuano belong to separate primary branches of the Central Philippine subgroup. On the other hand, however, it seems odd that the only Bikol speech variety to have a *mu-* prefix is Donsol Miraya, which is on the southern coast facing a part of the Visayan Islands not too far from where Cebuano is known to be spoken (southeastern Masbate Island and a number of small islands between eastern Masbate, western Samar, and northern Biliran islands). Whatever the case may be, the presence of both *mu-* and <*um*> in Old Cebuano raises the likelihood that the source of *mu-* is not simply an inversion of the infix <*um*> as is often assumed. Sentences (5)-(9) below illustrate the use of the <um> forms in Old Cebuano as illustrated in Encina (1804).

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situation in which the descendents of Western Bisayan speakers grew to outnumber the original native Ilonggo speakers, and the population speaking Ilonggo with interference from Western Bisayan languages grew to outnumber the original native Ilonggo-speaking population. This can also be observed in Tagalog at present: Native Tagalogs are not learning other Philippine languages, and generally have very little if any contact with other Philippine languages, and therefore cannot be adopting features from these languages. However, the 20 million or so native speakers of Tagalog are outnumbered by 50 to 60 million non-Tagalog Filipinos who acquire Tagalog in school and from the media, and many of these exhibit considerable interference from their first language when speaking Tagalog, including the use of *mag-* on verb roots that should be conjugated with <*um*> instead.

(5a) *Kumuha ka sa tubig.* 'Get some water.' (1804:19)
(5b) *Kumuha ka ak tubig.* 'Get some water.' (Argao dialect) (1804:19)
(6a) *Pumalit ka ug papel.* 'Buy some paper.' (1804:19)
(6b) *Pumalit ka ak papel.* 'Buy some paper.' (Argao dialect) (1804:19)
(7) *Ngano wala ka sumulat sa imong Amahan?* 'Why didn't you write to your father?' (1836:146)
(8) *Sahi pa ug sumakay ako, kun lumakaw.* 'It's the same for me to ride as to walk.' (1836:151)
(9) *Ako'y muadto./Muadto ako.* 'I'm going to go.' (1804:25)

2.8 OLD CEBUANO *si- > *ki-. It is not only in the verb morphology that Spanish-era works have something to teach us about Old Cebuano. Ezguerra's *Arte de la lengua Bisaya de la Provincia de Leite* (1663, 1747) was written at a time when a number of interesting changes were taking place in the language, and thus provides us with an insight into how and when modern Cebuano—which is often oddly unlike other Central Philippine languages—underwent some of the major innovations that would further separate it from the other Bisayan languages: (a) the change from *s(i)- to *k(i)- as the Nominative formative on demonstratives and interrogatives was apparently still taking place (OCEB *sinsa ~ kinsa* 'who (NOMINATIVE)', *siadi ~ kadi* 'this (near-speaker.NOM)', *siini ~ kini* 'this (near-speaker-and-addressee.NOM)', *sianâ ~ kanâ* 'that (near-addressee.NOM)', *siítò ~ kítò* 'that (NOM)', and *siadto ~ kadto* 'that (far.NOM)'), and (b) before *-d- > /-r-/ (OCEB *siadi ~ kadi* vs. modern CEBUANO *kiri*). At the time, Old Cebuano still had plural case markers *sa*, *na*, and *ka* (corresponding to singular name markers *si*, *ni*, and *kan*, respectively), and had an imperative infix <*um*> in addition to the infinitive prefix *mu-* that survives into modern Cebuano.

It is also noteworthy that Old Boholano was documented as having a singular *-i- vs. plural *-a- contrast on demonstratives and the personal interrogatives *sinsa* 'who.NOM.SING' vs. *sainsa* 'who.NOM.PL', *ninsa* vs. *nainsa, kaninsa* vs. *kainsa*, as well as the demonstratives *siadi* vs. *saadi, siini* vs. *saini, sianâ vs. saana*, *siito* vs. *saito, siadto* vs. *saadto; ni-* vs. *na-,* and *kan-* vs. *ka-*, etc. No other Central Philippine language is known to have plural demonstratives, which are rather rare in Philippine languages.

Tables 2.8-2.10 illustrate paradigms in which forms that are marked by the formative *k(i)-* in modern Cebuano were marked by the formative *s(i)-* in Old Cebuano (including the Argao and Bohol dialects of Old Cebuano), as documented by Ezguerra

(1663, 1747) and Encina (1804, 1836): Table 2.8 for the Old Cebuano demonstratives in Cebu and Argao, Table 2.9 for the Old Bohol Cebuano demonstratives, and Table 2.10 for the Old Cebuano interrogatives.

TABLE 2.8. OLD CEBUANO DEMONSTRATIVES (ENCINA 1836:21-24)

	NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	OBLIQUE	LOCATIONAL	VERBAL
NEAR SPEAKER ONLY	kari, ari	niari	diri, ngari	aria	ari
NEAR SPEAKER AND ADDRESSEE	kini, siini	niini	dinhi, nganhi kanini	ania, nia	anhi
NEAR ADDRESSEE ONLY	kana karon kitot, itot Arg. ana, siana pl. saana Arg. siito pl. saito	niana niaron niitot Arg. niana pl. naana Arg. niito pl. naito	diha (Arg. dinha) diron Arg. kanana pl. kaana Arg. kanito pl. kaito	anaa	
FAR FROM BOTH	adto, kadto(t)	niadto(t)	didto, ngadto	atua	adto

TABLE 2.9. OLD BOHOL CEBUANO DEMONSTRATIVES, C. 17TH CENTURY

	BOHOL 1663			MODERN CEBUANO		
	NOM	GEN	OBL	NOM	GEN	OBL
NEAR SPEAKER ONLY	siadi (PL. *saadi*)	niadi (PL. *naadi*)	kan-adi (PL. *kaadi*)	kari	niari	diri
NEAR SPEAKER AND ADDRESSEE	siini (PL. *saini*)	niini (PL. *naini*)	kan-ini (PL. *kaini*)	kanhi	nianhi	dinhi
NEAR ADDRESSEE ONLY	sianà (PL. saanà)	nianà (PL. *naanà*)	kan-anà (PL. *kaanà*)	kanâ	nianâ	dinhà ~ dihà
	siitò (PL. *saitò*)	niitò (PL. *naitò*)	kan-itò (PL. *kaitò*)	---	---	---
FAR FROM BOTH	siadto (PL. *saadtò*	niadto (PL. *naadtò*)	kan-adto (PL. *kaadtò*)	kadto	niadto	didto

TABLE 2.10. OLD CEBUANO & OLD BOHOLANO INTERROGATIVES

	CEBU 1663	BOHOL 1663	MODERN CEBUANO
WHAT	onsa	onsa	unsa
WHO (NOM)	sinsa ~ kinsa	sinsa ~ kinsa (PL. *sainsa*)	kinsa
WHOSE (GEN)	ninsa ~ niinsa	ninsa ~ niinsa (PL. *nainsa*)	---
TO WHOM (OBL)	kansa	kaninsa (PL. *kainsa*)	kang kinsa

2.9. OLD CEBUANO PLURAL PERSONAL CASE MARKERS. Yet another interesting revelation about Old Cebuano that can be gained from the early Spanish-era works is the form of the plural personal case markers (cf. Blust 2005a, Reid 2007a). Based on evidence from a number of Central Philippine languages as demonstrated in Table 2.11, a set of Plural Personal Name Case Markers can be reconstructed for Proto-Central Philippines, differing from their singular equivalents only in the presence of the vowel *-a as opposed to the *-i of the singular forms. No dialect of modern Cebuano retains these forms, having replaced them with constructions *sila+ni (NOMINATIVE), *nila+ni (GENITIVE), and *kanila+ni (OBLIQUE). The Old Cebuano documented by Encina (1804, 1836), however, retained the Proto-Central Philippine plural forms *sa, *na, and *ka, which were reflected in Old Cebuano as *sa, na,* and *(sa)ka,* respectively, as illustrated in Table 2.12.

TABLE 2.11. EVIDENCE FOR RECONSTRUCTING CASE MARKERS

		NOM	GEN	OBL	NOM	GEN	OBL
	PCPH	*si	*ni	*ki	*sa	*na	*ka
BIK	PBIK	*si	*ni	*ki	*sa	*na	*ka
	OBIK	si	ni	ki	sa	na	ka
	BIKN	si	ni	ki	sa	na	ka
	LIBON	si	ni	ki	sa	na	ka
	WALB	si	ni	ki	sa	na	ka
	MRYA	si	ni	ki	sa	na	ka
	NCAT	si	ni	ki	sa	na	ka
BIS	PBIS	*si	*ni	*ka(nŋ)	*sa	*na	*ka
	TNDG	si	ni	kan	sa	na	ka
	ASI (BAN, ODG)	si	ni	kang	sa	na	kana
	NBUK	si	ni	kan ~ kang	na	na	sake, ka
	SBUK	si	ni	kay ~ kan	?	na	ka

TABLE 2.12. OLD CEBUANO CASE MARKERS (from Encina 1836:11-14)

	COMMON NOUNS	PERSONAL NAMES (SINGULAR)	PERSONAL NAMES (PLURAL)
NOMINATIVE	*ang, ak*	*si*	*sa*
GENITIVE	*ug*	*ni*	*na*
OBLIQUE	*sa*	*kan*	*(sa)ka*

2.10. OLD TAGALOG IMPERATIVES. Most Central Philippine languages have imperative forms which have their own diagnostic set of affixes, as illustrated in Table 2.13.

TABLE 2.13. PROTO-CENTRAL PHILIPPINE IMPERATIVE AFFIXES

	INFINITIVE	IMPERATIVE
OBJECT FOCUS	*-ən	*-a
LOCATION FOCUS	*-an	*-i
OBJECT FOCUS-2	*i-	*-an

Modern Standard Tagalog has lost all of these imperative forms, using only the infinitives for commands; some Southern Tagalog dialects preserve the imperative of the Location Focus form, but only the Tagalog of Marinduque and the southeastern extremes of the Bondoc Peninsula of Quezon Province retain distinct imperative forms for all three non-actor focuses, and this is arguably the result of influence from Bikol and Bisayan languages. However, the Old Tagalog documented by San Joseph (1752:194-195) had distinct imperative forms for all three non-actor focuses, as illustrated in Table 2.14.

TABLE 2.14. OLD TAGALOG IMPERATIVE FORMS (from San Joseph 1752:194-195)

	ROOT	INFINITIVE	IMPERATIVE
OBJECT FOCUS	higit ‘surpass’	higtin	higit
	tahî ‘sew’	tahiin	tahî
LOCATION FOCUS	bukas ‘open’	bukasan	bukasi
	takip ‘cover’	takpan	takpi
	doon ‘go there’	doonan	dooni
OBJECT FOCUS-2	pasok ‘enter’	ipasok	pasukan
	labas ‘exit’	ilabas	labasan
	kuha ‘get’	ikuha	kunan

San Joseph (ibid.) notes that, as is standard in Central Philippine languages, the second-person genitive pronoun *mo* cannot be used with the imperative forms (*"pero de ninguna manera se diga 'mo' ni otro genitivo"*).

Sentences (10)-(12) from San Joseph (1752:194-195) illustrate the Old Tagalog imperative forms.

(10) *Pasokan diyan.* 'Put it in there.'
(11) *Labasan iyang bata.* 'Bring that child out.'
(12) *Konan ako ng tubig.* 'Get me some water.' (cf. *Ikoha ako ng tubig.* 'Get me some water.' which would be the command form using the infinitive verb form instead of the imperative)

CHAPTER 3
NOTES ON THE BLACK FILIPINOS AND THEIR LANGUAGES

3.1 INTRODUCTION. Of the many ethnolinguistic groups mentioned in Chapter 1, a special discussion is warranted for the Black Filipinos, who probably represent the earliest population of the Philippines (Reid 2007:10). In the literature, these groups have most often been referred to as "Negritos" or "hunter-gatherers". In this dissertation, the neutral term "Black Filipino" is used, as will be discussed further in Section 3.1.1.

There is relatively little published literature surveying the Black Filipinos, or their languages, as a whole. The scholar who has written most widely on these groups is Lawrence Reid, who has published at least ten related articles on previously undocumented groups as well as on the prehistoric development of Black Filipino languages (cf. Reid 1987, 1989, 1991, 1994a, 1994b, 2007, 2009a, 2009b, and Reid and Headland 1989, 1991). The writer, on the other hand, probably has the most extensive fieldwork experience with Black Filipino languages, having personally visited and elicited from all groups except the Arta, Southern Alta, Dupaningan Agta, Central Cagayan Agta, and the three varieties of Atta. Other scholars, such as Laura Robinson and Ronald Himes, have also done fieldwork on a half-dozen of these languages, and are in various stages of publishing the output of their research. A number of other individuals such as Thomas Headland and Bion Griffin have done long-term, in-depth research on one or two of these groups and/or their languages.

According to Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) figures for most of the groups, and National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) figures for the Manide, there are approximately 46,000 Black Filipinos belonging to 28 ethnolinguistic groups. Depending on one's analysis, some percentage of the 10,000 Iraya Mangyan, and of the over 50,000 Ata Manobo, Tigwa Manobo, and Matigsalug Manobo might also be added to this list, as many individuals in these groups have the same dark skin and curly hair that is found in traditionally included Black Filipino groups.[1] The figure of 46,000 is ambiguous because

[1] I am not the first to make this observation, although I was not aware of the other reports at the time of my travels to these groups. For example, Reid (2007:9) discusses the Ata Manobo, who he also includes on his map of Black Filipino groups in an earlier paper (1987:42).

it is unclear how many of the population counts represent Black Filipino language speakers, as opposed to simply ethnic Black Filipinos. For some groups—such as the Manide (cf. Chapter 8)—this number would be one and the same, as there are probably no ethnic Manide who do not speak the Manide language, and virtually no non-Manide who would be counted as fluent speakers. For other groups, such as the Ata of Negros Island (not to be confused with the Ata Manobo of Mindanao) and the Partido Agta, the ethnic group may number in the hundreds or even thousands (if half-blooded and quarter-blooded members are counted) but speakers of each of these languages could be counted on one's fingers. As such, the number of Filipinos who can recall having at least one Black grandparent is likely well over 100,000; full-blooded Black Filipinos somewhere around 40,000-50,000 (not counting the Iraya and the three aforementioned Manobo groups); and native speakers of these languages around the same number (as there is usually, but not always, a correlation between language retention and lack of significant non-Black lineage), higher in some areas and lower in others. As would be the case with any rural population, obtaining an accurate count would be extremely difficult, even with enormous amounts of time and funding, and each group's situation is different from that of the next: for the Ata of Negros Island, most residents of their communities appear to be full-blooded Black Filipinos, but less than one percent of the population claims to remember anything of an "Inata" language that is distinct from the languages of the neighboring Bukidnon, Ilonggo, and Cebuano groups. Among the Mamanwa of Mindanao, the situation becomes even more confusing: in some communities in northern Agusan del Norte, there exist communities of apparently full-blooded Mamanwa whose primary language is Agusan Manobo, while in Surigao del Norte, there are communities in which few if any members look Black, but whose members still identify as Mamanwa and in these communities, even younger members can speak the Mamanwa language. However, it seems that ethnic mixing has been one of the main obstacles to the passing of Black Filipino (and other minority) languages from generation to generation; outside of the Ata of Negros Island, it is rare to see full-blooded Black Filipinos who cannot speak a Black Filipino language; on the other hand, where language loss is most advanced it is usually in the areas where many or most members of the population retain virtually no

Black Filipino physical features: the Partido Agta and Remontado Dumagat being two examples, to which can be added several populations whose ancestral languages are extinct, including the so-called Tayabas "Ayta", the so-called Sorsogon "Ayta", the Katabangan of the Bondoc Peninsula in Quezon Province, the Tabuy of Rapu-Rapu Island in the Bikol Region, and various supposedly Agta communities in northern and western Albay and Sorsogon Province.

In spite of the considerable size of the Black Filipino population and their wide distribution throughout the country, many non-Black Filipinos will live their entire lives without ever seeing a Black Filipino in person, considering the discontinuous distribution of the Black Filipino population and the large percentage of Filipinos who live in urban centers that Black Filipinos rarely, if ever, visit.[2] The vast majority of the Philippine population will likewise never have a conversation or any other meaningful contact with a Black Filipino, except for that small percentage of the Philippine population living immediately adjacent to Black Filipino settlements, those rural landowners who hire Black Filipinos as manual laborers or household help, or a small number of government employees, NGO members, and religious workers tasked with ministering to Black Filipino communities. Black Filipinos almost without exception live in rural areas, if not in forests as their ancestors often did, and their social situation is very different than that of minorities in western countries; while even mostly-white communities in America or Europe may eventually have a Black family as a neighbor, it is virtually unheard of for Black Filipinos to move into non-Black Filipino communities. If Black Filipinos live among non-Black Filipinos, it is usually as household help or manual laborers for farms and plantations. They may come downhill from their Black communities to work or look for work, to sell their products, or to attend meetings when called upon by the government, churches, NGOs, or linguists, but unless they work as live-in household helpers or as manual laborers far from their community, they will always return to their home base by nightfall, once business has been taken care of. As will be discussed in Section 3.3, the social disconnect between the majority of Filipinos and their Black countrymen is both saddening and seemingly insurmountable. Many people in the

[22] Iloilo City and Angeles City are two of the only relatively large Philippine cities where Black Filipinos can regularly be sighted, usually as street beggars.

Philippines talk about and treat Black Filipinos as if they were subhuman at best—not hateful as in the racial tensions in places like America, but simply as if it's a natural fact that Black Filipinos represent a lower form of life. It helps little that Black Filipinos have no voice in the government or society, and that their only representation in the media is when Filipino actors don black makeup to caricature them in folk performances. Even in the school system, most Filipinos learn that their Black countrymen are loincloth-wearing, spear-carrying primitives, without realizing that in the not-too-distant past, their own ancestors were similarly-dressed "primitives" that simply had a lighter skin color than the average Black Filipino.

Almost without exception, Black Filipinos are the most disenfranchised, impoverished, and poorly-understood population in the Philippines. Various articles (Headland 2002, Headland and Headland 1999, Griffin 2002a, Menzer 2002) and even books or parts thereof (Eder 1987, Galang 2006) have been written about the abuses and discrimination faced by Black Filipinos, who are often viewed as less-than-human by the non-Black majority, in what appears to any observant outsider as a sad throwback to the days in the United States when many white people held a similar opinion of black people. The truth is that in spite of their poverty and the societal forces working against them, Black Filipinos are no less intelligent or articulate than the average person in the Philippines, not only possessing an impressive understanding of the modern world around them, but doing so without having lost touch with the natural world that most modern people hardly understand. Even as a white-skinned foreigner, I have never had trouble holding intelligent conversations with most Black Filipinos, and anybody in the Philippines who would claim that this is impossible would likely do so because they failed to overcome their own prejudices.

While much could be, has been, and should be written about the intriguing social aspects of the lives of Black Filipinos and their place in modern Philippine society, the linguistic issues are no less remarkable. Reid points out that the ancestors of the Black Filipinos have apparently been in the Philippines for about 40,000 years (2007:10), and hypothesizes that although all Black Filipino groups now speak Austronesian languages, their ancestors must once have spoken various non-Austronesian languages that had

greatly diverged from one another over tens of thousands of years in situ. At different times, however, every Black Filipino group learned and eventually switched to an Austronesian language, which Reid (1987) argues took place during a period of intimate interaction between the groups not long after first contact with Austronesian speakers. Beyond the various hypotheses, it is likely that Black Filipinos have been in the Philippines for 40,000 years—well over 35,000 years longer than the ethnic Austronesians—and that since their first documentation, no Black Filipino group was ever found to speak a non-Austronesian language.

Interestingly, one common misconception widespread in the Philippines is that all Black Filipinos speak the same language, or at least did before learning the current local language of wider communication. For example, I have often been advised by non-Black Filipinos during trips to various parts of southern Luzon (i.e., the Southern Tagalog and Bikol regions) that I should go to the Mount Pinatubo area of central Luzon (in Pampanga Province north of Manila) and search for the Ayta, because they are the ones who speak the "pure" Black Filipino language; it was the furthest thing from their minds that the Manide spoke a different language than the Ayta, as do the Agta of Rinconada, Partido, Alabat Island, the Lopez-Guinayangan area, etc., let alone that there are several different languages spoken by the Ayta of Central Luzon. A related misconception is that just because Black Filipinos usually don't speak their own language around non-Black Filipinos, they must not have a separate language unique to their ethnolinguistic group. Zorc (pers. comm., 1/11/2012) reports that this same misconception led him to believe that the Ati of Panay only spoke Kinaray-a or Aklanon, depending on the area, and as a result, it would be another decade before Pennoyer (1986-87) "discovered" that the Ati did in fact have their own language besides Kinaray-a and/or Aklanon.

One of the most interesting features of the Black Filipino languages is how different some of them are lexically from neighboring languages. Some Black Filipino languages have large percentages of unique vocabulary: Arta, 29 percent (Reid 1989); Manide, 27 percent (Lobel 2010); Umiray Dumaget, 24 percent,[3] plus another 5 percent shared only with Southern Alta (Himes 2002). However, this is not true of all Black

[3] 23 percent based on my 1000-item wordlist, cf. Chapter 8.

Filipino languages, as others have only small percentages of lexicon that is not cognate with a neighboring language,[4] e.g., Inati, 9%; Mamanwa, 7%; Inagta-Rinconada/Partido, 2%. However, even where high percentages of lexicon are shared with the languages of neighboring non-Black Filipino groups, it is noteworthy that the functor subsystems of the Black Filipino languages often form a substratum that can clearly be shown to predate contact with these languages (although still originating from the early adoption of a Malayo-Polynesian language).

It should be noted here that the term "Black Filipino language" in all instances simply means "a language spoken primarily or exclusively by Black Filipinos," and should not be interpreted as implying a "Black Filipino" subgroup of languages, the existence of which is very clearly and uncontroversially contraindicated by the linguistic evidence. On the contrary, while some Black Filipino languages like Inati, Manide, Inagta Alabat, and Umiray Dumaget appear to form primary branches of the Philippine subfamily, many others subgroup closely with the languages of non-Black ethnolinguistic groups: Inagta Rinconada and Inagta Partido with the Bikol languages; Mamanwa with the Central Philippine languages; the Ayta languages with the Sambali languages; and the Atta and Central Cagayan Agta languages with the Northern Cordilleran languages.

While there is certainly no lack of noteworthy features to be discussed about the various Black Filipino languages, it should be pointed out that certain other claims that have been made do not appear to stand up to further scrutiny. For one, Reid has claimed that Black Filipino languages "typically retain very old, conservative features of Austronesian languages" (2009a:267). Whether this is true or not depends on the particular language and features being discussed, and in fact, quite the opposite can also be true. For example, three Black Filipino languages—Manide, Inagta Alabat, and Umiray Dumaget—are the only Philippine-type languages to have collapsed the common noun case markers and the personal name case markers into a single set, hardly a conservative feature in a subgroup where all other languages mark personal names differently than common nouns. All three of these languages are also quite innovative in terms of verbal morphology and other functors, and no less innovative in terms of

[4] Largely due to large-scale borrowing from more prestigious neighboring languages, a phenomenon observable of many languages spoken by minority groups in the Philippines.

phonology than other Philippine languages which are, on the whole, usually quite conservative. The Black Filipino languages along the Pacific coast of Luzon from Dupaningan in the north to Manide in the south all have one form or other of Low Vowel Fronting, the raising of the vowel *a usually after voiced stops /b d g/ and glides /w y/. On the other hand, Black Filipinos, being rural folk without exception, often have a more conservative command of the local trade language, but this is also a common characteristic of rural dialects in general, where speakers often retain more conservative linguistic traits than do speakers from more urban areas, and especially those of the regional capital (e.g., loss of *ʔ in *Cʔ clusters in Manila Tagalog, loss of *-l- in Cebu City Cebuano, metathesis of *hC clusters in Tacloban Waray, etc.). Phonologically, however, Philippine languages as a whole are generally quite conservative, and while certain shifts like the merger of *j and *d or *j and *g are widespread, there are not any Black Filipino languages that are "more conservative" in the sense of not having undergone these innovations. Likewise, every Philippine language has merged *R with another PMP phoneme (including *g, *y, *l, *r, *d), and Black Filipino languages are no exception. Similarly, Philippine languages are also generally conservative in terms of the verb system, and while some Black Filipino languages preserve sequences like *mina-* and *minag-* which have been reduced to *na-* and *nag-* in most non-Black Filipino languages, there are also a number of non-Black Filipino languages that preserve the longer affixes, such as Maranao with *miyag-,* Bikol with *mina-,* as well as a considerable number of languages in northern Borneo, etc. Likewise, there are also plenty of Black Filipino languages that reflect the shorter affixes.

This chapter will provide an overview of the Black Filipino groups that can be found in the Philippines, including information about their languages and any publications or other materials written about them.[5] This chapter also includes slightly longer comments on Mamanwa, Remontado Dumagat, Inati, and Inagta Rinconada and Inagta Partido. Note also that two chapters later in this dissertation deal exclusively with individual Black Filipino languages: Chapter 7 reviewing and reconsidering the evidence

[5] The downloads available from the SIL-Philippines website as mentioned in this chapter can be found at http://www.sil.org/asia/philippines/plb_download.html.

for the position of Umiray Dumaget, and Chapter 8 presenting a short description of Manide and Inagta Alabat.

Section 3.2 of this chapter will provide a group-by-group summary of the various Black Filipino ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines, including some that have been mentioned in the literature but either don't have their own unique language, or have disappeared completely. Section 3.3 will describe the social situation in which the Black Filipinos live, including a discussion of the widespread discrimination and violence that is perpetrated against them.

A chapter like this is important because no overview of the Black Filipinos and their languages has ever been published which has covered all, or even the vast majority, of the Black Filipino groups that still exist in the Philippines, whether in Luzon, the Visayan Islands, Mindanao, or Palawan. While there are a few groups that I have not yet visited—the Atta, the Arta, the Southern Alta, the Central Cagayan Agta, and the Dupaningan Agta, all of which are in northern Luzon—I have visited at least one community representing all of the other Black Filipino ethnolinguistic groups, and in a number of cases such as the Mamanwa and Manide, I have visited five or more such communities per group. As such, my approximately 50 research trips to Black Filipino communities constitute what is likely the most comprehensive since Garvan (1963) visited many of these groups from 1903 to 1924, and the goal of this chapter is to provide an overview of both the Black Filipinos themselves and their languages in a way that only someone who has visited so many of them could do. However, the necessity of making this overview fit into a single dissertation chapter means that very little detail can be provided on each language, and ultimately, much more work remains to be done on these populations and their languages. It is hoped that I will have additional opportunities both to continue my fieldwork with these wonderful and fascinating groups, and to write a more comprehensive volume about them in the future.

Table 3.1 lists the Black Filipino ethnolinguistic groups and provides information about their external linguistic influences and their population sizes.

TABLE 3.1. BLACK FILIPINO GROUPS VISITED WHICH RETAIN THEIR OWN LANGUAGE

Ethnolinguistic group	Outside influences and/or languages being switched to	Population
Inagta Rinconada	Rinconada Bikol; Buhi-non; Bikol Naga; Tagalog	1,500 (SIL 1979)
Inagta Partido	Bikol Naga (Partido); Tagalog	5-6 (SIL 2000); Moribund, almost extinct
Manide	Tagalog (East Quezon dialect); Bikol Daet ("Tagcol") in eastern Manide area	± 4,000 (NCIP 2005)*
Inagta Alabat (and Inagta Lopez)	Tagalog (Central/East Quezon dialect); Manide	30 families (Barreno 2009)
Umiray Dumaget	Tagalog	3,000 (SIL 1994)
Alta (Northern)	Tagalog; possibly some Ilokano?	200 (SIL 2000)
Casiguran Agta	Kasiguranin; Tagalog	606 (Headland 2000)
Nagtipunan Agta	Tagalog & Ilokano	unknown
Dinapigue Agta	Ilokano & Tagalog	unknown
Pahanan (Agta)	Paranan; Tagalog	1,000-2,000 (SIL 2000)
Ayta Mag-indi	Kapampangan, Tagalog	5,000 (SIL 1998)
Ayta Mag-anchi	Kapampangan, Tagalog	8,200 (SIL 1992)
Ayta Abellen	Tagalog, Ilokano, some Sambal	6,850 (SIL 1985)
Ayta Ambala	Tagalog, Ilokano, some Sambal	1,657 (SIL 1986)
Ayta Bataan	Tagalog	500 (SIL 2000)
Inata (possibly 2 dialects)	Cebuano, Northern Binukidnon, Ilonggo (less)	2-4 (Lobel 2005-2007) 2-5 (SIL 2000, but for S. Negros, not N. Negros)
Inati (Inete) (2 dialects?)	Kinaray-a, Ilonggo, Aklanon (depending on location); Tagalog (much less)	1,000 (Pennoyer 1986-87) 1,500 (SIL 1980)
Mamanwa	Cebuano, Surigaonon, Tagalog	5,150 (SIL 1990)
Batak (5-8 dialects; 3 visited)	Kuyonon, Tagalog, Southern (Aborlan/PPC) Tagbanwa, Central Tagbanwa, Agutaynen, Kagayanen (depending on location)	200 (SIL 2000), 286 (Eder 1987)

* Manide: 3773, not including a community in Calauag of unknown number. Earlier editions of the SIL Ethnologue (e.g., Lewis 2009, Grimes 2000) claimed that there were only 150-200 Manide ("Camarines Norte Agta") and 30 Alabat Agta ("Agta, Alabat Is.").

TABLE 3.2. OTHERS GROUPS (NOT VISITED, NO SEPARATE LANGUAGE, OR NOT TRADITIONALLY CONSIDERED TO BE BLACK FILIPINOS)

	Ethnolinguistic Group	Outside influences and/or languages being switched to	Population
NOT VISITED	Dupaningan Agta	Ilokano; some Tagalog?	1,200 (SIL 1986)
	Atta (3-4 languages)	Ilokano	±2,000 (SIL 1998-2000)
	Remontado Dumagat	Tagalog; Umiray Dumaget	2,527 (SIL 2000)
	†Arta	Ilokano, Tagalog?	15 (SIL 2000 from Reid 1992)
	Central Cagayan Agta	Ilokano	779 (SIL 2000)
	Alta, Southern	Tagalog	1,000 (SIL 1982)
PART-BLACK	Iraya (Mangyan)	Tagalog	10,000 (SIL 1991)
	Ata/Tigwa/Matigsalug Manobo	Cebuano; formerly Dabawenyo influence; Tagalog	26,653 (SIL 2000 for Ata) 30,000 (SIL 2002 for Matigsalug)
EXTINCT	†Agta, Mt. Iraya/E. Lake Buhi	Buhi-non, Bikol Legaspi	150 (SIL 2000), probably extinct (Lobel 2006)
	†Tayabas "Ayta"	Tagalog	ø
	†Catanauan "Ayta"	Tagalog	ø
	†Sorsogon "Ayta"	Central Bikol (N. Sorsogon); Tagalog	ø (Lobel 2006) (but 15-20, SIL 2000)
	†Tabuy	Bikol Legaspi	ø
	†Inagta Alabat (original)	Inagta Lopez; Tagalog	ø
	†Samar Agta (original)	Waray-Waray (Calbayog), possibly also Mamanwa	ø
	†Agta, Dicamay	Ilokano	ø
	†Agta, Villa Viciosa	Ilokano	ø

3.1.1 A note on terminology for Black Filipinos. As noted earlier, while these groups have traditionally been referred to as "Negritos" or "hunter-gatherers", the writer prefers the term "Black Filipino", in that it simply identifies them as a subgroup of Philippine nationals whose members are usually readily identifiable by their skin color and curly hair. The term "Negrito", in spite of originating from a Spanish diminutive (lit. "small Black person"), is not used in a derogatory sense in the English scientific literature; in the Philippines, however, where most languages are full of Spanish loans, the terms *negrito*

(masculine) and *negrita* (feminine) in most if not all areas is used in an demeaning manner to refer to dark-skinned (but non-Black) Filipinos. Thus, in the Philippines, except in the strictest of academic contexts, the use of the term "Negrito" is confusing at best (as most people would be unclear of whether the term was being used to refer to a Black Filipino in an academic sense, or simply to a dark-skinned Austronesian Filipino in a derogatory sense, and the average person in the Philippines would be more likely to assume the latter).

While many people in the Philippines have an unfortunate, socialized aversion to the idea of having dark skin, there is a fine distinction to be made between the two words which in Tagalog are *maitím* 'dark', and *itím* 'black' (as well as similar pairs of cognates in other Philippine languages). Calling a Filipino "*maitím*" without absolute clarity that the intention is not derogatory would be taken in a negative manner. However, calling an ethnic group "*itím*" in the proper context would not elicit the same reaction, as many people in the Philippines—even those who cannot speak English at all—are familiar with the term "Black American".

Finally, some might ask, why not just choose a term like *Ayta, Ita, Eta,* or *Ati* which is already in widespread use in the Philippines? Certainly such forms do exist. In the northern Philippines, Black Filipinos are most often referred to as *Ayta* (or its variants *Eta* or *Ita*) by association with the Ayta tribe of Central Luzon, who drew national attention after thousands of them fled to in lowland areas in 1991 following the eruption of Mount Pinatubo. In the western and central Visayan Islands, the term *Ati* has become the generic term for Black Filipinos, due to the popularity of the so-called "Ati-Atihan" festivals in which groups of non-Black Filipinos participate in dance competitions in colorful costumes while wearing blackface make-up.[6] The extension of names such as *Ayta* or *Ati* to all Black Filipino groups stems at least partially from the fact that most non-Black Filipinos think that all Black Filipinos belong to a single tribe speaking a

[6] Besides the fact that performing in blackface has generally been considered unacceptable for generations in America, all of the Black Filipinos that I have spoken to object to festivals such as the Ati-Atihan, where their image is basically hijacked by non-Blacks for the sake of profit, when on any other occasion, non-Black Filipinos show little concern, interest or empathy towards their Black countrymen. However, as disenfranchised as the Black Filipinos are, they are powerless to stop, change, or influence these festivals. Similar festivals are also found in other places where Black Filipinos live, such as in Camarines Sur.

single language (e.g., Cebuanos and Ilonggos on Negros Island don't simply refer to members of the island's indigenous Ata tribe as "Ati"; they actually believe that the Ata *are* Ati). A number of other local exonyms exist, ranging from neutral to blatantly offensive, and each endonym (including *Agta, Ayta, Ati, Ata, Arta, Alta, Atta, Dumaget, Mamanwa, Batak, Remontado,* and *Manide*) is specific to its own ethnolinguistic group and cannot generally be extended to other groups without creating ill-will and misunderstandings. The Manide, for example, say that it makes them angry when they are referred to as "Agta", which is the name of another Black Filipino tribe found to the immediate west of Manide territory, speaking a closely-related but distinct language; in other words, it is no more accurate to refer to a Manide as "Agta" than to refer to a Filipino as "Japanese", or an American as "British", or vice versa.

3.2 BLACK FILIPINO GROUPS. This section provides a brief overview of the various Black Filipino groups, including information about the languages they speak: Manide and Inagta Alabat (3.2.1), Umiray Dumaget (3.2.2), the Agta of Camarines Sur (3.2.3), Remontado Dumagat (3.2.4), Inati (3.2.5), Mamanwa (3.2.6), Inata (3.2.7), Ayta (3.2.8), Batak (3.2.9), Alta (3.2.10), Arta (3.2.11), Casiguran Agta and Nagtipunan Agta (3.2.12), Pahanan and Dinapigue Agta (3.2.13), Dupaningan Agta (3.2.14), Atta (3.2.15), Central Cagayan Agta (3.2.16), Iraya Mangyan (3.2.17), and the Black Manobos (3.2.18). Several additional sections offer brief notes about groups whose languages are extinct, or groups that have completely disappeared: Tabuy (3.2.19), Sorsogon Ayta (3.2.20), Samar Agta (3.2.21), Katabangan (3.2.22), Tayabas "Ayta" (3.2.23), and the Black Filipinos of the Zamboanga Peninsula (3.2.24). In addition to these groups are the Agta Dicamay and the Agta of Villa Viciosa, both of which are listed by the Ethnologue as being extinct, and neither of which I have any other information about.

3.2.1 The Manide of Camarines Norte, and the Agta of Alabat and Lopez, Quezon. Two Black Filipino groups can be found in eastern Quezon Province and neighboring Camarines Norte province: a group of Agta, and the Manide. These two groups speak languages that are closely related to one another but which have undergone separate

innovations as well as having borrowed from separate sources to differing degrees. There are also major social and sociolinguistic differences between the two: including the fact that the 4,000-strong Manide live primarily in homogenous groups and virtually all speak the Manide language, while the few hundred Agta in neighboring parts of Quezon province live intermixed with neighboring groups and their language is moribund, at least on Alabat Island.

While these two languages quite uncontroversially subgroup together, they do not seem to be closely related to any other extant language, and exhibit a number of noteworthy innovations, including three vowel shifts (Low Vowel Fronting, Back Vowel Fronting, and Low Vowel Backing, although not all three in both languages), the collapsing of the personal and non-personal case markers, and some unique elements of morphology. In other ways, however, they are more phonologically conservative than surrounding languages, including the retention of *q and *h in all positions. Other than a single article on Manide (Lobel 2010), no publications of any kind are available on either of these two languages. These two groups are dealt with more extensively in Chapter 8.

3.2.2 Umiray Dumaget. The Umiray Dumaget are found in various towns on or near the Pacific coast of central Luzon between Dingalan and Baler towns in Aurora province, and on the adjacent Polillo Island (Himes 2002). A Bible translation (New Testament) was completed in 1977 (*I Bowon a Pagpakikasungdu,* World Home Bible League Publishers, Manila) and a considerable amount of literacy materials were also developed (including at least 25 PDFs available for download on the SIL-Philippine website). The language has received little attention, with only a single full-length article devoted to it (Himes 2002).

Confusion has also developed over the past decade or so over the position of Umiray Dumaget, stemming from a suggestion by Lawrence Reid (1994a:41) that Umiray Dumaget might be a Central Philippine language. Himes (2002) responded to this suggestion by publishing an article that attempted to prove a Central Philippine or at least Greater Central Philippine affinity for the Umiray Dumaget language. However, as shown in Chapter 7 of this dissertation, that analysis was problematic, and contrary to his

analysis, there exists little if any evidence that would suggest a Greater Central Philippine connection for Umiray Dumaget as opposed to a connection with languages to the north.

3.2.3 The Agta of Camarines Sur, Bikol: Rinconada Agta, Partido Agta, and East Lake Buhi Agta. Southeast of the groups discussed in Sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2, Camarines Sur province in the Bikol Region of southern Luzon is home to two Black Filipino populations, each with their own language: the Agta of the Rinconada district, and the Agta of the Partido district. These two groups speak languages whose respective substrata indicate an earlier close relationship that was later blurred by borrowing from different Bikol languages that each has been in contact with at various times.

The Rinconada Agta are found primarily in the towns of Buhi, Iriga, and Baao, and a substantial percentage are still of pure-blooded or half-blooded Agta heritage. These Agta generally live in the forests near rural barangays in these towns, although a more modern, permanent settlement also exists in the Ilian area of Iriga City. In Buhi, they can most often be found coming down to the river to wash their laundry, or going to rural barangays or even the town center in order to sell or trade their forest products. Like other Black Filipinos and many impoverished people in the Philippines, many of the Agta also work as either manual laborers or as household help.

Besides the Agta living in the Rinconada district of Camarines Sur, another group of Agta was traditionally found in the neighboring Partido district, but the number of members with one or two parents of pure Agta blood has diminished to the point that it can no longer be considered a “group”, and the Inagta Partido language is clearly moribund. In fact, traveling around the towns of the Partido district that were traditionally home to Agta populations of considerable size, it was easier to find transplanted speakers of Inagta Rinconada than speakers of Inagta Partido. Those Partido Agta who can still speak the language are now elderly, with no known speakers under the age of 60. Note that Inagta Partido and Inagta Rinconada have been listed in the Ethnologue as “Agta, Mt. Isarog” and “Agta, Mt. Iriga”, respectively.

Linguistically, there is a small amount of data indicating that Inagta Partido and Inagta Rinconada form a subgroup together which retains a substratum that likely

predates the arrival of the Bikol language in the area. However, both of these languages have borrowed heavily from members of the Bikol subgroup over the past millennium or so, although the influence on each of these two languages has been slightly different: whereas much of the lexicon of Inagta Rinconada resembles that of Southern Bikol languages such as Rinconada Bikol, the primary influence on Inagta Partido appears to have been Bikol Naga and Bikol Partido.

Functors not shared with other Central Philippine languages include pronouns (*ya* '3SG.GEN', *yu* '2PL.GEN', and the overall forms of the oblique pronouns, even though the bases are inherited from PPH forms); oblique case markers (*di, dya, du*) and personal name markers (*ya* [NOM], *na* [GEN], *kun* [OBL], and *kunda* [OBL.PL]); and all of the demonstratives (*i, an, aton, ya-ton, on, yai, nai, naan, na-ton, naon, nui, nuan, dididi, didiyan, dida-ton,* and *dodoon,* meanings listed in Table 3.5). The close relation between these two languages is clearly established by the data in Tables 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5, which illustrate that Inagta Rinconada and Inagta Partido are more closely related to one another than they are to any other Central Philippine language.

TABLE 3.3. PRONOUNS IN INAGTA RINCONADA, INAGTA PARTIDO, AND OTHER CLOSELY RELATED LANGUAGES

		AGTRI	AGTPT	PCPH	NBIK	NCAT	ERINC
NOM	**1SG**	akó	akó	*ʔakú	akó	ako	akó
	2SG	iká, ka	iká, ka	*iká[w]	iká, ka	ikaw, ka	iká, ‘ka
	3SG	iyá	iyá	*[s]iyá	siyá	síya	iyá
	1EX	kamí	kamí	*kamí	kamí	kamí	kamí
	1IN	kitá	kitá	*kitá	kitá	kitá	kitá
	2PL	kamó	kamó	*kamú	kamó	kamó	kamó
	3PL	idá	idá	*sidá	sindá	síla	sirá
GEN	**1SG**	ko	ko	*=ku, *nákə(ʔn)	ko	ko	ko
	2SG	mo	mo	*=mu	mo	mo	mo
	3SG	ya, nya	ya, niyá	*niyá	nya	niya	niyá
	1EX	namô	mi	*=mi, *námə(ʔn)	nyámò, mi	námò	namô ~ namə̂
	1IN	ta	ta	*ta, nátə(ʔn)	nyátò, ta	nátò, ta	ta
	2PL	yu	yu	*ni[n]yu	nindo	ninyó	ninyó
	3PL	ninda	ninda	*nida	ninda	níla	nirá
OBL	**1SG**	kayákò, kiyákò	kiyákò	*kanakə(ʔn), *ʔakə(ʔn)	sakô, sakúyà	(sa) ákò	kanakô ~ kanakə̂
	2SG	kímo	kímo	*kanimu, *ʔimu	saímo	(sa) ímo	kanimó
	3SG	kúnya	kúnya	*kaniya, *ʔiya	saíya	(sa) kíya	kaniyá
	1EX	kayámò ~ kiyámò	kiyámò	*kanamə(ʔn), *ʔamə(ʔn)	samô, samúyà	(sa) ámò	kanamô ~ kanamə̂
	1IN	kayátò ~ kiyátò	kiyátò	*kanatə(ʔn), *ʔatə(ʔn)	satô, satúyà	(sa) átò	kanatô ~ kanatə̂
	2PL	kínyo	kínyo	*kani[n]yu, *ʔi[n]yu	sainda	(sa) ínyo	kaninyó
	3PL	kunda	kunda	*kanida, *ʔida	saindo	(sa) kíla	kanda

TABLE 3.4. CASE MARKERS IN INAGTA RINCONADA, INAGTA PARTIDO, AND AND SOME CLOSELY RELATED LANGUAGES

			AGTPT, AGTRI	PCPH	RINC (W&E)	BUH	NCAT	OBIK	SWAR
COMMON	NOM	-REF	an	*a(nŋ)	a(na), (y)a	a	(y)an	in, an	it
		+REF	yu	*su	su	yu	yu	si	an
	GEN	-REF	ni	*ni(nŋ)	sa, kin	nin	nin	nin	sin
		+REF, -VIS	na(n)	*na(nŋ)	ka(n)	nya	ninyu	ninsi	sit
		+REF, +VIS	nu(n)	*nu(nŋ)	ku	nyu	---	kan	san
	OBL	-REF	di	*sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa
		+REF, -VIS	dya	---	---	---	---	---	---
		+REF	du	---	---	---	---	---	---
PERS. (SG)	NOM		ya	*si	si	si	si	si	si
	GEN		na	*ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni
	OBL		kun	*ki, *kay, *kani	ki	ki	ki	ki	kan
PERS. (PL)	NOM		da	*sa, *si[n]da	sira, sindi	sirá	sa	sa	sira
	GEN		ninda	*na, *ni[n]da	nira, nindi	nirá	na	na	nira
	OBL		kunda	*ka, *ki[n]da	kanda, kindi	sakandá ki	ka	ka	---

TABLE 3.5. DEMONSTRATIVES IN INAGTA RINCONADA, INAGTA PARTIDO, AND SOME CLOSELY RELATED LANGUAGES

		AGTRI	AGTPT	TAG	NCAT	RINC	BUH
NOM	1ST	i	i, ini, yai	itó, irí	itó	adi, ini	adi
	2ND	an, atón, ya-tón	an, yan	iyán, yaán	yan	itón, án, (u)yán	aán
	3RD	on	on	iyón, yoón	yon	adtó	adtó
GEN	1ST	nai	nai	nitó, nirí	ninto	kádi, kini	nyadi
	2ND	naan, na-tón, náton	naán	niyán, nyaán	ninyán	kíton, kan, kúyan	nyaán
	3RD	naón	naón	niyón, noón	ninyón	kadtó	nyadtó
OBL	1ST	didí	didí	díto, díne	dito	sádi, síni	didi
	2ND	dyan, dá-ton	dyan	diyán	diyan	síton, san, súyan	dyan
	3RD	doon	doón	doón	doon, don	sadtó	adtó
LOC	1ST	dididí	dididí, nuí	nandíto, naritó	uya	isádi, isíni	(didi)
	2ND	didiyán, didá-ton	didiyán, nuán	nandyán, nariyán	adyán	isíton, isán, isúyan	(dyan)
	3RD	dodoón	dodoón	nandoón, naroón	adún	isadtó	(adtó)

Besides the Rinconada Agta and Partido Agta, another Agta group traditionally existed on the eastern side of Lake Buhi near the border with the town of Tiwi. This group, known in the Ethnologue as "Agta, Mt. Iraya" spoke a language that was even more heavily influenced by Bikol than the Rinconada and Partido Agta groups, to the point of being indistinguishable from neighboring non-Agta languages except for a very small amount of lexicon (judging from a 1984 SIL wordlist). However, it appears that this language may now be either extinct, or down to a very small number of speakers, as a visit to the area in 2006 failed to turn up any speakers of any language other than Buhi-non and Bikol Naga/Partido.

3.2.4 Remontado Dumagat. Much more elusive than the nearby Umiray Dumaget are the Remontado Dumagat, who live in more remote mountainous areas and whose language is now spoken by only a few people. The Remontado Dumagat were traditionally found in the mountains around the boundary between Sampaloc district in Tanay town in the province of Rizal, and General Nakar town in Quezon province. At

present, however, the language if not the group itself has apparently lost most of its ground in Tanay, and the more proficient speakers of the Remontado Dumagat language are now found only on the General Nakar side of the border. It is unclear how many fluent speakers there still are, but local reports give the impression that they are relatively few and all quite advanced in age.

Note that this group has most often been called "Sinauna" in the linguistics literature, a name which is not recognized by any Tagalog or Remontado Dumagat who I have ever met, but originates from four decades ago when Pilar Santos was conducting fieldwork for her 1975 thesis. At that time, people reported to her that the tribe in the mountains spoke *"sinauna Tagalog"*, which means 'ancient Tagalog'. This of course stemmed from a misconception that the language of the mountain tribe was an ancestor of, or at least a more archaic version of, the Tagalog language, which it was shown not to be (Santos 1975). Unfortunately, the few linguists who have written about this group have perpetuated this exonym which is not used by the tribe itself, and no longer used by its neighbors, and does not accurately represent the group or their language. The group calls itself "Dumagat", with the Spanish term "Remontado" ('having gone back up to the mountains') serving to distinguish this group from other "Dumagat" groups further north such as the Umiray Dumaget and the Casiguran Agta (who have also been called "Casiguran Dumagat" in the literature). "Remontado" is also the name that is registered with the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples.

Tables 3.6, 3.7, and 3.8 illustrate the Remontado Dumagat Pronouns, Case Markers, and Demonstratives, respectively. This data was elicited in 2009, and subsequent plans on two or three other occasions to meet with other speakers of Remontado Dumagat fell through.

TABLE 3.6. REMONTADO DUMAGAT PRONOUNS

	LONG NOM	SHORT NOM	GENITIVE	OBLIQUE	PRE-POSS.
1SG	sako	sako	ku	kaduwako	waku
2SG	si-ka	ka	mu	kad si-ka	wamu
3SG	si-yà	si-yà, ya	din	kad si-yà	wadin
1EXCL	si-kami	si-kami	mi	kad si-kami	wami
1INCL	si-tamu	tamu	tamu	kad si-tamu	watamu
2PL	si-kamu	kamu	yu	kad si-kamu	wayu
3PL	si-ra	si-ra	ra	kad si-ra	wara

TABLE 3.7. REMONTADO DUMAGAT CASE MARKERS

	COMMON	PERSONAL	PERSONAL PL.
NOM	i	si	ra
GEN	id	in	rara
OBL	kad	kan	kannà ra

TABLE 3.8. REMONTADO DUMAGAT DEMONSTRATIVES

	NOM	GEN	OBL	PRES/LOC
1ST	ita, hata	idta	kadta	kinadta
2ND	iya, haya	idiya	kadiya	kinadiya
3RD	ipu, hapu	idpo	kannà	kinannà

3.2.5 Ati. "The hidden Negrito language of Panay", as Pennoyer (1986-87) called it, is spoken by a group that is hardly "hidden" but instead quite visible in Panay's largest city of Iloilo, and which is also the namesake of one of the Philippines' best known festivals, the *Ati-Atihan,* in which non-Black Filipinos dress up in blackface and quite inaccurately imitate what they think the Ati and other Black Filipinos act like. Still, the language escaped all linguistic inquiry until Pennoyer's article. Table 3.9 lists the known Ati communities, according to data from the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP).

TABLE 3.9. ATI COMMUNITIES IN THE WESTERN VISAYAS REGION

Province	Towns	Total in Province
Iloilo	Anilao (341), Barotac Viejo (867), Cabatuan (31), Calinog (163), Dueñas (43), Dumangas (50), Janiuay (22), New Lucena (59), Passi (103), San Miguel (17), San Rafael (110), Sta. Barbara (12), Tigbauan (69), San Joaquin (15)	1,902
Antique	Anini-y (156), Hamtic (3,081), Tobias Fornier (1,383), San Jose (60)	4,680
Capiz	Dumarao (308)	308
Aklan	Buruanga (?), Malay (740)	740+
Guimaras	Buenavista (189), Jordan (237), Sibunag (178), Nueva Valencia (185)	789
Negros Occidental	Isabela (309)	309
Romblon	Odiongan and Calatrava on Tablas Island, and San Jose on Carabao Island (unknown population size)	unknown
	TOTAL	8,728+

(Source: NCIP Visayas Regional Office, Iloilo City)

As Pennoyer (ibid.) points out, in spite of the tremendous amount of lexicon that appears to have been borrowed from neighboring Kinaray-a, Aklanon, and Ilonggo, there is a stratum of lexicon reflecting an *R > /d/ shift that is unique in the Philippines,[7] besides functor subsystems that seem to indicate that Inati is the sole member of a primary branch of the Philippine subfamily. Items (1)-(9) illustrate the *R > *d shift in native Inati forms.

(1) bedò ‘new’ < *baqeRu (*R > /d/, *q > ø, no intervocalic lenition of this /d/ < *R)
(2) bodè ‘spit out of mouth’ < *buRá (*R > /d/, no intervocalic lenition of this /d/ < *R)
(3) kaḍat ‘bite’ < *kaRát (*R > /d/, no intervocalic lenition of this /d/ < *R)
(4) idə́p ‘suck’ < *hiRəp (*R > /d/, *h > ø, no intervocalic lenition of this /d/ < *R)
(5) odat ‘vein’ < *uRat (*R > /d/, no intervocalic lenition of this /d/ < *R)

[7] Blust (pers. comm., 12/12/11) and Reid (pers. comm., 12/12/11) point out that while Inibaloi has a /d/ reflex of *R in word-initial position, this was the result of *R shifting to *l as it did in all Southern Cordilleran languages, and then word-initial *l shifting to /d/ in Inibaloi. As *l did not shift to *d in Inati, the origin of the /d/ reflex of word-initial *R in Inibaloi is not related to the *R > /d/ innovation reflected in Inati.

(6) paridos ‘bathe’ < *pa-diRus (*R > /d/, *-d- > /r/, no intervocalic lenition of this /d/ < *R)
(7) kitorod ‘sleep’ < *tuduR (*R > /d/, *-d- > /r/)
(8) sunud ‘burn’ < *sunuR (*R > /d/)
(9) adi ‘come’ < *aRi (*R > /d/, no intervocalic lenition of this /d/ < *R)

Besides these forms with the unique reflex of PMP *R, only about 9% of the Inati lexicon is not cognate with forms in neighboring Western Bisayan languages or Ilonggo.

There is also a bit of confusion as to three types of Inati: the southern dialect, the northern dialect, and a variety called “Sogodnin”. Pennoyer uses “Sogodnin” as the name for the northern dialect, but my consultant—Ati chieftain Gregorio Elosendo, who worked with Pennoyer and with other linguists a quarter-century ago—describes Sogodnin as a “high speech register” of Inati in general. It is therefore unclear whether the apparently extinct Northern Inati dialect and “Sogodnin” are one and the same, or refer to two different speech varieties. Table 3.10 illustrates the lexical differences between the regular register and the “high speech register” in Inati.

TABLE 3.10. SOME SYNONYMS IN NORMAL AND HIGH REGISTER IN INATI

	Standard	**High Register**
eye	mete	méslek
rain	dait	újan (udyan)
mouth	bébè	bíbà
hand	pálad	kerémkem
eat	káən	mengén
stomach	katúwan	pinísdak
walk	lákaw	gío
many	dúru	ríbo
few	maisút	tánawâ
vehicle	sarákyan	torongtóngin
chicken	mánok	pegék

There is very limited evidence that Inati reflects PMP *z as /j/ (usually spelled “dy” in Philippine languages) (Blust 2009:167): *udyan (~ udyen)* ‘rain’ (PPH *quzan), which Pennoyer (1986-87) elicted from two informants as the “Sogodnin” form of standard Inati *dait*; and *tinudyù* ‘fingernail’ (< PPH *tuzuq ‘finger; point’) which he elicited from a single informant. However, so little remains of the earliest strata of

Malayo-Polynesian lexicon in Inati that no other examples of a /j/ reflex of *z have been found.

Tables 3.11-3.13 illustrate the various functor sets of Inati, based on my fieldwork with Gregorio Elosendo, chieftain of the Inati community in Nagpana, as well as with Inati speakers in other areas.

TABLE 3.11. INATI PRONOUNS

	NOM	GEN	OBL (Pre-Gen)	OBL
1SG	áko	ko	hían	ki hían
2SG	ike (< *ika)	mo	kíyo	ki kiyó
3SG	iye (< *iya)	ye (< *ya)	(kí)kiyé	ki kiyé
1EXCL	ikám	mam	yámin	ki yámin
1INCL	kite (< *kita)	te (< *ta)	yátin	ki yátin
2PL	ikím	mim	kími	ki kími
3PL	ire (< *ira)	dáye (< *daya)	ki karáye	ki karáye

TABLE 3.12. INATI CASE MARKERS

	COMMON	PERSONAL (SG)	PERSONAL (PL)
NOMINATIVE	kay	i, kay	kaydi
GENITIVE	ki	i	di
OBLIQUE	ki	ki	kidi

The demonstrative system of Inati, illustrated in Table 3.13 based on my fieldwork with Gregorio Elosendo, is the most complex of any language covered in this dissertation, and so complex that Pennoyer (1986-87:15-16) only seems to have documented half of it, and the half which he did record was full of mistakes. Even my language consultant (chieftain of the largest Ati settlement, and a very literate man in several languages) and I couldn't figure out the differences in meanings between all the forms, in spite of the considerable effort that we made.

TABLE 3.13. INATI DEMONSTRATIVES

base	NOM ka(y)-	GEN ki-	OBL kat(i)-	LOC/PRES -ka, wa-, t-, -ta	proximity of reference
-ito	kaytô	kitô	katitô	túka, waytuká, titoká	here, closest to speaker
-iti	kaytí	kití	katití	tike ~ tika, titike	here, close to speaker & addressee
-ini	kayni	kiní	katini	nike, tiniké	there, a bit further, closer to addressee
-in	ka͡ín	ki͡in	katyin, katiyín	hínte ~ híntà, tihínte	there, close to addressee
-itad	kaytad	kitád	katitad	tedte, titédte, wadtadtáy	there, close to addressee
-inad	kaynad	kinad	katinad	nadta ~ nadte, nedte, tinédte	there, pointed at by speaker
-angay	kángay	kangay	katangay	wáyte ~ wayta, tiwáyte, tangay, tangáyte	there, far from both speaker and addressee

3.2.6 Mamanwa. The Mamanwa are the only distinct Black Filipino ethnolinguistic group that still exists on Mindanao, and are located in the northeastern part of the island in the provinces of Surigao del Norte, Surigao del Sur, and Agusan del Norte. Some Mamanwa migrants were also living on Samar and Leyte Islands in previous decades, although according to the Visayas Regional Office of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP), their numbers on these two islands have dwindled in recent years. A Bible translation (New Testament) was published in 1982 (*Ya mga Panaba na Diyos,* Bible League, Manila) and a text collection in 1991 (Miller and Miller 1991), in addition to 30 PDFs of literacy materials that are available for free download on the SIL-Philippines website.

There is little unique lexicon in the Mamanwa language (less than 10% on a thousand-item wordlist), but the functor subsystems and a handful of lexical items exhibiting certain noteworthy sound changes indicate that the initial "switch" language was likely not a Greater Central Philippine language, and that it was only later that Mamanwa came under the influence of Dabawenyo languages before being influenced by South Bisayan languages in even more recent times. Unfortunately, while the functor subsystems yield a considerable amount of evidence supporting this hypothesis, the lexical items reflecting non-GCPH sound shifts are few and far between. Those than can

be found include a handful of forms reflecting *R > /h/ or zero (*iki* 'tail' < *ʔikug, *hinawa* 'breath' < *Rinhawa, *hisik* 'rib' < *Rusuk, *paníi* /paníʔi/ 'descend' < *panaʔug); *h > ø (*ipag* 'sister-in-law' < *hipaR, *arək* 'kiss' < *hadək, *əkət* 'tie' < *həkət, *hip-usan* 'youngest child' < *Ripʔusan, and adjectival prefix *a-* < *ha-); *k > ø (*hao* /haʔu/ '1SG.NOM' < *ʔaku, *nao* /naʔu/ '1SG.GEN' < *naku, *kanao* /kanaʔu/ '1SG.OBL' < *kanaku, *ajingking* /ʔajiŋkiŋ/ 'little finger' < *kaliŋkiŋ, *pisâ* /pisák/ 'mud' < *pisak); and *u > /i/ or *a > /i/ (*iki* 'tail' < *ʔikug, *hisik* 'rib' < *Rusuk, *paníi* 'descend' < *panaʔug),

There are also a number of pronouns (Table 3.14), case markers (Table 3.15), and demonstratives (Table 3.16) that are unique or at least noteworthy. Among the Mamanwa pronouns, there are the unique 1st-person forms *haó* '1SG.NOM', *naó* and *o* '1SG.GEN', and *kanáo* '1SG.OBL', the 3rd-person forms *ija* '3SG.NOM', *niija ~ naija* '3SG.GEN', and *kanang-ija ~ kan-ija* '3SG.OBL',[8] of which the genitive and oblique forms are unique, and the nominative form differs from the form found in neighboring South Bisayan and Dabawenyo languages; and 1st-person inclusive forms *nitá* '1INCL.GEN' and *kanita* '1INCL.OBL', which continue the PMP form *nita which is only rarely attested in the Philippines. Among the case markers, unique forms include the oblique common noun marker *ka*, and the plural personal name markers *sin* (nominative), *nin* (genitive), and *kanin* (oblique). Finally, among the demonstratives, a number of unique forms can be found: the 3rd-person equivalents *ijá* 'that (nominative, far from speaker and addressee)', *naijá ~ kijá* 'that (genitive) (far from speaker and addressee); oblique forms *ngaríni* 'here (near speaker and addressee)' and *duró* 'there' (oblique, far from speaker and addressee)'; the verbal forms *karíni* 'come here' and *karó* 'go there (far from speaker and addressee)'; and all three of the locational forms *wayni* 'it's here', *wayton ~ wadiján* 'it's there (near addresee)', and *wadró* 'it's there (far from speaker and addressee)'. Also unique in the demonstrative set is the use of the formative *na-* to mark the genitive demonstratives.

[8] Note that the "j" in the Mamanwa orthography represents a palatal affricate.

TABLE 3.14. MAMANWA, SOUTH BISAYAN AND DABAWENYO PRONOUNS

		MMW	PSBIS	PDAB
NOM	**1SG**	haó	*ʔakú	*ʔakú
	2SG	ikó(w), ko(w)	*ʔikáw	*ʔikáw, *=kaw
	3SG	ijá	*siyá	*yaʔan (PSDAB *sakanán)
	1EX	kámi	*kamí	*kamí
	1IN	kitá	*kitá	*kitá (PSDAB *kitadón ‘1INCL.PL)
	2PL	kamó	*kamú	*kamú
	3PL	sirán	*silá	*sirán
GEN	**1SG**	naó, o	*ku, *nákəʔ	*ku
	2SG	mo	*mu	*mu
	3SG	niíja ~ naiza	*niyá	*naʔán
	1EX	námi	*námәʔ	*namí
	1IN	nitá, ta	*nátəʔ	*ta, *nátə(ʔn)
	2PL	majú	*niyú	*mayú
	3PL	nirán	*nilá	*nirán
OBL	**1SG**	kanáo	*sa=ʔákəʔ, *kanákəʔ, *dákəʔ	*kanák
	2SG	kanmo	*sa=ʔímu, *kanímu`, *dímu	*kanmú
	3SG	kanang-íja, kan-íja	*sa=ʔiya, *kaniya, *diya	*kanaʔán
	1EX	kanámi	*sa=ʔámәʔ, *kanámәʔ, *dámәʔ	*kanámi
	1IN	kanitá (~ kantá)	*sa=ʔátəʔ, *kanátəʔ, *dátəʔ	*kanátə(ʔn)
	2PL	kamajó	*sa=ʔiyu, *kaniyu, *diyu	*kamayú
	3PL	kaníran	*sa=ʔíla, *kaníla, *díla	*kanirán

TABLE 3.15. MAMANWA, SOUTH BISAYAN AND DABAWENYO CASE MARKERS

		MMW	PSBIS	PDAB
COMMON	NOM	ya, ‘y	*ʔa(nŋ)	*ʔa(nŋ), *ʔi(nŋ) PNUDAB *ya(nŋ) PSDAB *ya
	GEN	na, ka	*na(nŋ)	*na(nŋ), *ni(nŋ) *sa(nŋ), *si(nŋ) PSDAB *na
	OBL	ka	*sa	*sa PNUDAB *sa(nŋ) PSDAB *sa
PERS., SG.	NOM	si	*su	*si
	GEN	ni	*ni	*ni
	OBL	kan	*ka(nŋ)	*kaŋ
PERS., PL.	NOM	sin	*sa	*siran, *sa(nŋ)
	GEN	nin	*na	*niran, *na(nŋ)
	OBL	kanín	*ka	*kaniran, *kana(nŋ)

TABLE 3.16. MAMANWA, SOUTH BISAYAN AND DABAWENYO DEMONSTRATIVES

		MMW	PSBIS	PDAB
NOM	**NEAR SPEAKER ONLY**	---	*yadi	*yadi
	NEAR SPKR & ADDRESSEE	iní	*ʔini	*yani, *ini
	NEAR LISTENER ONLY	itón	*yaʔun, *ʔitun	*yaʔan, *ʔiyan, *ʔitun
	FAR FROM BOTH	ijá	*yadtu	*ʔidtu
GEN	**NEAR SPEAKER ONLY**	---	*-adi	
	NEAR SPKR & ADDRESSEE	nainí ~ kiní	*-ini ~ *-anhi	*sini, *nini
	NEAR LISTENER ONLY	naitón ~ kitón	*-itun, *-[y]aʔun	*saʔan, *naʔan, *siyan, *situn
	FAR FROM BOTH	naijá ~ kijá	*-adtu	*sidtu
OBL	**NEAR SPEAKER ONLY**	---	*didi, *ŋadi	*ŋadi, *ʔadi
	NEAR SPKR & ADDRESSEE	diní, ngaríni	*dinhi, *ŋanhi	*ŋani, *di-[si]ni
	NEAR LISTENER ONLY	diján	*didʔun, *ditun, *ŋadʔun	*di-saʔan, *asaʔan
	FAR FROM BOTH	duró	*didtu, *ŋadtu	*ŋadtu, *ʔadtu
VRB	**(NEAR SPEAKER ONLY)**	---	*kadi	*kadi
	NEAR SPKR & ADDRESSEE	karíni	*kanhi	*kani
	NEAR LISTENER ONLY	?	*kadʔun, *katun	*katun
	FAR FROM BOTH	karó	*kadtu	*kadtu
LOC	**(NEAR SPEAKER ONLY)**	---	*yadi	*adi, *idi
	NEAR SPKR & ADDRESSEE	wayní	*yan[h]i	*ani
	NEAR LISTENER ONLY	waytón ~ wadiján	*yaʔun, *yaton, *yadʔun	*iyan
	FAR FROM BOTH	wadró	*yadtu	*adtu

Subsequent to the initial switch, it appears that Mamanwa came under its earliest attributable influence from Dabawenyo languages, either Kamayo or Proto-Dabawenyo itself, judging from the presence of forms like *siran, niran,* and *kaniran* (from PDAB *siran, *niran, and *kaniran, respectively) which reflected PDAB *r as /r/, whereas *r became /l/ in all Dabawenyo languages outside of Kamayo. The presence of two Proto-Dabawenyo innovations, *majo* '2PL.GEN' and *kamajo* '2PL.OBL' (< PDAB *mayu and *kamayu, respectively), indicates that the PDAB innovations *mayu and *kamayu were adopted by the Mamanwa from a Dabawenyo language prior to Mamanwa contact with Surigaonon whose *y > /j/ innovation Mamanwa adopted. The case marker system of Mamanwa also bears similarities to the Proto-Dabawenyo system. Although Mamanwa is currently much further north than any Dabawenyo language (of which Kamayo is the most northerly), these forms are Proto-Dabawenyo innovations, and therefore could not

have been borrowed from South Bisayan languages like Surigaonon, Butuanon, and Tagon-on (or "Tandaganon"), nor from other neighbors such as Manobo languages Agusan Manobo or Higaonon. It is therefore most likely that either (1) the Mamanwa were once located further south in the current area of Kamayo, or (2) the Dabawenyo languages once extended further north of their current location, prior to the arrival of South Bisayan languages and the establishment of the trading port at Butuan over a millennium ago (cf. Hontiveros 2004 and Scott 1984:137).

At the time that Mamanwa came under the influence of Surigaonon, the latter language had likely already undergone the *-r- > /l/ shift but not *y > /j/ or *l > /y/. Thus, Mamanwa forms with *-r- did not shift to /l/ (e.g., the aforementioned PDAB pronouns *siran, *niran, *kaniran which are preserved as Mamanwa *siran, niran,* and *kaniran,* respectively). Under the influence of Surigaonon, Mamanwa also underwent a *y > /j/ shift, which likely happened contemporaneously with several languages near Surigaonon in the Visayan Islands (including Baybayanon, Porohanon, Cabalin-on, and the Cebuano of Bohol and Southern Leyte).[9] While the influence of Surigaonon on Mamanwa was apparently strong during the period that the former underwent its characteristic *y > /j/ shift, that influence had apparently waned by the time Surigaonon underwent its subsequent *l > /y/ shift: there are only three items on a 1,000-item list that reflect *l > /y/ (*səyəm* 'type of ant', *búyak* 'flower', and *báyon* 'provisions'), and these were likely early loans from Surigaonon before most Surigaonon dialects merged *ə with *u.[10] Mamanwa also did not share in the *l > ø shift found in Butuanon and in the Cebuano dialects in northern Cebu, Bohol, and Southern Leyte.[11]

Although Agusan Manobo are found interspersed in, or bordering on, much of the Mamanwa territory, there is little evidence of any significant amount of influence of either language on the other. Therefore, while there does not seem to have been any lack of contact between Mamanwa and Agusan Manobo, the lack of linguistic influence

[9] Note, however, that this shift is not always reflected in exactly the same environments in Mamanwa as it is in Surigaonon, e.g. Mamanwa *kay-an* 'later' but Surigaonon *ngaj-an*, and Mamanwa *luy-a* 'ginger' but Surigaonon *luj-a*.

[10] Only the Gigaquit dialect of Surigaonon retains the contrast between /ə/ and /u/.

[11] Interestingly enough, Agusan Manobo shares not only the *y > /j/ shift of Surigaonon, but also its *l > /y/ shift that Mamanwa did not participate in.

indicates that the contact must not have been of the type that would have caused borrowing from Manobo into Mamanwa or vice-versa, probably meaning that neither group had any power or prestige over the other. The situation at present, however, differs from one place to another: A number of communities in the western half of the Mamanwa territory can be described as Mamanwa-Manobo, both genealogically and linguistically, usually with the majority linguistic influence being Agusan Manobo, resulting in a linguistic mix in which speakers no longer seem able to tease apart Mamanwa and Manobo vocabulary, and much distinctive Mamanwa vocabulary has been lost in these communities. There do exist, however, a small number of Mamanwa-Manobo communities in which Mamanwa is the dominant language.

It is difficult to say with any certainty which other languages Mamanwa should be subgrouped with. Mamanwa has generally been classified as a primary branch of the core Central Philippine subgroup, making it coordinate with the Tagalog, Bikol, Bisayan, and Dabawenyo (or "Mansakan") branches (cf. Zorc 1977). A closer look, however, reveals that although Mamanwa has a considerable overlay of South Bisayan lexicon—over 90%, in fact—and a slightly older substratum which contains some functor evidence of earlier Dabawenyo influence, there is evidence of an even older substratum that cannot be traced to the core Central Philippine subgroup. The pronominal sets of Mamanwa share a few forms exclusively with Kamayo and other Dabawenyo languages, without sharing any Bisayan innovations. In the case markers, besides a number of unique forms, there are a number of forms shared with Dabawenyo languages, yet none uniquely shared with Bisayan languages. The demonstrative set likewise contains many unique forms, but few that are shared with Dabawenyo or Bisayan languages. In fact, it is only in the interrogatives and the negators where any significant number of distinctly South Bisayan forms can be found. Overall, this is consistent with the trend observable throughout the Philippines where languages heavily borrow lexicon, and even certain interrogatives and negators, while preserving earlier pronoun, case marker, and demonstrative systems largely intact.

Internally, while there is a small amount of dialectal variation in the Mamanwa language, the lack of any significant degree of lexical variation between various

Mamanwa communities suggests that at the time of contact with and borrowing from South Bisayan languages, the ancestors of the Mamanwa lived in a single extended community, or a series of communities that remained in close contact with one another.

3.2.7 Ata. Whether or not the Ati of Panay Island or their language were ever as "hidden" as Pennoyer (1986-87) suggests, we know from historical accounts—and from the fact that the Spanish named the island "Negros" due to the preponderance of its Black Filipino population—that the Ata were quite visible to the Spaniards, and certainly also to the limited number of non-Black Visayans (likely the ancestors of the Bukidnon currently living in the mountainous interior of Negros Island) that were living on Negros Island (formerly known as "Buglas Island") centuries ago. However visible this group was in the past, by the mid-20th century, researchers had virtually written off any possibility that Ata still existed who could speak their ancestral language (Pennoyer 1986-87:3). Today, there are only small groups of Ata living in a handful of remote communities in Negros Island, mainly in the north but also in the central-southern part of the island around Mabinay and Bais City. Of these, no more than perhaps three or four individuals at most can still speak the Inata language, all of whom are elderly, and there is a frustratingly large amount of inconsistency between the data collected from the various speakers, and even data collected from the same speaker on different days (although there was never any indication that the informants were being insincere or were intending to give any less reliable responses than any other informant that the writer has worked with). The unfortunate result is that it is impossible at present to make any reliable analysis of the Inata language.

Most of the Ata—and especially those who are reported to still remember the Inata language—live in extremely remote areas that take an extraordinary amount of effort to reach and cannot be traveled to from the nearest town without overnight stays. At least one is in territory controlled by a breakaway rebel faction of so-called communists about which little is known and which does not allow outsiders to visit without previous permission from their commander. For these reasons, while additional research is desperately needed on this group before its elderly members pass away, it

seems unlikely that such research will be forthcoming, and we may never know the truth about the Inata language.

3.2.8 Ayta. While most people in the Philippines refer to all Black Filipinos as *Ayta* when speaking Tagalog, the five ethnolinguistic groups self-identifying as "Ayta" are found exclusively in the provinces of Pampanga, Zambales, Tarlac, and Bataan: the Ayta Mag-anchi, Ayta Mag-indi, Ayta Abellen, Ayta Ambala, and Ayta Bataan (also known as the Ayta Magbukun). Many Ayta communities were displaced throughout this area after the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo in 1991, and were subsequently relocated primarily locally but also on occasion elsewhere in the country. A complete New Testament translation is available for Ayta Mag-anchi (*Ya Habi ni Apo Namalyari,* 2006) and a partial New Testament is available for Ayta Abellen (*Hoholat lan Lucas, Pablo, boy Santiago,* 2011). Over 20 PDFs of various materials on these languages are also available for download on the SIL-Philippines website.

3.2.9 Batak. The Batak are found in at least nine small communities in central and northern Palawan Island, none consisting of more than a hundred members, as illustrated in Table 3.17). There is little in the way of unique features or innovations in the Batak language, which is largely a mix of features and lexicon from surrounding languages like Southern Tagbanwa, Central Tagbanwa, Kuyonon, Agutaynen, etc. However, these Batak communities are of interest, because although each knows the others and their locations, there are nevertheless significant dialect differences between them. The Batak are aware of these dialect differences, which is how I found out about them. After eliciting at the first Batak community I visited, I asked "so, do all Batak regardless of location speak the same dialect?" to which they answered, "no, every community has a different dialect," and they then proceeded to give me specific examples of lexical items that are different in neighboring communities. Therefore, while not important for reconstruction purposes, the Batak dialects would be interesting from a sociolinguistic perspective, as each is the result of that community's unique contact with neighboring languages in its area.

TABLE 3.17. POPULATIONS OF BATAK COMMUNITIES
(Eder 1987:105)

Location	# Pure Batak	# Part-Batak	# non-Batak	Total	Households
Babuyan	21	14	8	43	9
Maoyon+	36	15	6	57	15
Tanabag	80	3	1	84	24
Tarabanan	5	5	1	11	3
Langogan	58	2	2	62	19
Tagnipa	14	6	5	25	7
Caramay+	26	42	4	72	15
Buayan	14	45	11	70	17
Total	254	132	38	424	109

(note that Eder did not include the Abaroan community that I visited in Roxas)

3.2.10 Alta. Two groups known as "Alta" but speaking languages considerably different from one another are found in the eastern part of central Luzon on or near the coast. I worked on Northern Alta with Laura Robinson in 2006, but have not worked on Southern Alta. Reid (1991) published an article which is the only dedicated study of these two languages. Little other work has been done on these groups, although the SIL-Philippines has recently expressed interest in surveying the needs of the Alta.

3.2.11 Arta. The Arta, known only from the work of Lawrence Reid (1987), is a small group with only a dozen or so members living in an area where they are far outnumbered by the Agta of the Casiguran-Nagtipunan type. In fact, non-Black Filipinos living in the area are generally unaware of the fact that there is a linguistically-distinct group living in the same area as the Agta. Other than the data published by Reid, no other information is available on this group. According to Reid's analysis, the Arta language forms a primary branch of the Cordilleran subgroup.

During a trip to the area in 2006 with Laura Robinson, we failed to locate any Arta, and since some of Reid's informants had since passed away, we assumed that the language had become extinct, or that the few remaining speakers had scattered to other locations and that the language would become extinct before the next serious attempt

could be made to track them down. However, Reid (pers. comm., 10/10/2010) found small groups of Arta speakers in Maddela and Nagtipunan towns in Quirino Province, and the Japanese linguist Yukinori Kimoto is currently working with Reid to further document the language (Reid, pers. comm, 9/23/2012).

3.2.12 Casiguran and Nagtipunan Agta. Casiguran Agta (sometimes referred to as Casiguran Dumagat) is one of the better-documented Black Filipino languages of northern Luzon, thanks primarily to the work of Thomas and Janet Headland, two SIL Bible translation supervisors who lived among the Casiguran Agta for years on the San Ildefonso Peninsula across the bay from Casiguran town. The Headlands and their Agta consultants completed not only a Bible translation (New Testament) published in 1979 (*Bigu a Tipan: I mahusay a baheta para ta panahun tam,* New York International Bible Society, Manila), but also a considerable amount of literacy materials (of which 13 are available for download on the SIL-Philippines download page), a dictionary (Headland and Headland 1974), and more recently, a genealogical study of the Casiguran Agta published both in English, and locally, in the Casiguran Agta language.[12]

The writer, along with colleague Laura Robinson, discovered an Agta group living in Nagtipunan town on the western side of the mountains which separate northeastern Luzon from the rest of northern Luzon. These Nagtipunan Agta speak a language similar to that of the Casiguran Agta, but with more influence from Ilokano than in the languages to the east of the mountains. Other than data in a forthcoming paper (Robinson and Lobel 2012), the Nagtipunan Agta and their language has not been previously mentioned in the linguistics literature.

3.2.13 Pahanan and Dinapigue Agta.[13] Further up the coast from the Casiguran Agta are Agta groups living in and around Dinapigue and Palanan towns, the latter inaccessible

[12] Note that as mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, the Headlands have also been in the forefront of documenting abuses committed by the Philippine government against the Agta of Northern Luzon, e.g., Headland and Headland (1999).

[13] It is important to distinguish between the similar-sounding names “Palanan”, “Pahanan”, and “Paranan”. “Palanan” is the name of a town in Isabela province; “Pahanan” refers to the language of the Agta in and around Palanan town (with its *r > /h/ shift); and “Paranan” refers to the language of the non-Black

by land except via a three-day trek through the mountains from San Mariano town to the west. With the exception of data in Robinson and Lobel (2012), virtually no data for either of these languages has appeared in the literature, except for a small number of lexical items listed in Reid (1994b). There is currently a team of SIL-affiliated Bible translation supervisors working on Bible translations for both the Pahanan Agta language and the Paranan language spoken by the non-Black Filipinos of Palanan town.

3.2.14 Dupaningan Agta. The Dupaningan Agta (also known as Dupaninan Agta or Eastern Cagayan Agta) represent the northernmost Black Filipino group, and their language was undescribed until the appearance of Robinson (2008)[14]. This is the only Northeastern Luzon language that the current author has not personally worked on, but Robinson provides a thorough description of the language, along with interlinearized texts and a mini-dictionary, and it is also included in Robinson and Lobel (2012), which provides a comparative survey of Northeast Luzon languages. Finally, a Bible translation (New Testament) for Dupaningan Agta was published in 2001 (*Inaamakan a Baheta na Dios Ti Baro a Tulag; Philippine Bible Society, Manila*).

3.2.15 Atta. Very little information is available about any of the three Atta languages listed by the Ethnologue (Lewis 2009), and no known publications are available other than the several PDFs of Atta Pamplona literacy materials available for download from the SIL-Philippines download page, all dating from between 1969 and 1973. The languages all apparently belong to the Cagayan Valley subgroup, and a Bible translation (New Testament) was published for Pamplona Atta in 1996 (*Yù Bilin ni Namarò nga Meyannung kâ Apu Kesu Kiristu, Philippine Bible Society, Manila*). Unfortunately, I have not been able to visit any of these three ethnolinguistic groups.

3.2.16 Central Cagayan Agta. Last on the list of Black Filipino groups that I have not personally visited is the Central Cagayan Agta, also known as the Labin Agta. The

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inhabitants of Palanan town. Note that the Pahanan Agta have also been referred to as the "Palanan Agta", namely, the Agta of Palanan town.

[14] Later revised and published as Robinson (2011).

language apparently subgroups with the Cagayan Valley languages, rather than with the other Agta languages in northeastern Luzon. Besides a grammar (Healey 1960) and a text collection (Mayfield 1987), a Bible translation (New Testament) was published in 1992 (*Uhohug na Namaratu Gafu te Hesus Kristo,* International Bible Society, Colorado Springs, CO), and nearly 20 PDFs of literacy materials are available as free downloads from SIL-Philippines.

3.2.17 Iraya Mangyan. The Iraya Mangyan of northern Mindoro are often reported to be a "Negrito" population. I cannot confirm this as I have never traveled to an Iraya community, and the Iraya who I met in lowland areas near the highway did not have any overtly Black Filipino physical features. The Iraya language has been classified as a Northern Mangyan language by Zorc (1974b), but also shows considerable differences from the other languages in this subgroup, Tadyawan and Alangan. While a Bible translation has been available locally for years, no other data is available for this language apart from the data in Zorc (1974b) and a thesis by Barbian (1977).

3.2.18 Black Manobos (Ata, Tigwa, Matigsalug). While not traditionally considered "Negritos", anyone who has visited the Ata,[15] Tigwa, and/or Matigsalug Manobo of central Mindanao would be hard-pressed to deny that a significant percentage of the members of these groups have physical features that indicate a Black Filipino lineage, specifically, darker-than-average skin and curly hair. It is likely that a separate Black Filipino population existed in central Mindanao centuries ago, but has now completely assimilated linguistically to the Manobos. This seems even more likely considering that, besides the Mamanwa in various parts of northeastern Mindanao, another unnamed Black Filipino group inhabited the Zamboanga Peninsula in the mid-1600s, according to Spanish friar Francisco Combes (cited in Finley 1913:6), cf. Section 3.2.24. As mentioned in Section 3.1, Reid (1987, 2007) has also previously noted the physical resemblance of some of the members of these three Manobo groups to Black Filipino populations.

[15] Not to be confused with the Ata of Negros Island.

3.2.19 "Tabuy" (Lapu-Lapu Island). A group of Agta called "Tabuy" is listed by the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) as living on Lapu-Lapu Island in the Bikol Region east of the cities of Legaspi and Tabaco. I traveled to Lapu-Lapu Island in 2006 and visited members of this group in their community, but they said that their only native language was Bikol Legaspi. The name "Tabuy" was reported as originating in the fact that one of their tribal chieftains in the past walked with a limp. There was no recollection of any of their members or ancestors speaking any other language. They also did not retain any overt physical features indicating Black Filipino ancestry, so either the members of this group have only a small percentage of Black Filipino ancestry, or perhaps did not really originate from a Black Filipino population at all. The group is, however, listed as such by the NCIP, which often has erratic records dating from decades past, in some cases relating to "tribes" that do not have any overt physical features which would indicate a Black Filipino lineage. It should be noted that the listing of "Black Filipino" groups by the NCIP in the Bikol Region is particularly problematic, and many locals reported that in the 1970s and 1980s members of PANAMIN (Office of the Presidential Assistant on National Minorities)—and later, OSCC (the Office on Southern Cultural Communities)—enlisted non-Black Filipinos in rural areas with promises of benefits in order to swell the numbers of purported minorities that these government agencies were supposedly serving.

3.2.20 Sorsogon "Ayta". A group of so-called "Ayta" is listed in the Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) as living in the town of Prieto Diaz in Sorsogon province. I visited the community in 2006 and spoke to members of this tribe. Very few are left, none of whom have evident Black Filipino features and none of whom claim to be native speakers of any language other than Bikol Legaspi (North Coastal Sorsogon dialect). They claim that their ancestors did speak differently, although their descriptions indicated more of a difference in intonational pattern than a difference in language or dialect. However, a priest who had worked in the area as a seminarian told me that when outsiders would visit, the eldest member of the group, now deceased, would whisper his answers to his

daughter and she would speak to the outsiders in Tagalog or Bikol. Unfortunately, neither the old man nor his daughter are still alive. The priest also said that his impression was that the group originated some place further north in Luzon, and that they would periodically go back north, only to return to Prieto Diaz later. No language data is known to exist for whatever language this group might have spoken in the past. As such, there is no evidence that their language was an *R > /y/ language, and the name "Ayta" is likely an exonym adopted from the national language Tagalog.

3.2.21 Samar Agta. It was reported to me by staff members at the Visayas regional NCIP office, that prior to the arrival of Mamanwa migrants in central Samar Island, an earlier population of Black Filipinos lived in the area. I did not have a chance to search for this group, and it seems unlikely that the group still exists separately from any Mamanwa in the area. No linguistic data exists for any Black Filipino population on Samar Island, and even if any non-Mamanwa Black Filipinos still exist there, there is no evidence that they have retained their ancestral language, most likely having switched either to Waray-Waray or Northern Samarenyo, or even possibly Mamanwa if they assimilated into the migrant Mamanwa population.

3.2.22 Katabangan of Catanauan. A group of "Ayta" in the town of Catanauan is listed by Garvan (1963:8) and by the government of Quezon Province, but the group calls itself "Katabangan"—erroneously listed as "Katabaga" in the Ethnologue (Lewis 2009 and earlier editions) where the language is listed as extinct—a name which is also used by some in the Bikol Region to refer to mixed-blood Agta. While the Katabangan of Catanauan exists in name as a group, a visit to the group in 2006 confirmed that none of the Katabangan speak any language natively other than Tagalog, nor is there any recollection of their ancestors speaking any other language. Likewise, no linguistic data is known to exist for any language spoken by ancestors of this group in the past. Judging from its location, however, the ancestral language of this group may have been related to the Agta of the Lopez-Guinayangan area, or to the Manide of western and central Camarines Norte, but the members of the group intermixed centuries ago with the

Tagalogs in the area and subsequently lost their language. In the absence of even the smallest bit of data for any language their ancestors spoke, this group cannot be included in any discussion of Philippine languages.

3.2.23 Tayabas "Ayta". Like the Katabangan of Catanauan town in southeastern Quezon province, another group which exists in name but does not natively speak any language except Tagalog is the Tayabas "Ayta". The language is listed in the Ethnologue as extinct, in spite of the fact that no linguistic data exists for any language that the ancestors of this group might have once spoken. And thus, there is no evidence that this group ever had a language distinct from any other Philippine language (i.e., they may have once spoken Manide, Inagta Alabat, Umiray Dumaget, Remontado Dumagat, etc.). Even the name "Ayta" cannot be accepted at face value as indicating that the language of their ancestors was an *R > /y/ language, since it may instead just be an adoption of the generic name *Ayta* that many Tagalogs call any Black Filipino group (based on the widespread recognition of the Ayta of Pinatubo further north, and the general lack of recognition among people in the Philippines that not all Black Filipinos belong to the same tribe and speak the same language).

3.2.24 Black Filipinos in Zamboanga Peninsula. Finley (1913:6) notes that a Spanish friar named Francisco Combes observed the presence of Black Filipinos in the Zamboanga Peninsula "in the Misamis strip" in 1645. No linguistic data was ever collected from this group, and no Black Filipino group has been observed in this area in modern times. In fact, Finley himself notes that if there were ever Black Filipinos in any part of the Zamboanga Peninsula, "every trace has long ago disappeared" (ibid.).

3.3 EPILOGUE: DISCRIMINATION AND VIOLENCE AGAINST THE BLACK FILIPINOS. While the general Philippine public and many Philippine academics are loathe to admit it, it is an undeniable fact that example after example exists of discrimination and abuse of Black Filipinos persisting up to the present. This has been observed time and time again by the writer, and has been documented in a number of

books and articles by other authors including anthropologists and linguists. Anthropologist Bion Griffin, who has worked among the Agta of northeastern Luzon for decades, summed up the situation of the Black Filipinos as follows:

> No doubt exists that they are an exploited and marginalized, indeed despised, people, who many Filipinos consider non-humans and entirely worth exterminating in the fashion that White Americans sought to exterminate Native Americans and that White Australians sought to kill off Aborigines. (2002a:44)

Attitudes were no better in the early 1900s. John Garvan, who was in the Philippines between 1903 and 1924, compares widespread misinformation about Black Filipinos to his own personal experiences with them:

> If I had believed the accounts given to me by some Filipino peasants, I would have encountered in many places prognathous, beetle-browed, short-legged and ape-like Pygmies...
>
> The prevailing idea among rural Filipinos and others who have had little or no dealings with Pygmies is that they are dirty and diseased. This, of course, is a manifest mistake... If they had lived for all these millennia in a state of filth, it is not reasonable to suppose that they would have survived down to our day.
>
> It is also stated that they do not bathe. This also is a misinformation. They not only wash themselves after a hunt or on a long hike, but also bathe the whole body wherever there is water deep enough for the purpose...If they did not bathe or wash it would be reasonable to suppose that some odor would exude from the body, and, yet, as far as I could distinguish, I never experienced any odor...
>
> Before and after meals they wash out their mouth. Before cooking or handling food they clean their hands and I have in many cases seen individuals scraping off the dirt from their finger nails; also, after eating they clean the teeth by swishing water through them or with their fingers or with some such abstergent as beetle husk.

> Even their feet, if over-soiled, they wash carefully before retiring to their huts and it is altogether in bad form to dance with sullied feet. (Garvan 1963:11-13)

Black Filipinos are generally the bottom rung of the social ladder in the Philippines. This can be explained as a combination of factors: poverty, rural location, minority status, and skin color. In the Philippines, impoverished citizens are very often treated unfairly if not inhumanely by the rich even if they belong to a majority ethnolinguistic group. Those living in rural locations are often ridiculed as backwards compared with those from the city, and these misinformed stereotypes of the uneducated *promdi* ('rural Filipino', from the Tagalog pronunciation of the first two words of the English phrase 'from the province') are widespread even on television programs, where they have been denounced by a number of Philippine organizations. Likewise, Philippine minorities in general face intense discrimination in nearly every part of the country from majority groups, even when there are no overt physical traits distinguishing them from other Philippine ethnolinguistic groups. This is especially true for darker-skinned groups, as there is a widespread dislike for dark skin among majority groups in the Philippines, and skin whitening products (including creams, lotions, deodorants, soaps, cleansers, and even medical treatments) are widely sold, advertised, and used. Likewise, it is still common in the Philippines for Black Americans to be referred to with offensive terms such as *negro* or worse,[16] and for people in the Philippines who have never met a Black American to already have negative prejudices about them. Eder (1987:176) describes similar discrimination against Black Filipinos in his book about the Batak of Palawan:

> Rai (1982: 199-201) speaks of the "sociosymbolic subordination" of the Agta to their non-Agta neighbors. In the Cagayan Valley, he says, there is a caste-line, hierarchical ranking of ethnic groups, with the long-Christianized Ilokano at the top and the Agta at the bottom. More generally, common throughout the

[16] To be fair, it should be noted that people in the Philippines don't generally realize that these terms are considered derogatory in America, as they are largely unfamiliar with the history of race relations in the United States, not to mention the fact that English is almost never a first language for people in the Philippines.

> Philippines is the notion that Negritos (like tribal peoples generally) are inferior in mind and culture. (Eder 1987:176)

Eder (1987:176-177) notes that the Batak themselves are clearly aware of others' attitudes towards them:

> The Batak are aware of their subjective position in wider Philippine society—indeed, through word and deed of lowlanders, they are constantly reminded of it. They know, for example, that they are variously regarded as unclean, lazy, ignorant, superstitious, or easily fooled or intimidated. The Batak resent and speak bitterly of these attitudes. "Why must we be treated like this?" I was once asked. "Even if we haven't been to school, we're people, too." Daily reminders that most outsiders regard the Batak as an inferior people contribute to undermining such important stress-coping resources as self-esteem. (Eder 1987:176-177)

Most people in the Philippines know next to nothing about the Black Filipinos beyond the mistruths taught in Philippine schools which only serve to perpetuate the negative stereotypes while doing nothing to help the Philippine national historical narrative. Except for a small percentage of Filipinos who live in rural areas proximate to Black Filipino settlements, or those who have hired Black Filipinos as household help or manual laborers, few other Filipinos ever have even a single instance of direct contact with Black Filipinos in their lives. Menzer (2002:99) likewise makes a similar observation:

> 'When they said there were Agta people [who] still existed, I myself was surprised,' said Ms. de la Rosa, an accountant. 'Unless you really live with them, you don't see them.'
>
> Dr. Headland, who lived with the Agta people for 24 years, said that most Filipino people know little about the 10,000 Agta Negritos living in the Philippines today.

> ‘It’s like the American Indian community here,’ said Dr. Headland, 64. ‘How many Americans have been to a reservation to see the miserable conditions in which they live? People just don’t know.’

Unfortunately, this also means that most people in the Philippines are likewise unaware of the abuses committed against their Black countrymen. Thomas and Janet Headland (1999), who lived among the Casiguran Agta for decades, have documented a number of human rights violations of Black Filipinos in just one small area, noting that

> The Agta Negrito people…have suffered throughout the 20th century from harassments from outsiders, including Americans before World War Two. These human rights abuses have included slavery, murders, kidnapping of children, and especially takeovers of their ancestral lands.

As an example, the Headlands’ website (ibid.) includes the following section headings (also in Headland 2002:31-35):

1) “U.S. Army Captain Chain-Gangs Agta for Slave Labor”
2) “Land Takeover By a Mining Company”
3) “Two Massacres at Agta Camps”
4) “Soldiers’ Treatment of Agta Prisoners”
5) “Poisoning of an Agta Camp In 1990”
6) “Agta Orphanage Program In Cagayan”
7) “Land-Grabbing of Agta Fields”
8) “Two Government-Designated Agta Land Reserves”

Headland (2003:7) notes an even more severe form of language extinction among the Dicamay Agta, who were reportedly exterminated by migrant Ilokano farmers who wanted their land:

> Another Agta language group, the Dicamay Agta…recently became completely extinct—both the people and their language (Grimes 2000:599). SIL linguist Richard Roe contacted this group in 1957 and took a word list of 291 words. They lived on the Dicamay River on the western side of the Sierra Madre near Jones, Isabela. Roe told me that there was only one family there then. In November 1974, after talking with Roe and with a copy of his wordlist in hand, I went to Jones to see if I could find the Agta who spoke this language. I was unable to find them. We talked to many Filipinos in the area, but they all said they had not seen any Negritos for several years. Some people whispered to me that migrant Ilokano homesteaders had killed a number of the Agta a few years ago.

All of this is even more saddening considering the fact that Black Filipinos have nowhere to turn when they are the target of violence, intimidation, robbery, forced relocation and various other hate crimes. In fact, the Black Filipinos are the most disenfranchised group in the Philippines, with no representation in the national or local government, police force, media, or academia. Even when they are sick, they can hardly turn to medical professionals without being the target of discriminatory and unprofessional behavior. Laura Robinson, in her upcoming book "Microphone in the Mud" (with Gary Robinson, to appear), narrates the following episode that she observed during her year of fieldwork among the Dupaningan Agta:

> I showed up in the morning to check on my Agta friends at the hospital. I was at the hospital early, but the doctor wasn't. "Is the doctor coming?" I asked the nurses after an hour. "She's taking a shower." I sat and waited. One of the nurses came into the hospital room, and asked the mother to bathe the patient, and the young mother took her sick daughter to the pump well outside. The bathroom was out of order. Twenty minutes later the nurse reappeared. "Did you bathe her?" The young mother said she had, and the girl was dressed in one of the new t-shirts I had bought in

> Manila. “Did you bathe? All of you?” the nurse asked, and so the whole family trudged out and bathed under the pump outside the hospital along the intersection of two dusty roads. I went to the nurse station. The doctor had reappeared, and when the nurses saw me, they asked her about the Agta girl. “I don't want to go in there, they smell bad,” she said and flashed me a huge grin. The nurses giggled. “No, we made sure they bathed.” The doctor hesitated, but finally entered the hospital room, which did smell rancid, but only because the hospital staff left the patient rooms untouched while they mopped the halls and the nurses’ station.

During joint fieldwork, Robinson and I also observed on several occasions that even many employees of the Philippines’ one and only government agency charged with serving the Black Filipinos and other ethnolinguistic minorities—the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP)—are quite forthcoming in their prejudices and discriminatory attitudes towards Black Filipinos.

Black Filipinos have no voice in Philippine society nor any control over the image that Philippine society paints of them. Their image and culture has been hijacked by mainstream Filipinos who, as part of festival activities, can often be seen dressing up in loincloths, painting their faces and bodies black, and doing primitive-looking dances all for the sake of making money in well-known Philippine festivals such as Panay’s *Ati-Atihan* (ironically, these same mainstream Filipinos, when not painting themselves black to make money at festival time, are often busy applying skin-whitening cream to their bodies out of embarrassment about their own brown skin color). Black Filipinos that I’ve spoken to deplore these performances that can routinely be seen as part popular annual Philippine festivals, but they are powerless to stop them. And while everyone else seems to profit off of this opportunistic, commercialized, momentary fit of “blackness”, the Black Filipinos themselves don’t make a single *peso* off of these events. Nor do these events serve to educate anyone about the real Black Filipinos, their real culture or their just-as-real plight.

Coupled with all of the aforementioned social problems facing Black Filipinos is the ongoing destruction of their traditional domain, the forests. A number of authors have commented about this, including Headland (2002:25) who observes that:

> The decline of Asia's Negritos is due to high mortality rates, not low birth rates or out-migration. These high death rates result from encroachment by outsiders, deforestation, depletion of traditional game and plant resources, increasing alcoholism, new forces introducing general poverty and new diseases, and cases of outright land-grabbing, murders, and kidnapping.

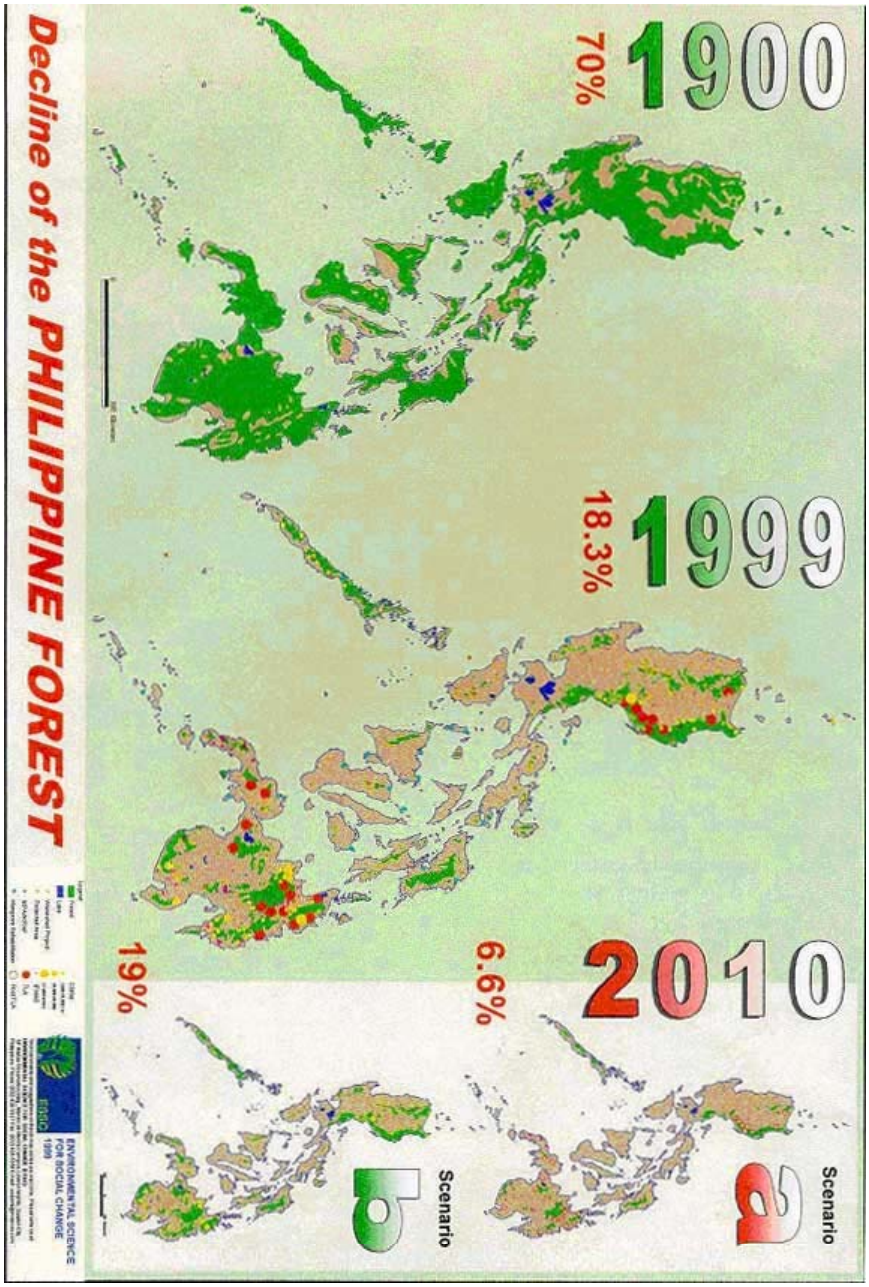
Headland is likewise quoted by Menzer (2002:100):

> Because of logging and mining, only 3 percent of the hardwood rain forest that supported the Agta exists today, Dr. Headland said...They raised their three children amid the Agta society, watching it change from a culture of hunter-gatherers to one of peasant workers laboring on nearby farms...'As an anthropologist, I can't help but be saddened to see…a way of life that was adaptive for thousands of years just disappear in 50 years,' Dr. Headland said.

