INATI: THE HIDDEN NEGRITO LANGUAGE OF PANAY, PHILIPPINES

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 SUMMARY

Philippine languages have been the subject of intensive linguistic investigations during this century by missionaries, linguists, anthropologists, educators, and government officials. These studies have produced word lists or dictionaries for all major languages (e.g. Panganiban 1972, Kaufman 1935, Vanoverbergh 1956,Wolff 1972, Forman 1971,Reid 1971, McFarland 1977, 1980).Considerable time has been spent on the genetic interrelationships of the languages and dialects of the Philippines so that a growing body of scholarly work exists for such topics as subgrouping and comparative phonology (e.g. Dyen 1965, Thomas and Healey 1962, Llamzon and Martin 1976, Zorc 1974, 1977, Walton 1979, Yap 1977, Charles 1974, Fleischman 1981, Gallman 1979, Thiessen 1981, and Reid 1974). Anthropologists, linguists, and others have also concentrated on the Negritos of the Philippines since they represent a distinct racial minority and exist in small communities in various locations throughout the Archipelago (e.g. Reed 1904, Garvan 1964, Fox 1952, Rahmann and Maceda 1958, 1962, Schebesta 1952, 1957, Headland and Headland, 1974, Peterson 1974).

Considering this tremendous 20th century compilation of linguistic data on Philippine languages, and over eighty years of anthropological work among the Negritos, it is incredible to realize that there exists today on the island of Panay, a separate Philippine language spoken by the Ati Negritos for which no published material exists, except for a short article in Primitive Man containing three simple sentences (Gloria 1939). Perhaps even more startling is the fact that two distinct dialects of this language survive. One, in Northern Panay, is no longer openly spoken but is known by a few remaining speakers in Cogon, Malay, Aklan Province, and on Borakay and Carabao Islands. The other is the household language for some 900-1,000 speakers in the provinces of Iloilo, Antique, and Capiz.

Current research by the present writer leads to the following conclusions about this Philippine language, Inati:

1. Inati is a separate language, distinct from any other speech variety on Panay (Aklanon, Hiligaynon, Kinaray? a).

2. Inati does not belong to the Bisayan subgroup of languages spoken in the Central and Southern Philippines.

3. Inati is beyond lexicostatiscal solution owing to a large number of innovations, and heavy loan overlays from Bisayan, Spanish, and even some English. The few qualitative items that reflect either selective retentions (see Zorc 1984) or probable innovations with other Negrito languages, appear to outweigh the mismatch of quantitative scores. This is further confirmed by functor analysis (see Zorc 1978) where no more than six pronouns and demonstratives are cognate with *any* Bisayan or Central Philippine speech variety, whereas eleven are cognate with languages on southern Luzon (e.g., Kapampangan).

4. Inati shows a unique sound correspondence for the proto-Austronesian phoneme *R (Dyen) or * γ (Dempwolff) which is not found in any other Philippine language in both medial and final position, and indeed is rare for any of the Austronesian languages.

This article begins with a general description of the research area and explores some reasons why previous investigators failed to research and analyze this language and publish on Inati. Relationships with other languages are explored through lexical and grammatical comparative analysis. Finally, some conclusions concerning Inati — its

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survival, past research, and its uniqueness — are given.

1.2 RESEARCH AREAS AND DATA

During March through September, 1983, research was conducted among five groups of Ati Negritos in the provinces of Iloilo and Antique on the island of Panay, in the Visayas, Philippines. The village of Nagpana, Barotac Viejo, in Iloilo Province was the main site and several weeks were spent in that Ati community of over 300. In addition, an Ati informant stayed at the house in Iloilo City for more than a week. Trips of up to several days were taken to Negrito communities or households on Guimaras Island; in Antique Province at Dao (interior — Tacbuyan, seaside — Igkaputol); in Aklan Province at Cogon, Malay, and Borakay Island; in Iloilo Province in the interior of Leon, and Barotac Nuevo. Approximately nine days were also spent with Ati sidewalk sleepers and beggars, and herbal medicine sellers, in Iloilo City. Linguistic data collected includes word lists and selective vocabulary, over 600 plant names, an Ati translation of a popular Ilongo song, hunting stories, and several hours of free conversation, including life histories.

1.3 CHRONOLOGY OF ATI LINGUISTIC RESEARCH

Chirino (1604) was the first to mention Visayan Negrito vocabulary items, although his short list of numerals does not reveal any item that is distinctive from any of the Visayan languages.

A major work was supposedly authored by Pavon, who reportedly completed a dictionary and grammar of a Negrito language of Negros island (1839) which was lost. Subsequent analyses of Pavon's other manuscripts have revealed that they are merely the invention of Jose E. Marco, a historical researcher (see Scott 1968).[1] Semper (1869) starts the plea for linguistic work among the Visayan Negritos. He feared that their language would soon be extinct and his concern was echoed by A.B. Meyer (1878, 1893).

That plea went unanswered through the early twentieth century when American anthropologists concentrated largely on ethnic groups in the northern and southern areas but failed to collect any Ati linguistic materials. The Negrito-Aeta papers in the Beyer Ethnographic Series indicate that William Reed, who wrote a monograph on the Zambales Negritos, visited an Ati settlement in Occidental Negros (Paper No. 70) in 1903. Other papers in that series (e.g. Abrico 1902, Masa 1902, Tulio 1916, Jaleco 1918) are mostly reports on the conditions of the time spotted with ethnographic details and do not contain linguistic data. Beyer (1917) himself stated for the Negritos of Negros that their dialect was "quite similar to Bisayan," but did not elaborate further.

Sixty-five years after Semper's call to record a vanishing language, Manuel Gloria spent a day in 1934 among the Negritos of Janiuay, Iloilo. The three short sentences he recorded and published in Primitive Man in 1939 are (to my knowledge) the only published Inati texts previous to this paper. He notes: "There is a great deal of Visayan in the language spoken by the Negritos of Janiuay. But their language differs very much from the Visayan spoken today by the people with whom the Negritos come in contact. The Visayans assured me that they can hardly understand the Ates when the latter are talking among themselves. What this possibly non-Visayan element is I could not be certain. It may conceivably be a survival of the original language of the Ates" (1939:102). However, as far as I can determine, neither Gloria nor anyone else ever pursued this topic

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1. Marco's compositions are fraudulently ascribed to a 19th century Spanish priest, but are both amusing and informative. His tale of a young priest who goes moonlight ghost hunting and fires a revolver at an apparition is a fine short story. I agree with Demetrio (1978:108) that Marco was "writing within the stream of oral tradition in the first quarter of this century." Therefore, the work has both ethnographic and folkloric value. However, sifting through the many ridiculous inaccuracies is quite a task.

to publication.[2]

Even experienced researchers in the Visayan area like Rahmann and Maceda were frustrated in their attempts to record any different Negrito languages. Speaking of the Ata of Northern Negros they wrote: " . . . (they) now speak the language of their Christian neighbors. In the past they spoke a language of their own, whatever that language may have been some Ata remember more or less clearly the existence of this language" (1955:817-18). They mention the "faint possibility" of it existing "among more remote groups." Two reported cases of individuals who could speak a different language were cited: one supposedly knowedgeable old lady who missed an interview appointment because of heavy rain, and a deaf man who could not communicate. It was reported to them that when the man became angry with his children, he spoke in an unknown language (1955:818). Rahmann and Maceda's subsequent research excursions to Panay among the Ati, Iloilo (1959) and Antique (1961), did not uncover any unusual language spoken by Negritos, but they continued to leave the possibility open. They remarked on the Iloilo trip: ". . . some of the Ati speak fluent Cebuano which they have acquired during their stay in Cebu. Otherwise they speak a variant of the Hiligaynon language, called Hinaray⁷a. Some Visayans say that Hinaray⁷a is only spoken by the Ati in the presence of Christian Filipinos and that among themselves they speak another language" (1958:874-875).

Research may have been impeded by several false assumptions about the Ati. These include the suppositions that the Ati language is no longer spoken and that the Ati speak the Visayan language of their closest neighbors, or that the Ati language itself is but a variant of one of the Visayan languages. Zorc's comprehensive study of 36 Visayan speech varieties, including detailed information and analysis of 13 for subgrouping and reconstruction purposes, is a masterful work and provides the basis for a comparison between Inati and those languages. Yet he listed Ati as a Kinaray⁷a dialect (1977:15). Since Zorc is a near-native speaker of one of Panay's languages (Aklanon), has abilities in others, and is a knowledgeable Philippine area linguist, it is obvious that he, like Rahmann and Maceda, was not able to link up with a willing, knowledgeable Ati informant who spoke Inati. Since several mixed Ati communities in Antique Province speak Kinaray⁷ and many Ati elsewhere can speak that language, it is a natural assumption that the Ati speak a Kinara⁷a dialect.

Arriving on the field in 1983, I also shared these assumptions. Having spent several childhood years among the Negritos of Villar, Botolan, Zambales, I knew that most Negrito groups spoke languages directly related to the language of neighboring groups. In conversations with colleagues at the University of the Philippines in the Visayas (UPV) in Iloilo, I was shocked to discover, however, that several, who were native Kinaray⁷a speakers and who had grown up in homes with Ati household help, insisted that the Ati still spoke their own language, and that it was unintelligible to them. Other faculty members showed me senior student research papers which supported their conclusion. Delgado (1981:41) in a paper on the Ati of barrio Tina, in the township of Hamtic, Antique Province, reports that "the Negritoes (sic) used to have a dialect of their own, which they called the 'inati,' and which was much different from the Kinaray⁷a of the Antiqueños. The said dialect, however, is fast vanishing and presently, only very few Negritoes can speak it. The Inati is now being replaced by the Kinaray?a which the Negritoes find more convenient to speak since it enables them to talk and associate with the Bisaya." An 82 English-Kinaray?a-Inati word list follows and provides good lexical evidence to support her conclusion.

Another UPV student paper by Jessie Kwong is a 200-page ethno-historical document on the Ati of barrio Cogon, township of Malay, Aklan Province. It is replete with maps, photographs, and diagrams and offers numerous statements about Inati but no actual linguistic data. Kwong (1978:77) states, "Inati, as it was still in existence, was observed to be very distinct and different from the dialect of the place which was Malaynon. . . The Atis were zealously keeping their language to (sic) only among themselves. . . if they happened to be conversing in places where there were Bisaya, they would continue on talking in whispers." He notes that "unfortunately no recorded Inati, whether written or in a tape, has been collected," and goes on to tell of a school teacher who attempted to coax an Ati student to write down some Inati, and speaks of "the few lucky ones [who] utter in the said dialect haltingly," such as a "55-year-old farmer who talks only in Inati if he happens to be under the influence of wine (1978: 78)." Elsewhere Kwong (1978:132) concludes, "Constant exposure to the Malaynon-speaking Bisaya further pushed Inati to oblivion that presently only a handful of these people have knowledge of it. Furthermore, the persons who have facility of such can no longer talk with it fluently due to the number of limited words they can remember."

Soon I learned that the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) had a Bible translator stationed at Nagpana, an Ati settlement located north of Iloilo City in the vicinity of Barotac Viejo. Visiting there, the Tezukas provided much information concerning the language and its distinctness from Kinaray?a. A decision was made to do an ethnobotanical study of the Nagpana area and work proceeded on that project. When the Tezukas were forced due to illness to leave in the summer of 1983, I switched my field research emphasis from ethonobotany to linguistics, hired an Ati informant and made research trips around the island. The Tezukas were sent to Nagpana based on several SIL survey reports, mainly because of the results of a November - December 1980 field trip by SIL staff. This unpublished Ati Survey Report by French (1980) is the most comprehensive linguistic field survey of Panay Negritos attempted to date and provides statements about the existence of the two dialects of Inati, and shows evidence of that language's distinctiveness from Kinaray? a. The survey followed a procedure outlined by Casad (1974) using linguistic data from word lists and intelligibility testing from tapes of stories recounted by native speakers of Inati, Kinaray? a, and Hiligaynon, followed by comprehension questions in each language. Fifty-four individuals were given the tests in six communities around Panay. Fifteeen of those scored between 90% and 100% on the Inati test while scoring between 42% and 59% on Kinaray?a, showing that knowing Inati does not necessarily help one with Kinaray?a.

