A PRELIMINARY PROTO-MANOBO WORD LIST

RICHARD E. ELKINS
Summer Institute of Linguistics
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Many of us studying Manobo languages have maintained for some time that the term *Manobo* refers to groups whose languages are more closely related to each other than to other Philippine languages. It is now evident that these languages constitute a Manobo subgroup within the Philippine subfamily. A short sketch of some linguistic evidence for this is given in Elkins (1971) but no comparative analyses of Manobo have been undertaken until now.

This study[1] consists of a Proto-Manobo word list followed by the realization rules which account for shapes of words in eight daughter languages. The paper concludes with a theory of subgrouping which may shed some light on how migrations of Manobo-speaking peoples within Mindanao took place.

The languages on which this reconstruction is based are: Tigwa Manobo (TIG), Binukid of Mindanao (BKD), Sarangani Manobo (SAR), Western Bukidnon Manobo (WBM), Ilianen Manobo (ILN), Dibabawon Manobo (DIB), Cotabato Manobo (CTM), and Tasaday (TSY). Surveys in Mindanao conducted by the Summer Institute of Linguistics indicate that at least nineteen Manobo languages and major dialects are spoken there. The eight languages of this study are fairly representative of the several subgroups of the Manobo subfamily. Only Tagabawa and the Obo dialects of the Mount Apo region in Davao are not represented.

1. THE WORD LIST

The word list used as a basis for this study is a Philippine word list adapted by Elkins from the Swadesh list in 1962. A revised list seemed necessary for the purposes of the program of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in the Philippines because the Swadesh list included many items which were either too generic for the consistent elicitation of cognates in Philippine languages, or which contained ambiguities in the English gloss. The spelling of words follows the various orthographies devised by S. I. L. members with several exceptions. Glottal stop is represented by *?*. The pepet vowel is represented by *e* in all languages. A plus sign (+) represents a possible morpheme boundary. The orthography for Tasaday is based on the author's tentative phonemic analysis of data gathered in August, 1972. The Tasaday phonological system appears to be identical with that of Cotabato Manobo.

1. *?abaka 'abaca, manila hemp fiber'. TIG, BKD, DIB *?abaka;* SAR *?ebaka.*
2. *hapun 'afternoon'. TIG, BKD, WBM, CTM *hapun;*[2] SAR *?apon;* ILN *?apun;* DIB *hapun* 'early evening'.

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[1] This paper is the result of field work done in Mindanao, Philippines under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics over a number of years. I am grateful to the following for data from languages other than Western Bukidnon Manobo: Clarice Strong, Tigwa Manobo; Ursula Post and Mary Jane Gardner, Binukid; Carl Dubois, Sarangani Manobo; Jean Shand and Hazel Wrigglesworth, Ilianen Manobo; Jannette Forster and Myra Lou Barnard, Dibabawon; Clay Johnston, Cotabato Manobo. I am especially grateful to Secretary Manuel Elizalde, Jr. and the Panamin Foundation, Inc. for making possible the trip to the Tasaday in which I recorded the Tasaday data.

[2] TSY and CTM *p* represent the phone /p/ which is a voiceless bilabial fricative.

