SEPTEMBER 1997 VOL. I NO. 6

P 75.00

81

The Shaping of Philippine History

- PREHISTORY OF THE TAGALOGS
- A Japanese

Monument in Pago

• THE CLARK FIELD

MUSEUM

n the 1800's

The Prehistory and Origin of the TAGALOG PEOPLE

By R. David Paul Zorc

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

Scott (1968:139) has pointed out that [there is] a considerable discrepancy between what is actually known about the prehispanic Philippines and what has been written about it. The popular texts present a picture of law codes, membership in Asian empires, and political confederations projected against a background of 250,000 years of migrating waves of Filipino progenitors, almost complete with their points of departure, sailing dates, and baggage.

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

The historical picture that I will be sketching here is based solely on linguistic evidence, which is derived from the extensive run-through I have

done on Tagalog in the preparation of the Core Etymological Dictionary of Filipino (Zorc 1979-85). Although only four (or a projected six) fascicles have appeared to date, the bulk of the researches is finished. The historical-linguistic conclusions that have struck me over the last twelve years of research, when added to another five-years of research on Bisayan, have made me both ecstatic and enthusiastic about the prehistory of the Tagalog 8,000 years ago. How they diffused people. I am filled with awe and respect for the Philippine nation, because about 8,000 years ago, as I see it, when my own European ancestors were still relatively primitive, Filipino-Austronesian forebears enjoyed a comparatively sophisticated existence in smallish social groups that were tied together by moieties (social "halves" that co-existed in both cooperation and conflict, and which adapted to new and far-flung environments not only by hunting, and gathering, but

by agriculture, animal-husbandry, sea-faring and fishing, trade, and house-construction. When any given social group became too large to support itself from the immediate environment, it fragmented, with select members going off to establish a new settlement - far or near did not matter much with the wisdom of the ocean currents and seasonal winds so firmly entrenched. Similarly, rifts in the social, political, or moiety-balance occasioned the establishment of new communities (with new contacts). A detailed example of reconstruction of this kind along with supporting evidence can be found in Blust (1976), Dyen (1976), or Zorc (1979 and in press).

The words "civilized" and "civilization" are based on the Latin *civitas* for "city." I suppose that some anthropologists or political historians would therefore not apply these terms to early Austronesians or Filipinos, because society was structured in such

a way that a settlement (rather than a city) was the highest unit of social organization. But this is perhaps an overly demanding application ancestors of the Filipino people, given the time-period 5,000 B.C. (or 7,000 B.P.), must have been among the most highly "civilized" or sophisticated peoples in the world at that time. The linguistic evidence for this consists of cognate vocabulary in specific domains widely distributed in Philippine, Indonesian, Polynesian, Micronesian, and Formosan languages,

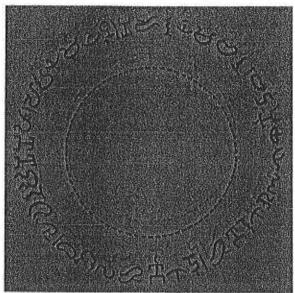
which descend from etyma that probably existed in the parent language of highest order Proto-Austronesian (PAN).



Laguna Copperplate Inscription of 900 A.D.

Tagalog migration

But all of this has to do with the common history of all Austronesian peoples, be they Tagalog, Ilokano, Bisayan, Malagasy, Malay, Formosan, Fijian, Hawaiian, etc. The specific prehistory of the Tagalog people begins slightly over a thousand years ago, when Tagalog can be identified as an individual or emerging Philippine speech variety. A summary of my conclusions is found in Table 1. Such chronology is only approximate and a leeway of at least 20 percent is necessary. Statements about months, or years, are impossible when they have not been recorded in writing, so that exact dates should be viewed with skepticism, and the lack of them should not be considered disappointing.