Griffin (2002b:93) paints an equally bleak picture: "Through much of the twentieth century Agta were foragers with an emphasis on hunting, fishing, very small-scale swiddening, and trading with neighboring farmers...The basis of Agta economy has deteriorated to a point where one may correctly say, 'Their forest is gone: now what?'"

Figure 3.1, "the Decline of the Philippine Forest" (found on the internet at http://www.fao.org/DOCREP/003/X6967E/x6967e0c.jpg, but also seen posted in the offices of a number of government agencies in the Philippines, including some NCIP offices), illustrates Headland and Blood's (2002:xxi) claim that "the Philippines, once 96% forest, and estimated to be 30% old-growth forest in the 1930s, today probably has only about 3% of its old-growth forest remaining."

FIGURE 3.1. DECLINE OF THE PHILIPPINE FOREST 1900-2010



Indeed, the state of the Black Filipinos is far from encouraging. Ideally, as the last of the pre-Austronesian inhabitants of the Philippines, they should be afforded a special status in society, with recognition and full control of their ancestral domains, equal representation at all levels of government, and full government protection. Instead, it looks like many of these groups will die an unnatural death, forced from their traditional

domains, but virtually prohibited from seeking sustainable employment, from fully participating in the political process, and from celebrating their cultural traditions in a way that they find respectful. Sadly, this will not change until the Philippine government and especially its Department of Education begins to instill in its citizens the basic truth that Black Filipinos are no less human, no less intelligent, no less worthy of empathy and opportunity than their lighter-skin ethnic Austronesian counterparts.

CHAPTER 4
PRONOUNS

4.1. INTRODUCTION. Along with the system of verbal "focus" or "voice", which will be discussed in Chapter 5, one of the most readily identifiable features of Philippine-type languages is their functor subsystems, including pronouns, demonstratives, and case markers. This chapter will present a reconstruction of the pronoun systems of Proto-Philippines (Table 4.1[1]) and Proto-Southwest Sabah (Table 4.2), as well as a reconstruction for a higher-level subgroup ancestral to both, here called "Proto-Philippines and North Borneo" (Table 4.3), which may upon further investigation turn out to be Proto-Western Malayo-Polynesian or even Proto-Malayo-Polynesian itself.

TABLE 4.1. PROTO-PHILIPPINE PRONOUNS

	NOM	GEN	LONG GEN	OBL	OBL-2
1SG	*aku, *akə(nq)	*ku	*naku	*akə(nq)	*dakə(nq)
2SG	*ikaw, *ka[w]	*mu, *nu	*nimu	*imu, *iyu	*dimu, *diyu
3SG	*[s]ia	*na, *ya	*nia	*ia, *kania	*dia
1EX	*kami	*mi	*n[i]-amə(nq), *nami, *mami	*amə(nq)	*damə(nq)
1IN	*kita	*ta	*nita	*atə(nq)	*datə(nq)
2PL	*kamu, *kayu	*muyu, *yu	*niyu	*inyu, *imuyu	*dinyu, *dimuyu
3PL	*sida	*da	*nida	*ida, *kanida	*dida

TABLE 4.2. PROTO-SOUTHWEST SABAH PRONOUNS

	NOM	GEN	OBL
1SG	*aku	*=ku	*d[i]-ak(əi)(nʔ)
2SG	*(əi)-ka[w], *=kə	*=mu, *=nu	*d[i]-iyun
3SG	*[s]iə	*=yə, *=nə, *nyə	*di[si]ə
1EX	*ə-kai	*=mai	*d[i]-am(əi)(nʔ)
1IN.DU	*[k]itə	*=tə	*d[i]-at(əi)(nʔ)
1IN.PL	*[ki]ta-kau	*=ta-kau	*di-ta-kau
2PL	*ə-kau, *=kau	*=muyu[n]	*d[i]-amuyu[n]
3PL	*[s]idə	*=[ni-]də	*di[si]idə

[1] In this chapter as throughout this dissertation, square brackets indicate optional segments, and parentheses indicate that either of the segments enclosed therein could appear in the proto-form.

TABLE 4.3. PRONOMINAL RECONSTRUCTIONS BASED ON PROTO-PHILIPPINES & PROTO-SOUTHWEST SABAH

	NOM	GEN	LONG GEN	OBL	OBL-2
1SG	*aku	*ku	*naku	*akə(nq)	*dakə(nq)
2SG	*ika[h]u, *=ka[w]	*mu, *nu	*nimu	*imu, *iyu[n]	*dimu, *diyu[n]
3SG	*[s]ia	*na, *ya, *nia	*nia	*ia	*dia
1EXCL	*kami	*mi	*nami, *mami, *ni-amə(nq)	*amə(nq)	*damə(nq)
1INCL	*kita	*ta	*nita	*atə(nq)	*datə(nq)
2PL	*kamu, *kayu	*niu, *muyu, *yu	*namu	*inyu, *imuyu	*dinyu, *d(ai)muyu
3PL	*si-da	*da	*ni-da	*ida	*dida

Virtually all Philippine-type languages have at least three sets of pronouns which represent what are often called the Nominative, Genitive, and Oblique "cases".[2] Also usually marked in the pronominal systems of Philippine-type languages are number distinctions, primarily singular vs. plural, but with the plural further distinguishing a first-person exclusive pronoun (which includes the speaker and one or more others, but not the addressee) in contrast with a first-person inclusive pronoun (including the speaker and addressee or addressees, and potentially one or more other individuals). Many languages also encode a dual-inclusive vs. plural-inclusive contrast (cf. Reid 2009, Liao 2008), and a few have even more elaborate distinctions in pronominal number such as the Mongondow-Gorontalo languages (cf. Section 4.3.2).

4.2. EVIDENCE FOR THE PRONOUN SETS. The evidence for the reconstruction of most of the pronominal forms in Tables 4.1-4.3 is rather straightforward. The first-person nominative pronoun can clearly be reconstructed as *aku for both Proto-Philippines and Proto-Southwest Sabah, although various subgroups in the Philippines have replaced *aku with a reflex of *akə(nq), as illustrated in Table 4.4.

[2] The use of the term "case", and of terms like "nominative", "genitive", and "oblique", is not intended to imply an exact correspondence with the grammar of Indo-European languages. Instead, these are terms that have traditionally been used by many writers on Philippine and Philippine-type languages, to refer to one of the two component parts of the Philippine-type system (the other being the system of "focus" in the verb system). The two components together work to indicate, among other things, the semantic role of each noun phrase in a given clause or sentence, or even across sentences.

TABLE 4.4. LANGUAGES WHICH HAVE REPLACED *aku WITH *akən IN THE TOPICALIZED NOMINATIVE PRONOUN SET

	PNLUZ†	PDANAO	PSUBANEN	PMANOBO	PPH
1SG	*-akən	*-akən	*[in]akən	*-[kan]ak[ən]	*aku (~*akən)
2SG	*-ikaw	*-ka	*ika[ʔa]	*-[kan]ikaw	*ikaw, *=ka[w]
3SG	*si[qi]a	*-kanian	*yan-iən	*-kandin	*[s]ia
1EXCL	*-kami	*-kami	*ami	*-k[an]ami	*kami
1INCL	*-kita	*-kita	*ita	*-kita	*kita
2PL	*-kamu	*-kanu	*amu	*-k[an]iu	*kamu
3PL	*si[qi]da	*siran	*ilan	*-kandan	*sida

† PNLUZ reconstructions based on Reid (1979).

The fact that this shift is found in both the northern Philippines (the Northern Luzon subgroup), and in the southern Philippines (Manobo, Danao, and Subanen subgroups), points to the optional replacement of *aku with *akən as being an innovation in Proto-Philippines, as there is no other evidence indicating an exclusive subgrouping of the Northern Luzon and Southern Philippine languages. Note, however, that both forms were still present in Proto-Philippines. An alternative scenario would be that the replacement of *aku with *akən happened independently in Proto-Northern Luzon and Proto-Southern Philippines.

The second-person nominative pronoun apparently had two forms in both Proto-Philippines and Proto-Southwest Sabah: a full form *ikaw, and a short enclitic form *=ka[w]. The existence of long forms without *-w points to analogy with reflexes of *=ka[w] that had dropped the final *w.[3]

The first person plural exclusive and inclusive forms can easily be reconstructed as *kami and *kita, respectively for both Proto-Philippines and Proto-Southwest Sabah. The only major variation to *kami is the loss of the intervocalic *-m- in Molbog-Bonggi and Southwest Sabah, creating a CVV sequence that in most languages would be realized as a monosyllable, and thus either cliticized, or prefixed (usually with *ə- or *i-) to restore the disyllabic structure. There is little noteworthy variation in the Nominative 1st-person inclusive pronoun *kita, except that as discussed by Reid (2009), Blust (2009:308-

[3] It is also possible that a form *ika existed alongside *ikaw, as Blust (pers. comm., 10/24/12) points out that even non-Philippine languages contain 2SG pronouns without the final *-w, such as Kayan *ikaʔ* '2SG' (note that the word-final glottal stop in this form is regular).

309) and Liao (2008), many languages have developed a dual-vs.-plural contrast in the inclusive form. This contrast will not be discussed further here as it has already been discussed extensively in the aforementioned publications.

The second person plural pronoun appears to have had two competing forms in both Proto-Philippines and Proto-Southwest Sabah, *kamu and *kayu. As happened with the 1st-person exclusive pronoun *kami, the intervocalic *-m- of *kamu has also been dropped in Molbog-Bonggi and Southwest Sabah, creating a monosyllable that has also been prefixed with *ə- or *i- to restore the disyllabic structure.

The third-person pronouns appear to have had a different derivation than the other persons, and this is reflected not only in the Nominative pronouns but also in their Genitive and Oblique counterparts. The bases for the third person singular and plural forms were *ya and *da, respectively (or possibly *iya and *ida), and these were preceded by case-marking formatives (*si- or *i- for the nominative, *ni- for the genitive, and either *di- or a reflex of *kani- for the oblique), as illustrated in Table 4.5 below.

TABLE 4.5. FORMATION OF THIRD-PERSON PRONOUNS

	NOMINATIVE *SI-	**GENITIVE *NI-**	**OBLIQUE-1 *DI-**	**OBLIQUE-2 *KANI-**
SINGULAR (*-ya)	*[s]i-ya	*ni-ya	*di-ya	*kani-ya
PLURAL (*-da)	*si-da	*ni-da	*di-da	*kani-da

Tables 4.6a-b list the evidence supporting the Proto-Philippine and Proto-North Borneo Nominative pronoun reconstructions.

TABLE 4.6A. EVIDENCE FOR PPHNB NOMINATIVE PRONOUNS (SINGULAR)

		1SG		2SG		3SG
	PPHNB	*aku		*ika[h]u	*=ka[w]	*[s]ia
	PPH	*aku	*akə(nʔ)	*ikaw	*=ka[w]	*[s]ia
	PNB	*aku		*ika[h]u	*=ka	*[s]ia
PHILIPPINES: GCPH	**PCPH**	*ʔaku		*ʔikaw	*=ka[w]	*siya
	MMW	haʔo		iko[w]	ko[w]	ijá
	PDAN	*aku			*=ka	*kanian
	PSUB	*ʔu	*[in]akən	*ika[ʔa]	*=ʔa	*iən
	PPAL	*aku		*ikaw	*=ka	*ia
	PMOGO	*aku		*ika[w]		*sia
PHILIPPINES: NON-GCPH	**PMOBO**	*aku		*a-ka	*=ka	*sia
	KAP	aku		ika		ia
	PMDE	*haʔku		*hika[w]		*hia
	UMDGT	ako		ikaw		eye
	PBAT	*aku			*=ka	---
	PNELUZ		*si-akən	*si-kaw	*=ka	*si-a
	PNLUZ		*-akən	*ikaw		*si[qi]a
	PCLUZ	*siʔ-[a]ku		*siʔ-ika		*si-a
	PMINA	*aku			*=ko[w]	*sia
	PSANG	*i-aʔ[u]		*ikaw		*i-sie
NORTH BORNEO	**PSWSAB**	*aku		*ə-kaw	*=kə	*[s]iə
	PDUS	*i-əku		*i-ika[w]	*=kə	*i-siə
	PMUR	*a[k]u		*oko[w]	*=ko[w]	*iso, *(io)yo
	PBISLO	*əku		*ik(aə)w	*=kə	*iə
	PPAIT	*aku		*(iə)kaw	*=kə	*iə
	PIDAAN	*aku		*ik(ao)w		---

TABLE 4.6B. EVIDENCE FOR PPHNB NOMINATIVE PRONOUNS (PLURAL)[4]

		1EXCL	1INCL	2PL	3PL
	PPHNB	*kami	*kita	*kamu, *kayu	*sida
	PPH	*kami	*kita	*kamu, *kayu	*sida
	PNB	*kami	*kita	*kamu, *kayu	*sida
PHILIPPINES: GCPH	**PCPH**	*kami	*kita	*kamu	*si[n]da
	MMW	kámi	kitá	kamó	sirán
	PDAN	*kami	*kita	*kanu	*siran
	PSUB	*ʔami	*ʔita	*ʔamu	*ʔilan
	PPAL	*kami	*kita	*kamu	*sira
	PMOGO	*kami	*kita	*kamu	*sira
PHILIPPINES: NON-GCPH	**PMOBO**	*a-kay	*kita	*a-kaw	*sida
	KAP	ikami	ikata	ikayu	ila
	PMDE	*kami	*kita	*kamu	*hida
	UMDGT	ikami	ikitam	ikamu	ide
	PBAT	*kami	*ta	*kamu	*si-[i]ra
	PNELUZ	*=kami	*=kita	*=kam	*si-di
	PNLUZ	*kami	*kita	*kamu	*si[qi]da
	PCLUZ	*siʔ-kami	*siʔ-[ki]ta	*siʔ-kamu	*sira
	PMINA	*kami	*kita	*kamu	*sera
	PSANG	*i-kami	*i-kite	*ik(au)mu[yu]	*i-side
NORTH BORNEO	**PSWSAB**	*ə-kai	*[k]itə	*ə-ka[y]u	*[s]idə
	PDUS	*i-(iə)kəy	*i-kitə	*i-kə(yw)u	*i-sidə, *yə-sidə
	PMUR	*akay	*ito	*aka[u]	*iro
	PBISLO	*(iə)kəy	*[k]itə	*(iə)kəw	*idə
	PPAIT	*kai	*kitə	*kau	*sirə
	PIDAAN	*k(uə)mmi	*kito	(*muyu)	*[ ]iro

Table 4.7a-c below presents evidence for the reconstruction of the Genitive pronouns. The first person singular Genitive pronoun is uncontroversially reconstructed as *ku. Likewise, the second person singular Genitive pronoun can clearly be reconstructed as *mu, with an alternate form *nu found sporadically, including Manobo, Subanen, Sangiric, and Dusunic. The appearance of the *nu form is difficult to explain, but a number of possibilities exist, including (1) an analogy with other *n-initial genitive

[4] Blust (pers. comm., 10/24/12) suggests that PPHNB also had a '2pl.nom' form *kamuyu from which Sangiric *ik(au)mu[yu] was derived, and supported by outside evidence such as Chamorro *hamyu,* Palauan *kemiu*, and Tasmate (Vanuatu) *kamiu* '2PL'. However, as this form is only reflected in Sangiric out of all of the Philippine and North Bornean subgroups, it is left out of the current discussion.

forms, as well as with the PMP Genitive case markers *ni, *na, and *nu; or (2) a reduction of *ni-mu (*nimu > *nmu > *nnu > *nu).

TABLE 4.7A. EVIDENCE FOR PPHNB GENITIVE PRONOUNS (SINGULAR)

		1SG	2SG		3SG		
	PPHNB	*ku	*mu	*nu	*na	*ya	*nia
	PPH	*ku	*mu	*nu	*na	*ya	*nia
	PNB	*ku	*mu	*nu	*na	*ya	*nia
PHILIPPINE: GCPH	**PCPH**	*ku	*mu				*nia
	PDAB	*ku	*mu				
	MAMANWA	ʔu	mu				
	HANUNOO	niku	nimu			niya	
	PPAL	*ku	*mu			*ya	
	PMNBO	*ku		*nu			
	PSUB	*ku	*mu	*nu			*niən
	PDAN	*ku					*[n]ian
	PMOGO	*ku	*mu				*nia
PHILIPPINE: NON-GCPH	**PBAT**	*ku	*mu		*na		
	PNLUZ	*ku	*mu		*na		
	PNELUZ	*ku	*mu		*na		
	PCLUZ	*ku	*mu		*na		
	UMDU	ku	mu		na		
	PMDE	*ku	*mu				
	PMOBO	*ku	*mu		(na)	(ya)	(nya)
	PMINA	*ku	*mu		*na		
	PSANG	*ku		*nu	*ne		
	INATI	ku	mu			ye	
NORTH BORNEO	**PSWSAB**	*ku	*mu	*nu	*nə	*yə	*nyə
	PDUS	*ku		*nu		*yə	
	PMUR	*ku	*mu		*no		
	PBISLO	*ku	*mu				*nyə
	PPAIT	*ku	*mu				*niə

TABLE 4.7B.
EVIDENCE FOR PPHNB GENITIVE PRONOUNS (FIRST-PERSON PLURAL)

		1EXCL			1INCL
	PPHNB	*mi	*mami	*nami†	*ta
	PPH	*mi, *namə(nʔ)	*mami	*nami	*ta
	PNB		*ma[m]i		*ta
PHILIPPINE: GCPH	**PCPH**	*mi, *namə(nʔ)			*ta
	PDAB			*nami	
	MAMANWA			nami	
	HANUNOO	nimi			nita
	PPAL	*[ ]mən			*ta
	PMNBO			*nay ~ *day	*ta
	PSUB			*nami	*ta
	PDAN			*[n]ami	*ta
	PMOGO			*nami	
PHILIPPINE: NON-GCPH	**PBAT**	*namən			*ta
	PNLUZ	*mi			*ta
	PNELUZ	*mi			*ta
	PCLUZ	*mi, *na[]ən			*ta
	UMDU	mi			ta
	PMDE	*mi			*ta
	PMOBO		*may		*ta
	PMINA		*mami	*nami	*ta
	PSANG				
	INATI		mam		te
NORTH BORNEO	**PSWSAB**		*mai		*tə
	PDUS				*tə
	PMUR		*may		*to
	PBISLO				*tə
	PPAIT		*mai		*tə

† While in my own data, *nami is only reflected in Philippine languages, it is nevertheless a retention from Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Malayo-Polyneisian (cf. Ross 2006).

TABLE 4.7C. EVIDENCE FOR PPHNB GENITIVE PRONOUNS (SECOND- AND THIRD-PERSON PLURAL)

		2PL		3PL	
	PPHNB	*niu, *muyu	*yu	*nida	*da
	PPH	*muyu, *niu	*yu	*nida	*da
	PNB	*muyu	*yu	*nida	*da
PHILIPPINE: GCPH	**PCPH**	*nin(yd)u		*ni[n]da	
	PDAB	*mayo		*niran	
	MAMANWA	maju		niran	
	HANUNOO		niyu	nida	
	PPAL	*muyu		*nida	
	PMNBO	*niu, *nau	*yu	*[ ]dan	
	PSUB	*niu		*niran	
	PDAN	*niu		*[n]iran	
	PMOGO	*niu, *namu		*nira	
PHILIPPINE: NON-GCPH	**PBAT**	*nyu			*da
	PNLUZ	*muyu			*da
	PNELUZ	*muy			*di
	PCLUZ	*muyu	*yu		*ra
	UMDU		yu		de
	PMDE		*yu	*adida	
	PMOBO	(muyu, nyu)		*nida	
	PMINA	*(nm)iu		*nera	
	PSANG				
	INATI			daye	
NORTH BORNEO	**PSWSAB**	*muyu[n]	*yu	*nidə	*də
	PDUS	*muyu, *nuyu	*yu		
	PMUR	*muyu[n]		*niro	
	PBISLO	*muyu[n]			*də
	PPAIT	*muyu			

As with the Nominative and Oblique sets, the third-person Genitive pronouns often appear to have a different, and possibly more recent, derivation. While some languages have shorter forms (*na or *ya for the third-person singular, and *da for the third-person plural), many other languages appear to have prefixed *ya and *da with the genitive formative *ni- (identical to the genitive personal name marker), yielding *ni-ya (SINGULAR) and *ni-da (PLURAL), as illustrated earlier in Table 4.5.

The other plural Genitive pronouns have similarly diverse reflexes suggesting the presence of more than one form in the protolanguage, a situation Ross (2006) also reconstructs for PAN and PMP. For the first-person plural exclusive pronoun, evidence

points to *mi and *nami being reconstructable for Proto-Philippines, and *mami for both Proto-Philippines and Proto-Southwest Sabah. It is worth pointing out that Ross (2006) tentatively reconstructs *=mi, *=mami, and *=nami to PMP, and *=mi[a], *(=)m-ami, and *n-ami to PAN, each of which in Ross's (2006) Proto-Austronesian pronoun reconstruction belonged to its own largely-complete Genitive pronoun set (one with *m-initial forms, one with *n-initial forms, and one composed of enclitics), as illustrated in Tables 4.9 and 4.10.

For the first-person inclusive plural Genitive pronoun, the evidence points unequivocally to the reconstruction of *ta, although the form *nita,* found in Mamanwa, Northern Subanen, Eastern Subanen, and a few Mongondow-Gorontalo languages, seems to be a continuation of PAN *ni-ta which Blust (1977:5) and Ross (2006:532) both reconstruct.[5] As such, *nita is also reconstructed to Proto-Philippines, since (1) its presence in Mamanwa cannot be attributed to a Central Philippine stratum or to borrowing from any language in eastern Mindanao or the eastern Visayan Islands, as none of those languages reflects *nita; and (2) the GCPH languages in which *nita* appears do not otherwise form their Genitive pronouns by adding the formative *ni-.

The second-person plural Genitive pronouns point to the reconstruction of *niu for Proto-Philippines, and both *muyu and *yu for both Proto-Philippines and Proto-Southwest Sabah. The monosyllabic *yu is found only sporadically, including in some languages in central and southern Luzon (Umiray Dumaget, Manide-Alabat, and some Central Luzon languages), Manobo, and Hanunoo (where it is prefixed with *ni-), as well as some conservative Dusunic languages (e.g., Dusun Membakut, Dusun Klias, Minokok *zu,* Dusun Kimanis *ju*), but may ultimately be derived from *yu < *ñu < *niu, similar to the derivation of the third-person singular pronoun *ña as proposed by Blust (1977).

[5] The form *nita* '1INCL.GEN' in Hanunoo is probably better analyzed as *ni- plus *ta, since all of Hanunoo's genitive pronouns seem to be formed by the addition of genitive formative *ni- to earlier monosyllabic genitive pronominal bases.

TABLE 4.8A. EVIDENCE FOR PPHNB OBLIQUE PRONOUN BASES (SINGULAR)

		1SG	2SG	3SG
	PPHNB	*akə(nq)	*imu, *iu	*ia
	PPH	*akə(nq)	*imu, *iu	*ia, *kania
	PNB	*[]ak(əi)(nq)	*[]iun	*ia
PHILIPPINE: GCPH	**PCPH-1**	*ákə(nʔ)	*imu (but Tag. *iyo*)	*iya, *kania
	PCPH-2	*dákə(nʔ)	*dimu	*diya
	PCPAL	*akən	*imu	*kanya
PHILIPPINE: NON-GCPH	**PBAT**	*(nd)akən	*(nd)imu	*(nd)ia
	INATI	hian /hiʔan/ (< *-akən)	kiyo /kiyu/ (< *k-iu)	kiye (< *k-ia)
NORTH BORNEO	**PSWSAB**	*d-ak(əi)(nʔ)	*diun	*d[is]iə
	PDUS	---	---	*di-siə
	PMUR	*dak(oi)(nʔ)	*di[]un	*di[s]o
	PBISLO	*jakiʔ	*[d]ijun	*[di]siə
	PPAIT	---	---	---
	PIDAAN	*nakon	*niun	---

TABLE 4.8B. EVIDENCE FOR PPHNB OBLIQUE PRONOUN BASES (PLURAL)

		1EXCL	1INCL	2PL	3PL
	PPHNB	*amə(nq)	*atə(nq)	*inyu, *imuyu	*ida
	PPH	*amə(nq)	*atə(nq)	*inyu, *imuyu	*ida, *kanida
	PNB	*[]am(əi)(nq)	*[]at(əi)(nq)	*-[]muyu[n]	*[]idə
PHILIPPINE: GCPH	**PCPH-1**	*ámə(nʔ)	*átə(nʔ)	*inyu	*i[n]da, *kani[n]da
	PCPH-2	*dámə(nʔ)	*dátə(nʔ)	*dinyu	*dida
	PCPAL	*amən	*atən	*im[u]yu	*kanira
PHILIPPINE: NON-GCPH	**PBAT**	*(nd)amən	*(nd)atən	*(nd)i(mn)yu	*(nd)ira
	INATI	yamin (< *y-amən)	yatin (< *y-atən)	kimi (< *-muy)	karaye (< *ka-ra-ya)
NORTH BORNEO	**PSWSAB**	*d-am(əi)(nʔ)	*d-at(əi)(nʔ)	*damuyu[n]	*d[is]idə
	PDUS	---	*dat(əi)(nʔ)	---	*d(iə)-sidə
	PMUR	*dam(oi)(nʔ)	---	*damuyu[n]	*di[si]ro
	PBISLO	*jamiʔ	*jatiʔ	*[di]jamuyu[n]	*[di]sidə
	PPAIT	---	---	---	---
	PIDAAN	*namon	*naton	*muyun	*iro

Even though they are only reflected in a limited portion of the geographical expanse of Malayo-Polynesian languages, the Oblique pronouns of the Philippine languages are clearly cognate with those of the North Borneo languages, as can be observed from Table 4.8a-b. In fact, there is only minor disagreement between the two areas, such as the use of the base *-imu to mark the second-person singular oblique in the Philippine languages (except Inati and Tagalog), vs. the use of *-iu or *-iun in North Borneo and in Inati.

It is also interesting to note the distribution of the first-person forms with final *-n and *-ʔ in the Philippines and North Borneo. Based only on the Philippine evidence, it would appear that first-person pronouns with final *-ʔ were an innovation in Proto-Greater Central Philippines. However, it is clear from the appearance of both /ʔ/-final and /n/-final forms in various branches of Southwest Sabah, that forms with both final *q and final *n must be reconstructed for a proto-language ancestral to the languages of the Philippines and North Borneo. Otherwise, there seems to be no other explanation for the correspondence between the forms found in the Greater Central Philippines and those found in North Borneo.

The question remains, however, as to whether the *q-final forms can be reconstructed to Proto-Malayo-Polynesian, as only further work on various subgrouping hypotheses will be able to determine if the Proto-Philippines and Proto-North Borneo shared a common ancestor at any level lower than PMP, such as the (at present) poorly-supported Proto-Western Malayo-Polynesian. Note that the *q-final forms are absent from Ross's (2006:542) "Very Tentative Reconstruction of Proto-Malayo-Polynesian Personal Pronominal Forms" (cf. Table 4.10 below), but this was likely the result of Ross's limited access to data on the Oblique pronouns of most of the Dusunic, Paitanic, Bisaya-Lotud, and Greater Murutic languages, most of which were only poorly documented prior to my own fieldwork.

TABLE 4.9. "A PRELIMINARY RECONSTRUCTION OF PROTO AUSTRONESIAN PERSONAL PRONOUNS" (ROSS 2006:532)

	NEUT	NOM1	NOM2	GEN1	GEN2	GEN3	ACC
1SG	*i-aku	*aku	*=ku, *[S]aku	*[a]ku	*(=)m-aku	*n-aku	*i-ak-ən
2SG	*iSu[qu]	*Su[qu]	*=Su	*=Su	*(=)m-iSu	*n-iSu	*iSu[qu]-n
3SG	*s-ia	*ia	(*-ya)	(*-ya)	…	(*n-ia)	…
1EX	*i-ami	*ami	*=mi[a], *=[S]ami	*=mi[a]	(*(=)m-ami	*ni-ami, *n-ami	*i-ami-n
1IN	*ita	*(i)ta	*=(i)ta	*=(i)ta	*(=)m-ita	*ni-ta	*ita-ən
2PL	*i-mu[qu], *i-amu	*mu[qu], (*amu)	*=mu	*=mu	*(=)m-amu	*ni-mu, *n-amu	*i-mu[qu]-n
3PL	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

The derivation of Ross's PMP pronouns from his PAN reconstructions can be summarized as follows:

(1) Ross's "NEUTRAL" set is the predecessor of the PMP Long Nominative which has a frozen case marker *i- or *si-.

(2) Ross's "NOM1" is the predecessor of the PMP Full Nominative set, although Ross chooses to reconstruct these forms without the initial *k(a)- that is necessary for the PMP forms.

(3) Ross's "NOM2" set did not survive into PMP, with the possible exception of *=ku and *=ta (< *=(i)ta). Note that the only short Nominative form that is widespread in most Philippine-type languages is the second-person singular *=ka.

(4) Ross's "GEN1" set is the predecessor of the (short) Genitive set of PMP

(5) Ross's "GEN2" set with frozen formative *m- did not survive into PMP, with the exception of *mami '1EXCL.GEN'

(6) Ross's "GEN3" set is the predecessor to the Long Genitive set of PMP, although many of these forms were replaced in languages that retain this set.

(7) Ross's "ACC" set is the predecessor of the PMP Oblique set.

At first glance, Ross's reconstruction of the PAN pronominal system appears overly cumbersome, yet it also clearly reflects the data on which it is based, and it is difficult to propose anything simpler. In the Philippine and Southwest Sabah languages, it is certainly the case that some languages reflect two Nominative sets, of two

configurations: either (1) a set of *si-/*i- marked Topicalized forms, and a set of shortened Nominative forms (largely reflecting Ross's Neutral and Nominative 2 sets), or (2) a set of full Nominative forms without the *si-/*i- marking, along with a shortened set (Ross's Nominative 1 and Nominative 2 sets). A similar situation is reconstructable for PMP: even though no modern Malayo-Polynesian language reflects all seven of Ross's reconstructed PMP pronoun sets, the reconstructable forms individually have sufficiently wide distributions to justify their reconstruction.

TABLE 4.10. "A VERY TENTATIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF PROTO MALAYO-POLYNESIAN PERSONAL PRONOMINAL FORMS" (ROSS 2006:542)

	NEUT	NOM1	NOM2	GEN1	GEN2	OBL (PSR)
1SG	*i-aku	*aku	*=(h)aku	*=ku	*=n(a)ku	*[y]akən
2SG	*i-kahu	*(i)kahu	*=ka(hu)	*=mu	*=nihu	*imu, *ihu
3SG	*siya	*iya	*=ø (or =GEN1)	*=ya	*=niya (*ni+GEN1)	---
1EX	*i-kami	*kami	(=GEN1)	*=mi	*=mami, *=nami	*[y]amən
1IN	*i-kita, *ita	*kita, *i-ta	(=GEN1)	*=ta	---	*[y]atən
2PL	*i-ka-ihu, *kamu-ihu	*ka-ihu	*=kamu-ihu (or =NOM1)	*=ihu, *=mu-ihu	*=nihu	*ihu, *inihu, *imu-ihu
3PL	---	*sida	(=GEN1)	*=da	*=nida (*ni+GEN1)	---

Based on my own data, the following adjustments are proposed to Ross's PMP reconstructions, which Ross concedes might have been "rather Formosan-centric reconstruction" (pers. comm., 11/15/09):

1) There does not appear to be any evidence for the reconstruction of *h in the 2SG or 2PL forms with *[]ihu and *[]nihu. For the 2SG forms with *[]kahu, however, the data is less clear: On the one hand, there is no evidence in the Philippine, Southwest Sabah, or Idaanic subgroups pointing to the reconstruction of *h. On the other hand, Blust (pers. comm, 10/04/12) points out that (1) in northern Sarawak, Kenyah (Long Wat) *kaʔəw*, Long Jegan Berawan, Mukah Melanau, Dalat Melanau *kaʔaw,* Long Lamai Penan *kaʔauʔ* '2sg' point to the reconstruction of Proto-North Sarawak *kaʔu whose *ʔ reflects PAN *S in *i-kaSu '2SG'; and (2) that Malay/Indonesian *engkau* '2SG' "also suggests that *i was prepenultimate at the time that prepenultimate vowels merged as

schwa in most Malay words". In light of this additional evidence, *ika[h]u, or even *ikahu, must be reconstructed at the PMP and PNB levels.

2) The 1st-person Oblique forms ("PSR" in Ross's terminology with noted limitations in the descriptions contained in the materials he referenced) should be reconstructed without initial *y-.

3) A form *kamu should be reconstructed alongside *ka-iu (Ross's *ka-ihu) for the 2PL.NOM.

4) The regular (NOM1) Nominative set should be reconstructed with an optional initial *s-.

5) As noted earlier, *nita is reconstructed to complete Ross's Genitive-2 set. As such, there is correspondence between the *k-initial nominative pronouns *kami, *kita, and *kamu, and their *n-initial genitive counterparts *nami, *nita, and *namu, respectively.

6) On the basis of PCPH *n[i]-amə(nʔ), PPAL *[]mən, PBAT *namən, PCLUZ *na[]ən, and Lotud *nyami?,* an additional PMP Long Genitive form *n[i]-amə(nq) should probably be reconstructed, assuming that PPH & PNB share no common branch lower than PMP. Two other forms of similar structure—1st-person singular *n[i]-akə(nʔ) and 1st-person inclusive *n[i]-atə(nʔ)—are apparently only reconstructable to Proto-Greater Central Philippines.

7) The 3SG.OBL form *ia and the 3PL.OBL form *ida should be reconstructed to complete the oblique set and to assign forms for the 3rd-person oblique pronouns.

8) The form *sida '3PL.TOP' should be assigned to the Long Nominative ("NEUTRAL") set while its counterpart in the Nominative-1 set (the Full Nominatives) should be *ida, paralleling the singular form *ia.

TABLE 4.11. A TENTATIVE REVISION OF ROSS (2006) PMP PRONOMINAL RECONSTRUCTIONS

	NEUT	NOM1	NOM2	GEN1	GEN2	OBL (PSR)
1SG	*i-aku	*aku	*=[h]aku	*=ku	*=n[a]ku	*[y]akən
2SG	*i-ka[h]u	*[i]ka[h]u	*=ka[hu]	*=mu	*=niu	*imu, *iu
3SG	*siya	*iya	*=ø, *=ya	*=ya	*=niya	*iya
1EX	*i-kami	*kami	*=mi	*=mi	*=mami, *=nami, *=n[i]-amə(nq)	*[y]amən
1IN	*i-kita, *ita	*kita, *i-ta	*=ta	*=ta	*=nita	*[y]atən
2PL	*i-ka-iu, *kamu-iu	*ka-iu, *ka-mu	*=ka-iu, *=kamu-iu	*=iu, *=mu-iu	*=niu	*iu, *iniu, *imu-iu
3PL	---	*sida	*=da	*=da	*=nida	*ida

4.2.1 Replacement of *ku+*ikaw and *ku+*=ka[w]. It is quite clear from Philippine and Southwest Sabah languages that in the protolanguage ancestral to both, sequences of *ku+*ikaw and *ku+*ka[w] were not allowed. Where one of these sequences would have occurred, the first-person singular genitive pronoun *ku was replaced by *ta, which was otherwise the first-person inclusive genitive pronoun (cf. Tables 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, etc.). It is unclear what the initial motivation was for the replacement of *ku by *ta before *ka and *ikaw, but it seems unlikely that it was some sort of protocol for expressing respect to an addressee by avoiding usage of the first-person pronoun, since other combinations of first-person singular and second-person pronouns are permitted (e.g., *aku '1SG.NOM' and either *imu/*iyu '2SG.OBL' or *mu '2SG.GEN', or *akə(nq) '1SG.OBL' and either *ikaw '2SG.NOM' or *mu '2SG.GEN'), that is, the only prohibited combination is that of *ku '1SG.GEN' followed by *ikaw or *ka '2SG.NOM'. Note that while from a semantic perspective, *ta might seem like an odd choice to replace *ku, from a grammatical perspective, it is not completely surprising, as sequences of *ta+*ka and *ta+*ikaw would not otherwise have occurred, since the second-person is already subsumed in the first-person inclusive.[6]

This replacement is perhaps best known in standard Tagalog where the portmanteau pronoun *kita* appears where the actor is the first person and the object is the second person (i.e., *Mahál kitá* 'I love you', *Nakikíta kitá* 'I can see you') or where the possessor is in the first person and the possessee is in the second person (i.e., *Kaibígan*

[6] Note that unlike in English, where phrases like "Let's get you to a hospital" are perfectly acceptable, the translation of this sentence (e.g., Tagalog ***Dalhin ka natin sa ospital*) is impermissible.

kitá 'You're my friend', *Anák kitá* 'You're my child'). Similar forms in Bikol and Bisayan languages have been discussed by Billings & Konopasky (2002) and Billings & Kaufman (2004), and as can be seen from Table 4.12 and 4.13, this replacement is widespread both in the Philippines and in northern Borneo, although the resulting forms vary from language to language.[7]

It is interesting to note that *ta can be combined with either *ikaw or *=ka[w] depending on the language, and that the resulting form is usually contracted, such as Bikol Naga *taká,* Cebuano *tiká,* Dusun Kiulu *tiyâ,* Timugon Murut *tokow,* etc. Others preserve the full 2nd-person pronoun form, such as Umiray Dumaget, Abuyog Waray, Southern Sorsoganon *ta ikaw*.

The Central Luzon languages, and some dialects of Old Tagalog, reflect the innovation *katá,* clearly a result of the metathesis of the two consonants in the earlier form *taká which is well attested both in the Philippines and northern Borneo. At least two languages, Ayta Mag-Anchi and Ayta Abellen, also reflect this metathesis in the combination of 1SG.GEN+2SG.PL, *kataw,* instead of expected **takaw.[8]

Note that many individual modern languages do, however, permit *ku to be followed by the full form of the second-person singular pronoun (usually a reflex of *ikaw), and that some languages allow both the forms with *ta and the forms with *ku, e.g., Dusun Kimaragang *tekoo ~ ku ikoo,* Ilonggo *ta ikaw ~ ko ikaw,* and some dialects of Southern Tagalog *kitá ~ ko ikáw*. Incidentally, however, no known language allows the combination of *ku+*ka.

The replacement of *ku by *ta when followed by a second-person nominative pronoun is also reflected when the second-person pronoun is plural (usually a reflex of *kamu or *kayu), as illustrated in Table 4.12 and 4.13. Table 4.14 provides examples of languages that do not reflect the replacement of *ku by *ta before *=ka or *ikaw.

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[7] Note that outside of Standard Tagalog, however, the sequence *ko ikáw* is often permissible, especially in deep southern Tagalog areas such as Quezon Province.

[8] Note that most modern Tagalog dialects reflect a further shift in the pronoun system, in which OTAG *kitá '1INCL.DUAL.NOM' and *katá '1SG.GEN+2SG.NOM' swapped meanings, resulting in modern Tagalog *kitá* '1SG.GEN+2SG.NOM' and, in some modern Southern Tagalog dialects, *katá* '1INCL.DUAL.NOM'. Baler Tagalog still retains *kitá* '1INCL.DUAL.NOM' in the original Old Tagalog meaning, contrasting with *táyo* '1INCL.PL.NOM'. For the majority of Tagalog speakers, however, *táyo* carries the meaning of '1INCL.NOM' and no contrast in form between dual and plural number can be found.

TABLE 4.12. REPLACEMENTS FOR '1SG.GEN+2SG.NOM' AND '1SG.GEN+2PL.NOM' WITH RECONSTRUCTIONS

FORM	SOURCE	REPLACES	ATTESTED IN
taka	*ta+*=ka[w]	*ku+*ikaw/*=ka[w]	Pahanan, Paranan, Dinapigue, Nagtipunan, Casiguran, Bolinao, Bikol Naga, Cebuano, Ilonggo, Tigwa, Ibaloi, Pangasinan, Kalanguya/Kalahan
takaw	*ta+*=ka[w]	*ku+*ikaw/*=ka[w]	Tausug
ta ikaw	*ta+*ikaw	*ku+*ikaw	Umiray Dumaget, Ilonggo, S. Sorsoganon, Abuyog Waray
ta kamu	*ta+*kamu	*ku+*kamu	Ilonggo, S. Sorsoganon, Abuyog Waray
takam	*ta+*kamu	*ku+*kamu	Casiguran
taʔa	*ta+*=ka[w]	*ku+*ikaw/*=ka[w]	N. Alta
kata	metathesis of *ta+*=ka[w]	*ku+*ikaw/*=ka[w]	Ayta Mag-anchi, Ayta Mag-indi, Ayta Abellen, Botolan, Tina Sambal, Bolinao
kataw	*ta+*kamu	*ku+*kamu	Ayta Mag-anchi

TABLE 4.13. REPLACEMENTS FOR '1SG.GEN+2SG.NOM' AND '1SG.GEN+2PL.NOM' IN PHILIPPINE AND SOUTHWEST SABAH LANGUAGES

	LANGUAGE	1SG.GEN+2SG.NOM	1SG.GEN+2PL.NOM
CLUZ	Remontado Dumagat	kata	---
	Kapampangan	da ka ~ ra ka	da kayu/ko
	Ayta Mag-Anchi	kata	kataw
	Ayta Mag-Indi	kata	---
	Ayta Abellen	kata	kataw
	Botolan Sambal	kata	---
	Tina Sambal	kata	---
	Bolinao	kata, taka	---
CPH	Tagalog-1	kitá	---
	Tagalog-2	katá (< CLUZON)	---
	Bikol Naga	taká	---
	Cebuano	taka, tika (< *t=ika)	
	Ilonggo	ta ikáw, taka, ko ikaw	---
	Southern Sorsoganon	ta ikáw	ta kamó
	Abuyog Waray	ta ikáw (also *ko ikaw*)	ta kamó
	Tausug	takaw	---
MANOBO	Tigwa	taka	---
NELUZ	Pahanan	taka	---
	Paranan	taka	---
	Dinapigue Agta	taka	---
	Casiguran Agta	taka	takam
	Nagtipunan Agta	taka	---
NLUZ	Northern Alta	taʔá	---
	Kalanguya/Kalahan	taka	
	Ibaloi	taka	
	Pangasinan	taka	
OTHER PH	Umiray Dumaget	ta ikaw (also *ko ikaw*)	---
SWSABAH	Gana Liau Laut	tookow	---
	Timugon Murut	tokow (vs. *takaw* '1IN.PL.NOM')	---
	Bookan	toko	---
	Murut Kalabakan	toko	---
	Tidung Bengawong-Beluran, Tidung Sombol	toko (vs. *taka '1INCL.PL')	---
	Dusun Kiulu	tiyaʔ (< *t=ikaʔ)	---
	Dusun Talantang	tikaʔ (< *t=ikaʔ)	---
	Dusun Kimaragang	tekoo ~ ku ikoo	tekaw ~ ku ikaw
	Mangkaak	to ikaw	---
	Tidung Bengawong-Labuk	təka	təkaw

TABLE 4.14. NON-REPLACEMENT OF '1SG.GEN+2SG.NOM' SEQUENCES IN PHILIPPINE AND SOUTHWEST SABAH LANGUAGES

	LANGUAGE	1SG.GEN+2SG.NOM	1SG.GEN+2PL.NOM
CPH	Bantayanon	ka nákon	kamó nákon
	Rosario N. Samar	ko ikáw	ko kamó
	Inagta Partido	ko iká	---
	Southern Tagalog	ko ikáw	
MANOBO	Umajamnen	ku ikow	---
DANAO	Maranao	akən səka	---
	Maguindanaon	ku səka	---
MOGO	Ponosakan	ku ikow	---
SUBANEN	Tawlet	ku yaa	---
MANGYAN	Iraya	naay…kaw	---
	Bangon	u…wemu	---
	Eastern Tawbuwid	au…emu	---
SWSABAH	Sabah Bisaya	ku ikow	---
	Klias	ku jiʔaw	---
	Kujaw (Apin-Apin)	ku ika	---
	Rungus	ku ikaw	---
	Kimaragang	ku ikoo ~ tekoo	ku ikaw ~ tekaw
	Sukang/Karamuak	ku ikaw	---
	Tingalan	(a)ku jun	---
	Kolod	ku diyun	---
	Dumpas	ku ikaw	---

4.3. MAJOR DIVERGENCES FROM THE PROTO-PHILIPPINE AND PROTO-SOUTHWEST SABAH PRONOUN SYSTEMS. Although many innovations have taken place that have affected the configurations of the three primary sets of pronominal bases, the aforementioned configuration for Proto-Philippines and Proto-Southwest Sabah (as illustrated in Tables 4.1 and 4.2, respectively) can be reconstructed based on the fact that (1) this configuration is widely attested both throughout the Philippines and North Borneo (cf. Table 4.16), and (2) where other configurations are found, they are, without exception, the result of innovations in which one of the earlier sets has been replaced by one of the other pre-existing sets. The wide distribution of the three pronominal sets in their original, reconstructed configuration can be observed from Tagalog, Inati, Lotud, and Murut Nabaay (cf. Table 4.15). It is also worth noting that this same configuration of pronominal bases was reconstructed by Ross (2006) for Proto-

Malayo-Polynesian and Proto-Austronesian, although evidence is lacking in the latter for the oblique pronoun bases, which may have been either later developments or were simply replaced in the small number of surviving Formosan languages.

TABLE 4.15. THE THREE SETS OF PRONOUNS IN FOUR MALAYO-POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES

		TAGALOG	INATI	LOTUD	MURUT NABAAY
NOM	**1SG**	akó	aku	oku	aku
	2SG	ikáw	ike	ikaw, ko	kow
	3SG	siyá	iye	iyo	iyo
	1EXCL	kamí	ikam	ikoy	akay
	1INCL	táyo†	kite	ito (DL), itokow (PL)	to (DL), takaw (PL)
	2PL	kayó	ikim	ikow, kow	kaw
	3PL	silá	ire	ido	iro
GEN	**1SG**	ko	ku	ku	ku
	2SG	mo	mu	mu	mu
	3SG	niyá	ye	nyo	no
	1EXCL	námin	mam	nyamiʔ	may
	1INCL	nátin	te	to (DL), tokow (PL)	to (DL), takaw (PL)
	2PL	ninyó	mim	muyu	muyun
	3PL	nilá	dáye	do	niro
OBL	**1SG**	(sa) ákin	hiʔan	jokiʔ	dakî
	2SG	(sa) iyó	kiyu	jun	diyun
	3SG	(sa) kanyá	kiye	siyo	diso
	1EXCL	(sa) ámin	yamin	jamiʔ	damî
	1INCL	(sa) átin	yatin	dito (DL), jatiʔ (PL)	dito (DL), ditakaw (PL)
	2PL	(sa) inyó	kimi	jomuyu	damuyun
	3PL	(sa) kaníla	karaye	sido	disiro

† Baler Tagalog has *kitá* '1INCL.DUAL.NOM' as a dual form contrasting with the plural *táyo* '1INCL.PL.NOM'.

TABLE 4.16. THE DISTRIBUTION OF PRONOUN BASES IN PHILIPPINE & NON-PHILIPPINE SUBGROUPS

		TOP	NOM	GEN	LONG GEN	OBL
ISOLATE	INATI	---	+	+	---	+
NPH	BAT	<OBL	+	+	---	+
	NLUZ, NELUZ, UMDGT, MDE, ALBT	<NOM	+	+	---	<NOM
CLUZ	SAM-AYT	<NOM	+	+	---	<GEN
	KPM	<NOM	+	+	---	<NOM
GCPH	CPH	---	+	+	<OBL	+
	PAL	---	+	+	---	+
	HAN	---	+	(+)	<GEN	<GEN
	MNBO	<OBL, <NOM	+/NEW	+/NEW	<OBL	+/<NOM
	SUB	<NOM	+	+	---	<GEN
	DAN	<NOM	+	+	---	<NOM
	MOGO	---	+	+	---	<GEN
?	MOBO	(NOM)	(NEW)	+	---	<NOM/NEW
NBOR	SWSAB	---	+	+	---	+

+ = corresponds with set reconstructed for Proto-Philippines for that case (Nominative, Genitive, or Oblique)
--- = this set is not present in this language or subgroup
NEW = a new set has been innovated by this subgroup

4.3.1 Development of overt case markers on pronouns. Ross (2006:539) also notes that "[a] fairly common outcome of analogical pressure is that a set of pronouns with a particular case-marking function is reanalyzed as a set of bases for the formation of a further pronoun set". When this happens, a case-marking formative that is usually identical to the corresponding case marker is generally prefixed to the new form. Since this situation occurs over and over again in subgroups from the highest level to the lowest level, it seems likely that in PMP (and likely in PAN), pronouns could optionally be preceded by case markers. In other words, the forms that Blust (1977) reconstructed (cf. Table 4.19) were likely not unit forms at all, although a close, perhaps proclitic, relationship must have existed between the case marking formative and the pronominal bases, as indicated by Blust's clear indication of morpheme boundaries in his reconstructions.

In fact, although the forms reconstructed by Blust are attested, it is redundant to reconstruct the case-marking formative *i- on the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian Nominative pronouns (except for the 2SG.NOM, where it is inherently part of the form *ika[h]u) when the base forms also occur without any formative and inherently carry Nominative case, just as Ross (2006) reconstructs for PMP and PAN, cf. Tables 4.9 and 4.10. On the other hand, a Fronted/Topicalized set of pronouns could be reconstructed with a prefixed case marker, but even in this case, a consideration of evidence from a wide variety of languages seems to indicate that the case marker was not fully grammaticalized in higher-level proto-languages (or even in lower-level ones), as entire sets of bases are replaced while the case-marking formative remains the same, as illustrated in Tables 4.17 and 4.18.

TABLE 4.17. OBLIQUE *d[i]- ON COMPETING SETS OF BASES

	PBIS	PBAT	PDAN	PSWSAB	PSUB	PNELUZ
1SG	*dakə(nʔ)	*di-aken	*rakən, *rakiʔ	*d-ak(əi)(nʔ)	*dianakən	*di-akən
2SG	*dimu	*di-imu	*rəka	*d-iyun	*dianiká	*di-kaw
3SG	*dia	*di-ia	*rəkanian	*d-[is]iə	*dianiən	*diya, *di-ko-na
1EX	*damə(nʔ)	*di-amen	*rəkami	*d-am(əi)(nʔ)	*dianami	*di-kami
1IN	*datə(nʔ)	*di-aten	*rəkita	*d-at(əi)(nʔ)	*dianita	*di-kita
2PL	*di[n]yu	*di-inyu	*rəkanu	*d-amuyu[n]	*dianiu	*di-kam
3PL	*dira	*di-ira	*rəkaniran	*d-[is]idə	*dianiran	*di-di

TABLE 4.18. OBLIQUE *kan[i]- ON COMPETING SETS OF BASES

	PCPH	PIDAAN	PBAT	PNLUZ (REID 1979)	PNELUZ	PMOGO	HANUNOO
1SG	*kanakə(nʔ)	*nakon	*ni-aken	*kani-akən	*ni-akən	*konakoʔ	kangku
2SG	*kanimu	*niyun	*ni-imu	*kan[i]-ikaw	*ni-kaw	*konimu	kanmu
3SG	*kania	---	*ni-ia	*kan[i]-ia	*ni-ko-na	*konia	kanya
1EX	*kanamə(nʔ)	*namon	*ni-amen	*kani-kami	*ni-kami	*konami	kanmi
1IN	*kanatə(nʔ)	*naton	*ni-aten	*kani-kita	*ni-kita	*konaton	kanta
2PL	*kani[n]yu	*muyun	*ni-inyu	*kani-kamuyu	*ni-kam	*konamu, *koniyu	kanyu
3PL	*kanira	*iro	*ni-ira	*kani-da	*ni-di	*konira	kanda

In some cases, a second case-marking formative was added onto a form that already contained a frozen case marker-turned-formative, as in the Proto-Dusunic 3rd-person forms *isiə (singular) and *isidə ~ *yəsidə, where the apparent bases *-siə and *-sidə already contain a frozen Nominative case marker *si-, or in Proto-Danao *səkaniyan

'1SG.NOM' which already contained a frozen Oblique case marking formative *kan[i]- before being prefixed with a Nominative case marking formative *si-, whose vowel later centralized to *ə. Elsewhere, case marking formatives were also added to bases that already had a case-specific role, as illustrated in Table 4.19 below, where Hanunoo added a *ni-* Genitive formative to the set of monosyllabic pronouns which were already inherently Genitive, and where Proto-Central Philippines added an *n- Genitive formative to the Oblique bases in order to form a new set of long Genitive pronouns.

TABLE 4.19. EXAMPLES OF LONG GENITIVE SETS IN HANUNOO AND OTHER PHILIPPINE AND PHILIPPINE-TYPE LANGUAGES

	PROTO-CPH	PMP OBL BASE	HANUNOO	PMP (SHORT) GEN	KPM	UMDGT	PNELUZ	PDUS
1SG	*n-akə(nʔ)	*-akə(nq)	ni-ku	*ku	ku	ku	*ku	*ku
2SG	*n-imu	*-imu	ni-mu	*mu	mu	mu	*mu	*nu
3SG	*n-ia	*-ia	ni-ya	*ia	na	na	*na	*yo
1EXCL	*n-amə(nʔ)	*-amə(nq)	ni-mi	*mi	mi	mi	*mi	*ya
1INCL	*n-atə(nʔ)	*-atə(nq)	ni-ta	*ta	ta	ta	*ta	*to
2PL	*n-i[n]yu	*-inyu	ni-yu	*iu	yu	yu	*muy	*yu
3PL	*n-i[n]da	*-ida	ni-da	*da	ra ~ da	de	*di	---

The Hanunoo Genitive set perfectly reflects the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian enclitic Genitive set (attested by Kapampangan, Umiray Dumaget, and various members of the Northeastern Luzon and Dusunic subgroups), but with the addition of Genitive case-marking formative *ni-. Hanunoo is the only language surveyed in this dissertation that contains an entire Genitive pronoun set formed in this way, although it should be noted that Blust (1977) reconstructed a similar Genitive set for Proto-Austronesian. All other languages surveyed simply use short, enclitic, mainly-monosyllabic forms, or use the Type 1 Genitives such as those listed in Table 4.20 below. Central Philippine languages have an entire set of Long Genitives based on *n- plus the PMP Oblique base (cf. Table 4.19), the same bases that, when prefixed with *i-, became the Long Nominatives of Proto-Batanic (cf. Table 4.21). As with the Nominative pronouns, Blust (1977) also recognized the phenomenon of attaching a Genitive case marker to the Genitive

pronouns, as illustrated in Table 4.22 alongside similar reconstructions by Dyen (1974) and Dahl (1973) cited in Blust (1977), and by Ross (2006).

TABLE 4.20. PMP GENITIVE PRONOUNS FORMED WITH *n[i]-

	TYPE 1	TYPE 2	TYPE 3	TYPE 4
	INHERITED GENITIVE BASE	CASE MARKER PLUS GENITIVE PRONOUN (HANUNOO ONLY)	LONG SET INHERITED FROM PAN	INNOVATED GCPH LONG GENITIVE SET
1SG	*=ku	*ni ku	*n-aku	*n-akə(nʔ)
2SG	*=mu	*ni mu	*n-imu	*n-imu
3SG	*=ia	*ni ia	*n-ia	*n-ia
1EXCL	*=mi	*ni mi	*n-ami (+ *m-ami)	*n-amə(nʔ)
1INCL	*=ta	*ni ta	*n-ita	*n-atə(nʔ)
2PL	*=iu	*ni iu	*n-amu	*n-i[n]yu
3PL	*=da	*ni da	*n-ida	*n-ida

TABLE 4.21. PROTO-BATANIC PRONOUN RECONSTRUCTIONS (LOBEL 2005)

	NOMINATIVE		GENITIVE	OBLIQUE	
	Long/Topic ***i-***	Short/ Enclitic		***di-/*ni-***	(Roots of both Long NOM and OBL)
1SG	*i-akən (Yami *yako*)	*=aku	*ku	*ni-/di-akən	*akən
2SG	*[i]-imu	*=ka	*mu	*ni-/di-imu	*imu
3SG	*[si]-ia	---	*na	*ni-/di-ia	*ia
1EXCL	*i-amən	*kami	*namen	*ni-/di-amən	*amən
1INCL	*i-atən	*ta	*ta	*ni-/*di-atən	*atən
2PL	*i-inyu	*kamu	*nyu	*ni-*di-inyu	*inyu
3PL	*si-[i]rá	*si-[i]ra	*da	*ni-/*di-ira	*ira

TABLE 4.22. VARIOUS PAN GENITIVE PRONOUN RECONSTRUCTIONS

	BLUST (1977)	Dyen (1974)	DAHL (1973)	ROSS (2006)
1SG	*[n]i-ku	kuʔ	ku	=ku
2SG	*[n]i-Su	Xuʔ	Su	=Su
3SG	*[n]i-a	ñaʔ	ña	=ya
1EXCL	*[n]i-mi	miʔ	mi	=mi[a]
1INCL	*[n]i-ta	taʔ	ta	=[i]ta
2PL	*[n]i-mu	muʔ	mu	=mu
3PL	*[n]i-Da	Daʔ	---	---

Note that even at the lowest levels, case-marking formatives have been prefixed time and time again to pronominal bases, as has happened with the innovative pronominal bases in several Manobo languages (cf. Table 4.23 for Matigsalug Manobo).

TABLE 4.23. MATIGSALUG PRONOUNS†

	NOM	SHORT NOM	GEN	LONG GEN	OBL
1SG	(si)kóddì	a	ku	---	kóddì
2SG	(si)koykow	ka	nu	nikoykow	koykow
3SG	(si)kandin	ø	din ~ rin	nikandin	kándin
1EXCL	(si)kanámi	koy	noy	---	kanámi
1INCL	(si)kánta	ki	ta	---	kánta
2PL	(si)kaniyú	kow	níyu	nikaniyu	kaniyu
3PL	(si)kandan	dan	dan ~ ran	nikandan	kándan

† Note that the standard Matigsalug Manobo orthography used by the Matigsalug Christian Language Association writes the vowel /o/ with the letter "e"; this table, however, uses "o" to represent the vowel /o/ in order to avoid any misconception about what the actual quality of the vowel is.

At least at the level of PMP and below, it would seem redundant to reconstruct a full set of pronouns whose bases inherently carry Genitive case yet contain a *ni- (or *i-) Genitive case-marking formative, as opposed to the "Gen-2" set of Genitive pronouns reconstructed by Ross (2006) as presented in Table 4.10 earlier. Instead, it is likely that a Genitive case marker could optionally occur before the Genitive pronoun, explaining the Genitive pronoun sets illustrated in Table 4.20. However, Blust's (1977) analysis was groundbreaking because it was the first to provide a transparent historical derivation for the variety of forms present in various Malayo-Polynesian languages.

This optional case marking was also the motivation for the innovated Long PGCPH Genitive set, just as it had probably been the motivation for the earlier Long Genitive set less widely reflected in Malayo-Polynesian languages but which was inherited from PAN.

The same rule also applied to the Oblique pronouns (cf. Tables 4.24 and 4.25), except that all indications are that the Oblique pronouns—in their main function as beneficiary, indirect object, source, location, or direction—always had to be preceded by a case marker, or marked by a case-marking formative.

TABLE 4.24. EXAMPLES OF OBLIQUE SETS WITH FROZEN CASE-MARKING FORMATIVES IN VARIOUS SUBGROUPS

	PMP OBL BASE	CEB (SLEYTE)	PIDAAN	PSWSAB	PBIS-2	PBAT
1SG	*-akə(nq)	kanákə̀	*nakon	*d-ak(əi)(nʔ)	*dakə(nʔ)	*(nd)i-akən
2SG	*-imu	kanimu	*niyun	*d-iyun	*dimu	*(nd)i-imu
3SG	*-ia	kania	---	*d-[is]iə	*dia	*(nd)i-ia
1EXCL	*-amə(nq)	kanámə̀	*namon	*d-am(əi)(nʔ)	*damə(nʔ)	*(nd)i-amən
1INCL	*-atə(nq)	kanátə̀	*naton	*d-at(əi)(nʔ)	*datə(nʔ)	*(nd)i-atən
2PL	*-inyu	kaninyu	*muyun	*d-amuyu[n]	*di[n]yu	*(nd)i-inyu
3PL	*-ida	kanila	*iro	*d-[is]idə	*dira	*(nd)i-ira

TABLE 4.25. EXAMPLES OF OBLIQUE SETS WITH FROZEN CASE-MARKING FORMATIVES IN BIKOL LANGUAGES

	BIKOL NAGA	RINCONADA BAAO	RINCONADA IRIGA	BUHI	LIBON	WEST ALBAY	MIRAYA	NORTH CATANDUANES
1SG	sakô, sakuya	saakô	kanakâ	sá-kən	sákon	sakâ	sá-kən	(sa) ákò
2SG	saimo	saimó	kanimó	saímo	saím̃o	saím̃o	sí-mo	(sa) ímo
3SG	saiya	sa kanyá	kaniyá	sakanyá	kíya	sanyá	saíñya	(sa) kíya
1EX	samô, samuya	saamô	kanamâ	sá-mən	sámon	samâ	sá-mən	(sa) ámò
1IN	satô, satuya	saatô	kanatâ	sá-tən	sáton	satâ	sá-tən	(sa) átò
2PL	saindo	saindó	kaninyó	sainyó	saíñyú	sainyó	saíñyó	(sa) ínyo
3PL	sainda	sa kandá, sa kanindá	kandá	sakandá	káya	sanrá	saíñdá	(sa) kíla

One byproduct of the ability to introduce pronouns with a case marker (which would later become the basis for a case-marking formative) is that in certain languages, the bases lost their originally-configured case functions, and bases could be interchanged for any given case function. One such type of base replacement is reflected in Sambali-Ayta (cf. Table 4.26), Hanunoo (cf. Table 4.27 below), and Mongondow-Gorontalo (cf. Table 4.28 for Mongondow): The replacement of the original Oblique bases by bases from the Genitive set (short Genitive in Hanunoo and Sambali-Ayta, and long Genitive in Mongondow-Gorontalo).

TABLE 4.26. PROTO-SAMBALI-AYTA PRONOUNS

	TOP	NOM	GEN	OBL
1SG	*siʔ-[a]ku	*aku, *ku	*ku	*kani-ku
2SG	*siʔ-ika	*ka	*mu	*ka[ni]-mu
3SG	*si-ya	*ya	*na	*kani-ya
1EXCL	*siʔ-kami	*kamí	*mi, *naən	?
1INCL.DUAL	*siʔ-[ki]ta	*[ki]ta	*ta	*kani-ta
1INCL.PL	*siʔ-tamu	*[ki]tamu	*támu	*kani-tamu
2PL	*siʔ-kamu	*kamu	*[mu]yu	*ka[ni]-[mu]yu
3PL	*si[ ]ra	(*sirá)	*ra (*daʔ)	*kani-ra

TABLE 4.27. HANUNOO PRONOUNS

	NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	OBLIQUE	(Roots of both GEN and OBL)
1SG	akú	níku	kangku, kang	*ku
2SG	kawú	nímu	kanmu, kam	*mu
3SG	sya ~ siya	níya	kanya	*ya
1EX	kamí	nimí	kanmi	*mi
1IN.DU	kitá	nitá	kanta	*ta
1IN.PL	(kitám =lit.)	(nitam =lit.)	(kantam=lit.)	*tam
2PL	kamú	níyu	kányu	*yu
3PL	sidá	nidá	kánda	*da

TABLE 4.28. MONGONDOW PRONOUNS

	NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	OBLIQUE	(Roots of both GEN and OBL)
1SG	akuoy	=ku	koinakô	(*nakoʔ)
2SG	iko	=mu	koinimu	(*nimu)
3SG	siya	=nya	koiniya	*niya
1EX.DU	kaminda	=naminda	koinamínda	*naminda
1IN.DU	kitada	=natonda	koinatónda	*natonda
2DU	kamunda	=namunda	koinamunda	*namunda
3DU	taraduwa ~ tayaduwa	=nayaduwa ~ =naraduwa	koinayaduwa ~ koinaraduwa	*naraduwa ~ *nayaduwa
1EX.TR	kamintolu	=namitolu	koinamitolu	*namitolu
1IN.TR	kitatolu	=natontolu	koinatontolu	*natontolu
2TR	kamuntolu	=namutolu	koinamutolu	*namutolu
3TR	taratolu ~ tayatolu	=nayatolu ~ =naratolu	koinayatolu ~ koinaratolu	*naratolu ~ *nayatolu
1EX.PL	kami	=nami	koinami	*nami
1IN.PL	kita	=naton	koinaton	*naton
2PL	moiko	=monimu	koimonimu	*monimu
3PL	mosiya	=moniya	koimoniya	*moniya

In the Batanic languages (cf. Table 4.21 earlier), although most of the historical Nominative bases have been retained as enclitic Nominative forms, a Topicalized Nominative set has been innovated by adding the overt case-marking formative *[s]i- to the historically oblique bases.

Many Western Bisayan languages have innovated a similar Nominative set formed by *t- and the Oblique base (cf. Table 4.29). However, unlike the Topicalized pronouns in other subgroups, the *t-initial Western Bisayan pronouns are not restricted to clause-initial position, and are therefore completely interchangeable with the regular Nominative pronouns, structurally if not pragmatically (e.g., *Indî tákən. ~ Indî akó.* 'I don't like it./I don't want to.')

TABLE 4.29 PROTO-WESTERN BISAYAN PRONOUNS

	NOM-1	NOM-2	GEN	OBL	PRE-GEN
1SG	*akú	*takən	*ku, *nakən	*kanakən	*akən
2SG	*ikáw	*timu	*mu, *nimu	*kanimu	*ímu
3SG	*imaw, *siya	*tana	*na[na]	*kana[na]	*ána
1EXCL	*kamí	*tamən	*namən	*kanamən	*ámən
1INCL	*kitá	*tatən	*ta, *natən	*kanatən	*átən
2PL	*kamú	*tinyu	*[ni]nyu	*kaninyo	*ínyu
3PL	*sanda	*tanda	*nanda	*kananda	*anda

In many, but certainly not all, of the languages where the set of historical Nominative bases have replaced the set of historical Oblique bases, the Nominative or Topicalized Nominative set of pronouns is overtly marked with a case marker *si- or *i- (Paitanic, Molbog-Bonggi, and Subanen being the major exceptions). Furthermore, at least in the Philippines, in every language that has an overtly case-marked Topicalized Nominative, the historical Oblique set of pronominal bases has been replaced, either by the historical Nominative bases (as in Proto-Danao, cf. Table 4.30) or by the historical Genitive bases (as in Sambali-Ayta, cf. Table 4.26 earlier).

TABLE 4.30. PROTO-DANAO PRONOUNS

	TOP	NOM	GEN	OBL
1SG	*sakən, *saki?	*aku	*ku, *akən	*rakən, *raki?
2SG	*səka	*ka	*nəŋka	*rəka
3SG	*səkanian	--- (=TOP)	*nian	*rəkanian
1EXCL	*səkami	*kami	*(n)ami	*rəkami
1INCL.DUAL	*səkita	*ta	*ta	*rəkita
1INCL.PL	*səkitanu	*tanu	*tanu	*rəkitanu
2PL	*səkanu	*kanu	*niyu	*rəkanu
3PL	*siran	--- (=TOP)	*iran	*rəkaniran

Tables 4.31 to 4.33 illustrate the possible pronominal sets resulting from the prefixation of a case marker, to the Oblique, Nominative, and Genitive pronominal bases, respectively.

TABLE 4.31. LONG-FORM PRONOUNS BASED ON HISTORICALLY OBLIQUE BASES

	LONG NOM	LONG GEN	LONG KAN- OBL	LONG D- OBL
1SG	*[s][i]-akə(nʔ)	*n[i]-akə(nʔ)	*kan[i]-akə(nʔ)	*d[i]-akə(nʔ)
2SG	*[s][i]-imu	*n[i]-imu	*kan[i]-imu	*d[i]-imu
3SG	*[s][i]-ia	*n[i]-ia	*kan[i]-ia	*d[i]-ia
1EXCL	*[s][i]-amə(nʔ)	*n[i]-amə(nʔ)	*kan[i]-amə(nʔ)	*d[i]-amə(nʔ)
1INCL	*[s][i]-atə(nʔ)	*n[i]-atə(nʔ)	*kan[i]-atə(nʔ)	*d[i]-atə(nʔ)
2PL	*[s][i]-i[n]yu	*n[i]-i[n]yu	*kan[i]-i[n]yu	*d[i]-i[n]yu
3PL	*[s][i]-ida	*n[i]-ida	*kan[i]-ida	*d[i]-ida

Of the hypothetical forms in Table 4.31, the Long Nominatives are found in the Batanic languages, and the long Genitives are found as a whole in many Central Philippine languages, and individually in a number of other languages (e.g., *namən in Southern ("Aborlan") Tagbanwa, Sambali-Ayta, and as *nyamî* (< *ni-am(əi)(nʔ)) in Lotud; *nimu and *natən in Mongondow-Gorontalo). The forms listed as Oblique pronouns with *kan-* or *d-* are the usual oblique forms found with a frozen case-marking formative in many languages, as mentioned above.

TABLE 4.32. LONG-FORM PRONOUNS BASED ON HISTORICALLY NOMINATIVE BASES

	LONG NOM	LONG GEN (UNATTESTED)	LONG KAN- OBL	LONG D- OBL
1SG	*[s][i]-aku, *s[i]-akə(nʔ)	*n[i]-aku, *n[i]-akə(nʔ)	*kan[i]-aku, *kan[i]-akə(nʔ)	*d[i]-aku, *d[i]-akə(nʔ)
2SG	*[s][i]-ikaw	*n[i]-ikaw	*kan[i]-ikaw	*d[i]-ikaw
3SG	*[s][i]-ia	*n[i]-ia	*kan[i]-ia	*d[i]-ia
1EXCL	*[s]i-kami	*ni-kami	*kani-kami	*di-kami
1INCL	*[s]i-kita	*ni-kita	*kani-kita	*di-kita
2PL	*[s]i-ka(my)u	*ni-ka(my)u	*kani-ka(my)u	*di-ka(my)u
3PL	*[s][i]-ida	*n[i]-ida	*kan[i]-ida	*d[i]-ida

Of the hypothetical forms in Table 4.32, the Long Nominatives are found in the Danao, Manide-Alabat, Northern Luzon (Cordilleran), Northeastern Luzon, Dusunic, and Sambali-Ayta subgroups, and in Umiray Dumaget and Kapampangan. The Long Obliques with *kani-* are found in North Luzon and Ayta Bataan, and were present in Pre-Kapampangan, and those with *d[i]-* are found in Umiray Dumaget, Manide-Alabat, and Proto-Danao. The hypothetical Long Genitive set with *ni- plus the historically

nominative bases is not reflected in any known language, but is presented merely as one of the possible combinations of case marker plus set of pronoun bases.

TABLE 4.33. LONG-FORM PRONOUNS BASED ON HISTORICALLY GENITIVE BASES

	LONG NOM	LONG GEN	LONG KAN- OBL	LONG D- OBL
1SG	*si-ku	*ni-ku	*kani-ku	*di-ku
2SG	*si-mu	*ni-mu	*kani-mu	*di-mu
3SG	*si-ya	*ni-ya	*kani-ya	*di-ya
1EXCL	*si-mi	*ni-mi	*kani-mi	*di-mi
1INCL	*si-ta	*ni-ta	*kani-ta	*di-ta
2PL	*si-[n]yu	*ni-[n]yu	*kani-[n]yu	*di-[n]yu
3PL	*si-da	*ni-da	*kani-da	*di-da

Of the hypothetical forms in Table 4.33, the Long Genitive forms are found in Hanunoo, and the Long Oblique forms with *kani-* are found in the Sambali-Ayta languages (except Ayta Bataan, which uses the historically Nominative bases) and in Hanunoo (with *kani- being reduced to *kan-). No language actually reflects a Long Nominative set that utilizes the historically Genitive bases, nor does any known language reflect a Long Oblique set using *di-*.

The original motivation for innovating longer pronominal sets that were overtly case marked, even though the three distinct sets were already configured for inherent case in PMP, was likely the fact that (1) the Oblique pronouns were obligatorily preceded by a case marker in their most common role as beneficiary, indirect object, source, direction, or location; and (2) that the 3rd-person pronouns were obligatorily preceded by a case marker in a large number of languages, thus giving us nominative forms such as *[s]ia '3SG' and *[s]ida '3PL' in the Nominative; *nia '3SG' and *nida '3PL' in the Genitive, and *kania/*dia '3SG' and *kanida/*dida '3PL' in the Oblique, even when no other Nominative or Genitive pronoun contains an overt case-marking formative, as in most CPH languages (no *si- in the Nominative for 1st- and 2nd-person pronouns); Ayta Bataan (in the Genitive), Murutic, and Dusunic.

4.3.2 Mongondow-Gorontalo pronominal number. In his 2009 survey of the approximately 1,200-member Austronesian family, Blust mentions that outside of the

Oceanic subgroup, "the only other AN languages known to recognize more than a singular/plural pronominal number distinction are found in central and western Borneo" (pg. 307), giving examples of languages that have duals, trials, and in one case, quadral forms, in addition to plurals. Blust goes on to note that another Bornean language, Mukah Melanau, has even replaced the historical plurals with forms clearly marked morphologically as trial in number. Some of the Mongondow-Gorontalo languages of northern Sulawesi also have pronominal systems that exhibit curiously similar behavior, as will be illustrated in the following discussion. Note that given the geographic distance between western Borneo, northern Sulawesi, and Oceania, and the genetic distance between the languages in those areas, there can be little doubt that these systems developed independently in each area. Furthermore, even within the Mongondow-Gorontalo subgroup, the number categories represented differ from language to language, as illustrated in Table 4.34.

TABLE 4.34. MONGONDOW-GORONTALO PRONOMINAL NUMBER

	SINGULAR	DUAL	TRIAL	COUNT	PLURAL
PONOSAKAN	+	+	-	+	+
MONGONDOW	+	+	+	+	+
LOLAK	+	+	+	+	+
BINTAUNA	+	+	-	-	+ ‡
BOLANG-ITANG	+	+	-	-	+ ‡
BOLANGO	+	+	-	-	+
SUWAWA	+	+	-	-	+
BUOL	+	-	-	-	+
GORONTALO	+	-	-	-	+

‡ The plurals in these two languages derive from the historical trial forms

Among the Mongondow-Gorontalo languages, Mongondow and Lolak have the most complex system of pronominal number, including singular, dual, trial, count (or "paucal", i.e., four or more), and plural forms, as illustrated for the first-person singular and exclusive forms in Table 4.35 (along with data for the other Mongondow-Gorontalo languages).

TABLE 4.35. MONGONDOW-GORONTALO FIRST-PERSON SINGULAR AND EXCLUSIVE PRONOUNS

		NOM	GEN	OBL
MONGONDOW	**SG**	akuʔoy	ku	koʔinakoʔ
	DU	kaminda	naminda	koʔinaminda
	3L	kamintolu	namitolu	koʔinamitolu
	CT(4)	kami opat	nami opat	koʔinami opat
	PL	kami	nami	koʔinami
PONOSAKAN	**SG**	akuʔoy	ku	konakoʔ
	DU	kamiruwa	namiruwa	konamiruwa
	3L	kami tolu	nami tolu	konami tolu
	CT(4)	kami opat	nami opat	konami opat
	PL	kami	nami	konami
LOLAK	**SG**	iyaku	-ku, -u, -ngku	konakoʔ
	DU	kamindiya	namindiya	konamindiya
	3L	kamintolu	namintolu	konamintolu
	CT(4)	kami opat	nami opat	konami opat
	PL	kami	nami	konami
BOLANGO	**SG**	(w)aʔu	ʔu, -u	ʔonaʔo
	DU	ʔamideya	(n)amidiya	ʔonamidiya
	CT(3)	ʔami tolu	(n)ami tolu	ʔonami tolu
	PL	ʔami	(n)ami	ʔonami
SUWAWA	**SG**	waʔu	ʔu	ʔonaʔu
	DU	ʔamideya	(n)amideya	ʔonamideya
	CT(3)	ʔami tolu	(n)ami tolu	ʔonami tolu
	PL	ʔami	(n)ami	ʔonami
BINTAUNA	**SG**	aʔu	ʔu	ʔonaʔo
	DU	ʔamireya	namireya	ʔonamireya
	PL	ʔamintolu	namintolu	ʔonamintolu
BOLANG-ITANG	**SG**	aka	niku	kanaka
	DU	kinamidaa, kinamiyo	namiyo, (i)namindaa	kenamindaa, konamiyo
	PL	kinamintolu	namintolu	kenamintolu
BUOL	**SG**	aku	ku, -u	kunaku
	PL	kami	nami, -ami	kunami
GORONTALO	**SG**	waʔu	ʔu	ʔolaʔu
	PL	ʔami	lami	ʔolami

The dual and trial forms in Mongondow and Lolak differ from the count forms because of the presence of a frozen ligature *-n- not otherwise found in these languages (cf. Table 4.36), and the dual forms use a base for ‘two’ different from the stand-alone numeral.

TABLE 4.36. LIGATURE *-n- IN 1ST-PERSON EXCLUSIVE AND 2ND-PERSON PRONOUNS IN MONGONDOW AND LOLAK

	MONGONDOW	LOLAK
1EX.DU.NOM	kami-n-da	kami-n-diya
1EX.TRI.NOM	kami-n-tolu	kami-n-tolu
1EX.CT.NOM	kami (…opat, etc.)	kami (…opat, etc.)
1EX.PL.NOM	kami	kami
2DU.NOM	kamu-n-da	kamu-n-diya
2TRI.NOM	kamu-n-tolu	kamu-n-tolu
2CT.NOM	kamu (…opat, etc.)	kamu (…opat, etc.)
2PL.NOM	moʔiko	kamiyo
1EX.DU.GEN	nami-n-da	nami-n-diya
1EX.TRI.GEN	nami-tolu	nami-n-tolu
1EX.CT.GEN	nami (…opat, etc.)	nami (…opat, etc.)
1EX.PL.GEN	nami	nami
2DU.GEN	namu-n-da	namu-n-diya
2TRI.GEN	namu-tolu	namu-n-tolu
2CT.GEN	namu (…opat, etc.)	namu (…opat, etc.)
2PL.GEN	monimu	namiyo

This ligature is completely absent in the count forms in all languages. It is worth noting that while the ligature *-n- occurs in most of the same bases in both Mongondow and Lolak (1EXCL.DU.NOM, 1EXCL.TRI.NOM, 2DU.NOM, 2TRI.NOM, 1EXCL.DU.GEN, and 2DU.GEN), two forms—the 1EXCL.TRI.GEN and the 2TRI.GEN—reflect the ligature in Lolak but not in Mongondow.[9] Besides containing the ligature in Mongondow and Lolak, the dual forms in all three languages are formed not with the stand-alone numeral for 'two' in each language (Lolak *doʔiya*, Ponosakan *dohuwa,* Mongondow *doyowa ~ deywa*), but with an alternate form: Lolak *-diya ~ -deya,* Ponosakan *-ruwa,* and Mongondow *-da* in most forms but *-duwa* in the 3rd-person forms (the base *-duwa* also being attested in the Mongondow ordinal *induwa* 'second'). Ponosakan has a similar system but does not reflect the ligature *-n- in any form, and therefore cannot be said to have a

[9] The final /n/ of the 1st-person inclusive forms in Lolak is not a ligature, but the resurfacing of the final *-n of *naton (> Lolak *nato*). In Lolak, final *-n was lost in most environments, but resurfaces in the presence of clitics.

morphologically-marked trial form. As a result, its system can be analyzed as consisting of singular, dual, count (three or more), and plural forms.[10]

The 2nd- and 3rd-person dual/trial/count bases in Mongondow and Ponosakan are easily differentiated from their plural counterparts because the earlier nominative bases *kamu '2PL.NOM' and *sira '3PL.NOM' (cf. Table 4.37) were replaced in the plural set by *moʔiko(w)* and *mosiya*, respectively, and earlier genitive bases *namu '2PL.GEN' and *nira '3PL.GEN' were likewise replaced in the plural set by *monimu* and *moniya*, respectively. The difference between the count bases and the plural bases is less drastic in Lolak, where the 2nd-person plural form, *kamiyo*, differs only slightly from the 2nd-person dual/trial/count base *kamu-* (plural *namiyo* vs. dual/trial/count *namu* in the genitive), and the 3rd-person plural forms *saha* (Nominative) and *naha* (Genitive) only differ from the 3rd-person count bases *sara- ~ saha-* (Nominative) and *nara- ~ naha-* (Genitive) in that there is no stand-alone plural of the **sara/**nara count variant.[11]

TABLE 4.37. PROTO-MONGONDOW-GORONTALO PRONOUNS

	NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	OBLIQUE
1SG	*aku	*ku	*konakoʔ
2SG	*ika[w]	*mu, *nimu	*konimu
3SG	*sia	*nia	*konia
1EXCL	*kami	*nami	*konami
1INCL	*kita	*naton, *nita	*konaton, *konita
2PL	*kamu	*namu, *niyu	*konamu, *koniyu
3PL	*sira	*nira	*konira

There is no formal limit to the number that the count forms can reach. Such forms can be created by using the count base with the numbers *opat* 'four', *lima* 'five', *onom* 'six', *pitu* 'seven', *walu* 'eight', *siyow* 'nine', *mopuluʔ* 'ten', etc. To take the second-person genitive of Mongondow as an example (with base *namu,* which has been replaced in the plural set by *monimu*), the forms up to ten in Mongondow are *namunda* 'the two of you', *namutolu* 'the three of you', *namu opat* 'the four of you', *namu lima* 'the five of you', *namu onom* 'the six of you', *namu pitu* 'the seven of you', *namu walu* 'the eight of

[10] Note that I was unable to elicit the 1INCL.DU or 1INCL.CT forms in Ponosakan, due to miscommunication between me and my elderly informants, and not because the language lacks these forms.

[11] Note that in Lolak, /r/ and /h/ are in free variation in certain forms in much the same way that Blust (1983) demonstrated for Mongondow /r/ and /y/.

you', *namu siyow* 'the nine of you', and *namu mopulu?* 'the ten of you'. Note however that the count forms are used even beyond the number ten (e.g., *taya mopulu? bo duwa* 'the twelve of them'), and that the rule of thumb is that whenever a number follows the pronoun, the count base *namu* must be used, not the independent plural form *monimu*. There also does not appear to be any rule prohibiting the use of a plural pronoun when referring to two or three people, as long as the numeral is not uttered after the pronoun: e.g., in Mongondow, two people may be referred to as *moiko* 'you (PL)' or *kamunda* 'the two of you', but never by ***moiko doyowa* nor as ***kamu*.

An assessment of Bolango and Suwawa is complicated by the fact that their plural forms are identical to the count bases. The count bases can be followed by any number over two (as illustrated in Table 4.35 using *tolu* 'three'), and the only place where the count forms differ from a straightforward combination of plural pronoun plus stand-alone numeral is in the dual form, which includes the dual-marking Bolango *-diya,* Suwawa *-deya,* which is different from the stand-alone number for 'two', Bolango *duwiya,* Suwawa *deyuwa*.

The Bintauna and Bolang-Itang/Kaidipang pronoun systems consist of a singular, dual, and plural, but in a bizarre shift, the plural has been replaced by the historical trial, complete with frozen number *-tolu* 'three' (cf. Table 4.35). This is structurally identical to the development Blust (2009) illustrates for Mukah Melanau on the west coast of central Sarawak (Borneo) facing away from Sulawesi, and to forms elsewhere in the Austronesian world, such as Hawaiian *kākou* 'we (plural inclusive)' < *ta-tolu, Rennellese *koutou,* Tikopia *kotou* 'you (PL)'.[12] It is noteworthy that in Kaidipang town, the non-count form *kinami* '1EXCL.PL.NOM.POL' without any number attached only appears as a polite-register equivalent of *kinamiyo ~ kinaminda* '1EXCL.DU.NOM' and *kinamintolu* '1EXCL.PL.NOM', corresponding to the contrast in the singular between *ataina* '1SG.NOM.POL' and *aka* '1SG.NOM'.[13] Otherwise, none of the other plural bases

[12] Thanks to Robert Blust (pers. comm., 9/21/12) for bringing the Hawaiian, Rennellese, and Tikopia forms to my attention.

[13] Polite 1SG.NOM forms also occur in Suwawa *wateya* (POL) vs. *waʔu* (INF), Buol *kamiʔatoniyu* (POL) vs. *aku* (INF), Gorontalo *watiya* (POL) vs. *waʔu* (INF), and Bolango *watáa* (POL) vs. *waʔu* (INF); Bolango also extends the polite-vs. informal contrast to the 1st-person exclusive plural, *amibeya* (POL) vs. *ami* (INF). Furthermore, Bolang-Itang/Kaidipang and Bintauna have polite 2SG.NOM forms *goginaa* and *ʔamu,* respectively.

occur as stand-alone forms without *–diya* or *–tolu* suffixed to indicate dual or plural, respectively. Note also that a ligature *–n-* similar to that of Mongondow and Lolak is also found in Bintauna and Bolang-Itang/Kaidipang in the 1EXCL & 1INCL, and 2nd-person dual/plural forms.

Finally, Gorontalo and Buol are the only Mongondow-Gorontalo languages in which no trace of the pronominal count system has been found, both languages having only a basic singular-plural contrast. The first-person pronouns of these two languages are also illustrated in Table 4.35 to allow for comparison with those of the other Mongondow-Gorontalo languages.

4.3.3 Genitive replacement in Dusunic languages. While, as mentioned earlier, Philippine and Philippine-type languages in general have three distinct sets of pronouns (nominative, genitive, and oblique), replacement of a set, or of one or more members of a set, is not completely unheard of. One particularly interesting example of this is the Dusunic subgroup of northern Borneo, in which many languages have replaced earlier Genitive pronouns with forms from the Oblique set, as can be observed from Table 4.38. In fact, only a handful of members of the Dusunic subgroup have a full set of Genitive pronouns (setting aside the 1INCL.DUAL and 1INCL.PL forms which, due to their uniformity throughout Southwest Sabah languages, appear to be the result of a much more recent innovation or contact-induced shift), as illustrated in Table 4.39. The progression of erosion of a pronoun set can be observed quite clearly in the Dusunic languages. Excluding the Bisaya-Lotud languages, which have been shown to be distinct from the core Dusunic subgroup (cf. Chapter 11 of this dissertation), the only Dusunic languages with a virtually complete set of genitive pronouns are the structurally conservative Kadazan dialects of central Papar town, and Kimanis and Membakut subdistricts just south (note, however, that the 1st-person inclusive pronouns are the same for the nominative and genitive sets in virtually all Dusunic languages). The next most conservative is Kadazan Klias, which has shifted *n- > *d- in the 3rd-person plural genitive,[14] which is also true of Dumpas with the qualifying comment that Dumpas has

[14] It is also worth noting that with the exception of the Southern Kadazan dialects (Kadazan Central Papar, Kadazan Kimanis, and Kadazan Membakut), all other Dusunic languages use historically-oblique *di*

replaced the '2SG.GEN', '3SG.GEN', and '1EXCL.GEN' with forms apparently borrowed from Paitanic languages. Next is Sukang/Karamuak which has replaced the 3rd-person plural form with an innovated form from the oblique set. Minokok, Mangkak, and Kujau have replaced not only the 3rd-person plural but also the 3rd-person singular both with forms from the oblique set. Kimaragang has shifted *n- > *d- in the 2nd-person plural form, and Dusun Tambunan has done so in both the 2nd-person plural and 3rd-person singular, while Tinagas, Talantang, and Sonsogon have shifted *n- > *d- in the 2nd-person plural and replaced the 3rd-person singular with a form from the oblique set.[15]

The Dusunic languages with the most defective genitive sets—i.e., with the fewest dedicated genitive pronoun forms—are Dusun Tindal and Rungus, in which only *ku, *nu, and *to are retained; and Coastal Kadazan (of the Penampang area), Sumagid and Tobilung, in which only *ku and *nu are retained. In these five languages, the 3SG, 1EXCL, 2PL, and 3PL forms have all been replaced by forms from the oblique set.

Note that this progressive erosion of the genitive pronouns is only observable in the Dusunic languages, although it may mirror the prehistoric series of events that resulted in the situation in the Idaanic languages and in several Mangyan languages (Iraya, Alangan, and Buhid), which do not have any genitive pronouns at all (cf. Section 4.3.4).[16]

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instead of *ni* to mark the genitive of personal names, and have lost the genitive common noun marker. This may have happened due to a shift of initial *n- to d- in functors, parallel to the aforemention shift in the genitive pronouns.

[15] Unfortunately, I did not successfully elicit the 1EXCL.GEN pronoun in Sonsogon.

[16] Similarly, the Idaanic languages surveyed in this dissertation (Idaan, Begak, Subpan, and Sungai Seguliud) lack a Genitive set of pronouns.

TABLE 4.38. GENITIVE PRONOUNS IN DUSUNIC LANGUAGES (ITALICIZED FORMS ARE EXTENSIONS OF HISTORICALLY-OBLIQUE PRONOUNS)

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1EXCL	1INCL.DU	1INCL.PL	2PL	3PL
PDUS	*ku	*nu	*yə, *ni-siə(ʔ)	*ya	*tə	ø	*yu, *muyu	*nə-sidə
KMEM	ku	nu	nisido	za	---	---	zu	nosido
KKMS	ku	nu	nisido	ja	(kito)	(tokow)	ju	nosido
DPPR	ku	nu	zo, nisido	za	(kito)	(tokow)	nuzu	nosido
KDZOK	ku	nu	zo, *(disido)*	za	(kito)	(tokow)	nuzu	*dosido*
SKNG	ku	nu	yo	ya	to	(toko)	muyu	*(diyoloʔ)*
KLIAS	ku	nu	zo	za	(kito)	(tokow)	zu	*(dosido)*
DMPS	ku	mu	niyo	may	toduwo	(toko)	muyu	*(dosido)*
MKOK	ku	nu	*(diyaloʔ)*	za	to	(tokow)	zu	*(diyoloʔ)*
MKAK	ku	nu	*(disido)*	ja	to	(tokow)	muju	*(diyoloʔ)*
KUJAU	ku	nu	*(dizaw)*	za	---	---	muzu	*(diyoti)*
DKRG	ku	nu	yo, *(diyaloʔ)*	ya	to, (kito)	(daton, tokow)	duyu	*(daʔoloʔ)*
DTMB	ku	nu	diyo	ya, (dagay)	to, (kito)	(tokow)	duyu	*(diyoloʔ)*
DTGS	ku	nu	*(dooʔ, diyaloʔ)*	(dagay)	toduwo	(toko)	duyu	*(diyaloʔ, datiloʔ)*
DTLT	ku	nu	*(diyaloʔ)*	ja	to	(tokow)	du	*(diyotiloʔ)*
SONS	ku	nu	*(diyaloʔ)*	?	(kito)	(tokow)	duyu, duju	*(daalo)*
DTDL	ku	nu	*(disiyo)*	*(dahay)*	to	(toko)	*(dokoyu)*	*(diyoloʔ)*
SMGD	ku	nu	---	*(dagay)*	---	---	*(dikayu)*	*(disido)*
RUNG	ku	nu	*(diyaloʔ, dau)*	*(dahay)*	to	(tokow)	*(dikow)*	*(diyoti)*
KDZPE	ku	nu	*(dau, disido, diyahoʔ, dosido, diyahaʔ)*	*(dagay)*	*(dito)*	(tokow)	*(diyozu)*	*(diyohoʔ)*
DTOB	ku	nu	*(doo, dikuvo, diyaloʔ)*	*(dagay)*	*(daton)*	---	*(dikoyu)*	*(diyaraloʔ)*

TABLE 4.39. GENITIVE PRONOUN SETS IN SELECT DUSUNIC LANGUAGES

	DMEM	DKMS	DPPR	KDZOK	SKNG	MKOK	MKAK	KUJAU	KLIAS
1SG	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku
2SG	nu	nu	nu	nu	nu	nu	nu	nu	nu
3SG	nisido	nisido	zo, nisido	zo, disido	yo	diyaloʔ	disido	dizaw	zo
1EX	za	ja	za	za	ya	za	ja	za	za
1IN.DU	---	(kito)	(kito)	(kito)	to	to	to	---	(kito)
1IN.PL	---	(tokow)	(tokow)	(tokow)	(toko)	(tokow)	(tokow)	---	(tokow)
2PL	zu	ju	nuzu	nuzu	muyu	zu	muju	muzu	zu
3PL	nosido	nosido	nosido	dosido	diyoloʔ	diyoloʔ	diyoloʔ	diyoti	dosido

There is a limited amount of evidence that the erosion of the Genitive pronoun set in various members of the Dusunic subgroup may have passed through an earlier stage when their initial *n- shifted to *d- (cf. Table 4.40); e.g., the 2PL.GEN forms *duyu ~ duju ~ du* in Sonsogon, Tinagas, Talantang, Kimaragang, and Dusun Tambunan, which are not cognate with the corresponding Oblique forms *dikow ~ dikoo ~ dikowu* (< *di-ka[m]u), but look like Oblique forms due to the initial /d/. However, the much more conservative Dusun Papar clearly reflects this form with an initial *n-,* as does Kadazan Ovai Kambizaan. It is unclear, why the initial consonant of the 2SG.GEN form *nu* never shifts to /d/, but this might have been the result of the high discourse frequency of *nu*.

TABLE 4.40. *n- > *d- SHIFT IN DUSUNIC GENITIVE PRONOUNS

	PROTO-DUSUNIC	AFTER *N- > *D-
1SG.GEN	*ku	ku
2SG.GEN	*nu	nu
3SG.GEN	*yə, *nisidə	yə, disidə
1EXCL.GEN	*ya	ya
2PL.GEN	*nuyu	duyu
3PL.GEN	*nəsidə	dəsidə

In Table 4.38 earlier, the languages towards the top exhibit the least amount of replacement, while the languages towards the bottom exhibit the greatest amount of replacement. Note that this replacement of Genitive forms by Oblique forms is not found in the Bisaya-Lotud, Paitanic, Murutic, or Idaanic languages, except in two instances: (1) Sabah Bisaya has replaced *ni-amiʔ (reflected as *nyamiʔ* in Lotud) with *jamiʔ from the Oblique set, creating a situation in which Sabah Bisaya *jamiʔ* can be either a Genitive or

Oblique pronoun; and (2) it is also found in the 3rd-person singular and plural pronouns in Gana (which is surrounded by Dusunic languages), where the oblique forms *disiyo* and *diyosiyo* are also used in the genitive case, although this could reflect a shift of *n- to *d-,* from earlier **nisiyo and **niyosiyo.

Note that even in the Philippines, examples can be found where one (and usually only one) pronoun has been replaced by the corresponding form from another set, such as in (1) the Roxas dialect of Batak, where historically-genitive *nira* serves as both '3PL.NOM' and '3PL.GEN'; (2) the Puerto Princesa dialect of Batak, where historically-nominative *sira* serves as both '3PL.NOM' and '3PL.GEN'; (3) Batak (all dialects) where historically-oblique *kanya* serves as both '3SG.NOM' and '3SG.OBL'; (4) Central Palawan, where historically-oblique *damon* serves as both '1EXCL.GEN' and '1EXCL.OBL'; (5) Southern Tagbanwa, where historically-oblique *kanya* now serves as '3SG.NOM', and its oblique counterpart *it-kanya* '3SG.OBL' has acquired additional marking. In comparison to these sporadic Palawanic cases, the Dusunic subgroup provides an insight into the language-by-language progression of the erosion from a proto-language with a full set of Genitive pronouns, towards the type of language that only has dedicated Genitive forms for '1SG.GEN' and '2SG.GEN'.

4.3.4 Aberrant Pronoun Systems in Mangyan Languages. By far the most structurally aberrant pronominal systems among the Philippine and Philippine-type languages are found in the Mangyan languages of Mindoro Island in the central Philippines.

While the vast majority of Philippine-type languages reflect the three-case pronominal system described earlier in this chapter, only one of the seven Mangyan languages surveyed[17] has a pronominal system which, at least on the surface, resembles that of a typical Philippine-type language. However, even this language, Hanunoo, is atypical in that it adds *ni- to the monosyllabic Genitive bases which in other languages are stand-alone, inherently Genitive enclitic pronouns, as illustrated in Table 4.27 earlier.

[17] Of the eight known Mangyan languages, only Western Tawbuwid was not included in the current survey. However, judging from their respective New Testament translations produced by the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, Western and Eastern Tawbuwid are especially similar to one another.

While virtually all Philippine-type languages have enclitic pronouns—often forming a complete pronominal set—Bangon and Eastern Tawbuwid are the only two Philippine languages to have a complete set of proclitic pronouns: In both of these languages, the genitive pronouns are proclitic, and Bangon is even more aberrant in also having a proclitic set of Nominative pronouns (note that Eastern Tawbuwid has a proclitic 1SG.NOM pronoun *ku*= that is used before particles). The proclitic pronouns of these two languages are illustrated in Table 4.41.

TABLE 4.41 PROCLITIC PRONOUNS IN BANGON AND EASTERN TAWBUWID

	BANGON		**ETWBD**	
	NOM	**GEN**	**NOM**	**GEN**
1SG	u=	ku=	ku= (w/ particles)	ku=
2SG	a=	am=	---	am=
3SG	ta=, ti=	at=	---	at=
1EX	mi=	mi=	---	em=
1IN.DU	(ta= *lit.*)	(ta= *lit.*)	---	ta=
1IN.PL	tam=	tam=	---	tam=
2PL	am=	(ayu…)	---	ay=
3PL	ta=	(tunya't…)	---	at=

The remaining three Mangyan languages, whose pronominal systems are illustrated in Table 4.42, do not have any Genitive pronouns at all, instead using the oblique pronouns as preposed genitives representing actors of non-Actor Focus verbs, or possessors of nouns.

TABLE 4.42. THE PRONOUNS OF BUHID, ALANGAN, AND IRAYA

	IRAYA		ALANGAN		BUHID	
	NOM	**OBL**	**NOM**	**OBL**	**NOM**	**OBL (w/ sa…)**
1SG	aku	naay	aku	kangay	ahu, hu=	angku, hangku, kangku
2SG	kawu	kumu	kau	kaymu	haw, ha=	hyamu
3SG	iya	kunin	siyu	kansiyu ~ kasyu	hanya	hanya
1EX	yamən, kidawa [dual]	(=NOM)	kami	kanyam	hami	hyami
1IN.DU	kita	(=NOM)	kita	kanta	---	---
1IN.PL	tamu	(=NOM)	kitam	kantam	tam	intam, kantam, hantam, santam, antam†
2PL	kuyu	(=NOM)	kamu	kanyu	ham	hayu
3PL	kura	(=NOM)	siru	kansiru ~ kasiru	taw/ta, hanya†	hanya (+ istaw)

† forms reported in Zorc (1974b) which did not appear in my elicitations

Note that in Iraya, not only are there not any Genitive pronouns, but the plural pronouns are identical in the Nominative and Oblique sets, meaning that even the two remaining sets of Iraya pronouns are structurally defective, and only mark an overt case contrast in the singular.