My own work in five of the communities visited by the 1980 SII team leads me to support their conclusion that the "best Inati" (fewer borrowings) is spoken in Nagpana and that the Ati of Cogon, Malay, speak a different dialect. Demographic data gathered in 1983 indicate that the total Inati speaking population is around 1,000, and many of these are bilingual speakers who can converse in Hiligaynon, Kinaray?a , or other Philippine languages.[3] Nagpana, where Inati is spoken widely, is a polyglot community and the SIL survey validates this fact. The revised averaged score of the twelve individuals who took the three-language test is 100% for Ati, 85% for Kinaray?a and 87% for Hiligaynon. Seven out of the twelve scored 92% or higher on the Kinaray?a test.

3. The 1980 SIL report by French overestimated the numbers of households and speakers in some locations. Nagpana, for example, is certainly the "largest Ati settlement" but it does not have "750 people who are scattered on the mountain "; it has approximately one-half that number. Three census and survey reports compiled by various government agencies from 1976-1983 show population figures of 328 (Vargas 1976), 360 (MPI VI n.d.), and 389 (Castillo 1983). Likewise the figures for San Miguel, Guimaras Island, "where the Ati have about 20 houses, or about 200 people" seem to be double the figures I recorded. An even greater discrepancy is noticed with the figures given for Tacbuyan, in Antique Province. I took a group of anthropology students there on a 1983 field trip and we only found 10 households and about 75 mixed Ati dispersed over a large area; while the SIL team reports "there are about 50 houses (or 500 Ati) on the mountain and that makes it the second largest settlement where Ati is still spoken." Yet, our interviews with older people revealed the population has remained fairly stable the last few years. Therefore, the survey's conclusion that about 1500 people remain who can speak Inati is too high.

1.4 TWO INATI DIALECTS – INETE AND SOGODNIN

Ati and Bisayan speakers throughout Panay commonly refer to the Ati language as "Inati," and for examples see references by Delgado and Kwong in the previous section. However, many Inati speakers in Iloilo Province where the majority of the speakers reside, use the term Inete. The /e/ is a low, front unrounded vowel not found in the Visayan languages. These speakers distinguish their dialect from the Ati language primarily spoken in Northern Panay which they call "Sogodnin." It is believed by many that Sogodnin represents the "original" or "high" Inati, and that many of the Inete words are simply loan words which have replaced the old Sogodnin terms.

In the early stages of my field research the Sogodnin issue presented an almost insurmountable problem. Two Inete speakers in Nagpana could speak some Sogodnin and, in fact, after practising for two days one told a story in Sogodnin. He learned it from a good friend many years ago who had since passed away. But no one could tell me of a Sogodnin community today or where they had been located in the past. I then traveled to a nearby settlement to meet a real Sogodnin speaker only to discover that the old man's memory was obviously failing. However, I was able to collect a word list (see Appendix I) and learned that he grew up speaking Sogodnin in his home, in the southwestern corner of Iloilo Province, in the hills near the present-day boundary with Antique Province.

This was confusing since my hypothesis was that Sogodnin was probably spoken in Northern Panay in the settlement at Cogon, Malay, described by both Kwong (1978) and French (1980). What was a Northern Panay Sogodnin speaker doing in Southern Antique and Iloilo Province? In restrospect, I believe Delgado provides a possible solution to this dilemma in her discussion of how the Atis settled in barrio Tina, which is in this general Southern Panay region. Quoting from the oral history of Tina residents, Delgado (1981:38) mentions a period of famine during Spanish times (before 1898) called "Igbaong" when the people survived by eating the "baong," a wild yam: "A great number of Negrito of families from the northern part of Antique came to the barrio in search of food. Most of descendants of said families died and the rest also left the barrio." So Sogodnin speakers from Northern Panay could have moved and settled in what is now Inete territory in Iloilo Province coming through Tina, Antique.

A trip to Cogon, Malay, in Northern Panay confirmed the fact that the dialect called Sogodnin by the Ilo-ilo Ati is indeed spoken in that area by a handful of Ati. Several informants reluctantly attempted to provide word list data but it became obvious their reluctance was only due to their lack of knowledge. Our companion Ati informant from Nagpana discovered a relative who had married a local woman a number of years ago. This man gave a lengthy discourse in Inati on some lexical differences between Inete and Sogodnin (see Appendix IV). He also said that the Ati of that area were ashamed of their language and rarely used it. When they did speak in Sogodnin, the result was usually a mixture of Tagalog (the national language), and Malaynon (the local language). He encouraged his wife to speak Sogodnin for us and she haltingly uttered four sentences (see Appendix V). A forty-year-old, she remembered these lines from her youth. Her grandmother, since deceased, would talk to her in Sogodnin, but her parents spoke Malaynon.

Since it was reported that a Sogodnin speaker resided on Borakay, we went to that island and fortuitously happened to land at the right place. Inquiries with local people led us to an Ati household where a man in his 60's gave us word list information and sentences (see Appendices I and IV). He and his wife speak Sogodnin together but his grown children (who were present) do not speak Sogodnin or use it in their homes. He said there were only a few Ati who knew some Sogodnin words, and he was not aware of anyone else who used the language in their home.

This confirms the statements made by French (1980): "The Ati no longer speak Ati openly. Instead they speak Malaynon in their homes and in all dealings with others." Sogodnin began to give way to Malaynon perhaps over sixty years ago as the Ati moved

from interior Sabang, to Bakirohan, to Cogon, closer and closer to Malaynon speakers and as economic relationships intensified with lowlanders, a process described by Kwong (1978:115). Now knowledge of Sogodnin is limited to a few individuals who can speak isolated sentences, and one or two who can actually converse in the dialect. In addition, there are several individuals, ranging in age from seventy to over a hundred years of age, in Iloilo Province who know some Sogodnin. Since Sogodnin is no longer in daily use, this paper employs the term Inati for Inete, the dialect of the Iloilo Ati, and Sogodnin for the disappearing Ati dialect of Northern Panay.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY AND CHART

While work remains to be done on a final phonemic statement for Inati, a preliminary assessment by Tezuka (1983) lists 19 consonant phonemes (p, t, k, ʔ, b, d, g, s, ts, s, h, z, m, n, ng, l, r, y, and w) and 5 vowel phones (i, ü, o, a, and ä). Data on stress and vowel length were presented with no conclusions, e.g. bohiʔ 'alive' and bo:hiʔ 'to release', anay, 'termite' and anáy 'to wait'. Minimal pairs contrasting these consonants and vowels are given except for ts, š, and ž. There are few Inati words with these sounds in my data. For example, ts is found primarily in loan words, e.g., pitsay 'Chinese cabbage', and tsuper 'driver'. The consonant š may simply be a palatalized allophone of s occurring with y as in /syam/ 'nine' or /syudad/ 'city' (Spanish loan word). Only one example is given by Tezuka for ž, masaža 'happy' and in my notes I record this as masadya. However, masadya may be the Hiligaynon (Bisayan) term.

This paper follows Tezuka's phonemic statement with the exception that ä is written as e, and ü as i̇. . . . . Parentheses suggest doubtful phonemic status requiring further analysis.

p	t	(ts)	k	ʔ		i	i̇
b	d	(z)	g			e	a	o
m	n		ng					
	s	(š)		(h)				
w		y						
	(r)	l						

2.2 THE VOWEL e

Inati has a five-vowel system: i (high, front unrounded), i̇ (high central, unrounded), o (mid back, rounded), e (low front, unrounded) and a (low central, unrounded). The phoneme e—ae or ä — is not found in the surrounding Bisayan languages and is rarely found in Philippine languages. The following minimal pairs attest to the phonemic status of e as distinct from a:

| aram | 'knowledge' | baga | 'lung' | adlaw | 'day' |
| erem | 'to borrow' | bege | 'ember' | edlew | 'sun' |

In addition to the above, this is a fairly comprehensive list of e words compiled from interviews, word lists, and stories: bebe 'mouth', bebete 'husband', bedo 'new', bode 'eject from mouth', begen 'chest', bese 'wet', betken 'arm', derwe 'two', dine 'negative', dogme 'tomorrow', ekew 'lizard', erʔese 'crazy', ereden 'road, trail', erengkeb 'tooth', esop 'close', etep 'roof', ete 'Ati', ewed 'water', gine 'while', gebe 'destroy', hemengen 'to eat', ike 'you', ire 'they', iye 'he, she', karaye 'their', kebegne 'yesterday', kebes 'tail, penis', kelep 'night', kene 'to say', keremkem 'hand', kernged 'to hear, understand', kewkew 'to fish', kilele 'acquaintance', kite 'we', koled 'louse', loge 'rheum',

medelem 'dark', mesned 'far', mete 'eye', metebe 'fat', ne 'now', nedte 'there it is', nike 'that', ome 'to arrive', pole? 'red', pores 'navel', se 'future', seleng 'jaw, chin', serken 'the others, different', talinge? 'ear', te?ese 'one', tedte 'here it is', tegek 'sap', tene 'negative', tenos 'stand', terem 'blade', terped 'cross over', wayte 'there', wele 'left', yemot 'root'.

It is unclear exactly how or when Inati developed a low, front unrounded vowel. Most of the examples above are cognates with words in other Philippine languages showing an /a/, e.g., kita for kite 'we', and wala for wele 'left'. Inati also has doublets such as adlaw or adlawin 'day', and edlew 'sun', and baga 'lungs', and begen 'chest'; these are a/e examples from the same proto word.

The issue is complicated by borrowings from other languages and dialect differences and extends to /i/ as well. I have recorded the following a, i, e variations in Ati communities:

tanos, tinos, tenos	'to stand'
bado?, bido?, bedo?	'new'
Ati, Ete, Ata	'Ati'
pilos, pelos	'to kill'
iridan, ereden	'road, trail'
isop, esop	'close'
ti?o, ta?o	'to give'
kene?, kana?, kine?	'to say'

Furthermore, a vowel harmony rule has caused /a/ to assimilate to /e/ in all /e/ words. There are few words with /a/ and /e/ vowels. Note that even some prefixes are affected by this rule:

me-tebe?	'fat'
me-delem	'dark'
me-sned	'far'
ke-begne?	'yesterday'
ke-rnged	'to hear'
te-?ese	'one'
te-rped and pe-terped	'cross over' and 'to be across from'

Some of these are frozen prefixes. The expected current forms in modern day Inati are ma-, ka-, ta-, and pa-. Ha- is no longer productive, but is found in he-mengen 'to eat'. There are exceptions: karaye 'their' and wayte 'that, you'. But a rule involving stress and glides is a factor. Tezuka (1983:8) mentions that there are "cases when w and y occur syllable finally in CVC and receive a stress." He limits this to four words:

kay.ti	'this'	kay.ni	'that'
kay.nad	'that'	kaw.ni	'a while ago'

But way.te and karay.e might also be included. Therefore, stress on the glides may over-rule vowel harmony.

As with prefixes, phonological change also occurs with suffixes for e (and i). Tezuka (1983:12) provides these examples:

Root	Regular Form		Changes
dopre? 'to spit'	gindopre?an	'was spitting'	gindopre?en
higki? 'to stain'	mahigki?an	'will get dirty'	mahigki?in

There doesn't appear to be any solid phonological conditioning rule that can be

reconstructed to account for the weakening of /a/ to /e/.

The historical development of the phoneme is obscured by a maze of stress and vowel harmony rules, loss and replacements, borrowings and restructurings.The fact remains, however, that /e/ is a distinctive part of Inati, preserved in Inete, but lost in Sogodnin.

3.   COMPARATIVE WORD LIST ANALYSES

3.1   INATI-HILIGAYNON-KINARAY?A

The following examples illustrate some of the lexical differences between these three languages.

