THE PHILIPPINE LANGUAGE SCENE — THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTRIBUTIONS OF HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS

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0. INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

I am pleased to have this opportunity to dedicate an article to Dr. Sibayan and to present some points of sociolinguistic relevance drawn from over fifteen years of work in the historical/comparative area. Many colleagues have commented how tedious and esoteric my work has seemed to be. The former, alas, is true, but the latter is not. Firm statements about the prehistory of the Filipino people and reasonable suggestions about the exact linguistic situation in the Philippines can be put forward as direct fruits of a comparativist's harvest. I trust that these will be of relevance and interest.

1. LANGUAGES, DIALECTS, OR COMMUNILECTS?

One popular view, often implicit in the minds of Filipinos, maintains that a language is a widespread and prestigious vehicle of communication (such as English, Chinese, Russian, or Pilipino), while any other kind of speech variety is 'a dialect'. In contrast, sociolinguists determine a language on the basis of mutual intelligibility, whether total or chained (Hockett's L-simplex vs L-complex, respectively). Under this definition, every speech variety is a DIALECT, and the combination of all dialects that can communicate directly or indirectly with one another makes up a single LANGUAGE. Further refinements have been made, recognizing the speech of a single individual as an IDIOLECT, while that of a reasonably homogenous social group as a COMMUNILECT.

In terms of the Philippines, there are probably 50 million idiolects (based on a 1984 population estimate) broken up into approximately 500 communilects (based on the number of barrios, sitios, or barangays in non-metropolitan areas), i.e. where people talk in much the same way. While these numbers are very high (and hence not entirely informative), they are a matter of fact. Anyone who has journeyed from town to town within a purportedly common linguistic area (be it Bikol, Panay, or Mountain Province) can attest to the multiple differences in pronunciation, intonation, vocabulary and/or grammar prevailing. In all fairness to the speakers who so choose to identify themselves on the basis of even minor language variations, linguists and laymen alike should accept the communilect as the base-line definition of a Philippine speech variety. We therefore recognize, as do the speakers, a Kalibonhon vs Libakawnon Aklanon, an

¹This view is compatible in many regards with the concept of communilect discussed below. In practice Filipinos are aware of even the most minute linguistic variations and label them accordingly (even if not always complimentarily – statements such as 'They talk like birds' are sometimes heard).

Oas vs Polangui Bikol, an Ilianen vs. Livunganen Manobo, a Marinduque vs Batangas Tagalog, a Tina vs Botolan Sambal, an Amganad vs Kiangan Ifugao, and so on.

The determination of the precise number of Philippine communilects (as opposed to the estimate of 5000 above) can be made by means of a survey of fifty words with a high probability of replacement.² Table 1 herein is derived from principles discussed a decade ago (Zorc 1974a) and virtually separates the Philippines into several thousand linguistic communities. For the purposes of this comparison, it is essential that forms be identical in sound, form, accent, and grammar - any difference whatsoever is important in establishing a communilect, and hence should be counted as minus. While historical linguists and lexicostatisticians are interested in cognates (forms descended from a single ancestral word or etymon), sociolinguists must concern themselves with differences separating speakers. Thus, Tag maglaró' differs from Sina mig-lalú' 'play' both in prefixation and phonology (r vs l), and each differs from Aln lado', even if all three descend from an etymon *ladú'. Tag (um)akyat, Kpm mu-kyat, Abr apyat, and Ivt k(om)ayat 'climb' again differ from one another even though they are ultimately cognate. Phonological differences (Kin bedlay :: Hil budlay 'difficult'; Akl indi' :: Tag hindi' 'not', Rom huyát :: Akl hu-lat 'wait'), accent dissimilarities (Bon o:tot :: Pngotót 'rat'), and semantic mismatches (Tag do'ón 'there-far' :: N-S du'ún 'there-near') need to be regarded as separators of communilects.

Table 1
DIFFERENTIAL VOCABULARY SEPARATING PHILIPPINE COMMUNILECTS

1.	akyat	'to climb (a tree)'	26.	isá	'one'
2.	alikabók	'dust'	27.	itó	'this'
3.	anó	'what?'	28.	iyón	'that'
4.	a:way	'to fight'	29.	kailán	'when?'
5	ba:ba?	'chin'	30.	kaunti?	'little (bit)'
6.	bilis	'fast'	31.	kanlu:ran	'west'
7.	bu:kas	'tomorrow'	32.	kapatid	'sibling'
8.	dagá'	'rat'	33.	ki:tid	'narrow' (= sikip)
9.	dali:ri'	'finger'	34.	kuló'	'to boil'
10.	da:mi	'many'	35.	lalamu:nan	'throat'
11.	dibdib	'chest'	36.	lamig	'cold'
12.	di:to	'here'	37.	la:pit	'near'
13.	do'ón	'there'	38.	laró'	'to play'
14.	ga:lit	'anger'	39.	liít	'small'
15.	ha:gis	'to throw'	40.	li:mot	'forget'
16.	ha:pon	'afternoon'	41.	lu:pa'	'earth/ground'
17.	ha:wak	'to hold'	42.	luwáng	'wide'
18.	hindi?	'not'	43.	mabu:ti	'good'
19.	hintay	'to wait'	44.	magsinunga:ling	'to lie'
20.	hi:rap	'difficult'	45.	mahi:na'	'weak'
21.	hi:wa'	'to cut/slice'	46.	masamá'	'bad'
22.	hiyá'	'ashamed'	47.	ta:pon	'throw away'
23.	i:bon	'bird'	48.	uma:ga	'morning'
24.	ikli'	'short'	49.	upó'	'to sit'
25.	i:log	'river'	50.	walá'	'none'

²See Dyen, James and Cole (1967) and Zorc (1974a). Conversely, it should be noted that these words have a very low probability of retention, such that very few of these meanings can be assigned an etymon or reconstruction with any reliability at the PAN or even PPH level.