4.3.5 Pronoun Replacement in Brunei Dusun and Limbang Bisaya, Northwestern Borneo. Brunei Dusun and Limbang Bisaya differ from the average Philippine-type language in having replaced their plural Nominative and Genitive pronouns with historically Oblique forms, as illustrated in Tables 4.43 & 4.44. A further development in both languages is that the less-conservative speakers who now seem to form the majority of the population often no longer make a distinction between even the Nominative, Genitive, and Oblique pronouns.

TABLE 4.43. LIMBANG BISAYA PRONOUNS

	NOM	GEN	OBL
1SG	aku	ku	jaiʔ
2SG	ikaw	mu	ijun
3SG	yo	no	so
1EX	jamiʔ	jamiʔ	jamiʔ
1IN	jatiʔ	jatiʔ	jatiʔ
2PL	muyun	muyun	muyun
3PL	iro	iro	soro

TABLE 4.44. BRUNEI DUSUN PRONOUNS

	NOM	GEN	OBL
1SG	kujiʔ	ku, jaiʔ	jaiʔ
2SG	ikow, =kow	mu	ijun
3SG	iyo	yo, ʔo, o	diso
1EX.DU	indoʔ	indoʔ	indoʔ
1IN.DU	dodoʔ	dodoʔ	dodoʔ
2DU	mundoʔ	mundoʔ	mundoʔ
3DU	yodoʔ	yodoʔ	yodoʔ
1EX.PL	jamiʔ	jamiʔ	jamiʔ
1IN.PL	jatiʔ	jatiʔ	jatiʔ
2PL	muyun	muyun	muyun
3PL	soro	soro	soro

That this was not the configuration of the pronouns of Proto-Bisaya-Lotud is illustrated in Table 4.45 for Lotud and Sabah Bisaya, where—except for Sabah Bisaya's extension of OBL *jamiʔ* to the Genitive set, and the absence of case contrasts in the 1st-person dual and/or plural for all Southwest Sabah languages—each of the three sets consists of distinct forms.

TABLE 4.45. THE PRONOUN SYSTEMS OF LOTUD AND SABAH BISAYA

	NOM		GEN		OBL	
	LOTUD	SABIS	LOTUD	SABIS	LOTUD	SABIS
1SG	oku	oku	ku	ku	jokiʔ	jokiʔ, dijok
2SG	ikaw, ko	ikow, ko	mu	mu	jun	dijun
3SG	iyo	iyo	nyo	nyo	siyo	disiyo
1EX	ikoy	okoy	nyamiʔ	jamiʔ	jamiʔ	jamiʔ
1IN.DU	ito	kito	to	kito	dito	dikito
1IN.PL	itokow	tokow	tokow	tokow	jatiʔ	ditokow
2PL	ikow, kow	okow, kow	muyu	muyun	jomuyu	dijamuyun
3PL	ido	iro	do	do	sido	disiro

4.3.6 Topicalized Pronouns in Tidung and Murut Kalabakan. In Murut Kalabakan and the various Tidung dialects, reflexes of the earlier Oblique pronouns have had their usage extended to serve as Topicalized Nominative pronouns, as illustrated in Table 4.46 for Tidung Bangawong, and Table 4.47 for Murut Kalabakan. This development is especially odd from the perspective of Philippine-type languages, since most of these oblique forms which have now become topicalized nominative forms still carry the frozen formative *d- which unambiguously marks the oblique case in many more conservative Philippine-type languages. Interestingly, this replacement innovation occurs in the eastern Murutic languages precisely where the first hints of erosion of the Philippine-type structure are found, and further south, the focus and tense-aspect systems unravel even further. As such, this development could also be interpreted as one step towards the leveling of case contrasts in languages that have fallen under the influence of non-Philippine-type languages.

System-internal forces may also have been partly responsible for these shifts, but it is difficult to ignore the fact that (1) these shifts are much less commonly found in areas where non-Philippine-type languages are absent, and (2) that these shifts can currently be observed as changes-in-progress between more competent speakers of Southwest Sabah languages in Sabah, who grew up speaking a Philippine-type language on a daily basis, and the less-competent speakers whose first language is Malay, and who possess a poor command, or simply a passive command of their parents' language.

TABLE 4.46. TIDUNG BANGAWONG PRONOUNS

	TOP/FRT	POST-NOM	GEN	OBL
1SG	dakoʔ, dakon	aku	ku	dakoʔ, dakon
2SG	adun	ko	mu	adun
3SG	siyo, so	yo	no	so, dosiyo
1EX	damoʔ, damon	kay	may	damoʔ, damon
1IN.DU	dito(n)	to	to	dito(n)
1IN.PL	taka(n)	taka	taka	taka(n)
2PL	dumu(n)	kaw	dumu	dumu(n)
3PL	silo	ilo	ilo	silo

TABLE 4.47. MURUT KALABAKAN PRONOUNS

	TOP/FRT	POST-NOM	GEN	OBL
1SG	rakoʔ ~ rakon	aku	ku	rakoʔ ~ rakon
2SG	juʔ ~ riyun (~ iyun†)	ko	mu	juʔ ~ riyun (~ iyun†)
3SG	siyo	yo	no	siyo
1EX	ramoʔ ~ ramon (~ damon†)	akay	may	ramoʔ ~ ramon (~ damon†)
1IN.DU	toruwo (~ dito†)	toruwo	toruwo	toruwo (~ dito†)
1IN.PL	takaw	takaw	takaw	takaw
2PL	ramuyu ~ ramuyun (~ damuyun†)	kaw	muyu	ramuyu ~ ramuyun (~ damuyun†)
3PL	silo	ilo	lo	silo

† forms listed in SIL survey notes provided to me by Dave Moody of SIL Malaysia which did not occur in my own elicitations.

Since this shift does not occur in other Murutic languages outside of Murut Kalabakan and the Tidung languages, there can be little doubt that this development in the Murut along the Kalabakan River arose under the influence of the more dominant Tidung who also settled in Kalabakan less than an hour's walk away.

CHAPTER 5
VERBAL MORPHOLOGY AND THE FOCUS SYSTEM

5. INTRODUCTION. Along with the so-called case system with which it is intertwined, the best-known features of Philippine and Philippine-type languages are the rich agglutinative morphology, and the verbal "focus" or "voice" system which cross-references the case-marked noun phrase to tell speakers what the role of each noun phrase is, along with other semantic information such as the definiteness of certain noun phrases. It is an elusive system that is, at best, poorly understood by anyone who is not a native speaker, and even highly-competent non-native speakers are prone to making a multitude of mistakes.

Although varying in detail and complexity from one language to the next, the focus system is found in virtually all languages surveyed in this dissertation, that is, all members of the Philippine subgroup as well as the languages of northern Borneo (Dusunic, Murutic, Paitanic, Bisaya-Lotud, and Idaanic, although the system in the latter is poorly understood at present). The only exceptions are a few of the most southerly Southwest Sabah languages in Borneo, such as the Tarakan and Kalabakan dialects of Tidung, and, at least for some speakers, Brunei Dusun and Limbang Bisaya.

Although migrations have rendered impossible the drawing of a definitive line, the southern boundary of Philippine-type languages in Borneo is defined by the Brunei Dusun, Kolod, Tingalan, Abai Sembuak/Tubu, Bulusu, and Tidung languages, although a handful of non-Philippine-type languages exist north of this hypothetical line.[1] Many of the languages located along this southern boundary are only marginally Philippine-type, or are in the process of losing the last vestiges of their Philippine-type structure as the older generation gives way to younger generations who, if they speak their ancestral language at all, speak it according to the structure and grammar of Malay, relying more

[1] Blust (2009:446) notes that Lun Dayeh/Lun Bawang, a member of the North Sarawak subgroup which is generally located south of the Southwest Sabah subgroup, has only a productive Actor and Object Focus, classifying the third supposed focus (Instrumental/Beneficiary Focus) as "moribund" (cf. Clayre 1991). Although further research is needed in this area, for now it seems safer to consider Lun Dayeh/Lun Bawang as having an active-vs.-passive system, as opposed to a Reduced Focus or full Focus system.

on helping words and word order to convey their meaning, instead of focus and tense/aspect affixes, and case-marked noun phrases.[2]

In northern Sulawesi, it is only the Mongondow-Gorontalo, Minahasan, and Sangiric languages that appear to have Philippine-type verb systems. Although little is known about the structure of the Tomini-Tolitoli languages, existing descriptions (of which Quick 2007 for Pendau is by far the most comprehensive to date) paint a picture of languages that are transitional between Philippine-type and Malay-type (or "Indonesian-type") verb systems, although much more work needs to be done on the other members of the subgroup, and there remains the interesting possibility that there is a progression from the northernmost Tomini-Tolitoli languages which border on the very Philippine-like Buol language (of the Mongondow-Gorontalo subgroup), to other languages further south which appear to retain little if any of the Philippine-type system.

The most common incarnation of the focus system seems to involve four choices: an Actor Focus marked by *<um>, *maR-, and/or *maN-, and three non-actor focuses marked by *-ən, *-an, and *i-. While terminology varies considerably, I will use the following terms here:

*-um-/maR-/maN-	=	Actor Focus (AF)
*-ən	=	Object Focus (OF)
*-an	=	Location Focus (LF)
*i-	=	Secondary Object Focus (OF2)

Although OF2 is the most common and widespread use of *i- in the languages covered here, this prefix also marks Beneficiary Focus and/or Instrumental Focus in many languages.

As Ramos (1974) observed for Tagalog, there are a number of differences between the Object Focus and the Secondary Object Focus. One of the clearest of these is the distinction between inward-directed actions and outward-directed actions, as

[2] In the most conservative Philippine-type languages, pronouns, demonstratives, personal names, and common nouns are all marked for case. In less-conservative languages, the order of erosion from first to last is usually (1) demonstratives, with the genitive form lost first; (2) common nouns; (3) personal names; (4) pronouns.

illustrated in Table 5.1 for Tagalog (TAG), Bikol (BIK) and Cebuano (CEB) in the Central Philippine subgroup, and Makiang (MKNG, Paitanic), Mangkaak (MKAK, Dusunic), and Tidung Bangawong-Labuk (TIDB, Murutic) in Sabah. Note that Object Focus is marked by *–in* in Tagalog,*–on* (phonemically /un/) in Bikol and Cebuano, and *–on* in Makiang, Mangkaak, and Tidung (reflecting regular phonological shifts from PMP *ə in all five languages), while the Secondary Object Focus is marked by *i-* in all six languages.

The four basic focuses are generally stable from language to language, except in "Reduced Focus" languages where the original four have been reduced to three, usually through the merger of the Secondary Object Focus with the Object Focus. Reduced Focus languages include the Subanen languages, Manide but not Inagta Alabat, and a number of Southwest Sabah languages, even though the most conservative members of each branch of Southwest Sabah retain all four focuses. The Beneficiary and Instrumental Focuses are far less stable and differ in their marking from language to language, or even within the same language. In Tagalog, for example, Beneficiary Focus can be marked by either *i-* or *–an*, and Instrumental Focus can be marked by either *ipaN-* or *i-*. Regrettably, little effort was made to elicit Beneficiary and Instrumental Focus forms during the fieldwork for this dissertation—although *i-* forms were usually elicited in their OF2 forms—and as a result, this discussion of the focus system will concentrate on four focuses: Actor Focus, Object Focus, Location Focus, and Secondary Object Focus.

TABLE 5.1. OF VS. OF2 VERBS IN TAGALOG, BIKOL, CEBUANO, MANGKAAK, MAKIANG, AND TIDUNG BANGAWONG-LABUK

ACTIONS DIRECTED TOWARDS AGENT ("CENTRIPETAL")	ACTIONS DIRECTED AWAY FROM AGENT ("CENTRIFUGAL")
TAG *bilhín* 'to buy' BIK *bakalón* 'to buy' CEB *palitón* 'to buy' MKAK. *volijon* 'to buy' MKNG *waliyon* 'to buy' TIDB *oonon, boliyon* 'to buy'	TAG *ibenta, ipagbilí* 'to sell' BIK *ipabákal* 'to sell' CEB *ibalígyà* 'to sell' MKAK. *ivalí* 'to sell' MKNG *iwali* 'to sell' TIDB *ibaluk* 'to sell'
TAG *abutín* 'to reach for' BIK *abotón* 'to reach for' CEB *dawáton* 'to reach for'	TAG *iábot* 'to hand over' BIK *idúhol* 'to reach for' CEB *itúdlos* 'to reach for'
TAG *hirámin* 'to borrow' BIK *sublión* 'to borrow' CEB *hulámon* 'to borrow' MKNG *idamon* 'to borrow'	TAG *ipahíram* 'to lend s.t.' BIK *ipasublî* 'to lend s.t.' CEB *ipahúlam* 'to lend s.t.' MKNG *ipaidam* 'to lend s.t.'\
TAG *tanggapín* 'to accept' BIK *akóon* 'to accept' CEB *dawáton* 'to accept'	TAG *iálay, idúlot* 'to offer' BIK *idúlot, idúsay, iálay* 'to offer' CEB *ihálad* 'to offer'
TAG *inumín* 'to drink' BIK *inomón* 'to drink' CEB *inumón* 'to drink' MKAK *iyupon* 'to drink' MKNG *sosopon* 'to drink' TIDB *inumon* 'to drink'	TAG *iluwâ* 'to spit out liquid' BIK *ilútab* 'to spit out liquid' CEB *ibúgwak* 'to spit out liquid' MKAK *ilamput* 'spit out liquid or food' MKNG *ilamput* 'spit out liquid' TIDB *isambul* 'spit out liquid or food'
TAG *kaínin* 'to eat' BIK *kakanón* 'to eat' CEB *kaúnon* 'to eat' MKAK *akanon* 'to eat' MKNG *akanon* 'to eat' TIDB *akanon* 'to eat'	TAG *ibúga* 'to spit out food' BIK *iluwâ* 'to spit out food' CEB *iluwâ* 'to spit out food' MKAK *ilamput* 'spit out liquid or food' MKNG *iluwâ* 'spit out food' TIDB *isambul* 'spit out liquid or food'
TAG *salúin* 'to catch' TAG *dakpín* 'to catch' BIK *salohón* 'to catch' BIK *bihágon* 'to capture' BIK *dakopón* 'to catch, to capture' BIK *sibáon* 'to catch in the jaws' CEB *salúon* 'to catch' CEB *salakón* 'to catch' CEB *dakpón* 'to catch, to capture' MKAK *somiton* 'to catch' MKNG *sombuton* 'to catch' TIDB *dokopon* 'to catch'	TAG *iítsa* 'to throw, to toss' TAG *itápon* 'to throw away, to throw' BIK *isaló* 'to throw something for someone to catch' BIK *ihúlog* 'to drop' BIK *iwalták* 'to drop while walking' BIK *ihúbon* 'to drop & leave behind' BIK *iapón*/*itabóy* 'to throw out' BIK *ibádag*/*iugsák* 'to throw down w/ force' BIK *idaklág* 'to hurl, to throw' BIK *iítsa*, *irabág*, *ibaribád* 'to throw, to hurl'

	BIK *italtál* 'to throw, to eject' CEB *iítsa, ilábay* 'to throw, to toss' MKAK *itaam* 'to throw' MKNG *iingkad* 'to throw' TIDB *ibobol* 'to throw'
TAG *kúnin* 'to get, to take' BIK *kuahon* 'to get, to take' CEB *kuháon* 'to get, to take' MKAK *onuwón* 'to get, to take' MKNG *alapon* 'to get, to take' TIDB *aapon* 'to get, to take'	TAG *ibigáy* 'to give' TAG *ilagáy* 'to put, to place' TAG *ibalík, isaúlì* 'to put back, to give back' BIK *itaó* 'to give' BIK *ilaág*, *ibugták* 'to put, to place' BIK *isulít* 'to return s.t. to its proper place' BIK *iulî*, *ibalík*, *ibwélta* 'to return s.t.' CEB *ihátag* 'to give' CEB *ibutáng* 'to put' CEB *ibálik* 'to put back, to give back' MKAK *itaak* 'to give' MKNG *itaak, ibagi* 'to give' TIDB *inggay* 'to give'
TAG *hiláhin* 'to pull' TAG *guyúrin* 'to pull, to drag' BIK *guyódon* 'to pull, to drag' BIK *butóngon* 'to pull' BIK *bugnotón* 'to tug' BIK *bikyawón* 'to pull back a fishing rod' BIK *dukóton* 'to pull/draw s.t. out' BIK *bulnotón, hulbatón* 'to pull out' BIK *hugkotón* 'to pull out a drawer' BIK *tanggalón*, *tangkasón* 'to remove s.t./pull out' CEB *bitáron* 'to pull' CEB *guyúron* 'to pull, to drag' MKAK *kodongon* 'to pull' MKNG *kodongon* 'to pull' TIDB *biniton, bunaton* 'to pull'	TAG *itúlak* 'to push' BIK *itulód, ituldáng, iugsód, ibúsol* 'to push' CEB *itulód* 'to push' MKAK *iliyad, itulak* 'to push' MKNG *itulak* 'to push' TIDB *isikog* 'to push'
TAG *pulútin* 'pick up' CEB *puníton* 'pick up' MKAK *puruton* 'pick up' MKNG *puruton* 'pick up' TIDB *punduton* 'pick up'	TAG *ihúlog* 'to drop (intentionally)' CEB *ihulog, itambog* 'to drop (intentionally)' MKAK *iratû* 'to drop (intentionally)' MKNG *iratû* 'to drop (intentionally)' TIDB *idatû* 'to drop (intentionally)'

Table 5.2 below illustrates the basic verbal morphology of Tagalog, including morphology for the four basic focuses, and tense-aspect morphology.

TABLE 5.2. STANDARD TAGALOG VERB MORPHOLOGY (FOCUS AND TENSE/ASPECT)

	ACTOR FOCUS	OBJECT FOCUS	LOCATION FOCUS	SECONDARY OBJECT FOCUS
INFINITIVE	<um>	-in	-an	i-
PAST	<um>	<in>† ni-	<in>…-an† ni-…-an	i-…<in>§ ini-
PRESENT	C<um>V-	C<in>V-† ni-CV-	C<in>V-…-an† ni-CV-…-an	iC<in>V-§ ini-CV-
FUTURE	CV-	CV-…-in	CV-…-an	i-CV-

†*<in>* is reflected as *ni-* on roots beginning with /l/, /r/, or /y/

§The combination of *i-* and *<in>* in the past and present forms of the Secondary Object Focus are realized as *ini-* and *ini-CV-,* respectively, on roots beginning with /l/, /r/, or /y/

While Tagalog—the national language of the Philippines (under the name "Filipino") and one of the country's most populous languages—is the most widely-recognized and widely-cited Philippine-type language in the literature, it is far from the most complex morphologically. Bikol, as illustrated in Table 5.3, is even more complex, reflecting imperative forms that date back in one form or another to Proto-Austronesian but have been lost in Modern Standard Tagalog (although they were present in Old Tagalog, cf. Chapter 2.10). Also, like a number of Central Philippine languages, Bikol has two distinct negative imperative verb forms, one which follows the general negator *daí,* and another which follows the negative command word *harè,* although the latter is archaic in Modern Standard Bikol.

TABLE 5.3. BIKOL VERB MORPHOLOGY

	ACTOR FOCUS	OBJECT FOCUS	LOCATION FOCUS	SECONDARY OBJECT FOCUS
INFINITIVE	mag- 	-on pag-…-on	-an pag-…-an	i- ipag-
PAST	nag- <umin>	<in> pig- pinag-	<in>…-an pig-…-an pinag-…-an	i-…<in> ipig- ipinag-
PRESENT	nag-CV-, mina-	C<in>V- pig-CV- pinag-CV-	C<in>V-…-an pig-CV-…-an pinag-CV-…-an	i-C<in>V- ipig-CV- ipinag-CV-
FUTURE	mā- mag-CV-	CV-…-on pag-CV-…-on	CV-…-an pag-CV-…-an	i-CV- ipag-CV-
IMPERATIVE	<um>	-a	-i	-an
NEG-1 (daí)	mag-	pag-…-on	pag-…-an	ipag-
NEG-2 (harè)	pag-	pag-…-a	pag-…-i	pag-…-an

Standard Waray, on the other hand, adds distinct past and future subjunctive forms to the list of possible verbal conjugations, as illustrated in Table 5.4:

TABLE 5.4. STANDARD WARAY VERB MORPHOLOGY (FOCUS AND TENSE/ASPECT)

	ACTOR FOCUS *<UM>*	ACTOR FOCUS *MAG-*	OBJECT FOCUS	LOCATION FOCUS	SECONDARY OBJECT FOCUS
INFINITIVE, IMPERATIVE	<um>	mag-	-on	-an	i-
PAST	<inm>	nag-	gin- ~ <in>	gin-…-an <in>…-an	i-gin- i-…<in>
PRESENT	nā-	nag-CV-	gin-CV- C<in>V-	gin-CV-…-an C<in>V-…-an	igin-CV- iC<in>V-
FUTURE	mā-	mag-CV-	CV-…-on	CV-…-an	i-CV-
PAST SBJ., IMPERATIVE	ø-	pag-	-a	-i	-an
FUT. SBJ., NEG. IMP. 2	CV-	pag-CV-	pag-…-a	pag-…-i	pag-…-an
NEG. IMP. 1	ø-	pag-	pag-…-on	pag-…-an	ipag-

As complex as the basic verb morphology of standard Tagalog, Bikol and Waray-Waray may seem to the uninitiated, they are far from the most complex, as these languages—like most core Central Philippine languages—lack virtually any morphophonemic alternation. In the modern Central Philippine languages, variation is

limited to a few conditions, such as in Tagalog (cf. Table 5.1 above) where infix <*in*> becomes prefix *ni-* on roots starting with /l/, /r/, or /y/—an apparent retention from Proto-Greater Central Philippines, since the same conditions cause the infix <*in*> to become a prefix *i-* in Mongondow in northern Sulawesi. Outside of the core Central Philippine subgroup, however, many Philippine-type languages exhibit more morphophonemic alternation, although much of this is similar if not identical to variations documented for Old Tagalog, Old Bikol, and Old Waray early in the Spanish occupation of the Philippines (cf. Chapter 2) and also observable in the Southwest Sabah languages.

Table 5.5 illustrates the system of verb affixation in Mongondow, a Greater Central Philippine language spoken in Sulawesi, Indonesia, and which exhibits more variation than most core Central Philippine languages do.

TABLE 5.5. MONGONDOW VERB MORPHOLOGY (FOCUS AND TENSE/ASPECT)

		ACTOR FOCUS <*UM*>	**ACTOR FOCUS *MAG-***	**OBJECT FOCUS**	**LOCATION FOCUS**	**SECONDARY OBJECT FOCUS**
NON-PAST	MOST	<*um*>	*mo-* (_C) *mog-* (_V)	*-on* *-an* (aʔ_)	*-an*	*ø-*
	_i	<*im*>				
	(b,p)_	*m-*				
PAST	MOST	<*inum*>	*no-* (_C) *nog-* (_V)	<*in*>	<*in*>…*-an*	<*in*>
	_i	<*inim*>				
	(b,p)_	*min-*				
	(l,r,y)_(a,u,o)	*i-*…<*um*>		*i-*	*i-*…*-an*	*i-*
	(l,r,y)_i	*i-*…<*im*>				
IMPERATIVE		*ø*	*po-* (_C) *pog-* (_V)	*ø*	*-ay*	*ø*

In Mongondow, the Actor Focus infix remains <*um*> if the first vowel of the rootword is /a/, /o/, or /u/; if the first vowel is /i/, however, the vowel of the infix assimilates to it, yielding <*im*>. On roots beginning with /p/ or /b/, the first consonant is replaced by *m-* (historically, the first syllable was dropped if the infixation of <*um*> resulted in the sequence *pum- or *bum-). In the past Actor Focus form, there are no less than five allomorphs of the combination of *<um> and *<in>, the most common of which is <*inum*>, occurring on all root words in which the first vowel is not /i/ and the first

consonant is not a bilabial (/p/ or /b/) or /l/, /r/, or /y/. As with the infix <*um*>, if the first vowel of the root is /i/, the /u/ vowel of the infix assimilates to the /i/ of the root, yielding <*inim*> if the first consonant of the root is not /l/, /r/, /y/, /b/, or /p/. If the first consonant of the root is /l/, /r/, or /y/, the infix is broken up to a discontinuous *i-...<um>* if the first vowel of the root is /a/, /o/, or /u/, or *i-...<im>* if the first vowel of the root is /i/.[3] If the first consonant of the root is /b/ or /p/, that consonant is dropped and replaced by *min-* (via the same historical process as mentioned for the non-past <*um*> forms above). In the non-Actor Focuses, the infix <*in*> has the prefix allomorph *i-* (not to be confused with PGCPH *i- 'secondary object focus' which is reflected as zero in Mongondow) on roots whose initial consonant is /l/, /r/, or /y/. Finally, there are also two allomorphs of each of the reflexes of PGCPH *mag-, *nag- and *pag-: /g/-final allomorphs *mog-, nog-,* and *pog-,* which appear on vowel-initial roots, and /g/-less allomorphs *mo-, no-,* and *po-,* which occur on consonant-initial roots.

As complex as this seems when compared to modern Central Philippine languages, this is not the extreme, and primarily represents variation that was inherited from Proto-Greater Central Philippines, with the exception of pairs like *mo- ~ mog-* which developed due to the simplification of consonant clusters in languages such as those belonging to the Mongondow-Gorontalo subgroup. The lack of a complex system of tense-aspect marking also serves to keep the overall complexity in the Mongondow verb system to a minimum. Other languages in which rampant sound change has taken place contain even more complex inventories of allomorphs, the two most extreme being Southern Subanen and Maranao, the latter of which combines rich morphophonemic variation with a rich system of tense/aspect marking similar to that of Tagalog, Bikol, and Waray-Waray.

As discussed in Chapter 10 of this dissertation, the Subanen languages descend from a protolanguage in which the first member of most consonant clusters shifted to either a velar stop or a homorganic nasal. This shift took place not only morpheme-internally, but also across morpheme boundaries, affecting the final consonants of both *g-final case markers and *-g-final verb affixes (cf. Lobel and Hall 2010). This means

[3] Note that the prefixation of what is otherwise the infix *<*in*> is not unique, and is also found in many other Philippine and Philippine-type languages.

that PGCPH *mag- was reflected in Proto-Subanen as *məg- before /b n w d l/, *mək- before voiceless obstruents /p t s k/, *mə- before /m/, and *məglə- before /g ŋ/. Southern Subanen further complicates this by shifting the combination of the final consonant of *mək- plus root-initial /p t s k/ to aspirated consonants /pʰ tʰ sʰ kʰ/, respectively, yielding the variation outlined in Table 5.6 below.

TABLE 5.6. SUMMARY OF ALLOMORPHS OF *MAG-/*PAG- IN SOUTHERN SUBANEN

AF *məg- (non-past)	**AF *mig- (past)**	**non-AF *pəg- (non-past)**	**non-AF *pig- (past)**	**when followed by roots with an initial**
mədlə-	*midlə-*	*pədlə-*	*pidlə-*	velar or glottal C (/h g ŋ/)
mə{C}ʰ-	*mi{C}ʰ-*	*pə{C}ʰ-*	*pi{C}ʰ-*	nonvelar voiceless C (/p t s k/)
məd-	*mid-*	*pəd-*	*pid-*	/l/, /d/ or /y/
mə-	*mi-*	---	---	/m/
məg-	*mig-*	*pəg-*	*pig-*	other C (/b n w/) or vowel

The Subanen languages have the same simple tense-aspect system as Mongondow, again keeping the overall verb system relatively simple in spite of the morphophonemic variation illustrated in Table 5.6 above for the *mag- and *pag- prefixes of Southern Subanen. Table 5.7 illustrates the basic verb morphology of Central Subanen, which further incorporates ablaut (cf. Section 5.8) into a system already complicated by morphophonemic variation.

TABLE 5.7. CENTRAL SUBANEN VERB MORPHOLOGY

		ROOT SHAPE	NON-PAST	PAST	IMP
AF	**<um>**	ə-, bə- pə-	m-	mi-	Ø-
		V-, bV-, pV-†		min-	
		Cə-‡	<ū>	<umi>	
		CV-‡†	<um>	<umin>	
	məg-	***	məg-	mig-	pəg-
OF	**-ən**	Cə-, ə-	-ən	<ī>	Ø-
		CV-, V-†		<in>	
LF	**-an**	Cə-, ə-	-an	<ī>…-an	-ay
		CV-, V-†		<in>…-an	

† Any vowel in the first syllable except /ə/.
‡ Any initial consonant except /b/ or /p/

The Maranao language, on the other hand, takes complexity of the verbal morphology to an extreme, starting with a complex system of tense-aspect marking and

combining it not only with the inherited morphophonemic variation noted above for Mongondow, Old Tagalog, Old Bikol, and Old Waray, but adding two additional layers of morphophonemic complexity: first, that of Proto-Danaw, and second, a set of shifts unique to the Maranao language, which yielded a set of "heavy" consonants which appear not only within root words but also at the boundaries of historically *-g-final prefixes and consonant-initial root words. Table 5.8 illustrates how complicated Maranao affixation is just for the Actor Focus <om> paradigm alone (note that Table 9.8 later in this dissertation illustrates the actual verb forms conjugated according to the paradigms abstracted in Table 5.8).

TABLE 5.8. MARANAO ACTOR FOCUS <om> PARADIGM VERB MORPHOLOGY

1ST C	1ST V	INFINITIVE	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE	IMPERATIVE
p	**a, u**	m-†	miy-†	pə(p)'-	(C)'-	ø-
	i		min-†			
	ə		mi-‡			
t, k, s	**a, u**	<om>	<omiy>	pə(C)'-, C<om>V-		
	i		<omin>			
	ə		<omi>‡			
b	**a, u**	m-†	miy-†	pəm-	m(C)-	
	i		min-†			
	ə		mi-‡			
d	**a, u**	<om>	<omiy>	C<om>V-, pən-	n(C)-	
	i		<omin>			
	ə		<omi>‡			
g	**a, u**		<omiy>	C<om>V-, pəŋ-	ŋ(C)-	
	i		<omin>			
	ə		<omi>‡			
l, r	**a, u**		<omiy>	C<om>V-, p'ə-	mə-, pə-	
	i		<omin>			
	ə		<omi>‡			
n	**a, u**		<omiy>	C<om>V-, pəp'ə-	mə-, p'ə-	
	i		<omin>			
	ə		<omi>‡			
ŋ	**a, u**		<omiy>	C<om>V-		
	i		<omin>			
	ə		<omi>‡			
Ø	**a, u**	m-	miy-	mVʔ-, p'ag-	mag-, pag-	
	i		min-			
	ə		mi-	mVʔ-	mag-	

† Initial /b/ or /p/ disappear in these infinitive and past forms.
‡ Resulting in ablaut, i.e., dropping of the vowel /ə/, cf. Section 5.8.

5.2 THE FOCUS SYSTEM. As mentioned earlier, the focus system of Philippine-type languages is still only poorly understood by most linguists, and it might not be far from the truth that it cannot be properly understood by anyone who does not actually speak a Philippine-type language. Various linguists have argued about the proper term for the system, and besides the oldest term "focus", there are others like "voice", "case", "theme", "trigger", etc. (Blust 2002). In most cases, the terminology used makes little if any difference, as all of these terms refer to the same system, a system which appears to be unique among the worlds' languages. There have also been attempts to characterize

one focus as more "basic" than the others, often intertwined with arguments for an ergative analysis. This section will simply attempt to briefly outline some of the characteristic behavior of this system, and will not enter into the debate nor comment on attempts to draw parallels between the Philippine-type focus system and the systems of other languages, for until linguists come to terms with the focus system of Philippine and Philippine-type languages, it seems futile to attempt to draw parallels between it and the syntax of languages in other parts of the world.

In focus languages, instead of having one form which is more "basic" then the others, each of the focuses serves its own grammatical role in the grammar, and cannot be replaced by any other form, as illustrated in examples (1) and (2) for Tagalog roots *bilí* 'buy' and *kain* 'eat', respectively.

(1) *Sino ang bumili?* 'Who bought it?' (Actor Focus)
Ano ang binili mo? 'What did you buy?' (Object Focus)
Sino ang binilhan mo? 'Who did you buy from?' (Location Focus)
Ibinili ko siya ng gamot. 'I bought her some medicine.' (Beneficiary Focus)

(2) *Kumain ako kaninang tanghali.* 'I ate at noon (today).' (Actor Focus)
Kinain ko ang kanin niya. 'I ate his rice' (Object Focus)
Iyan ang kinainan ko noong Sabado. 'That's where I ate Saturday.' (Location Focus)
Ikain mo na lang ako. 'Just eat something on my behalf.' (Beneficiary Focus)

While Tagalog examples such as those in (1) and (2) are well-known in the literature, Tagalog is far from the only language in which a single root can occur in all four basic focuses. The following examples (3)-(7) from Sungai Kuamut in central Sabah illustrate the root *(w)ali* which can mean 'buy' or 'sell', depending on the focus in which it occurs.

(3) *Runat-runat onó mamalí tuwóy.* 'He buys here everyday.' (AF.NON-PAST)
Osóy namalí sono rí? 'Who bought it?' (AF.PAST)

(4) *Adâ waliyón mu nantí?* 'What are you going to buy?' (OF.NON-PAST)
Adâ inalí mu? 'What did you buy?' (OF.PAST)
Walíyò yo onó. 'Buy it!' (OF.IMPERATIVE)
Apagów nawalí ku sayâ-sitúri. 'I was only able to buy a little a while ago.' (OF.ABIL.PAST)

(5) *Inaliyán ku yô onó.* 'I bought it from him.' (LF.PAST)
Daa po nawaliyan ku iyó. 'I haven't bought from him yet.' (LF.ABIL.PAST)

(6) *Iwalí ku nantí itú.* 'I'm going to sell this.' (OF2.NON-PAST)
Adâ niwalí niyo sonó ri? 'What did he sell?' (OF2.PAST)
Walîì yo! 'Sell it!' (OF2.IMPERATIVE)
Nakawalí ku yo maam onó. 'I've already sold it.' ~ 'I was already able to sell it.' (OF2.ABIL.PAST)

(7) *Osoy nopowalí sóno?* 'Who sold it?' (AF.CAUS.PAST)
Osoy powalí sono nanti? 'Who's going to sell it?' (AF.CAUS.NON-PAST)

Table 5.9 illustrates the rich systems of verbal affixation that can be reconstructed for the protolanguage ancestral to the Paitanic languages of Sabah, Malaysia. Like other Southwest Sabahan languages, the Paitanic languages have various semantic modes marked by verb affixes, including Causative, Abilitative-Accidental, Reciprocal, and Social. However, unlike more than half of the Dusunic languages, the Paitanic languages retain the four basic focuses: Actor Focus marked by <*um*>, Object Focus marked by *-ən,* Location Focus marked by *–an,* and Secondary Object Focus marked by *i-*.

TABLE 5.9. VERB AFFIX PARADIGMS IN PROTO-PAITANIC

MODE	TENSE-ASPECT	AF	OF	LF	OF2
BASIC	NON-PAST	*<um> *m-	*-ən	*-an	*i-
	PAST	*<inum> *min-	*<in>	*<in>…-an	*ini-
	IMPERATIVE	*<um>, *m-	*-əʔ	*-iʔ	*i-
	ABIL-NPST	*ka-	*ma- ~ *a-	*ma-…-an ~ *a-…-an	---
	ABIL-PAST	*naka-	*na-	*na-…-an	*naka-
CAUS	NON-PAST	*pa-	*pa-…-ən	*pa-…-an	*ipa-
	PAST	*napa-	*pina-	*pina-…-an	*inipa-
	IMPERATIVE	---	*pa-…-əʔ	*pa-…-iʔ	---
	ABIL-NPST	---	---	---	---
	ABIL-PAST	*nakapa-	---	---	---
RECIP	NON-PAST	*mu-	---	*pu-…-an	---
	PAST	*minu-	---	*pinu-…-an	---
	IMPERATIVE	*pu-	---	---	---
	ABIL-NPST	*kapu-	---	---	---
	ABIL-PAST	*nakapu-	---	---	---
SOC	NON-PAST	*maki-	*paki-…-ən	*paki-…-an	---
	PAST	*[mi]naki-	*pinaki-	*pinaki-…-an	---
	IMPERATIVE	*paki-	*paki-…-əʔ	*paki-…-ay	---
	ABIL-NPST	*kapaki-	---	---	---
	ABIL-PAST	*nakapaki-	---	---	---
CAUS-RECIP	NON-PAST	*papu-	*papu-…-ən	---	---
	PAST	*napapu-	*pinapu-	---	---
	IMPERATIVE	---	*papu-…-əʔ	---	---
	ABIL-NPST	---	---	---	---
	ABIL-PAST	---	---	---	---
MON-	NON-PAST	*maN-	---	---	---
	PAST	*[mi]naN-	---	---	---
	IMPERATIVE	*paN-	---	---	---
	ABIL-NPST	---	---	---	---
	ABIL-PAST	---	---	---	---
PART.	NON-PAST	*makimu-	---	---	---
	PAST	*[mi]nakimu-	---	---	---

5.3 TENSE/ASPECT AND MOOD. All of the languages covered in this dissertation—except for a few along the southern boundary of Philippine-type languages in northern Borneo as mentioned in Section 5.1—have at least a two-way tense/aspect distinction embedded in verbal affixes, although many have an even more complicated set of tense/aspect contrasts that includes distinct ways of marking many if not all of the following forms: (1) infinitive; (2) past; (3) present/progressive; (4) future; (5) imperative; (6) past subjunctive; (7) present subjunctive; (8) future subjunctive; (9) negative imperative; (10) alternative negative imperative. The Standard Tagalog system, as outlined earlier in Table 5.1, falls somewhere in the middle in terms of complexity of its tense-aspect system, consistently marking past, present, future, and infinitive forms, but lacking distinct subjunctive, imperative, and negative imperative forms. However, as noted in Chapter 2.10, Old Tagalog was recorded as having distinct imperative forms largely similar to the forms found in many modern Philippine and Philippine-type languages (cf. Wolff 1973).

5.4 MODE. Besides focus and tense/aspect, there are many other meanings which can be marked through verbal affixes in Philippine-type languages. For example, virtually all verbs have a parallel set of forms which carry an abilitative, accidental, or accomplishment meaning, as illustrated in sentences (8) to (12):

(8) *Hindî akó pupuntá.* 'I'm not going to go.' (AF.FUT)
Hindî akó makakapuntá. 'I won't be able to go.' (AF.FUT.ABIL)

(9) *Hindî kamí maglulútò.* 'We aren't going to cook.' (AF.FUT)
Hindî kamí makakapaglútò. 'We won't be able to cook.' (AF.FUT.ABIL)

(10) *Hindî ko itó ibibigáy sa kanyá.* 'I'm not going to give this to him.' (OF2.FUT)
Hindî ko itó maibibigáy sa kanyá. 'I won't be able to give this to him.' (OF2.FUT.ABIL)

(11) *Hindî ko siyá bibigyán.* 'I'm not going to give him any.' (LF.FUT)
Hindî ko siyá mabibigyán. 'I won't be able to give him any.' (LF.FUT.ABIL)

(12) *Hindî ko iyán iinúmin.* 'I'm not going to drink that.' (OF.PAST)
Hindî ko iyán maiinóm. 'I won't be able to drink that.' (OF.PAST.ABIL)

This abilitative/accidental mode exists not only for the basic verbs, but also for other modes such as causative, as illustrated in sentences (13) to (15)

(13) *Hindî akó magpapadalá ng péra.* 'I'm not going to send money.' (AF.CAUS.FUT)
Hindî akó makakapagpadalá ng péra. 'I won't be able to send money.' (AF.CAUS.FUT.ABIL)

(14) *Hindî ko silá pinakáin.* 'I didn't feed them.' (OF.CAUS.PAST)
Hindî ko silá napakáin. 'I wasn't able to feed them.' (OF.CAUS.PAST.ABIL)

(15) *Hindî ko siyá pinakitáan.* 'I didn't show him anything.' (LF.CAUS.PAST)
Hindî ko siyá napakitáan. 'I wasn't able to show him anything.' (LF.CAUS.PAST.ABIL)

The causative mode, as the name implies, adds a causative meaning to the root word, as illustrated in examples (16) to (21).

(16) *Nagdalá akó ng péra.* 'I brought money.' (AF.PAST)
Nagpadalá akó ng péra. 'I sent money.' (AF.CAUS.PAST)

(17) *Dinalá ko ang papéles.* 'I brought the paperwork.' (OF.PAST)
Ipinadalá ko ang papéles. 'I sent the paperwork.' (OF2.CAUS.PAST)

(18) *Kináin ko ang mángga.* 'I ate the mango.' (OF.PAST)
Ipinakáin ko sa kanyá ang mángga. 'I fed the mango to him.' (OF2.CAUS.PAST)
Pinakáin ko siya ng mángga. 'I fed him a mango.' (OF.CAUS.PAST)

(19) *Inálam ko ang pangálan niyá.* 'I found out his name.' (OF.PAST)
Ipinaálam ko ang pangálan niyá. 'I told (them) his name.' (or 'I made his name known.' (OF2.CAUS.PAST)

(20) *Titíngin akó sa labás.* 'I'll look outside.' (AF.FUT)
Magpapatíngin akó sa doktor. 'I'll get myself checked by the doctor.' (lit., 'I'll have the doctor look at me.') (AF.CAUS.FUT)

(21) *Maglulútò akó ng hapúnan.* 'I'll cook dinner.' (AF.FUT)
Magpapalútò akó ng hapúnan sa katúlong. 'I'll have the maid cook dinner.' (AF.CAUS.FUT)

Many languages have plural verb forms such as those illustrated in sentences (22) and (23), but these plural forms are only optional in the languages in which they have been observed.

(22) *Kumáin siláng lahát doón.* ´They all ate there.' (generic verb) (AF.PAST)
Nagsikáin siláng lahát doón. 'They all ate there.' (plural verb) (AF.PL.PAST)

(23) *Nagbigáy siláng lahát.* 'They all gave (something).' (generic verb) (AF.PAST)
Nagsipagbigáy siláng lahát. 'They all gave (something).' (plural verb) (AF.PAST.PL)

The Philippine-type focus system survives intact even outside of the Philippines, as illustrated in Table 5.10 for Tidung Bangawong-Labuk. However, while the rich Philippine-type system is preserved in Tidung varieties that were brought to Sabah from what is now northern Kalimantan Timur centuries ago, this system has been lost in varieties such as Tidung Tarakan and Tidung Kalabakan (cf. Tables 5.11 and 5.12, respectively), which fell under the influence of non-Philippine type languages spoken further south in Kalimantan Timur and subsequently shifted to a more Malay-like system.

TABLE 5.10. VERB AFFIX PARADIGMS IN TIDUNG BANGAWONG-LABUK

MODE	TENSE-ASPECT	ACTOR FOCUS	OBJECT FOCUS	LOCATION FOCUS	OBJECT FOCUS-2
BASIC	NON-PAST	<um> m- og- oN-	-on	-in	i-
	PAST	no-…<um> num- n- nog- noN-	<in>	<in>…-an	ni-
	IMPERATIVE	<um> m- og- oN-	-oʔ	-iʔ	i-
	ABIL-NPST	ko-	Ø-	-an	---
	ABIL-PAST	noko-	no-	no-…-an	---
CAUS	NON-PAST	po-	---	po-…-in	ipo-
	PAST	nopo-	---	pino-…-an	nipo-
	IMPERATIVE	---	---	po-…-iʔ	ipo-
RECIP	NON-PAST	ʔpən-	---	---	ipəng-
	PAST	nəpən-	---	---	nipəng-
	IMPERATIVE	---	---	---	---
SOC	NON-PAST	ongki-	---	---	---
	PAST	nongki-	---	---	---
	IMPERATIVE	---	---	---	---

TABLE 5.11. THE TIDUNG KALABAKAN VERB SYSTEM

	AF/ACTIVE	OF/PASSIVE	LF/PASSIVE
BASIC	ang- N- <əm> m-	<in>	-an
ABIL-ACID.	kə-	mə-	---
CAUSATIVE	po-	pino-	---
SOCIAL	angki-	---	---

TABLE 5.12. THE TIDUNG TARAKAN VERB SYSTEM

	ACTIVE	PASSIVE
BASIC	m- N- <əm>	<ən> n-
ABIL-ACID.	kə-	də- (?)
CAUSATIVE	pə-	pənə-
SOCIAL	kə-	

Brunei Dusun, discussed later in this chapter (Section 5.7), exemplifies a similar transition in progress on the opposite (western) coast of Borneo between Philippine-type and non-Philippine type languages.

Examples (24)-(35) illustrate the rich affixation of Tidung Bangawong-Labuk verbs in sentence context.

(24) *Sumilâ aku gú.* 'I'm going to go out for a while.' (AF.NON-PAST)
Tik tokulâ yo nosumilâ? 'What time did he go out?' (AF.PAST)
Nakasilâ aku nyo. 'I already went out.' (AF.ABIL.PAST)

(25) *Maków ko nyo!* 'Leave!' (AF.NON-PAST)
Tik tokulâ so nakow? 'What time did he leave?' (AF.PAST)

(26) *Ontudúng ko gú.* 'Sit down for a while.' (AF.NON-PAST)
So nontudúng dinî danóy? 'Who was sitting here earlier?' (AF.PAST)

(27) *Samâ inggaî i Mariya!* 'Don't give Maria any.' (LF.IMPERATIVE)
So ninggayan mu dodaî? 'Who'd you give some to yesterday?' (LF.PAST)
Inggayín takáw po do suwáb. 'I'll give you some tomorrow.' (LF.NON-PAST)
Kan anu ninggay mu dodánoy dosíyo? 'What did you give him earlier?' (OF2.PAST)
Anu gitî, inggay ku adún. 'I'm going to give this to you.' (OF2.NON-PAST)
Anu giní, inggáy mu dakón. 'Give me that.' (OF2.NON-PAST)
Siyo nanggáy akanakan gití. ´He's the one who gave that food.' (AF.PAST)

(28) *Kan anu ininúm dumú danóy?* 'What did you drink earlier?' (OF.PAST)
Kan anu inumón takâ dinó? 'What will we drink later?' (OF.NON-PAST)
Samâ inumô anu giní! 'Don't drink that!' (OF.IMPERATIVE)
So noginúm do timug giní? 'Who drank that water?' (AF.PAST)
Ingko dakô guwáng aginúm da anu giní. 'I'm not the one who's going to drink that.' (AF.NON-PAST)

(29) *Nongkitulúng aku danóy.* 'I asked for help earlier.' (AF.SOC.PAST)
Ongkitulúng aku so. 'I'm going to ask him for help.' (AF.SOC.NON-PAST)
So nonulúng adún danóy? 'Who helped you earlier?' (AF.PAST)
So tinulúng mu danóy? 'Who'd you help earlier?' (OF.PAST)
Tulungón mu gu akú! 'Help me.' (OF.NON-PAST)
Agantulúng kay. 'We're going to help each other.' (AF.RECIP.NON-PAST)
Dadaî nogontulúng kay. 'We helped each other yesterday.' (AF.RECIP.PAST)

(30) *Nadatú yo danóy.* 'He fell earlier.' (OF.ABIL.PAST)
Samâ sondainí, laa ko datû. 'Don't do that, you might fall.' (OF.ABIL.NON-PAST)

(31) *Natakawán aku diní.* 'I got robbed there.' (LF.ABIL.PAST)
Takawan ko gini po gâ adun diní. 'You might also get robbed if you go there.' (LF.ABIL.NON-PAST)
*Kan anu tinaków no diní? ´*What did he steal?' (OF.PAST)
*Kan anu guwáng tokowón no giní? ´*What is he going to steal?' (OF.NON-PAST)
Samâ tokowô anú giní! 'Don't steal that!' (OF.IMPERATIE)
So nontaków? 'Who stole it?' (AF.PAST)
Samâ antaków! 'Don't steal!' (AF.NON-PAST)

(32) *So giní pinakán mu dodanoy?* 'Who did you feed earlier?' (OF.CAUS.PAST)
Kan anu gini nipakan mu so dodanoy? 'What did you feed him earlier?' (OF2.CAUS.PAST)
Kan anu ipakán dumun doino dámon? 'What are you going to feed us later?' (OF2.CAUS.NON-PAST)

(33) *So nopoilóng so adún?* 'Who showed you that?' (AF.CAUS.PAST)
So poilong dakô ni? 'Who's going to show me that?' (AF.CAUS.NON-PAST)
*Ipoilóng mu gambor giní dosiló. ´*Show them those photos.' (OF2.CAUS.NON-PAST)
Kan gambor nipoilóng mu siló? 'What photos did you show them?' (OF2.CAUS.PAST)

Lotud, on the other hand, exemplifies a reduced-focus language that exemplifies a rich array of mode possibilities, including causative, reciprocal, reciprocal-dual, causative-reciprocal, and social-petitive (cf. Table 5.13). As with many of the Dusunic languages which surround it, Lotud has reassigned the OF2 functions to the OF-Causative set of affixes, meaning that verbs such as 'give' which would normally form

their OF2 Non-past with *i-* in more conservative languages instead use *pa-…-on,* and those that would form their OF2 Non-past with *ini-* or *ni-* in more conservative languages instead use *pina-,* and so on.

TABLE 5.13a. VERB AFFIX PARADIGMS IN LOTUD

MODE	TENSE-ASPECT	ACTOR FOCUS	OBJECT FOCUS	LOCATION FOCUS
BASIC	NON-PAST	<um> m-	-on	-an
	PAST	<umin> min-	<in>	<in>…-an
	IMPERATIVE	Ø-	-oʔ	-ay
	ABIL-NPST	ko-	o-	o-…-an
	ABIL-PAST	noko-	no-	no-…-an
CAUS	NON-PAST	popo-	po-…-on	po-…-an
	PAST	pinopo-	pino-	pino-…-an
	IMPERATIVE	---	po-…-oʔ	po-…-ay
	ABIL-NPST	kopo-	ko-	opo-…-an
	ABIL-PAST	nokopo-	noko-	nopo-…-an
RECIP	NON-PAST	mi-	pi-…-on	pi-…-an
	PAST	mini-	pini-	pini-…-an
	IMPERATIVE	pi-	pi-…-oʔ	pi-…-ay
	ABIL-NPST	kopi-	kopi-	opi-…-an
	ABIL-PAST	nokopi-	nokopi-	nopi-…-an
SOC	NON-PAST	moki-	---	poki-…-an
	PAST	minoki-	---	pinoki-…-an
	IMPERATIVE	poki-	---	poki-…-ay
	ABIL-NPST	kopoki-	---	opoki-…-an
	ABIL-PAST	nokopoki-	---	nopoki-…-an
CAUS-RECIP	NON-PAST	popi-	popi-…-on	---
	PAST	nopopi-	pinopi-	---
	IMPERATIVE	---	popi-…-oʔ	---
	ABIL-NPST	---	kopi-	---
	ABIL-PAST	---	nokopi-	---

TABLE 5.13a. VERB AFFIX PARADIGMS IN LOTUD (CONTINUED)

MODE	TENSE-ASPECT	ACTOR FOCUS	OBJECT FOCUS	LOCATION FOCUS
RECIP-PL	NON-PAST	mogi-CV-	pogi-CV-…-on	pogi-CV-…-an
	PAST	minogi-CV-	pinogi-CV-	pinogi-CV-…-an
	IMPERATIVE	pogi-CV-	pogi-CV-…-oʔ	pogi-CV-…-ay
	ABIL-NPST	kopogi-CV-	---	opogi-CV-…-an
	ABIL-PAST	nokopogi-CV-	---	nopogi-CV-…-an
REP.	NON-PAST	ming-R-	---	ping-R-…-an
	PAST	mining-R-	---	pining-R-…-an
	IMPERATIVE	ping-R-	---	ping-R-…-ay
	ABIL-NPST	koping-R-	---	oping-R-…-an
	ABIL-PAST	nokoping-R-	---	noping-R-…-an
MOG-	NON-PAST	mog-	---	---
	PAST	minog-	---	---
	IMPERATIVE	pog-	---	---
	ABIL-NPST	kopog-	---	---
	ABIL-PAST	nokopog-	---	---
MON-	NON-PAST	moN-	---	---
	PAST	minoN-	---	---
	IMPERATIVE	poN-	---	---
	ABIL-NPST	kopoN-	---	---
	ABIL-PAST	nokopoN-	---	---
SG-RECIP	NON-PAST	kumi-	---	---
	PAST	kumini-	---	---

Although located outside of the geographical Philippines, Mongondow of northern Sulawesi (cf. Table 5.14) exhibits the rich system of verb affixation often expected from Greater Central Philippine languages.

TABLE 5.14. MONGONDOW VERB PARADIGMS

		AF	OF	LF	OF2
BASIC	NONPAST	<um>/<im>, m-	-on	-an	ø-
	PAST	<inum>/<inim>, min- i-…<um> i-…<im>	<in> i-	<in>…-an i-…-an	<in> i-
	IMPERATIVE	ø-	ø-	-ay	ø-
ABIL	NONPAST	moko-	mo-	ko-…-an	---
	PAST	noko-	no-	kino-…-an	---
	IMPERATIVE	poko-	ko-	---	---
PL ACT.	NONPAST	moro(g)-	---	---	---
	PAST	noro(g)-	---	---	---
	IMPERATIVE	poro(g)	---	---	---
PL OBJ.	NONPAST	---	toko-…-on	toko-…-an	toko-
	PAST	---	sinoko-	sinoko-…an	sinoko-
	IMPERATIVE	---	toko-	toko-…ay	toko-
MO(G)-	NONPAST	mo(g)-	---	po(g)-…-an	po(g)-
	PAST	no(g)-	---	pino(g)-…-an	pino(g)-
	IMPERATIVE	po(g)-	---	---	---
MO(G)- ABIL	NONPAST	mokopo(g)-	---	---	---
	PAST	nokopo(g)-	---	---	---
	IMPERATIVE	pokopo(g)-	---	---	---
MON-	NONPAST	moN-	---	poN-…-an	---
	PAST	noN-	---	pinoN-…-an	---
	IMPERATIVE	poN-	---	---	---
MON- ABIL.	NONPAST	mokopoN-	---	---	---
	PAST	nokopoN-	---	---	---
	IMPERATIVE	pokopoN-	---	---	---
RECIP1	NONPAST	mosi-…-an	---	---	---
	PAST	nosi-…-an	---	---	---
	IMPERATIVE	posi-…-an	---	---	---
RECIP2	NONPAST	moro(g)-/moyo(g)-	---	---	---
	PAST	noro(g)-/noyo(g)-	---	---	---
	IMPERATIVE	poro(g)-/poyo(g)-	---	---	---
CAUS1	NONPAST	mopo-	po-…-on	po-…-an	po-
	PAST	nopo-	pino-	pino-…-an	pino-
	IMPERATIVE	popo-	po-	po-…-ay	po-
CAUS2	NONPAST	moki-	---	poki-…-an	poki-
	PAST	noki-	---	pinoki-…-an	pinoki-
	IMPERATIVE	poki-	---	poki-…-ay	poki-
CAUS3	NONPAST	mopoko-	---	---	poko-
	PAST	nopoko-	---	---	pinoko-
	IMPERATIVE	---	---	---	poko-

5.5 ACTOR FOCUS FORMS: *<um>, *maR-, and *maN-. Virtually all of the languages covered in this dissertation have more than one way of marking Actor Focus, either with reflexes of *<um> and *maR-, reflexes of *<um> and *maN-, or reflexes of all three *<um>, *maR-, and *maN-. Even languages that are on the verge of becoming non-Philippine type, such as Brunei Dusun, retain reflexes of all three. One of the more interesting results of this situation is that while some roots only take *<um> and others take only *maR-, there are roots that can take either but with very clear semantic distinctions between the two, as illustrated in the following Tagalog sentences (34) to (40).

(34) *Nagbigáy siyá.* 'He gave some.'
Bumigáy siyá. 'He gave in.'; 'He let someone have their way.'
Namimigay silá ng libreng gamót. 'They're giving out free medicine.'

(35) *Bumibilí kamí ng káhoy.* 'We buy wood.'
Nagbibilí kamí ng káhoy. 'We sell wood.'
Namimilí silá sa mall. 'They're shopping at the mall.'

(36) *Umáway siyá.* 'He fought.'
Nag-áway silá. 'They fought (against each other).'

(37) *Umábot siyá sa báso.* 'He reached for a glass.'
Nag-ábot siyá ng báso. 'He handed over a glass.'

(38) *Humiwalay siya.* 'He separated (from a group).'
Naghiwalay sila. 'They separated.'

(39) *Tumabi siya sa kaibigan niya.* 'He moved next to his friend.'
Nagtabi sila. 'They moved next to each other.'

(40) *Sumama siya.* 'He went along.'
Nagsama sila. 'They went together.'

This contrast between *mag- vs. *<um> has been discussed by Pittman (1966) and Ramos (1974) for Tagalog, and by Lobel (2004) for Old Bikol based on contrasting forms documented by Spanish friar Marcos de Lisboa (1865) during his tenure in the Bikol Region from 1602 to 1611. While each language manifests the *maR- vs. *<um> distinction in a different way, virtually all languages that retain distinct *maR- and

*<um> paradigms have at least some semantic contrast between them, or inherently allow each root to occur with only one of these forms, although Rinconada Bikol is an example of a language in which the vast majority of verb roots can be conjugated in both the *mag- and *<um> paradigms with virtually no discernable difference in meaning (Lobel 2004). The exact distinction between *maR- and *<um> is poorly understood for the vast majority of languages included in this dissertation, and further research is needed on this topic for all of these languages.

Besides the contrasts discussed in sections 5.1 to 5.5, a number of other contrasts exist in the verb system, a full inventory of which is beyond the scope of this chapter.

5.6 REDUCED-FOCUS LANGUAGES. As mentioned earlier, a handful of Philippine-type languages have what Blust christened "Reduced Focus" systems, in which the four basic focuses have been reduced to three. Among the languages with this type of system are Manide (but not the closely-related Inagta Alabat), Umiray Dumaget (cf. Chapter 7.7), the Subanen languages, and a number of Southwest Sabah languages. The reduced three-focus system of Manide is illustrated in Table 5.15.

TABLE 5.15. MANIDE VERB CONJUGATIONS

	AF	OF/OF2	LF
INFINITIVE	mag-	-en	-an
PAST	nag-	i-, pi-	i-…-an, pi-…-an
PRESENT PROGRESSIVE	CVC-	ig-CVC-	ig-CVC-…-an
PRESENT HABITUAL, NEAR FUTURE	pa-	ipa-CVC-	CVC-…-an
FUTURE	nig-	ig-, pig-	ig-…-an
IMPERATIVE	<um>, Ø	-en	-an
NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE	mag-, (i)g-	(i)g-…-a	(i)g-…-i
PAST SUBJUNCTIVE	(i)g-	-a, pa-…-a	-i, pa-…-i
PAST NEGATIVE	pa-	igpa-	?

Some or all of the Gorontalic languages are also likely reduced-focus languages, but their morphology is poorly understood. The Mongondowic languages, on the other hand, exemplify what is probably a transitional point between the full Focus system and the Reduced Focus system, since their Secondary Object Focus is unmarked in the infinitive, and is identical to the Object Focus in the past form. In other words, the only morphological contrast between the Object Focus and the Secondary Object Focus is in

the infinitive, where Object Focus is marked by *–on,* and Secondary Object Focus is unmarked. This may have been a step in the development of the modern Reduced Focus languages, in that they may have passed through a stage where they lost one focus affix (such as *i-) before generalizing another affix (such as *-ən) to the now-unmarked fourth focus (an unmarked Secondary Object Focus is found in Mongondow, as illustrated in Table 5.15 earlier, as well as in the closely-related Ponosakan and Lolak). However, the loss of the *i- prefix is unsurprising even from just a Central Philippine perspective. In Tagalog, for example, the *i-* prefix is often deleted in colloquial speech, as illustrated in sentences (41) to (43).

(41) *Ibigáy mo iyán sa ákin* 'Give it to me.'
Bigáy mo iyán sa ákin. (colloquial)

(42) *Ibinigáy ko na sa kanyá.* 'I already gave it to him.'
Binigáy ko na sa kanyá. (colloquial)

(43) *Ibibigáy ko sa kanyá mamayâ.* 'I'm going to give it to him later.'
Bibigáy ko sa kanyá mamayâ. (colloquial)

Table 5.16 illustrates the Secondary Object focus affix paradigms in both formal and colloquial Tagalog, Cebuano, Waray-Waray, Ilonggo, and Mongondow. Note that the prefix *i- is reflected as zero throughout the OF2 paradigm in Mongondow and colloquial Tagalog, and in the past for Cebuano and the past and present for Ilonggo, but not in Ilonggo's close relative Waray-Waray.

TABLE 5.16. SECONDARY OBJECT FOCUS IN FOUR CPH LANGUAGES

	TAGALOG (FORMAL)	TAGALOG (COLLOQUIAL)	CEBUANO	WARAY-WARAY	ILONGGO	MONGONDOW
INFINITIVE	i-	Ø-	i-	i-	i-	Ø-
PAST	i-…<in>§ ini-	<in>, ni-	gi-	i-gin-	gin-	<in>, i-
PRESENT	iC<in>V-§ ini-CV-	C<in>V-, ni-CV-	---	i-gin-CV-	gina-	---
FUTURE	i-CV-	CV-	---	i-CV-	---	---

In Cebuano and Ilonggo, while the OF2 infinitive is still marked by *i-,* the past form (and present, for Ilonggo) is marked by exactly the same affix as the OF form, *gi-* for Cebuano and *gin-* for Ilonggo, as illustrated for Cebuano in sentences (44)-(45):

(44a) *Kaúnon ko ang mángga.* 'I'll eat the mango.' (OF.FUT)
(44b) *Gikáon ko ang mángga.* 'I ate the mango.' (OF.PAST)
(45a) *Ihátag nákò kaniya.* 'I'll give it to her.' (OF2.FUT)
(45b) *Gihátag nákò kaníya.* 'I gave it to her.' (OF2.PAST)

It is noteworthy that no other affix deletes the way *i- does, and that this change occurs because the prefix *i- almost always occurs before the penultimate syllable. Note also that the dropping of the *i-* prefix should not be confused with the merger of the focuses marked by *i- and *-ən as in the Reduced Focus languages discussed earlier in this chapter.

It is therefore likely that as early as Proto-Greater Central Philippines, the *i- prefix could optionally be deleted, and that this was the driving force behind the later complete loss of *i- in some languages and the subsequent functional extension of *-ən to take over the workload of the earlier *i- prefix. Another possibility is that this is the result of drift, since *i- was virtually always in the prepenult.

5.7 LOSS OF THE FOCUS SYSTEM: THE CASE OF BRUNEI DUSUN. As mentioned earlier, while virtually all of the languages covered in this dissertation share the same structure, a handful of languages along the southern extreme of the Philippine-type language area either have lost or are in the process of losing the focus system (and the intertwined case system, which in these languages survives only in the pronoun system). This is true of Brunei Dusun and Limbang Bisaya on Borneo's west coast, and some of the southern dialects of Tidung on Borneo's east coast such as those of Tarakan and Kalabakan. To their north are languages with productive Philippine-type systems belonging to the Dusunic, Murutic, Paitanic, and Bisaya-Lotud subgroups; to their south, however, Philippine-type languages are virtually nowhere to be found.

This section will illustrate the situation of Brunei Dusun, which descends from a recent ancestor that had a four-focus system, very similar to other Southwest Sabah

languages. At the same time, it shows clear signs of the type of erosion that led to the North Sarawak systems that Blust (2009:447) describes, although not to the extent observable in that subgroup.

Brunei Dusun has neutralized the vowels in <am> and <an>, from *<um> and *<in>, respectively,[4] and has reduced the productivity of *-ən, *-an, and *i-, which remain distinct affixes (not just frozen relics). However, no base appears to occur in more than one non-Actor Focus, raising the question whether Brunei Dusun has a four-focus system, or simply an active-vs.-passive system with a passive that is inconsistently marked owing to its earlier source in a system with three "passive" (i.e., non-actor) focuses. The collapse of the three non-actor focuses structurally (but not morphologically) stands in contrast to the other Southwest Sabah languages in which, as in Philippine languages, verb roots often take two or three of the non-actor focuses (e.g., Tagalog *kumúha ´*get (AF)', *kúnin* 'get (OF)', *kúnan* 'get (LF)', *ikúha* 'get (BF)'; *magbigáy* 'give (AF)', *bigyán* 'give (LF)', *ibigáy* 'give (OF2)'; Sungai Kuamut *mamalí* 'buy' (AF)', *waliyón* 'buy (OF)', *waliyan* 'buy from (LF)', *iwalí* 'sell (OF2)'; Tidung Bangawong-Labuk *antaków* 'steal (AF)', *tokowón* 'steal (OF)', *takawán* 'steal from (LF)'; Sinabu *paakan* 'feed (AF)', *paakanon* 'feed (OF)', *ipaakan* 'feed (OF2)').

As in other Philippine-type languages, Actor Focus in Brunei Dusun can be marked by a reflex of *<um>, *maR-, or *maN-. Most Actor Focus verbs in Brunei Dusun are conjugated with a reflex of *maN- in which only the final nasal remains of the prefix, meaning that there is no past vs. non-past distinction in these verbs, owing to the fact that tense/aspect contrasts are generally marked by an earlier segment in the prefixes, with *maN- representing non-past and/or infinitive, and *naN- or *minaN- representing the past. A small number of vowel-initial roots have been found conjugated with a reflex of *maR- (e.g., *magiyad* 'cry' < PGDUS *ihad; *magilob* 'to vomit' < PGDUS *iləb),[5] and

[4] Note that the neutralization of the /u/ vowel of the <um> infix is not unique to Brunei Dusun and Limbang Bisaya: even in Sabah Bisaya, while some dialects preserve the full <um> (AF.NON-PAST) and <inum> (AF.PAST) forms, other dialects have neutralized the /u/ of the infixes to <əm> and <inəm>, respectively. Blust (pers. comm., 10/14/12) points out that "Kelabit, in northern Sarawak also has <əm> (with vowel reduction), but <in> (without)".

[5] It is unclear why *mag- appears only on vowel initial roots; this may be an accidental by-product of my elicitation list in spite of the fact that it includes hundreds of verb forms.

can be inflected for Basic/Non-past and Past tenses, as can the slightly larger number of verbs that are conjugated with a reflex of *<um> as illustrated in Table 5.17.

TABLE 5.17. BRUNEI DUSUN <um> VERBS

	MOST CONSONANT-INITIAL ROOTS	VOWEL-INITIAL OR INITIAL /B P/
non-past	<am>	m-
past	<an>	n-

A number of examples of these <um> verbs can be found in the available data, as seen in Table 5.18, but it remains a mystery why *<um> seems to be found only on roots with initial /t/, /s/, /k/, /b-/, /p-/, or an initial vowel.

TABLE 5.18. BRUNEI DUSUN ACTOR FOCUS VERBS CONJUGATED FOR TENSE-ASPECT

		NON-PAST	PAST
C-initial	'defecate'	tamai	tanai
	'jump'	tamindak	tanindak
	'fly'	tamulud	tanulud
	'get up'	tamidong	tanidong
	'urinate'	samabu	sanabu
	'swim'	samaduy	sanaduy
	'stick to'	somokot	sonokot
	'swell'	kamambang	kanambang
V-initial	'fall forward'	mabâ	nabâ
	'arrive'	mikot	nikot
	'go home'	mulî	nulî
	'sleep'	modop	nodop
	'eat'	makan	nakan
	'drink'	miyup	niyup
b-initial	'join, etc.'	mayâ	nayâ
p-initial	'walk'	manaw	nanaw

In fact, all of these affixes may be non-productive in Brunei Dusun since it does not appear possible to extract root words by removing the affixes, i.e., the root words exist as an abstract concept which linguists can infer by extracting affixes, but are not attested synchronically.[6] Further work needs to be done on whether new borrowings from Malay or English, for example, can be affixed with reflexes of *<um> or *maR-, or

[6] Something borne out in my own fieldwork, but also observed by Dr. Yabit Alas (pers. comm., Nov. 2010)

whether all new borrowings would follow a more Malay-like conjugation with a reflex of *maN-.

Just as the productivity of the Actor Focus affixes in Brunei Dusun is open to question, there is also doubt about the productivity of the non-Actor Focus morphology. From a purely historical perspective, there are three non-actor focuses in Brunei Dusun. Object Focus forms are those that mark the basic (non-past) form with *-on*, and the imperative with *-ô*. Location Focus forms are those that mark the basic (non-past) form with *-an*, and the imperative with *-î*. The Secondary Object Focus is formed with *y-* in the basic (non-past) form of historically vowel-initial roots (e.g., *yarâ* 'tell.OF2.NPST' vs. *ngarâ* 'tell.AF'; *yadâ* 'throw away.OF2.NPST' vs. *ngadâ* 'throw away.AF'), but with Ø- for historically consonant-initial roots (e.g., *taû* 'put away.OF2.NPST' vs. *naû* 'put away.AF'; *suû* 'order.OF2.NPST' vs. *nyuû* 'order.AF'). The evidence for the Secondary Object Focus is admittedly weak, until we take into consideration the tendency for the *i- prefix to be dropped either optionally or obligatorily in languages like Tagalog, Cebuano, and Mongondow, even though the Secondary Object Focus (marked with a reflex of *i-) does not merge with the Object Focus (marked with a reflex of *-ən) in these languages (cf. Section 5.6).

Synchronically, there are good reasons not to analyze Brunei Dusun as having a productive focus system. As noted earlier, no verb has been recorded in more than one non-actor focus, even though my elicitation materials successful elicit three or more focuses in virtually all other Philippine- and Philippine-type languages. Some verbs do have alternating forms such as having imperatives with both *-iʔ (historically marking the Location Focus imperative) and *-oʔ (historically the Object Focus imperative): e.g., *sanô ~ saranî* 'carry on shoulder (NAF.IMP)', *luwî ~ luwô* 'let go of (NAF.IMP)'. At least one form, *barayon ~ barayan* 'pay (NAF.NPST)', has non-past non-actor focus forms conjugated with both *–on* and *-an*. However, no speaker has been found who could distinguish when to use one member of each pair as opposed to the other, so it is likely that they are simply residue in the modern language, regardless of their historical source from a time when there was a fuller use of the focus system. \

It is worth noting that in addition to remnants of a four-focus system, Brunei Dusun also preserves remnants of both the Abilitative-Accidental mode and the Causative mode, as illustrated in (46) and (47) for the roots ****odop*** 'sleep' and ****akan*** 'eat', respectively.

(46) *modop* 'sleep' (AF.NON-PAST)
nodop 'sleep' (AF.PAST)
makadop ~ makodop 'able to sleep' (AF.ABIL.NON-PAST)
nakadop ~ nakodop 'was able to sleep' (AF.ABIL.PAST)
podop 'put to sleep' (OF.CAUS)
ponodop 'put to sleep' (OF.CAUS.PAST)
podopô 'put to sleep' (OF.CAUS.IMP)

(47) *makan* 'eat' (AF.NON-PAST)
nakan 'ate' (AF.PAST)
*kanon ´*eat' (OF.NON-PAST)
nakan 'ate' (OF.PAST)
kanô 'eat' (OF.IMP)
makakan 'able to eat' (AF.ABIL)
nakakan 'was able to eat' (AF.ABIL.PAST)

Table 5.19 illustrates the basic verb morphology of Brunei Dusun.

TABLE 5.19. BRUNEI DUSUN BASIC VERB MORPHOLOGY (INDICATIVE, ABILITATIVE, AND CAUSATIVE)

	AF <um>	**AF mag-**	**AF maN-**	**OF**	**LF**	**BF/OF2**
INFINITIVE	<am>, m-	mag-	N-	-on	-an	y-, Ø-
PAST	<an>, n-	nag-	---	<an>, n-, no-	<an>, n-	<an>, n-
IMPERATIVE	ø	---	---	-oʔ	iʔ	y-, Ø-
ABILITATIVE						
INFINITIVE	maka-	---	---	ma-	---	---
PAST	naka-	---	---	na-	---	---
CAUSATIVE						
INFINITIVE	pə-	pə-	---	---	---	---
PAST	pənə-	pənə-	---	---	---	---
IMPERATIVE	---	pə-…-oʔ	---	---	---	---

It is worth noting that all *<um>*, *-on*, *-an*, and *i-* verbs take the infix *<an>* for consonant-initial roots and *n-* for vowel-initial roots, regardless of the verbal focus, and that unlike most other Philippine-type languages, the Location Focus suffix *–an* does not

co-occur with the past affix <*an*>/*n*-, e.g., *takan* 'give.LF.NPST', *takî* 'give.LF.IMP', but *tanaak* 'give.LF.PAST' for expected **tanakan (< root *taak*); *guwan* 'wash.LF.NPST', *guwî* 'wash.LF.IMP', but *nagû* 'wash.LF.PAST' for expected **naguwan (< root *agû*). For vowel-initial roots where the Actor Focus is marked by <am>, the past Actor Focus and the past non-Actor Focus are identical in form, e.g., *nakan,* which (out of context) is ambiguously 'eat.AF.PAST' or 'eat.OF.PAST'; and *niyup*, which is ambiguously 'drink.AF.PAST' or 'drink.OF.PAST', e.g. *Isoy nakan kəmai?* 'Who ate earlier?' and *Unu nakan mu kəmai?* 'What did you eat earlier?'

5.8 ABLAUT IN THE PHILIPPINES. Blust (2009:394) states that "[t]rue ablaut is rare in AN languages," claiming that it is only found in "a number of languages in northern Sarawak", but that supposed examples in some Formosan languages are "conditioned by stress or affixation" and therefore "best treated as phonological." However, ablaut is also found in at least four languages in the Philippines—Central Subanen, Southern Subanen, Maranao, and Iranun—and is most developed in the first of these languages.

The distribution of this development—in Central and Southern Subanen but not in the other six Subanen speech varieties, and in Maranao and Eastern Iranun but not in Maguindanaon or the other dialects of Iranun—can be interpreted in either of two ways: The first would be that it has developed independently in all four cases; the second would be that it was a feature of Proto-Subanen and Proto-Danaw, but later lost in many of the daughter languages as verbal conjugations were "regularized" to include fewer allomorphs of the verbal affixes. The latter scenario would not be completely without precedent, as it is clear from illustrations of the verb systems of early Spanish-era Philippine languages (cf. Chapter 2) that much of the allomorphic variation in verbal prefixes in Old Tagalog, Old Bikol, and Old Waray were similarly regularized until only the underlying form of the affix was retained in most cases, even though the more conservative system retaining the earlier allomorphic variations can still be found in other modern languages such as Mongondow, Molbog, and Tausug.

Where it occurs in Greater Central Philippine languages, ablaut is the result of the reduction of infixes <um> and/or <in> when infixed to roots whose first vowel is /ə/. In all cases, the most plausible explanation seems to be that the nasal of the infix was elided,

yielding *uə and *iə clusters (< *umə and *inə sequences) which are known in these languages to have become *uu and *ii, respectively.

Of the four Greater Central Philippine languages where ablaut has been observed, the most elaborate system of ablaut is found in Central Subanen, in which ablaut is found in the Actor Focus past, Actor Focus non-past, and non-Actor Focus past forms, as illustrated in Table 5.20. It is worth noting that unlike Mukah Melanau (Blust 2009:395-396), ablaut in Central Subanen occurs regardless of whether the penult of the root is open or closed.

TABLE 5.20. THREE-WAY ABLAUT IN CENTRAL SUBANEN

			ACTOR FOCUS		OBJECT FOCUS	
	ENGLISH	ROOT	PAST	NON-PAST	PAST	NON-PAST
CLOSED PENULT	'answer'	səmbag	sumímbag	sūmbag	sīmbag	səmbagən
	'point'	təndû	tumíndù	túndù	tíndù	---
OPEN PENULT	'chase'	gətəd	gumitəd	gūted	gīted	gətərən
	'hang up'	sərang	sumírang	sūrang	sīrang	sərangən
	'enter'	sələd	sumíləd	sūləd	sīləd	sələrən
	'force'	ləgəs	lumigəs	(lūgəs)	līgəs	ləgəsən
	'wear'	səluk	sumíluk	sūluk	sīluk	səlukən
	'exit'	guwâ	gumíwà	gūwà	gīwà	---

It is unclear why ablaut occurs in *guwâ* 'exit' even though the initial vowel is not /ə/. It is possible that the underlying form was *gəwaʔ, and that the schwa assimilated to the following /w/ in the unaffixed form, but that when infixed with *<um> and *<in>, the resulting sequences *uə and *iə assimilate as expected to /uu/ and /ii/, respectively. However, this form is always reflected as /guwaʔ/ and not **gəwaʔ in the other languages where it is found, so this appears to be an *ad hoc* hypothesis.[7]

The loss of nasals *m and *n in these infixes is hardly without precedent. The *n of the infix *<in> is lost in Maranao and a number of Dabawenyo languages including Tagakaulo, Mansaka, Kamayo, Samā, and Kalagan, and *m has been lost in the reflexes of pronouns *kami, *kamu, *mami, *namən, and *namu in a number of low-level subgroups apparently independently, including Manobo, Southwest Sabah, Palawanic, Molbog-Bonggi, and a number of others (cf. also Dyen 1974). As such, there appears to

[7] Blust (1997:8) notes that the northern Sarawak languages Narum, Miri, Bintulu, and Mukah also contain some roots with penultimate /u/ that undergo ablaut.

be a general tendency for nasals to get dropped intervocalically in high-frequency morphemes.

As can be observed from Table 5.21, the realization of ablaut on schwa-initial roots (including those that developed from the loss of earlier initial *h or *ʔ) is slightly different than on consonant-initial roots. First of all, ablaut does not occur in the Actor Focus non-past, as the Actor Focus non-past affix is *m-*, not <*um*>, therefore lacking the conditions under which ablaut would occur (loss of intervocalic nasal /m/, with subsequent merger of the resulting vowel sequence *uə to /ū/). Therefore, on vowel-initial roots, ablaut occurs only in the Actor Focus past and Object Focus past, which in both cases results from the replacement of the root-initial schwa by /i/ (i.e., through complete assimilation of the root-initial schwa to the preceding /i/), as illustrated for four Central Subanen roots in Table 5.22. Note that just like consonant-initial roots, the /i/ vowel is short in the Actor Focus past and long in the Object Focus past.

TABLE 5.21. DERIVATION OF ABLAUT FORMS ON CONSONANT-INITIAL ROOTS IN CENTRAL SUBANEN

		CLOSED PENULT	OPEN PENULT
		*səmbag ‘answer’	*gətəd ‘chase’
AF NON-PAST	**Stage 1: Infixation**	*s<um>əmbag	*g<um>ətəd
	Stage 2: Nasal loss	*suəmbag	*guətəd
	Stage 3: *ə-assimilation	*suumbag	*guutəd
	Final form	[sūmbag]	[gūtəd]
AF PAST	**Root**	*səmbag ‘answer’	*gətəd ‘chase’
	Stage 1: Infixation	*s<umin>əmbag	*g<umin>ətəd
	Stage 2: Nasal loss	*sumiəmbag	*gumiətəd
	Stage 3: *ə-assimilation	*sumiimbag	*gumiitəd
	Final form	[sumimbag]	[gumitəd]
OF PAST	**Root**	*səmbag ‘answer’	*gətəd ‘chase’
	Stage 1: Infixation	*s<in>əmbag	*g<in>ətəd
	Stage 2: Nasal loss	*siəmbag	*giətəd
	Stage 3: *ə-assimilation	*siimbag	*giitəd
	Final form	[sīmbag]	[gītəd]

TABLE 5.22. ABLAUT ON VOWEL-INITIAL ROOTS IN CENTRAL SUBANEN

			ACTOR FOCUS		OBJECT FOCUS	
	ENGLISH	ROOT	NON-PAST	PAST	PAST	NON-PAST
CLOSED PENULT	'suck'	( )əksəp	məksəp	miksəp	---	---
OPEN PENULT	'hug'	( )əkəp	məkəp	mikəp	---	---
	'scratch'	( )əkut	məkut	mikut	īkut	---
	'bite'	( )əbut	məbut	mibut	ībut	butən

Note that although a larger number of roots have the requisite phonological shape for three-way ablaut to occur, ablaut does not occur on these roots because their Actor Focus forms are conjugated with the *məg- paradigm instead of the *<um> paradigm, e.g. *bəgay* 'give (root)', Object Focus past *bīgay* 'gave [OF.PAST]', but Actor Focus forms *migbəgay* 'gave [AF.PAST]' and *məgbəgáy* 'give [AF.NON-PAST]'. These examples do, however, also illustrate the occurrence of ablaut in a prefix: PGCPH *m<in>ag- is reflected as *mig-* (*minag- > *minəg- > *miəg- > *mig-), due to the loss of intervocalic *-n- in the earlier form of the prefix, *m<in>ag-, and the centralization of the vowel in the PGCPH prefix *mag- from *a to *ə in Proto-Subanen.

Table 5.23 illustrates the derivation of ablaut on two schwa-initial roots in Central Subanen, one with a closed penult, and one with an open penult.

TABLE 5.23. DERIVATION OF ABLAUT FORMS ON SCHWA-INITIAL ROOTS IN CENTRAL SUBANEN

		CLOSED PENULT	OPEN PENULT
AF PAST	**Root**	*əksəp 'suck'	*əbut 'bite'
	Stage 1: Prefixation	*m-əksəp	*m-əbut
	Stage 2: Infixation	*m<in>əksəp	*m<in>əbut
	Stage 3: Nasal loss	*miəksəp	*miəbut
	Stage 4: *ə-assimilation	*miiksəp	*miibut
	Final form	[miksəp]	[mibut]
OF PAST	**Root**	*əksəp 'suck'	*əbut 'bite'
	Stage 1: Prefixation	*in-əksəp	*in-əbut
	Stage 2: Nasal loss	*iəksəp	*iəbut
	Stage 3: *ə-assimilation	*iiksəp	*iibut
	Final form	[iksəp]†	[ībut]

† The vowel of *iksəp* was transcribed as short, while the vowel of *ībut* was transcribed as long. It is unclear whether this was due to my own error, or due to a rule that prohibits long vowels in closed syllables.

While ablaut is found in Southern and Central Subanen, and in two Danao languages (Maranao and Eastern Iranun), it is absent from other Subanen and Danao languages. Thus, it does not appear to be an inherited feature. Rather, differences of detail suggest that ablaut was innovated at least twice: once in Central Subanen, and again in Pre-Iranun-Maranao (ancestral to Maranao and Eastern Iranun) from which it spread to Southern Subanen, which shows considerable influence from Iranun and/or Maranao, probably dating back to the early years of the Sultanate of Maguindanao. In these three languages ablaut is only found where <in> (whether in the Object Focus or Location Focus) was infixed before the vowel /ə/, and the /n/ of the infix was subsequently dropped; <um> does not trigger ablaut because the /m/ of this infix is retained, as illustrated by the following examples from Southern Subanen (Table 5.24) and Maranao (Table 5.25).

TABLE 5.25. ABLAUT IN SOUTHERN SUBANEN

			ACTOR FOCUS		OBJECT FOCUS		
	ENGLISH	ROOT	NON-PAST	PAST	NON-PAST	PAST	IMP.
CLOSED PENULT	'answer'	səmbag	suməmbag	sumimbag	səmbagən	simbag	səmbag
	'point'	təndû	tuməndû	tumindû	---	tindû	təndû
OPEN PENULT	'enter'	səlәd	sumәlәd	sumilәd	---	silәd	səlәd
	'wear'	səluk	sumәluk	sumiluk	səluhən	siluk	səluk
	'pinch'	hərut	humərut	humirut	hərutən	hirut	hərut
	'bury'	ləbəng	lumәbəng	lumibəng	ləbəngən	libəng	ləbəng
	'chew'	səpâ	sumәpâ	sumipâ	səpaən	sipâ	səpâ
V-INITIAL	'suck'	*(ə)shəp	məshəp	mishəp	shəpən	gishəp	shəp
	'hug'	*(ə)həp	məhəp	mihəp	həpən	gihəp	həp
	'bite'	*(ə)but	məbut	mibut	butən	gibut	but

TABLE 5.26. ABLAUT IN MARANAO PAST FORMS

	ENGLISH	ROOT	INFINITIVE	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE	IMPERATIVE
ACTOR FOCUS	'give'	begay	megay	migay	pembegay	mbegay	begay
	'rest'	dekhâ	dumekhâ	domikhâ	pendekhâ ~ domedekhâ	ndekhâ	dekhâ
	'snore'	ngenger	ngomenger	ngominger	ngomengenger	phengenger ~ mengenger	ngenger
	'ride'	(e)dâ	medâ	midâ	meʔedâ	magedâ	dâ
	'end'	sendad	somendad	somindad	pezendad ~ somesendad	zendad	sendad
LOCATION FOCUS	'give'	begay	begayan	bigayan	pembegayan	mbegayan	begayay

5.9 THE ABERRANT BEHAVIOR OF THE BUHIDIC VERB SYSTEM. The Buhidic subgroup of Mangyan languages on Mindoro Island—Buhid, Tawbuwid, and Bangon—retain the focus system but its behavior in these languages is rather atypical compared to most Philippine languages. Zorc, the first linguist to do comparative work on Buhid and the other Mangyan languages, noted the following in his 1974 paper on the Mangyan languages:

> "The treatment of passive verbs in Buhid is a requisite study, since I had difficulty in eliciting certain passive versions of my sentences. I am not sure if this is a phenomenon of Buhid (that some verbs may not have a passive) or of an inadequate technique for elicitation on my part. In this case, Buhid cannot be grouped with Hanunoo, unless it can be established beyond a reasonable doubt that Buhid *–an* is an instrumental (and, hence, portative) imperative passive morpheme." (Zorc 1974b:579).

> "For example, in Buhid I could not elicit the passive of certain sentences, such as *hu na-lag wa hiamu haraw* 'I saw you earlier (today)' or *idu na-hagat angku* 'The dog bit me.' I am not sure why this was so, because some verbs clearly had active and passive imperative forms. I believe, for example, that my informants understood the difference between the Tagalog *kinagat ako nang asu* and *ang asu ang kumagat sa akin*." (Zorc 1974b:597)

Although Zorc did not realize it, the difficulty that he experienced when trying to elicit non-Actor Focus forms of certain sentences stemmed from the fact that the Buhidic languages exhibit a strong preference for Actor Focus sentences. This preference is in clear contrast to the usual rules for focus choice as mentioned earlier in this chapter, where, in a regular (non-cleft) sentence, a definite/referential object or location would be marked for nominative case and would be "in focus" of the verb. Thus, sentences like 'The dog bit me' and 'I saw you' are generally realized in the Object Focus in Philippine-

type languages, and unless the sentence is a cleft with a contrastive meaning, the Actor Focus versions would be pragmatically inappropriate, even if otherwise grammatically well-formed. Thus, in Tagalog, the proper translation of 'The dog bit me' is *Kinagát akó ng áso* and never ****Kumagát sa ákin ang áso,* and likewise the proper translation of 'I saw you' is *Nakíta kitá* and not ****Nakakíta akó sa iyó.*

In the Buhidic languages, however, the Actor Focus versions are preferred along with SVO word order, and the virtually absolute avoidance of non-actor focus in regular (non-cleft) sentences may indicate that they are pragmatically unacceptable, just as the Actor Focus equivalents of the Tagalog sentences just noted are pragmatically unacceptable (****Kumagat sa akin ang aso* and ****Nakakita ako sa iyo*).

There are environments, however, where the Object Focus is obligatory even in the Buhidic languages, and this is the key to eliciting these forms when desired. One such environment is that of a cleft sentence, where as previously mentioned the subsequent verb must "agree" in focus with the role of the topicalized noun phrase. Another environment consists of "what" or "who" questions, where a subsequent verb must "agree" in focus with the role represented by the interrogative. Thus, in a question like "Who ate the mango?", "who" represents the actor of the verb "ate", so "ate" must be in the Actor Focus. In a question like "Who did you give the mango to?", "who" is the location/direction of the verb "give", so the verb must take the Location Focus. In a question like "Who did you slap?", "who" is the object of the verb "slap", and so the verb must take the Object Focus. If anything, it was this that Zorc interpreted as an "inadequate technique for elicitation" (1974b:579). However, his confusion by the (mis)behavior of the Buhidic focus system is easily understandable, as the three Buhidic languages are the only Philippine-type languages that I know of that behave this way, out of approximately 250 such speech varieties for which I have collected data.

This short section can hardly do justice to the behavior of the focus system in the Buhidic languages, but the following examples (48)-(56) provide a preliminary illustration of the discrepancy between focus choice behavior in Buhidic languages such as Buhid and Tawbuwid versus other Philippine-type languages (illustrated by Tagalog, Cebuano, and Ilonggo).

(48) Intended Object Focus Past:

a. *Ahú* *nabúl* *wán.* (Buhid, both speakers)
1SG.NOM AF.PAST.get PART

b. *Nabuúl* *ak* *wan.* (E. Tawbuwid)
1SG.NOM AF.PAST.get PART

c. *Kinúha* *ko* *na.* (Tagalog)
Gikúhà *ko* *na.* (Cebuano)
Ginkúhà *ko* *na.* (Ilonggo)
OF.PAST.get 1SG.GEN PART
'I already got it.'

(49) Intended Object Focus Future:

a. *Ahú* *bumúl* *maróm.* (Buhid, both speakers)
1SG.NOM AF.FUT.get tomorrow

b. *Balabág* *ban* *nuwán* *áu* *igbúl.* (E. Tawbuwid)
tomorrow PART PART 1SG.NOM AF.FUT.get

c. *Kukunin* *ko* *bukas.* (Tagalog)
Kuhaon *nákò* *úgmà.* (Cebuano)
Kuhaon *ko* *buwás.* (Ilonggo)
AF.FUT.get 1SG.GEN tomorrow
'I'll get it tomorrow.'

(50) Intended Object Focus "Let's"-imperative:

a. *Tam* *bumúl* *wán.* (Buhid, both speakers)
1INCL.NOM AF.FUT.get PART

b. *Mul* *wa* *tám.* (E. Tawbuwid)
AF.get PART 1INCL.NOM

c. *Kúnin* *na* *nátin.* (Tagalog)
Kuháon *na* *nátò.* (Cebuano)
Kuháon *na* *náton.* (Ilonggo)
OF.INF.get PART 1INCL.GEN
'Let's get it.'

A similar pattern is found with sentences that would obligatorily occur in the Location Focus in other Philippine languages:

(51) Intended Location Focus Past:

a1. *Hu* *nabáyad* *wa* *ha* *hanyá.* (Buhid, older speaker)
1INCL.NOM AF.PAST.pay PART OBL 3SG.OBL

a2. *Ahú* *nabáyad* *wan* *hanyá.* (Buhid, younger speaker)
1INCL.NOM AF.PAST.pay PART 3SG.OBL

b. *Nasáli* *áku* *wán* *saanyá.* (E. Tawbuwid)
AF.PAST.pay 1SG.NOM PART 3SG.OBL

c. *Binayáran* *ko* *na* *sya.* (Tagalog)
LF.PAST.pay 1SG.GEN PART 3SG.GEN

Gibáyran *na* *nákò* *siya.* (Cebuano)

Ginbayáran *na* *nákon* *siya.* (Ilonggo)
LF.PAST.pay PART 1SG.GEN 3SG.GEN

'I've already paid him.'

(52) Intended Location Focus Future:

a1. *Hu* *bumáyad* *hyámu* *numaróm.* (Buhid, older speaker)

a2. *Áhu* *bumáyad* *yámu* *maróm.* (Buhid, younger speaker)
1SG.NOM AF.FUT.pay 2SG.OBL tomorrow

c. *Babayáran* *kita* *búkas.* (Tagalog)
LF.FUT.pay 1SG.GEN+2SG.NOM tomorrow

Báyran *tiká* *úgmà.* (Cebuano)
LF.FUT.pay 1SG.GEN+2PL.NOM tomorrow

Bayáran *ko* *ikáw* *bwás.* (Ilonggo)
LF.FUT.pay 1SG.GEN 2SG.NOM tomorrow

'I'll pay you (SG.) tomorrow.'

The following sentences illustrate how it is still possible to elicit non-Actor Focus verbs using questions with a fronted object or recipient, in which case it would be theoretically impossible in a focus system language to *not* use a non-Actor Focus verb.

(53) Object Focus Past:

a. *Kana* *(h)yámu* *nabúl?* (Buhid, both speakers)
what 2SG.OBL OF.PAST.get

b. *Natáw* *am* *nabúl?* (E. Tawbuwid)
what 2SG.GEN OF.PAST.get

c. *Ano* *ang* *kinúha* *mo?* (Tagalog)

Unsa *'y* *gikúhà* *mo?* (Cebuano)

Ano *ang* *ginkúwà* *mo?* (Ilonggo)
what NOM OF.PAST.get 2SG.GEN

"What did you (SG.) get?"

(54) Object Focus Future:

a. *Kána yámu fakasayáon búlon?* (Buhid)
what 2SG.OBL AF.FUT.pay AF.FUT.get
b. *Natáw am fagnanbúlon?* (Tawbuwid)
what 2SG.GEN AF.FUT.get
c. *Ano ang kukunin mo?* (Tagalog)
what NOM OF.FUT.get 2SG.GEN
Unsa 'y imong kuhaon? (Cebuano)
what NOM 2SG.GEN +LIG OF.NPST.get
Ano ang imo kuhaon? (Ilonggo)
what NOM 2SG.GEN OF.FUT.get
'What are you (SG.) going to get?'

(55) Location Focus Past:
a. *Fágtaw yámu nabáyad?* (Buhid)
who 2SG.OBL AF.PAST.pay
b. *Sinú am fagsaliyán?* (Tawbuwid)
who 2SG.GEN AF.PAST.pay
c. *Sino ang binayaran mo?* (Tagalog)
who NOM LF.PAST.pay 2SG.GEN
Kinsa 'y imong gibayran? (Cebuano)
who NOM 2SG.GEN+LIG LF.PAST.pay
Sin-o ang imo ginbayaran? (Ilonggo)
who NOM 2SG.GEN LF.PAST.pay
'Who did you (SG.) pay?).'

(56) Location Focus Future:
a. *Fágtaw yámu bayádun?* (Buhid)
who 2SG.GEN AF.PAST.pay
b. *Sinú am fagnansáliyán?* (Tawbuwid)
who 2SG.GEN AF.PAST.pay
c. *Sino ang babayaran mo?* (Tagalog)
who NOM LF.FUT.pay 2SG.GEN
Kinsa 'y imong bayran? (Cebuano)
who NOM 2SG.GEN+LIG LF.NPST.pay
Sin-o ang imo bayaran? (Ilonggo)
who NOM 2SG.GEN LF.FUT.pay
'Who will you (SG.) pay?'

An entire dissertation could be written on the behavior of the verb system of Buhidic languages vis-à-vis that of other Philippine and Philippine-type languages. It is hoped that the above examples will help draw attention to these pragmatically-aberrant

Philippine-type languages, whose atypical pronominal systems are also of note (cf. Section 4.3.4).

CHAPTER 6
THE ANGRY SPEECH REGISTER OF THE GREATER CENTRAL PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

6.1 INTRODUCTION. One of the most interesting sociolinguistic features present in many of the languages covered by this dissertation is speech register, of which at least two can be found in many Greater Central Philippine languages: a literary register, and an "angry register". While many of the world's languages have more-or-less specialized vocabulary that is used in literary contexts, the angry register—in which certain nouns, verbs, and adjectives are replaced when the speaker is angry—is typologically much rarer, apparently limited in distribution to just the Greater Central Philippine subgroup.

In the modern literature, this "angry register" was first mentioned in Mintz and Britanico's (1985) *Bikol-English Dictionary,* in which at least 36 entries contain notes that the given word is "said in anger". Mintz (1991) later discussed this register for Standard Bikol and its ancient predecessor, Old Bikol (based on Lisboa 1865), and Lobel (2005) extended the discussion to other modern Bikol languages. Elsewhere, Portugal (2000:78) lists 108 Buhi-non forms covering 71 meanings which are "substandard forms, vulgar or lacking in refinement, spoken in anger or in a cursing manner."

The existence of the angry register in Bikol is not a new discovery made in the past century, however. In fact, the earliest known documentation of this angry register was between 1602 and 1610, when Spanish friar Marcos de Lisboa compiled what would be published posthumously as the *Vocabulario de la Lengua Bicol* (1754, reprinted in 1865). In this dictionary, Lisboa includes comments in the Spanish definitions for at least 47 Old Bikol entries, noting that they are used *"cuando están enojados"* ('when they are angry') or *"hablando con enojo"* ('speaking with anger'), such as the following entry:

> ASQUET. pc. Llaman asi al muchacho cuando están enojados, lo mismo que *aquì*; ut, *Alodo yca yning asquet na yni*, ó que ruido hace este muchacho. (Lisboa 1865:54)

(ASKÉT. They call a child this when they are angry, the same as *akì. Alodoy kaining asket na ini.* 'What noise this child makes!')[1]

Although he may have been the first author to document the angry register, the context of compiling a dictionary did not afford Lisboa the opportunity to discuss the angry words as a distinct speech register. That discussion did materialize elsewhere in the 17th-century Philippines, when another Spanish friar, Domingo Ezguerra (d. 1672), wrote his *Arte de la Lengua Bisaya de la Provincia de Leite* (1663, reprinted in 1747), which, being a grammar as opposed to a dictionary, offered the opportunity to address the angry register as a whole, however briefly, in rule 47 which states the following:

> Unos nombres ay en esta lengua, de que usan los Bisayas quando hablan con ensado; en que no ay formacion cierta (los quales son mas para Bocabulario) aunque no dexan de guardar alguna proporcion à las vezes con el nombre de donde los deriban como por *maraut*, *maraksut;* por *kalayo*, *kalasbot;* por *harayo*, *harasbot;* por *banwa ´*clima, region', *bagwak;* por *kahoy*, *kariggos,* etc. (Ezguerra 1747:18)
>
> (There are some nouns in this language, which the Bisayans use when they speak with anger; in which there is not a definite formation (the likes of which are more appropriate for a dictionary) although they sometimes retain some part of the noun from which they derive, such as for *maraut*, *maraksut*; for *kalayo*, *kalasbot*; for *harayo*, *harasbot*; for *banwa* 'climate, region', *bagwak*; for *kahoy*, *kariggos*, etc.)

These remarks, in spite of their brevity, establish Ezguerra as the first author to actually mention the angry register as a distinct subset of the lexicon, as well as the first author

[1] Where the original Spanish is quoted, the spelling of words in Philippine languages is presented unaltered. Otherwise, the spelling of words in Philippine languages has been modernized to match the current standard Philippine spelling instead of the spelling used in the Spanish-era works. However, I have not altered the spellings of the graphemes <a e i o u> when used to represent vowel phonemes (as opposed to semivowels), even though Lisboa uses both letters <e> and <i> to represent the phoneme /i/ and both <o> and <u> to represent the phoneme /u/.

to point out the partial similarities between many of the angry register forms and their normal-register counterparts.

6.2 THE ANGRY REGISTER IN USE. Angry register sentences are identical in all respects to normal register sentences, except for the substitution of angry register words for certain otherwise-synonymous words from the normal register. The following Old Bikol examples taken from Lisboa (1865) illustrate the angry register lexical items in sentence context, with the angry words in bold font:

(1) *Kiisáy* *na* ***dayô*** *iní?* (p. 113)[2]
who.OBL LIG domesticated.animal this.NOM
'Whose pet is this?'

(2) *Kiisáy* *na* ***ngarabngáb*** *iní?* (p. 153)
who.OBL LIG dog this.NOM
'Whose dog is this?'

(3) *Hahaén an kakánon digdí tigbák na akó'n* ***gostók****?* (p. 149)
where NOM food here.OBL dead LIG 1SG.NOM-LIG hungry
'Where is the food here, I'm dying of hunger.'

(4) *Kaisáy* *na* ***dungháb*** *iníng* *kiminagát* *ninsi*
who.PL.OBL LIG animal this-LIG bite<AF.PAST> GEN.REF
sakóng *manók?* (p. 129)
1SG.OBL-LIG chicken
'Whose animal is this that bit my chicken?'

If the speaker in the above sentences was not speaking angrily, then he or she would have said *háyop* instead of *dayô* in sentence 1, *ayam* instead of *ngarabngáb* in sentence 2, *gutóm* instead of *gostók* in sentence 3, and *háyop* instead of *dungháb* in sentence 4.