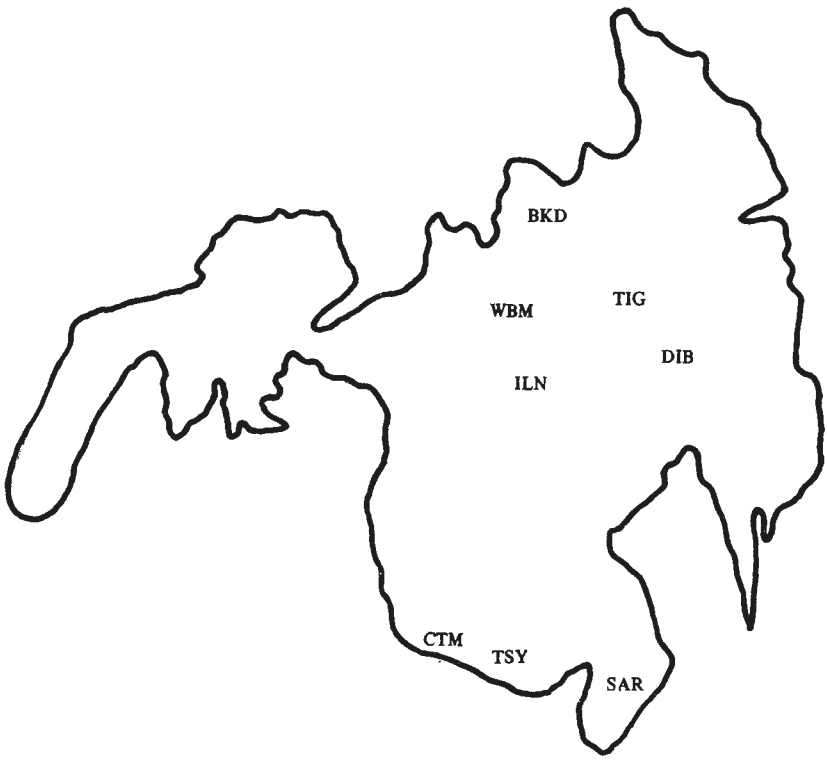

Figure 1

3. *tabak 'answer'. TIG, DIB *tabak;* WBM, ILN *tavak;* SAR *taba.*
4. *mama?en 'areca nut'. BKD, DIB, TSY *mama?en;* SAR *mema?en;* WBM, ILN *mema?an.*
5. *saging 'banana'. TIG, BKD, SAR, DIB, CTM *saging;* WBM *saging;* ILN *sahing.*
6. *(pa+)digus 'bathe'. TIG *digus;* SAR *digos;* WBM *pezigu?;* DIB *padigus;* CTM, TSY *pedigus.*
7. *getek 'belly, abdomen'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY *getek.*
8. *manika 'betel pepper'. TIG, BKD *manika;* WBM, CTM *menika.*
9. *kagat 'bite'. TIG, BKD, DIB *kagat;* WBM *kagat;* ILN *kahat.*
10. *pa?it 'bitter'. BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY *pa?it;* TIG, DIB *pe?it.*
11. *?item 'black'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY *?item.*
12. *langesa 'blood'. TIG, BKD, DIB *langesa;* WBM, ILN *lengesa.*
13. *lawa 'body'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY *lawa.*
14. *tu?lan 'bone'. TIG, BKD *tul?an;* SAR *to?lan;* WBM, ILN *tulan;* CTM, TSY *tu?elan.*
15. *sambay 'borrow'. BKD *sambay;* TIG, WBM *sambey;* CTM, TSY *sagbay.*
16. *?utek 'brain'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY *?utek;* SAR *?otek.*
17. *D(i?)am(?)ag or *D(i?)em(?)ag 'breakfast'. TIG *lem?ag;* BKD *dam?ag;* WBM, ILN *ramag;* CTM *li?emag.*
18. *lebeng 'bury'. TIG, BKD, SAR, DIB, CTM *lebeng;* WBM, ILN *leveng.*
19. *begsay 'canoe paddle'. BKD, SAR, DIB *begsay;* TIG, WBM *begsey.*

20. *karabaw 'carabao'. BKD, CTM *kalabaw;* WBM, ILN *keravew;* TIG *kalabew;* SAR *kelabaw;* DIB *kalabaw/kabaw.*
21. *kagpa 'chest'. BKD, SAR, CTM, TSY *kagpa;* DIB *kugpa* 'chest of a pig'.
22. *bata? 'child'. BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY *bata?;* TIG *bate?.*
23. *baka? 'chin'. BKD, WBM, ILN, *baka?;* TIG *bake?;* CTM, TSY *baha?.*
24. *pili? 'choose'. BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB *pili?;* CTM *hemili?.*
25. *(paN+) (pa+)nahik 'climb (a tree)'. TIG *pamaneik;* BKD *panahik;* SAR *nayit;* WBM *pemenahik;* DIB *penhik.*
26. *genaw 'cold'. SAR *genaw;* WBM *genew;* CTM *genaw;* BKD *genaw* 'to have chills and fever'.
27. *suwat 'comb'. BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM *suwat;* SAR *sowat.*
28. *duma 'companion'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY *duma;* SAR *doma.*
29. *gapas 'cotton'. TIG, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM *gapas.*
30. *buHa? 'cough'. BKD, WBM, CTM, TSY *buha?;* TIG *bue?.*
31. *bu?aya 'crocodile'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM *bu?aya;* SAR *bo?aya.*
32. *sinegaw 'cry (weep)'. CTM, TSY *sinegaw;* WBM *sinegew;* ILN *sinehew;* TIG, DIB *sinegew;* SAR *sinegaw* 'weep aloud'.
33. *?aldaw or *?andaw 'day or sun'. TIG, BKD, SAR *?aldaw;* WBM, ILN *?andew;* DIB *?adew;* CTM *?agdaw.*
34. *?utang 'debt'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM *?utang.*
35. *dalem 'deep'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM *dalem;* DIB *daem.*
36. *saladeng 'deer'. BKD *saladeng;* SAR, CTM *seladeng;* WBM *selazeng;* ILN *selareng.*
37. *regen 'difficult'. WBM *regen;* ILN *rehen;* BKD, TIG *legen.*
38. *?asu or *tuyang 'dog'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN *?asu;* CTM, TSY *tuyang;* SAR *toyang.*
39. *?inem or *?inum 'drink'. SAR, DIB, CTM, TSY *?inem;* TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN *?inum.*
40. *mada 'dry'. TIG, BKD *mada;* WBM *maza;* ILN *mara.*
41. *talinga 'ear'. TIG, BKD, DIB *talinga;* SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY *telinga.*
42. *tana? 'earth'. SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY *tana?;* TIG *tane?.*
43. *linug 'earthquake'. BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY *linug;* SAR *linog;* TIG *dinug.*
44. *ka?en 'eat'. BKD, SAR, CTM, TSY *ka?en;* TIG, DIB *ke?en;* WBM, ILN *ka?an.*
45. *kasili 'eel'. TIG, BKD *kasili;* SAR, WBM, ILN *kesili.*
46. *walu 'eight'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY *walu;* SAR *walo;* DIB *wau.*
47. *siku 'elbow'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY *siku;* SAR *siko.*
48. *mata 'eye'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM *mata.*
49. *kiray 'eyebrow'. WBM, ILN *kirey;* SAR, BKD *kilay;* TIG, DIB *kiley;* CTM *kilay* 'forehead'.
50. *(pirek)pirek 'eyelash'. WBM, ILN *pirekpirek;* SAR, CTM, TSY *pilekpilek;* TIG, BKD, DIB *pilek.*
51. *diyu? 'far'. BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY *diyu?;* SAR *diyo?;* TIG, DIB *diu?.*
52. *lambu? 'fat'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN *lambu?;* SAR *lambo?.*
53. *?amay 'father'. BKD, SAR *?amay;* TIG, WBM, ILN, DIB *?amey.*
54. *haldek or *handek 'fear'. TIG, BKD *haldek;* WBM *handek;* DIB *hadek;* ILN *?andek.*
55. *?alad 'fence'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN *?alad;* DIB *?aad.*
56. *sulu 'fingernail'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY *sulu;* SAR *solo;* DIB *suu.*
57. *Xapuy 'fire'. ILN, CTM, TSY *?apuy;* SAR *?apoy;* TIG, BKD, WBM *hapuy.*
58. *sa?eg 'floor'. BKD, SAR, CTM *sa?eg;* TIG, DIB *se?eg;* WBM, ILN *sa?ag.*

