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# A RECONSTRUCTION OF PROTO-SOUTHERN MINDANAON

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## 1. Introduction

Tboli (TBL), Koronadal Blaanl (BLK), and Sarangani Blaan (BLS) are three languages spoken on the southern Philippine island of Mindanao.<sup>2</sup> Tbolí is spoken in the province of Cotabato around Lake Sebu, in the Alah Valley, and southwest toward the coast. Koronadal Blaan is spoken in a crescent that begins in the Lake Buluan area in Cotabato Province and sweeps down the middle of the Sarangani Peninsula on either side of the boundary between Cotabato and Davao Provinces to the Celebes Sea. Sarangani Blaan is spoken on the tip of the Sarangani Peninsula and on Balut and Sarangani Islands.<sup>3</sup>

### 1.1 Purposes

The purposes of this paper are (a) to reconstruct the phonology of Proto-Southern Mindanaon (PSM), the hypothetical common parent language of BLK, BLS, and TBL; (b) to describe the PSM phonemic system; and (c) to test the assumption that the three daughter languages are related.

### 1.2 Procedure

The procedure used in the reconstruction of the PSM phonology was that of applying the comparative method to the three daughter languages: BLK, BLS, and TBL. This method was developed by linguists working in the field of Indo-European linguistics to account for the regular, systematic sound correspondences that had been found among the languages of that family.

Longacre states the four stages in the comparative method thus:

(a) By systemic comparison regular sound correspondences are noted. (b) An attempt is then made to discover which sets of sound correspondences are in contrast in the same or similar phonological environments, and which sets are in noncontrastive distribution (i.e., occur in mutually exclusive environments or in free variation). (c) The reconstructed phonemes are then assigned symbols according to phonetic plausibility, i.e., in terms of the phonetic nature of the reflexes (the present day phonemes which have developed from the reconstructed sounds), in terms of the geographical distribution of those reflexes, and according to their possible placement in the emerging phonological system. (d) Once the phonological system is tentatively worked out for a proto-language (i.e., a "parent" language), we are in a position to recognize other features (grammatical and lexical innovations) which in part obscure the regularity of appearance of the postulated reflexes (1967:120).

These four stages were followed to determine as precisely as possible the genetic relationships of the three southern Mindanao languages named above.

### 1.3 Previous classifications

In all the works referred to in this study, there is agreement that Koronadal Blaan, Sarangani Blaan, and Tboli are all members of the Austronesian language family. However, the problem is that the subdivisions of that language family have neither been clearly defined nor given acceptable designations.

Dyen (1965:29-39), on the basis of lexicostatistics, names Blaan and Tboli as members of the Bilic subfamily of the Sulic hesion of the Philippine hesion, which is part of the Northwest hesion of the Hesperonian linkage, which is part of the Malayopolynesian linkage of the Austronesian linkage of the Austronesian language family.

Thomas and Healey (1962:22, 27), also on the basis of lexicostatistical information, classify these languages (and possibly Tiruray) as a separate Southern Mindanao group coordinate with the Philippine superstock, which is composed of the majority of the languages spoken in the Philippines, and with the Malay stock, which is composed of the Chamic and the Malay families. According to Thomas and Healey, the split of the Philippine superstock, the Malay stock, and the Southern Mindanao family occurred about 1300 B.C. ( $\pm 300$  years). Within the Southern Mindanao family, no time horizon is suggested for the divergence of Tboli and Blaan or for the divergence of Koronadal and Sarangani Blaan.

Voegelin and Voegelin (1977:38-40) classify Blaan and Tboli according to the subdivisions suggested by Dyen, but they mention Thomas and Healey's treatment of Blaan and Tboli as a 'separate Southern Mindanao group.' Voegelin and Voegelin also mention McKaughan's study (1971), in which he includes Tiruray with Blaan and Tboli in a Southern Mindanao group, which is coordinate with a Northern Philippine group and a Central Philippine group.

Although each of these studies indicates a relationship between Blaan and Tboli, no rigorous application of the comparative method has ever been made to these languages. The primary purpose of this study, then, is to apply the comparative method to the three languages mentioned above and to show that they constitute a Southern Mindanaon subfamily of languages. It is hoped that this study will be helpful to investigators in the field of Austronesian reconstruction.

#### 1.4 Data sources

The main sources of the data used in this study are the word lists of BLK, BLS, and TBL, each consisting of 372 vocabulary items, which are found in Reid 1971. Also incorporated in our data were vocabulary items from the phonemic statements of the three languages: BLK, by Dean and Dean (1955); BLS, by Blackburn and McLachlin (1960); and TBL, by Lindquist, Forsberg, and Healey (1960). Still other vocabulary items from Healey 1959 and Abrams 1963 were also incorporated.

## 2. The phonemic systems of BLK, BLS, and TBL

In this section are presented the phonemic systems of the daughter languages: Koronadal Blaan, Sarangani Blaan, and Tboli.

### 2.1 Consonants

The consonants of BLK, BLS, and TBL are shown in chart 1. It may be noted from the chart that the consonant phonemes of the three languages are identical.

|     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |
|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| PSM | *p | *t | *k | *q | *' | *b | *d | *g | *m | *n | *N | *s | *h | *l | *w | *y |   |
| BLK |    | t  | k  | q  |    | b  | d  | g  | m  | n  | N  | f  | s  | h  | l  | w  | y |
| BLS |    | t  | k  | q  |    | b  | d  | g  | m  | n  | N  | f  | s  | h  | l  | w  | y |
| TBL |    | t  | k  | q  |    | b  | d  | g  | m  | n  | N  | f  | s  | h  | l  | w  | y |

Chart 1. Consonant phonemes of PSM, BLK, BLS, and TBL

### 2.1.1 Stops

All three languages have the voiceless alveolar stop /t/, voiceless velar stop /k/, and glottal stop /q/. They also have the voiced bilabial stop /b/, voiced alveolar stop /d/, and voiced velar stop /g/; and they have the voiced alveolar flap [r] as the intervocalic allophone of /d/.

### 2.1.2 Nasals

All three languages have a series of voiced nasals: bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/, and velar /N/.

### 2.1.3 Spirants

All three languages have three voiceless fricatives: flat labiodental /f/, grooved alveolar /s/, and glottal /h/. Also, BLS has the voiceless bilabial stop [p] as an allophone of /f/.

### 2.1.4 Lateral

All three languages have a voiced lateral /l/.

### 2.1.5 Semivowels

All three languages have two voiced semivowels: labial /w/ and palatal /y/.

## 2.2 Vowels

The vowels of BLK, BLS, and TBL are shown in chart 2. All three languages have a seven-vowel system--a feature unique among Philippine languages, where the norm is systems of three or four vowels.

In the past, analysts have used different orthographic conventions in writing the vowel phonemes of these three languages, but in this study we have used the symbols shown in chart 2--symbols that we believe better serve the purpose of comparison.

| PSM | BLK | BLS | TBL |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| *i  | i   | i   | i   |
|     | e   | e   | e   |
| *ɨ  | ɨ   | ɨ   | ɨ   |
| *a  | a   | a   | a   |
| *u  | u   | u   | u   |
|     | o   | o   | o   |
|     | ɔ   | ɔ   | ɔ   |

Chart 2. Vowel phonemes of PSM, BLK, BLS, and TBL

### 2.2.1 Front vowels

All three languages have two front vowels: the high front unrounded voiced vocoid /i/ and the mid front unrounded voiced vocoid /e/.

### 2.2.2 Central vowels

All three languages have two central vowels: the high (or mid) central unrounded voiced vocoid /ɨ/ and the low central unrounded voiced vocoid /a/.

### 2.2.3 Back vowels

All three languages have three back vowels: the high back rounded voiced vocoid /u/, the mid back rounded voiced vocoid /o/, and the low back rounded voiced vocoid /ɔ/.

## 2.3 Other characteristics

In addition to the fact that each of these three southern Mindanao languages has a seven-vowel system, there are two other characteristics that serve to distinguish these languages from other Philippine languages. The first characteristic is that all three languages have developed initial consonant clusters, and the second is that all three languages have word-final /h/. These characteristics are rare in Philippine languages, and they serve to reinforce the internal unity of the PSM subgroup and its distinctiveness from other Philippine languages.<sup>4</sup>

## 3. Proto-Southern Mindanaon consonants

|                 | Bilabial | Alveolar | Velar | Laryngeal |
|-----------------|----------|----------|-------|-----------|
| Voiceless stops | *p       | *t       | *k    | *q, *'    |
| Voiced stops    | *b       | *d       | *g    |           |
| Nasals          | *m       | *n       | *N    |           |
| Fricatives      |          | *s       |       | *h        |
| Lateral         |          | *l       |       |           |
| Semivowels      | *w       |          | *y    |           |

Chart. 3 Proto-Southern Mindanaon consonants

## 3.1 Voiceless stops

Proto-Southern Mindanaon has a series of three voiceless stops: bilabial \*p, alveolar \*t, and velar \*k. (See chart 3.)

## 3.1.1 \*p

\*p has been reconstructed to account for the correspondences /f, f, h/ and /f, f, f/. This reconstruction is based on the following factors:

- (a) The reconstruction \*p fills the slot of voiceless bilabial stop in an otherwise symmetrical system of voiced stops, voiceless stops, and nasals.
- (b) BLS has an allophone [p] of /f/.
- (c) The reconstruction \*p fills an empty slot in the pattern of consonant clusters occurring with \*l. (See section 3.5.)

\*p occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in PSM words. Initial \*p has the reflex /f/ in BLK and BLS.<sup>5</sup> In TBL, however, \*p has the reflex /h/ in initial position.<sup>6</sup> This correspondence is illustrated by set 20 \*pɨqit 'bitter'; BLK feqet, BLS feqet, TBL heqet. Other examples include sets 2, 21, 34, 49, 89, 103, 127, 131, 134, 143, 151, 160, 192, 198, 205, 222, 229, 241, 245, 258, 265, 266, 272, 283, 293, 315, 328, 342, 360, 368, 373, 383, and 392.

Intervocalic medial \*p has the reflex /f/ in all three languages. It occurs in set 49 \*pipih 'cheek'; BLK fifi, BLS fifi, TBL hifih. Other examples include sets 59, 66, 118, 125, 159, 192, 329, 373, and 383.

There are two sets that are apparent exceptions to the previous rules for initial \*p, namely, set 126 \*(q,')ɨpat 'four'; BLK f t, BLS fat, TBL fat, and set 128 \*(q,')ɨpak 'frog'; BLK fak, BLS fak, TBL fak. Each has an initial correspondence of /f, f, f/ rather than the expected correspondence /f, f, h/. This may, however, be explained by the loss of the preceding syllable consisting of a laryngeal plus a vowel. At some point vowel elision occurred in the first syllable of the word. The resulting consonant cluster consisting of a laryngeal plus a stop could not resist the pressure against laryngeals in such clusters, and the laryngeal was lost, leaving the initial /f, f, f/ correspondence.<sup>7</sup>

\*p also occurs as the second member of medial consonant clusters in PSM, and in all three languages it has the reflex /f/. This correspondence is illustrated by set 327 \*ma(N)pal 'thick (objects)'; BLK maNfɨl, BLS maNfɨl, TBL mfol, and set 394 \*malpabi 'yesterday'; BLK malf bi, BLS malfabi.

Final \*p has the reflex /f/ in all three languages. An example of this correspondence is set 25 \*[m]yup 'blow (as a fire)'; BLK yuf, BLS myuf, TBL myuf. Other examples include sets 25, 56, 59, 251, and 384.