		Inati	Hiligaynon	Kinaray?a
1.	fat	tebe?	tambok	tambək
2.	to play	nayam	hampang	sipal
3.	night	kelep	gab?i, gabi?i,	gabi?i
4.	near	isip	lapit, rapit	rapit
5.	nape (of neck)	libit	tangkugo?	tangkəgə?
6.	hunger	sobok	gutom	gətəm
7.	egg	tabon	itlog	itlog
8.	to give	todol	hatag	ta?o, tugro
9.	to arrive	ome?	?abot	?abot
10.	backbone	ponok	taroktokan	
11.	earlier	kawni	ka?ina	ka?ina
12.	top, over	dakad	?ibabaw	?ibabaw
13.	upstairs,	mawan	?ibabaw	?ibabaw
14.	now	kokan	subong	təladkadya
15.	yesterday	kebegne?	kahapon	kahapun
16.	tomorrow	dogme?	buwas	sarəm?an
17.	who	gino	sin?o	sin?u
18.	to eat	hemengen	ka?on	ka?on
19.	come here	dirit	kari	dali?
20.	good	manami? maroyog	ma?ayo	mayad
21.	know	merem	kahibalo	kama?an
22.	hand	palad keremkem	kamut	?alima
23.	long	magoroy malabig	malaba?	malabəg

3.2   INATI AND SEVEN COMMON PHILIPPINE COGNATES

Yap (1973) studied selected lexicons from 80 Philippine languages (including two mixed Spanish/Philippine dialects, Chavacano) and tabulated the number of cognate languages for each Tagalog item. The following seven common Philippine cognates, with the number of cognate languages, illustrate the lack of cognates for some very common Philippine and Proto Austronesian words.

Proto Austro.		Tagalog	Inati	Cognate Languages
1. *?inum	drink	inom	omak	77
2. *Zalan	trail	daan	ereden	75
3. *quZaN	rain	ulan	da?it	68

4.	*balay	house	bahay	sapiw	63
5.	*Sapuy	fire	apoy	himpon	50
6.	*ikuR	tail	ikog	toban	42
7.	*anu	what	ano	miya	35

It is conceivable that the first two might turn out to be cognate, although the data necessary to prove it are lacking. One is tempted to suggest that somehow Inati lost the /in/ of *inom* 'drink', since the stress is on the last syllable, and added an -*ak* suffix. While there are no supporting examples for these improbable series of changes, the pronoun 'I' in Sogodnin is *ak*, hence one might wildly posit an om ak 'I drink' frozen form *omak* in Proto Inati. Arriving at *ereden* from *Zalan is much easier, with a prefix a, metathesis of d and r, change of /a/ to /e/, plus a vowel harmony rule. But *ereden* is cognate with a *qaRi with cognates in Kinaray?a, Aklanon, Hiligaynon, and other languages. For (*qaRi) the Ati cognate is *adi* 'to pass by'. Look at these examples for path in some Bisayan languages (see also Zorc 1977:208):

Aklanon	?aeagyan
Hiligaynon	?alagyan
Kinaray?a	?aragyan
Cebuano, Samar/ Leyte	?alagi?an

We can reconstruct a Proto Inati ?/ar/adi? an (-ar- infix) becoming *aradian, aradan,* and applying vowel harmony leaving *ereden*. I have recorded *iridan* from a Sogodnin speaker but, given the other i,e, and a variations listed in 2:2 this might be expected. We might also posit metathesis; *adi* to *ida*, and plus affixes, thus *ir/ida/an*.

The rest of the words for rain, house, fire, tail, and what are not cognate. So common are cognates for *quzaN 'rain', *balay 'house' *Sapuy 'fire', that in Yap's study there are no languages, with the exception of the Creole Chavacanos, that do not have at least one of these three cognates in their lexical inventory. Most have at least two of the three.

However, data from Sogodnin adds complexities to this analysis. For example, I have elicited *udyen, udyan* for 'rain', and *bali, balay* for 'house', both obviously cognate, with the most common proto series for 'rain' and 'house':

This leaves one to question, whether *da?it* 'rain' and *sapiw* 'house' are strictly Inete innovations, or retentions from other unknown proto words. In the case of Inete *sapiw* 'house', it may join a PAN series reconstructed by Blust in his Austronesian Etymologies II (to appear in Oceanic Linguistics). He has reconstructed a *sapaw 'field hut' on the basis of Paiwan *tapaw,* Ilokano *sapaw,* Malay *sapau,* and a few other languages. The final -*iw* instead of -*aw,* is problematic but might be solved by further vowel studies. It would not be surprising that Inete retained a word cognate with a proto word for field hut or temporary shelter and shifted it to house. Many Ati groups were semi-nomadic, traveling back and forth between settlements or continuously moving around in a general territory, thus constantly building temporary shelters. Utod Vero, the patriarch of the Nagpana Atis, says: "For more than twenty years I went around building more than 200 huts. The huts were made of sticks and leaves and when the leaves wilted, we would transfer to another site and build a new one" (del Carmen 1982:15).

There are no known cognates at this time for Inete *da? it* 'rain'. Sogodnin *udyan* 'rain' presents some problems if one wants to posit it as a borrowing. It would have been hard to borrow the palatal dy since there are no Philippine languages that reflect *Z like Malay *hujan* from *quZan.

Tezuka (1983:8) does show *odan* 'raining' for Inete but the word list data (Appendix I) and textual material (Appendix II) show *da?it.* It is an unlikely borrowing from Hiligaynon or Kinaray?a (u/an, uran). Therefore, it is possible that Sogodnin *udyan* is the Proto Inati form and Inete *odan* is simply loss of palatalization.

Himpon 'fire', is shared by both Inete and Sogodnin (*himpon, yimpon*). Inno-

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vations for 'fire', however, are found in the Central and Southern Philippines, e.g., Proto Central Philippine *kalayu and Proto Mansakan *atulun (see Zorc 1977:286), all like Inati, replacing Proto Philippine *hapuy. As with *omak* 'drink' which shares part of one syllable of the proto word /om/, it is tempting to break *himpon* apart for /pu/ of Proto Austronesian *sapuy.

To start, /him-/ could be a prefix hiN-. The phonemic value of the n varies with the point of articulation of the first consonant, in this case a labial stop /p/, hence, him. A parallel example is Sogonin *hindon* 'come' with a dental stop /d/, hence hin-. Assuming a base of *poy after the loss of the first syllable (in Philippine languages /a/), several alternatives could explain -pon instead of the expected -poy. However, division of *himpon* 'fire' into morphemes may be unjustified and connecting -pun with -puy is certainly risky.

Proto Inati may also have lacked a cognate for the popular *mata series as evidenced by Inete *maslik* and Sogodnin *lisak.* These are probably cognate with each other. Inete has a ma-preffix, vowel loss, metathesis of /l/ and /s/, and an unexplained i. The comparison of selected Inati words with Hiligaynon and Kinaray?a, and Inati's variance with eight common cognates, indicates that we might expect low scores on any comparative word analysis with other Philippine languages.

3.3   LEXICOSTATISTICAL ANALYSIS

In a lexicostatistical analysis of Inete Swadesh 100-word list (see Appendix I), with four selected Philippine languages, Zorc (1985) arrived at the conclusion that Inati is "beyond lexicostatistical solution owing to a large number of innovations, and heavy loan overlays from Bisayan, Spanish, and even English." The four languages chosen were Kinaray?a (Kin), Kuyonon (Kuy), Tagalog (Tag), and Casiguran Dumagat (Cas).

	Maximum	Adjusted
Kin	67%	41%
Kuy	58%	34%
Tag	45%	30%
Cas	41%	23%

Lexicostatistics does, however, provide good supporting evidence that Inati is not to be grouped with Bisayan. Note that Inete scores highest with Kinaray?a (Lambunao) but this relationship is, according to Zorc, lexicostatistically inaccurate because the scores would not parallel the scores of other languages with Kinaray?a. The scores are inflated by borrowings, and do not show true genetic relationship. The adjusted scores were computed by discounting probable Inete borrowings from other languages, notably Kinaray?a and Hiligaynon. The few qualitative items that reflect either selective retentions or probably innovations with other Negrito languages, appear to outweigh the mismatch of quantitative scores.

3.4   INNOVATIONS

Reviewing the larger list of Inete and Sogodnin 1 and 2 (Appendix I), Zorc (1985) found that 38 forms were likely to be Ati innovations that set the group apart from all other languages.

3.41   katowan 'belly' (03) —a possible connection with Southern Luzon *kataw?an 'body', (borrowed by Tagalog), or *ti?an 'stomach', as an alternate Inati form is towan, without the ka-prefix.

3.42   bi?as 'big' (04)

3.43   dasig 'come' (15) —Inete *dasig* may be comparable with Southern Mangyan *das?ig 'arrive'; *dirit* and *hindon* are presently untraceable.

3.44   pelos 'die' (16) —Inete *pelos* and Sogodnin 1 *pilos* appear to be innovations.

3.45   omak 'drink' (18)

3.46 hemengen 'eat' (22) —Inete *hemengen* and Sogodnin 1 *hamangan* are clearly related to PPH *mangan <maNiKa?ən but the intial formative is unique.

3.47 tabon 'egg' (23) —The *bun element is cognate with Casiguran Dumagat *bunay*, Kapampangan *ebun*, and Ilongot *lubun*, however, the *ta- is unique.

3.48 maslik 'eye' (24) —Inete *maslik* and Sogodnin 1 *lisak* are unique and may be cognate by metathesis and vowel change.

3.49 himpon 'fire' (28) —Replaces Proto Philippine *hapuy (see 3.2).

3.4 (10) ti?o 'give' (33) —Inete and Sogodnin I *ti?o* are unique in shape if from Western Bisayan and Bikol *ta?u, which Sogodnin 2 has borrowed.

3.4 (11) maroyog 'good' (34) —Inete and Sogodnin I *maroyog, maruyog* are unique; Sogodnin 2 *mayad* is probably from Western Bisayan.

3.4 (12) keremkem 'hand' (37) —Inete *keremkem* and Sogodnin *kayemkem* are innovatives; Inete *palad* shows an independent semantic shift from *palaj 'palm'; Sogodnin 2 *alima* could be inherited from Proto Philippine *qalimah or borrowed from Kinaray?a.

3.4 (13) iding 'lie down' (47) —Forms cited for Inete *iding*, and Sogodnin I *babatang*, replace Proto Philippine *hidəRaq and appear to be unique, while Sogodnin 2 *lobog* has cognates like Aklanon *lubug*.

3.4 (14) magoroy 'long' (49) —Inete and Sogodnin *magoroy* is unique. Inete *malabig* is from Western Bisayan and Sogodnin 2 *mahaba?* is possibly from Central Philippines *haba?.

3.4 (15) kosled 'louse' (50) —Also Inete *koled* and Sogodnin I *uled* are unique in this meaning.

3.4 (16) amos 'man' (51) —Inete *amos* and Sogodnin I *amus* are unique.

3.4 (17) harosin 'many' (52) —Inete *doro* 'many' is a semantic shift of Spanish *duro* 'hard' 'intense' found also in Western Bisayan. *Ribu* is possibly from Proto Hesperonesian *ribu 'thousand' borrowed from another language, and with semantic shift.

3.4 (18) tene 'not (63) —Sogodnin *taan* is related by metathesis. Comparison with Ilokano *sa?an* is tempting but unjustified.

3.4 (19) te?ese 'one' (63) —Vowel harmony and a ta- prefix make this a unique counter from *?isa.

3.4 (20) da?it 'rain' (65) —(see 3.2).

3.4 (21) kene 'say/said' (71) —Inete *kene* and Sogodnin 2 *kana* may be unique. However, note Tagalog *ka* and Tontok *kan-an* (Reid 1986).

3.4 (22) kitorod 'sleep' (76) —The ki formative might be unique, although the word base *tuduR has cognates throughout the Philippines. Reid (1986) suggests the *ki-* on this form could be from a 'cooperative' prefix such as *maki-* 'to sleep with.'

