GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF DUMAGAT (CASIGURAN)

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1. LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION OF CASIGURAN DUMAGAT

In addition to Casiguran Dumagat there are two other mutually intelligible dialects to the north of Casiguran: the dialect spoken by some one thousand Palanan Negritos, and Paranan, the dialect of about six thousand non-Negrito Filipinos living in Palanan, Isabela. These two dialects are mutually intelligble with each other and with Casiguran Dumagat. Other Negrito, or Dumagat, languages are mutually unintelligible with Casiguran Dumagat (for example, Baler, Dingalan (Umirey), northern Isabela, Cagayan, etc.).

This language, with its three dialects, forms part of a chain of nine closely related languages and dialects which runs down the eastern side of Luzon from the northern tip almost as far south as Baler, Quezon. The percentages of cognates shared by these dialects and languages are presented in Table 1, and are based upon the word lists and counts of Headland and Mayfield (1965). It is noteworthy that two of these nine dialects, namely Kasiguranin and Paranan, are spoken by non-Negrito groups.

This chain of languages and dialects seems to constitute a distinct subdivision within the languages of Luzon, and perhaps one of the eleven or twelve major subdivisions of the languages of the Philippines (Dyen 1965a:30). In Table 2 are presented some comparisons between Casiguran Dumagat and other better known languages of Luzon. The cognate percentages here are based on word lists and counts in Headland and Mayfield (1965) and in Reid (1971).

Most of these cognate counts were made from a basic word list of 372 words, titled the "1966 Expanded Philippine Word List". This is the standard list presently used by the Summer Institute of Linguistics for linguistic surveys in the Philippines. (See Reid 1971:viii, for a description of this list and its contents.)

When any two dialects were being compared, a pair of words were considered to be cognate if they had two differences or less, or if it could be readily seen that they both came originally from the same Proto-Malayo-Polynesian word by regular sound shifts.
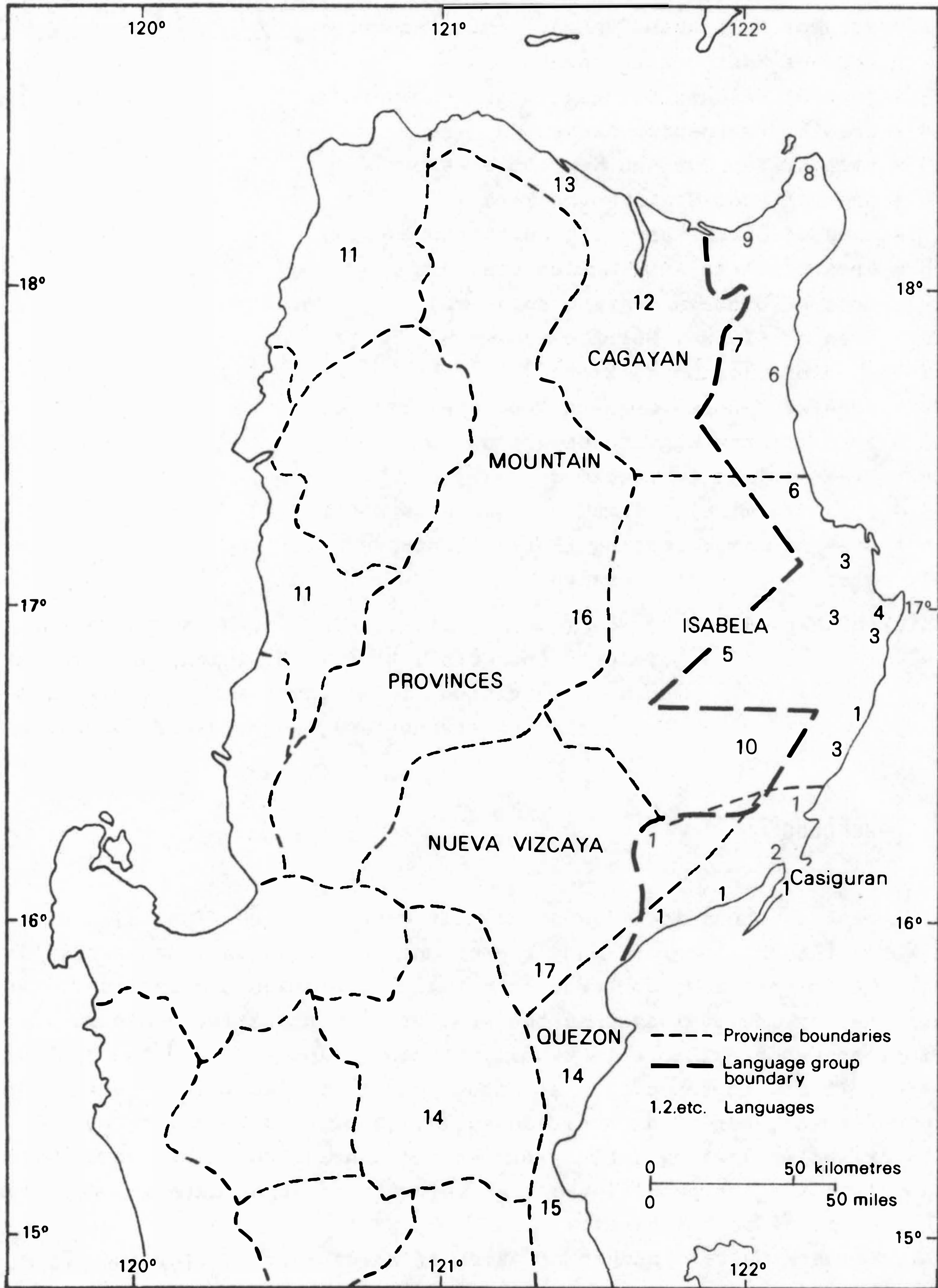
TABLE 1

A SUB-DIVISION OF NINE LUZON LANGUAGES
AND THEIR COGNATE RELATIONSHIPS

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1.  Casiguran Dumagat (Negrito)
                            77
                               88
2.  Kasiguranin
                            71     81
                               79     81
3.  Palanan Dumagat (Negrito)
                            84       73
                               93  60     63
4.  Paranan
                               75     54
                            73     67
5.  San Mariano Negrito
                            76     65
6.  Roso Negrito
                            87
7.  Santa Margarito Negrito
                            82
                               81
8.  Santa Ana Negrito
                            78
9.  Gonzaga Negrito
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TABLE 2

COGNATE COMPARISONS BETWEEN CASIGURAN DUMAGAT
AND SOME BETTER KNOWN LANGUAGES OF LUZON

Casiguran Dumagat – Dicamay Negrito	60%
Casiguran Dumagat – Ilocano	40%
Casiguran Dumagat – Central Cagayan Agta (Negrito)	39%
Casiguran Dumagat – Atta Negrito	38%
Casiguran Dumagat – Tagalog	38%
Casiguran Dumagat – Umirey (Dingalan) Dumagat (Negrito)	36%
Casiguran Dumagat – Pagan Gaddang (Butigui)	34%
Casiguran Dumagat – Ilongot	25%