If these criteria are strictly applied, only those speech varieties that score very high (in excess of 45/50) with one another can be regarded as belonging to the same communilect — and if the speakers consider themselves as such. In this way we can have sociological and linguistic confirmation of the Philippine language scene. Because of borrowing, common inheritance, and convergence (e.g., disparate shift of *p > f, *d > r, *r > 1, *e > u, etc.), scores will rarely be 0/50. However, the list has been constructed on the basis of abundant data (Reid 1971, Yap 1977, McFarland 1977) such that it can be stated with confidence that scores will be very low, even between reasonably close genetic relatives.³

Although we now have a tool for determining the number of communilects in the Philippines (and adequate data are available in the files of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and many researchers), if we address the question of how many languages there are, numerous problems beset us. Since a language is defined in terms of mutual intelligibility, both the degree and the kind of intelligibility would need to be determined. Some linguists would accept genetic intelligibility - if a Malay says 'Mata ku sakit' ('My eye hurts'), and if a Filipino understands him (as most would be likely to), then obviously some communication is taking place. But the Malay may rattle on, and the doctor may respond, yet all of the rest of the dialog would well be lost on the Filipino. This is not practical intelligibility. The SIL has conducted extensive tests of intelligibility throughout the Philippines, and is therefore best equipped data- (if not time-)wise to assess the number of dialects and languages in the archipelago. Translators need to know the degree to which the Bible can be understood by speakers/readers in other communities. If too many barriers to understanding exist, a different translation is necessary. Hence, each speech variety is accorded its own dignity. Furthermore, linguistic imperialism is avoided - Warays may understand Cebuano, and Aklanon Hiligaynon, but each deserve their own intimate version of the Word.

If linguists could agree on a criterion for determining mutual intelligibility (and the SIL tests and scores are both accurate and sound in this regard), and factors such as bilingualism and sesquilingualism (when someone understands but cannot speak another language) could be controlled, then we would be well on our way to knowing how many dialects and languages there are in the Philippines. The exact answer could be known within this

³Preliminary counts made for Tag, Ceb, and Ilk indicate that Ilk has 31 unique forms, Tag 23, and Ceb 11 – the latter is due to Ceb's strong influence in the central and southern Philippines resulting in copious loans. These unique forms dictate that no other communilect could share a score higher than 19 with Ilk, 27 with Tag, or 39 with Ceb, except a communilect that was indeed Ilk, Tag, or Ceb respectively. Note, however, that in fact scores are substantially lower than the highest figures cited: Tagalog scores 8 with Sinauna, 7 with Kapampangan, 4 with Botolan, 3 with Bikol; Cebuano scores 25 with Hiligaynon (clearly inflated by borrowing), 18 with Samar-Leyte, 12 with Surigao; Ilokano scores 11 with Itneg, 8 with Kankanay dialects collectively, and 7 with Luba.

⁴For a more detailed discussion of the problems and issues involved see Zorc (1977:165-70).

decade, depending on research interests of M.A. or Ph.D. scholars and access to SIL files.⁵ In the meantime, genetic linguistics can provide a solution.

2. THE HISTORICAL PICTURE – MAJOR PHILIPPINE SUBGROUPS

The number of languages in the Philippines has long been debated and estimated by linguists and laymen.⁶ The question is, of course, a complex one, and the most reasonable solution that can be put forward is based on the concept of a linguistic subgroup as established in the discipline of historical/comparative linguistics. There are, at most, twenty-seven major linguistic groups (see Table 2) that can be described as 'Philippine' on the basis of geographic or genetic criteria. Note, however, that three are spoken in Celebes (Sulawesi, Indonesia), but can be proven to be immediately related to Southern Philippine languages. Another two families are spoken in Borneo (B1-2) and share features with Philippine and Sabahan languages,7 while three (U1-3) are spoken in the Pacific and await definitive classification. One subgroup, Sama (11), is clearly intrusive to the Philippines within the last millenium, and is genetically of an 'Indonesian type'. Within the political boundaries of the Philippines, then, there are at most eighteen language groups (N1-9+S1-9) which could share an immediate genetic ancestor, which have in all likelihood developed in situ over at least three thousand years, and which can not be attributed to multiple migrations as popular history suggests. As linguistic research progresses, these groups will probably be collapsed, but the current state of knowledge and debate dictates some prudence, so that the maximum number (18 Philippine + 1 Indonesian intrusive) represents a core of agreement among Philippinologists, amidst otherwise widespread disagreement as to the collapsability of these to ten⁸ or two⁹ or even one. 10

⁵The Summer Institute of Linguistics has always been most generous and open with its data. However, since years of labor and research are involved, it would be most appropriate if an SIL team member drew up a comprehensive Philippine matrix of intelligibility test scores, possibly as part of his/her studies for a degree.