Other than simply replacing normal register lexical items with otherwise-synonymous items from the angry register, there are no other differences in usage, and

[2] Diacritics used here and throughout this dissertation follow those used for Tagalog: a vowel with an accent mark such as "á" indicates a stressed vowel; a word-final vowel with a grave accent such as "à" indicates an unstressed vowel followed by a word-final glottal stop, which is not indicated in the orthography except by accent marks; a word-final vowel with a mark ^ such as "â" indicates a stressed vowel followed by a word-final glottal stop. Word-medially, glottal stop is unwritten when it occurs between two orthographic vowels, and is indicated by a hyphen when it occurs between a vowel and another consonant, e.g., Bikol Naga *ba-go* 'new' is phonemically /baʔgu/, while Cebuano *bag-o* is phonemically /bagʔu/.

the verbal morphology remains the same. Table 8.1 illustrates this by comparing verbs from the angry register in Bikol Naga, Buhi-non, and Rinconada Bikol, with their equivalents in the normal register.

TABLE 6.1. CONJUGATIONS OF 'TO EAT' IN THE NORMAL AND ANGRY REGISTERS OF THREE BIKOL DIALECTS

		NORTHERN BIKOL (NAGA)	SOUTHERN BIKOL (BUHI-NON)	SOUTHERN BIKOL (RINCONADA)
ROOT	(NORMAL)	*kakán*	*kaə́n*	*kaón*
	(ANGRY)	*hablô*	*ablô*	*ablô*
INFINITIVE	(NORMAL)	*magkakán*	*magkaə́n*	*magkaón*
	(ANGRY)	*maghablô*	*mag-ablô*	*mag-ablô*
PAST	(NORMAL)	*nagkakán*	*nagkaə́n*	*nagkaón*
	(ANGRY)	*naghablô*	*nag-ablô*	*nag-ablô*
PRESENT	(NORMAL)	*nagkakakán*	*nagikaə́n*	*nagkakaón*
	(ANGRY)	*naghahablô*	*nagiablô*	*nag-aablô*
FUTURE	(NORMAL)	*mákakán*	*magikaə́n*	*migkaón*
	(ANGRY)	*máhablô*	*magiablô*	*mig-ablô*

Examples (5)-(8) below, in the Nabua dialect of Rinconada (Southern Bikol), illustrate the similarity in syntax and morphology between normal register sentences and synonymous sentences in the angry register. Note that the grammatical words, affixes, and many other elements remain the same, and the angry register words (in bold type) take the same affixes for verbal focus and tense-aspect, simply replacing their synonyms from the normal register.

(5) Normal: *Inomón* *mo* *tubíg.*
Angry: { ***Lablab**ón* / ***Til-ab**ón* } *mo* ***katbág***.
drink.OF.INF 2SG.GEN water
'Drink the water!'

(6) Normal: *Isáy* *nagkaón* *ku* *manók* *ko?*
Angry: *Isáy* *nag**gutók*** *ku* ***maltók*** *ko?*
who AF.PAST.eat GEN.REF chicken 1SG.GEN
'Who ate my chicken?'

(7) Normal: *Dî iká magtangís tá sampalíngon tá'ka.*
Angry: *Dî iká mag**ngakngák** tá {**sapuyung**ón / **dumpaw**ón} tá'ka.*
NEG 2SG.NOM AF.INF.cry or spank.OF.INF 1SG.GEN-2SG.NOM
'Don't cry or I'll spank you (sg.)!'

(8) Normal: *Maturóg na 'ka ta gab-í na.*
Angry: *Ma**tusmág** na 'ka ta **gabsók** na.*
AF.INF.sleep now 2SG.NOM because night now
'Go to sleep, because it's already nighttime!'

Table 6.2 below illustrates the fact that the angry register forms are not generally predictable from the normal register forms, although there may at times be a slight resemblance between the corresponding forms in the two registers, as Ezguerra (1747:18) first pointed out in the 17th century for Waray-Waray. However, any resemblance is so minor and inconsistent that the angry register forms would be incomprehensible to a non-native speaker who had only learned the normal register of the language.

TABLE 6.2. SOME ANGRY WORDS AND THEIR NORMAL REGISTER EQUIVALENTS

		NAG	NAB	BUH	BLN	OBIK
cat	(NORMAL)	*ikós*	*opós*	*ongaw*	*kutíng**	*ikós*
	(ANGRY)	*kurasmág*	*kurasmág*	*kurasmág*	*kusmág**	---
dog	(NORMAL)	*áyam*	*ayám*	*ayám*	*áyam*	*áyam*
	(ANGRY)	*damayô* *dayô* *dusngáb*	*dayô*	*dayə̂* *damayə̂* *ngabngáb*	*asbû*	*ngarabngab*
eat	(NORMAL)	*kakán*	*kaón*	*kaə́n*	*káon*	*kakán*
	(ANGRY)	*sibâ* *hablô* *gutók* *habháb*	*sibâ* *ablô* *amíl*	*sibâ* *ablô* *amíl* *abô*	*lamon*	*songay*
hungry	(NORMAL)	*gútom*	*alóp*	*ponáw*	*gútom*	*gútom*
	(ANGRY)	*guslók* *gustók*	*gulsók*	*gəlsə́k*	*guslók*	*golsók* *gotók* *gostók*
woman	(NORMAL)	*babáye*	*babayí*	*babayí*	*babáye*	*babáye*
	(ANGRY)	*babaknít* *siknít*	*babaknít* *siknít*	*babaknít* *siknít* *simiknít*	*babaknít*	*babaknít*

*these two forms are from the dialect of Sorsogon town, not Bulan

Note that although curse words and vulgarities do exist and may be used independently of this register, it would be unusual if not completely unheard of for a speaker to curse or use vulgarities in a sentence where angry register lexicon is used. Instead, the angry register is a more elegant, if typologically rarer, means of expressing one's anger through word choice, and is similar to the effect of using words such as "paws", "mutt", and "trap" in English instead of "hands", "dog", and "mouth", respectively: *Get your paws off of me!* being a more elegantly angry equivalent of *Get your hands off of me!*, as is *Get that mutt out of here!* compared to *Get that dog out of here!,* or *Shut your trap!* compared to *Shut your mouth!*

Furthermore, the angry register is generally only used by older speakers when speaking to younger listeners, or among same-age speakers, as usage by younger speakers in addressing their elders would be considered disrespectful (although a younger speaker may certainly use angry register lexicon to *refer* to an older person, but never to *address* one). On occasion, the angry register is used in sarcasm or humor, but its primary use is for expressing anger.

As noted by Lobel (2005:151), linguists aren't the only ones who find this angry register interesting, as native speakers themselves do, too. During a period of two years spent teaching and doing fieldwork in the Bikol Region from 1999 to 2001, there were numerous occasions where native speakers asked me to explain to them why, when they are angry, words like *ngurápak* 'mouth (angry register)' and *kurasmág* 'cat' (angry register)' are substituted for the regular lexical items *ngúsò* 'mouth' and *ikós* 'cat', respectively. At that time, I did not know how to answer their questions, but the result of a decade of further research seems to have answered this question, as will be shown in sections 6.3 and 6.4: Bikolanos, and speakers of many other Philippine languages, speak this way when angry because their ancestors did so, too, for at least a thousand or so years.

6.3 THE ANGRY REGISTER IN THE BIKOL LANGUAGES. The angry register is most widespread in the Bikol subgroup of Central Philippine languages, where it is found in all of its known languages and dialects, and where it is known by virtually all adults

and even many children. It therefore comes as no surprise that this is also the group of languages for which the angry register has been best documented in the literature (cf. Lisboa 1865 and earlier editions; Mintz and Britanico 1985; Mintz 1991, 2011; Lobel 2005). The most comprehensive study of the angry register published to date is Lobel (2005) which, expanding on the discussion started by Mintz (1991), described the angry register as used not only in Standard Bikol but also in a number of other languages and dialects in the Bikol Region of southern Luzon, and likewise expanded the semantic categories represented in the angry register to 111 from the "about fifty" mentioned by Mintz (1991:231). Having access to data for a wider variety of languages, Lobel (2005) was able to reconstruct 33 Proto-Bikol angry register words, which are presented here with updated sets of supporting evidence as items (9)-(41):

(9) PBIK *ʔalimanták 'head (ANGRY)' > NAB, BUH, BLN *alimanták*, BUH *alinták*
(10) PBIK *babaknít 'woman (ANGRY)' > NAG, NAB, BUH, BLN *babaknít* (probably from PCPH *baknit, note AKL *bágnit* 'woman (SLANG)')
(11) PBIK *dayə́ʔ 'domesticated animal (ANGRY)' > OBIK *dayô* 'domesticated animal (ANGRY)', NAG, NAB *dayô*, BUH *dayə̂ ~ damayə̂*, NAG *damayô* 'dog (ANGRY)'
(12) PBIK *dunág 'rain (ANGRY)' > NAG, NAB, BUH *dunág*
(13) PBIK *gabsə́k 'night (ANGRY)' > NAG, NAB, BLN *gabsók*, BUH *gabsák*, NAB *labsók*
(14) PBIK *gadyáʔ 'carabao (ANGRY)' > NAG, NAB, BUH *gadyâ* (also OBIK, OTAG 'elephant', preserving the meaning of the early Malay source)
(15) PBIK *gəlsə́k 'hungry (ANGRY)' > OBIK, NAB *gulsók*, NAG, BLN *guslók*, BUH *gəlsə́k*
(16) PBIK *gusgús 'old (ANGRY)' > NAG, NAB, BUH *gusgós*
(17) PBIK *gusnáb 'old (ANGRY)' > NAG, NAB, BUH *gusnáb*, NAG *gusngáb*
(18) PBIK *hablúʔ 'eat (ANGRY)' > NAG *hablô*, NAB, BUH *ablô*, BUH *abô* (also OBIK *hablô* 'swallow whole without chewing')
(19) PBIK *kaməlmə́g 'hand (ANGRY)' > NAG, NAB, BLN *kamulmóg*, BUH *kaməlmə́g*
(20) PBIK *kurasmág 'cat (ANGRY)' > NAG, NAB, BUH, LIB, LIB, OAS *kurasmág*, GIN *kasmág*, PAN *kurasmág*, SOR, ALN *kusmág*
(21) PBIK *kuspád 'lice (ANGRY)' > NAG, BUH, BLN *kuspád*, NAB *kulakpád*
(22) PBIK *labláb 'drink (ANGRY)' > OBIK, NAB, BUH *labláb* (also NAB 'drink, said of animals', OBIK 'drink excessively')
(23) PBIK *l<am>agyúng 'umbrella (ANGRY)' > NAG, BUH *lamagyóng*, NAB, BUH *lagyóng*
(24) PBIK *l<am>as[u]gás 'rice (ANGRY)' > NAG, BUH *lamasgás*, NAB, BUH *lasgás*, NAG *lasugás*

(25) PBIK *ləsŋə́g ‘deaf (ANGRY)’ > NAG, NAB *lusngóg*, BUH *ləsngág*
(26) PBIK *lu<s>bút ‘butt, anus (ANGRY)’ > NAG, NAB, BUH *lusbót*
(27) PBIK *l(au)srát ‘drunk (ANGRY)’ > NAG *lusrát*, NAB *lasrát*
(28) PBIK *ma[ta]lsə́k ‘eye (ANGRY)’ > NAB *malsók*, BUH *malsə́k*, BLN *matalsók*
(29) PBIK *ŋ<ar>abŋáb ‘dog (ANGRY)’ > OBIK *ngarabngáb*, BUH *ngabngáb*, NAG *dusngáb*
(30) PBIK *ŋ<ar>akŋák ‘laugh (ANGRY)’ > BUH, BLN *ngarakngák* (also BUH, NAB *ngarakngák* ‘to cry’)
(31) PBIK *ŋurápak ‘mouth (ANGRY)’ > NAG, NAB, BUH *ngurápak*
(32) PBIK *pəsə́k ‘blind (ANGRY)’ > OBIK *posók*, BUH *pəsə́k*
(33) PBIK *sagták ‘money (ANGRY)’ > NAG, NAB, BUH *sagták*
(34) PBIK *s<am>iŋkíl ‘foot (ANGRY)’ > NAG, NAB, BUH *samingkíl*, NAG, BUH *singkíl* (also OBIK ‘to kick with the toes’)
(35) PBIK *sapuyúŋ ‘spank, slap (ANGRY)’ > NAB, BLN *sapuyúng*
(36) PBIK *sibáʔ ‘eat (ANGRY)’ > NAG, NAB, BUH, BLN *sibâ* (also OBIK ‘to catch and carry in the jaws, as a crocodile’)
(37) PBIK *siknít ‘woman (ANGRY)’ > NAG, NAB, BUH *siknít*, BUH *simiknít*
(38) PBIK *ta[l]sik ‘salt (ANGRY)’ > OBIK, NAG *tásik*, NAB *talsík*, BUH *saltík* (it is unclear whether the resemblance between Buhinon *saltík* and English “salt” is accidental)
(39) PBIK *tilʔáb ‘drink (ANGRY)’ > NAG, BUH *ti-láb*, NAB *til-áb* (cf. OBIK *tilháb* ‘great thirst, as if rabid’)
(40) PBIK *tuka[ʔ]ríg ‘pig (ANGRY)’ > OBIK *tokríg*, NAG, NAB *takríg*, BUH *tuka-ríg*
(41) PBIK *tusmág ‘sleep (ANGRY)’ > NAG, NAB, BUH *tusmág*

6.3.1 Derivation of Angry Lexicon. Lobel (2005) discussed four identifiable processes by which angry register words were formed from regular register words or parts thereof: (1) infixation, (2) partial replacement, (3) phoneme replacement, and (4) semantic shift.

6.3.2 Infixation. Infixation in the angry register forms includes the addition of segments such as <s> or <am> into the regular-register word, e.g. NAG *ba**s**dô* ‘clothes (ANGRY)’ < *badô*; NAG *ta**s**go* ‘hide (ANGRY)’ < *tago*; and NAB *gu**s**bát* ‘heavy (ANGRY)’ < *gubát*. The most common infix in the angry register is <*am*>, which has been found in 12 angry words across three Bikol dialects (42)-(53):

(42) NAG *d**am**ayô*, BUH *d**am**ayâ* ‘dog (ANGRY)’ (< PBIK *dayə́ʔ)
(43) NAG *k**am**arig* ‘pig (ANGRY)’ (< *orig*)
(44) BUH *l**am**agyóng* ‘umbrella (ANGRY)’ (< *lagyóng* < *payong*)
(45) BUH *l**am**aknít* ‘clothes (ANGRY)’ (unknown etymology)
(46) NAG *l**am**asdák* ‘vagina (ANGRY)’ (unknown etymology)

(47) NAG ***lam****asdî* 'priest (ANGRY)' (< *lasdî* < *padî* < SPN *padre*)
(48) NAG, BUH ***lam****asgás* 'rice (ANGRY)' (< *lasgás* < PBIK *bəgás)
(49) BUH *r****am****əkrák* 'palay (ANGRY)' (< *rəkrák*)
(50) BUH *s****am****agrák* 'money (ANGRY)' (< *sagrák* < *pirak*)
(51) NAB *s****am****arigwál* 'pants (ANGRY)' (< *sarwál*, ultimately a Persian loan)
(52) NAG, NAB, BUH *s****am****ingkíl* 'foot (ANGRY)' (< OBIK *singkíl* 'to kick with the toes')
(53) NAB *s****am****onsamon* 'gather (ANGRY)' (< *sunsón*)

More complex infixation is found in forms such as NAB *s****am****ar****ig****wál*, NAB, BUH *sar****ig****wál* 'pants (ANGRY)' < NAB *sarwál*, BUH *saruwál* 'pants'.

6.3.3 Partial Replacement. Many other angry words appear to have been derived via "partial replacement", or the replacement of part of an already existing word by a new phonological sequence, as in examples (54)-(57) from Rinconada. Note that either the initial syllable or the final syllable can be replaced.

(54) ***las****gás* 'rice (ANGRY)' < ***bu****gás* 'rice'
(55) ***los****kíd* 'mountain (ANGRY)' < ***bu****kíd* 'mountain'
(56) *baba****knít*** 'woman (ANGRY)' < *baba****yí*** 'woman'
(57) *gab****sók*** 'night (ANGRY)' < *gab****-í*** 'night'

Some of the replacement syllables occur in more than one form, as in *–sək/-sok,* which occurs in six items (58)-(63); *ləs-/lus-,* which occurs in four items (64)-(67); *las-*, which occurs in three items (68)-(70); and *–ltok,* which occurs in three items (71)-(73).

(58) NAB, BLN *gab****sók***, NAB *lab****sók***, BUH *gab****sə́k*** 'night (ANGRY)' (< *gab-í ~ ga-bí*)
(59) NAG *gu****slók***, NAB *gul****sók*** 'hungry (ANGRY)' (< *gutom*)
(60) NAB *mal****sók***, BUH *mal****sə́k***, BLN *matal****sók*** 'eye (ANGRY)' (< *matá*)
(61) NAB *tap****sók***, BUH *tap****sə́k*** 'servant (ANGRY)' (< *tabang*)
(62) BUH *orip****sə́k*** 'servant (ANGRY)' (< *orípən*)
(63) NAB *tip****sók***, BUH *tip****sə́k*** 'sleep (ANGRY)' (unknown etymology, but note also NAB *tiplâ* 'sleep (ANGRY)')

(64) NAG, NAB, BUH ***lus****bót* 'hole; butt (ANGRY)' (< *lubót*)
(65) NAB ***lus****kíd* 'mountain (ANGRY)' (< *bukid*)
(66) NAG, NAB ***lus****ngóg*, BUH ***ləs****ngə́g* 'deaf (ANGRY)' (< *bungóg ~ bəngə́g*)
(67) NAG ***lus****rát* 'drunk (ANGRY)' (< *burát*)

(68) NAG ***las***dî ~ ***l*am*as***dî ‘priest (ANGRY)’ (< *padî*)
(69) NAB, BUH ***las***gás, NAG, BUH ***l*am*as***gás, NAG ***las***ugas ‘rice (ANGRY)’ (< NAG *bagás*, NAB *bugás*, BUH *bəgás* < PBIK *bəgás)
(70) NAB ***las***rát, NAG ***las***ngáw ~ ***las***ngág ‘drunk (ANGRY)’ (< *burat*, *bangág*)

(71) BLN *hu**ltók*** ‘drunk (ANGRY)’ (cf. CEB *hubóg* ‘drunk’)
(72) NAB *ma**ltók***, BUH *ga**ltók*** ‘chicken (ANGRY)’ (< *manók*)
(73) NAB *su**ltók*** ‘lamp (ANGRY)’ (< *sulô*)

There are also at least five forms (74)-(78) in which one syllable of the original word has been reduplicated, replacing the other syllable of the original word:

(74) NAG ***gal***gál ‘gamble (ANGRY)’ (< *sugál* < SPN *jugar*)
(75) NAB ***g***um***a***gà, BUH *mu**ga***-gâ ‘land (ANGRY)’ (< *ragâ,* with <*um*> ~ *mu*-)[3]
(76) BUH ***ləd***lə́d ‘midnight (ANGRY)’ (< *laẃəd*)
(77) BUH ***məg***mə́g ‘wet (ANGRY)’ (< *səmə́g*)
(78) NAB, BUH ***ngip***ngíp ‘tooth (ANGRY)’ (< *ngipón ~ ngipə́n*)

6.3.4 Phoneme Replacement. Another method by which a few angry words were derived is the replacement of one phoneme, most often the word-initial phoneme, a process found in three dialects, although only in a handful of items (79)-(81).

(79) BUH ***b***awag ‘call (ANGRY)’ (< *tawag*, with /t/ > /b/)
(80) NAG ***l***ayág ‘testicles (ANGRY)’ (< *bayág*, with /b/ > /l/) (also note CEB *lagáy* ‘testicles’)
(81) NAB ***l***ugtô ‘break (ANGRY)’ (< *bugtô*, with /b/ > /l/)

6.3.5 Semantic shift. A number of angry register words are the result of semantic shift or register shift with some generalization of the meaning. Some exist in both angry and non-angry meanings in the same language, in which case the angry register usage can be attributed to a register shift accompanied by a semantic shift, e.g. NAB *ugbón* ‘child, said in anger’ < *ugbón* ‘offspring of animal like pigs’, NAB *damulág* ‘big, said in anger’ < *damulág* ‘water buffalo’.

Others are traceable to a non-angry word in Old Bikol but have angry register usage in modern Bikol dialects, such as items (82)-(86).

[3] Note that although *mu*- is not a productive prefix in Buhi-non, the closely-related Donsol subdialect of Miraya Bikol does have a prefix *mu*- which marks the future of Actor Focus verbs.

(82) NAG, BUH *ti-lab*, NAB *til-ab* 'drink (ANGRY)' < OBIK *tilháb* 'great thirst, as if rabid'
(83) NAG *hablô*, NAB, BUH *ablô* 'eat (ANGRY)' < OBIK *hablô* 'swallow whole without chewing'
(84) NAG, NAB, BUH, BLN *sibâ* 'eat (ANGRY)' < OBIK *sibâ* 'to catch and carry in the jaws like a crocodile'
(85) NAG, NAB *lumpát* 'jump (ANGRY)' < OBIK *lumpát* 'for a fish to jump out of the water and back in again'
(86) NAB, BUH *kolbó* 'run (ANGRY)' < OBIK *kolbó* 'to take flight (said of some types of birds)'

At least one form (87) has an origin not in an ancient Philippine language but in early Malay (ultimately from Sanskrit), although the meaning has shifted from 'elephant' to 'animal (ANGRY)'.

(87) NAG, BUH *gadyâ* 'animal (ANGRY)', OTAG, OBIK *gadyá* 'elephant' (cf. Malay *gajah* 'elephant')

Still others exist in the angry register of one Bikol language or dialect but in the normal register of another Bikol language or dialect, like (88)-(91). This may indicate some past register shift, probably from the normal register to the angry register, along with a shift from a specialized meaning to a more generalized one.

(88) NAB, BUH *amíl* 'eat (ANGRY)', NAG *hamíl* 'to swallow something that has not been completely chewed'
(89) NAB *ungós*, BUH *ingós* 'mouth (ANGRY)', NAG *ungós* 'the snout or nose of animals'
(90) NAG *baktín* 'pig (ANGRY)', RINC *baktín* 'pig' (cf. CEB *baktin* 'piglet')
(91) NAG *sikí* 'foot (ANGRY)', RINC *sikí* 'foot' (cf. OBIK *sikí* 'the feet or hands of livestock')

6.4 RECONSTRUCTING THE ANGRY REGISTER OF PROTO-CENTRAL PHILIPPINES. In spite of being able to reconstruct nearly three dozen Proto-Bikol angry words, the conclusion in Lobel (2005) was that at that time, it was still "unclear whether the angry register of the Bikol languages is an innovation unique to these languages or a retention from Proto Central Philippines" (pg. 154), due to the fact that (1) interviews with speakers of many other Philippine languages had failed to turn up evidence of such a register, and (2) no mention of such a register was found in any of the

publications available on other Austronesian languages. Likewise, there is no indication from Blust (2009) in his comprehensive survey of the Austronesian language family that the angry register has ever been mentioned in the literature outside of Bikol, either. While it still appears true that a number of major Philippine languages such as Tagalog, Cebuano, Kapampangan, and Ilokano do not have an angry register similar to that of Bikol, addition fieldwork since the publication of Lobel (2005) revealed that angry registers are also found in several other scattered members of the Greater Central Philippine subgroup, not only in some Bisayan languages relatively proximate to the Bikol Region (such as Asi/Bantoanon in Romblon Province and certain dialects of Waray-Waray spoken in northern and eastern Samar), but also in at least two Manobo languages on Mindanao, and in the Mongondow language of northern Sulawesi.

Based on this additional data, no fewer than 27 angry-register items (92)-(118) can be reconstructed for Proto-Central Philippines, based on their occurrence in both Bikol and Bisayan languages.

(92) PCPH *ʔalim[p]a[n] tak[an] 'head (ANGRY)': NAB, BUH, POL, OAS, BLN *alimanták*, BUH *alinták*, SPO *alimpatákan*
(93) PCPH *bagtak 'punch; box; strike with fist (ANGRY)': NAG *bagták*, BNT *bagtaki*
(94) PCPH *bagwak 'rain (ANGRY)': NAG, BNT *bagwak.*
(95) PCPH *baknit 'woman (angry)': PBIK *babaknit ,NAG, NAB, BUH, BLN *babaknít*, ASI *báknit* 'woman (angry)', AKL *bágnit* 'woman (SLANG)', cf. PBIK *siknít 'woman (angry)'
(96) PCPH *damag 'fire (angry)': BUH *damag*, ASI/BNT *ramag* (cf. Bik *damág* 'heap or pile for burning; pyre')
(97) PCPH *gabsə́k 'night (ANGRY)': BUH, POL, OAS *gabsə́k*; NAG, NAB, BLN, VIC *gabsók*, SPO *gabsi-írək*; also NAB *labsók*
(98) PCPH *gadyaʔ 'dog, carabao, animal (ANGRY)': NAG, NAB, BUH *gadyâ* 'carabao (ANGRY)', NAG, BUH *gadyâ* 'animal (ANGRY)', VIR, BNT *gadyâ*, SIM *gádyà*, POL, PAN *gamadyâ*, BNT *gagdâ ~ gágdà* 'dog (ANGRY)' (originally *gadyâ* 'elephant' < Malay, ultimately from Sanskrit)
(99) PCPH *gu<s>ngab 'old person (ANGRY)': NAG, NAB, BUH *gusnáb*, OBIK *gonab*, NAG *gusngáb*, SPO *gúsngab* 'old person (ANGRY)' (note also NAG, NAB, BUH, GIN *gusgús*)
(100) PCPH *hablúʔ (or *halbúʔ) 'eat (ANGRY)': ASI *haybuon* 'food (ANGRY)': NAG *hablô*, NAB, BUH, OAS, GIN *ablô*, BUH *abô* , NAG, PAN *habháb*, ASI *háybo* 'eat (ANGRY)' (cf. PBIK *hablúʔ; ASI *pahaybu* 'feed (ANGRY)', PSBK * ʔa-ʔablúʔ-un 'food (ANGRY)')
(101) PCPH *kalasbut 'fire (ANGRY)': NAG, OWAR *kalasbut* (< *kalayu)

(102) PCPH *kamarət: ‘hand (ANGRY)’: NAG, BNT *kamarót*, POL *kamlə́t* ‘hand’, POL *kasmə́t* ‘hand’
(103) PCPH *kaməlmə́g ‘hand (ANGRY)’: NAG, NAB, BLN *kamulmóg*, BUH, OAS *kaməlmə́g*, PAN *kamurmóg*, MPN *kalmúg*; cf. OWAR *kalmog* ‘hand (rarely used term)’ (Ezguerra 1747:81)
(104) PCPH *ka[ʔ]rig ‘pig (ANGRY)’: BUH *toka-ríg*, NAG, BNT *kamarig*, NAG, NAB *takríg*, OBIK *tokríg*, OAS *uka-ríg* ‘pig (ANGRY)’
(105) PCPH *las(u)gas ‘rice (uncooked) (ANGRY)’: NAB, BUH, POL *lasgás*, NAG, BUH, GIN *lamasgas*, NAG, BNT *lasugas*
(106) PCPH *laskít ‘man (ANGRY)’: POL *lalaskít*, BNT *laskít;* also Akl *£askít* ‘man (slang)’[4]
(107) PCPH *lasŋág ‘drunk (ANGRY)’: NAG, POL *lasngág*, BNT *lasngag*; NAG *lasngáw*; BUH *isngáb*
(108) PCPH *layas ‘drive away (ANGRY)’: NAB *palayason*, BLN *malayas*, ASI *palayas*
(109) PCPH *ma[ta]lsə́k ‘eye (ANGRY)’: NAB *malsók*, BUH, POL, OAS, GIN *malsə́k*, VIR *ma£sók*, NCAT *marsók*, BLN, VIC *matalsók*, BTY *maslók* [BTY form reported as term used only by old people], (The form in VIC, BLN may be back-formation in analogy with *matá* ‘eye’, reducing reconstruction to better-supported *malsə́k) cf. also ASI *nagúsrok* ‘eye (ANGRY)’, cf. PBIK *ma(ta)lsək ‘eye (ANGRY)’
(110) PCPH *pisək ‘sleep (ANGRY)’: ASI (ka)pisok, PSBK *tipsə́k
(111) PCPH *pusuk ‘blind person; eye (ANGRY)’: OBIK *posok* ‘blind person (ANGRY)’; CTBG *napúsok* ‘eye (ANGRY)’; BNT *nayúslok*, BNT *nayusrók*, BNT *nagusrok* ‘eye (ANGRY)’
(112) PCPH *-pəyəŋ ‘spank (ANGRY)’: PBIK *sapəyəŋ (NAB, BLN *sapuyong*, cf. BUH *sapəyəng*), ASI *tampudong*
(113) PCPH *sagtak ‘money (ANGRY)’: NAG, NAB, BUH, BNT *sagták*
(114) PCPH *síbaʔ ‘eat (ANGRY)’: NAG, VIR, PAN *síbà*, NAB, BUH, POL, OAS, GIN *sibâ*, MPN *síbad* ‘eat (ANGRY)’
(115) PCPH *singkil ‘foot (ANGRY)’: NAG, BUH, BNT *singkíl*, NAG, NAB, BUH, POL, OAS, GIN *samingkíl* [with <*am*> infix]
(116) PCPH *sələk ‘hungry (ANGRY)’: ASI *suyok*, PBIK *gəlsək, BUH *gəlsə́k*, OBIK, NAB *gulsók*, NAG, BLN, VIC *guslók* [cf. CEB *guslâ* ‘very hungry; strong hunger (COARSE)’, AKL *su£ók* ‘greedy, piggish about food’]
(117) PCPH *súrup ‘drink (ANGRY)’: NCAT *súrup*, BNT *súyop*
(118) PCPH *t(iə)psək ‘sleep (ANGRY)’: NAB *tipsók*, BUH, OAS *tipsə́k*, SPO, MPN *katə́spək*, Vic *tumúspok*, ALN *tuspók*, ASI *kapísok (ka)pisok* ‘sleep (ANGRY)’, cf. PSBIK *tipsə́k ‘sleep (ANGRY)’, PSBIK *tiplaʔ ‘sleep (ANGRY)’ (note also NAB, BUH, POL, GIN *tiplâ*)

Many of the Proto-Bikol forms listed in section 6.3 also have cognates in non-Bikol languages like Southern Sorsoganon and Central Sorsoganon, but since those two languages are actually spoken within the borders of the geopolitical Bikol Region, the

[4] Many thanks to David Zorc for this and the other Aklanon forms in this chapter.

possibility of borrowing from Bikol cannot be ruled out. Therefore, these forms cannot be reconstructed at a higher level than Proto-Bikol. As a result, a more conservative approach is taken here, and such forms are not reconstructed for Proto-Central Philippines unless cognates are found elsewhere in Warayan languages in Samar or in the Asi/Bantoanon language of Romblon Province.

Three additional sets of forms (119)-(121) show striking similarities, but due to inconsistencies, it is impossible to reconstruct a proto-form:

(119) NAG, BUH, BLN *kuspád*, OAS *kukuspád*, POL *kusmád*, NAB *kulakpád*, SPO *əskád* 'lice (ANGRY)'
(120) NAG, NAB, BUH, OAS *ngurápak*, SPO *nasápak*, MPN *sápak* 'mouth (ANGRY)'
(121) OBIK, NAG *tasik*, NAB *talsík*, SPO *taprík* 'salt (ANGRY)'

Another three (122)-(124) can only be reconstructed for Proto-Bisayan but not for Proto-Central Philippines, as no cognates have been found in Bikol:

(122) PBIS *darəŋgan 'ear (ANGRY)' (SPO *dəránggan*, BNT *rayúnggan*) (> regular word *dalunggan* for 'ear' in Cebuano, also *du£únggan* in Aklanon) (< *dəŋəg 'hear' + *<ar> and *-an)
(123) PBIS *laklák 'drink (ANGRY)' (CTBG, MPN *láklak*, BNT1 *yakyák*)
(124) PBIS *lámun 'eat (ANGRY)' (BLN, SPO, ALN, CTBG *lámon*, ASI *yamon*, SPO, ALN, CTBG *lámon*), cf. also ASI *payamon* 'feed' (cf. also Tagalog *lalamúnan* 'throat') (cf. BIK *lamon* 'to eat (SLANG)', AKL *£ámon* 'eat like an animal (said in an insulting way)')

6.5 THE ANGRY REGISTER OUTSIDE OF THE CENTRAL PHILIPPINE SUBGROUP. Beyond the core Central Philippine languages, angry registers have been found to exist in at least two other areas—Eastern Manobo languages Agusan Manobo and Rajah Kabungsuwan Manobo, and the Mongondow language in northern Sulawesi. However, in these two areas, clear cognates with the Central Philippine angry register forms are largely absent. The lack of cognates is probably best explained by a suggestion made by Zorc (pers. comm., 10/20/2002) that "a register like this [would be] horribly fragile, [and] words would eventually become too vulgar or too tame, and hence would have to be replaced." In other words, the individual lexical items would change much more rapidly in the angry register than in the general lexicon, and perhaps less regularly, and they would therefore be reconstructable for only a much shallower time depth than

regular-register lexicon. This would explain why many cognate forms are found in areas where languages are more closely related, as in the Central Philippine subgroup, but few if any cognate forms found where languages are less closely related, as in the Greater Central Philippine subgroup whose members would have been separated a millennium or so longer than the members of the core Central Philippines subgroup.

Nevertheless, the existence of a register that behaves in the same way as that in the Central Philippine languages is interesting because it suggests that such a register existed in Proto-Greater Central Philippines, and further research in non-GCPH languages may even produce evidence that such a register was present in PPH or even PMP.[5] Even where the forms themselves are not cognate, it seems rather unlikely that a language would have borrowed the concept of an angry register from a non-mutually intelligible neighbor: If speakers of Language A couldn't understand Language B, then how would they have known whether speakers of Language B were using words from the angry register or from the normal register? And why would they, as a group, integrate the same speech register phenomenon into their own language? Even if speakers of Language A were bilingual in Language B, and Language B had an angry register, then it would be expected that if speakers of Language A had borrowed the concept of an angry register from Language B, they would have also borrowed the angry words themselves from Language B.

Likewise, if the angry register was only found in a continuous series of languages from the Bikol Region in southern Luzon to the northern and eastern coasts of Samar Island, then an argument might be made that it was an areal feature, but this cannot be the case, since quite distant languages in Mindanao and northern Sulawesi also have an angry register. It also ignores the evidence that in pre-contact times, Philippine languages were apparently much richer lexically than most of them are in modern times, with at least three speech registers: a normal register, an angry register, and a literary register, the latter of which is widely distributed in languages such as Old Bikol, Old Waray, Inati, Mongondow, Maranao, and various Mangyan languages, among others, although no

[5] Unfortunately, this type of thing is nowhere near the top of the list of research topics for fieldworkers. I, myself, am guilty of this oversight, for in spite of my interest in this register in the Philippines, I have almost never inquired about the existence of such a register in any of the Bornean languages that I have worked on.

attempt has been made to extensively document these literary registers, let alone to compare them from one language to another. And unlike respect and royalty registers which are known to exist in Javanese and various dialects of Malay (such as Brunei Malay) whose vocabulary largely originates in Sanskrit, Pali, or Arabic, the literary and angry registers of Philippine languages seem to be composed primarily of native forms, with only the occasional exception, such as the angry word *gadyâ* 'dog', cf. form (99) earlier.

The absence of an angry register in more centrally-located dialects of Waray facing Cebuano areas and in Warayan/Central Bisayan languages that migrated to the central and western Visayan Islands (e.g., Ilonggo, Romblomanon, etc.) can be explained as a result of the watering-down of these languages under the influence of outside groups, including influence from Cebuano, which itself appears to have had heavy contact with Malay speakers, judging from the Old Cebuano wordlist compiled by Antonio Pigafetta in 1521 (Blair and Robertson 1908:189-199). On the same note, it is likely no coincidence that the angry register is most often found in exactly the same dialects of Waray that are also phonologically and morphologically conservative, and that it was lost in areas like western Samar and eastern Leyte which underwent further phonological shifts (e.g., the merger of *ə with *u, the loss of word-final *h, and the metathesis of *hC clusters to *Ch) as well as simplification of certain morphological paradigms.

6.6 CONCLUSION. There is clear evidence that the angry register existed at least as early as Proto-Central Philippines, which may have been spoken a thousand or more years ago,[6] as over two dozen Proto-Central Philippine angry register forms can be reconstructed. In spite of the fact that the forms are generally not cognate—explainable by the volatile nature of this speech register as noted in section 6.5—the existence of angry registers in Mongondow and in at least two Manobo languages likewise indicates that such a register existed at the time of Proto-Greater Central Philippines, which Blust (1991:103) estimates at around 500 B.C. This, combined with the existence of literary

[6] A very rough estimate based on Blust's (1991:103) estimate that Proto-Greater Central Philippines was spoken around 500 B.C., while works by 16th- and 17th-century Spanish authors clearly show that the Proto-Central Philippines had already split into separate languages by around 1500 A.D.

registers in a number of Greater Central Philippine languages, paints the picture of Proto-Greater Central Philippines as having had a rich system of register that included normal, angry, and literary strata.

Beyond Proto-Greater Central Philippines, however, the data collected so far is silent. Blust's (2009) comprehensive volume on the Austronesian language family includes a discussion of vituperation and profanity in Austronesian languages (p. 133-135), but, other than noting the aforementioned publications by Mintz (1991) and Lobel (2005) for the Bikol languages, adds only Jaspan (1984), who states that Rejang in southern Sumatra has "*buleun* 'moon; month', *buleudn* 'month (in vituperative or irate expression)', but surprisingly this is the only 'vituperative' form that he gives in a dictionary of over 3,500 entries." (Blust 2009:133)

Even if the angry register is found to exist outside of the Greater Central Philippine subgroup, it comes as no surprise that it has generally not been found except where linguists have been looking for it: forms from specialized registers such as the angry register could not be expected to show up in wordlists no matter how comprehensive, nor even in sentence elicitations, and even in more naturalistic forms of language documentation, even if the angry words did show up, a non-native speaker would not be able to identify them as such without the help of a native speaker (unless the linguist already had an idea of what to look for). Even when specifically asking informants whether or not their language has an angry register, the results are often frustrating and hit-or-miss: Surveys of dozens of languages may go by without informants responding that their language has such a register, only to later stumble upon a small area where most or all of the speech varieties contain an angry register.

Only further surveys on non-GCPH languages including the meanings known to have angry equivalents in GCPH languages (Table 6.3) will be able to determine whether or not such an angry speech register exists elsewhere in the Austronesian language family. Until such further research is accomplished, the origin of the Greater Central Philippine angry register will remain almost as much a mystery as it has been since it was first documented by the 17th-century Spanish friars.

TABLE 6.3. 111 MEANINGS REPRESENTED IN THE ANGRY REGISTER

animal
big
bite
blind
bolo
box/punch (v.)
break
burn
bury
butt/anus; hole
call
carabao
careless
cat
chew
chicken
child
chop
clothes
cough
crumple
crush
cry
cut
deaf
destroy
dirty
dog
drink
drive away
drunk
ear
eat
eye
false
feed
fight
fire
fish
flow
fold
food
foot
force
frowning
full
gamble
gather
get
go down
gossip
greedy
hand
head
horse
house
hungry
jump
keep
lame
lamp
land
laugh
lazy
lice
lie down
look
midnight
money
mountain
mouth
move
mucus
mute
night
old
pants
pig
pinch
plant
priest
rain
rice, husked
rice, unhusked
run
saliva
salt
scrotum/testicles
search
see/watch
servant
shoes
shout
sibling
skirt
sleep
slow
small
spank/slap
steal
stomach
stop
strong
talkative
tear
teeth
throw
umbrella
vagina
vulgar
water
wet
whip/lash
woman

CHAPTER 7
ON THE POSITION OF UMIRAY DUMAGET[1]

7.1. INTRODUCTION. Umiray Dumaget is spoken by about 3,000 persons (Lewis 2009) around a strip of the eastern coast of central Luzon from just north of General Nakar, Quezon, to just south of Baler, Aurora, as well as on and around Polillo Island of the coast of northern Quezon Province. There has been considerable disagreement regarding its position. Himes (2002:276) notes that different scholars have classified it as a primary branch of the Philippine subfamily or a member of the Northern Luzon[2] group (Walton 1979, McFarland 1980), or a member of a subgroup consisting mainly of languages spoken by Agta in northern Luzon (Thomas and Gieser 1973).

However, Reid (1994a), apparently based on nothing more than "a cursory inspection of sound changes and verb morphology" (p. 41), suggested that Umiray Dumaget may be a Central Philippine language particularly closely related to the Bikol languages. Himes (2002), who has published a number of important subgroup surveys (e.g., 1997, 1998, 2005, 2007, 2012), picked up on Reid's problematic suggestion and attempted to support it using four types of evidence: vowel and consonant reflexes, pronouns, lexical innovations, and lexicostatistics. This methodology, if it did in fact support a certain relationship, would have been convincing enough for Himes' argument to be accepted. Instead, as will be demonstrated in this chapter, the evidence ranges from weak to non-existent, and it is unfortunate that in each case, Himes too readily accepts a Greater Central Philippine connection, allowing similarities to be overstated, and making claims that are not supported by the evidence, without exploring other, often better-supported explanations for the data.

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[1] While this chapter is critical of Ronald Himes' discussion of Umiray Dumaget, he has published a number of high-quality surveys of underdocumented Philippine languages and subgroups (1997, 1998, 2005, 2007, 2012) and it was his impressive fieldwork background and love of Philippine languages and culture that persuaded me to turn my interest in Philippine languages into a field of undergraduate study at San Diego State University in the late 1990s. As such, I will forever owe him a debt of gratitude (or *utang na loob* in the Philippine context, as Dr. Himes taught us).

[2] The name "Northern Luzon" is used here instead of the former name "Cordilleran", following Lawrence Reid, the foremost scholar on that subgroup.

7.2. CONSONANTS. Regarding the Umiray Dumaget consonant reflexes, Himes (2002) states that "the evidence from the consonants provides some slight motivation to relate [Umiray Dumaget] more closely with the Central Philippine languages" (p. 280). However, in making this claim, Himes overlooks the fact that whatever "slight motivation" the evidence may give for linking Umiray Dumaget with Greater Central Philippines, the same or even greater motivation can be found for linking it with either the Northeastern Luzon or Manide-Alabat subgroups.

Himes notes that PPH *h, *q, and *ʔ[3] are lost in Umiray Dumaget, yet all of these proto-phonemes were retained in Proto-Greater Central Philippines (although *q and *ʔ would have already merged as PGCPH *ʔ). None of these three proto-phonemes are commonly lost in Central Philippine languages, nor is the loss of any of these an innovation attributable to Proto-Greater Central Philippines.

PMP *h is lost in individual Greater Central Philippine languages and lower-level subgroups,[4] but this is not characteristic of the overall membership of the Greater Central Philippines macrogroup. Likewise, *h is also retained in Manide and Inagta Alabat, which appear to form a primary branch of the Philippine subfamily. On the other hand, *h is lost throughout the Northern Luzon subgroup whose languages border on Umiray Dumaget to the north and west, and in the Central Luzon languages which are believed to have once been more widespread in the areas west of the mountains that border on Umiray Dumaget territory in central Luzon (cf., e.g., Zorc 1993:205), prior to the northward expansion of Tagalog. Furthermore, the loss of *h is quite common typologically. In fact, the only languages native to Luzon that retain *h are Tagalog, the Bikol languages (except those belonging to the Southern Bikol subgroup), Northern and Southern Sorsoganon (of the Central Bisayan subgroup), and Manide and Inagta Alabat,

[3] Throughout his paper, Himes refers to a Proto-Philippine *ʔ distinct from *q without presenting any evidence supporting this distinction. In this chapter, all references to PPH *ʔ are direct references to Himes' arguments, and do not imply my own acceptance of this proposed protophoneme.

[4] e.g., the Southern Bikol languages within the Bikol subgroup; Kuyonon in the Bisayan subgroup; Buhid, Tawbuwid, Bangon, and possibly Hanunoo (whose forms with /h/ may have been borrowed from neighboring CPH languages) within South Mangyan; the core Dabawenyo languages but not Kamayo; and the Danao, Subanen, South Mangyan, Palawanic, and Mongondow-Gorontalo languages, but not Manobo.

all but the latter two of which belong to the Central Philippine subgroup.[5] Therefore, the loss of *h is generally weak subgrouping evidence.

Similarly, the loss of *q (and * ʔ) is not common in CPH or GCPH languages, and certainly not characteristic of either subgroup as a whole; like Manide and Inagta Alabat, *q is retained as /ʔ/ in most GCPH languages, albeit not necessarily in all environments in each language. On the other hand, like *h, the loss of *q is widespread elsewhere: Blust (2009:552) notes that *q is "generally lost" in Malayo-Polynesian languages, so its loss in Umiray Dumaget does not provide strong evidence for subgrouping. Likewise, far from providing convincing evidence for subgrouping Umiray Dumaget with Greater Central Philippines, it instead further distinguishes the former from the latter. It remains possible that Umiray Dumaget is a Greater Central Philippine language that later lost *h and *q (and *ʔ), but the presence of these innovations lends no support to the argument for its membership in GCPH or CPH.

While the merger of PPH *j with *d in Umiray Dumaget is also found in the Greater Central Philippine languages, this same merger appears in the Black Filipino languages to the north of Umiray Dumaget (Arta, Northern and Southern Alta, and the Northeastern Luzon languages) as well as in Ilokano, Manide and Inagta Alabat, virtually all Philippine languages outside of Northern Luzon (Charles 1974), and even in the languages of northern Borneo. Therefore, this merger is completely ambiguous as to whether it indicates a connection with Central Philippine languages to the south, with Manide and Inagta Alabat, or with the languages of various Black Filipino populations to the north which all have traditionally been classified as belonging to the Northern Luzon subgroup.

Another phonological innovation in Umiray Dumaget, a dual reflex of *R > /g/ ~ /ø/ is not found in any Greater Central Philippine language, nor in the Manide-Alabat subgroup to the southeast, nor in the Northeastern Luzon subgroup to the north, nor in any adjacent Northern Luzon language. On the surface, that would appear to immediately rule out the possibility of Umiray Dumaget belonging to any of these subgroups. However, it is possible that the zero reflex of *R before /i/ or intervocalically between

[5] Note that Batanic/Bashiic language Itbayaten also retains PMP *h as /h/.

certain vowel combinations[6] passed through *R > *g and later *g > ø via *g > *ɣ > *h (i.e., either *R > *ɣ > *h > ø or *R > *g > *ɣ > *h > ø), similar to various series of shifts that are also attested in several Manobo languages in central Mindanao (Matigsalug, Obo), some Mongondow-Gorontalo languages (Ponosakan, Gorontalo), and in some inland Murutic languages in Sabah (Tagol, Timugon, Paluan, Kalabakan).[7] Outside of the Central Manobo and Mongondow-Gorontalo subgroups, no Greater Central Philippine languages have a fricative or zero reflex of PMP *R, nor do any of the other languages on the Pacific coast of Luzon. Therefore, the reflexes of *R in Umiray Dumaget do not provide any evidence for subgrouping Umiray Dumaget with the Greater Central Philippine, Manide-Alabat, or Northern Luzon subgroups.

In sum, evidence from consonant reflexes clearly does not provide even "slight motivation" (Himes 2002:280) for preferring a CPH or GCPH connection for Umiray Dumaget over any other competing hypothesis. The combination of *R > /g/ and *j > /d/ is found to the immediate south of Umiray Dumaget in the Greater Central Philippines and Manide-Alabat subgroups, and to the immediate north in the Northeastern Luzon subgroup. Therefore, even if /g/ were the exclusive reflex of *R in Umiray Dumaget, it would still be ambiguous as to whether it indicated a relationship to the north or to the south. Likewise, the loss of *q (and *ʔ) and *h seems to contraindicate a Greater Central Philippine connection, or at best provides no evidence for grouping Umiray Dumaget with Greater Central Philippine languages.

7.3. VOWELS. Himes states that "[t]he evidence from the vowels…does not weigh heavily in favor of either a northern or a Central Philippine affinity for [Umiray Dumaget]" (2002:279). A more accurate statement would instead be that the evidence from the vowels does not weigh *at all* in favor of a Central Philippine, or even Greater Central Philippine, connection. PMP *i and *u both generally have identity correspondences in Umiray Dumaget, as they do in virtually all Philippine languages, so their reflexes are of no use in subgrouping. In a handful of Umiray Dumaget forms, PMP

[6] i.e., between sequences of like vowels (a_a, u_u, ə_ə, or i_i) or between (e,i)_(a,u) (Himes 2002:279).

*i is reflected as /u/ (five examples), or PMP *u as /i/ (five examples), but both of these shifts are unconditioned and are probably best explained as sporadic irregular shifts.[8]

PMP *a likewise has an identity correspondence in Umiray Dumaget, except following /b d g w y/, where it is reflected as /e/ (or [ia]). The shift of *a > /e/ after voiced stops and glides is known as Low Vowel Fronting (LVF) (cf. Blust 2000a) and is found in most of the languages native to the Pacific coast of Luzon, from Dupaningan Agta in the north, through the other Northeastern Luzon languages, to Inagta Alabat and Manide in southern Luzon. However, unlike the case for other languages where it is found, LVF is productive in Umiray Dumaget and is affected by synchronic processes such as affixation, as examples (1)-(4) demonstrate:

(1) *nayedi* 'will do (Actor Focus future)' (with prefix *nV-)[9] vs. *yinadi* 'did (Object Focus past)' (with infix *<in>) (< *yedi* < +*yadi*);

(2) *nadetong* 'will arrive (Actor Focus future)' (with prefix *nV-) vs. *dinumatong* 'arrived (Actor Focus past)' (with infix *<inum>) (< *detong* < *datəŋ);

(3) *nagetang* 'will buy (Actor Focus future)' (with prefix *nV-) vs. *gumatang* 'to buy (Actor Focus infinitive)' (with infix *<um>) (< *getang* < *gataŋ);

(4) *nagtabengan* 'helped each other' (< *nag-tabaŋ-an) where the *a of the *-an suffix does not undergo Low Vowel Fronting after the nasal-final root *tabeng*, vs. *nagtubegen* 'answered each other' (< *nag-tubag-an) where it does undergo Low Vowel Fronting since the final consonant of the root *tubeg* is a voiced stop, /g/.

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[7] Note that in the Murutic languages, PMP *h was lost in Proto-Southwest Sabah prior to PSWSAB *R becoming PMUR *g in some environments, and later PMUR *g > /h/ (or /ɣ/) in Murut Tagol, Murut Timugon, Murut Paluan, and Murut Kalabakan.

[8] Lobel (2010:489) mistakenly drew parallels between the *i > /u/ and *u > /i/ correspondences in Umiray Dumaget, on the one hand, with the Back Vowel Fronting and Low Vowel Backing shifts in Manide and Inagta Alabat. However, the Umiray Dumaget shifts appear to be completely unconditioned, as opposed to the shifts in Manide and Inagta Alabat, which occur in the same environments as Low Vowel Fronting does (i.e., after /b d g w y/).

[9] The appearance of /a/ instead of /e/ as the vowel of the prefix *nV- in examples (1)-(3) supports an analysis that /e/ is actually an allophone of /a/, and not a separate vowel phoneme.

All things considered, the LVF shift is best treated as an areal feature because (1) there is virtually no other evidence of a close genetic relationship between Umiray Dumaget and the other languages that reflect LVF; (2) LVF is productive in Umiray Dumaget but not in the other languages in Luzon in which it is reflected; and (3) LVF affects different root words in each of the other languages where it is found (Robinson and Lobel 2012).

The remaining PMP vowel *ə is reflected in Umiray Dumaget as /i/ in the penult and /o/ in the ultima. Although individually, /i/, /o/, and /u/ are each reflexes of PMP *ə in individual Greater Central Philippine (and non-GCPH) languages, this particular combination of reflexes is not found in any other Philippine language, and therefore, Umiray Dumaget's pair of reflexes of PMP *ə does not indicate a special relationship to Greater Central Philippine languages.

It is also worth pointing out that the reduction of vowel sequences noted by Himes (2002:278) is not common in Greater Central Philippine languages, and certainly cannot be attributed to Proto-Greater Central Philippines. Likewise, the shift of *aw and *ay to /ow/ and /oy/ in Umiray Dumaget is also not characteristic of Greater Central Philippine languages as a whole, although individual GCPH languages have independently centralized the vowel of diphthongs *aw and *ay. This centralization of the low vowel in diphthongs is also found in many non-GCPH languages in the Philippines, northern Borneo, and elsewhere.

It is clear that there is no evidence to be found in the vowel reflexes of Umiray Dumaget that would indicate its membership in the Greater Central Philippine macrogroup, considering that (1) the Low Vowel Fronting shift is not found anywhere else in the Philippines outside of the Pacific coast of Luzon,[10] and (2) the conditioned reflexes of *ə are not found in other Philippine languages. A link with Manide and Inagta Alabat is also problematic since none of the vowel shifts operate according to the same set of rules in both Umiray Dumaget and the members of the Manide-Alabat subgroup.

[10] Note, however, that vowel raising after voiced stops is found in some Gorontalic languages (Sneddon & Usup 1986), and that a register-like system that involves raising and tensing of vowels after voiced stops, among others, is found in Maranao (Lobel & Riwarung 2009, 2011). The great distance between these languages, and the absence of these innovations in other more closely related languages, indicates that

7.4. PRONOUNS. Himes (2002) makes contradictory statements regarding the evidence from the pronouns. On the one hand, at the end of the section on pronouns, he claims that "The pronouns…provide us with some further evidence to relate [Umiray Dumaget] more closely with Central Philippine languages than with those of the Cordilleran microgroup" (281). However, paragraphs earlier, he states that (1) "[n]one of the [Umiray Dumaget] pronouns is truly innovative"; (2) "[a]ll of the long nominative pronouns are based on forms with etyma as far back as PPH, if not farther"; and (3) "[t]he genitive pronouns are as unyielding of diagnostic information as the long nominatives" (280-281). Clearly, both of these statements cannot be simultaneously true: either the pronouns provide subgrouping evidence for Umiray Dumaget, or none of them are innovative and therefore they cannot be used as subgrouping evidence. Upon closer inspection of the Umiray Dumaget pronouns and comparison with other Philippine and Philippine-type languages, it is clear that there is no real evidence to be found in the pronouns that would indicate a Greater Central Philippine connection, and little if any evidence for subgrouping with any other language, since most if not all of the pronouns are retentions from PMP or PPH, and as such, any argument is based only on similarities, not innovations.

Regarding the Long Nominative pronouns, Himes claims that they "are most similar to those of Bikol and the Bisayan languages" (2002:281), in spite of the widely-recognized principle that languages cannot be subgrouped on mere similarity, since similarity is just as likely to be the result of common inheritance as of shared innovations. If the long Nominative pronouns of Umiray Dumaget are similar to those in Bikol and/or Bisayan languages, we must ask *why* this is so, assuming that the claim is true. One answer is that Central Philippine languages are known for their phonological and morphological conservativeness, so the similarities of the Umiray Dumaget forms to forms in Central Philippine languages are clearly the result of shared inheritance from PMP, not shared innovation, and therefore cannot be used as reliable evidence for subgrouping. To further demonstrate this, Table 7.1 also includes the Malay/Indonesian

each of these innovations was independent of the others, although the possibility cannot be ruled out that these similar shifts occurred as the result of drift due to some type of vocalism in the protolanguage.

pronouns, which are almost equally similar to the Bikol and Bisayan forms, even though Malay cannot be classified as a Greater Central Philippine language.

TABLE 7.1. NOMINATIVE PRONOUNS IN UMIRAY DUMAGET AND OTHER LANGUAGES

	PPH/PMP	UMIRAY DUMAGET	CEBUANO	BIKOL NAGA/ LEGASPI	MALAY (select forms)	PMANIDE-ALABAT
1SG	*aku	ako	akó	akó	aku	*haʔku
2SG	*ika[h]u, *=ka[u]	ikaw	ikáw	ikáw	engkau, kau	*hika[w]
3SG	*[s]iya	eye	siyá	siyá	ia	*hiya
1EX	*kami	ikami	kamí	kamí	kami	*kami
1IN	*kita	ikita	kitá	kitá	kita	*kita
2PL	*kamu, *kayu	ikamo	kamó	kamó	kamu	*kamu
3PL	*sida	ide	silá	sindá	---	*hida

The presence of the formative *i-* on the plural Long Nominative pronouns of Umiray Dumaget is also problematic for Himes' argument for a Central Philippine connection. None of the Central Philippine languages show any evidence of this formative, which would instead seem to point to a Central Luzon or Northern Luzon source. This, however, is also apparently a retention, as Blust (1977) reconstructs a formative *i on the 1st- and 2nd-person nominative pronouns (although likely only present in the Topicalized set, cf. Chapter 4), and an initial *i- formative is also found on the Topicalized pronouns in such disparate subgroups as Dusunic, Sangiric, and Kalamianic, as well as in Kapampangan. There is also the possibility that the apparent *i- formative on some of the Umiray Dumaget pronouns is from earlier *hi- < *si-, predating the loss of *h in Umiray Dumaget (cf. the /h/-initial nominative pronouns in Manide and Inagta Alabat, two of the few languages on Luzon that retain PMP/PPH *h).

The Genitive pronouns, illustrated in Table 7.2, provide even less support for a (Greater) Central Philippine affinity, especially one based on any close relationship to Bikol or Bisayan, as Himes (2002) and Reid (1994a) suggest. In fact, taking into consideration the Low Vowel Fronting that shifted PPH *da to Umiray Dumaget *de,* the Umiray Dumaget Genitive pronouns are an exact match for the Proto-Sambalic set that Himes presents (2002:281), and only differ from the PNELUZON set in the 2nd-person plural form.

TABLE 7.2. GENITIVE PRONOUNS IN UMIRAY DUMAGET AND OTHER LANGUAGES

	PPHNB	UMIRAY DUMAGET	PROTO-SAMBALIC (HIMES)	PNELUZ	PMANIDE-ALABAT	BIKOL NAGA-LEGASPI	PBIS
1SG	*ku	ku	*ku	*=ku	*=ku	ko	*ku, *nákə(nʔ)
2SG	*mu, *nu	mu	*mu	*=mu	*=mu	mo	*mu, *nimu
3SG	*na, *nia	na	*na	*=na	*=adiya	niya	*niya
1EX	*mi	mi	*mi	*=mi	*=mi	mi	*námə(nʔ)
1IN	*ta	ta	*ta	*=ta	*=ta	ta	*nátə(nʔ), *ta
2PL	*niu, *muyu, *yu	yu	*yu	*=muy	*=yu	nindo	*ni[n]yu
3PL	*da	de	*da	*=di	*=adida	ninda	*nira

In fact, where Umiray Dumaget differs from the Greater Central Philippine and and Manide-Alabat languages, this is often because of innovations in those subgroups that are not shared by Umiray Dumaget. Clearly, the Genitive pronouns of Umiray Dumaget are all retentions and therefore cannot be used as evidence for subgrouping, and especially not with GCPH languages.

Interestingly, while Himes discusses the (Long) Nominative and Genitive pronouns, he conspicuously omits any discussion of the Oblique pronouns and the Short Nominative pronouns. In fact, the Oblique pronouns, as illustrated in Table 7.3, show even less similarity to the Greater Central Philippine pronouns; they instead show more similarity to the Oblique pronouns of Manide, Inagta Alabat, and the Northeastern Luzon languages, although this is because of the replacement of the inherited Oblique bases by the Nominative bases, something which has occurred independently in a number of Philippine and Philippine-type languages.

TABLE 7.3. OBLIQUE PRONOUNS IN UMIRAY DUMAGET AND OTHER LANGUAGES

	UMIRAY	PMANIDE-ALABAT	PNELUZ	ITNEG	PCPH OBL-2	PPH OBL-1	PPH OBL-2
1SG	deku	*daʔku	*di-akən	dya:kɨn	*dakə(nʔ)	*akə(nq)	*dakə(nq)
2SG	dikaw	*dika[w]	*di-kaw (>*-ko)	dika	*dimu	*imu	*dimu
3SG	diye	*diya	*diya, *di-ko-na	dubli:na	*diya	*ia	*dia
1EX	dikami	*dikami	*di-kami	dikami	*damə(nʔ)	*amə(nq)	*damə(nq)
1IN	dikita	*dikita	*di-kita	dita	*datə(nʔ)	*atə(nq)	*datə(nq)
2PL	dikamu	*dikamu	*di-kam	dikayu	*di[n]yu	*inyu, *imuyu	*dinyu, *damuyu
3PL	dide	*dida	*di-di	kadayda	*dira	*ida	*dida

The Umiray Dumaget short Nominative pronoun set is most similar to that of the Northern Luzon languages (illustrated in Table 7.4), and the only apparent innovation is the 1st-person singular form *=ok,* which reflects an earlier *=ək which is reflected as *=ək* in the Northeastern Luzon languages, and as *=ek* in Manide and Inagta Alabat. This appears to be a phonological innovation to Proto-Northern Luzon *=ak,[11] and could provide one bit of evidence for subgrouping Manide, Inagta Alabat, Umiray Dumaget, and the Northeastern Luzon languages together, along with the parallel shifts in the oblique pronouns of these languages (i.e., the replacement of the PMP Oblique bases with bases from the nominative set, which are largely shared with the Northern Luzon languages). However, in the absence of other solid evidence, such a proposal must await much more extensive documentation of these languages.

[11] This nominative pronoun should not be confused with the genitive PNLUZ forms *=k '1SG.GEN' and *=m '2SG.GEN' which are reflected in Ilokano and many other Northern Luzon languages.

TABLE 7.4. SHORT NOMINATIVE PRONOUNS IN UMIRAY DUMAGET AND OTHER LANGUAGES

	UMIRAY DUMAGET	PMANIDE-ALABAT	PNELUZ	PNCORD	PNLUZ	PCCORD
1SG	=ok	*=ek	*=ək	*ak	*-ak	*-ak
2SG	=ka	*=ka	*=ka	*ka	*-ka	*-ka
3SG	eye	*hiya	*si-ya	*ø	*ø	*ø
1EX	=kami	*=kami	*=kami	*kami	*-kami	*-kami
1IN	=kita	*=kita	*=kita	*kita	*-kita	*-ta
2PL	=kamo	*=kamu	*=kam	*kamu, *kayu	*-kamuyu	*-kayu
3PL	ide	*hida	*si-di	*ida	*-da	*-da

In summary, there is no evidence in the pronominal system of Umiray Dumaget that would suggest a Greater Central Philippine connection, while there is a small amount of evidence suggesting a connection to the Northeastern Luzon and Manide-Alabat subgroups which should be pursued in future research.

7.5. LEXICON. Himes' (2002) discussion of lexicon and lexicostatistics to support a Greater Central Philippine connection for Umiray Dumaget is also problematic, and can be summarized with the statement, "The lexicostatistical figures and the lexicon retained from higher levels provide convincing evidence that [Umiray Dumaget] is more closely related to languages of the central Philippines than it is to Cordilleran" (p. 292).

After devoting three pages to forms shared with other Black Filipino languages, and two pages to forms shared with other (non-Black) northern Philippine languages, the section on lexicon shared with the languages of the central and southern Philippines only comprises a page and a half, with a less-than-impressive total of 21 forms that he claims are shared exclusively by Umiray Dumaget and one or more scattered Greater Central Philippine languages. Many of these 21 forms are not basic vocabulary, and the scattered nature of many of these forms gives more of an impression of sporadic retentions from a higher-level protolanguage such as Proto-Philippines, rather than shared innovations from a low-level subgroup.

Of the 21 proposed UDGT-GCPH innovations, some of the correspondences are problematic, such as UDGT *kumot* 'hand' ("komot", in Himes 2002) which Himes relates to WSUB *komot*, noting PAN reconstruction *kamət. However, WSUB *komot* reflects PSUB *kəmət, a shift from earlier *kamət. If this indicated a PGCPH *kəmət, and if the

UDGT form was truly a reflex of this PGCPH form, then the expected UDGT reflex would be ***kimot*, not *komot*. Instead, the UDGT form seems to be a reflex of PAN *kamət with an irregular shift of the first vowel to /u/, or [o], which Himes (2002:277) analyzes as an allophone of /u/). Likewise, Himes equates UDGT *bebiʔ* 'spouse' with Buhid *babay* in the same meaning, a semantic shift from the earlier meaning of 'woman' which has also taken place sporadically in languages from the northern Philippines to northern Borneo, and likely elsewhere.[12] One other form does not correspond to the phonological structure of its purported cognate, UDGT *malapsay* 'light, white' vs. Ilonggo *lapsiʔ* 'light'.

Himes also fails to consider the fact that some of the shared forms are identical in every way to forms in Bikol or Bisayan, and therefore may be the result of borrowing, such as UDGT *duman* 'there (far)' (cf. Bikol Naga-Legaspi *dumán*), UDGT *lubi* 'coconut' (cf. widespread Bisayan *lubí*), UDGT *tanus* 'straight' (cf. Bikol Naga-Legaspi *tanós*), UDGT *bukud* 'different' (cf. Tagalog *búkod* 'other than; separate by type'; UDGT *bulong* 'medicine' (cf. Bikol Naga-Legaspi *bulóng*), UDGT *sakat* 'climb' (cf. Bikol Naga-Legaspi *sakat*). In a couple of other cases, cognate forms are also found in Manide and Alabat, which appear to belong to a primary branch of the Philippine subgroup (Lobel 2010): UDGT *umaged* 'child-in-law', cf. Manide *umagod*, Alabat *umaged*; UDGT *ilat* 'wait', cf. Manide, Alabat *hélat*.

All in all, Himes presents a total of 21 forms that he claims are uniquely shared by Umiray Dumaget and one or more Greater Central Philippine languages. Of these, two are also shared with the Manide-Alabat languages; six are identical to forms in neighboring Bikol and therefore possible borrowings; two (*komot ~ kumot* 'hand' and *malapsay* 'light, white') have phonological inconsistencies with their purported cognates; and one indicates a semantic shift which is widespread in the Philippines and northern Borneo. The total of 21 terms is therefore reduced to no more than 10, of which few if any are especially basic in nature ('different', 'arm', 'squeeze', 'repeat', 'hard', 'above', 'say', 'wet', and two words for 'hunt'), and of these, no more than two are shared with any given language (two each with Tagalog, Ilonggo, Waray-Waray, and Bikol). In spite of the weakness of the lexical evidence, Himes still claims that "[t]he evidence gleaned

[12] Similar shifts have also taken place to *lalaki 'man', which is sporadically reflected in the meaning

from shared lexical items lends weight to the grouping of [Umiray Dumaget] with languages of the central Philippines" (2002:291), a claim that does not hold up under closer scrutiny of the data.

7.6 LEXICOSTATISTICS. In light of the problems with Himes' (2002) claim that evidence from the consonants, vowels, pronouns, and lexicon indicate a Central Philippine connection for Umiray Dumaget, there seems to be little use in discussing his lexicostatistics-based findings, especially since lexicostatistics itself is so problematic and has been largely dismissed by linguists, including many leading Austronesianists (Grace 1964, 1992; Blust 1981, 2000b; Ross 1991, 2005; Pawley 1999). However, the problems inherent in lexicostatistics are compounded by problems in Himes' presentation and explanation of the lexicostatistical scores. For starters, Himes presents the following percentages of lexicon shared by Umiray Dumaget and various Philippine subgroups, rearranged here from highest to lowest maximum score:

Palawanic	28-40%
Central Philippine	23-38%
Sambalic	24-35%
Cordilleran/NLuzon	24-34%
Southern Mangyan	25-32%
Danaw	26-31%
Inati	31%
Remontado Dumagat[13]	30%
Bilic	19-29%
Manobo	27-28%
Subanen	27-28%
Sangiric	22-26%
Kalamian	22-26%
Bashiic/Batanic	24-25%
Northern Mangyan	21-24%

'husband'.

[13] Listed as "Sinauna", an unfortunate misnomer that has persisted in the literature stemming from the fact that Santos (1975), the M.A. thesis in which the language was first mentioned, chose to call it "Sinauna" based on the name "Sinauna Tagalog" (or "Original Tagalog") which the neighboring Tagalogs called the language at that time, thinking that it was an older form of Tagalog. However, the group calls itself "Remontado Dumagat", and is identified as "Remontado" by Philippine government agencies such as the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples, and recent surveys in the area have yet to turn up anyone—whether Remontado Dumagat or Tagalog—who is still familiar with the term "Sinauna" as a name for the Remontado Dumagat language.

Himes also gives scores for Umiray Dumaget with nineteen individual languages:

Aborlan Tagbanwa	40%
Southern Alta	40%
Tagalog	38%
Aklanon	35%
Casiguran Agta	35%
Southern Palawan	33%
Northern Alta	33%
Hiligaynon	32%
Cebuano	32%
Waray-Waray	32%
Bikol	31%
Inati	31%
Kuyonon	31%
Arta	30%
Southern Alta	30%
Remontado Dumagat	30%
Batak	28%
Tausug	26%
Manide	25%

Himes says that Cordilleran languages score within the range of 24%-34% with Umiray Dumaget, but elsewhere gives scores of 35% with Casiguran Agta and 40% with Southern Alta, both of which have traditionally been considered Cordilleran (i.e., Northern Luzon) languages (e.g., Reid 2006:4). Unless he is claiming that Casiguran Agta and Southern Alta are not Cordilleran languages (and nowhere does he make such a claim), then the range of scores for Umiray Dumaget and Cordilleran languages should be “24%-40%”, not “24%-34%”.

Elsewhere, Himes claims a range of 24%-35% with Sambalic languages, but the only individual score he cites is 30% with Remontado Dumagat. Ideally, Himes would have explicitly mentioned which Sambalic language or languages scored between 31%-35% range with Umiray Dumaget. Unlike the higher scores with Greater Central Philippines which can be explained as the result of influence from neighboring Tagalog and nearby Bikol, the scores with Sambalic (or “Central Luzon”) languages cannot be explained as the result of recent borrowing, as Umiray Dumaget is not currently in contact with any Sambalic language, except along the Kaliwa Watershed in northeastern Tanay Province where it borders on the moribund Remontado Dumagat. Likewise, while

Central Luzon languages are believed to have once been more widespread in southern Luzon, there is no evidence that they ever reached the Pacific coast of central Luzon, with the exception of the Remontado Dumagat who have gradually been pushed eastward from Tanay by an ever-expanding Tagalog population. Unfortunately, without a full discussion of the scores with other neighboring subgroups such as Sambalic and Cordilleran, Himes prematurely concludes this section with the claim that "[t]he lexicostatistical evidence, then, weighs in favor of linking [Umiray Dumaget] with the Greater Central Philippine group in contrast with the Cordilleran microgroup." (2002:292)

Umiray Dumaget scores highest (40% in both cases) with Southern Alta, which borders on it, and with Aborlan Tagbanwa in Palawan. It is therefore unclear why he would not include the scores with Southern Alta and Casiguran Agta in the Cordilleran score range, while at the same time including Aborlan Tagbanwa's 40% score with Umiray Dumaget in the Palawanic score range even though he explicitly states that "[t]he disproportionately high percentage of cognates shared with Aborlan Tagbanwa is undoubtedly the result of loans in the language from Bisayan languages" (2002:292).[14] However, only four of 21 forms proposed as CPH or GCPH innovations are shared with Aborlan Tagbanwa, and two of those are also found in Bikol, which is relatively proximate to Umiray Dumaget (at least for seafaring populations). It is also worth pointing out that the eastern coast of central and northern Luzon was administered from the Bikol Region early in the Spanish occupation, and even the Northeastern Luzon languages further north have a considerable number of apparent Bikol loans. Since lexicostatistics does not differentiate retentions from uniquely shared innovations, a scenario in which the two languages with the highest percentage of shared lexicon share only two putative lexical innovations that can't be explained as loans from neighboring languages, and share no phonological, morphological, grammatical, or functor

[14] It is also problematic that Himes does not offer any hypotheses about how or when the Umiray Dumaget came into contact with speakers of Bisayan languages, as there is no significant contact between the two groups, and—barring a scenario where the Umiray Dumaget actually once lived on the opposite coast of Luzon—it is difficult to visualize how a group on the Pacific coast of central Luzon ever came into sufficiently heavy contact with languages spoken on islands south of Luzon when Tagalog, Bikol, and Kapampangan would have been much more proximate to the Umiray Dumaget during various prehistorical periods.

innovations, gives the impression that the high lexicostatistical score is better explained as the result of the conservativeness of both languages.

7.7. MORPHOLOGY. While Reid's original claim referred to "a cursory inspection of sound changes and verb morphology" (Reid 1994a:41, quoted in Himes 2002:276), a discussion of such morphology is absent from Himes' article. Had Himes included a discussion of verbal morphology in his article, it would have been apparent that contrary to Reid's (1994a:41) claims, there is little if anything in the verbal morphology of Umiray Dumaget that would indicate a Greater Central Philippine connection, much less to Bikol. This section will provide an overview of the basic verbal morphology of Umiray Dumaget, illustrated in Table 7.5, in the context of the current discussion of its possible relationship to other Philippine languages.

TABLE 7.5. UMIRAY DUMAGET BASIC VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

	AF <um>	**AF mag-**	**AF maN-**	**OF**	**LF**	**OF2**
INFINITIVE	<um>	mag-	maN-	-in	-an	ø
PAST	<inum>	nag-	naN-	<in>	<in>…-an	<in>
PRESENT	ge-	ge-	ge-	pe-	pe-…-an	pe-
FUTURE	nV-	nV-	nV-	CV-	CV-…-an	CV-

The infinitive and past affixes for all of the focuses are common in Philippine-type languages, and the only innovation is that the Secondary Object Focus prefix *i- has shifted to zero, an innovation which is also found sporadically in various languages, such as Cebuano and Ilonggo (past and present forms only), Mongondow and other Mongondow-Gorontalo languages, and optionally in colloquial Tagalog, as well as on C-initial roots in Brunei Dusun.

The use of CV reduplication for present and/or future forms is also common in Philippine languages, and is used to mark the non-Actor Focus future in Umiray Dumaget. It is distinguished from Central Philippine languages in that Umiray Dumaget does not combine CV reduplication with the Object Focus suffix to form the Object Focus future (i.e., *CV-…-ən), simply using CV reduplication without the suffix.

The Umiray Dumaget Actor Focus future prefix *nV-* (where V is a copy vowel of the first vowel of the root word) is unique in form, and the use of an /n/-initial prefix to

mark a future form is exceedingly rare in Philippine-type languages, where /n/-initial prefixes normally mark past, perfect, and/or [+begun] verbs. In this regard, Umiray Dumaget is similar only to Manide, whose Actor Focus future prefix is *nig-* (note that closely related Inagta Alabat has *ig-,* without the initial /n/). The use of an /n/-initial prefix to mark the future of the Actor Focus could be another piece of evidence for an ancient link between Umiray Dumaget and the Manide-Alabat subgroup (especially if Inagta Alabat *ig-* derives from a Proto-Manide-Alabat *nig- via loss of initial *n), and this becomes even more plausible when it is taken into consideration that there are at least two Actor Focus paradigms in most Philippine-type languages, *<um> and *maR- (cf. Pittman 1966, Ramos 1974, Lobel 2004), and so there is a possibility that in the ancestor of Umiray Dumaget, Manide, and Inagta Alabat, *nig- may have been the future of the Actor Focus *mag- paradigm, and *nV- may have been the future of the Actor Focus *<um> paradigm.

Similarly unique is the non-Actor Focus present prefix *pe-,* which bears little if any specific resemblance to forms in GCPH languages. If it is a reflex of earlier *pig- (note that *i appears to be reflected as /e/ in certain prepenultimate environments), then it may be related to Manide, Inagta Alabat *pig-* 'non-Actor Focus future'. This *pe-* prefix cannot be cognate with the Manide-Alabat present prefix *pa-, since Low Vowel Fronting does not cause *a to front to /e/ before voiceless consonants in Umiray Dumaget. Another possibility is that, in spite of its semantic disagreement, Umiray Dumaget *pe-* may be a reflex of an earlier *pi- which is reflected in Manide as a past prefix *pi-*.

The present Actor Focus form *ge-* appears to be cognate with either the prefix *ga-* (a reduction of *naga-*) in a number of Central Philippine languages, or with the prefix *gi-* also found in many Philippine languages (noting again that *i appears to be reflected as /e/ in certain prepenultimate environments).

It is interesting to note that the expected Umiray Dumaget reflex of the PAN Object Focus suffix *-ən would be **-*on*, but the actual Umiray Dumaget reflex is *–in,*[15] which is shared with neighboring Tagalog, in which *ə regularly merged with *i in most

environments. It is unclear why Umiray Dumaget reflects *-ən as *–in* instead of **-*on,* but before a hypothesis of Tagalog influence is put forth, it should be pointed out that an unexpected -*in* reflex of *-ən is also found in Inati, whose regular reflex of *ə appears to be /ə/,[16] and none of whose neighbors have an /i/ reflex of *ə. Also, it is worth pointing out that some Murutic languages that have a regular *–on* reflex of *-ən also have an *–in* suffix that marks a separate focus whose function is not entirely clear at present.

In summary, there is little if any evidence in the verb morphology of Umiray Dumaget that would suggest a close relationship with Greater Central Philippine languages.

7.8. CASE MARKERS. Although not discussed by Himes (2002), the case markers of Umiray Dumaget are characterized by a structural innovation almost unique in the Philippine languages: the use of a single set of case markers for both common nouns and personal names. Among the Philippine languages, this structural characteristic is shared with only Manide and Inagta Alabat, although it is also found in the Formosan languages Pazeh, Favorlang, Tsou, Kanakanavu, and Saaroa (Ross 2006:529). Unfortunately, as illustrated in Table 7.6, only the oblique marker *di* is shared by Umiray Dumaget and Manide and Inagta Alabat (although this is *de* in Inagta Alabat, which ambiguously reflects either an irregular shift to the vowel of *di, or possibly a separate marker *da via Low Vowel Fronting). Therefore, this appears to be best treated as an areal feature, although a bizarre one to be shared across languages that are not closely related, are not mutually intelligible, and which presumably had little influence over one another. It is also suspect that Umiray Dumaget seems to reflect only the personal name markers for the nominative and genitive (using the vowel *i) while Manide and Inagta Alabat reflect only the common noun markers for the nominative and genitive (using the vowel *u). Incidentally, all of the case markers in both Umiray Dumaget and Manide-Alabat are inherited: Manide-Alabat *hu (< PMP *su), Manide-Alabat *nu (< PMP *nu), Umiray

[15] The *–in* suffix of Balinese (Blust, pers. comm., Dec. 14, 2012) and of the Murutic languages (cf. Chapter 11 of this dissertation) are most likely independent innovations.

[16] However, the vast majority of the lexicon of Inati appears to be borrowed from neighboring Western Bisayan languages such as Kinaray-a, so it is also possible that the native Inati reflex of PMP *ə is /i/, noting that it is also found in the pronouns *yamin* '1EXCL.OBL' (< PMP *amən) and *yatin* '1INCL.OBL' (< PMP *atən), although the endings of these forms are also similar to the suffix *-ən.

Dumaget *i* (< either PMP *i or *si via *hi, reflecting a sporadic but widespread *s > *h shift in the functors, with subsequent *h > ø in Umiray Dumaget), Umiray Dumaget *ni* (< PMP *ni), and Umiray Dumaget, Manide, Inagta Alabat *di* (< PMP *di). As all of these markers are inherited from PMP, they offer no evidence relevant to the genetic affiliation of Umiray Dumaget.

TABLE 7.6. CASE MARKERS IN UMIRAY DUMAGET, MANIDE, INAGTA ALABAT, AND TAGALOG

		UMIRAY DUMAGET	MANIDE	INAGTA ALABAT	TAGALOG
COMMON	**NOM**	i	hu (~ =h)	hu	ang
	GEN	ni	nu (~ =n)	nu	ng /naŋ/
	OBL	di	di (~ =d)	de	sa
PERSONAL (SINGULAR)	**NOM**	i	hu	hu	si
	GEN	ni	nu	nu	ni
	OBL	di	di	de	kay
PERSONAL (PLURAL)	**NOM**	ide	---	hudeng	sina ~ sinda†
	GEN	nide	---	nudeng	nina ~ ninda†
	OBL	dide	---	de-dû deng	kina ~ kinda†

† the second form in each pair the more common in many dialects of Southern Tagalog

7.9. IF NOT GREATER CENTRAL PHILIPPINE, THEN WHAT? As we have seen, in spite of the claims made by Himes (2002) and Reid (1994a), there is no convincing evidence that Umiray Dumaget belongs to the Central Philippine subgroup, or even to the larger, more inclusive Greater Central Philippine subgroup. The only remaining question is what living language(s), if any, Umiray Dumaget can be subgrouped with.

Given the current state of knowledge, there are four possible answers: (1) Umiray Dumaget subgroups with the Northeastern Luzon languages (cf. Robinson and Lobel 2012), possibly as part of the Northern Luzon (or "Cordilleran") subgroup; (2) Umiray Dumaget subgroups with Sambali-Ayta (or "Central Luzon"); (3) Umiray Dumaget subgroups with Manide and Inagta Alabat, who themselves appear to form a primary branch of the Philippine subfamily; (4) Umiray Dumaget forms a separate branch of the Philippine subgroup.

The last possibility is, at least initially, the least attractive, since while it is certainly possible that Umiray Dumaget is the sole survivor of a language that separated directly from Proto-Philippines, it seems just as likely that such an argument would only signal the failure of our methods of data gathering and analysis. We will return to this possibility later.

The third possibility is supported by minimal evidence at best: (1) parallels in the pronominal system, the only innovation being the replacement of the PMP oblique bases with the PMP nominative bases, a development shared with the Northern Luzon and Northeastern Luzon languages, as well as in various other more distant subgroups such as Danao, Paitanic, etc.; (2) the use of an Actor Focus future prefix beginning with *n-*; (3) the use of a single set of case markers for both common nouns and personal names; and (4) the presence of the *a > /e/ shift known as Low Vowel Fronting. Upon closer scrutiny, however, the latter two appear to be areal features as opposed to evidence for descent from a common ancestor: (1) Low Vowel Fronting and the other vowel shifts in Manide and Inagta Alabat operate under different conditions than those in Umiray Dumaget,[17] and (2) although the use of the case markers in the three languages is structurally identical, the actual case marker forms in Umiray Dumaget have little in common with those of Manide and Inagta Alabat.

The second possibility—that of a Central Luzon source for Umiray Dumaget—seems to be contraindicated by the /g/ (and /ø/) reflex of *R, unless it could be argued that Umiray Dumaget split off from a "Greater Central Luzon" subgroup at a time when *R was still a distinct phoneme, before *R shifted to /y/ in Kapampangan and the Sambali-Ayta languages. In this case, Umiray Dumaget would be a primary branch of "Greater Central Luzon" coordinate with the nuclear Central Luzon branch, and the *R > /g/ ~ /ø/ shift in Umiray Dumaget would have taken place under the influence of both the Northeastern Luzon languages to the north and the Central Philippine languages to the south. Since it has been proposed (Zorc 1986) that the Northern Mangyan languages subgroup with Central Luzon, the resulting subgroup would contain Umiray Dumaget as

[17] Blust (pers. comm., 11/7/2011) notes that "LVF in North Sarawak languages also appears to have taken place independently at least twice (Sa'ban vs. the rest), and perhaps as many as 5 times (because of differences even among Lower Baram languages in the details of how it works)."

a primary branch, which then split into the Central Luzon and Northern Mangyan languages, and would be based almost exclusively on similarities in the pronominal system which seem to be better explained as retentions from Proto-Philippines if not PMP.

The combination of the /g/ reflex of *R (the zero reflex possibly via *R > *g > *ɣ > *h > zero) and the merger of *j and *d might in other situations be considered strong evidence for subgrouping, but along the Pacific coast of Luzon, this combination of shifts is found in three separate subgroups which do not appear to subgroup together: Central Philippines (represented by Tagalog and the Bikol languages in southern Luzon), Manide-Alabat (which, if more widespread in earlier times, could have reached the southern extremity of Umiray Dumaget territory), and Northeastern Luzon (within which Casiguran Agta is the most proximate to the areas where Umiray Dumaget is spoken). These phonological shifts, as well as the presence of Low Vowel Fronting, the nominative pronoun *ok* '1SG.NOM' reflecting an innovative *=ək replacing PNLUZ *=ak, and the parallel developments to the Oblique pronoun set as mentioned in section 9.4 all indicate a possible relationship with the Northeastern Luzon languages as well as with Manide and Inagta Alabat, but if this is the case, any other evidence for such a subgroup has been obscured by long periods of separate development, as well as by more recent protracted periods of lexical borrowing from the languages of more influential groups with which each group of Black Filipinos engaged in trade.

Returning now to the possibility of Umiray Dumaget as a Philippine isolate, another explanation exists for such a possibility: The disappearance of many Black Filipino ethnolinguistic groups since the arrival of the first Austronesian speakers, and especially over the past century or so, due to the expansion of majority ethnolinguistic groups since the industrial revolution (e.g., Tagalog, Bikol, Ilokano, Cebuano, and Ilonggo). When John Garvan traveled around southern Luzon in the early 1900s, he found a number of Black Filipino groups residing in the area, as listed in Table 7.7 (adapted from Garvan 1963:8). Some of these still survive with their languages intact, such as the Manide of Camarines Norte and the Agta of the Lopez-Guinayangan area (some of whom would migrate to Alabat Island half a century later and become the group currently identified as the Alabat Agta). Others in central and western Quezon no longer

exist as linguistically distinct groups, although descendents of these once linguistically-distinct tribes can still be found, e.g., the Katabangan of Catanauan in the Bondoc Peninsula of southern Quezon province, for which Garvan listed the exonym "Ita" or "Ayta". Still others have completely disappeared, including populations Garvan documented in towns like Mauban, Atimonan, and Gumaca, as well as the original Black Filipino inhabitants of Alabat Island (identified simply as "Agta" or by the Tagalog *itim* 'black' or *abian*, another generic name used by Tagalogs for Black Filipinos).

If earlier Black Filipino groups in central and southern Luzon included populations who had adopted their languages from Austronesian speakers before the first and second extinctions that Blust (1991, 2005) proposes—as the Manide and Alabat Agta apparently did—and subsequently did not adopt wholesale the language of the later arrivals in the area, then it would be possible that the closest relatives of Umiray Dumaget, and of Manide and Inagta Alabat, would have been the languages of other now-extinct Black Filipino populations in central and southern Luzon.

TABLE 7.7. GROUPS FOUND BY GARVAN (1963:8) BETWEEN 1903 AND 1925 IN AND AROUND QUEZON PROVINCE†

Designation	Province	Location	# of families	Still existing in 2012?
Abian or Bihug	Quezon	Calawag & Lopez	80	Yes (Manide in Calawag; Agta in Lopez)
Umag or Ata	Quezon	Mambulao (=Jose Panganiban, Camarines Norte?)	56	Yes (Manide)
Atid or Manidi	Quezon	Guinayangan	38	? (Agta)
Manidi	Quezon	Mt. Cadig (in western Labo town, Camarines Norte, near Calauag and Tagkawayan, Quezon)	71	Yes (Manide)
Abian	Quezon	Mauban and Alabat Island	26	Yes (but replaced by Agta migrants from Lopez)
Itim or Agta	Quezon	Gumaca	19	No
Itim or Agta	Quezon	Atimonan	5	No
Itim or Agta	Quezon	Perez town, Alabat Island	12	replaced by Agta migrants from Lopez
Ita, Aita	Quezon	Catanauan	79	No (linguistically indistinct)
Bihug, Abian	Camarines Norte	Capalonga	35	Yes (Manide)
Abian	Camarines Sur	NE pt. of Ragay Gulf	63	? (possibly the Manide)
Atid or Manidi	Camarines Sur	Ragay on E. Ragay	20	? (Manide migrants)
Abian	Camarines Sur	Indan (now "Vinzons", which includes Calaguas Island)	---	Manide on mainland; Linguistically indistinct group on Calaguas Is.

† note that place names have been modernized to match current official spellings, where known

At present, Umiray Dumaget, Manide, Inagta Alabat, and the languages of virtually all of the other Black Filipino populations along the Pacific coast of Luzon remain only very minimally documented: None, with the exception of Dupaningan Agta (Robinson 2008) at the northeasternmost tip of Luzon, and Casiguran Agta just north of

the Umiray Dumaget, have been the subject of a work of any substantial length, most being the subject of only relatively short articles (Reid 1989 for Arta, Reid 1991 for Alta, Lobel 2010 for Manide and Inagta Alabat, and Robinson and Lobel 2012 for the Northeastern Luzon languages).[18] Once much more extensive documentation of these languages is available, a clearer picture of their external relationships may emerge, or at the very least, we will have more confidence in classifying these languages as primary branches of the Philippine subfamily. For now, however, it is only possible to state that there is no convincing evidence that Umiray Dumaget belongs in the Central Philippine subgroup, or even in the Greater Central Philippine subgroup, and that similarities to Greater Central Philippines and other subgroups are best explained as a combination of areal features, retentions from PPH or PMP, and similarities due to extensive borrowing from more prestigious regional languages.

[18] A Bible (New Testament) translation was completed for Umiray Dumaget, and is in progress for Paranan and Pahanan. Also, various short literacy materials were created for native speakers of these languages, but these are of minimal use to linguists (cf. Chapter 4).

CHAPTER 8
MANIDE AND INAGTA ALABAT

8.1. INTRODUCTION.[1] As mentioned in Chapters 1 and 3, the southern part of the large northern Philippine island of Luzon is home to four Black Filipino populations that have gone virtually unrepresented in the linguistics literature: the Rinconada Agta, the Partido Agta, the Alabat Agta, and the Manide. The languages of the first two groups form an Inagta Bikol branch within the Bikol subgroup, having a clear relationship to the other Bikol languages of southern Luzon (although with some minor indication of a pre-Bikol substratum). In contrast, the Manide and Inagta Alabat languages show little evidence of a close relationship to the Central Philippine languages, or to any other subset of Philippine languages for that matter—instead forming a Manide-Alabat subgroup that appears to be a primary branch of the Philippine subfamily. These two languages are highly divergent, and given their uniqueness, it is striking that neither was ever the subject of any dedicated study or even significant documentation before the appearance of Lobel (2010), beyond simply being listed among the 6,909 languages in the 16th edition of the Ethnologue (Lewis 2009).

This chapter will provide a basic sketch of Manide and Inagta Alabat, to address the lack of available data on these languages.

8.1.1 Manide. Manide [ma.ni.dé] is the endonym for an ethnolinguistic group of approximately 4,000 members (according to population counts by the Philippines' National Commission on Indigenous Peoples, or NCIP), virtually all of whom speak the language of the same name as their primary—and sometimes only—language. The name Manide was also recorded a century ago by John M. Garvan, who visited Black Filipino communities throughout Luzon between 1903 and 1924, noting the group he visited during a trip "along the northeastern part of Gulf Ragay, Tayabas…called themselves 'Manidi' but further and very careful inquiry elicited not a particle of information as to

[1] This chapter is an expanded version of a paper published in the December 2010 issue of Oceanic Linguistics entitled "Manide: An Undescribed Philippine Language." While the published paper concentrated on Manide, this chapter also gives equal space to Manide's closest relative, Inagta Alabat.

the why and wherefore of their appellation" (1963:6).[2] However, neighboring Tagalogs and Bikolanos refer to this group by various other names, such as *Abiyán*, *Kabihúg, Bihúg, Awâ, Aytà* and *Agtà*.[3] Linguists have added to the list of exonyms for the Manide, with the Ethnologue referring to them as "Agta, Camarines Norte" (Gordon 2005, Lewis 2009),[4] while Reid (1994) calls them the "Camarines Norte" member of a geographically-defined "South Agta" subgroup, and he has more recently adopted the name "Manide Agta" (Reid 2009a), even though the Manide do not consider themselves "Agta", and prefer not to be called by that name.

Reid (1994a:41) calls attention to the fact that Manide and the Agta languages of Camarines Sur "remain unanalyzed," and that "no morphological or syntactic data is available for these languages." Reid's comments are hardly an understatement, and in fact, misinformation is just as abundant as accurate information: consider, for example, that the Ethnologue (Gordon 2005, Lewis 2009) states that there are only 150 speakers of the Manide (or "Agta, Camarines Norte") language,[5] when in reality, there are more than two dozen Manide communities, and even the smallest three combined would easily surpass the population figure of 150 cited in the 2005 Ethnologue entry. The town with the largest Manide population—over 1,500—is Labo, Camarines Norte. The NCIP population figures are arranged in Table 8.1, although it should be noted that these figures were already largely outdated in 2005 when they were obtained, especially considering the fluidity of movement of the Manide who often travel around in groups looking for work as manual laborers. In spite of their shortcomings, however, the NCIP

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[2] Note that Garvan's accounts of his travels were only published posthumously in 1963, and that the "Tayabas" that he mentions is the old name of modern-day Quezon Province, and should not be confused with the town of Tayabas in western Quezon Province.

[3] A previous director of the Bikol Region NCIP who shall remain anonymous actually insisted that the Manide were a "subtribe" of the Bikol Agta tribe of eastern Camarines Sur, a claim that is completely incompatible with the linguistic evidence. Also note just as importantly that the Manide do not consider themselves to be "Agta", and many are angered when the term is applied to them. It is also interesting that the local Tagalog names for the Manide—*kabihúg* or *bihúg*—derive from the Manide word *kabehúg* 'boss', slightly ironic since the Manide are invariably the Tagalogs' hired help, while the Tagalogs themselves are the bosses.

[4] The newly-released 17th edition (Lewis, Simon, & Fennig, 2013) now lists them as "Manide".

[5] This erroneous information was not corrected in time for Lewis (2009), but has now been corrected in the the 17th edition of the Ethnologue (Lewis, Simon, & Fennig, 2013), which was published just as the final revisions to this dissertation were beubg made.

figures are the only existing census figures available for the Manide, and are sufficient for our purposes here.

TABLE 8.1. TOWNS WITH MANIDE POPULATIONS

TOWN (IN CAMARINES NORTE PROVINCE, UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED)	# OF COMMUNITIES	MANIDE POPULATION
Basud	2	175
Labo	9	1,542
Jose Panganiban	3	568
Paracale	4	581
Santa Elena	1	110
Capalonga	2	345
San Lorenzo Ruiz	1	45
Calauag, Quezon	1	n/a
Lopez, Quezon	1	n/a
Ragay, Camarines Sur	1	200
Lupi, Camarines Sur	1	197
TOTAL		3,763

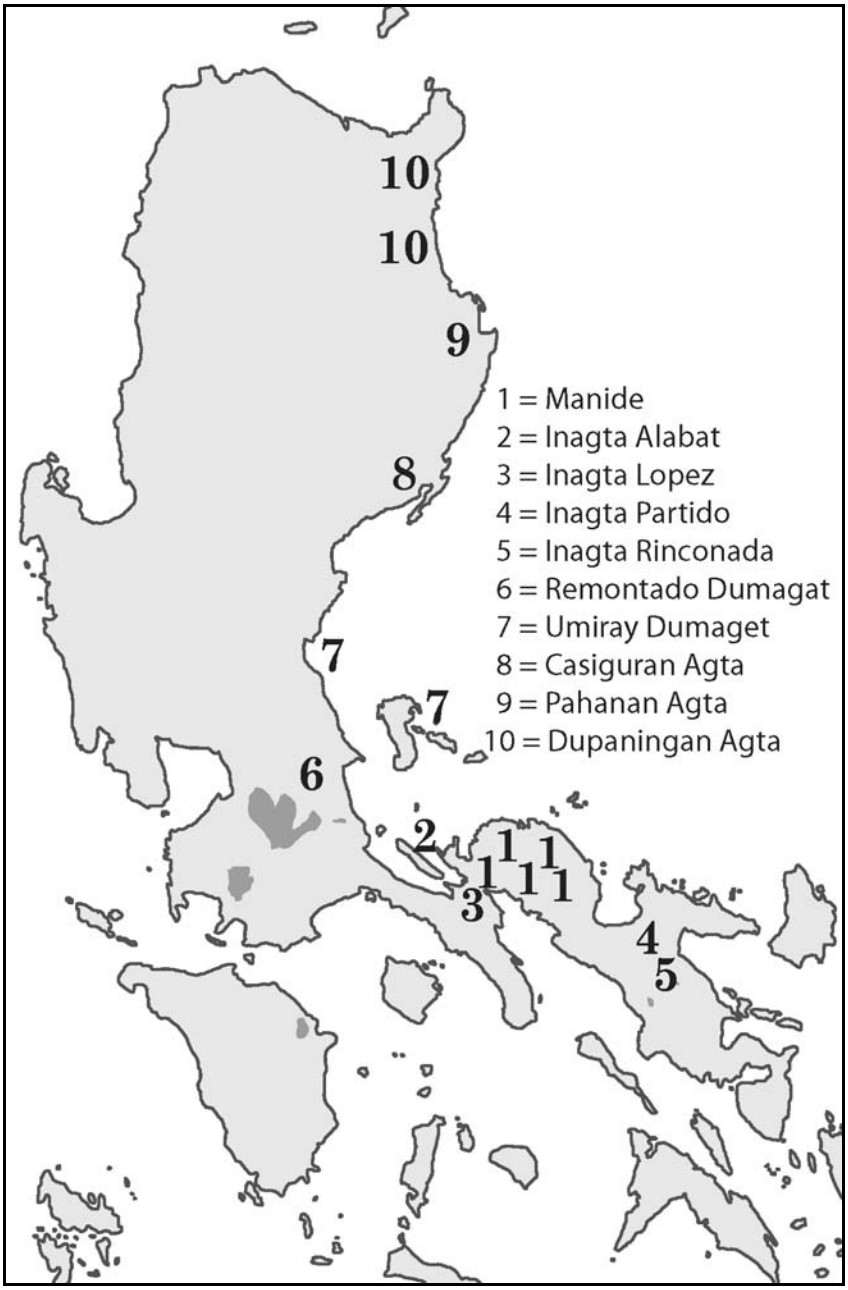
The Manide live primarily in the Tagalog-speaking[6] central and western two-thirds of Camarines Norte province in southern Luzon. A smaller number of communities live in the Bikol-speaking eastern third of Camarines Norte, almost exclusively in the town of Basud.[7] At least two communities of Manide are located in western Camarines Sur province (also a Bikol-speaking area), in the towns of Ragay and Lupi, on the southern side of the mountains that form the border between Camarines Norte and Camarines Sur in this area. Another two communities are located in the eastern extreme of Quezon Province, in the towns of Calauag and Lopez. Note, however, that Lopez, Quezon, is also home to an earlier Agta community that speaks a language related to, but substantially different from, the Manide language, and that is the same language that was brought to Alabat in the 1970s by migrants, and which has been referred to in the Ethnologue as "Agta, Alabat Island" (Rosie Susutin Barreno, pers. comm., 3/15/09). A number of Manide have also reportedly moved into other nearby provinces such as

[6] It should be noted that the Tagalog of this area is quite different from the "standard" Manila Tagalog, having a considerable amount of influence from Bikol, in addition to the features shared with other Southern Tagalog dialects (but not with Manila Tagalog).

[7] Bikolanos and Manide in Basud reported to me that a community of Manide also lived in a barangay of the town of San Lorenzo Ruiz until 2008, when it transferred downhill to Basud after attacks on some of its members by non-Manide in the same barangay.

Batangas for work as manual laborers. Map 8.1 provides a sketch of the locations of the Manide as well as the other Black Filipino groups around the Pacific coast of Luzon.

MAP 8.1. BLACK FILIPINO GROUPS AROUND THE PACIFIC COAST OF LUZON



Today, the vast majority of the Manide have little if any contact with other Black Filipino groups, with a considerable area separating them from the Bikol Agta to the east in the Partido and Rinconada districts of Camarines Sur; and from the Umiray Dumaget

to the west on both sides of the Aurora-Quezon border, and on Polillo Island.[8] Likewise, there is no special relationship between Manide and the languages of these other two groups. It is only in the Lopez-Guinayangan area, where scores of Manide have migrated for manual labor jobs, that the Manide have contact with another Black Filipino group, in this case the small population of Lopez-Guinayangan Agta who are native to the area.