MAP OF NORTHERN AND CENTRAL LUZON

Province boundaries

Language group boundary

1.2.etc. Languages

0   50 kilometres

0   50 miles

CODE TO MAP

 1 = area of Casiguran Dumagat (Agta) speakers
 2 = area of Kasiguranin speakers
 3 = area of Palanan Dumagat (Agta) speakers
 4 = area of Paranan speakers
 5 = area of San Mariano Negrito speakers
 6 = area of Roso Negrito speakers
 7 = area of Santa Margarita Negrito speakers
 8 = area of Santa Ana Negrito speakers
 9 = area of Ganzaga Negrito speakers
10 = area of Dicamay Negrito speakers
11 = area of Ilocano speakers
12 = area of Central Cagayan Agta speakers
13 = area of Atta Negrito speakers
14 = area of Tagalog speakers
15 = area of Umirey (Dingalan) Dumagat speakers
16 = area of Pagan Gaddang (Butigui) speakers
17 = area of Ilongot speakers

thick broken line = boundary of a chain of nine known languages and
                    dialects (numbers 1 through 9) which together make
                    up a sub-division of languages within the Malayo-
                    Polynesian (Austronesian) languages of Luzon.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 ACCENT

Accent is phonemic. Accent usually occurs on the final syllable of a word, though there are many exceptions to this trend, especially in words that have been borrowed from Tagalog, Spanish and English*. An accented syllable always has the peak of the intonation contour. A final accented syllable is usually stressed (loudest) and the syllable before it is shortened. An accented penult is always lengthened. In this section, non-final accented syllables are marked by the symbol (') preceding that syllable. Except for a small number of words with accent on the antepenult, the vast majority of words have accent either on the ultima or the penult.

There are quite a number of pairs of words which differ only by accent.

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*Examples can be found in Headland, Thomas N. and Janet D., *Casiguran Dumagat Dictionary* (*Pacific Linguistics*, Series C.28).

anak	*child*
'anak	*children*
bala	*type of basket*
'bala	*bullet*
sulat	*lime container*
'sulat	*letter*
sida	*viand*
'sida	*broken*
dulong	*base of a tree*
'dulong	*bow of a boat*
ganéb	*thud*
'ganéb	*door*
salinan ko	*I will pass by.*
sa'lInan ko	*I will change it.*
mégtabasék	*I am cutting grass.*
még'tabasék	*I am cutting cloth.*
mégtamo kame ta éya	*We are rebuilding the fire there.*
még'tamo kame ta éya	*We are going there.*

It is noteworthy that all of the instances of word pairs differing by accent have only a single consonant between the ultima and penult. Words which have a consonant cluster between the ultima and penult do not seem to show a contrast in the placement of accent. Words of the pattern CVCCV (with final glottal stop) invariably have accent on the penult. Words of the pattern CVCCVC are pronounced in everyday speech sometimes with an accented ultima and sometimes with an accented penult, and both of these by the same person.

2.2 CONSONANTS

The consonant phonemes of Casiguran Dumagat are: p, t, k, b, d, g, s, h, m, n, ng, l, r, w, y, and glottal stop. Most of the consonant symbols have their usual phonetic value. The diagraph ng represents the velar nasal, and r is an alveolar flap.

Stops are unaspirated. Glottal stop is not symbolized, except in the few instances where it occurs following a consonant, where it is then represented by a hyphen. Since no utterance initial or final vowels occur, a word such as aso *dog*, is to be read as beginning and ending with a glottal stop. Similarly, since no vowel clusters occur,

words written with two vowels together (e.g. **taon** *year*) are to be read
as having a glottal stop between the vowels.

2.3 *VOWELS*

There are eight vowel phonemes in Casiguran Dumagat. These are
a, e, ë, é, i, o, ö, u. a is low central, e is mid close front, ë is
mid open front, é is mid close central (the Philippine **pepet** vowel),
i is high front, o is mid close back, ö is mid open back, and u is high
back, as shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3. PHONETIC QUALITY OF VOWEL PHONEMES

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid close	e	é	o
open	ë		ö
low		a	

Casiguran Dumagat is the only Philippine language to date that has
been found to have eight vowels. Three Philippine languages show seven
vowels (Bilaan, T'boli or Tagabili, and Balangao of eastern Bontoc).
A few languages show six vowels (e.g. Ifugao, Central Cagayan Agta,
etc.). Most of the languages show four or five vowel systems. Since
it has been considered extremely doubtful that a Philippine language
could have eight vowels, we have felt it fitting to list here sets of
several minimal pairs of vowel contrasting words, in order to demon-
strate that there are in fact eight vowels in Casiguran Dumagat. This
section concludes with a suggestion as to how the eight vowels might
have developed from a (Philippine) proto-language four vowel system.

Several pairs of vowels were suspect as being allophones of one
phoneme. However, the following pairs of contrasting words show that
the eight vowels are in fact all separate phonemes.

i AND e

még'dingding   *to make a wall*
még'dengdeng   *to warm oneself by a fire*

a'gege   *cloth used to make fire by friction*
a'gegi   *to scorn a lover*

ti 'Déngdéng	a woman's name, with particle
te 'dingding	*There is a wall.*
de	personal plural noun-marking particle
di	nonpersonal plural noun-marking particle

i AND ë

mali	*mistake*
'malë	*a long time*
pati	*also*
patë	*death*

i AND é

Oping	a woman's name
opéng	*type of evil spirit*
mégibut	*to throw away*
mégébut	*to make a hole*
'dingding	*wall*
'Déngdéng	a woman's name
méglinis	*to clean*
méglinés	*to be moving*

e AND ë

sélpet	*to clamp*
sélpët	*fiery minivet (type of bird)*
még'nesnes	*to whimper*
még'nësnës	*to wipe off*
diget	*ocean*
digët	*to sew*
séme	*chin*
sémë	*to bounce up and down*

e AND é

agel	*scream of an evil spirit*
agél	*caryota palm*
mégules	*to cut hair*
mégulés	*to cover with a blanket*
singet	*arrow notch*
singét	*bee sting*

'keskes	*to scale fish*
'késkés	*a woman's belt*

ë AND é

ngahitingët	*sound of a spliting tree*
ngahitingét	*sound of grinding teeth*
lukët	*armpit*
bukét	*mouse*

u AND ö

Haduy	*a man's name*
hadöy	*spoiled roots*
bigu	*new*
bigö	*Miscanthus sinensis (grass)*
'gulgul	*to sharpen an arrowhead*
'gölgöl	*for a dog to yelp*
ulitö	*unmarried man*
'ölitö	*unmarried men*

u AND é

busog	*hunting bow*
bésog	*full from eating*
'gulgul	*to sharpen an arrowhead*
'gélgél	*to slice meat*
'bilug	*round*
bilég	*deer prints*
kédut	*knife*
kédét	*thick brush*

o AND ö

lango	*drunk*
langö	*fly*
siko	*elbow*
sikö	*you*
'dipos	*stern*
dipös	*last born chi*
'togtog	*to tap out a rhythm*
'töktök	*to peck*

o AND u

tu	topic noun-marking particle
to	oblique noun-marking particle
'tugtug	*type of bird*
'togtog	*to tap out a rhythm*
talon	*forest*
talung	*egg plant*

o AND é

ipés	*cockroach*
ipos	*tail*
kuyong	*stomach*
kuyéng	*rat*
mégsingot	*to sniff*
mégsingét	*to sting*