### 3.1.2 \*t

\*t occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in PSM words, and it has the regular reflex /t/ in all three languages. Initial \*t is illustrated by set 35 \*tutuq 'breast'; BLK tutuq, BLS tutuq, TBL tutuq. Other examples include sets 5, 14, 30, 43, 61, 93, 106, 116, 132, 145, 157, 165, 183, 215, 217, 225, 249, 253, 267, 286, 302, 308, 309, 313, 314, 324, 334, 336, 341, 384, and 389.

Under obscure conditions BLS has developed the reflex /k/ in initial position—a correspondence illustrated in set 117 \*tnugu 'fingernail'; BLK tnugu, BLS knugu, TBL tnuguh, and set 356 \*tlɨqil 'urine'; BLK tleq, BLS kleq, TBL tleqel. Also under obscure conditions TBL has developed the reflex /k/ in initial position—a correspondence illustrated by the set 101 \*tɨqi 'excrement'; BLK taqe, BLS teqe, TBL keq. A possible explanation for the correspondences found in sets 101 and 356 is euphemistic masking.

Another development with an obscure explanation is that of the TBL reflex /q/ for initial \*t, illustrated in set 110 \*tabuq 'fat'; BLK tabɨq, BLS tabɨq, TBL qabuq. This correspondence may possibly be explained by the loss of initial \*t under unknown conditions and the addition of initial /q/ due to strong pressure against initial vowels.

Intervocalic medial \*t has the reflex /t/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 21 \*pitɨm 'black'; BLK fitam, BLS fitam, TBL hitɨm. Other examples include sets 1, 23, 24, 32, 35, 74, 76, 80, 98, 102, 106, 152, 153, 158, 160, 172, 180, 198, 206, 218, 251, 266, 304, 306, 359, and 360. In set 106 \*(b)tatak 'to fall (drop)'; BLK tatɨk, BLS tatɨk, TBL btaN, there is elision of medial \*t in TBL with accompanying loss of the vowel in the final syllable under unknown conditions.



Final \*t has the reflex /t/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 4 \*[ka]libut 'anger'; BLK lbut, BLS kalbut, TBL libut. Other examples include sets 12, 19, 20, 58, 62, 95, 114, 125, 126, 144, 148, 169, 199, 242, 280, 282, 305, 337, 339, and 358. Set 149 \*[m]'init 'hot (as water)'; BLK minit, BLS minit, TBL kiniq, show reflex /q/ for final \*t in TBL under unknown conditions.

### 3.1.3 \*k

\*k occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in PSM words. It has the regular reflex /k/ in all three languages. Initial \*k has the reflex /k/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 12 \*kulit 'bark (of a tree)'; BLK kulit, BLS kulit, TBL kulit. Other examples include sets 4, 22, 28, 34, 40, 45, 46, 53, 65, 66, 80, 97, 156, 158, 172, 174, 228, 257, 280, 301, 326, 346, 367, 375, and 387.

Intervocalic medial \*k has the reflex /k/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 19 \*[m]qakit 'to bite'; BLK qaket, BLS maket, TBL meket. Other examples include sets 15, 53, 75, 82, 112, 113, 145, 163, 271, 272, 286, 321, 335, 339, 368, and 377.

Final \*k has the reflex /k/ in all three languages--a correspondence illustrated by set 18 \*qanuk 'bird'; BLK qanok, BLS qanuk, TBL qɔnuk. Other examples include sets 28, 32, 51, 54, 66, 70, 103, 122, 128, 138, 154, 190, 198, 221, 231, 242, 244, 254, 258, 283, 304, 322, 326, 364, and 383.

## 3.2 Voiced stops

Proto-Southern Mindanaon has a series of three voiced stops: bilabial \*b, alveolar \*d, and velar \*g. (See chart 3.)

### 3.2.1 \*b

\*b occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in PSM words. Initial \*b has the reflex /b/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 17 \*buN 'big'; BLK boN, BLS boN, TBL bɔN. Other examples include sets 23, 42, 69, 75, 105, 122, 127, 129, 130, 133, 144, 153, 163, 171, 188, 191, 194, 196, 197, 206, 223, 254, 293, 304, 306, 335, 337, 341, 374, 377, and 380.

Intervocalic medial \*b has the reflex /b/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 57 \*labun 'cloud'; BLK labun, BLS labun, TBL lɔbun. Other examples include sets 2, 4, 8, 39, 40, 46, 104, 109, 110, 114, 127, 146, 169, 209, 216, 238, 265, 267, 269, 273, 295, 302, 333, 350, 367, 370, 379, 386, and 394.

Final \*b occurs only twice. It has the reflex /b/ in all three languages, but the full correspondence /b, b, b/ is illustrated by only set 365 \*[n]qalub 'wash hands'; BLK qalob, BLS nalob, TBL mɔlob. The other example is set 22 \*kayab 'blanket'; BLK kayab, BLS kayab.

## 3.2.2 \*d

\*d occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in PSM words. Initial \*d has the reflex /d/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 168 \*daqun 'leaf'; BLK doqon, BLS doqon, TBL doqun. Other examples include sets 13, 63, 154, 181, 186, 199, 204, 252, 255, 297, 299, 343, 345, 354, and 372.

Intervocalic medial \*d has the reflex /d/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 278 \*sudaN 'to sit'; BLK sudɨN, BLS sudɨN, and set 336 \*tudaq 'to throw'; BLK tudɔq, TBL tudaq. Other examples include sets 211, 285, 290, 303, 305, and 363.

Final \*d has the reflex /d/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 123 \*laNɨd 'fly (insect)'; BLK laNad, BLS laNad, TBL lɨNɨd. Other examples include sets 145 and 223.

## 3.2.3 \*g

\*g occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in PSM words. It is, however, poorly attested in the initial position. Initial \*g has the reflex /g/ in all three languages, but there is no complete correspondence set /g, g, g/ for \*g in initial position. Initial \*g is illustrated by set 95 \*gusut duh 'east'; BLK gusut du, BLS gusut qi duh, and set 150 \*gu(m)nuq 'house'; BLK gumniq, BLS gunuq. Other examples include sets 164, 169, 269, and 372.

Intervocalic medial \*g has the reflex /g/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 11 \*sagiN 'banana'; BLK sagiN, BLS sagiN, TBL s giN. Other examples include sets 9, 58, 64, 83, 88, 100, 117, 139, 140, 148, 150, 185, 187, 199, 224, 230, 310, 338, and 361.

Final \*g has the reflex /g/ in all three languages, but there is only one cognate set with all three correspondences /g, g, g/. That set is 388 \*dlag 'woods (forest)'; BLK dlag, BLS glag, TBL dlag. Final \*g is also illustrated by set 88 \*kapag 'dry (not wet)'; BLK kafag, BLS kafag.

## 3.3 Nasals

Proto-Southern Mindanaon has a series of three nasals: bilabial \*m, alveolar \*n, and velar \*N. (See chart 3.)

## 3.3.1 \*m

\*m occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words. Initial \*m has the reflex /m/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 74 \*matɨy 'dead'; BLK mati, BLS mati, TBL matay. Other examples include sets 67, 77, 81, 90, 102, 107, 108, 109, 111, 132, 135, 140, 149, 152, 167, 179, 202, 220, 246, 260, 263, 290, 296, 310, 316, 317, 327, 329, 330, 333, 340, 359, 369, 379, 393, and 394.

Medial \*m has the reflex /m/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 16 \*nama' 'betel chew (betel and areca nut chew)'; BLK namɔq, BLS namaq, TBL namak. Other examples include sets 5, 6, 63, 120, 205, 228, 269, 270, 298, 310, and 390.

Final \*m has the reflex /m/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 21 \*pitim 'black'; BLK fitam, BLS fitam, TBL hitim. Other examples include sets 38, 77, 84, 87, 187, 204, 208, 279, 296, 330, and 371.

### 3.3.2 \*n

\*n occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words. Initial \*n has the reflex /n/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 16 \*nama' 'betel chew (betel and areca nut chew)'; BLK namɔq, BLS namaq, TBL namak. Other examples include sets 6, 119, 182, 279, and 376.

Medial \*n has the reflex /n/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated in set 18 \*qanuk 'bird'; BLK qanok, BLS qanuk, TBL qɔnuk. Other examples include sets 87, 93, 94, 132, 135, 146, 149, 150, 166, 184, 248, 340, 371, and 382.

Final \*n has the reflex /n/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 57 \*labun 'cloud'; BLK labun, BLS labun, TBL lɔbun. Other examples include sets 14, 34, 96, 127, 155, 168, 181, 191, 236, 247, 248, 260, 263, 264, 269, 281, 307, 323, 324, 345, 354, 360, 375, 381, and 386.

### 3.3.3 \*N

\*N occurs in medial and final positions in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words. Medial \*N has the reflex /N/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 92 \*kliNu 'ear'; BLK kliNɨ, BLS kliNɨ, TBL kliNuh. Other examples include sets 40, 52, 123, 129, 142, 190, 239, 282, 288, 297, 354, and 369.

Final \*N has the reflex /N/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 11 \*sagiN 'banana'; BLK sagiN, BLS sagiN, TBL sɔgiN. Other examples include sets 17, 41, 44, 48, 65, 75, 76, 91, 98, 104, 124, 143, 170, 174, 188, 193, 194, 202, 206, 212, 224, 249, 268, 278, 285, 320, 321, 335, 338, 363, 367, and 368.

## 3.4 Spirant \*s

Proto-Southern Mindanaon has an alveolar spirant \*s. (See chart 3.)

\*s occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in PSM words. Initial \*s has the reflex /s/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 11 \*sagiN 'banana'; BLK sagiN, BLS sagiN, TBL sɔgiN.

Other examples include sets 62, 98, 100, 115, 121, 139, 159, 173, 176, 178, 193, 200, 208, 218, 227, 230, 278, 295, 325, 332, 347, and 378.

Medial \*s has the reflex /s/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 249 \*tisiN 'ring (for finger)'; BLK tisiN, BLS tisiN, TBL tisiN. Other examples include sets 27, 83, 95, 173, 213, 224, 283, 296, 318, and 372.

Final \*s has the reflex /s/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 192 \*plapus 'morning'; BLK flɔfus, BLS flafus, TBL hlafus. Other examples include sets 34, 230, 261, 262, 306, and 382.

### 3.5 Lateral \*l

Proto-Southern Mindanaon has an alveolar lateral \*l. (See chart 3.)

\*l occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words. Initial \*l has the reflex /l/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 24 \*litaq 'blood'; BLK, BLS litiq, TBL litoq. Other examples include sets 26, 39, 57, 59, 94, 112, 113, 114, 120, 123, 166, 184, 185, 203, 211, 214, 238, 240, 244, 261, 270, 281, 282, 322, 352, 353, and 386.

Medial \*l has the reflex /l/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 12 \*kulit 'bark (of a tree)'; BLK, BLS, TBL kulit. Other examples include sets 46, 54, 65, 72, 77, 97, 99, 122, 132, 141, 151, 154, 167, 176, 188, 191, 196, 204, 205, 212, 222, 229, 234, 236, 241, 242, 243, 252, 254, 256, 258, 262, 268, 291, 299, 307, 324, 325, 330, 343, 345, 347, 352, 358, 365, 375, 380, 392, and 393.

Final \*l has the reflex /l/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 82 \*[n]qakul 'to dig (a hole)'; BLK qakol, BLS nakol, and TBL mɔkɔl. Other examples include sets 94, 121, 139, 153, 158, 163, 196, 203, 222, 250, 252, 271, 327, 332, 347, 366, and 393.