In earlier times, however, the Manide were the southeasternmost tribe in what was once a nearly continuous stretch of the east coast of Luzon inhabited almost exclusively by Black Filipinos, from the Dupaningan Agta at the northeastern tip of Luzon, to the Manide in Camarines Norte (cf. Map 8.1).[9] According to Goda (2003), it wasn't until the Spanish occupation that the Black Filipino population drastically declined in many places around the Pacific coast of Luzon as the result of minoritization, something that had taken place even earlier in other parts of the Philippines:

> By the time of the Spanish arrival in the archipelago, most of the Philippine Negrito groups had already been 'minoritized' and driven into remote areas by the Malay ethnic groups. By contrast, in the southeastern region of Luzon (present Quezon), the Aetas and other Negrito groups were still a majority compared to the Malay people when the Spanish first came to the area (c. 1571, according to a Spanish document). In 1578, the town of Tayabas was founded by the Franciscans. Since then, many Malays (mainly Tagalog) moved into the area and the Aetas became 'minoritized.'[10] (183-184)

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[8] A small group of what apparently were Umiray Dumaget from around Dingalan, Aurora, are now living in the Calaguas Islands off the north coast of Camarines Norte near the towns of Vinzons and Paracale (see Map 8.1), although according to their chieftain, no members of this community speak their ancestral language, only Tagalog and Bikol.

[9] Groups such as the Rinconada Agta and the Partido Agta are actually found further south, but are foud further inland, and there is no evidence that they have ever lived closer to the Pacific coast of Luzon.

[10] The last two sentences of this passage are in reference to the so-called Ayta of Tayabas town, who still exist as a community although none of its members speak any native language other than Tayabas Tagalog. Note that I refer to them as "so-called Ayta" because there is no linguistic evidence for them being called "Ayta" (i.e., having a /y/ reflex of *R) as opposed to "Agta", etc. The name "Ayta" might erroneously lead to the belief that these communities once spoke a language with an *R > /y/ shift. However, the name "Ayta" is not an endonym but an application of the Tagalog term *áytà* (var. *étà, ítà*), which has become the general Tagalog term for any Black Filipino group. As a result, in the absence of any endonym for groups such as those in Tayabas whose ancestral language has long since been lost, writers generally also refer to these groups as "Ayta".

What took place since 1578 around Tayabas town has also taken place, albeit slightly more recently, in Camarines Norte and eastern Quezon. According to local Bikolano historian Danilo Gerona (pers. comm., 1999), the non-Black Filipino population in these areas was generally rather sparse until the influx of considerable numbers of Tagalogs and Bikolanos in the 1800s. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that these are the same places where Black Filipino populations have survived until the present as linguistically and ethnically distinct populations. Most of Camarines Norte was settled by non-Manide only relatively recently; its Manide population still lives a semitraditional lifestyle, and virtually all of their children still grow up speaking the Manide language from birth, with little detectable difference between older and younger speakers' command of the language.[11]

8.1.2 Inagta Alabat. *Ágtà* /ʔágtaʔ/ is the endonym for an ethnolinguistic group of approximately 30 families living on Alabat Island (Rosie Susutin Barreno, pers. comm., 3/15/09). However, neighboring Tagalogs refer to them as *Áytà* (a misapplication of the endonym of the much more widely known Ayta tribe native to the area around Mount Pinatubo in Central Luzon) or *Ità* (ultimately a Tagalog borrowing of *Età,* the Kapampangan reflex of the aforementioned endonym *Aytà*). The language is listed under the name "Agta, Alabat Island" in the Ethnologue (Gordon 2005, Lewis 2009), and is moribund, with less than ten fluent speakers remaining (Rosie Susutin Barreno, pers. comm., 3/15/09).

The Agta currently living on Alabat Island and speaking the language described in this chapter migrated from Lopez town in eastern Quezon province starting in the 1970s (Rosie Susutin Barreno, pers. comm., 3/15/09). There are apparently still about 15 related Agta families living in Lopez, although their small population has been overwhelmed by hundreds of Manide migrants who have moved into the area from Camarines Norte

[11] That is to say, Manide youth exhibit virtually no language attrition compared with older speakers, something which is exceedingly rare in minority—and even majority—ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines today. For a good discussion of language attrition over the past few decades in a Philippine minority language, see Reid (2009b:19-20).

province to work as manual laborers and household help. My multiple attempts to find Agta living in Lopez have failed, making contact in each case with only Manide migrants.

At the time of the arrival of the present group of Agta on Alabat Island in the 1970s, there reportedly were scattered Black Filipinos already living there, although none of them were observed to have spoken any language other than Tagalog at that time (Barreno, pers. comm., 3/15/09). The existence of Black Filipinos both on Alabat Island and in and around Lopez town was also documented by John M. Garvan (see Table 7.7) between 1903 and 1924. It is likely that the 38 families of Black Filipinos that Garvan found on Alabat Island and in neighboring Mauban town a century ago were the ancestors of those that the current Agta residents encountered in the 1970s when they first arrived on Alabat from Lopez. Note that many of the other groups that Garvan documented no longer exist, either having died out or otherwise completely assimilated into the much larger and more influential Tagalog population. Among the groups that have disappeared over the past 90-100 years are those that Garvan encountered in Quezon Province in the towns of Atimonan, Gumaca and Mauban, while the population reported to live in the town of Catanauan (i.e., the Katabangan, mistakenly identified as "Katabaga" in the Ethnologue) still exists as a community but its members speak only Bondoc Tagalog as their native language.

The Alabat Agta live largely interspersed among Tagalogs in the interior parts of Alabat Island, which is a short ferry ride from the town of Atimonan in Quezon Province just northeast of Lucena City on the mainland of Luzon. Like the Manide, the Alabat Agta rarely if ever have any contact with other Black Filipino groups: the closest to the east is the closely related Manide of Camarines Norte, eastern Quezon, and western Camarines Sur; and to the west is Umiray Dumaget on both sides of the Aurora-Quezon border, and on Polillo Island.

8.1.3 The uniqueness of Manide and Inagta Alabat. That the Manide and Inagta Alabat languages are distinct from any other language is supported by a number of facts. First, on a 1,000-item wordlist, approximately 28.5% of the Manide forms, and 19% of the

Inagta Alabat forms, appear to be unique, either new coinages or older forms having undergone phonological or semantic shifts. In this regard, these two languages are quite different from many other Black Filipino languages such as Batak, Inagta Rinconada, Inagta Partido, Mamanwa, Inati, etc., whose lexicons are over 90% cognate with neighboring non-Black Filipino language or languages.[12] Likewise, on the Blust 200 list of Proto-Malayo-Polynesian reconstructions (Blust 1981), Manide retains only 27 percent, tieing with Arta (Reid 1989) for the lowest retention rate of reconstructed PMP vocabulary in any Philippine language.[13] Inagta Alabat retains only 36 percent of reconstructed PMP vocabulary on the same list, considerably more than Manide or Arta but still towards the lower range of retention rates calculated by Blust (1981). There is also a phonological process unique to Manide (see Section 8.2.8.3), another rare phonological process shared only by Manide and Inagta Alabat (cf. Section 8.2.8.2), and a number of distinct grammatical features that will be dealt with in Section 8.4.

8.2. PHONOLOGY. Manide and Inagta Alabat have the same phoneme inventory, illustrated in Table 8.2, one that is synchronically unremarkable in comparison to other Philippine languages. Their historical phonology is much more interesting, however, including a trio of bizarre vowel shifts with what initially appear to be overlapping environments (Low Vowel Fronting, Back Vowel Fronting, and Low Vowel Backing); a stratum of apparently-borrowed lexicon with a /y/ reflex of *l (< PMP *l, *-r-, *-z-, *-j-, and *-d-) not found elsewhere in the lexicon or subsystems; and the noteworthy retention of both PMP *q (as /ʔ/) and PMP *h (as /h/) in all positions, virtually unheard of in the languages of Luzon.

[12] My fieldwork on the languages of various Black Filipino ethnolinguistic groups and their neighbors indicates the following maximum percentages of unique vocabulary per language: Batak, 1%; Inagta Rinconada and Inagta Partido, 2%; Mamanwa, 7%; Inati, 9%; Inagta Alabat, 19%; Umiray Dumaget, 23%; Manide, 28.5%. These are called “maximum” percentages because they may yet be reduced if cognates for some of these “unique” forms are found in other languages.

[13] Manide and Arta both only have 51 retentions out of 189 items on this list. Reid (1989:48) states that this number is “almost eight percent fewer than any other Philippine language for which similar scores have so far been calculated” based on the “reflexes of the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian reconstructions of 200 basic items using Blust's (1981) modified Hudson list”. Inagta Alabat has 69 retentions out of 192 applicable items on this list, or 36%.

TABLE 8.2. THE PHONEME INVENTORY OF MANIDE AND INAGTA ALABAT

CONSONANTS				VOWELS		
p	t	k	ʔ	i		u
b	d	g		e		
	s		h		a	
m	n	ŋ				
	l					
	r					
w	y					

8.2.1 The Reflex of PMP *q. PMP *q is reflected in both Manide and Inagta Alabat as /ʔ/ in all positions. Like many other Philippine languages such as Tagalog, all words that do not begin with another consonant begin with a glottal stop (i.e., there are no vowel-initial words). However, unlike most Philippine languages, both of these languages allow both /ʔC/ and /Cʔ/ clusters word-internally, with numerous examples of postconsonantal glottal stop (including Manide *bag-áng* /bagʔáŋ/ 'mouth', Alabat *bag-áng* /bagʔáŋ/ 'molar tooth', Manide *malim-át* /malimʔát/, Alabat *malem-át* /malemʔát/ 'white', Manide, Alabat *pus-un* /pusʔun/ 'lower abdomen', Manide, Alabat *sip-ún* /sipʔún/ 'mucus') and of preconsonantal glottal stop (including Manide, Alabat *bu-lúng* /buʔlúŋ/ 'knee', Manide *galú-gì* /galúʔgiʔ/, Alabat *gilu-gû* /giluʔgúʔ/ 'fly (n.)', Manide *hi-néw* /hiʔnéw/, Alabat *he-néw* /heʔnéw/ 'wind', as well as some pronouns and demonstratives). That neither of these two cluster orders can be written off as the result of borrowing is supported by the fact that there are unique forms with both orders (e.g., Manide, Alabat *dag-as* /dagʔas/ 'exit (v.)', and Manide *be-dis* /beʔdis/, Alabat *bi-dis* /biʔdis/ 'feces'), and that the clusters are retained in the reconstructable order (e.g., Manide *be-gí* /beʔgí/, Alabat *be-gú* /beʔgú/ 'new' < PPH *baqəRu, Manide *ka-nen* /kaʔnen/ 'purple yam' < PPH *kaq[ə]n-ən 'cooked rice', Manide, Alabat *pus-un* /pusʔun/ 'lower abdomen' < PPH *pusqun, Manide, Alabat *pas-an* /pasʔan/ 'carry on pole on shoulder' < PPH *pasqan, etc.). Most other Philippine languages only allow morpheme-internal glottal stops in one of the two orders (e.g., /ʔC/ as in Bikol Naga-Legaspi, Bikol Miraya, Buhi-non, and Northern Catanduanes Bikol, or /Cʔ/ as in Southern Tagalog, most Bisayan languages, Inati, and some Bikol languages and dialects such as Rinconada, Bikol Partido, Bikol

Daet, and Bikol Northern Sorosogon), if not completely disallowing glottal stops in morpheme-internal consonant clusters (such as in Standard Tagalog, and the languages of the Danao, Subanen, and Mongondow-Gorontalo subgroups).

8.2.2 The Reflex of PMP *R. The reflex of PMP *R in all known inherited lexicon in both Manide and Inagta Alabat is /g/, e.g., Manide *be-gí* /beʔgí/, Alabat *be-gú* /beʔgú/ 'new' < PPH *baqəRú; Manide *bag-áng* /bagʔáŋ/ 'mouth', Alabat *bag-áng* /bagʔáŋ/ 'molar tooth' < PPH *baRəqaŋ 'molar tooth'; Manide *kagút* /kagút/, Alabat *kagét* /kagét/ 'bite' < PPH *kaRát; and Manide, Alabat *digî* /digíʔ/ 'blood' < PPH *dáRaq or *duRúq.[14] The same /g/ reflex is found in items that are likely borrowings from Tagalog, Bikol, or Bisayan,[15] e.g., Manide *gúyang* /gúyaŋ/ 'parent' < PPH *Rúdaŋ, Alabat *mabug-át* /mabugʔát/ 'heavy' < PPH *ma-bəRqat, Alabat *búyag* /búyag/ 'separate (v.)' < PCPH *bəlaR, and Manide *búyig* /búyig/, Alabat *búwig* /búwig/ 'bunch (of bananas)' < PPH *búliR. The single known exception is *karáyum* /karáyum/ 'needle', a loan from Tagalog *karáyom* (which in turn borrowed it from a language like Kapampangan in which *R > /y/), and not directly inherited from PMP *zaRum.

8.2.3 The Reflex of PMP *h. PMP *h is retained as /h/ in both Manide and Inagta Alabat, e.g., Manide, Alabat *hapúy* /hapúy/ 'fire' < PPH *hapúy, and Manide *bihék* /bihék/, Alabat *behék* /behék/ 'hair' < PPH *buhə́k. Morpheme-internally, /h/ occurs word-initially (e.g., Manide, Alabat *ha-dúng* /haʔdúŋ/ 'nose'), intervocalically (e.g., Manide, Alabat *káhet* /káhet/ 'hold in hands'), and post-consonantally (e.g., Manide *laghári* /laghári/ 'saw (n.)',[16] Manide *kalhád* /kalhád/ 'cough', Alabat *mabhún* /mabhún/ 'many'). Less evidence has been found of /h/ in pre-consonantal positions in root words; one possible preconsonantal occurrence is Manide *kabilihwug* 'mudfish', although it is also possible that this is phonemically /kabilihuwug/. In affixed Manide verbs, however,

[14] As will be discussed in section 8.2.8.2, there is no clear evidence as to whether Manide, Alabat *digî* derives from PMP *daRaq (PPH *dáRaq) 'blood' or PMP *zuRuq (PPH *duRúq) 'sap, juice, gravy, soup' (definitions from Blust 1991:97).

[15] Due to their /y/ reflex of *l, *d, *z, or *j, and/or their /u/ reflex of *ə, cf. sections 8.2.6 and 8.2.7.

[16] Blust (pers. comm., 8/12/2012) points out that "Manide *laghári* and similar words in other Philippine languages are ultimately borrowings of Malay *gergaji* 'saw (n.)', which is also borrowed in phonologically altered form in various languages of Sarawak."

preconsonantal /h/ does occur, e.g., Manide *luhlúhà* /luhlúhaʔ/ ‘crying (AF.PRES)’, Manide *igtahtahî* /ʔigtahtahíʔ/ ‘sewing (OF.PRES)’. In the current Inagta Alabat data set, /h/ does not occur in word-final or pre-consonantal position.

8.2.4 The Reflexes of PMP *s. The usual reflex of PMP *s in both Manide and Inagta Alabat is /s/, but there has been an *s > /h/ shift in some functors, such as nominative pronoun formative *s[i]- (cf. Manide, Alabat *ha-ku* /haʔku/ ‘1SG.TOP’, Manide *hiká* /hiká/, Alabat *hikáw* /hikáw/ ‘2SG.TOP’, Manide *hiyú* /hiyú/, Alabat *heyé* /heyé/ ‘3SG.TOP’, Manide *hidú* /hidú/, Alabat *hidehén* /hidehén/ ‘3PL.TOP’), and in both languages, the nominative case marker *hu* /hu/ and nominative demonstrative formative *hu-,* both from earlier *su. Since all three of these occurrences involve nominative functors, this is considered to be a single shift, and not three independent shifts. Note that the shift of *s to /h/ in functors is found intermittently throughout the Philippines,[17] and there are no other identifiable occurrences of *s > /h/ in Manide or Inagta Alabat.

8.2.5 The Reflexes of PMP *d, *j, and *z. PMP *z, *j, and *d merged as /d/ in Manide and Inagta Alabat, as can be observed in forms (1)-(14). Note that this shift is common to most Philippine languages (cf. Charles 1974, Zorc 1987),[18] but unlike neighboring Central Philippine languages such as Tagalog and Bikol, intervocalic *z, *j, and *d did not further shift to /r/ or /l/ in any position in native vocabulary.

***j**

(1) Manide, Alabat *wédì* /wédiʔ/ ‘younger sibling’ < PPH *huaji
(2) Manide *ngádun* /ŋádun/, Alabat *ngáden* /ŋáden/ ‘name’ < PPH *ŋájan
(3) Manide, Alabat *apdú* /ʔapdú/ ‘gall, bile’ < PPH *qapəjú
(4) Manide, Alabat *ha-dúng* /haʔdúŋ/ ‘nose’ < PPH *(ha)qəjúŋ
(5) Manide, Alabat *púsed* /púsed/ ‘navel’ < PPH *púsəj
(6) Manide, Alabat *pálad* /pálad/ ‘palm of hand’ < PPH *pálaj

[17] e.g., in Dupaningan Agta (Robinson 2008), Butuanon, Tausug, Kinamiging, Butuanon, and in all Waray dialects except those in northern Samar and Abuyog, Leyte. Blust (pers. comm., 8/12/2012) also points out that “the same is true of PAN *S > h > PMP zero in high-frequency forms, as functors and low numerals (*Si- > *i- instrumental/beneficiary voice’, *Sepat > *epat ‘four’, *Sika- > *ika- ‘ordinal numeral prefix’.)”

[18] Note however that the only North Luzon languages in which *j and *d merged are Northern Alta, Southern Alta, and Arta (Reid 1989:52), as well as the Northeastern Luzon languages (Robinson and Lobel 2012).

***z**

(7) Manide *tudî* /tudíʔ/ ‘teach’ < PMP *tuzuq ‘point’
(8) Manide *dakán* /dakán/ ‘viand’ < PMP *zakan ‘to cook’
(9) Manide *kudút* /kudút/ ‘pinch’ < PMP *kuzut
(10) Manide, Alabat *hagdan* /hagdan/ ‘stairs, ladder’ < PMP *haRəzan

***d**

(11) Manide *dakép* /dakép/ ‘catch, capture’ < PPH *dakə́p
(12) Manide, Alabat *digî* /digíʔ/ ‘blood’ < PPH *dáRaq
(13) Manide, Alabat *dágat* /dágat/ ‘sea’ < PPH *dáRat
(14) Manide, Alabat *dáhun* /dáhun/ ‘leaf’ < PPH *dáhun

There are a few forms with unexpected reflexes of *j and *z, but which are most likely the result of borrowing,[19] such as items (15)-(19):

(15) Manide, Alabat *páyay* /páyay/ ‘rice in field’, cf. PPH *pájay (expected **/pádey/)
(16) Manide, Alabat *súyud* /súyud/ ‘comb for delousing’ (also Tagalog), cf. PPH *újud (expected **/súdud/)
(17) Manide, Alabat *karáyum* /karáyum/ ‘needle’ (also Tagalog), cf. PPH *dáRum < PMP *zaRum (expected **/dégum/)
(18) Manide, Alabat *úling* /ʔúliŋ/ ‘charcoal’ (also Tagalog), cf. PPH *qújing (expected **/ʔúdiŋ/)
(19) Manide *maláut* /maláʔut/ ‘bad’, cf. PPH *ma-dáqət < PMP *ma-zaqət (expected **/madáʔet/ or **/madéʔet/)

Item (15), *páyay* ‘rice in field’, is quite clearly a loan due to its /y/ reflex of *j as well as the fact that all rice agriculture terms appear to be loans (see sections 8.2.6, 8.2.7, and 8.3). Items (16)-(18) are identical to Tagalog forms,[20] and may represent items which were introduced (such as needles and fine-toothed delousing combs) or which gained greater importance during the most recent period of Tagalog domination of the area (such as charcoal, which is often traded by upland populations with lowland populations). In

[19] Discussion of “borrowings” and “inherited forms” in Black Filipino languages must be put in context, since the general consensus at present is that all Black Filipino languages were borrowed from speakers of Austronesian languages at some point after the latter first reached the Philippines (cf. Reid 1987, 1994a, 1994b, 2007). Therefore, “inherited” in this discussion should be interpreted as referring to forms that originate from the first contact language, vis-à-vis forms that have been borrowed much more recently from the languages of populations that currently inhabit the surrounding areas, e.g., Tagalog, Bikol, and Bisayan languages.

[20] While Tagalog *karáyom* ‘needle’ (expected **dágom) is probably a borrowing from a *R > /y/ language, Tagalog *súyod* ‘lice comb’ (expected **súlod, **suʔód, or **súhod) appears to have been borrowed from a language with an *l > /y/ shift.

the last form (19) Manide *maláut* ‘bad’, the /l/ reflex of PMP *-z- and the /u/ reflex of PMP *ə indicate that this may be a loan from a Bisayan language, or perhaps from an earlier dialect of Umiray Dumaget (modern Umiray Dumaget *malot*, reflects the loss of *q and subsequent monophthongization of the /au/ sequence), while more conservative cognates of this form in Bikol languages have /r/ instead of Manide /l/, from Proto-Bikol *ma-ráʔət.

8.2.6 Inherited Reflexes of PMP *l, and Borrowed Reflexes of *d, *z, *j, *r and *l. In inherited forms, the reflex of PMP *l in Manide and Inagta Alabat is /l/, in contrast with the /d/ reflex of PMP *d, *j, and *z, as illustrated in Section 8.2.5. A second reflex, /y/, exists for PMP *l, *-r-, *-d-, *-j-, and *-z-, although it will be argued that the items in which this /y/ reflex is found are borrowings from a Central Philippine language in which PMP *-d-, *-j-, *-z-, *-r-, and *l merged as *l before shifting to /y/, the most likely source of which (based on modern language distribution) would have been an ancestor of Romblomanon, Asi, or Bantayanon. The more common reflex is /l/, while the /y/ reflex is found in a more limited number of items (32 out of the present list of 1,000 items for Manide, 23 for Inagta Alabat). Section 8.3 presents three types of evidence for the /y/ reflex being indicative of a borrowed lexical stratum. Items (20)-(48) illustrate the forms reflecting /y/ < PMP *l, *-r-, *-d-, *-j-, and *-z- (via PCPH *l and *-r-):

(20) Manide, Alabat *bayáy* /bayáy/ ‘house (modern style)’ < PCPH *baláy (note *beléy* ‘native house/hut’)
(21) Manide, Alabat *báyun* /báyun/ ‘provisions, packed food’ < PCPH *bálun
(22) Alabat *bu-yû* /buʔyúʔ/ ‘young carabao’ < PCPH *bulʔu
(23) Manide, Alabat *búyag* /búyag/ ‘separate’< PCPH *bəlág
(24) Manide *deyá* /deyá/, Alabat *diyá* /diyá/ ‘bring, carry’ < PCPH *dará
(25) Manide, Alabat *diyúm* /diyúm/ ‘dark’ < PCPH *dələ́m (w/ irregular raising of first vowel) (cf. also Manide *madiklum* ‘dark’ vs. Manide *madiklem,* Alabat *madeklem* ‘black’)
(26) Manide, Alabat *gúyang* /gúyaŋ/ ‘parent’ < PCPH *gúraŋ
(27) Alabat *húyug* /húyug/ ‘fall’ < PCPH *húlug
(28) Manide, Alabat *makatúy* /makatúy/ ‘itchy’ < PCPH *makatə́l
(29) Alabat *matayúm* /matayúm/ ‘sharp’ < PCPH *matarə́m
(30) Manide, Alabat *páyay* /páyay/ ‘rice in field’ < PCPH *páray
(31) Manide, Alabat *sayúg* /sayúg/ ‘floor’ < PCPH *salə́g
(32) Manide, Alabat *sáyug* /sáyug/ ‘river’ < PCPH *sálug

(33) Manide *sayúngan* /sayúŋan/ ‘sheathe for bolo knife’ < PCPH *sarúŋan
(34) Alabat *siyúd* /siyúd/ ‘under’ < PCPH *sələ́d (w/ irregular raising of first vowel)
(35) Alabat *túyug* /túyug/ ‘sleep’ < PCPH *túrug
(36) Alabat *wayâ* /wayáʔ/ ‘none; lost’ < PCPH *waráʔ
(37) Manide, Alabat *yagâ* /yagáʔ/ ‘rat’ < PCPH *[ʔi]ragáʔ
(38) Manide *yang* /yaŋ/ ‘just, only’ < PCPH *laŋ
(39) Manide, Alabat *yúkà* /yúkaʔ/ ‘wound’ < PCPH *lúkaʔ
(40) Alabat *yumús* /yumús/ ‘drown’ < PCPH *ləmə́s
(41) Manide *yuwág* /yuwág/ ‘ladle’ < PCPH *luwag
(42) Manide *bibíyug* /bibíyug/ ‘fat’ < PCPH *bilúg ‘round’
(43) Manide *bíyang* /bíyaŋ/ ‘count’ < PCPH *bílaŋ
(44) Manide *búyig* /búyig/ ‘bunch of bananas’ < PCPH *búlig
(45) Alabat *kamáyig* /kamáyig/ ‘storehouse’ < PCPH *kamálig
(46) Manide, Alabat *kiyáya* /kiyáya/ ‘know a person’ < PCPH *kilála
(47) Manide, Alabat *sadíyi* /sadíyi/ ‘self’ < PCPH *sadíri
(48) Alabat *hiyáw* /hiyáw/ ‘raw, uncooked, unripe’ < PCPH *hiláw

In many Philippine languages that have undergone a phonological shift affecting *l, the presence of an adjacent /i/ or /y/ blocks the shift, and this is especially true for languages in which *l > /y/ or zero.[21] However, this is not the case in Manide and Inagta Alabat (or at least in the language that they borrowed these forms from), as there are at least seven items—five in Manide and four in Inagta Alabat—with a /y/ reflex of *l adjacent to /i/, cf. forms (42)-(48) above.

8.2.7 The Reflexes of PMP *ə. There are four reflexes of PMP *ə in Manide (/a e i u/), and three in Inagta Alabat (/e i u/), although it will be shown that the only inherited reflex of *ə is /e/ in both languages.

Manide has forms with an /a/ reflex of *ə (e.g., Manide *bagás* /bagás/ ‘uncooked rice’, and Manide *balád* /balád/ ‘to dry in sun (as rice or fish)’), but these are rare enough to be written off as loans from Bikol Daet and/or Bikol Naga, where the regular reflex of PCPH *ə (< PMP *ə) in the penult is /a/.

[21] For example, many Central Philippine languages have other reflexes of *l including /y/, /ɣ/, an interdental approximant, or zero. Note that Lawrence Reid (pers. comm., 6/26/10) points out that this “is also true for a number of Central Cordilleran languages (Bontok, Kalinga, Banao Itneg, etc.) in which *l developed non-lateral reflexes such as retroflexed [r] or an interdental approximant (also in Kagayanen, etc.)” (cf. also Reid 1973). Note however that Tagalog, Tausug, and the Southern Binukidnon language of Negros Island are among the rare languages in which *l > zero even adjacent to /i/ (whether regularly or sporadically).

A /u/ reflex of *ə occurs in a large number of items in both languages, but the vast majority of these are readily identifiable Bikol or Bisayan loans. However, it is interesting to note that a number of human nouns—primarily familial terms[22]—have a suffix *-un*, which would appear to be a reflex of *-ən with an *ə > /u/ shift: Manide, Alabat *amayún* /ʔamayún/ 'aunt', Manide *behíun* /behíʔun/ 'man' (cf. Manide *laláki* /laláki?/ 'husband'), Manide *bumayáwun* /bumayáwun/, Alabat *bayáwun* /bayáwun/ 'brother-in-law', Manide, Alabat *dagahún* /dagahún/ 'uncle', Manide, Alabat *kumangkún* /kumaŋkún/ 'nephew/niece', Manide *magbilasún* /magbilasún/ 'the spouse of one's spouse's sibling', Manide *supgún* /supgún/ 'bachelor'. Other than this usage, there is no productive *-un* suffix in Manide or Inagta Alabat, except as a frozen suffix in likely borrowings such as Alabat *ka-nun* /kaʔnun/ 'cooked rice' (note that the rest of the rice terminology is quite clearly borrowed, cf. Section 8.3). If this *-un* suffix is a reflex of PMP *-ən, then it is likely to be ultimately the result of borrowing, and thus a doublet with the productive suffix *-en* (/en/) which is the inherited reflex of PMP *-ən.

In spite of being found in a smaller number of forms than the /u/ reflex, /e/ is analyzed as the inherited reflex of *ə for two main reasons: (1) the relative basicness of the *ə > /e/ forms ('brain', 'neck', 'hair', 'black', 'tooth', 'chest', 'navel', 'night', 'afternoon', and the Object Focus suffix *-en*); (2) several of the *ə > /e/ forms have undergone semantic shifts (Manide, Alabat *bakés* /bákes/ 'wife' < 'old woman'; Manide *kabég* /kabég/ 'bat (generic)' < 'type of large bat'; Manide *ka-nen* /kaʔnen/ 'purple yam' < 'cooked rice', Manide *madiklem* /madiklem/, Alabat *madeklem* /madeklem/ 'black' < 'dark'), which indicates that these forms had been present in the language long enough for their meanings to change. In some cases, after the semantic shifts affected the meanings of the inherited forms, doublets were borrowed, e.g., inherited Manide *madiklem* /diklem/, Alabat *madeklem* /madeklem/ 'black' vs. borrowed Manide *madiklúm* /diklúm/ 'dark', *diklúm* 'raincloud' (< PPH *ma-dikləm 'dark', *dikləm 'darkness') in which the /u/ reflex of *ə can be attributed to borrowing from a Bikol or Bisayan source; or inherited Manide, Alabat *beléy* /beléy/ 'traditional hut used by the Manide and Agta'

[22] A reflex of PMP *-ən is used to mark familial relations in many other Philippine languages (e.g., Tagalog *tiyuhin* 'uncle' and *tiyahin* 'aunt', both of which combine Spanish borrowings *tiyo* 'uncle' and *tiya* 'aunt' with the *-in* suffix which derives from PMP *-ən). However, Manide and Inagta Alabat use this *-un* suffix for a larger number of [+human] nouns than other Philippine languages do.

vs. borrowed Manide, Alabat *bayáy* /bayáy/ ‘modern house (such as that used by most non-Black Filipinos)’ (< PPH *baláy ‘house’), with the *l > /y/ shift that can likely be attributed to a pre-modern Bisayan source. Also, since the phoneme /e/ is frequently found in unique Manide and Inagta Alabat lexicon (cf. Lobel 2010:503-509), and is not found as a phoneme in any neighboring language, it is highly unlikely to be the result of borrowing. Still, this does not eliminate the possibility that some of the *ə > /u/ forms may also be inherited (cf. forms like Manide *behíun* ‘man’, probably < *báhi ‘woman’ with human suffix *-un*), indicating that there may be more than one inherited reflex of *ə. The following is a list of the 22 forms (49)-(70) in which *ə is reflected as /e/:

(49) Manide, Alabat *-en* /-en/ ‘Object Focus suffix’ < PPH *-ən
(50) Manide *além* /ʔalém/ ‘afternoon’ < PMP *aləm ‘night’
(51) Manide, Alabat *bakés* /bakés/ ‘wife’ < PPH *bakə́s ‘old woman’
(52) Manide *bebesî* /bebesíʔ/, Alabat *bisî* /bisíʔ/ ‘wet’ < PPH *basə́q (w/ Low Vowel Fronting of *a > /e/, and irregular raising of *ə > /e/ > /i/)
(53) Manide *bihék* /bihék/, Alabat *behék* /behék/ ‘hair’ < PPH *buhə́k
(54) Manide *madiklém* /diklém/, Alabat *madeklém* /deklém/ ‘black’ < PPH *dikləm ‘dark’ (vs. borrowed Manide *madiklúm* ‘dark’, *diklúm* ‘raincloud’)
(55) Manide, Alabat *helát* /helát/ ‘wait’ < PPH *həlát
(56) Manide, Alabat *hútek* /hútek/ ‘brain’ < PPH *[h]útək
(57) Manide, Alabat *kabég* /kabég/ ‘bat (generic)’ < PPH *kabə́g ‘bat (large)’
(58) Manide *ka-nen* /kaʔnen/ ‘purple yam’ < PPH *kaq[ə]n-ən
(59) Manide *letáw* /letáw/ ‘float’ < PPH *lətáw
(60) Manide *liés* /liʔés/ ‘neck’ < PPH *líqəR (note irregular reflex of *R)
(61) Manide *ngípen* /ŋípen/, Alabat *ngépen* /ŋépen/ ‘tooth’ < PPH *ŋípən
(62) Manide, Alabat *púsed* /púsed/ ‘navel, belly button’ < PPH *púsəj
(63) Manide *sag-éb* /sagʔéb/ ‘fetch water’ < PPH *saqəgəb
(64) Manide *sel-át* /selʔát/ ‘between’ < PMP *səlat w/ irregular addition of /ʔ/)
(65) Manide *sinákəb* /sinákəb/ ‘chest (of body)’ < PPH(?) *(ts)akəb, cf. Guina-ang Bontok /takə́b/[23]
(66) Manide *tahép* /tahép/ ‘winnow’ < PPH *tahə́p
(67) Manide *takép* /takép/ ‘night’ < PPH *takə́p ‘cover’
(68) Manide *taném* /taném/ ‘plant (v.)’ < PPH *tanə́m
(69) Manide *teáb* /teʔáb/ ‘burp’ < PPH *təRqab, w/ irregular loss of *R
(70) Manide *tidés* /tidés/, Alabat *tedés* /tedés/ ‘crush lice’ < PPH *tədə́s

An /i/ reflex of *ə is often found in loans from Tagalog, although other forms seem to be inherited, perhaps as the result of the sporadic raising of the /e/ reflex of *ə. In

[23] Many thanks to Lawrence Reid for contributing the Guina-ang Bontok forms.

most cases, it is impossible to determine whether a form with an /i/ reflex of *ə is a borrowing from Tagalog, or an inherited form with irregular raising of the expected /e/ reflex of *ə. In some cases, however, the /i/ clearly occurs where it isn't found in Tagalog, such as Manide, Alabat *itút* /ʔitút/ 'flatulence' < PPH *qətút (cf. Tagalog *utót* /utút/). Evidence that /i/ may in some cases be the result of the sporadic raising of /e/ can also be found in sporadic inconsistencies between Manide and Inagta Alabat, e.g., Manide *tidés* /tidés/ 'crush lice' vs. Alabat *tedés* /tedés/, < PPH *təd́əs (cf. Tagalog *tirís*), Manide *bihék* /bihék/ 'hair' vs. Alabat *behék* /behék/ (< PPH *buhə́k).

In summary, /e/ is argued to be the inherited reflex of PMP *ə in both Manide and Inagta Alabat, in spite of the presence of other apparent reflexes, all of which are explainable as the result of likely borrowing from Tagalog, Bikol, and early Bisayan languages.

8.2.8 Vowel shifts. Like most other Black Filipino languages along the Pacific coast of Luzon, Manide and Inagta Alabat participate in sporadic vowel shifts which affect vowels following voiced stops /b d g/ and glides /w y/. As can be observed in Table 8.3 below, the most widespread of these vowel shifts is Low Vowel Fronting, which can be found from the Northeastern Luzon languages (Dupaningan Agta, Pahanan Agta, Casiguran Agta, etc.) through Umiray Dumaget, Inagta Alabat, and Manide. A second shift, Back Vowel Fronting, is found in Manide and in a small number of forms in Inagta Alabat. A third shift, Low Vowel Backing, is unique to Manide.

TABLE 8.3 VOWEL SHIFTS IN MANIDE, INAGTA ALABAT, UMIRAY DUMAGET, AND NORTHEASTERN LUZON

	MANIDE	INAGTA ALABAT	UMIRAY DUMAGET	N.E. LUZON
Low Vowel Fronting (LVF)	+	+	+	+
Back Vowel Fronting (BVF)	+	limited	---	---
Low Vowel Backing (LVB)	+	---	---	---

8.2.8.1 Low Vowel Fronting (LVF). Low Vowel Fronting (the shift of *a to a front vowel such as /e/) is an areal feature that runs throughout Black Filipino languages from Dupaningan Agta in the far north of Luzon (Robinson 2008) to as far south as Manide

and Inagta Alabat, and including Umiray Dumaget, Northern Alta, and Southern Alta in the middle (Himes 2002).[24]

If Low Vowel Fronting occurred prior to the more recent period of borrowing from Tagalog, Bikol, and Bisayan, then it is likely that it affected many of the putative Proto-Manide-Alabat innovations (cf. Lobel 2010:503-509); however, since these forms are unique, it is impossible to determine whether the /e/ in these forms is a reflex of earlier *ə or the result of the raising of *a. However, LVF is found in Manide and/or Inagta Alabat in at least 27 forms reconstructable for PCPH, PPH, and/or PMP. Nine of these occurrences (71)-(79) are found after *b:

(71) Manide *bebesî* /bebesíʔ/, Alabat *bisî* /bisíʔ/ 'wet' < PPH *basə́q (expected **/bebeséʔ/, w/ irregular raising of *ə > /e/ to /i/)
(72) Manide *bebíy* /bebíy/, Alabat *bébuy* /bébuy/ 'pig' < PPH *bábuy
(73) Manide *be-gí* /beʔgí/, Alabat *be-gú* /beʔgú/ 'new' < PPH *baqəRú
(74) Manide *behíun* /behíʔun/ 'man' < PPH *(ba)báhi 'woman'
(75) Manide, Alabat *beléy* /beléy/ 'native house (traditional hut)' < PPH *baláy (cf. *bayáy* 'house (modern)')
(76) Manide, Alabat *bélù* /béluʔ/ 'widow' < PPH *bálu
(77) Manide, Alabat *bésag* /bésag/ 'shatter' < PPH *básag
(78) Manide, Alabat *betû* /betúʔ/ 'stone', 'kidney' < PPH *batú
(79) Alabat *úben* /ʔúben/ 'grey hair' < PPH *qúban

Seven instances (80)-(86) of Low Vowel Fronting can be found after *d:

(80) Manide *demgî* /demgíʔ/ 'dream', cf. PBIS *damguʔ
(81) Manide *deyá* /deyá/, Alabat *diyá* /diyá/ 'bring'< PPH *dadá
(82) Manide, Alabat *digî* /digíʔ/ 'blood' < PPH *dáRaq
(83) Manide, Alabat *detúng* /detúŋ/ 'arrive' < PPH *datə́ŋ
(84) Alabat *hidehén* /hidehén/ '3PL.NOM' and *dedehén* '3PL.OBL' /dedehén/ < PMA *hidá, *didá < PPH *sida, *dida
(85) Alabat *ngáden* /ŋáden/ 'name' < PPH *ŋájan
(86) Alabat *tidê* /tidéʔ/ 'stay, remain' < PPH *tida

Note that the last three forms (84)-(86) reflect Low Vowel Fronting in Inagta Alabat but have Low Vowel Backing in Manide (cf. Section 8.2.8.3).

[24] Low Vowel Fronting is also found in some Bornean languages (Blust 2000). A somewhat similar fronting of *a can be found in another Black Filipino language, Inati of Panay Island, where the *a > [æ] shift is completely unconditioned.

Form (81) *deyá* ‘bring’ might be better explained as irregular vowel raising preceding /y/ (as also happened in Bantayanon, Mongondow *diyá* ‘bring’) especially since Low Vowel Fronting does not otherwise co-occur with the *l > /y/ shift: Note doublets *beléy* ‘native house/hut’ (with Low Vowel Fronting and *ay > /ey/ but no *l > /y/ shift) vs. *bayáy* ‘modern house’ (with a /y/ reflex of *l but no Low Vowel Fronting or diphthong shift). It will be argued later that the stratum with Low Vowel Fronting is older, while the stratum with *l > /y/ is the result of more recent contact or borrowing.

Five instances (87)-(91) of Low Vowel Fronting can be found after *g:

(87) Manide, Alabat *digî* /digíʔ/ ‘blood’ < PPH *dáRaq
(88) Alabat *kagét* /kagét/ ‘bite, cf. Tagalog *kagát* (Manide *kagút,* with Low Vowel Backing)
(89) Alabat *umáged* /ʔumáged/ ‘son/daughter-in-law’ < PBIS *ʔ<um>ágad (cf. Manide *umágud,* with Low Vowel Backing)
(90) Alabat *gilú-gù* /gilúʔguʔ/ ‘fly (n.)’ < Proto-Manide-Alabat *g<al>uʔguʔ (cf. Manide *galú-gì* /galúʔgiʔ/ with BVF in the final syllable but no LVF in the first syllable)

Here again, Inagta Alabat has three forms with Low Vowel Fronting which correspond to Manide forms with other vowel shifts, Low Vowel Backing for items (88) and (89), and Back Vowel Fronting and lack of Low Vowel Fronting in item (90).

Three instances (91)-(93) of Low Vowel Fronting have been found after *w:

(91) Manide, Alabat *wédì* /wédiʔ/ ‘younger sibling/offspring’ < PPH *huaji
(92) Manide *welâ* /welâʔ/ ‘none’, cf. Tagalog, Cebuano, etc. *walâ* (expected **/wedéʔ/ < PPH *wadáq/)
(93) Alabat *tewéd* /tewéd/ ‘kneel on all fours’ < PPH *tuaj (with irregular first vowel) (cf. Manide *tiwúd*)

Note that item (93) has Low Vowel Backing in Manide.

Three instances (94)-(96) of Low Vowel Fronting have been found in Inagta Alabat after *y, but none in Manide:

(94) Alabat *beéye* /beʔéye/ ‘crocodile’ < PPH *buqáya
(95) Alabat *heyé* /heyé/ ‘3SG.NOM’, *déye* /deyé/ ‘3SG.OBL’ < PMA *hiya, *diya
(96) Alabat *lu-yé* /luʔyé/ ‘ginger’ < PCPH *luʔya

Since the other two vowel shifts (Back Vowel Fronting, section 8.2.8.2, and Low Vowel Backing, section 8.2.8.3) also affect vowels after /y/, and since Low Vowel Fronting occurs after /y/ as well as /b d g w/ in Inagta Alabat and Umiray Dumaget, it is quite likely that Low Vowel Fronting also occurs after /y/ in Manide, but no unambiguous cases of LVF after /y/ can be found in the currently available data. One possible form is Manide *kémad* /kémad/ 'baby lice', which if reconstructable as PPH *kəyamad would yield **keyemad (the first /e/ being the expected reflex of *ə, the second /e/ being the result of LVF after *y). The attested form, *kémad*, could be explained as the shortening of the sequence /eye/ to /e/. However, this is admittedly speculative.

Note that several forms provide evidence that Low Vowel Fronting continued into recent times, such as Manide *demgî* 'dream' (almost certainly borrowed from a Bisayan language), Manide *welâ* 'there isn't' (for expected **/wedéʔ/, cf. Tagalog *walâ*), and Manide, Alabat *detúng* 'arrive' (for expected **/detéŋ/, the /u/ reflex of *ə indicating borrowing from a language in which *ə > /u/). It is unclear if these forms are the result of other irregular sound shifts or are indicative of a Low Vowel Fronting continuing to be productive into more recent times.

8.2.8.2 Low Vowel Backing (LVB). Another vowel shift affecting *a is also present in Manide: Low Vowel Backing, the shift of *a > /u/, which is not known to have occurred in any other language. There are at least ten occurrences of this shift of *a > /u/ in the Manide data: one example (97) after /b/, three examples (98)-(100) after /d/, two examples (101)-(102) after /g/, two examples (103)-(104) after /w/, and two examples (105)-(106) after /y/.

(97) Manide *úbun* /ʔúbun/ 'grey hair' < PPH *qúban

(98) Manide *hidú* /hidú/ '3PL.NOM', *didú* /didú/ '3PL.OBL' < Proto-Manide-Alabat *hidá and *didá < PPH *sidá, *didá
(99) Manide *ngádun* /ŋádun/ 'name' < PPH *ŋájan
(100) Manide *tidû* /tidúʔ/ 'remain', cf. PCPH *tida

(101) Manide *kagút* /kagút/ 'bite' < PPH *kaRát

(102) Manide *umágud* /ʔumágud/ ‘child-in-law’, cf. PBIS *ʔ<um>ágad

(103) Manide *íwug* /ʔíwug/ ‘move’, cf. Bikol *hiwag*
(104) Manide *tiwud* /tiwud/ ‘kneel on all fours’ < PPH *tuaj

(105) Manide *biúyu* /biʔuyu/ ‘crocodile’ < PPH *buqáya
(106) Manide *hiyú* /hiyú/ ‘3SG.NOM’, *díyu* /díyu/ ‘3SG.OBL’ < Proto-Manide-Alabat *hiyá and *díya, respectively

At first glance, Manide’s LVF and LVB shifts appear to both affect *a in exactly the same environments. However, as Blust (pers. comm., Dec. 14, 2012) suggests, a closer look reveals that in over 90% of the forms in which they are found, LVF occurs in or before the penultimate syllable, while LVB occurs in the ultima. The sole exception for LVB is (105) *biúyu* ‘crocodile’, from PPH *buqáya, with Back Vowel Fronting affecting the *u of the first syllable, and Low Vowel Backing affecting the *a of the final syllable, yielding an expected **biʔayu. That the *a of the penult is also reflected as /u/ could either be an irregular, sporadic shift, or could be due to some kind of rule prohibiting *a in the penult where *i occurs in the preceding syllable and *u occurs in the following syllable. The existence of forms such as (99) *ngádun* ‘name’ and (101) *kagút* ‘bite’ demonstrate that there is no prohibition against /a/ occurring in the syllable preceding /u/, and form (102) *umágud* ‘child-in-law’ demonstrates that there is likewise no rule prohibiting /a/ from occurring in the penult when the vowels of both the preceding and following syllables are [+high]. Nevertheless, the fact that all but one of the examples of LVB occur in the ultima is an important step towards analyzing the paradox of of competing vowel shifts both affecting *a in what otherwise appear to be identical environments.

Likewise, the only form in which LVF appears to occur in the word-final syllable is in form (82) *digî* ‘blood’, where it also occurs in the penultimate syllable. However, as Lobel (2010:484 fn. 18) points out, there is no clear evidence as to whether Manide digíʔ derives from PPH *dáRaq ‘blood’ via Low Vowel Fronting in both syllables, or from PPH *duRúq ‘sap, juice, gravy, soup’ via Back Vowel Fronting in both syllables. While Lobel (2010) did not know what to do with this ambiguity, Blust’s proposal that LVF only operates in non-final syllables would seem to favor the etymology of *duRuq for Manide

(and Inagta Alabat) *digî*, since the excamples in section 8.2.8.3 clearly demonstrate that unlike LVF and LVB, BVF can occur in any syllable, and can even co-occur in the ultima, the penult, and the antepenult in a single word, as in *ambibíyi* 'bee', < PPH *ambubúyug (with irregular loss of final *-g). As such, while the possibility still remains that Manide and Inagta Alabat *digî* 'blood' could have derived from PPH *dáRaq 'blood' with unexpected raising of the *a of the ultima to /i/, it would now seem equally likely that it derives instead from PPH *duRúq 'sap, juice, gravy, soup', thus sharing the semantic shift otherwise unique to Greater Central Philippine languages. However, it is also important to note that all of the other Black Filipino languages spoken along the Pacific coast of Luzon have a form either identical to, or very similar to, Manide, Inagta Alabat *digî* for the meaning 'blood': Dupaningan Agta, Nagtipunan Agta *digî*; Paranan, Kasiguranin *digí*; Pahanan Agta, Dinapigue Agta, Casiguran Agta *digê*. It is possible, therefore, that Proto-Manide-Alabat might have borrowed the Proto-Northeastern Luzon form *digéʔ (or *digíʔ) or that this form spread among the languages of the Pacific Coast of Luzon according to a wave model. Otherwise, we would be left in the somewhat awkward position of positing that forms *digî* (~ *digê*) in Northeastern Luzon languages ultimately derive from PPH *dáRaq, while near-identical Manide and Inagta Alabat forms *digî* derive from PPH *duRúq. Ultimately, however, for the sake of the current discussion, it is best to treat Manide, Inagta Alabat *digî* as a possible single irregular exception to the non-occurrence of LVF in the final syllable, than as a serious obstacle to proposing that LVF occurs only prior to the ultima.

8.2.8.3 Back Vowel Fronting (BVF). In addition to Low Vowel Fronting and Low Vowel Backing, Manide and Inagta Alabat have both undergone Back Vowel Fronting, the change of *u to /i/, although only in a small number of forms in the latter, all of which occur after *b. Manide, on the other hand, has 16 forms reflecting this shift, occurring after voiced stops /b d g/, after /y/, and in a couple of forms, after *t and *l.

There are seven occurrences (107)-(113) in the data of BVF after *b:

(107) Manide *bihék* /bihék/, Alabat *behék* /behék/ 'hair' < PPH *buhə́k
(108) Manide, Alabat *bílan* /bílan/ 'moon' < PPH *búlan

(109) Manide *biúyu* /biʔúyu/, Alabat *beéye* /beʔéye/ ‘crocodile’ < PPH *buqáya
(110) Manide *bitág* /bitág/ ‘betel nut’, cf. Alabat, Umiray, Northern Alta, NELUZON *butág*
(111) Manide *bebíy* /bebíy/ ‘pig’ < PPH *bábuy
(112) Manide *ambibíyi* /ʔambibíyi/ ‘bumblebee’ < PPH *ʔambubúyug (w/ irregular loss of *g)
(113) Manide *bignút* /bignút/ ‘pull out hair’ < PPH *bu(R)nut

In Manide, there are also three examples (114)-(116) of BVF after *d and five (117)-(121) after *g:

(114) Manide *ídì* /ʔídiʔ/ ‘dog’ < cf. PCPH *qidúq
(115) Manide *túdì* /túdiʔ/ ‘drip’ < PPH *túduq
(116) Manide *tudî* /tudíʔ/ ‘teach’ < PPH *tudúq

(117) Manide *be-gí* /beʔgí/ ‘new’ < PPH *baqəRú
(118) Manide *súgì* /súgiʔ/ ‘command’ < PPH *súRuq
(119) Manide *tágì* /tágiʔ/ ‘hide’ < PPH *táRuq
(120) Manide *demgî* /demgíʔ/ ‘dream’, cf. PBIS *damguq
(121) Manide *galú-gì* /galúʔgiʔ/ ‘fly (n.)’ < Proto-Manide-Alabat *g<al>uʔguʔ (cf. Inagta Alabat *gilú-gù* with LVF in the initial syllable, but no BVF)

One occurrence (122) of BVF can be found after *y in Manide:

(122) Manide *yi* /yi/ ‘2PL.GEN’ < PPH *=yu

It is likely that, like LVF, BVF also occurs after /w/, but no examples have been found in the data.

There also seems to be at least one irregular occurrence of BVF after *t (123) and one after *l (124), both in Manide.

(123) Manide *tiwúd* /tiwúd/ ‘to kneel on all fours’ < PPH *tuaj
(124) Manide *liwag* /liwag/ ‘ladle’, cf. PCPH *luwag

However, with just one occurrence each, these may simply be irregular correspondences and not evidence of BVF after *t and *l.

Note that in several cases where Manide has BVF after /g/ or /y/, Inagta Alabat has a cognate which retains the back vowel /u/, such as in forms (125)-(127).

(125) Alabat *be-gú* /beʔgú/ but Manide *be-gí* /beʔgí/ ‘new’ < PPH *baqəRu

(126) Alabat *gilú-gù* /gilúʔguʔ/ but Manide *galú-gì* /galúʔgiʔ/ ‘fly (n.)’ < PMA *g<al>uʔguʔ

(127) Alabat *yu* /yu/ but Manide *yi* /yi/ ‘2PL.GEN’ < PPH *=yu

It is unknown why this shift only occurs after /b/ in Inagta Alabat while it occurs after /b d g y/ in Manide. Besides basicness of the Inagta Alabat forms in which it occurs (‘moon’, ‘hair’, and ‘crocodile’), two of the Inagta Alabat forms have phonological differences distinguishing them from cognates in Manide (cf. Alabat *behék* vs. Manide *bihék* ‘hair’, Alabat *beéye* vs. Manide *biúyu* ‘crocodile’). A more in-depth study using a much larger lexical database for each language may help answer this question.

8.2.9 Contrastive Accent. It is noteworthy that accent (often called “stress”, cf. Zorc 1979, 1993) is contrastive in Manide and Inagta Alabat, e.g., Manide, Alabat *sáyug* ‘river’ vs. Manide, Alabat *sayúg* ‘floor’, and Alabat *káun* /káʔun/ ‘eat’ vs. Alabat *kaún* /kaʔún/ ‘go to pick somebody up’.

8.3. LEXICON AND STRATA. As mentioned in Sections 8.2.6 and 8.2.7, at least three lexical strata can be identified in Manide and Inagta Alabat: (1) a stratum of very recent loan words from Tagalog and Bikol, conspicuous because these items are identical to forms in the two proposed donor languages, and are over-represented in certain semantic domains; (2) a stratum of likely loans from an early Bisayan language in which *l > /y/ after intervocalic *-d-, *-j-, *-z-, and *l merged as *l; and (3) an “original” stratum which—if current theories about Black Filipinos’ acquisition of Austronesian languages are correct—was borrowed from the first contact of the ancestors of the Manide and Alabat Agta with speakers of Austronesian languages.

Neither the oldest nor the most recent stratum is unexpected. The oldest represents the ancient language that was borrowed by the ancestors of the Manide and Alabat Agta presumably from their first period of significant contact with Austronesians. The most recent stratum consists of loans from neighboring regional languages, a common phenomenon in the minority languages of the Philippines. In the case of Manide and Inagta Alabat, the primary donor language is Tagalog, which is both the majority language in the areas where most of the Manide and Alabat Agta live, and the national

language of the Philippines, widely used in schools and media. Loans with Bikol are also numerous, and unsurprising since Bikol is the majority language to the east of the homeland of the Manide and the Alabat Agta, and may have been more influential in the past, before large numbers of Tagalogs moved into this area, which until the 1800s was only sparsely populated by non-Black Filipinos (Danilo Gerona, pers. comm., 1999).

The oldest stratum paints the picture of a language quite different from the other languages in modern southern Luzon, a language in which PMP *ə is reflected as /e/[25], *-d- did not lenite to /r/ or /l/, and a large amount of lexicon was not cognate with any surviving language. As noted in Section 8.1.2, 28.5% of the 1,000 items elicited for Manide, and 19% of those in Inagta Alabat, are not shared with any language outside of the Manide-Alabat subgroup. Approximately one-fourth of these unique items contain the phoneme /e/ which is not found in any other language in the area, and /e/ is the reflex of PMP *ə which is most often found in native lexicon, as noted in Section 8.2.7.

It is the middle stratum which is more surprising, however, reflecting PMP *ə as /u/ as in many Bisayan languages,[26] and PCPH *l and *-r- as /y/ (after intervocalic PMP *d, *j, *z, *r and *l merged as *l in this donor language). In the modern era, the only possible sources for these borrowings would have been Romblomanon, Asi/Bantoanon, or Bantayanon. However, all of these languages are rather distant from even the southern coast of Luzon (see Figure 8.2), and much more so from the northern side of the Bikol Peninsula where the majority of the Manide currently live, and likewise distant from the town of Lopez, Quezon, where the Agta of Alabat originated a generation or so ago. Likewise, at least in the modern era, none of these Bisayan languages, or others with similar combinations of *l > /y/ and *ə > /u/, have any contact with speakers of Manide, Inagta Alabat, or any other Black Filipino group in southern Luzon (cf. Map 8.2). The presence of this stratum leaves us with a number of unanswerable questions: (a) what

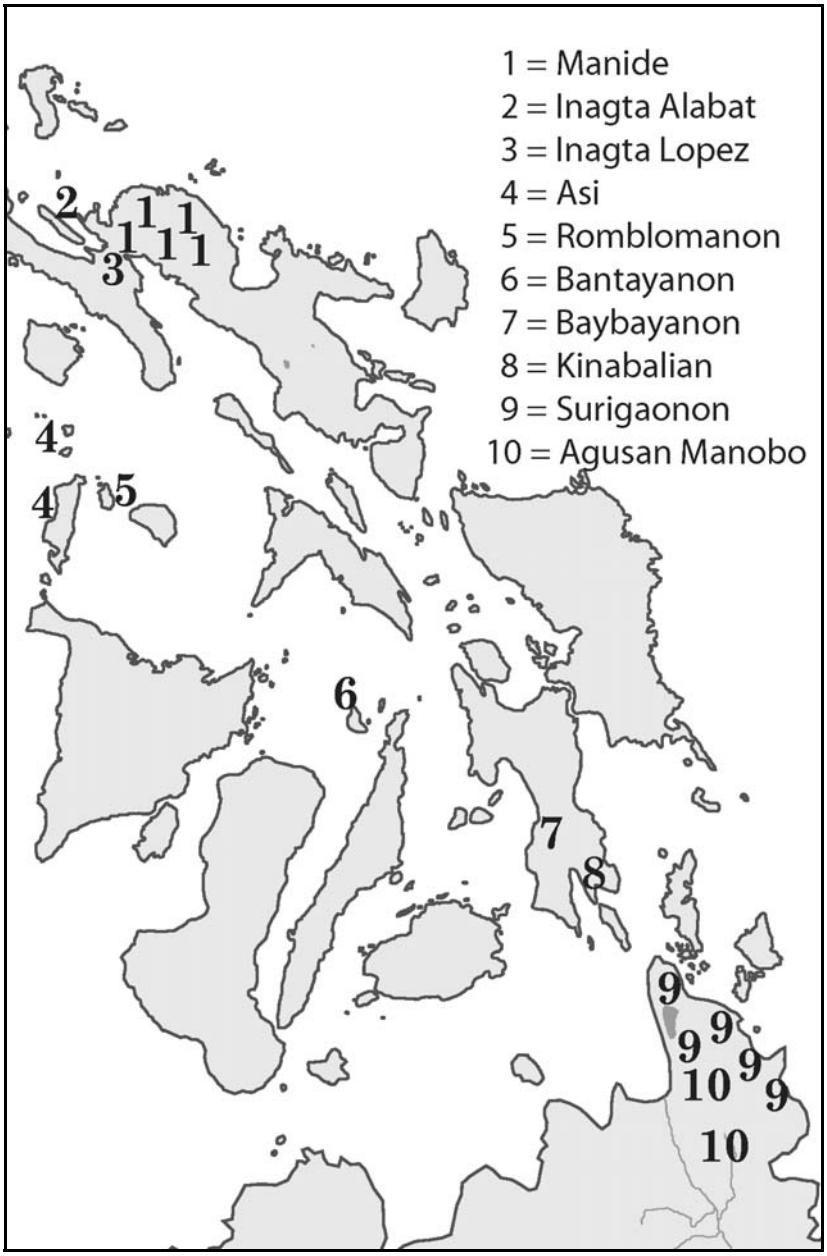
[25] PMP *ə is reflected as /i/ in Tagalog except adjacent to *u, where it is reflected as /u/; as /u/ in word-final syllables and /a/ elsewhere in Bikol Naga-Legaspi; as /u/ in Northern Catanduanes Bikol, most dialects of Rinconada Bikol, and many Bisayan languages, and as /o/ in Bikol Libon (contrasting with /u/ < *u), but more conservatively as /ə/ or /ɨ/ in a number of other Bikol and Bisayan languages. Note that some dialects of Ilokano reflect *ə as /e/. Blust (pers. comm., 8/12/2012) also points out that Llamzon (1976) claimed to have found a Tagalog dialect that reflected *ə as /ə/; however, if such a dialect ever did in fact exist, my own survey of the area Llamzon referred to failed to turn up any evidence of it.

[26] Note that while Standard Bikol reflects PMP *ə as /u/ in final syllables, it has an /a/ reflex of PMP *ə in non-final syllables.

language was its source, and was it once a dominant language in the area where the Manide now live and where the Alabat Agta originated a generation or so ago?; and (b) did the ancestors of the Manide and Alabat Agta once live much closer to the southern coast, where contact with Bisayan speakers would have been more frequent? If this hypothetical Bisayan language was present on southern Luzon, it has left no trace of having ever been there except in the Manide and Inagta Alabat loanwords. If, on the other hand, it was the Manide and the Alabat Agta themselves who once lived further south, then we are left with the equally mysterious scenario of these two groups moving further and further northward until they were cornered in the mountains along the border between what is now Camarines Norte, western Camarines Sur, and eastern Quezon. Even if we hypothesize that the ancestors of the Manide and Alabat Agta once lived at the southernmost extremes of the Bondoc Peninsula, we still must postulate that a Bisayan language with *l > /y/ and *ə > /u/ had considerable influence over significant parts of southern Luzon during that period, yet Southern Tagalog is now the exclusive language of the area.

In spite of the mysteries that may never be solved, the evidence for these strata is quite clear. First, both Manide and Inagta Alabat have a double reflex of PPH *baláy 'house': *beléy* /beléy/ and *bayáy* /bayáy/. When asked to make a semantic distinction between the two forms, speakers invariably responded that the form *beléy* (with Low Vowel Fronting but not *l > /y/) refers to a native-style house or hut such as that used traditionally by the Manide and Alabat Agta, while *bayáy* (with *l > /y/ but no vowel shift) refers to the more modern houses of their non-Black Filipino neighbors. In other words, *beléy*—with its native /l/ reflex of *l and its Low Vowel Fronting of *a to /e/—refers to the type of native dwelling that we can safely assume that these two groups have possessed for a longer period of time than they have been exposed to the modern *bayáy*-type house; therefore, it is clear that *beléy* is the inherited form, while *bayáy* (and its /y/ reflex of *l) is a borrowing. This is considered one piece of evidence for *l > /l/ and Low Vowel Fronting as characteristic of the native stratum, and *l > /y/ and lack of vowel shifts as characteristic of the borrowed stratum.

MAP 8.2. LANGUAGES WITH *L > /Y/ IN THE CENTRAL PHILIPPINES



Secondly, semantic domains illustrate the distribution of suspected loans: most clothing terms are Tagalog; most words for illnesses and physical problems are either Tagalog or Bikol; and words for modern household items and for moods and emotions are either Tagalog, Bikol, or from the mysterious *l > /y/ source. Terms for rice agriculture also show evidence of its borrowing: Manide, Alabat *binhî* /binhíʔ/ 'rice seed', identical to the Tagalog form; Manide, Alabat *páyay* /páyay/ 'rice in field', from the *l > /y/ source; Manide *bagás* /bagás/ 'uncooked rice', from Standard Bikol (such as Bikol Daet or Bikol Naga); Manide *malútù* /malútuʔ/ 'cooked rice', also from Standard Bikol; Alabat *bugás* /bugás/ 'uncooked rice' and Alabat *ka-nun* /kaʔnun/ 'cooked rice', both looking like Bisayan loans[27]; Manide, Alabat *áni* /ʔáni/ 'harvest', Manide, Alabat *báyu* /báyu/ 'pound rice', Manide, Alabat *hálu* /hálu/ 'mortar', Manide, Alabat *lusúng* /lusúŋ/ 'pestle', Manide, Alabat *dayámi* /dayámi/ 'rice straw', and Manide, Alabat *ípa* /ʔípa/ 'rice husk' are all also identical to the Tagalog forms.

On the other hand, basic vocabulary is rife with forms that are either unique to Manide and/or Inagta Alabat, or have key phonological differences from cognates in other Philippine languages (cf. Lobel 2010:503-509). Some of these semantic domains include basic colors (Manide *madiklém* /madiklém/, Alabat *madeklém* /madeklém/ 'black', Manide *malim-át* /malimʔát/, Alabat *malem-át* /malemʔát/ 'white', and Manide *madigdíg* /madigdig/ 'red'); basic terms of nature (Manide, Alabat *kahéw* /kahéw/ 'tree', Alabat *geén* /geʔén/ 'fruit', Manide, Alabat *lemák* /lemák/ 'earth', Manide, Alabat *hapúy* /hapúy/ 'fire', Manide *béngag* /béŋag/ 'mountain', Alabat *bigkát* /bigkát/ 'mountain', Manide, Alabat *aget-ét* /ʔagetʔét/ 'sand', Manide *hi-néw* /hiʔnéw/, Alabat *he-néw* /heʔnéw/ 'wind', Manide *degúw* /degúw/, Alabat *degéw* /degéw/ 'sun', Manide, Alabat *bílan* /bílan/ 'moon', Manide, Alabat *gemés* /gemés/ 'rain', Manide *kildúp* /kildúp/, Alabat *kildép* /kildép/ 'lightning', and Manide *kadkadéy* /kadkadéy/, Alabat *kadéy* /kadéy/ 'earthquake'); basic body parts (Manide, Alabat *ha-dúng* /haʔdúŋ/ 'nose', Manide, Alabat *katlúb* /katlúb/ 'tongue', Manide, Alabat *saklágen* /saklágen/ 'jaw, chin',

[27] The latter would have to have been from a donor language that had not yet metathesized *-ʔC- clusters to /Cʔ/, but some Bisayan languages continued to contrast /ʔC/ and /Cʔ/ clusters well into the middle of the 20th century, and some dialects of Bantayanon apparently still do.

Manide, Alabat *sewéng* /sewéŋ/ ‘ear’, Manide *liés* /liʔés/ ‘neck’, Alabat *bala-kís* /balaʔkís/ ‘skin’, Manide, Alabat *digî* /digíʔ/ ‘blood’, Manide *sinákeb* /sinákeb/ ‘chest’, Alabat *kubû* /kubúʔ/ ‘chest’, Manide, Alabat *kabkabén* /kabkabén/ ‘armpit’, Manide *leták* /leták/ ‘back’, Manide, Alabat *mugmúgen* /mugmúgen/ ‘shoulders’); and a number of basic verbs (Manide *kalkál* /kalkál/ ‘hear, listen’, Alabat *sekég* /sekég/ ‘hear, listen’, Manide *tálu* /tálu/ ‘see, look’, Alabat *mamaán* /mamaʔán/ ‘see’, Alabat *tulúng* /tulúŋ/ ‘look’, Alabat *dalángit* /daláŋit/ ‘dream’, Manide *higkút* /higkút/ ‘breathe’, Alabat *bi-dís* /biʔdís/ ‘defecate’, Alabat *lis-íng* /lisʔíŋ/ ‘smile’, Alabat *ságak* /ságak/ ‘laugh’, Manide *lubék* /lubék/ ‘lie down’, Manide *kuldít* /kuldít/ ‘run’, Manide *ságak* /ságak/ ‘laugh’, Manide, Alabat *pálà* /pálaʔ/ ‘die, kill’, Manide *áteb* /ʔáteb/ ‘accompany’, Alabat *kitín* /kitín/ ‘accompany’, Manide, Alabat *dag-ás* /dagʔás/ ‘exit’, Manide, Alabat *habtû* /habtúʔ/ ‘search’, Manide *idí* /ʔidí/ ‘give’, Alabat *awéy* /ʔawéy/ ‘give’, Alabat *kahét* /kahét/ ‘hold in hand’, Alabat *tu-kuy* /tuʔkuy/ ‘hold in fingers’, Manide *sábu* /sábu/ ‘answer’, Manide *úngat* /ʔúŋat/ ‘ask’, Manide *ayát* /ʔayát/ ‘call’, Manide, Alabat *íbil* /ʔíbil/ ‘cry’, Manide *kádù* /káduʔ/, Alabat *kádè* /kádeʔ/ ‘say, speak’, Alabat *sáhuy* /sáhuy/ ‘speak’, Manide *bagák* /bagák/ ‘bathe’, Alabat *sabnít* /sabnít/ ‘go uphill’, Manide *lus-û* /lusʔúʔ/ ‘go downhill’, Alabat *lesbáng* /lesbáŋ/ ‘go downhill’, Manide *anâ* /ʔanáʔ/ ‘put, place’, Manide, Alabat *séngul* /séŋul/ ‘sit’, Manide *píges* /píges/ ‘sleep’, Manide *láwi* /láwi/ ‘stand’, Alabat *tegdék* /tegdék/ ‘stand’, Alabat *limpús* /limpús/ ‘bury’, and Alabat *panagbéy* /panagbéy/ ‘swim’).

Finally, it is worth noting that there is little if any overlap between the *l > /y/ shift (characteristic of the middle stratum), and the Low Vowel Fronting shift (characteristic of the oldest stratum). Besides the Manide and Inagta Alabat doublets *bayáy* and *beléy* mentioned above, note forms like Manide, Alabat *yagâ* /yagáʔ/ ‘rat’ (and not **/yagéʔ/ or **/yegéʔ/, < PCPH *[ʔi]ragáʔ), Manide *yuwág* /yuwág/ ‘ladle’ (and not **/yuwég/, < PCPH *luwag), and Manide, Alabat *báyun* /báyun/ ‘provisions’ (and not **/béyun/, < PCPH *bálun). This is interpreted as indicating that not only are the *l > /y/ forms almost certainly borrowings, but that they were borrowed by Manide and Inagta Alabat (or even Proto-Manide-Alabat) after their Low Vowel Fronting rule had ceased to be productive. The only form which appears to have both *l > /y/ and Low Vowel

Fronting is Manide *deyá,* Alabat *diyá*. However, the front vowel in the penultimate syllable in form can easily be explained as the result of an irregular, secondary raising of the penult /a/ of expected **/dayá/ due to the following /y/ (as has happened in Bantayanon, Mongondow *diyá*, for example). While this may seem to be an ad hoc explanation, proposing a single exception seems preferable to having to explain away an even larger set of forms that either reflect LVF but not *l > /y/, or reflect *l > /y/ but not LVF: Manide, Alabat *helát* /helát/ 'wait' (not **/heyát/), Manide, Alabat *diklém* /diklém/ 'black' (not **/dikyém/), Manide *letáw* /letáw/ 'float' (not **/yetáw/), Manide *liés* /liʔés/ 'neck' (not **/yiʔés/), Manide *além* /ʔalém/ 'afternoon' (not **/ʔayém/); Manide, Alabat *yagâ* /yagáʔ/ 'rat' (not **/yagéʔ/), Manide *yuwág* /yuwág/ 'ladle' (not **/yuwég/), Manide *yakdág* /yakdág/ 'fall' (not **/yakdég/.

8.4. FUNCTOR SUBSYSTEMS. This section will provide short descriptions of the verb morphology, pronouns, case markers, and demonstratives of Manide and Inagta Alabat.

8.4.1 Verb Morphology. Inagta Alabat has a four-focus system similar to Tagalog and Bikol, while Manide has a reduced-focus system in which the suffix *-en* continues the Object Focus work of PMP *-ən as well as taking over the role of PMP *i- in marking Secondary Object Focus. In both languages, Actor Focus is marked primarily by the prefix *mag-*,[28] and Location Focus by the suffix *-an*. In Inagta Alabat, the Secondary Object Focus is marked by the prefix *i-*. The basic focus-marking affixes of Manide and Inagta Alabat are illustrated in Table 8.4 alongside those of Tagalog, Bikol Daet (also identical to those of Bikol Naga), and Umiray Dumaget. The tense-aspect conjugations are presented in Table 8.5 for Manide and Table 8.6 for Inagta Alabat.

[28] Like the Tagalog of central Camarines Norte, all modern Bikol languages except Rinconada (Lobel 2004), and the languages of the north-central and western Visayan Islands, Manide and Inagta Alabat have lost the <um> Actor Focus paradigm. In these languages, the infix <um> only appears as an imperative affix in the *mag-* Actor Focus paradigm.

TABLE 8.4. THE FOCUS AFFIXES OF MANIDE, INAGTA ALABAT, AND OTHER PROXIMATE LANGUAGES

FOCUS	PPH	MANIDE	INAGTA ALABAT	UMIRAY DUMAGET	TAGALOG	BIKOL DAET
ACTOR	*<um>, *maR-	*mag-*	*mag-*	*<um>*	*<um>*, *mag-*	*mag-*
OBJECT	*-ən	*-en*	*-en*	*-in*	*-in*	*-on*
LOCATION	*-an	*-an*	*-an*	*-an*	*-an*	*-an*
OBJECT-2	*i-	*-en*	*i-*	*-in*	*i-*	*i-*

TABLE 8.5. MANIDE VERB CONJUGATIONS

	AF	OF/OF2	LF
INFINITIVE	*mag-*	*-en*†	*-an*†
PAST	*nag-*	*i-, pi-*	*i-…-an, pi-…-an*
PRESENT PROGRESSIVE	*CVC-*	*ig-CVC-*	*ig-CVC-…-an*
PRESENT HABITUAL, NEAR FUTURE	*pa-*	*ipa-CVC-*	*CVC-…-an*
FUTURE	*nig-*	*ig-, pig-*	*ig-…-an*
IMPERATIVE	*<um>, Ø*	*-en*	*-an*
NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE	*mag-, ()g-*	*(i)g-…-a*	*(i)g-…-i*
PAST SUBJUNCTIVE	*(i)g-*	*-a, pa-…-a*	*-i, pa-…-i*
PAST NEGATIVE	*pa-*	*igpa-*	*?*

† note that the final /n/ is commonly dropped in colloquial speech before a nasal, such as before the pronoun *=mu* '2SG.GEN'

TABLE 8.6. INAGTA ALABAT VERB CONJUGATIONS

	AF	OF	LF	OF2
INFINITIVE	*mag-*	*-en*	*-an*	*i-*
PAST	*nag-*	*<in>*	*<in>…-an*	*<in>*
PRESENT	*ig-CV-*	*pig-CV-*	*pig-CV-…-an*	*pig-CV-*
FUTURE	*ig-*	*pig-*	*pig-…-an*	*pig-*
IMPERATIVE	*ø, <um>*	*-en*	*-an*	*i-*
NEG. IMP.	*mag-*	*-i, pig-*	*-an*	*i-*

As shown in Table 8.5, there are two present forms in Manide, one of which apparently expresses the progressive (corresponding to the English present progressive or present continuous), while the other expresses habitual actions as well as the near future.

The presence of CVC reduplication in Manide is noteworthy because it is the only language in southern Luzon or anywhere southward known to use CVC reduplication

instead of CV reduplication to mark incompletive verb aspects (although CVC reduplication is common in languages further to the north, including Ilokano). Note that the glottal stop and /h/ are both retained in the codas of reduplicated CVC- syllables: Manide *ka-káun* /kaʔ-káʔun/ 'is eating', Manide *ad-ádal* /ʔad-ʔádal/ 'is studying', Manide *luhlúhà* /luh-lúhaʔ/ 'is crying', Manide *igtahtahî* /ʔig-tah-tahíʔ/ 'is sewing'.

The origins of the Manide future prefixes are unclear, especially the Actor Focus future *nig-*. Note that Rinconada Bikol has Actor Focus future prefix *mig-*, possibly from vowel assimilation from an earlier form *magi-,[29] but the initial /n/ of the Manide prefix is unusual since /n/ in Philippine affixes usually marks [+past] or [+begun]. Note that Umiray Dumaget also has an *n*-initial future Actor Focus prefix, of the form *nV-,* where V is a copy vowel of the first vowel of the base to which it is prefixed (cf. Chapter 7).[30]

The future of non-Actor Focus verbs in Manide is marked with *ig-* or *pig-,* the former unique to Manide and Inagta Alabat, the latter unique to Manide, Inagta Alabat, and Rinconada Bikol. The origin of both of these prefixes is unclear,[31] although *pig-* serves as a past and present prefix in a number of other Bikol languages and dialects, where it appears to be a contraction of *pinag-*.

In Inagta Alabat, the future is formed with *ig-* in the Actor Focus and *pig-* in the non-actor focuses. Note that the use of *ig-* to mark Actor Focus future is unique to Inagta Alabat (Manide *ig-* marks non-actor focus future), but Manide uses *mig-* for the same meaning, so it is possible that there was a shortening of earlier *mig- to *ig-* in Inagta Alabat. The present form in Inagta Alabat is similar to the future form but with additional CV reduplication (as opposed to the CVC reduplication in this form in Manide).

8.4.2 Pronouns. The Manide and Inagta Alabat pronouns mark largely the same contrasts as pronouns in many other Philippine languages, although it is interesting to note that in Inagta Alabat, and for at least some speakers of Manide, a suffix *–han* marks the plural

[29] Note that Miraya Bikol in Albay Province does have an Actor Focus Future prefix *magi-*.

[30] The Umiray Dumaget Actor Focus affixes are <*um*> (infinitive), <*inum*> (past), *ge-* (present, < *ga- with Low Vowel Fronting of *a > /e/), and *nV-* (future); Object Focus affixes are *–in* (infinitive), <*in*> (past), *pe-* (present), and *CV-* (future). The Location Focus affixes are *–an* (infinitive), <*in*>*...-an* (past), *pe-...-an* (present), and *CV-...-an* (future).

[31] except with the same hypothetical vowel metathesis or right-to-left raising mentioned for *mig-* < *magi-, i.e., *pagi- > *pigi- > *pig-*).

pronouns as explicitly plural, and plural to a greater degree, while forms without this suffix are ambiguously dual or plural, e.g., Alabat *kamî* '1EXCL.NOM' vs. Alabat *kamihán* '1EXCL.PL.NOM'; Alabat *kitâ* '1INCL.NOM' vs. Alabat *kitahán* '1INCL.PL.NOM'. Note, however, that the forms without *–han* are not dual forms, but simply don't inherently communicate as large a group of referents as the forms with *–han* do.

Note that the pronouns of Manide and Inagta Alabat are the only domain in these languages that provides any clues to their outside relationships, in this case to Umiray Dumaget. The pronouns of these three languages are illustrated in Table 8.7, along with a tentative reconstruction of Proto-Manide-Alabat-Umiray pronouns.

In Manide, when a genitive 1st-person singular pronoun *ku* would be followed by a nominative 2nd-person pronoun, the expected sequences of **ku=ka (1SG.GEN+2SG.NOM) and **ku=kamu (1SG.GEN+2PL.NOM) are replaced by *kiká* and *kikamú,* respectively. Alternately, *ku* may be followed by a long-form nominative second person pronoun *hiká,* e.g., *ku hiká* 1SG.GEN + 2SG.NOM.[32]

8.4.3 Case Markers. Like most other Philippine languages, Manide and Inagta Alabat have case markers which mark the relationship of a noun or noun phrase to the verb, marking the three most common cases: nominative, genitive, and oblique**.** Remarkably, however, these two languages use the same markers whether for common nouns or personal names, something extremely rare in the Philippines; in fact, Umiray Dumaget is the only other Philippine language known to use the same set of case markers for common nouns and personal names (cf. Chapter 7). In spite of the structural similarity, however, the Umiray Dumaget forms are largely different than those of Manide and Inagta Alabat, as illustrated in Table 8.8 below. Manide does not seem to have plural name markers, but Inagta Alabat adds *deng* /deŋ/ (< earlier *daŋ, with Low Vowel Fronting) after the case marker to mark plural persons, or can alternately use *deng* without the case marker before it. For plural common nouns, Manide and Inagta Alabat add the pluralizer *ma* /ma/ after the appropriate case marker.

[32] Similarly, **ko=ka (1SG.GEN+2SG.NOM) is replaced in Tagalog with *kitá,* and in Standard Bikol and a number of Bisayan languages with *taká*, but the sequence *ko ikaw* is also permissible in Southern Tagalog and many Bikol and Bisayan languages (cf. Chapter 4).

TABLE 8.7. MANIDE, INAGTA ALABAT, AND UMIRAY DUMAGET PRONOUNS, WITH RECONSTRUCTIONS

		MANIDE	INAGTA ALABAT	UMIRAY DUMAGET	PROTO- MANIDE-ALABAT- UMIRAY (?)
TOP	**1SG**	*há-ku*	*ha-ku*	*áku*	*ha-ʔaku
	2SG	*hiká*	*hikáw*	*ikáw*	*h-ika[w]
	3SG	*hiyú*	*heyé*	*éye*	*hiya
	1EX	*kamí*	*kamî*	*ikamí*	*hi-kami
	1IN	*kitá*	*kitâ*	*ikitá*	*hi-kita
	1IN.PL	*(kitáhan)*†	*kitahán*	*ikitám*	---
	2PL	*kamú*	*kamú*	*ikamú*	*hi-kamu
	3PL	*hidú*††	*hidehén*	*idé*	*hida
NOM	**1SG**	*=ek*	*=ek*	*=ok*	*=ək
	2SG	*=ka*	*=ka*	*=ka*	*=ka
	3SG	*hiyú*	*heyé*	*éye*	*hiya
	1EX	*=kamí*	*=kamî*	*=kamí*	*=kami
	1IN	*=kitá*	*=kitâ*	*=kitá*	*=kita
	1IN.PL	*(kitáhan)*	*=kitahán*	*=kitám*	---
	2PL	*=kamú*	*=kamú*	*=kamú*	*=kamu
	3PL	*hidú*	*hidehén*	*=idé*	*hida
GEN	**1SG**	*=ku*	*=ku*	*=ku*	*=ku
	2SG	*=mu*†††	*=mu*	*=mu*	*=mu
	3SG	*adiyú, =ye*	*adeyé*	*=nà*	?
	1EX	*=mì*	*=mì*	*=mì*	*=mi
	1IN	*=tà*	*=tà*	*=tà*	*=ta
	1IN.PL	*(=tahan)*	*=tahán*	*tam*	---
	2PL	*=yi*	*=yu*	*=yù*	*=yu
	3PL	*adidú*	*adehén*	*=dè*	*=da
OBL‡	**1SG**	*(di) da-kú*	*(da)da-kú*	*dekú*	*da-ʔaku
	2SG	*(di) diká*	*dikáw*	*dikáw*	*d-ika[w]
	3SG	*(di) diyú*	*(de)deyé*	*diyé*	*diya
	1EX	*(di) dikamí*	*dekami*	*dikamí*	*di-kami
	1IN	*(di) dikitá*	*dekitâ*	*dikitá*	*di-kita
	1IN.PL	*(di dikitáhan)*	*dekitá*	*dikitám*	---
	2PL	*(di) dikamú*	*dekamu*	*dikamó*	*di-kamu
	3PL	*(di) didú*	*dedehén*	*didé*	*dida

† any of the plural pronouns can be suffixed with *-han* to make them explicitly plural, while forms without *-han* are ambiguously dual or plural

†† alternate forms for the 3rd-person plural are NOM *(ma)huyuún; (ma)hudiún*, GEN *nu mahuyuún*, and OBL *di mahuyuún*; Inagta Alabat has alternate form *mahuyeén*

††† the second person genitives have also been documented as *a didiká* '2SG.GEN' and *a dikamú* '2PL.GEN'

‡ Obliques without the doubling of *di* can be used as preposed possessors

TABLE 8.8. CASE MARKERS IN MANIDE AND OTHER PROXIMATE LANGUAGES

		MANIDE	INAGTA ALABAT	UMIRAY DUMAGET	TAGALOG
COMMON	**NOM**	*hu* (~ *'h*)	*hu*	*i*	*ang*
	GEN	*nu* (~ *'n*)	*nu*	*ni*	*ng /naŋ/*
	OBL	*di* (~ *'d*)	*de*	*di*	*sa*
PERSONAL (SINGULAR)	**NOM**	*hu*	*hu*	*i*	*si*
	GEN	*nu*	*nu*	*ni*	*ni*
	OBL	*di*	*de*	*di*	*kay*
PERSONAL (PLURAL)	**NOM**	---	*(hu) deng*	*ide*	*sina ~ sinda*†
	GEN	---	*(nu) deng*	*nide*	*nina ~ ninda*†
	OBL	---	*(de-dû) deng*	*dide*	*kina ~ kinda*†

† the second form in each pair is the more common form in many dialects of Southern Tagalog

8.4.4 Demonstratives. The demonstratives of Manide and Inagta Alabat are largely cognate with one another, but have virtually no similarities to Umiray Dumaget or any other language. The three overlapping vowel shifts make reconstructing an innovative set of demonstrative bases exceedingly difficult, but an attempt has been made in Table 8.9. In addition to the other commonly-occurring demonstrative sets, Manide has a Past Locational set, used both to refer to past location ("He was here", "It was there", etc.) and in place of oblique demonstratives after past verbs ("I went there", "I put it there", etc.).

Note that the Inagta Alabat demonstratives can also be pluralized by adding the pluralizer *ma* and the suffix *–en*: Alabat *huyí* /huyí/ 'this' vs. Alabat *mahuyihén* /mahuyihén/ 'these'; Alabat *huyê* /huyéʔ/ 'that (near addressee)' vs. Alabat *mahuyeén* /mahuyeʔén/ 'those (near addressee)'; and Alabat *hidû* /hidúʔ/ 'that (far from speaker and addressee)' vs. Alabat *mahiduén* /mahiduʔén/ 'those (far from speaker and addressee)'.

TABLE 8.9. DEMONSTRATIVES IN MANIDE, INAGTA ALABAT, AND UMIRAY DUMAGET

		MANIDE	INAGTA ALABAT	PROTO-MANIDE-ALABAT	UMIRAY DUMAGET
NOM	**near sp.**†	*huyí*	*huyí*	*hu-yí	*ióyò, (o)yô*
	near ad.	*huyû*	*huyê*	*hu-yáʔ	*iwínà, nay*
	far	*huydî*	*hidû*	*hu-idúʔ	*inón, non*
GEN	**near sp.**	*nuhuyí ~ nuyí*	*nuyí*	*nu-yí	*nióyò*
	near ad.	*nuhuyû ~ nuyû*	*nuyê*	*nu-yáʔ	*niwína*
	far	*nuhuydî ~ nuydí*	*nidû*	*nu-idúʔ	*ninón*
OBL	**near sp.**	*dií*	*dií*	*di-ʔí	*dío*
	near ad.	*de-yû*	*de-yê*	*da-ʔyáʔ	*dénà*
	far	*de-dî*	*de-dú*	*da-ʔdúʔ	*dumán*
LOC	**near sp.**	*aí*	*haí, hadií*	*(h)a-ʔí	*wiyô*
	near ad.	*a-yû (~ adé-yù)*	*ha-yê, hadé-yè*	*(h)a-ʔyáʔ	*winâ*
	far	*a-dî (~ ade-dî)*	*ha-dû, hadé-dù*	*(h)a-ʔdúʔ	*? (dumán)*
PAST LOC	**near sp.**	*naháy*	---	---	---
	near ad.	*nahâ*	---	---	---
	far	*nadî*	---	---	---
VRB	**near sp.**	*magpaháy*	*paháy*	*paháy	*(d<um>éo)*
	near ad.	*--- (pataón)*	---	---	---
	far	*magpataón*	*--- (puntá)*	---	*--- (kang)*

† near sp. = near speaker; near ad. = near addressee; far = near neither the speaker nor the addressee. These categories correspond to 1st, 2nd, and 3rd-person pronouns, and more accurately capture the meaning of the demonstrative pronouns than more general terms like "this", "that", "that (far)", etc.

8.5. SUBGROUPING. In spite of the data available for these languages—multiple elicitations of a 1,000-item wordlist, full functor sets, and several hundred sentences—the linguistic affiliation of Manide and Inagta Alabat remains obscure, although the two are closely related. It is quite clear from functor evidence and from at least 116 lexical innovations (Lobel 2010:503-509) that Manide and Inagta Alabat subgroup together. The closest relative of Manide and Inagta Alabat may have been one or more of the Black Filipino groups that Garvan (1963) encountered in his travels in the Philippines in the opening quarter of the 20th century, listed in Table 7.7. However, unless remnants any of these groups remains to be discovered in remote areas near the border of eastern Quezon province, western Camarines Norte province, and western Camarines Sur province, then it may well be the case that all of Manide and Inagta Alabat's closest relatives

disappeared decades or even centuries ago, either being fully assimilated (as the so-called "Ayta" of Tayabas and the Katabangan of Catanauan) or otherwise becoming extinct for one reason or another. Beyond this, there are few if any indications of what the next closest surviving linguistic relative of Manide and Inagta Alabat might be, although evidence from the pronouns seem to suggest that Umiray Dumaget might be a likely candidate.

8.5.1 Functor evidence. There is minor evidence (mainly in the pronouns and verb affixes) that Umiray Dumaget might be the closest relative of Manide and Inagta Alabat. Other evidence is rather weak, including only a structural similarity in the case markers, and a typologically-odd Actor Focus future prefix.

The use of the same case markers for both common nouns and personal names is a noteworthy shared structural innovation, but since only one of the three case markers (oblique *di*, shared with many other Austronesian languages) is shared with Umiray Dumaget the possibility that this shared similarity may have been spread by contact or parallel development cannot be ruled out. Still, this similarity should be given some weight, since Umiray Dumaget is not mutually intelligible with either Manide or Inagta Alabat, nor in contact with either language.

It likewise seems significant that Manide and Umiray Dumaget both have an Actor Focus future prefix beginning with /n-/, which is exceedingly rare for affixes marking the future in Philippine languages. However, it is difficult to consider this a shared innovation, since the form of the affix differs (*nig-* in Manide, *nV-* in Umiray Dumaget), and since it is not shared with Inagta Alabat, which is geographically intermediate (although the Inagta Alabat Actor Focus future prefix ig- may possibly derive from a Proto-Manide-Alabat *nig-, with irregular dropping of the *n-.). If there is a relationship between the two prefixes, the difference in the form may be explainable in that Umiray Dumaget *nV-* is the future of the *<um> paradigm, while in Manide—which lacks a distinct *<um> paradigm—the prefix *nig-* belongs to the *mag-* paradigm. Thus, a hypothetical Proto-Manide-Alabat-Umiray might have had a verb system as illustrated in Table 8.10.

TABLE 8.10.
HYPOTHETICAL PROTO-MANIDE-ALABAT-UMIRAY ACTOR FOCUS CONJUGATIONS

	AF <um>	**AF *mag-***
INFINITIVE	*<um>	*mag-
PAST	*<inum>	*nag-
PRESENT	?	?
FUTURE	*nV-	*nig-

This is admittedly an ad hoc solution, but one that attempts to explain the fact that only Manide and Umiray Dumaget share the innovative use of /n/-initial prefixes to mark the Actor Focus future.

8.5.2 Phonological evidence. While there is pronominal evidence linking Manide-Alabat with Umiray Dumaget, phonological evidence is inconclusive. Manide and Inagta Alabat retain PMP *h, and allow /h/ in more positions than any neighboring Greater Central Philippine language.[33] If Manide and Inagta Alabat do subgroup to the north, then they are the only Northern Luzon languages to preserve PMP *h as /h/. Likewise, PMP *q is reflected as /ʔ/ in all positions, and while early Central Philippine languages probably allowed both *-ʔC- and *-Cʔ- clusters morpheme-internally, none still do.

The reflexes of *R have often been cited as strong evidence for proposed subgroupings. However, since *R > /g/ is shared both with Greater Central Philippine languages and with many languages to the north (including the Northeastern Luzon subgroup and the Northern Cordilleran subgroup), the /g/ reflex of *R actually tells us nothing about the subgrouping of Manide and Inagta Alabat. Likewise, the merger of *j, *z, and *d as /d/ is too common in the Philippines to be of any particular help (present in all Philippine languages except Cagayan Valley and Southern and Central Cordilleran). Of the three bizarre vowel shifts—Low Vowel Fronting, Low Vowel Backing, and Back Vowel Fronting—the first is shared with other Black Filipino languages to the north, but

[33] The only other languages known to allow inherited *h in coda positions are the geographically distant Aklanon, Surigaonon, Binukidnon languages of Negros Island, and some especially-conservative dialects of Waray-Waray in northern and northeastern Samar. None of these are geographically close enough to the central part of southern Luzon for them to have had a significant amount of contact with Manide or Inagta Alabat.

appears to have been an areal feature as it affects different lexical items in each language in which it is found (cf. Robinson and Lobel 2010). Back Vowel Fronting, on the other hand, is shared by Manide and Inagta Alabat, albeit in very limited distribution in the latter.

While a number of shared lexical innovations link Manide and Inagta Alabat, hardly any link these two languages with any other language. This is not surprising, since (a) both languages have a low retention rate of PMP reconstructed vocabulary based on the Blust (1981) list, Manide retaining only 27%, and Inagta Alabat only 36%; (b) both languages have a large percentage of lexicon unique to the Manide-Alabat subgroup, representing 28.5 % of the Manide lexicon and 19% of the Inagta Alabat lexicon; (c) much of the remaining 44-45% of the lexicon of these two languages consists of recent borrowings from Tagalog and Bikol, as well as older borrowings from what appears to have been an unidentified Bisayan language in which *l > /y/ and *ə > /u/.

What may be easier to answer at this point is what languages Manide and Inagta Alabat do *not* subgroup with. The lack of any mutually-shared innovations with the Central Philippine, or even Greater Central Philippine, languages which surround Manide to the east, west, and south indicates that Manide and Inagta Alabat are not Greater Central Philippine languages, in spite of the considerable degree to which they have borrowed from Tagalog and Bikol in the past century or so, and from earlier Central Philippine languages over the past millennium. The /g/ reflex of *R, the retention of *ʔ and *h in all positions, and the functor evidence likewise indicate that Manide and Inagta Alabat do not subgroup with Kapampangan, Sambali-Ayta, Northern Mangyan, or Batanic/Bashiic. It seems most likely at this point that Manide and Inagta Alabat (as well as Umiray Dumaget) are either (a) a separate branch of the Philippine family or even of Malayo-Polynesian, or (b) a branch of, or coordinate to, Northeastern Luzon and the Northern Luzon (or "Cordilleran") languages.[34] If the former turns out to be the case, then the Manide, Alabat Agta, and other related Black Filipino groups that have now disappeared (cf. Table 7.7) must have acquired the earliest form of their present languages from early Malayo-Polynesian groups that entered the Philippines from the

[34] Robinson and Lobel (2012) present an analysis of the Northeastern Luzon languages and the evidence for their position within the Philippine subfamily.

north but whose languages have long since gone extinct, wiped out perhaps by leveling episodes such as those proposed by Blust (1991, 2005). Only further in-depth research on all of these languages will help to solve this puzzle, one that is complicated by the large-scale extinction and/or assimilation of various Black Filipino groups that were found in other parts of southern Luzon at least as recently as the first quarter of the 20th century.

8.6. CONCLUSION. This chapter has attempted to address the complete lack of available data and analyses of Manide and Inagta Alabat, two of only four known Black Filipino languages surviving in southern Luzon. Lexical and functor data have been presented and analyzed for innovations in order to unravel some of the linguistic and social history. Unfortunately, it is impossible at this point to definitively subgroup Manide and Inagta Alabat with any other Philippine language. At most, there is some pronominal evidence that suggests the possibility of an ancient relationship with Umiray Dumaget and maybe even the Northeastern Luzon languages (e.g., the clitic *=ek* '1SG.NOM' which reflects an earlier *=ək which is also reflected in Umiray Dumaget and the Northeastern Luzon languages). However, if there really is a connection to Umiray Dumaget, there has been a long period of separation between the two groups, and the striking linguistic distance between Umiray Dumaget and Manide-Alabat is most likely explained as the result of the disappearance of geographically—and presumably linguistically—intermediate Black Filipino languages over the past century or longer. Several strata of borrowing point to various historical periods of contact with, and influence by, Tagalog, Bikol, and Bisayan languages. The lack of any evidence for subgrouping with Central Philippine or even Greater Central Philippine languages indicates that if the Manide-Alabat subgroup has any surviving close relatives among Philippine languages, they must be found to the north, not the south.

CHAPTER 9
MARANAO PHONOLOGY REVISED

9.1. INTRODUCTION. Of all of the languages surveyed in this dissertation, the Maranao language stands out as the most complex in terms of historical and synchronic phonology, and morphophonemics; so complex, in fact, that it eluded accurate analysis for nearly a century, in spite of efforts by a dozen linguists, scholars, and language enthusiasts. Lobel and Riwarung (2009) presented a new analysis of Maranao phonology, and its historical derivation. The most noteworthy feature of this phoneme system is the four "heavy" consonants / p' t' k' s'/, which obligatorily trigger the tensing and raising of the following vowel (the voiced stops /b d g/ *optionally* have the same effect), and that are aspirated to varying degrees, depending on the particular CV sequence.

9.2. HISTORY OF DOCUMENTATION, LITERATURE AND ORTHOGRAPHIES. The failure of nearly a century of work by linguists and other Western authors to accurately describe the phonology of the Maranao language is very clearly the result of the exceedingly difficult nature of its complex phonology which is unique among Philippine languages and even among Austronesian languages. Without considering these factors, it would seem implausible, if not completely impossible, that such inaccuracies could have persisted for so long in a language that was documented relatively early (cf. dictionaries by Frank Charles Laubach as early as 1935, besides an amateurish 1913 phrasebook by U.S. soldier Charles Elliott) and which, as of present, has four published dictionaries (McKaughan and Macaraya 1967, 1996, Dansalan College Foundation 1998, Tungol 1992) and a number of unpublished ones (Laubach 1933, 1948, and Hamm, Al-Macaraya, and Bayabao 1952), several academic articles (McKaughan 1958, 1959, 1962, 1977, Ward & Forster 1967, Fleischman 1981, among others), a full Bible translation, and a reconstruction for its immediate protolanguage (Allison 1979).

In this chapter, the term "Maranao writer" is defined as a native Maranao who habitually writes Maranao-language poems, songs, books, or other texts of substantial length; not included in this definition are a handful of native Maranao who write primarily in English *about* Maranao literature, tradition, and/or culture, in which they

include individual Maranao lexical items or short excerpts of Maranao songs or poems, often written in the same Tagalog-like orthography that Laubach used. Under this definition, it can be said that since the 1970s, Maranao writers have used a decidedly different orthography than non-Maranao writers have, with the former accurately recognizing the 20 consonants found in their language, while the latter continued to use an older orthography implemented in the 1930s by non-Maranao who mistakenly analyzed the Maranao language as having virtually the same phoneme system as Tagalog, Cebuano, or Ilokano. Since the 1970s, no Maranao writer has continued to use the non-Maranao orthography, and no Maranao writer has adopted the slight revision offered by McKaughan and Macaraya (1996) which mistakenly added a fifth vowel, spelled "ae" and representing /ɨ/. Included in the writings of these mainstream Muslim Maranao scholars are an interpretation of the Qur'an (Saromantang 2001); countless religious books ranging from a few dozen pages each to several hundred (Abdul 2006, Abdullah 2001, al-Hassan 1999, Alonto et. al. n.d., Alonto 1991, Kandhlawi 2004, Lomondot 2001, Ombaya 2008b, Sahib and Sahib 2011, Said 1989, n.d.a, n.d.b); academic works on topics like Maranao society and Islam in the Philippines, each hundreds of pages long (Ansano 2001, 2004, and about a dozen others); and various poems, songs, and other short works (Alonto 1988a, 1988b, Ansano 1974, etc.).

Without delving into the sociological reasons behind the disconnect between the orthographic traditions of the Maranao writers and the non-Maranao writers (covered in Lobel and Riwarung 2009), it should be noted at this point that a sort of "parallel universe" of Maranao literature existed over the past forty years, authored and published by local, Muslim Maranaos, as opposed to the academic literature which was virtually all authored and published by Christian Americans (except for the late Batua A. Macaraya, who was a native Maranao who was closely associated with Howard McKaughan and other American linguists and missionaries). The complete, exact history of the Muslim Maranao literary tradition is difficult to trace, due to the limited distribution of locally-published materials in the Philippines; the tendency for locally-published materials to not be handled and stored carefully in a way that would preserve them for long periods of time; and the lack of high-quality libraries in the Philippines, where even in the best

libraries, the loss or destruction of books due to carelessness is rampant. The single most comprehensive collection of Maranao publications is at Dansalan College (a local Christian-run elementary school in the Islamic City of Marawi), but even here there are major gaps in the collection, most notably anything Islamic in nature, a category which happens to include the vast majority of native-penned Maranao literature. However, the material in the Dansalan College collection indicates that by the early 1970s Muslim Maranao authors had recognized the inadequacy of the Laubach-inspired orthography, which is identical to that of Tagalog except in the use of vowel graphemes to consistently write the Maranao schwa). The earliest indication of this recognition is in a pamphlet by the late Senator Ahmad Domocao "Domie" Alonto (1914-2002), et al. (n.d., but published in or before 1972), where the graphemes *á, é, í,* and *ó* were added to the earlier orthography. Soon thereafter, Aleem Abdulmajeed D. Ansano (1943-2008) published a pamphlet (Ansano 1974) in which vowel diacritics were replaced by four new consonants *ph, th, kh,* and *z*. In doing this, Ansano effectively recognized that, while Maranao has four more phonemes than the average Philippine language, these are not four extra vowels but four extra consonants. Ansano's orthographic innovation would serve as the basis for most of the native Muslim Maranao literature up to the present, with only minor variations: Alonto using *sh* where Ansano and Saromantang use *z*, Saromantang using *u* to represent the schwa while Ansano and Alonto used *e,* and Alonto writing a final *h* on all words that did not end in a glottal stop or another consonant. Regardless of these minor differences, all variations of this nativized orthography agree in representing Maranao as a language having exactly four vowels /a i o ə/ and twenty consonants, consisting of the sixteen previously-recognized consonants /p b m w t d n s l r y k g ŋ ʔ h/ found in the average Philippine language, plus the four "heavy" consonants /p' t' k' s'/.[1]

It is significant to note that the three primary authors who pioneered and used this nativized orthography are among the Maranao world's most respected figures: Shaiekh Abdul Azis Guroalim Saromantang of Tugaya (1923-2003), a self-taught Islamic scholar who translated not only the entire Qur'an into Maranao, but also numerous other Islamic

[1] Lobel and Riwarung (2009) stated that Maranao has 19 consonant phonemes, but Lobel and Riwarung (2011) revised this number to 20 to include /h/, which patterns with the heavy consonants and is found in a small number of pre-modern Malay loans.

books; Aleem Abdulmajeed Ansano of Taraka (1943-2008), author of a number of several-hundred-page Maranao-language academic books on a variety of topics; and Senator Ahmad Domocao "Domie" Alonto of Ramain (1914-2002), translator of Maranao versions of the 1973 Philippine Constitution, the Islamic Hadith, and various other Islamic books, as well as an award-winning Maranao translation of Jose Rizal's *Mi Ultimo Adios* poem. Today, the nativized orthography that they pioneered is being used almost universally by mainstream Maranao writers, as well as in commercially-available Video CDs and DVDs of popular Maranao music available in the Islamic City of Marawi and throughout Lanao del Sur.