⁶Blumentritt (1901) recognized 194 native groups made available in the literature of his time. But he well knew that many of these were repetitious and/or inaccurate in several ways. Conklin (1952) was concerned with linguistic criteria and outlined 75 main groups broken up into a total of 156 members.

⁷Blust (1974) has proposed that these languages, while 'of the Philippine type', are more intimately related to the North Sarawak subgroup based on the sharing of the innovation involving strengthened reflexes of PAN *b, *d, *j, *g. By including them here, I do not take issue with his subgrouping hypothesis; I merely wish to indicate the counter hypothesis of scholars such as Charles (1974) or Prentice (1970). The innovations shared could be the result of borrowing (see 2.2 below).

⁸Ruhlen (in progress), following Reid for the most part, splits Western Malayo-Polynesian into 11 branches, ten of which concern us here: (1) Chamorro, (2) Palauan, (3) Yapese, (4) Northern Philippines, (5) Southern Philippines, (6) Meso-Philippine, (7) South Mindanao, (8) Celebes, (9) Borneo, (10) Sama-Bajaw.

⁹That is, a Proto Northern Philippine and a Proto Southern Philippine as the ancestors of most Ph languages respectively, excluding Sama.

 10 That is, a common Proto Philippine ancestor from which all Ph languages except Sama descended.

Table 2

	IOD DUIL IDDING GENCONS		
M.A	JOR PHILIPPINE SUBGROUPS	EXTRA-PI	HILIPPINE SUBGROUPS
N1	Ivatanic = Bashijc	C1	Minahasan
N2		C2	Mongondowic
	1 South (Gaddang Yogad) 2 North (Ibanag Atta)	C3	Gorontalic
	3 Central 4 Agta	B1	Kadazan-Dusunic
Ma			
N3	Dymagat ≡ East Cordilleran 1 Negrito	B2	Murutic
•	2 Paranan 3 Central/Casiguran	·	Sama
	4 South/Umirey	Ŋ1	Chamorro
N4	Ilokano	U2	Palau
N5	Central Cordilleran 1 South (Isinai)	U3	Yapese
	North (Itneg)East (Kalinga)		
	4 Nuclear (Balangaw)		
	5 Ifugao 6 Bontok-Kankanay		
N6	Ilongot		
N7	South Cordilleran		
N8	Southern Luzon 1 Sambalic		
	2 Sinauna		
N9	3 Kapampangan North Mangyan		
	South Mangyan		
	Palawanie		
	1 North 2 South		
41	Kalamianic		
- 1	Central Philippine		
	1 Tagalog 2 Bikol		
	3 Bisayan		
	4 Mansakan		
	Subanon Manobo		
	1 North		
	2 Inland 3 South		
\$7 I	Danao		
	Billic		
\$ 9 \$	Sangiric		

2.1. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PHILIPPINE SUBGROUPS

The major subgroups presented in Table 2 are the product of intensive research, most of which has taken place in the last decade:

Bashiic = Ivatanic (Yamada 1965, 1966, 1973, and personal communications)

North Cordilleran (Tharp 1974)

Dumagat (Headland, personal communication)

Central Cordilleran (Reid 1974)

South Cordilleran (Reid and Zorc, personal communications)

Mangyan (Zorc 1974b; Barbian 1977; 11 Pennoyer 1979)

Palawanic (Thiessen 1981)

Central Philippine (Zorc 1977, especially Bisayan; Bikol — MacFarland 1974; Mansakan/Northeast Mindanao — Gallman 1979)

Manobo (Elkins 1974)

Danao (Allison 1979; Fleischman 1981)

Sangiric (Sneddon 1978)

Mongondow (Charles, personal communications)

Gorontalo (Little, personal communications)

Sama (Pallesen 1977)

Dusunic and Murutic (Prentice 1970; contrasted with Blust 1974)

An overview of Philippine linguistic reconstruction is contained in the work of Charles (1974) and Paz (1981), and the establishment of a single Philippine subgroup has been taken up by Chrétien (1962), Thomas and Healey (1962), Llamzon and Martin (1974), and Walton (1977). However, Reid (1981) has challenged these conclusions and the long-standing assumption that all Philippine languages form a single Austronesian node. Indeed, the rift between Northern and Southern Philippine languages is a big one, and some groups such as Bashiic and Bilic do not easily lend themselves to inclusion within NPh or SPh. A reasonably thorough coverage of both the facts and the disagreements linguists confront can be found in McFarland (1980) and in Ruhlen (in progress).

But these disputes should not be mis-construed. They indicate a vigorous interest on the part of many scholars in Philippine linguistics, and reflect a commitment to diverse theories drawn from an ever-growing corpus of data. Intuitive judgments have been put aside in favor of lexicostatistical, genetic, and grammatical criteria, and an overview of the relationships of most speech varieties has become possible, particularly in language blocs.

