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 Most apparent lexical innovations lack this clarity and level of certainty, even where a semantic category may superficially appear to be well-defined. One of many possible examples is \*luCuŋ ‘the Formosan rock monkey: *Macaca cyclopis*’. We can be sure of the gloss for this form, since it is generally accepted that the AN homeland was Taiwan, and only one species of monkey lives on this island. A number of Philippine languages, including Northern Kankanaey, Ibaloy, Pangasinan, Ayta Abellen, Kalamian Tagbanwa, Central Tagbanwa, and Palawan Batak instead reflect \*bakés ‘monkey’. Is this a replacement innovation? Apparently not, since a reflex of \*luCuŋ appears in Subanon *gutuŋ* and Sarangani Manobo *lotoŋ*, both of which refer to the *Macaca fasicularis*. The problem here is that, while Taiwan has a single species of monkey, the Philippines has several, and \*bakés and \*lutuŋ appear to have co-existed in PPH as names for different types of monkeys. This does not mean that \*bakés is not a valid innovation in PPH, but because it is not a replacement innovation its subgrouping value is diminished.

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PAN \*luCung 'the Formosan rock monkey: Macaca cyclopis' [ACD]

Basai lotoŋ Formosan rock monkey

Kavalan Rutuŋ Formosan rock monkey

Saisiyat (Taai) Losoŋ Formosan rock monkey

Amis lotoŋ Formosan rock monkey

Thao rucun the Formosan rock monkey: Macaca cyclopis, a light gray, long-tailed monkey with triangular salmon-colored face

Bunun hutuŋ monkey

Siraya rutoŋ monkey

Puyuma ɭutuŋ Formosan rock monkey

Subanen/Subanun gutuŋ long-tailed macaque: Macaca fascicularis

Manobo (Sarangani) lotoŋ long-tailed macaque: Macaca fascicularis

Iban lutoŋ silvered leaf monkey: Presbytis eristata ultima Elliott

Salako lutukŋ black or grey long-tailed leaf monkey: Semnopithecus maurus

Malay lotoŋ black or grey long-tailed monkey: Semnopithecus spp., esp. Semnopithecus maurus

Acehnese lutōŋ long-tailed monkey with gray fur

Simalur lotuŋ monkey with dark fur and long tail: Semnopithecus maurus

Karo Batak lutuŋ kind of long-tailed monkey

Sundanese lutuŋ black monkey with long fur

Old Javanese lutuŋ black or grey long-tailed monkey: Semnopithecus maurus

Javanese lutuŋ black monkey

Balinese lutuŋ monkey; a young monkey

Sasak lutuŋ black, of skin color; a black monkey: Semnopithecus maurus

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PPH \*bakés 'monkey sp.' [ACD, Reid 1971#, YAP:256]

Ilokano bákes [Vanoverbergh:38] 'ape, monkey'
KankanayN bakés [Reid 1971]
Ibaloy bakes
Pangasinan bakés
Ayta Abellan bake
Botoloan Sambal baké

Iraya bakés
Alangan bakes
Aborlan Tagbanwa bakes
Palawan Batak bakés
Central Tagbanwa bakɨt
Kalamian Tagbanwa bakes

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matsing

Tagalog matsíng 'small monkey'

Kapampangan matsín

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\*amúʔ

Hanunoo amúʔ 'monkey, the common smaller species (Macaca irus)

Naga-Bikol amóʔ

Aklanon amóʔ

Kinaray-a amúʔ

Hiligaynon amóʔ

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Sp

Gaddang tsónggo

Chavacano chonggo

Itbayaten chonggo'

Ivatan chongo'

Ilokano sunggo

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YAP:256

Kalagan ubal

Maranao obal

Magindanaw ubal

Ata-Manobo ubal

Ilianen uBal

Western Bukidnon Manobo uval

Kalamansig-Cotabato ubal

Tigwa ubal

Tasaday ubal

Obo Manobo uva

Tiruray ubal

Sangir uba'
Sangil uba'

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Tagalog unggo ~ unggoy