59. *bulak 'flower'. TIG, BKD, WBM *bulak;* SAR *bolak;* CTM, TSY *bulok;* DIB *buak.*
60. *langaw 'fly (noun)'. BKD, SAR, CTM *langaw;* TIG, WBM, ILN, DIB *langew.*
61. *layang 'to fly'. BKD, SAR, WBM, DIB, CTM *layang.*
62. *lipat 'forget'. BKD, WBM, ILN *lipat;* TSY *lipot.*
63. **(Xa)?epat 'four'.* SAR, ILN, CTM, TSY *?epat;* TIG *hep?at;* BKD *ha?epat;* WBM *he?epat.*
64. *hemut 'fragrant'. TIG, BKD, WBM, DIB *hemut;* ILN *?emut.*
65. *bakbak 'frog'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY *bakbak.*
66. *penu? 'full'. TIG, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY *penu?;* DIB *penu;* BKD *punu?.*
67. *luy(?)a 'ginger'. TIG, WBM, ILN *luya;* SAR *loya;* BKD *luy?a;* DIB *lui?a.*
68. *begay 'give'. TIG, SAR, CTM, TSY *begay;* WBM *begey;* ILN *behey;* DIB *begey.*
69. *?ilem 'green'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN *?ilem.*
70. *belad 'hand'. TIG, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY *belad;* DIB *bead.*
71. *desen 'hard'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB *desen.*
72. *?ulu 'head'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY *?ulu;* DIB *?uu;* SAR *?olo.*
73. *pusung 'heart'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM *pusung;* SAR *posong.*
74. *begat 'heavy'. TIG, BKD, SAR, DIB, CTM, TSY *begat;* WBM *begat;* ILN *bahat.*
75. *palu 'heel'. TIG, WBM, ILN *palu;* SAR *palo;* DIB *pau.*
76. *Heles 'to hide'. TIG, BKD *heles;* SAR, WBM, ILN *?eles.*
77. *?init 'hot'. TIG, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB *?init.*
78. *balay 'house'. BKD, SAR *balay;* TIG, WBM, ILN *baley;* DIB *baey;* CTM *balay+laget* 'brass betel nut box'.
79. *pira 'how much, how many'. WBM, ILN *pira:* TIG, BKD, SAR, DIB, CTM, TSY *pila.*
80. *gatus 'hundred'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB *gatus;* SAR *gatos.*
81. *bitil 'hunger'. TIG, WBM, ILN, CTM *bitil:* SAR *bitil* 'starve'; DIB *bitii* 'stretch taut'.
82. *katel 'itch'. BKD, SAR, CTM, TSY *katel.*
83. *sipa? 'kick'. BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB *sipa?;* TIG *sipe?;* CTM *sipa?* 'kick with the instep'.
84. *himatay 'kill'. BKD *himatay;* TIG, WBM, DIB *himatey;* SAR, CTM *?imatay;* ILN *?imatey.*
85. *bu?el 'knee'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN *bu?el;* SAR *bo?el.*
86. *Danaw 'lake'. BKD *danaw;* DIB *danew;* SAR, CTM *lanaw;* TIG *lanew;* WBM, ILN *ranew.*
87. *dakel 'large'. TIG, SAR, CTM, TSY *dakel;* WBM, ILN *dekela?;* DIB *dakee;* BKD *dakel* 'many'.
88. *dahun 'leaf'. BKD, WBM *dahun;* CTM, TSY *daun;* TIG *deun;* SAR *dawen;* ILN *dawun;* DIB *dehun.*
89. *gibang 'left'. TIG, BKD *gibang;* SAR, CTM *bibang;* WBM, ILN *givang;* TSY *b+in+ibang.*
90. *pa?a 'leg'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN *pa?a;* SAR *pa?a* 'thigh'.
91. *kilat 'lightning'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB *kilat;* SAR, CTM, TSY *kilat* 'thunder'.
92. *?apug 'lime'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY *?apug;* SAR *?apog.*
93. *?ugpa? 'live (dwell)'. TIG, DIB, CTM *?ugpa?;* SAR *?ogpa?;* WBM, ILN *?ubpa?.*
94. *?atay 'liver'. BKD, SAR, CTM *?atay;* TIG, WBM, ILN, DIB *?atey.*
95. *layat 'long'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN *layat;* CTM *layat* 'spread out'.

