Manide: An Undescribed Philippine Language

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Manide is a language spoken by a population of about 4,000 indigenous Negrito Filipinos living in and around the province of Camarines Norte in the southern part of the large northern Philippine island of Luzon. It has received occasional mention in the linguistics literature, but virtually no data are available for the language. This paper seeks to address this lack, presenting and analyzing lexical and functor data, as well as providing some significant sociolinguistic information about this group.

1. INTRODUCTION.[1] A considerable number of indigenous Negrito[2] Filipino ethnolinguistic groups are found in the large northern Philippine island of Luzon. Many of those in the northern and central parts of Luzon have been documented to varying degrees over the past half-century by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Others have only more recently received significant attention, such as Dupaningan Agta (Robinson 2008), Northern and Southern Alta (Reid 1991), Arta (Reid 1989), and Umiray Dumaget (Himes 2002). Southern Luzon, on the other hand, is home to at least four such groups (Inagta Rinconada, Inagta Partido, Inagta Alabat, and Manide), none of which has received any substantial attention in the linguistics literature. The most divergent of these is Manide.

Manide [ma.ni.dé] is the endonym for an ethnolinguistic group of approximately 4,000 members (according to population census counts by the Philippines' National Commission on Indigenous Peoples, or NCIP), virtually all of whom speak the language of the

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2. I have agreed with the editor to use the more traditional term "Negrito Filipinos" in deference to the usage of Lawrence Reid, but would have preferred to use a more modern-sounding term like "Black Filipinos" to avoid preconceived notions associated with the diminutive "Negrito" (literally 'small black person'), and to remind readers that, as Thomas Headland states, "these are people who have evolved right along with the rest of us into the 20th century" (1997:607).

same name as their primary—and sometimes only—language. Manide is also the name that was recorded a century ago by John M. Garvan (1963:8), who visited Negrito Filipino communities throughout Luzon between 1903 and 1924.[3] Garvan states that during a trip "along the northeastern part of Gulf Ragay, Tayabas" (now Quezon province), the group he visited "called themselves 'Manidi' but further and very careful inquiry elicited not a particle of information as to the why and wherefore of their appellation" (1963:6). However, neighboring Tagalogs and Bikolanos now refer to this group by various other names, such as *Abiyan, Kabihúg, Bihúg, Awâ, Aytà*, and *Agtà*.[4] Linguists have added to the list of exonyms for the Manide, with the Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) referring to them as "Agta, Camarines Norte," while Reid (1994) called them the "Camarines Norte" member of the geographically based category "South Agta," although he has more recently adopted the name "Manide Agta" (Reid 2009a).

Reid (1994a:41) draws attention to the fact that Manide and the Agta languages of Camarines Sur "remain unanalyzed," and that "no morphological or syntactic data is available for these languages." Reid's comments are hardly an understatement, and in fact, misinformation is just as abundant as accurate information: consider, for example, that the Ethnologue (Gordon 2005, Lewis 2009) states that there are only 150 speakers of the Manide (or "Agta, Camarines Norte") language.[5] In reality, there are more than two dozen Manide communities, and even the smallest three combined would easily surpass the population figure of 150 cited in the 2005 Ethnologue entry. The town with the largest Manide population—over 1,500—is Labo, Camarines Norte. Table 1 shows the NCIP

TABLE 1. TOWNS WITH MANIDE POPULATIONS[†]

Town (Camarines Norte, unless otherwise noted)	No. of communities	Manide population
Basud	2	175
Labo	9	1,542
Jose Panganiban	3	568
Paracale	4	581
Santa Elena	1	110
Capalonga	2	345
San Lorenzo Ruiz	1	45
Calauag, Quezon	1	n/a
Lopez, Quezon	1	n/a
Ragay, Camarines Sur	1	200
Lupi, Camarines Sur	1	197
TOTAL		**3,763**

†   Not including the Agta community on Alabat Island that consists of approximately 30 families (Rosie Susutin Bareno, pers. comm., March 15, 2009). (Note that rural Filipinos more often count themselves in terms of families or households, and not individual persons.)

3. Note that Garvan's accounts of his travels were only published posthumously, in 1963.
4. A previous director of the Bikol Region NCIP, who shall remain anonymous, actually insisted that the Manide were a "subtribe" of the (Bikol) Agta tribe, a claim that is in direct contradiction to the linguistic evidence. Also note just as importantly that the Manide do not consider themselves to be "Agta," and many are angered when the term is applied to them. Note that the local Tagalog names for the Manide—*kabihúg* or *bihúg*—derive from the Manide word *kabehóg* 'boss', slightly ironic since the Manide are invariably the Tagalogs' hired help, while the Tagalogs themselves are the bosses.
5. Note that while this erroneous information was not corrected in time for Lewis (2009), it is already in the process of being corrected for the seventeenth edition of the Ethnologue (Lewis forthcoming).

population figures, although it should be noted that these figures, obtained in 2005–06, were already largely outdated at that time, especially considering the fluidity of movement of Manide groups who often travel around in groups looking for work as manual laborers. In spite of their shortcomings, however, the NCIP figures are the only existing census figures available for the Manide.

1.1 LOCATION. The Manide live primarily in the Tagalog-speaking central and western two-thirds of Camarines Norte province in southern Luzon.[6] A smaller number of communities live in the Bikol-speaking eastern third of Camarines Norte, almost exclusively in the town of Basud.[7] At least two communities of Manide are located in western Camarines Sur province (also a Bikol-speaking area), in the towns of Ragay and Lupi, on the southern side of the mountains that form the border between Camarines Norte and Camarines Sur in this area. Another two communities are located in the eastern extreme of Quezon Province, in the towns of Calauag and Lopez.

It should be noted that Lopez, Quezon, is also home to an earlier Agta community that speaks a language related to, but substantially different from, the Manide language, and that is the same language that was brought to Alabat in the 1970s by migrants, and has been referred to in the *Ethnologue* as "Agta, Alabat Island" (Rosie Susutin Bareno, pers. comm., March 15, 2009). A number of Manide have also reportedly moved into other nearby provinces such as Batangas for work as manual laborers. Map 1 provides a sketch of the locations of the Manide and other Negrito Filipino groups along the Pacific coast of Luzon.

Today, the Manide are almost completely isolated from other Negrito Filipino groups: the closest to the east are the Agta of the Partido and Rinconada districts of Camarines Sur, whose language is a member of the Bikol subgroup with very few features indicating any pre-Bikol substrata; and to the west (excluding the closely related Inagta Alabat as discussed above) is Umiray Dumaget on both sides of the Aurora-Quezon border, and on Polillo Island.[8] The Manide do not have any significant amount of contact with either group, and there does not appear to be any special relationship between the Manide language and the language of any other neighboring Negrito Filipino group, except for Inagta Alabat (cf. sections 4 and 5, and appendix 2).[9]

In earlier times, however, the Manide were the southeasternmost tribe in what was formerly a continuous stretch of the east coast of Luzon inhabited almost exclusively by Negrito Filipinos, from the Dupaningan Agta at the northeastern tip of Luzon, to the Manide in Camarines Norte (see map 1). According to Goda (2003), it was not until the Spanish occupation that the Negrito Filipino population around the Pacific coast of Luzon was minoritized and drastically declined in many places:

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6. It should be noted that the Tagalog of this area is rather divergent from the "standard" Manila Tagalog, having a considerable amount of influence from Bikol, in addition to the features shared with other Southern Tagalog dialects (but not with Manila Tagalog).

7. Bikolanos and Manide in Basud reported to me that a community of Manide also lived in a *barangay* of the town of San Lorenzo Ruiz until 2008, when it transferred downhill to Basud after attacks on some of its members by non-Manide in the same *barangay*.

8. A small group of what apparently were Umiray Dumaget from Dingalan, Aurora, are now living in the Calaguas Islands off the north coast of Camarines Norte near the towns of Vinzons and Paracale (see map 1), although no members of this community speak their ancestral language, and the community is now Tagalog- and Bikol-speaking.

9. See sections 4 and 5 for notes about a possible link with Umiray Dumaget.

**MAP 1. NEGRITO FILIPINO GROUPS ON THE
PACIFIC COAST OF LUZON**

1 = Manide
2 = Inagta Alabat
3 = Inagta Lopez
4 = Inagta Partido
5 = Inagta Rinconada
6 = Remontado Dumagat
7 = Umiray Dumaget
8 = Casiguran Agta
9 = Pahanan Agta
10 = Dupaningan Agta
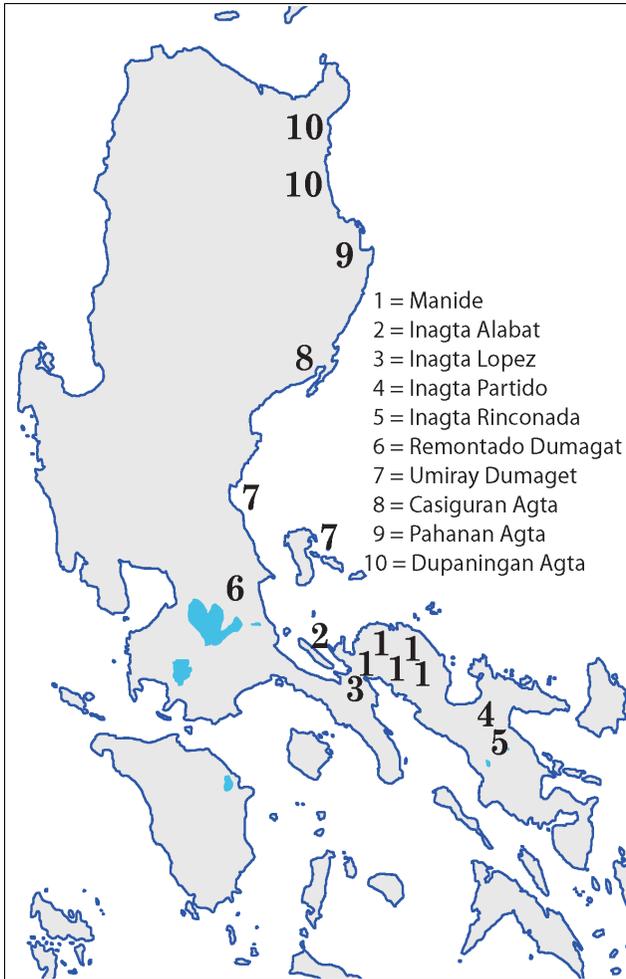
By the time of the Spanish arrival in the archipelago, most of the Philippine Negrito groups had already been 'minoritized' and driven into remote areas by the Malay ethnic groups. By contrast, in the southeastern region of Luzon (present Quezon), the Aetas and other Negrito groups were still a majority compared to the Malay people when the Spanish first came to the area (c. 1571, according to a Spanish document). In 1578, the town of Tayabas was founded by the Franciscans. Since then, many Malays (mainly Tagalog) moved into the area and the Aetas became 'minoritized' (Goda 2003:183–84).[10]

What took place since 1578 around Tayabas town has also taken place, albeit slightly more recently, in Camarines Norte and eastern Quezon. According to Bikolano historian

Danilo Gerona (pers. comm., 1999), the (non-Negrito Filipino) population in these areas was generally rather sparse until the influx of considerable numbers of Tagalogs and Bikolanos in the 1800s. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that these are the places where Negrito Filipino populations have survived until the present as linguistically and ethnically distinct populations. Most of Camarines Norte was settled by non-Manide only relatively recently; its Manide population still lives a semitraditional lifestyle, and virtually all of their children still grow up speaking the Manide language from birth, with little detectable difference in the command of the language by younger and older speakers.[11]

1.2 THE UNIQUENESS OF MANIDE. That the Manide language is distinct from any other language is supported by a number of facts. First, approximately 28.5 percent of the nearly 1,000 lexical items appear to be unique, either new coinages or forms that underwent phonological or semantic shifts (appendix 1). In this regard, Manide is quite different from many other Negrito Filipino languages like Batak, Inagta Rinconada/ Partido, Mamanwa, Inati, and so on, whose lexicons are over 90 percent cognate with the neighboring non-Negrito Filipino language or languages.[12] Likewise, on the Blust 200 list of Proto–Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) reconstructions (Blust 1981), Manide retains only 27 percent, tying with Arta[13] (Reid 1989) for the lowest percentage of retentions of reconstructed PMP vocabulary of any Philippine language. There is also a unique phonological process (see 2.8.3), and a number of distinct grammatical features that will be dealt with in section 4.

2. PHONOLOGY. The phoneme inventory of Manide,[14] illustrated in table 2, is largely unremarkable in comparison to other Philippine languages. Its historical phonology is much more interesting, however, including a trio of bizarre vowel shifts with overlapping environments (Low Vowel Fronting, Back Vowel Fronting, and Low

10. The last two sentences of this passage are in reference to the so-called Ayta of Tayabas town, who still exist as a community, although none of its members speak any native language other than Tayabas Tagalog. Note that I refer to them as "so-called Ayta" because there is no linguistic evidence for them being called "Ayta" (that is, having a /y/ reflex of *R) as opposed to "Agta," etc. The name "Ayta" might erroneously lead to the belief that these communities once spoke a language with an *R > /y/ shift. However, the name "Ayta" is not an endonym but an application of the Tagalog term *áytà* (var. *étà, ítà*), which has become the general Tagalog term for any Negrito Filipino group. As a result, in the absence of any endonym for groups such as those in Tayabas whose ancestral language has long since been lost, writers generally also refer to these groups as "Ayta."