ö AND a

lébök	*dent*
lébak	*ravine*
'töktök	*to peck*
'taktak	*lizard*
mégtakö	*to steal*
mégtaka	*to be amazed*
délö	*to hit the mark*
dila	*tongue*

ö AND é

'gölgöl	*yelp of a dog*
'gelgél	*to slice meat*
kéyög	*hunchbacked*
kuyéng	*rat*

a AND é

mag-	verbal prefix, future tense
még-	verbal prefix, present tense
sabeng	*mouth of a river*
sébeng	*footprints*

sibat	*spear*
sibét	*strong*
melawa	*wide*
meléwa	*tears*

Several multiple contrasts occur, and these are listed for assistance in seeing the phonemic status of these vowels.

mali	*mistake*
'male	*a type of fruit*
'malë	*a long time*
'gölgöl	*howl of a dog*
'gulgul	*to file an arrowhead*
'gélgél	*to slice meat*
'mésmés	*to jerk by the neck*
'nesnes	*whine of a dog*
'nësnës	*to wipe off*
'dingding	*wall*
'dengdeng	*to warm oneself by a fire*
'Déngdéng	*a woman's name*
'tegpas	*to chop*
'tugtug	*type of bird*
'togtog	*to tap out a rhythm*
alës	*type of wildcat*
ulés	*blanket*
ules	*to cut hair*
ulas	*to make a fire by friction*
'tiktik	*to stick into the ground*
'tëktëk	*to shake the contents out of a bottle*
'tékték	*dripping of water*
'taktak	*lizard*
'töktök	*to peck*
'toktok	*mountain peak*
'tugtug	*type of bird*
'togtog	*to tap out a rhythm*

2.4 *HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF EIGHT VOWELS* (by Alan Healey)

Since Casiguran Dumagat is so far unique among Philippine languages
in having eight distinctive vowels, it is of interest to enquire how
these vowels developed from the four vowel phonemes of the original
language of the Philippines.[1] Because it appears that Casiguran Dumagat
has borrowed a large number of words from Tagalog, any Dumagat word
has been excluded from consideration if it is identical to the Tagalog
word or differs from it only by the loss of h or by the substitution
in the final syllable of e for i or of o for u.

The vocabulary of the Proto-Philippine language has not yet been
reconstructed in detail, and the words used below are somewhat tenta-
tive in form. They are marked with a double star. Most of them have
been especially reconstructed by the author for the present purpose,
mainly on the basis of Reid (1971) and Surian ng Wikang Pambansa
(1971). A few Proto-Philippine reconstructions are taken from Conant
(1913) and unpublished work by Charles and Zorc. The single starred
words listed below are reconstructions from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian,
in Dyen's (1965a) sense of that name. They are taken from Dempwolff
(1938), Dyen (1953, 1965b), and Blust (1971) and are cited in Dyen's
(1953) orthography. These well-known, published reconstructions have
been used in preference to the more tentative Proto-Philippine ones
whenever the two appear to be identical, or to differ only by a well-
known consonant shift or merger.

The statements made below do not apply to reduplicated monosyllables
except when they are explicitly mentioned.

2.4.1 The Casiguran Dumagat phoneme ö developed in the following three circumstances:

(a) In Proto-Philippine reduplicated monosyllables *u became Dumagat
ö in both syllables.

*kutkut	kötköt	*dig a hole*
*TukTuk	töktök	*knock, peck*

(b) The Proto-Philippine disyllabic sequence *au reduced to Dumagat ö.

*laud *open sea*	dilöd	*downriver*
**(u)litau	ulitö	*single young man*

(c) The Proto-Philippine word-final sequence *aw reduced to Dumagat ö
in eight instances.

*laNaw	langö	*a fly*
*qañjaw	aldö	*day*
**(D)ayaw	déyö	*praise*

**kalaw	kalö	*hornbill (bird)*
**Nayaw	ngayö	*raid*
**takaw (< *(t)a(n)kaw)	takö	*steal*
**sa(m)paw	tapö	*waterfall*
**bukjaw	bukhö	*throat, neck*

Word final *aw became Dumagat aw in three instances.

*pakaw	pakaw	*handle*
**tanqaw	tan-aw	*see at a distance*
**esNaw (< **seNaw)	ésngaw	*steam, vapor*

No contextual factor has been discovered which determines whether ö or aw is developed in such final syllables.

In two instances when final *aw was preceded by a voiced consonant in Dumagat, *aw became ew in Dumagat.

*qañjaw	aldew, aldö	*day*
** agaw *snatch*	agew	*hurry*

2.4.2 The Casiguran Dumagat phoneme ë developed in the following four circumstances:

(a) In Proto-Philippine reduplicated monosyllables *i became Dumagat ë in both syllables.

*bitbit *hold with fingers*	bëtbët	*carry by hand*
**nisnis	nësnës	*to wipe off*

(b) The Proto-Philippine disyllabic sequences *ai, *aqi, and *aha reduced to Dumagat ë.

*kain	kën	*woman's wrap-around skirt*
**mai	më	verbal or adjectival prefix
**zaRaqit (< *zaqit)	digët	*sew, patch*
*bahaR	bëg	*loincloth, G-string*

One exception to this statement has been noted:

**etaqi (< *taqi)	'etay	*feces*

(c) The Proto-Philippine word-final sequences *ay and *ey reduced to Dumagat ë in seven instances.

*anay	anë	*termite*
**aNay	angë	*go, come*
*balay	bilë	*house*
*piray *rheumatism*	pilë	*crippled*
*matey	matë	*die*
*patey *kill*	patë	*dead*
**qaRtey (< *qatey)	agtë	*liver*

In four instances *ay and *ey became Dumagat ay.

*wasay	wasay	*axe*
**baybay	baybay	*beach, sand*
**kijay	kihay	*eyebrow*
*pajey	pahay	*unhusked rice*

No contextual factor has been discovered which determines whether ë or ay is developed in such final syllable.

(d) In two instances where Dumagat e would have been expected to develop, ë developed instead.

*isa (and *esa)	ësa	*one*
*siDah	sidë	*they*

2.4.3 The Casiguran Dumagat phoneme o developed in the following three circumstances:

(a) In a final syllable *u became Dumagat o if the preceding consonant is not a voiced stop in Dumagat.