3.4 (23) tanawa? 'small' (77) —Inete and Sogodnin *tanawa?, hanawa* are unique but Inete *maisot* and *magamay* are Bisayan loans.

3.4 (24) tinos 'stand' (78) —(see also 3.2).

3.4 (25) li?ad 'stand' (78) —This Sogodnin unique word is a homonym with 'neck'

3.4 (26) toban 'tail' (84) —Inete *toban* and Sogodnin I *toben* are unique and quite likely the *ikog* of each has been borrowed from neighboring languages.

3.4 (27) tike 'this' (85) —(see below).

3.4 (28) kiti 'this' (85) —Stem *ti occurs in Sambalic languages and Kapampangan, but the formative is unique.

3.4 (29) kinad 'that' (86) —(see below).

3.4 (30) nedte 'that' (86) —Stem *nad and formatives are unique.

3.4 (31) erengkeb 'tooth' (89) —Also Sogodnin 2 has an unexplained initial h for hipon instead of *ng—.

3.4 (32) gi?o walk' (92) Sogodnin *gi?o* 'walk or 'go' is unique and is not found even in Inete.

·3.4   (33) ewed 'water' (94) —This may be a unique term or possibly cognate with
       *wahiR.
3.4   (34) ikam 'we' (95) –Although ultimately cognate, *i+kami is found in Agta,
       Itawis, Malaweg, Gaddang, Kapampangan, Sundangan-Subanon, Sangir and
       Kalinga, loss of final vowel is unique.
3.4   (35) miya 'what' (96).
3.4   (36) gino 'who' (98) —Inete and Sogodnin I are unique; Sogodnin 2 *ikino* is
       different in formation from North Manobo *ki?nu.
3.4   (37) binohat 'woman' (99).
3.4   (38) bebete 'woman' (99) —This Sogodnin term is unique and it is also found
       in Inete as 'husband'.[4]

3.5   INDICATORS OF SUBGROUPING

Zorc (1985) mentions that sixteen forms (Appendix I) need further evaluation
because they may be valuable indicators of subgrouping.

3.51   tanan 'all' (01) —*tanan, possibly inherited. Cognates in Bisayan languages,
       Casiguran Dumagat, Hanunoo, Yogad-North Cordilleran, Virac-Coastal
       Bikol, Mamanwa, Northern Kalamian Tagabanwa, and Maranao. Note the
       possible connection to Yogad and Casiguran Dumagat.
3.52   katowan 'belly' (03) —Possible connection to Southern Luzon *kataw?an
       'body' (Kapampangan and Sambal), borrowed by Tagalog (see also 3.41).
3.53   metebe 'fat' (25) —*taba?, probably interited. Bisayan *tambək wasn't
       borrowed, and Proto Philippine *taba? was retained (see also 3.1).
3.54   bitis 'foot' (31) —*bəti?is, probably inherited. In Bisayan languages the
       meaning is 'calf of the leg', or 'lower leg'. Cognate with Southern Luzon
       (Kapampangan and Botolan Sambal), Central Bikol, Kagayanen-North
       Manobo.
3.55   tikad 'foot' (31) —This Sogodnin I term is cognate with Casiguran Dumagat
       tikəd.
3.56   todol 'give' (33))*tudul, selective retention. Cognate with Ivatan, Itbayaten,
       Northern Kalamian Tagbanwa.
·3.57 kernged 'hear' (39) —*DəngəR.The ka- prefix (vowel harmony) might
       establish links with North Mangyan (Iraya *karngəy*,   Alangan *karungəy*,
       Tadyawan *ma/kalingy/an*. The *R to d shift is dealt with in 4.0.
3.58   kelep 'night' (60) —*kələp, selective retention. Cognate with Northern
       Samareno and Samar-Leyte *kələp* 'afternoon', and *kakələp* 'yesterday', and
       Waray kulup, 'afternoon' and kakulup, 'yesterday'. (See Zorc 1977 98).
       Other cognates with Malaweg and Itawis (North Cordilleran), kələp 'dark',
       and Casiguran Dumagat.
3.59   orong nose' (61) —*?udung, selective retention/innovation. This is a selective
       retention among meso-Philippine languages of PMP *quzung, point, end,
       cape' (doublet PAN *qijung 'nose' otherwise usually reflected). Cognates are
       also found in the Inland Bikol subgroup (Buhi, Oas, Libon, Daraga),
       Kalamianic (Northern Kalamian Tagbanua, Kalamian Agutaynen), Northern
       Palawan, Buhid, Northern Mangyan, and Central Bikol (dungu?   by
       metathesis).
3.5   (10) tawo 'person' (64) —*ta?u, probably inherited. Cognates in Bisayan,
       Bikol, Tagalog, Mamanua, Palawan, Kalamianic, Southern Luzon, Ilokano,
       and Itneg. It does not reflect any one of several innovations noted for other
       major Philippine subgroups, e.g., Manobo, Subanon, Danao, Blaan, ?ətaw;
       Norhern Cordilleran *tolay, Central Cordilleran *tagu, and Southern
       Cordilleran *tu?u.

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4.   *Bebete* might be from *bata 'child' with reduplication of the initial syllable. *Bata* also is found
     in Inete as an alternate of *tiyo* 'uncle'.

3.5 (11) dalid 'root' (68) —*daliR, probably inherited. This Sogodnin 2 term has connections to the south (Danao, Bilic, Manobo) and the North (Southern Mangyan); *dalid might be from a *dalij doublet.

3.5 (12) gorang sit' (74) —*gurang, possibly borrowed. This is only found in Kuyonon and Kinaray?a (gurang). It might be an Ati innovation borrowed by Kinaray?a and Kuyonon speakers, or picked up by the Ati from Kinaray?a. The loan direction cannot be traced.

3.5 (13)aso 'smoke' (78) —*qasuh, possibly inherited. Cognates in Bisayan, Bikol, Tagalog, Mamanua, Agutaynen-Kalamianic. Perhaps the absence of cognates with Proto Southern Philippines *qabəl, Proto Northern Philippine *?asuk, and Palawan *tabuk, North Mangyan *?aləp, and South Mangyan *?anus is noteworthy.

3.5 (14)ike 'thou' (87) —*?ika. This form isn't found in Bisayan. Cognates in Bikol, Subanon, Kapampangan, and Gaddang.

3.5 (15)kayo 'tree' (90) —*kayuh, inherited. Cognate with most Philippine subgroups but, as Zorc notes (1977:235), "Proto Central Philippine *kahuy draws a perfect isogloss around dialects and languages treated herein as Central Philippine; all other Southern Philippine languages, even those which border on and have intimate contact with Central Philippine speech varieties, reflect cognates of Proto Philippine *kayuh".

3.5 (16)lakaw 'walk' (92) —*lakaw, probably inherited. Cognates in Cebuano, Samar-Leyte, Central Bikol, Danao, Southern Mangyan, and Sambal (Bolinao, Botolan).

While this is far from an ample sample to reach any conclusions, interesting possible lines of connections begin to appear with languages to the North, especially with Northern and Southern Mindoro (3.51, 7, 9, 11, 16), Southern Luzon (3.52, 4, 10), Northern Luzon (3.5, 10, 13, 14, 15) and Casiguran Dumagat (3.51, 5, 8).

4.0 PROTO *R TO D

4.1 *R IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

The sound shifts of proto γ or *R have been described by many scholars, beginning with the Dutch linguist H.N.van der Tuuk, and it has been called van der Tuuk's first sound law (Brandes 1884). Also known as the RGH law, it has been analyzed for over a hundred years by the Austronesian linguists, including Brandstetter (1915), Conant (1911), Dempwolff (1938), Dyen (1953), Dahl (1973), and others. Conant (1911) studied seventeen Philippine languages and grouped them by their reflexes of *R, into r, g, h, l, and y languages. It was recognized that most of the Philippine languages show the g-reflex for *R. This is also demonstrated later by Yap (1973 466) in her dissertation analysis of eighty Philippine languages; fifty-six were classified as g- languages, fourteen as l-languages, five as y- languages, three as h- languages, and two as r- languages. Conant (1911:74), however, addressed the issue of an exception to the law, an *R to d in one language, Inibaloi. He noted that the /d/ of Inibaloi damot (from *Ramot) is actually from an /l/ because /d/ and /l/ interchange in that language.

*R to /d/ correspondences are rare in Austronesian languages. In his *Dictionary of Proto Philippine,* translated by C. Lopez, Costenoble (1979:6) remarks that "it is striking that sound γ like g, likewise, occurs today mostly as r, l, *(but not as d)* and g (besides h or ?) generally in such languages which one of these sounds is palatal, the other lingual. Dempwolff, with justification, interprets γ as voiced palatal fricative, thus somewhat identical with French r" (emphasis mine). Likewise, *R to d shifts are non-existent among Formosan groups (see Dahl 1973:92) and, to my knowledge, are found in only two Philippine languages: Inibaloi and Inati, and Inibaloi is an l language with a subsequent shift to d.[5]

5. Initially I thought Casiguran Dumagat might also be included as an *R to d language; however, Headland (personal communication 1984) has pointed out that Dumagat has only one word *datos* 'hundred' (*Ratus) to support this conclusion. Reid's Agta list (1971:63) contains a 'typo' *mela'mid* and the correct form is *mela'mig* 'cold'. The final consonant is a Philippine *R (see Headland and Headland 1974:86).

The following provide Inati examples of *R in medial and final position, as well as one initial *R. Numbers in parentheses after the English gloss refer to the 100 word list found in Appendix I.

4.2 EXAMPLES OF *R TO D IN INATI

1. PAN baqRuH   *BaqRuh (PPH) *baqguh (PCP) 'new' (59) Inati *bedo?*, Sogodnin 1 *bido?*, *bidyu,* Sogodnin 2 *badyo.*
2. PAN *buRₐS   *buRáh 'eject from mouth' Inati *bode ?*
3. PAN *karaC   *KaRát (PPH) 'bite' (6) Inati *kadat*
4. PAN *siRₐp   *hiRap (PPH) 'suck' Inati *idɨp*
5. PAN *?uRaC   *?uRát (PPH) 'vein' Inati *odat*
6. PSP *buRhaw   'albino, discolored' Inati *bodhaw*
7. PHN *diRus   'bathe' Inati *pa-ridos*
8. PAN *búsuR   'bow' Inati *bosod*
9. PMP DₐngₐR   'hear' (39) Inati *ke-rnged* (see 3.57)
10. PMP *túDuR   'sleep' (76) Inati *i-torod* (see 3.4 (22))
11. PMP *súnuR   'burn' Sogodnin 2 *sunud*
12. PAN *áRi   'come', PSP *áRi 'pass by' Inati *?adi* (see 3.2)
13. PAN *líqₐR   'neck' (58) Sogodnin I, Sogodnin 2, li?ad

4.3 OTHER REFLEXES OF *R

As might be expected, there are a number of *R → g words in the Inati vocabulary. All the surrounding Bisayan dialects, Hiligaynon, Kinaray?a, Aklanon, and others with which the Ati most frequently come in contact today, reflect R with g, e.g., Cebuano and Tagalog. This is causing some replacement of traditional words, such as Inati *kelep* 'night' which is being replaced by Hiligaynon, and Kinaray?a *gabi?i* from *Proto Austronesian Rabi?iH; likewise, Inati *bedo* 'new' is being supplanted by Hiligaynon *bag?o.*

Other examples are Ina *bebe?* 'lips' from a Proto Hesperonesian *baqbaq, facing the substitution of *bibig* from Proto bibiR; and, Inati *toban* 'tail' which is giving way to *ikog,* from Proto Bisayan ¨gikug and Proto Austronesian *?ikuR.