11. That is to say, Manide youth exhibit virtually no language attrition compared with older speakers, something that is exceedingly rare in minority—and even majority—ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines today. For a good discussion of language attrition in a Northern Philippine language, see Reid (2009b:19–20).

12. The author's fieldwork on the languages of various Negrito Filipino ethnolinguistic groups and their neighbors indicates the following maximum percentages of unique vocabulary per language: Batak, 1%; Inagta Rinconada/Partido, 2%; Mamanwa, 7%; Inati, 9%; Umiray Dumaget, 23%. These are called "maximum" percentages because they may yet be diminished if cognates for some of these "unique" forms are found in other languages.

13. Manide and Arta both have only 51 retentions out of 189 items on this list. Reid (1989:48) states that this number is "almost eight percent fewer than any other Philippine language for which similar scores have so far been calculated" based on the "reflexes of the Proto–Malayo-Polynesian reconstructions of 200 basic items using Blust's (1981) modified Hudson list."

14. Note that Inagta Alabat has the same phoneme inventory as Manide.

Vowel Backing); a stratum of apparently borrowed lexicon with a /y/ reflex of *l (and PMP *-z-, *-j-, and *-d-) not found elsewhere in the lexicon or subsystems; and the note-worthy retention of both /ʔ/ (< PMP *q) and /h/ (< PMP *h) in all positions, virtually unheard of in the languages of Luzon.

TABLE 2. THE PHONEME INVENTORY OF MANIDE

CONSONANTS				VOWELS	
p	t	k	ʔ	i	u
b	d	g		e ([ɛ])	o
	s		h	a	
m	n	ŋ			
	l				
	r				
w	y				

2.1 THE REFLEX OF PMP *q. PMP *q is reflected in Manide as /ʔ/ in all posi-tions. Unlike most Philippine languages, Manide allows both /ʔC/ and /Cʔ/ clusters word-internally, with at least 28 examples of postconsonantal glottal stop,[15] including *bag-áng* /bagʔáŋ/ 'mouth', *malim-át* /malimʔát/ 'white', *pus-on* /pusʔon/ 'lower abdo-men', *sip-ón* /sipʔón/ 'mucus', and 16 examples of preconsonantal glottal stop, includ-ing *bu-lúng* /buʔlúŋ/ 'knee', *galú-gì* /galúʔgiʔ/ 'fly (n.)', *hi-néw* /hiʔnéw/ 'wind', as well as some pronouns and demonstratives. That neither of these two cluster orders can be written off as the result of borrowing is supported by the fact that there are unique forms with both orders (for example, *dag-as* /dagʔas/ 'exit (v.)', and *be-dis* /beʔdis/ 'feces'), and that the clusters are retained in the reconstructible order: for example,[16] *be-gí* /beʔgí/ 'new' < PPH *baqəRu, *ka-nen* /kaʔnen/ 'purple yam' < PPH *kaq(ə)n-ən 'cooked rice', *pus-on* /pusʔon/ 'lower abdomen' < PPH *pusqun, *pas-an* /pasʔan/ 'carry on pole on shoulder' < PPH *pasqan, and so on. Most other Philippine languages only allow mor-pheme-internal glottal stops in one of the two orders (thus /ʔC/, as in Bikol Naga-Legaspi, Bikol Miraya, Buhi-non, and Northern Catanduanes Bikol, or /Cʔ/, as in Southern Tagalog, most Bisayan languages, Inati, and most Bikol languages and dia-lects), if not completely disallowing glottal stops in morpheme-internal consonant clus-ters (such as in Standard Tagalog, and the various Danao and Subanen languages).[17]

2.2 THE REFLEX OF PMP *R. The reflex of PMP *R in all known inherited etyma is /g/; for example, *be-gí* /beʔgí/ 'new' < PPH *baqəRú, *bag-áng* /bagʔáŋ/ 'mouth' < PPH *baRəqaŋ 'molar tooth', *kagót* /kagót/ 'bite' < PPH *karat, and *digî* / digíʔ/ 'blood' < PPH *dáRaq or *duRúq.[18] The same /g/ reflex is found in items that are

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15. Lexical items are spelled according to the general Philippine orthography used in major lan-guages like Tagalog, Bikol, Cebuano, and Ilonggo, followed by phonemic transcriptions in IPA.
16. Proto-Philippine forms are based on a combination of PMP reconstructions provided by Rob-ert Blust, various reconstructions by R. David Zorc (1974), and the author's data for nearly 200 languages from the Philippines, northern Borneo, and northern Sulawesi. "Proto-Philip-pines" is controversial because of arguments about the quality of evidence put forth to support and refute the subgrouping (cf. Reid 1982; Zorc 1986; Blust 1991; Ross 2005; Pawley 2006). However, positing Proto-Philippine forms allows for reconstructions with contrastive stress, which is retained in many Philippine languages (including Tagalog, Standard Bikol, and Manide) but has not been reliably reconstructed to PMP.

likely borrowings,[19] like *gúyang* /gúyaŋ/ 'separate (v.)' < PPʜ *Rúdaŋ, and *búyig* /búyig/ 'bunch (of bananas)' < PPʜ *búliR. The single known exception is *karáyom* /karáyom/ 'needle', a loan from Tagalog *karáyom* (which in turn borrowed it from a language like Kapampangan in which *R > /y/), and not directly inherited from PMP *zaRum.

2.3 THE REFLEX OF PMP *h. PMP *h is retained in Manide: for example, *hapúy* /hapúy/ 'fire' < PPʜ *hapúy, and *bihék* /bihék/ 'hair' < PPʜ *buhə́k. Morpheme-internally, /h/ occurs word-initially (as in *ha-dúng* /haʔdúŋ/ 'nose'), intervocalically (*káhet* /káhet/ 'hold in hands'), and postconsonantally (as in *laghári* /laghári/ 'saw (n.)', *kalhád* /kalhád/ 'cough'). Less evidence has been found of /h/ in preconsonantal positions in rootwords,[20] but preconsonantal /h/ does occur in affixed forms; for example, *luhlúhà* /luhlúhaʔ/ 'crying (AF.PRES)', *igtahtahî* /ʔigtahtahíʔ/ 'sewing (OF.PRES)'.

2.4 THE REFLEXES OF PMP *s. The usual reflex of PMP *s in Manide is /s/, but there has been an *s > /h/ shift in some functors, such as nominative pronoun formative *s(i)- (cf. *ha-ku* /haʔku/ '1SG.TOP', *hiká* /hiká/ '2SG.TOP', *hiyó* /hiyó/ '3SG. TOP', *hidó* /hidó/ '3PL. TOP'), and the nominative case marker *hu* /hu/ and nominative demonstrative formative *hu-*, both from earlier *su. As all three of these occurrences involve nominative functors, this is considered to be a single shift, and not three independent shifts. Note that the shift of *s to /h/ in functors is found intermittently throughout the Philippines,[21] and there are no other identifiable occurrences of *s > /h/ in Manide.

17. Proto-Central Philippines must have retained both *-ʔC- and *-Cʔ- clusters, according to evidence from compensatory lengthening (< PCPʜ *-ʔC-) in standard Tagalog; compensatory lengthening (< PCPʜ *-ʔC-) and /Cʔ/ cluster retention (< PCPʜ *-Cʔ-) in Southern Tagalog and Rinconada Bikol; and from the Cebuano of southern Cebu, which retained both orders at least into the 1960s (John Wolff, pers. comm. February 5, 2004). Lawrence Reid (pers. comm., June 26, 2010) notes that Inibaloi and possibly Karao also allow both orders. The obvious explanation for this is that, while nearly all modern languages have lost one or both of these orders, both orders were permitted not only in PMP but even in lower-level protolanguages like PPʜ, Proto-North Luzon, PGCPʜ, PCPʜ, Proto-Bisayan, and Proto-Bikol.

18. There is no clear evidence as to whether Manide *digî* derives from PMP *daRaq (PPʜ *dáRaq) 'blood' or PMP *zuRuq (PPʜ *duRúq) 'sap, juice, gravy, soup' (definitions from Blust 1991:97), and Lawrence Reid (pers.comm., June 26, 2010) points out that the stress assignment in the Manide form points to a source in PMP *zuRuq with Back Vowel Fronting. Likewise, the expected vowel from Low Vowel Raising of *a would be /e/, instead of /i/. However, Inagta Alabat—in which Back Vowel Fronting only appears to occur after /b/—also has *digî* for this meaning. It is not uncommon for the /e/ resulting from Low Vowel Fronting to raise to /i/ in certain forms: cf. Pahanan Agta and Casiguran Agta *digî* /digíʔ/ 'blood', Paranan and Kasiguranin *digê* /digéʔ/ 'blood' (languages that do not have a Back Vowel Fronting shift, and therefore the source of this term is unambiguously *dáRaq). Likewise, the semantic shift of 'sap, juice, gravy, soup' to 'blood' is only found in Greater Central Philippine languages (Blust 1991, cf. also Zorc 1986), and all indications are that Manide is not a GCPʜ language (see section 5). It is also not uncommon in any language for some forms to not reflect the reconstructed stress. Therefore, it is assumed in the rest of this paper that Manide and Inagta Alabat *digî* derives from PPʜ *dáRaq and not from *duRúq.

19. Due to their /y/ reflex of *l, *d, *z, or *j, and/or their /u/ reflex of *ə; cf. 2.6 and 2.7.

20. One apparent preconsonantal occurrence is Manide *kabilihwog* 'mudfish', although this may be phonemically /kabilihuwog/.

21. For example, in Dupaningan Agta (Robinson 2008), Butuanon, Tausug, Kinamiging, Butuanon, and in all Waray dialects except those in northern Samar and Abuyog, Leyte.

2.5 THE REFLEXES OF PMP *d, *j, AND *z. Based on the evidence, PMP
*j, *z, and *d merged as /d/ in Manide, as can be observed in the forms in (1)–(3), respec-
tively. Note that this shift is common to most Philippine languages (cf. Charles 1974;
Zorc 1987),[22] but unlike neighboring Central Philippine languages such as Tagalog and
Bikol, intervocalic *j, *z, and *d did not further shift to /r/ or /l/.

(1) wédì /wédiʔ/ 'younger sibling'   < PPн *huaji
    ngádon /ŋádon/ 'name'   < PPн *ŋájan
    apdú /ʔapdú/ 'gall, bile'   < PPн *qapəjú
    ha-dúng /haʔdúŋ/ 'nose'   < PPн *(ha)qəjúŋ
    púsed /púsed/ 'navel'   < PPн *púsəj
    pálad /pálad/ 'palm of hand'   < PPн *pálaj

(2) tudî /tudíʔ/ 'teach'   < PMP *tuzuq 'point'
    dakán /dakán/ 'viand'   < PMP *zakan 'to cook'
    kudút /kudút/ 'pinch'   < PMP *kuzut
    hagdan /hagdan/ 'stairs, ladder'   < PMP *haRəzan

(3) dakép /dakép/ 'catch, capture'   < PPн *dakə́p
    digî /digíʔ/ 'blood'   < PPн *dáRaq
    dágat /dágat/ 'sea'   < PPн *dáRat
    dáhun /dáhun/ 'leaf'   < PPн *dáhun

There are a few forms with unexpected reflexes of *j and *z, such as those in (4), but
these are most likely the result of borrowing:[23]

(4) páyay /páyay/ 'rice in field'
        cf. PPн *pájay (expected **/pádey/)
    súyud /súyud/ 'comb for lice' (also Tagalog)
        cf. PPн *sújud (expected **/súdud/)
    karáyum /karáyum/ 'needle' (also Tagalog)
        cf. PPн *dáRum < PMP *zaRum (expected **/dégum/)
    úling /ʔúliŋ/ 'charcoal' (also Tagalog)
        cf. PPн *qújing (expected **/ʔúdiŋ/)
    maláut /maláʔut/ 'bad'
        cf. PPн *ma-dáqət < PMP *ma-zaqət (expected **/madáʔet/ or
        **/madéʔet/)

Of the forms in (4), *páyay* 'rice in field' is quite clearly a loan due to its /y/ reflex of *j, as
well as the fact that all rice agriculture terms appear to be loans (see sections 2.6 and 3).
The forms *súyud*, *karáyum*, and *úling* are identical to Tagalog forms,[24] and may represent
items that were introduced (like needles and fine-toothed delousing combs) or gained
greater importance during the most recent period of Tagalog domination of the area (like

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22. Note however that the only North Luzon languages in which *j and *d merged are Northern
    Alta, Southern Alta, and Arta (Reid 1989:52), as well as the Northeastern Luzon languages
    (Robinson and Lobel 2010).

23. Discussion of "borrowings" and "inherited forms" in Negrito Filipino languages must be put
    in context, since the general consensus at present is that all Negrito Filipino languages were
    borrowed from speakers of Austronesian languages at some point after the latter first reached
    the Philippines (cf. Reid 1987, 1994a, 1994b, 2007). Therefore, "inherited" in this discussion
    should be interpreted as referring to forms that originate from the first contact language, vis-à-
    vis forms that have been borrowed much more recently from the languages of populations that
    currently inhabit the surrounding areas, like Tagalog, Bikol, and Bisayan languages.

charcoal, which is often traded by upland populations with lowland populations). With *maláut* 'bad', the /l/ reflex of PMP *-z- and the /u/ reflex of PMP *ə indicate that this may be a loan from a Bisayan language, an early pre-Tagalog dialect (modern Tagalog replaces this widespread Central Philippine form with the innovation *masamâ*), or perhaps an earlier dialect of Umiray Dumaget (modern Umiray Dumaget *malot* reflects the loss of *q and subsequent monophthongization of the /au/ sequence), while more conservative cognates of this form in Bikol languages have /r/ instead of Manide /l/, from Proto-Bikol *ma-ráʔət.