*besuR	bésog	*satiated*
*sesuN	lésong	*(rice) mortar*
*telu	étélo	*three*
**qasuk (< *qasu(h))	asok	*smoke*
*apuy	apoy	*fire*
*kayu (or *kahiw)	kayo	*tree*
*laNuy	nangoy	*swim*
*balu(h)	bilo	*widow*
**bayu	biyo	*to pound (rice)*
*batu	bito	*stone*
*Danum	dinom	*water*
**Ramut	gimot	*root*
**tilu(h) (< *tuli(h))	tilo	*earwax*

(b) In an initial syllable that is accented in Dumagat, *u became o in three instances.

*tu(n)Zuq	'toldu	*finger*
**uRsa (< *Rusa)	'ogsa	*deer*
*(h)u(n)taq	'ota	*vomit*

In an initial accented syllable *u became u in four instances.

**buliq	'bule	*buttocks*
*quma(h)	'uma	*farm*
**luRtaq, **lutaq	'luta	*ground*
**mula	'mula	*to plant*

No contextual factor has been discovered which determines whether o or u is developed in initial accented syllables.

(c) In disyllabic words in Proto-Philippine, the sequences *uqe and *ahu reduced to monosyllabic Dumagat o.

*bituqen	biton	*star*
**tuqed (< *(tT)uhu(dj))	tod	*knee*
*Dahun	don	*leaf*

2.4.4 The Casiguran Dumagat phoneme e developed in the following four circumstances:

(a) In a final syllable *i became Dumagat e if the preceding consonant is not a voiced stop in Dumagat.

*taNis	sanget	*cry, weep*
**Nisit	ngitet	*black*
*kulit	kulet	*skin*
*buli()	'bule	*buttocks*

One exception to this statement has been observed:

**tamqis (< *(t)amis)	tam-is	*sweet*

(b) In an initial syllable that is accented in Dumagat, *i became e in the only instance.

**qisbu (and **siqbu)	'esbu	*urine*

(c) In disyllabic words in Proto-Philippine, the sequences *iqe, *aqi, *ahi and *ei reduced to monosyllabic Dumagat e.

*liqeR	leg	*neck*
**taRaqinep	tagenép	*dream*
**unahik (< *nahik)	unek	*climb*
**uDahik	udek	*go upstream*
*bebei	bébe	*woman*

(d) In a final syllable *a became Dumagat e if the preceding consonant is a voiced stop in Dumagat (cf. section 3.6).

*beras	béges	*husked rice*
*tuba(h)	tube, tubi	*fish poison*
*quZan	uden	*rain*
*quRas	uges	*wash hands*
**tabaq (< *(t)abe(q))	tabe	*fat*
*kaRat	kaget	*bite*
*laja(h)	lade	*weave mat*
*maja(h)	made	*dry*
**baRat	biget	*banana*
**dadag	dideg	*red*

*daRat *surface*	diget	*sea*
*(dD)aRaq	dige	*blood*
*qañjaw	aldew	*day*
**agaw *snatch*	agew	*hurry*

Two exceptions to this statement have been observed:

*quDaN	udang	*shrimp*
*siDah	sidë	*they*

2.4.5 The Casiguran Dumagat phoneme u developed in the following four circumstances:

(a) The Proto-Philippine bisyllabic sequence *uhe became Dumagat u (cf. 2.4.3(c)).

**buhek (< *buhek, *buhuk)	buk	*hair*

(b) In a final syllable *u became Dumagat u if the preceding consonant is a voiced stop in Dumagat (cf. 2.4.3(a)).

**baqRu(h) (< *baqeRu(h))	bigu	*new*
*zaRum	digum	*needle*
*DIRus	digus	*bathe*
*tiDuR	tidug	*sleep*
*si(r)uN *dark*	sidung	*space under house*
**kiduj	kéduh	*thunder*
**qisbu (and **siqbu)	'esbu	*urine*
*tu(n)Zuq	'toldu	*finger*

(c) In an initial syllable that is unaccented in Dumagat, *u became u (cf. 2.4.3(b)).

*qutek	uték	*brain*
*hulet	ulés	*cover, blanket*
**Nudel	ngudél	*blunt*
*ujiN	uging	*charcoal*
*kulit	kulet	*skin*
*tuba(h)	tube, tubi	*fish poison*
*quzan	uden	*rain*
*quRas	uges	*wash hands*
*quDaN	udang	*shrimp*
*Duwah	éduwa	*two*
**tuqlaN (< *(t)ulaN)	tulang	*bone*
*bulan	bulan	*moon*
*hulaR	ulag	*snake*
*kuha(h)	kuwa	*what-you-may-call-it*
**bukjaw	bukhö	*throat, neck*

(d) In an initial syllable that is accented in Dumagat, *u became u
in four out of seven instances (cf. 2.4.3(b)).

2.4.6 The Casiguran Dumagat phoneme i developed in the following three
circumstances:

(a) In a final syllable *i became Dumagat i if the preceding consonant
is a voiced stop in Dumagat (cf. 2.4.4(a)).

*ujiN	uging	*charcoal*
*kaRi	'kagi	*say, tell*

(b) In an initial syllable that is unaccented in Dumagat, *i became
i (cf. 2.4.4(b)).

**Nisit	ngitet	*black*
*ikan	ikan	*fish*
*kilat	kilat	*lightning*
*(n)ihaN	ngiwang	*skinny*
**kijay	kihay	*eyebrow*
*piray	pilë	*crippled*
*siDah	sidë	*they*
*DiRus	digus	*bathe*
*tiDuR	tidug	*sleep*
*siruN	sidung	*space under house*
**tilu(h) (< *tuli(h))	tilo	*earwax*
**ipus	ipos	*tail*
**(q)ikej	ikéh	*cough*
**Nipen (< *(h)ipen)	ngipén	*tooth*

Two exceptions to this statement have been observed:

**kiduj	kéduh	*thunder*
*isa (and *esa)	ësa	*one*

(c) In an unaccented initial syllable Proto-Philippine *a became Dumagat
i in fifteen out of fifty instances.

*baseq	bisa	*wet*
*dakel	dikél	*big*
*balu(h)	bilo	*widow*
**bayu	biyo	*to pound (rice)*
*batu	bito	*stone*
*Danum	dinom	*water*
**Ramut	gimot	*root*
**baqRu(h) (< *baqeRu(h))	bigu	*new*
*zaRum	digum	*needle*
*Zalan	dilan	*road*

**baRat	biget	*banana*
**dadag	dideg	*red*
*daRat *surface*	diget	*sea*
*(dD)aRaq	dige	*blood*
*balay	bilë	*house*

In the remaining 35 instances *a became Dumagat a.