Hence, the groups presented in Table 2 represent the agreements of most scholars as to the maximum number of subgroups. It is in organizing these into higher-order subgroups (macro-subgrouping) that Philippinologists are in disagreement. For example, Tharp proposes that N2-4 form a single

¹¹Barbian's study contains much valuable lexical data, but is infortunately unsound from the genetic viewpoint. He defends a single Mangyan family (that includes Datagnon, which is demonstrably a West Bisayan dialect – Zorc 1972 and 1977) and therefore proves little more in his lexical counts than that Mangyan languages are genetically Philippine. Were Ilokano and Tagalog included in his study, by his own criteria and scoring, they would also be 'Mangyan'.

group, while I feel that Ilokano (N4) belongs in a subgroup with N5, ¹² and personal communications from Headland on the unique character of Dumagat languages (N3) prompt me (and also McFarland 1980) to treat them independently pending further analysis. It is also likely that S5-7 constitute a single higher-order group, but which languages are then coordinate with that group (e.g., S4 or S2 or S8) remains unclear. Because of a great deal of lexical innovation and replacement, Ilongot (N6) is kept separate (as in McFarland 1980), although grammatically it almost certainly belongs with N7. Perhaps the weakest links are manifest in the establishment of N8, ¹³ linked by the merger of PAN, PPH *R and *y (suggesting further a grouping of N1 and N9 with them). However, despite geographic proximity historically, ¹⁴ shared innovations are few, and if not the product of borrowing, indicate an immense time separation (viz: in excess of 3000 years).

While we can be sure that there are no more than 19 major linguistic groups (N1-9, S1-9, I1) within the Philippines, speakers would take little consolation in such broad criteria. Cebuanos will identify themselves as Bisaya', not as Central Philippine; Bikolanos as Bikol, not CPh; the same holds true for Ibanags, Pampangueños, Tausugs, Tagalogs, etc. Hence, some of the major subgroups have been delineated, but the fragmentation into languages (based on the bounds of mutual intelligibility) and into communilects (recognizing dialectal idiosyncracies) must await further study. (See section 3 below, where approximately 250 communilects have been identified in Table 3.)

2.2. GENETIC CRITERIA: INNOVATIONS VS BORROWINGS

The biggest hurdle in the genetic classification of Philippine languages is the problem of sorting out borrowings from geniune innovations. If a group moves to a new area, borrowing will take place between neighbors, regardless of genetic linguistic boundaries. The incoming group might incorporate an innovation already made by their new neighbors (e.g., Tag pa:wis 'sweat' and kapatid 'sibling' from early-Kapampangan pa:wes and kapatéd respectively). Or new neighbors might borrow a form previously innovated in the incoming group's home area (e.g., Dbw ka:yu 'fire' from Bisayan *kala:yu). Furthermore, the new social alignments might innovate

¹² I base this on the deictic system containing essentially Central Cordilleran stems: *tu 'this', *ta 'that-near', *di 'that-far' yielding Ilk daytuy (*da-i+tu-y), dayta (*da-i+ta), daydiay (*da-i+di-ay), dituy (*di-tu-y), dita (*di-ta), didiay (*di-di-ay). Even the final y and -ay elements are reminiscent of cognates in Knk, Ifugao, Isi.

¹³ Although I originally proposed this group (including Bashiic and North Mangyan) in 1974b, and labelled it 'North Extension of SPh' in 1977:34 (erroneously considering them SPh), both Reid (in Ruhlen, but labelled 'Central Luzon') and McFarland (1980, labelled 'Sambalic') have come to accept this as a macro-subgroup.

¹⁴ This has led to intimate borrowing that has long skewed lexicostatistical scores. Thomas and Healey (1962) considered Kpm Tagalog-related, while Walton (1977) puts Kpm and the Sambalic languages with Tagalog in his 'Central Philippine' node. Gra natical analysis does not support this, nor does a more careful inspection of the provenance of each language's lexicon; borrowing in every direction has occurred (viz: Tag from Sbl, Tag from Kpm, Kpm from Sbl, Sbl from Kpm, etc.).

new forms together, giving a false picture of an intimate genetic connection (e.g., many forms shared between Tag and Kpm and/or Sbl after the Tag settlement of Southern Luzon, see form labelled SLz in the Core Etymological Dictionary of Filipino). 15

The clearest indication that Ph languages are genetically related (i.e., in a single Austronesian subfamily) comes from innovations that skip over genetic and geographic boundaries. One such example is PPH *da'gun 'year' (replacing PAN *taqun) found in WBs (Akl, Alk dag'un), Danao (Mar ragon), NCr (Ibg, Isg dagun), and NMg (Iry dag'un, Aln da gun). While Han dag'un could be a borrowing from WBs (as might even the NMg forms), there is no reason to suspect the NCr and WBs forms of being anything other than cognate, i.e. stemming back to a period of Philippine history when these now divergent languages were dialects sharing a common innovation. A similar kind of innovation (PPH *i.pus 'tail') unites most NPh languages with those of Celebes, while SCr and most SPh languages retain PAN *i.kuR.

At least two innovations appear to unite Ph languages with northern Celebes and northern Borneo (PPH *bulbul 'feather, body-hair', PPH seda' 'fish; viand'), another one (PPH *siam 'nine' is shared by Mongondow and several languages (including Kadazan and Timugon-Murut) of Sabah, A stronger case exists for the connection of Ph and N. Celebes with four innovations (PPH *pasuq 'hot', *dakel 'many; large', *tulud 'push', and *kuRun 'Imperata cylindrica'), particularly between SPh and N. Celebes with five innovations (PSP *bata' 'child', *Ru:maq 'sheath', *ka-Rabi: 'iH 'yesterday', *kasi:li 'eel', *pawi:kan 'turtle'). Mongondow, Ponosakan, and Gorontalo reveal an intimate connection with SPh languages since they share PSP *duRúq 'blood' (replacing PAN *Da:Raq), and Mongondow and Ponosakan share PSP *tu:biR 'water' (replacing PAN *DaNúm or PMP* wahiR).

Innovations have been identified by various scholars that establish each of the major Ph subgroups. I hope to publish shortly a list that defends the nodes PPH, PSP, and PNP.

Even if it can be proven that most (if not all) Philippine languages descend from a common ancestor (PPH), the label is prejudicial geographically and politically, since more languages of Celebes clearly share the same parent, as well may Chamorro of Guam, Palau and Yap in the Carolinas, and possibly some of Borneo. Thus, at least the name, 'Proto Philippine' (if not the subgroup) has seen its demise, and 'Eastern Hesperonesian' (or 'Eastern West Malayo-Polynesian') will be the object of controversy in the years to come.

2.3. MIGRATION THEORIES

Contrary to the popular belief in multiple migrations being responsible for the linguistic diversity of the Filipino peoples, it can be proven from the

Another interesting transfer appears to be the follwing. Bot. Sbl guma' 'sheath' eannot be inherited due to the irregular reflexes of *R (**yuma' would be expected); they probably borrowed this form from early Tag, who then replaced their word with kalu ban (a \$Lz innovation probably borrowed from Kpm).

¹⁶ These innovations are reported in Blust (1982), where he makes the point that the Minahasan languages are quite probably Ph or SPh; the case for Borneo is clearly very tenuous.

data that most divergence has developed in situ over at least three thousand years. It is doubtful that oral history could accurately retain the facts of origin and route over such a time span, so that the legends of various groups are motivated by more recent intrusions, such as the advent of Malay traders within the last millenium. Under this hypothesis, if a trader settled and established himself, he would have gained the power of wealth and prestige, and could have become a datu' 'chief'. Through social (especially marital) and ritual contracts, he would have developed an extended family (as is still the case in the country), and more and more people would identify with him and his heirs. As time progressed, he would be recognized by his grandchildren and grand-cousins as the progenitor of the social unit, although he was basically a New Adam in an already populated Garden. It is in this way that there is or may be an element of truth in the Acehnese origins of the Kapampangans or the Bornean tree of the Ilonggos, Aklanons, and Haray'a of Panay. 17

All the linguistic evidence indicates that most sociological and linguistic divisions developed within the Philippine archipelago. Thus, the origin of Filipino groups is within the Philippines itself. 18 When a socio-linguistic unit (tribe or clan) became too big to support itself in a given area (or if climatic or medical catastrophies so dictated), at least part of the group fragmented by emigration to another location. If contacts were still maintained, dialects developed as the new settlers innovated new forms or borrowed from new neighbors; if contacts were broken, different languages emerged as centuries passed.

Languages reveal their prehistory through layers of lexical and grammatical analysis, but the process of sorting out inherited forms, innovations, and borrowings is long and tedious. While scholars now agree that the Austronesian homeland was in continental southeast Asia, and that the first migration was probably to Formosa, it cannot yet be determined from where the Filipino peoples originally came. 19 First, the nature and number of highest-order subgroups will need to be determined; then connections to other language families will have to be established; lastly evidence from socio-semantic domains (agriculture, trade, building construction, etc.) and areas with the highest order of diversity (language differentiation) will need to be weighed and compared with archeological

¹⁷See Zorc (1977:45f). While we can speak with certainty about the languages, not necessarily of the people who speak them, people rarely give up a language totally - there should surely be some lexical and/or grammatical substrata revealing a non-Ph origin.

¹⁸Thus, Tausug has its origins in the Butuan area, Tagalog from the greater Leyte-N.F. Mindanao region, West Bisayan from the East, etc. Ifugaos, Manobos, and Mangyans were possibly pushed inland by immigrating coastal groups that ultimately asserted and established themselves - but any of these could as easily have chosen upland country as preferable for one reason or another. Caution must be applied in drawing conclusions.

¹⁹It is highly unlikely that the proto-Filipinos came directly from continental Asia. Depending on our ultimate subgrouping hypothesis, Formosa, Celebes, Borneo, or Indonesia may have been the secondary homeland; but several waves of migrations are unlikely - I suspect a maximum of three, with subsequent language differentiation on Philippine soil.

and anthropological evidence. The answers can be known, but the re-writing of Philippine prehistory still needs an immense amount of work.

One note of caution is in order. Filipinos too eagerly seek progenitors overseas. Tabon Cave taught us that Man has been in the Philippine area (viz: Palawan) for some 25,000 years. Genetic linguistics suggests developments internal to the Philippines in excess of three millenia. The fact that groups on Celebes are closely related to SPh languages does not prove that SPh groups came from Celebes — while there were obviously migrations to or from Celebes, we cannot say at present which direction was taken. The order of diversity of groups S1-9 (if a single genetic reality) would suggest a Mindanao origin for C1-3, but more evidence than this is ultimately needed.

3. PHILIPPINE COMMUNILECTS AND CONVENTIONS FOR ABBREVIATIONS

The need to recognize Filipino communilects was discussed in section 1. A subtle indication of the acceptance of this principle is manifested in the abbreviations of languages that linguists employ. Healey (1962) proposed many useful and well thought out conventions which have been adopted or adapted through the years (Reid 1971, Yap 1977, amongst many others). I have preferred to indicate a communilect with an abbreviated form of its name, rather than its subgroup, and recommend this practice to others. Hence, Dbw is suggested for Dibabawon Manobo (rather than MbAD), K-C for Kalamansig Cotabato Manobo (rather than MbKC), Sin for Sindangan Subanun (rather than SubS), etc. Granting that information on subgroup membership is helpful, this can be given in the explanation of abbreviations—a small cost compared to the value of the recognition of individual speech varieties. Where confusion might result due to similarity or identity of names, such as Pandan-Bikol vs Pandan-Kinaray'a Bisaya, additional information can be added, e.g. PanBk vs PanBs.

Obviously, scholars have different needs and preferences, so that space-saving techniques (e.g. one- or two-letter abbreviations in studies involving only a few languages) or heuristic considerations (use of capital letters instead of small) will carry the day. For those who may find them useful, I offer the following guidelines:

- (1) Major language names, such as Bisayan, Bikol, Ifugao, Manobo, are confusing and uninformative; each has so many dialects that a scholar can rarely know which speech variety is intended.
- (2) Reasonably homogenous linguistic groups could be identified by an addition to the abbreviation (see TagM, TagQ, TagS; KnkC, KnkN, KnkS), although community-specific names could equally be devised and used (e.g. Mdq = TagM, conversely Lub could be TagL).
- (3) As more and more communilects are identified, overlap in abbreviations will need to be avoided by choice of different letters (contrast Ira and Iry, Ban and Bnt, N-S and NS1, etc.).
- (4) Where three or four-letter names occur, they should be used in full (e.g. Ata, Atta, Bahi, Blit, Boso, Buhi, etc.).

- (5) Consideration should be given to the people's name for their own language (e.g. Jaun, Nat, Tau, etc.). If they do not have a particular name, goegraphical locations should be used to distinguish communilects (e.g. Snt, Boh, Dar, Pol, etc.).
- (6) Perjorative terms should be avoided (e.g. Btn is included here because it occurs frequently in the literature; however, Tau should be used instead).

Table 3 consists of a comprehensive list of all genetically or geographically determined Philippine communilects. It is far short of the approximately 5000 yet to be isolated, but represents the wealth of information gathered thus far by linguists. As time permits, researchers armed with the list in Table 1 can update our knowledge and correct any errors that may occur.

Table 3 . PHILIPPINE COMMUNILECTS THUS FAR ISOLATED

Abk		Abaknon-Sama	Btk	S21	Batak-Palawanic (North)
Adr	S21	Borlan Tagbanwa-Palawanic (North)	Btn	S1	Batangan = Taubid-South Mangyan
Ads	N2:	3 Adasen-North Cordilleran			(pejorative, see Tau)
Aeta		1 Aeta-Sambalic	Bty	S43	Bantayan-Central Bisayan
Ags	S62	2 Agusan-Inland Manobo (East)	Buh	S1	Buhid-South Mangyan
Agta	N24	4 Agta-North Cordilleran	Buhi		2 Buhi-Inland Bikol
Agy		Agutaynen-Kalamianic	Buol		Buol-Gorontalic
Akl	S43	Aklanon-West Bisayan ²⁰	But		Butuanon-South Bisayan
Alc	\$43	Alcantaranon-West Bisayan	Byn		5 Bayninan Ifugao-Central Cordillera
		(North-Central)	Cam		Camotes-Central Bisayan
Aln	N9	Alangan-North Mangyan	Can		Canipaan-Palawanic (South)
Amg	N55	Amganad Ifugao-Central Cordilleran	Cap		Capiznon-Central Bisayan
Apy	N23	Apayao-North Cordilleran	Car		Caraga-Mansakan
	1	(dialect of Isnag)	Cas	N3	
Ata	S62	Ata-Inland Manobo (South)	Ceb		Cebuano-Bisayan
Atta	N22	Atta-North Cordilleran	Chm		
		(grouped with Ibanag)			Central Mindanao Manobo-Inland
Bab	N1	Babuyan-Ivatanic	01.21.2	502	Manobo (West)
Bahi	I1	Bahi-Sama	CS1	11	Central Sama
Baj	I 1	Bajaw (Sama macro-group)	CS8	••	(eight dialects distinguished)
Bal	N3	Baler-Negrito-Dumagat	Dar	\$42	Daraga-Inland Bikol
Ban	S43	Banton-Bisayan	Day		Davaweño-Mansakan
Bgb	S63	Bagobo-Southern Manobo (East)	Dbw		Dibabawon-Inland Manobo (East)
Bkd	S61	Binukid-Northern Manobo		. N3	Dumagat
Blit	S63	Blit-Southern Manobo (West)	Dila	C3	Dila-Gorontalic
Blk	S43	Bulalakawnon-West Bisayan	Dsp		Dispoholnon-West Bisayan
		(North-Central)	r	2.0	(North-Central)
3lw	N54	Balangaw-Central Cordilleran	Dtg	S43	Datagnon-West Bisayan (Kuyan)
		(Nuclear)	Fil	S41	Filipino (based on Tagalog)
3nd	C3	Bunda-Gorontalic	GadN	N21	Gaddang or Ga'dang-North Cordillera
3ng	12	Banggi	GadS	N21	South Gaddang-North Cordilleran
3nt	S 9	Bantik-Sangiric	Gia	S8	Giangan (also called Bagobo)-Bilic
Boh		Bohol-Sambalic	Gim		Gimeras-West Bisayan (Kinarayan)
BonC		Central Bontok-Central Cordilleran	Gor	C3	Gorontalo
onF.	N56	East Bontok-Central Cordilleran	Gub		Gubat-Central Bisayan (Warayan)
ons	N56	South Bontok-Central Cordilleran	Guh	NSS	Guhang Ifugao-Central Cordilleran
OILD	\$44	Boso-Mansakan	Ham	543	Hamtiknon-West Bisayan (Kinarayan
oso	דדט		4 14 111	UT.J	TIGHTUKHUH WUSI DISAVAH I KINATAVA
oso		Botolan-Sambalic	Han	S1	Hanunoo-South Mangyan