96. *kutu 'louse'. TIG, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM *kutu;* SAR *koto.*
97. *ma?ama 'male'. BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY *ma?ama;* SAR *me?ama.*
98. *?ikam 'mat'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM *?ikam;* DIB *hikam.*
99. *?ubal 'monkey'. TIG, CTM, TSY *?ubal;* WBM, ILN *?uval,* DIB *?ubaa.*
100. *bulan 'moon'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM *bulan;* SAR *bolan;* DIB *buan.*
101. *selem 'morning'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN *selem;* DIB *seem;* SAR *?iselem.*
102. *lesung 'mortar'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM *lesung;* SAR *lesong.*
103. *tagenek 'mosquito'. BKD, TSY *tagenek;* ILN *tehenek;* DIB *tagnek;* SAR *tigenek.*
104. *?inay 'mother'. BKD, SAR, CTM, TSY *?inay;* TIG, WBM, ILN, DIB *?iney.*
105. *ba?ba? 'mouth'. BKD, DIB *ba?ba?;* TIG, WBM *be?be?;* ILN *be?ba?.*
106. *basak 'mud'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN *basak.*
107. *ngadan 'name'. TIG, BKD, SAR, DIB, CTM, TSY *ngadan;* WBM *ngazan;* ILN *ngaran.*
108. *li?eg 'neck'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY *li?eg.*
109. *Zagum 'needle'. TIG, BKD, CTM *dagum;* SAR, DIB *dagem;* WBM *ragum;* ILN *rahum.*
110. *bag(?)u 'new'. TIG, BKD *bag?u;* WBM *begu;* ILN *behu.*
111. *dukilem 'night'. TIG, WBM, ILN, DIB *dukilem.*
112. *siyam or *siyaw 'nine'. BKD, SAR *siyam;* TIG *siam;* DIB *si?am;* WBM, ILN *siyew;* CTM, TSY *siyow.*
113. *?ugtu 'noon'. TIG, BKD, DIB *?ugtu;* WBM, ILN *?udtu.*
114. *?idung 'nose'. TIG, BKD, CTM, TSY ?idung; SAR *?idong;* WBM *?izung;* ILN *ngirung.*
115. *?anak 'offspring'. TIG, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY *?anak;* SAR *?anak* 'niece or nephew'.
116. *sakit 'pain'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY *sakit.*
117. *palad 'palm of hand'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN *palad;* DIB *paad.*
118. *dalan 'path (trail)'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM *dalan;* DIB *daan.*
119. *bayad 'to pay'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM *bayad.*
120. *?etaw 'person'. BKD, CTM, TSY *?etaw;* TIG, WBM, ILN, DIB *?etew;* SAR *?otaw.*
121. *babuy 'pig'. TIG, BKD, CTM, DIB *babuy;* WBM, ILN *bavuy.*
122. *bayu 'pound rice'. DIB *bayu;* WBM, ILN *bevayu;* TIG *b+in+ayu;* SAR *b+in+ayo.*
123. *gakit 'raft'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB *gakit.*
124. *?udan 'rain'. TIG, BKD, DIB, CTM *?udan;* SAR *?odan;* WBM *?uzan;* ILN *?uran.*
125. *balugtu 'rainbow'. BKD *balugtu;* TIG *baluntu;* WBM *beludtu;* ILN *beluntu;* CTM *belugtu.*
126. *balagen 'rattan'. TIG, BKD *balagen;* SAR, CTM, TSY *belagen;* WBM *belagen;* DIB *bagen.*
127. *kawanan 'right hand'. TIG, BKD *kawanan;* SAR *kowanan;* WBM, ILN *kewanan;* CTM *kuwanan.*
128. *sising 'ring'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN *sising;* CTM *tising.*
129. *?atep 'roof'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM *?atep.*
130. *dalid 'root'. TIG, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY *dalid;* BKD *dalid* 'a particular type of root'.
131. *pisi? 'rope'. TIG, BKD, WBM, DIB *pisi?.*
132. *(pa)laguy 'run'. TIG *palaguy;* BKD *pulaguy;* SAR *lagoy;* WBM *pelaguy;* ILN *pelahuy;* DIB *laguy.*
133. *pantad 'sand'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN *pantad.*
134. *tahi? 'sew'. BKD, WBM *tahi?;* DIB *tehi?;* ILN *tayi?;* TIG *tei?.*

135. *?alung 'shadow'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM *?alung;* SAR *?along.*
136. *garang 'sharp or rough'. TIG, SAR, CTM, TSY *galang;* WBM, ILN *garang.*
137. *suled 'sibling'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN *suled.*
138. *pinu?u 'sit'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN *pinu?u;* CTM *pene?u.*
139. *(Xa)?enem 'six'. SAR, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY *?enem;* TIG *hen?em;* BKD *ha?enem;* WBM *he?enem.*
140. *gasa? 'skinny'. BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY *gasa?;* TIG *gase?.*
141. *langit 'sky'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY *langit.*
142. *?udipen 'slave'. TIG, DIB, CTM *?udipen;* WBM *?uzipen;* ILN *?uripen.*
143. *lipedeng 'sleep'. TIG, DIB *lipedeng;* WBM *lipezeng;* ILN *lipereng;* BKD, SAR, CTM *lipedeng* 'close the eyes'.
144. *de?isek 'small'. TIG, WBM, ILN *de?isek;* CTM, TSY *di?isek;* SAR *de?itek.*
145. *Hadek 'to smell or kiss'. TIG, BKD, DIB, CTM *hadek;* SAR *?adek;* ILN *?arek;* WBM *hazek.*
146. *?ebel 'smoke'. TIG, BKD, SAR, CTM, TSY *?ebel;* WBM, ILN *?evel;* DIB *?ebee.*
147. *?uled 'snake'. TIG, WBM, ILN, CTM *?uled;* DIB *?ued;* BKD *?uled* 'worm, insect'.
148. *sabaw 'soup'. BKD, SAR, CTM *sabaw;* TIG, DIB *sabew;* WBM, ILN *savew.*
149. *Zangaw 'span'. BKD, SAR, TSY *dangaw;* TIG, DIB *dangew;* WBM, ILN *rangew.*
150. *?ileb 'spit'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY *?ileb.*
151. *?asawa 'spouse'. TIG, BKD, DIB *?asawa;* SAR, WBM, ILN *?esawa;* CTM, TSY *sawa.*
152. *(hi)tindeg 'stand'. BKD, WBM *hitindeg;* ILN *?itindeg;* SAR *tindeg;* CTM, TSY *tigdeg.*
153. *bitu?en 'star'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM, DIB *bitu?en;* SAR *bito?en.*
154. *deket 'stick to'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM *deket.*
155. *batu 'stone'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY *batu;* SAR *bato.*
156. *tu?lid 'straight'[3]. SAR *to?lid;* DIB *tu?id;* WBM *tulid;* TIG, BKD *tul?id.*
157. *rimuseng 'sweat'. WBM, ILN *rimuseng;* TIG, CTM, TSY *limuseng.*
158. *?emis 'sweet'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY *?emis;* SAR (ma+)?mis.
159. *kasila? 'sweet potato'. SAR, WBM, ILN *kesila?;* TIG *kasile?;* CTM *katila?.*
160. *?ikug 'tail'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY *?ikug;* SAR *?ikog.*
161. *sa(m)pulu? 'ten' BKD *sampulu?;* WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY *sepulu?;* SAR *sempolo?;* DIB *sampuu?;* TIG *sapulu?.*
162. *?anay 'termite'. SAR *?anay;* TIG, WBM, DIB *?aney;* BKD *?ana?ay.*
163. *kepal 'thick'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM, TSY *kepal.*
164. *bubun 'thigh'. TIG, BKD, CTM, TSY *bubun;* WBM *buvun;* SAR *bobon.*
165. *nipis 'thin'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM *nipis.*
166. *dugi 'thorn'. TIG, BKD, DIB, CTM, TSY *dugi;* WBM *dugi;* ILN *ruhi.*
167. *libu 'thousand'. TIG, BKD, WBM, DIB *libu.*
168. *(ta)telu 'three'. TIG *tatelu;* WBM, ILN *tetelu;* BKD *tatulu;* SAR, CTM, TSY *telu;* DIB *tateu.*
169. *rugung 'thunder'. TIG, BKD, DIB *lugung;* WBM *rugung;* ILN *ruhung.*
170. *kunta?en or *gunta?en 'today'. TIG, DIB *kunte?en;* WBM *gunta?an;* ILN *gunta?ani.*
171. *ka(?a)selem 'tomorrow'. TIG *ka?aselem;* WBM, ILN *ke?eselem;* DIB *kasem.*

