

HANDWRITTEN NOTES

Taubuid

Need for lexicostatistical comparison

| | | |
|-----|-----------------|--------------------|
| 28. | to fly | na=layug (B) |
| 32. | raw/unripe | melo (B) |
| 42. | to lie-down | (?) |
| 43. | liver | dangdangun (B) |
| 55. | nose | uyung or dugus (B) |
| 63. | sand | lagnás ~ lukbu? |
| 65. | seed--of rice | (?) rabás |
| 75. | swim | ag=languy ~ kfeo |
| 92. | yellow (vs red) | maraská = red |

| | |
|-------------|---------|
| rights side | siun |
| shoulder | labe |
| child | uga |
| fear | kalimbi |
| palm (hand) | daluap |
| none | dua |

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| gall | apdu |
| full | mapnu |
| finger nail | uu |
| go | lo |
| arm | takke |
| cave | luib |
| flesh/meat | faknut |
| dry | mamaya |
| navel | fusud |
| knee | tud |
| rain | moyan |
| sun | menit |
| star | qaleme |

PRONOUNS

| | | | preposed gen. |
|------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | kwa ~ au | an ^h ku | ku |
| 2 | o | e ^h mu | am |
| 3 | kanya | | |
| 1+2 | | | ta |
| 1+2+ | tam | antam | tam |
| 1+3+ | ami | e ^h mi | dua-mi ~ -em |
| 2+2+ | ta am | ayu | ta -ay |
| 3+3+ | tamiba | | |
| 1→2 | ki | | |

DEICTICS

| | | | |
|-----|-------|-------|------|
| 1 | tuy | ste | |
| 1+2 | kanya | katsi | sato |
| 2 | asan | | |
| 3 | | | |

if nu

said unu

lig. counter duwa-k

lig. deic tuy ta uban

completive wa

completive wan

and ay

topic at

accus. ta

Pennoyer - Taubuid "Batangan"

p t k
f s
b d g
w r l y
m n ŋ

i u
e + o
a

in = tubu s = lifak
past = 'grew' Rm 'mud'

lábe 'shoulder'
labé 'burn'

balábag 'protect'
balabág 'tomorrow'

1. Iraya
2. Alangan
3. Balaban = Tadyawan
4. Taubuid = Batangan
5. Bukid
6. Hununóo
7. Ratagnon

| | | |
|----|----------------|-------------------------------|
| 13 | tau | 'man' |
| | buid | 'interior' |
| 26 | mabasiyan | 'cut' |
| | at | ligature |
| | finji | 'cheek' |
| 30 | namin | 'exhausted, used up' [taboo.] |
| 36 | ayu | tree-[X] |
| | lumut | (fern) |
| 45 | arian | younger sibling |
| | kaka | older sibling |
| | tu runana | 1 st sibling |
| | daga runana | 2 nd |
| | wayan | 3 rd |
| | fagluwan | 4 th |
| | fuyu | 5 th |
| | bugna | 6 th |
| | lagbe | 'cousin' |
| | lagbe daul | 'first cousin' |
| | lagbe sirut | 'secondary cousins' |
| | ule lagbe | 'second cousins' |
| | daga ule lagbe | 'distant (-2) cousins' |
| | magwai | "nibling" |
| | mama | 'father' |
| | mina | 'mother' |
| | bai | 'aunt' |
| | mai | 'uncle' |
| | fufuina | 'grandmother' |
| | fufuama | 'grandfather' |

45

uga

'child'

gege

'child'

ku-

'my'

fufu

'grandchild'

nugan ama

father-in-law

nugan ina

mother-in-law

nugan

child-in-law

biras

outside-in-law

ifag

sibling-in-law

46

sisiyan

| DEICTICS | NOMINATIVE | OBLIQUE |
|----------|--------------|------------|
| 1 | tuy in | sté sná |
| 2 | ací katan | ciúy |
| 3 | kanyá | sanyá |

| PRONOUNS | NOM. | GEN. | OBL. |
|----------|--------|---------|-------|
| 1s | áu | ku | anku |
| 2s | o | am | ému |
| 3s | siá | at | |
| 1+2 | tam | tam | antam |
| 1p | amí | mi ~ em | émi |
| 2p | am | ay | áyu |
| 3p | tamíba | | |
| 1→2 | ki | | |

| | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| almost | Parus |
| a | sik |
| abdomen | fungól |
| ↳ belly (above navel) | ?ungdán |
| above | tungód |
| adz | dadás |
| after a while | ro |
| afternoon | fáfon |
| again | ?np ~ - dog |
| airplane | tngáwan |
| alive | lé legyáy |
| all | ?ayó |
| alone | sesndí |
| along | snsngába |
| already | ?aré |
| always | gúgat |
| and | ?ay |
| anger | kn-dotáma ~ -dotína |
| angle | malugdé |
| animal -- carried | (fak) tnbánón |
| ankle | bikngí |
| answer | bálós |
| ant -- small, black | ?albusín |
| ant -- small, red | dnbdíib |
| areca nut | búná |
| arm | take |
| armpit | sulún |
| arrive | dásóg |
| ashes | dafóg |

Taubuid

| | |
|------------------------|----------|
| ask | ginté |
| ask for | -et |
| "asleep"/numb | kabnád |
| aunt | bay |
| axe | wasé |
| back | guyóy |
| bad | -orí |
| bait | farúk |
| bamboo | ?araráng |
| bamboo | kawáyan |
| bamboo--thin walked | bagé |
| bamboo--thin walked | búlo |
| bambo, vine | baktó |
| banana | ságin |
| banana--wild | pakíl |
| band of rattan | buksún |
| bar for digging | sanbón |
| bark cloth | ?amák |
| to bark (dog) | subón |
| basket | sábi |
| basket--winnowing | biráw |
| basket--of buri leaves | balúlan |
| to bathe | ?rgos |
| Batangas | taobuíd |
| beard | ?úmi |
| beak | dunjós |
| beam | ?abé |
| beautiful | -siné |

Taubuid

| | |
|--------------------|---------|
| bed | ?igián |
| bee--small, black | lútan |
| bee--honey | kvmalóŋ |
| bee hive | ?albán |
| bee larva | fvlayóg |
| to believe | ?afánód |
| belt | -táod |
| beneath | lvníb |
| betel-chew bag | bayayón |
| betel=chew | mamá |
| bird | manók |
| to bite | ?áŋat |
| bitter | mayát |
| black | -layón |
| blanket | ?umót |
| blanket, sacking | svkódaŋ |
| blood | tagók |
| to blow | ?uyúp |
| to blow nose | ŋósŋos |
| body | bíflóg |
| bolo (knife) | fisó |
| bolo case (sheath) | gúmá |
| bone | butól |
| to borrow | ?ulbós |
| bottle | bubóg |
| bottom | baŋsí |
| boundary | tábv |
| boy | munáma |

Taubuid

| | |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| brasier | faléfe |
| bra string | svlafíd |
| braid | svwaló |
| to break/cut across grain | lifón |
| breakfast | yábas |
| breast(s) | súso |
| bridge | túlay |
| bright-colored | mélo |
| brother-in-law | ?ifvg |
| buri palm | mvvkálon |
| to burn | ?iróg |
| to burn | ?afóg |
| buttocks | balitán |
| butterfly | libvjbvñ |
| to call | -uró |
| calm | siwán |
| camoti | sunút |
| camoti | rabún |
| can/may/able to | déwa |
| to care for (child) | -amató |
| to carry by handle | bitbít |
| to carry on shoulder | fvsán |
| cassava | malimbúña |
| cat | kutí |
| to catch | svvfút |
| to catch | gámat |
| certainly | sabí |
| to chase away | fvsvbáy |

Tabuoid

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| cheek | fiŋí |
| chest | dubdúb |
| chick | sipsíp |
| chicken--white | abu(?)é |
| child | sisían |
| child=-offspring | ?óŋá |
| child--youngest | ŋéŋe |
| child--oldest | wayán |
| child--oldest | kaká |
| child--next to youngest | fvglón |
| clay | lutók |
| to clean fields | gyáo / g-yáwv |
| clean | warís |
| clear (of jungle) | gámas |
| clear | malió |
| clearing--no longer in use | bukáydan |
| clothes | ramít |
| cloud | liniábo |
| clutter | mvkmvk mvkmvk |
| cockroach | pīspīs / pispīs |
| coconut | táyv |
| cogon | ?ógón |
| cold sensation | -ríós |
| cold | -suŋó |
| cold (sickness) | buró |
| cold chill(malaria) | kulúgan |
| comb | suké |
| to come | géwan |

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| to come in | svkbó |
| to command | sugú-an |
| companion | sáma |
| companion | ?ufód |
| condition, habit | way ~ ay |
| connective/ligature | fvg ~fvk ~fv |
| container--water | pvkáwán |
| container--for flint and steel | sulpv |
| container of buho | MM tubón |
| to cook | táma |
| to cook | séod |
| corn | maís |
| corner | fugújan |
| to cough | -éod |
| to count | -tap ~ táp-i |
| courteous | mv-gálan |
| cousin | lagbé |
| covering/bark/shell | lukbá |
| to cradle in arms | -urúg |
| cross in field | sulón |
| crow | ?ugák |
| to cry | waywáy |
| cut | tulád |
| to cut | gúfas ~ gúfv's |
| to cut-hair | -úfo |
| to cut off | tabás |
| damp, not dried | marugmé |
| dark | dulúm |

Batangan
"Tau Buid"
(Pennoyer - 1975)

79% 50% 46% 30% 27%
31/39 28/40 18/39 12/40 11/40
Buhid Hanunoo Tadyawan Alangan Iraya

Zorc
8/13/75

| | | | Buhid | Hanunoo | Tadyawan | Alangan | Iraya | | |
|----|-------------|----------------|-------|---------|----------|---------|-------|--|-----------------------------|
| 1 | body | bilugan | + | (+) | + | + | - | Palawan Mindoro | *bilugan |
| 2 | belly | undan | - | - | - | - | - | --- | INNOV. |
| 3 | big | daul | + | - | - | - | + | PPh | *dakəl |
| 4 | bite | kagat | + | + | (+) | (+) | (+) | PPh | *karat |
| 5 | black | malayun | - | - | - | - | - | SPH | *layun 'dry' |
| 6 | blood | taguk | - | - | - | - | - | PPh | *tagək 'sap' |
| 7 | come | dasug | + | + | - | - | - | South Mangyan | *dasgəg |
| 8 | dog | idu | + | + | - | - | - | SPH | *idug |
| 9 | dry | mamaya | + | + | - | + | - | PPh | *maja |
| 10 | earth | daga | + | + | (+) | (+) | - | PPh | *daRag |
| 11 | gord | fia | + | - | (+) | - | + | PPh | *piLyəJa |
| 12 | head | alfuyu | + | - | - | - | - | --- | INNOV. |
| 13 | root | lalid | + | (-) | + | - | - | < 'butress root'? > | PPh *Dalidj] |
| 14 | sit | lungun | - | - | - | - | - | --- | INNOV. |
| 15 | smoke | anus | + | + | - | - | - | Borneo | *anus |
| 16 | stand | lindug | + | (-) | - | - | (-) | --- | INNOV. |
| 17 | star | galeme | - | - | + | - | - | --- | INNOV. |
| 18 | sun | menit | + | (+) | - | - | - | SPH | *ginit |
| 19 | tail | iug | + | + | (+) | (+) | (+) | PPh | *ikur |
| 20 | this | tuy | + | - | - | - | - | ? | |
| 21 | tooth | bagay | (-) | (-) | (-) | (-) | (-) | PPh | *baRgan |
| 22 | tree | ayu | + | + | (+) | - | + | PPh | *kayuh |
| 23 | hot | me-inbung | 0 | + | (+) | (+) | (+) | Han: ma [?] imbur (thing) Han: ma [?] inir (in sun) Han: may [?] inir (sunny) | Hangyan South Hangyan *ibəŋ |
| 24 | white | ma-lagsi | + | + | (-) | (-) | - | South Hangyan | *lag [?] iq |
| 25 | woman | tina | (+) | - | - | - | - | --- | *()ina |
| 26 | moon | magdanun | + | - | - | - | - | --- | INNOV. |
| 27 | round | bilug | + | (+) | + | + | (+) | Han: bilug 'body' Han: bilug [?] linin 'round' | SPH *bilug |
| 28 | knee | tuid | + | + | (+) | - | - | PPh | *tuhəd |
| 29 | right | siun | + | + | (+) | - | - | South Hangyan | *sikən |
| 30 | left | wala | + | + | (+) | (+) | (+) | SPH | *waláh |
| 31 | palm | daluap | + | + | + | + | - | PPh | *dalúkap |
| 32 | shoulder | labe | + | + | - | - | - | South Hangyan | *labay |
| 33 | sugarcane | nawe | + | - | - | - | - | --- | INNOV. |
| 34 | [ligature] | fag | + | + | + | + | (+) | Hangyan | *pag |
| 35 | *R > | g (most often) | + | + | - | - | - | | |
| 36 | past active | in- | + | - | - | - | - | PPh | * <in> infix |
| 37 | none | dua | + | - | (+) | (+) | - | ? | |
| 38 | now | kaçi | + | - | - | - | - | --- | INNOV. |
| 39 | fear | limu | - | - | + | + | + | Sambal-Hangyan | *limu |
| 40 | child | una | - | - | + | - | + | PPh | *unəg |

OTHER MATERIALS

Taubuid

g < *R

ugun 'cogon grass' < *kuRun
 igi()an 'bed' < *hidəRaq 'lie-down'
 agute < *qaRutay 'banana-wild'
 guma 'sheath' < *Rumaq 'house'
 бага < *baRaq 'swelling'
 sugu 'command' < *su:Ruq
 bagan 'tooth' < *baRqaŋ
 magan 'easy' < *Raqaŋ 'light'
 daga < *daRəq 'earth'
 iklug 'egg' < *qi+təluR
 agdan < *haRəZan 'staircase'
 бага 'ember' < *ba:RaH
 nugaŋ 'child-in-law' < *tuRaŋ
 datag 'even, level' < DataR
 ifag 'in-law' < *hi:paR
 salug 'floor' < *saləR
 layag Caryota cumingii < *la:yaR
 na-psug 'satisfied' < *bəsUR
 -agat 'bite' < *kaRat
 maugat 'hard' < *uRat
 andago 'pig+human creature'
 < *anda:Raw
 tugas 'hard' < *təRas
 ugyuŋ Miscanthus floridulus < *uRiuŋ
 duŋug 'hear' < *DəŋəR
 dayaga 'spirits' < *Da+Da:Ra (?)
 baǵa 'heart' < *baRaǵ 'lungs'
 fag 'ligature' < *paR
 apug 'lime' < *qa:puR
 dugi 'thorn' < *duRi
 lagyo 'move' < *laRiw
 guyud 'push' < *Ru:yud
 biǵas 'husked-rice' < *bəRas
 taguk 'blood' < *taRək
 tugun 'death-wish' < *tuRun
 sagiŋ 'banana' < *saRiŋ
 gamut 'medicine' < *Ramut
 liug 'neck' < *li:qəR
 tiyug 'sleep' < *tiduR
 bibig 'lip' < *bibiR
 bagu < *baqRu 'new; before'
 lindug 'stand' < *tindəR
 dafug 'ashes' < *dapuR
 (y)igus 'bathe' < *DiRus

