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Survey

A PRELIMINARY PROTO-MANOBO WORD LIST

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Introduction

1. The word list
2. The reflexes of Proto-Manobo phonemes
3. A subgrouping theory

Introduction

Many of us studying Manobo languages have maintained for some time that the term Manobo refers to groups whose languages are more closely related to each other than to other Philippine languages. It is now evident that these languages constitute a Manobo subgroup within the Philippine subfamily. A short sketch of some linguistic evidence for this is given in Elkins (1971) but no comparative analyses of Manobo have been undertaken until now.

This study¹ consists of a Proto-Manobo word list followed by the realization rules which account for shapes of words in eight daughter languages. The paper concludes with a theory of subgrouping which may shed some light on how migrations of Manobo-speaking peoples

within Mindanao took place.

The languages on which this reconstruction is based are: Tigwa Manobo (TIG), Binukid of Mindanao (BKD), Sarangani Manobo (SAR), Western Bukidnon Manobo (WBM), Ilianen Manobo (ILN), Dibabawon Manobo (DIB), Cotabato Manobo (CTM), and Tasaday (TSY). Surveys in Mindanao conducted by the Summer Institute of Linguistics indicate that at least nineteen Manobo languages and major dialects are spoken there. The eight languages of this study are fairly representative of the several subgroups of the Manobo subfamily. Only Tagabawa and the Obo dialects of the Mount Apo region in Davao are not represented.

(insert Figure 1)

1. The word list

The word list used as a basis for this study is a Philippine word list adapted by Elkins from the Swadesh list in 1962. A revised list seemed necessary for the purposes of the program of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in the Philippines because the Swadesh list included many items which were either too generic for the consistent elicitation of cognates in Philippine languages, or which contained ambiguities in the English gloss. The spelling of words follows the various orthographies devised by S. I. L. members with several

exceptions. Glottal stop is represented by ʔ. The pepet vowel is represented by e in all languages. A plus sign (+) represents a possible morpheme boundary. The orthography for Tasaday is based on the author's tentative phonemic analysis of data gathered in August, 1972. The Tasaday phonological system appears to be identical with that of Cotabato Manobo.

1. *ʔabaka 'abaca, manila hemp fiber'. TIG, BKD, DIB
ʔabaka; SAR ʔebaka.
2. *hapun 'afternoon'. TIG, BKD, WBM, CTM hapun;²
SAR ʔapon; ILN ʔapun; DIB hapun 'early evening'.
3. *tabak 'answer'. TIG, DIB tabak; WBM, ILN tavak;
SAR taba.
4. *mamaʔen 'areca nut'. BKD, DIB, TSY mamaʔen;
SAR memaʔen; WBM, ILN memaʔan.
5. *saging 'banana'. TIG, BKD, SAR, DIB, CTM saging;
WBM saging; ILN sahing.
6. *(pa+)digus 'bathe'. TIG digus; SAR digos; WBM
peziəuʔ; DIB padigus; CTM, TSY pedigus.
7. *getek 'belly, abdomen'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN,
DIB, CTM, TSY getek.
8. *manika 'betel pepper'. TIG, BKD manika; WBM,
CTM menika.
9. *kagat 'bite'. TIG, BKD, DIB kagat; WBM kagat;
ILN kahat.

10. *pa?it 'bitter'. BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY
pa?it; TIG, DIB pe?it.
11. *?item 'black'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB,
 CTM, TSY ?item.
12. *langesa 'blood'. TIG, BKD, DIB langesa; WBM,
 ILN lengesa.
13. *lawa 'body'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB,
 CTM, TSY lawa.
14. *tu?lan 'bone'. TIG, BKD tul?an; SAR to?lan;
 WBM, ILN tulan; CTM, TSY tu?elan.
15. *sambay 'borrow'. BKD sambay; TIG, WBM sambey;
 CTM, TSY sagbay.
16. *?utek 'brain'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM,
 TSY ?utek; SAR ?otek.
17. *D(i?)am(?)ag or *D(i?)em(?)ag 'breakfast'.
 TIG lem?ag; BKD dam?ag; WBM, ILN ramag; CTM
li?emag.
18. *lebeng 'bury'. TIG, BKD, SAR, DIB, CTM lebeng;
 WBM, ILN leveng.
19. *begsay 'canoe paddle'. BKD, SAR, DIB begsay;
 TIG, WBM begsey.
20. *karabaw 'carabao'. BKD, CTM kalabaw; WBM, ILN
keravew; TIG kalabew; SAR kelabaw; DIB kalabaw/kabaw.
21. *kagpa 'chest'. BKD, SAR, CTM, TSY kagpa;
 DIB kugpa 'chest of a pig'.

22. *bata? 'child'. BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM,
TSY bata?; TIG bate?.
23. *baka? 'chin'. BKD, WBM, ILN, baka?; TIG bake?;
CTM, TSY baha?.
24. *pili? 'choose'. BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB pili?; CTM
hemili?.
25. *(paN+)(pa+)nahik 'climb (a tree)'. TIG pamaneik;
BKD panahik; SAR nayit; WBM pemenahik; DIB penhik.
26. *genaw 'cold'. SAR genaw; WBM genew; CTM ~~genaw~~ genaw;
BKD genaw 'to have chills and fever'.
27. *suwat 'comb'. BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM suwat; SAR sowat.
28. *duma 'companion'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM,
TSY duma; SAR doma.
29. *gapas 'cotton'. TIG, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM gapas.
30. *buHa? 'cough'. BKD, WBM, CTM, TSY buha?; TIG bue?.
31. *bu?aya 'crocodile'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB,
CTM bu?aya; SAR bo?aya.
32. *sineqaw 'cry (weep)'. CTM, TSY sineqaw; ~~TIG~~, WBM
sineqew; ILN sinehew; TIG, DIB sineqew;
SAR sineqaw 'weep aloud'.
33. *?aldaw or *?andaw 'day or sun'. TIG, BKD, SAR
?aldaw; WBM, ILN ?andew; DIB ?adew; CTM ?aqdaw.
34. *?utang 'debt'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM ?utang.
35. *dalem 'deep'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM dalem;
DIB daem.