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[3]We reconstruct *tu?lid rather than *tul?id since it appears to be analogous to *tu?lan 'bone' for which there is better evidence. Presumably for euphony's sake, metathesis of *l and *? has taken place in BKD, SAR, and DIB. In the case of *tu?lan WBM and ILN have lost the glottal stop. CTM and TSY eliminate the unusual combination with the accretion of *e*. SAR retains the original form.

172. *dila? 'tongue'. BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY *dila?;* TIG *dile?.*
173. *ngipen 'tooth'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY *ngipen.*
174. *kayu 'tree'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY *kayu:* SAR *kayo.*
175. *salu?al 'trousers'. TIG *salu?al;* WBM, ILN *selu?al;* SAR *selowal;* DIB *sau?aa.*
176. *ba?u(?u) 'turtle'. TIG, BKD, DIB *ba?u?u;* WBM, ILN *be?u?u;* CTM *ba?u;* SAR *ba?o* 'small sea turtle'.
177. *(da)duwa 'two'. TIG, BKD *daduwa;* WBM *dezuwa;* ILN *derewa;* DIB *dadua;* CTM, TSY *duwa;* SAR *dowa.*
178. *?ugat 'vein'. TIG, BKD, DIB *?ugat;* SAR *?ogut;* WBM *?ugat;* ILN *?uhat.*
179. *tagad or *angat 'wait'. TIG, SAR, DIB *tagad;* WBM *tagad:* ILN *tahad;* BKD, CTM *?angat.*
180. *hipanaw 'walk'. BKD *hipanaw;* TIG, WBM, DIB *hipanew;* ILN *?ipanew;* SAR *?ipanaw.*
181. *pi?pi? 'wash clothes'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM *pi?pi?.*
182. *wahig or *wayeg 'water'. BKD, WBM *wahig;* TIG *weig;* DIB *wehig,* ILN *wayig;* SAR, CTM, TSY *wayeg.*
183. *sakedu 'water container'. TIG *sakedu:* DIB, CTM *sekedu:* WBM *sekezu;* BKD *sakudu.*
184. *habel 'weave cloth'. TIG, BKD *habel;* SAR *?abel;* WBM *havel:* ILN *?avel;* DIB *habee.*
185. *sa(n)lepan 'west'. WBM, ILN senlepan; TIG, BKD *salepan;* SAR *selepan;* DIB *saepan.*
186. *hames 'wet'. BKD, WBM *hames;* TIG *kames;* SAR, ILN *?ames.*
187. *kuwa 'what you may call it'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, CTM *kuwa;* SAR *kowa;* DIB *kua?.*
188. *puti? 'white'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN, DIB *puti?;* SAR *poti?.*
189. *balu 'widow'. TIG, BKD, WBM, ILN CTM *balu;* SAR *balo* DIB *bau.*
190. *karamag 'wind'. TIG, BKD *kalamag;* SAR, CTM, TSY *kelamag;* DIB *kamag;* WBM, ILN *keramag.*
191. *pakpak 'wing'. TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM *pakpak.*
192. *bahi 'woman (female)'. BKD, WBM, *bahi;* SAR, CTM, TSY *bayi;* DIB *behi;* TIG *bei.*
193. *kagi 'word or saying'. TIG, SAR, BKD, WBM, DIB, CTM *kagi;* ILN *kahi;* TSY *ikagi.*
194. *tu?ig 'year'. BKD, WBM, DIB *tu?ig,* TIG *tu?id.*
195. *gabi?i 'yesterday'. TIG, DIB *gabi?i;* WBM, ILN *gevi?i;* SAR *gebi?i* 'long ago'; BKD *gabi?* 'past'.

2. THE REFLEXES OF PROTO-MANOBO PHONEMES

2.1 PROTO-MANOBO PHONEMES ARE:

Consonants

*p	*t	*k	*?
*b	*d	*g	
*m	*n	*ng	
	*l		
	*r	*D	

		*Z		
	*s		*h	*H
				*X
*w	*y			

Vowels

*i		*u
	*e	
	*a	

2.2. REALIZATION RULES FOR PROTO-MANOBO PHONEMES.

2.21 PROTO-CONSONANTS

2.21.1 *p

In TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, TSY

$$*p \longrightarrow p$$

Discrepancies: CTM *hemili?* 'choose'. Presumably *hemili?* corresponds to *paN- 'distributive' + *pili? 'choose'. If this is true the discrepancy would be in the correspondence of *paN- to *hem-*. Since the N of *paN- is a replacive, i.e., it replaces the initial consonant of the stem *pili?* while assimilating to its point of articulation, there is no actual discrepancy of *pili? to *hemili?*.

2.21.2 *t

In TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, and TSY

$$*t \longrightarrow t$$

2.21.3 *k

In TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, and TSY

$$*k \longrightarrow k$$

Discrepancies: CTM and TSY *baha?* 'chin'; SAR *nayit* 'climb; *taba* 'answer'.