This process of picking up *R → g reflexes has undoubtedly been going on for centuries; therefore, the following might be considered borrowings:
gabot 'tear out' (*Rabut); *gatos* 'hundred' (*Ratus); *gebe?* 'destroy' (*Rebaq); *gamot* 'root, medicine' (*Ramut); *bogaw* 'drive away' (*buRew); *bolig* 'bunch of fruit' (*buliR); *bosog* 'full' (*besuR); *bigas* 'husked rice' (*beRas); *bog?et, boget, bigat* 'heavy' (*beRqat); *dagami* 'straw' (ZaRamiH); *dagat* 'ocean' (*DáRat), *dagim* 'needle' (*daRam), *dapog* 'hearth' (*dapur); *habagat* 'monsoon' (*SabáRat), *harigi* 'house post' (*hadiri); *hadgan* 'stairs' (haRₐZan); *apog* 'lime' (*qápuR); *niyog* 'coconut' (*niúR), *piga?* 'squeeze out' (*pₐRaq); *dogo?* 'blood' (*duRuq); *sogo* 'command' (*suRuq); *sonog* 'burn' (*súnuR); *tago?* 'hide' (*táRuq); *timog* 'south wind' (*tímuR).

There is one example of *R → y in Inati: *yemot* 'root, medicine' (*Ramut). This is said to be an archaic form of *gamot,* and may indicate that the initial reflex of *R- was y-.

5.0 PRONOUNS

Inati pronouns, with the exception of the common *ako* 'I' and *kite* 'we', show forms that are definitely not Bisayan, and perhaps not even Central Philippine. An *i-prefix for topic and *ki- for oblique are the principal differences. Several forms such as *ire* 'they' might be from *?i+da with cognates in Northern Philippine languages (Kapampangan ?ila, Pangasinan, Gaddang, Ibanag ?ira), and iye 'he, she' might be from *?i+ya (Kapampangan, Ivatan, Iraya ?iya; Mamanua ?iza, Inland Bikol ? ɨya).

*i-, or *si- systems include Agta, Casiguran Dumagat, Gaddang, Ilongot, Inaboloi, Itbayaten, Ivatan (y), Kallahan, six Manobo languages, Sangil, and Sangir, Subanon (y), and Tagbanwa (y) (see Reid 1971: 1-43).

The most striking comparison can be made between Inati and Itbayaten or Ivatan. Taking into consideration Sogodnin *yakan* (Inete hi?an, ka?an) 'mine' 'to me' we can match the following in Inati and Itbayaten/Ivatan:

Itbayaten/Ivatan		Inati	
yakin	'I'	(ki)yakan	'mine', 'to me'
yamin	our'	(ki)yamin	'our', 'to us'
yatin	'we'	(ki)yatin	'our', 'to us'
iya?	'she/her'	iye	'she/he'
sira?	'they'	ire	'they'

While these are not shared innovated features with Ivatan, this serves to illustrate that Inete retained conservative features and does not share in certain innovations that are characteristic of the central Philippine languages (Reid 1986).

Here is a complete set of Inati pronouns including some Sogodnin (S):

5.1 PRONOUN CHART

	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique
'I'	yak, ak (S)	yakan, ko (S)	ki yakan (S)
	ako, ko	hi?an, ko	ki hi?an, ka?an
'we'	kam(S)	yaming (S)	ki yaming (S)
(excl)	ikam	yamin, mam	ki yamin
'we'	kita, ta (S)	yatin (S)	ki yatin (S)
(incl)	kite, te	yatin, te	ki yatin
'thou'	ika, ka (S)	kiyo, mo (S)	ki kiyo (S)
	ike, ke	kiyo, mo	ki kiyo
'you'	kim (S)	mi (S)	
	ikim	kimi, mim	ki kimi
'he, she'	iya (S)	kayang, kayaw (S)	kaya (S)
	iye, ye	kiye, ye	ki kiye
'they'	ira (S)	karirang, rira (S)	
	ire	karaye, daye	ki karaye

5.2 DEICTIC PRONOUN CHART

The deictic pronoun list below may not be complete and needs further analysis.

	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique
'this' (nearest speaker, first person)	kayti	kiti	katito
'this' (near speaker and addressee, first & second person)	kiti	katiti	katitad

| 'that' (near addressee, second person) | kayni, kaynad | kinad, kini | hinte, katinad |
| 'yon, that' (most remote, third person) | wayte | kangay | katangay |

6.0 SYNTAX

6.1 KAY, KI AND INI

The following paradigm involving "the man hunting lizards in the mountains," shows the functions and relationships of phrase markers/linkers kay, ki, and ini. These examples are taken from a structured interview in which the informant responded to a series of over 100 statements on this theme, often giving very literal translations. Nonetheless, these sentences are "grammatically correct" Inete. An expansion of this paradigm is given in Appendix VI.

The Man

| Kay tawo | igpangayam | ki itok | ki bokid | ini may tonod |
| The man | hunts | lizards | in the mountain | with a (bow and) arrow. |

The Lizard

| Kay itok | papangayamin | ki tawo | ini may tonod | ki bokid |
| The lizard | will be hunted | by the man | with a (bow and) arrow | in the mountains. |

The (Bow and) Arrow

| Kay tonod | iggamitin | ki tawo | ki pagpangayam | ki itok | ki bokid. |
| The (bow and) arrow | is used | by the man | to hunt | lizards | in the mountains |

The Mountains

| Kayti ini bokid | parangayaman | ki itok | ki tawo | ini may tonod |
| These mountains | are the hunting place | for lizards | by the man | with the (bow and arrow) |

Kay marks the phrase that is singled out for special semantic-role emphasis in each instance: the man (the actor/agent), the lizard (object/goal), the bow and arrow (instrument), or the mountains (reference/location). Further analysis will reveal the full range of predicate affixes that correspondingly signal the focus on either the actor, object, instrument, or referent. Predicate affixes here include ig- for actor, CV- reduplication (future) and -in for object, ig- and -in for instrument, and ar-(plural?) and -an for referent.

Kay is also an equational linker as shown by the phrases, *Kay tawo kay igpangayam* . . . . "It is the man who hunts . . . . .," or *Kay itok kay igpangayamin* . . . . . "It is lizards that are hunted . . . . ."[6]

6. Perhaps *kay* also functions in an equational role similar to Tagalog *ay*. Note the following:

Tagalog   Si Pedro ay mataas
Inete   I Pedro kay mataas
      'Peter is tall.'
Tagalog   Mataas si Pedro
Inete   Mataas kay i pedro (or) Kay Pedro mataas

     'Peter is tall.'

Ki marks the other semantic-role phrases that are not singled out for emphasis. In our four-sentence paradigm *ini* functions as a ligature which links the man *(kay tawo,* or *ki tawo*) with his instrument, the bow and arrow, *may* indicating possession. The phrase *ini may tonod* could occur at any point in the sentence; it happens to be placed by this speaker in this example at the end. In fact, *ki* can be can be used in place of *ini may,* or to cause a slight change in meaning as in this sentence:

Ki tonod ye,	kaynad ini tawo	nakatiro	ki	lima ka itok
With his (bow and) arrow	that man	shot	five	lizards

The above example also shows that *ini* may be used as a linker between a *kay* marker (in this case a deictic pronoun) and the focused actor helping to convey the meaning that it is a definite, particular man that shot the five lizards. Other deictic pronouns also work with *ini:*

Kaynad ini itok gintiro kinad ini tawo.
"That particular lizard (focused) was shot by that particular man (non-focused)."

Phrases from a popular Inati love song provide further illustrations of ini as a ligature: *masinaw ini loha* 'clear tears', *gogma te ini balaan* 'our holy love', *pilas ki begen ko, kiyo ini hogasan* 'my wounded chest, you wash.'

Further examples of *ini* as a linking particle occur with the counter particle *ka: derwe ka sako ini bugas* 'two sacks of rice', *pito ka bilog ini katombal* 'seven red peppers', *rasyonan ikam ki tagsangka litsi ini bugas* 'we were rationed (each) a single can of rice.'[7]

Kay, ki and *ini* as markers and ligatures give additional evidence for the uniqueness of Inati as these are not similarly used in the Bisayan subgroup of Philippine languages. Noticeably missing in Inete is *sa* referent marker found in every Bisayan language (*ha* in Tausog). Indeed, most Philippine languages distinguish three syntactically different sets of phrase markers in addition to ligatures. The closest two-phrase marking system is on Mindoro with some of the Mangyan languages.

Sogodnin has an *o* marker in place of Inete *kay.* Examples include the following sentences as well as data presented in Appendix V 1.h; 2.b,c; 6.k, m:[8]

Inete	Kay karaya sapiw manami?
Sogodnin	O karirang bali manami?
	(marker) Their house is beautiful
Inete	Miya kay kinahanglan mo?
Sogodnin	Miya o kinahanglan mo?
	What (marker) thing do you need from me?

6.2   NEGATIVE PHRASE MARKER IT

The phrase marker *it* is used only after negatives as it is in Aklanon and Kinaray?a (Western Bisaya). However, in those languages it also functions as an indefinitive common noun marker. Examples with Inati negatives *(bakan, tine,* and *nalang)* include: *Tine*

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7.   In some Ati areas, *ini* is being replaced by *nga,* a Bisayan language linking particle. I have a text from an Ati from Antique Province who is a Kinaray?a speaker who knows some Inati. She starts the conversation using *ini* everywhere, switches in the middle to *nga,* and ends up using *nga* exclusively. Even at Nagpana some speakers alternate *nga* and *ini* but recognize *ini* as pure Inati .

8.   It is problematic whether kay or o should be the Proto Inati form. Reid, quoted in Zorc (1977:229), suggests that Proto Philippine had a *u- based marking system on evidence from Maranoo, Bikol s-u, Ivatan q-u, Aklanon r-o, d-o nominative markers, Ivatan n-u, Buhi n-u, Aklanon k-u genitive markers, etc. Given the close proximity of Sogodnin to Aklanon, the possibility of borrowing exists; however, no parallel examples can be found, i.e. Sogodnin did not borrow Aklanon's ku marker. Therefore, it is possible that o is the original marker and that Inete independently developed *kay.*

ikam it darapli, 'We don't have many side dishes', *Kay bokid bakan it logar* 'The mountains are not the place', *bakan it tonod . . . . :* 'It is not a (bow and) arrow . . . .' *Nalang ako it bato* 'I don't have any money'.

Data from Sogodnin, however, indicates that dialect often uses *it* as a marker while Inete employs ki, as in this instance:

Inete	Boligan	mo	ako	ki	dara
Sogonin	Boligan	mo	yak	it	dara
	Help (you)	me	(marker)		to carry (it).

6.3   TA DIMINUTIVE

A *ta-* prefix can be found in some words as a diminutive, e.g., *ta?anak* 'child', *tamanok* 'chick' (*manok* 'chicken').[9] Particularly interesting is the word for 'dawn', *takelepse* (ta-kelep-se) with the *ta* diminutive, *kelep,* 'night' and *se* time particle (now and in the continuing future), so that dawn is really "a time when night is diminishing".

An added Inati innovation occurs with pluralization of *ta-* forms: *ma-* (plural) is infixed. Thus, from *ta-anak* 'child' we get *ta-ma-anak* 'children' and from *wanayan* 'wild yam', *ta-wanayan* 'small wild yam', *ta-ma-wanayan* 'many small wild yams', as evidenced in this sentence from a life history interview:

Igpakakite lang ikim tamawanayan ki kalasan
We could only find many small wild yams in the forest

6.4   VERBAL AFFIXES

Inati does not display any innovations in verbal affixing; rather, forms seem to be a combination of Bisayan systems and retentions. Several features, however, distinguish it from most Bisayan and Central Philippine languages. The first is Inati's use of the suffix *in* instead of Bisayan *-on*. These are, of course, different reflexes of PAN *a*. This is no small matter, as it affects a significant number of verbal forms and no Bisayan language has an *-in* suffix like Inati. This extends to nominals; for example, Bisayans use the term Malayn*on* for the language of Northern Panay. But Ati speakers use Malayn*in* when speaking Inati.

The second distinguishing feature is the absence of Proto Central Philippne *-a-* after the prefixes **mag-,* **nag-,* and **pag-.* Zorc (1977-32) says, "The paradigmatic use of Proto Central Philippine *-a-* after the refixes **mag-,* **nag-,* and **pag-,* is an innovation that serves as one criterion for grouping these languages together."