36. *saladeng 'deer'. BKD saladeng; SAR, CTM seladeng;
WBM selazeng; ILN selareng.
37. *regen 'difficult'. WBM regen; ILN rehen; BKD,
TIG legen.
38. *?asu or *tuyang 'dog'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN ?asu;
CTM, TSY tuyang; SAR toyang.
39. *?inem or *?inum 'drink'. SAR, DIB, CTM, TSY ?inem;
TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN ?inum.
40. *mada 'dry'. TIG, BKD mada; WBM maza; ILN mara.
41. *talinga 'ear'. TIG, BKD, DIB talinga; SAR, WBM,
ILN, CTM, TSY telinga.
42. *tana? 'earth'. SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY tana?;
TIG tane?.
43. *linug 'earthquake'. BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY linug;
SAR linog; TIG dinug.
44. *ka?en 'eat'. BKD, SAR, CTM, TSY ka?en; TIG, DIB
ke?en; WBM, ILN ka?an.
45. *kasili 'eel'. TIG, BKD kasili; SAR, WBM, ILN
kesili.
46. *walu 'eight'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY walu;
SAR walo; DIB wau.
47. *siku 'elbow'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY
siku; SAR siko.
48. *mata 'eye'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM
mata.

49. *kiray 'eyebrow'. WBM, ILN kirey; SAR, BKD kilay;
TIG, DIB kiley; CTM kilay 'forehead'.
50. *(pirek)pirek 'eyelash'. WBM, ILN pirekpirek;
SAR, CTM, TSY pilekpilek; TIG, BKD, DIB pilek.
51. *diyu? 'far'. BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY diyu?;
SAR diyo?; TIG, DIB diu?.
52. *lambu? 'fat'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN lambu?; SAR lambo?.
53. *?amay 'father'. BKD, SAR ?amay; TIG, WBM, ILN,
DIB ?amey.
54. *haldek or *handek 'fear'. TIG, BKD haldek;
WBM handek; DIB hadek; ILN ?andek.
55. *?alad 'fence'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN ?alad;
DIB ?aad.
56. *sulu 'fingernail'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY
sulu; SAR solo; DIB suu.
57. *Xapuy 'fire'. ILN, CTM, TSY ?apuy; SAR ?apoy;
TIG, BKD, WBM hapuy.
58. *sa?eg 'floor'. BKD, SAR, CTM sa?eg; TIG, DIB
se?eg; WBM, ILN sa?aq.
59. *bulak 'flower'. TIG, BKD, WBM bulak; SAR bolak;
CTM, TSY bulok; DIB buak.
60. *langaw 'fly (noun)'. BKD, SAR, CTM langaw;
TIG, WBM, ILN, DIB langew.
61. *layang 'to fly'. BKD, SAR, WBM, DIB, CTM layang.
62. *lipat 'forget'. BKD, WBM, ILN lipat; TSY lipot.

63. *(Xa)?epat 'four'. SAR, ILN, CTM, TSY ?epat;
TIG hep?at; BKD ha?epat; WBM he?epat.
64. *hemut 'fragrant'. TIG, BKD, WBM, DIB hemut;
ILN ?emut.
65. *bakbak 'frog'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM,
TSY bakbak.
66. *penu? 'full'. TIG, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY penu?;
DIB penu; BKD punu?.
67. *luy(?)a 'ginger'. TIG, WBM, ILN luya; SAR loya;
BKD luy?a; DIB lui?a.
68. *begay 'give'. TIG, SAR, CTM, TSY begay; WBM
begey; ILN behey; DIB begey.
69. *?ilem 'green'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN ?ilem.
70. *belad 'hand'. TIG, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY belad;
DIB bead.
71. *desen 'hard'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB desen.
72. *?ulu 'head'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY ?ulu;
DIB ?uu; SAR ?olo.
73. *pusung 'heart'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM
pusung; SAR posong.
74. *begat 'heavy'. TIG, BKD, SAR, DIB, CTM, TSY
begat; WBM begat, ILN bahat.
75. *palu 'heel'. TIG, WBM, ILN palu; SAR palo;
DIB pau.
76. *Heles 'to hide'. TIG, BKD heles; SAR, WBM, ILN
?eles.

77. *?init 'hot'. TIG, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB ?init.
78. *balay 'house'. BKD, SAR balay; TIG, WBM, ILN
baley; DIB baey; CTM balay+laqet 'brass betel nut
box'.
79. *pira 'how much, how many'. WBM, ILN pira; TIG, BKD,
SAR, DIB, CTM, TSY pila.
80. *gatus 'hundred'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB gatus;
SAR gatos.
81. *bitil 'hunger'. TIG, WBM, ILN, CTM bitil;
SAR bitil 'starve'; DIB bitii 'stretch taut'.
82. *katel 'itch'. BKD, SAR, CTM, TSY katel.
83. *sipa? 'kick'. BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB sipa?;
TIG sipe?; CTM sipa? 'kick with the instep'.
84. *himatay 'kill'. BKD himatay; TIG, WBM, DIB
himatey; SAR, CTM ?imatay; ILN ?imatey.
85. *bu?el 'knee'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN bu?el; SAR bo?el.
86. *Danaw 'lake'. BKD danaw; DIB danew; SAR, CTM
lanaw; TIG lanew; WBM, ILN ranew.
87. *dakel 'large'. TIG, SAR, CTM, TSY dakel; WBM, ILN
dekela?; DIB dakee; BKD dakel 'many'.
88. *dahun 'leaf'. BKD, WBM dahun; CTM, TSY daun;
TIG deun; SAR dawen; ILN dawun; DIB dehun.
89. *gibang 'left'. TIG, BKD gibang; SAR, CTM bibang;
WBM, ILN givang; TSY b+in+ibang.