2.21.4 *b

(a) In ILN and WBM

$$*b \longrightarrow \begin{cases} v \text{ in } / \begin{Bmatrix} \text{vocoid} \\ l \\ r \end{Bmatrix} \text{ ——} \\ b \text{ elsewhere} \end{cases}$$

(b) In TIG, BKD, SAR, DIB, CTM, and TSY

$$*b \longrightarrow b$$

2.21.5. *d

(a) In WBM and ILN

$$*d \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l}\text{WBM}\\ \\ \text{ILN}\end{array}\right] \left[\begin{array}{l} z \\ \\ r \end{array}\right] \quad \text{in /} \quad \left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{vocoid}\\ \\ l\end{array}\right\} \quad \text{——} \\ \\ d \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

(b) In TIG, BKD, SAR, DIB, CTM, and TSY

$$*d \longrightarrow d$$

Discrepancy: ILN *ruhi* 'thorn'.

2.21.6 *g

(a) In WBM and ILN

$$*g \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l}\text{WBM}\\ \\ \text{ILN}\end{array}\right] \left[\begin{array}{l} g \\ \\ h \end{array}\right] \quad in / \quad \left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{vocoid}\\ l\\ r\end{array}\right\} \quad \text{——} \\ \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} b \\ \\ d \end{array}\right] \quad \text{in / ——} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l}\text{bilabials}\\ \\ \text{alveolars}\end{array}\right] \\ \\ g \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

Discrepancy: ILN *beluntu* 'rainbow'.

(b) In TIG, BKD, SAR, DIB, CTM, and TSY

$$*g \longrightarrow g$$

Discrepancies: SAR, CTM *bibang* 'left side'; TSY *b+in+ibang* left side'; TIG *balluntu* 'rainbow', *tuid* 'year'.

2.21.7 *?

(a) In ILN and WBM

$$*? \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{null in / ——} \; *l \\ \\ ? \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

(b) In TIG, BKD, SAR, DIB, CTM, and TSY

$$*? \longrightarrow ?$$

Discrepancies: DIB *hikam* 'mat'; SAR *seluwal* 'trousers'.

2.21.8 *m

(a) In CTM and TSY

$$*m \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} g \text{ in / ——} \quad \left\{\begin{array}{l}*b\\ \\ *d\end{array}\right\} \\ \\ \\ m \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

(b) In TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, and DIB

$$*m \longrightarrow m$$

2.21.9 *n

(a) In CTM and TSY

$$*n \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} g \text{ in } / \text{ \_\_\_\_\_ } *d \\ n \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

(b) In TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, and DIB

$$*n \longrightarrow n$$

2.21.10 *ng

In TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, and TSY

$$*ng \longrightarrow ng$$

2.21.11 *l

(a) In TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM, and TSY

$$*l \longrightarrow l$$

Discrepancy: TIG *dinug* 'earthquake'.

(b) In DIB

$$*l \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{null in } / \ V_1 \text{ \_\_\_\_\_ } V_1 \\ V_2 \text{ in } / \ *V_2 \text{ \_\_\_\_\_ } \# \\ l \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

where: $V_1 \neq i$, V_2 = any vowel, # = word boundary

2.21.12 *r

(a) In WBM and ILN

$$*r \longrightarrow r$$

Discrepancy: ILN *dara* 'to weave a mat'.

(b) In TIG, BKD, SAR, CTM, and TSY

$$*r \longrightarrow l$$

(c) In DIB

$$*r \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{null in } / \ V_1 \text{ \_\_\_\_ } V_1 \\ V_2 \text{ in } / \ *V_2 \text{ \_\_\_\_ } \# \\ l \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

where: $V_1 \neq i$, V_2 = any vowel, # = word boundary

2.21.13 *D

(a) In BKD and DIB $*D \longrightarrow d$.

(b) In WBM and ILN $*D \longrightarrow r$.

(c) In TIG, SAR, and CTM[4] $*D \longrightarrow l$.

[4]The data for Tasaday is too limited to reflect *D.

2.21.14 *Z

(a) In TIG, BKD, SAR, CTM, and TSY
*Z ⟶ *d*

(b) In WBM and ILN *Z ⟶ *r*

2.21.15 *s

In TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, DIB, CTM, and TSY
*s ⟶ *s*

Discrepancies: WBM *pezigu?* 'bathe'; CTM *tising* 'ring' *katila?* 'sweet potato'; SAR *de?itek* 'small'.

2.21.16 *h

(a) In SAR and ILN

*h ⟶ { *w* in / V ____ *u ; *y* in / V ____ *i ; *?* elsewhere }

(In this and the following rules V = vowel.)

(b) In TIG

*h ⟶ { null in / V ____ V ; *h* elsewhere }

Discrepancy: *kames* 'wet'.

(c) In CTM and TSY

*h ⟶ { null in / V ____ *u ; *y* in / V ____ *i ; *h* elsewhere }

(d) In BKD, WBM, and DIB *h ⟶ *h.*

2.21.17 *H

(a) In TIG

*H ⟶ { null in / V ____ V ; *h* elsewhere }

(b) In SAR and ILN *H ⟶ *?.*

(c) In BKD, WBM, DIB, CTM, and TSY *H ⟶ *h.*

2.21.18 *X

(a) In SAR, ILN, CTM, and TSY *X ⟶ *?.*

(b) In TIG, BKD, WBM, and DIB *X ⟶ *h.*

2.21.19 *w

(a) In TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM, and TSY

*w ⟶ w

(b) In DIB

*w ⟶ { null in / *u ____ ; w elsewhere }

2.21.20 *y

(a) In TIG and DIB

*y ⟶ { null in / *i ____ ; y elsewhere }

(b) In BKD, WBM, SAR, ILN, CTM, and TSY

*y ⟶ y

2.22 PROTO-VOWELS

2.22.1 *a

(a) In TIG

*a ⟶ { e in / { +C ____ S+ ; + ____ S+ ; ____ { *h ; *? } ; (____) ? x ; + ____ ? + ; ____ *?*e } high vowel ; a elsewhere }

where: C = consonant

S = semivowel

\+ = syllable boundary

x = any phoneme except *a*, or null

(____) ≠ prepenultimate syllable

Discrepancies: *hep?at* 'four' and *hen?em* where there is a loss of *a from *Xa?epat and *Xa?enem respectively (Metathesis accounts for the displacement of ?.)

(b) In BKD *a ⟶ *a*.

Discrepancy: *pulaguy* 'run'.

(c) In SAR

*a ⟶ { e in prepenultimate syllables ; a elsewhere }

Discrepancies: *tigenek* 'mosquito', *kowanan* 'right hand'.

(d) In WBM and ILN

$$*a \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} e \text{ in } / & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{prepenultimate syllables} \\ +C \_\_\_\_ S+ \end{array} \right\} \\ a \text{ elsewhere} & \end{array} \right\}$$

where: C = consonant

S = semivowel

\+ = syllable boundary

(e) In DIB

$$*a \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} e \text{ in } / & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +C \_\_\_\_ S+ \\ + \_\_\_\_ S+ \\ \_\_\_\_ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} *? \\ *h \end{array} \right\} \\ \_\_\_\_ *?*e \end{array} \right\} \text{ high vowel} \\ \text{null in } / *a\ *l \_\_\_\_ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \# \\ + \end{array} \right\} & \\ aa \text{ in } / \_\_\_\_ *l & \\ a \text{ elsewhere} & \end{array} \right\}$$

where: C = consonant

S = semivowel

\+ = syllable boundary

\# = word boundary

The sequence *a*l is part of a word consisting of more than two syllables.

Discrepancies: *penhik* 'climb (a tree)', *sekedu* 'water container', *kugpa* 'chest of a pig'

(f) In CTM and TSY

$$*a \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} e \text{ in } / \text{ prepenultimate syllables} \\ a \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

Discrepancies: CTM and TSY *ma?ama* 'male'. *kalabaw* 'carabao', *katila?* 'sweet potato', *bulok* 'flower'[5], *sawa* 'spouse'; TSY *lipot* 'forget'; CTM *kuwanan* 'right hand'.

2.22.2 *e

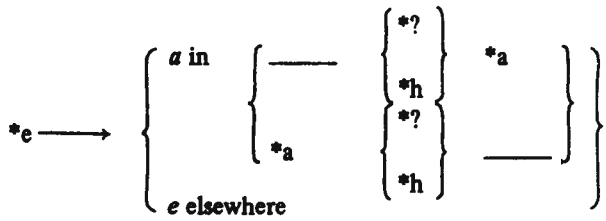
(a) In TIG, BKD, SAR, CTM, and TSY

$$*e \longrightarrow e$$

Discrepancies: BKD *punu?* 'full' *sakudu* 'water container' *tatulu* 'three'; DIB *?upat* 'four', *tagnek* 'mosquito'; SAR *ma+?mis* 'sweet', *?otaw* 'person'; CTM, TSY *di?isek* 'small'.

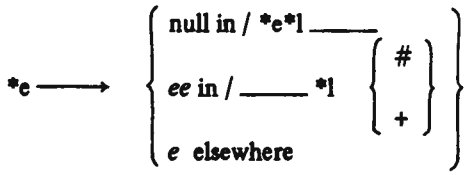
[5]There may be a regular rule which accounts for TSY and CTM *o*, but our present limited corpus of data does not seem to suggest such a rule.

(b) In WBM and ILN[6]



Discrepancy: ILN *be?ba?* 'mouth'.

(c) In DIB



where: # = word boundary

\+ = syllable boundary

The sequence *e*l is part of a word consisting of more than two syllables.

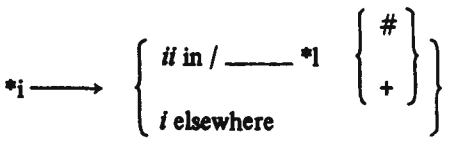
2.22.3 *i

(a) In TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM, and TSY

*i ⟶ *i*

Discrepancy: BKD *gabi?* 'past'; CTM *pene?u* 'sit'.

(b) In DIB



where: # = word boundary

\+ = syllable boundary

2.22.4 *u

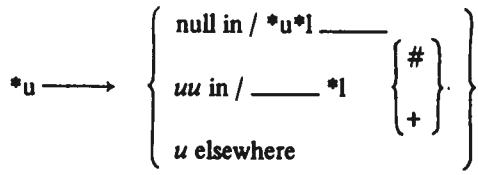
(a) In TIG, BKD, SAR, WBM, ILN, CTM, and TSY

*u ⟶ *u*

Discrepancies: SAR *dagem* 'needle' *dawen* 'leaf'; CTM *pene?u* 'sit'; ILN *derewa* 'two'.

(b) In DIB

[6]This rule accounts for phenomena beyond the scope of this paper but is none the less valid.



where: # = word boundary

+ = syllable boundary

The sequence *u*l is part of a word consisting of more than two syllables.

Discrepancy: *dagem* 'needle'.

2.23 PHONEME ACCRETION

The following words show discrepancies with their Proto-Manobo counterparts because of phoneme accretion:

?ana?ay	BKD	'termite'	from *?anay
?iselem	SAR	'morning'	from *selem
dekela?	WBM, ILN	'big'	from *dakel
gunta?ani	ILN	'today'	from *gunta?an
kua?	DIB	'what you may call it'	from *kuwa
tu?elan	CTM, TSY	'bone'	from *tu?lan
?ikagi	TSY	'word, saying'	from *kagi

3. A SUBGROUPING THEORY

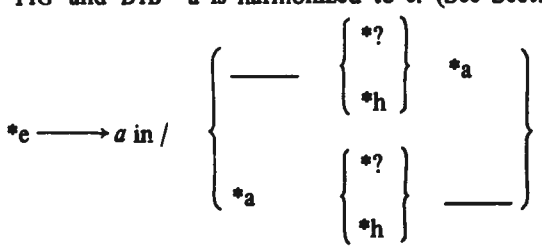
The five rules for the reflexes of *a in the daughter languages of Proto-Manobo and one of the rules for the reflexes of *e suggest a theory of subgrouping. The rules represent innovations which occurred subsequent to Proto-Manobo and the subgrouping is based on whether or not a particular language shares one or more of these innovations with one or more of the other languages.