**lasem (< **alsem < *asem) lasém		*sour*
*qatep	atép	*roof*
*tazem	tadém	*sharp*
**pajes	pahés	*wind*
*kayu (or *kahiw)	kayo	*tree*
*apuy	apoy	*fire*
*alap	alap	*take, get*
**palad	palad	*sole*
*kaRat	kaget	*bite*
*laja(h)	lade	*weave mat*
*anay	anë	*termite*
*taNis	sanget	*cry, weep*

Another 25 instances of *a becoming Dumagat a are to be found in various other lists above. No contextual factor has been discovered which determines whether l or a is developed in initial syllables.

2.4.7 The Casiguran Dumagat phoneme é developed from Proto-Philippine *e in reduplicated monosyllables and in all other circumstances except in sequences *ei, *ey, *iqe, *uqe, *uhe, *aqe, and *ahe.

*sepsep	sépsép	*suck*
*enem	éném	*six*
*(t)elen	télén	*swallow*
**bejek	béhék	*baby pig*

Many other instances are listed in other sections.

Two exceptions to this statement have been observed:

*lemes *dip in, dive in*	limés	*drown*
*seNet	singét	*sting*

2.4.8 The Casiguran Dumagat phoneme a developed in the following six circumstances:

(a) In Proto-Philippine reduplicated monosyllables *a became Dumagat a in both syllables.

**wakwak	wakwak	*crow*
**bakbak	'bakbak	*frog*

*pakpak *wing-beats*	'pakpak	*wing*
**baybay	baybay	*beach, sand*

(b) The Proto-Philippine bisyllabic sequences *aqe, *ahe, and *ae reduced to Dumagat monosyllabic a.

**memaqen (< *mamaq)	éman	*betel chew*
**tahep	tap	*winnow*
*kaen	kan	*eat*

(c) In a final syllable *a became Dumagat a when the preceding consonant is not a voiced stop in Dumagat (cf. 2.4.4(d)).

**deqtaR	détag	*floor*
*epat	épat	*four*
**sa(ñ)jepan	sahéman	*west*
**nenaq, **nanaq (< *nanaq)	néna	*pus*
*alap	alap	*take, get*
*wanan	kawanan	*right side*
*Zalan	dilan	*road*

Many more instances have already been given in other lists above.

One exception to the above statement has been observed:

**Najan (< *(h)ajan)	ngahen	*name*

(d) In three out of eleven instances word final *aw became Dumagat aw (cf. 2.4.1(c)).

(e) In five out of twelve instances word final *aqi, *ay, and *ey became Dumagat ay (cf. 2.4.2(b,c)).

(f) In an initial accented syllable *a became Dumagat a.

**laqya (also **luqya)	'laya	*ginger*
*kaRi	'kagi	*say, tell*

(g) In 35 out of fifty instances, *a in an initial unaccented syllable became Dumagat a. (In the other instances *a became i, but no contextual factor had been discovered which determines which vowel is developed.) (Cf. 2.4.6(c).)

2.4.9 In what has been described above there are four cases in which Casiguran Dumagat exhibits pairs of apparently competing reflexes.

final *aw became either ö or aw (2.4.1(c))
final *ay and *ey became either ë or ay (2.4.2(c))
initial accented syllable *u became either o or u (2.4.3(b))
initial unaccented syllable *a became either i or a (2.4.6(c))

Two possible explanations warrant investigation. Firstly, it may be that when word accents are eventually reconstructed for Proto-Philippine

vocabulary that one or more of these pairs of reflexes will prove to be
in complementation on the basis of accent. Secondly, the words con-
taining the second reflex of each of these four pairs may prove to be
loanwords from Ilocano, Kasiguranin, or an earlier stage of Tagalog
that still had the pepet (schwa) vowel.

At all events, loanwords from Tagalog and other sources have played
an important part in the development of the phonology of Casiguran
Dumagat. The four "new" vowels (e, ë, o, and ö) not found in Proto-
Philippine are clearly the product of context-determined sound changes.
In the early stages of change at least, they would have been in
complementary distribution with the four "older" vowels (i, é, a, and
u). In process of time, however, loanwords coming into the language
filled the gaps which these changes left in the distribution of the
"older" vowels, and this created contrasts between the "old" and the
"new". As these two processes of sound change and borrowing continued
the eight vowels became firmly established as fully contrastive, as
has been shown in section 2.3.

3. MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGE

In a Casiguran Dumagat dictionary*, only stems are listed. Thus, if
the reader wishes to look up the meaning of a Dumagat word, he must
first use the morphophonemic rules of the language to help him identify
its stem, and then he can turn to its alphabetical place in the
dictionary with no trouble. Six of the most common types of morpho-
phonemic changes are described below. For a more detailed description
of the morphophonemics see Headland 1965b.

3.1 ASSIMILATION

3.1.1 When the consonant n occurs at morpheme boundaries, either
medial or final in a word, and is followed by the consonants m, b, p,
k, or g, the n assimilates to the point of articulation of those
consonants.

-in- + kébil → kembil   *took*
angen + ko   → angeng ko *I will get*

3.1.2 When prefixes ending in ng (see section 6) are attached to a
stem beginning with the consonant s, p, b, t, d, or k, the velar nasal
of the prefix assimilates to the point of articulation of that consonant,
and the consonant itself is dropped.

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* Such as Headland, Thomas N. and Janet D., *Casiguran Dumagat Dictionary* (*Pacific
Linguistics*, Series C.28).

méng- + sébkal → ménébkal *to chant*

mang- + pana → mamana *to shoot*

nang- + kagkag → nangagkag *to dry*

3.2 REPLACEMENT

3.2.1 Whenever the mid close vowels o and e occur in closed syllables, if the syllable becomes open due to suffixation, these vowels will be replaced by their high close counterparts, u and i.

gamot + -én → gamutén *to treat sickness*

béges + -a → bégisa *that rice*

3.2.2 The reverse occurs when -um- and -in- are infixed to stems with the pepet vowel é in their first syllable. The pepet drops out (see 3.3.1), a consonant cluster is formed, the infixes become closed syllables, and their vowels are replaced by o and e respectively.

-um- + gébék → gombék *to approach*

-um- + éléd → omléd *to submerge*

-in- + kétol → kentol *to cut*

3.2.3 Whenever a stem ending in ö or ë is suffixed, these vowels change to aw and ay, respectively.

délö + -en → délawén *to hit a target*

bilë + -an → bilayan *to build a house*

3.2.4 When i or e, or u or o become non-syllabic by the suffixation of -an on the stem in which they occur, they are replaced by y or w respectively.

sanike + -an → sanikyan *shame*

kabito + -an → kabetwan *riverbed*

3.3 REDUCTION

3.3.1 Affixation of a stem in which a pepet vowel occurs in the syllable contiguous to the affix will cause the optional dropping out of that pepet vowel.

édép + -én → édpén/édépén *to put out a fire*

még- + éman → mégman/mégéman *to chew betel nut*

-um- + kéret → komret/kuméret *to strike a match*

3.3 2 When the suffix -én is added to a vowel final stem, the pepet vowel of the suffix optionally drops out.

tokso + -én → tokson/toksuén *to joke*

kagi + -én → kagin/kagién *to say*

3.3.3 The final consonant of the particle dén *now, already,* drops out when the particle is followed by a word beginning with the consonant s.