²⁰ At present, Kalibo-Aklanon is the only communilect represented in the literature. Eventually, AklK = Kalibonhon, AklL = Libakawnon, AklI = Ibajaynon, etc. will be necessary.

	R. DA	VID	ZORC			
•	Hil	S43	Hiligaynon-Central Bisayan	Lub	S41	Lubang-Tagalog
	Hin	S43	Hinaray'a-West Bisayan (Kinarayan)	Luba	N56	Luba-Central Cordilleran
			Iba-Sambalic		S44	Mamanwa-Macro Mansakan
	IbgN	N22	North Ibanag-North Cordilleran	Man		Manabo-Central Cordilleran
	IbgS	N22	South Ibanag-North Cordilleran	Mar	S7	Maranao-Danao
	Ibl	N7	Inibaloi = Ibaloi-South Cordilleran	Mas		Masbateño-Central Bisayan
	Ilk		Ilokano	Mdy		Mandaya-Mansakan
	Iln	S62	Ilianen-Inland Manobo (West)	Mgd	S7	Magindanao-Danao
	Ílt		Ilongot	Mlw		Malaweg-North Cordilleran
	Ira		Iraya-North Cordilleran	Mol		Molbog-Palawanic (South)
			Iriga-Inland Bikol	Mong		Mongondow
	Irn	S7	Iranon-Danao			Matig-Salug-Inland Manobo
	Iry	N9	Iraya-North Mangyan	Msk		Mansaka-Mansakan
	Isg		Isnag = Isneg-North Cordilleran	Nab	543	Nabasnon Aklanon-West Bisayan
	Isi		Central Cordilleran		- 40	(North Central)
	Ism		Isamal Mansakan	Naga		Naga-Coastal Bikol
	Itb	N1	Itbayaten-Ivatanic	Nat		Naturalis-South Bisayan
			Itneg-Central Cordilleran	Neg		East Cagayan Negrito-Dumagat Northern Samar-Central Bisayan
			Itawis = Itawit-North Cordilleran	N-S	343	(Warayan)
	Ivt	NI NZ	Ivatan	NIC 1	T1	(warayan) Northern Sama
	Iwk		I'wak-South Cordilleran Kagayanen-North Manobo	NS1 NS10	11	(ten dialects distinguished)
					S 3	Northern/Kalamian
	Jaun		Jaun-Jaun South Bisayan	Ntg	33	Tagbanwa-Kalamianic
	JM	II Chi	Jama-Mapura-Sama	Oas	6/12	Oas-Inland Bikol
	Kag		Kagayanen-North Manobo	Obo		Obo-Inland Manobo
	Kal	S3	Kalamian	Odg		Odionganon-Banton Bisayan
	Kam		Kamayo-Mansakan Kantilan-South Cordilleran	Pal	677	Palawano/Palaweño-Palawanic
	Kan		Karaw-South Cordilleran	1 41	322	(South)
	Kar	N7	Karaw-South Columeran Kasiguranin-Dumagat	PanRk	842	Pandan-Bikol
	Kas	N3				Pandan-West Bisayan (Kinarayan
	; Kaw		Kawayan-Central Bisayan	Par		Paranan-Dumagat
	Kbs		Kabasagan-Mansakan	Pil		Pilipino (based on Tagalog)
	K-C	563	Kalamansig Cotabato-South Manobo	Pl		Palau
	Vda	D1	(West) Kadazan-Dusunic	P-M	I1 -	
	Kdz	BI	Kiangan Ifugao-Central Cordilleran	Png		Pangasinan-South Cordilleran
	Kia		Kinaray'a-West Bisayan	Pon	C2	Ponosakan-Mongondowic
	Kin		Guinaang Kalinga-Central Cordilleran	Pol	-	Polangi-Inland Bikol
		NOO	Itneg Kalinga-Central Cordilleran	Qzn		Quezon-Palawanic (South)
	Klal	NIS2	North Kalinga-Central Cordilleran	Riz	N23	Rizal Malaweg-North Cordilleran
		NIS 2	South Kalinga-Central Cordilleran	R-K		Rajah Kabungsuan-Inland Manob
	KlaS		Kalibugan-Subanon	Rom		Romblomanon-Central Bisayan
	Klb Kla		Kalagan-Mansakan	Rth		Ratahan-Sangiric
	Klg Kly	544 N7	Keley'i' Kallahan-South Cordilleran			Salug-Inland Manobo
	Kly		Kinamigin-North Manobo	SalSb		Salub-Subanon
	Kmg		Kamalig-Inland Bikol	San	S9	• 1
	Kml		Central Kankanay-Central Cordilleran	SarBl		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	Kulvi	MEC	North Kankanay-Central Cordilleran			Sarangani-South Manobo (East)
	Kurc	NEE	South Kankanay-Central Cordilleran	Sbg	11	Sibuguey-Sama
	Knks	N36	Koronadal-Bilic	Sbl		Sambal
			Kapampangan-Southern Luzon	Sbt	11	Sibutu'-Sama
	Kul		Kulamanan-Inland Manobo	Sem		Semirara-West Bisayan (Kuyan)
			Kuyonon-West Bisayan (Kuyan)	Sgd		Sagada Igorot (= Sadanga?)-Cent
	Kuy		Kayapa Kallahan-South Cordilleran	-0-		Cordilleran
	Kyp	N7 S7	Lanao-Danao	Sia	11	Siasi-Sama
	Lan		Lapuyan Subanon	Sib		Sibalenhon-Banton Bisayan
		, \$5 \$42	Legaspi-Coastal Bikol	Sim	11	Simunul-Sama
	Leg		Leyteño-Cebuan Bisayan	Sin	S5	Sindangan-Subanon
	Ley Lib		Libon-Inland Bikol	Sina		Sinauna-Southern Luzon
			Livunganen-Inland Manobo (West)	S-L	S43	Samar-Leyte-Central Bisayan
	Liv Lok		Looknon-West Bisayan .			(Warayan)