3.1 THE SYLLABLE-FINAL SEMIVOWEL RULE

For several of the languages in our study *a has the reflex *e* in a syllable which ends in a semivowel. Thus WBM *baley* 'house' from *balay and *sevew* 'soup' from *sabaw. The following languages show the syllable-final semivowel rule: TIG, WBM, ILN, and DIB. (See Sect 2.22.1 (a), (d), and (e))

3.2 THE VOWEL HARMONY RULES

There are two kinds of vowel harmony rules. In ILN and WBM *e is harmonized to *a*. In TIG and DIB *a is harmonized to *e*. (See Sect. 2.22.2 (b)) In ILN and WBM



Thus *ka?en 'eat' becomes *ka?an.*

In TIG and DIB (see Sect. 2.22.1 (a), (e))

*a ⟶ *e* in / _____ *?*e

Thus *ka?en 'eat' becomes *ke?en.*

3.3 THE PREHIGH-VOWEL RULE

In TIG and DIB *a has the reflex *e* preceding an *h or *? which precedes a high vowel. (See Sect. 2.22.1 (a) and (e))

$$*a \longrightarrow e \text{ in } / \_\_\_\left\{\begin{matrix} *h \\ *? \end{matrix}\right\} \text{ high vowel}$$

Thus *bahi 'female' becomes *bei* in TIG and *behi* in DIB. Also *pa?it 'bitter' becomes *pe?it* in both TIG and DIB.

3.4 THE PREPENULTIMATE-SYLLABLE RULE.

In WBM, ILN, SAR, CTM, and TSY *a has the reflex *e* in prepenultimate syllables. (See Sect. 2.22.1 (c), (d), and (f))

*a ⟶ *e* in / ——— penultima

Thus *mama?en 'areca nut' becomes: SAR *mema?en;* WBM and ILN *mema?an;* and *(pa+)digus 'bathe' becomes: WBM *pezigu?;* CTM and TSY *pedigus.*

3.5 THE PREGLOTTAL-STOP RULE.

In TIG *a has the reflex *e* preceding a syllable-final glottal stop. (See Sect. 2.22.1 (a))

*a ⟶ *e* in / (_____) ?x

where: (_____) ≠ prepenultimate syllable

x = any phoneme except *a*, or null

Thus *bata? 'child' becomes *bate?* 'child'.

The tree diagram in figure 2 presents a subgrouping possibility based on the foregoing rules. The tree suggests three major separations in the history of descent from Proto-Manobo. Although our study includes only eight Manobo languages and dialects, these eight are generally representative of the majority of the remainder in the following way:[7] TIG also represents Ata of Davao, Matig Salug and other groups of the Davao River area, and also certain other areas east of the Pulangi River in Bukidnon and North Cotabato.

SAR also represents a Manobo dialect on the eastern side of the Davao Gulf.
WBM and ILN form a subgroup with Livunganen, a dialect north of Midsayap, Cotabato.

DIB also represents the dialects of Agusan Manobo.[8]
CTM and TSY also represent Blit Manobo.[9]

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[7] As previosuly mentioned, to my knowledge only the languages around Mt. Apo in Davao are not represented.

[8] These observations are based on information in the survey files of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at Nasuli, Malaybalay, Bukidnon, Philippines.

[9] Personal communication from Teodoro A. Llamzon, S.J.

*a innovations

a = syllable-final semivowel rule
b = vowel harmony rule
c = prehigh-vowel rule
d = prepenultimate rule
e = preglottal-stop rule

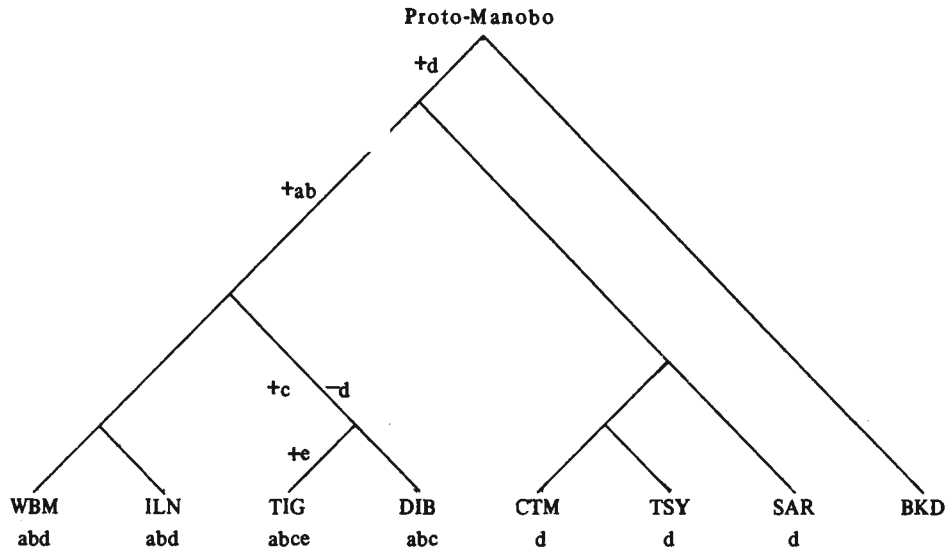

Figure 2

Assuming that the scheme is correct, we may make the following observations. Since BKD exhibits none of the aforementioned innovations, we may assume that the ancestors of the present day BKD speakers separated before any of the *a or *e innovations took place. Next, the ancestors of the SAR, CTM, and TSY speakers separated, but not before the prepenultimate-syllable rule came into being. Following this, the remaining group, TIG, DIB, WBM, and ILN, developed the syllable-final semivowel rule and the vowel harmony rules. When TIG and DIB separated from ILN and WBM they lost the prepenultimate rule and developed the prehigh-vowel rule. TIG subsequently separated from DIB and developed the preglottal-stop rule. The separation of WBM from ILN, and CTM from TSY and from SAR is best shown by differences which have developed in their respective lexicons.

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