Naluktut dé side. *They were startled.*

3.4 *THE PREFIX* i-

3.4.1 The prefix i- may be optionally dropped when preceding any other prefix beginning with p-, when the verb is in the non-past tense.

ipaktol or paktol   *to cut for someone*

ipangalap or pangalap *to get for someone*

However, this prefix cannot be dropped when the form of the verb is in the past tense.

nipaktol *cut for someone*

3.4.2 When the i- prefix occurs on a word whose first syllable is open and contains the pepet vowel, the pepet is dropped (see 3.3.1), and the i- prefix manifests itself as iye-.

i- + sépa   → iyespa   *to chew betel nut*

i- + tébung → iyetbung *to drop into a hole*

3.5 *WORDS ENDING IN* h

When a word ending in h is followed by another word, the vowel preceding the h will be reduplicated again after the h.

mégikéh + ék → mégikéhé ék *I am coughing.*

kuduh + ko   → kuduhu ko   *my magic*

hah + mo   → haha mo   *You carry it.*

3.6 *THE SUFFIX* -an

The verbal suffix -an has an allomorph, -en, which occurs whenever the stem onto which it occurs has a final voiced stop (cf. section 2.4.4(d)).

toktokan	*to knock*
kébilan	*to touch*
pégluksuan	*jumping place*
bunogen	*shaman*
takiében	*to cover*
binayaden	*paid*

4. NOUN-MARKING PARTICLES

There is a class of particles in Casiguran Dumagat, the members of which introduce phrases as noun-like and show their relationship to the verb (J. Headland 1966). We call these particles noun-marking particles. These noun-marking particles occur in eleven different forms: tu, i, no, na, to, ta, ti, ni, du, di, de. The nonpersonal plural particles can occur reduplicated (dudu and didi), making a total of thirteen possibilities. These particles contrast on the syntactic and lexical levels.

TABLE 4. MATRIX OF NOUN-MARKING PARTICLES

			topic	attributive	oblique
singular	nonpersonal	absent	tu	no	to
		present	i	na	ta
	personal		ti	ni	ni
plural	nonpersonal	absent	du	du	du
		present	di	di	di
	personal		de	de	de

4.1 *SYNTACTIC LEVEL*

On the syntactic level the noun-marking particles signal noun phrases as topic, attributive, or oblique.

4.1.1 Topic

The topic is any focused noun phrase within a clause, as signaled by the verbal affixation in the predicate.

1. Négkagi tu anak.   *The child spoke.*
2. Négkagi i anak.[2]   *The children spoke.* (or) *The particular child spoke (you know the one).*
3. Négkagi du anak.   *The children spoke.*
4. Négkagi dudu anak.   *The (many) children spoke.*
5. Négkagi di anak.[2]   *The particular children spoke (you know the ones).*
6. Négkagi didi anak.[2] *The (many) particular children spoke.*
7. Négkagi ti Juan.   *John spoke.*
8. Négkagi de Juan.   *John (and his companions) spoke.*
9. Négkagi tu Juan se.[3] *John (who is deceased) spoke.*

4.1.2 Attributive

The attributive is any unfocused subjective phrase or any noun possessor phrase.

10. Kinagi no anak.	*The child spoke.*	
11. Kinagi na anak.[2]	*The children spoke. (or) The particular child spoke (you know the one).*	
12. Kinagi du anak.	*The children spoke.*	
13. Kinagi dudu anak.	*The (many) children spoke.*	
14. Kinagi di anak.[2]	*The particular children spoke (you know the ones).*	
15. Kinagi didi anak.[2]	*The (many) particular children spoke.*	
16. Kinagi ni Juan.	*John spoke.*	
17. Kinagi de Juan.	*John (and his companions) spoke.*	
18. Kinagi no Juan se.[3]	*John (who is deceased) spoke.*	

4.1.3 Oblique

The oblique is any unfocused noun phrase which is not subject of the clause.

19. Kinagi ko to anak.	*I said it to the child.*
20. Kinagi ko ta anak.[2]	*I said it to the children. (or) I said it to the particular child (you know the one).*
21. Kinagi ko du anak.	*I said it to the children.*
22. Kinagi ko dudu anak.	*I said it to the (many) children.*
23. Kinagi ko di anak.[2]	*I said it to the particular children (you know the ones).*
24. Kinagi ko didi anak.[2]	*I said it to the (many) particular children.*
25. Kinagi ko ni Juan.	*I said it to John.*
26. Kinagi ko de Juan.	*I said it to John (and his companions).*
27. Kinagi ko to Juan se.[2]	*I said it to John (who is deceased).*

4.2 *LEXICAL LEVEL*

On the lexical level the noun-marking particles contrast as to personal versus nonpersonal, plural versus singular, and present versus absent.

4.2.1 Personal Versus Nonpersonal

Particles ti, ni and de mark phrases as personal (a person's name or a kinship term). All other noun-marking particles mark phrases as nonpersonal. See above examples 1, 7, 10, 16, 19 and 25.

4.2.2 Plural Versus Singular

Particles du, di and de mark phrases as plural. All other noun-marking particles mark phrases as singular. See above examples 3, 5, 8, 12, 14, 17, 21, 23 and 26. Often, however, the singular particles are used even when the noun is plural (as in examples 2, 11 and 20).

4.2.3 Present Versus Absent

Nonpersonal particles contrast as to present and absent. i, na, ta and di mark phrases as present. tu, no, to and du mark phrases as absent. See above examples 1, 2, 10, 11, 19, 20, 21 and 23. By the terms 'present' versus 'absent' we mean several things. For example, the difference between examples numbered 1 and 2 above could be one or more of several, depending on the context under which it is spoken. Though both clauses literally mean, *The child spoke*, the choice of noun-marking particle can reflect one or more several opposite meanings. This can best be shown by Table 5.

TABLE 5. PRESENT VERSUS ABSENT

present i, na, ta, di can mean:	in contrast to	absent tu, no, to, du can mean:
alive	vs.	dead
known	vs.	unknown
general	vs.	specific
actual	vs.	non-actual
in sight	vs.	out of sight
present in time	vs.	past in time
mass nouns	vs.	singular nouns

5. PRONOUNS

5.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

There are four sets of personal pronouns in Casiguran Dumagat.

5.1.1 The Set I Emphasis pronouns can substitute for any pre-predicate noun phrase marked by one of the Topic set of noun-marking particles (see section 4).

Tu anak, éy méladu siya.　　*As for the child, he is sick.*

Siko, éy méladu ka.　　*As for you, you are sick.*

5.1.2 The Set II Topic pronouns can substitute for any post-predicate
noun phrase marked by one of the Topic set of noun-marking particles.

Méglakad tu anak ta banwan.   *The child walks to town.*
Méglakad siya ta banwan.   *He walks to town.*

5.1.3 The Set III Attributive pronouns can substitute for any noun
phrase marked by one of the Attributive set of noun-marking particles.

Ginahoti no lakay tu ulag.   *The man hit the snake.*
Ginahoti na tu ulag.   *He hit the snake.*

5.1.4 The Set IV Oblique pronouns can substitute for any noun phrase
marked by one of the Oblique set of noun-marking particles.

Ibugtong no anak to bébe.   *The child sells to the lady.*
Ibugtong no anak dide.   *The child sells to them.*

The four sets of personal pronouns are shown in the following table:

TABLE 6.   PERSONAL PRONOUNS

SET I Emphasis	SET II Topic	SET III Attributive	SET IV Oblique	
				Singular
sakén	ék	ko ∿ ta	diyékén	*I*
sikita	kita	ta	dikita	*thou and I*
siko	ka	mo	diko	*thou*
siya	siya	na	diya	*he, she, it*
				Plural
sikame	kame	me	dikame	*we-not-you*
sikitam	kitam	tam	dikitam	*we-all*
sikam	kam	moy	dikam	*you*
sidë	sidë	de	dide	*they*

Whenever two (or three) pronouns occur in a single clause, they
occur in an order consistent with the following scheme: Set I preceding
the verb; following the verb is ék, Set III (except ék), and Set IV.
If a clause contains an auxiliary (such as éwan *not*, diyan *don't*, gustu
want to, palagi *always*, sabay *at the same time*) it precedes the verb
and the pronouns are ordered with respect to the auxiliary rather than
with respect to the verb.

Igewat mo diya.   *Hand it to him.*
Diyan mo diya igewat. *Don't hand it to him.*

Méiyamut side dikita.   *They are mad at you and me.*
Inaguman de ka?   *Did they help you?*
Pinabadil ko siya diya.   *I had him shoot her.*

Whenever the first person singular pronoun, ko, of the Set III pronouns occurs in a clause together with a second person pronoun, ka or kam, of the Set II pronouns, the form of the Attributive pronoun changes from ko to ta. Examples: Sinuntuk ta ka (never *Sinuntuk ko ka) *I hit you.*

5.2 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

There are two sets of demonstrative pronouns, as shown in the following table:

TABLE 7.   DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

I	II	
éye	se	*this, here (near speaker)*
ina	sina	*that, there (near addressee, or in sight of both)*
éya	sa	*that, there (far from both)*

The Set I demonstrative pronouns can substitute for the head word of any noun phrase.
Méglakad ék ta bile.   *I am going to the house.*
Méglakad ék ta éya.   *I am going there.*

The Set II demonstrative pronouns can substitute for any oblique noun phrase,[4] except those expressing time.
Niyedton ko san ta lamesa.   *I put it on the table.*
Niyedton ko san sa.   *I put it there.*

The Set I demonstrative pronouns, plus the noun-marking particle ta can substitute for any occurrence of the Set II demonstrative pronouns, but the latter are used far more frequently.
Niyedton ko san sa.   *I put it there.*
Niyedton ko san ta éya.   *I put it there*

Any demonstrative pronoun may take the demonstrative pronoun suffix -e, which adds a meaning of definiteness or exactness to the thing or place referred to.
Niwahak ko san se.   *I just left it here.*
Niwahak ko san see.   *I just left it right here.*
Maguhay kam ta éya.   *Wait there.*
Maguhay kam ta éyae.   *Wait right there.*

6. VERBS

The inflection and use of verbs is the most complex part of the grammar of Casiguran Dumagat. Many different categories are indicated by affixes or affix combinations as may be seen in Tables 8, 9 and 10.

6.1 TENSE

All independent forms of the verb show a contrast between past and non-past (present, future and imperative) tense. The past tense is marked by -in- or n- and the non-past is marked by m- except in the cases of -en, -an, i- and -um-. (The occurrence and meaning of -in- in dependent verbs requires further investigation.)

Umunek siya.   *He is climbing./He will climb.*

Inumunek siya. *He climbed.*

In those instances where there are two past tense forms side by side in Tables 8, 9 and 10 (such as minag- and nag-), there seems to be no difference in their meanings.

If one compares forms vertically in Tables 8, 9 and 10, it will be seen that there are many pairs of forms that are the same except for the vowel, one containing a and one containing é. In the non-past forms, such as mag- and még-, the a at times indicates future and imperative whereas é indicates present continuous and habitual.

Mégman side.   *They are chewing betel nut.*

Magman side.   *They will chew betel nut.*

However, in other instances, they seem to be the same tense and differ in transitivity or in other ways that are less clear.

Mégdigus ék.   *I will bathe (myself).*

Magdigus ék.   *I will bathe (the child).*

Méglogbut ék.   *I submerge (myself) in water.*

Maglogbut ék.   *I submerge (it) in water.*

6.2 FOCUS

Casiguran Dumagat is like other Philippine languages in that it has several grammatical devices for highlighting one element or another in a clause. The best known of these devices is termed 'focus'. The verb in the predicate is affixed to indicate either Subject Focus or Object Focus, and correspondingly the subject or object in the clause is given a preposed topic-marking particle. About half of the verbal affixes are Subject Focus affixes and about half are Object Focus affixes.

Magbuno ék ta manok.
kill I oblique *chicken*

'*I will kill the chicken.*'

Bunuén ko tu manok.
kill I topic *chicken*

'*The chicken is what I will kill.*'

6.3 *ORIENTATION*

A second device which Casiguran Dumagat uses for giving prominence
to one element in the clause is what might be called 'orientation'.
In Tables 8, 9 and 10 the horizontal blocks of affixes labelled 1, 2,
3 and 4 each has its own distinctive orientation.

6.3.1 Orientation 1

Orientation 1 is essentially intransitive, and no participant other
than the actor or experiencer is considered important enough to be
mentioned in the clause.

Inuméwat tu anak to dilod.
surface topic *child* oblique *downriver*

'*The boy came to the surface downriver.*'

Mébuktet dén ti Mensiyan.
pregnant already topic *Mensiyan*

'*Mensiyan is pregnant.*'

Umunek tu anak.
climb topic *child*

'*The child will climb the tree.*'

On the other hand, orientations 2, 3 and 4 are essentially transi-
tive, and one additional participant in the situation is made explicit
and prominent by being expressed as the object. For many, but not
all, verb stems a different participant functions as object in each
of these three orientations.

6.3.2 Orientation 2

Orientation 2 usually has as its object the participant that is most
directly affected by the action. Sometimes the action is reflexive
and there is no object. It should be noted that the suffix -an has
the allomorph -en following b, d or g (see section 3.6).

Mangunek tu anak to pitukan.
climb topic *child* oblique *honey*

'*The child will climb up to get the honey.*'

Unekén no anak tu pitukan.
climb attrib. *child* topic *honey*

'*Honey is what the child will climb up to get.*'

Mégsabun ék ta damit.
soap I oblique *cloth*

'*I am soaping up the clothes.*'

Sabunen ko i damita.
soap I topic *cloth-that*

'*The clothes are what I am soaping up.*'

6.3.3 Orientation 3

Orientation 3 may have as its object the location, end point, or recipient of the action, or the participant most affected by the action. The subject focus affixes signify a reciprocal or competitive action.