It is unclear whether Ansano (1974) was the first to use an orthography indicating the existence of the four heavy consonants, or whether Alonto (1972) was the first to indicate orthographically that four extra phoneme contrasts were present in the Maranao language, and it is possible that earlier publications also used similar orthographies but that copies of those publications either have yet to be found, or no longer exist. It is also noteworthy that the shift away from marking the four extra contrasts on the vowels to marking them on the consonants also parallels the evolution in the writer's analysis of Maranao phonology, in which, as a non-Maranao, the more salient feature seems to be the tensing and raising of the vowel, with the contrastive features on the consonants sometimes inaudible. Ultimately, the analysis of having four extra vowels (i.e., an eight-vowel system) is rejected because it would include severe distributional limitations on four of those eight vowels: all eight vowels would contrast before less than 30 percent of the consonants; before the other 70 percent of the consonants, only four vowels would contrast. It is also rejected because allophonic vowel raising after voiced stops and across /l/ and /ʔ/ indicates that there are only four phonemic vowels. The occurrence of the four tensed-and-raised vowels [ɤ ɨ u i] is completely predictable from the preceding consonant and, indeed, from the Proto-Danaw reconstructions (or even from reconstructions for higher-level protolanguages, where available).

While other issues must also be considered, it is important to realize how easy it is for a non-Maranao to mistake the heavy consonants for modal consonants, at least until a native speaker insists on the contrast (Lobel and Riwarung 2009). I myself worked on

Maranao for three years before being able to hear the contrasts and to make sense of them in the context of the phoneme system. Likewise, unless forms with the heavy consonants are compared with cognates in Maranao's sister languages Iranun and Maguindanaon (and other closely-related GCPH languages), it is nearly impossible to make sense of the phoneme system of Maranao. Unfortunately, sufficient comparative data was either non-existent or much more difficult to access before the recent leaps in computer technology and internet-based communication over the past decade. Third, while native-produced books and audiovisual material provided Lobel and Riwarung (2009) with an invaluable catalyst for the present reanalysis, such materials do not seem to have been available prior to the 1970s, after nearly all foreign researchers who had worked in the Maranao-speaking area had come and gone. Furthermore, the decidedly Islamic nature of the native-penned books—and the fact that they are almost exclusively sold in shops and stall selling Islamic religious materials—all but ensured that they would go unnoticed by the prior non-Maranao researchers, most if not all of whom were Christian missionaries, Bible translators, or otherwise professionally associated with Christian organizations or churches. Whatever the underlying reasons, however, the bottom line is that without exception, all previous studies and dictionaries of the Maranao language will now have to be re-evaluated and revised to properly reflect the phonology and morphology of the language.

9.3. PRELUDE TO THE REANALYSIS OF MARANAO PHONOLOGY. Part of the realization that the nativized Maranao orthography represents more than the traditionally-recognized 19 or 20 phonemes is the discovery of minimal pairs that support the additional phonemic contrasts. In fact, overcoming the preconceived notion of a simple phoneme system, based on previous studies and on knowledge of other Philippine languages, is actually the most difficult part of analyzing the Maranao language. Admittedly, my own initial instinct was to write off the supposed contrast as a mistake on the native speakers' part, and then as either a vowel contrast, or an aspiration contrast.

A handful of minimal pairs can actually be found in relatively basic vocabulary, including *titho* 'true, straight' vs. *tito* 'puppy', *mathay* 'long time' vs. *matay* 'to die', and *otho* 'noon' vs. *oto* 'that (far from both speaker and addressee)'. From these, it can be

quickly established that forms spelled with “th” in Maranao have cognates in Iranun and Maguindanaon with homorganic clusters /dt/. At least one—*otho*—has a higher-level reconstruction with a consonant cluster (PGCPH *ʔudtu), while another—*matay*—has a higher-level reconstruction with only a single medial consonant (PGCPH *matay < *patay). After chancing upon these initial contrasts, it becomes relatively easy to elicit minimal pairs, as in examples (1)-(25).

“ph” /p’/ vs. “p” /p/

(1) a. *paphag* /pap’ag/ [pa.p’ɤg] ‘to bang or beat’
b. *papag* /papag/ [pa.pag] ‘wooden container on which a meal is placed’
(2) a. *sophon* /sop’on/ [so.p’un] ‘to join together’
b. *sopon* /sopon/ [so.pon] ‘nipple of a baby bottle’ (< Spanish)
(3) a. *apher* /ap’ər/ [a.p’ɨr] ‘possessed’
b. *aper* /apər/ [a.pər] ‘to touch or inspect’
(4) a. *topha* /top’a/ [to.p’ɤ] ‘to spit out of the mouth forcefully, as water, food, or medicine’
b. *topa* /topa/ [to.pa] ‘to tell someone that he or she had better not repeat something bad that was done’

“th” /t’/ vs. “t” /t/

(5) a. *othang* /ot’aŋ/ [o.t’ɤŋ] ‘to fall’
b. *otang* /otaŋ/ [o.taŋ] ‘debt’
(6) a. *bathik* /bat’ik/ [ba.t’ik] ‘hard and sticky’
b. *batik* /batik/ [ba.tɪk] ‘the Indonesian *batik* cloth’
(7) a. *tithig* /tit’ig/ [tɪ.t’ig] ‘to cut or chop’
b. *titig* /titig/ [tɪ.tɪg] ‘vowels’
(8) a. *mathay* /mat’ay/ [ma.t’ɤy] ‘take a long time’
b. *matay* /matay/ [ma.tay] ‘die’
(9) a. *betho* /bət’o/ [bə.t’u] ‘to name, say, or mention’
b. *beto* /bəto/ [bə.to] ‘to fire a gun or set off fireworks’
(10) a. *otho* /ot’o/ [o.t’u] ‘noon; a type of big, red, poisonous snake’
b. *oto* /oto/ [o.to] ‘that (NOMINATIVE)’
(11) a. *letho* /lət’o/ [lə.t’u] ‘to stretch upwards in order to reach something’
b. *leto* /ləto/ [lə.to] ‘protruding into something that is otherwise flat or even’
(12) a. *titho* /tit’o/ [tɪ.t’u] ‘true’
b. *tito* /tito/ [tɪ.to] ‘puppy’
(13) a. *bethang* /bət’aŋ/ [bə.t’ɤŋ] ‘crazy’
b. *betang* /bətaŋ/ [bə.taŋ] ‘dowry’

"z" /s'/ vs. "s" /s/

(14) a. *lozak* /los'ak/ [lo.s'ɤk] 'step on'
b. *losak* /losak/ [lo.sak] 'left behind, left out'
(15) a. *sizing* /sis'iŋ/ [sɪ.s'iŋ] 'to wipe'
b. *sising* /sisiŋ/ [sɪ.sɪŋ] 'ring'
(16) a. *ozod* /os'od/ [o.s'ud] 'to fall head first; a type of spear'
b. *osod* /osod/ [o.sod] 'to bring something somewhere'
(17) a. *ozor* /os'or/ [o.s'ur] 'progress'
b. *osor* /osor/ [o.sor] 'to regret'
(18) a. *(ma)rezik* /marəs'ik/ [ma.rə.s'ik] 'dirty'
b. *resik* /rəsik/ [rə.sɪk] 'to spread'

"kh" /k'/ vs. "k" /k/

(19) a. *dakhar* /dak'ar/ [da.k'ɤr] 'to jab'
b. *dakar* /dakar/ [da.kar] 'to get something, with bad intentions'
(20) a. *kakhar* /kak'ar/ [ka.k'ɤr] 'to dig'
b. *kakar* /kakar/ [ka.kar] 'gutter'
(21) a. *sokhar* /sok'ar/ [so.k'ɤr] 'to pick fruit from a tree with a stick'
b. *sokar* /sokar/ [so.kar] 'to die; to stir the ingredients of the native food *dudul* when cooking it in a pot'
(22) a. *kokhor* /kok'or/ [ko.k'ur] 'to skim; to scrape the surface lightly'
b. *kokor* /kokor/ [ko.kor] 'to scrape out the contents of a coconut'
(23) a. *tekhaw* /tək'aw/ [tə.k'ɤw] 'thief, robber'
b. *tekaw* /təkaw/ [tə.kaw] 'sudden movement; surprised, startled'
(24) a. *talikhod* /talik'od/ [ta.lɪ.k'ud] 'to turn one's back'
b. *likod* /likod/ [lɪ.kod] 'back (anatomical)'
(25) a. *lokhabang* /lok'abaŋ/ [lo.k'ɤ.baŋ] 'shell'
b. *kabang* /kabaŋ/ [ka.baŋ] 'for one's haircut not to be in proper shape'

Finding minimal pairs is further facilitated since the difference between the Actor Focus imperative of verb roots beginning with voiceless obstruents and their corresponding Actor Focus future forms, is only in the initial consonant, the imperative having a modal voiceless obstruent (/p t k s/), and the future its heavy counterpart (/p' t' k' s'/), as illustrated in examples (26)-(31).

(26) a. *pamasa* /pamasa/ [pa.ma.sa] 'buy (AF.IMP)'
b. *phamasa* /p'amasa/ [p'ɤ.ma.sa] 'will buy (AF.FUT)'
(27) a. *tondog* /tondog/ [ton.dug] 'follow (AF.IMP)'
b. *thondog* /t'ondog/ [t'un.dug] 'will follow (AF.FUT)'
(28) a. *tindeg* /tindəg/ [tɪn.dɨg] 'stand (AF.IMP)'

b. *thindeg* /t'indəg/ [t'in.dɨg] 'will stand (AF.FUT)'

(29) a. *kan* /kan/ [kan] 'eat (AF.IMP)'
b. *khan* /k'an/ [k'ɤn] 'will eat (AF.FUT)'

(30) a. *kowâ* /kowaʔ/ [ko.waʔ] 'get (AF.IMP)'
b. *khowâ* /k'owaʔ/ [k'o.wɤʔ] 'will get (AF.FUT)'

(31) a. *sendad* /səndad/ [sən.dɤd] 'explode (AF.IMP)'
b. *zendad* /s'əndad/ [s'ɨndɤd] 'will explode (AF.FUT)'

In all cases, where Maranao forms with heavy consonants have cognates in Maguindanaon and/or Iranun, the cognates in the latter two languages reflect homorganic clusters, and these in turn continue various consonant clusters from Proto-Greater Central Philippines. Some of these forms can be traced to earlier reduplicated monosyllables, while others derive from other etymological clusters, while others still derive from affixed forms which can likewise be traced to PGCPH.

Although a reconstruction of Maranao's parent language Proto-Danaw had been published by the late 1970s (Allison 1979), the four heavy consonants continued to escape attention for three reasons: 1) because Allison did not do his own fieldwork on Maranao, relying instead on a 372-item wordlist elicited in 1966 by Robert Ward, who also overlooked this contrast, 2) because the Maranao heavy consonants reflect clusters rather than single proto-phonemes, and 3) because Proto-Danaw phonology can be inferred without regard to Maranao, since the homorganic obstruent clusters survive intact in Iranun and Maguindanaon. Table 9.1 illustrates the phoneme inventory of Proto-Danaw as reconstructed by Allison (1979).

TABLE 9.1. PROTO-DANAW PHONEMES ACCORDING TO ALLISON (1979)

*p	*t	*k	*ʔ	*i	*u
*b	*d	*g		*ə	
*m	*n	*ŋ		*a	
	*s				
	*l				
	*r				
*w	*y				

This reconstructed phoneme inventory thus turned out to be accurate despite a faulty analysis of Maranao, which failed to recognize five contrastive consonants. One of these, /h/, is found in only three recorded words, and is a product of earlier borrowing

from Malay postdating the loss of PGCPH *h in Proto-Danaw. The other four additional phonemes in Maranao are the heavy consonants, whose sources would not be included in a chart of Proto-Danaw phonemes since they originate from consonant clusters, not individual segments. In fact, a look at the Proto-Danaw phoneme chart (as well as corresponding phoneme charts for Iranun and Maguindanaon) hardly gives any indication of the interesting historical developments that have produced the modern Danao languages from Proto-Greater Central Philippines, including the homorganic clusters of Iranun and Maguindanaon, and the heavy consonants of Maranao. Based on inaccurate data, Allison assumed that Proto-Danaw *bp, *dt, *ds, *gk are reflected as Maranao /p/, /t/, /s/, /k/, an interpretation which we now know is false.

In order to derive the Maranao phonological system from Proto-Danaw, we need to look both at individual proto-segments, and at *-CC- sequences.[2] The derivation of PDAN from PSPH, PGCPH, and PPH in turn requires the reconstruction of consonant clusters in those higher-level proto-languages. This is difficult without more comparative data, since reflexes of PPH, PMP, or PAN forms with medial clusters are rarely found in the lowest-level daughter languages. Of those forms that have survived, most have had their consonant clusters assimilated or simplified in daughter languages of the Danao, Subanen, and Mongondow-Gorontalo subgroups, making them difficult to recognize without previous knowledge of their source. Therefore, without large amounts of comparative data, there are not enough specimens of each consonant cluster to be able to authoritatively state their regular reflexes. Data of this type was not previously available (certainly not when Allison was writing), and what was available was not easily accessible. Fortunately, the writer has carried out fieldwork on most or all of these lowest-level GCPH languages, and has benefited enormously from computer-searchable dictionary databases—in particular, one for Western Subanon by William and Lee Hall of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), another for Maguindanaon by a group of contributors including Luke Schroeder, Bruce Skoropinski and Bruce Van Zante, also of SIL; and a third for Sabah Iranun by Pandikar Padi of Kota Belud, Sabah, Malaysia. These databases allow searches for segments—and more importantly, sequences of

[2] Under an alternative analysis discussed and rejected in Lobel and Riwarung (2009), it would even be necessary to reconstruct *-CCV- sequences in order to explain the Maranao reflexes.

segments—in a much quicker and more comprehensive manner than was previously possible. This has led to the reconstruction of over 150 Proto-Danaw forms with consonant clusters based on Maranao, Maguindanaon, and Iranun cognates, listed in Appendix A of Lobel and Riwarung (2009). By examining this material, we can determine the Proto-Danaw source of the Maranao heavy consonants.

Table 9.2 outlines the regular historical sources of the Maranao phonemes:

TABLE 9.2. HISTORICAL SOURCES OF MARANAO PHONEMES

MARANAO	PROTO-DANAW	PSPH/PGCPH
a	*a	*a
ə	*ə	*ə (some *a†)
i	*i	*i
o	*u	*u
p	*p	*p
p’	*bp	*Cp (if C = voiced)
b	*b	*b
m	*m	*m
w	*w	*w, *b
t	*t	*t
t’	*dt	*Ct (if C = voiced)
d	*d	*d
n	*n	*n
s	*s	*s
s’	*ds	*Cs (if C = voiced)
l	*l	*l
r	*r	*d, *l
y	*y	*y
k	*k	*k
k’	*gk	*Ck (if C = voiced)
g	*g	*g
ŋ	*ŋ	*ŋ
ʔ	*ʔ	*ʔ
Ø/*ʔ	Ø/*ʔ	*h
h	--- (loans only)	--- (loans only)

†Mainly the result of prepenultimate neutralization of *a.

9.4. THE REVISED MARANAO PHONOLOGY. Maranao has a total of 20 consonant phonemes (including a very marginal /h/ that appears in a handful of recent Malay loans) and four vowel phonemes, as illustrated in Tables 9.3 and 9.4.

TABLE 9.3. MARANAO CONSONANT PHONEMES

	BILABIAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOPS-VOICELESS	p	t			k	ʔ
-HEAVY	p’	t’			k’	
-VOICED	b		d		g	
FRICATIVE			s			
FRICATIVE-HEAVY			s’		(h)	
NASAL	m		n		ŋ	
FLAP			r			
LATERAL APPROXIMANT			l			
SEMIVOWELS	w			y		

TABLE 9.4. MARANAO VOWEL PHONEMES

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i		o
MID		ə	
LOW		a	

The phoneme /h/ has been found so far in only three Maranao words, all of which are Malay loans: *tohan* /tohan/ ‘God’ (< Malay *tuhan* ‘God’), *tahon* /tahon/ ‘astrological sign’ (< Malay *tahun* ‘year’), *hadapan* /hadapan/ ‘in front (of God)’ (< Malay *hadapan* ‘front’). However, these forms must postdate the loss of PGCPH *h, and the borrowing of Arabic terms, in which /h/ is reflected as Maranao /k/, but predate the modern era, in which there is no contact with Malay. It is exceedingly rare for modern Maranaos to have any proficiency in Malay (most that do learned it while working or living in Malaysia, or at the King Faisal Center for Islamic and Arabic Studies at the Mindanao State University in the Islamic City of Marawi).

Any consonant can occur in syllable onsets or intervocalically. In clusters and word-finally, however, heavy consonants do not appear, due to their historical source as clusters in a protolanguage in which there were no word-final clusters and in which word-medial clusters were limited to two members.

The glottal stop is only phonemic intervocalically and word-finally, and even in these positions, it is commonly elided in colloquial speech. The glottal stop is clearly phonemic, however, as there are a number of minimal pairs for word-final glottal stop, such as *(e)ndô* /əndoʔ/ ‘wind’ vs. *(e)ndo* /əndo/ ‘rice pestle’ ; *patô* /patoʔ/ ‘inverted’ vs.

pato /pato/ ‘duck’ ; *kalô* /kaloʔ/ ‘hat’ vs. *kalo* /kalo/ ‘tool for stirring the native food called *dodol’* ; and *kakâ* /kakaʔ/ ‘older sibling (address form)’ vs. *kaka* /kaka/ ‘older sibling (reference form)’ .

Automatic glides /w/ and /y/ are not phonemic where predictable, i.e., /w/ between /o_a/, or /y/ between /i_a/ or /i_o/. This is evident in the fact that the left-to-right spread of tensing and raising of vowels spreads through these automatic glides, but not through phonemic glides (see section 9.4.1).

In initial position, the voiced stops /b d g/ have implosive allophones [ɓ ɗ ɠ].

Syllable structure is generally (C)V(N) in non-final syllables and (C)V(C) in word-final syllables, although word-initial syllables may also consist of a syllabic nasal (cf. section 9.4.5), and schwas may be elided in non-final syllables (cf. section 9.4.4). The only phonemic consonant clusters in native Maranao words contain a nasal followed by a stop, since historically, all others were reduced to singletons or heavy consonants. A small number of other words are often written with consonant clusters, but these can invariably be broken up with an epenthetic schwa. However, recent loans from English and Spanish via Tagalog and Cebuano often retain their consonant clusters, as do some older loans from Malay and Arabic (the latter usually also via Malay), at least for some speakers.

There are no phonemic geminates in Maranao, but consonants are phonetically longer following a schwa, e.g., *tepad* [təp.pad] ‘get off a vehicle’, *tekaw* [tək.kaw] ‘startled, surprised’, vs. *likod* [lɪ.kod] ‘back (of body)’, *papag* [pa.pag] ‘wooden food cart’.

Unlike Maguindanaon (Sullivan 1986:11), Maranao does not appear to have phonemic stress contrasts, but this deserves further inquiry as it is possible that the heavy consonants in Maranao affect stress patterns and that some underlying contrast may still be found.[3]

The most common deviation from the Maranao phoneme system as outlined above involves the treatment of Arabic loans. Due to the central role of Arabic in Islamic

[3] It is not at all uncommon for one or more members of a Philippine subgroup to have lost contrastive stress while others retain it, as this is exactly what has happened both in the Bikol subgroup (Lobel 2003) and the Cordilleran subgroup (Zorc 1979). It is also worth noting that most languages native to Mindanao and areas further south have lost contrastive stress.

worship and education, many Maranaos have training in the Arabic language and pronounce Arabic borrowings in their original Arabic pronunciations. However, Arabic loans were almost certainly present in Maranao for the better part of a millennium, long before modern technology facilitated the spread of "correct" pronunciations of Arabic words. Traditionally, Arabic loans were assimilated to Maranao phonology, e.g., the days of the week *Isnin* /isnin/ 'Monday (Ar. *ithnin*)', *Salasa* /salasa/ 'Tuesday (Ar. *thalatha*)', *Arbaa* /arbaʔa/ 'Wednesday (Ar. *arbi'a*)', *Kamis* /kamis/ 'Thursday (Ar. *khamsa*)', *Diyamaat* /diamaʔat/ 'Friday (Ar. *jum'at*)', *Sapeto* /sapəto/ 'Saturday (Ar. *shabtu*)', and *Akad* /akad/ 'Sunday (Ar. *ahad*)'. Other examples include kalal /kalal/ 'halal (anything that is permissible in Islam)', *karam* /karam/ 'haram (anything not permissible in Islam)', *Diyabarail* /diabaraʔil/ 'Jibril (the angel Gabriel)', *kadî* /kadiʔ/ 'hadji (title for a man who has made the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca)', *Kadis* /kadis/ 'Hadith (sayings of the Prophet)', *diyakat* /diakat/ 'tithe (Ar. *zakat*)', and *tawpik* /tawpik/ 'that which is taught by Allah (Ar. *taufiq*)'.

9.4.1 Heavy Consonants and the Raising and Tensing of Vowels. One of the most intriguing characteristics of Maranao is that heavy consonants obligatorily trigger the raising and tensing of the following vowel, and that voiced stops optionally trigger the same effect (e.g., *kagaga* /kagaga/ [ka.gɤ.gɤ] 'can' vs. *kaka* /kaka/ [ka.ka] 'older sibling', and *dowa* /doa/ [du.wɤ] 'two' vs. *towa* /toa/ [to.wa] 'type of tree used for perfume and poison'). The result is two parallel sets of vowel allophones (illustrated in Table 9.5) that are in complementary distribution or free variation, Set 2 only occurring after aspirated consonants or optionally after voiced stops, and Set 1 occurring elsewhere, as shown in Table 9.6.

TABLE 9.5.
THE TWO COMPLEMENTARY VOWEL SETS OF MARANAO

SET 1	SET 2
[-HIGH], 'LAX'	[+HIGH], 'TENSE'
ɪ	i
ə	ɨ
o	u
a	ɤ

TABLE 9.6. DISTRIBUTION OF VOWEL ALLOPHONES BY CONSONANT GROUP

		/a/	/i/	/o/	/ə/
1) NON-RAISING	**/p t k s m n ŋ r w y/**	a	ɪ	o	ə
2) OBLIGATORY RAISING	**/p' t' s' k' (h)/**	ɤ	i	u	ɨ
3) OPTIONAL RAISING	**/b d g/**	a ~ ɤ	ɪ ~ i	o ~ u	ə ~ ɨ
4) TRANSPARENT	**/l ʔ/**	a†	ɪ†	o†	ə†

† that is, the "transparent" consonants are followed by these vowels unless the consonant in the preceding syllable triggers raising and tensing

Vowel raising and tensing spreads from left to right, if not blocked by a phonemic consonant, e.g. *phowasa* /p'oasa/ [p'u.wɤ.sa] 'will fast (Actor Focus future)' vs. *powasa* /poasa/ [po.wa.sa.] 'fast (n.)'; *ziyapen* /s'iapən/ [s'i.yɤ.pən] 'will arrange (Object Focus future)' vs. *siyapen* /siapən/ [sɪ.ya.pən] 'arrange (Object Focus infinitive)'.[4] For this reason, it is argued that automatic glides are not phonemic, because non-automatic /w/ and /y/ clearly block the left-to-right spread of vowel raising and tensing, as is observable in the penultimate syllables of *mbayadan* [m.bɤ.ya.dɤn] 'will pay (Location Focus future)' and *kambawatâ* [kam.bɤ.wa.taʔ] 'childbirth', and the final syllable of *tikhawan* [tɪ.k'ɤ.wan] 'was stolen from (Location Focus past)'.

The glottal stop is completely transparent in the left-to-right spread of vowel raising and tensing, e.g., *toosan* [to.ʔo.san] 'remember (Location Focus infinitive)' vs. *thoosan* [t'u.ʔu.san] 'will remember (Location Focus future)', and *taaman* [ta.ʔa.man] 'taste (Location Focus infinitive)' vs. *thaaman* [t'ɤ.ʔɤ.man] 'will taste (Location Focus future)'.

[4] Maranaos themselves vary in spelling convention between the Tagalog-type convention where predictable glides are always written, and the Malay-type convention where predictable glides are never written.

Vowel raising and tensing may spread even two syllables to the right, e.g., *Zowaan*[5] *ko* [s'u.wɤ.ʔɤn.=ko] 'I'll do it', and may also spread across morpheme boundaries, e.g., *Piyakadekhâ aken* [pɪ.ya.ka.dɨ.k'ɤ.ʔ=ɤ.kən] 'I made him rest', *Lithâ ami* [lɪ.t'ɤ.ʔ=ɤ.mi] 'We cooked (the vegetables)', *Lithâ aka* [lɪ.t'ɤ.ʔ=ɤ.ka] 'You cooked (the vegetables', and *babô oka* [bɤ.bu.ʔ=u.ka] 'your aunt'.

The phoneme /l/ is transparent if both the preceding and the following syllables contain tensed and raised vowels, e.g., *bolotho* [bu.lu.t'u] 'rainbow'.

The examples in Table 9.7 illustrate the differences between the basic vowels and their allophones which occur after heavy consonants. Additional minimal pairs for heavy vs. non-heavy consonants can be found in Appendix A of Lobel and Riwarung (2009).

TABLE 9.7. VOWEL ALLOPHONES AFTER REGULAR AND HEAVY CONSONANTS

VOWEL	PHONETIC FORM	PHONEMIC FORM	ORTHOGRAPHIC FORM	ENGLISH GLOSS
a	[pa.pag]	/papag/	*papag*	'wooden food cart'
(raised)	[pa.p'ɤg]	/pap'ag/	*paphag*	'bang, beat'
i	[pɪ.yoɾ]	/pior/	*piyor*	'sprain'
(raised)	[p'i.yuɾ]	/p'ior/	*phiyor*	'true, real'
o	[so.pon]	/sopon/	*sopon*	'nipple of a baby bottle'
(raised)	[so.p'un]	/sop'on/	*sophon*	'join together'
ə	[a.pəɾ]	/apər/	*aper*	'to touch or inspect'
(raised)	[a.p'ɨɾ]	/ap'ər/	*apher*	'possessed'

Note that the rare, marginal phoneme /h/ patterns with the heavy consonants, e.g., *Tohan* /tohan/ [to.hɤn] 'God', *tahon* /tahon/ [ta.hun] 'astrological sign', and *hadapan* /hadapan/ [hɤ.dɤ.pan] 'in front (of God)'.

9.4.2 Schwa Assimilation. Vowel quality spreads left-to-right across a glottal stop to a schwa of a suffix or clitic. One synchronic example of this is the Object Focus suffix *–en* /ən/, e.g., *kowaan* 'get (Object Focus infinitive)' (< *kowa* + *-ən*) but *kinowa*[6] 'got (Object Focus past)'; *patoon* 'invert (Object Focus infinitive)' (< *patô* + *-ən*) but *piyatô* 'inverted

[5] Historically, the suffix on this form is *-ən, but vowel quality also spreads left to right across glottal stops to a following schwa (cf. section 9.4.2).

[6] The past of Maranao non-Actor Focus verbs is marked by *–iy-* if the first vowel of the root is /a/, /ə/, or /o/, but by *–in-* if the first vowel of the root is /i/. The form *kinowa,* for expected **kiyowa, is an unexplained exception to this rule.

(Object Focus past)'. Another example of this is the clitic pronoun *=eka* /əka/ '2SG.GEN', e.g., *batî ika* [ba.ti.ʔ=i.ka] 'your brother-in-law', *babô oka* [bɤ.bu.ʔ=u.ka] 'your aunt'.

9.4.3 Epenthetic Schwa. As noted earlier, only a very small number of consonant clusters are allowed in Maranao, primarily homorganic -NC- clusters. Morpheme-internally and between affixes and rootwords, all other consonant clusters were assimilated to prenasalized clusters and/or simplified by phonological rules. Synchronically, however, some of these otherwise impermissible consonant clusters occasionally occur within a phonological phrase between a consonant-final word and the following consonant-initial word. In these instances, it is not uncommon to hear an epenthetic schwa being inserted between the two consonants, e.g. between the last two words in the sentence *Dâ ako tindeg kagiya* [dɤʔ ako tındɤgᵊ kagiyɤ] 'I didn't stand up earlier'; between the two words in the sentence *Tomepad tano* [tomәpadᵊ tano] 'Let's go down', and between the last two words in the sentence *Dâ pen tepad* [dɤ pәnᵊ tәpad] '(He/she) hasn't come down yet'. This is even the case where the two consonants are identical, as in the first two words in the sentence *Ideket tano so propaganda* [idɤkәtᵊ tano so pɾopagɤndɤ] 'Let's put up the campaign materials.'

9.4.4 Schwa Syncope and Apheresis. Synchronically, phonemic schwas are often elided between two consonants, creating phonetic consonant clusters that are phonemically impermissible, e.g., the elision of the schwas of *seka* 'you (singular)' and *sekano* 'you (PLURAL)' in the phrases *Dâ ami seka mailay* [dɤ.ʔ=ɤ.mɪs.ka.ma.ɪ.lay] 'We didn't see you (SINGULAR)' and *Dâ ami sekano mailay* [dɤ.ʔ=ɤ.mɪs.kano.ma.ɪ.lay] 'We didn't see you (PLURAL)'.

Word-initial schwa was elided historically (after initial *ʔ merged with zero), resulting in forms with initial heavy consonants, such as *tharô* 'say' (< PDAN *ədtaruʔ) and *phoon* 'start, beginning' (< PDAN *əbpuʔun). The same process of apheresis created monosyllables from earlier disyllables, such as *thak* 'drip' < PDAN *ədtak, *ped* 'other, companion, accompany' < PDAN *əpəd, and *khap* 'weigh' < PDAN *əgkap. Apheresis is also responsible for Maranao prefixes with initial heavy consonants, such as *phaki-* <

PDAN *əb-paki- (vs. *paki-* < PDAN *paki-), *khi-* < PDAN *əg-ki-, *phaka-* < PDAN *əb-paka- (vs. *paka-* < PDAN *paka-), *kha-* < PDAN *əg-ka- (vs. *ka-* < PDAN *ka-), and *phe-* < PDAN *əg-pə(g)- (vs. *pe-* < PDAN *pə(g)-). Note that when forms that have undergone historical apheresis are prefixed with g-final prefixes such as *meg-*, *mig-* and *peg-*, the schwa seems to resurface, as in *phagethak* 'is dripping' (< *thak*), and *pagekhapen* 'to weigh something (Location Focus)' (< *khap*). The position of the infix <in> in words of this shape also causes evidence of the earlier initial *ʔə- to resurface, e.g., *inephoonan* 'began, founded (Location Focus Past)' (< Pre-Proto Danao *ʔ<in>əbpuʔun-an) and *inekhap* 'weighed something (Object Focus Past)' (< Pre-Proto Danao *ʔ<in>əgkap). If these forms had been completely regularized, the expected forms would be ***phinoonan* and ***khinap*, respectively. In any case, these forms probably are best treated synchronically as irregular, as opposed to being treated as having an underlying initial /ə/, since schwa does not otherwise occur in word-initial position in any Maranao word, and no previous analyses of Maranao have ever proposed an initial schwa in these forms.

9.4.5 Syllabic Nasals. Schwa apheresis also results in syllabic nasals in modern Maranao, both in root words like *(e)ndô* 'wind' [n̩duʔ] and *(e)ndo* 'rice pestle' [n̩du], and in prefixes deriving from PDAN *əN- (an allomorph of PDAN *əG- occurring before voiced stops): *mbaling* 'will return (Actor Focus future of *baling*)', *ndekhâ* 'will rest (Actor Focus future of *dekhâ*)', and *nggalebek* 'will work (Actor Focus future of *galebek*)'. Syllabic nasals also occur allophonically in the perfective particle *den* in phrases like *dâ den* 'not anymore' /da dən/ [dɤ.dn̩].

9.4.6 Glottal Stop Apheresis and Syncope. Besides having been lost historically in consonant clusters and word-initially, intervocalic and word-final glottal stops are often elided in colloquial speech, whether morpheme-internal or across word boundaries, e.g. *dî* [diʔ] 'no, not' but *dî ka* [di ka] 'aren't you going to…' (as in the sentence *Dî ka ba den thindeg?* [di ka bɤ dn̩ᵊ t'indɨg] 'Aren't you going to stand up?'); *dâ* [dɤʔ] 'not (past), none, there isn't' but *dâ pen* [dɤ pən] 'not yet' (as in the sentence *Dâ pen tepad* [dɤ pənᵊ

təpad] ‘(He/she) hasn’t come down yet’. Note that variation occurs in speech, e.g., *antonaa* ‘what’ /antonaʔa/ which can be realized as either [antonaʔa] or [antonaa].

9.4.7 Anti-Lenition. Historically, PGCPH *b and *d sporadically lenited to Maranao /w/ and /r/, respectively, but the stop reflexes are preserved in forms that have nasal-final prefixes: *watâ* ‘child’ (< PGCPH *bataʔ) but *kambawatâ* ‘childbirth’ (< PDAN *kaG-CV-bataʔ); *walay* ‘house’ (< PGCPH *balay) but *kambalay* ‘the act of building’ and *pembalay* ‘will build a house (Actor Focus future)’; *ron ~ roo* ‘there (Oblique deictic)’ (< PGCPH *duʔun) but *ndoroo ~ ndodon* ‘there (present-locational)’.

9.4.8 Paragogic -əʔ. One prominent feature of Maranao is the presence of a paragogic [-əʔ] at the end of words (or phonological phrases) whose final phonemic segment is a liquid or an obstruent other than a glottal stop. Native speakers of Maranao seem to be unaware that they are pronouncing this sequence at the end of words and phrases, but to a non-Maranao, it is often no less salient than any phonemic sequence in the language. In fact, when eliciting data or transcribing audio, unless one is familiar with the words being spoken or asks a Maranao how to spell the word, it is virtually impossible for a non-Maranao to decide whether an utterance-final [-əʔ] sequence is the end of the word, or just the paragogical sequence. Note that the same paragogic [-əʔ] was also present historically in some Sangiric languages (Maryott 1978:134) and all Mongondow-Gorontalo languages except Mongondow and Ponosakan (Sneddon and Usup 1986:411), except that in these languages, it was later phonemicized.[7]

9.5. THE VERB SYSTEM REVISED. It should come as no surprise in a language as morphophonemically complex as Maranao that a correct analysis of the verb morphology would be unattainable in the absence of an accurate phonological analysis. As such, the revised phonological analysis described in Lobel and Riwarung (2009, 2011) can be

[7] Sneddon and Usup (1986:417) note that “the paragogic vowel is in the process of loss” in Buol, in which “loss of the [paragogic] vowel [is] more common than its retention”, noting that there are also dialectal differences in its loss. Note that other differences also exist between the paragoge in these languages, e.g., while this paragoge in Maranao only occurs after stops or /s/, /l/ or /r/, the paragoge in Gorontalic languages affected all consonant-final words.

considered the key to the proper analysis of the Maranao verb system, which was first attempted in an otherwise-comprehensive manner over half a century ago by McKaughan (1958).

The analysis presented by McKaughan was sufficient to impress upon a reader the complexity of the Maranao verb system, especially significant considering the fact that it predated much of the work on the verb systems of other Philippine languages done since the 1960s. Even without the revised phonological analysis, however, there were already problems apparent with McKaughan's analysis, due to its inability to reconcile the Maranao verb system with the systems of other Greater Central Philippine languages, including the failure to account for the final consonant of the PGCPH prefix *mag-, as well as the problematic proposal of vowel shifts or replacement in certain tense/aspect forms. The revised phonological analysis solves these problems and allows for a clear historical continuity in the morphological derivation of modern Maranao from Proto-Greater Central Philippines to modern Maranao, by (1) removing the need to propose an unjustifiable phonological vowel shift in certain tense/aspect forms, in spite of the empirical (and allophonic) basis of the shift in vowel quality; and (2) accounting for what appeared to be the loss of prefix-final *g in certain environments and its reflexes in the environments where it is reflected as something other than /g/.

9.5.1. Reflexes of *mag-. The necessity for an accurate phonological analysis of Maranao and for a clear understanding of the implications of its historical development from Proto-Greater Central Philippines is perhaps nowhere more important than in the verb system and its use of prefixes *mag-, *minag-, *pag-, and *pinag-. Maranao and many GCPH languages outside of the core CPH group differ from core CPH languages such as Tagalog in one significant feature: The use of the *mag-, *pag-, and related affixes in the *<um> paradigm.

In Tagalog and other CPH languages, reflexes of *mag-, *minag-, *pag-, and *pinag- appear in specific paradigms in which reflexes of these prefixes will always be present regardless of the tense/aspect conjugation. Thus, in Tagalog, a "*mag*- verb" will always have either a prefix *mag*- or *nag-,* and the same is true for other CPH languages,

save for a handful in which the *mag-* and <*um*> paradigms have merged, yielding a single *mag-* paradigm in which present and/or future forms take their affixes from the defunct <*um*> paradigm (Bikol, Ilonggo, and a number of Western Bisayan languages fall into this category). Elsewhere—in Actor Focus verbs that are conjugated with *<um> or *maN-/*minaN-/*paN-/*pinaN-, or in non-Actor Focus verbs that take *-ən, *-an, or *i- without a cooccuring *pag- or *pinag- prefix—reflexes of the prefixes *mag-, *minag-, *pag-, and *pinag- do not occur in any tense/aspect form.

In Maranao, on the other hand, while there are some verbs or semantic modes that always contain a reflex of *mag-, *minag-, *pag-, or *pinag- (thus following the traditional definition of a "*mag-* verb"),[8] reflexes of *mag- and *pag- also show up marking the present and future conjugations of *<um> and *maN- Actor Focus verbs and of *-ən, *-an, and *i- non-Actor Focus verbs, as can be observed from Table 9.8, which illustrates the actual tense-aspect conjugations of Maranao verbs starting with all possible initial consonants).[9] The result is that there is not a single verb in the Maranao language whose tense/aspect paradigm does not contain a reflex of *mag- or *pag- (although this seems to have shifted to *mang- on roots starting with a voiced stop), and since the final *g of those prefixes is only reflected as /g/ on vowel-initial roots, it is of utmost importance to be able to accurately account for the reflexes of the final consonant of those PGCPH prefixes in order to be able to understand and describe what is systematically going on in the Maranao verb system.

This characteristic of Maranao verb morphology is shared in one form or another with other languages of western Mindanao, southern Palawan, and Sabah, in which the form of the Actor Focus prefix depends on the initial consonant of the root. Why this

[8] That Maranao has a "<um> vs. mag-" contrast similar to that in Tagalog, Waray-Waray, and Old Bikol (cf. Pittman 1966, Ramos 1974, Lobel 2004) is demonstrated by the following:

	***AYON* 'AGREE'**		***INOM* 'DRINK'**	
	<om> (sg.)	**mag- (recip.)**	**<om> (generic)**	**mag- (of alcohol)**
INFINITIVE	*mayon*	*magayon*	*minom*	*maginom*
PAST	*miyayon*	*miyagayon*	*mininom*	*miyaginom*
PRESENT	*maayon*	*magaayon*	*miinom*	*magainom*
FUTURE	*magayon*	*phagayon*	*maginom*	*phaginom*

[9] As is common in Greater Central Philippine languages, Maranao does not appear to allow verb roots beginning with /m/ to be conjugated with <*om*>. Likewise, Maranao does not appear to have roots with initial /w/ or /y/ that are conjugated with <*om*>.

particular morphophonemic feature developed in this area is unclear, but it may have been a mechanism for coping with constraints that had developed barring certain *-gC- and *-NC- clusters, which would have affected the intelligibility of forms prefixed with *g-final and *N-final prefixes in languages where morpheme-internal clusters of those shapes had already been reduced or assimilated.

The use of *mag-, *pag-, and/or *ag- for present and/or future conjugations within the *<um> paradigm is also shared with other GCPH languages such as Hanunoo, Southern (Aborlan) Tagbanwa, Pala-wan, Molbog, the Subanen languages, and a number of Manobo languages, as illustrated in Table 9.9 for the Object Focus. All of these languages mark the present, future, and/or subjunctive with a reflex of *mag-, *pag-, or *ag-, even in the *<um> paradigm where *mag- and *pag- historically did not appear. Zorc (1974:591) pointed out morphological similarities in the Actor Focus and Object Focus paradigms in Hanunoo, Southern (Aborlan) Tagbanwa, and Pala-wan ("Palawano"). However, he was writing at a time when morphological data for Greater Central Philippine languages was still scarce, and 17 years before Blust (1991) proposed a Greater Central Philippines subgroup based on phonological and lexical innovations. Even Blust was writing without access to morphological data on most of the languages he assigned to this group, but the writer's fieldwork from 2004-2009, as well as the present reanalysis of Maranao phonology and verb morphology, validate the Greater Central Philippines hypothesis by revealing further innovations in the morphological systems of these languages.

Even for Maranao verbs that follow the <om> paradigm, present and future conjugations are formed with other affixes predictable by the initial segment of the root. The actual affixes used are summarized in Table 9.10, based on the data in Table 9.8.

TABLE 9.8. CONJUGATIONS OF MARANAO <OM> VERBS

	INFINITIVE	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE	IMPERATIVE
p	mamasa mamola	miyamasa miyamola	pephamasa pephamola	phamasa phamola	pamasa ‘buy’ pamola ‘plant’
t	tomondog tomindeg	tomiyondog tominindeg	pethondog/tomotondog pethindeg/tomitindeg	thondog thindeg	tondog ‘follow’ tindeg ‘stand’
k	koman kowâ	komiyan kominowâ	pekhan pekhowâ	khan khowâ	kan ‘eat’ kowâ ‘get’
s	somendad somilâ	somindad sominilâ	pezendad/somesendad pezilâ/somisilâ	zendad zilâ	sendad ‘end’ silâ ‘explode’
b	maling megay	miyaling migay	pembaling pembegay	mbaling mbegay	baling ‘return’ begay ‘give’
d	domekhâ domidî	domikhâ dominidî	pendekhâ/domedekhâ pendidî/domididî	ndekhâ ndidî	dekhâ ‘rest’ didî ‘bubble’
g	gomanat gomoraok	gomiyanat gomiyoraok	pengganat/gomaganat penggoraok/gomogoraok	ngganat nggoraok	ganat ‘leave, rise’ goraok ‘cry’
l	lomalakaw lomangoy	lomiyalakaw lomiyangoy	phelalakaw/lomalalakaw phelangoy/lomalangoy	pelalakaw ~ melalakaw pelangoy ~ melangoy	lalakaw ‘walk’ langoy ‘swim’
r	romabak	romiyabak	pherabak/romarabak	perabak ~ merabak	rabak ‘throw’
n	nomayaw	nomiyayaw	pephenayaw/nomanayaw	phenayaw ~ menayaw	nayaw ‘wait’
ng	ngomenger ngomisaw	ngominger ngominisaw	ngomengenger ngomingisaw	phengenger ~ mengenger phengisaw ~ mengisaw	ngenger ‘snore’ ngisaw ‘react badly’
a	mawâ mayon	miyawâ miyayon	maawâ/phagawâ maayon/phagayon	pagawâ ~ magawâ pagayon ~ magayon	awâ ‘leave’ awid ‘bring’
i	minom migâ	mininom minigâ	miinom/phaginom miigâ/phagigâ	paginom ~ maginom pagigâ ~ magigâ	inom ‘drink’ igâ ‘lie down’
o	monot montod	miyonot miyontod	moonot/phagonot moontod/phagontod	pagonot ~ magonot pagontod ~ magontod	onot ‘accompany’ ontod ‘sit’
e	mendâ medâ	mindâ midâ	meendâ meedâ	magendâ magedâ	endâ ‘take off’ edâ ‘ride’

TABLE 9.9. OBJECT FOCUS VERB CONJUGATIONS IN VARIOUS GREATER CENTRAL PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

	INFINITIVE	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE	IMPERATIVE
MARANAO	-ən	<i(n)>	paG-…-ən	G-…-ən	-a
PROTO-DANAW	*-ən	*<in>	*paG-…-ən	*əG-…-ən	*-a
SOUTHERN SUBANEN	-ən	<in>	pəG-…-ən	---	-a
HANUNOO	-un	<in>	pag-…-un	---	-a
SOUTHERN (ABORLAN) TAGBANWA	-ən	<in>	pag-…-ən	---	---
PALA-WAN AND PANIMUSAN	-ən	<in>	pag-…-ən	---	-aʔ
MOLBOG	-on	<in>	og-…-on	---	-aʔ

TABLE 9.10. MARANAO ACTOR FOCUS AFFIXES BY INITIAL CONSONANT OF ROOT

INITIAL PHONEME		<OM> PRESENT	<OM> FUTURE
VOWEL	a, i, o, ə	mVʔ- ~ phag-	pag-/mag-
VOICED STOPS	b	pem- ~ ComV-	m-
	d	pen- ~ ComV-	n-
	g	peng- ~ ComV-	ng-
VOICELESS STOPS	p, t, s, k	pe{C}h- (#C- > heavy) ~ ComV-	<h> (#C- > heavy)
LIQUIDS	l, r	phe- ~ ComV-	pe- ~ me-
NASALS	n	pephe- ~ ComV-	phe- ~ me-
	ŋ	ComV-	phe- ~ me-

Maranao morphophonemic rules are extremely complex, and a fuller reanalysis of the verbal system of Maranao is currently being completed (Lobel and Riwarung, in preparation). However, limiting ourselves to just the Actor Focus of the <om> paradigm for now, the rules are as follows:

(i) For the infinitive, <*om*> is infixed to most roots. For vowel-initial roots, this is reduced to a prefixed *m*-. For roots with an initial bilabial /b p/, the first syllable is dropped, leaving what appears to be a replacive *m*-. This latter process, called Pseudo Nasal Substitution (cf. Blust 2004), was once widespread even in Central Philippine languages like Old Tagalog, Old Bikol, Old Waray, etc., as outlined in Lobel (2004).

(ii) The past form derives from PGCPH *<umin>. The full <*omin*> is only preserved on consonant-initial roots in which the first vowel is /i/. Otherwise, the /n/ of the infix is dropped, in the same way that the /n/ of other past prefixes is dropped (e.g., *miya-* < *mina-, *miyaka-* < *minaka-, *miyakapag-* < *minakapag-, *piya-* < *pina-, etc.). On vowel-initial roots, the first syllable is again dropped, leaving *miy-* as the prefix. On bilabial-initial roots, the first syllable is also dropped, leaving what appears to be a replacive *miy-*. On roots in which the initial vowel is schwa, the schwa is lost, leaving what appears to be i-ablaut.

(iii) The present tense is expressed in two ways: 1) by CV- reduplication plus the <*om*> infix, and 2) by a reflex of PDAN *(əb)pəG-. For the first option the affix is C<om>V- for all consonant-initial roots, but for vowel-initial roots, it is *mVʔ-*, where V is a copy vowel of the first vowel of the root. For the second option, the realization of *pəG- depends on the first segment of the root: *phag-* on vowel-initial roots; *phe-* on roots with initial /n ŋ l r/; *peN-* on roots with initial /b d g/, where N is a nasal that assimilates to the place of articulation of the following consonant (without replacing it); and *pe{C}h-* before a voiceless consonant /p t s k/, where the realization is *pe-* plus the shift of the first consonant of the root from /p t s k/ to /p' t' s' k'/.

(iv) The future tense has one form before an initial stop or /s/, and two competing forms before /l r n ŋ/ and vowel-initial forms. Roots with initial voiceless consonants form their future with the shift of the initial consonant from /p t s k/ to a heavy /p' t' s' k'/. Roots with an initial voiced stop form their futures by prefixing the root with an assimilative (but not replacive) nasal. Vowel-initial roots can form their futures with either *mag-* or *pag-*. Forms with an initial nasal form their futures with *me-* and either *phe-* or *pe-*, and forms with initial /l/ or /r/ form their futures with either *me-* or *pe-*.

(v) In all cases, the Actor Focus imperative of <om> verbs is formed by a zero affix, as is common throughout Greater Central Philippine languages.

In conclusion, like the concept of a "replacive" vowel, the suggestion of a single method of forming the present and/or the future of Maranao verbs can also be observed to be incorrect in light of a fuller set of actual language data.

A look at tables 9.8 and 9.10 reveals that when prefixed to words whose initial consonant is /b/, /d/, or /g/, the prefixes *maN-/*paN- have replaced the prefixes *maG-/*paG-. Clusters of two voiced consonants in Pre-Proto-Danaw were simplified by dropping the first member of the cluster. It is reasonable to assume that the same phonological innovation would have affected the *-gC- clusters that occurred when *maG- was prefixed to a root word with initial /b/, /d/, or /g/. In this case, the resulting cluster simplification would have meant that the reflex of *mag- and *pag- would have been the same as the reflex of *ma- and *pa-. Therefore, it seems likely that the replacement of the *g-final prefixes (*mag-, *miyag-, *pag-, *piyag-) with *N-final prefixes (*maN-, *miyaN-, *paN-, *piyaN-) was motivated by the need to disambiguate the reflexes of the former from the reflexes of the *ma-, *miya-, and *pa- prefixes. As illustrated in Table 9.11, the simplification of these clusters of voiced consonants probably included an intermediate step (Rule 1) in which the first member assimilated to the place of the second member, creating geminate consonants (note that this also happens in the Southern Subanen language, which has clear evidence of influence from Maranao and other Danaw languages). However, at some point before Proto-Danaw, geminates were disallowed by Rule 2, which caused the simplification of the geminates. It is Rule 2 that would have caused the reflexes of *mag-/*pag- and *ma-/*pa- to merge for root words with an initial voiced stop. This untenable situation was fixed by Rule 3, which replaced *mag- with *maN- for roots that began with a voiced stop (note that this rule would have to occur simultaneously with Rule 2, or else it would have also applied to the *ma-* verbs). Table 9.11 illustrates this process with roots starting with /b/, /d/, and

/g/, compared with the root *tindəg ‘stand’, where no geminate would have been produced.

TABLE 9.11. REPLACEMENT OF *pag- WITH *paN- BEFORE /b d g/

RULE	*bayad ‘PAY’	*dəgkaʔ ‘REST’	*ganat ‘WORK’	*tindəg ‘STAND’
(Pre-Proto-Danaw AF present)	*pag-bayad	*pag-dəgkaʔ	*pag-ganat	*pag-tindəg
1) Cluster Assimilation	*pab-bayad	*pad-dəgkaʔ	*pag-ganat	*pad-tindəg
2) Geminate Simplification	*pabayad	*padəgkaʔ	*paganat	---
3) Prefix Disambiguation	*paN-bayad	*paN-dəgkaʔ	*paN-ganat	---
4) /a/ Neutralization in Closed-syllable Prefix†	*pəm-bayad	*pən-dəgkaʔ	*pəŋ-ganat	*pəd-tindəg
(Proto-Danaw AF Present)	*pəmbayad	*pəndəgkaʔ	*pəŋganat	*pədtindəg
(Maranao & Maguindanaon AF Present)	*pembayad* (both Mar. & Mgd.)	Mar. *pendekhâ* /pəndək’aʔ/, Mgd. *pendegka*	*pengganat* (both Mar. & Mgd.)	Mar. *pethindeg* /pet’indəg/, Mgd. *pedtindeg*

† Note that it is unclear at what point the *a > /ə/ shift took place in compound prefixes that contained consonant clusters, such as *pagka- and *pagpa-.

The prefixes *me-/mi-/pe-/pi-* before root words with initial /l/, /r/, /n/, /ŋ/ are ambiguous as to whether they are reflexes of prefixes with final *G- or final *N-. The neutralization of *a to /ə/ indicates that some prefix-final consonant was present which allowed these reflexes to participate in Rule 4 (/a/ Neutralization in Closed-syllable prefix). However, there is no evidence to indicate whether this coda was a reflex of *G- or of *N- which later replaced it.

As noted in Lobel and Riwarung (2009:418-421), the revised phonological analysis also eliminates the need to propose vowel shifts or replacements at the phonemic level, as claimed by McKaughan (1958) for the present and future conjugations.[10] Instead, what McKaughan and Macaraya heard as a vowel shift or replacement was the obligatory raising of the four phonemic Maranao vowels after the heavy stops /p’ t’ k’ s’/, and a similar optional process after the voiced stops /b d g/.

The abilitative forms of the beneficiary focus have an odd set of affixes, whose PGCPH sources are still unclear.[11] All other Maranao affixes, although strange in appearance synchronically, have rather clear historical sources. Previously, however, they

[10] Similar claims are made in the introductory sections to McKaughan and Macaraya (1967, 1996).
[11] Tentatively, the Proto-Danaw sources of these affixes seem to be as follows: infinitive *mi-* < *ma-i-; past *mini-* < *mi- + *<in> < earlier *ma<in>i-, present pekhi- *pəG-ka-i-, and future *khi-* < *əG-ka-i-.

appeared bizarre and unidentifiable, due to the erroneous phonemic analysis that concealed the origin of their component elements.

9.6. SUGGESTIONS AND NEEDS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH. Despite a century of scholarly attention, including two papers by the writer with Maranao scholar Labi H.S. Riwarung, much work still remains to be done on the Maranao language. Everything written on Maranao with a non-nativized orthography must be revised, including the comprehensive dictionary by McKaughan and Macaraya (1967, 1996), and publications of various types of Maranao literature, including the Darangen (Cali and Coronel 1986). Comparative linguistic studies that include Maranao data written in anything other than the nativized orthography will also have to be revisited to determine whether data inaccurately representing Maranao forms has skewed reconstructions, especially for Proto-Danaw (Allison 1979).

Apart from these types of practical revisions, further phonetic analysis is needed to determine the feature or features that contribute to the contrast between the heavy obstruents and their non-heavy voiceless and voiced counterparts. Such analysis will certainly include various measures of each of the three obstruent types, as well as testing of various measures of the vowels that occur after them.

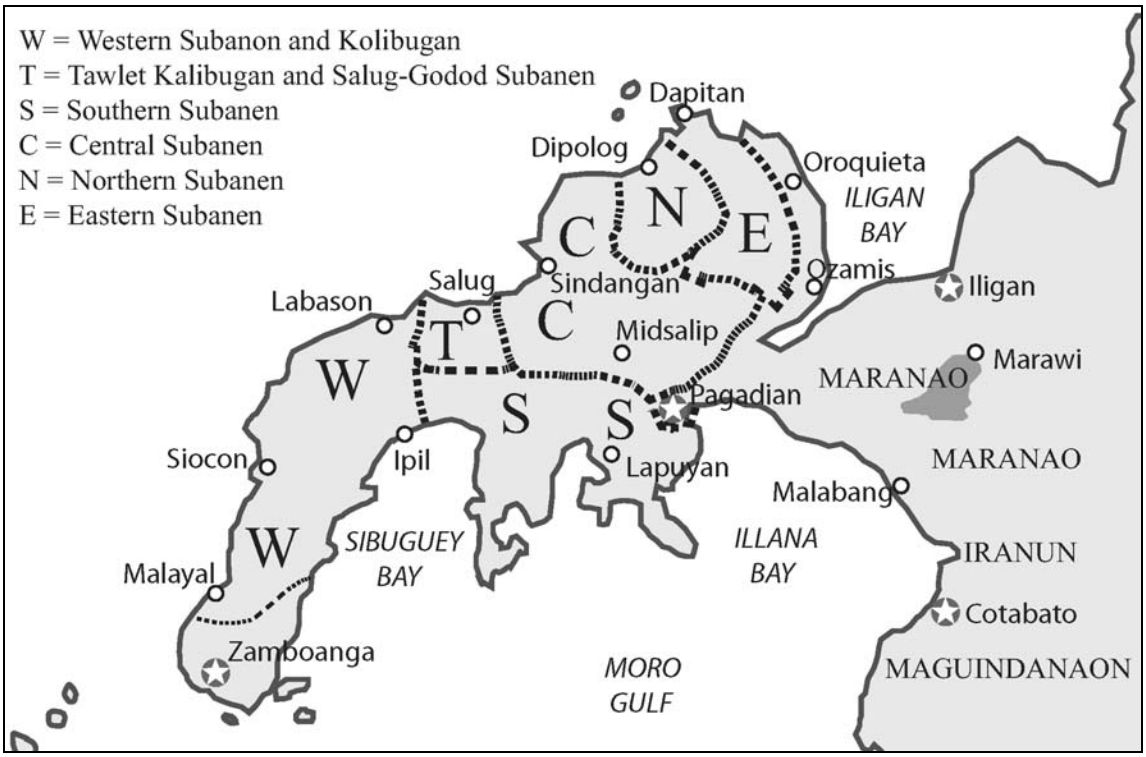
CHAPTER 10
SUBANEN RECONSTRUCTIONS

10.1. INTRODUCTION. Little historical-comparative work has been done on the Subanen languages spoken in the western part of the large southern Philippine island of Mindanao. To address this shortcoming, this chapter provides a list of over 600 reconstructions for Proto-Subanen. Brief notes are also included on the structure of the Subanen subgroup, the phonological and lexical innovations defining it, and the historical development of the daughter languages.

The reconstructions in this paper are based on data from the writer's fieldwork, which covered all eight of the known members of the Subanen subgroup: Western Subanon, Western Kolibugan, Tawlet/Kalibugan, Salug-Godod Subanen, Southern Subanen, Central Subanen, Northern Subanen, and Eastern Subanen (cf. Map 10.1). This data was elicited between 2006 and 2011 in the areas where these languages are spoken natively, and in all cases, there were two or more informants per language. No dictionaries have been published for any of these languages,[1] nor have any comparative studies, except for a short paper on the development of contrastive aspiration in Southern Subanen (Lobel & Hall 2010).

[1] Note, however, that a Central Subanen dictionary characterized as a "work in progress" has been placed online at http://www.sil.org/asia/Philippines/works-syb.html, along with other similarly helpful yet incomplete projects.

MAP 10.1. LOCATIONS OF THE SUBANEN LANGUAGES



10.2. EVIDENCE FOR THE UNITY OF THE SUBANEN SUBGROUP AND ITS INTERNAL STRUCTURE. Five phonological innovations and 74 lexical innovations define the Subanen subgroup as a whole. The first three phonological innovations, even taken together, offer only very weak subgrouping evidence; the fourth and fifth, however, are exclusively shared innovations unique to the Subanen languages.

(1) Loss of PGCPH *h (< PMP *h) in all positions;

(2) The loss of PGCPH *ʔ (< PMP *q) in all but word-final position;

(3) reduction of PGCPH *a > *ə in prepenult syllables and in closed penultimate syllables;

(4) The addition of word-initial *g- to all nouns that would have otherwise been vowel-initial, including those that had become vowel-initial due to the loss of initial *h or *ʔ (i.e., Rule 4 occurred after Rules 1, 2, and 3)

(5) assimilation of most PGCPH consonant clusters to clusters of *kC, *gC, or a prenasalized cluster. Note that while *k could precede both voiced and voiceless

consonants, *g could only precede a voiced consonant. The process of cluster assimilation can be broken down into four separate shifts:

(5a) [+obstruent] > [+velar, +stop] / __C

(5b) *g > [-voice] / __ [-voice]

(5c) *l > nasal / __C, with assimilation of this nasal to place of articulation of following consonant

(5d) *kk > k

There is no clear evidence for the relative order of Rules 4 and 5.

Two other phonological innovations are found in most but not all of the Subanen languages.

(1) The shift of PSUB *r > /l/, found in all members of the Subanen subgroup except Tawlet/Kalibugan and Salug-Godod Subanen;

(2) The sporadic loss of PSUB *k in a number of words, found in all members of the Subanen subgroup except Western Subanon and Western Kolibugan, as illustrated in Table 10.1.

TABLE 10.1. SUBANEN ROOTS REFLECTING LOSS OF INITIAL AND MEDIAL *K[2]

PSUB	WSUB, WKOL	TLT	SSUB	CSUB	NSUB	ESUB
INITIAL						
*(g-)Kayu 'wood'	kayu	gayu	gayu	gayu	gayu	gaju
*(g-)Kəwayan 'bamboo'	kowayan	gwayan	gwayan	gwayan	gwayan	---
*(g-)Kurən 'pot for cooking'	kolon	gurən	gulən	gulən	gulən	---
*(g-)Kumut 'blanket'	kumut	gumut	gumut	gumut	gumut	gumut
*(g-)Kilid 'edge'	kilid	gilid	gilid	gilid	---	gilid
*(g-)Kəkəp 'hug'	kokop	gəkəp	gəhəp	əkəp ~ gəkəp	gə-əp	---
*Kutu 'lice'	kutu	gutu	gutu	gutu	gutu	gutu
*Kilat 'lightning'	kilat	gilat	gilat	gilat	gilat	gilat
*(g-)Kəŋkag 'dry in sun'	kongkag	gəngkag	gənghag	gəngkag	gəngkag	gəngkag
*(g-)Kiray 'eyebrow'	kiloy	giray	gilay	gilay	gilay	gilay
MEDIAL						
*siKu 'elbow'	siku	siyu	shyu	siyu	siyu	syu
*dəruKan 'hen'	dolukan	dəruwan	dəluwan	dəluwan	dəluwan	dəluwan
*tuKad 'go uphill'	tukad	tuwad	---	tuwad	tuwad	tuwad
*daKaw 'steal'	dakow	daw	daw	doo ~ daaw	daaw	daaw
*taliKudan 'behind'	tolikudan	---	---	taliyuran	taliuran	---
*saKil 'heel'	sakil	---	sel	seel ~ sail	sail	sosail
*saKit 'sickness'	sakit	set	set	seet	---	---
*iKaʔa '2SG.NOM'	iká	yaʔa	yaʔa	yaʔa	yaʔa, dyaʔa	ijaʔa
*(n)aKən '1SG'	akon	-nan	inan	naan	naan	naan
*tiyuKan 'honeybee'	tiyukan	tiyukan	thiwan	tiwan	tiwan	tiwan

Judging by the sporadic nature of the loss of PSUB *k (i.e., PGCPH *k is reflected as /k/ in many forms even in the languages that exhibit the *k > ø shift) and the agreement across languages in regards to which forms lost *k, it seems more likely that the sporadic *k > ø innovation defines a sub-branch of the Subanen languages, consisting of all of these languages except Western Subanon and Western Kolibugan. The *r > /l/ shift therefore must have happened independently on at least two occasions: once in the ancestor of Western Subanon and Western Kolibugan (possibly under influence of

[2] The orthographic convention "K" is used in this chapter simply to indicate a Proto-Subanen *k that was lost in Proto-Nuclear Subanen, and does not indicate a separate Proto-Subanen phoneme per se.

Maguindanaon, Tausug, Cebuano, Ilonggo, and/or Butuanon, all of which reflect *r > /l), and separately in the ancestor of Central, Southern, Northern, and Eastern Subanen. Even if the forms that reflect *k as /k/ outside of Western Subanon and Western Kolibugan are argued to be the result of borrowing, the fact remains that *r > /l/ is a common shift at lower levels in the Philippines, which cuts across subgroup boundaries and therefore must have occurred independently on many separate occasions, while *k > ø is rather uncommon in the Philippines. Note also that the *k > ø shift either happened while the *g-addition rule was still productive, or it didn't need to be productive because the addition of the initial *g- was simply the result of cliticization due to a shift in prosodic patterns, much like the *liaison* of historic (and orthographic) word-final "t" in French.

The remaining phonological innovations either affect only a single language (e.g., *y > /j/ in Eastern Subanen, *ə > /o/ in Western Subanon/Kolibugan, and the series of shifts resulting in the innovation of /h/ and aspirated consonants in Southern Subanen), or likely spread via a wave model, as in the reduction of long vowels and diphthongs in a number of Subanen languages.

Table 10.2 illustrates the distribution of the phonological innovations found in one or more of the Subanen languages.

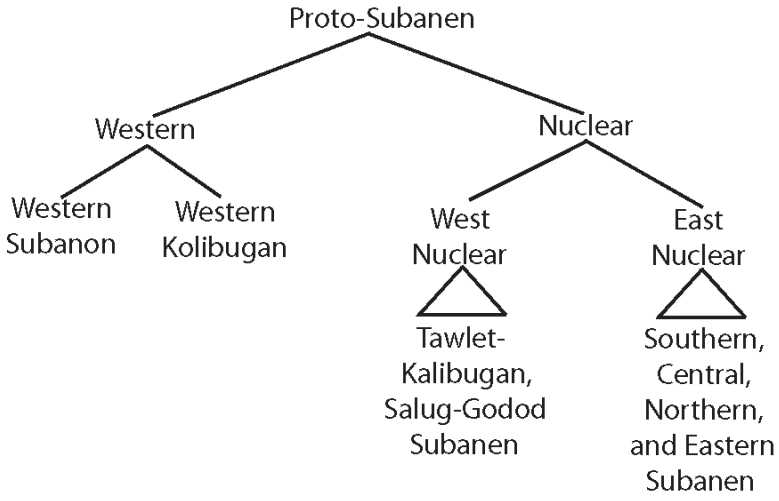
TABLE 10.2. DISTRIBUTION OF SUBANEN INNOVATIONS

	RULE	WSUB	WKOL	TLT	SGSUB	SSUB	CSUB	NSUB	ESUB
1	*h > ø	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2	*ʔ > ø	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3	CC shifts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4	initial g-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5	shifts to *a	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6	*k > ø			+	+	+	+	+	+
7	*r > l	+	+			+	+	+	+
8	*d > r					+		+	+
9	RM shifts	(+)			+	+	+		
10	diphthong reduction	+	+	+	+	+			
11	V: > V	+	+	+	+	+			
12	*ə > o	+	+						
13	SSUB shifts					+			
14	*y > j								+

(RM=reduplicated monosyllables)

The evidence from phonological innovations therefore suggests the primary branching of the Subanen subgroup to be as illustrated in Figure 10.1, with the primary split being between the languages that underwent the *k > ø shift ("Nuclear Subanen") and those that did not ("Western Subanen"), while a secondary split can be identified in the Nuclear Subanen subgroup between those languages that underwent the *r > /l/ shift ("East Nuclear Subanen") and those that retained *r as /r/ ("West Nuclear Subanen"). An independent *r > /l/ shift took place in the "Western Subanen" branch (Western Subanon and Western Kolibugan) likely as the result of contact with languages such as Tausug, Maguindanaon, Butuanon, Cebuano, and/or Ilonggo, all of which have also undergone the *r > /l/ shift apparently independently of one another.

FIGURE 10.1. THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE SUBANEN SUBGROUP



The result of this subgrouping is that in order for a reconstruction to be attributed to Proto-Subanen, it must be found both in the Western branch (i.e., in Western Subanon and/or Western Kolibugan) and the Nuclear branch. According to this criterion, there are 70 lexical innovations and five phonological innovations that define the Subanen subgroup, and well over 600 forms can be reconstructed at the Proto-Subanen level from the data available to me. Forms found in one or more Subanen languages with cognates in other subgroups could also be reconstructed to Proto-Subanen if borrowing can be ruled out, but this can often be difficult. Therefore, in order to minimize as much as possible the effect of borrowing, the more stringent criterion for inclusion in this list is that the

form be found in at least one language in each of the primary branches of the Subanen subgroup.

10.2.1. Proto-Subanen Lexical Innovations. The following 70 lexical innovations define the Subanen subgroup. Supporting data for these reconstructions can be found in the full list of reconstructions at the end of this chapter):

(1) *[k-]abitabit ‘converse’
(2) *b[a]iŋkən ‘arm’
(3) *bəbat ‘sing’
(4) *[bə]gədit ‘rip, tear’
(5) *bələŋ (*mə-bələŋ) ‘lost’
(6) *bəlilid ‘lie down’
(7) *bəliŋkawaʔ ‘spider’
(8) *bulatiʔ ‘backwards’
(9) *dədəma ‘hope’
(10) *[d]əkdak (*məŋ-[d]əkdak) ‘wash clothes’
(11) *dəlag (*mə-dəlag) ‘bright’
(12) *dəruKan ‘hen’
(13) *dupiʔ ‘rain’
(14) *[ən]daʔ-i-dun ‘there isn’t; don’t have’
(15) *g-ag[a]u-[n]-apuʔ ‘cousin’
(16) *gaŋər ‘wound (n.)’
(17) *gəbək ‘run’
(18) *gəm-bəruʔ ‘brave’
(19) *gəŋay ‘gills’
(20) *guraŋ-bataʔ ‘oldest child’
(21) *ian ‘pass by’
(22) *igin ‘scoot over’
(23) *indəgan ‘step down on’
(24) *kaig ‘knife’
(25) *[ka-]muun ‘earlier; a while ago’
(26) *kəl(ui)balu ‘thumb’
(27) *kisiŋ ‘shake the head’
(28) *[k]uladas ‘clear the throat’
(29) *ləgdəŋ (*mə-ləgdəŋ) ‘straight’
(30) *g-ləlitək ‘back of knee’
(31) *g-ləmpitut ‘dragonfly’
(32) *l(əi)[n]tuwik ‘kneel face down/on all fours’
(33) *l(əi)ŋ(əi)t ‘angry’
(34) *g-lipətay ‘firefly’
(35) *lu(dg)yaʔ ‘slow’
(36) *m[a]-ikaʔ ‘small’

(37) *mamak ‘snake’[3]
(38) *muruʔ ‘face’
(39) *pais ‘bolo knife’
(40) *pəgad ‘palate of mouth’
(41) *pəpura ‘baby’
(42) *pətubuʔan ‘animal’
(43) *puak ‘bald’
(44) *puyu[]-an ‘hammock, esp. for baby’
(45) *raŋis (*mə-raŋis) ‘rough’
(46) *g-rapuk ‘rotten (of wood)’
(47) *rəmuʔ (*mə-rəmuʔ) ‘dirty’
(48) *rərat (*mə-rərat) ‘have mercy’
(49) *rətək (*mə-rətək) ‘tight’
(50) *g-rintək ‘rice husk’
(51) *saak (*mək-saak) ‘ask’
(52) *saKil ‘heel’
(53) *sapu ‘smell, sniff’
(54) *sara-buuk ‘one’
(55) *səkəʔ ‘hiccup’
(56) *suŋag ‘horn (of animal)’
(57) *suun (*mə-suun-an) ‘know something’.
(58) *suuŋ ‘nose’
(59) *tanud ‘awaken, wake up’.
(60) *tapuk ‘lungs’
(61) *tawal (*mə-tawal) ‘generous’
(62) *təl(əi)ntiŋ ‘spine’
(63) *təpəŋ ‘measure’
(64) *tərawan ‘spear’
(65) *tərəpisuŋ ‘grasshopper’
(66) *[tə]tubuʔ ‘alive’
(67) *titiʔ ‘roast’
(68) *tugəs (*mə-tugəs) ‘hardworking’
(69) *urari ‘rest, relax’
(70) *yabaʔ (*mə-yabaʔ) ‘long (of objects)’

10.3. PROTO-SUBANEN PHONEME INVENTORY AND REFLEXES. The phoneme inventory reconstructable for Proto-Subanen is largely unremarkable in comparison to other Philippine languages. There are no additions to the general Philippine phoneme inventory, and the only Proto-Greater Central Philippine phoneme that was lost completely was PGCPH *h. Although PGCPH *ʔ was lost in most positions,

[3] Blust (pers. comm., 8/30/12) points out Sarangani Manobo *məmokan* ‘snake’, but this may be a chance resemblance.

it was retained in morpheme-final position. Prior to the loss of PGCPH *h, and of *ʔ in all non-word-final positions, PGCPH *a had shifted to *ə in closed penults and in all prepenultimate syllables.

Table 10.3 illustrates the phoneme inventory of Proto-Subanen, while Table 10.4 illustrates the reflexes of the Proto-Subanen consonants in each of the daughter languages, and Table 10.5 illustrates the reflexes of the Proto-Subanen vowels, vowel sequences, and vowel-glide sequences:

TABLE 10.3. THE PHONEMES OF PROTO-SUBANEN

CONSONANTS				VOWELS	
*p	*t	*k	*ʔ	*i	*u
*b	*d	*g		*ə	
	*s			*a	
*m	*n	*ŋ			
	*l				
	*r				
*w	*y				

TABLE 10.4. REFLEXES OF PROTO-SUBANEN CONSONANTS

PSUB	WSUB/WKOL	TLT/SGSUB	CSUB	SSUB	NSUB	ESUB
***p**	p	p	p	p	p	p
***b**	b	b	b	b	b	b
***m**	m	m	m	m	m	m
***w**	w	w	w	w	w	w
***t**	t	t	t	t	t	t
***d**	d	d	d[4]	d-r-d	d-r-d	d-r-d
***n**	n	n	n	n	n	n
***l**	l	l	l	l	l	l
***r**	l	r	l	l	l	l
***s**	s	s	s	s	s	s
***y**	y	y	y	y	y	y-j/y-y
***k**	k-k-k	k-k-k	k-k-k	h-h-k	k-k-k	ʔ-ʔ-ʔ
***K**	k-k-k	ø-ø-k	ø-ø-k	ø-ø-k	ø-ø-k	ø-ø-ʔ
***g**	g	g	g	g	g	g
***ŋ**	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ
***ʔ**	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ

[4] All of my Central Subanen informants had /d/ as the reflex of Proto-Subanen *-d-, but it has been reported that some Central Subanen communities have /r/ instead. It is also possible that these reports refer to Northern Subanen or Eastern Subanen, confusing them as dialects of Central Subanen.

Note that intervocalic PSUB *d lenites to /r/ in Southern, Northern, and Eastern Subanen (including under suffixation, and when followed by an enclitic pronoun or particle). Intervocalic PSUB *y is reflected as /j/ in Eastern Subanen. Eastern Subanen also usually reflects PSUB *k (but not PSUB *K, which had been lost in Proto-Nuclear Subanen) as /ʔ/ in all positions, and Southern Subanen reflects PSUB *k as /h/ except in coda position. As mentioned earlier, Tawlet-Kalibugan and Salug-Godod Subanen are the only languages that reflect PSUB *r as /r/; in all others, PSUB *r has shifted to /l/.

TABLE 10.5. REFLEXES OF PROTO-SUBANEN VOWELS

PSUB	WSUB/WKOL	TLT/SGSUB	SSUB	CSUB	NSUB	ESUB
***a**	a	a	a	a	a	a
***ə**	o	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə
***i**	i	i	i	i	i	i
***u**	u	u	u	u	u	u
***ai**	e	e	e	ai ~ ee	ai	ai
***au**	o	o	o	au ~ oo	au	au
***aa**	a	a	a	aa	aa	aa
***ii**	i	i	i	ii	ii	ii
***uu**	u	u	u	uu	uu	uu
***əə**	o	ə	ə	əə	əə	əə
***ay**	oy	ay	ay	ay	ay	ay
***aw**	ow	aw	aw	aw	aw	aw
***uy**	uy	uy	uy	uy	uy	uy

It is worth noting that Proto-Subanen had sequences of like vowels (/aa ii uu əə/), and sequences of two different vowels (/ai au/), resulting from the loss of intervocalic *h or *ʔ. As can be observed from Table 10.5, these sequences are retained intact in Northern, Eastern, and Central Subanen (although in the latter, /ai/ and /au/ can be realized as long mid vowels [ee] and [oo], respectively), but were shortened in Western Subanon, Western Kolibugan, Tawlet-Kalibugan, Salug-Godod Subanen, and Southern Subanen. In these five languages, the Proto-Subanen sequences *ai and *au were shortened to /e/ and /o/, respectively. Note also that Western Subanon and Western Kolibugan reflect PSUB *ə as /o/, and PSUB *ay and *aw as /oy/ and /ow/, respectively.

10.4. *g-ADDITION. One of the most readily-identifiable features of the Subanen languages is the presence of an initial *g- at the beginning of words that in other languages are "orthographically vowel-initial" (i.e., begin with initial /ʔ/, such as in Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilonggo, Bikol, Waray-Waray, etc.), as well as on words that are *h-initial or even *k-initial in other Philippine languages.

While interesting for its uniqueness among Philippine languages, this added initial /g/ seems to have a rather simple, straightforward explanation: It originates from the final *-g of the case markers—virtually omnipresent in Philippine languages—through an easily explainable process. After the loss of certain initial consonants (PGCPH *ʔ-, *h-, and, in some lexical items, *k-), a prosodic shift resulted in the case markers becoming strongly proclitic, to the point that the boundary between the case marker and the following noun became so blurred that the final *-g of the case marker was eventually reinterpreted as the initial consonant of the noun that followed. That this initial *g- originates in the case markers explains why it appears primarily (but not exclusively) on nouns and numbers. This largely parallels the situation with the addition of initial *t- in certain members of the Dusunic subgroup, and in both subgroups, case markers with these final consonants can be observed either in the same language (as with the Subanen languages) or in very closely-related languages (as with the Dusunic languages).[5]

The unique prosody of the Subanen languages is difficult to quantify, but is immediately apparent to any fieldworker who, having worked on other Philippine languages, attempts to work on a Subanen language: Unlike other Philippine languages, it is nearly impossible to determine word boundaries until one becomes more familiar with the lexicon and functors of the Subanen languages. In other words, more than in other Philippine languages, phrases sound like single phonological words. However, the observation that Subanen words have a special tendency to run into the following word is not a new observation, and is not just a matter of how outsiders perceive the languages. In referring to Central Subanen speakers over three decades ago, Brichoux (1977a:157) observed that "there is a tendency noted to write substantive phrases as one word, for

[5] Note that in the Dusunic languages that do not have the added word-initial /t/ on nouns, the case markers often have two allomorphs: a /t/-final form preceding vowel-initial words, and a /t/-less, vowel-final form preceding consonant-initial words.

example, '*sugbalayu'* ("my house"), which would be equivalent to writing [Tagalog] *ang bahay ko* as ****angbahayko* 'my house'." This is a significant observation supporting the analysis of the Subanen case markers as strongly proclitic, since native speakers of languages outside of the Subanen subgroup have never been observed to write the case marker and following noun as a single word. If anything, quite the opposite is true: in writing text messages on cellular phones, native speakers of Philippine languages sometimes even separate affixes from root words, and Malay speakers in Malaysia and Brunei have been observed to write certain prefixes separately from root words even in formal writing.

10.5. SHIFTS TO CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN PROTO-SUBANEN. As noted in Chapter 5.6, one of the most interesting aspects of the development of Proto-Subanen from Proto-Greater Central Philippines is found in the consonant clusters. While Proto-Greater Central Philippines and a number of daughter languages like Tagalog, Cebuano, Bikol, Hanunoo, and Southern Tagbanwa allow around a hundred or more possible combinations of consonants, Proto-Subanen and its daughter languages allow only around twenty,[6] primarily clusters of either (1) an obstruent or /l/ preceded by a homorganic nasal (/mb mp nd nt ŋg ŋk ns nl/), or (2) a velar followed by an obstruent, nasal, or /l/ (/gb gd kb kd kp kt ks km kn gl kl/).

In reduplicated monosyllables (RM), the vowel of the penult was neutralized to *ə, and the word-initial consonant was often lost or replaced by *g:

1) Penult vowel of RM > *ə
2) Initial consonant of RM > ø or *g (sporadic)

The following forms illustrate the restructured consonant clusters of Proto-Subanen, with reconstructions of their Proto-Greater Central Philippine source and an example from either Tagalog or another Central Philippine language:

[6] However small the inventory of 20 permissible consonant clusters may seem in comparison to better-known Philippine languages, this is not the smallest such inventory, and is twice as large as the inventories of languages such as those belonging to the Mongondow-Gorontalo subgroup, which only allow eight consonant clusters, all of which are combinations of a nasal followed by an obstruent.

(i) PSUB *nd < PGCPH *ld, *dl, *ŋd

(1) PSUB *əndək ‘afraid’ < PGCPH *haldək, cf. PBIS *hadlək, PBIK *haldək
(2) PSUB *g-əndaw ‘day’ < PGCPH *ʔaldaw, cf. PBIS *ʔadlaw, PBIK, *ʔaldaw
(3) PSUB *sindəp ‘for the sun to set’ < PGCPH *saldəp, cf. PDAB *sadləp
(4) PSUB *sunday ‘comb’ < PGCPH *sudlay, cf. PBIS *sudlay
(5) PSUB *tənduʔ ‘point (v.)’ < PGCPH *tuldu ʔ, cf. PBIS *tudluʔ, PBIK *tuldu ʔ
(6) PSUB *dəndiŋ ‘wall’ < PGCPH *diŋdiŋ, cf. TAG *dingding*
(7) PSUB *dəndəl ‘push, shove’ < PGCPH *dəldəl, cf. TAG *dildil*

(ii) PSUB *mb < PGCPH *lb

(8) PSUB *bəmbul ‘body hair; pubic hair’ < PGCPH *bulbul, cf. TAG *bulbul*

(iii) PSUB *k < PGCPH *bk, *dk, *sk, *pk

(9) PSUB *Kəkəp ‘hug’ < PGCPH *kəpkəp, cf. Talaandig *kəpkəp*
(10) PSUB *Kəkib ‘take a small bite of something’ < PGCPH *kəbkəb, cf. TAG *kibkib*
(11) PSUB *Kəkəd ‘twist fronds’ < PGCPH *kədkəd, cf. TAG *kidkid*
(12) PSUB *Kəkud ‘grate’ < PGCPH *kudkud, cf. TAG *kudkud*
(13) PSUB *Kəkis ‘shave with the edge’ < PGCPH *kiskis, cf. TAG *kiskis*

(iv) PSUB *kt < PGCPH *bt

(14) PSUB *gəktəb ‘end’ < PGCPH *təbtəb, cf. WAR *tubtob*

(v) PSUB *ks < PGCPH *ds, gs, ps, bs

(15) PSUB *pəksa ‘boil (n.)’ < PGCPH *pəgsa, cf. TAG *pigsa*
(16) PSUB *gəksid ‘edge’ < PGCPH *sidsid, cf. CEB *sidsid*
(17) PSUB *məksi- ‘plural Actor Focus prefix’ < PGCPH *magsi-, cf. TAG *magsi-*
(18) PSUB *[s]əksəp ‘suck’ < PGCPH *səpsəp, cf. TAG *sipsip*
(19) PSUB *[s]əksab ‘the sound of grazing’ < PGCPH *sabsab, cf. TAG *sabsab*
(20) PSUB *[s]əksək ‘tuck’ < PGCPH *səksək, cf. TAG *siksik*

(vi) PSUB *kp < PGCPH *gp, *sp

(21) PSUB *məkpə- ‘Actor Focus causative prefix’ < PGCPH *magpa-, cf. TAG *magpa-*
(22) PSUB *gəkpis ‘baby bird‘ < PGCPH *pispis, cf. ILONGGO *pispis*

(vii) PSUB *gd < PGCPH *bd, gd, gn

(23) PSUB *[d]əgdəb ‘chest’ < PGCPH *dəbdəb, cf. TAG *dibdib*
(24) PSUB *g-əgdan ‘ladder, stairs’ < PGCPH *hagdan, cf. TAG *hagdan*

(25) PSUB *mə-t(əi)gdaw ‘cold’ < PGCPH *ma-təg[ə]naw, cf. TAG *maginá́w*

(viii) PSUB *ŋk < PGCPH *lk

(26) PSUB *Kəŋkul ‘scratch up something that was planted; dig up’ < PGCPH *kulkul, cf. TAG *kulkol*

(iv) PSUB ŋg < PGCPH *lg

(27) PSUB *gəŋgəl ‘cut something with a sawing motion’ < PGCPH *gəlgəl, cf. TAG *gilgil*

(x) PSUB gb < PGCPH *gb, db

(28) PSUB *bəgbəd ‘tie something up’ < PGCPH *bədbəd, cf. TAG *bidbid*
(29) PSUB *bəgbud ‘spread or sprinkle something’ < PGCPH *budbud, cf. TAG *budbod*
(30) PSUB *bəgbag ‘break up or shatter something hard’ < PGCPH *bagbag, cf. TAG *bagbag*

Many forms exemplifying these consonant clusters are not found on any standard wordlist, but a number of similar examples have been found in a database of Western Subanon lexicon kindly provided by William Hall of SIL-Philippines:

(xi) WSUB gl < PGCPH *bl

(31) WSUB *loglub* ‘immerse in liquid’ < PGCPH *lublub, cf. TAG *lublob*

(xii) WSUB nd < PGCPH *ld

(32) WSUB *dondul* ‘urge someone to do something’ < PGCPH *duldul, cf. TAG *duldol*

(xiii) WSUB ns < PGCPH *ls

(33) WSUB *sonsol* ‘regret’ < PGCPH *səlsəl, cf. TAG *sísi* (reflecting sporadic loss of *l)

(xiv) WSUB mb < PGCPH *lb

(34) WSUB *bombol* ‘water that has been dammed up’ < PGCPH *bəlbəl, cf. TAG *bilbil*
(35) WSUB *bombal* ‘hit someone with a stick’ < PGCPH *balbal, cf. ILONGGO *balbal*

(xv) WSUB kt < PGCPH *gt

(36) WSUB *bakting* ‘to make a ringing sound by striking something’ < PGCPH *bagtiŋ, cf. TAG *bagting*

A careful study of forms with consonant clusters would undoubtedly produce many additional similar forms, but would require access to a larger set of data than is currently available for each of the other Subanen languages, and for other members of the Greater Central Philippines subgroup in which consonant clusters are reflected more conservatively.

10.6 PROTO-SUBANEN RECONSTRUCTIONS. This section contains some 618 Proto-Subanen lexical reconstructions. Parentheses indicate that either of the enclosed segments was present in the protolanguage, while square brackets indicate that the segment(s) contained therein were optional.

PSUB ***(dg)əgdəb*** ‘chest’: WSUB *gigdob;* WKOL *digdob;* TLT *dəgdəb;* SSUB *gəddəb;* CSUB *gəgdəb ~ gəddəb*; NSUB *gədəb;* SGSUB, ESUB *gəgdəb*. Cf. PDAN *rarəb, PGCPH *dəbdəb.

PSUB ***(dl)əlabuŋ*** ‘afternoon’: WKOL *lolabuŋ;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB *dəlabuŋ;* SSUB *ləlabuŋ*.

PSUB ***(əi)yup*** ‘blow’: WSUB, WKOL *oyup;* SSUB *iyup;* CSUB, NSUB *iyup;* ESUB *əjup*. Cf. PDAN *m-iyop, PGCPH *h(iəu)yəp.

PSUB ***(gb)əkbuk*** ‘woodborer’: WSUB *gokbuk;* WKOL *bokbuk;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB *gəkbuk;* NSUB *bəʔpuʔ;* ESUB *binəkbuk*. Cf. PDAN *bubuk, PGCPH *bukbuk.

PSUB ***(gk)əŋkag*** ‘dry in sun’: WSUB, WKOL *kongkag;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gəngkag;* SSUB *gənghag*. Cf. PBUH *kalkag.

PSUB ***(gp)əkpak*** ‘wing’: WSUB *gokpak;* WKOL *pokpak;* TLT, CSUB *gəkpak;* SSUB *gəphak;* NSUB *gaʔpaʔ;* ESUB *gəkpak ~ pəkpak*. PGCPH *pakpak.

PSUB ***(gs)əksəp*** ‘suck, sip’: WSUB, WKOL *soksop;* TLT *məksəp;* SSUB *gishəp;* CSUB *gəksəp;* NSUB *məʔsəp;* ESUB *səksəpən ~ gəksəp*. PGCPH *səpsəp.

PSUB ***[b]əmbus*** ‘later’: WSUB, WKOL *bombus;* TLT, NSUB, ESUB *əmbus;* SSUB *bus;* CSUB *buus*. PGCPH *bu[k]as.

PSUB ***-[bə]gaan** ‘light (weight)’: WSUB *ombogan;* WKOL *mobogan;* TLT, SGSUB *əubəgan;* SSUB *məgan ~ gəmbəgan;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *məgaan*. PGCPH *gaʔan.

PSUB ***[bə]gədit** ‘rip, tear’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *godit;* TLT, CSUB *gədit;* SSUB *gərit;* ESUB *bəgdit*. Cf. MAR *miyarədit*.

PSUB ***[bə]rəmaʔ** ‘tomorrow’: WSUB *boloma?;* WKOL *loma?;* TLT *rəma?;* SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *ləma?*.

PSUB ***[d]atəŋ** ‘arrive’: WSUB *atong;* TLT, NSUB *atəng;* SSUB *ratəng;* CSUB, ESUB *datəng*. PGCPH *datəŋ. Note loss of initial consonant of this form in Sabah also.

PSUB ***[d-]rəmət** ‘play’: WSUB, WKOL *lomot;* TLT *rəmət;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *ləmət*. Cf. PDAN *darəmət.

PSUB ***[ən]daʔ** ‘there isn’t; doesn’t have; PAST NEGATIVE’: WSUB, WKOL *daʔ;* SSUB *gəndaʔ;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *ndaʔ*. PGCPH *( )daʔ.

PSUB ***[ən]daʔ-idun** ‘there isn’t; doesn’t have’: WSUB, TLT *daʔidun;* WKOL *daʔdun;* SSUB *(gə)ndaʔirun;* CSUB *(n)daʔidun;* NSUB *(n)daʔirun;* ESUB *daʔirun*.

PSUB ***[ən]diʔ** ‘NON-PAST NEGATIVE; don’t like’: WSUB, WKOL *diʔ;* SSUB *gəndiʔ;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *ndiʔ*. PGCPH *[h]indiʔ.

PSUB ***[gəm-]pula** ‘red’: WSUB, WKOL *pula;* TLT *pura;* SGSUB *əmpura;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gəmpula*. PGCPH *purá (only CPH, SUB and ALANGAN, and Alangan form could be a borrowing from Tagalog).

PSUB ***[gəm-]putiʔ** ‘white’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT *putî;* SGSUB *əmputî;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gəmputî*. Cf. PDAN *ma-putiʔ. PGCPH *ma-putíʔ.

PSUB ***[i]bud-ibud** ‘hair whorl’: WSUB *gibudibud;* TLT *buribud;* SSUB *buliburan;* CSUB, NSUB *bulibud*.

PSUB ***[in-]aKən** ‘1SG.TOP’: WSUB, WKOL *akon*, SSUB *inan;* CSUB *inaan*. PGCPH *ʔakən ‘1SG.OBL’, PGCPH *nakən ‘1SG.GEN’.

PSUB ***[iŋ]luʔud** ‘kneel’: WSUB *ingluʔud;* CSUB *luud;* NSUB *luʔud;* ESUB *luʔud*.

PSUB ***[k]abitabit** ‘converse’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL, SGSUB *migabitabit;* CSUB *gabitabit;* ESUB *-kabit*.

PSUB ***[k]uladas** ‘clear the throat’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB *uladas*, SSUB *ulad;* CSUB, NSUB *ularas*.

PSUB ***[ka-]muun*** 'earlier' (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *komun;* TLT *mun;* SSUB *haʔmun;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *muun*.

PSUB ***[kə-]manak*** 'nephew, niece': WSUB, WKOL *komanak;* TLT *kəmanak;* SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *manak;* NSUB *manâ*.

PSUB ***[kə-]tawa*** 'laugh': WSUB, WKOL *kotawa;* TLT, CSUB *kətawa;* SSUB *khətawa;* NSUB, ESUB *tawa*. PGCPH *táwa.

PSUB ***[m-]əndək*** 'afraid': WSUB, WKOL *m-ondok;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *m-əndək*. Cf. PDAN *()lək, PGCPH *haldək.

PSUB ***[m-]ənik*** 'climb, go up': WSUB, WKOL *monik;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *mənik;* NSUB *mənî*. Cf. PDAN *(mp)anik. PGCPH *panəhik.

PSUB ***[m-]indəg*** 'stand': WSUB, WKOL *–indog;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *-indəg*. PGCPH *tindəg.

PSUB ***[m-]inum*** 'drink': WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *minum*. Cf. PDAN *inum, PGCPH *ʔinúm.

PSUB ***[m-]iŋkud*** 'sit': WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *-ingkud*. PGCPH *[l]iŋkud.

PSUB ***[m-]udu*** 'defecate': WSUB, WKOL, TLT *m-udu;* SSUB, NSUB *m-uru*. Cf. PDAN *m-udu, PSBIK *ʔədəʔ.

PSUB ***[m-]uliʔ*** 'return': WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *m-ulî*. PGCPH *[pa]ʔuliʔ.

PSUB ***[pə-]dayun*** 'continue': WSUB *podayun;* WKOL *dayun;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB *pədayun;* ESUB *pərajun.* PBis *dayun.

PSUB ***[sə-,mə-]gatus*** 'one hundred': WSUB, WKOL *sogatus;* TLT, CSUB *səgatus;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *məgatus;* ESUB *bəgatus.* PGCPH *saŋ-gatus.

PSUB ***[t(əi)]təŋaʔ-gəbii*** 'midnight': WSUB, WKOL *təŋaʔ-gobi;* TLT *tətəngaʔ-gəbi;* SSUB *thitəŋaʔ-gəbi;* CSUB, NSUB, *titəngaʔ-gəbii*.

PSUB ***<in>*** 'past tense-aspect': WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB <*in*>. PGCPH *<in>.

PSUB ***<um>*** 'Actor Focus': WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB <*um*>. PGCPH *<um>.

PSUB ***=a*** ‘2SG.NOM’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *=a*. PGCPH *=ka.

PSUB ***=ən*** ‘3SG.GEN’: TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *=ən*

PSUB ***=ka*** ‘2SG.NOM’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT *ka;* SUB *ha;* NSUB *=ʔa*. PGCPH *=ka.

PSUB ***=ku*** ‘1SG.GEN’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT *=ku;* NSUB *=ʔu*. PGCPH *=ku.

PSUB ***=mu*** ‘2SG.GEN’: WSUB, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *=mu*. PGCPH *=mu.

PSUB ***=nən*** ‘3SG.GEN’: WSUB *=non*, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *=nən*. PGCPH *=ni-ya.

PSUB ***=nu*** ‘2SG.GEN’: WKOL, ESUB *=nu*. PGCPH (?) *=nu.

PSUB ***=u*** ‘1SG.GEN’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *=u*.

PSUB ***=u*** ‘1SG.NOM’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *=u*.

PSUB ***adin*** ‘where’: SSUB *arin;* CSUB *adin*. PGCPH *ha-diʔin.

PSUB ***ain*** ‘where’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB *ain;* SSUB *en*. PGCPH *haʔin.

PSUB ***alap*** ‘get’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB *alap*. PGCPH *ʔalap.

PSUB ***ami*** ‘1EXCL.NOM’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *ami*. PGCPH *kami.

PSUB ***amu*** ‘2PL.NOM’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *amu*. PGCPH *kamu.

PSUB ***-an*** ‘Location Focus suffix’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *-an*. PGCPH *-an.

PSUB ***ara[n]*** ‘what’: WSUB, WKOL *olo;* TLT *ara;* SSUB *alan;* CSUB *alandun ~ andun;* NSUB *landun*. PGCPH *ŋáran ‘name’.

PSUB ***arək*** ‘kiss’: WSUB, WKOL *alok;* TLT *arək;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *alək*. PGCPH *ha(dr)ək.

PSUB ***atəd*** ‘escort’: WSUB, WKOL *atod;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB *atəd*. PGCPH *hátəd.

PSUB ***awaʔ*** ‘leave’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB *awâ*. Cf. PDAN *m-awaʔ. PGCPH *hawaʔ.

PSUB ***-ay*** ‘Location Focus imperative, past negative, and future subjunctive suffix’: WSUB, WKOL *-oy;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *-ay*. PGCPH *-ay.

PSUB ***b[a]iŋkən*** ‘arm’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *bingkon;* TLT *bingkən;* SSUB *benghən;* CSUB *bengkan;* NSUB *bengkən;* ESUB *bingkən*.

PSUB ***baaʔ** ‘flood’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB *bâ;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *baaʔ*. PGCPH *baháʔ.

PSUB ***babaʔ** ‘mouth’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *babâ*. PGCPH *baʔbaʔ.

PSUB ***babuy** ‘pig’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *babuy*. Cf. PDAN *babuy, PGCPH *bábuy.

PSUB ***baga** ‘coals, embers’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *baga*. Cf. PDAN *waga, PGCPH *bága.

PSUB ***baga** ‘shoulders’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *baga*. Cf. PDAN *wága, PGCPH *ʔabága.

PSUB ***bagyuʔ** ‘storm’: WSUB, WKOL, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bagyû*. PGCPH *bagyuʔ.

PSUB ***baktin** ‘piglet’: WSUB *boktin*, TLT, NSUB, ESUB *baktin;* SSUB *bəthin;* CSUB *bəktin*. PGCPH *baktin.

PSUB ***balay** ‘house’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *balay*. Cf. PDAN *walay, PGCPH *baláy.

PSUB ***balu** ‘widow’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *balu*. Cf. PDAN *balu, PGCPH *bálu.

PSUB ***balun** ‘provisions, packed food’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *balun*. PGCPH *bálun.

PSUB ***baŋgaʔ** ‘crash’: WSUB, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *banggâ*. PGCPH *baŋgaʔ.

PSUB ***bariʔ** ‘break off, snap’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB . PGCPH *bariʔ.

PSUB ***basak** ‘mud’. WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *basak;* NSUB *basâ*. Cf. PMNBO *basak ‘mud’ (ATA, MS, TGW, PUL, OBO, TBW) but ‘land’ (KGY, KAM); AGU *bagsak* ‘mud’. Cf. also MAR *basak* ‘rice field’. possibly PSPH *basak ‘arable land’ or ‘wetlands’.

PSUB ***basaʔ** ‘wet’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT *mibasaʔ;* CSUB, NSUB *basâ;* SSUB, ESUB *gəmbasaʔ*. Cf. PDAN *ma-wasaʔ. PGCPH *basáʔ.

PSUB ***bataʔ** ‘child; offspring’: WSUB *gombatâ;* WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *batâ*. Cf. PDAN *wataʔ, PGCPH *bátaʔ.

PSUB ***batiʔ** ‘brother-in-law (M=M): WSUB, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *batî*. Cf. PDAN *batiʔ, also Tagabawa, possibly PSPH *batiʔ.

PSUB ***batu** ‘stone’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *batu*. PGCPH *batú.

PSUB ***bayad** ‘pay’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *bayad;* ESUB *bajad*. Cf. PDAN *bayad). PGCPH *báyad.

PSUB ***bayu** ‘pound rice’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bayu*. PGCPH *bayú.

PSUB ***bə(bk)uku** ‘ankle’: WSUB *bobuku;* TLT *bəbuku;* SSUB *bəhuhu;* CSUB *bəkuku;* NSUB *bəʔuʔu*. PGCPH *bukubúku.

PSUB ***bəbat** ‘sing’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB *mogbobat;* SSUB *mibəbat;* CSUB *bəbat*.

PSUB ***bədəs** ‘pregnant’: WSUB, WKOL *bodos* ‘pregnant (of people or animals)’; TLT *bədəs* ‘pregnant (of people or animals)’; NSUB, ESUB *bərəs* ‘pregnant (of people or animals)’; SSUB *bərəs* ‘pregnant (of animals)’; CSUB *bədəs* ‘pregnant (of animals)’. Cf. PMNBO *bədəs. PGCPH *[ma-]bədə́s.

PSUB ***bəgaŋ** ‘molar tooth’: WSUB, WKOL *bogang;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bəgang*. Cf. PDAN *bagaŋ. PGCPh *bagʔaŋ.