\*l does not appear as the first member of initial consonant clusters in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words, but its reflex /l/ does appear as the first member of initial consonant clusters in BLK and BLS. \*l does not occur in this position in TBL, which is the result of elision of the vowel between initial \*l and labial consonants in the two Blaan languages. Set 39 \*libaN 'bury (inter)'; BLK lbaN, BLS lbaN, TBL libiN, illustrates this correspondence. Other examples include sets 59, 322, 352, and 353.

\*l occurs as the second member of a consonant cluster in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words. It has the reflex /l/ in all three languages--a correspondence illustrated by set 92 \*kliNu 'ear'; BLK klini, BLS klini, TBL kliNuh. Other examples include sets 2, 34, 104, 125, 133, 135, 142, 144, 171, 192, 194, 290, 333, 334, 356, 369, 388, and 393.

It is noteworthy that the great majority of examples have labial consonants as the first member of initial consonant clusters with \*l. Then closer study of the first members of the consonant clusters shows that, except for initial /f, f, h/, all first members of consonant clusters having \*l as the second member have complete oral closure. This fact tends to lend further credence to the reconstruction of \*p for /f, f, h/ initial correspondences and /f, f, f/ medial correspondences (cf. section 3.1.1).

### 3.6 Semivowels

Proto-Southern Mindanaon has two semivowels: labial \*w and palatal \*y. (See chart 3.)

#### 3.6.1 \*w

\*w occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words. Initial \*w has the reflex /w/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 70 \*wak 'crow'; BLK wək, BLS wək, TBL wak. Other examples include sets 99 and 138.

Medial \*w has the reflex /w/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated in set 26 \*lawah 'body'; BLK lawih, BLS lawi, TBL lowoh. Other examples include sets 44, 89, 105, 107, 181, 322, 352, and 353.

Final \*w has the reflex /w/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated in set 46 \*kali(m)biw 'carabao'; BLK kalabaw, BLS kalabaw, TBL klĩbiw. Other examples include sets 67, 166, and 295.

#### 3.6.2 \*y

\*y occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words. Initial \*y has the reflex /y/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 155 \*ya'in 'husband'; BLK yaqon, BLS yaqan, TBL yihin. Other examples include sets 195 and 381.

Medial \*y has the reflex /y/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 124 \*[m]qayan 'to fly'; BLK qayin, BLS mayin, TBL moyon. Other examples include sets 22, 223, 342, 346, 374, and 387.

Final \*y has the reflex /y/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 113 \*lakay 'feather (tail of a rooster)'; BLK lakay, BLS lakay, TBL lakay. Other examples include sets 1, 180, 286, 369, and 377.

### 3.7 Laryngeals

Proto-Southern Mindanaon has a series of three laryngeals: glottal stop \*q, voiceless glottal fricative \*h, and a laryngeal of indeterminate quality (possibly pharyngeal) \*'. (See chart 3.)

#### 3.7.1 \*q

\*q occurs in initial, intervocalic, and final positions in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words. Initial \*q has the reflex /q/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 76 \*qutaN 'debt'; BLK qutaN, BLS qutiN, TBL qutoN. Other examples include sets 18, 32, 44, 48, 51, 58, 78, 84, 187, 212, 239, 268, 273, 291, and 321. Whenever the /q/ reflex of initial \*q is preceded by a consonant prefix, /q/ is lost. This is illustrated by set 19 \*[m]qakit 'to bite'; BLK qaket, BLS maket, TBL meket. Other examples include sets 54, 82, 87, 124, 148, 242, 243, 256, 305, 339, 359, 361, 365, 370, 371, and 390.

Intervocalic \*q has the reflex /q/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 3 \*kdiqɿ 'all'; BLK kdiqɿ, BLS kdiqɿ, TBL kdeq. Other examples include sets 20, 101, 121, 168, 186, 211, 240, 250, 332, 356, 366, and 384.

Final \*q has the reflex /q/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 23 \*butaq 'blind'; BLK butiq, BLS butiq, TBL butoq. Other examples include sets 24, 35, 52, 59, 109, 110, 111, 150, 159, 176, 179, 183, 195, 214, 227, 241, 257, 303, 325, 336, 352, 373, 376, and 390.

#### 3.7.2 \*h

\*h occurs in intervocalic and final positions in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words. Intervocalic \*h has the reflex /h/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 78 \*quhuh 'deer'; BLK quhi, BLS quhɿh, TBL quhuh. Other examples include sets 183, 220, 244, 257, 263, 281, and 320.

Final \*h has the reflex /h/ in BLK and TBL. Final \*h was lost in BLS. This is illustrated by set 13 \*dyuh 'bathe'; BLK dyoh, BLS dyo, TBL dyoh. Other examples include sets 26, 64, 72, 81, 118, 132, 152, 184, 217, 239, 246, 302, 308, 315, 316, 329, and 342. Under obscure conditions final \*h was retained in reflex /h/ in BLS, as illustrated in set 317 \*mih 'sweet'; BLK mih, BLS mih, TBL mih; set 105 \*bawah 'face'; BLK bawih, BLS bawih; and set 314 \*tah 'summit'; BLK tah, BLS tah. Also under obscure conditions TBL final \*h has developed the exceptional reflex /y/, which is illustrated in set 256 \*[m]qilah 'to run'; BLK qilah, BLS mila, TBL mloy.

## 3.7.3 \*'

\*' occurs in initial, intervocalic, and final positions in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words. Initial '\*' has the reflex /q/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /k/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 141 \*'ulu 'head'; BLK qulu, BLS qulu, TBL kuluh. Other examples include sets 8, 79, 167, 180, 236, and 251.

Intervocalic '\*' has the reflex /q/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /h/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 155 \*ya'in 'husband'; BLK yaqɔn, BLS yaqan, TBL yihin. Other examples include sets 157, 203, 217, 328, and 381. Under unknown conditions intervocalic '\*' is retained in reflex /k/ in TBL, as illustrated in set 261 \*la'is 'scar'; BLK laqɔs, BLS laqas, TBL likis. When '\*' occurs in intervocalic position and before \*n in TBL, it is elided, with accompanying collapse of the vowel cluster. This is illustrated by set 96 \*kmi'in 'eat'; BLK kaqɔn, BLS mkaqan, TBL mkɪn; set 247 \*k[n]i'in 'rice (cooked)'; BLK knaqɔn, BLS knaqan, TBL kɪn; and set 264 \*[m(i)]ti'in 'to see'; BLK tiqin, BLS tiqin, TBL mɔn.

Final '\*' has the reflex /q/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /k/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 7 \*[m]ya' 'ashamed'; BLK yɔq, BLS myaq, TBL myak. Other examples include sets 10, 16, 93, 116, 131, 132, 243, 270, 299, and 343.

| PSM | *p | *t | *k | *b | *d | *g | *m | *n | *N | *s | *l | *w | *y | *q | *' | *h |
|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| BLK |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| t   |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| k   |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| b   |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| d   |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| g   |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| m   |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| n   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| N   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| f   | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| s   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| l   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |
| w   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 2  |    |    |    |    |
| y   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 2  |    |    |    |
| q   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 2  | 1  |    |
| h   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |
| #   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 5  | 3  | 4  |    |    |

Chart 4. The development of BLK consonants from PSM

- Legend: 1 In all environments  
 2 In all environments not listed in the same vertical column  
 3 Final after \*i, \*i  
 4 Under obscure conditions  
 5 Final after \*u



| PSM | *p | *t | *k | *b | *d | *g | *m | *n | *N | *s | *l | *w | *y | *q | *' | *h |
|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| BLS |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| t   |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| k   |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| b   |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| d   |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| g   |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| m   |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| n   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| N   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| f   | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| s   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| l   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |
| w   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 2  |    |    |    |    |
| y   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 2  |    |    |    |
| q   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 2  | 2  |    |
| h   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 2  |
| #   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 6  | 3  | 4  | 4  | 5  |

Chart 5. The development of BLS consonants from PSM

- Legend: 1 In all environments  
 2 In all environments not listed in the same vertical column  
 3 Final after \*i  
 4 Initial after a verbal affix  
 5 Final  
 6 Final after u

| PSM | *p | *t | *k | *b | *d | *g | *m | *n | *N | *s | *l | *w | *y | *q | ' | *h |
|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|----|
| TBL |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |
| t   |    | 2  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |
| k   |    | 4  | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |
| b   |    |    |    | 2  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |
| d   |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |
| g   |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |
| m   |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |
| n   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |
| N   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |
| f   | 2  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |
| s   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |    |   |    |
| l   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |    |    |   |    |
| w   |    |    | 4  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 2  |    |    |   |    |
| y   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |    |   |    |
| q   |    | 4  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 2  | 6 |    |
| h   | 3  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |   | 1  |
| #   |    | 4  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 5 | 7  |

Chart 6. The development of TBL consonants from PSM

- Legend: 1 In all environments  
 2 In all environments not listed in the same vertical column  
 3 Initial  
 4 Under obscure conditions  
 5 Initial when preceded by an affix  
 6 Medial  
 7 V<sub>1</sub>\_\_\_V<sub>2</sub>

## 4. Proto-Southern Mindanaon vowels

Due to inconsistent transcription of the vocabulary lists used in this study, it is difficult, if not impossible, accurately to reconstruct the vowels of Proto-Southern Mindanaon.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, it is possible to make some assumptions about the general characteristics of the Proto-Southern Mindanaon vowel system. The bases of these assumptions are (a) past comparative studies of Austronesian languages, (b) statistical features of the Proto-Southern Mindanaon sound system, and (c) patterns present in the reflexes attested by the three languages.

Proto-Austronesian (PAN), the presumed parent language of Proto-Southern Mindanaon, has been reconstructed by Dempwolff, Dyen, Dahl, and others as having four vowels, which are \*i, \*ɨ, \*a, and \*u. Each of the three languages considered in this study has developed a system of seven vowels, which are /i, e, ɨ, a, u, o, and ɔ/. Perhaps the most interesting and important aspect of the reconstruction of Proto-Southern Mindanaon is this development of seven-vowel systems in the daughter languages from the four-vowel system of Proto-Austronesian.

Several factors that seem to have conditioned the development of seven vowels in the daughter languages are the following: position of the vowels in PSM words; vowel harmony; contiguity to velars, nasals, and labials; and laryngeal conditioning.

Three of the four PAN vowels have corresponding reflexes in the three southern Mindanao languages. \*i has the reflexes /i, i, i/ in more than fifty instances; \*a has the reflexes /a, a, a/ in more than forty instances; and \*u has the reflexes /u, u, u/ in more than sixty instances. Other vowel correspondences with high statistical incidence are the following: /a, a, ɔ/ in more than thirty instances, /ɔ, a, a/ in more than thirty instances, /o, o, ɔ/ in more than twenty instances, /ɨ, ɨ, o/ in more than twenty instances, /ɨ, ɨ, u/ in more than fifteen instances, and /e, e, e/ in more than fifteen instances.

|      | Front | Central | Back |
|------|-------|---------|------|
| High | *i    |         | *u   |
| Mid  |       | *ɨ      |      |
| Low  |       | *a      |      |

Chart 7. Proto-Southern Mindanaon vowels

## 4.1 \*i

\*i has the regular reflex /i/ in all three languages: BLK, BLS, and TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 21 \*pitim 'black'; BLK fitam, BLS fitam, TBL hitim. Other examples include sets 11, 12, 24, 27, 48, 49, 83, 87, 92, 94, 97, 100, 112, 120, 125, 139, 149, 151, 153, 159,

170, 171, 176, 185, 187, 198, 200, 203, 205, 212, 242, 249, 252, 257, 263, 266, 282, 304, 317, 319, 321, 329, 333, 341, 343, 350, 368, 375, and 386.