90. *pa?a 'leg'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN pa?a; SAR pa?a
'thigh'.
91. *kilat 'lightning'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB
kilat; SAR, CTM, TSY kilat 'thunder'.
92. *?apug 'lime'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY
?apug; SAR ?apog.
93. *?ugpa? 'live (dwell)'. TIG, DIB, CTM ?ugpa?;
SAR ?ogpa?; WBM, ILN ?ubpa?.
94. *?atay 'liver'. BKD, SAR, CTM ?atay; TIG, WBM,
ILN, DIB ?atey.
95. *layat 'long'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN layat;
CTM layat 'spread out'.
96. *kutu 'louse'. TIG, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM kutu;
SAR koto.
97. *ma?ama 'male'. BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY ma?ama;
SAR me?ama.
98. *?ikam 'mat'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM ?ikam;
DIB hikam.
99. *?ubal 'monkey'. TIG, CTM, TSY ?ubal; WBM, ILN
?uval, DIB ?ubaa.
100. *selem 'morning'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN selem;
DIB seem; SAR ?iselem.
101. *bulan 'moon'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM bulan;
SAR bolan; DIB buan.
102. *lesung 'mortar'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM
lesung; SAR lesong.

103. *tagenek 'mosquito'. BKD, TSY tagenek; ILN tehenek; DIB tagnek; SAR tigenek.
104. *?inay 'mother'. BKD, SAR, CTM, TSY ?inay; TIG, WBM, ILN, DIB ?iney.
105. *ba?ba? 'mouth'. BKD, DIB ba?ba?; TIG, WBM be?be?; ILN be?ba?.
106. *basak 'mud'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN basak.
107. *ngadan 'name'. TIG, BKD, SAR, DIB, CTM, TSY ngadan; WBM ngazan; ILN ngaran.
108. *li?eg 'neck'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY li?eg.
109. *Zagum 'needle'. TIG, BKD, CTM dagum; SAR, DIB dagem; WBM raeum; ILN raham.
110. *bag(?)u 'new'. TIG, BKD bag?u; WBM beeu; ILN behu.
111. *dukilem 'night'. TIG, WBM, ILN, DIB dukilem.
112. *siyam or *siyaw 'nine'. BKD, SAR siyam; TIG siam; DIB si?am; WBM, ILN siyew; CTM, TSY siyow.
113. *?ugtu 'noon'. TIG, BKD, DIB ?ugtu; WBM, ILN ?udtu.
114. *?idung 'nose'. TIG, BKD, CTM, TSY ?idung; SAR ?idong; WBM ?izung; ILN ngirung.
115. *?anak 'offspring'. TIG, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY ?anak; SAR ?anak 'niece or nephew'.
116. *sakit 'pain'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY sakit.

117. *palad 'palm of hand'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN
palad; DIB paad.
118. *dalan 'path (trail)'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN,
 CTM dalan; DIB daan.
119. *bayad 'to pay'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN,
 DIB, CTM bayad.
120. *?etaw 'person'. BKD, CTM, TSY ?etaw; TIG, WBM,
 ILN, DIB ?etew; SAR ?otaw.
121. *babuy 'pig'. TIG, BKD, CTM, DIB babuy; WBM,
 ILN bavuy.
122. *bayu 'pound rice'. DIB bayu; WBM, ILN bevayu;
 TIG b+in+ayu; SAR b+in+ayo.
123. *gakit 'raft'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB gakit.
124. *?udan 'rain'. TIG, BKD, DIB, CTM ?udan;
 SAR ?odan; WBM ?uzan; ILN ?uran.
125. *balugtu 'rainbow'. BKD balugtu; TIG baluntu;
 WBM beludtu; ILN beluntu; CTM belugtu.
126. *balagen 'rattan'. TIG, BKD balagen; SAR, CTM,
 TSY belagen; WBM belagen; DIB bagen.
127. *kawanan 'right hand'. TIG, BKD kawanan; SAR
kowanan; WBM, ILN kewanan; CTM kuwanan.
128. *sising 'ring'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN sising;
 CTM tising.
129. *?atep 'roof'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB,
 CTM ?atep.

130. *dalid 'root'. TIG, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM,
TSY dalid; BKD dalid 'a particular type of root'.
131. *pisi? 'rope'. TIG, BKD, WBM, DIB pisi?.
132. *(pa)laguy 'run'. TIG palaguy; BKD pulaguy;
SAR laqoy; WBM pelaguy; ILN pelahuy; DIB laquy.
133. *pantad 'sand'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN pantad.
134. *tahi? 'sew'. BKD, WBM tahi?; DIB tehi?;
ILN tayi?; TIG tai?.
135. *?alung 'shadow'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM ?alung;
SAR ?along.
136. *garang 'sharp or rough'. TIG, SAR, CTM, TSY
galang; WBM, ILN garang.
137. *suled 'sibling'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN suled.
138. *pinu?u 'sit'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN pinu?u;
CTM pene?u.
139. *(Xa)?enem 'six'. SAR, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY ?enem;
TIG hen?em; BKD ha?enem; WBM he?enem.
140. *gasa? 'skinny'. BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM,
TSY gasa?; TIG gase?.
141. *langit 'sky'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB,
CTM, TSY langit.
142. *?udipen 'slave'. TIG, DIB, CTM ?udipen;
WBM ?uzipen; ILN ?uripen.
143. *lipedeng 'sleep'. TIG, DIB lipedeng; WBM
lipezeng; ILN lipereng; BKD, SAR, CTM lipedeng
'close the eyes'.