PSUB ***bəgas** ‘uncooked rice’: WSUB, WKOL *bogas;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bəgas*. PGCPH *bəgás.

PSUB ***bəgay** ‘give’: WSUB, WKOL *bogoy;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bəgay*. PGCPH *bəgáy

PSUB ***bəgisan** ‘shark’: WSUB, WKOL *bogisan;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB *bəgisan*. cf. PDAN *bagisan.

PSUB ***bəgu** ‘new; change’: WSUB, WKOL *bogu;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bəgu*. Cf. PDAN *bagu. PGCPH *baʔgu.

PSUB ***bəklaʔ** ‘split, chop (coconut)’: WSUB *boklâ;* SGSUB, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *bəklâ*. Cf. PWBIS *bəkáʔ, STGB *bəlâ*, SPAL *bolâ*, PSBIS *bukáʔ (probably *bəkáʔ), MMW *bəlâ*. PGCPH *bə[k][l]aʔ.

PSUB ***bəlaʔi** ‘co-parents-in-law’: WSUB *bolaʔi;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bəlaʔi*. Cf. PDAN *balaʔi, PGCPH *bala[ʔ]i.

PSUB ***bələg** ‘eel’: WSUB, WKOL *bolog;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bələg*.

PSUB ***bəlilid** ‘lie down’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *bolilid;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bəlilid*. Cf. BANGON *mafulidan*, MONGONDOW *ulid*, BOLANGO *tolilidu.*

PSUB ***bəlilid-an** ‘bed’: WSUB, WKOL *bolilidan;* TLT, CSUB *bəlilidan;* NSUB, ESUB *bəliliran.* From *bəlilid ‘lie down’ + *-an ‘location suffix’.

PSUB ***bəliŋkawaʔ** ‘spider’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *bolingkawâ;* TLT, CSUB, ESUB *bəlingkawâ;* SSUB *bəlinghawâ*.

PSUB ***bəmbul** ‘body hair, pubic hair’: WSUB, WKOL *bombul* ‘body hair, pubic hair’; TLT, NSUB *bəmbul* ‘pubic hair’; SSUB *bəubul* ‘feathers, animal fur’; CSUB, ESUB *bəmbul* ‘body hair, pubic hair’. PGCPH *bulbul ‘body hair, pubic hair’.

PSUB ***bənəd** ‘numb’: WSUB, WKOL *bonod;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bənəd*. Cf. PDAN *bənəd. PGCPH *banhəd.

PSUB ***bəniʔ** ‘rice seed’: WSUB, WKOL *bonî;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bənî*. Cf. PDAN *uniʔ. PGCPH *b(əi)nhiʔ.

PSUB ***bəntud** ‘mountain’: WSUB, WKOL *bontud;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bəntud*.

PSUB ***bəŋəl** ‘deaf’: WSUB, WKOL *bongol;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bəngəl*. PGCPH *bəŋə́l.

PSUB ***bəsug** ‘full, satiated’: WSUB *mibosug;* WKOL *bosug;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *mibəsug;* NSUB *bəsug*. Cf. PDAN *ma-usug. PGCPH *bəsúg.

PSUB ***bətaŋ** ‘put, place’: WSUB, WKOL *botang;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bətang*. PGCPH *bətáŋ.

PSUB ***bətaŋ-an** ‘container’: WSUB, WKOL *botangan;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bətangan*. PGCPH *bətaŋ-an. From *bətaŋ ‘put’ + *-an ‘location suffix’.

PSUB ***bətuŋ** ‘bamboo, or type thereof’: WSub, WKol *botung;* Tlt, SSub, CSub, ESub *bətung* . Cf. PDAN *bəntuŋ. PGCPH *bətuŋ.

PSUB ***bibaŋ** ‘left (direction/side)’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bibang*. Cf. PDAN *biwaŋ; PMNBO *gibaŋ (TAL, HIG, UMA, ATA, TGW, PUL *gibang*), but OBO, TBW *ibang*, SAR *bibang*; not found in EMNBO). Possibly PSPH *(gb)ibaŋ. Cf. PSWSABAH *Ribaŋ.

PSUB ***bitin** ‘hang by rope’: WSUB, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bitin*.

PSUB ***bituun** ‘star’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB *bitun;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bituun*. Cf. PDAN *bituʔun, PGCPH *bituʔən.

PSUB ***buat** ‘get up, rise from bed’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *buwat*. Cf. PDAN *m-buat, UMA *buwat* ‘wake up’, possibly PSPH *buhat.

PSUB ***bulan** ‘moon’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bulan*. Cf. PDAN *ulan, PGCPH *búlan.

PSUB ***bulaŋ** ‘cockfight’: WSUB, WKOL, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *bulang*. PGCPH *búlaŋ.

PSUB ***bulatiʔ** ‘backwards’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB *-bulatî*.

PSUB ***bulawan** ‘gold’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bulawan*. Cf. PDAN *bulawan. PGCPH *buláwan.

PSUB ***bulig** ‘branch of bananas’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bulig*. Cf. PDAN *ulig. PGCPH *búlig.

PSUB ***bulinaw** ‘anchovy’: WSUB, WKOL *bulinow;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bulinaw*. Cf. PDAN *bulinaw. PGCPH *bulináw.

PSUB ***buliʔ** ‘vagina’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB *bulî*. PGCPH *bulíʔ ‘buttocks’.

PSUB ***buluŋ** ‘medicine’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *bulung*. PGCPH *bulúŋ.

PSUB ***buni** ‘ringworm’: WSUB, WKOL, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *buni*. PGCPH *buʔni.

PSUB ***bunuʔ**, ***m-unuʔ** ‘kill’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB *bunû, munû*. Cf. PDAN *m-unuʔ, PGCPH *bunuʔ. (Possibly a semantic shift from earlier meaning of ‘kill an animal’.)

PSUB ***buŋa** ‘fruit’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bunga*. Cf. PDAN *uŋa, PGCPH *búŋa.

PSUB ***buŋiʔ** ‘harelip’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bungî*. PGCPH *buŋiʔ.

PSUB ***burak** ‘flower’: WSUB, SSUB *bulak-bulak;* WKOL, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bulak;* TLT *burak*. PGCPH *búrak.

PSUB ***buraʔ** ‘foam, bubble’: WSUB, WKOL, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *bulâ;* TLT *burâ*.

PSUB ***buriraŋ** ‘stomach worm’: WSUB, WKOL, SSUB, CSUB *bulilang;* TLT *burirang.* Cf. MAGUINDANAON *balilang*.

PSUB ***buta** ‘blind’: WSUB, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB. PGCPH *buta.

PSUB ***butuʔ** ‘penis’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *butû*. PGCPH *bútuʔ.

PSUB ***buuk** ‘hair’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB *buk;* SGSUB, CSUB, ESUB *buuk;* NSUB *buuʔ*. Cf. PDAN *buk, PGCPH *buhə́k.

PSUB ***buʔu** ‘turtle’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *buʔu*. Cf. PDAN *baʔu[ʔu], PGCPH *baʔuʔu.

PSUB ***bwaya** ‘crocodile’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB *bwaya;* NSUB *gwaya;* ESUB *bwaja*. Cf. PDAN *buwaya, PGCPH *buʔáya.

PSUB ***daan** ‘old (obj.)’: WKOL *dan;* TLT *karaan;* SGSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *daan*. PGCPH *daʔan. PGCPH *daʔan.

PSUB ***dagat** ‘sea’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *dagat*. Cf. PDAN *ragat, PGCPH *dagat.

PSUB ***daKaw** ‘steal’: WSUB, WKOL *dakow;* TLT, SSUB *daw;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *daaw*. PGCPH *tákaw.

PSUB ***dalan** ‘street, road, path’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *dalan*. Cf. PDAN *lalan, PGCPH *dálan.

PSUB ***daliʔ-əndaw** ‘early morning’: WKOL *doliʔ-andow;* TLT *daliʔ-əndaw;* SSUB *daliʔ-gəndaw;* CSUB *daliindaw;* NSUB *dəliʔ-əndaw*. PGCPH *[ma-]dalíʔ-[ŋa]-ʔaldaw.

PSUB ***danaw** ‘lake’: WSUB *danaw ~ danow;* CSUB, ESUB *danaw*. Cf. PDAN *ranaw. PGCPH *dánaw.

PSUB ***daŋaw** ‘handspan’: WSUB, WKOL *dangow;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *dangaw*. Cf. PDAN *raŋaw, PGCPH *dáŋaw.

PSUB ***dapiʔ-ən** ‘slap body w/ hand’: WSUB, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *dapî*. Cf. PMNBO *tagpiʔ, but DIB *dagpî*, PDAB, PSBIS *dagpiʔ, also MMW *dagpî ~ dapî.* PGCPH *da[g]piʔ.

PSUB ***darag, *mə-darag** ‘yellow’: WSUB, WKOL *dalag;* TLT *darag;* SGSUB *mədarag;* SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *məralag;* CSUB *mədalag*. PGCPH *ma-darag.

PSUB ***dataʔ** ‘lie face up’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *datâ*. Cf. ALANGAN *patarata,* TADYAWAN *katalataan*.

PSUB ***datuʔ-təndu ʔ** ‘middle finger’: WSUB, WKOL *datû ponondû;* TLT, CSUB, ESUB *datû təndû;* SSUB *datû thəndû*. Cf. TAGALOG *dátò*.

PSUB ***daun** ‘leaf’: WSUB, WKOL, CSUB, ESUB *daun;* TLT, SSUB *don;* NSUB *doon*. Cf. PDAN *daʔun, PGCPH *dáhun.

PSUB ***dədəma** ‘hope’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB *dodama,* WKOL *dadama;* SSUB, NSUB *dərama*.

PSUB ***dəkət** ‘stick to’: WSUB, WKOL *dokot;* TLT *dəkət;* SSUB *dəhət;* CSUB, ESUB *-əkət*. PGCPH *dəkəʈ.

PSUB ***dələm** ‘raincloud’: WSUB *dolom;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *dələm*. cf. BULALAKAWNON *dulom,* SARANGANI MANOBO *dimələm*, MANDAYA MANOBO *alindəəm*, SAMĀ IGACOS, KAAGAN *dəgləm*. PGCPH *dələ́m ‘dark’, cf. GORONTALO *duomo* ‘raincloud’, MONGONDOW *golom*.

PSUB ***dəndiŋ** ‘wall’: WSUB, WKOL *donding;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *dənding*. PGCPH *diŋdiŋ.

PSUB ***dəŋguʔ** ‘dock (v.)’: WSUB, WKOL *donggû;* TLT, SSUB *dənggû;* CSUB *dinggû;* NSUB *-ringgû;* ESUB *-rənggû*.

PSUB ***dəpa** ‘spread arms’: WSUB, WKOL *dopa;* SGSUB, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *dəpa*. PGCPH *dəpa.

PSUB ***dəraga** ‘unmarried woman’: WSUB *dolaga;* TLT *dəraga;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *dəlaga*. Cf. PDAN *raga. PGCPH *darága.

PSUB ***dəruKan** ‘hen’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *dolukan;* TLT *dəruwan;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *dəluwan*.

PSUB ***di[g]** ‘oblique common noun case marker’: TLT, CSUB, NSUB *dig;* SSUB *di*. PGCPH *di.

PSUB ***di-aləm** ‘inside; under’: WSUB, WKOL *diyalom;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *diyaləm*. Cf. PDAN *didaləm, PGCPH *dáləm.

PSUB ***dia-naKən** ‘1SG.OBL’: WSUB *diyanakon ~ dinakon ~ donakon;* WKOL *dinakon;* TLT *dyanan;* SSUB *dyanan ~ riyanan;* CSUB, NSUB *dinaan*.

PSUB ***dia-nami** ‘1EXCL.OBL’: WSUB *diyanami ~ dinami ~ donami;* WKOL, CSUB, NSUB *dinami;* SSUB *dyanami ~ riyanami*.

PSUB ***dia-niKa** ‘2SG.OBL’: WSUB *dinika ~ donika;* WKOL *dinyika;* TLT *dyaniʔa;* SSUB *dyaniʔa ~ riyaniʔa;* CSUB, NSUB *diniʔa*.

PSUB ***dia-niran** ‘3PL.OBL’: WSUB *diyanilan ~ dinilan;* WKOL *dinilon;* TLT *dyaniran;* SSUB *dyanlan ~ riyanlan;* CSUB, NSUB *dinilan*.

PSUB ***dia-nita** ‘1INCL.OBL’: WSUB *diyanita ~ dinita ~ donita;* WKOL, CSUB, NSUB *dinita;* TLT *dyanta;* SSUB *dyanta ~ riyanta*.

PSUB ***dia-niyən** ‘3SG.OBL’: WSUB *dyanon ~ dyonon;* WKOL *dinyanin;* TLT *dyanin;* SSUB *dyanin ~ riyanin;* CSUB, NSUB *diniin*.

PSUB ***dia-niyu** ‘2PL.OBL’: WSUB *diyaniyu ~ diniyu ~ doniyu;* WKOL *dinyu;* SSUB *dyanyu ~ riyanyu;* CSUB, NSUB *diniyu*.

PSUB ***dibabaw** ‘on top of’: WKOL *dibabow*, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *dibabaw*. Cf. PDAN *liyawaw, PGCPH *di-bábaw.

PSUB ***diən** ‘there (oblique demonstrative, proximate to 2nd-person)’: WSUB *diyon;* WKOL *dyon;* TLT *din;* SSUB *din ~ rin;* CSUB, NSUB *diin*.

PSUB ***diksun** ‘go downhill’: WSUB, TLT, CSUB, NSUB *diksun*. Cf. Hanunoo *dugson*, Tawbuwid *dukson*.

PSUB ***dilaʔ** ‘tongue’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *dilâ*. Cf. PDAN *dilaʔ. PGCPH *dílaʔ.

PSUB ***dini** ‘here (oblique demonstrative, proximate to 1st-person)’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *dini;* SSUB *dini ~ rini*.

PSUB ***ditu[ʔ]** ‘there (oblique demonstrative, not proximate to either 1st- or 2nd-person)’: WSUB, WKOL, CSUB *dituʔ;* TLT *ditu;* SSUB *ditu ~ ritu;* NSUB, ESUB *ditu*.

PSUB ***duduʔ** ‘breast’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, NSUB, ESUB *dudû;* SSUB *durû*. Cf. EMNBO *dúduʔ. PGCPH *dúduʔ.

PSUB ***dugaŋ** ‘add’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT *dungag;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *dugang*. PGCPH *dúgaŋ.

PSUB ***dugi** ‘thorn’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *dugi*. PGCPH *dúgi.

PSUB ***duguʔ** ‘blood’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *dugû*. Cf. PDAN *ruguʔ, PGCPH *dugúʔ.

PSUB ***duma** ‘companion’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB *duma*. Cf. PMNBO *[ka]duma, MAR *karuma* ‘spouse’.

PSUB ***dumaraga** ‘young hen’: TLT *dumaraga*, NSUB, ESUB *dumalaga*. PGCPH *dumarága.

PSUB ***duŋaw** ‘look out of window’: WSUB, WKOL *dungow;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *dungaw*.

PSUB ***dupiʔ** ‘rain’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *dupî*.

PSUB ***duraʔ** ‘spit’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *dulâ;* SSUB *durâ*. Cf. PDAN *dudaʔ. PGCPH *duráʔ.

PSUB ***duun** ‘there is; have’: TLT, SSUB *dun;* CSUB, NSUB *duun;* ESUB *irun*.

PSUB ***duwaʔ** ‘two’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *duwaʔ*. PGCPH *du[h]a.

PSUB ***ədam** ‘borrow’: WSUB, WKOL *odam;* TLT, CSUB *ədam;* SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *əram*. PGCPH *hədam.

PSUB ***əg** ‘nominative common noun case marker’: WSUB, WKOL *og;* CSUB *ag;* TLT, ESUB *əg;* WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *g-* (frozen initial consonant on earlier vowel-initial nouns). PGCPH *ʔa[ŋ].

PSUB ***əgaw-ən** ‘snatch, grab’: WSUB, WKOL *agow;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB *agaw*. PGCPH *agaw.

PSUB ***-ən** ‘Object Focus suffix’: WSUB, WKOL *–on;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *-ən*

PSUB ***əwit** ‘bring’: WSUB, WKOL *-owit;* SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *-wit;* NSUB *-uwit*. cf. HIG *iwit*, LOTUD *owit*, RUNGUS *ovit*, SABIS, LIBIS *obit*.

PSUB ***g-(dl)əgami** ‘rice stalk’: WSUB, WKOL *lugami;* TLT *ləgami;* CSUB *ləgami ~ dəgami;* NSUB *linəgami;* ESUB *dəgami*. Cf. PDAN *ragami, PGCPH *dagámi.

PSUB ***g-[d]unut** ‘accompany’: WSUB, WKOL, SSUB *unut;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB *dunut*. Cf. PDAN *m-unut.

PSUB ***g-[ə]pat** ‘four’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT *pat;* SSUB *phat;* CSUB *paat;* NSUB, ESUB *gəpat*. PGCPH *ʔəpat. [Note that reflexes with /ə/ likely derive from PGCPH *ʔa-ʔəpát, while forms without /ə/ likely derive from PGCPH *ʔəpát]

PSUB ***gabi** ‘taro’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gabi*. PGCPH *gábi.

PSUB ***g-abu** ‘ash’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gabu*. PGCPH *ʔabú.

PSUB ***gabun** ‘cloud’: WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gabun*. Cf. PDAN *gabun, PMNBO *gabun (cf. HIG, AGU, TGW), cf. SPAL *gabun* ‘raincloud’. PGCPH *gabun.

PSUB ***g-agau-[n]-apuʔ** ‘cousin’ (as a compound, this is a PSUB innovation): WSUB, WKOL *goguwapû;* TLT *gəgu-apû;* SGSUB *gagawapû;* CSUB *gagawnapû’;* NSUB, ESUB *gagunapû*. Cf. CEB, NMNBO *ig-agaw*.

PSUB ***g-alad** ‘fence’: WSUB, WKOL, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *galad*. PGCPH *ʔalad.

PSUB ***g-alin** ‘move’: WSUB *lalin;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *galin;* NSUB *alin*. PGCPH *halin.

PSUB ***g-amaʔ** ‘father’ (address form w/o *g-): WSUB, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *(g)amâ*. Cf. PDAN *amaʔ, PGCPH *ʔamáʔ.

PSUB ***gamit** ‘use’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gamit*. PGCPH *gámit.

PSUB ***g-anay** ‘termite’: WSub *ganəy ~ gangay;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *ganay*. PGCPH *ʔánay.

PSUB ***g-ani** ‘harvest’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gani*. PGCPH *ʔáni.

PSUB ***gansay** ‘joke’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *gansoy;* TLT *gansay*. Cf. also SSUB, CSUB *gansô*.

PSUB ***g-aŋas** ‘forehead’. WSUB, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gangas*. Cf. PBUH *aŋas, Han *bangas*. Possibly PGCPH *[]aŋas.

PSUB ***gaŋər** ‘wound (n.)’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *gangol;* TLT *gangər;* SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *gangəl*.

PSUB ***g-apan** ‘locust’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB. PGCPH *ʔapan.

PSUB ***gapas** ‘cotton’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gápas*. Cf. PDAN *gapas, PGCPH *(gk)ápas. Ultimately a Sanskrit loan via Malay (Wilkinson 1959).

PSUB ***g-apid** ‘twin’: WSUB, SGSub, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gapid*. cf. ILO *kapíd,* PWBIS *kapíd.

PSUB ***g-apug** ‘lime’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gapug*. Cf. PDAN *apug, PGCPH *ʔápug.

PSUB ***g-apuy** ‘fire’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gapuy*. Cf. PDAN *apuy, PGCPH *hapúy.

PSUB ***g-apuʔ** ‘grandparent; grandchild’: WSUB, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gapû*. Cf. PDAN *apuʔ, PGCPH *ʔapuʔ.

PSUB ***g-apuʔ** ‘owner’: WSUB, WKOL, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gapû*. Cf. HAN apo, BANGON *tagafu*, PALAWAN *ompû*, MALAY/INDONESIAN *–empu*.

PSUB ***gatas** ‘milk’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gatas*. Cf. PDAN *gatas, PGCPH *gátas.

PSUB ***g-atay** ‘liver’: WSUB, WKOL *gatoy;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gatay*. Cf. PDAN *atay, PGCPH *ʔatáy.

PSUB ***g-atəp** ‘roof’: WSUB, WKOL *gatop;* SGSUB, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gatə*. Cf. PDAN *atəp, PGCPH *ʔátəp.

PSUB ***g-awak** ‘waist’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, ESUB *gawak;* NSUB *gawâ*. PGCPH *háwak.

PSUB ***gəbaʔ** ‘demolish’: WSUB *gobâ;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gəbâ*. Cf. PDAN *gəbaʔ, PGCPH *gəbáʔ.

PSUB ***gəbək** ‘run’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *gobok;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *gəbək;* NSUB *gəbəʔ.*

PSUB ***g-əbəl** ‘smoke’: WSUB *gobol;* WKOL *bol;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gəbəl*. Cf. PDAN *bəl, PMNBO *əbəl, cf. also PONOSAKAN *owol*, BINTAUNA *obolò*. PGCPH *ʔəbəl.

PSUB ***gəbii** ‘night’: WSUB, WKOL *gobi;* TLT, SSUB *gəbi;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gəbii*. PGCPH *gabiʔi.

PSUB ***g-əbu** ‘cough’: WSUB, WKOL *gobu;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *gəbu*. PGCPH *ʔəbu.

PSUB ***g-əgdan** ‘stairs, ladder’: WSUB, WKOL *gogdan;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gəgdan;* SSUB *gəddan*. PGCPH *hag[ə]dan.

PSUB ***g-əlu** ‘rice pestle’: WSUB *golu;* WKOL *lu;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gəlu*. Cf. PDAN *əndu, PGCPH *haʔlu.

PSUB ***g-əmay** ‘cooked rice’: WSUB *gomoy;* WKOL *moy;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gəmay*. PGCPH *həmáy.

PSUB ***g-əm-babaw** ‘shallow’: WSUB *ombabow;* WKOL *mobabow;* TLT, SGSUB *əmbabaw;* SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *gəmbabaw;* NSUB *mbabaw*. Cf. PDAN *ma-babaw, PGCPH *ma-bábaw.

PSUB ***g-əm-babaʔ** ‘low’: WSUB *ombabâ;* WKOL *mobabâ;* TLT, SGSUB *əmbabâ;* SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *gəmbabâ;* NSUB *mbabâ*. PGCPH *bábaʔ.

PSUB ***gəm-bəgat** ‘heavy’: WSUB *ombogat;* WKOL *mobogat;* TLT *əmbəgat;* SSUB, ESUB *gəmbəgat;* CSUB *bəgat;* NSUB *mbəgat*. PGCPH *ma-bəgʔat.

PSUB ***gəm-bəruʔ** ‘brave’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB *ombolû;* WKOL *mobolû;* TLT, SGSUB *əmbərû;* SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *gəmbəlû;* NSUB *mbəlû*.

PSUB ***g-əm-pələk** ‘short (length)’: WSUB *ompolok;* WKOL *mopolok;* TLT, SGSUB *əmpələk;* SSUB, CSUB *gəmpələk;* NSUB *mpələʔ*. Cf. PMOGO *polok, possibly PGCPH *pələk.

PSUB ***g-əndaw** ‘sun’: WSUB, WKOL *gondow;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gəndaw*. PGCPH *ʔaldaw.

PSUB ***g-ənəm** ‘six’: WSUB *gonom;* WSKOL *nom;* TLT *ənəm;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gənəm*.

PSUB ***gəŋay** ‘gills’ (PSub innovation): WSUB *gonge;* SGSUB, SSUB *gəngay;* NSUB, ESUB *ngay*.

PSUB ***g-ətaw** ‘person’: WSUB *gotow;* WKOL *tow;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gətaw*. Cf. PDAN *taw, PGCPH *ta[]u.

PSUB ***g-ətip** ‘burnt rice’: WSUB *gotip;* WKOL *tip;* SGSUB, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gətip*. PGCPH *ʔətip.

PSUB ***g-ətut** ‘flatulence’: WSUB *gotut;* WKOL *tut ~ gotut;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gətut*. Cf. PDAN *tut, PGCPH *ʔətút.

PSUB ***g-əyəm** ‘smile’: WSUB *mogoyom;* SSUB *gəgəyəm;* CSUB *kəyəmən;* ESUB *gəjəm*. Cf. PMNBO *hiyəm. PGCPH *h(əi)yə́m.

PSUB ***g-ikam** ‘mat’: WSUB, TLT, CSUB *gikam*; WKOL *yikam*; SSub *giham*. PGCPH *hikam.

PSUB ***g-ikug** ‘tail’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, ESUB *gikug;* SSUB *gihug;* NSUB *giyug*. PGCPH *ʔíkug.

PSUB ***g-i[ld]u** ‘orphan’: WSUB, WKOL *bataʔ-ilu;* TLT *gidu;* SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *gilu;* NSUB *giru*. PGCPH *ʔí(ld)u.

PSUB ***gina[w]a** ‘breath’: WSUB *ginawa ~ gina;* WKOL *ginawa;* TLT, SSUB *gina;* CSUB *ginaa;* NSUB, ESUB *ginawa*. Also PSUB ***g<um>inawa** ‘breathe’. Cf. PDAN *ginawa, *g<um>inawa. PGCPH *ginháwa.

PSUB ***g-inaʔ** ‘mother (reference term)’ (address term lacks *g-): WSUB, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *[g]inâ*. Cf. PDAN *inaʔ, PGCPH *ʔináʔ.

PSUB ***g-iŋkud-an** ‘chair’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB *gingkudan;* SSUB *ginghuran;* NSUB *gingkuran*. From *iŋkud ‘sit’ + *-an ‘location suffix’

PSUB ***g-ipag** ‘sister-in-law (M>F or F>M): WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gipag*. Cf. PDAN *ipag, PGCPH *hípag.

PSUB ***g-irək** ‘armpit’: WSUB, WKOL *gilok;* TLT *girək;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gilək*. Cf. PDAN *irək, PGCPH *ʔírək.

PSUB ***g-itik** ‘duck’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB *gitik*. PGCPH *ʔitik.

PSUB ***g-Kayu** ‘wood’: WSUB, WKOL *kayu;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *gayu;* ESUB *gaju*. Cf. PDAN *kayu, PGCPH *káyu.

PSUB ***g-Kəkəp** ‘hug’: WSUB, WKOL *kokop;* TLT *əkəp;* SSUB *əhəp;* CSUB *əkəp;* NSUB *əʔəp*. PGCPH *kəpkəp.

PSUB ***g-Kilat** ‘lightning’: WSUB, WKOL *kilat;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gilat*. Cf. PDAN *kilat, PGCPH *kilát.

PSUB ***g-Kilid** ‘edge’: WSUB, WKOL *kilid;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *gilid*. PGCPH *(gk)ílid.[7]

[7] Zorc (pers. comm., 12/14/12) points out that this is one of a number of cases of “shimmer” in Philippine languages.

PSUB ***g-Kiray** ‘eyebrow’: WSUB, WKOL *kiloy;* TLT *giray;* CSUB, SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gilay*. Cf. PDAN *kiray, PGCPH *kíray.

PSUB ***g-Kumut** ‘blanket’: WSUB, WKOL *kumut;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gumut*. PGCPH *kúmut.

PSUB ***g-Kurən** ‘pot’: WKOL *kulon;* TLT *gurən;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *gulən*. PGCPH *kúdən.

PSUB ***g-Kutu** ‘lice’: WSUB, WKOL *kutu;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gutu*. Cf. PDAN *kutu, PGCPH *kútu.

PSUB ***g-l(uə)mətik** ‘big red sp. of ant’: WSUB, WKOL *glomotik;* TLT *glumətik;* SSUB *dlumətik;* CSUB *dlumitik;* NSUB *dləmətî;* ESUB *ləmetik*. Cf. PMNBO *lamətik. PGCPH *(hl)am[ə]tik.

PSUB ***g-laki** ‘man’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT *glaki;* SSUB *dlaʔi;* CSUB *dlee;* NSUB *dlee;* ESUB *lee*. PGCPH *[la]láki.

PSUB ***g-lana** ‘oil’: WSUB *glana;* WKOL, TLT, NSUB, ESUB *lana;* SSUB, CSUB *dlana*. PGCPH *lána.

PSUB ***g-laŋaw** ‘fly (n.)’: WSUB *glangow;* WKOL, ESUB *langaw;* TLT *glangaw;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *dlangaw*. PGCPH *láŋaw.

PSUB ***g-laŋit** ‘sky’: WSUB *glangit;* WKOL, TLT, NSUB, ESUB *langit;* SSUB, CSUB *dlangit*. Cf. PDAN *laŋit, PGCPH *laŋit.

PSUB ***g-lawas** ‘body’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, ESUB *glawas;* NSUB, SSUB *dlawas*. Cf. PDAN *lawas, PGCPH *láwas.

PSUB ***g-laway** ‘saliva’: WSUB *glowoy;* WKOL, NSUB, ESUB *laway;* TLT *GLAWAY;* SSUB, CSUB *laway*. PGCPH *láway.

PSUB ***g-layag** ‘sail (of boat)’: WSUB, SGSUB *glayag;* WKOL, TLT, SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *layag;* CSUB *dlayag*. Cf. PDAN *layag, PGCPH *láyag.

PSUB ***g-lə[m]pinig** ‘wasp’: WSUB *glopinig;* WKOL *lopinig ~ lompinig;* TLT, NSUB *gləpinig;* SSUB *dləpinig;* CSUB, ESUB *ləpinig*. PGCPH *la[m]pínig.

PSUB ***g-ləbas** ‘naked’: WSUB, WKOL *miglobas;* SSUB *dləbas;* CSUB *gləbas;* NSUB *midləbas*. Cf. PMNBO *ləbas (KGY *lubbas*, HIG/TAL *lubas*, AGU *yobas*, RKM *ləbas*, TBW *ləbbas*), also ILO, GUIMBAL KINARAY-A *hublas*.

PSUB ***g-ləknit** ‘bat (sm.)’: WSUB *gloknit;* WKOL *kulamponit;* TLT *gləknit;* SSUB, ESUB *dləknit;* CSUB, NSUB *dlaknit*. PGCPH *kula(pk)ənit.

PSUB ***g-ləlitək** ‘back of knee’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB *glolitok;* WKOL *lolitok;* TLT *glәlitək;* CSUB *dəlitək;* NSUB *dalitək;* ESUB *lәlitək*.

PSUB ***g-ləmpan** ‘vegetable’: WSUB *glompan;* SGSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gləmpan;* SSUB, CSUB *dləmpan*. Cf. LOTUD *lampahanon*.

PSUB ***g-ləmpitut** ‘dragonfly’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *lompitot;* TLT *GLƏMPITUT;* SSUB, CSUB *dləmpitut*.

PSUB ***g-ləsuŋ** ‘rice mortar’: WSUB, WKOL *losung;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *ləsung*. Cf. PDAN *ləsuŋ, PGCPH *ləsúŋ.

PSUB ***g-libun** ‘woman’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT *glibun;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *dlibun;* ESUB *libun*. Also Palawanic.

PSUB ***g-ligbəs** ‘mushroom, or type thereof’: WSUB *gligbos;* WKOL *ligbos;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *dligbəs;* ESUB *ligbəs.* PGCPH *ligbəs.

PSUB ***g-ligid** ‘wheel’: WSUB, WKOL, ESUB *ligid;* TLT *gligid;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *dligid*. PGCPH *ligid.

PSUB ***g-liig** ‘neck’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT *glig;* SSUB *dlig;* CSUB, ESUB *gliig;* NSUB *dliig*. Cf. PDAN *lig, PGCPH *liʔəg.

PSUB ***g-limaŋu** ‘crab sp.’: WSUB, TLT, ESUB *glimangu;* SSUB, CSUB *dlimangu;* WKOL *kolimangu*. PGCPH *ʔalimáŋu.

PSUB ***g-limatək** ‘leech’: WSUB *glimatok;* WKOL *limatok;* TLT *glimatək;* SSUB, CSUB *dlimatək;* ESUB *limatək;* NSUB *dlimatəʔ.* PGCPH *[ʔa]limátək.

PSUB ***g-lintu** ‘right (direction/side)’: WSUB, TLT *glintu;* WKOL, ESUB *lintu;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *dlintu*. Cf. PDAB, PEMNBO *kalintuʔu.

PSUB ***g-linug** ‘earthquake’: WSUB, TLT *glinug;* WKOL, ESUB *linug;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *dlinug*. Cf. PDAN *linug, PGCPH *línug.

PSUB ***g-lipətay** ‘firefly’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB *glipotoy;* WKOL *lipotoy;* TLT *LIPƏTAY;* SSUB, NSUB *dlipətay;* CSUB, ESUB *glipətay*. Cf. PGCPH *ʔaninípət.

PSUB ***g-lisaʔ** ‘nit, lice egg’: WSUB, TLT, ESUB *glisâ;* WKOL *lisâ;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *dlisâ*. Cf. PDAN *lisaʔ, PGCPH *lisa[hə]ʔ.

PSUB ***g-liyupan** ‘centipede’: WSUB *gliyupan;* WKOL, TLT, CSUB, ESUB *liyupan;* SSUB, NSUB *dliyupan*. PGCPH *ʔaluhípan.

PSUB ***g-lulud** ‘knee’: WSUB, TLT, ESUB *glulud;* WKOL *lulud;* SSUB, CSUB *dlulud;* NSUB *lulud*. PGCPH *lulúd ‘shin’.

PSUB ***g-lumut** ‘moss’: WSUB *glumut;* WKOL *lumut;* SGSUB *glumut;* SSUB, CSUB *dlumut*. PGCPH *lumut.

PSUB ***g-luŋun** ‘coffin’: WSUB *glungun;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *dlungun;* ESUB *lungun*. PGCPH *luŋún.

PSUB ***g-lupaʔ** ‘land, earth’: WSUB, SGSUB, CSUB *glupâ;* TLT, WKOL, ESUB *lupâ;* SSUB, NSUB *dlupâ*. Cf. PDAN *lupaʔ; PGCPH *lúpaʔ.

PSUB ***g-luwaŋ** ‘hole’: WSUB, TLT, ESUB *gluwang;* WKOL *luwang;* SSUB, CSUB, *dluwang*. Cf. PSWSABAH *luaŋ; MBG *ruwang*. note also MALAY/INDONESIAN *lubang.*

PSUB ***g-luwaʔ** ‘tear, teardrop’: WSUB, TLT, CSUB *gluwâ;* WKOL, ESUB *luwâ;* SSUB, NSUB *dluwâ*. Cf. PDAN *luʔ. PGCPH *lúhaʔ.

PSUB ***g-luya** ‘ginger’: WSUB, TLT *gluya;* WKOL, CSUB, NSUB *luya;* TLT, SSUB *dluya;* ESUB *luja*. Cf. PDAN *luya. PGCPH *luʔya.

PSUB ***g-rapuk** ‘rotten (of wood)’ (PSUB PHONOLOGICAL INNOVATION): WSUB *glapuk;* WKol *lapuk ~ glapuk;* SSUB *dlapuk;* CSUB *məlapuk;* TLT *grapuk;* NSUB *lapû*. Cf. PDAN *gapuk, also TAGALOG. Phonological shift from PGCPH *gapuk.

PSUB ***g-rəmət-an** ‘toy’: WSUB *glomotan;* WKOL *lomotan;* TLT *grəmətan;* SSUB, CSUB *dləmətan*. From *rəmət ‘play’ + *-an ‘location suffix’.

PSUB ***g-rintək** ‘rice husk’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB *glintok;* SGSUB *grintək;* SSUB *dlintək;* CSUB *lintək;* ESUB *glintək*.

PSUB ***g-ruguŋ** ‘thunder’: WSUB *glugung;* WKOL, CSUB, ESUB *lugung;* TLT *grugung;* SSUB *dlugung*. Cf. PMNBO *luguŋ, MGD *lugung*, PSPH *ruguŋ, LOLAK *gorung*.

PSUB ***g-ruwan** ‘mudfish’: WSUB, ESUB *gluwan;* WKOL, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *dluwan* TLT *gruwan*. Cf. PDAN *aruan, PGCPh *haruʔán.

PSUB ***g-uban** ‘grey hair’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB *guban;* NSUB, ESUB *uban*. PGCPH *ʔúban.

PSUB ***g-ubi** ‘sweet potato’: WSUB, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *gubi*. Cf. PDAN *ubi, PGCPH *ʔúbi.

PSUB ***g-ugat** ‘vein’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gugat*. PGCPH *ʔugát.

PSUB ***g-ulas** ‘sweat’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gulas*. PGCPH *hulás.

PSUB ***g-uləd** ‘worm’: WSUB, WKOL *gulod;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *guləd*. Cf. PDAN *uləd, PGCPH *ʔúləd.

PSUB ***g-ulu** ‘head’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gulu.* Cf. PDAN *ulu, PGCPH *ʔúlu.

PSUB ***g-ulunan** ‘pillow’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gulunan*. Cf. PDAN *ulunan, PGCPH *ʔulúnan.

PSUB ***gumaʔan** ‘sheath for bolo knife’: WSUB, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gumaʔan*. Cf. PMONG *gumaʔ, TAL *gumâ*, PUL *gumò*. PGCPH *gumaʔ.

PSUB ***g-unap** ‘scales (of fish)’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *gunap*. Possibly PSPH *hunʔap or *huʔnap, cf. HIGAONON, TALAANDIG, TIGWA *hun-ap,* TAGABAWA, RAJAH KABUNGSUWAN MANOBO, DIBABAWON, SARANGANI MANOBO *unap,* Mandaya Manobo *un-ap,* also TAUSUG *hu-nap*.

PSUB ***guntiŋ** ‘scissors’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gunting*. Cf. PDAN *guntiŋ. PGCPH *guntiŋ. Possibly a loan from Malay *gunting.*

PSUB ***g-uraŋ** ‘shrimp (or species thereof)’: WSUB *gulang*; WKOL *gullang* (probably borrowed from Tausug); SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gulang;* SGSUB *gurang*. Cf. PDAN *udaŋ. PGCPH *ʔu(rd)aŋ (*d found in PAL, BRDUS, SABIS).

PSUB ***guraŋ, *mə-guraŋ** ‘old (person)’: WSUB, WKOL, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *–gulang;* TLT *-gurang*. PGCPH *ma-gúraŋ.

PSUB ***guraŋ-bataʔ** ‘oldest child’ (as a compound, this is a PSUB innovation): WSUB, WKOL, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gulangbatâ;* TLT *gurangbatâ*.

PSUB ***g-uriŋ** ‘charcoal’: WSUB, WKOL, SSUB, CSUB *guling;* TLT *guring;* NSUB *uling*. Cf. PDAN *uriŋ, PGCPH *ʔúriŋ.

PSUB ***g-uripən** ‘slave’: WSUB, WKOL *gulipon;* TLT *guripən;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gulipən*. PGCPH *ʔurípən.

PSUB ***g-usa** ‘deer’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gusa*. PGCPH *ʔusá.

PSUB ***gusuk** ‘rib’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *gusúk;* NSUB *gusû*. Cf. PDAN *gusuk. PGCPH *gúsuk.

PSUB ***g-utaŋ** ‘debt’: WSUB, TLT, CSUB, NSUB *gutang*. Cf. PDAN *utaŋ, PGCPH *ʔútaŋ.

PSUB ***g-utaʔ** ‘vomit’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gutâ*. Cf. PMNBO, PDAN *ʔutaʔ, possibly PSPH *ʔutaʔ.

PSUB ***g-utək** ‘brain’: WSUB, WKOL *gutok;* TLT, CSUB, SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gutək.* Cf. PDAN *utək, PGCPH *ʔútək.

PSUB ***gutəm** ‘hungry’: WSUB, WKOL *gutom;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *gutəm*. PGCPH *gútəm.

PSUB ***gutuŋ** ‘monkey’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gutung*. Cf. TAGABAWA, INAGTA RINCONADA *lutung*.

PSUB ***guus** ‘gums’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT *gus*; SGSUB, CSUB *guus*.

PSUB ***g-uwak** ‘crow’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *guwak;* NSUB *guwâ*. PGCPH *ʔuwak.

PSUB ***g-uway** ‘rattan’. WSUB, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *guway;* WKOL *guwoy.* PGCPH *ʔuway.

PSUB ***g-walu** ‘eight’: WSUB, TLT *walu;* WKOL, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *gwalu*. PGCPH *walu.

PSUB ***i[y]ən** ‘3SG.NOM’: WSUB *iyon*, TLT, SSUB *in;* CSUB *iin;* NSUB *giin;* ESUB *ijən*. PGCPH *(sʔ)iya.

PSUB ***ian** ‘pass by’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *miyan;* SSUB *mayan*.

PSUB ***iən** ‘that (nominative demonstrative, proximate to 2nd-person)’: WSUB *iyon;* TLT *in;* SSUB *in;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *iin*. PGCPH *ʔian.

PSUB ***ig** ‘nominative common noun case marker’: SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *ig*. PGCPH *ʔi(ŋ).

PSUB ***igin** ‘scoot over’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *igin*.

PSUB ***iKa[ʔa]** ‘2SG.TOP’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *ika; yika;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB *yaʔa;* NSUB *yaʔa ~ dyaʔa;* ESUB *ijaʔa*. PGCPH *ʔika[w].

PSUB ***ikət** ‘tie’: WSUB, WKOL *ikot;* TLT, CSUB, ESUB *ikət;* SSUB *ihət*. Cf. PMNBO *hikət, PDAN, PDAB *ikət. MMW *hikət, əkət*. PSBIS *hukut or *həkət, PGCPH *h(iə)kət.

PSUB ***inam** ‘taste (v.)’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *inam*. cf. SPAL, SABIS, TSG *kinam*.

PSUB ***inat** ‘lift’: WSUB, TLT, SGSUB, CSUB, ESUB *inat*.

PSUB ***indəgan** ‘step down on’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *indogan;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *indəgan*.

PSUB ***ini** ‘this (nominative demonstrative, proximate to 1st-person)’: WSUB, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *ini*. PGCPH *ʔini.

PSUB ***inug** ‘ripe’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *-inug*. PGCPH *hinúg.

PSUB ***ipəs** ‘clean up’: WSUB *ipos*, SGSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *ipəs*. PGCPH *hípəs.

PSUB ***iran** ‘3PL.NOM’: WSUB, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *ilan;* WKOL *ilon;* TLT *iran*. PGCPH *[s]i-da.

PSUB ***ita** ‘1INCL.NOM’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *ita*. PGCPH *kita.

PSUB ***itu[ʔ]** ‘that (nominative demonstrative, not proximate to either 1st- or 2nd-person)’: WSUB, CSUB *ituʔ;* TLT, SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *itu*. PGCPH *ʔitu.

PSUB ***k(aə)ləmut** ‘mosquito’: WSUB, WKOL *kolomut;* TLT, CSUB *kaləmut;* SSUB *khələmut;* SGSUB, ESUB *kələmút*. cf. CPAL, SPAL *kuramot/koramot*.

PSUB ***k(aə)nuku** ‘fingernail’: WSUB, WKOL *kinuku;* TLT, CSUB *kənuku;* SSUB *khənuhu;* NSUB *anuʔu*, ESUB *kənuku ~ kanuku*. Cf. PDAN *kanuku. PGCPH *kukú.

PSUB ***k(əi)rəmanan** ‘feel ticklish’: WSUB *kilomanan;* SGSUB *kərəmanan;* SSUB *hiləmanan*. Cf. PWBIS *makalamán, MBG *koronamán*, CPAL/SPAL *kuránam*.

PSUB ***Kaan** ‘eat’: WSUB, WKOL *kan;* TLT *an;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *aan;* SSUB *han*. Cf. PDAN *kan, PGCPH *káʔən.

PSUB ***kabəg** ‘bat (large species)’: WSUB, WKOL *kabog*, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *kabəg;* NSUB *gabəg*. Cf. PDAN *kabəg, PGCPH *kabəg.

PSUB ***kaig** ‘knife’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *keg;* TLT, CSUB, ESUB *kaig*.

PSUB ***kami** ‘1EXCL.NOM’: WKOL *kami;* SSUB *hami;* NSUB *ami*. PGCPH *kami.

PSUB ***katig** ‘outrigger’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *katig;* SSUB *khatig*. PGCPH *kátig.

PSUB ***Kədut** ‘pinch’: WSUB, WKOL *kodut;* TLT *gədut;* SSUB *hərut ~ kʰərut;* CSUB *ədut;* NSUB, ESUB *ərut*. Cf. PDAN *kədut, PGCPH *kədut.

PSUB ***Kəkut** ‘scratch’: WSUB, WKOL *kokut;* TLT, CSUB, ESUB *əkut;* SSUB *əhut*. PGCPH *kutkut.

PSUB ***kəl(iə)ŋkingay** ‘little finger’: WSUB *kolongkenge;* WKOL *kolingkenge;* TLT *kələngkenge;* SSUB *khələnghangay*. PGCPH *kiŋkiŋ, often found with affix *-an and/or frozen infix *<al>.

PSUB ***kəl(ui)balu** ‘thumb’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB *kolibalu;* WKOL *kalibalu;* TLT *kəlibalu;* SSUB *khəlubalu;* CSUB *kəlibalu ~ kəlubalu;* NSUB *abalú;* ESUB *kəlubalu ~ kinəbalu*.

PSUB ***kə-labuŋ** ‘yesterday’: WSUB, WKOL *kolabung;* SSUB *halabung;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *labung*. Also MONGONDOW *kolabung,* PONOSAKAN *kolawung*.

PSUB ***kəluŋat** ‘solid mucus’: WSUB, WKOL *kolungat;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *kəlungat;* SSUB *khəlugat*. PGCPH *kalu[ʔ]ŋat. Cf. PDAN *kaluŋat, TAUSUG *kalúngat,* CPAL/STGB *kayu-ngat/koyu-ngat*, also SPAL, MBG *kolungat;* TAL, HIG, MSMNBO, TGW, PUL, TGBW *kalungat;* KAM, UMA, OBO *kaungat;* ATA *lungat*.

PSUB ***kəmət** ‘hand’ (*a > *ə in penult is a PSUB innovation): WSUB, WKOL *komot;* TLT, CSUB *kəmət;* SSUB *khəmət*. PGCPH *kamə́t.

PSUB ***kənaʔ** ‘is not (negates noun phrases)’: WSUB, TLT, ESUB *kənaʔ;* WKOL, CSUB *kənaʔ;* SSUB *hənaʔ;* NSUB *ənaʔ*. Cf. PGCPH *bəkən.

PSUB ***kənuʔus** ‘squid’: WSUB, WKOL *konuʔus;* TLT *kənuʔus*, SSUB *khənuʔus*. PGCPH *kanuʔus.

PSUB ***kərabaw** ‘water buffalo’: WSUB, WKOL *kolabow;* TLT *kərabaw;* SSUB *khəlabaw;* CSUB, ESUB *kəlabaw;* NSUB *aləbaw*. Cf. PDAN *karabaw, PGCPH *karabáw.

PSUB ***Kilala** ‘know someone’: WSUB, WKOL *kilala;* TLT, NSUB, ESUB *miʔilala;* SSUB *milala;* CSUB *kilala*. PGCPH *kilála.

PSUB ***kinə[ŋ]əg** ‘listen’: WSUB, WKOL *kinongog;* TLT, ESUB *kinəngəg;* SSUB *kinəg;* CSUB *kinəəg;* NSUB *ʔinəngəg*. Cf. PDAN *kinəg, PGCPH *kinəŋ́g.

PSUB ***kisiŋ** ‘shake the head’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL, CSUB *kising;* SSUB *hising*.

PSUB ***Kitək** ‘tickle’: WSUB, WKOL *kitok;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *itək;* NSUB *itəʔ*. Cf. PDAN *kitək, PGCPH *kitək.

PSUB ***kugaŋ** ‘scab’: WSUB, WKOL, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *kugang;* SSUB *khagang*. Cf. PDAN *k(əa)gaŋ, PGCPH *kuga(ŋn).

PSUB ***kugita** ‘octopus’: WSUB *kugita;* TLT, CSUB *kugita*, NSUB *ugitâ*, ESUB *kugitâ*. PGCPH *kugíta[ʔ].

PSUB ***kulambuʔ** ‘mosquito net’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB *kulambû*. Cf. PDAN *kulambuʔ, PGCPH *kulambuʔ. Possibly a loan from Malay *kulambu.*

PSUB ***kulaŋ** ‘lacking’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *kulang*. Cf. PDAN *kuraŋ, PGCPH *kú(rl)aŋ. Possibly a loan from Malay *kurang.*

PSUB ***kulaŋan** ‘deduct, reduce’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB *kulangan;* SSUB *hulangan*.

PSUB ***l(əi)[n]tuwik** ‘kneel face down/on all fours’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB *lintuwik;* WKOL *tuwik;* SSUB *lətuwik;* CSUB *lituwik*.

PSUB ***l(əi)ŋ(əi)t** ‘angry’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *lingit;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *ləngət*. Cf. SABIS, RUNGUS *ungot*, MGD *lipungət*.

PSUB ***labuʔ** ‘fall’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *labû*. PGCPH *(dl)abuʔ. Cf. PMOBO *dabuʔ, PMOGO *labuʔ, ALANGAN, TADYAWAN *labû*.

PSUB ***laŋuy, *l<um>aŋuy** ‘swim’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *languy*. Cf. PDAN *laŋuy. PGCPH *laŋúy.

PSUB ***laub** ‘lie face down’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB *lob;* CSUB *laub ~ loob;* NSUB *loob;* ESUB *laub*. PGCPH *laʔub.

PSUB ***layug, *l<um>ayug** ‘fly’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *layug;* ESUB *lajug*. Cf. PDAN *layug. PGCPH *láyug.

PSUB ***ləbəŋ** ‘bury’: WSUB *lobong;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *ləbəng*. Cf. PDAN *ləbəŋ, PGCPH *ləbə́ŋ.

PSUB ***ləgab** ‘yawn’: WSUB, WKOL *logab;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *ləgab*. PGCPH *labgab, HAN, RKMNBO *labgab*, AGU *yabgab*.

PSUB ***ləksu** ‘jump’: WSUB, WKOL *loksu;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *ləksu;* SSUB *ləsʰu*. PGCPH *ləksu.

PSUB ***ləliyag** ‘happy’: WSUB, WKOL *loliyag;* TLT, SSUB, ESUB *ləliyag;* CSUB *ləliyag ~ liyag;* NSUB *liyag*. Cf. SOUTHERN BINUKIDNON *hiyag* ‘like’. Also PSUB *mə-liyag ‘approve’: WSUB, WKOL *mileg;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *məliyag*.

PSUB ***lənəd** ‘sink’: WSUB, WKOL *lonod;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *lənəd*. PGCPH *lunəd.

PSUB ***ləŋa** ‘sesame’: WSUB, WKOL *longa;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *ləŋga*. Cf. PDAN *ləŋa, PGCPH *ləŋá.

PSUB ***libəg** ‘confusing’: WSUB, WKOL *libog;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB *libəg*. PGCPH *l(iə)bə́g.

PSUB ***libut** ‘around’: WSUB, WKOL, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *libut*. PGCPH *líbut.

PSUB ***likuʔ** ‘turn (direction)’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, ESUB *likû;* SSUB *lihuʔ;* NSUB *liʔu*. PGCPH *likuʔ.

PSUB ***lima** ‘five’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, ESUB *lima;* SSUB, NSUB *dlima*. PGCPH *lima.

PSUB ***liŋaw** ‘forget’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *lingaw*. PGCPH *líŋaw.

PSUB ***liŋay** ‘look back’: WSUB *lingoy;* SGSUB, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *lingay*. Cf. Tagalog *lingon*, Palawanic *liŋaw, ILO *lingî,* widespread MANOBO *lingî*.

PSUB ***lu(dg)yaʔ** ‘slow’ (addition of consonant before *y is a PSUB innovation): WSUB *molugyaʔ;* WKOL *moludyaʔ;* SSUB *məludjaʔ;* CSUB *ləgyaʔ;* ESUB *bəljaʔ*.

PSUB ***lunaw, *mə-lunaw** ‘green’: WSUB *lunow;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *lunaw*. PGCPH *ma-lun(hʔ)aw, cf CEB *lunhaw,* CPAL *molu-now,* SPAL *molunow*, TBW/OBO *ma-lənnu.

PSUB ***m-** ‘Actor Focus prefix, variant of *<um> on vowel-initial roots’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *m-*. PGCPH *m-.

PSUB ***m[a]-ikaʔ** ‘small; few’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB *mikaʔón* ‘small’, *mikaʔan* ‘few’*;* WKOL *mikaʔan* ‘few’; TLT *mikaʔan* ‘small’, *mikaʔan* ‘few’*;* SSUB *mihâ* ‘small’*;* CSUB *maikâ* ‘small, few’; ESub *mikô* ‘few’.

PSUB ***m<in>atay** ‘dead’: WSUB, WKOL *minatoy;* TLT, SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *minatay*. Cf. PDAN *m<in>atay, PGCPH *m<in>atay (past of *m-atay ‘die’).

PSUB ***mamak** ‘snake’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB *mamak;* NSUB *mamâ*. Cf. RAJAH KABUNGSUWAN MANOBO *mamang*.

PSUB ***manuk** ‘chicken’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *manuk*. Cf. PDAN *manuk. PGCPH *manúk.

PSUB ***manukmanuk** ‘bird’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *manuk-manuk;* NSUB *manû-anû*. PGCPH *manuk-manuk ‘domesticated bird’. Cf. PEMNBO *manukmanuk.

PSUB ***maŋga[ʔ]** ‘mango’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, NSUB, ESUB *maŋga;* SSUB, CSUB *manggâ*. PGCPH *maŋga[ʔ].

PSUB ***m-apun** ‘perch’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *minapun;* NSUB *inapun*. PGCPH *hapun.

PSUB ***masin** ‘salt’: WSUB, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, SSUB *masin*. PGCPH *ʔasín.

PSUB ***mata** ‘eye’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *mata*. Cf. PDAN *mata. PGCPH *matá.

PSUB ***mə[kə]-guraŋ** ‘parents’: WSUB, WKOL *mokogulang;* TLT *məkəgurang;* SGSUB *məgurang;* SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *məgulang;* CSUB *məkəgulang*. PGCPH *ma-gúraŋ.

PSUB ***mə[l]ara[s]** ‘hot, spicy’: WSUB *malalas;* WKOL *molalas;* TLT *mara;* SGSUB *maras;* SSUB *mala ~ malas;* CSUB *malas;* NSUB *mala;* ESUB *malas ~ mala*. Cf. MGD *malalas*, STGB *marara,* AGU *mayayas*, RKMNBO *malaas*, UMJ *maaas*, possibly PSPH *ma-lara[s].

PSUB ***mə-bələŋ** ‘lost’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *mibolong;* TLT *mibələng*.

PSUB ***mə-daləm** ‘deep’: WSUB, WKOL *modalom;* TLT, CSUB *mədaləm;* SSUB, NSUB *məraləm;* ESUB *bəraləm ~ məraləm*. Cf. PDAN *ma-daləm. PGCPH *ma-dáləm.

PSUB ***mə-dali?** ‘short (time)’: WSUB *modalî;* WKOL *podalî;* TLT *mədalî;* SSUB *didalî;* CSUB *dalî;* ESUB *məralî*. PGCPH *ma-dalí?.

PSUB ***mə-dəlag** ‘bright’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *modolag;* TLT, CSUB *mədəlag;* NSUB *mərəlag*.

PSUB ***mə-dələm** ‘dark’: WSUB, WKOL *modolom;* TLT, CSUB *mədələm;* SSUB, NSUB *mərələm;* ESUB *bərələm*. PGCPH *ma-dələ́m.

PSUB ***mə-dikpəl** ‘thick’ (PSUB INNOVATION: Phonological shift, others languages have *-km- instead of *-kp-, or just *-p-): WSUB, WKOL *modikpol;* TLT, CSUB *mədikpəl;* ESUB *bərikpəl;* SSUB *məriphəl;* NSUB *məri?pəl*.

PSUB ***məg-** ‘Actor Focus prefix’: WSUB, WKOL *mog-;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *məg-*. PGCPH *mag-.

PSUB ***məg-asa?** ‘sharpen, whet’: WSUB, WKOL *mogasâ;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *məgasâ*. PGCPH *hasa?.

PSUB ***məka-[kə]tawa** ‘funny’: WKOL *mokokotawa;* SSUB *məhahətawa;* CSUB *pəkətawa;* NSUB *ma-atawa*. PGCPH *táwa.

PSUB ***mə-Katəl** ‘itchy’: WSUB, WKOL *mokatol;* TLT *matəl;* SSUB *məhatəl;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *maatəl*. PGCPH *ma-(gk)atə́l.

PSUB ***məkə-** WSUB *moko-;* NSUB *məkə-*.

PSUB ***məkpə-** WSUB *mokpo-;* WKOLI *mokpo-;* SSUB *məphə-;* NSUB *məkpə-*.

PSUB ***mək-saak** ‘ask’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *moksak;* TLT *məksak;* SSUB *məshak;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *məksaak*.

PSUB ***mək-saluy** ‘sell’: WSUB *moksaluy;* SSUB *məshaluy;* CSUB *məksaluy*. (vs. *s<um>aluy ‘buy’).

PSUB ***məksi-** ‘Actor Focus plural prefix’: WSUB *moksi-;* SSUB *məshi-*. PGCPH *magsi-.

PSUB ***mə-Kutəŋ** ‘sharp (blade)’: WSUB, WKOL *mokutong;* TLT *məkutəng;* SSUB *mutəng;* CSUB, NSUB *muutəng*. Cf. Dib, MM *mautəng*. Possibly from PSPH *ma-(ʔ,k)utəŋ.

PSUB ***mə-l(aə)kpaŋ** ‘wide’: WSUB *molakpang;* WKOL *molokpang;* TLT, CSUB *məlakpang;* SSUB *məlaphang;* ESUB *məlakpang*. Phonological shift from PGCPH *ma-lakbaŋ, cf. PEMNBO *ma-lakbaŋ, CPAL, SPAL *molokbang*.

PSUB ***mə-ləbəg** ‘unclear, of water’: WSUB, WKOL *molobog;* TLT, CSUB *məlәbəg;* NSUB *ləbəg;* ESUB *bəlagəb*. PGCPH *ma-ləbə́g.

PSUB ***mə-ləgdəŋ** ‘straight’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *mologdong;* TLT *məlәgdəng;* ESUB *bəlәgdəng;* SSUB *məlәddəng*.

PSUB ***mə-ləlaʔ** ‘lazy’: WSUB *mololâ;* WKOL *lolaʔan;* SGSUB, SSUB, CSUB *məlәlâ*. (cf. Malay/Indonesian *lelah* ‘weak’)

PSUB ***mə-ləmbuʔ** ‘fat’: WSUB *molombû;* SGSUB, CSUB, NSUB *məlәmbû;* ESUB *bəlәmbû*.

PSUB ***mə-ləməs** ‘drown’: WSUB, WKOL *milomos;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *miləməs*.

PSUB ***mə-ləmu** ‘easy’: WSUB, WKOL *molomu;* TLT, NSUB *məlәmu;* ESUB *bəlәmu*. Cf. AKLANON *maxumu*, HIGAONON *malumu*.

PSUB ***mə-lənuʔ** ‘smooth’: WSUB, WKOL *molonû;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB *məlәnû*. Cf. MBG *molonù,* CPAL/SPAL *molnù*, also KAM, MMW *mahinlò*. possibly PGCPH *ma-[hi]lənuʔ.

PSUB ***mə-lindəg** ‘slippery’: WSUB, WKOL *molindog* TLT, SSUB *məlindəg;* ESUB *bəlindəg*. Cf. PDAN *ma-lindəg, PSBIS, PDAB, PMNBO *ma-landəg. PGCPH *ma-l(ai)ndəg. metathesizes to *madanlog* in Cebuano and some other languages. cf. also PPLWN *moroŋrog.

PSUB ***mə-liwag** ‘spacious’: WSUB, WKOL *moliwag;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *məliwag;* ESUB *bəliwag*. Cf. CPAL *moli-wag*; CEB, NMBO, CMBO *ma-luʔag.

PSUB ***m-əmis** ‘sweet’: WSUB, WKOL *momis;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *məmis*. Cf. PDAN *mamis, PGCPH *ma-ʔəmis (also *ma-tamʔis).

PSUB ***m-əmula** ‘plant (v.)’: WSUB, WKOL *momula;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *məmula*. Cf. PDAN *m-əmula, PMNBO *pamula, PSPH *pamula.

PSUB ***m-əmut** ‘fragrant’: WSUB, WKOL *momut;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *məmut*. Cf. PDAN *ma-mut, PGCPH *ma-h(aə)mút.

PSUB ***mə-naug** ‘descend, go down’: WKOL *monog;* TLT *mənog;* CSUB, ESUB *mənaug;* NSUB *mənoog*. PGCPH *ma-naʔug.

PSUB ***mənəŋaw** ‘look for’: WSUB *monongow;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *mənəngaw*.

PSUB ***mənəŋiʔ** ‘ask for’: WSUB, WKOL *mongoni*, TLT *məngəni;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *mənəngî*. Cf. PDAN *paŋəniʔ. PGCPH *həŋ(ən)iʔ.

PSUB ***mə-nipis** ‘thin’: WSUB, WKOL *monipis;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *mənipis;* ESUB *bənipis*. Cf. PDAN *ma-nipis, PGCPH *ma-nipís.

PSUB ***məŋ-(ui)ramus** ‘wash the face’: WSUB *mongolamus;* SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *məngulamus;* CSUB *məngilamus;* SGSUB *minguramus*. PGCPH *h(iu)raʔmus. note also /i/ vs. /u/ in MONGONDOW *mongiyamot* but LOLAK *monguhamos*.

PSUB ***məŋ-[d]əkdak** ‘wash clothes’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB *mongokdak;* TLT, CSUB *məngəkdak;* SSUB *məngəddak;* ESUB *məndəkdak*. Cf. BUHID *bakbak*.

PSUB ***məŋ-ugas** ‘wash’: WSUB *mongugas;* WKOL *mogugas;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *məngugas*. PGCPH *húgas.

PSUB ***mə-raat[-ən]** ‘bad; ugly’: WSUB, WKOL *molaton;* TLT, SGSUB *məratən;* SSUB *məlat;* CSUB, NSUB *məlaatən;* ESUB *bəlaatən*. Cf. PDAN *ma-rat(a), PGCPH *ma-(rd)áʔət.

PSUB ***mə-raŋis** ‘rough’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB *molangis;* SGSUB *mərangis;* SSUB, CSUB *məlangis*.

PSUB ***mə-rayuʔ** ‘far’: WSUB, WKOL *molayû;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *məlayû;* ESUB *məlajû ~ məlayû;* TLT, SGSUB *mərayû*. PGCPH *ma-rayúʔ.

PSUB ***mə-rəgən** ‘difficult’: WSUB, WKOL *mologon;* TLT, SGSUB *mərəgən;* SSUB, CSUB *mələgən;* ESUB *bələləgən*. Cf. PDAN *ma-rəgən, BIN/TAL *maləgən*, HIG *malogon*. Possibly PSPH *ma-rəgən.

PSUB ***mə-rəmuʔ** ‘dirty’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB *molomû;* TLT *mərəmû;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *mələmû;* ESUB *bələmû*.

PSUB ***mə-rərat** ‘have mercy’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *milolat;* SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *miləlat;* CSUB *mələlat;* TLT, SGSUB *mirərat*.

PSUB ***mə-rətək** ‘tight’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB *MOlotok;* TLT, SGSUB *mərətək;* SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *mələtək*. Cf. PWBIS *gətək ‘narrow’, NSUB *-gətəʔ*.

PSUB ***mə-riguʔ** ‘bathe’: WSUB, WKOL *moligû;* TLT *mərigû;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *məligû*. Cf. PDAN *paigu; cf. *rigô* ‘bathe the dead’ in Maranao; PGCPH *parígu(sʔ)

PSUB ***mə-saKit** ‘painful, sick’: WSUB, WKOL *mosakit;* TLT, SSUB *məset;* CSUB, ESUB *məsait*. Cf. PDAN *ma-sakit, PGCPH *ma-sakít.

PSUB ***m-əsəm** ‘sour’: WSUB, WKOL *m-osom;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *m-əsəm*. Cf. PDAN *ma[d]səm, PGCPH *ma-ʔalsəm.

PSUB ***mə-sikut** ‘narrow’: WSUB, WKOL *mosikut;* CSUB *məsikut;* SSUB *məsihut*. Cf. MGD *masikut*. PSPh *ma-sikut.

PSUB ***mə-suun-an** ‘know something’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *kosunan;* TLT, SSUB *məsunan;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *misuunan*.

PSUB ***mə-t(əi)gdaw** ‘cold’: WSUB, WKOL *motigdow;* TLT *mətəgdaw;* SSUB *mətiddaw;* CSUB *mətəgdaw ~ mətigdaw;* NSUB *mətəddaw;* ESUB *bətigdaw*. Cf. PDAN *ma-təŋgaw, PGCPH *ma-təg[ə]naw.

PSUB ***mə-tau** ‘know how’: WSUB *moto;* TLT *məto;* SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *mətau;* NSUB *mətoo*. PGCPH *taʔu.

PSUB ***mə-tawal** ‘generous’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *matawal;* SSUB, NSUB *mətawal*.

PSUB ***mə-təbaŋ** ‘tasteless, lacking flavor’: WSUB, WKOL *motobang;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *mətəbang*. PGCPH *ma-tabʔaŋ.

PSUB ***mə-təgas** ‘hard (not soft)’: WSUB, WKOL *motogas;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *mətəgas;* ESUB *bətəgas*. Cf. PDAN *ma-təgas, PGCPH *ma-təgás.

PSUB ***mə-tinaw** ‘clear (of water)’: WSUB *motinow;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB *mətinaw;* ESUB *bətinaw*. PGCPH *mati[ʔ]naw.

PSUB ***mə-tugəs** ‘hardworking’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *motugos;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *mətugəs;* ESUB *bətugəs*.

PSUB ***mə-tuud** ‘true’: WSUB, WKOL *motud;* TLT mə*tud;* SGSUB, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *mətuud;* ESUB *bətuud*. PGCPH *ma-tuʔud.

PSUB ***mə-yabaʔ** ‘long’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB *moyabâ;* WKOL *mayabâ;* TLT, SSUB *məyabâ;* CSUB *miyabâ*. Phonological shift from PGCPH *ma-(hl)ábaʔ.

PSUB ***mi[]nugaŋ[an]** ‘child-in-law’: WSUB *mimongugang ~ mimonugangan;* WKOL *minonugang;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *minugangan*. PGCPH *manúgaŋ, MGD *mamanugang*.

PSUB ***mi-dəŋəg** ‘hear’: WSUB, WKOL *midongog;* TLT *midəngəg;* CSUB *mikədəngəg;* SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *mirəngəg*. PGCPH *dəŋə́g.

PSUB ***mig-** ‘past of Actor Focus *məg-’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *mig-*. PGCPH *m<in>ag- .

PSUB ***mig-raat** ‘break (past tense-aspect)’: WSUB, WKOL *miglaʔat;* TLT *migraʔat;* SGSUB *migrat;* SSUB *midlat;* CSUB *miglaat;* NSUB *midlaat*. PGCPH *(rd)aʔət.

PSUB ***m-igup** ‘sip soup, slurp’: WSUB, WKOL, CSUB, NSUB *migup;* TLT *migigup;* SSUB *minigup*. PGCPH *higup.

PSUB ***mikə-** WSUB *miko-;* CSUB, NSUB *mikə-*

PSUB ***m-ilaw** ‘unripe’: WSUB *milow;* WKOL *gilow;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *milaw*. PGCPH *hiláw.

PSUB ***min-** ‘past of Actor Focus prefix *m-, used on vowel-initial roots’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *min-*. PGCPH *min-.

PSUB ***m-init** ‘hot’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *minit*. PGCPH *maʔínit.

PSUB ***m-itəm** ‘black’: WSUB, WKOL *gitom;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *mitəm*. Cf. PDAN *ma-itəm. PGCPH *ma-ʔitə́m.

PSUB ***muruʔ** ‘cheek (WSUB,WKOL); face (others)’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *mulû* ‘cheek’; TLT *murû* ‘face’*;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *mulû* ‘face’.

PSUB ***mutaʔ** ‘sleep in eye’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *mutâ*. PGCPH *múutaʔ.

PSUB ***nami** ‘1EXCL.GEN’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *nami*. PGCPH *nami.

PSUB ***nanam** ‘taste, flavor’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *nanam*. PGCPH *nanám.

PSUB ***nanaʔ** ‘pus’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *nanâ*. Cf. PDAN *danaʔ, PMNBO *nanaʔ. PGCPH *nanaʔ.

PSUB ***nanu** ‘when’: WSUB, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *nanu*. PGCPH *kaʔ[ə]nu, *saʔ[ə]nu.

PSUB ***naŋkaʔ** ‘jackfruit’: WKOL, TLT *nangkâ;* SSUB *nanghâ*. PGCPH *naŋkaʔ.

PSUB ***nati** 'young water buffalo': WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *nati*. Possibly PGCPH *nati.

PSUB ***nəg** 'genitive common noun case marker': WSUB, WKOL *nog;* TLT, CSUB, ESUB *nəg*. PGCPH *na[ŋ].

PSUB ***nəmun** 'now, today': WSUB *numun;* TLT, ESUB *nəmun*.

PSUB ***ni** 'genitive personal name case marker': WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *ni*. PGCPH *ni.

PSUB ***niən** 'that (genitive demonstrative, proximate to 2nd-person)': WSUB *niyon;* WKOL *nyon;* TLT, SSUB *nin;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *niin*.

PSUB ***nini** 'this (genitive demonstrative, proximate to 1st-person)': WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *nini*.

PSUB ***niran** '3PL.GEN': WSUB, WKOL, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *nilan;* TLT *niran;* SSUB *inlan*. PGCPH *ni-da.

PSUB ***nitu[ʔ]** 'that (genitive demonstrative, not proximate to either 1st- or 2nd-person)': WSUB, WKOL, CSUB *nituʔ;* TLT, SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *nitu*.

PSUB ***niu** '2PL.GEN': WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *niyu*. PGCPH *niyu.

PSUB ***niug** 'coconut': WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *niyug*. Cf. PDAN *niyug, PGCPH *niyúg.

PSUB ***ŋaran** 'name': WSUB, WKOL, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *ngalan;* TLT *garan;* SGSUB *ngaran*. Cf. PDAN *ŋaran, PGCPH *ŋáran.

PSUB ***ŋisi** 'tooth': WSUB, WKOL, SGSUB, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *ngisi;* ESUB *ngisi ~gisi;* TLT *gisi*.

PSUB ***ŋud[-an]** 'youngest child': WSUB *kongudan;* WKOL *mongud;* TLT *ngudan;* SGSUB *ngudan;* NSUB, ESUB *nguran;* CSUB *tampusan-ngudan*. PGCPH *ŋuhud 'younger sibling'.

PSUB ***p(iə)rək** 'eyelash': WSUB, WKOL *polók;* TLT *pərək;* SSUB *phələk;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *pilək*. Cf. PDAN *pírək, PGCPH *p(iə)rə́k.

PSUB ***paa** 'thigh': WSUB *gopa;* TLT *gəpa;* WKOL *pa;* SSUB *pha;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *paa*. PGCPH *paʔa.

PSUB ***paan*** ‘bait’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT *gumpan;* SSUB *phan;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *paan*. Cf. PDAN *pan, PGCPH *páʔən.

PSUB ***pais*** ‘bolo knife’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL, TLT *pes;* SSUB *phes;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *pais*.

PSUB ***pait*** ‘bitter’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB *pet;* ESUB *pait;* CSUB, NSUB *peet*. Cf. PDAN *ma-paʔit, PGCPH *ma-paʔit.

PSUB ***palad*** ‘palm of hand’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *palad;* SSUB *phalad*. Cf. PDAN *palad, PGCPH *pálad.

PSUB ***paliʔ*** ‘scar’: WSUB, TLT, CSUB, ESUB *palî;* SSUB *phalî*. Cf. PDAN, PGCPH *palíʔ ‘wound’.

PSUB ***panas*** ‘fever’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *panas*. Cf. MALAY *panas* ‘hot’.

PSUB ***panaw*** ‘walk’: WSUB, WKOL *panow;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *panaw*. PGCPH *panaw.

PSUB ***panday*** ‘blacksmith; carpenter’: WSUB, WKOL *pandoy;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *panday;* SSUB *phanday*. PGCPH *panday. Possibly a loan from Malay *pandai*.

PSUB ***panit*** ‘skin’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *panit;* SSUB *phanit*. PGCPH *panit.

PSUB ***paŋa*** ‘branch’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *panga;* SSUB *phanga*. PGCPH *saŋá, PMNBO *paŋa (cf. HIG, BKD/TAL, PUL, OBO, TBW, SAR *panga*).

PSUB ***paray*** ‘rice in field’: WSUB, WKOL *paloy;* TLT *paray;* SSUB *phalay;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *palay*. PGCPH *páray.

PSUB ***pasaad*** ‘promise’: WSUB, CSUB *pasad;* SSUB *phasad;* ESUB *saʔad*. Cf. PDAN *pasad, PGCPH *[pa-]saʔad.

PSUB ***payuŋ*** ‘umbrella’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB *payung;* SSUB *phayung;* ESUB *pajung*. Cf. PDAN *payuŋ, PGCPH *páyuŋ. Possibly a loan from Malay *payung*.

PSUB ***pə-*** ‘causative prefix’: WSUB, WKOL *po-;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *pə-*. PGCPH *pa-.

PSUB ***pədəŋ*** ‘close the eyes’: WSUB, WKOL *podong;* TLT, CSUB *pədəng;* SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *pərən*. Cf. PDAN *pidəŋ, PGCPH *p(iə)dəŋ.

PSUB ***pədu*** ‘gall, bile’: WSUB, WKOL *podu;* SGSUB, CSUB *pədu;* SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *pəru*. Cf. PDAN *pədu, PGCPH *ʔap(ə)du.

PSUB ***pə-əwit*** ‘send’: WSUB *mikpowit;* WKOL *mokpowit;* SSUB *məphəwit;* NSUB *məkpəəwit;* ESUB *pəowit.*

PSUB ***pəg-*** ‘verb prefix covering present for all focuses, as well as imperative and subjunctive of non-Actor Focus verbs and Actor Focus *mag-* verbs’: WSUB, WKOL *pog-;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *pəg-*. PGCPH *pag-.

PSUB ***pəgad*** ‘palate of mouth’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB *pogod;* TLT, NSUB *pəgad;* SSUB *phəgad*.

PSUB ***pənugaŋan*** ‘parent-in-law’: WSUB, WKOL *ponugangan;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *pənugangan;* SSUB *phənugangan*. Cf. PDAN *pənugaŋan, PGCPH *panugáŋan.

PSUB ***pənuʔ*** ‘full’: WSUB, WKOL *ponû;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *pənû*. Cf. PDAN *pənuʔ, PGCPH *pənúʔ.

PSUB ***pəpura*** ‘newborn baby’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *popula;* TLT *pəpura;* SSUB *phəpula;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *pəpula*. Cf. MARANAO *ikaririgà* ‘baby’ is also based on ‘red’.

PSUB ***pərapa*** ‘sole of foot’: WSUB, WKOL *polapa;* TLT *pərapa;* SSUB *phəlapa;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *pəlapa*. PGCPH *dapadápa.

PSUB ***pərura*** ‘boat paddle’: WSUB, WKOL *polula;* TLT *pərura;* SSUB *phəlula;* CSUB *pəlula*. Cf. PDAN *pura. PAN *paluja.

PSUB ***pətik*** ‘flick with finger’: WSUB *potik;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB *pətik;* NSUB *pətiʔ.* PGCPH *pətik.

PSUB ***pətubuʔan*** ‘animal’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *potubuʔon;* TLT, SSUB *pətubuʔən;* CSUB *patubu-un*.

PSUB ***pi-*** ‘past causative prefix’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *pi-*. PGCPH *p<in>a-.

PSUB ***pig-*** ‘verb prefix marking the past of non-Actor Focus verbs that take the prefix *pəg-’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *pig-*. PGCPH *p<in>ag-.

PSUB ***pilәs** ‘wring (clothes)’: WSUB, WKOL *pilos;* TLT, SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *pilәs*. Cf. SABIS *pilos*, ALANGAN *akpәlәs*.

PSUB ***pili?** ‘choose’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *pilî*. Cf. PDAN *pili?, PGCPH *píli?.

PSUB ***pisan** ‘carry on shoulder’: WSUB, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *pisan*. PGCPH *pas(a)?an.

PSUB ***pitu** ‘seven’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *pitu;* SSUB *phitu*. PGCPH *pitu.

PSUB ***puak** ‘bald’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, TLT, SSUB, CSUB *puwák;* NSUB *puwâ*.

PSUB ***puliŋ** ‘dirt in eye’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *puling*. Cf. PDAN *puliŋ, PGCPH *púliŋ.

PSUB ***puli?** ‘return’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *pulî*. Cf. also PSUB *puli?-an ‘repeat’ in all except NSUB and ESUB.

PSUB ***punas** ‘wipe’: WSUB, SGSUB, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *punas*. PGCPH *púnas.

PSUB ***pusәd** ‘navel, belly button’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *pusәd;* SSUB *phusәd*. PGCPH *púsәd.

PSUB ***pusuŋ** ‘heart’: WSUB, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *pusung*. Cf. PMNBO *pusuŋ, PGCPH *púsu?.

PSUB ***pusu?** ‘calf of leg’: WSUB, WKOL *pusu?an;* TLT, CSUB *tiyanpusû;* SSUB *phusû;* NSUB, ESUB *pusû*. Cf. HIG *hamúsù, kalimpúsù*. CPAL, SPAL *kapusuwan ~ kopusuwan.*

PSUB ***putus** ‘wrap’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *putus*. PGCPH *putus.

PSUB ***puun-[nәg]-tiyan** ‘lower abdomen’: WSUB *pun nok tiyan;* WKOL *puntiyan;* SSUB *phuntiyan;* CSUB *puun (nәg) tiyan;* ESUB *puuntiyan*. Cf. MAR *poon na tíyan*.

PSUB ***puun-nәg-Kayu** ‘tree’: WSUB *punokkayu;* WKOL *pun nәk kayu ~ pun-kayu;* TLT, SSUB *pun-gayu;* CSUB, NSUB *puun-gayu;* ESUB *puun*. PGCPH *pu?un-[]-káyu.

PSUB ***puyu[]-an** ‘hammock, esp. for baby’: WKOL *puyuhan;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB *puyuwan;* SSUB *phuyuwan;* ESUB *pujuwan*. Cf. PBUH *afúyu.

PSUB ***sabaw*** ‘soup, broth’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *sabaw*. Cf. PDAN *sawaw, PGCPH *sabáw.

PSUB ***sagiŋ*** ‘banana’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *saging;* SSUB *shaging*. Cf. PDAN *sagiŋ, PGCPH *ságiŋ.

PSUB ***sakay*** ‘ride’: WSUB, WKOL *sakoy;* TLT, CSUB, ESUB *sakay;* SSUB, *sahay;* NSUB, *saʔay*.

PSUB ***saKil*** ‘heel’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *sakil;* TLT, SSUB *sel;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *sail*.

PSUB ***saləg*** ‘floor’: WSUB, WKOL *salog;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *saləg*. PGCPH *saləg.

PSUB ***saluy*** ‘buy’: WSUB, WKOL *saloy;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *saluy*. Cf. PMOGO *saluy.

PSUB ***sanduk*** ‘ladle’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *sanduk*. PGCPH *sanduk.

PSUB ***sanu*** ‘how much; how many’: WSUB, WKOL, SSUB *sanu;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *santaʔ* (< *sanu-taʔ).

PSUB ***sapu*** ‘smell, sniff’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *sapu*.

PSUB ***sara[buuk]*** ‘one’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *sala;* TLT *sarabuk;* SSUB *salabuk*. PGCPH *ʔəsa.

PSUB ***saraŋ-əndaw*** ‘the day before yesterday’: WKOL *solongondow;* SSUB, ESUB *salangəndaw*. Cf. PSUB *sara ‘one’, PSUB *əndaw ‘day’.

PSUB ***sayəp*** ‘wrong’: WKOL *sayop;* SGSUB, CSUB, NSUB *sayəp;* ESUB *sajəp*. Cf. PDAB, PSBIS, PMNBO, PGCPH *sayəp.

PSUB ***səbu*** ‘boil water’: WSUB, WKOL *sobu;* TLT, CSUB, ESUB *səbu*. Cf. PMNBO, PDAB *səbu, MGD *səbu*.

PSUB ***sədaŋ*** ‘hang on peg or nail’: WSUB, WKOL *sodang;* SGSUB *sədang;* SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *sərang;* CSUB *sədang ~ sərang*. PGCPH *saʔdaŋ or *sadʔaŋ.

PSUB ***sədaʔ*** ‘fish’: WSUB, WKOL *sodâ;* TLT, CSUB *sədâ;* SSUB *shərâ;* NSUB, ESUB *sərâ*. Cf. PDAN *sədaʔ. PGCPH *[ʔi]sədáʔ.

PSUB ***sədaʔan*** ‘viand, food eaten with rice’: WSUB, WKOL *sodaʔan;* TLT, CSUB *sədaʔan;* SSUB *sərâ;* NSUB, ESUB *səraʔan*. Cf. PDAN *sədaʔ, PGCPH *sədáʔ.

PSUB ***səg*** ‘oblique common noun case marker’: WSUB, WKOL *sog;* CSUB, ESUB *səg*. PGCPH *sa.

PSUB ***səgaw*** ‘cry’: WSUB *sogow;* NSUB, ESUB *səgaw*. Cf. PMNBO *səgaw, cf. RKMNBO, DIB, MMNBO *səgəw*, MSMNBO, PUL *sohow*, OBO *soggow*, TBW *soggo*. Cf. also TAGALOG *sigaw* ‘yell, shout’. Cf. PGPCH *səgáw ‘scream, cry’.

PSUB ***səkəʔ*** ‘hiccup’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB *sokô;* TLT, CSUB *səkəʔ;* SSUB *səhəʔ*. Cf. ALANGAN *səkdə̀,* HIG, KAM *siklô,* UMA *sil-ok*, etc.

PSUB ***səlaŋ*** ‘chin, jaw’: WSUB, WKOL *solang;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *səlang;* SSUB *shəlang*. PGCPH *səlaŋ.

PSUB ***sələd, *s<um>ələd*** ‘enter’: WSUB *solod;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *səlәd*.

PSUB ***səndig*** ‘lean to the back or to the side’: WSUB *sondig;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *səndig*. PGCPH *sandig.

PSUB ***səŋa*** ‘blow the nose’: WSUB, WKOL *songa;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *sənga*. Cf. PDAN *səŋa. PGCPH *səŋa.

PSUB ***səŋaw*** ‘steam’: WSUB, WKOL *songow;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB *səngaw;* NSUB *sinəngaw*. PGCPH *səŋáw.

PSUB ***səŋibu*** ‘one thousand’: WSUB, WKOL *soŋibu;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB *səŋibu*.

PSUB ***səpiʔ*** ‘bunch of bananas’: WSUB, WKOL *sopî;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *səpî*. Cf. PDAN *səpiʔ. PGCPH *s(iə)píʔ.

PSUB ***səpuluʔ*** ‘ten’: WSUB, WKOL *sopuluʔ;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *sepuluʔ.* PGCPH *saŋ-puluʔ.

PSUB ***si*** ‘nominative personal name case marker’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *si*. PGCPH *si.

PSUB ***siam*** ‘nine’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *siyam;* SSUB *shiyam*. PGCPH *siyam.

PSUB ***sigbət*** ‘grass’: WSUB, WKOL *sigbot;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *sigbət*. PGCPH *sagbət.

PSUB ***sigəb*** ‘fetch water’: WSUB, WKOL *sigob;* SSUB, CSUB *sigəb*.

PSUB ***siKu*** ‘elbow’: WSUB, WKOL *siku;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *siyu;* SSUB *shyu*. Cf. PDAN *siku. PGCPH *síku.

PSUB ***silig*** ‘broom’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *silig*. PGCPH *silhig.

PSUB ***simbura?an*** ‘hawk’: WSUB, WKOL *simbulaan;* TLT *simburaan;* CSUB, ESUB *simbulaan*. Cf. CENTRAL PALAWAN *sigyoburâ*.

PSUB ***sindəp*** ‘sunset’: WSUB, WKOL *sindop;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *sindəp*. Cf. PDAN *sədəp, PMNBO *saləp. possibly PGCPH *saldəp note also Mbg *sodop*.

PSUB ***sindəp-an*** ‘west’: WSUB, WKOL *sindopan;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *sindəpan*. PGCPH *saldəp-an.

PSUB ***sipa?*** ‘kick’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *sipa?*. Cf. PDAN *sipa?, PGCPH *sipa?.

PSUB ***sipəg*** ‘shy, ashamed’: WSUB, WKOL *sipog;* TLT, SSUB *sipəg*. PGCPH *s(əi)pəg.

PSUB ***sipun*** ‘mucus’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *sipun;* SSUB *shipun*. PGCPH *si?pun.

PSUB ***siraŋ-an*** ‘east’: WSUB, WKOL, CSUB *silangan;* TLT *sirangan;* SSUB *shilangan*. PGCPH *siráŋ-an.

PSUB ***si-sələm*** ‘morning’: WSUB, WKOL *sisolom;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB *sisələm;* NSUB, ESUB *səsələm*.

PSUB ***sisip*** ‘flea, chicken mite’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *sisip*.

PSUB ***sug*** ‘nominative common noun case marker’: TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *sug*. PGCPH *su.

PSUB ***sugu?*** ‘order, command’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *sugû*. Cf. PDAN *sugu?. PGCPH *sugu?.

PSUB ***suli?*** ‘give back’: WSUB, WKOL, SGSUB, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *sulî*.

PSUB ***sulu?*** ‘lamp’: WSUB, SGSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *sulû*. PGCPH *sulu?.

PSUB ***sumpit(-an)*** ‘blowgun’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT *sumpit;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *sumpitan*. PGCPH *sumpit.

PSUB ***sunday*** ‘comb’: WSUB, WKOL *sundoy;* TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *sunday*. PGCPH *sudlay.

PSUB ***suntuk*** ‘punch’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB *suntuk*. PGCPH *suntuk.

PSUB ***suŋag** ‘horn (of animal)’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB *sungag*. (PSub innovation) Cf. EMNBO *suwag, TAGALOG *súngay*.

PSUB ***suŋ-balay** ‘neighbor; to visit’: WSUB *sumbaloy;* SSUB *sungbalay;* NSUB, ESUB *sumbalay*. Cf. TBW, OBO, AGU, MS, SABIS; LOTUD *sambalay*.

PSUB ***surat** ‘write’: WSUB, WKOL, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *sulat;* TLT *surat*. PGCPH *súrat, likely a borrowing from Malay *surat*, cf. PPH *súRat.

PSUB ***susuʔ** ‘snail’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *susû*. Cf. PDAN *susuʔ, PGCPH *susúʔ.

PSUB ***suuŋ** ‘nose’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL, TLT *sung;* SSUB *shung;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *suung*.

PSUB ***ta** ‘1INCL.GEN’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *ta*. PGCPH *ta.

PSUB ***taap** ‘winnow’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB *tap;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *taap*. PGCPH *tahəp.

PSUB ***taas** ‘over’: WKOL *tas;* TLT, SGSUB *ditug-itas;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *ditaas*. PGCPH *taʔas. Also PSUB ***mə-taas** ‘high’, *ditaas ‘above’: WSUB *motas;* TLT, SGSUB *mətas;* SSUB *məthas;* CSUB, NSUB *mətaas;* ESUB *bətaas*. PGCPH *ma-taʔas.

PSUB ***tabaŋ** ‘help’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT *tabang;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB *gabang;* ESUB *abang*. PGCPH *tábaŋ.

PSUB ***tadək** ‘boat pole’: WSUB, WKOL *tadok;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB *tadək*. Cf. PDAN *tadək, ATAM, PUL, OBO *tarok*, TBW *tadək*. Possibly PSPH *tadək.

PSUB ***tai** ‘feces’: WSUB *gote;* WKOL *te;* TLT *gəte;* SSUB *thai;* CSUB, ESUB *tai;* NSUB *tee*. Cf. PDAN *taʔi. PGCPH *taʔi.

PSUB ***tali** ‘rope’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *tali;* SSUB *thali*. Cf. PDAN *tali. PGCPH *táli.

PSUB ***taliKudan** ‘behind, in back of’: WSUB, WKOL *tolikudan;* SGSUB *taliyudan;* CSUB *taliyuran;* NSUB *tali-uran*. Cf. PDAN *taligkudan. PGCPH *talikúdan.

PSUB ***tanud** ‘awaken, wake up’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *tanud*.

PSUB ***tapuk** ‘lungs’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, TLT, CSUB, ESUB *tapuk;* SSUB *thapuk;* NSUB *tapû*.

PSUB ***taruʔ*** ‘say’: WSUB, WKOL, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *talû;* TLT, SGSUB *tarû*. Cf. PDAN *ədtaruʔ.

PSUB ***tas-əndaw*** ‘noon’: WSUB *tasondow;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *tasəndaw;* SSUB *thasəndaw*.

PSUB ***tawag*** ‘call’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *tawag*. PGCPH *táwag.

PSUB ***taʔ*** ‘question marker’: TLT *taʔ;* CSUB, NSUB *taʔ* ‘where’; NSUB *taʔ-ma* ‘who’*;* ESUB *taʔ-ma* ‘what; who; where’.

PSUB ***təbaʔ*** ‘rice wine’: WSUB, WKOL *tobâ;* SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *təbâ*. PGCPH *t(əu)báʔ.

PSUB ***təbu*** ‘sugarcane’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *təbu;* SSUB *thəbu*. Cf. PDAN *təbu. PGCPH *təbú.

PSUB ***təduŋ*** ‘carry on head’, also ‘hat’ in WKOL, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB: WSUB, WKOL *todung;* TLT, CSUB *tədung;* SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *tərung*. Cf. HIG *tudung*, STGB *tandong*, CPAL *tondung*.

PSUB ***təginəp-ən*** ‘dream (n.)’: WSUB *toginopan;* WKOL *toginop;* TLT *təginəp;* SSUB *thəginəpən;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *təginəpən*. Cf. PDAN *taginəpən, PGCPH *tagaʔínəp.

PSUB ***təkuʔ*** ‘nod the head’: WSUB *tokû;* TLT, CSUB *təkû;* SSUB *təhû*. Cf. MGD *təkû*.

PSUB ***təl(əi)ntiŋ*** ‘spine, back’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *tolinting* ‘back’; SSUB *thəlinting;* CSUB *təlinting;* NSUB, ESUB *tələnting*.

PSUB ***təlaba*** ‘oyster’: WSUB, WKOL, NSUB, ESUB *talaba;* TLT, CSUB *təlaba;* SSUB *thəlaba*. PGCPH *talabá.

PSUB ***təliŋa*** ‘ear’: WSUB, WKOL *tolinga;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *təlinga;* SSUB *thəlinga*. Cf. PDAN *taŋila. PGCPH *talíŋa.

PSUB ***təlu*** ‘three’: WSUB, WKOL *tolu;* TLT, SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *təlu;* SSUB *thəlu*. PGCPH *təlu.

PSUB ***tənduʔ*** ‘finger; index finger’: WSUB, WKOL *tondû;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB *təndû;* SSUB *thəndû*. PGCPH *tuldúʔ.

PSUB ***-təŋaʔ, *ginəngaʔ** ‘half’: WSUB *sopoginongâ;* WKOL *tongâ;* TLT *sətəngâ;* SSUB *səpəginəngâ;* CSUB *sətəngâ, səginəngâ;* NSUB *təngâ;* ESUB *səginəngâ*. PGCPH *təŋáʔ.

PSUB ***təpəŋ** ‘measure’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB *tinopong;* SSUB *tipəng;* CSUB *təpəng*.

PSUB ***tərawan** ‘spear’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB *tolawan;* TLT *tərawan;* SSUB *thəlawan;* CSUB *təlawan*.

PSUB ***tərəpisuŋ** ‘grasshopper’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *tolopisung;* TLT *tərəpisung;* SSUB *tələpisung;* CSUB, ESUB *tələpisung*.

PSUB ***təruŋ** ‘eggplant’: WSUB, WKOL *tolung;* TLT *tərung;* SSUB *thəlung;* CSUB, NSUB *təlung;* ESUB *talung*. PGCPH *t(aə)ruŋ.

PSUB ***tətubuʔ** ‘alive’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL *totubû;* TLT, CSUB, ESUB *tətubû;* SSUB *phəgitubû;* NSUB *tubû*. Semantic shift from PGCPH *túbuʔ ‘grow, sprout’.

PSUB ***tibuuk** ‘whole’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT *tibuk;* SSUB *thibuk;* CSUB, NSUB *tibuuk;* ESUB *tibuuʔ*. PGCPH *tibuʔuk.

PSUB ***timbak** ‘shoot’: WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB *timbak*. PDAN, PGCPH *timbak. Possibly a loan from Malay *timbak*.

PSUB ***timbaŋ** ‘weigh’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *timbang*. PGCPH *timbaŋ.

PSUB ***tinai** ‘intestines’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT *tene;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *tinai*. Cf. PDAN *tinaʔi, PGCPH *tináʔi.

PSUB ***tiŋa** ‘food in teeth’: WSUB, CSUB, NSUB *tinga;* SSUB *thinga*. PGCPH *tíŋa.

PSUB ***tiŋkuguʔ** ‘nape of neck’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *tingkugû;* SSUB *thingkugû*. PGCPH *taŋkúguʔ.

PSUB ***titay[-an]** ‘bridge’: WSUB, WKOL *titoyan;* SGSUB *pənitayan;* SSUB *thitay;* CSUB *titayan;* NSUB *pənitayan;* ESUB *titajan*. Phonological shift from PGCPH *taytay(-an), cf. also OBO *titoyan*, PUL *toytayan*.

PSUB ***titəŋaʔ** ‘in between’: WSUB, WKOL *titongâ;* TLT *tətəngâ;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *titəngâ*. PGCPH *təŋáʔ.

PSUB ***titiʔ*** ‘roast’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *titî*.

PSUB ***tiyan*** ‘stomach’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *tiyan;* SSUB *thiyan*. Cf. PDAN *tiyan, PGCPH *tiyan.

PSUB ***tu[g]*** ‘oblique common noun case marker’: WSUB, WKOL, SSUB, CSUB *tug;* NSUB *tu*.

PSUB ***tubig*** ‘water’ (ALL); ‘river’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *tubig;* SSUB *thubig*. Cf. PDAN *ig, PGCPH *túbig.

PSUB ***tubuʔ*** ‘grow, sprout’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *tubû*.

PSUB ***tuKad*** ‘go uphill’: WSUB, WKOL *tukad;* TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *tuwad*. PGCPH *tukad.

PSUB ***tukuʔ*** ‘large lizard’: WSUB, SSUB, NSUB, ESUB *tukû;* TLT *təkû;* CSUB *takô*. PGCPH *tukúʔ.

PSUB ***tuli*** ‘earwax’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *tuli;* SSUB *thuli*. Cf. PDAN *tuli, PGCPH *ʔatulí.

PSUB ***turiŋan*** ‘tuna’: WSUB, WKOL, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *tulingan;* TLT *turingan*. Cf. PDAN *tuliŋan. PGCPH *turíŋan.

PSUB ***turug*** ‘sleep’: WSUB, WKOL, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *tulug;* TLT *turug*. Cf. PDAN *turug, PGCPH *túrug.

PSUB ***turug-ən*** ‘sleepy’. WSUB, WKOL *tulugon;* TLT *turugən*; SSub *thulugən;* CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *tulugən.* From *turug ‘sleep’ + *-ən.

PSUB ***tutuŋ*** ‘burn’: WSUB, WKOL, TLT, SSUB, CSUB, ESUB *tutung*. Cf. PDAN *tutuŋ. cf. AGUSAN MANOBO, MATIG-SALUG MANOBO, ATA MANOBO, OBO, CPALAWAN, SPALAWAN, MOLBOG, *tutung;* BONGGI *nutukng*.

PSUB ***urari*** ‘rest, relax’ (PSUB INNOVATION): WSUB, WKOL, SSUB, CSUB, NSUB, ESUB *ulali;* TLT *urari*.

PSUB ***uwid*** ‘hold in hands’: WSUB, TLT *uwid;* SSUB *gawid;* CSUB *guwid;* NSUB, ESUB *uwid*.

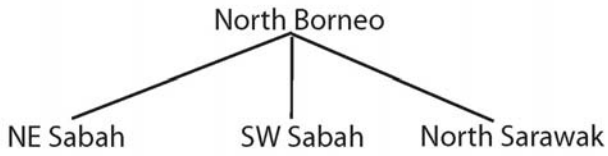
PSUB ***yan-iyən*** ‘3SG.TOP’: WKOL *yanin;* SSUB *hyanin.*

CHAPTER 11
SOUTHWEST SABAH REVISITED

11.1. INTRODUCTION. The languages of northern Borneo have been the subject of scholarly attention since at least Beech (1908) and Ray (1913), yet as Blust points out, "the subgrouping of the languages of Sabah remains rudimentary" (1998:32) and "published data on the Sabahan languages remain discouragingly sparse" (1998:34). Moreover, with regard to subgrouping hypotheses that have been put forth regarding these languages, Blust notes that "all…are offered simply as conclusions, without support of any kind (viz. evidence of exclusively shared innovations in the case of qualitative arguments, explicit information on cognate decisions in the case of lexicostatistical arguments)." (1998:32) In fact, no subgrouping argument about the internal structure of the Southwest Sabah (SWSAB)[1] subgroup—consisting of languages native to northern Borneo long before the much more recent in-migrations of groups from the Philippines such as the Tausug and various Sama-Bajaw groups—has ever been presented based on phonological and morphological innovations. Blust himself (1998), lacking any significant amount of data for most of its individual member languages, only discusses the Southwest Sabah subgroup in the context of its relationship to languages elsewhere in Borneo and the Philippines, without consideration of their internal structure of the Southwest Sabah subgroup. More recently, Blust (2010:62) simply argues that the immediate external relationships of Southwest Sabah are to Northeast Sabah and North Sarawak (cf. Figure 11.1), and that "NE Sabah and SW Sabah may share a Sabahan node not far below North Borneo, with NE Sabah and SW Sabah branching off from it shortly after North Sarawak had separated from them."

[1] The name "Southwest Sabah" was coined by Blust (2010), and is a slightly more appropriate name for what King (1984) calls the "Bornean Stock", reflecting the hypothesis that the homeland of these languages is southwestern Sabah, where the largest number of representatives of the primary branches of the component subgroups can be found (Greater Murutic represented by the Tatana and Papar languages in Kuala Penyu, and by various conservative Murutic languages just uphill in Keningau and Tenom; and Greater Dusunic represented by Sabah Bisaya and a number of varieties of Dusun and Kadazan in Beaufort, Membakut, Kimanis, and Papar).

FIGURE 11.1. THE NORTH BORNEO SUBGROUP (Blust 2010:62)



Utilizing phonological and functor innovations, this chapter will demonstrate that although the traditional terms "Dusunic" and "Murutic" can still be used to define valid subgroups, their membership differs from that indicated by the less reliable methods used in previous studies, the most comprehensive of which are the various papers in King and King (1984), on whose subgroupings the *Ethnologue* relies[2] (Lewis 2009 in its most recent edition). First, Lotud, classified by King and King (1984) as Dusunic, should be subgrouped with Sabah Bisaya, Limbang Bisaya, and Brunei Dusun (the last two not in King and King 1984) in a small 'Bisaya-Lotud' subgroup that is distinct from the core Dusunic group. Second, two other languages—Papar and Tatana—were classified as Dusunic, whereas the comparative evidence suggests that they are more closely related to the Murutic languages. Similarly, the Gana language has been listed in Lewis (2009) as Dusunic even though Smith (1984) classified it as Murutic, and in this case the data and analysis presented here also support an assignment to Murutic. Furthermore, three languages in the Indonesian province of Kalimantan Timur near the border with Sabah—Abai Sembuak, Abai Tubu,[3] and Bulusu—are also Murutic, although they were outside the geographically-based scope of King and King (1984). Although Bulusu or "Burusu" was misclassified as part of the Rejang-Sajau branch of "North Borneo", and the two Abai varieties were erroneously listed as dialects of "Putoh", an alternate name in

[2] However, it must be noted that the Ethnologue listing of linguistic relationships has acquired a number of errors over the years, most problematic the listing of (1) Yakan (a Sama-Bajaw language) as a member of the Paitanic subgroup; (2) Bonggi (a member of Blust's Northeast Sabah and the current author's Molbog-Bonggi subgroup) as a member of the Bisaya branch of the Dusunic subgroup; and (3) Bulusu/Burusu as a Rejang-Sajau language.

[3] These two languages should not be confused with Abai Sungai, a Paitanic language spoken in eastern Sabah. Abai Sungai spoken by a tribe called "Sungai" located in the town of Abai; Abai Sembuak and Abai Tubu, on the other hand, are spoken by a tribe called Abai residing in Sembuak and Tubu, respectively.

Kalimantan Timur for Lun Bawang ~ Lun Dayeh (Lewis 2009), all three are clearly Murutic languages.

The conclusion of the present study, as will be discussed in Section 11.4, is that four lower-level subgroups can be defined based on phonological and morphological innovations: Dusunic (DUS), Bisaya-Lotud (BISLO), Paitanic (PAIT), and Murutic (MUR). The first three of these can be grouped together in a Greater Dusunic (GDUS) subgroup, while the Murutic subgroup, Tatana, and Papar form three branches of a Greater Murutic (GMUR) subgroup.

11.1.1 Methodology and Previous Studies. Previously, the only study of the internal relationships of the Southwest Sabah languages was King and King (1984), which was based on wordlists representing hundreds of language communities in Sabah surveyed by various members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in Sabah. While impressive in its scope and groundbreaking at the time, it is also highly problematic for two major reasons: First, it was limited geographically to the Malaysian state of Sabah, even though closely related languages are also located in nearby northern Sarawak (Malaysia), northern Kalimantan Timur (Indonesia), and Brunei. The only languages from outside Sabah that were included were those for which speakers were found in Sabah. King and King (1984) therefore failed to include Limbang Bisaya in northern Sarawak, the Dusun dialects in Brunei, and several Murutic languages spoken on the Indonesian side of the Sabah-Kalimtantan Timur border.[4] In all fairness, King and King (1984) was a survey of languages located in Sabah, and did not claim to be an all-inclusive study of the Southwest Sabah subgroup. As such, while it did not include Southwest Sabah languages spoken outside Sabah, it did include more distantly-related languages spoken in Sabah like Iranun, Sama-Bajaw, Idaan, Bonggi, Bugis, and Tausug (or "Suluk" as it is called in Sabah), as shown in Figure 11.2. Furthermore, the

[4] Note that use of the term "Murut" appears to be limited to the Sabah side of the border, while on the Indonesian side, speakers of Murutic languages are included in the generic term "Dayak" which can be applied to any of the majority of ethnolinguistic groups in Kalimantan Timur, regardless of their linguistic affiliation. Note that the term "Murut" should not be confused with the Lun Dayeh ~ Lun Bawang language, which is often called "Murut" in Brunei but belongs to the North Sarawak subgroup (Blust 2010).

languages—especially those in Kalimantan Timur—were much less accessible decades ago than they are today, since many communities have now moved (or been moved) downriver closer to more central towns.

FIGURE 11.2. THE "NORTHWEST AUSTRONESIAN SUPERSTOCK" (after Smith 1984:41ff, adapted by Blust 2010:53)[5]

1. Lundayeh language
2. Bonggi language
3. Iranun language
4. Suluk (Tausug) language
5. Bugis language
6. Ida'an language
7. Malayic language
8. Bajaw family
9. Bornean stock
    - 9.1 Tidung
    - 9.2 Paitanic family
    - 9.3 Dusunic family
    - 9.4 Murutic family

The second and more serious problem with King and King (1984) is that neither of the methodologies which it utilized—lexicostatistics and intelligibility testing—is known to be a reliable basis for subgrouping. Lexicostatistics has been largely discredited as a basis for subgrouping arguments, as it does not differentiate between retentions, borrowings, and shared innovations, and has been discredited by a number of linguists, including many Austronesianists such as Grace (1964, 1992), Blust (1981, 2000), Ross (1991, 2005), and Pawley (1999)[6]

Intelligibility testing, on the other hand, has never been demonstrated to provide reliable subgrouping results, nor has it been widely accepted and/or utilized for this

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[5] Smith's spellings "Banggi" and "Tidong" have been updated to "Bonggi" and "Tidung" to more accurately reflect the native speaker pronunciations of these language names.

[6] The arguments need not be repeated here, but Blust (2000:327), for example, summarizes the argument against the use of lexicostatistics for subgrouping Austronesian languages as follows:

> …we cannot tell when it gives valid results and when it does not. …since we now know that languages vary widely in retention rate of basic vocabulary over lengthy intervals of time, lexicostatistics must be seen as an unreliable foundation for subgrouping hypotheses that are not independently confirmed by the evidence of exclusively shared innovations.

purpose; instead, its use has been limited to studies by certain SIL members. This method was developed to aid the SIL in determining where two or more communities could be served by a single set of literacy materials and other vernacular publications, versus where separate materials would be necessary. For its intended purpose, the importance of intelligibility testing should not be underestimated, since incorrect decisions about how well various communities understand each other could result in decades of extra work by linguists, translators, educators, supervisors, and proofreaders, and large amounts of additional money spent. For any organization with limited human and financial resources, this ability is indescribably valuable. However, to use intelligibility testing as a basis for subgrouping is highly problematic, as there are a number of uncontrollable factors that can affect whether speakers of one speech variety may understand speakers of another, including geographic proximity, trade, political or military power of one community over another, historical lexical borrowing, and even the relative conservativeness of the lexicon and phonology of each language. At best, intelligibility testing, like lexicostatistics, can only be used to provide a numerical basis for describing the lexical similarities between languages, with the caveat that *similarity* is not a generally accepted basis on which to subgroup languages. As such, while it is undoubtedly a useful tool for applied linguistics, intelligibility has little if any reliable application for historical-comparative linguistics.

In contrast to King and King (1984), the methodology in the current study consists of the analysis of phonological and functor innovations.

While not completely problem-free, phonological innovation is one of the most widely-accepted bases for subgrouping. Care must still be taken to ensure that shared phonological correspondences are really the result of exclusively shared innovations, and that it is not the case that one language has adopted the pronunciation patterns from another more influential or prestigious language, or, as Blust (1992) demonstrated, the result of heavy lexical borrowing from a different language with different reflexes of one or more protophonemes.[7] Still, as Blust (1998:31) observes in response to the question

[7] As in places such as northeastern Mindanao where languages belonging to three separate subgroups (Bisayan, Manobo, and Mamanwa) share two phonological innovations (*y > /j/ and *l > /y/) which aren't otherwise found in the closest relatives of each of these languages.

"[C]an it be determined whether there is evidence that two languages form a group as against the third?", that "[m]ore than a century of scholarship has shown that reliable answers…can only be based on exclusively shared innovations."

On the other hand, functors are a less-commonly utilized basis for subgrouping, not because of any known problem inherent in their use, but instead because the focus of most large-scale language surveys has been almost exclusively on eliciting lists of individual lexical items, often for lexicostatistical comparison and/or as a basis of searching for phonological correspondences in basic vocabulary. Unfortunately, with a few noteworthy exceptions (e.g., McFarland 1974, Zorc 1974 and 1977, Yamada and Tsuchida 1983, and the current author's fieldwork), little if any attention has been paid to the systematic collection of complete inventories of functors (e.g., pronouns, case markers, demonstratives, adverbial particles, basic verbal morphology, negators, and adverbs of time) across a wide variety of languages.[8] Importantly, however, without such sets being elicited in sentence context, complete and accurate elicitation of functors is rendered virtually impossible, as is functor analysis itself.

In its quantitative incarnation, functor analysis has been championed by Philippinists such as Zorc (1977, 1978) and McFarland (1974), based on the assumption that closed grammatical sets are the backbone of a language and are much less prone to borrowing (although not completely immune) than open-class lexicon. Observing that "a language is more readily defined by its grammar than by its lexicon," Zorc (1978:510) also points out that functors have "obvious importance within any given speech variety", "high text frequency", and a "tendency towards stability and a low rate of replacement." Although few attested examples of this had been documented in the Philippines at that time (Wolff 1967 being one of the earliest), a number of examples have since emerged of languages that have borrowed heavily from their neighbors while retaining their substratums largely intact, e.g., Inati (Pennoyer 1986-87), Tiruray (Blust 1992),

[8] In fact, in many of the SIL wordlists elicited in Sabah, the handful of sentences at the end of the earliest version of the elicitation list were either only partially filled out or were completely left blank, and later versions of the elicitation list omitted the sentences altogether. Elsewhere, where pronouns, deictics, negatives, etc., are included in wordlists, taken out of sentence context, it is difficult to determine which form the researcher is eliciting, e.g., whether a pronoun response in a Philippine language will be a nominative, genitive, or oblique pronoun.

Utudnon/Baybayanon (Rubino 2005), and Manide and Inagta Alabat (Lobel 2010), in addition to other languages that have similar histories of heavy lexical borrowing, such as Mamanwa in Mindanao; Kinamiging on Camiguin Island; Remontado Dumagat in central Luzon; Kinabalian in Southern Leyte; and Kasiguranin in northeastern Luzon. As will be demonstrated in this chapter, the functor evidence is in fact very important and agrees almost perfectly with the phonological evidence in Sabah.

The evidence presented here will be limited to phonological and functor innovations. A comprehensive, qualitative study of the lexicons of these 60 or so speech varieties is beyond the scope of this chapter, as it would require many times more space, and would necessarily include a thorough assessment of lexical strata and the direction and sources of borrowing, both from each other and from external languages such as various dialects of Malay and Philippine languages like Tausug, similar to works published by Burton (1996) and Pallesen (1985) for the languages of the Southern Philippines. Also, this chapter will concentrate on the defining features of the major branches of the Southwest Sabah macrogroup, while the lower-level relationships of the individual languages will be dealt with in a future paper.

11.1.2 A New Subgrouping Proposal. Based on phonological and functor innovations, it is argued that a Dusunic language can be defined as one that descends from a protolanguage in which:

1) the innovated pronouns *ya '1EXCL.GEN', *dəJə(nʔ)[9] '1SG.OBL', and *daJay '1EXCL.OBL', replaced PSWSAB *mai, *d[i]-ak(əi)(nʔ), and *d[i]-am(əi)(nʔ), respectively (which themselves reflected PMP *mami, PPHNB[10] *d[i]-akə(nq), and PPHNB *d[i]-amə(nq), respectively) (cf. Section 11.2.1);

[9] The convention *J represents an unexplained correspondence set found only in these two innovated pronouns, and nowhere else in the lexicon or functors. *J is reflected as the affricate /j/ in Dusun Membakut and Dusun Kimanis; as /h/ in Dusun Papar, Kadazan Ovai Kambizaan, Rungus, Dusun Tambunan, Dusun Kiulu, Dusun Tindal, and Kujau; and as /g/ in Dusun Tambalugu, Dusun Tamparuli, Dumpas, Mangkak, Minokok, Sonsogon, Tinagas, Talantang, Kadazan Penampang, Dusun Klias, and Kimaragang Dusun.

[10] Reconstructions attributed to Proto-Philippines and Northern Borneo (PPHNB) may in fact turn out to be reconstructable to PMP or PWMP, but lacking evidence outside of the Philippines and northern Borneo,

2) PMP/PSWSAB *R became *w in word final position (cf. Section 11.2.2);

3) PMP/PSWSAB *R became *g before *i, but became *h in other intervocalic environments (except after *ə, where it had already shifted to *g in PSWSAB) (cf. Section 11.2.2);

4) the initial consonant of the PMP/PSWSAB adjectival and abilitative/accidental prefix *ma- (but not *ma[R]- or *maN-) was dropped when prefixed to consonant-initial roots (cf. Section 11.2.3);

5) PMP/PSWSAB *b- split to *b and *w (cf. Section 11.2.4);

6) PSWSAB *d- (< PMP *d, *j, and *z) split to *d and *r (cf. Section 11.2.5);

7) schwa was retained as *ə in non-final syllables unless the following syllable contained *a, in which case it became *a (cf. Section 11.2.6);

8) penultimate *a was neutralized to *ə in PSWSAB *aku '1SG.NOM', *ə-kai '1EXCL.NOM' (< PMP *kami), and *ə-kau '2PL.NOM' (< PMP *kamu) (and its short form, *kau, as well as *takau, '1INCL.PL.NOM' of which the final sequence *-kau originates from the 2PL.NOM pronoun *kau) (cf. Section 11.2.7)

9) Although not an innovation, it is worth noting that PDUS reflected *nu '2SG.GEN' instead of the more widespread form *mu which is reflected in Bisaya-Lotud, Paitanic, and Murutic languages. The only other languages in northern Borneo to reflect *nu are Bonggi, and a Paitanic language known as Dusun Puawang[11] which may have borrowed it from contact with Dusunic languages. Within Dusunic, only Dumpas reflects *mu, but this is likely a loan resulting from its intense contact with Sungai Beluran (a Paitanic language) and other Paitanic languages, Tausug, Tidung Bangawong and Tidung Sambal, and other languages that reflect *mu (cf. Section 11.2.8).

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a more cautious approach is taken here since the forms are only found in these two geographical areas. Further study will hopefully determine whether the lowest level protolanguage shared by the languages of the Philippines with the languages of northern Borneo is PMP, PWMP, or some other yet-unidentified lower-level node within Malayo-Polynesian.

[11] A Paitanic language, in spite of being spoken by a population whose members self-identify as "Dusun".

Note that all of these innovations except #1 and #9 also apply to the Bisaya-Lotud and Paitanic subgroups, which together with the Dusunic subgroup, likely form three branches of a larger subgroup referred to herein as "Greater Dusunic" (cf. Section 11.4.2).

On the other hand, a Murutic language is defined as one that descends from a protolanguage in which:

1) PMP/PSWSAB *R became *h before any vowel (except after *ə, where it had already shifted to *g in PSWSAB), then PGMUR *h later shifted to zero in all daughter languages except Papar (cf. Sections 11.2.2 and 11.3);
2) PMP/PSWSAB *R became *g word-finally (cf. Sections 11.2.2 and 11.3);
3) PMP/PSWSAB *aw and *ay shifted to *ow and *oy, respectively (cf. Section 11.3.1);
4) PMP/PSWSAB *iw became *uy (cf. Section 11.3.2);
5) PGMUR *g- > zero after adjectival prefix *ma- (cf. Section 11.3.3);
6) PMP/PSWSAB *ə became *a in non-final syllables, except in the environment *_Cə, where it is reflected as /o/ (cf. Section 11.3.4)

The absence of innovations four and five in Tatana, and the absence of the *h > ø shift in Papar, indicate that Tatana and Papar belong to a node above the core Murutic languages, forming two of three branches of a "Greater Murutic" subgroup (cf. Section 11.4.1).[12]

It should be pointed out that only a few innovations link the Greater Murutic and Greater Dusunic subgroups together, none of which are especially high-quality, as all are also found in a number of other subgroups:

1) PMP *h > PSWSAB ø. PMP *h is only retained in the Batanic/Bashiic, Manide-Alabat, and Central Philippine subgroups, and reflected in "a handful of other languages" including Kayan, Malay, and Soboyo (Blust 2009:579);

[12] An anonymous referee to a version of this study submitted to Oceanic Linguistics correctly suggests that at least one morphological innovation might also be mentioned: *-in 'Location Focus', which is found throughout the core Murutic languages, although not in Tatana and Papar.

2) PMP *a > PSWSAB *ə / _# (also found in some dialects of Peninsular Malay, standard Javanese, Gorontalo, Buol, and the Idaanic languages; as this is also found in Idaanic, it could possibly be an areal feature in Sabah or northern Borneo);

3) PMP *R > PSWSAB *h / (aiu)_(aəu): the *R > /h/ shift is also found in Samal, Kayan, Ngaju Dayak, and Kove (Blust 2009:582), as well as in Gorontalo and Ponosakan (both via *g), and in some Central and Western Manobo languages (via *g > *ɣ);

4) PMP *R > PSWSAB *g / ə_ as the result of fortition after schwa, which is "extra-short, and cannot hold stress without compensatory lengthening of a following prevocalic consonant" (Blust 2009:245);

5) PMP *-m- > ø in PSWSAB reflexes of the PMP pronoun forms *kami '1EXCL.NOM', *mami '1EXCL.GEN', and *kamu '2PL.NOM': an innovation which is also found in some members of the Manobo, Palawanic, and Molbog-Bonggi subgroups, and is generally widespread in Malayo-Polynesian languages (Dyen 1974)

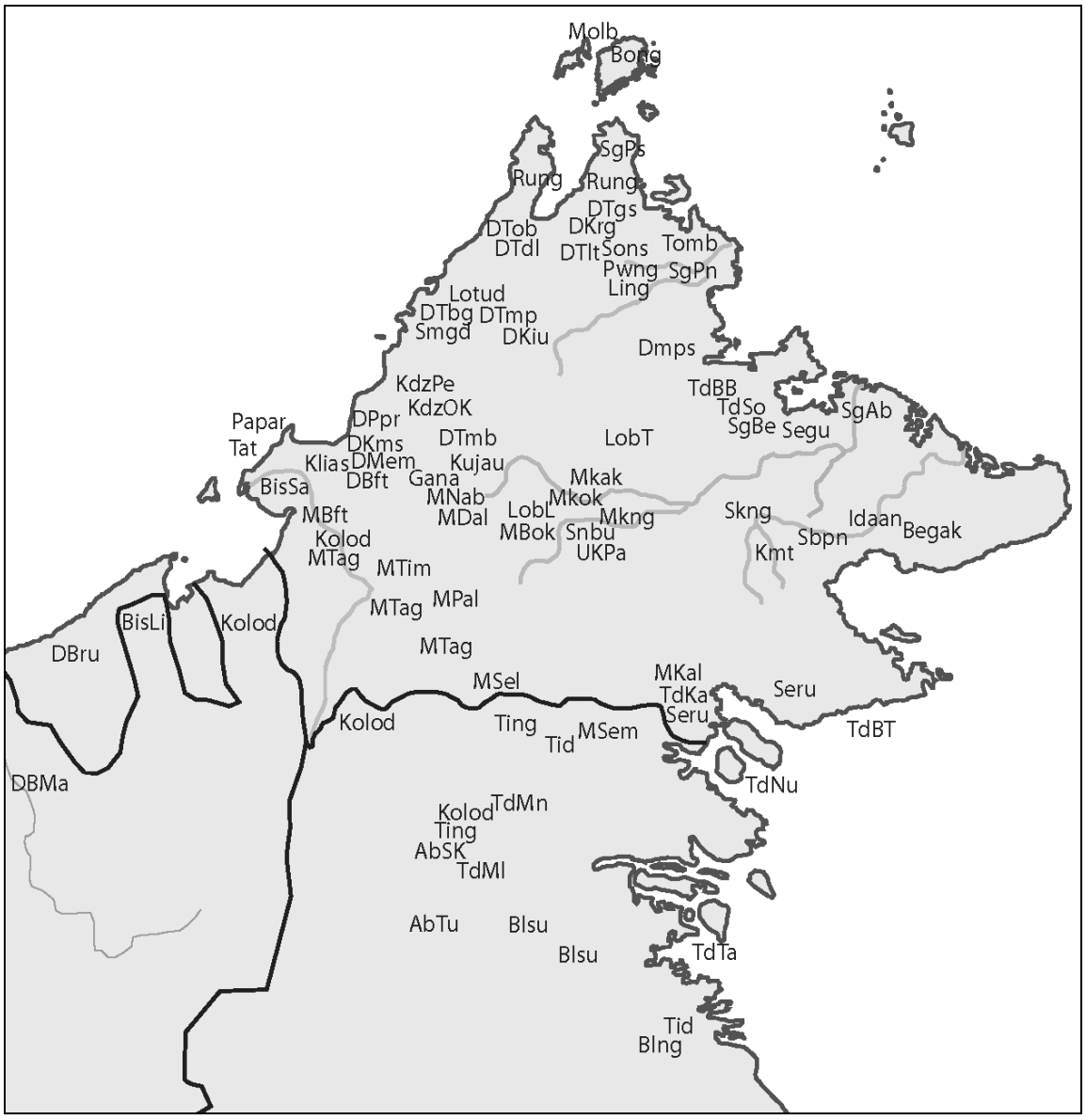
6) Reduction of most PMP consonant clusters to either singletons or prenasalized clusters, also characteristic of various subgroups in Mindanao (e.g., Danao, Subanen) and northern Sulawesi (e.g., Mongondow-Gorontalo), as well as in most areas to the south.

11.1.3 The Data. The primary source of the data in this chapter is the writer's fieldwork conducted during more than a dozen trips to Borneo between April 2008 and October 2012, totaling seven months. Well over 100 language communities were visited in Sabah, Brunei, northern Sarawak, and northern Kalimantan Timur. In fifty communities, an 800-item wordlist was elicited along with a hundred or so sentences covering functor subsystems and verbal morphology.[13] In over 50 other communities, only the sentences were elicited.

[13] This set of elicitation materials is a slightly revised version of materials elicited by the current author for around 200 speech communities in the Philippines and northern Sulawesi.

In early 2010, David Moody of SIL Malaysia generously shared an invaluable database containing hundreds of wordlists (approximately 200 to 400 items each) elicited by various members of SIL Malaysia in the 1970s and 1980s. These cover virtually every known speech variety in northern Borneo, and so allowed me to survey the full extent and distribution of phonological innovations in Sabah, and to consolidate plans for my longest field trip to northern Borneo, from October 2010 to February 2011. Access to these SIL wordlists no doubt saved me years of work and an unimaginable amount of money, allowing me to prioritize the speech varieties that had the most important and widest range of features. Pronominal data for Dusun Kimaragang (from Kroeger 2005) and Dusun Tobilung (from Buck 2009) was also very generously provided by Paul Kroeger and David Moody in 2009, and this was later supplemented by my own fieldwork on these two languages.

The approximate distribution of the languages included in this survey is illustrated in Map 11.1.



MAP 11.1. THE LANGUAGES OF NORTH BORNEO

KEY TO MAP 11.1

AbSK = Abai Sembuak
AbTu = Abai Tubu
Begak = Begak
BisLi = Limbang Bisaya
BisSa = Sabah Bisaya
Blng = Bulungan
Blsu = Bulusu
Bong = Bonggi
DBft = Dusun Beaufort
DBMa = Dusun/Bisaya Marudi
DBru = Brunei Dusun
DKiu = Dusun Kiulu
DKms = Dusun Kimanis
DKrg = Dusun Kimaragang
DMem = Dusun Membakut
Dmps = Dumpas
DPpr = Dusun Papar
DTbg = Dusun Tambalugu ("Lotud")
DTdl = Dusun Tindal
DTgs = Dusun Tinagas
DTlt = Dusun Talantang
DTmb = Dusun Tambunan
DTmp = Dusun Tamparuli
DTob = Dusun Tobilung
Gana = Gana
Idaan = Idaan
KdzOK = Kadazan Ovai Kambizaan
KdzPe = Kadazan Penampang
Klias = Dusun/ "Kadazan" Klias
Kmt = Sungai Kuamut ("Dusun" Segama)
Kolod = Murut Kolod
Kujau = Kujau
Ling = Lingkabau
LobL = Lobu Lanas
LobT = Lobu Tampios
Lotud = Lotud
MBft = Murut Beaufort
MBok = Murut Bookan
MDal = Murut Dalit
Mkak = Mangkak
MKal = Murut Kalabakan
Mkng = Sungai Makiang
Mkok = Minokok
MNab = Murut Nabaay
Molb = Molbog
MPal = Murut Paluan
MSel = Murut Selungai
MSem = Murut Sembakung
MTag = Murut Tagol
MTim = Murut Timugon
Papar = Papar
Pwng = Dusun Puawang
Rung = Rungus
Sbpn = Subpan
Segu = Sungai Seguliud
Seru = "Murut" Serudung
SgAb = Abai Sungai
SgBe = Sungai Beluran
SgPn = Sungai Paitan
SgPs = Sungai Pitas
Skng = Sukang
Smgd = Sumagid
Snbu = Sungai Sinabu
Sons = Sonsogon
Tat = Tatana
TdBB = Tidung Bangawong Beluran/Labuk
TdBT = Tidung Bangawong Tawau
TdKa = Tidung Kalabakan
TdMl = Tidung Malinau
TdMn = Tidung Mansalong
TdNu = Tidung Nunukan-Sembakung
TdSo = Tidung Sambal/Sombol
TdTa = Tidung Tarakan
Tid = Tidung (unspecified dialect)
Ting = Tingalan
Tomb = Tombonuwo
UKPa = Upper Kinabatangan Paitan

11.2. EVIDENCE FOR THE DUSUNIC SUBGROUP. As stated in Section 11.1.2 above, there are nine phonological and functor innovations that define the Dusunic

subgroup. In order to be able to consider these (and the Murutic innovations in Section 11.3) in context, a tentative reconstruction of the Proto-Southwest Sabah phonological system is given in Table 11.1.

TABLE 11.1. A TENTATIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PROTO-SOUTHWEST SABAH PHONEME SYSTEM

CONSONANTS					VOWELS		
*p	*t		*k	*ʔ	*i		*u
*b	*d	(*j)	*g			*ə	
	*s			*R		*a	
*m	*n	(*ñ)	*ŋ				
	*l						
	*r						
*w	*y						

Note that the status of PSWSAB *j and *ñ is uncertain. A phoneme /j/ occurs only sporadically in a handful of forms in a few Dusunic, Bisaya-Lotud, and Murutic languages, and never appears to be a direct continuation of PMP *j or *z, both of which merged with PMP *d as PSWSAB *d. Likewise, /ñ/ appears in scattered languages in a small number of forms with no known etymologies, but also appears in the *mañ- allomorph of *maN- when prefixed to *s-initial roots in Sabah Bisaya, Tatana, and the Murutic languages spoken in Kalimantan Timur (Kolod, Tingalan, Abai Sembuak, Abai Tubu, Bulusu, and the various varieties of Tidung). In any case, the phonemic status of *j and *ñ is not relevant to the innovations discussed in this chapter, and will not be considered further.

11.2.1 Dusunic Pronoun Innovations. Three replacement innovations can be identified in the pronouns of Proto-Dusunic, and are absent from the Bisaya-Lotud, Paitanic, and Greater Murutic languages, as illustrated in Tables 11.2 and 11.3. The first two, *dəJə(nʔ) '1SG.OBL' and *daJay '1EXCL.OBL', replaced PSWSAB[14] *d[i]-ak(əi)(nʔ) and *d[i]-am(əi)(nʔ), respectively, and are reflected in all of the core Dusunic languages. The third, *ya '1EXCL.GEN', replaced PSWSAB *mai (< PMP *mami), and is reflected in all core

[14] The Proto-Southwest Sabah forms are also supported by evidence from Idaanic, Molbog-Bonggi, and Proto-Philippines, and from a top-down perspective, by Proto-Malayo-Polynesian reconstructions such as those by Ross (2006) and Blust (1977).

Dusunic languages except Dumpas (which has borrowed the pronoun *may* under influence from various Paitanic languages and Tidung) and various languages where it has been replaced as the result of the widespread Dusunic phenomenon of Oblique pronouns replacing their Genitive counterparts, as in Sonsogon, Tinagas, Rungus, Dusun Kiulu, Dusun Tindal, and Dusun Tobilung (cf. Chapter 4.3.3).

TABLE 11.2. DUSUNIC PRONOMINAL INNOVATIONS

	1EXCL.GEN	**1SG.OBL**	**1EXCL.OBL**
PDUS	***ya**	***dəJə(nʔ)**	***daJay**
DMEM	za	dojoʔ	dajay
DKMS	ja	dojoʔ	dajay
KDZPA	za	dohoʔ	dahay
KDZOK	za	dohoʔ	dahay
KUJAU	za	dəhəʔ, dəhən	dahay
DTMB	ya	dohoʔ	dahay
DTND	(dahay, < OBL)	dohoʔ	dahay
RUNG	(dahay, < OBL)	dohoʔ, dohon	dahay
KDZCO	za	dogoʔ	dagay
KDZE	ja	dogoʔ, dogon	dagay
KLIAS	za	dogoʔ	dagay
SKNG	ja ~ ya	dogoʔ	dagay
MKAK	ja	dogoʔ	dagay
MKOK	za	dəgəʔ	dagay
DTLT	ja	dogoʔ	dagay
DKRG	ya	dogoʔ,† dogon	dagay
DMPS	may (<PAITAN)	dogoʔ	dagay
DTOB	(dagay, < OBL)	dogoʔ, dogon	dagay
DTGS	(dagay, < OBL)	dogoʔ	dagay
DTMP	ya	dogoʔ	dagay
SONS	?	dogoʔ	dagay
PMUR	***may**	***dak(oi)(nʔ)**	***dam(oi)(nʔ)**
PBISLO	***ni-amiʔ**	***jəkiʔ**	***jamiʔ**
PSWSAB	***mai**	***dak(əi)(nʔ)**	***dam(əi)(nʔ)**
PMP/PPHNB	***mami**	***dak(əi)(nq)**	***dam(əi)(nq)**

† Noted by a anonymous reviewer of the version of this chapter submitted to Oceanic Linguistics, and credited therein to "Janama Lontubon, native speaker", personal communication.

TABLE 11.3. NON-DUSUNIC EQUIVALENTS FOR TABLE 11.2

	1EXCL.GEN	1SG.OBL	1EXCL.OBL
PBISLO	***ni-amiʔ**	***jəkiʔ**	***jamiʔ**
DBRU	(jamiʔ, < OBL)‡	jaiʔ	jamiʔ
BISLI	(jamiʔ, < OBL)‡	jaiʔ	jamiʔ
BISSA	(jamiʔ, < OBL)	jokiʔ	jamiʔ
LOTUD	nyamiʔ	jokiʔ	jamiʔ
PGMUR	***may**	***dako(nʔ), *dakiʔ**	***damo(nʔ), *damiʔ**
TAT, GANA, MNAB, MBOK	may	dakiʔ	damiʔ
PAPAR	may	dakiʔ	(dakay}†
MTIM	may	rakiʔ	ramon
MPAL, KOLOD, MSEM, ABAISK, TING, BLSU	may	dakon	damon
MTAG	may	dakon, rakon, dakoʔ, rakoʔ	damon, ramon, damoʔ, ramoʔ
MKAL	may	rakoʔ, rakon	ramoʔ, ramon
ABAITU	?	doxon	domon
TIDBB, TIDSO	may	dakon	damon
TIDBT	may	dakoʔ	damoʔ
TIDNU	may	dakon	damoʔ
TIDMN	(damoʔ < OBL)	dakon	damon
TIDML	(domoʔ < OBL)	dokoʔ	domoʔ
TIDTA	(damoʔ < OBL)	dako	damoʔ
PPAIT	*mai	--- (*sa+*aku < NOM)	--- (*sa+*kai < NOM)
LOBUL, MKNG	may	saaku	səkai
LOBUT, UKPA, KMT, SNBU	mai	saaku	sakai
TOMB	meʔe	so aku	so keʔe
PWNG	mae	saaku	sokae
SGBE, LING	may	saaku	səkai
SGPN	may	səaku	səkaʔi
SGPS	maʔay	səaku	səkai
SERU	mee	saaku	sekee
PIDAAN	---	*akon	*amon
IDAAN	--- (= NOM)	engkon	ngamon
BEGAK	--- (= NOM)	nakon	namon
SEGU	--- (= NOM)	akon	ngamon
PMOBO	*may	*di-ak(əi)(nʔ)	*dikay
MOLB	may	yahiʔ, nahiʔ	dikay
BONG	mi	diyadn	dihi

† An innovation derived from oblique formative *d(a)- + *akay '1EXCL.NOM', and not derived from PDUS *daJay

‡ In these languages, Oblique forms have replaced the earlier Genitive and Nominative forms

Note that the innovated PDUS *ya '1EXCL.GEN' should not be confused with the PPHNB pronoun *ya '3SG.GEN', which had shifted to *yə in PSWSAB due to an innovation in which word-final PMP *a became *ə. The shift of word-final *a > *ə in PSWSAB clearly occurred prior to the innovation of PDUS *ya '1EXCL.GEN'.

The full sets of Proto-Dusunic, Proto-Bisaya-Lotud, Proto-Murutic, and Proto-Paitanic pronoun reconstructions are included in Tables 11.4-11.7 for reference. From the pronouns alone, it can be shown that the Bisaya-Lotud languages are not Dusunic, as they do not share any of these Dusunic innovations. In addition, they also lack the Topicalized Nominative forms with formative *[y]i-, and clearly preserve the set of Oblique bases much like those of the Murutic subgroup (cf. Table 11.6), inherited from PMP/PPHNB (Table 11.8), and also reflected in various Philippine subgroups, as well as in Proto-Idaanic (Table 11.9). Note that the Paitanic languages are unique among the Southwest Sabah languages for having completely replaced the Oblique bases with forms from the Nominative set preceded by case-marking formative *sa ~ *sə (not attested in any of the other Southwest Sabah subgroups), as shown in Table 11.7. As a result, there is no way of determining whether the Paitanic languages shared the two Dusunic Oblique pronoun innovations prior to the replacement of the Paitanic Oblique pronoun set.

TABLE 11.4. THE PROTO-DUSUNIC PRONOUNS

	TOP	NOM	GEN	OBL
1SG	*i-əku	*əku	*ku	*dəJə(nʔ)
2SG	*i-ika[w]	*kə	*nu	*d-ika[w]
3SG	*i-siyə	*i-siyə	*yə	*di-siyə
1EX	*i-(iə)əkəy	*[(iə)]kəy	*ya	*d-aJay
1IN.DU	*i-kitə	*kitə	*tə	*datəʔ, *di-kitə
1IN.PL	*i-təkə[w]	*təkə[w]	*təkə[w]	*datən, *datiʔ, *di-təkə[w]
2PL	*i-kə(wy)u	*kəw	*yu, *muyu, *nuyu	*di-kə(wy)u
3PL	*i-sidə, *yə-sidə	*i-sidə, *yə-sidə	*ni-sidə, *nə-sidə	*d(iə)-sidə

TABLE 11.5. THE PROTO-BISAYA-LOTUD PRONOUNS

	NOM	GEN	OBL
1SG	*əku	*ku	*jakiʔ
2SG	*ik(aə)w, *=kə	*mu	*[d]ijun
3SG	*iyə	*nyə	*[di]siyə
1EX	*(iə)kəy	*nyamiʔ	*jamiʔ
1IN.DU	*[k]itə	*[ki]tə	*di[ki]tə
1IN.PL	*[i]təkəw	*təkəw	*jatiʔ
2PL	*(iə)kəw, *=kəw	*muyu[n]	*[di]jamuyu[n]
3PL	*idə	*də	*[di]sidə

TABLE 11.6. THE PROTO-MURUTIC PRONOUNS

	NOM	SHORT NOM	GEN	OBL
1SG	*a[k]u	(*a[k]u)	*ku	*dak(oi)(nʔ)
2SG	*oko[w]	*=ko[w]	*mu	*di[ ]un
3SG	*iso, *(io)yo	*iyo	*no	*di[s]o
1EX	*akay	(*akay)	*may	*dam(oi)(nʔ)
1IN.DU	*ito	*=to	*to	*dito
1IN.PL	*itaka[w]	*=taka[w]	*taka[w]	*ditaka[w]
2PL	*aka[w]	*=ka[w]	*muyu[n] ~ *mi[n]	*damuyu[n]
3PL	*iro	(*iro)	*niro	*di[si]ro

TABLE 11.7. THE PROTO-PAITANIC PRONOUNS

	NOM	GEN	OBL
1SG	*aku	*ku	*sa-aku
2SG	*(əi)kaw, *=kə	*mu	*sə-(əi)kaw
3SG	*iyə	*niyə	*sə-iyə
1EX	*kai	*mai	*sə-kai
1IN.DU	*kitə	*tə	*sə-kitə
1IN.PL	*təkə	*təkə	*sə-təkə
2PL	*kau	*muyu	*sə-kaw
3PL	*sirə	*nə-sirə	*sə-sirə

TABLE 11.8. THE PROTO-PHILIPPINES-NORTH BORNEO PRONOUNS

	NOM	GEN	LONG GEN	OBL	OBL-2
1SG	*aku	*ku	*naku	*akə(nq)	*d[i]-akə(nq)
2SG	*ikaw, *=ka[w]	*mu, *nu	*nimu	*imu, *iu[n]	*dimu, *diu[n]
3SG	*[si]-ia	*na, *ni-ia, *ya	*nia	*ia	*dia
1EX	*kami	*mi	*nami, *mami	*amə(nq)	*d[i]-amə(nq)
1IN	*kita	*ta	*nita	*atə(nq)	*d[i]-atə(nq)
2PL	*kamu, *kayu	*niu, *muyu	*namu	*inyu, *imuyu	*dinyu, *d[i]-amuyu
3PL	*sida	*da	*nida	*ida	*dida

TABLE 11.9. A PRELIMINARY RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PROTO-IDAANIC PRONOUN SYSTEM[15]

	NOM	GEN	OBL
1SG	*aku	---	*noŋ nakon
2SG	*ik(ao)w	---	*noŋ niyun
3SG	*rumo	---	*noŋ rumo
1EX	*k(əu)mmi	---	*noŋ namon
1IN	*kito	---	*noŋ naton
2PL	*muyu	---	*noŋ muyun
3PL	*[ ]iro	---	*noŋ iro

Based on the reconstructions in Tables 11.4 to 11.7 for the four Southwest Sabahan subgroups, the Proto-Southwest Sabah pronominal system can be reconstructed as illustrated in Table 11.10.

TABLE 11.10. THE PROTO-SOUTHWEST SABAH PRONOUNS

	NOM	GEN	OBL
1SG	*aku	*=ku	*d[i]-ak(əi)(nʔ)
2SG	*(əi)-ka[w], *=kə	*=mu, *=nu	*d[i]-iyun
3SG	*[s]iyə	*=yə, *=nə, *nyə	*di[si]yə
1EX	*ə-kai	*=mai	*d[i]-am(əi)(nʔ)
1IN.DU	*[k]itə	*=tə	*d[i]-at(əi)(nʔ)
1IN.PL	*[ki]ta-kau	*=ta-kau	*d[i]-at(əi)(nʔ)
2PL	*ə-kau, *=kau	*=muyu[n]	*d[i]-amuyu[n]
3PL	*[s]idə	*=[ni-]də	*di[si]idə

11.2.2 Reflexes of *R in Dusunic vs. Murutic. Unlike most Philippine languages, which have only one inherited reflex of *R (cf. Blust 1991:90, 2009:582-583),[16] or two reflexes, one of which is due to borrowing or an unconditioned split, reflexes of PMP *R in the descendents of Proto-Southwest Sabah involve fairly complex conditioning. These reflexes have not been previously discussed in the literature, which is not surprising considering the lack of accessible lexical materials available for most of these languages.

[15] An anonymous referee to the version of this study submitted to Oceanic Linguistics points out that Goudswaard (2005:127) notes distinct genitive forms *ku* '1SG.GEN' and *mo* '2SG.GEN' for Begak, although it is unclear whether these are retentions from PMP or borrowings from Malay, Tausug, Sama-Bajaw, or any other language with which Begak has been in contact historically. Regardless, this does not affect the arguments being made in this chapter.

[16] Umiray Dumaget is one such language with two environmentally-conditioned reflexes of *R, namely, /g/ and zero (Himes 2002:279-280).

However, they quite strikingly define the boundary between the Greater Dusunic and Greater Murutic subgroups.

The Greater Dusunic and Greater Murutic languages share two environmentally-conditioned reflexes of *R that can be attributed to Proto-Southwest Sabah: First, after schwa, *R is reflected as *g, probably due to compensatory lengthening to *-gg- after the phonetically short schwa, then subsequent shortening of *-gg- to *-g-. This series of shifts is also found in some languages in the northern and southern Philippines and has been discussed by Blust (2010).[17]

The second reflex of *R shared by Proto-Dusunic and Proto-Murutic is *R > *h in the environment {aiu}_{auə}, the result of intervocalic lenition as opposed to the fortition that occurred after *ə. Note that PGMUR *h was lost in all of the Greater Murutic languages except Papar; and PGDUS *h was likewise lost in (1) a number of Dusunic languages except Rungus, Kujau, and the Dusun dialects of Papar, Kota Belud, and some parts of Tambunan; (2) all Paitanic languages; and (3) all Bisaya-Lotud languages except Lotud.

However, there are also at least two environments where the Greater Dusunic and Greater Murutic languages have different reflexes of *R. The first is word-finally, where PSWSAB *R became *g in Proto-Greater Murutic, but *w in Proto-Greater Dusunic. The second is before *i, where *R became *g in Proto-Dusunic and Proto-Bisaya-Lotud, but *h in Proto-Murutic (i.e., the reflex of *R before *i in Proto-Greater Murutic is the same as that before *a, *u, or *o, unless the preceding vowel is *ə). Paitanic has a zero reflex of PMP *R before *i, probably via PSWSAB *R > Pre-Paitanic *h, with subsequent loss of *h in Proto-Paitanic.

It should be noted that the lenition of *R > /w/ word-finally is rare; Blust (2009:582) in his survey of the entire 1,200-member Austronesian family, lists only "Bisaya"[18] (apparently referring to data collected on the Limbang Bisaya and another

[17] This same process of fortition also affected *b and *d. Note that gemination after schwa is a process which is also reflected in a number of Northern Luzon (Cordilleran) languages, a few Manobo languages, and phonetically in Maranao (cf. also Blust 2009:219).

[18] Blust (pers. comm., November 14, 2011) notes that in 1971 he elicited data for Limbang Bisaya, and for another group that self-identified as 'Bisaya Bukit' or 'Sang Bukid' which apparently was spoken in the border area between interior Sarawak and Brunei.

group of Bisaya living upriver from Miri in the vicinity of Marudi) as having a /w/ reflex of *R. Therefore, the /w/ reflex of word-final *R, shared by the Dusunic, Bisaya-Lotud, and Paitanic languages, is considered a highly diagnostic innovation indicating membership in the Greater Dusunic subgroup. (cf. Section 11.4)

Table 11.11 outlines the reflexes of *R in the various intermediate protolanguages of Southwest Sabah, while Table 11.12 illustrates the reflexes of some PMP forms with *R in the various subgroups of Sabah, and Tables 11.13a-b illustrate the reflexes of *R in individual Dusunic and Murutic languages.

TABLE 11.11. REFLEXES OF *R BY ENVIRONMENT

ENVIRONMENT	PDUS	PBISLO	PPAIT	PGMUR	PAP	TAT	PMUR
*ə_	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
(aiu)_(auə)	h	h	ø	h	h	ø	ø
_#	w	w	w	g	g	g	g
(iu)_i	g	g	ø	h	h	ø	ø

The fortition of *R > g before *i in Dusunic is in some sense unsurprising, as /i/ has been observed to have a fortifying effect on a preceding consonant, e.g., in certain Philippine languages in which *l generally became /y/, /ɣ/, zero, or an interdental lateral, the presence of an adjacent /i/ or /y/ blocks the shift.[19]

It is noteworthy that in addition to the aforementioned environmentally-conditioned reflexes of *R, there are a number of other forms where *R is reflected as /g/ in Dusunic languages in environments where another reflex would be expected. This parallels the situation with *b and *d, which in certain languages usually lenited to *w and *r, respectively, but for which /b/ and /d/ reflexes are also often found. Therefore, it seems likely that *b, *d, and *R generally split in Proto-Dusunic, with each having both stop and lenited reflexes. Note that Blust (2010) also found many exceptions to the expected reflexes of *b, *d, and *R, and while it is unclear how to explain them (although borrowing is one possibility), they have no bearing on the current discussion,

[19] Blust (pers. comm., November 14, 2011) also notes that the strengthening of *l > d / _i is found in Malagasy, Maanyan, and several other Southwest Barito languages. However, it is not always the case that *i strengthens a preceding consonant, as *R became zero before *i in Umiray Dumaget (Himes 2002), and languages like Tagalog, Tausug, and Southern Binukidnon are among the rare Central Philippine languages in which *l > zero even adjacent to /i/.

which is based on the environmentally-conditioned reflexes that help define the various Southwest Sabah subgroups.

TABLE 11.12. REFLEXES OF *R IN SOUTHWEST SABAH

PMP OR PSWSAB	PDUS	PBISLO	PPAIT	PGMUR	PIDAAN
*zaRami 'straw'	*rahami	*rahami	*raami	---	*dami
*baRa 'coals'	*baha	---	*waa	*baha	*əbbaʔ
*daRaq 'blood'	*rahaʔ	*rahaʔ	*raaʔ	*dahaʔ	*əddaʔ
*daRat 'sea'	*(dr)ahat	*rahat	*raat	*da[ ]at	---
*tiŋaRaq 'look up'	*tiŋahaʔ	*tiŋahaʔ	*tiŋaaʔ	*tiŋahaʔ	---
*duRi 'thorn'	*rugi	*rugi	*duwi	*duhi	*duwi
*hadiRi 'post'	*ərigi	*ərigi	*əndii	*ad[ ]i	---
*linsəR 'seed'	*linsəw	*linsəw (L)	*linsəw	---	*lissog
*luaR 'loose'	*luwaw	*luwaw	*luwaw	*luwag	*luwag
*ibəR 'phlegm'	*iwəw	*iwəw	*iwəw	*iwog	---
*siəR 'brave'	*siyəw	*siyəw	---	*siyog	---
*liqəR 'neck'	*liʔəw	*liʔəw	*liʔəw	*liʔog	*lig
*ləməR 'slippery'	*ləməw	*ləməw	---	*lamog	*lamog
*dəŋəR 'hear'	*rəŋəw	*rəŋəw	*rəŋəw	*rəŋəg	*kiŋog
*bəsuR 'full'	---	---	*wasug	*[w]asug	---
*sandiR 'lean on'	*səndiw	*səndiw	*səndiw	*sandig	*sandig
*suliR 'floor'	*suliw	*s[ui]liw	---	*sulig	---
*bihaR 'alive; full'	*wiyaw	*[w]iyaw	*iyaw	*biyag	*biag
*bakaR 'sweet potato'	*wakaw 'rattan'	*wakaw	---	*bakag	---
*pəRəq 'squeeze'	*pagaʔ	*pagaʔ	*pəgaʔ	*pagaʔ	*[ ]əgkaʔ
*[ ]əRis 'sand'	*əgis	*əgis	əgis	*agis	bəris
*bəRas 'uncooked rice'	*wagas	*wagas	*wəgas	*bagas	*bəgkas
*bəRəqat 'heavy'	*wagat	*wagat	*wəgat	*bagat	*bəgkat
*baqəRu 'new'	*wagu	*wagu	*wagu	*bagu	*bagku
*uRat 'vein'	*uhat	*uhat	*uwat	*uhat	*uwat
*dapuRan 'stove'	*rəpuhan	*rəpuhan	---	*dapu[ ]an	---
*suRat 'wound'	*suhat	*suhat (L)	---	*su[ ]at	---
*duRaŋ 'add'	*ruhaŋ	*ru[ ]aŋ (B)	*ruwaŋ	*du[ ]aŋ	---
*hiRup 'slurp'	*ihup	*ihup	*iyup	---	---
*Ratus‡ 'hundred'	*hatus	---	*atus	*[ ]atus†	---
*baRəqaŋ 'molar'	*wiyaŋ§	*bagaŋ	*bagaŋ	*bagaŋ	*bagaŋ
*duRay 'short time'	*ruhay	*ruhay (L)	*ruwəy	*ru[ ]oy	---
*tiRəb 'burp'	*tihəb	*tihəb	*tiəb	*ti[ ]ob	tigob/sigob/ igkab
*suRuq 'order'	*suhuʔ	*su[ ]uʔ	*suuʔ	---	*suʔ

† note that *Ratus rarely occurs without being preceded by a number or a prefix, so its initial *R rarely occurs in true word-initial position.

‡ Evidence for *h in this form could only come from Papar, but unfortunately for the historical record, the Papar numbers above ten are all Malay borrowings.

§ Proto-Dusunic *wiyaŋ 'molar' is irregular, for expected **wagaŋ.

TABLE 11.13a. WORD-FINAL REFLEXES OF *R IN DUSUNIC AND MURUTIC

	'neck'	**'alive, full'**	**'spit, saliva'**	**'hear'**	**'floor'**	**'slippery'**
PSWSAB	*liəR	*biyaR	*iwəR	*dəŋəR	*suliR	*ləməR
PBISLO	*liʔəw	*[w]iyaw	*iwəw	*rəŋəw	*suliw	*ləməw
DBRU	liyow	miyaw	iwow	-ongow	siliw	lamow
BISLI	liyaw	mayaw	---	-rongow	siluy	lamaw
BISSA	liyow	iyow	---	-rongow	saliw	-lamu
LOTUD	liʔow	-wiyaw	iwow	-rongow	suliw	-lamow
PDUS	*liʔəw	*wiyaw	*iwəw	*rəŋəw	*suliw	*ləməw
RUNGUS	liʔow	-vizaw	---	---	---	---
DTDL	liyow	-ayaw	---	-rongow	---	-lamow
DKRG	liyow	-wiyaw	---	-rongow	---	-lamow
DTOB	liyow	-wizaw	---	-rongow	---	-lamow
DTLT	---	-wijaw	----	-rongow	---	-lamow
DTMB	liyow	-wiyaw	---	-rongow	---	-lamow
MKOK	£iyow	-vizaw	tivow	-rongow	---	-£amow
KUJAU	£iyow	---	---	-rəngaw	su£iw	-£amow
SUKANG	liyow	-iyaw	---	-rongow	---	---
KDZPE	---	-vizaw	---	-ongow	hisiw	---
DPPR	hiʔow	-vizaw	ivow	-yoŋow	sihiw	hamow
KLIAS	liyow	-wizow	ißow	-rongow	siliw	-lamow
DMPS	liyow	-iyaw	iwow	-rongow	---	---
PGMUR	*liʔog	*[b]iyag	*iwog	*-roŋog	*sulig	*lamog
PAPAR	iʔog	biyag	iwog	-rongog	suwig	-£amog
TATANA	liʔog	biyag	iwog	-rongog	sulig	-lamog
GANA	liyog	---	iwog	-əngəg	sulig	-ləməg
MNAB	liyog	biyag	iwog	---	sulig	-lamog
MBOK	liyog	-ayag	iwog	---	---	-lamog
MTIM	liyoɣ	-ayag	tiwoɣ	-rongoɣ	suliɣ	-lamoh
MPAL	liyoɣ	-ayah	tiwoh	---	sulih	-lamoh
MTAG	liyoh, liyog	-ayah	-tiwoh, -tiwog	-rongoh, -ringog	sulih	-lamoh
KOLOD	liyog	-ayag	---	-rongog	---	-lamog
MKAL	liyong	-uyang	-iwong	---	---	-lamong
MSEL†	---	-ayah	tiwoh	-ringoh	---	---
MSEM†	---	ayag	---	-kingog	---	---
TING	liyog	-ayag	---	kinog	sulig	-lamog
ABAISK	liyog	-ayag	---	dingog	---	lamog
ABAITU	liyok	-ayak	---	nginok	---	---
BULUSU	liyog	-uyag	iwog	dingog	---	lamog
TIDUNG	liyog	-uyag	-iwog	dingog	sulig	lamog

†Data for these two languages taken from SIL wordlists provided by Dave Moody

TABLE 11.13b. INTERVOCALIC REFLEXES OF *R IN DUSUNIC AND MURUTIC: (aiu)_(aou)

	'add'	'vein'	'blood'	'look up'	'slurp'	'order'
PSWSAB	*duRaŋ	*uRat	*daRaʔ	*tiŋaRaʔ	*iRup	*suRuʔ
PBISLO	*ruaŋ	*uhat	*rahaʔ	*tiŋahaʔ	*ihup	*su[ ]uʔ
DBRU	---	uwat	raaʔ	---	iyup	suuʔ
BISLI	---	uwat	raaʔ	---	---	suuʔ
BISSA	ruwaŋ	urat (< MLY)	raʔ	tiŋaaʔ	---	---
LOTUD	---	uhat	rahaʔ	tiŋahaʔ	ihup	---
PDUS	*ruhaŋ	*uhat	*rahaʔ	*tiŋahaʔ	*ihup	*suhuʔ
RUNGUS	---	uhat	rahaʔ	tiŋahaʔ	---	suhuʔ
DTDL	---	tuhat	rahaʔ	tiŋahaʔ	---	---
DKRG	---	tuwat	raʔaʔ	tiŋaʔaʔ	---	---
DTOB	---	tuwat	raaʔ	tiŋaaʔ	---	---
DTLT	ruwaŋ	tuwat	raaʔ	tiŋaaʔ	---	suuʔ
DTMB	ruwaŋ	tuwat	raaʔ	tiŋaaʔ	---	suuʔ
MKOK	ruwaŋ	tuwat	raaʔ	tiŋaaʔ	---	suuʔ
KUJAU	ruhaŋ	tuhat	rahaʔ	tiŋahaʔ	---	suhuʔ
SUKANG	ruwaŋ	tuwat	raaʔ	tiŋaaʔ	iyup	suuʔ
KDZPE	---	---	zaaʔ	---	---	---
DPPR	---	uhat	haaʔ	tiŋahaʔ	ihup	---
KLIAS	---	uwat	raaʔ	---	---	suuʔ
DUMPAS	ruwaŋ	uwat	raaʔ	---	---	suuʔ
PGMUR	*du[ ]aŋ	*uhat	*dahaʔ	*tiŋahaʔ	*ihup	---
PAPAR	ruwaŋ (<DUS)‡	uhat	dahaʔ	tiŋahaʔ	ihup	---
TATANA	---	urat (< MLY)	daaʔ	tiŋaaʔ	---	---
GANA	---	uwat	daaʔ	tiŋaaʔ	---	---
MNAB	duwaŋ	uwat	daaʔ	tiŋaaʔ	---	---
MBOK	---	uwat	daaʔ	---	---	---
MTIM	ruwaŋ	uwat	raraaʔ	tiŋaaʔ	---	---
MPAL	duwaŋ	uwat	daaʔ	tiŋaaʔ	---	---
MTAG	ruwaŋ	uwat	---	---	---	---
KOLOD	---	uwat	daaʔ	---	---	---
MKAL	ruwaŋ	uwat	raraʔ, raaʔ	---	---	---
MSEL†	---	---	raaʔ	---	---	---
MSEM†	---	uwat	daaʔ	---	---	---
TING	duwaŋ	urat (< MLY)	daaʔ	tiŋaaʔ	---	---
ABAISK	duwaŋ	uwat	daaʔ	---	---	---
ABAITU	---	uwat	daaʔ	---	---	---
BULUSU	duwaŋ	uwat	dadaʔ	---	---	---
TIDUNG	duwaŋ	awat	dadaʔ	tiŋaaʔ	---	---

† Data for these two languages taken from SIL wordlists provided by Dave Moody

‡ Initial /r/ in Papar *ruwang* suggests borrowing from a Dusunic language

TABLE 11.13c. INTERVOCALIC REFLEXES OF *R IN DUSUNIC AND MURUTIC: V_i

PSWSAB	*duRi 'thorn'	*hadiRi 'post'
PBISLO	*rugi	*arigi
DBRU	rugi	---
BISLI	rugi	rigi
BISSA	rugi	rigi
LOTUD	rugi	origi
PDUS	*rugi	*arigi
RUNG	rugi	origi
DTDL	rugi	torigi
DKRG	rugi	torigi
DTOB	rugi	torigi
DTLT	rugi	torigi
DTMB	rugi	torigi
MKOK	rugi	torigi
KUJAU	rugi	tərigi
SUKANG	rugi	torigi
KDZPE	lugi	---
DPPR	yugi	oigi
KLIAS	ugi	---
DUMPAS	rugi	---
PGMUR	*duhi	*ari[ ]i
PAPAR	duhí	arihi
TATANA	duwi	rigi (< DUS)
GANA	duwi	---
MNAB	duwi	---
MBOK	duwi	arii
MTIM	ruwi	---
MPAL	ruwi	alii
MTAG	ruwi	---
KOLOD	duwi	---
MKAL	duy	---
MSEL†	duwi	---
MSEM†	duwi	---
TING	duwi	---
ABAISK	liduy	---
ABAITU	duwi	arii
BULUSU	duwi	---
TIDUNG	duwi, udui	---

†Data for these two languages taken from SIL wordlists provided by Dave Moody

11.2.3 Dusunic *ma- > *a-/*ə-. As illustrated by the examples in Table 11.14, the initial consonant of the adjectival prefix *ma-, and of the homophonous accidental/abilitative prefix, was lost when prefixed to roots beginning with any consonant except *ʔ in Proto-Dusunic, Proto-Paitanic, and all Bisaya-Lotud languages except Sabah Bisaya. The distribution of this innovation suggests that it was a dialectal feature in Proto-Greater Dusunic, and that Sabah Bisaya was ultimately the only language in this subgroup that retained the full *ma- prefix in all environments. Note that the initial *m- of this prefix was later dropped altogether in most Dusunic languages except Dumpas and Southern Kadazan, which along with Lotud and the Paitanic languages retain the complementary distribution of *a- on consonant-initial roots and *ma- on vowel-initial roots.

TABLE 11.14. *ma- > *a-/*ə- IN DUSUNIC

PSWSAB	PDUS	PPAIT	PBISLO	PMUR	PIDAAN
*ma-asin 'salty'	*mə-əsin	*ma-asin	*mə-ʔəsin	*ma-asin	---
*ma-itəm 'black'	*mə-itəm	*mə-itəm	*mə-ʔitəm	*ma-itom	---
*ma-əmis 'sweet'	*mə-əmis	*mə-əmis	*ma[ta]ʔəmis	*ma-amis	*ammis
*ma-a[n]səm 'sour'	*mə-ənsəm	*mə-əsəm	*mə-ʔənsəm	*mo-o[n]som	*as[s]om
*ma-paʔit 'bitter'	*ə-pəʔit	*ə-pəit	*mə-pəʔit	*ma-paʔit	*a-pait
*ma-raat 'bad'	*a-raat	---	*ma-ra[ ]at	*ma-raat	*arat
*ma-ləmiʔ 'soft'	*ə-ləmiʔ	*ə-ləmiʔ	*mə-ləmiʔ	*ma-lamiʔ	---
*ma-luwaR 'loose'	*ə-luwaw	*ə-luwaw	*mə-luwaw	*ma-luwag	*a-luwag
*ma-ratuʔ 'fall'	*a-ratuʔ	*a-ratuʔ	*ma-ratuʔ	*ma-ratuʔ	(aratuʔ)†

† Thanks to an anonymous reviewer from the Oceanic Linguistics submission of this study for bringing this Begak form from Goudswaard (2005:479) to my attention.

It is interesting to note that a similar, but not identical, shift of *ma- to *a- is also found in some Murutic languages, but curiously, only in the central and southern Murutic languages[20] that have little or no contact with Dusunic languages: Paluan, Tagal, Kalabakan, Kolod, Sembakung, Selungai, and the various varieties of Tidung). The shift in these Murutic languages is considered to be independent of the shift in the Greater Dusunic languages, especially since there are two key differences in its realization: (1) while only the adjectival prefix *ma- and the homophonous abilitative/accidental prefix are affected in the Greater Dusunic languages, the innovation in the selected Murutic

[20] Note that Abai Sembuak, Abai Tubu, and Bulusu have lost this prefix altogether, which mirrors the trend in non-Philippine-type languages found to the south.

languages affects all prefixes of the shape *ma[C]-; and (2) the innovation in the selected Murutic languages affects the *ma[C]- prefixes on all roots whether consonant-initial or vowel-initial.

Note that the initial *n- of the past accidental/abilitative prefix *na- is universally reflected as /n/, even in languages where the initial *m of its non-past counterpart is lost.

11.2.4 Split of PMP *b > Dusunic *b, *w. In initial position, *b sporadically lenited to *w in Proto-Dusunic, Proto-Paitanic, and Proto-Bisaya-Lotud, as illustrated in Table 11.15.[21] Note that this did not occur in all forms, as reflexes of words like *bu[ʔ]ayə 'crocodile', *buyuʔ 'betel leaf', and *bəŋəl 'deaf' all reflect *b as /b/.

11.2.5 Split of PMP *d > Dusunic *d, *r. Just as *b- sporadically lenited to *w- in Proto-Dusunic, *d- likewise sporadically lenited to *r-, as illustrated in Table 11.16.

11.2.6 Dusunic and Murutic Reflexes of *ə. PMP/PSWSAB *ə was retained as *ə in Proto-Dusunic, and is retained as /ə/ in some inland Dusunic languages such as Kujau and Minokok. Elsewhere, PDUS *ə is reflected as /o/. The exception to this is that if the vowel of the word-final syllable in PSWSAB was *a, then *ə > *a in PDUS, and is reflected as /a/ in the Dusunic languages.

In Proto-Murutic, on the other hand, PSWSAB *ə became *o word-finally and *a elsewhere, with the exception that if the vowel of the word-final syllable was *o, then the *ə of the preceding penultimate syllable became *o.

Although similar on the surface to vowel harmony, Blust notes that this type of shift in the languages of Sabah is "sequence-sensitive", not a "harmonic pattern…targeting *oCa* but not *aCo"* in Dusunic languages (2009:250), and the same could also be said for Murutic where the sequence *–aCo-* is targeted but not *–oCa-*.

[21] Note that Prentice (1974) was the first to discuss this, although as Blust (2009:568-569) notes, his claims about the implications of this split are problematic.

TABLE 11.15. REFLEXES OF *b IN NORTHERN BORNEO

PMP OR PSWSAB	PDUS	PBISLO	PPAIT	PGMUR	PIDAAN
*bətiqis 'calf'	*wətis	---	*wətis	*batis	bitis, bətis
*baŋkiŋ 'bedbug'	*wəŋkiŋ	*bəŋkiŋ	*bəŋkiŋ	*baŋkiŋ	*baŋkiŋ
*bəRas 'uncooked rice'	*wagas	*wagas	*wəgas	*bagas	*bəgkas
*bulan 'moon'	*wulan	*(bw)ulan	*ulan	*bulan	*bulan
*buluq 'bamboo type'	*[w]uluʔ	*buluʔ	*buluʔ	*buluʔ	---
*busak 'flower'	*[w]usak	*usak	(*buŋa)	*busak	(*tasak)
*buaq 'fruit'	*uwaʔ	*[b]uwaʔ	*buwaʔ	*buwaʔ	*buwaʔ
*baRəqaŋ 'molar'	*wiyaŋ	*bagaŋ (not L)	*bagaŋ, *waŋag	*bagaŋ	*bagaŋ
*baliw 'move, change'	*waliw	*[w]aliw	(undaliw)	*baluy	(Begak *boluy*)†
*balay 'house'	*walay	*walay	*waləy	*baloy	*balay
*batu 'stone'	*watu	*[bw]atu	*watu	*batu	*batu
*bəRək 'pig'	*wəgək	*bəgək	*wəgək	*bo(gr)ok	---
*bəRəqat 'heavy'	*wagat	*wagat	*wəgat	*bagat	*bəgkat
*buhək 'hair'	*əbuk	*əbuk	*əbuk	*abuk	*əbpuk
*bənəŋ 'frog'	*bənəŋ	*bənəŋ (L)	---	*bonoŋ	---
*bawaŋ 'river'	*bawaŋ	*bawaŋ	(bawaŋ)	*bawaŋ	---
*ma-buway 'long (time)'	*ə-buway	*ma-buway	---	*ma-buwoy	*buway
*səbu 'urine, urinate'	*səbu	*səbu	*səbu	*sabu	(*sidu)
*təbuh 'sugarcane'	*təbu	*təbu	*təbu	*təbu	*təbpu
*[R]ibaŋ 'left'	*gibaŋ	*[k]ibaŋ	*gibaŋ	*[g]ibaŋ	*gibaŋ
*dəbas 'face, forehead'	*rabas	*rabas	(rabas)	*dabas	---

† Thanks to an anonymous reviewer to the Oceanic Linguistics submission of this study for bringing this form, cited in Goudswaard (2005:454), to my attention.

TABLE 11.16. REFLEXES OF *d- IN MURUTIC AND DUSUNIC

PMP OR PSWSAB	PDUS	PBISLO	PPAIT	PGMUR	PIDAAN
*daRaq 'blood'	*rahaʔ	*rahaʔ	*raaʔ	*dahaʔ	*ddaʔ
*daʔan 'branch'	*raʔan	*raʔan	*raan	*daʔan	*daan
*da[ʔ]un 'leaf'	*raʔun	*rəʔun	*rəun	*daʔun	*daun
*dapuRan 'stove'	*rapuhan	*rəpuhan	(dəmpuran)	*dapu[ ]an	(dəpuran)
*duRaŋ 'add'	*ruhaŋ	*ru[ ]aŋ	*ruwaŋ	*du[ ]aŋ	---
*duRi 'thorn'	*rugi	*rugi	*duwi	*duhi	*duwi
*dəbas 'face'	*rabas	*rabas	*rabas	*dabas	---
*dasam 'rain'	*rasam	*rasam	---	*dasam	---
*daŋaw 'hand span'	*raŋaw	*raŋaw	(raŋan)	*daŋow	(raŋŋan)
*dəŋəR 'hear'	*rəŋəw	*rəŋəw	*rəŋəw	*rəŋəg	*kiŋog
*duRay 'short (time)'	*ruhay	*ruhay (L)	*ruwəy	*ru[ ]oy	---

11.2.7 PMP *a > Dusunic *ə. PMP/PSWSAB *a is generally reflected as *a in the various modern Southwest Sabah languages, except under three conditions.

First, in the pronouns *aku, *kai, *kau, and *[ki]ta-kau, PSWSAB *a became *ə in Proto-Dusunic and Proto-Bisaya-Lotud, but not in Proto-Paitanic.

Second, in Proto-Dusunic, the *a of the prefixes *ma-, *maki-, *maN-, and *maG- became *ə, except where the vowel of the following syllable was /a/, in which case it is reflected as /a/.[22] Conversely, in Proto-Murutic, the *a of these prefixes became *a, except where the vowel of the following syllable was /o/, in which case it became /o/. Tables 11.17 and 11.18 illustrate the reflexes of PSWSAB *a in the various branches of the Southwest Sabah subgroup. Note that segments in parentheses in the pronouns in Table 11.17 are present in the Topicalized Nominative forms but not in the Short Nominative forms. Where two separate pronoun forms are given, the first is the Topicalized Nominative form, while the second is the Short Nominative form.

Finally, as illustrated in Table 11.18, *a became *ə in closed penults and in all prepenultimate syllables in Proto-Dusunic, Proto-Bisaya-Lotud, and Proto-Paitanic, unless the vowel of the following syllable was *a.

[22] It is unclear whether *a never shifted to *ə in this environment, or if there was a universal shift of *a > *ə in these prefixes, which was later "erased" by a subsequent shift of *ə > /a/ when the vowel of the following syllable was *a, as described in Section 11.2.6.

TABLE 11.17. REFLEXES OF *a IN MURUTIC AND DUSUNIC PRONOUNS

	PDUS *a > /o/				**PMUR *a > /o/**
	1SG.NOM	**1EXCL.NOM**	**1INCL.NOM**	**2PL.NOM**	**2SG.NOM**
PMP	*aku	*kami	*kita+kamu	*kamu	*ika[h]u
PSWSAB	*aku	*ə-kai	*[ki]ta+kau	*kau	*(iə)ka[w]
PBISLO	*əku	*(iə)kəy	*[i]təkəw	*(iə)kəw	*ikaw
DBRU	kuji?	(jami? < OBL)	(jati? < OBL)	(muyun < OBL)	ikow
BISLI	aku	(jami? < OBL)	(jati? < OBL)	(muyun < OBL)	ikaw
BISSA	oku	okoy	tokow	okow	ikow
LOTUD	oku	ikoy	itokow	ikow	ikaw
PDUS	*əku	*i-(iə)kəy	*[i]-təkə[w]	*i-kə(wy)u, *kəw	*-ka[w]
DMEM	za?u, oku	zi?oy, ikoy	zitokow	ziyazu, kow	ziyaw
DKMS	jo?u, oku	ji?oy	tokow	jiyoju, kow	ji?aw
DPPR	zow, oku	zi?oy, koy	(zi)tokow	ziyozu, kow	zi?aw
KDZOK	zo?u, oku	zi?oy, okoy	tokow	zozu, kow	ziyaw
KDZPE	(i)zou	(i)zikoy	(izo)tokow	iziyozu, kow	iziyaw
MKAK, MKOK	(y)oku	ikoy	tokow	ikovu, kow	ika
SONS	(y)oku	(y)okoy	toko	ikow, kow	ika
DTGS	(y)oku	( )koy	itoko	ikow, kow	ikaw
DKRG	(y)oku	(y)okoy	(i)tokow	ikoo, kow	ikaw
RUNG	(y)oku	(y)okoy	(i)tokow	(i)kow	ikaw
DTMB	(iy)oku	koy	tokow	(i)kow, ikowu	ika
KUJAU	iyoku	(i)koy, yokoy	(i)tokow	(i)yovu, kow	ikaw
KLIAS, DBFT	oku	ikoy	(i)tokow	ikovu, kow	ikaw
DMPS	oku	ikoy	toko	ikow, kow	ikaw
DTLT	oku	okoy	tokow	ikou, kou	ika
DTDL	oku	{yahay}	toko	yokoyu, kou	iya
DTOB	(iy)oku	(i)koy	tokow	ikoyu, kow	ikaw
PGMUR	*aku	*akay	*[i]takaw	*aka[w]	*oko[w]
PAPAR	aku	akay	{kitaw}	akaw	okow
TAT, GANA, MNAB, MTIM, TING, MSEM, BLSU	aku	akay	(i)takaw	akaw	okow
MBOK	aku	akay	(i)takaw	aka	oko
MPAL	aku	akay	(i)takaw	akaw, ka	oko
MTAG	au	akay	(i)taka(w)	akaw, ka	oko
MDLT	aku	akay	(i)takaw	akaw	oko
KOLOD	au	akay	itaka	akaw	oko
MKAL	aku	akay	takaw	kaw	---
ABAISK, MSEL	au	akay	taka	akaw	oko
ABAITU	ou ~ oo	axay	taxa	oxow	oxo
TIDUNG	aku	(a)kay	taka	kaw	---

TABLE 11.18. *a > *ə IN THE BRANCHES OF SOUTHWEST SABAH

	PSWSAB	PDUS	PBISLO	PPAIT	PMUR
PENULT	*[ta]ʔəmis 'sweet'	*əmis	*ma[ta]ʔəmis	*əmis	*amis
	*paʔit 'bitter'	*pəʔit	*pəʔit	*pəit	*paʔit
	*daʔun 'leaf'	*rəʔun	*rəʔun	*rəun	*daʔun
	*asin 'salty'	*əsin	*əsin	*asin	*asin
	*paʔə 'thigh'	*pəʔə	*pəʔə	*paa	*paʔa
PREPENULT	*adiRi 'ladder'	*ərigi	*ərigi	*əndii	*arihi
	*taliŋa 'ear'	*təliŋə	*taliŋə	*təliŋə	*taliŋo
	*aninipət 'firefly'	*əninipət	*ə(nd)i(nd)ipət	*əninipət	*a(nd)i(nd)ipot
	*dapuR-an 'stove'	*rəpuhan	*rəpuhan	(dəmpuran)	*dapu[ ]an
_CC	*sandiR 'lean on'	*səndiw	*səndiw	*səndiw	*sandig
	*kəndiw 'eagle'	*kəndiw	*kəndiu	*kən[d]iw	*kanduy
	*alsəm 'sour'	*ənsəm	*ənsəm	*əsəm	*o[n]som
	*baŋkiŋ 'bedbug'	*wəŋkiŋ	*bəŋkiŋ	*bəŋkiŋ	*baŋkiŋ
	*əduʔ 'woman'	*əduʔ	---	---	*anduʔ
	*ə[n]tut 'flatulence'	*əntut	*əntut	*ə[n]tut	*antut

11.2.8 Dusunic *nu '2SG.GEN'. In spite of not being an innovation, it is noteworthy that the distribution of second-person singular genitive pronouns *mu vs. *nu almost perfectly matches the innovation-defined subgroupings of Southwest Sabah languages. In northern Borneo, *nu is found in Bonggi, in Dusun Puawang (a Paitanic language in spite of its name), and in all Dusunic languages except Dumpas. The form *mu, on the other hand, is found in all other languages in northern Borneo, except for the Idaanic languages (Idaan, Begak, Sungai Seguliud, and Subpan) which have lost the PMP genitive pronouns altogether. Dumpas may have adopted the form *mu* under influence from multiple languages with which it is or has been in contact, such as Sungai Beluran and other Paitanic languages, as well as Tidung and Tausug, all of which reflect *mu instead of *nu. Likewise, Dusun Puawang may have borrowed *nu* from neighboring Dusunic languages such as Rungus and Sonsogon. Considering this, it is noteworthy that *nu can be reconstructed only for Proto-Dusunic but not for any other intermediate subgroup within Southwest Sabah, while *mu can be reconstructed for Proto-Greater Murutic, Proto-Paitanic, and Proto-Bisaya-Lotud, but not for Proto-Dusunic.

11.3. MURUTIC INNOVATIONS. Having discussed the innovations that define the Dusunic subgroup, we will now discuss those that define Murutic. Note that the Murutic reflexes of *R, *ə, and *a have been discussed in sections 11.2.2, 11.2.6, and 11.2.7, respectively.

11.3.1 PSWSAB *aw/*ay > Murutic *ow/*oy. In the Greater Murutic languages, earlier *aw and *ay shifted to *ow and *oy, respectively, as illustrated in Table 11.19. Note that this most likely occurred as centralization of the *a of *aw and *ay to *ə, and then the shift of the *ə of *əw and *əy to /o/, yielding /ow/ and /oy/, respectively. Note that this shift also occurred in the Paitanic languages, and is a common shift, also found in some members of the Manobo, Subanen, Palawan, and Mongondow-Gorontalo subgroups.

TABLE 11.19. *aw/*ay > *ow/*oy IN MURUTIC

PSWSAB	PDUS	PBISLO	PPAIT	PMUR
*daŋaw ‘handspan’	*raŋaw	*raŋaw	(*raŋan)	*daŋow
*adaw ‘day/sun’	*adaw	*adaw	---	*odow
*(əi)-ka[w] ‘you’(SG.NOM)	*ikaw	*ik(aə)w	*(əi)kaw	*oko[w]
*ə-kau ‘you (PL.NOM)’	*i-kə(wy)u	*(iə)kəw	*kau	*aka[w]
*takaw ‘steal’	*takaw	*takaw	*takəw	*takow
*uway ‘rattan’	*uway	*uway	---	*owoy
*buway ‘long (time)’	*buway	*buway	---	*buwoy
*kusay ‘man’	*kusay	---	*kusəy	*kusoy
*balay ‘house’	*walay	*walay	*waləy	*baloy
*mamatay ‘kill’	*mamatay	*mamatay	*məmatəy	*mamatoy

11.3.2 PSWSAB *iw > Murutic *uy. Although there are only a few examples in the data, it appears that in all Murutic languages including Papar (but not Tatana), earlier *iw merged with *uy, as illustrated in Table 11.20. As a result, while Dusunic and Paitanic have both /iw/ and /uy/, Murutic only has /uy/. Note that apparently independently, Limbang Bisaya has also undergone this shift, e.g., PSWSAB *suliR ‘floor’ > Limbang Bisaya *siluy,* Brunei Dusun *siliw.*

TABLE 11.20. *iw > *uy IN MURUTIC

	PSWSAB	PMUR	PDUS	PBISLO	PPAIT	TATANA	PAPAR
***iw**	*kəgiw 'orangutan'	*kaguy	*kəgiw	---	*kəgiw	*kagiw*	---
	*kəndiw 'eagle'	*kanduy	*kəndiw	*kəndiu *kanuy* (BISLI)	*kən[d]iw	*kandiw*	*kanduy*
	*baliw 'move s.t.'	*baluy	*waliw	*aluy* (BISLI)	---	*baliw*	*baluy*
***uy**	*hapuy 'fire'	*apuy	*apuy	*apuy	*apuy	*apuy*	*apuy*
	*ləbuy 'float'	*labuy	---	*lobuy* (BISSA)	---	*labuy*	*laʔbuy*

11.3.3 PSWSAB Adjectival *g- > Murutic Ø-. Another innovation found in all of the core Murutic languages and in Papar (but not in Tatana) is the deletion of the root-initial *g- of adjectives when prefixed with *ma-, as illustrated in Table 11.21.

TABLE 11.21. *-g- > ø IN MURUTIC ADJECTIVES

PGMUR	PMUR	PAPAR	TATANA
*ma-gayo 'big'	*ma-ayo	*mayo*	*magayo*
*ma-galud 'far'	*ma-alud	*malud*	*magalud*
*ma-gaʔad 'near'	*ma-aʔad	*maʔad*	*magaad*
*ma-gawad 'long'	*ma-awad	*mawad*	*magawad*

Note that Prentice (1974) also notes that the same phenomenon affects *b when prefixed with *ma-, but examples of this are lacking in my data set.

11.3.4 PSWSAB Non-Final *ə > Murutic *a. As noted in Section 11.2.6, PSWSAB *ə became PMUR *a in non-final syllables unless the vowel of the final syllable was *o (i.e., *ə in PSWSAB), as illustrated in Table 11.22.

TABLE 11.22. REFLEXES OF *ə IN SOUTHWEST SABAH

PSWSAB	PGMUR	PDUS	PPAIT	PBISLO	PIDAAN
*ə > a / _C(aiu)					
*kau '2PL.NOM'	*aka[w]	*i-kə(wy)u	*kau	*(iə)kəw	---
*(ə)kai '1EXCL.NOM'	*akay	*i-(iə)kəy	*kai	*(iə)kəy	*k(əu)mmi
*ətud 'knee'	*atud	*ətud	*ətud	*ətud	---
*əbuk 'hair'	*abuk	*əbuk	*əbuk	*əbuk	*əbpuk
*[ ]əRis 'sand'	*agis	*əgis	*əgis	*əgis	*bəris
*ə[n]tut 'flatulence'	*antut	*əntut	*ə[n]tut	*əntut	*[ot]tut
*səbu 'urinate'	*sabu	*səbu	*səbu	*səbu	*sidu
*təbu 'sugarcane'	*tabu	*təbu	*təbu	*təbu	*təbpu
*pənuʔ 'full'	*panuʔ	*pənuʔ	*pənuʔ	*pənuʔ	---
*bəli 'buy'	*bali	*bəli	*bəli	*bəli	---
*bətis 'calf of leg'	*batis	*wətis	*wətis	---	*b(əi)tis
*kəgut 'burnt rice'	*kagut	*kəgut	---	*kəgut	---
*bəgas 'uncooked rice'	*bagas	*wagas	*wəgas	*wagas	*bəgkas
*ə > o / _Co					
*ədaw 'day, sun'	*odow	*adaw	---	*adaw	*mato'dtaw
*(iə)ka[w] '2SG.NOM'	*oko[w]	*i-ka[w]	*(əi)kaw	*ikaw	*ik(ao)w
*pədəs 'spicy'	*podos	*pədəs	*pədəs	*pədəs	*podos
*tələn 'swallow'	*tolon	*tələn	*tələn	*tələn	*tollon

11.4. DISCUSSION. We can now discuss the classifications of the Southwest Sabah languages in light of the above evidence. Table 11.23 presents an overview of the major innovations found in the Greater Dusunic and Greater Murutic subgroups as discussed in Sections 11.2 and 11.3. Note that innovations of more limited distribution are not included, as

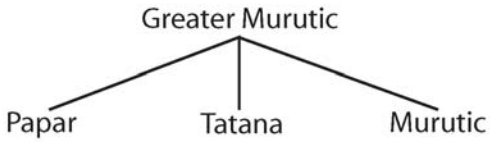
It is clear from Table 11.23 that nine innovations define the Dusunic subgroup (four of which are shared with Paitanic, and six or possibly seven with Bisaya-Lotud languages), while seven define the Murutic subgroup (two of which are not shared with Tatana, and one of which is not shared with Papar). Thus, the core Murutic languages, along with Tatana and Papar, can be grouped together as three coordinate branches of the Greater Murutic subgroup, as illustrated in Figure 11.3.

TABLE 11.23. MAJOR INNOVATIONS IN SOUTHWEST SABAH

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
BISLO																	
BISAYA SABAH	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	+
BISAYA LIMBANG	-	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
DUSUN BRUNEI	-	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	?	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	+
LOTUD	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
DUSUNIC																	
RUNGUS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
DTDL	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
DKRG	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
DTOB	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
DTGS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
DTLT	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
MKOK	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
DMEM, DKMS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
KUJAU	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
KDZPE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
DPPR	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
KLIAS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
DUMPAS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
PAITANIC	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
GR. MURUTIC																	
PAPAR	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
TATANA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
GANA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MNAB	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MBOK	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MTIM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MPAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MTAG	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MKAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
KOLOD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MSEM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MSEL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ABAI (BOTH)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
BULUSU	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
TIDUNG (ALL)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

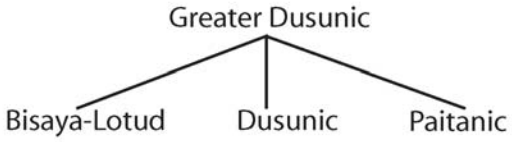
Key: 1) three replacement pronoun innovations (cf. Section 11.2.1); 2) *R > w / _#; 3) *R > g / _i; 4) *ma- > a- on consonant-initial roots; 5) *b/*w split; 6) *d/*r split; 7) *ə > a / _Ca; 8) *a > *ə in four pronoun forms; 9) *nu '2SG.GEN'; 10) *R > h~ø / _i; 11) *-R > *-g; 12) *aw, *ay > *ow, *oy; 13) *iw > *uy; 14) *g- > ø after Adjectival *ma-; 15) *ə > *a / _C(aiu); 16) PDUS *h > ø or PMUR *h > ø; 17) PMUR *-in 'Location Focus'.

FIGURE 11.3. THE PRIMARY BRANCHES OF GREATER MURUTIC



Likewise, the Dusunic, Paitanic, and Bisaya-Lotud languages can be grouped together as three coordinate branches of a Greater Dusunic subgroup as illustrated in Figure 11.4, based on the fact that Dusunic and Bisaya-Lotud share at least six innovations, Dusunic and Paitanic share four innovations, and three innovations are shared by all three of these subgroups.

FIGURE 11.4. THE PRIMARY BRANCHES OF GREATER DUSUNIC[23]



The Greater Dusunic and Greater Murutic subgroups appear to form two branches of the Southwest Sabah subgroup, based on the five weak phonological innovations listed in Section 11.1.2.

This new subgrouping differs from that of King and King (1984) and/or Lewis (2009) regarding the position of several languages, including Tatana, Papar, Lotud, Gana, Dumpas, and Murut Serudung. Furthermore, the more geographically-comprehensive approach to the current study allows the following languages to be incorporated into the Southwest Sabah subgroup: (1) Abai Sembuak and Abai Tubu, in the northern part of Indonesian province of Kalimantan Timur; (2) Bulusu, also in northern Kalimantan

[23] Blust (pers. comm., September 6, 2012) points out that the innovations mentioned in this chapter suggest that Dusunic and Bisaya-Lotud share a common node apart from Paitanic, but in the absence of a larger set of data representing the Paitanic languages, the current author considers it safer to reserve judgment on the internal structure of the proposed Greater Dusunic subgroup until such time that a more extensive study can be done.

Timur; (3) Limbang Bisaya, in the Limbang district of northern Sarawak, Malaysia; (4) the three dialects of Brunei Dusun (upland, lowland, and coastal).

11.4.1 Tatana and Papar. In King and King (1984), Tatana is grouped with Sabah Bisaya in a Southern Dusun branch of the Dusunic subgroup, and Papar is included as an unclassified branch of the Dusunic subgroup. That these two languages would be mistaken for Dusunic languages based on lexicostatistics and intelligibility testing is understandable considering their location and their sociolinguistic situation. Both Tatana and Papar occupy small patches of territory towards the northern tip of Kuala Penyu town, and are proximate to and in frequent contact with speakers of Sabah Bisaya and various Dusunic groups. In fact, it is highly unlikely that there are currently any remaining adult speakers of Papar who have not acquired an understanding of Tatana and Sabah Bisaya, and it is likewise unlikely that there are many adult speakers of Tatana who have not acquired at least a passive understanding of Sabah Bisaya. As such, borrowing would be expected to have an effect on the lexicostatistical scores, and contact would likewise have an effect on the intelligibility tests. As can be observed from Table 11.23, however, the phonological and morphological innovations clearly indicate that Tatana belongs with Murutic and not with Dusunic, and likewise indicates that Sabah Bisaya cannot be considered a member of the Murutic subgroup.

11.4.2 Gana. The Gana language is listed in the Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) as belonging to the Dusunic subgroup, even though Smith (1984) classified it as Murutic. As can be observed from Table 11.23, Gana clearly shares the innovations of the Murutic subgroup but not any of those that are characteristic of the Dusunic languages. Lexical similarity between Gana and the Dusunic languages is likely explainable by the fact that Gana and Kujau, a Dusunic language, usually occupy either the same community or neighboring communities throughout Keningau town.

11.4.3 Lotud. Under the present analysis, Lotud belongs to a Bisaya-Lotud subgroup along with Sabah Bisaya, Limbang Bisaya, and Brunei Dusun. While the Lotud

themselves have no oral history of a connection to the Sabah Bisaya, or of any significant role in the area, they consider themselves distinct from neighboring Dusun groups, and their geographical location seems to support this: the Lotud occupy the areas around the town center of Tuaran, just north of Kota Kinabalu, the present capital of Sabah. Their domain does not extend to the coastal areas, however, as the arrival of more recent immigrant groups such as the Sama (called *bajau* in Sabah), Iranun, and Tausug (called *Suluk* in Sabah) has prompted formerly coastal populations to move further inland in many parts of Sabah.

That lexicostatistics indicated a particularly close relationship between Lotud and the Dusunic languages is explainable by the fact that Lotud is surrounded by, and in constant contact with, Dusun dialects (Tindal, Kiulu, Bukid) which surround its relatively small territory. As such, it would be expected that its neighbors would have had a considerable amount of lexical and phonological influence on Lotud. However, its pronouns are virtually identical to those of Sabah Bisaya, and even more conservative in some areas (e.g., the retention of a distinct 1st person exclusive genitive form, *nyamî,* where Sabah Bisaya has generalized the oblique form *jamî* to the genitive), and like other languages in the Bisaya-Lotud group, it shares none of the Dusunic pronominal innovations. It is likewise the most phonologically conservative language in this group, retaining both /h/ (< PSWSAB *h and *R in certain environments) and intervocalic /ʔ/, as well as the genitive common noun case marker *nu which has been lost in the other Bisaya-Lotud languages and in Dusunic. As can be observed from Table 11.23, Lotud also shares seven innovations with other Bisaya-Lotud languages, and shares none of the diagnostic Murutic innovations.

11.4.4 Dumpas. King (1984:235) claims that "it is apparent that the Dumpas language has a closer relationship with the Paitanic languages…than…with the Dusunic languages", and that "[t]he historical roots of this language…are most likely Paitanic." A paragraph later, King even speculates that "[i]t is possible that further testing would reveal Dumpas to be a dialect of one of the Paitanic languages or a separate language within the Paitanic family." To the contrary, Dumpas appears to be a close relative of the

Dusun language called Sungai Karamuak or Sukang, and local historian Sanen Marshall (pers. comm., July 18, 2011) relates a report by Shim (2007:103-105) which independently confirms this:

> During their 600-700 years of settlement in the Kinabatangan, three groups split off from the Sukang tribe. These became the Dumpas, Mangkaak and Gunatong… Only the Dumpas migrated down the Kinabatangan and overland to the Labuk. It was because of their close association with the downstream tribes that they were mistaken for *Paitanics* or Orang Sungai.
>
> It used to be common practice amongst the Kadazandusuns for a person susceptible to frequent illness to change his or her name in the hope that the illness would not follow the person with the new name… This practice was followed when some Sukang started the Dumpas tribe according to the following legend…
>
> After they had fled Bukit Linggang, Batulong thought that the tribal name, Sukang, brought only sickness and bad luck so he decided to change the name in the hope that their luck would change. He called the survivors Dumpas and his followers gave him the name Raja Tua Batulong.
>
> During their wanderings, the Dumpas mixed and intermarried with other tribes. As a result, their dialect is now slightly different from the Sukang dialect.

Historical research and oral history therefore corroborate the phonological and functor evidence, that Dumpas is a close relative of the language of the Sukang or "Sungai Karamuak" people. Its Paitanic features probably were acquired after moving downriver towards its present location north of Beluran town, where it is surrounded by Paitanic

languages such as Sungai Paitan, Tombonuwo, Lingkabau, and Sungai Beluran. Complicating the picture even further are likely contacts with Tidung—speakers of which have been in the Beluran (formerly "Labuk-Sugut") district since the 1800s—and with Tausug, whose influence in the area dates back well over 500 years. Again, the pitfalls of King and King's methodology is apparent: that intelligibility testing demonstrated that the Dumpas could understand Paitanic languages is only natural since the Dumpas have been surrounded by Paitanic languages for generations. Likewise, high lexicostatistical scores between Dumpas and Paitanic languages are not surprising, given borrowing between Dumpas and its neighbors; note however that King (1984:235) herself points out that "the initial lexicostatistical classification of Smith [(1984)]…placed Dumpas with the Dusunic languages".

11.4.5 The Murutic Languages of Kalimantan Timur, Indonesia. Other than several varieties of Tidung (besides the two or three found in Sabah), there are a half-dozen Murutic languages that are found primarily or wholly in the Indonesian province of Kalimantan Timur just south of the border with eastern Sabah: Kolod, Murut Sembakung, Tingalan, Abai Sembuak, Abai Tubu, and Bulusu. The first three are located near the border between Kalimantan and Sabah, and were mentioned at least in passing in King and King (1984), but the second three were overlooked. Abai Sembuak, Abai Tubu, and Bulusu represent the southernmost extreme of the Murutic subgroup, but are still very clearly and uncontroversially Murutic languages. They are distributed in areas to the west and south of Malinau town, although like many of the tribes in Kalimantan, they report that they originated further uphill or upriver a generation or so ago before the Indonesian government persuaded them to move downhill or downriver closer to established towns.

11.4.6 Limbang Bisaya And Brunei Dusun. Limbang Bisaya and Brunei Dusun represent the closest relatives of Sabah Bisaya and Lotud, rounding out a group of languages spoken by a people known to have had close sociopolitical interaction with the Sultanate of Brunei centuries ago (Okushima 2003:238) and rumored in and around

Brunei to have even had a genealogical relationship to the first Sultan of Brunei.[24] Most of the remnants of this population are found around Brunei Bay, but their closest relatives, the Lotud are found in Tuaran town further north. The location of the Lotud near politically-important Kota Kinabalu is likely no coincidence, and they quite possibly controlled the coastal areas in the vicinity of Kota Kinabalu and Tuaran until the Iranun arrived from the Philippines three or four centuries ago, pushing the Lotud further inland.

11.4.7 Paitanic. The Paitanic languages, while apparently part of the Greater Dusunic subgroup, are problematic because they do not always agree in reflecting certain innovations, or do not reflect them consistently. In many cases, this is likely because the evidence has been obscured by borrowing from neighboring languages, usually whichever member of the core Dusunic subgroup that a particular Paitanic language has been in historic contact with. Further work on the Paitanic subgroup, including reconstruction of its historical phonology, is needed before its position can be determined with a greater degree of confidence. Suffice it to say, however, that the linguistic evidence clearly indicates that the Paitanic languages belong to the Southwest Sabah subgroup, contrary to claims by Malaysian historians such as Singh (2000) who claim that Paitanic peoples "were a mix of Sulu-Bajau-Dusun people" produced when "Sulu people comprising the Tausugs, Bajaus, and Irranuns came in the late 18th century" and "began to intermarry with the locals [around the] Paitan River" (Daily Express 2013).[25]

11.4.8 The Position of Murut Serudung. One minor issue related to the current discussion is the position of a language called Murut Serudung, originally spoken in Serudung Laut (also called "Serudung Lama", or 'Old Serudung', by speakers in Tawau)

[24] Note that the Sabahan Bisaya are not the only claimants to this relationship, as the Iranun of Sabah and a number of groups in the Philippines also claim a genealogical connection to the Sultan of Brunei. However, the geographical proximity of the Sabahan Bisaya makes their claim seem at least more likely than the claims of other groups.

[25] Note also that in this quote, Singh has further confused the historical record by claiming that the Iranun (or "Irranun") are "Sulu people", when (1) the Iranun and their Maranao and Maguindanaon cousins are from the island of Mindanao, not the Sulu archipelago; (2) the Iranun and their Maguindanaon relatives had their own sultanate that ruled much of Mindanao contemporaneous with the Sultanate of Sulu; and (3) the Iranun, Maranao, and Maguindanaon languages form a separate subgroup (the Danao subgroup) to which Tausug (a member of the South Bisayan subgroup of Philippine languages) and the even more linguistically-distant Sama-Bajaw languages do not belong.

south of Kalabakan near the border with Kalimantan Timur, but also spoken by descendents of a group that migrated to the community of Serudung Baru ('New Serudung') in Tawau town. Evidence from the pronouns and demonstratives, along with suspect reflexes of *R indicate that this language does not belong to the Murutic subgroup, but subgroups with the Paitanic languages. Table 11.24 lists the pronouns of Murut Serudung, which can be compared to the Proto-Paitanic pronouns in Table 11.7 and the Proto-Murutic pronouns in Table 11.6. While there are admittedly few significant differences between the pronouns of Proto-Murutic and Proto-Paitanic, it is noteworthy that Murut Serudung reflects the Proto-Paitanic forms *kai '1EXCL.NOM', *sirə '3PL.NOM', and *niyə '3SG.GEN', as well as sharing the formation of the Oblique pronouns with the *sa- ~ *sə- formative plus the Nominative base, a formation which is quite widespread in the Philippines but not found elsewhere in Southwest Sabah outside of the Paitanic subgroup. Elsewhere, in the verb system, Murut Serudung also reflects the Proto-Paitanic reciprocal action prefix *mu-, which is not found elsewhere in the Murutic languages.[26] The presence of a number of Proto-Paitanic and Proto-Greater Dusunic lexical innovations in Murut Serudung is also noteworthy, especially since no Dusunic or Paitanic language is spoken anywhere near either Serudung Laut or Serudung Baru.

TABLE 11.24. MURUT SERUDUNG PRONOUNS

	NOM	GEN	OBL
1SG	aku	ku	saaku
2SG	okow, =ko	mu	sookow
3SG	iyo	nyo	seeyo
1EX	kee	mee	sekee
1IN.DU	toduwo	toduwo	sitoduwo
1IN.PL	taka	taka	sitaka
2PL	kuwo	muyu	sakuwo
3PL	siro	niro	siro

Note that the '2PL.NOM' form *kuwo* is an innovation unique to Murut Serudung, as is the vowel assimilation in the forms *kee* '1EXCL.NOM', *mee* '1EXCL.GEN', *sekee* '1EXCL.OBL', and *seeyo* '3SG.OBL'. Although *kuwo* '2PL.NOM' is an innovation, it still

[26] All Dusunic languages except Dumpas reflect Proto-Dusunic *mi- 'Actor Focus reciprocal action'. Dumpas has replaced earlier *mi- with *mu-,* unsurprising considering the fact that it has been surrounded by Paitanic languages for at least a century.

resembles the Proto-Paitanic 2PL.NOM form *kau, which lacks the initial vowel found in synonymous forms in the Dusunic, Bisaya-Lotud, and Greater Murutic languages..

11.4.9 Tidung.[27] While certainly deserving of a careful study of their own, for the purposes of this chapter it is sufficient to simply state that the Tidung languages clearly belong to the Murutic subgroup, as they share all of the diagnostic Murutic innovations, and none of the Dusunic innovations. This may come as a surprise to those whose only background in the Tidung languages is Beech (1908) where two alleged varieties of Tidung were presented: the Tarakan dialect of Tidung, and the Bulungan language. Unfortunately, Bulungan does not appear to be closely related to Tidung, to the Murutic subgroup,[28] or to Southwest Sabah in general, and Tidung Tarakan turns out to be the least ideal variety of Tidung for comparative purposes, as it is the least conservative Tidung variety, having lost most of the Philippine-type structure still found in the Tidung varieties further north as well as in those upriver in Kalimantan Timur (of which the Bangawong, Sambal/Sombol, Kuala Merotai, Kalabakan, Nunukan, Malinau, and Mansalong varieties are also represented in my data[29]). A more complete set of data representing more Tidung varieties reveals much more of the Murutic nature of Tidung than data from only Tidung Tarakan would. In fact, the only thing surprising when traveling from north to south is just how different Tidung Tarakan is from the other varieties of Tidung, still quite clearly belonging to the same subgroup, but having undergone phonological, morphological, and structural shifts that are not found in the Tidung varieties further north and further upriver.

It is worth noting that Prentice (1971:375) likewise places Tidung in the Murutic subgroup, although his data on Tidung languages and other Murutic languages was much more limited than that of the current author.

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[27] While previous authors have used the spelling "Tidong", the proper spelling according to all Tidung groups visiting in Malaysia and in Indonesia is "Tidung". There is even a minimal pair in all known dialects of Tidung between *Tidung* /tiduŋ/ 'Tidung' and *tidong* /tidoŋ/ 'mountain'.

[28] This is based on the analysis of my own data, but Moody (1984:127) similarly notes that "Prentice says this is neither [Tidung] nor Murutic."

[29] The Tidung of Tarakan can easily recite a list of 20 or so varieties of Tidung, although one gets the impression that these are geographical designations, not linguistic distinctions. There has been so much intermingling of various Tidung groups, as Okushima (2003) also reports, that linguistic fieldwork on each group at present would be rather difficult, if not impossible.

11.4.10 The Idaanic Languages. The Idaanic languages—including Idaan, Begak, Subpan, Sungai Seguliud, and the elusive "Buludupi"—do not generally share in the Southwest Sabah phonological or morphological innovations, and are lexically, phonologically, and grammatically quite distinct. It is likely that, as Blust (2010:46) believes, the Idaanic languages are coordinate with the Southwest Sabah and North Sarawak subgroups in a North Borneo macrogroup. However, I differ from Blust in placing Bonggi with Molbog, based on functor evidence which Blust himself admits is "difficult to evaluate", "unusually challenging", and "would normally be sufficient to support an argument that Molbog and Bonggi form a node" (2010:66-67), and he predicts that "this case will surely challenge scholars for some time to come" (2010:68).

11.5. CONCLUSION. This chapter has attempted to fill a long-standing void in the use of phonological and morphological innovations to determine the relationships of the Southwest Sabah languages, i.e., the languages traditionally assigned to the Dusunic, Murutic, and Paitanic subgroups. At the same time, a more geographically-inclusive approach has been taken, surveying not only those languages located in Sabah, but also languages in adjacent parts of northern Sarawak, Brunei, and northern Kalimantan Timur. The result is a more accurate picture of the membership of these subgroups than was previously achieved with the methodologies of lexicostatistics and intelligibility testing, the former often discredited as unreliable, and the latter never shown to prove anything other than that members of two language communities can understand one other to some extent, without adequately considering the reasons why. In fact, lexicostatistics and intelligibility testing prove to be even less accurate than one's quick impressions after looking at phonological, functor, and lexical data for these languages.

Some languages are prototypically Dusunic or Murutic, and for these it makes little difference which method is used. Not surprisingly, a number of these languages were accurately classified under previous approaches: speakers of Dusun Tambunan and Dusun Tindal can largely understand each other, as can speakers of Murut Paluan and Murut Tagal, as they will tell you. For the languages on the fringes, however, and

especially those that have long been in contact with languages from other subgroups, these approaches fare much worse: these languages, including Lotud, Tatana, Papar, Sabah Bisaya, Dumpas, Gana, and Murut Serudung, require a much more reliable methodology, such as the use of phonological and morphological innovations. These innovations, as shown in Table 11.23, very clearly indicate the position of these languages in a way that lexicostatistics and intelligibility testing never could. It is likewise no less significant that the historical record, including oral histories, corroborates the innovation-based subgrouping, with Shim (2007) noting the historical relationship between the Dumpas and Sukang, and Okushima (2003) noting a historical relationship between the Tidung and Tatana, not to mention the local belief among the Tidung that they are linguistic cousins of the Murutic-speaking peoples of Sabah and the northernmost extremes of Kalimantan Timur.

While it is expected that the subgrouping presented in this chapter will hold up to further scrutiny, a number of issues still need to be resolved, not the least of which is the internal structure of each subgroup, and especially the Bisaya-Lotud and Paitanic languages, which appear to have been influenced particularly heavily by members of neighboring subgroups.

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