					TOOLOG SCENE
		gathered by Pennoyer suggests that	Tgk	S4	4 Tagakaolo-Mansakan
		this may be a completely different	Tic	S4	3 Ticao-Central Bisayan
		language, unrelated to Bs or CPh	Tig	S6	2 Tigwa-Inland Manobo (South)
		speech varieties; it is the language of	Tina	N8	31 Tina-Sambalic
		the Atis/Agtas of inland Panay who	Ting		/5 'Tinggian' (name for minority groups
		were presumed to speak a dialect of			in Abra; the term is linguistically
		Kinaray'a)			inaccurate since it cuts across sub-
Smg	S44	San Miguel-Mansakan			groups)
Sml	I1	Samal-Sama	Tir	S8	·
Snl	S9	Sangil-Sangiric	Tmb		
Snt	S43	The Late of the Bisayan (Ruyan)	Tmg		
Soc	S5	Siocon-Subanon	Tse	C1	
Sor	S43	Sorsogon-Central Bisayan	Tsg	S4:	3 Tausug (South Bisayan)
SSI	11	Southern Sama	Tsw	C1	Tonsawang-Minahasan
SS5		(five dialects distinguished)	Ttb	C1	Tontemboan-Minahasan
Sub	S 5	Subanon	Ubo	S8	Ubo-Bilic
Sur	S43	Gue Zouth Dibuy an	Umr	N3	Umirey-Dumagat
Suw	C3	Suwawa-Gorontalic	Vir		Virac-Coastal Bikol
TagM	S41	Marinduque-Tagalog	War		Waray-Central Bisayan
TagQ	S41	Quezon-Tagalog	WBM	S62	Western Bukidnon-Inland Manobo
		Southern Tagalog			(West)
Tal	S9	Talaud-Sangiric	WSI	11	Western Sama
Tas	S63	Tasaday-South Manobo (West)	ws2		(two dialects distinguished)
Tau	S1	Taubuid-South Mangyan	Yak	11	Yakan-Sama
T-B	S22	Tau't Batu-South Manobo (South)	Yami	N1	Yami-Ivatanic
Tba	S63	Tagabawa-South Manobo (East)	Yap	U3	Yapese
Tbl		Tboli = Tagabili - Bilic	Yog		Yogad-North Cordilleran
Tbt		Tombatu-Minahasan	ZBI	I1	Zamboanga-Sama
Tdn	C1	Tondano-Minahasan	ŻB3		(three dialects distinguished)
Tdy	N9	Tadyawan-North Mangyan	200		(miso dialocts distinguished)
		-			

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