Inati does not have these affixes. However, neither do the Bisayan languages to the north of Panay (Samar, Leyte) and the south (Tausog).

7.0   SPEECH DISGUISE

There are several forms of speech disguise used by members of the Nagpana community to prevent non-Ati from understanding their conversations. These speech disguises are often employed when the Ati are bargaining as a group for an item and must discuss the issue in the presence of Bisayan speakers who may have some knowledge of Ati, or when they are working in the sugarcane fields with non-Ati and wish to make absolutely certain no one can interpret their message intended only for other Atis. The vast majority of Filipinos cannot even understand Inati, and while there are commonalities, the complexities of speech disguise make any comprehension virtually impossible. Three sentences are given here with samples of Ati speech disguise.

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9.   Tezuka (1983:12) lists an additional form for chicken, *tapisi.* This may be *ta-pisi,* but I have no supporting data *(pisi)* to validate this conclusion.

7.1   English: I   won't   ride (the vehicle).
       Inati: dine ako   magsakay.

         ditsinetse   '*atsako*tso   *magsatsakatsay*
         dipinepe   *apako*po   *magsapakapay*

7.2   English: My   money   was   stolen   by   that   non-Ati.
       Inati: ginporot ye kay   bato ko   kinad ini   ota.

         *ginpotsorotsot ye*tseke*tse kay bat*sa*tot*so ko ki*tsinat*sa*d*
         itsinitsi   o*tsot*a*tsa*
         ginpo
         *ginpoporopot ye*peke*pe kapay bap*a*top*o *kop*o *ki*pi*nap*a*d*
         *ipinipi op*o*tap*a

7.3   English: The   non-Ati   is   laughing   at   our   speech.
       Inati: ig?agil?   kay   ota ki   yatin   hambal.

         *ig?a*tsagi*tsil kay o*tso*ot*a*tsa ki y*a*tsa*ti*tsin*
         *ha*tsamba*tsal*
         *ig?apagipil kapay op*o*tap*a *ki*pi y*a*pati*pin hapambapal*

8.0. CONCLUSION

8.1 SURVIVAL FACTORS

It is remarkable that Inati has survived as a separate language. It has been under tremendous pressure for centuries and yet it has preserved its separate identity, its uniqueness within the Central Philippine geographical area. Surrounded on all sides by Visayan speakers, and linked especially close with the Karay?a through constant intermarriage, the Ati of Panay have successfully kept their language as an exclusive means of communication. Several factors have contributed to the survival of Inati. First, the Panay Ati have maintained distinct communities throughout time where Inati is spoken as the primary language. Undoubtedly racial, socio-economic, and cultural factors have all contributed to the maintenance of strong ethnic boundaries separating the Ati from lowland communities. Nagpana in the municipality of Barotac Viejo in Iloilo Province is a prime modern day example. Founded in the 1950's, it now has a growing population of Ati who continue to speak Inati. It is significant that even Kinaray?a speakers who move to Nagpana are learning Inati and their children will grow up speaking it also.

Second, the Ati have maintained communication between communities throughout the centuries. A manuscript written by Lagos (1968) postulates that the legendary barter for the island of Panay between the aboriginal Ati and the migrating southern chiefs believed to have taken place at a coastal location, actually occurred at an Ati interior settlement near the site of the present day town of Duenas. The supposition is based on oral history passed down in the author's family, and supported by Tan Martin, an Ati leader who lived from the 1880's to 1940's. But it is interesting that Martin functioned as a judge for the Ati communities on Panay and traveled far and wide settling disputes. There are now no Ati with such far reaching socio-political power; however, Utod Vero, the community leader of Nagpana, is known all over Panay and he has traveled to the various Ati settlements. Big men leaders like Tan Martin and Utod Vero maintained communication between widely scattered groups, thereby contributing to the processes that have kept the Ati language alive. [10]

10.   Cadeliña (1974:52) confirms the fact big men leaders controlled large territories by citing the case of Negros Island Negrito leader named Gardian who had "considerable influence" among over 70 Negrito families residing in four settlements. He died in 1971 at about the age of 60 and the town honored him as the last chief of the Negritos. Apparently, following Gardian's death, no one replaced him as a big man leader.

A case can be made that traveling is a time honored tradition for the Atis. Chirino in 1604 (quoted in Blair and Robertson XIII:29-217 mentioned that the Negritos of Panay "do not sow seed or gather harvest, but with their women and children wander half naked over the mountains." Interviews in 1983 among the Ati from all over Panay reveal that a significant number of people have traveled within the Visayan area, or down to Mindanao, or up to Manila, and even as far north as Bataan and Zambales. One individual recounted his stay on Guam as a laborer following the Second World War! Others told of traveling in groups of over fifteen to the Greater Manila area selling herbal medicine as a way to finance their trip. Fred Pennoyer (personal communication, 1984) observed a group of Ati herbal medicine vendors as they stayed for a month near Dinalupihan, Bataan, and even interacted with the Bataan Negritos. Travel was more difficult in prehistoric times, and perhaps more risky, given the warring nature of the Visayan tribes and marauding southern pirates. These were not overwhelming factors which would have prevented even inter-island communication between Negrito groups on Panay and Negros. Certainly the Ati were not stationary, isolated communities without contact with each other.

Travel may have been forced also, as groups moved in response to environmental conditions, such as drought or depletion of game. Migrations were reported by Salazar (1902) from Southern Antique Ati villages to resettlements on Negros. This, coupled with the seasonal work of Panay Negritos on sugarcane plantations on Negros, probably since the very start of the sugarcane hacienda system during Spanish times, has led to a great deal of recent times exchange between Negrito groups on the two islands. In fact, the sugarcane business greatly enhanced communication between Ati communities. Recruiters from large sugarcane operations traveled to far-flung Ati settlements handing out salary and travel advances to lure workers to Panay and Negros sugarcane fields. The resulting work camps brought the Ati together to live and labor together for extended periods of time. More than one informant talked about these work camps as if they were language refresher courses, an opportunity to learn where the best speakers now lived, and a chance to exchange dialect information. Another, an individual who knew some Sogodnin, said he learned that dialect while working in the sugarcane fields with an Ati from Northern Panay. These work camp situations were also opportunities to learn about potential Ati brides in other areas, thus facilitating Ati marriages and thereby contributing to the continuation of Inati as a household language.

Perhaps a third factor in the preservation of the language deals with the survival of the Ati themselves. The Ati seem to place value on large families and achieve that goal through adoption if necessary. Data collected from various Ati communities in 1983 reveal several cases of Ati who adopted Visayan children to increase their family size. These children learned Inati with their adopted family.

8.2 IMPLICATIONS FOR PHILIPPINE ETHNOHISTORY

The presence of a non-Bisayan language on Panay lends support to the legend that the Negritos were on the Island when the speakers of Bisayan languages arrived. Bisayan speakers met the Ati and both retained the distinctives of their separate languages. Much of Philippine history reinforces the image of the Negritos as driven and defeated tribes, always retreating to the unoccupied hinterlands, leaving the coasts to fierce brown-skinned peoples, eventually discarding their language and culture, and adopting their neighbors'. But this was not completely the case on Panay. According to many legends throughout the island, and attested to by both Bisayan and Inati oral history (see Monteclaro 1907 and Lagos 1968) the Ati yielded the island peacefully for a price. The Ati were never defeated militarily, neither were they a slave tribe to Bisayan masters. We can well imagine that they existed in pre-Spanish times in distinct communities on Panay in a variety of socio-economic niches, exploiting the readily available resources of the coast and lowlands. The plight of the Panay Ati today as urban sidewalk sleepers, vagabond herbal medicine sellers, and seasonal laborers in the sugar-cane industry is the result of centuries of contact with an increasingly industrialized society. An expanding lowland population eroded their traditional subsistence base by taking more and more of their land and destroying the precarious balance between man, animals, and plants.

In limited areas where they are engaged in upland slash and burn horticulture today, they have learned that system from lowland settlers who are experimenting themselves, or they developed it as a natural way to survive.

Inati survived the onslaught of Bisayan, Spanish, and English during at least six centuries, living in close proximity with speakers of these groups and engaging in social, economic, and religious activities involving these languages. It is a natural assumption that Inati survived six or more previous centuries when the Ati may have had the whole island to themselves. And, the assumption can be made that the Ati came to Panay speaking some form of their own language (Proto Inati), an assumption, on linguistic grounds, that one cannot easily make for many other Philippine Negrito groups. For example, Sambal is spoken by both the Aeta Negritos and the lowland Sambal in the province of Zambales on Luzon Island, leaving us to guess which group lost their language and adopted the others. Many would assume the Aeta Negritos lost their language and adopted Sambal. Fox (1953:185) notes that "under the impact of European civilization much of the indigenous Sambal culture has disappeared, but survived in modified form among the more isolated Pinatubo pygmies. We know even less about the Sambal than the Zambales Negritos." However, it is likely a dominant Sambal society disrupted the Aeta indigenous culture and language, causing language change and perhaps a wholesale adoption of the Sambal language.

This scenario did not finish the same way on Panay. Inati has survived as a distinct language. All other cultural traits that separate the Ati from the Bisayan tribes vanished. If we assume that Inati was spoken on nearby Negros Island and Panay (Semper (1869) and Meyer (1878), both noted a vanishing Negrito language on Negros and pleaded for someone to record it), it is quite possible that some Inati remained spoken on Negros into the 20th century; however, it is likely that these were merely transplanted Panay Inati speakers, moving to Negros to earn wages on sugar plantations (see Salazar 1902). From approximately 1900 on, communities of mixed Ati and Karay?a in Southern Antique, Panay, gradually switched to Kinaray?a. In Northern Antique, Sogodnin gave way to Malaynon, but Inete, the other dialect of Inati, remained strong in Iloilo Province communities withstanding the pressure of Hiligaynon and Kinaray?a.

8.3 INATI'S UNIQUENESS

Through a series of happenstances over the last one hundred years, Inati has remained a "hidden" language. In our discovery process we have uncovered it as a Philippine language that is separate from the other languages of Central Philippines. It is not a Bisayan language. This increases the credibility of the legends about the intrusion of outside chiefs and their peoples to Panay Island then occupied exclusively by Negritos. Bisayan speakers came and encountered Ati Negritos who were speaking their own language—Inati.

Questions remain about its ties with languages to the north and south, and perhaps further analysis will accentuate a possible relationship with some Philippine language group. It is unfortunate that Inati is beyond lexicostatistical solutions, and the data base may not allow us to draw any absolute conclusions beyond the fact that Inati is a Philippine language descended from some level of the Proto Philippine language tree.

No matter where it fits, its uniqueness demands special attention. Inati has a high number of lexical innovations, interesting selective retentions, an unusual reflex for the proto R phoneme (regardless of the phonological processes involved), a pronoun system with i- prefixes, a phrase marking system with two markers -- either *kay* or *o* (topic) and *ki* (non-topic), a phoneme inventory with a vowel rarely heard in Philippine languages (low, front unrounded, ä(e)), and others. We have been given a present with outstanding features and while it should have been opened in the first half of the 19th century, when the first plea to preserve it was made, we are fortunate that it has retained its uniqueness so we can enjoy unraveling it in the latter part of the 20th century.