144. *de?isek 'small'. TIG, WBM, ILN de?isek;
CTM, TSY di?isek; SAR de?itek.
145. *Hadek 'to smell or kiss'. TIG, BKD, DIB, CTM
hadek; SAR ?adek; ILN ?arek; WBM hazek.
146. *?ebel 'smoke'. TIG, BKD, SAR, CTM, TSY ?ebel;
WBM, ILN ?evel; DIB ?ebee.
147. *?uled 'snake'. TIG, WBM, ILN, CTM ?uled;
DIB ?ued; BKD ?uled 'worm, insect'.
148. *sabaw 'soup'. BKD, SAR, CTM sabaw; TIG, DIB
sabew; WBM, ILN savew.
149. *Zangaw 'span'. BKD, SAR, TSY dangaw; TIG, DIB
dangew; WBM, ILN rangew.
150. *?ileb 'spit'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM,
TSY ?ileb.
151. *?asawa 'spouse'. TIG, BKD, DIB ?asawa; SAR, WBM,
ILN ?esawa; CTM, TSY sawa.
152. *(hi)tindeg 'stand'. BKD, WBM hitindeg; ILN
?itindeg; SAR tindeg; CTM, TSY tigdeg.
153. *bitu?en 'star'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM, DIB
bitu?en; SAR bito?en.
154. *deket 'stick to'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM
deket.
155. *batu 'stone'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY
batu; SAR bato.
156. *tu?lid 'straight'.³ SAR to?lid; DIB tu?id;
WBM tulid; TIG, BKD tul?id.

157. *rimuseng 'sweat'. WBM, ILN rimuseng; TIG, CTM,
TSY limuseng.
158. *?emis 'sweet'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY
?emis; SAR (ma+)?mis.
159. *kasila? 'sweet potato'. SAR, WBM, ILN kesila?;
TIG kasile?; CTM katila?.
160. *?ikug 'tail'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM,
TSY ?ikug; SAR ?ikog.
161. *sa(m)pulu? 'ten'. BKD sampulu?; WBM, ILN, CTM,
TSY sepulu?; SAR sempolo?; DIB sampuu?;
TIG sapulu?.
162. *?anay 'termite'. SAR ?anay; TIG, WBM, DIB ?aney;
BKD ?ana?ay.
163. *kepal 'thick'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY
kepal.
164. *bubun 'thigh'. TIG, BKD, CTM, TSY bubun;
WBM buvun; SAR bobon.
165. *nipis 'thin'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB,
CTM nipis.
166. *dugi 'thorn'. TIG, BKD, DIB, CTM, TSY dugi;
WBM duqi; ILN ruhi.
167. *libu 'thousand'. TIG, BKD, WBM, DIB libu.
168. *(ta)telu 'three'. TIG tatelu; WBM, ILN tetelu;
BKD tatulu; SAR, CTM, TSY telu; DIB tateu.

169. *rugung 'thunder'. TIG, BKD, DIB lugung;
WBM ruqung; ILN ruhung.
170. *kunta?en or *gunta?en 'today'. TIG, DIB
kunte?en; WBM gunta?an; ILN gunta?ani.
171. *ka(?a)selem 'tomorrow'. TIG ka?aselem; WBM, ILN
ke?eselem; DIB kasem.
172. *dila? 'tongue'. BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM,
TSY dila?; TIG dile?.
173. *ngipen 'tooth'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB,
CTM, TSY ngipen.
174. *kayu 'tree'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY
kayu; SAR kayo.
175. *salu?al 'trousers'. TIG salu?al; WBM, ILN
selu?al; SAR selowal; DIB sau?aa.
176. *ba?u(?u) 'turtle'. TIG, BKD, DIB ba?u?u; WBM,
ILN be?u?u; CTM ba?u; SAR ba?o 'small sea
turtle'.
177. *(da)duwa 'two'. TIG, BKD daduwa; WBM dezuwa;
ILN derewa; DIB dadua; CTM, TSY duwa; SAR dowa.
178. *?ugat 'vein'. TIG, BKD, DIB ?ugat; SAR ?ogat;
WBM ?ugat; ILN ?uhat.
179. *tagad or *angat 'wait'. TIG, SAR, DIB tagad;
WBM taqad; ILN tahad; BKD, CTM ?angat.
180. *(hi)panaw 'walk'. BKD hipanaw; TIG, WBM, DIB
hipanew; ILN ?ipanew; SAR ?ipanaw.

181. *pi?pi? 'wash clothes'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM
pi?pi?.
182. *wahig or *wayeg 'water'. BKD, WBM wahig; TIG
weig; DIB wehiq, ILN wayiq; SAR, CTM, TSY
wayeg.
183. *sakedu 'water container'. TIG sakedu; DIB, CTM
sekedu; WBM sekezu; BKD sakudu.
184. *habel 'weave cloth'. TIG, BKD habel; SAR ?abel;
WBM havel; ILN ?avel; DIB habee.
185. *sa(n)lepan 'west'. WBM, ILN senlepan; TIG, BKD
salepan; SAR selepan; DIB saepan.
186. *hames 'wet'. BKD, WBM hames; TIG kames;
SAR, ILN ?ames.
187. *kuwa 'what you may call it'. TIG, BKD, WBM,
ILN, CTM kuwa; SAR kowa; DIB kua?.
188. *puti? 'white'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB puti?;
SAR poti?.
189. *balu 'widow'. TIG, BKD, WMB, ILN, CTM balu;
SAR balo; DIB bau.
190. *karamag 'wind'. TIG, BKD kalamag; SAR, CTM, TSY
kelamag; DIB kamag; WBM, ILN keramag.
191. *pakpak 'wing'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM
pakpak.
192. *bahi 'woman (female)'. BKD, WBM, bahi; SAR, CTM,
TSY bayi; DIB behi; TIG bei.

193. *kagi 'word or saying'. TIG, SAR, BKD, WBM,
DIB, CTM kagi; ILN kahi; TSY ikaqi.
194. *tu?ig 'year'. BKD, WBM, DIB tu?iq, TIG tu?id.
195. *gabi?i 'yesterday'. TIG, DIB gabi?i, WBM, ILN
gevi?i; SAR gebi?i 'long ago'; BKD gabi? 'past'.

2. The reflexes of Proto-Manobo phonemes.

2.1 Proto-Manobo phonemes are:

Consonants

*p	*t	*k	*ʔ
*b	*d	*g	
*m	*n	*ng	
	*l		
	*r	*D	
		*Z	
	*s	*h	*H
			*X
*w	*y		

Vowels

*i	*u
*e	
*a	

2.2 Realization rules for Proto-Manobo phonemes.

2.21 Proto-consonants

2.21.1 *p

In TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY

*p → p

Discrepancies: CTM hemili? 'choose'. Presumably hemili? corresponds to *paN- 'distributive' + *pili? 'choose'. If this is true the discrepancy would be in the correspondence of *paN- to hem-. Since the N of *paN- is a replacive, i.e., it replaces the initial consonant of the stem pili? while assimilating to its point of articulation, there is no actual discrepancy of *pili? to hemili?.

2.21.2 *t

In TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, and TSY

*t → t

2.21.3 *k

In TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, and TSY

*k → k

Discrepancies: CTM and TSY baha? 'chin'; SAR navit 'climb', taba 'answer'.

2.21.4 *b

(a) In ILN and WBM

*b → { v in / { vocoid / { l / r } } | b elsewhere }

(b) In TIG, BKD, SAR, DIB, CTM, and TSY

*b → b

2.21.5 *d

(a) In WBM and ILN

*d → $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{WBM} \\ \text{ILN} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \underline{z} \\ \underline{r} \end{array} \right] \text{ in / } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vocoid} \\ \underline{i} \\ \underline{f} \end{array} \right\} \text{ — } \\ \underline{d} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$

(b) In TIG, BKD, SAR, DIB, CTM, and TSY

*d → d

Discrepancy: ILN ruhi 'thorn'.

2.21.6 *g

(a) In WBM and ILN

*g → $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{WBM} \\ \text{ILN} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \underline{g} \\ \underline{h} \end{array} \right] \text{ in / } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vocoid} \\ \underline{l} \\ \underline{r} \end{array} \right\} \text{ — } \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \underline{b} \\ \underline{d} \end{array} \right] \text{ in / } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{bilabials} \\ \text{alveolars} \end{array} \right] \\ \underline{g} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$

Discrepancy: ILN beluntu 'rainbow'.

(b) In TIG, BKD, SAR, DIB, CTM, and TSY

$*g \longrightarrow \underline{g}$

Discrepancies: SAR, CTM bibang 'left side'; TSY b+in+ibang 'left side'; TIG baluntu 'rainbow', tuid 'year'.

2.21.7 $*?$

(a) In ILN and WBM

$*? \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{null in / _____ } *1 \\ \underline{?} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$

(b) In TIG, BKD, SAR, DIB, CTM, and TSY

$*? \longrightarrow \underline{?}$

Discrepancies: DIB silatan 'east', hikam 'mat'; SAR seluwal 'trousers'.

2.21.8 $*m$

(a) In CTM and TSY

$*m \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{g} \text{ in / _____ } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} *b \\ *d \end{array} \right\} \\ \underline{m} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$

(b) In TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, and DIB

$*m \longrightarrow \underline{m}$

2.21.9 *n

(a) In CTM and TSY

$$*n \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{g} \text{ in / } \underline{\quad} *d \\ \underline{n} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

(b) In TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, and DIB

$$*n \longrightarrow \underline{n}$$

2.21.10 *ng

In TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, and TSY

$$*ng \longrightarrow \underline{ng}$$

2.21.11 *1

(a) In TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM, and TSY

$$*1 \longrightarrow \underline{1}$$

Discrepancy: TIG dinug 'earthquake'.

(b) In DIB

$$*1 \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{null in / } V_1 \underline{\quad} V_1 \\ V_2 \text{ in / } *V_2 \underline{\quad} \# \\ \underline{1} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

where: $V_1 \neq \underline{i}$, $V_2 =$ any vowel, $\# =$ word boundary

2.21.12 *r

(a) In WBM and ILN

$$*r \longrightarrow \underline{r}$$

Discrepancy: ILN dara 'to weave a mat'.

(b) In TIG, BKD, SAR, DIB, CTM, and TSY

$$*r \longrightarrow \underline{1}$$

2.21.13 *D

(a) In BKD and DIB *D → d.(b) In WBM and ILN *D → r.(c) In TIG, SAR, and CTM⁴ *D → l.

2.21.14 *Z

(a) In TIG, BKD, SAR, CTM, and TSY

*Z → d(b) In WBM and ILN *Z → r

2.21.15 *s

In TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, and TSY

*s → s

Discrepancies: WBM pezieu? 'bathe'; CTM tising 'ring',
katila? 'sweet potato'; SAR de?itek 'small'.

2.21.16 *h

(a) In SAR and ILN

$$*h \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{w} \text{ in / V } \underline{\quad} *u \\ \underline{y} \text{ in / V } \underline{\quad} *i \\ \underline{?} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

(In this and the following rules V = vowel.)

(b) In TIG

$$*h \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{null in / V } \underline{\quad} V \\ \underline{h} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$
Discrepancy: kames 'wet'.

(c) In CTM and TSY

$$*h \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{null in / V ______ *u} \\ \underline{y} \text{ in / V ______ *i} \\ \underline{h} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

(d) In BKD, WBM, and DIB $*h \longrightarrow \underline{h}$.

2.21.17 *H

(a) In TIG

$$*H \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{null in / V ______ V} \\ \underline{h} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

(b) In SAR and ILN $*H \longrightarrow \underline{?}$.

(c) In BKD, WBM, DIB, CTM, and TSY $*H \longrightarrow \underline{h}$.

2.21.18 *X

(a) In SAR, ILN, CTM, and TSY $*X \longrightarrow \underline{?}$.

(b) In TIG, BKD, WBM, and DIB $*X \longrightarrow \underline{h}$.

2.21.19 *w

(a) In TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM, and TSY

$$*w \longrightarrow \underline{w}$$

(b) In DIB

$$*w \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{null in / *u ______} \\ \underline{w} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

2.21.20 *y

(a) In TIG and DIB

$$*y \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{null in / *y ______} \\ \underline{y} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

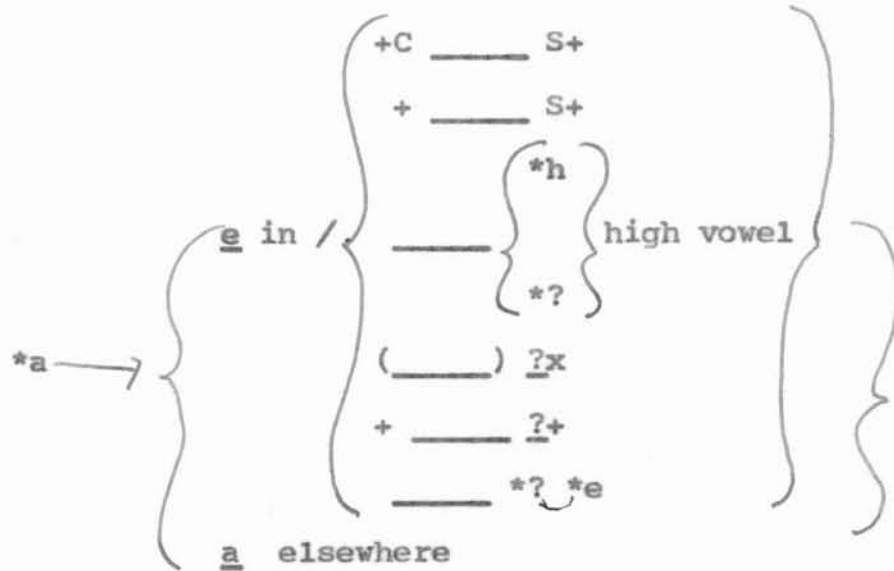
(b) In BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM, and TSY

*y → y

2.22 Proto-vowels

2.22.1 *a

(a) In TIG



where: C = consonant

S = semivowel

+ = syllable boundary

x = any phoneme except a, or null.

(___) ≠ prepenultimate syllable

Discrepancies: hep?at 'four' and hen?em 'six' where there is a loss of *a from *Xa?epat and *Xa?enem respectively. (Metathesis accounts for the displacement of ?a)

(b) In BKD *a → a.

Discrepancy: pulaguay 'run'.

(c) In SAR

$$*a \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{e} \text{ in prepenultimate syllables} \\ \underline{a} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

Discrepancies: tigenek 'mosquito', kowan 'right hand'.

(d) In WBM and DIB

$$*a \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{e} \text{ in } / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{prepenultimate syllables} \\ +C \text{ ______ } S+ \end{array} \right\} \\ \underline{a} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

where: C = consonant

S = semivowel

+ = syllable boundary

(e) In DIB

$$*a \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +C \text{ ______ } S+ \\ + / \text{ ______ } S+ \end{array} \right\} \\ \underline{e} \text{ in } / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{______ } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} *? \\ *h \end{array} \right\} \text{ high vowel} \\ \text{______ } *? *e \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{null in } / *a *1 \text{ ______ } \\ \underline{aa} \text{ in } / \text{______ } *1 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \# \\ + \end{array} \right\} \\ \underline{a} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

where: C = consonant

S = semivowel

+/ = syllable boundary

= word boundary

The sequence *a*1 is part of a word consisting of more than two syllables.

Discrepancies: penhik 'climb (a tree)', sekedu ~~'bamboo~~ 'water container', kugpa 'chest of a pig'.

(f) In CTM and TSY

*a → $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{e} \text{ in / prepenultimate syllables} \\ \underline{a} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$

Discrepancies: CTM and TSY ma?ama 'male', kalabaw 'carabao', katila? 'sweet potato', bulok 'flower'⁵, sawa 'spouse'; TSY lipot 'forget'; CTM kuwanan 'right hand'.

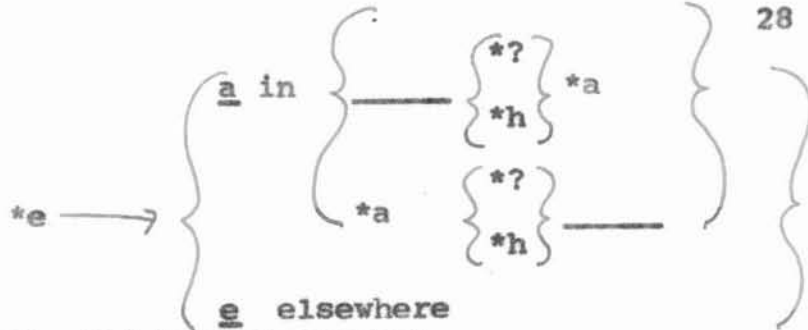
2.22.2 *e

(a) In TIG, BKD, SAR, CTM, and TSY

*e → e

Discrepancies: BKD punu? 'full', sakudu 'water container', tatulu 'three'; DIB ?upat 'four', tagnek 'mosquito'; SAR ma+?mis 'sweet', ?otaw 'person'; CTM, TSY di?isek 'small'.

(b) In WBM and ILN⁶



Discrepancy: ILN be?ba? 'mouth'.
 (c) In DIB



where: # = word boundary

+ = syllable boundary

The sequence *e*1 is part of a word consisting of more than two syllables.

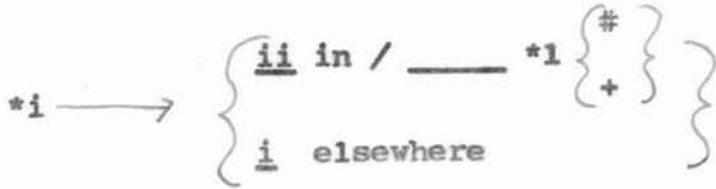
2.22.3 *i

(a) In TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM, and TSY

*i -> i

Discrepancy: BKD gabi? 'past'; CTM pene?u 'sit'.

(b) In DIB



where: # = word boundary

+ = syllable boundary

3. A subgrouping theory.

The five rules for the reflexes of *a in the daughter languages of Proto-Manobo and one of the rules for the reflexes of *e suggest a theory of subgrouping. The rules represent innovations which occurred subsequent to Proto-Manobo and the subgrouping is based on whether or not a particular language shares one or more of these innovations with one or more of the other languages.

3.1 The syllable-final semivowel rule.

For several of the languages in our study *a has the reflex a in a syllable which ends in a semivowel. Thus WBM baley 'house' from *balay and savew 'soup' from *sabaw. The following languages show the syllable-final semivowel rule: TIG, WBM, ILN, and DIB. (See Sect. 2.22.1 (a), (d), and (e))

3.2 The vowel harmony rules.

There are two kinds of vowel harmony rules. In ILN and WBM *e is harmonized to a. In TIG and DIB *a is harmonized to e. (See Sect. 2.22.2 (b))
In ILN and WBM



Thus *ka?en 'eat' becomes ka?an.

The tree diagram in figure 2 presents a subgrouping possibility based on the foregoing rules.

(Insert Figure 2)

The tree suggests three major separations in the history of descent from Proto-Manobo. Although our study includes only eight Manobo languages and dialects, these eight are generally representative of the majority of the remainder in the following way:⁷

TIG also represents Ata of Davao, Matig Salug and other groups of the Davao River area, and also certain other areas east of the Pulangi River in Bukidnon and North Cotabato.

SAR also represents a Manobo dialect on the eastern side of the Davao Gulf.

WBM and ILN form a subgroup with Livunganen, a dialect north of Midsayap, Cotabato.

DIB also represents the dialects of Agusan Manobo.⁸

CTM and TSY also represent Blit Manobo.⁹

Assuming that the scheme is correct, we may make the following observations. Since BKD exhibits none of the aforementioned innovations, we may assume that the ancestors of the present day BKD speakers separated before any of the *a innovations took place. Next, the ancestors of the SAR, CTM, and TSY speakers separated, but not before the prepenultimate-syllable rule came into being. Following this, the remaining group,

TIG, DJB, WBM, and ILN, developed the syllable-final semivowel rule and the vowel harmony rules. When TIG and DJB separated from ILN and WBM they lost the prepenultimate rule and developed the prehigh-vowel rule. TIG subsequently separated from DJB and developed the preglottal-stop rule. The separation of WBM from ILN, and CTM from TSY and from SAR is best shown by differences which have developed in their respective lexicons.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 This paper is the result of field work done in Mindanao, Philippines under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics over a number of years. I am grateful to the following for data from languages other than Western Bukidnon Manobo: Clarice Strong, Tigwa Manobo; Ursula Post and Mary Jane Gardner, Binukid; Carl Dubois, Sarangani Manobo; Jean Shand and Hazel Wrigglesworth, Ilianen Manobo; Jannette Forster and Myra Lou Barnard, Dibabawon; Clay Johnston, Cotabato Manobo. I am especially grateful to Secretary Manuel Elizalde, Jr. and the Panamin Foundation, Inc. for making possible the trip to the Tasaday in which I recorded the Tasaday data.
- 2 TSY and CTM p represent the phone /p/ which is a voiceless bilabial fricative.
- 3 We reconstruct *tu?lid rather than *tul?id since it appears to be analogous to *tu?lan 'bone' for which there is better evidence. Presumably for euphony's sake, metathesis ^{of *l and *?} has taken place in BKD, SAR, and DIB. In the case of *tu?lan WBM and ILN have lost the glottal stop. CTM and TSY eliminate the unusual combination with the accretion of e. SAR retains the original form.

- 4 The data for Tasaday is too limited to reflect *D.
- 5 There may be a regular rule which accounts for TSY
and CTM o, but our present limited corpus of data
does not seem to suggest such a rule.
- 6 This rule accounts for phenomena beyond the scope
of this paper but is none the less valid.
- 7 As previously mentioned, to my knowledge only the
languages around Mt. Apo in Davao are not represented.
- 8 These observations are based on information in the
survey files of the Summer Institute of Linguistics
at Nasuli, Malaybalay, Bukidnon, Philippines.
- 9 Personal communication from Teodoro A. Llamzon, S. J.

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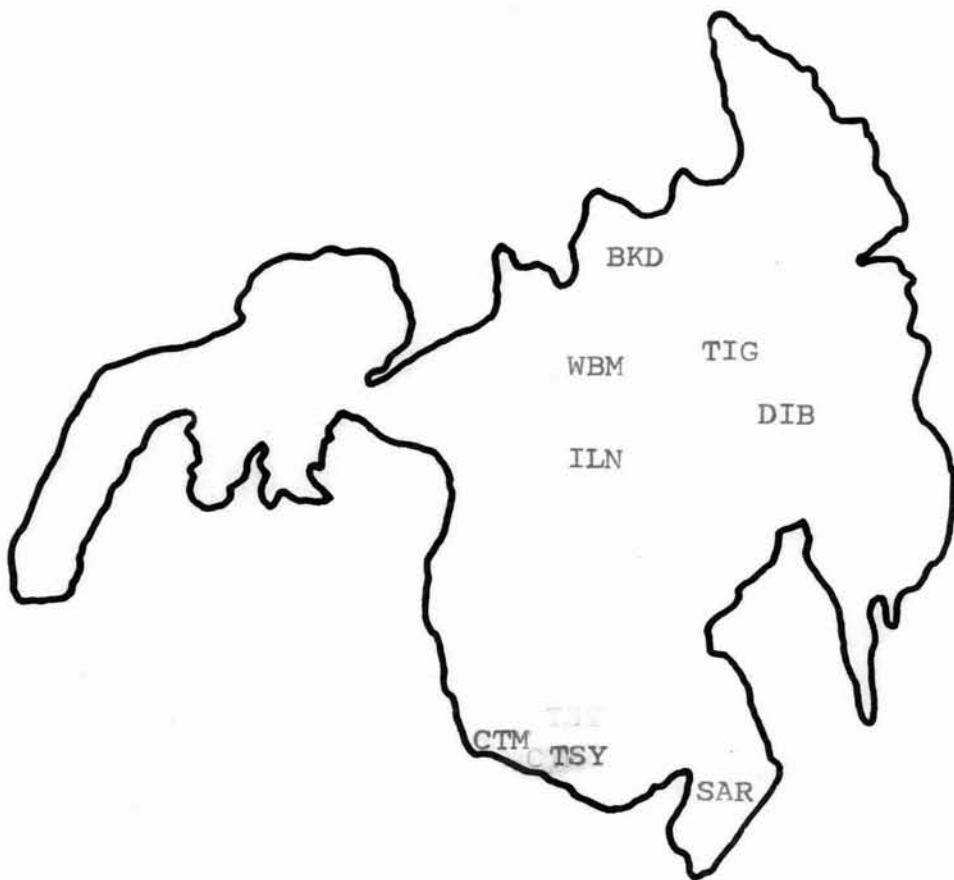


figure 1

*a innovations

- a = syllable-final semivowel rule
- b = vowel harmony rule
- c = prehigh-vowel rule
- d = prepenultimate rule
- e = preglottal-stop rule

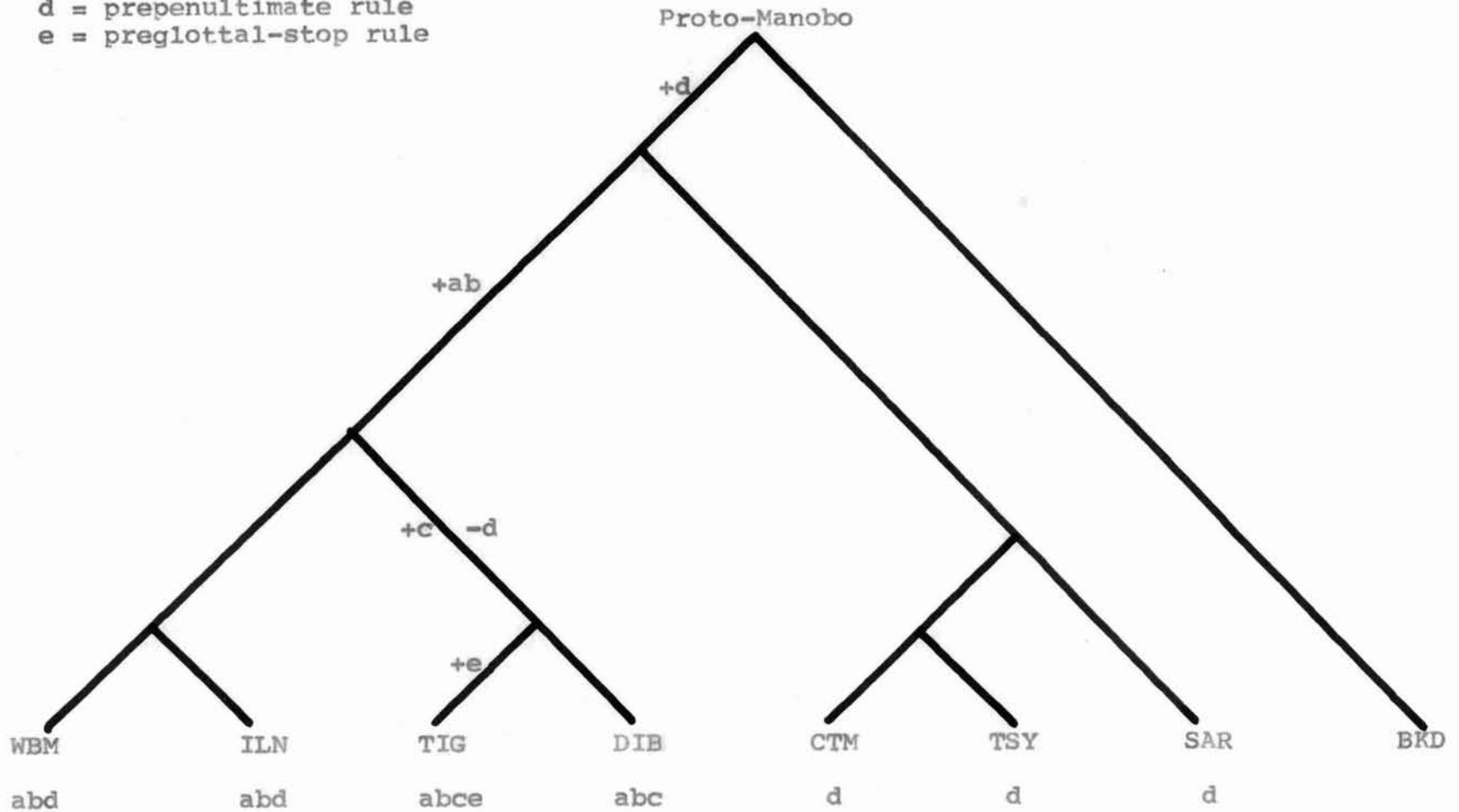


figure 2