2.6 INHERITED REFLEXES OF PMP *l, AND BORROWED REFLEXES OF *d, *z, *j, AND *l.
In inherited forms, the reflex of PMP *l in Manide is /l/, in contrast with the /d/ reflex of PMP *d, *j, and *z. A second reflex, /y/, exists for PMP *l, *-d-, *-j-, and *-z-, although it will be argued that the items in which this /y/ reflex is found are borrowings from a Central Philippine language in which PMP *d, *j, *z, and *l merged as *l before shifting to /y/. The more common reflex is /l/, while the /y/ reflex is found in a limited number of items (32 out of the present list of 1,000 items). Section 3 presents three types of evidence for the /y/ reflex being indicative of a borrowed lexical stratum. The examples in (5) illustrate the forms reflecting /y/ < PMP *l, *-d-, *-j-, and *-z- (via PCPH *l and *-r-):

(5) bayáy /bayáy/ 'house (modern style)'   < PCPH *baláy[25]
    báyun /báyun/ 'provisions, packed food'   < PCPH *bálun
    búyag /búyag/ 'separate'   < PCPH *bəlág
    deyá /deyá/ 'bring, carry'   < PCPH *dará
    diyóm /diyóm/ 'dark'   < PCPH *dələ́m[26]
    gúyang /gúyaŋ/ 'parent'   < PCPH *gúraŋ
    makatúy /makatúy/ 'itchy'   < PCPH *makatə́l
    páyay /páyay/ 'rice in field'   < PCPH *páray
    sayúg /sayúg/ 'floor'   < PCPH *salə́g
    sáyug /sáyug/ 'river'   < PCPH *sálug
    sayúngan /sayúŋan/ 'sheath for bolo knife'   < PCPH *sarúŋan
    yagâ /yagáʔ/ 'rat'   < PCPH *(ʔi)ragáʔ
    yang /yaŋ/ 'just, only'   < PCPH *laŋ
    yúkà /yúkaʔ/ 'wound'   < PCPH *lúkaʔ
    yuwág /yuwág/ 'ladle'   < PCPH *luwag
    bibíyug /bibíyug/ 'fat'   < PCPH *bilúg 'round'
    bíyang /bíyaŋ/ 'count'   < PCPH *bílaŋ
    búyig /búyig/ 'bunch of bananas'   < PCPH *búlig
    kiyáya /kiyáya/ 'know a person'   < PCPH *kilála
    sadíyi /sadíyi/ 'self'   < PCPH *sadíri

In many Philippine languages with a phonological shift affecting *l, the presence of an adjacent /i/ or /y/ blocks the shift.[27] This is especially true for languages in which *l > /y/

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24. While Tagalog *karáyom* 'needle' (expected **dágom) is probably a borrowing from a *R > /y/ language, Tagalog *súyod* 'lice comb' (expected **súlod, **suʔód, or **súhod) appears to have been borrowed from a language with an *l > /y/ shift.
25. Note also *beléy* 'native house/hut'.
26. Cf. also two reflexes of *dikləm in Manide, *madiklom* 'dark' and *madiklem* 'black'.

or zero.[28] However, this is not the case in Manide, as there are at least five items showing a /y/ reflex of *l adjacent to /i/—the last five examples in (5) above.

2.7 THE REFLEXES OF PMP *ə. There are four reflexes of PMP *ə in Manide: /a/, /i/, /u/, and /e/. Forms with an /a/ reflex of *ə (like *bagás* /bagás/ 'uncooked rice', and *balád* /balád/ 'to dry in sun') are rare enough to be written off as loans from Bikol Daet, where the regular reflex of PCPH *ə (< PMP *ə) in the penult is /a/.

A /u/ or /o/ reflex of *ə occurs in a large number of items, but the vast majority of these are readily identifiable Bikol or Bisayan loans. However, it is interesting to note that a number of human nouns—primarily familial terms[29]—have a suffix *-on*, which would appear to be a reflex of *-ən with an *ə > /o/ shift: *amayón* /ʔamayón/ 'aunt', *behíon* /behíʔon/ 'man' (cf. *lalákì* /lalákiʔ/ 'husband'), *bumayáwon* /bumayáwon/ 'brother-in-law', *dagahón* /dagahón/ 'uncle', *kumangkón* /kumaŋkón/ 'nephew/niece', *magbilasón* /magbilasón/ 'the spouse of one's spouse's sibling', *supgón* /supgón/ 'bachelor'. Other than this usage, there is no productive *-on* suffix in Manide. If this *-on* suffix is a reflex of PMP *-ən, then it is likely to be ultimately the result of borrowing, and thus a doublet with the productive suffix *-en* (/en/) that is the inherited Manide reflex of PMP *-ən.

In spite of being found in a smaller number of forms than the /u/ or /o/ reflex, the /e/ reflex of *ə is analyzed as the inherited reflex. This is due to two main factors: (1) the relative basicness of the *ə > /e/ forms ('brain', 'neck', 'hair', 'black', 'tooth', 'chest', 'navel', 'night', 'afternoon', and the *-en* Object Focus suffix); and (2) several of the *ə > /e/ forms have undergone semantic shifts (*bakés* /bákes/ 'wife' < 'old woman'; *kabég* /kabég/ 'bat (generic)' < 'large type of bat'; *ka-nen* /kaʔnen/ 'purple yam' < 'cooked rice'), which indicates that these forms had been present in the language long enough for their meanings to change. In some cases, after the semantic shifts affected the meanings of the inherited forms, doublets were borrowed, for example, inherited *diklém* /diklém/ 'black' vs. borrowed *diklúm* /diklúm/ 'raincloud; dark' (< PPH *dikləm 'dark'), or inherited *beléy* /beléy/ 'native Manide hut' vs. borrowed *bayáy* /bayáy/ 'modern house' (< PPH *baláy 'house'). Also, since the phoneme /e/ is frequently found in unique Manide lexicon, and is not found as a phoneme in any neighboring language, it is highly unlikely to be the result of borrowing. Still, this does not eliminate the possibility that some of the *ə > /u/ or /o/ forms may also be inherited: cf. forms like *behíon* 'man', probably < *báhi 'woman' with human suffix *-on*, possibly from PMP *-ən, found especially on many nouns referring to

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27. For example, many Central Philippine languages have other reflexes of *l including /y/, /ɣ/, an interdental lateral, or zero. Note that Lawrence Reid (pers. comm., June 26, 2010) points out that this "is also true for a number of Central Cordilleran languages (Bontok, Kalinga, Banao Itneg, etc.) in which *l developed non-lateral reflexes such as retroflexed [ɾ] or an interdental approximant (also in Kagayanen, etc.)." (Cf. also Reid 1973.)

28. Note however that Tagalog, Tausug, and the Southern Binukidnon language of Negros Island are among the rare languages in which *l > zero even adjacent to /i/ (whether regularly or sporadically).

29. A reflex of PMP *-ən is used to mark familial relations in many other Philippine languages (for example, Tagalog *tiyuhin* 'uncle' and *tiyahin* 'aunt', both of which combine Spanish borrowings *tiyo* 'uncle' and *tiya* 'aunt' with the *-in* suffix that derives from PMP *-ən). However, Manide uses this *-on* suffix for a much larger number of [+human] nouns than other Philippine languages do.

family relations, as mentioned above. (This would mean that there may be more than one inherited reflex of *ə.) The following is a list of the 22 forms in which *ə is reflected as /e/:

(6) -en /-en/ 'Object Focus suffix'   < PPн *-ən
     além /ʔalém/ 'afternoon'   < PMP *aləm 'night'
     bakés /bakés/ 'wife'   < PPн *bakə́s 'old woman'
     bebesî /bebesíʔ/ 'wet'   < PPн *basə́q³⁰
     bihék /bihék/ 'hair'   < PPн *buhə́k
     diklém /diklém/ 'black'   < PPн *dikləm 'dark'(vs. borrowed
                                                  diklúm 'raincloud; dark')
     helát /helát/ 'wait'   < PPн *həlát
     hútek /hútek/ 'brain'   < PPн *(h)útək
     kabég /kabég/ 'bat (generic)'   < PPн *kabə́g 'bat (large)'
     ka-nen /kaʔnen/ 'purple yam'   < PPн *kaq(ə)n-ən
     letáw /letáw/ 'float'   < PPн *lətáw
     liés /liʔés/ 'neck'   < PPн *líqəR
                                                  (with irregular reflex of *R)
     ngípen /ŋípen/ 'tooth'   < PPн *ŋípən
     púsed /púsed/ 'navel, belly button'   < PPн *púsəj
     sag-éb /sagʔéb/ 'fetch water'   < PPн *saqəgəb
     sel-át /selʔát/ 'between'   < PMP *səlat
                                                  (with irregular addition of /ʔ/)
     sinákəb /sinákəb/ 'chest (of body)'   < PPн(?) *(t,s)akəb
                                                  (cf. Guina-ang Bontok /takə́b/)³¹
     tahép /tahép/ 'winnow'   < PPн *tahə́p
     takép /takép/ 'night'   < PPн *takə́p 'cover'
     taném /taném/ 'plant (v.)'   < PPн *tanə́m
     teáb /teʔáb/ 'burp'   < PPн *təRqab
                                                  (with irregular loss of *R)
     tidés /tidés/ 'crush lice'   < PPн *tədə́s

An /i/ reflex of *ə is often found in loans from Tagalog, although other forms seem to be inherited, perhaps as the result of the sporadic raising of the /e/ reflex of *ə. In most cases, it is impossible to determine whether a form with an /i/ reflex of *ə is a borrowing from Tagalog, or an inherited form with irregular raising of the expected /e/ reflex of *ə. In some cases, however, the /i/ clearly occurs where it isn't found in Tagalog, such as *itút* /ʔitút/ 'flatulence' < PPн *qətút (cf. Tagalog *utót* /utót/). Evidence that /i/ may in some cases be the result of sporadic raising of /e/ can also be found in sporadic inconsistencies between Manide and Inagta Alabat, for example, Manide *tidés* /tidés/ 'crush lice' vs. Alabat *tedés* /tedés/ < PPн *tədə́s (cf. Tagalog *tirís*).

In summary, Manide has four reflexes of PMP *ə, of which it is argued that only /e/ is likely to be inherited (sometimes irregularly raised to /i/), while the others usually have rather transparent sources as recent borrowings.

2.8 VOWEL SHIFTS. Like many other Negrito Filipino languages along the Pacific coast of Luzon, Manide participates in sporadic vowel shifts. As can be observed

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30. With Low Vowel Fronting of *a > /e/, and irregular raising of *ə > /e/ > /i/.
31. Many thanks to Lawrence Reid for drawing my attention to the Guina-ang Bontok forms.

in table 3, the most widespread of these vowel shifts is Low Vowel Fronting, which can be found from the Northeastern Luzon languages through Umiray Dumaget, Inagta Alabat, and Manide. Back Vowel Fronting is also found in Manide, Inagta Alabat, and Umiray Dumaget,[32] but not in Northeastern Luzon. A third vowel shift, Low Vowel Backing, appears to be unique to Manide.

Back Vowel Fronting was previously noted by Himes (2002) as being unique to Umiray Dumaget. Himes also noted that Low Vowel Fronting was found in some languages to the north of Umiray Dumaget, apparently unaware of the shifts in Manide and Inagta Alabat:

> The shift from *i to *u and *u to *i appears to be unique to DgtU [Umiray Dumaget]. The fronting and raising of *a is shared with some other languages of northern Luzon. In the environment following a voiced stop, the Dumagat languages to the north of DgtU also reflect *a as *i or *e; Southern Alta reflects it as *e; and both Northern Alta and Ilongot raise *a to *i. Apparently these changes do not occur in Central Philippine languages, but rather they are an areal feature in central and northern Luzon (Himes 2002:278).

TABLE 3. VOWEL SHIFTS IN MANIDE, INAGTA ALABAT,
UMIRAY DUMAGET, AND NORTHEASTERN LUZON

	MANIDE	INAGTA ALABAT	UMIRAY DUMAGET	N. E. LUZON
Low Vowel Fronting (LVF)	+	+	+	+
Back Vowel Fronting (BVF)	+	limited	+	—
Low Vowel Backing (LVB)	+	—	—	—
Front Vowel Backing (FVB)	—	—	+	—

2.8.1 Low Vowel Fronting (LVF). Low Vowel Fronting (the shift of *a to a front vowel such as /e/) is an areal feature that runs throughout Negrito Filipino languages, starting in the north of Luzon with Dupaningan Agta (Robinson 2008), to as far south as Manide and Inagta Alabat.[33]

If Low Vowel Fronting occurred prior to the more recent episodes of mass borrowing from Tagalog, Bikol, and Bisayan, then it is likely that it affected many of the lexical items listed as putative innovations in appendix 1; since these forms are unique, however, it is impossible to determine whether the /e/ is a reflex of earlier *ə or the product of the raising of *a. However, LVF is found in at least 15 forms reconstructible for PCPH, PPH, and/or PMP. Eight of these occurrences are found after *b:

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32. Himes (2002) mentions Umiray Dumaget *beked* 'fence' (cf. Tagalog *bákod*) and *unid* 'flesh' (< *qunud). He also notes that Umiray Dumaget participates in its own unique third vowel shift, referred to here as Front Vowel Backing, for example, *bukod* 'forest' (< *búkij), *langot* 'heaven' (< *láŋit), and *putok* 'mud' (cf. Tagalog *pútik*).

33. Low Vowel Fronting is also found in some Bornean languages (Blust 2000), and will be explored further in Blust, Lobel, and Robinson (2010). A somewhat similar fronting of *a can be found in another Negrito Filipino language, Inati of Panay Island, where the *a > [æ] shift is completely unconditioned.

(7) bebesî /bebesíʔ/ 'wet'   < PPн *basə́q (expected **/bebeséʔ/,
                                                      w. irregular raising of /e/ to /i/)
      bebíy /bebíy/ 'pig'   < PPн *bábuy
      be-gí /beʔgí/ 'new'   < PPн *baqəRú
      behíon /behíʔon/ 'man'   < PPн *(ba)báhi 'woman'
      beléy /beléy/ 'house (traditional)' < PPн *baláy
                                                      cf. *bayáy* 'house (modern)'
      bélù /béluʔ/ 'widow'   < PPн *bálu
      bésag /bésag/ 'shatter'   < PPн *básag
      betû /betúʔ/ 'stone', 'kidney'   < PPн *batú

Four instances of Low Vowel Fronting are found after *d:

(8) demgî /demgíʔ/ 'dream'   cf. PBıs *damguʔ
      deyá /deyá/ 'bring'   < PPн *dadá
      digî /digíʔ/ 'blood'   < PPн *dáRaq
      detúng /detúŋ/ 'arrive'   < PPн *datə́ŋ

The form *deyá* 'bring' might be better explained as irregular vowel raising preceding /y/ (as also happened in Bantayanon, Mongondow *diyá* 'bring') especially since Low Vowel Fronting does not otherwise cooccur with the *l > /y/ change: note doublets *beléy* 'native house/hut' (with Low Vowel Fronting and *ay > /ey/ but no *l > /y/ shift) vs. *bayáy* 'modern house', with a /y/ reflex of *l but no Low Vowel Fronting or diphthong shift. It will be argued later that the stratum with Low Vowel Fronting is older, while the stratum with *l > /y/ is the result of more recent contact or borrowing.

    One instance of Low Vowel Fronting is found after *g:

(9) digî /digíʔ/ 'blood' < PPн *dáRaq

while two instances have been found after *w:

(10) wédì /wédiʔ/ 'younger sibling/offspring' < PPн *huaji
       welâ /weláʔ/ 'none'; cf. Tagalog, Cebuano, etc. *walâ* (expected
          **/wedéʔ/ < PPн *wadáq)

    Since the other two Manide vowel shifts (Back Vowel Fronting, discussed in 2.8.2, and Low Vowel Backing, in 2.8.3) also affect vowels after /y/, and since Umiray Dumaget LVF occurs after /y/ as well as /b d g w/, it is quite likely that Manide LVF may also occur after /y/, but no unambiguous cases of LVF after /y/ can be found in the currently available data.[34] One possible form is *kémad* /kémad/ 'baby lice', which if reconstructible as PPн *kəyamad would yield **keyemad (the first /e/ being the expected reflex of *ə, the second /e/ being the result of LVF after *y). The attested form, *kémad*, could be explained as the shortening of the sequence /eye/ to /e/. However, this is admittedly speculative.

    Note that several forms provide evidence that Low Vowel Fronting continued into recent times, for example, *demgî* 'dream' (almost certainly borrowed from a Bisayan language), *welâ* 'there isn't' (for expected **/wedéʔ/, cf. Tagalog *walâ*), and *detúng* 'arrive' (for expected **/detéŋ/, the /u/ reflex of *ə indicating borrowing from a language in which *ə > /u/). It is unclear if these forms are the result of other irregular sound shifts or are indicative of Low Vowel Fronting continuing to be productive into more recent times.

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34. At least one example of Low Vowel Fronting after /y/ can be found in Inagta Alabat: *beéye* /beʔéye/ 'crocodile' < PPн *buqáya (vs. Manide *biúyo* /biʔúyo/).

Finally, it is noteworthy that LVF can in at least some instances spread right-to-left through /ʔ/: for example, *gusê 'ek* /guséʔ=ek/ 'I don't like it' (< *gusâ* /gusáʔ/ 'don't like'), *welê 'ek* /weléʔ=ek/ 'I don't have any' (< *welâ* /weláʔ/ 'don't have' + =*ek* '1SG.NOM'), and *kuhéen* /kuhéʔ-en/ 'get (Object Focus infinitive)' (< *kúhà* /kúhaʔ/ 'get' + -*en* 'Object Focus').

2.8.2 Back Vowel Fronting (BVF). Manide also shows at least 13 occurrences of Back Vowel Fronting, the change of *u to /i/. Similar to Low Vowel Fronting, Back Vowel Fronting occurs after voiced stops /b d g/, and in at least one or two forms appears to have taken place after *t and *l.

There are seven occurrences in the data of BVF after *b:

(11) ambibíyi /ʔambibíyi/ 'bee'   < PPH *ambubúyug (with irregular
                                              loss of *g)
     bebíy /bebíy/ 'pig'   < PPH *bábuy
     bignót /bignót/ 'pull out hair' < PPH *bu(R)nut
     bihék /bihék/ 'hair'   < PPH *buhók
     bílan /bílan/ 'moon'   < PPH *búlan
     bitág /bitág/ 'betel nut'   cf. Alabat, Umiray, Northern Alta,
                                              N. E. Luzon *butág*
     biúyo /biʔúyo/ 'crocodile'   < PPH *buqáya

There are also three examples of BVF after *d, in (12), and five after *g, in (13):

(12) ídì /ʔídiʔ/ 'dog'   cf. PCPH *qidúq
     túdì /túdiʔ/ 'drip'   < PPH *túduq
     tudî /tudíʔ/ 'teach'   < PPH *tudúq

(13) be-gí /beʔgí/ 'new'   < PPH *baqəRú
     demgî /demgíʔ/ 'dream'   cf. PBIS *damguq
     galú-gì /galúʔgiʔ/ 'fly (n.)' < PMA *g<al>uʔguʔ[35]
     súgì /súgiʔ/ 'command'   < PPH *súRuq
     tágì /tágiʔ/ 'hide'   < PPH *táRuq

One occurrence of BVF is found after *y: *yi* /yi/ '2PL.GEN' < PPH *=yu. It is likely that, like LVF, BVF also occurs after /w/, but no examples have been found in the data. There also seems to be at least one irregular occurrence of BVF after *t (*tiwód* /tiwód/ 'to kneel on all fours' < PPH *tuaj), and one after *l (*liwag* /liwag/ 'ladle', cf. PCPH *luwag). However, with just one occurrence each, these may simply be irregular correspondences and not evidence of BVF after *t and *l.

2.8.3 Low Vowel Backing (LVB). In addition to Low Vowel Fronting and Back Vowel Fronting, Manide has also undergone a third vowel shift, Low Vowel Backing, which is not known to have occurred in any other Philippine language. There are at least ten occurrences in the Manide data showing this shift of *a > /o/ or /u/, all of which occur in the final syllable except in *biúyo* 'crocodile' < PPH *buqáya, which may be a case of vowel harmony. There is one example of LVB after /b/, in (14); three after /d/, in (15); two after /g/, in (16); two after /w/, in (17); and two after /y/, in (18).

(14) úbun /ʔúbun/ 'grey hair'   < PPH *qúban

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35. Cf. Inagta Alabat *gilú-gù* with LVF in the initial syllable, but no BVF.

(15) hidó /hidó/ '3PL.NOM', didó /didó/ '3PL.OBL'   < PMA *hidá, *didá
      ngádon /ŋádon/ 'name'   < PPH *ŋájan
      tidô /tidóʔ/ 'remain'   cf. PCPH *tida

(16) kagót /kagót/ 'bite'   < PPH *kaRát
      umágod /ʔumágod/ 'child-in-law'   cf. PBIS *ʔ<um>ágad

(17) íwog /ʔíwog/ 'move'   cf. Bikol hiwag
      tiwod /tiwod/ 'kneel on all fours'   < PPH *tuaj

(18) biúyo /biʔuyo/ 'crocodile'   < PPH *buqáya
      hiyó /hiyó/ '3SG.NOM', díyo /díyo/ '3SG.OBL'   < PMA *hiyá, *díya

3. LEXICON AND STRATA. As mentioned in 2.6, at least three lexical strata can be identified in Manide: (1) a stratum of very recent loan words from Tagalog and Bikol, conspicuous because these items are identical to forms in the two proposed donor languages, and are overrepresented in certain semantic domains; (2) a stratum of likely loans from an early Bisayan language in which *l > /y/ after intervocalic *-d-, *-j-, *-z-, and *l merged as *l; and (3) an "original" stratum that—if current theories about Negrito Filipinos' acquisition of Austronesian languages are correct—was borrowed from the Manides' first contact with speakers of Austronesian languages.

The most recent stratum is also the most expected and is rather predictable. This stratum consists of a large number of obvious loans from Tagalog, which is both the majority language in the areas where most of the Manide live, and the national language of the Philippines, widely used in schools and media. Loans from Bikol are also numerous, and easily explained, since Bikol is the majority language to the east of the Manides' homeland, and may have been more influential in the past, before large numbers of Tagalogs moved into this area, which until the 1800s was only sparsely populated by non-Manide.

The oldest stratum is also not surprising, painting the picture of a language very different from the other languages in modern southern Luzon, in which PMP *ə is reflected as /e/,[36] *-d- did not lenite to /r/ or /l/, and a huge amount of lexicon was not cognate with any surviving language. As noted in 1.2, 28.5 percent of the 1,000 items elicited for Manide are shared with no language other than Inagta Alabat. Sixty-five of these unique items, or approximately one-fourth, contain the phoneme /e/, which is not found in any other language in the area, and /e/ is the reflex of PMP *ə that is most often found in basic vocabulary.
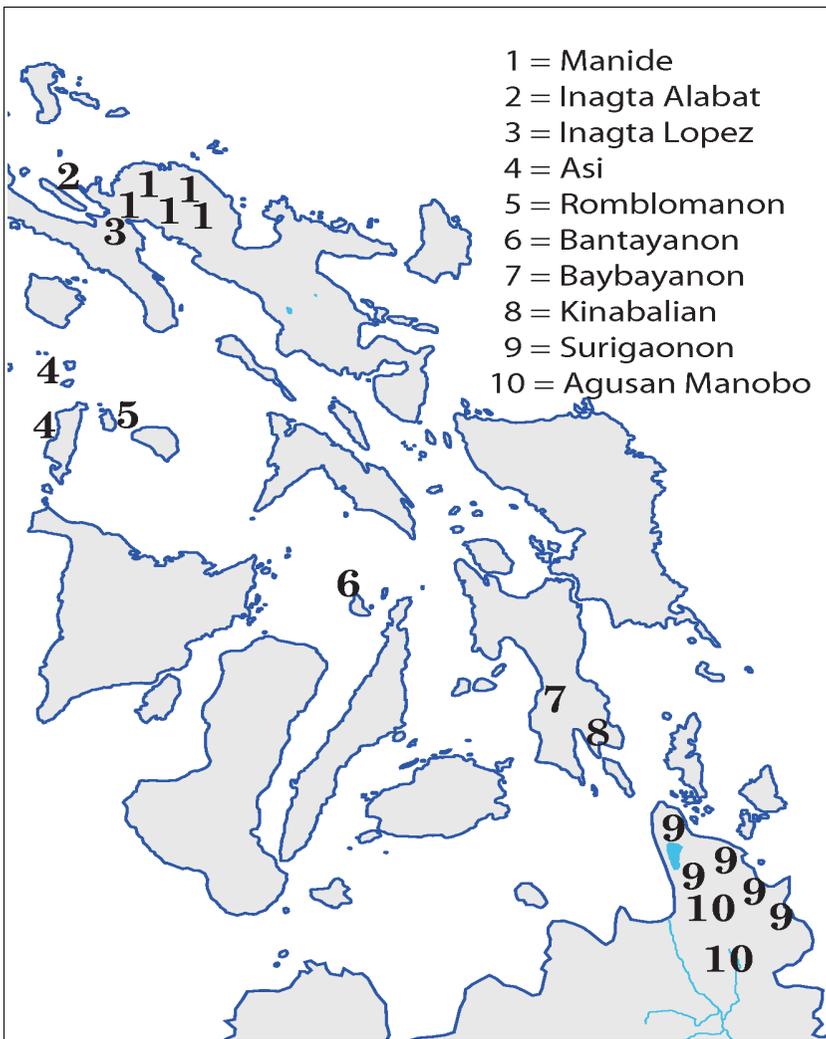
It is the middle stratum that is more surprising, however, reflecting PMP *ə as /u/ as in many Bisayan languages,[37] and PCPH *l and *-r- as /y/ (after intervocalic PMP *d, *j, *z, and *l merged as *l in this donor language). In the modern era, the only possible sources for these borrowings would have been Romblomanon, Asi/Bantoanon, or Bantayanon. However, all these languages are rather distant from even the southern coast of Luzon (see map 2), much more so from the northern part of the Bikol Peninsula where the majority of the Manide now live. Likewise, at least in the modern era, none of these Bisayan lan-

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36. PMP *ə is reflected as /i/ in Tagalog; /a/ and /u/ in Standard Bikol; /u/ in Northern Catanduanes Bikol, most dialects of Rinconada Bikol, and many Bisayan languages; and /o/ in Bikol Libon, but more conservatively as /ə/ or /i/ in a number of other Bikol and Bisayan languages. Note that some dialects of Ilokano reflect *ə as /e/.

37. Note that while Standard Bikol reflects PMP *ə as /u/ in final syllables, it has an /a/ reflex of PMP *ə in nonfinal syllables.

guages have any contact with Manide or any other Negrito Filipino group in southern Luzon. The presence of this stratum leaves us with a number of unanswerable questions: (a) what language was it?; (b) was it once a dominant language in the area where the Manide now live?; and (c) did the Manide once live much closer to the southern coast, where contact with Bisayan speakers would have been more frequent? If this hypothetical Bisayan language was present on southern Luzon, it has left no trace except in the Manide loanwords. If, on the other hand, it was the Manide themselves who once lived further south, then we are left with the equally mysterious scenario of the Manide moving farther and farther northward until they were cornered in the mountains along the border between what is now Camarines Norte, western Camarines Sur, and eastern Quezon.

MAP 2. LANGUAGES WITH *l > /y/ IN THE CENTRAL PHILIPPINES

1 = Manide
2 = Inagta Alabat
3 = Inagta Lopez
4 = Asi
5 = Romblomanon
6 = Bantayanon
7 = Baybayanon
8 = Kinabalian
9 = Surigaonon
10 = Agusan Manobo

In spite of the mysteries that may never be solved, the evidence for these strata is quite clear. First, Manide (and Inagta Alabat) has a double reflex of PPH *baláy 'house': *beléy* /beléy/ and *bayáy* /bayáy/. When asked to make a semantic distinction between the two forms, speakers invariably responded that the form *beléy* (with Low Vowel Fronting) refers to a native-style house or hut, while *bayáy* (with *l > /y/ and no vowel shift) refers to the more modern houses of their non-Manide neighbors. In other words, *beléy*—with its /l/ reflex of *l and its Low Vowel Fronting of *a to /e/—refers to the type of house that we can safely assume that the Manide have possessed for a longer period of time than they have been exposed to the modern *bayáy*-type house; therefore, it is argued that *beléy* is the inherited form, while *bayáy* (and its /y/ reflex of *l) is a borrowing. This is considered one piece of evidence for *l > /l/ and Low Vowel Fronting as characteristic of the native stratum, and *l > /y/ and lack of vowel shifts as characteristic of the borrowed stratum.

Second, semantic domains illustrate the distribution of suspected loans: most clothing terms are Tagalog; most words for illnesses and physical problems are either Tagalog or Bikol; and words for modern household items and for moods and emotions are either Tagalog, Bikol, or from the mysterious *l > /y/ source. Terms for rice agriculture also show evidence of its borrowing: *binhî* /binhíʔ/ 'rice seed', identical to the Tagalog form; *páyay* /páyay/ 'rice in field', from the *l > /y/ source; *bagás* /bagás/ 'uncooked rice', from Standard Bikol (such as Bikol Daet or Bikol Naga); *malútò* /malútoʔ/ 'cooked rice', also from Standard Bikol; *áni* /ʔáni/ 'harvest', *báyo* /báyo/ 'pound rice', *hálo* /hálo/ 'mortar', *lusúng* /lusúŋ/ 'pestle', *dayámi* /dayámi/ 'rice straw', and *ípa* /ʔípa/ 'rice husk' are all also identical to the Tagalog forms.

On the other hand, basic vocabulary is rife with forms that are either unique or have key phonological differences from cognates in other Philippine languages (see appendix 1). Some of these semantic domains include basic colors (*madiklém* /madiklém/ 'black', *malim-át* /malimʔát/ 'white', *madigdíg* /madigdig/ 'red'); basic terms of nature, in (19); a number of basic verbs, in (20); and basic body parts, in (21).

(19) aget-ét /ʔagetʔét/ 'sand'   hi-néw /hiʔnéw/ 'wind'
      béngag /béŋag/ 'mountain'   kadkadéy /kadkadéy/ 'earthquake'
      bílan /bílan/ 'moon'   kahéw /kahéw/ 'tree'
      degów /degów/ 'sun'   kildóp /kildóp/ 'lightning'
      gemés /gemés/ 'rain'   lemák /lemák/ 'earth'
      hapúy /hapúy/ 'fire'

(20) anâ /ʔanáʔ/ 'put, place'   kuldít /kuldít/ 'run'
      áteb /ʔáteb/ 'accompany'   láwi /láwi/ 'stand'
      ayát /ʔayát/ 'call'   lubék /lubék/ 'lie down'
      bagák /bagák/ 'bathe'   lus-ô /lusʔóʔ/ 'go downhill'
      dag-ás /dagʔás/ 'exit'   pálà /pálaʔ/ 'die, kill'
      habtû /habtúʔ/ 'search'   píges /píges/ 'sleep'
      higkót /higkót/ 'breathe'   sábu /sábu/ 'answer'
      íbil /ʔíbil/ 'cry'   ságak /ságak/ 'laugh'
      idí /ʔidí/ 'give'   séngol /séŋol/ 'sit'
      kádò /kádoʔ/ 'say, speak'   tálu /tálu/ 'see, look'
      kalkál /kalkál/ 'hear, listen'   úngat /ʔúŋat/ 'ask'

(21) digî /digíʔ/ 'blood'   liés /liʔés/ 'neck'
      ha-dúng /haʔdúŋ/ 'nose'   mugmúgen /mugmúgen/ 'shoulders'
      kabkabén /kabkabén/ 'armpit'   saklágen /saklágen/ 'jaw, chin'
      katlúb /katlúb/ 'tongue'   sewéng /sewéŋ/ 'ear'
      leták /leták/ 'back'   sinákeb /sinákeb/ 'chest'

Finally, it is worth noting that there is little if any overlap between the *l > /y/ shift (characteristic of the middle stratum), and the Low Vowel Fronting shift (characteristic of the oldest stratum). Besides the doublets *bayáy* and *beléy* mentioned above, note forms like *yagâ* /yagáʔ/ 'rat' (and not **/yagéʔ/ or **/yegéʔ/), *yuwág* /yuwág/ 'ladle' (and not **/yuwég/), and *báyun* /báyun/ 'provisions' (and not **/béyun/). This is interpreted as meaning that not only are the *l > /y/ forms almost certainly borrowings, but that they were borrowed into Manide after its Low Vowel Fronting rule had ceased to be productive. The only form that appears to have both *l > /y/ and Low Vowel Fronting is Manide *deyá* 'bring'. However, the /e/ vowel in this form can easily be explained as the result of an irregular secondary raising of the penult /a/ of expected **/dayá/ due to the following /y/ (as has happened in Bantayanon, Mongondow *diyá*, for example). While this may seem to be an ad hoc explanation, proposing a single exception seems preferable to having to explain away an even larger set of forms that either don't undergo the expected *a > /e/ shift or the expected *l > y shift:

(22) além /ʔalém/ 'afternoon'   (not **/ʔayém/)
      helát /helát/ 'wait'   (not **/heyát/)
      diklém /diklém/ 'black'   (not **/dikyém/)
      letáw /letáw/ 'float'   (not **/yetáw/)
      liés /liʔés/ 'neck'   (not **/yiʔés/)
      yagâ /yagáʔ/ 'rat'   (not **/yagéʔ/)
      yuwág /yuwág/ 'ladle'   (not **/yuwég/)
      yakdág /yakdág/ 'fall'   (not **/yakdég/)

4. FUNCTORS SUBSYSTEMS. This section will provide short descriptions of the verb morphology, pronouns, case markers, and demonstratives of the Manide language.

4.1 VERB MORPHOLOGY. Manide is a reduced-focus language, primarily using *mag-* for the Actor Focus,[38] *-an* for the Location Focus, and *-en* continuing the work of PMP *-ən as well as taking over the role of PMP *i-, as illustrated in table 4. The tense-aspect conjugations of the affixes are presented in table 5.

There are two present forms, one of which expresses the progressive (corresponding to the English present progressive or present continuous), and the other expressing habitual actions as well as the near future.

The presence of CVC reduplication in Manide is noteworthy because it is the only known language in southern Luzon or anywhere southward, that uses CVC reduplication instead of CV reduplication to mark incompletive verb aspects (although CVC

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38. Manide and Inagta Alabat do not have an <um> Actor Focus paradigm, a characteristic shared with the Tagalog of central Camarines Norte, the languages of the north-central and western Visayan Islands, and all modern Bikol languages except Rinconada (Lobel 2004). In these languages, the infix <um> only appears as an imperative affix in the *mag-* Actor Focus paradigm.

reduplication is common in languages further to the north, such as Ilokano). Note that the glottal stop and /h/ are both retained in the codas of reduplicated CVC-syllables: *ka-káon* /kaʔ-káʔon/ 'is eating', *ad-ádal* /ʔad-ʔádal/ 'is studying', *luhlúhà* /luh-lúhaʔ/ 'is crying', *igtahtahî* /ʔig-tah-tahíʔ/ 'is sewing'.

The origins of the future prefixes are unclear, especially the Actor Focus future *nig-*. Note that Rinconada Bikol has Actor Focus future prefix *mig-*, possibly from vowel assimilation from an earlier form *magi,[39] but the initial /n/ of the Manide prefix is unexpected, since /n/ in Philippine affixes usually indicates [+past] or [+begun]. Note that Umiray Dumaget also has a future Actor Focus prefix with initial /n/, of the form *nV-*, where V is a copy vowel of the first vowel of the base to which it is prefixed.[40]

The prefix *pig-*, used in Manide to mark the future of non-Actor Focus verbs, is also found as a non-Actor Focus future prefix in Rinconada Bikol, where its origin is likewise unknown,[41] and as a past and present prefix in a number of other Bikol languages and dialects (where it appears to be a contraction of *pinag-*).

4.2 PRONOUNS. The Manide pronouns largely mark the same contrasts as pronouns in many other Philippine languages, although it is interesting to note that a suffix *-han* on the plural pronouns marks them as explicitly plural, while forms without this

TABLE 4. THE FOCUS AFFIXES OF MANIDE AND OTHER PROXIMATE LANGUAGES

Focus	PPH	MANIDE	INAGTA ALABAT	UMIRAY DUMAGET	TAGALOG	BIKOL DAET
Actor	*<um>, *maR-	mag-	mag-	<um>	<um>, mag-	mag-
Object	*-ən	-en	-en	-in	-in	-on
Location	*-an	-an	-an	-an	-an	-an
Beneficiary	*i-	-en	i-	-in	i-	i-

TABLE 5. MANIDE VERB CONJUGATIONS

	AF	OF/BF	LF
Infinitive	mag-	-en†	-an†
Past	nag-	i-, pi-	i-…-an, pi-…-an
Present Progressive	CVC-	ig-CVC-	ig-CVC-…-an
Present Habitual, Near Future	pa-	ipa-CVC-	CVC-…-an
Future	nig-	ig-, pig-	ig-…-an
Imperative	<um>, Ø	-en	-an
Negative Imperative	mag-, ()g-	(i)g-…-a	(i)g-…-i
Past Subjunctive	(i)g-	-a, pa-…-a	-i, pa-…-i
Past Negative	pa-	igpa-	?

†   Note that the final /n/ often gets dropped in colloquial speech before a nasal, such as before the pronoun =*mu* '2SG.GEN'.

39. Note that Bikol Miraya in Albay Province does have an Actor Focus Future prefix *magi-*.
40. The Umiray Dumaget Actor Focus affixes are <*um*> (infinitive), <*inum*> (past), *ge-* (present, < *ga-* with Low Vowel Fronting of *a > /e/), and *nV-* (future); Object Focus affixes are *-in* (infinitive), <*in*> (past), *pe-* (present), and CV- (future). The Location Focus affixes are *-an* (infinitive), <*in*>…*-an* (past), *pe-*…*-an* (present), and CV-…*-an* (future).
41. Except with the same hypothetical vowel metathesis or right-to-left raising mentioned for *mig-* < *magi-*; that is, *pagi- > *pigi- > *pig-*).

suffix are ambiguously dual or plural. Note that the pronouns of Manide and Inagta Alabat are the only domain in these languages that provides any clues to their outside relationships, in this case to Umiray Dumaget. The pronouns of Manide, Inagta Alabat, and Umiray Dumaget are illustrated in table 6, along with a tentative reconstruction of Proto–Manide-Umiray pronouns.

In Manide, when a genitive 1st person singular pronoun *ku* would be followed by a nominative 2nd person pronoun, the expected sequences of **ku=ka (1SG.GEN+2SG.NOM) and **ku=kamu (1SG.GEN+2PL.NOM) are replaced by *kiká* and

TABLE 6. MANIDE, INAGTA ALABAT, AND UMIRAY DUMAGET PRONOUNS, WITH RECONSTRUCTIONS

		MANIDE	INAGTA ALABAT	UMIRAY DUMAGET	PROTO–UMIRAY-MANIDE (?)
TOP	1SG	há-ku	ha-ku	áku	*ha-ʔaku
	2SG	hiká	hikáw	ikáw	*hi-ʔika(w)
	3SG	hiyó	heyé	éye	*hiya
	1EXCL	kamí	kamî	ikamí	*hi-kami
	1INCL	kitá	kitâ	ikitá	*hi-kita
	1INCL.PL	(kitáhan)†	kitahán	ikitám	—
	2PL	kamú	kamú	ikamú	*hi-kamu
	3PL	hidó‡	hidehén	idé	*hida
NOM	1SG	=ek	=ek	=ok	*=ak
	2SG	=ka	=ka	=ka	*=ka
	3SG	hiyó	heyé	éye	*hiya
	1EXCL	=kamí	=kamî	=kamí	*=kami
	1INCL	=kitá	=kitâ	=kitá	*=kita
	1INCL.PL	(kitáhan)	=kitahán	=kitám	—
	2PL	=kamú	=kamú	=kamú	*=kamu
	3PL	hidó	hidehén	=idé	*hida
GEN	1SG	=ku	=ku	=ku	*=ku
	2SG	=mu††	=mu	=mu	*=mu
	3SG	adiyó, =ye	adeyé	=nà	?
	1EXCL	=mì	=mì	=mì	*=mi
	1INCL	=tà	=tà	=tà	*=ta
	1INCL.PL	(=tahan)	=tahán	tam	—
	2PL	=yi	=yu	=yù	*=yu
	3PL	adidó	adehén	=dè	*=da
OBL‡‡	1SG	(di) da-kú	(da)da-kú	dekú	*daʔaku
	2SG	(di) diká	dikáw	dikáw	*dika(w)
	3SG	(di) diyó	(de)deyé	diyé	*diya
	1EXCL	(di) dikamí	dekami	dikamí	*dikami
	1INCL	(di) dikitá	dekitâ	dikitá	*dikita
	1INCL.PL	(di dikitáhan)	dekitá	dikitám	—
	2PL	(di) dikamú	dekamu	dikamó	*dikamu
	3PL	(di) didó	dedehén	didé	*dida

† Any of the plural pronouns can be suffixed with *-han* to make them explicitly plural, while forms without *-han* are ambiguously dual or plural.

‡ Alternate forms for the 3rd person plural are NOM *(ma)huyuín, (ma)hudiún*, GEN *nu mahuyuín*, and OBL *di mahuyuín*; Inagta Alabat has the alternate genitive form *mahuyeén*.

†† The second person genitives have also been documented as *a didiká* '2SG.GEN' and *a dikamú* '2PL.GEN'.

‡‡ Obliques without the doubling of *di* can be used as preposed possessors

kikamú(han), respectively. Alternately, *ku* may be followed by a long-form nominative second person pronoun *hiká*; for example, *ku hiká* 1SG.GEN + 2SG.NOM.[42]

4.3 CASE MARKERS. Like most other Philippine languages, Manide has case markers that mark the relationship of a noun or noun phrase to the verb, with the usual three cases: nominative, genitive, and oblique. Remarkably, however, Manide (and Inagta Alabat) uses the same markers whether for common nouns or personal names, something extremely rare in the Philippines; in fact, Umiray Dumaget is the only other Philippine language known to use the same set of case markers for common nouns and personal names, yet the Umiray Dumaget forms are largely different from the Manide and Inagta Alabat forms, as illustrated in table 7. Manide does not seem to have plural name markers, but Inagta Alabat adds *deng* /deŋ/ (< earlier *daŋ, with Low Vowel Fronting) after the case marker to mark plural persons, or can alternately use *deng* without the case marker before it. For plural common nouns, Manide and Inagta Alabat add the pluralizer *ma* /ma/ after the appropriate case marker.

4.4 DEMONSTRATIVES. The demonstratives of Manide and Inagta Alabat (illustrated in table 8) have similarities to one another, but virtually no similarities to Umiray Dumaget or any other language. The three overlapping vowel shifts make reconstructing an innovative set of demonstrative bases exceedingly difficult, but an attempt has been made. In addition to the other commonly occurring demonstrative sets, Manide has a Past Locational set, used both to refer to past location ("He was here", "It was there", and so on) and in place of oblique demonstratives after past verbs ("I went there", "I put it there", and the like).

5. SUBGROUPING. In spite of the amount of data currently available for Manide—multiple elicitations of a 1,000-item wordlist, full functor sets, and several hundred sentences—there is no easy answer as to what the linguistic affiliation of Manide is,

TABLE 7. CASE MARKERS IN MANIDE AND OTHER PROXIMATE LANGUAGES

		MANIDE	INAGTA ALABAT	UMIRAY DUMAGET	TAGALOG
Common	NOM	hu (~ =h)	hu	i	ang
	GEN	nu (~ =n)	nu	ni	ng /naŋ/
	OBL	di (~ =d)	de	di	sa
Personal	NOM	hu	hu	i	si
(singular)	GEN	nu	nu	ni	ni
	OBL	di	de	di	kay
Personal	NOM	—	hudeng	ide	sina ~ sinda[†]
(plural)	GEN	—	nudeng	nide	nina ~ ninda[†]
	OBL	—	de-dû deng	dide	kina ~ kinda[†]

† The second form in each pair is the more common form in many dialects of Southern Tagalog.

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42. Similarly, **ko=ka (1SG.GEN+2SG.NOM) is replaced in Tagalog with *kitá,* and in Standard Bikol and a number of Bisayan languages with *taká,* but the sequence *ko ikaw* is also permissible in Southern Tagalog and many Bikol and Bisayan languages.

besides being a Malayo-Polynesian language and being closely related to Inagta Alabat. It is quite clear from functor evidence and from a plethora of lexical innovations (116 listed in appendix 2) that Manide and Inagta Alabat form an immediate subgroup together. The closest relative of Manide and Inagta Alabat may have been one or more of the Negrito Filipino groups that Garvan (1963) encountered in his travels in the Philippines in the opening quarter of the twentieth century, listed in table 9 (with place names

TABLE 8. DEMONSTRATIVES IN MANIDE, INAGTA ALABAT, AND UMIRAY DUMAGET†

		MANIDE	INAGTA ALABAT	PROTO–MANIDE-ALABAT	UMIRAY DUMAGET
NOM	near sp.	huyí	huyí	*hu-yí	ióyò, (o)yô
	near ad.	huyû	huyê	*hu-yáʔ	iwínà, nay
	far	huydî	hidû	*hu-idúʔ	inón, non
GEN	near sp.	nuhuyí ~ nuyí	nuyí	*nu-yí	nióyò
	near ad.	nuhuyû ~ nuyû	nuyê	*nu-yáʔ	niwína
	far	nuhuydî ~ nuydí	nidû	*nu-idúʔ	ninón
OBL	near sp.	díí	díí	*di-ʔí	dío
	near ad.	de-yû	de-yê	*da-ʔyáʔ	dénà
	far	de-dî	de-dú	*da-ʔdúʔ	dumán
LOC	near sp.	aí	haí, hadíí	*(h)a-ʔí	wiyó
	near ad.	a-yû (~ adé-yù)	ha-yê, hadé-yè	*(h)a-ʔyáʔ	winâ
	far	a-dî (~ ade-dî)	ha-dû, hadé-dù	*(h)a-ʔdúʔ	? (dumán)
PAST LOC	near sp.	naháy	—	—	—
	near ad.	nahâ	—	—	—
	far	nadî	—	—	—
VRB	near sp.	magpaháy	paháy	*paháy	(d<um>éo)
	near ad.	— (pataón)	—	—	—
	far	magpataón	— (puntá)	—	— (kang)

†   Near sp. = near speaker; near ad. = near addressee; far = near neither the speaker nor the addressee. These categories correspond to 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person pronouns, respectively, and more accurately capture the meaning of the demonstrative pronouns than more general terms like "this," "that," "that (far)," and so on.

TABLE 9. GROUPS LISTED IN 1903–1925 BY GARVAN (1963:8) IN THE AREA OF THE MANIDE

Designation	Province	Location	No. of families
Abian or Bihug	Quezon	Calawag and Lopez	80
Umag or Ata	Quezon	Mambulao	56
Atid or Manidi	Quezon	Ginayangan	38
Manidi	Quezon	Mt. Kadig	71
Abian	Quezon	Mauban and Alabat Island	26
Itim or Agta	Quezon	Gumaca	19
Itim or Agta	Quezon	Atimonan	5
Itim or Agta	Quezon	Perez	12
Ita, Aita	Quezon	Catanauan	79
Bihug, Abian	Camarines Norte	Capalonga	35
Abian	Camarines Sur	NE pt. of Ragay Gulf	63
Atid or Manidi	Camarines Sur	Ragay on E. Ragay	20
Abian	Camarines Sur	Indan	—

modernized to match current official spellings, where known). However, unless any of these groups remain to be discovered in the areas near the border of eastern Quezon province, western Camarines Norte province, and western Camarines Sur province, then it may well be the case that all of Manide and Inagta Alabat's closest relatives disappeared decades ago, either being fully assimilated (as the so-called "Ayta" of Tayabas and the Katabangan[43] of Catanauan), or otherwise becoming extinct for one reason or another. Beyond this, there are few, if any, indicators of what the Manide-Alabat group's next closest surviving relative is.

5.1 FUNCTOR EVIDENCE.   There is minor evidence (mainly in the pronouns and verb affixes) that Umiray Dumaget may be Manide-Alabat's next closest relative.[44] Apart from the pronouns, other evidence is rather weak, and includes a structural similarity in the case markers, and a typologically odd Actor Focus future prefix.

One structural innovation is also shared by Manide, Inagta Alabat, and Umiray Dumaget, although it doesn't involve any innovated forms: the three languages are unique among Philippine-type languages in that they use the same case markers for both common nouns and personal names. However, since only one of the three case markers (oblique *di*, common throughout Malayo-Polynesian languages) is shared with Umiray Dumaget, it is impossible to rule out the possibility that this shared structural innovation may have been spread by contact or parallel development. Still, this similarity deserves at least some weight, since Umiray Dumaget is not mutually intelligible with either Manide or Inagta Alabat, and Umiray Dumaget is neither in contact with Manide or Inagta Alabat, nor particularly close geographically.

Manide and Umiray Dumaget both have an Actor Focus future prefix beginning with *n-, which is exceedingly rare for affixes marking the future in Philippine languages. However, it is difficult to argue for this being a shared innovation, since the form of the affix itself is different in each language (*nig-* in Manide, *n*V- in Umiray Dumaget), and since it is not shared with Inagta Alabat, which is geographically intermediate.[45] Likewise, the difference in the form may be explainable, in that Umiray Dumaget *n*V- is the future of the *<um> paradigm, while in Manide—which lacks a distinct *<um> paradigm—the prefix *nig-* belongs to the *mag-* paradigm.

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43. Note also that the name "Katabangan" has been erroneously represented as "Katabaga" in the *Ethnologue*.

44. Himes (2002) suggests that Umiray Dumaget might be either a Central Philippine or Greater Central Philippine language, but the author disagrees, based on a wider data set for both Umiray Dumaget and other languages in the area. The errors in Himes's analysis are largely due to the fact that, like Manide and Inagta Alabat, Umiray Dumaget does not share any significant innovations with any other extant language, coupled with the fact that 23–24 percent of the Umiray Dumaget lexicon is unique (a number very close to Manide's 28.5 percent). Likewise, most of its functors are either widespread Philippine forms or completely unique. This issue is beyond the scope of this paper, but will receive further treatment in the author's dissertation and an upcoming paper on the topic. Suffice it to say for now that the author does not believe that there is any evidence supporting a close genetic relationship between the GCPH subgroup as proposed in Blust (1991) and the Umiray Dumaget language.

45. Inagta Alabat has *ig-* as its Actor Focus future prefix, which may possibly derive from a Proto–Manide-Alabat *nig-, with irregular dropping of the *n-.

5.2 PHONOLOGICAL EVIDENCE. While there is pronominal evidence linking Manide-Alabat with Umiray Dumaget, phonological evidence is inconclusive. Manide retains PMP *h, which is generally lost in all languages to the north, and allows /h/ in more positions than any of the neighboring Greater Central Philippine languages.[46] If Manide and Inagta Alabat do subgroup to the north, then they are the only North Luzon languages to preserve PMP *h as /h/. Likewise, PMP *q is reflected as /ʔ/ in all positions, and while some very early Central Philippine languages likely allowed both *-ʔC- and *-Cʔ- clusters morpheme-internally, none still do (cf. footnote 17).

The reflex of *R has often been cited as strong evidence in proposed subgroupings. However, since *R > /g/ is shared both with Greater Central Philippine languages and with many languages to the north (including the Northeastern Luzon subgroup and the Northern Cordilleran subgroup), the /g/ reflex of *R in reality tells us nothing about the subgrouping of Manide and Inagta Alabat. Likewise, the merger of *j, *z, and *d as /d/ is also too common in the Philippines to be of any particular help. Of the three bizarre vowel shifts—Low Vowel Fronting, Low Vowel Backing, and Back Vowel Fronting—the first is shared with other Negrito Filipino languages to the north, but appears to have been an areal feature, as it affects different lexical items in each language in which it is found (cf. Robinson and Lobel 2010).

While a number of shared lexical innovations link Manide and Inagta Alabat, hardly any link these two languages with any other language. This is not surprising considering other facts: (a) Manide only retains 27 percent of PMP reconstructed vocabulary based on the Blust (1981) list; (b) another 28.5 percent of the Manide lexicon is unique; (c) of the remaining 44.5 percent of the lexicon, a large number are recent borrowings from Tagalog and Bikol, and older borrowings from what appears to have been a Bisayan language (in which *l > /y/ and *ə > /u/) once influential over either southern Luzon or whatever area the early Manide-Alabat once inhabited. That most of the latter group are a stratum of borrowings can be determined because their reflexes of PMP *j, *z, *d, *l, *R, and *ə are inconsistent with the reflexes that are most likely to be inherited, as well as the fact that entire semantic categories have been borrowed in this way: (1) terms for rice, rice agriculture, and a number of fruits and vegetables; (2) terms for clothing and the wearing thereof; (3) terms for a number of tools that presumably weren't familiar to the precontact Negrito Filipinos; (4) terms for many illnesses and physical problems; (5) terms for many emotions; (6) terms for a number of animals; (7) terms for a number of less basic body parts; and (8) even a doublet for *baláy, the native reflex of which (*beléy*) refers to the small Manide-style hut, and the borrowed reflex of which (*bayáy*) refers to the modern houses of the non-Manide.

What may be easier to answer at this point is what languages Manide and Inagta Alabat do *not* subgroup with. The lack of any mutually shared innovations with the Central Philippine, or even Greater Central Philippine, languages that surround Manide to the east, west, and south indicates that Manide and Inagta Alabat are not Greater Central

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46. The only other languages known to allow inherited *h in coda positions are the geographically distant Aklanon, Surigaonon, and Binukidnon languages of Negros Island, and some especially conservative dialects of Waray-Waray in northern and northeastern Samar. None of these are geographically close enough to the central part of southern Luzon for them to have had a significant amount of contact with Manide or Inagta Alabat.

Philippine languages, in spite of the considerable degree to which they have borrowed from Tagalog and Bikol in the past century or so, and from earlier Central Philippine languages over the past millennium. The /g/ reflex of *R, the retention of *ʔ and *h in all positions, and the functor evidence likewise indicate that Manide and Inagta Alabat do not subgroup with Kapampangan, Sambali-Ayta, Northern Mangyan, or Bashiic/Batanic. It seems most likely at this point that Manide and Inagta Alabat (as well as Umiray Dumaget) are either (a) a separate branch of the Philippine family or even of Malayo-Polynesian, or (b) a branch of, or coordinate with, Northeastern Luzon and the North Luzon languages.[47] If the former turns out to be the case, then the Manide, Alabat, Agta, and other related Negrito Filipino groups that have now disappeared must have acquired the earliest form of their present language from early Malayo-Polynesian groups that entered the Philippines from the north but have long since gone extinct, wiped out perhaps by leveling episodes such as those proposed by Blust (1991, 2005). Only further in-depth research on all of these languages will bring the possibility of solving this puzzle, one that is complicated by the large scale extinction and/or assimilation of the various Negrito Filipino groups that were found in other parts of southern Luzon at least as recently as the first quarter of the twentieth century.

6. CONCLUSION. This paper has attempted to address the complete lack of available data and analyses of Manide, one of only four known Negrito Filipino languages surviving in southern Luzon. Lexical and functor data have been presented and analyzed for innovations in order to unravel some of the linguistic and social history. Unfortunately, it is impossible at this point to definitively subgroup Manide with any Philippine language other than the closely related Inagta Alabat. At most, there is some pronominal evidence that suggests the possibility of an ancient relationship with Umiray Dumaget and maybe even the Northeastern Luzon languages (for example, the clitic =*ek* '1SG.NOM'). However, if there really is a connection to Umiray Dumaget, then there has been a long period of separation between the two groups, and the striking linguistic distance between Umiray Dumaget and Manide-Alabat is most likely explained as the result of the disappearance of geographically—and linguistically—intermediate Negrito Filipino languages over the past century or longer. Several strata of borrowing point to various historical periods of contact with, and influence by, Tagalog, Bikol, and Bisayan languages. The lack of any evidence for subgrouping with Central Philippine or even Greater Central Philippine languages indicates that, if the Manide-Alabat subgroup does have any surviving close relatives among Philippine languages, then they must be to the north, not to the south. A much more in-depth study of Manide, Inagta Alabat, Umiray Dumaget, and various other languages to the north will no doubt be needed before the relationships of Manide and Inagta Alabat to other Philippine languages can definitively be determined.

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47. Robinson and Lobel (2010) present an analysis of the Northeastern Luzon languages and the evidence for their position within the Philippine subfamily.

APPENDIX 1. UNIQUE FORMS IN MANIDE (285 ITEMS)

FORMAL INNOVATIONS (222)

acrid	saplák /saplák/	cry	íbil /ʔíbil/
across from	esgúd /ʔesgúd/	curly hair	kulikút /kulikút/
add	léet /léʔet/	day	degów /degów/
again (particle)	digán /digán/	deep	layín /layín/
all gone	bis-él /bisʔél/	dirt in eye	luklúk /luklúk/
answer	sábu /sábu/	don't! (IMP)	atî /ʔatíʔ/
ant: big	kalamíntas /kalamíntas/	don't like	gusâ /gusáʔ/
armpit	kabkáben /kabkáben/	downriver	angúlan /ʔaŋúlan/
ask	ungát /ʔuŋát/	drizzle	sagi-sî /sagiʔsíʔ/
awaken	bisdî /bisdíʔ/	drown	mahumút /mahumút/
baby	tayumbun /tayumbun/	drunk	baíg /baʔíg/
back (body)	leták /leták/	dull blade	hámul /hámul/
back up	sélè /séleʔ/	ear	sewéng /sewéŋ/
bathe	bagák /bagák/	earth/land	lemák /lemák/
below, under	saód /saʔód/	earthquake	kadkadéy /kadkadéy/
bend (v.)	belekót /belekót/	edge	héwis /héwis/
beside, next to	kaginíh /kaginíh/	eel	tuldís /tuldís/
betel leaf	bihúlù /bihúluʔ/	exit/go out	dag-ás /dagʔás/
bite	lang-ót /laŋʔót/	far	awág /ʔawág/
blanket	tágpen /tágpen/	fast	lig-ón /ligʔón/
blow nose	sisíh /sisíh/	fear	kipút /kipút/
boat, canoe	bídok /bídok/	feather	gitgit /gitgit/
boil (n.)	kalibobót /kalibobót/	feces	be-dís /beʔdís/
boil water	lékà-lékà /lékaʔlékaʔ/	fish: mudfish	kabilihwóg /kabilihwóg/
bone	beyón /beyón/	fly (insect)	galú-gì /galúʔgiʔ/
boss	kabehóg /kabehóg/	fruit	guún /guʔún/
break, snap	ténglak /téŋlak/	full, satiated	bagtók /bagtók/
breath/breathe	higkót /higkót/	get up	bégkat /bégkat/
burn	tuúk /tuʔúk/	give	idí /ʔidí/
butterfly	kalâ-kálà /kaláʔ-kálaʔ/	go down stairs	lus-ô /lusʔóʔ/
calf (leg)	kalamanán /kalamanán/	go downhill	lesbáng /lesbáng/
call	ayát /ʔayát/	go there	pataón /pataʔón/
catch (ball)	sagíp /sagíp/	groin	laség /laség/
catch, capture	ugúd /ʔugúd/	hair whorl	hípuhípu /hípuhípu/
caterpillar	típduy /típduy/	hammock	tabiyúnan /tabiyúnan/
centipede	anggugumáy /ʔaŋgugumáy/	hang up	sá-lot /sáʔlot/
charcoal	agipú /ʔagipú/	hear/listen	kalkal /kalkal/
chase	lágud /lágud/	heavy	bitéy /bitéy/
chicken	teléek /teléʔek/	heel	tatagdók /tatagdók/
clear throat	kaghém /kaghém/	hold in hands	káhet /káhet/
climb, go up	áknit /ʔáknit/	hole	anépan /ʔanépan/
coconut	salúkà /salúkaʔ/	honeybee	káag /káʔag/
collapse	nalúngkag /nalúŋkag/	hopefully	úlà /ʔúlaʔ/ (particle)
companion	kaáteb /kaʔáteb/	hungry	lumbî /lumbíʔ/
co-parent	lumukháw /lumukháw/	index finger	katitiyowán /katitiyowán/
cough	kalhád /kalhád/	jaw	saklágen /saklágen/
crawl	kúgang /kúgaŋ/	jealous	bíton /bíton/
crazy	kalóg /kalóg/	kill, die	pálà /pálaʔ/
crippled	pélà /pélaʔ/	later	ngápit /ŋápit/

laugh	ságak /ságak/	roast	sugmák /sugmák/
lazy	bántod /bántod/	roof	sagdém /sagdém/
leave behind	kuldít /kuldít/	rotten (egg)	búkes /búkes/
lie (v.)	pudíl /pudíl/	round	huhúgas /huhúgas/
lie down	lubék /lubék/	run	kúldit /kúldit/
lie on back	átay /ʔátay/	sand	aget-ét /ʔagetʔét/
lie on side	tilbúd /tilbúd/	say, speak	kádò /kádoʔ/
lie on stomach	pélang /pélaŋ/	scales (fish)	kisákis /kisákis/
light (n.)	tan-é /tanʔé/	scar	kabáng /kabáŋ/
lightning	kildóp /kildóp/	scoot over	isî /ʔisíʔ/
lonely	hambáw /hambáw/	scream, shout	kulawít /kulawít/
long	huhúnat /huhúnat/	shake (trans.)	hubég /hubég/
long time	húndag /húndag/	shadow	aligúub /ʔaligúʔub/
look back	kéleg /kéleg/	shake head	piíng /piʔíŋ/
look for	habtû /habtúʔ/	shallow	lep-ák /lepʔák/
look up	ídut /ʔídut/	sharp (point)	sudsúd /sudsúd/
look, see	tálu /tálu/	shave	kabúng /kabúŋ/
lost (intr.)	lepád /lepád/	short (length)	bubuktít /bubuktít/
low	delémak /delémak/	shoulders	mugmúgen /mugmúgen/
low	sasáod /sasáʔod/	shrimp	mimpílan /mimpílan/
lower leg	sukáb /sukáb/	sibling	kaényog /kaʔényog/
many	kaulaán /kaʔulaʔán/	sibling-in-law	umedús /ʔumedús/
meet, run into	ságpak /ságpak/	sit	séngol /séŋol/
morning	biábi /biʔábi/	skin, bark	bala-kís /balaʔkís/
mosquito	peléngot /peléŋot/	skinny	daydayón /daydayón/
mountain	béngag /béŋag/	slap (body)	labúd /labúd/
mountain	bógkat /bógkat/	sleep	píges /píges/
naked	úmag /ʔúmag/	small; few	mamátì /mamátiʔ/
nape (neck)	kutkutuhán /kutkutuhán/	smell, sniff	sagká /sagká/
near, close	kagíyan /kagíyan/	smile	lis-íng /lisʔíŋ/
no, not	yábot /yábot/	snake	púo /púʔo/
old (thing)	halíd /halíd/	snake: boa	matawú /matawú/
on top of	he-penán /heʔpenán/	soft	lupék /lupék/
one	súpeg /súpeg/	spear	tugdô /tugdóʔ/
owner	kad-idí /kadʔidí/	spear/trident	basláy /basláy/
palm tree	ímey /ʔímey/	spine (body)	tinabtáb /tinabtáb/
parent-in-law	les-ékan /lesʔékan/	stand	láwi /láwi/
path, trail	kanóg /kanóg/	step down on	yim-akán /yimʔakán/
pick up	dampót /dampót/	stingy	himók /himók/
play	dángat /dáŋat/	storm, typhoon	pahi-néw /pahiʔnéw/
point (v.)	tiyów /tiyów/	straight	talúnas /talúnas/
pregnant	buát /buʔát/	suck, sip	hanggíp /haŋgíp/
pull out	bignót /bignót/	sun	degów /degów/
pull out (hair)	hugkút hugkút/	sunset	tundág /tundág/
puppy	tí-dok /tíʔdok/	surprised	gitláh /gitláh/
put leg over	hu-séy /huʔséy/	swallow	hablák /hablák/
put, place	anâ /ʔanáʔ/	swim	kanáway /kanáway/
rain	gemés /gemés/	taro	kulád /kulád/
rattan	kuménan /kuménan/	taste (v.)	tagám /tagám/
red	madigdíg /madigdíg/	thorn	súeng /súʔeŋ/
rice, burnt	agtúm /ʔagtúm/	throw away	pesát /pesát/
ringworm	puhák /puhák/	thumb	kadadakuán /kadadakuʔán/
rip, tear	ba-kís /baʔkís/	tie (v.)	gaót /gaʔót/

tired	ngálay /ŋálay/	vomit	teg-ák /tegʔák/
today	kumanâ /kumanáʔ/	wasp	ankitkitî /ʔankitkitíʔ/
tomorrow	gumáak /gumáʔak/ ~ gumaák /gumaʔák/	where (FUT)	dí-do /díʔdo/ ~ dé-do /déʔdo/
tongue	katlúb /katlúb/	where (PAST)	nadó /nadó/
touch (v.)	húgam /húgam/	white	malím-at /malímʔat/
turbid, unclear	labíheg /labíheg/	wide	bebelág /bebelág/
turn, spin	pihít /pihít/	wind	hi-néw /hiʔnéw/
unripe, raw	ékò /ʔékoʔ/	woman, single	séel /séʔel/
upriver	paalug-úg /paʔalugʔúg/	wring, squeeze	lum-ók /lumʔók/

SEMANTIC SHIFTS (29)

ask for, request	alók /ʔalók/ (< 'invite')
bachelor	supgón /supgón/ (< *supəg 'shy', cf. also Manide *súpeg* 'one')
big, large	lawáan /lawáʔan/ (cf. Ilokano *lawá* 'wide, loose, roomy, broad')
black	madiklém /madiklém/ (< 'dark')
boy-/girlfriend	kumakatúy /kumakatúy/ (< *katəl 'itchy')
bury	lúngun /lúŋun/ (< 'coffin')
butt	pi-gî /piʔgíʔ/ (< 'hips')
cane, staff	tukún /tukún/ (< 'boat pole')
delicious	gayón /gayón/ (< 'good, beautiful')
dig	kúykuy /kúykuy/ (cf. Guina-ang Bontok /kuykúy/ 'to transfer from one place to another by scraping with the hands')
earwax	bulbóg /bulbóg/ (< 'liquidy ear discharge')
fast	kusúg /kusúg/ (< 'strong')
fat	bibíyug /bibíyug/ (cf. Tagalog *bílog* 'circle', PBIS *bilúg 'whole')
fear	tálaw /tálaw/ (< 'cowardly')
food: viand	dakán /dakán/ (< PMP 'cook')
hang up	saklág /saklág/ (cf. Guina-ang Bontok /sakrág/ 'to support as a sick person, to support someone's head in the crook of one's arm')
husband	lalákì /lalákiʔ/ (< 'man')
knee	bu-lúng /buʔlúŋ/ (< 'heel')
man, male	behíon /behíʔon/ (< 'woman')
mouth	bag-áng /bagʔáŋ/ (< 'molar tooth')
palm (hand)	talapákan /talapákan/ (< 'sole (of foot)', Standard Tagalog *talampákan,* Southern Tagalog *talapákan*)
pillar, post	bugsúk /bugsúk/ (< 'drive or force into')
under	laóg /laʔóg/ (< 'inside')
vagina	igót /ʔigót/ (< 'anus')
wall	álad /ʔálad/ (< 'fence')
wife	bakés /bakés/ (< 'old woman')
wipe	hípos /hípos/ (< 'clean up')
worm	bukbúk /bukbúk/ (< 'woodborer')
yam (purple)	ka-nén /kaʔnén/ (< 'cooked rice')

PHONOLOGICAL SHIFTS (25)

and	mat /mat/ 'and' (cf. Tagalog *at*)
bee	ambibíyi /ambibíyi/ (irregular loss of *R < *ambubuyuR)

between	sel-át /sel?át/ (addition of glottal stop < *səlat)
burp	teáb /te?áb/ (irregular loss of *R, cf. PPH *təRqab)
chest (body)	sinákeb /sinákeb/ (cf. Guina-ang Bontok /takə́b/ 'chest')
close eyes	kipít /kipít/ (metathesis of *pikit)
cover	tangkóp /taŋkóp/ (addition of /ŋ/ < *takəp)
don't know	hindaá /hinda?á/ ~ indaá /inda?á/ (cf. PGCPH *inda[?,y])
fall, drop	yakdág /yakdág/ (irregular reflex of *dagdag ~ *laglag)
fan	kayúb /kayúb/ (< *kayab)
firefly	kanípot /kanípot/ (initial /k/ instead of /?/)
ghost	suwáng /suwáŋ/ (cf. Tagalog *aswang*)
have; there is	igá /?igá/ (cf. Bikol *igwá*)
just, only	dang /daŋ/ (var. *yang*; cf. Tagalog, Cebuano *lang*, Cebuano *dà*)
lift	ángkat /?áŋkat/ (< *qagkat)
look down	tukô /tukó?/ (initial /t/ is unique)
mortar	linsúngan /linsúŋan/ (addition of <in> < *ləsuŋ)
neck	liés /li?és/ (irregular reflex of *liqəR)
nephew/niece	kumángkon /kumáŋkon/ (initial /k/ instead of /?/ < *q<um>anak-ən)
papaya	apáyas /?apáyas/ (other cognates have initial /p/, /t/, or /k/, but cf. Guina-ang Bontok /?apáya/ without the final /s/)
return; repeat	suhî /suhí?/ (< *suliq)
soursop	rábano /rábano/
spit	luntáb /luntáb/ (/n/ is unique)
steal	tangkáw /taŋkáw/ (additional of /ŋ/ < *takaw)
termite	aánay /?a?ánay/ (additional CV- reduplication)

MORPHOLOGICAL SHIFTS (9)

aunt	dagáhon /dagáhon/ (addition of -on)
father	umamâ /?umamá?/ (addition of <um>)
grandparent	umapô /?umapó?/ (addition of <um>)
mother	uminâ /?uminá?/ (addition of <um>)
what	huwá-no /huwá?no/ ~ wá-no /wá?no/ (< *anu 'what')
when (PAST)	nun-anó /nun?anó/ (< *anu 'what')
when (PAST)	nunggianó /nuŋgí?anó/ (< *anu 'what')
when (FUT)	gianó /gi?anó/ (< *anu 'what')
whose	dí-no /dí?no/ *(< *anu 'what')

APPENDIX 2. 116 MANIDE-ALABAT LEXICAL INNOVATIONS

acrid	Manide, Alabat *masaplák,* PMA *ma-saplák
across from	Manide *esgúd,* Alabat *esked,* PMA *?esgad (with irregular devoicing of *g in Inagta Alabat)
already (particle)	Manide, Alabat *de,* PMA *de
anus	Manide, Alabat *butbút,* PMA *butbút
armpit	Manide, Alabat *kabkáben,* PMA *kabkáb-en
ask for, request	Manide, Alabat *alók ,* PMA *?alók
aunt	Manide, Alabat *dagáhon,* PMA *dagáh-on

back up	Manide, Alabat *sélè,* PMA *séleʔ
beside, next to	Manide, Alabat *kaginí,* PMA *kaginí
between	Manide, Alabat *sel-át,* PMA *selʔát
black	Manide *madiklém,* Alabat *madeklém,* PMA *ma-diklém
bone	Manide *beyón,* Alabat *beyén,* PMA *beyán
burn	Manide, Alabat *tuúk,* PMA *tuʔúk
burp	Manide, Alabat *teáb,* PMA *teʔáb
butt	Manide, Alabat *pi-gî,* PMA *piʔgíʔ (semantic shift < 'hips')
centipede	Manide, Alabat *anggugumáy,* PMA *ʔaŋgugumáy
chicken	Manide, Alabat *teléek,* PMA *teléʔek
climb, go up	Manide, Alabat *áknit,* PMA *ʔáknit
crazy	Manide, Alabat *kalóg,* PMA *kalóg
cry	Manide, Alabat *íbil,* PMA *ʔíbil
day	Manide *degów,* Alabat *degéw,* PMA *degáw
downriver	Manide, Alabat *angúlan,* PMA *aŋúl-an
ear	Manide, Alabat *sewéng,* PMA *sewéŋ
earth, land	Manide, Alabat *lemák,* PMA *lemák
earthquake	Manide *kadkadéy,* Alabat *kadéy, kakadéy,* PMA *kad-kadéy
eel	Manide, Alabat *tuldís,* PMA *tuldís
exit, go out	Manide, Alabat *dag-ás,* PMA *dagʔás
father	Manide, Alabat *umamâ,* PMA *ʔ<um>amáʔ (use of *<um> is unique)
fear	Manide, Alabat *tálaw,* PMA *tálaw (semantic shift < 'cowardly')
feather	Manide, Alabat *gitgít,* PMA *gitgít
feces	Manide *be-dís,* Alabat *bi-dís,* PMA *beʔdís
fly (n.)	Manide *galú-gì,* Alabat *gilú-gù,* PMA *g<al>úʔguʔ
fruit	Manide, Alabat *geén,* PMA *gaʔán
get up	Manide, Alabat *bégkat,* PMA *bégkat
go down stairs	Manide, Alabat *lus-ô,* PMA *lusʔóʔ
go downhill	Manide, Alabat *lesbáng,* PMA *lesbáŋ
grandparent	Manide, Alabat *umapô,* PMA *ʔ<um>apóʔ (use of *<um> is unique)
groin	Manide, Alabat *laség,* PMA *laség
hang up	Manide, Alabat *sá-lot,* PMA *sáʔlot
have; there is	Manide, Alabat *igá,* PMA *ʔigá (loss of *w, cf. Bikol *igwá*)
hold in hands	Manide, Alabat *káhet,* PMA *káhet
honeybee	Manide, Alabat *káag,* PMA *káʔag
husband	Manide, Alabat *lalákì,* PMA *lalákiʔ (semantic shift < 'man')
jaw	Manide, Alabat *saklágen,* PMA *saklag-en
jealous	Manide, Alabat *bíton,* PMA *bíton
kill, die	Manide, Alabat *pálà,* PMA *pálaʔ
knee	Manide, Alabat *bu-lúng,* PMA *buʔlúŋ
later	Manide, Alabat *ngápit,* PMA *ŋápit
laugh	Manide, Alabat *ságak,* PMA *ságak
lie on back	Manide, Alabat *átay,* PMA *ʔátay
lie on side	Manide *tilbúd,* Alabat *telbéd,* PMA *tilbád
lightning	Manide *kildóp,* Alabat *kildép,* PMA *kildáp
long	Manide, Alabat *huhúnat,* PMA *hu-húnat

look back   Manide, Alabat *kéleg,* PMA *kéleg
look down   Manide, Alabat *tukô ,* PMA *tukóʔ (/t/ is unique)
lower leg   Manide, Alabat *sukáb,* PMA *sukáb
mosquito   Manide, Alabat *peléngot,* PMA *peléŋot
mother   Manide, Alabat *uminâ,* PMA *ʔ<um>ináʔ (use of *<um> is
                     unique)
mountain   Manide *bógkat,* Alabat *bígkat,* PMA *bágkat
naked   Manide, Alabat *úmag,* PMA *ʔúmag
nape (of neck)   Manide *kutkutuhán,* Alabat *kukutuhán,* PMA *kut-kutuh-an
near, close   Manide, Alabat *kagíyan,* PMA *kagíyan
nephew/niece   Manide, Alabat *kumángkon,* PMA *k<um>áŋkon
now, today   Manide, Alabat *kumanâ,* Alabat *kumenâ,* PMA *kumanáʔ
on top of   Manide, Alabat *he-penán,* PMA *heʔpen-an
one   Manide, Alabat *he-sá,* PMA *heʔsá
palm tree   Manide *ímey,* Alabat *émey,* PMA *ʔímey
parent-in-law   Manide, Alabat *les-ékan,* PMA *lesʔék-an
pick up   Manide, Alabat *dampót,* PMA *dampót
point (v.)   Manide *tiyów,* Alabat *teyéw,* PMA *tiyáw
pull out (hair)   Manide, Alabat *hugkút,* PMA *hugkút
puppy   Manide, Alabat *tí-dok,* PMA *tíʔdok
rain   Manide, Alabat *gemés,* PMA *gemés
return; repeat   Manide, Alabat *suhî,* PMA *suhíʔ
rip, tear   Manide, Alabat *ba-kís,* PMA *baʔkís
roast   Manide, Alabat *sugmák,* PMA *sugmák
rotten (egg)   Manide, Alabat *búkes,* PMA *búkes
sand   Manide, Alabat *aget-ét,* PMA *ʔ<ag>etʔét
say, speak   Manide *kádò,* Alabat *kádè,* PMA *kadaʔ
scream, shout   Manide, Alabat *kulawít,* PMA *kulawít
shake head   Manide, Alabat *piíng,* PMA *piʔíŋ
sharp (point)   Manide, Alabat *masudsúd,* PMA *ma-sudsúd
short (length)   Manide, Alabat *bubuktít,* PMA *bu-buktít
shoulders   Manide, Alabat *mugmúgen,* PMA *mugmúg-en
sibling   Manide *kaényog,* Alabat *ahényog,* PMA *(k)a-(h,ʔ)ényog
sit   Manide, Alabat *séngol,* PMA *séŋol
skin, bark   Manide, Alabat *bala-kís,* PMA *balaʔkís
small; few   Manide, Alabat *mamátì,* PMA *ma-mátiʔ
smile   Manide, Alabat *lis-íng,* PMA *lisʔíŋ
snake   Manide, Alabat *béek,* PMA *béʔek
snake: boa   Manide, Alabat *matawú,* PMA *matawú
soft   Manide, Alabat *malupék,* PMA *ma-lupék
spine   Manide, Alabat *tinabtáb,* PMA *t<in>abtáb
spit   Manide, Alabat *luntáb,* PMA *luntáb (*n is unique)
sun   Manide *degów,* Alabat *degéw,* PMA *degáw
sunset   Manide, Alabat *tundág,* PMA *tundág
swallow   Manide, Alabat *hablák,* PMA *hablák
termite   Manide *aánay,* Alabat *aáney,* PMA *ʔa-ʔánay (phonological
                     shift < PPʜ *qanay)
there is, have   Manide, Alabat *igá*, PMA *ʔigá

thorn	Manide, Alabat *súeng,* PMA *súʔeŋ
throw away	Manide, Alabat *pesát,* PMA *pesát
tomorrow	Manide, Alabat *gumáak,* PMA *gumáʔak
tongue	Manide *katlúb*, Alabat *katlób*, PMA *katlúb
upriver	Manide *paalug-úg,* Alabat *alug-úgen*, PMA *ʔ\<al>ugʔug
vagina	Manide, Alabat *igót,* PMA *ʔigót
vomit	Manide, Alabat *teg-ák,* PMA *tegʔák
wasp	Manide *ankitkitî*, Alabat *ankikitî,* PMA *an-kit-kitíʔ
what	Manide *huwá-no, wá-no*, Alabat *há-nu*, PMA *huaʔnu
where (past)	Manide *nadó*, Alabat *nadé,* PMA *nadá
where (future)	Manide *dí-do, dé-do*, Alabat *de-dé*, PMA *deʔda
which	Manide *hudú*, Alabat *hudé,* PMA *hudá
white	Manide, Alabat *malím-at,* PMA *ma-límʔat
wide	Manide, Alabat *bebelág,* PMA *be-belág
wife	Manide, Alabat *bakés,* PMA *bakés (semantic shift < 'old woman')
wind	Manide *hi-néw*, Alabat *he-néw*, PMA *hiʔnéw
worm	Manide, Alabat *bukbúk,* PMA *bukbúk (semantic shift < 'woodborer')

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