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APPENDIX I
INATI 100 SWADESH LIST (MODIFIED)

English	Inati	Sogodnin 1 (Ilo-ilo)	Sogodnin 2 (Borakay)
1. all	tanan	tanan	tanan
2. ashes	abo	abo	abo
3. belly	katowan	katowan	bosong
4. big	bi? as	bi? as	mabahul
5. bird	pispis	pispis	pispis
6. bite	kadat	hamamo? ot	bobotan
7. black	itɨm	maatam	maatam, maitum
8. blood	dogo	dogo	dogo
9. body	lawas	lawas	lawas
10. bone	tolan	tol? an	tol? an
11. breast	soso, titi?	titi?	soso

12.	burn	paso? , sonog	sonog	sonod
13.	cloud	gal? im	gal? im	gal? um
14.	cold	maramig, mabognaw	maramig	maramig
15.	come	dirit, dasig	dirit	hindon
16.	die	patay, pati, pelos	pilos, pati	tigbak
17.	dog	tito, ayaw (pup)	ayam (pup)	ayam (dog)
18.	drink	omak	omak	i? inom
19.	dry	mara	mamara	oga
20.	ear	talinge?	talinge?	talinga
21.	earth	lugta		
22.	eat	hemengen, kain	hamangan	kakakan
23.	egg	tabon	tabon	tabon
24.	eye	mete, maslik	lisak	mata
25.	fat	metebe?	mataba?	matambok
26.	feather	bolbol ki pispis	balahibo	bolbol
27.	fingernail	koko ki todlo?	tinudyu?	koko
28.	fire	himpon	himpon	yimpon
29.	fish	isda?	isda?	isda?
30.	fly	lipad	lipad	lopad
31.	foot	bitis	tikad	bitis
32.	full	bosog, bota? , har? ip	busong	busong
33.	give	todol, ti? o	tudol, ti? o	ta? o
34.	good	manami? , maroyog	maruyog	mayad
35.	green (raw)	hilaw (raw),asol (green color)	asol (green color)	asol (green color)
36.	hair	bolbol	bolbol	bohok
37.	hand	palad, keremkem	keyemkem	alima
38.	head	olo	ulo	olo
39.	hear	bati? , kernged	kernged	bati?
40.	heart	tagiposo? on, kasingkasing	tagiposo? on	tagiposo? on
41.	horn	songay	sungay	songay
42.	I	ako	ak	ak
43.	kill	patya, patyin, pilosin, patihin	piloson	tigbak
44.	knee	tohod	tuhod	tohod
45.	know	merem, kama? an	miram, panday	ka? osoy
46.	leaf	dahon	dahon	dahon
47.	lie down	iding, hilayhilay	babatang	lobog
48.	liver	atay	atay	atay
49	long	magoroy, malabig	magoroy	mahaba?
50.	louse	koto, kosled, koled	uled	koto
51.	man-male	lalaki, amos, aliwas	lalaki, amus	lalaki
52.	many	doro, harosin ribo	ribo	doro
53.	meat	karni, kisig	karni	karni
54.	moon	bolan	bolan	bolan
55.	mountain	bokid	bukid	bokid

#	English			
56.	mouth	bege⁷	biba⁷ , baba⁷	baba⁷
57.	name	ngaran	ngaran	ngaran
58.	neck	li⁷ig	li⁷ad	li⁷og
59.	new	bag⁷o, bedo⁷	bido⁷ , bidyu	badyo
60.	night	kelep, siklip	kelep	kalap
61.	nose	orong	urong	orong
62.	not	tene, bakan	taan	taan
63.	one	⁷isa, te⁷ese	sambato	isang, isa
64.	person	tawo	tawo	tawo
65.	rain	da⁷it	odyen, udyan	odyan
66.	red	pola, pole⁷	pola	pula
67.	road/trail	ereden	iridan	dalan
68.	root	gamot, yemot	yemot	gamot, dalid
69.	round	matiporon, bilog	matiporon	matiporon
70.	sand	baras	baras	baras
71.	say/said	kene⁷ , ginkene⁷	ba⁷ag	kana
72.	see	kite⁷	kita⁷	kita⁷
73.	seed	liso, binhi, lamigas	liso	liso, bosol
74.	sit	gorang	gurang	gurang
75.	skin	panit	pant	panit
76.	sleep	kitorod	kitorod	torod
77.	small	maisot, magamay tanawa	esot, tanawa⁷	hanawa
78.	smoke	aso	aso	aso
79.	stand	tenos, tinos	tinos, li⁷ad	li⁷ad
80.	star	bito⁷on	bito⁷on	bitoon
81.	stone	bato	bato	bato
82.	sun	edlew	edlew	adlaw
83.	swim	langoy	langoy	langoy, sogbo
84.	tail	toban, ikog	toben, ikug	ikog
85.	this	tike, kiti, kito kitad	hitad	hitad
86.	that	kinad, nedte, nike, kini, kayin	inad	inad, ka⁷in
87.	thou	ike	ike, ke	ika
88.	tongue	dila⁷	dila⁷	dila⁷
89.	tooth	onto, erengkeb	onto	hipon, onto
90.	tree/wood	kayo	kayo	kayo
91.	two	derwe, doha	derwe	darwa
92.	walk	lakaw	gi⁷o	gi⁷o
93.	warm/hot	ma⁷init, laba⁷ab	ma⁷init	mainit
94.	water	sapa⁷ , ewed	ewed	awad
95.	we (excl.)	ikam, mam	ikam	ikam
96.	what	miya	miya	miya
97.	white	poti⁷	puti⁷	puti
98.	who	gino	gino	gino
99.	woman	babayi, binohat	bebete	babayi
100.	yellow	kalawag	kalawag	kalawag

APPENDIX II
INATI 100-FUNCTOR LIST

TOPIC PRONOUNS

001	first person singular	I	ako
002	second person singular	thou	ike
003	third person singular	he/she	iye
004	first person plural exclusive	we (not ye)	ikam
005	first person dual inclusive	thou and I	kite
006	first person plural inclusive	ye and I	kite (tanan)
007	second person plural	ye	ikim
008	third person plural	they	ire

OBLIQUE PRONOUNS

009	first person singular	my	hi⁹ an
010	second person singular	thy	kiyo
011	third person singular	his/hers	kiya
012	first person plural exclusive	ours (not yours)	yamin
013	first person dual inclusive	thine and mine	yatin
014	first person plural inclusive	yours and mine	yatin (tanan)
015	second person plural	yours	kimi
016	third person plural	their	karaye

DATIVE (REFERENT) PRONOUN

017	formative element for dative pronoun sets	kay/ki

DEMONSTRATIVE DEICTICS

018	this nearest speaker	toka
019	this near speaker	-i
020	that near addressee	kinad
021	that yonder	katangay, wayta

LOCATIVE DEICTICS

022	here nearest speaker	katiti
023	here near speaker and addressee	katini
024	there near addressee	katinad
025	yonder	katangay

VERBAL DEICTICS

026	come (to near speaker)	dasig, dirit
027	go (away from speaker)	maman, dogok se katangay

NEGATIVES

028	negative used with nominal constructions	bakan, baka't
029	negative existential/possessive	nalang, tene't
030	negative denoting past with verbs	nalang, tine
031	negative denoting future with verbs	dine
032	negative imperative; prohibitive	dine, awat

COMMON–NOUN MARKERS

033	general topic marker	kay
034	indefinite object marker	ki

035	definite object marker	kay
036	existential marker	may
037	locative marker	ki, may

PERSONAL–NAME MARKERS

038	topic singular	i
039	genitive singular	i
040	dative singular, as in, I gave it TO PEDRO.	ki
041	topic plural	di
042	genitive plural	daye, di
043	dative plural	kidi

DISCOURSE PARTICLES

044	particle which denotes inception or completion of action	ne
045	particle which denotes progression or incompletion of action	se
046	particle denoting the priority of one action over another, or otherwise used to soften a plea or command	? anay
047	particle used in giving excuses or reasons (apart from actual conjunctions)	abi, mong
048	particle which expresses ignorance of a matter	ngadin

CONJUNCTIONS

049	and	kag
050	if/when(ever)	kon
051	because	tingid, hay, hi

INTERROGATIVES

052	what?	miya
053	who?	gino
054	whose?	kigino
055	when? (in the future)	kan? o, san? o
056	when? (in the past)	kan? ose, san? ose
057	where, whence? (past)	ki? ara se
058	where, whither (future)	ki? ara ne
059	why?	amiyat, miya
060	how many?	pira, sang? ano
061	how much	tasang? ano, tagpira
062	how (of degree)	pa? ono

NUMBERS

063	one	? isa, te? ese
064	two	doha, derwe
065	three	tatlo
066	four	apat
067	six	anim
068	ten	polo? , napolo?

LOCATIONAL NOUNS

069	on top of		mawan
070	under		dalim
071	across		terped
072	left		wele?
073	right		to? o
074	within		silid

TEMPORALS

075	night		kelep
076	day (time)		adlawin
077	year		dag? on, to? ig
078	today		kokan
079	tomorrow		dogme
080	yesterday		kebegne
081	later on = in a little while		kar? on, dine lang, bohay
082	earlier = a while ago		kawni, nalang se lang abohay
083	morning		? aga
084	afternoon		hapon

VERB AFFIXES

085	active intransitive future	ig-
086	active transitive present or progressive	C_1V_1
087	active transitive present or progressive	ig-, nag-
088	active transitive past or completive	nag-
089	active transitive future	C_1V_1
090	active transitive perfective or abilitative	naka-
091	direct passive present or progressive	ig-, gin
092	direct passive past or completive	gin-
093	passive imperative	-a
094	passive negative imperative	pag--a
095	instrumental future	i-
096	instrumental command	i-, -an
097	instrumental potential	ig+ka, ma, i-
098	instrumental potential perfective	na-
099	local imperative	-i
100	local negative imperative	pa-, -i

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APPENDIX III
HUNTING LIZARDS IN KABANO?
A STORY BY MARIANO ELOSENDO OF GUIMARAS ISLAND

</div>

1. | Baw, | kebegne | nangayam | ikim | ki | Kabano? |
    |---|---|---|---|---|---|
    | expression | yesterday | prefix+base | we | marker | Kabano |

    Well, yesterday, we were hunting in Kabano.

2. | pang | na?abotan | | ikam | ki | da?it |
    |---|---|---|---|---|---|
    | but | prefix+base+suffix | | we | marker | rain. |

    but, we were reached by rain.

3. | Tine | gid | ikam | it | b∔?∔l. |
    |---|---|---|---|---|
    | negative | emphatic | we | marker | game. |

We really didn't have any game.

4. Man   miya   kay   yamin   hanimo?
   Imagine   what   topic marker   our   prefix+base

   Think of what we did.

5. Nanapas   ikam   ki   dahon   ki   saging
   prefix+base   we   marker leaf   marker   banana

   We were cutting banana leaves (for cover)

6. hi   igda?it
   because   prefix+base

   because it was raining.

7. Wawa,   nanarang   ikam hi   maramig
   expression   prefix+base   we   because   cold

   Well, we were warming by the fire because it was cold.

8. ti,   hi,   tine   ikam   it   darapli?
   expression   because   negative   we   marker   side dish (-ar-, plural)

   Then, because we didn't have many side dishes (to eat)

9. miya   kay   hinimo?   ko
   what   topic marker   base+infix   I

   what could I do?

10. Kene?   ko   ki   tamaanak,   nge?   ako:
    verb   I   marker   children (-ma-, plural)   verb   I

    I said to the children, I said,

11. "Pangewkew   kite."
    prefix+base   we

    "Let's catch fish."

12. Piro   igbaha?
    but   prefix+base

    But it flooded.

13. Ay   nakakite   ikam   ki   sambilog   pantat.
    expression prefix+base   we   marker   one   catfish

    Oh, we found a single catfish.

14. Wayte   kay   linagpang   mam.
    that thing   marker   base+infix   we

    We made it a roasted fish-red peppers-salt side dish

15. pito   ka   bilog   ini   katombal.
    seven   marker   pieces   ligature   red peppers

    (of) seven red peppers.

16. Tomaka·   ikam   tanan.
    base+infix   we   all

    We got tired of it all.

17. Baw,   kine   ako   ti:
    expression verb   I   expression

    Well, I said then (to myself)

18. "Onhin   mo   kayto? "
    question   you   this (situation)

    "What are you going to do about this?"

19. Tene   te?t   bɨ?ɨl."
    Negative   we+marker   game

    "We have no game."

20. Baw,   kene,   pagka?aga.   hi   naghoraw,
    expression   verb   suffix+base   because   prefix+base

    Well, (I) said when it was morning, because the rain stopped

21. Kene   ko: "Nangayam   ikam."
    verb   I   "We were hunting."

22. Balik   oman   katayi   ki   yamin   hinalinan
    verb   again   here   marker   our   base+infix+suffix

    ("Let's) go back again here to our previous (hunting) place."