y < *R

deut 'honey' < *daRkut
 uluy 'breadfruit' < *kuluR
 busuy < *busuR
 sunuy 'smoke' < *su:nuR 'fire'
 bian 'molar' < *baRqaŋ
 unduy 'cucumber' < *kunduR
 yabi 'night' < *Rabi:ʔiH
 take 'arm' < *takyaR
 biyat 'heavy' < *bəRʔat
 abay 'loincloth-material' < *bāhaR

BUHID AND TAUBUID:
A NEW SUBGROUP IN MINDORO, PHILIPPINES

F. Douglas Pennoyer
Small Tribes Organization
of
Western Washington

1. Introduction
2. Buhid/Taubuid Features
 - 2.1. Obstruents and Spirants
 - 2.2. *d Becomes a Glide
 - 2.3. Merger of *h and *ʔ to Ø
 - 2.4. Restructure of *-ai- and *-au-
 - 2.5. Taubuid *-ay and *-aw
3. Conclusions

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

Buhid has heretofore been classified with Hanuno'o in a putative 'Hanunoic Subfamily' (Dyen 1965:30) or 'South Mangyan' group (Zorc 1974). This Hanuno'o/-Buhid group is opposed to 'North Mangyan' (Zorc 1974) or 'the Irayic Hesion' (Dyen 1965:30), which in turn is comprised of Iraya, Alangan, and Balaban (Tadyawan). When these classifications were made, data were not available from Taubuid, a language spoken by some 5,000 people living in the highlands of central Mindoro. The Taubuid region extends south to the Buhid of the 'South Mangyan' group, and north and east to the Alangan and Balaban of the 'North Mangyan' group.

Preliminary systematic phonological comparisons between

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

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

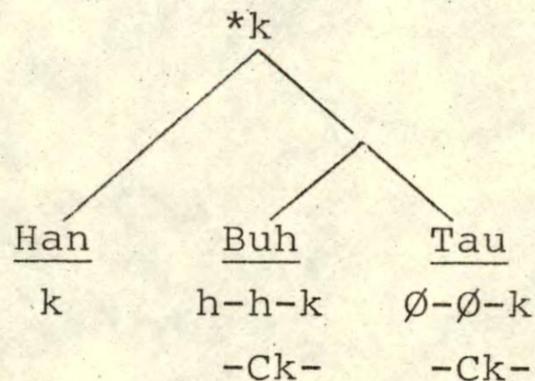
2. Buhid/Taubuid Features.

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

| | <u>Hanuno'o</u> | <u>Buhid</u> | <u>Taubuid</u> | | |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|------------|-----------------------------|
| 'other side' | dipay | difay | dife | | |
| '(particle)' | pag | fag | fag | | |
| 'a handle' | angkap | angkap | angkap | <u>Han</u> | <u>Buh/Tau</u> ² |
| 'gall' | apdu | | apdu | p | f-f-p |
| 'full' | | mapnu | mapnu | | -Cp- |

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

| | <u>Hanuno'o</u> | <u>Buhid</u> | <u>Taubuid</u> |
|------------------|-----------------|--------------|---|
| 'fingernail' | kuku | huhu | uu |
| 'it is said' | kunu | hunu | unu |
| 'Canarium sp.' | daka | daha | da |
| 'go' | lakaw | lahaw | lo ³ |
| 'arm' | takyay | takyay | takke |
| 'sickness' | sakit | sahit | sait |
| 'honey' | daykut | | deut |
| 'white' | ?abukay | abuhay | abue ('chicken') |
| 'frog' | pikaw | | fio |
| 'roof pole' | sukub | suhub | sub |
| 'fish dam' | bakud | | baud |
| 'cave, hole' | lukib | luhib | luib |
| 'Artocarpus sp.' | balukuk | | baluk |
| 'kin group' | tal?anak?an | talanan | talanan |
| 'flesh' | paknul ('hide') | faknul | faknul |
| 'separate' | buskad | | buskad |
| 'bamboo sp.' | balkawi | | balawi (ordinary speech) balkawi (ritual chants) |



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

| | <u>Buhid</u> | <u>Taubuid</u> |
|--------------|--------------|----------------|
| 'o. sibling' | kaka | kaka |
| 'ride' | sakay | sakay |
| 'shirt' | balukas | balukas |

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

| | <u>Hanuno'o</u> | <u>Buhid</u> | <u>Taubuid</u> | |
|------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| 'nose' | irung | uyung | uyung | PAN *g ^y *D |
| 'name' | ngaran | ngayan | ngayan | |
| 'dry' | mamara | mamaya | mamaya | <u>Han/Buh-Tau</u> *d |
| 'shrimp' | ʔurang | uyang | uyang ('fish') | |
| 'sleep' | turug | tiyug | tiyug | <u>Han</u> <u>Buh-Tau</u> |
| 'bird sp.' | balud | | balud | d-r-d d-y-d |
| 'navel' | pusud | fusud | fusud | -Cd- -Cd- |
| 'pandanus' | pangdan | | fangdan ('woven mat') | |

2.3. *h and *ʔ merge to ∅. A Proto *h and *ʔ have merged to ∅ intervocalically and in consonant clusters:

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

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

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

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

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

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

| | | | |
|-----------|---------|--------------|--------------|
| | | <u>+ -an</u> | <u>+ -un</u> |
| (1) sakbo | 'enter' | sakbu-an | sakbo-un |

but: sakbaw-an 'doorway'
(frozen form)

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

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

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

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

It is tempting to use lexical innovations as supportive evidence for drawing immediate genetic connections between Mindoro languages. Taubuid and Buhid share a large number of

apparently exclusive innovations, e.g. magdanun 'moon'; Hanuno'o bulan 'moon' is found only in Taubuid ritual chants. However, Hanuno'o and Buhid also share innovations, e.g. pamgasan, fangasan 'star', as do Taubuid and Balaban, e.g. galeme, galaymay 'star'. This type of comparison is interesting, but inconclusive due to a number of factors including the inadequacies of incomplete lexical lists from each language, borrowing, and loss and replacement. Thus, little weight should be placed on lexical 'innovations'.

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

NOTES

¹My field research in southeast Mindoro covered a period from July, 1973 to July, 1974 (see Pennoyer 1975). Support funds came from the Philippine-American Educational Foundation (Fulbright Award) and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. During the write-up time (1974-1975), the National Institute of Mental Health provided a fellowship. Additional support came from the Department of Anthropology, Washington State University (WSU). I am thankful to Raleigh Ferrell (WSU) for his help on earlier versions of this paper.

²-Cp- indicates that the reflex is [p] in clusters.

³The /o/ in Taubuid is a low back vowel [ɔ].

⁴This rule generally holds true for the two main dialects of Taubuid--Western (Occidental Mindoro) and Eastern (Oriental Mindoro) Taubuid. Apparently, there are a few Taubuid areas where these V+glide sequences are not treated as single vowels. The data presented here are from an Eastern Taubuid region where this rule is followed. A rare exception is found in 2.3., i.e. lumay should be lume.

⁵No other Mindoro language, or to my knowledge Philippine language, has a frozen *ma- prefix in the word for rain. Balaban, however, also shows this feature in the word for sun, maybing (<*ma-ibing).

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Note: This paper was presented at the Second Eastern Conference on Austronesian Languages, May 4-5, 1976 in Ann Arbor. It will be published in the publication series of the Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies of the University of Michigan.

END OF FOLDER