Calatagan pot with inscription

Tagalog is incontrovertibly a Central Philippine language and belongs in a subgroup with the Bikol, Bisayan and Mansakan groups. This was established in Zorc (1977:223-240) on the basis of lexicostatistical and functor scores as well as exclusively shared innovations (such as Tagalog (Tag) balahibo < Proto Central Philippine (PCP) *badahibu 'body hair, feathers', mali?it 'small' < PCP*diet). However, Tagalog was, even then, part of a complex dialect community, where a form like Tag ma-dami 'many' now has cognates among only Central Bisayan dialects.

The most probable single locus for early Tagalog development and emigration would be southern Leyte, but more widely the eastern Visayan region or northeastern Mindanao. Around this same period the Tausug emigrated from the Butuan City area, and the Kagayanen-Manobos from northern Mindanao (currently Agusan or Misamis areas). The Hiligaynons are also reported to have come from Leyte (Kobak 1969:22), and Tagalog appears to have a special affiliation to Hiligaynon (among other Central Bisayan speech varieties, such as Waray or Samar-Leyte, Masbateño, and Romblomanon). The sound system of old Tagalog (see Table 2) is virtually identical to that reported for inland dialects of Waray, and must have been the same for old Hiligaynon. The formation of the numerals 'one' (isa), 'four' (apat), and 'six' (anem) is identical in Hil and Tag, while Tag pronouns are closely matched to both Hil and War (witness War iyo 'your', which became singular in Tag, but Hil invo which remains these plural form in Tag; Tag kanya 'to him/her' finds a counterpart in Northern Samar kanya or Tausug (Tausug) kanya, while Tag kanila 'to them' in N-S kanira, Tsg kanila. The possibility that Tausug participated in the same dialect area from which Tagalog came is further strengthened by the shift of *1 > zero. even in an environment with *i; witness Tag ta?enga, Tsg taingah 'ear', Tag uwi?, Tsg uwi? 'return (home)' - a change that is not noted in any other Central Philippine (CPh) language, where *i otherwise preserves the character of *1 intact.

The demonstrative system of Tagalog shows a considerable amount of innovation, but related forms ambiguously indi-

cate various connections:

Tag ari 'this' (L-S adi 'this')

Tag dini 'here' (Hil, S-L, But, Sur dinhi)

Tag ito 'this' (S-L itu 'that (not far)')

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

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

Tag do?on 'there (far)' (Gubat du/un, Tsg du?un 'there (not far)')

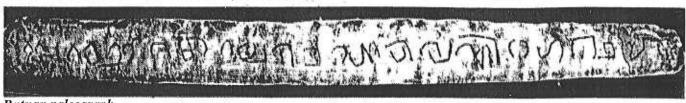
The systems of singular personal name-marking (si, ni, kay) points to Hiligaynon (Hil) or Surigaonon (Sur), which have identical forms, while the plural name markers (sina, nina, kina) suggest Romblomanon (Rom); the common noun markers (ang, nang, sa) point to Sur and Rom.

All of this evidence indicates that there was considerable dialect diversity at the time of the emigration of the Tagalog-speaking peoples, but cautions against the isolation of any given spot of embarkation. Negatives evidence is also helpful, in that no particularly close connection is exhibited between Tagalog and any of the following CPh groups: West Bisayan (e.g., Kinaray-a, Aklanon, Kuyonon), Cebuano [see Zorc (1977)], or Bikol (including both coastal and inland varieties) [see McFarland (1976)].

Subsequent contacts

Upon arrival in the southern Luzon area, Tagalogs made contact with members of a subgroup including Kapampangan (Kpm), Sambal, and others called "Sinauna" (Tag for 'those from the beginning'). This South Luzon (SLz) group is itself a microgroup of Northern Philippine.

Words within the basic vocabulary that Tagalog, has borrowed from SLz include: bibig 'mouth', bukas 'tomorrow', buto 'bone', da?an 'hundred', gulat 'surprised', ilan 'how many?', ka'ilan 'when?', kayo 'you [plural]', laman 'meat, flesh', lu?ob 'inside'.