23. Abaw,   kay   itok   igdarapa.
    expression   marker   lizards   prefix+base+plural infix

    Well, the lizards were on top (of the branches).

24. May   igtaboli,   may   igsaka?
    existential   prefix+base   existential   prefix+base.

    There were some descending upside down, and some climbing up.

25. Waw, baw   kon   diboynasin   ikam,
    expressions   if   prefix-base-suffix   we

    Well, if we were lucky,

26. Waw, baw,   nanowangtowang   kay   tamaanak   ko,
    expressions   prefix+base+redup   topic marker   children   my

    Well, well, my children would have been carrying (them) dangling from poles

27. Ogaring   tagsang-otod   lang   kay   dara   mam
    actually   prefix+one+half   only   topic marker   verb   we

    In reality, we only carried out one-half (of the lizards).

28. Waw,   onhin   mo   kayni,
    expression   question   you   this

    Well, what are you going to do about this

29. kay   boynas   orihi   gine?
    marker   luck   previous   too

    latest good fortune, too?

30. Omome?   ki   sapiw,
    prefix+base   marker   house

    (When we) arrived at the house,

31. Poros   ponok   kay   yamin   nadara
    all, entire lot   backbone   marker   we   prefix+base

    our cargo were all backbones.

32. Ay   nike   kay   igkin?in   ko   bala
    expression that   marker   prefix+base+suffix   I   emphatic

    Oh, that's what I'm really saying,

33. | Kay | tamaanak | igpangwaslikin | ko. |
|---|---|---|---|
| marker | children | prefixes+base+suffix | I |

I shoved and pushed the children away.

34. | Onhin | mo | kayni | ig?aba |
|---|---|---|---|
| question | to you | this | prefix+base |

What are you going to do about this (you're) carrying on (your) back like a baby?

35. | A | salamat | gid | nonoy, |
|---|---|---|---|
| pause particle | thank | emphatic | boy |

Thanks a lot.

36. | tike | kay | yamin | nakitan |
|---|---|---|---|
| this | marker | our | prefix+base+suffix |

This is our catch,

37 | tagsampihak | ponok |
|---|---|
| prefix+one+piece | backbone |

one-half of a (lizard's) backbone.

APPENDIX IV
INTERVIEW WITH BASELIO ELOSENDO,
AN INETE SPEAKER RESIDING IN COGON, MALAY

". . . . Kay karaye, kon may ig?atobangin ire nga iba ini mga nasyon, . . . igka?oye, ire maghambal . . . kon dine lang ire mag?kaoye, maporotan te ire it bisara nga Sinogodnin. . ."

"Kay karaye, may magpamiyokat: 'Ki?ara ike atobang?' Piro kay sabat ye kini: 'Wangay ki morik?' Ki yatin: 'Wayte.' Ti, baw, masyado ka mesned gid . . . . kon pinsarin mo, piro kon maistodyohan mo . . . kay kayin ini ma bisara ti, makakernged gina kite i . . . piro kay kereye bisara katiti in?ota ne iye, bakan ne, bakan ne it Inete nga parihas ki yatin. Kay kereye linguahi katito nga Sogodnin . . .

". . . . Ki katiti may lakit kato ini Tagalog, kay karaye bisara katito ini ma logar ini ma ete ki Malaynin iti . . . ."

Free translation:

"Them, when someone from another country meets them, they are ashamed to speak. If only they weren't ashamed, they could get (their) Sinogodnin words.

'Them, someone asks a question: 'Where are you going?' But they answer that: 'There (wangay) upstream.' In ours: 'There (wayte).' Oh, well, that's really far apart. If you think about it, but if you study it, those words, we can understand (them). But the language here has already been foreignized; it's not the same. It's not the same as our Inati. Their Sogodnin language here . . . .

"Here, (there is) mixed in here Tagalog; their language here in this place among these Ati is Malaynin."

APPENDIX V
SOGODNIN TEXTS

1. **By Tay** Husto of Cogon, Malay, "Searching for Food and Work"

   a. Hay, ara kim mana poponta?
      Hey, where are you going?

b. Wadta, mana kam ki mawan, hay parangitan kam mana it panol?on.
There, we're going up to get vegetables.

c. Hindon, mana igparanagat kita.
Come, let's go fishing.

d. Kadto man ki pongtod, hay wadto tagparanolig.
Let's go to the island so that we can catch *solig* fish there.

e. Hindon, hay tatabok ta.
Come, let's cross over.

f. Kadto man ki Borakay hi parangitan ta it tinoyo.
Let's go to Borakay (island) so that we can get some *toyo*.

g. Wadto mana ki Hambil doro man og ma?is.
There on Hambil (island) (there's) a lot of corn.

h. Trak mana o yamin sakyan, padongaw mana kadto ki Negros.
A truck (will be) our ride, (then, let's) go over to go to Negros.

i. Yaming obra tobo
Our work -- sugarcane

j. Karga ki bagon
Loaded on railroad cars

k. Suildohan kami it yaming amo, inadlaw
We're paid wages by our boss, daily.

2. By Mrs Baselio Elosendo of Cogon, Malay, "Questions Grandma Used to Ask"

a. Hay kiara ka halin?
Where have you been?

b. O miya ikang ig-inhan?
What did you do there?

c. O miya ikaw igbonyitan?
What did you catch by hook?

d. O?oli ak na ki bali, maano?
I'm returning home, now, alright?

3. By Baselio Elosendo, of Cogon, Malay (formerly of Nagpana, an Inete speaker) "Going to the Mountains"

a Hindon, gigi?ota.
Come, let's go.

b. Ara poponta kita?
Where shall we go?

c. Wayni ki dakad ki bokid.
There on top of the mountain.

d. O?ono kita ki bokid?
What will we do on the mountain?

e. Papangtita? kita it manga pagkakan.
We'll get some food.

f. Makakali ta it manga bohayan.
We can dig some wild yams.

g. Makawa?kawa? kangay ki yatin agigi?ohan.
It's really very far, there, our journey.

h. May poporotan kangay ki kalasan.
There is (something) we can get there in the forest.

i. Manga onga ki bali hay igkagotam na.
The children at home, (they) are hungry now.

j. Hindon mana maoli ron kita.
Come, let's return there.

4. By Duardo Supitran of Borakay, "Shopping in Katiklan"
Hindon papanindahan ta, kadto ki Katiklan
Come, let's go shopping, let's go to Katiklan
hi babakal ta it kon ano.
so that we can buy whatever.

5. By Duardo Suptran of Borakay, "Miscellaneous Sentences"
   a. Porot mana kangay it yimpon.
      Fetch the fire.
   b. Hindon na mana kakan kita.
      Come now, let's eat.
   c. Hogasi kangay yong bagol.
      Wash the plates.
   d. O⁷oro ak daad mana basi kangay song ki kalasan.
      I'll defecate (optative) perhaps there in the forest.
   e. Dodma gig⁷o kita man hay may igpa⁷obra kangay to ki ma ota.
      Tomorrow let's go and hire out to the non-Ati.

6. By Mikilio of Nagpana, excerpts from "A Real Life Story"
   a. Gi⁷o kita, hahamangan kita it bidyo.
      Let's go, let's eat new rice.
   b. Hapon na wayto, gani makawa⁷ na.
      It's already afternoon, it's really far.
   c. Nahidlaw gid ak.
      I really crave (it).
   d. Hidlaw ak og karni.
      I crave meat.
   e. Pitra, sang⁷ano rong bigas kat⁷in?
      Pitra, how much rice is there?
   f. Pira bala kay bugas katyin?
      How much rice is there?
   g. Gotam nang yakan ma apo.
      My grandchildren are hungry.
   h. Hamangan kim, baw, kaan mama ta kopo.
      You (all) eat, wow, my grandchildren.
   i. Sakit ne hi⁷an towan.
      My stomach hurts.
   j. Ihaw kim it manok.
      Let's roast chicken.
   k. Obosa se it hakid o homay.
      Finish it! The servings of cooked rice.
   l. Dodongaw ikim katito⁷ ki yakan.
      You look down from above here to me.
   m. O tatlo ka salmon
      The three cans of salmon

APPENDIX VI
KAY/KI PARADIGM

1. Kay tawo 'The Man'
   a. Kay tawo igpangayam ki itok
      The man hunts lizards
   b. Kay tawo igpangayam ki itok ki bokid
      The man hunts lizards in the mountains
   c. Kay tawo kay igpangayam ki itok ki bokid
      It is the man who hunts lizards in the mountains
   d. Kay tawo ini may tonod igpangayam ki mama itok ki bokid ini may bangkaw
      The man with the (bow and) arrow hunts lizards in the mountains with a
      spear
   e. Nakite ko kay tawo ini igpangayam ki itok
      I saw a man who hunts lizards
   f. Kay tawo ini may tonod nakite i Pedro ini igpangayam ki mama itok ki bokid
      ini may bangkaw

The man with the (bow and) arrow was seen by Pedro hunting lizards in the mountains with a spear

g. Kay tawo manogpangayam ki itok
The man is a hunter of lizards
The man is a lizard hunter

h. Kaynad ini tawo sangka mangangayam
That man is a hunter

i. Kay tawo o?osar ki tonod ki pagpangayam ki itok ki bokid
The man will use a (bow and) arrow to hunt lizards in the mountains

j. Ki tonod ye, kaynad ini tawo nakatiro ki lima ka itok ki may bokid
With his (bow and) arrow, that man shot five lizards in the mountains with a (bow and) arrow

k. Dios kay igtipig ki tawo, samtang igpangayam iye ki itok ki bokid ini may tonod
God protects the man while he hunts lizards in the mountains with a (bow and) arrow

2. Kay itok 'The Lizard'
   a. Kay itok ginpangayam ki tawo
   The lizard was hunted by the man

   b. Itok kay igpangayamin ki tawo ki tonod ki bokid
   Lizards are hunted by the man with a (bow and) arrow in the mountains

   c. Kay itok ki bokid ginpangayam ki tawo ini may tonod
   The lizard in the mountains was hunted by the man with a (bow and) arrow

   d. Kaynad ini itok gintiro kinad ini tawo ki tonod ki may bokid
   That lizard was shot by that man with a (bow and) arrow in the mountains

   e. Ki may bokid gintiro kinad ini tawo kay lima ka itok
   In the mountains were shot by that man five lizards

   f. Itok kay tinodol i Pedro ki tawo
   (It was) lizard that Pedro gave to the man

3. Kay tonod 'The (Bow and) Arrow'
   a. Kay tonod lang kay hinganiban ki tawo ki pagpangayam ki itok ki may silid ki bokid
   The arrow is the only weapon the man hunts lizards with in the interior of the mountains (inside the forest)

   b. Kay tonod nalang pag?i?osar ki tawo ki pagpangayam ki itok ki bokid
   The arrow is not used by the man to hunt lizards in the mountains

4. Kay bokid 'The Mountains'
   Kayti ini mama bokid parangayaman ini logar ki itok ki tawo ini may tonod
   Those mountains are the hunting place for lizards for the man with a (bow and) arrow

5. Kay Questions
   a. Miya kay igkan?in ki tawo?
   What is that man eating?

   b. Miya kay igkan?in ki itok, sangka ayam?
   What ate the lizard, a dog?

   c. Miya kay logar ini igkan?an kinad ini tawo?
   What is the eating place of that man?

   d. Ki?ara kay itok ye kinad ini tawo?
   Where is the man's lizard? (Where is his lizard, the man's!)

6. Ki Commands
   a. Pangayami se ako ki itok
   Hunt me a lizard (now)

   b. Magpangayam ike ki itok
   You will hunt lizards

    c.   Ki may bokid ike magpangayam ki itok ini may bangkaw
            In the mountains you will hunt lizards with a spear

    d.   Dine se magpangayam ki itok
            Don't hunt lizards!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS