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LINGUISTIC ARCHAEOLOGY: TRACKING DOWN THE TASADAY
LANGUAGE

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1. Introduction. In July, 1971, a report by Manuel Elizalde Jr.,¹ then Presidential Assistant on National Minorities in the Philippines (Elizalde and Fox 1971) to the Smithsonian Institution's Center for Short-Lived Phenomena from Southern Cotabato, Mindanao in the Philippines, informed the world of a small, isolated group of hunter-gatherers supposedly living in caves in the rain-forests of southern Mindanao in the Philippines. The group of six families numbered approximately twenty-seven individuals, ranging in age from infancy to old-age, including a retarded male albino child with severe skin lesions and an elderly couple both of whom were said to be deaf-mutes. The group had a few metal tools, used stone tools, and were claimed to have no knowledge of agriculture or domesticated plants, including rice. They wore loin cloths, made either of old cotton fabric, bark cloth or the leaves of a ground orchid. They were said to have had no knowledge of tobacco or alcoholic drinks, but were familiar with betel nuts and chewed them with lime and a variety of leaves and bark from plants in their environment.

Initial reports claimed that prior to June 1971, when they were first contacted by members of PANAMIN at Mutùlung, a clearing at the edge of the rain-forest, the Tasaday had been in contact with only one outsider, a hunter named Dafal, although they knew of two other forest groups, called respectively Sanduka and Tasafeng, with whom they intermarried.² The contacts with Dafal occurred during his various hunting trips into the mountains where the Tasaday lived. Dafal was born in the nearest agricultural community to the Tasaday area, a place called Blit. The Blit community was the furthest expansion east from the Kulaman Valley of a group of Manobo whose language is referred to in the literature as South Cotabato Manobo. One other language--Tboli--is commonly spoken in the area, and most people in Blit are conversant with both languages.

The Tasaday, when first contacted by the PANAMIN group, supposedly spoke a language considerably different from either the Manobo or Tboli dialects spoken in Blit

¹ Prepared in collaboration with the late Robert Fox, then Chief Anthropologist of the National Museum of the Philippines, and Director of the Research Center associated with a private project to assist national minorities, known as PANAMIN, established by Elizalde.

² A full record of the events surrounding the "discovery" of the Tasaday, and of the controversy that has accompanied these events is found in Nance (1988).

and the surrounding areas, although comparison of word lists taken by linguists and anthropologists soon revealed that the language spoken by the Tasaday was far more similar to the Manobo spoken in Blit, than it was to Tboli.

Initial reports stated that apart from their contact with the hunter Dafal, they had had no "recurring" contacts with other people, although they had seen the houses and fields of peoples who lived at lower elevations than themselves, presumably the Blit community which was at that time only about a three to four hour hike away from the caves to the west. A number of Blit individuals were involved with the initial contact arrangements when Elizalde first flew in, and have remained in close contact with them since. These include the leader of the Blit community, Datù Dudim, and several members of his large family. Datù Dudim's son by the second of his seven wives (Luan) a young man called Mafalu, learned to operate communications equipment for Elizalde's organization, PANAMIN, and assisted in other ways. It was Datù Dudim's oldest daughter Sindi (by his first wife, Kelaya) who was persuaded to become the wife of the Tasaday Belayem, who then probably in his early twenties had not been able to acquire a wife for himself from the traditional sources of Tasaday spouses. It was also Datù Dudim's daughter Soléh (by his fifth wife, Filey) who became Belayem's second wife in the early 80's, after Sindi had failed to bear children. Datù Dudim told me that he had seen the Tasaday in the forest during hunting trips in his youth, but that they had always run away from him.

2. The Hoax Claims. After the initial flurry of news reports, documentaries, and some preliminary investigative work by various scientists, including linguists, anthropologists, a botanist, a sociologist, etc., and the establishment by the Marcos government of a 19,000 hectare reservation in 1972 to protect the rain-forest surrounding the Tasaday caves from the incursions of several logging companies, the Tasaday were left to resume their chosen way of life. In 1974, visitors were prohibited from entering the reservation without special permit, and for the next twelve years nothing more was heard of the Tasaday.

In 1986, news of the Tasaday reappeared in the media. A Swiss journalist, Oswald Iten, claimed to have visited the Tasaday in the aftermath of the overthrow of Marcos, in the company of a number of local individuals who told him that the Tasaday were not what they had been claimed to be, but were a mixed group of Manobos and Tbolis motivated by promises of land and money to act the part of cave-dwelling, stone-tool using primitives whenever Elizalde required them to do so. Various other

individuals had questioned the authenticity of the Tasaday prior to this³, but it was Iten's report which spawned the virulent controversy that was first officially debated at a conference⁴ at the University of the Philippines in 1986. At this conference, UP anthropologist Zeus Salazar presented a series of genealogical charts which he claimed was evidence that the Tasaday were blood relatives (some of them college-educated) of various individuals living in communities outside of the rain-forest. The genealogies however were not collected in the usual manner by interviewing the individuals concerned, but were reported to him on the eve of the conference by George Tanedo, a well-known son of an Ilokano settler in Maitum, part of the Tboli area. The real names of the individuals who supposedly participated in the scheme were given, with their corresponding Tasaday aliases.

A second symposium was held as part of a conference⁵ in Zagreb in 1988, and in 1989 a third conference⁶ to discuss the Tasaday controversy was held in Washington, DC. A number of papers, both pro and con, which were presented at the last conference were published in a volume (Headland 1992), and probably did little to change anyone's opinion on the status of the Tasaday. Headland's summary attempted to claim the middle ground between two diametrically opposed points of view, the one being that prior to Elizalde's involvement in the events, there were no Tasaday people as such, they were a group of disparate individuals brought together from various communities who were instructed to rush to the caves, dress like primitives, and told how to act and what to say (and not to say), whenever they were required to be shown off to gullible journalists prominent personalities (and scientists). The polar opposite of this point of view was that the Tasaday were remnants of some paleolithic population who had survived in isolation in the rain-forest for perhaps thousands of years, or at least five to seven hundred years, based on one published glottochronological estimate (Llamzon 1989:61), without contact with peoples outside the rain-forest.

At the Washington conference in 1989, a carefully prepared set of genealogies by Rogel-Rara and Nabayra (1992) which included each of the Tasaday as well as each of what were called the Tasaday poseurs seemed to show conclusively that the Salazar

³ Most notably the Filipino anthropologist, Zeus Salazar (1971,1973).

⁴ International Conference on the Tasaday and Other Urgent Anthropological Issues.

⁵ The International Congress on Anthropological and Ethnological Studies.

⁶ A special Invited Session of the 88th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association.

genealogies were false. This, as well as the linguistic evidence presented in several papers (Molony 1992, Elkins 1992, Johnston 1992, Reid 1992) was suggestive that the Tasaday were in fact a separate ethnolinguistic group, distinct from either Blit Manobo or Tboli. Headland however claimed that it would have been impossible for the Tasaday to have lived in total rain-forest isolation without regular access to cultivated foods, especially the rice which was grown in the clearings around the Blit community.

3. The Research Strategy. I had been present at the 1988 conference in Zagreb, and was intrigued by the claims that were being made by those who said that the Tasaday were a hoax, and that all but two of the participants in the supposed charade were really Tbolis who could speak Manobo. I was puzzled as to why the supposed orchestrators of the hoax had required the whole group (including children) to speak Manobo, the language of the two member minority, rather than Tboli, supposedly the language of the majority. However, be that as it may, if it were true that they were mainly Tboli speakers, evidence should be forthcoming from the data that was first gathered by linguists and anthropologists in 1971-2, to support it. There should be clear evidence of borrowing from Tboli.

After examining all of the early lists collected in 1971, I presented a paper at the Washington conference to show that I could find no evidence at all of Tboli influence, and that the types of responses given by the Tasaday to the field workers questions about their language suggested a degree of naiveté that would not have been present if the respondents had been other than what they claimed to be.

At the Washington conference, results of a three-day visit to the Tasaday by a Filipino husband and wife linguist team, Cesar and Araceli Hidalgo were presented. They claimed that they had collected data from the Tasaday which were considerably different from that which was collected by the linguist Carol Molony twenty years earlier. They further claimed that their data represented an older form of the language, one which was spoken prior to the considerable language changes that had resulted from their contact with the Blit Manobos following the initial contacts with them in 1971. The Hidalgos believed that by 1972 the Tasaday were speaking a pidginized form of Manobo and that the evidence suggested a very long period of independent development from other Manobo languages.

In 1989, I had the opportunity to also collect data from some of the Tasaday during a ten day visit to the Tboli area (Reid 1993). Although my data did not completely coincide with that presented by the Hidalgos, there was sufficient overlap with their data in forms which were supposedly old terms not recorded in the 70's, that I decided to spend an extended research period with the group. My plan was to try to find out as much as possible about the language that they currently speak, and as much as could be discovered about the Tasaday (Tsd) language as they claimed to have spoken it 25 years

ago. I would compare these forms of speech with that spoken by the nearest agricultural community to Tasaday, the Manobo dialect of Blit (Blt), for which almost no data was at that time available, and with the Manobo dialect of Kulaman Valley (Klm), often referred to in the literature as Southern Cotabato Manobo, for which I had available an unpublished dictionary of about 3500 entries (Errington 1981), as well as a number of published articles on phonology, morphology and syntax, written by Errington and other members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics who had lived in the Kulaman Valley area. I hoped furthermore to be able ultimately to try to identify etymological sources for those terms that were said to be old Tasaday and for which no obvious cognates existed in the surrounding languages.

The project is planned to take place over a period of three years. The first fieldwork stage consisted of three periods of residence with the Tasaday totaling approximately two and a half months between February and July, 1994.⁷ A second period of fieldwork was conducted during the summer of 1995⁸ and a third trip is scheduled for the summer of 1996. This paper is in effect a report of the results of the analysis that I have been able to do of the data collected during the first half of 1994.

4. The Fieldwork. The first month of fieldwork, from mid-February to mid-March, 1994, was conducted at the site where the majority of Tasaday now live. This is a small cleared valley about 20 minutes walk from the caves which they still claim as their home. The place is called *magtu iliḡan*, literally "New Learning", and sometimes by a term, obviously adapted from English, *nu bəliḡiniḡ* "New Beginning", and is about a two-day hike northwest from Lake Sebu.

I was taken directly to the thatch-roofed, split palm and bamboo home of Udelen and his wife Dul and their family. In 1971, this couple had only two small sons. Dul had delivered her first daughter, Okon, the following year. When I arrived, Dul was nursing her tenth child, and Okon, now married, was also in the home, mourning the loss of her first child, still-born only days prior to my arrival. Their oldest son, Sius lived in an adjacent house with his wife and child, while Maman the second son, who had married a young Tboli woman, was living away from the group with his wife's family. He

⁷ I am grateful to the University of Hawaii for granting me a full-time research position during the Spring and Summer, 1994, that enabled me to conduct the first stage of the project.

⁸ A paper reporting on this period of fieldwork, during which some of the tapes secretly recorded in the Tasaday caves in 1972 were transcribed and translated with the assistance of the Tasaday, was presented to the 4th Pan-Asiatic Linguistics Conference (Reid 1996).

periodically visited during the time that I was there. His first child was born a couple of months after my arrival. The other children of the family, Dihà, Sungo, Talihin, Dihut, Klohonon, and Fakal also lived in the house, except during periods when the older children accompanied their father on trips to gather palm pith, or to another area of the forest that they were cutting back to form a new "kaingin".

Also living with the family during the period of my stay there was a Belgian, Pascal Lays, a member of the London based organization, Survival International. He had been living on a fairly regular basis with the Tasaday for more than two years, studying their language and culture, and making extensive collections of botanical and zoological specimens from the rain-forest. He was able to communicate quite well with the Tasaday in the language that they are presently using to outsiders as well as among themselves. Lays told me that it was the language of the Blit Manobos, from whence most of the outside wives of Tasaday men have come since 1972. He agreed to assist me as interpreter during the early stages of my research in that community.

Since my primary object was to discover as much as possible about the language spoken prior to 1971, I decided to work with Belayem, now a man probably in his late forties or early fifties. He had the reputation of being the most articulate of the Tasaday even when the group was first studied. He was fully aware of the controversy that surrounds the group, and readily consented to be my main Tasaday language assistant, although Dul, and often other younger Tasaday, were also present at most of the language gathering sessions. Bilengan, one of the older Tasaday men who also lived in Magtu Ilingan and is now becoming deaf, periodically sat in although he did not actively participate in the data gathering.

Datù Dudim's son Mafalu was invited to come from Blit and was requested to assist by providing Blit Manobo equivalents for the Tasaday terms that Belayem would give me. Mafalu was one of the few available Manobo speaking Blit villagers who could communicate also in Tagalog. He was, in addition, the brother-in-law (twice over) of Belayem, and had been in contact with the group for at least the last twenty-three years.

I conducted fairly short morning and afternoon sessions for approximately one month with Belayem and Mafalu, gathering supposedly old Tasaday forms and their Blit Manobo equivalents and recording several Tasaday and Blit texts. A second period of research lasting about one month (April, 1994) was held in Mutùlung, close to the site of the first contact between the group and Elizalde. Belayem and his two Blit wives had decided to begin a new settlement there because of its associations and because they would be closer to their two older children now attending grade school about a kilometer away in Blit. When I arrived, clearing had begun on a small ridge above a creek, and a bamboo platform had been erected with palm leaf walls and temporary roof for protection from the constant rains. Over the next three weeks groups of relatives and friends came

from Blit on an almost daily basis to complete the building of the house, while Belayem, Mafalu and I continued our investigations into the similarities and differences between their two languages.

A third period of research lasting about two weeks (July, 1994) was conducted in Blit.

5. The Data. From the outset, the data received from Belayem seemed to confirm the claim that prior to their contact with outsiders they were indeed using a very different form of speech than that used by the Blit. For almost every Blit word that a Tasaday equivalent was requested, a Tasaday translation was given, and Mafalu would often claim that the term provided was not known to him, or that it had a different meaning in Blit.