Butuan paleograph

Contact with Kapampangan must have been the most extensive over the intervening centuries because of intimate loans like: akyat 'climb', at 'ang', baba? 'chin', bakit 'why?', bundok 'mountain', dagdag 'add', damdam 'feel', guyam 'ants', ibon 'bird', kapatiak 'sibling', katawan 'body', pawis 'perspiration', tuyo? 'dry'.

Although there is also a wide representation of Northern Philippine loans in Tagalog, most of these must have been borrowed via Kpm (or other Slz languages): alipin 'slave', apoy 'fire', aso 'dog', ba?itang 'steps, stairs', balat 'skin', daras 'adze', galaw 'move', igat 'eel', kaluban 'sheath', kulam 'witchcraft', tayo 'we [inclusive'], ulap 'cloud', usok 'smoke'.

The Malay influence

Wolf (1976) has set out in a most important paper over 300 loans from Malay (specifically the Brunei dialect) into Tagalog. The intimate nature of these shows the degree to which Malay life and culture pervaded and influenced the Tagalog community: binibini 'woman', buntot 'tail', kanan 'right (side)', kaya 'can, able', kulay 'color', la?ot 'sea', sulat 'write', tanghali? 'noon', Wolf stresses that forms of wider foreign provenance all come via Malay, e.g., asa 'hope', basa 'read', bathala? 'deity', ganda 'beauty', hina? 'weak' (< Sanskrit), alak 'liquor', baro? 'shirt' (< Persian), bilanggo? 'prison', bagay 'thing' (< Tamil), or akala 'opinion', hukom 'judge' (< Arabic).

Reliability of pre-historic dating

Postma (1992) reports on a copper plate in the Kawi script dating from 900 A.D. found near Lumbang, Laguna Province and written in old Malay, apart from two words (ngaran 'name' and pam(a)gat 'leader, chief') which could have been old Javanese. The presence of Javanese words in modern Tagalog (e.g., dalin? 'finger') probably indicates the extent of Srivijaya influence on Bornean dialects of Malay. This archeological find tends to indicate that the dates I have assigned may be conservative, and we are dealing with considerably greater time depth.

Brief historical survey of the Tagalog people:

- 2500-2000 B.P. Settlement of southern Luzon region by Sambal, Kapampangan, Sinauna groups with expansion into Mindoro.
- —1200-1000 B.P. Migration of Tagalogs from the eastern Visayas (Leyte) or northeastern Mindanao to souther Luzon.
- —1000-800 B.P. Establishment of a Malay community from Brunei in or near Tondo; gradual and limited expansion of Islam into southern Luzon, with much greater activity in Mind-

anao. Continued expansion of the Tagalog community across southern Luzon and into Marinduque, resulting in the extinction of several "Sinauna" (aboriginal) speech varieties, but numerous Tagalog dialects begin to differentiate themselves (borrowing from SLz, but also through natural linguistic changes arising from isolation).

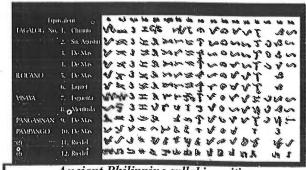
—700-600 B.P. Brunei-Malay communities in Manila-area and on Jolo begin to thrive and intermarry. Malay briefly becomes the lingua-franca and wields strong influence on Tag and Kpm. Tagalogs emulate the practices of the Malay traders, with influences in the social-political structure and increased contacts in the entire archipelago. Malay, via Tagalog, makes its mark on many Philippine languages.

—500 B.P. The Spanish arrive in the Philippines and introduce Christianity to the Luzon lowlands and the Visayas. The political, sociological, and economic center becomes Manila (now primarily controlled by the Tagalogs). The process of linguistic differentiation is changed in favor of Spanish, and live later of Manila-Tagalog.

Reprinted from z' The Prehistory of the Tagalog People". a mimeographed handout of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines.



Philippine syllabaries from ancient times



Ancient Philippine syllabic writing