\*i also has the reflex /e/ in all three languages in the following environments: (a) monosyllabic words, (b) when preceded by \*ɬ, and (c) when contiguous to a laryngeal or a velar in the ultimate syllable. This correspondence is illustrated by set 19 \*[m]qɨkit 'to bite'; BLK qaket, BLS maket, TBL meket. Other examples include sets 20, 54, 101, 104, 167, 174, 195, 209, 239, 243, 250, 267, 356, 366, 373, and 393. \*iy is illustrated by set 133 \*bliy 'give'; BLK ble, BLS ble, TBL blay.

#### 4.2 \*ɬ

An important factor in the development of PSM vowels is the diversity of reflexes shown by the pepet vowel--a vowel we symbolize with \*ɬ, but, as seen below, Conant symbolizes with ě. Conant ([1912] 1973:246) describes the pepet vowel as follows:

In the vocalism of Indonesian languages the original indifferent vowel plays an important role. Resembling the Hebrew shĕwa, and the obscure vowel of many Indo-European languages, it was so colorless and indefinite in pronunciation that it developed differently in different speech groups. In some languages it remained practically unchanged, as in Javanese, where it is called pepet, while in others it evolved into various and more or less definite vowel sounds, e.g., IN[donesian]: \*atĕp 'roof' became Jav[anese] atĕp, Mal[ay] atap, Tag[alog] átip, and Bis[aya] atúp.

In the same article, Conant treats the reflexes of the pepet vowel in several Philippine languages. To account for the development of the reflexes of that vowel in Philippine languages, Conant ([1912] 1973:246) posits seven different classes of environments in which the reflexes occur. These classes are:

- I. the ap class, represented by Phil[ippine] atĕp roof, i.e. words having a in the first of two syllables the second of which has pepet;
- II. the pa class: Phil. bĕgas rice;
- III. the ip class: Phil. nípĕn tooth;
- IV. the pí class: Phil. bĕlí to buy;
- V. the up class: Phil. pusĕd navel;
- VI. the pu class: Phil. pĕnu full;
- VII. the pp class: Phil. lĕbĕn to excavate.

While it has not been possible to find PSM cognate sets that correspond to all the classes posited by Conant, there are some sets that seem to confirm certain of Conant's hypotheses. In particular, set 251 \*'atip 'roof'; BLK qataf, BLS qataf, TBL ktif (kitif), shows the /a, a, ɬ/ correspondence in which there are two environments of the pepet vowel that are analogous to Conant's ap class. In the final syllable, \*ɬ > /a, a, ɬ/, and in the penultimate syllable \*a > /a, a, (,ɬ)/--a correspondence in

which in TBL vowel harmony extends from the final to the first syllable. Other sets exhibiting the same reflexes are 77, 121, and 258.

The ip class is represented in the PSM data by set 21 \*pitim 'black'; BLK fitam, BLS fitam, TBL hitim. Another illustration is set 139 \*sigil 'hand (and arm)'; BLK sigal, BLS sigal, TBL sigil. These sets also show the correspondence /a, a, i/ < \*i in the final syllable.

The up class is represented in the PSM data by set 32 \*qutik 'brain'; BLK qutak, BLS qutak, TBL qutik. The up class is also illustrated by set 65 \*kulin 'cooking pot'; BLK kulan, BLS kulan, TBL kulin. Again, \*i has the reflexes /a, a, i/ in the final syllable.

The pu class is illustrated by set 131 \*pinu 'full (container)'; BLK fnoq, BLS fnoq, TBL hnok (hinok). In this class in BLK and BLS, \*i in the penultimate syllable is regularly elided. In some of our sources, /i/ in the penultimate syllable of TBL forms is transcribed, and in some it is not. Other examples of this class are sets 4, 59, 352, 353, and 382.

Thus, it may be seen that \*i has the regular reflex /a/ in BLK and BLS. Also, in those two languages \*i is regularly elided when \*u occurs in the following syllable. This is also the case sometimes in TBL, where \*i has the regular reflex /i/.

When \*i is followed by a consonant other than \*q and \*i > /e, e, e/, \*i has the reflex /a/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /e/ in TBL. This is the result of complete assimilation of \*i to /e/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 19 \*[m]qikit 'to bite'; BLK qaket, BLS maket, TBL meket. Other examples include sets 54, 373, and 393. In set 267 \*timbil 'sew'; BLK tbel, BLS tambel, TBL timbeh, the /i/ reflex in TBL is preserved because of the intervening consonant cluster.

Whenever \*i is followed by \*q and \*i > /e, e, e/, the reflexes of \*i are completely assimilated to /e/. This correspondence is illustrated by set 20 \*piqit 'bitter'; BLK feqet, BLS feqet, TBL heqet. Other examples include sets 250, 356, and 366.

\*iy has the reflex /i/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /ay/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 74 \*matiy 'dead'; BLK mati, BLS mati, TBL matay. Sets 58 and 392 also exhibit these reflexes.

\*iw has the reflex /aw/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /iw/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated in set 46 \*kali(m)biw 'carabao'; BLK kalabaw, BLS kalabaw, TBL klimbaw.

#### 4.3 \*a

The reflexes of \*a have been particularly obscured in the sources available for this study (cf. note 8). For this reason, reflexes /a/ and /ɔ/ are suspect in BLK and BLS and are not weighted heavily in the reconstruction of \*a. Thus, the correspondences /ɔ, a, a/ and /a, a, a/ are both treated as /a, a, a/ in this comparison.<sup>9</sup>

\*a has the reflex /a/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 16 \*nama' 'betel chew (betel and areca nut chew)'; BLK namɔq, BLS namaq, TBL namak. Other examples include sets 7, 40, 41, 52, 62, 66, 69, 70, 74, 86, 87, 89, 102, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114, 126, 128, 132, 144, 157, 159, 160, 166, 176, 180, 183, 184, 192, 194, 204, 211, 214, 217, 223, 228, 248, 255, 257, 262, 265, 270, 291, 297, 299, 303, 326, 328, 332, 341, 342, 343, 345, 358, 360, 377, 383, 388, and 392.

In penultimate syllables and contiguous to laryngeals and velars, \*a has the reflex /a/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /ɔ/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 18 \*qanuk 'bird'; BLK qanok, BLS qanuk, TBL qɔnuk. Other examples include sets 8, 11, 28, 51, 57, 75, 82, 84, 93, 98, 99, 148, 185, 202, 205, 218, 252, 254, 260, 263, 268, 282, 306, 320, 325, 337, 346, 352, 365, 380, and 387.

When \*a in a final syllable is contiguous to a semivowel or follows high vowels \*i or \*u in the preceding syllable, it has the reflex /i/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /o/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 23 \*butaq 'blind'; BLK butiq, BLS butiq, TBL butoq. Other examples include sets 24, 26, 44, 68, 76, 122, 124, 125, 170, 191, 208, 227, 236, 241, 246, 295, 324, 327, 371, and 375.

When \*a in the penultimate syllable in TBL is followed by /o/ in the final syllable, the reflex assimilates to the /o/. This correspondence is illustrated by set 26 \*lawah 'body'; BLK lawih, BLS lawi, TBL lowoh. Other examples include sets 44, 124, 295, and 371.

\*ay has the reflex /ay/ in all three languages. When \*u occurs in the syllable preceding \*ay in BLK, the reflex is /ɔy/. This correspondence is illustrated by set 113 \*lakay 'feather (tail of a rooster)'; BLK lakay, BLS lakay, TBL lakay, and by set 377 \*bukay 'white'; BLK bukɔy, BLS bukay, TBL bukay. Other examples include sets 1, 180, and 286.

\*aw has the reflex /aw/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated in set 166 \*lanaw 'lake'; BLK lanaw, BLS lanaw, TBL lanaw. \*aw following \*k has the reflexes /ɔw/ in BLK, /aw/ in BLS, and /ow/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 67 \*[m]kaw 'cough'; BLK kɔw, BLS mkaw, TBL kow.

#### 4.4 \*u

\*u has the reflex /u/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 12 \*kulit 'bark (of a tree)'; BLK kulit, BLS kulit, TBL kulit. Other examples include sets 4, 8, 23, 25, 32, 35, 48, 57, 65, 76, 78, 87, 91, 99, 100, 104, 109, 117, 122, 141, 152, 154, 163, 167, 172, 188, 191, 192, 193, 196, 204, 212, 217, 218, 234, 236, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 255, 262, 266, 268, 270, 271, 291, 299, 306, 307, 324, 332, 333, 334, 351, 358, 377, 380, and 386.

When \*u in an open syllable is preceded by a semivowel or by a high vowel in the penultimate syllable, it has the reflex /i/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /u/ in TBL. \*u has these same reflexes also when it occurs between a nasal and a laryngeal. This correspondence is illustrated by set

92 \*kliNu 'ear'; BLK kliNɨ, BLS kliNɨ, TBL kliNuh. Other examples include sets 50, 63, 78, 84, 110, 120, 129, 134, 151, 179, 211, 229, 352, 353, 374, and 376.

When \*u in a final closed syllable is contiguous to a laryngeal or velar, it has the reflex /o/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /ɔ/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 13 \*dyuh 'bathe'; BLK dyoh, BLS dyo, TBL dyɔh. Other examples include sets 17, 28, 59, 75, 82, 98, 112, 116, 130, 131, 148, 244, 254, 315, 321, 325, 335, 352, 368, and 390.

When \*uw occurs with \*a or \*ɨ in the preceding syllable, it has the reflex /u/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /aw/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 135 \*limnuw 'green'; BLK mlunu, BLS mlunu, TBL limnaw, and by set 297. \*uw in monosyllabic words has the reflex /o/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /aw/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 61 \*tnuw 'cold (as of water)'; BLK tno, BLS tno, TBL tnaw.

## 5. Reconstructions and cognate sets

Following is an array of Proto-Southern Mindanaon reconstructions and cognate sets, which is in alphabetical order according to the English glosses.

As mentioned above, because of inconsistent transcriptions of the vowel phonemes in the sources, complete accuracy in the reconstruction of Proto-Southern Mindanaon vowels is not claimed (see note 8).

The following symbols are used in the list below: asterisk \* to indicate a protoform; brackets [] to indicate a probable affix; and parentheses () to indicate either a protoform, for which there is some evidence but no proof, or a choice between two protoforms, either of which may be correct.

1. \*lutay 'abaca'; BLK lutɔy, BLS lutay
2. \*plabi 'afternoon'; BLK flɔbi, BLS flabi
3. \*kdiqɨ 'all'; BLK kdiqɨ, BLS kdiqɨ, TBL kdeq
4. \*[ka]lɨbut 'anger'; BLK lbut, BLS kalbut, TBL lɨbut
5. \*timɨl 'answer'; BLK timɨl, BLS tɨnimɨl (timɨl)
6. \*nama(q,') 'areca nut'; BLK namɔq, BLS namaq
7. \*[m]ya' 'ashamed'; BLK yɔq, BLS myaq, TBL myak
8. \*'abu(q) 'ashes'; BLK qabu, BLS qabu, TBL kɔhuq
9. \*kagul 'back (of a person)'; BLK kagol, BLS kagol

10. \*sasa' 'bad (deleterious, unsuitable)'; BLK sasiq, BLS sasiq, TBL sidik
11. \*sagiN 'banana'; BLK sagiN, BLS sagiN, TBL sɔgiN
12. \*kulit 'bark (of a tree)'; BLK kulit, BLS kulit, TBL kulit kɔyuh
13. \*dyuh 'bathe'; BLK dyoh, BLS dyo, TBL dyɔh
14. \*ti(q,')an 'belly'; BLK tiqɪn, BLS tiqɪn
15. \*(q,')ika(q,') 'betel leaf'; BLK qikiq, BLS qikiq
16. \*nama' 'betel chew (betel and areca nut chew); BLK namɔq, BLS namaq, TBL namak
17. \*buN 'big'; BLK boN, BLS boN, TBL bɔN
18. \*qanuk 'bird'; BLK qanok, BLS qanuk, TBL qɔnuk
19. \*[m]qikit 'to bite'; BLK qaket, BLS maket, TBL meket
20. \*piqit 'bitter'; BLK feqet, BLS feqet, TBL heqet
21. \*pitim 'black'; BLK fitam, BLS fitam, TBL hitim
22. \*kayab 'blanket'; BLK kayab, BLS kayab
23. \*butaq 'blind'; BLK butiq, BLS butiq, TBL butoq
24. \*litaq 'blood'; BLK litiq, BLS litiq, TBL litoq
25. \*[m]yup 'blow (as a fire)'; BLK yuf, BLS myuf, TBL myuf
26. \*lawah 'body'; BLK lawih, BLS lawi, TBL lowoh
27. \*pisa 'boil (infection)'; BLK fisɔ, TBL hisah
28. \*k[m]aduk 'to boil (intransitive)'; BLK kadok, BLS kaqok, TBL kmɔɔk
29. \*balu(q,') 'bolo'; BLK baloq, BLS baloq
30. \*tulan 'bone'; BLK tulɔn, BLS tulan
31. \*pana' 'bow (arrow)'; BLK fanɔq, TBL hanak
32. \*qutik 'brain'; BLK qutak, BLS qutak, TBL qutik
33. \*misa' 'break (hatch)'; BLK misɔq, TBL misɔk
34. \*k[n]a'an plapus 'breakfast'; BLK knaɔɔn flɔfus, TBL kin hlafus



35. tutuq 'breast'; BLK tutuq, BLS tutuq, TBL tutuq
36. \*twali 'brother (younger)'; BLK twali, BLS twali
37. \*timbaq 'bucket'; BLK timbɔq, TBL timbaq
38. \*[n]tɪm 'burn'; BLK tam, BLS ntam, TBL mtɪm
39. \*lɪbɔN 'bury (inter)'; BLK lɔbɔN, BLS lɔbɔN, TBL lɪbɪN
40. \*kalbɔNɪ 'butterfly'; BLK kalbɔNe, BLS kalbɔNɪ, TBL kbɔNɪh
41. \*kwaN 'buttocks'; BLK kwaN, BLS kwaN, TBL kwaN (back)
42. \*bɪmlɪ 'buy'; BLK bli, TBL bɪmlɪh
43. \*tɪu 'call'; BLK tlo, BLS tlo
44. \*qawaN 'canoe (boat)'; BLK qawɪN, BLS qawɪN, TBL qowɔN
45. \*kwa 'canoe paddle'; BLS kwa, TBL kwah
46. \*kalɪ(m)bɪw 'carabao'; BLK kalabaw, BLS kalabaw, TBL klɪmbɪw
47. \*kɪ'ɪn 'cat (as a food)'; BLK kaqɔn, TBL kɪn
48. \*qulɪN (qusɪN) 'charcoal'; BLK qulɪN (qusɪN), BLS qulɪN, TBL qusɪN.
49. \*pɪpɪh 'cheek'; BLK fifi, BLS fifi TBL hɪfɪh
50. \*kpu 'chest (of the body)'; BLK kfɪ, BLS kfɪ, TBL kfuh
51. \*qanuk 'chicken'; BLK qanok, BLS qanuk, TBL qɔnuk
52. \*tɪNaq 'child'; BLK Nɔq, BLS tɪNaq, TBL Naq
53. \*kɪkɪq 'chin'; BLK kɪkɪq, BLS kɪkɪq
54. \*[n]qɪlɪk 'choose'; BLK qalek, BLS nalek, TBL melek
55. \*datuq 'clan head'; BLK dɔtuq, TBL datuq
56. \*[m]kap 'climb (a tree)'; BLK kɪf, BLS mkɪf, TBL mkaf
57. \*labun 'cloud'; BLK labun, BLS labun, TBL lɔbun
58. \*qagɪt 'coconut (unripe)'; BLK qɔgɪt, TBL qagɪt
59. \*lɪpuq 'coconut (ripe)'; BLK tuqa lfoq, BLS lfoq, TBL lɪf q
60. \*gataq 'coconut milk'; BLK gatɔq, TBL gataq
61. \*tnuw 'cold (as of water)'; BLK tno, BLS tno, TBL tnaw

62. \*swat 'comb'; BLK swət, BLS swat, TBL swat
63. \*dadumu 'companion'; BLK dadimi, BLS dimi, TBL dumuh
64. \*t[m]agah 'to cook'; BLK tagah, TBL tmogoh
65. \*kuliN 'cooking pot'; BLK kulaN, BLS kulaN, TBL kulin
66. \*kapuk 'cotton'; BLK kəfuk, BLS kafok, TBL kafuk
67. \*[m]kaw 'cough'; BLK kəw, BLS mkaw, TBL kəw
68. \*[m]saq 'to count'; BLK si, BLS msi, TBL msoq
69. \*bwaNkih 'crocodile'; BLK bwəyɔ, BLS bayah, TBL bwaNkug
70. \*wak 'crow'; BLK wək, BLS wək, TBL wak
71. \*[m]Nal 'to cry (weep)'; BLK Nɪl, BLS mNɪl
72. \*p[n]alih 'to cut (slice meat)'; BLK faleh, BLS fnale
73. \*(k)du(w,h) 'day'; BLK du, BLS duh, TBL kdaw (kadaw)
74. \*matiy 'dead'; BLK mati, BLS mati, TBL diN matay
75. \*bakuN 'deaf'; BLK bakoN, BLS bakoN, TBL bəkəN
76. \*qutaN 'debt'; BLK qutaN, BLS qutiN, TBL qutoN
77. \*mNalim 'deep'; BLK mNalam, BLS mnam, TBL Nɪlim
78. \*quhuh 'deer'; BLK quhi, BLS quhih, TBL quhuh
79. \*[m](q,')iloN 'defecate'; BLK qiloN, BLS miloN
80. \*kutu(q,') 'delouse'; BLK nayi kutuq, TBL timNɪl kutu
81. \*mlimah 'difficult'; BLK mlimah, BLS malima
82. \*[n]qakul 'to dig (a hole)'; BLK qakol, BLS nakol, TBL məkəl
83. \*magagsik 'dirty (clothes)'; BLK magsik, BLS magagsik, TBL nusin
84. \*qayim 'dog'; BLK gayim, BLS gayim
85. \*pintuq 'door'; BLK fintuq, TBL hintuq
86. \*kna 'dream'; BLK knə, BLS kna, TBL knah
87. \*[m]qinum 'to drink'; BLK qinum, BLS minum, TBL minum
88. \*kapag 'dry (not wet)'; BLK kafag, BLS kafag

89. \*pa(n)lawi 'to dry (rice in the sun)'; BLK falawi, BLS fanlawi, TBL hdaw
90. \*laq 'dull (as a knife)'; BLS laq gamban, TBL laq tɪlɪm
91. \*kpuN 'dust'; BLK kfuN, BLS kfuN, TBL kfuN
92. \*kliNu 'ear'; BLK klinɬ, BLS klinɬ, TBL klinuh
93. \*tana' 'earth (ground)'; BLK tanɔq, BLS tanaq, TBL tɔnɔk
94. \*linul 'earthquake'; BLK linol, BLS linol, TBL linɔl
95. \*gusut duh 'east'; BLK gusut du, BLS gusut qi duh
96. \*kmɪ'ɪn 'eat'; BLK kaqɔn, BLS kmaqan, TBL mkin
97. \*kili 'eel'; BLK kili, BLS kili, TBL kilih
98. \*sɪgatuN 'eggplant'; BLK sgatoN, BLS skatoN, TBL sɪgɔtɔN
99. \*walu 'eight'; BLK walu, BLS walu, TBL wɔluh
100. \*sigu 'elbow'; BLK sigu, BLS sigu, TBL siguh
101. \*tɪqi 'excrement'; BLK taqe (teqe), BLS teqe, TBL keq
102. \*mata 'eye'; BLK matɔ, BLS mata, TBL matah
103. \*pulak 'eyebrow'; BLK fulak, TBL hulɔk
104. \*klubiN 'eyelashes'; BLK klubeN, BLS klubeN (eyebrow), TBL klubeN
105. \*bawah 'face'; BLK bawɪh, BLS bawɪh
106. \*(b)tatak 'to fall (drop, not topple)'; BLK tatɪk, BLS tatɪk, TBL btan
107. \*mawɪg 'far'; BLK mawɔg, BLS mawag, TBL mayuk
108. \*mi(t)lal(ik) 'fast (adj)'; BLK mlal, BLS mlal, TBL mɪtlasik
109. \*mabug 'fat (adj)'; BLK mɔbug, BLS mabuq, TBL mabuq
110. \*tabuq 'fat (noun)'; BLK tabɪq, BLS tabɪq, TBL qabuq
111. \*maq 'father'; BLK mɔq, BLS maq, TBL maq
112. \*likuq 'to fear'; BLK likoq, BLS likoq, TBL likɔq
113. \*lakay 'feather (tail of a rooster)'; BLK lakay qanok, BLS lakay (tail feather), TBL lakay

114. \*labat 'fence'; BLK labot, BLS labat, TBL labat
115. \*spatiy 'fight'; BLS sfati, TBL sfatay
116. \*tnalu' 'finger'; BLK tnaləq, BLS tnaləq, TBL tɔlək (tɪdək, tɔdək)
117. \*tnugu 'fingernail'; BLK tnugu, BLS knugu, TBL tnuguh
118. \*lipuh 'fire'; BLK lifoh, BLS lifo
119. \*nalap 'fish (generic)'; BLK nalaf, BLS nalaf
120. \*limu 'five'; BLK limɪ, BLS limɪ, TBL limuh
121. \*saqɪl 'floor'; BLK saqɔl, BLS saqal, TBL siqɪl
122. \*bulak 'flower'; BLK bulɪk, BLS bulɪk, TBL bulok
123. \*lanɪd 'fly (insect)'; BLK lanad, BLS lanad, TBL lɪnɪd
124. \*[m]qayaN 'to fly'; BLK qayɪN, BLS mayɪN, TBL moyoN
125. \*(k,q)lipat 'forget'; BLK lifit, BLS glifit, TBL klifot
126. \*(q,')ipət 'four'; BLK fɔt, BLS fat, TBL fat
127. \*pyu bun 'fragrant'; BLK fyɪ bun, BLS fyɪ bun
128. \*(q,')ipək 'frog (generic)'; BLK fak, BLS fak, TBL fak
129. \*buNu 'fruit'; BLK biNɪ, BLS buNɪ, TBL buNuh
130. \*bsul 'full (after eating)'; BLK bsol, BLS bsol, TBL bsoɔw
131. \*pɪnu' 'full (container)'; BLK fnoq, BLS fnoq, TBL hnɔk (hinɔk)
132. \*mala' tana' 'ginger'; BLK malah tanɔq, BLS mala, TBL mala tɔnɔk
133. \*bliy 'give'; BLK ble, BLS ble, TBL blay
134. \*pyu 'good'; BLK fyɪ, BLS fyɪ, TBL hyuh
135. \*limnuw 'green'; BLK mlunu (also blue), BLS mlunu, TBL limnaw
136. \*quban 'grey hair'; BLK qubɪn, TBL qubon
137. \*tabu' 'grow'; BLK taboq, TBL tɔwɪk
138. \*wik 'hair'; BLK wak, BLS wak, TBL wɪk
139. \*sigɪl 'hand (and arm)'; BLK sigal, BLS sigal, TBL sigɪl

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- 140. \*magil 'hard (substance)'; BLK mageN, BLS mgal, TBL mgil
- 141. \*'ulu 'head'; BLK qulu, BLS qulu, TBL kuluh
- 142. \*liNu 'hear'; BLK liNɨ, BLS liNɨ
- 143. \*pupuN 'heart'; BLK fufuN, BLS fufuN
- 144. \*blat 'heavy'; BLK blɔt, BLS blat, TBL blat
- 145. \*takid 'heel'; BLK takad, BLS takad, TBL tikid
- 146. \*(sal)buni 'to hide'; BLK buni, BLS salbuni
- 147. \*nalaq 'hold'; BLK nalɔq, BLS nalɔq
- 148. \*[n]qagut 'hold (small object in the hand)'; BLK qagot, BLS nagot, TBL mɔgɔt
- 149. \*[m]'init 'hot (as water)'; BLK minit, BLS minit, TBL kiniq.
- 150. \*gu(m)nuq 'house'; BLK gumniq, TBL gunuq
- 151. \*pilu 'how many'; BLK fili, BLS fili, TBL hiluh
- 152. \*lɨmatuh 'hundred'; BLK mlatuh, BLS mlatu, TBL lɨmatuh
- 153. \*bitil 'hunger'; BLK bitil, BLS bitil, TBL bitil
- 154. \*d[m]ulak 'hunt (for game)'; BLK dulak (without dogs), BLS dmulak, TBL dmulok
- 155. \*ya'in 'husband'; BLK yaqɔn, BLS yaqan, TBL yɨhɨn
- 156. \*ku 'if'; BLK ku, BLS ku, TBL ki
- 157. \*tna'i 'intestines'; BLK tnaqe, BLS tnaqi, TBL tnahih
- 158. \*katɨl 'itch'; BLK katal, BLS katal, TBL kɨtɨl
- 159. \*s[m]ipaq 'to kick'; BLK sifɔq, BLS smifaq, TBL smifaq (sifaq)
- 160. \*p[n]atɨy 'kill'; BLK foti, BLS fnati, TBL matay
- 161. \*banu' 'kill, struggle'; BLK banoq, TBL bɔnɔk
- 162. \*nakak 'to kiss'; BLK nalak, BLS nalak
- 163. \*bukal 'knee'; BLK bukal, BLS bukal, TBL bukɔl
- 164. \*gadaq 'know (a person)'; BLK gadiq, BLS gadiq
- 165. \*tyul 'ladle (of coconut shell)'; BLK tyul, BLS tyul

166. \*lanaw 'lake'; BLK lanaw, BLS lanaw, TBL lanaw
167. \*[m]'uli 'laugh'; BLK qule, BLS mule, TBL kulih
168. \*daqun 'leaf'; BLK doqon, BLS doqon, TBL doqun
169. \*ga(m)bat 'learn'; BLK gb̄it, BLS gamb̄it
170. \*q(b)ibaN 'left (hand)'; BLK bib̄iN, BLS qib̄iN, TBL qiwoN
171. \*bliq 'leg (and foot)'; BLK bliq, BLS bliq
172. \*kutu(q) 'lice (head)'; BLK kutuq, BLS kutu, TBL kutuh
173. \*sisip 'lice (chicken)'; BLK sisif, TBL sisif
174. \*kiN 'to lie (untruth)'; BLK keN, BLS tmul̄in keN, TBL moq keN
175. \*salu' 'light, torch'; BLK saloq, TBL sōloq
176. \*silaq 'lightning'; BLK siloq, BLS silaq, TBL silaq
177. \*qapul 'lime'; BLK qōful, BLS qaful, TBL lōhoq
178. \*salik 'lip'; BLK salek, BLS salek
179. \*[m]nuq 'live (dwell)'; BLK m̄niq, BLS m̄niq, TBL nuq
180. \*'atay 'liver'; BLK qatoy, BLS qatay, TBL katay
181. \*dawin 'loincloth'; BLK dōwin, TBL dōwin
182. \*nawa 'lonely'; BLK laNag nawa, TBL hahuq nawah
183. \*tahaq 'long (object)'; BLK tahoq, BLS tahaq, TBL tahaq
184. \*lanah 'lose'; BLK lanōh, BLS lana, TBL lanah
185. \*laqi 'man (male)'; BLK laqi, BLS laqi, TBL lōqih
186. \*diqi 'many'; BLK diqi, BLS diqi, TBL deq
187. \*qigam 'mat'; BLK qiḡim, BLS qiḡim, TBL qigam
188. \*buluN 'medicine'; BLK buluN, BLS buluN, TBL buluN
189. \*tiNaq 'middle, half measure'; BLK (gu)t̄noq, TBL tiNaq
190. \*(q,')aNuk 'monkey'; BLK qaNok, BLS qaNok
191. \*bulan 'moon'; BLK bul̄in, BLS bul̄in, TBL bulon
192. \*plapus 'morning'; BLK flōfus, BLS flafus, TBL hlafus

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193. \*suN 'mortar (rice)'; BLK suN, BLS suN, TBL suN
194. \*blabaN 'mosquito'; BLK blabɔN, BLS blabaN, TBL blawaN
195. \*yiq 'mother'; BLK yeq, BLS yeq, TBL yeq
196. \*bulul 'mountain'; BLK bulul, BLS bului, TBL bului
197. \*ba' 'mouth'; BLK bɔq, BLS baq, TBL bak
198. \*pitak 'mud'; BLK fitak, BLS fitak, TBL hitok
199. \*dagit 'name'; BLK dagit, BLS dagit
200. \*sikɨb 'narrow'; BLS sikab (body of water), TBL sikɨb
201. \*si(g)pit 'narrow'; BLK sifit, BLS sigfit
202. \*mdaduN 'near'; BLK mdadoN, BLS mdadoN
203. \*li'al 'neck'; BLK liqal, BLS liqal, TBL lihɔl
204. \*dalam 'needle'; BLK dalam, BLS dalam, TBL dalam
205. \*palami 'new'; BLK falami, BLS falami, TBL lɔmih
206. \*butaN 'night'; BLK butaN, BLS butaN
207. \*kipuh 'night'; BLK kifuh (darkness), TBL kifuh
208. \*siyam 'nine'; BLK syim, BLS siqim, TBL syom
209. \*lɨbi 'nipa'; BLK labe, TBL lebe
210. \*quni 'noise'; BLK quni, TBL qunih
211. \*laqɨn duqɨn 'none'; BLK landiq, BLS landiq, TBL laqɨn duqɨn
212. \*qiluN 'nose'; BLK qiluN, BLS qiluN, TBL qiluN
213. \*qisu 'not' (as in 'It is not a pig'); BLK qisi, BLS qisi
214. \*laq 'not' (as in 'He is not running'); BLK lɔq, BLS laq, TBL laq
215. \*ta 'now, already (completive particle)'; BLK ta, BLS ta
216. \*labi 'old (objects)'; BLK lɔbi, BLS labi
217. \*tu'a(h) 'old (persons)'; BLK tuqah (tuqa) (tuqɔh), BLS tuqa, TBL  
tuhah

218. \*satu 'one'; BLK satu, BLS satu, TBL sɔtuh
219. \*dway 'one of many wives'; BLK dway, BLS dway
220. \*mahal 'other (different)'; BLK mahal (mɔhɔl), BLS mahal
221. \*tɪ(m)duk 'pain'; BLK tdok, BLS tduk, TBL tɪmduk
222. \*palal 'palm (of hand)'; BLK falɪ, BLS falel, TBL holol
223. \*b(n)ayad 'to pay'; BLK bayad, BLS bnayad, TBL mayad
224. \*lugasiN 'peanuts'; BLK lugɔsiN, TBL lɪgasiN
225. \*taqu 'person'; BLK to, BLS to, TBL taquh
226. \*lu(h) 'pestle (rice)'; BLK lu, BLS luh
227. \*sdaq 'pig'; BLK sdɪq, BLS sdɪq, TBL sdoq
228. \*kamu 'pillow'; BLK kamu, TBL kamah
229. \*palu 'to plant'; BLK falɪ, BLS fulɪ, TBL huluh
230. \*sigwas 'to play'; BLK sagwas, TBL sigwas
231. \*[m]dik 'to pound rice'; BLK dak, BLS mdak, TBL mdik
232. \*d[m]asal 'pray'; BLK dmasɔl, BLS dmasɔl
233. \*dyul 'to pull'; BLK dyol, BLS dyol
234. \*(t,s)ulud 'to push'; BLS sulud, TBL tulud
235. \*(q,')alul 'raft'; BLK qalul, BLS qalul
236. \*'ulan 'rain'; BLK qulɪn, BLS qulɪn, TBL kulon
237. \*liwi(s) 'rainbow'; BLS lawe lawe, TBL lewes
238. \*labun 'rain cloud'; BLK lɔbun, BLS labnaN, TBL lɔbun
239. \*quNih 'rat'; BLK quNeh, BLS quNe, TBL quNeh
240. \*luqas 'rattan'; BLK luqas, BLS luqas, TBL luqɔs
241. \*pulaq 'red'; BLK fulɪq, BLS fulɪq, TBL huloq
242. \*(sis)[n]qulit 'repeat'; BLK qulit, BLS sensulit, TBL nulit
243. \*[m]quli' 'return (home)'; BLK quleq, BLS muleq, TBL mulek



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244. \*lahuk 'rib'; BLK lohok, BLS lahok, TBL lohok
245. \*paliy 'rice (unhusked)'; BLK fali, BLS fali, TBL halay (husked)
246. \*msah 'rice (husked)'; BLK msih, BLS msɨ, TBL msɔh (unhusked)
247. \*k[n]ɨ'in 'rice (cooked)'; BLK knaɔɔn, BLS knaɔn, TBL kɨn
248. \*kwanan 'right (hand)'; BLK kwanan, BLS kwanan, TBL kwanan
249. \*tisiN 'ring (for finger)'; BLK tisiN, BLS tisiN, TBL tisiN
250. \*qɨqil 'river'; BLK qeqel, BLS yeqel, TBL qel
251. \*'atip 'roof'; BLK qataf, BLS qataf, TBL ktif (kɨtif)
252. \*dalil 'root'; BLK dalil, BLS dalil, TBL dɔlil
253. \*tali 'rope'; BLK tali, BLS tali
254. \*baluk 'rotten (fruit)'; BLK balok, BLS balok, TBL bɔlok
255. \*d[m]alul 'rub (massage)'; BLK dɔlul, BLS dmalul
256. \*[m]qilah 'to run'; BLK qilah, BLS milah, TBL mloy
257. \*kahiɔ 'salt'; BLK kahiɔ, BLS kahiɔ, TBL kahiɔ
258. \*paliɔ 'sand'; BLK falak, BLS falak, TBL hɨliɔ
259. \*lugadi 'saw'; BLK lugadi, TBL liɔadiɔ
260. \*man 'say'; BLK man, BLS man, TBL mɔn
261. \*la'is 'scar'; BLK laɔɔs, BLS laɔɔs, TBL liɔɨs
262. \*k[m]alus 'to scratch'; BLK kɔlus, BLS kmalus, TBL kmalus
263. \*mahin 'sea'; BLK mahin, BLS mahin, TBL mɔhin
264. \*[m(i)]ti'in 'to see'; BLK tiɔɨn (find), BLS tiɔɨn (mitɨ), TBL mɔn
265. \*paliɔ 'sell'; BLK fabli, BLS fabli, TBL hbaluɔ
266. \*pitu 'seven'; BLK fitu, BLS fitu, TBL hituɔ
267. \*timbil 'sew'; BLK tbel, BLS tambel, TBL timbeh
268. \*qaluN 'shadow'; BLK qaluN, BLS qaluN, TBL qɔluN
269. \*gamban 'sharp (as a knife)'; BLK gamban, BLS gamban
270. \*luma' 'sheath for bolo'; BLK lumɔɔ, BLS lumaɔ, TBL lumak

271. \*pukal 'short (person)'; BLK fukal, BLS fukal, TBL qukɔl
272. \*pukal 'short (object)'; BLK fukal, BLS fukal
273. \*qabal 'shoulder'; BLK qabɔl (joint area), TBL qabal
274. \*tɪdu 'show, point'; BLK tdoq, TBL tɪdɔk
275. \*(q,')ɪpag 'sibling-in-law'; BLK fɪg, TBL fog
276. \*tandaq 'sign'; BLK tandɔq, TBL tandaq
277. \*salaq 'sin, error'; BLK salaq, TBL saloq
278. \*sudaN 'to sit'; BLK sudɪN, BLS sudɪN
279. \*nim 'six'; BLK nam, BLS nam, TBL nim
280. \*kulit 'skin (of person)'; BLK kulit, TBL kulit
281. \*lahɪn 'skinny'; BLK lahɔn, BLS lahan, TBL lihɪn
282. \*laNit 'sky'; BLK laNit, BLS laNit, TBL lɔNit
283. \*pasik 'slave'; BLK fasak, TBL hɪsɪk
284. \*lipan 'slave'; BLK lifan, BLS lifan
285. \*kudaN 'to sleep'; BLK kudaN, BLS kudaN
286. \*tukay 'small (object)'; BLK tukay, BLS tukay
287. \*pɪdi' 'to smart'; BLK fdeq, TBL kɪdek
288. \*[m]quNɪp 'to smell'; BLK quNaf, TBL muNɪf
289. \*buk 'smoke (from fire)'; BLK buk, BLS buk
290. \*madɪl 'smooth'; BLK mladal, TBL midɪl (slippery)
291. \*qulad 'snake'; BLK qulad, BLS qulad, TBL qulal
292. \*blatik 'snare'; BLK blɔtik, BLS blɔtik
293. \*palal bliq 'sole of foot'; BLK falɪl bliq, BLS falɪl bliq, TBL holol  
ti
294. \*nawa 'soul, breath'; BLK nawɔ, TBL nawah
295. \*sabaw 'soup'; BLK sabɪw, BLS sabɪw, TBL sobow
296. \*masam 'sour'; BLK masam, BLS masam, TBL msom (as fruit)

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297. \*daNuw 'span (8 inches)'; BLK daNo, BLS dnaNu, TBL daNaw
298. \*kalmamuq 'spider'; BLK kalmamo, BLS kalmamɔq
299. \*d[m]ula' 'to spit'; BLK dulɔq, BLS dmulaq, TBL dmulak
300. \*dula' 'spittle'; BLK dulɔq, TBL dulak
301. \*kɨnamɨs 'squeeze (in hand)'; BLS kanamuq, TBL kɨmmɨs
302. \*t[m]ibah 'to stab'; BLK tibɨh, TBL tmiboh
303. \*[m]tadag 'to stand'; BLK tadag, BLS tadag, TBL mdaq
304. \*blatik 'star'; BLK blatik, BLS blatik, TBL blɔtik
305. \*dɨmkɨt 'to stick to'; BLK qadkat, BLS damkat, TBL dɨmkɨt
306. \*batu 'stone'; BLK batu, BLS batu, TBL bɔtuh
307. \*(san)tulun 'story'; BLK tulɨn, BLS santulɨn, TBL tutul
308. \*tluh 'straight'; BLK tluh, BLS tlu
309. \*tali 'string'; BLK tali, BLS tali
310. \*mgal 'strong'; BLK mgal, BLS mgal
311. \*tu'ad 'stump, root'; BLK tuqad, TBL tuhɔd
312. \*[m]sɨp 'suck (not breast)'; BLK saf (nsaf), TBL msɨf
313. \*tbu 'sugarcane'; BLK tbu, BLS tbu
314. \*tah 'summit'; BLK tah (top), BLS di tah bulul
315. \*pa(n)luh 'swallow'; BLK floh, BLS fanlo, TBL hɨmlɔh
316. \*[m]tuh 'sweat'; BLK tuh, BLS mtu (verb; ktu, noun)
317. \*mih 'sweet'; BLK mih, BLS mih, TBL mih
318. \*kasilaq 'sweet potato'; BLK kasilɔq, BLS kasilaq
319. \*[n]ligo 'swidden'; BLK ligo, BLS nligo
320. \*k[m]ahuN 'swim'; BLK kahoN (kmahoN), BLS mahoN, TBL kmɔhuN
321. \*qikuN 'tail'; BLK qikoN, BLS qikoN, TBL qikɔN
322. \*liwak 'tear (from crying)'; BLK lwak, BLS lwak, TBL liwɔk

323. \*kipan 'teeth'; BLK kifan, BLS kifan
324. \*t[m]ulan 'tell'; BLK tulɨn, BLS tmulɨn, TBL tulon
325. \*spaluq 'ten'; BLK sfaloq, BLS sfaloq, TBL sfɔlɔq
326. \*kanuk 'termite'; BLK kanok, BLS kanok, TBL kasuk
327. \*ma(N)pal 'thick (objects)'; BLK maNfɨl, BLS maNfɨl, TBL mfol
328. \*pu'ad 'thigh'; BLK fuqad, BLS fuqad, TBL hahah
329. \*mNipih 'thin (objects)'; BLK mNifih, BLS mNifi
330. \*malinum 'thirst'; BLK malinum (thirsty), BLS malinum
331. \*(qa)ni 'this'; BLK qani, TBL nih
332. \*suqal 'thorn'; BLK suqɔl, BLS suqal, TBL suqal
333. \*mlibu 'thousand'; BLK mlibu, BLS mlibu, TBL libuh
334. \*tlu 'three'; BLK tlu, BLS tlu, TBL tluh
335. \*bɨk(l)uN 'throat (esophagus)'; BLK bkakoN, BLS bka koN, TBL bɨkɔN
336. \*tudaq 'to throw'; BLK tudɔq, TBL tudaq
337. \*bat 'throw away'; BLK bat, BLS bat, TBL bɔt
338. \*luguN 'thunder'; BLK luguN, TBL luguN
339. \*[n]qikat 'tie (tether an animal)'; BLK qikat, BLS nikat
340. \*(m)duh qani 'today'; BLK mdu qani, BLS duh qani
341. \*t(n,m)alu' bliq 'toe'; BLK tnaloq bliq, BLS tnaloq bliq, TBL tbakal  
tih
342. \*payah 'tomorrow'; BLK fayah, BLS faya, TBL hayah
343. \*dila' 'tongue'; BLK dilɔq, BLS dilaq, TBL dilak
344. \*binwu 'town, country'; BLK banwɨ, TBL binwuh
345. \*dalan 'trail'; BLK dalɔn, BLS dalan, TBL lan
346. \*kayu 'tree'; BLK kayu (kayo), BLS kayo, TBL koyuh
347. \*sa(l)wɨl 'trousers'; BLK salwal, BLS salwal, TBL sɨwɨl

348. \*tɨ'u 'true'; BLK teqo (toqo), TBL takun (tahuh)
349. \*(q,')ɨpun 'trunk, origin'; BLK fun, TBL fun (owner)
350. \*(pa)tbiliN 'turn, revolve (intr)'; BLK tbiliN, BLS fatbiliN
351. \*(p,k)nu 'turtle'; BLK fnu, BLS fnu, TBL knuh
352. \*lɨwu paluq 'twenty'; BLK lwɨ faloq, BLS lwɨ faloq, TBL lɨwu fɔɔɔq
353. \*lɨwu 'two'; BLK lwɨ, BLS lwɨ, TBL lɨwuh
354. \*duNan 'under'; BLK duNɔn, BLS duNan
355. \*myak 'up'; BLK myak, BLS myak
356. \*tɨqil 'urine'; BLK tleq, BLS kleq, TBL tleqel
357. \*kiq 'vagina'; BLK kiq, TBL kiq
358. \*qulat 'vein (blood)'; BLK qulat, BLS qulat, TBL qulat
359. \*[m]qutaq 'vomit'; BLK qutɔq, BLS mutaq
360. \*patan 'to wait'; BLK fatɔh, BLS fatan, TBL hatan
361. \*[m]qaguw 'to walk'; BLK qɔgu (go), BLS magu, TBL mogow
362. \*t[m]ana' 'to walk'; BLK tmanɔq (go on foot), TBL tmɔnɔk
363. \*didiN 'wall (of house)'; BLK didiN, BLS didiN
364. \*[m]puk 'wash clothes'; BLK fuk, BLS mfok, TBL mfuk
365. \*[n]qalub 'wash hands'; BLK qalob, BLS nalob, TBL mɔɔɔb
366. \*qɨqil 'water'; BLK qeqel, BLS yeqel, TBL qei
367. \*kabuN 'water container (bamboo)'; BLK kaboN, TBL kɔbɔN
368. \*pikuN 'waterfall'; BLK fikoN, BLS fikoN, TBL hikɔN
369. \*m(l)uNay 'weak'; BLK mluNay, TBL muNɔy
370. \*[n]qabiɩ 'weave cloth'; BLK qabal, BLS nabal, TBL miwɩɩ
371. \*[n]qanam 'weave a mat'; BLK qaniɩm, BLS naniɩm, TBL monom
372. \*gustap 'idaw 'west'; BLK gusdaf du, BLS gustaf qi duh, TBL dɨsdɨf  
kdaw

373. \*p̄ip̄iq 'wet'; BLK fafeq, BLS fafeq, TBL hefeq
374. \*byu 'what-you-may-call-it'; BLK bȳ, BLS bȳ, TBL b̄oyuh
375. \*kilan 'when'; BLK kil̄n, BLS kil̄n (if a question), TBL kilon
376. \*nuq 'where'; BLK n̄iq, BLS n̄iq, TBL sih
377. \*bukay 'white'; BLK buk̄oy, BLS bukay, TBL bukay
378. \*si(m,n)tu 'who'; BLK simto, BLS sinto
379. \*mabal 'wide'; BLK mab̄ol (space), BLS mabal
380. \*balu 'widow'; BLK balu, BLS balu, TBL b̄oluh
381. \*ya'in 'wife'; BLK yaq̄on, BLS yaqan, TBL ȳh̄in
382. \*(l̄i)nus 'wind'; BLK nus, BLS nus, TBL l̄in̄os
383. \*papak 'wing'; BLK f̄of̄ok, BLS fafak, TBL hafak
384. \*t[m]ap̄ip̄ 'winnow'; BLK taq̄of (throw up and down), BLS tmaqaf, TBL  
tmiq̄if
385. \*baqi 'woman'; BLK biq, TBL b̄oqih
386. \*libun 'woman (female)'; BLK libun, BLS libun, TBL libun
387. \*kayu 'wood'; BLK kayu, BLS kayo, TBL k̄oyuh
388. \*dlag 'woods (forest)'; BLK dlag, BLS glag, TBL dlag
389. \*t(n)aluq 'word, language'; BLK taluq, BLS tnaluq
390. \*[m]qimuq 'to work'; BLK qimoq, BLS mimoq, TBL m̄oq nm̄oq
391. \*qubi 'yam'; BLK qabi, TBL qubih
392. \*pal̄iy 'year'; BLK f̄oli, BLS fali, TBL halay
393. \*ml̄il̄il 'yellow'; BLK ml̄al̄el, BLS ml̄al̄el, TBL melel
394. \*malpabi 'yesterday'; BLK malf̄abi, BLS malfabi

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Pronounced with an intervocalic glottal stop as /blaqaŋ/.

<sup>2</sup>Non-Tboli and non-Blaan speakers in the past have referred to these peoples as Tagabili and Bilaan respectively. The people, however, refer to themselves as Tboli and Blaan.

<sup>3</sup>Current population figures for these groups are not available at this time, but each group numbered in excess of twenty thousand in the late 1950s when the data upon which this paper is based were gathered.

<sup>4</sup>These characteristics of these southern Mindanao languages were pointed out to me by David Thomas in private conversation in December 1979.

<sup>5</sup>Conant found that 'in the southern group of f languages, viz, Tiruray, Bilan, and Tagakaolo, the p sound does not exist, but has everywhere been shifted to the corresponding spirant f' ([1908] 1973:214).

<sup>6</sup>Without the benefit of the Tboli data, Conant found that 'the Philippine f ... is so slightly breathed that it approaches the sound of a mere aspirate, and it is doubtless this same quality of the Polynesian f that has caused it to become h in Hawaiian and Tahitian' ([1908] 1973:217).

<sup>7</sup>Compare PSM \*(q,')īpat 'four' with PAND \*qī(m)pat, PANDLO \*he(m)pat (Wurm and Wilson 1975).

<sup>8</sup>Just three weeks before the deadline for finishing this project, I received from the Philippine offices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics the phonemic statements of the two Blaan languages. With these phonemic statements, I was able to check the accuracy of the transcription of a few of the vocabulary items in the word lists in Reid 1971.

I discovered that some of the vowel reflexes in Koronadal Blaan were transcribed inconsistently. The transcription that was the most inconsistent was that of the vowels /a/ and /ɔ/. In Deans' statement of Koronadal Blaan (1955), the vowel /a/ (that is, the low open central unrounded vocoid) is written with a typed 'a' and thus looks like the vowel typed on a typewriter. The Koronadal vowel /ɔ/ (that is, the low close back rounded vocoid) is written with a cursive style 'a'. In Reid's volume, each of the two vowels is transcribed both properly and improperly in a sort of free variation. The vowels in the following examples are written in the orthography used in this study:

|      | 'dry'        | 'wing'       | 'neck'       | 'star'        |
|------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| Dean | <u>kafɔq</u> | <u>fɔfɔk</u> | <u>liqal</u> | <u>blatik</u> |
| Reid | <u>kafag</u> | <u>fafak</u> | <u>liqal</u> | <u>blɔtik</u> |

In addition, there are some inconsistencies in the transcriptions of other vowels in Koronadal Blaan. For instance, Dean lists kayo as the word for 'tree', while Reid transcribed it as kayu.

In Sarangani Binaan there is a problem of a somewhat different kind. According to Blackburn and McLachlin 1960, the vowels /a/ and /ɔ/ were found to contrast in identical environments. However, they decided to write these two vowels with the same symbol, 'a', and depend on context to make the meaning clear. Reid also followed this convention--a convention that obscures the contrast between the two vowels. Examples of the way these vowels were written are the following:

|                    | 'father'   | 'crow'     | 'heavy'     | 'comb'      |
|--------------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| Phonemic statement | <u>maq</u> | <u>wɔk</u> | <u>blɔt</u> | <u>swat</u> |
| Reid               | <u>maq</u> | <u>wak</u> | <u>blat</u> | <u>swat</u> |

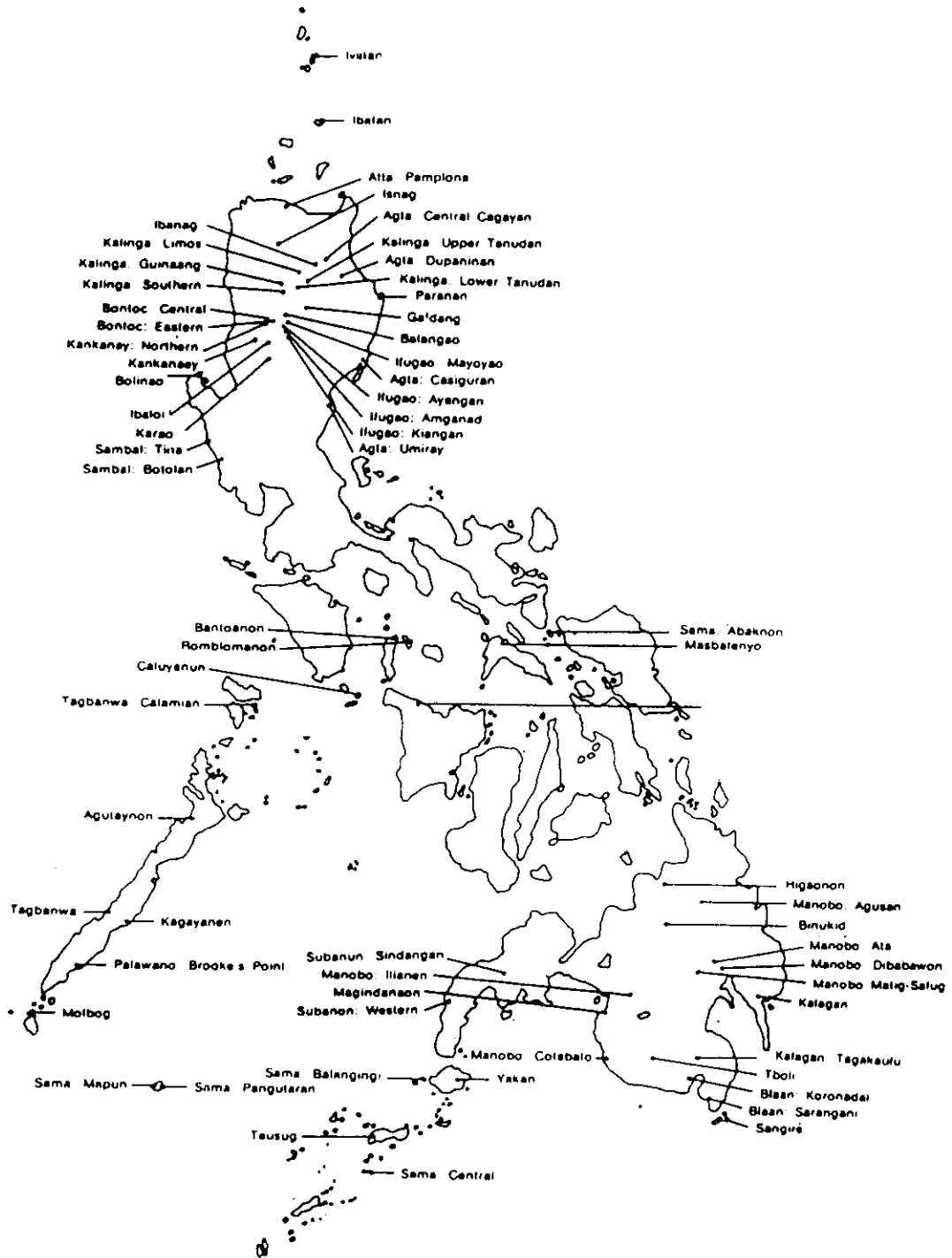
Thus, because of the few sets that were directly verifiable in all three languages, no claim can be made as to the accuracy of the vowel reconstructions in this paper. Without more reliable data, no rigorous application of the comparative method is possible at this point.

<sup>9</sup>With more reliable data the /ɔ/ reflex of \*a would probably be found to be influenced by laryngeals, velars, or labials. But because of the obscurity of the reflexes of this protovowel in BLK, BLS, and TBL, there is confusion in the correspondence sets.

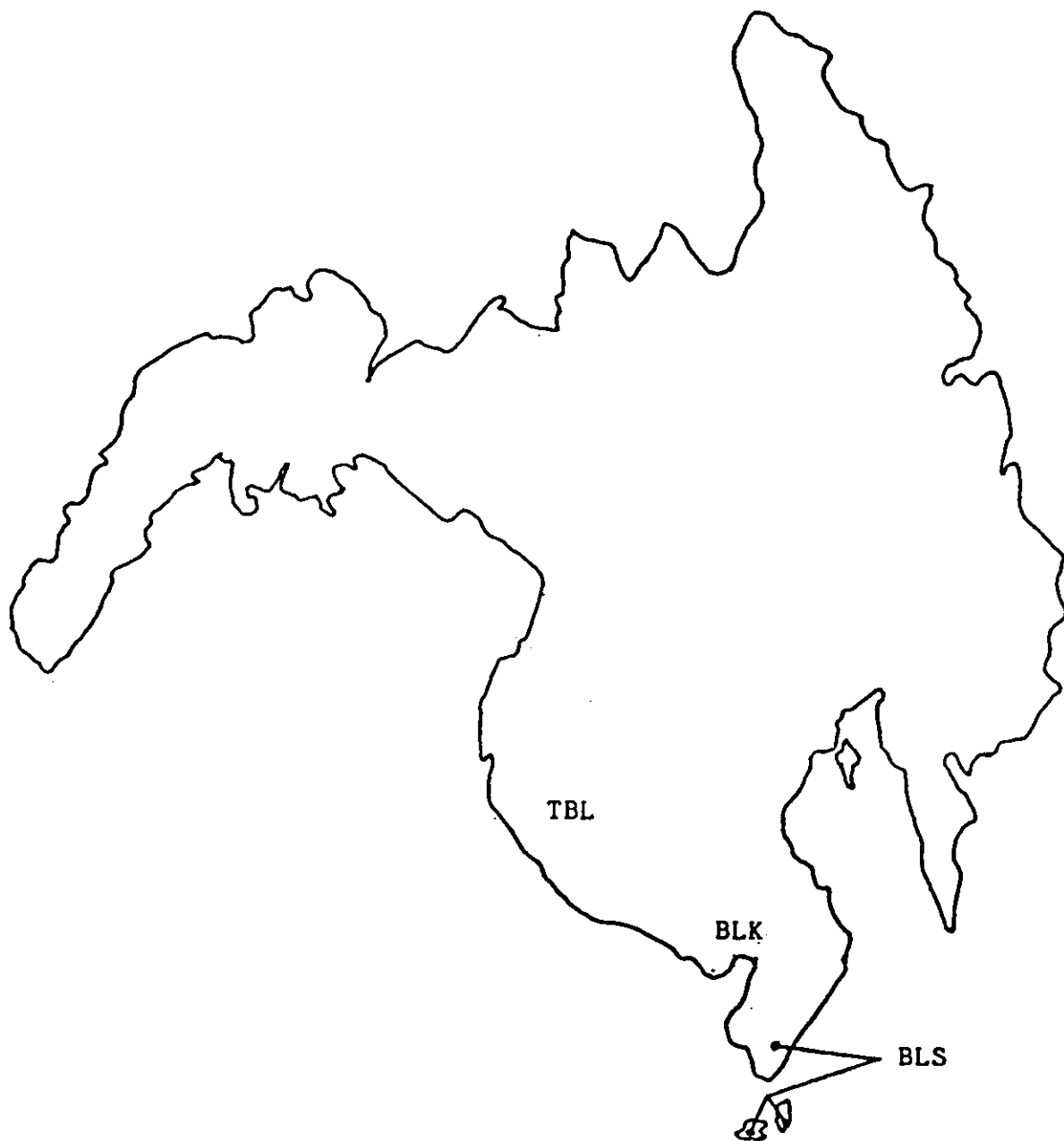


APPENDIXES

Appendix A: Map of the Philippines showing some minor languages



Appendix B: Map of Mindanao showing the location of the Southern Mindanaon languages



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