Before long, however, I began to become suspicious of the data that Belayem was giving. I noted that he was making a conscious effort to distinguish the forms he gave me from those of Mafalu. Sometimes he would do this by simply switching the affixation on a verb, or by using a different pronominal ending. At other times, it seemed that the forms that he was giving me were deliberate phonological distortions of Blit forms. Data sets #1-56 (see Appendix 2) are examples of some of these items. However systematic comparison of the data with Kulaman Valley Manobo showed that at least some of the forms (e.g., sets #57-60) corresponded exactly to their Kulaman Valley cognates, and it was the Blit form that was phonologically different. This kind of evidence suggested that the irregular forms were not entirely the result of conscious distortion, but rather that at least some of the cases were the result of unconscious, sporadic phonological change. Nevertheless by the end of the second period of residence in the area, I was convinced that some of the Belayem's forms, which were completely different phonologically from their Blit equivalents, were indeed fabricated by him.

Between the second and third periods of residence with the Tasaday, the task of systematically entering the data into a database⁹ was begun, so that the material could be compared with the Manobo spoken in the Kulaman Valley. At the end of this period, I had a list of about 750 lexical items supposedly used by Tasaday prior to 1971 that were unknown to Mafalu. An additional list of 1200-1500 items formed a second lexical set that were known to both Belayem and Mafalu, and constituted the Blit Manobo corpus.

At this point the Manobo dictionary was searched for possible cognates of the "unique" old Tasaday data, i.e., those forms that Mafalu had claimed were unknown to

⁹ The program used was Shoebox, a database program for linguists developed by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

him. To my considerable surprise I found that a large number (approximately 300) of the items that had seemed to be completely new coinages by Belayem had similar forms in the Kulaman Valley dictionary. A small set of these is given in #61-66. However there remained a large number of forms that had no equivalents in any of the lexical sources then available to me, forms that are potentially evidence of fabrication, but on the other hand such forms may be genuinely unique, old Tasaday terms. A short list of these items is given in data sets #67-86.

A comparison with other Philippine languages of a number of the Tasaday forms that have no Blit or Kulaman Manobo equivalents, revealed that there are a number that do have possible cognates in other Manobo languages (sets #88,90,92,93), and some that have cognates with languages outside the Manobo group (sets #89,91,94,95,96), but not with Manobo languages. Such forms are potentially of great value in establishing the relative length of time that the Tasaday language may have been developing independently from other Manobo languages, that is, they are possibly retentions of forms that have been lost in other Manobo languages but which are still retained in Tasaday. At this point however, the possibility of their being borrowings, or alternatively that cognates will turn up in other Manobo languages must still be considered.

Of the forms that were known to both Belayem and Mafalu, a considerable number showed some kind of semantic change. Usually a Tasaday form was claimed to have a wider reference than its Blit equivalent (see data sets #97-116). A few sets show a narrower reference (#117-118), while others show a clear semantic shift (#119-129).

One of the features of Tasaday that has been mentioned a number of times in the literature to support the claim of an extended period of isolation from other groups is the lack of borrowed terms from Spanish or other languages for concepts (such as "war") or for post-western contact cultural items that are a ubiquitous part of Blit and other surrounding languages but which were supposedly unknown to the Tasaday prior to 1971. Typically in the Philippines, terms for such items are adapted from a donor language, either Spanish or more recently English. Tasaday is unusual among Philippine languages in that not only are such forms absent, but that even today there is a clear avoidance of them. Belayem consistently used either paraphrastic expressions or metaphorical extensions of "native" Tasaday terms for items that are claimed to have been introduced to the Tasaday since 1971. Data sets #130-153 are examples of some of these. The data provided by Belayem are unusual in other respects. Data sets #154-173 are paraphrastic expressions for terms that are not introduced concepts, but are items that languages typically have single lexical items for, although at least the term for "river" (#154) is in many languages simply the term otherwise translated as "water". This data is suspect of being constructed by Belayem to further distinguish his dialect from that of Blit. His choice of one of the terms of certain synonym sets (such as those in #174-175) found in both Blit and Kulaman, while denying the use of the other was also a practice admitted by

Dul to Pascal Lays while I was there as a means of distinguishing the two dialects. Although now only the first member of such sets is used by Belayem, the other member was commonly recorded by earlier researchers, such as Molony (1976), and it still appears in certain fixed expressions such as #133,143.

The absence of Spanish borrowings has never seriously been challenged but there are a couple of forms that probably show them. Early word lists, such as that by Molony (1976:85), give the word *lanit* for "sky", a term which has cognates in Blit, Kulaman and many other Philippine languages. Presently Belayem uses the term *lugabuan* "sky". This is almost certainly a paraphrastic expression meaning "place of the moon" combined from a Spanish term widely distributed throughout the Philippines, *lugar* "place" with regular loss of a final *l* (from *r*) plus what appears to be the Tagalog form *buwan* "moon". It is no doubt a term of recent provenance. The other form *epe?* has an older provenance in the group, in that it appears in Molony (1976:78). It is transcribed there as 'efe' meaning "spirit", with 'efe' *ilib* meaning "owner of the cave, the white-haired spirit". This is probably the Spanish form also widely distributed in Philippine languages, *jepe* "chief, leader", there being no other Philippine terms meaning "spirit" or "owner" with which it could reasonably be associated.

There also appears to be some Tboli influence on some of the lexicon and also the morphology of some of the verb forms that Belayem uses. In Tboli the regular development of an earlier *a vowel is Tbl *o*. For example, Tbl *hulo?* < *pula? "red", Tbl *sobow* < *sabaw "soup", Tbl *ʔowoj* < *ʔabaŋ "boat", Tbl *kulon* < *kudan "rain", Tbl *holol* < *palad "palm of the hand", etc. Although there is no clear evidence of borrowing of lexical items from Tboli into Tasaday, several forms which are probably new developments by Belayem show *o* for expected *a*, and are possibly the result of phonological influence from Tboli. These include #176-177. The first of this pair is a metaphorical extension of the cognate term in Kulaman, but has an unexpected *o* vowel in the final syllable. The second, *pondol*, is apparently a reduced paraphrastic expression, consisting of the first three segments of each of the words in the phrase *panaw dalan*, literally "walk path", but with the vowels altered as indicated above. It should be noted however that the words themselves are not Tboli.

Tboli influence on verbal morphology is seen in Belayem's use of the *-in-* affix. In Tboli the affix does not mark completive aspect as it does in Kulaman and other Philippine languages. It is simply the marker of what is commonly called an "object focus" verb, and can therefore appear on verbs that have future time reference, and even on imperative forms. This use of the infix is not unique to Belayem. It is commonly heard also in Blit.

6. Conclusions. The data discussed above appear to be of two very different kinds and lead to two quite different conclusions. A person who is skeptical of the authenticity of the Tasaday would focus on one set and surely jump to the conclusion that here is the evidence that is needed to settle the case. Distorted forms, borrowings from Spanish, influence from Tboli, apparent coinages, and a host of paraphrases apparently developed by Belayem to make his language different from that of his Blit neighbors. Such a conclusion would have to disregard the other set, namely the considerable body of data that apparently does not have Blit equivalents (at least not according to Mafalu), but for which corresponding forms can be found in either Kulaman Valley--an area which Belayem has never visited--or most importantly, in neither Blit or Kulaman but in other Manobo languages or even in more distant Philippine languages.

What then is the explanation for the first set? There is no doubt that much of the data that Belayem gave me was indeed made up for the occasion, or are part of a "new Tasaday" that he has produced not only for me, but also for the Hidalgos in their research. Although Belayem has an excellent memory for such forms, many that he had given me in the earlier periods of my fieldwork were rejected by him as being not Tasaday when I rechecked them at later stages of the project.

At the root of this apparent obfuscation is the obviously deep rooted sense of identity that the Tasaday (not only Belayem) have of themselves. In the twenty three years since their first publicized meeting with outsiders, not a single member of the original Tasaday group has "recanted", even though the supposed motivation for their formation as a group, the all-powerful influence of their mentor, Elizalde, has long since faded. The group lives in poverty, and has no reason to continue the charade, if indeed there was one. Time and again, Belayem and other members of the group expressed frustration and anger over the questions that have been raised about their authenticity. The English term "fake" is now a part of the Tasaday vocabulary.

Belayem realized from the beginning of the fieldwork that my object was to examine the relationship between his earlier language and that of Blit. He did not know whether I was looking for evidence to further cast doubt on their authenticity, but probably suspected it. He never, for example, allowed me to visit the actual cave site, less than twenty minutes hiking from the Magtu Ilingan settlement, since he knew that others who had been there had left after seeing the caves and published negative reports about the group.

I consider that the efforts Belayem went to in order to create differences between his Tasaday language and that of Blit were directly the result of his knowledge of the hoax controversy and were for the purpose of attempting to validate himself and the other members of the group as a distinct ethnolinguistic group.

A number of interesting parallels can be drawn between the Tasaday in Southeast Asia and another ethnolinguistic group that has recently been described – the Minor Mlabri, an “evasive” and “extremely shy” group of hunter-gatherers (only eleven surviving members), living in the border area between North Thailand and Laos (Rischel 1995). In many parts of the description of this group one could replace the name Minor Mlabri with Tasaday without doing violence to the facts. Rischel describes them as follows, “They have in the past lived on food they could find by moving about in the dense forests of the high mountains without settling for more than a few days in any particular place. Until recently their shyness and ability to hide in the forest has prevented their culture and language from being exposed to outsiders except for a few encounters with expeditions” (*ibid.* p. 23). He cites Boeles (1963:150) description of them as “... a group of people who have not known a stone age and thus have no pottery, who do not make their own clothing, who do not practice agriculture, who do not build houses, and who do not wear ornaments.” He suggests that, “their culture may even reflect *regressions* from more developed stages to a survival culture” (*ibid.* p. 22).

There is another, larger group of Mlabri (the “ β -Mlabri”), previously studied by Rischel, hence the term Minor Mlabri (or “ α -Mlabri”) for the smaller group that he describes. The larger group have given up a hunter-gatherer life-style. Rischel says that they are “rapidly adjusting to peasant life since it is becoming impossible to sustain life on the things they can gather in the forest. The α -Mlabri on the other hand, still prefer to stay in the forest as much as possible in an attempt to survive as part-time hunter-gatherers” (*ibid.* p. 36).

The relationship between the two Mlabri groups parallels in several respects the relationship between the Tasaday and the Blit groups. Rischel states (bold face added),

The relationship between the two varieties of Mlabri is enigmatic. On my first encounter with speakers of Minor Mlabri, I was intrigued by the paradoxical situation that a large proportion of the words they used in everyday communication were totally unknown to me although they clearly spoke the very language I had been studying for several years together with my colleagues. I was further intrigued by finding that there was virtually no difference in segmental phonology between the two varieties of Mlabri although they differed strikingly in prosody (rhythm and intonation) as well as lexicon. ...

Structurally, the two kinds of Mlabri are so extremely close that one may speak of sub-dialects of one dialect. **The two varieties have almost the same phonology and morphology**, and to the extent that lexical material is shared, it occurs in largely the same phonological shape... . There are *segmental* differences between α -Mlabri and β -Mlabri in the pronunciation of several words, but there is also idiolectal variation... . The lexical differences may have at least three different causes. They

may in some cases reflect the existence of synonymous (or near-synonymous) word pairs in Old Mlabri. Synonymy was then lost as one variety retained only one word, and the other variety retained only the other synonym: ... there are several instances where one variety of Mlabri has an ordinary Mon-Khmer etymon whereas the other variety has a word exhibiting peculiar features, **suggesting that it is a deliberate innovation...** . Often a word used in one variety is known but considered obsolete or stigmatized by speakers of the other variety. In several instances **speakers even deny any knowledge of a word used by the other group**. The linguistics attitudes toward lexical materials is a complex issue... . **The differences in lexicon are so great that one would not expect easy intercommunication between the two groups...** . This lexical divergence, as contrasted with the structural similarity of the two varieties of Mlabri, must be recent but is so strong **that it suggests an effort to mark the distinction between the α - and β -Mlabri** (*ibid.* pp. 16, 26-27).

The linguistic characteristics noted by Rischel which distinguish the two Mlabri dialects are precisely those that are found between Blit and Tasaday, *viz.*, almost identical phonology and morphology, lexicon which is very divergent between the two groups suggesting, at least in some cases, (relatively) recent deliberate innovation in order to mark the difference between the two groups. The two situations, are however not completely parallel. The two Mlabri groups continue to avoid one another and to maintain their linguistic distinctiveness, whereas the Blit and the Tasaday now intermarry, and are merging as a single group, with the children of Tasaday families studying in school in Blit, and speaking Blit Manobo in the home rather than the using the Tasaday forms of their parents, just as the children of mixed Tasaday-Blit families do.

So what was the language of the Tasaday like in 1971? Was the conclusion of early researchers correct that Tasaday at that time was simply a close variant of Blit Manobo, or of Kulaman Valley Manobo, which was the conclusion that must be drawn from the Molony study? Or was there really a body of lexical differences that were never reported at that time simply because by the time Molony got there in 1972, they had already adapted to the Blit language and her data reflects the language that they had begun to use in place of the older forms that others didn't understand?

Some tapes that were secretly made in the caves during Elizalde's first and subsequent visits to the Tasaday caves have been made available to me. Rough English translations of parts of these tapes were published in Nance (1988), but no transcriptions were made of the actual language used. Recent research during which these tapes were transcribed and translated (Reid 1996) shows that although at that time there were a number of distinctive lexical forms that were commonly being used by the Tasaday, many of the forms that Belayem commonly uses today and which he claims to be "real" Tasaday are probably recent innovations and serve the purpose of distinguishing his dialect from that of his Blit neighbors. Nevertheless, the evidence of clearly unique

innovations in Tasaday which predate the initial contacts, and the retention of older forms in Tasaday which have apparently been lost in neighboring Manobo languages, indubitably establish the Tasaday as a distinct ethnolinguistic group.

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APPENDIX 1

Language Abbreviations		Other Abbreviations	
Blt	Blit	k.o.	kind of
Bon	Bontok	loc.	location
Ilk	Ilokano	var.	variant
ItgB	Binongan Itneg		
Klm	Kulaman		
MboBkd	Binukid Manobo		
SblBt	Botolan Sambal		
Sml	Samal		
MboSrn	Sarangani Manobo		
SubS	Sindangan Subanun		
Tag	Tagalog		
Tbl	Tboli		
Tsd	Tasaday		

APPENDIX 2

TASADAY DATA

Possible Phonologically Distorted Tasaday Forms

1. Tsd beʔeʔ¹⁰ "grandparent, grandchild"
Blt bebeʔ "grandparent, grandchild"
2. Tsd bæliʔəgaŋ¹¹ "molar"
Blt biʔəgaŋ, Klm biʔigaŋ "molar"
3. Tsd bikət (var. dikət)¹² "sticky"
Blt, Klm liməkət "sticky"
4. Tsd bulas "semen"
Blt, Klm bulos "semen"

¹⁰ All transcriptions are phonemic, and all cited data are presented in the SILDoulosIPA 11 point font (except glottal stop, ʔ, which is 10 point). The phonological inventory of Tasaday is identical to that of Blit and Kulaman Valley Manobo, with fifteen consonants and five vowels, alphabetized as follows: ʔ, a, b, d, ə, e, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, ŋ, o, p [f], s, t, u, w, y. All Tasaday and Blit data are cited from my field notes, and Kulaman Valley data are cited from Errington (1981), but in phonemic transcription. Other languages such as Botolan Sambal, Binukid, Sarangani Manobo, Bontok, Ilokano, etc. are cited from either Reid (1971, 1976) or from field notes.

¹¹ This phonological distortion by infixation of *-əl-* is identical to that used by Belayem in his pronunciation of the English word "beginning" in the sitio name *nu bæliginiŋ* "New Beginning", as well as in other items such as *təliqəsa* "other" (#49), and a subsequently rejected variant of *kuʔkuʔ* cough (#92).

¹² Both Tasaday pronunciations differ from the Blit and Kulaman forms, but at least *dikət* has cognates distributed widely throughout the Philippines, including other Manobo languages. Cognates with an initial bilabial stop (but usually voiceless) are also found throughout the archipelago (see Reid 1971:140). The Tsd *d-* / Blt, Klm *l-* correspondence seen here is however also found in #9 *datək* "leech", where it is the *l-* initial form which has greater historical validity.

5. Tsd bulat "flower"
Blt,Klm bulok "flower"
6. Tsd butəd (var. libutəd) "k.o. edible wood grub living in sago palms"
Blt gutəd basag "k.o. edible wood grub living in sago palms"
7. Tsd datək "k.o. leech"
Blt limatək "k.o. leech"
8. Tsd dəpəŋ "to be next to one another"
Blt lətəŋ "to be next to one another"
9. Tsd əlam (əg-) "feel sick", (nək-) "menstruate"
Tsd əla? "pain, injury"; Klm əla? "crack"
10. Tsd gədub (var. kedub) "hot (weather); fever"
Blt,Klm ədup "hot (weather); fever"
11. Tsd gipis (var. nigpis, lugpipi?) "thin"
Blt nipis "thin"
12. Tsd haya?haya? (var. kaya?kaya?) "knee"
Klm kaya?kaya? "knee"
13. Tsd iyub "back of a person"
Blt,Klm iyug "back of a person"
14. Tsd kayampəŋ "hawk"
Blt kayamba "hawk"
15. Tsd kəbugat "k.o. bird"
Blt bugat "k.o. bird"
16. Tsd kəlawawan (var. lawawan) "body"
Blt lawa "body"
17. Tsd kuməlukesan "old man, old woman"
Blt lukəs "old man, married man", Klm lukəs "old man, old woman"
18. Tsd lakipəs "k.o. civet cat"
Blt kipəs "k.o. civet cat"
19. Tsd lambuyug "k.o. bumblebee"
Blt təbuləg "k.o. bumblebee"
20. Tsd ləbaw "to swell, of an injured limb or a flooded river"

- Blt,Klm ləbag "to swell, of an injured limb or a flooded river"
21. Tsd ləgəme? "noise of tearing"
Blt ləgisi? "noise of tearing"
 22. Tsd ləgka? "to depart; to leave"
Blt,Klm ləgkaŋ "to depart; to leave"
 23. Tsd ləha "testicle"
Blt,Klm laha "testicle"
 24. Tsd ləkotok "to boil, bubble"
Blt,Klm lukotok "to boil, bubble"
 25. Tsd ləkud (var. səkud) "flesh, muscle"
Blt,Klm əkud "flesh, muscle"
 26. Tsd ləmol "rattan fruit"
Blt limulan "rattan fruit"
 27. Tsd ləpa? "arm span, space between the tips of one's outstretched arms"
Blt lipo "arm span, space between the tips of one's outstretched arms"
 28. Tsd libəl "to throw away, throw out"
Blt diwəl "to throw away, throw out"
 29. Tsd linabu?¹³ "to fall"
Blt,Klm nabu? "to fall"
 30. Tsd lugaŋan "parent-in-law; co-parent-in-law"
Blt,Klm nugəŋan "parent-in-law; co-parent-in-law"
 31. Tsd lugiŋip "to have a piece cut out"
Blt lugiŋab "to have a piece cut out"
 32. Tsd lugiŋug "hunched, stooped"
Blt logkug "hunched, stooped"
 33. Tsd lugiŋayas "nice, bright, clear, good weather, smooth, light, beautiful"
Blt lugiŋayat "nice, bright, clear, good weather, smooth, light, beautiful"

¹³ This Tasaday form may be a reflex of an older form of the Manobo cognates. Cf. Sml *labu*, and SubS *labu?* "to fall".

34. Tsd lumitan "k.o. moss"
Blt lumut "k.o. moss"
35. Tsd məʔambəm "man"
Blt,Klm məʔama "man"
36. Tsd məʔitas "crow"
Blt məʔitəs "crow, dark feathered domesticated chicken"
Blt,Klm uwak "crow"
37. Tsd nadəg "odor; smell, good or bad"
Blt,Klm ɲadəg "odor; smell, good or bad"
38. Tsd pulut "to tie, as a string, the top of a skirt"
Blt,Klm sigpalut "to tie, as a string, the top of a skirt"
39. Tsd pundaŋ "buttocks"
Blt,Klm punuk "buttocks"
40. Tsd saluŋan "shadow"
Blt,Klm aluŋ "shadow"
41. Tsd saluwaga "k.o. snake"
Blt suwaga "k.o. snake"
42. Tsd səluʔuŋ "hat"
Blt səlaʔuŋ "hat"
43. Tsd sinəm "mole on one's body"
Blt,Klm sonəm "mole on one's body"
44. Tsd susuʔ "breast"
Blt susu "breast"
45. Tsd takəwəs "stomach"
Blt təkuwan, təkuwis, Klm təkuwəs "stomach"
46. Tsd taŋəg "to nod one's head"
Blt taŋuʔ, Klm taŋu "to nod one's head"
Klm taŋəd "to shake uncontrollably, of one's head or hands"
47. Tsd tawawan "person"
Blt,Klm ətaw "person"
48. Tsd təkəmuʔ "to grab"

- Blt kəmu? "to grab"
49. Tsd tələgkəb "to lie on one's stomach"
Blt,Klm laḡkəb "to lie on one's stomach"
50. Tsd təlīgəsa "other"
Blt tigəsa "other"
51. Tsd təlub "belch"
Blt təla?iyub "belch"
52. Tsd tiḡdudu? (var. tignudu?) "index finger"
Blt tiḡtudu?, Klm katudu? "index finger"
53. Tsd toko? "short"
Blt,Klm poko? "short"
54. Tsd tuḡ?inəp "dream"
Blt tiḡ?inəp, Klm təḡə?inəp "dream"
55. Tsd tulu "fingernail, toenail"
Blt,Klm sulu "fingernail, toenail"
56. Tsd tuḡal (var. təḡal)¹⁴ "nape of neck"
Blt,Klm təḡəl "nape of neck"

Phonological Change in Blit but not in Tasaday

57. Tsd kumabus "rib cage"; Klm kumabus "lower ribs"
Blt kəmabus "lower ribs"
58. Tsd,Klm səḡələt "sound of creaking, grinding"
Blt sələḡək "sound of creaking, grinding"
59. Tsd,Klm baḡəʔən "to sneeze"
Blt ba?ən "to sneeze"
60. Tsd,Klm lipədəŋ "to close one's eyes"
Blt pemideŋ "to close one's eyes"

¹⁴ Variant forms with loss of final *-l* were both recorded. This phonological process commonly occurs in both Blit and Tasaday.

Tasaday Forms Shared With Kulaman, But Not With Blit

61. Tsd,Klm ələd (-um-) "sink in water, set (of the sun)"
Blit sandəp aɣdaw "sunset"
62. Tsd,Klm hibat "lie down on one's back"
Blit dəqa? "lie down on one's back"
63. Tsd lagas "female genitals"; Klm lagas "seed, fruit; female genitals (euph)"
Blit,Klm bəti? "female genitals"
64. Tsd,Klm pəŋiyab "yawn"
Blit kəluyab "yawn"
65. Tsd,Klm ələt "space between two objects"
Blit tiwada? "space between two objects"
66. Tsd,Klm səgoday "drag; pull something"
Blit hənat "drag; pull something"

Possible Tasaday Unique Forms

67. Tsd aŋgel "angry"
Blit,Klm bulit "angry"
68. Tsd bələŋus "nose"
Blit,Klm iduŋ "nose"
69. Tsd bəliboy "child, young"
Blit,Klm anak; bata? "child, young"
70. Tsd bətikənan "lower leg, ankle area"
Blit səkil, pəniŋtiŋ "lower leg, ankle area"
71. Tsd buɣəl "base (as of a tree)"
Blit,Klm pəsu "base (as of a tree)"
72. Tsd dawdaw "be near"
Blit,Klm dapag "be near"
73. Tsd dontot "drink"
Blit,Klm inəm "drink"
74. Tsd kuməmil "touch"
Blit,Klm kuməbit "touch"

75. Tsd kundom "eat"
Blt,Klm kaʔən "eat"
76. Tsd laɣisɨŋan (var. laɣisɨŋan) "curly, of hair"
Blt kulət "curly, of hair"
77. Tsd ləɣədəl "chin"
Blt bəhaʔ Klm bahaʔ "chin"
78. Tsd lətəkək (var. lɨtəkək) "to vomit"
Blt suwa, Klm suwah "to vomit"
79. Tsd pəlihan "wind"
Blt,Klm kələmag "wind"
80. Tsd lubad "liver"
Blt,Klm atay "liver"
81. Tsd tələwən "orphan"
Blt,Klm nəʔilu "orphan"
82. Tsd pəɣləʔən "sun"
Blt,Klm aɣdaw "sun"
83. Tsd saɣdɨɣan¹⁵ "hear, listen"
Blt,Klm dɨnəɣan "hear, listen"
84. Tsd subəŋan¹⁶ "answer"
Blt,Klm saɣbiʔ "answer"
85. Tsd tənək "thorn"
Blt,Klm duɣi "thorn"
86. Tsd tupasan "soil, earth, ground"
Blt,Klm tanaʔ "soil, earth, ground"

Tasaday Forms Not Shared with Blt or Klm, but Found in Other Languages

87. Tsd bəliwəs; Bon balliwəs¹⁷ "dance"

¹⁵ Also recorded as *sandigan*.

¹⁶ Note Klm *subəŋ* "handle of a tool".

- Blt adal "dance"
Klm sayaw, dəlayaw "dance"
88. Tsd dələman; MboSrn dələm; MboBkd daləman "night"
Blt,Klm sigəp "night"
89. Tsd dudu; Tag dura?, SubS,SblBt dula? "spit"
Blt,Klm iləb "spit"
90. Tsd huməs; MnbSrn aməs; MboBkd haməs "wet"; Bon ?əməs "take a bath"
Blt, Klm pələ? "wet"
91. Tsd ku?ku?¹⁸; Bon ?uk?uk, SblBt 'kuku? "cough"
Blt,Klm buha? "cough"
92. Tsd lipot¹⁹; Tbl lipot, MboBkd,Ilk lipat "forget"
Blt,Klm lipəŋ "forget"
93. Tsd lisaha? "head louse"²⁰; MboSrn liseha? (< PMP *liseSeq) "nit, louse egg"
Blt,Klm kutu "head louse"
94. Tsd liyaŋ "a natural hole in the ground"; Bon liyang "cave"
Blt kokob "a natural hole in the ground"
Klm tosoŋ "hole"
95. Tsd məlum "afternoon"; N.B. PMP *elem "shade, darkness"
Blt mapun, Klm məhapun "afternoon"
96. Tsd sakat²¹ "leg and hoof of an animal"; Tag,ItgB saka "leg"

¹⁷ In Bontok, *balliwəs* is "dance in a circle". The form of the first vowel and the doubled consonant following it indicates that it is probably borrowed from one of the Cagayan Valley languages in which *ə > a, and reflects an earlier form *bəliwəs.

¹⁸ Also recorded as *kəlu?ku?*, but this form was subsequently rejected.

¹⁹ Possibly a borrowing from Tboli.

²⁰ Note that both Klm *kutu*, and Tsd *lisaha?* *ləgləg* have the extended meaning of "sparks thrown off by a fire, flying ashes", implying that the Tasaday circumlocution here is a coinage of recent origin.

Bl səki, Klm kələmaginj "hoof of an animal"

Tasaday Forms Showing Semantic Extension

97. Tsd balu't baṅag "head hair, eyebrow"
Blt,Klm balu't ulu "head hair"
98. Tsd baṅag "head, skull"
Blt baṅag "skull"; Blt,Klm ulu "head"
99. Tsd ləgləg "fire"
Blt,Klm ləgləg "flame"; Blt,Klm apuy "fire"
100. Tsd dita? "blood, sap, resin"
Blt,Klm dita? "sap, resin"; Blt nəpanug, Klm dəpanug "blood"
101. Tsd əpuy "snake (general term)"
Blt əpuy "snake species"; Blt uləd "snake (general term)"
102. Tsd mətimbulu "male genitals"
Blt,Klm bulu "rounded, bulging"; Blt, Klm lasu? "penis"
103. Tsd bitbit "to bring, to carry"
Blt,Klm bitbit "to hold in one's free swinging hand"; Blt,Klm uwit "carry"
104. Tsd əlam (əg-) "feel sick", (nək-) "menstruate"
Blt paʔan (mə-) "happen, be sick, menstruate"; Blt haʔa (nəkə-) "menstruate"
Klm bulan (-ən) "menstruate"
105. Tsd haʔa (-um-) "see, know, be acquainted with"; pehaʔa "eye"
Blt,Klm haʔa (-um-) "see"; Blt,Klm mata "eye"
Blt,Klm kilala? "know, be acquainted with"
106. Tsd ilib "cave, shelter, house"
Blt ilib "cave"; Klm ilib "boulder, stone face of a cliff"
Blt lawi? "field shelter"; Klm lawi "temporary shelter"
Blt,Klm daləsan "house"
107. Tsd kumabus "rib cage"

²¹ That this is not a borrowing from Tagalog or from some other language is suggested by the final *t*, probably a frozen genitive form found on certain other body parts in Tasaday, Blit and Kulaman, e.g. *balu't ulu* "hair of head".

- Blt kəməbus; Klm kumabus "lower ribs"
108. Tsd məlawis "tree"
Klm lawis "sapling"; Blt,Klm kayu "tree"
109. Tsd litay (-um-) "walk the length of a fallen log"; lumitay "monkey"
Blt,Klm litay (-um-) "walk the length of a fallen log"
Blt,Klm ubal "monkey"
110. Tsd məliton "female"
Blt,Klm məliton "old woman; married woman with children"
Blt,Klm bayi "female"
111. Tsd mələk "chicken; bird"
Blt,Klm mələk "wild chicken"; Blt,Klm manuk "domesticated chicken; bird"
112. Tsd mətuluk "stone"
Blt mətuluk "kind of stone"; Blt,Klm batu "stone"
113. Tsd saba? (-an) "hold in one's hand; grasp; get; receive"
Blt,Klm saba? (-an) "hold in one's hand; grasp"; Blt, Klm kuwa "get; receive"
114. Tsd səbaŋ "moon"
Klm səbaŋ "first quarter of the moon"; Blt,Klm bulan "moon"
115. Tsd təpəs "betel chew"; (-um-) "to chew on, as betel, sugarcane"
Blt,Klm təpəs (-um-) "to chew on, as sugarcane"; Blt,Klm mama? "betel chew"
116. Tsd uŋah "plaintain, wild banana, domesticated banana"
Blt uŋah "k.o. banana"; Blt,Klm saŋiŋ "banana, generic"

Tasaday Forms Showing Semantic Narrowing

117. Tsd daməs "rain"
Blt,Klm daməs "storm, wind and rain for several days"
118. Tsd laŋas "female genitals"
Klm laŋas "seed, fruit; female genitals (euphemism)"
Blt,Klm bəti? "female genitals"

Tasaday Forms Showing Semantic Shift

119. Tsd dompol (-um-) "have intercourse"
Klm dumpal (-um-) "collide with something, bang into something"
Blt,Klm iyut (-um-) "have intercourse"

120. Tsd əla?²² "pain, injury"
 Klm əla? "crack, as in wood, glass, cement, etc."
 Blt,Klm sakit (mə-) "pain, sickness"; Blt ladu (-in-) "feel sick"
 Blt,Klm pali (-an) "injury, wound"
121. Tsd ima (tig-) "give"
 Klm ima (əgrə-) "feign to offer something to someone"
 Blt,Klm bəgay (əg-) "give"
122. Tsd kəlamag (pə-) "have intercourse (euphemism)"
 Blt,Klm kəlamag "wind"
123. Tsd ləkən "tongue"
 Klm ləkən "shrink back, e.g., person anticipating attack, elastic after stretching"
 Blt,Klm dila? "tongue"
124. Tsd lukəsan "father"
 Blt lukəs "old man, married man", Klm lukəs "old man, old woman"
 Blt,Klm əma? "father"
125. Tsd sagdig (-an) "ear"; (-um-) "hear, listen"²³
 Blt,Klm sagdig (-um-, i-) "lean against"
 Blt,Klm təlija "ear"
126. Tsd təbul "water"
 Blt,Klm təbulan "spring, natural watersource from ground"
 Blt,Klm wayəg "water"
127. Tsd təlija (-um-) "hear, listen"
 Blt,Klm təlija "ear"
 Blt,Klm dinəg (-um-) "hear, listen"
128. Tsd tiğbas "right hand"; (i-) "to use one's right hand"; (-um-) "strike with a bolo"
 Blt,Klm tiğbas (-um-) "strike with a bolo or other tool"
 Blt,Klm kuwanan "right hand"

²² For example: du?en əla? pəha?a ku "My eye is painful."
 there.is pain eye my

²³ See also Tsd *tuməlija* "hear, listen".

129. Tsd ukitan²⁴ "trail, path, road"
Klm ukitan "to pass by or through"
Blt,Klm dalan "trail, path, road"

Tasaday Paraphrases and Metaphorical Extensions, Post-1971.

130. Tsd baŋi? "clothes", (-um-) "wear clothes"
Cf. baŋi? "k.o. ground orchid with wide leaves"
131. Tsd basag lati? "coconut palm"
Cf. basag "sago palm", lati? "brush, small trees; vegetation outside rainforest"
Blt,Klm ləpo? "coconut"; lati? "brush, small trees"
132. Tsd bəgiyaŋ "corn, maize"
Cf. bəgiyaŋ "k.o. rainforest plant"
Blt,Klm kəlaŋ "corn, maize"
133. Tsd bitog momo? dakəl "canned sardines"
Cf. bitog "tadpole", momo? dakəl "Big Uncle"²⁵
134. Tsd butu? basag lati? "fruit of the coconut palm"
Cf. butu? "lump, rounded thing" (see basag lati? above.)
Blt,Klm ləpo? "fruit of the coconut palm"
135. Tsd da?un kayu "money"
Cf. da?un "leaf", kayu "tree"
Blt,Klm pilak "money"
136. Tsd hibatan "mattress"
Cf. hibat "lie down on one's back"
Blt tilam "mattress"
137. Tsd kətilis mata "to be drunk"
Cf. kətilis "turn,spin", mata "eye"
Blt,Klm məkəhilu "to be drunk"
138. Tsd kudit (-um-) "to write"
Cf. kudit "k.o. plant with leaf markings"

²⁴ Variant *nukitan*.

²⁵ Ethnonym for Manuel Elizalde, Jr.

- Blt,Klm sulat "to write"
139. Tsd kulinsuŋ "flashlight"
 Cf. kulinsuŋ "fire drill"
 Blt,Klm paslaʔit "flashlight"
140. Tsd luyuŋ məlawis "large brass gong"
 Cf. luyuŋ "hidden", məlawis "wood, tree"
 Blt,Klm səlagi "large brass gong"
141. Tsd maghalin "lowlander; those who move the boundaries of the reservation"
 Cf. Tag. maghalin "to move"
 Blt kristiano "Christian settler, lowlander"
142. Tsd məbukəh balu't baŋag "Caucasian"
 Cf. məbukəh "white", balu't baŋag "hair of the head"
 Blt amərikano "Caucasian"
143. Tsd natək momoʔ dakəl "husked or cooked rice"
 Cf. natək "palm starch", momoʔ dakəl "Big Uncle"
 Blt,Klm bəgas "husked rice"
144. Tsd ninan "Moslem"
 Cf. Blt ninan "word commonly used by Moslems"
145. Tsd paʔis tupasan "shovel, pick, mattock"
 Cf. paʔis "tool", tupasan "earth"
 Blt pala "shovel", sadul "mattock"
146. Tsd pəlaʔpaʔ bəgiyaŋ "corn cob"
 Cf. pəlaʔpaʔ "growth (?)", bəgiyaŋ "corn"
 Blt tagbu "corn cob"
147. Tsd pəlaʔpaʔ ugaŋ "stalk of bananas"
 Cf. pəlaʔpaʔ "growth (?)", ugaŋ "banana"
 Blt tagduk "stalk of bananas"
148. Tsd puyut dugi "shoe, slipper"
 Cf. puyut "cloth bag", dugi "thorn"
 Blt,Klm talumpaʔ "shoe"
149. Tsd səkəg baŋag "pillow"
 Cf. səkəg "support", baŋag "head"

- Blt dānanan, Klm dananan "pillow"
150. Tsd taguʔan "sheath of a bolo or knife"
 Cf. taguʔan "hiding place"
 Blt,Klm gumaʔ "sheath of a bolo or knife"
151. Tsd tinosoŋ məlawis "mortar"
 Cf. tinosoŋ "hollowed", məlawis "wood, tree"
 Blt,Klm ləsuŋ "mortar"
152. Tsd usa mətaʔəs lisən "horse"
 Cf. usa "large animal", mətaʔəs "long", lisən "leg"
 Blt kudaʔ "horse"
153. Tsd usa paŋawan "water buffalo"
 Cf. usa "large animal", paŋawan "having horns"
 Blt,Klm kalabaw "water buffalo"

Tasaday Paraphrastic Expressions, Pre-1971

154. Tsd amayan təbulan "river"
 Cf. amayan "big", təbulan "water-loc"
 Blt dakəl wayəg "river"
155. Tsd amayan hayaʔhayaʔ "thigh, upper leg"
 Cf. amayan "big", hayaʔhayaʔ "leg"
 Blt,Klm bubun "thigh, upper leg"
156. Tsd amayan ŋuŋut "molar"²⁶
 Cf. amayan "big", ŋuŋut "tooth"
 Blt biʔəgaŋ, Klm biʔigaŋ "molar"
157. Tsd aŋayan təbul "fetch water"
 Cf. aŋayan "go-for", təbul "water"
 Blt səkədu "fetch water", Klm səkədu "bamboo water container"

²⁶ An alternative Tasaday term, *bəliʔəgaŋ* "molar", was subsequently elicited. However it should be noted that a number of circumlocutions for teeth appear in Errington's dictionary of the Kulaman dialect, for example: *ŋipən ulu* "upper front teeth" (lit. teeth of head), *ŋipən bahaʔ* "lower front teeth" (lit. teeth of chin), and *ŋipən tuyəŋ* "eye teeth" (lit. teeth of dog).

158. Tsd balu't məluk "feather"
 Cf. balu't "hair-of", məluk "bird"
 Blt,Klm bulbul "feather"
159. Tsd balu't baŋag "eyebrow"
 Cf. balu't "hair-of", baŋag "head"
 Blt,Klm kələweŋ "eyebrow"
160. Tsd balu't pəha?a "eyelash"
 Cf. balu't "hair-of", pəha?a "eye"
 Blt,Klm piləkpilək "eyelash"
161. Tsd bəliboy lisaha?²⁷ "nit"
 Cf. bəliboy "child", lisaha? "head louse"
 Blt kəliha?²⁸ "nit"
162. Tsd buku haya?haya? "knee"
 Cf. buku "lump", haya?haya? "leg"
 Blt buku lulud²⁹, Klm lulud "knee"
163. Tsd buku bətikənan "ankle"
 Cf. buku "lump", bətikənan "lower leg"
 Blt sokil, pəniŋtiŋ "ankle"
164. Tsd ilib sumakul³⁰ "field shelter"
 Cf. ilib "shelter", sumakul "pound palm pith"
 Blt lawi?, Klm lawi "field shelter"
165. Tsd limusaŋ luɡabuan "dew"
 Cf. limusaŋ "sweat", luɡabuan "sky"
 Blt,Klm agmu? "dew"

²⁷ This term may apply to the egg of the head louse. A different Tasaday term *kuwol* was subsequently elicited for "nit".

²⁸ Or, Blt *keliha*.

²⁹ Lit. lump of lower leg.

³⁰ Temporary shelter for preparation of palm starch.

166. Tsd *mətibulu lubad* "gall bladder"
 Cf. *mətibulu* "lump", *lubad* "liver"
 Blt,Klm *pədu* "gall bladder"
167. Tsd *nə?uyat idəŋ*³¹ "orphan"
 Cf. *nə?uyat* "dead", *idəŋ* "mother"
 Blt,Klm *nə?ilu* "orphan"
168. Tsd *nə?uyat tinəlomin* "widow, widower"
 Cf. *nə?uyat* "dead", *tinəlomin* "spouse"
 Blt,Klm *balu* "widow, widower"
169. Tsd *səgoysoy pəha?a*³² "tear"
 Cf. *səgoysoy* "drip", *pəha?a* "eye"
 Blt,Klm *luha?* "tear"
170. Tsd *suli? olom*³³ "answer"
 Cf. *suli?* "return", *olom* "speech"
 Blt,Klm *sagbi?* "answer"
171. Tsd *təbul lawawan* "sweat"
 Cf. *təbul* "body", *lawawan* "water"
 Blt,Klm *limusəŋ* "sweat"
172. Tsd *tosəŋ bəlitaŋ* "navel"
 Cf. *tosəŋ* "hole", *bəlitaŋ* "umbilical.cord"
 Blt,Klm *pusəd* "navel"
173. Tsd *usa mə?idəb bələŋus* "pig"
 Cf. *usa* "large animal", *mə?idəb* "pointed", *bələŋus* "snout, nose"
 Blt,Klm *babuy* "pig"; *usa* "deer"

Manobo Synonyms Restricted in Tasaday

174. Tsd,Blt,Klm *amayan*, Blt,Klm *dakəl* "big"

³¹ *telewon* "orphan" was subsequently elicited.

³² Also recorded as *tebul pəha?a* lit. "water of eye".

³³ Also recorded as *subəŋan*.

175. Tsd,Blt,Klm bukeh, Blt,Klm bula? "white"

Phonological Shift

176. Tsd dompol "have intercourse"

Klm dumpal "collide with something, bang into something"

177. Tsd pondol (mi-) "go"

Blt, Klm panaw (mi-) "walk"