Méginanan du anak to baybay.
run topic *children* oblique *beach*

'*The children are racing along the beach.*'

Ginanan no anak tu dada na.
run-away attrib. *child* topic *aunt his*

'*It is his aunt that the child will run away from.*'

Mégsabunan du anak to tapo.
soap topic *children* oblique *waterfall*

'*The children soaped each other up at the waterfall.*'

Sinabunan no anak tu uiu na.
soap attrib. *child* topic *head his*

'*It was his hair that the child soaped up.*'

6.3.4 Orientation 4

Orientation 4 may have as its object an instrument or body part used in the action or the participant most affected by the action.

Nangiginan ék to uiés ni Seray.
ran-away I oblique *blanket* attrib. *Seray*

'*I ran away with Seray's blanket.*'

Niginan ko tu uiés ni Seray.
ran-away I topic *blanket* attrib. *Seray*

'*It was Seray's blanket that I ran away with.*'

Néngiiukag ék to anak.
woke-up I oblique *child*

'*I woke up the child.*'

Nilukag ko dén tu anak.
woke-up I *already* topic *child*

'*The child is the one I woke up.*'

6.3.5 In orientation 2, and in orientation 4 of Table 10, there are pairs of affixes such as mag- and mang- that differ by an affix-final g and ng. For those verbs which take both g and ng affixes, the difference in meaning has been difficult to identify. For some verb stems ng forms signify a more intensive action. mégkan *to nibble,* méngan *to eat.* For other verbs the two forms have different objects. mégbuno *to kill (an animal),* mémuno *to murder (a person).* On some verbs the two affixes show a difference in tense. magsibak *to chop wood* (present), mangsibak *to chop wood* (future). On at least one verb the two affixes differentiate the object as singular or plural. méngakit *to invite one person,* mégakit *to invite several people.*

6.3.6 Not all of the orientations may be used with any given verb stem. A preliminary investigation of verb stem classes (J. Headland 1969) indicates that these restrictions on the occurrence of the orientation blocks of affixes may well prove to be definable in terms of stem classes. Similarly, the various meanings of the orientations, of g versus ng, and of a versus é (section 6.1), may also prove to depend on the class of the verb stem with which they occur.

TABLE 8. BASIC VERBAL AFFIXATION

ORIENTATION		SUBJECT FOCUS VERB		OBJECT FOCUS VERB (A)		OBJECT FOCUS VERB (B)		DEPENDENT VERB IN TEMPORAL CLAUSE
		NON-PAST	PAST	NON-PAST	PAST	NON-PAST	PAST	
	1	ma- mé- me- -um-	mina- na- miné- mine- ne- -inum-					ka- ké- ke- ké-
	2	mag- még- mang- méng-	minag- nag- minég- nég- minang- nang- minéng- néng-	-én	-in-	ma- mé-	mina- na- miné-	pag- pég- pang- péng-
	3	mag--an még--an	minag--an nag--an minég--an nég--an	-an	-in--an	ma--an mé--an	mina--an na--an miné--an	pég--an
	4	mangi- méngi-	minangi- nangi- minéngi- néngi-	i-	ni-			pangi- péngi-
ABILITATIVE		maka- méka-	minaka- naka- minéka- néka-					paka- péka-
PURPOSIVE		méki-	minéki- néki-					péki-

Blank spaces within the blocks indicate that the particular affix combination has not been found to occur.

TABLE 9.   CAUSATIVE VERBAL AFFIXATION WITH pa-

ORIENTATION		SUBJECT FOCUS VERB		OBJECT FOCUS VERB (A)		OBJECT FOCUS VERB (B)	
		NON-PAST	PAST	NON-PAST	PAST	NON-PAST	PAST
	1	mapa- mépa-	minapa- napa-				
	2	magpa- mégpa- mangpa- méngpa- magpe-	minagpa- nagpa- minégpa- négpa- minangpa- nangpa- minagpe- nagpe-	pa--én pe--én	pina- pine-	mapa- mépa- mape- mepe-	minapa- napa- minape- nape-
	3	magpa--an mégpa--an	minagpa--an nagpa--an minégpa--an négpa--an	pa--an	pina--an	mapa--an	minapa--an napa--an
	4	mangipa- méngipa- mangipe- méngipe-	minéngipa- néngipa- minéngipe- néngipe-	(i)pa- (i)pe-	nipa- nipe-	mepa- mepe-	minepa- nepa- minepe- nepe-

Abilitative aspect does not occur with causative verbal affixation with pa- (see 6.4.1).

Purposive aspect does not occur with causative verbal affixation with pa- (see 6.4.2).

Dependent clauses do not occur with causative verbal affixation with pa-.

Blank spaces within the blocks indicate that the particular affix combination has not been found to occur.

TABLE 10. VERBAL AFFIXATION WITH <pag->

	SUBJECT FOCUS VERB		OBJECT FOCUS VERB (A)		OBJECT FOCUS VERB (B)		DEPENDENT VERB IN TEMPORAL CLAUSE
	NON-PAST	PAST	NON-PAST	PAST	NON-PAST	PAST	
ORIENTATION 1	mapag- mépég-	minapag- minépég- napag-					
COOPERATIVE VOICE (box A) (box B) CAUSATIVE VOICE	magpag- mégpég- magpang- mégpéng-	minagpag- minégpég- nagpag- négpég- minagpang- nagpang- A	pag--én pég--én pang--én peng--én	pinag- pinég- pinang-	mapag- mépég-	minapag- napag- minépég- B	pagpag- pégpég- pégpéng- A
ORIENTATION 3			pag--an pég--an	pinag--an pinég--an	mapag--an	minapag--an napag--an	
BENEFACTIVE VOICE	méngipag-	minéngipag- néngipag-	(i)pag- (i)pég- (i)pang- (i)péng-	nipag- nipég- nipang- nipéng-	mepag- mepang- mepéng-	minepag- minepang- minepéng-	péngipag-
EXTERNAL ABILITY	makapag- mékapég-	minakapag- nakapag- minékapég- nékapég-					pakapag- pékapég-
COOPERATIVE PURPOSIVE VOICE	mékipag- mékipég- mékipang- mékipéng-	minékipag- nékipag- minékipég- nékipég- minékipang- nékipang- minékipéng- nékipéng-					pékipag- pékipég- pékipéng-

Blank spaces within the blocks indicate that the particular affix combination has not been found to occur.

6.4 ASPECT

6.4.1 Abilitative Aspect

The abilitative affixes of Table 8 signify that the actor has within himself the ability to perform the action. This affixation only has subject focus and dependent forms.

Tu kuyéng minalimés da éwan makanangoy.
topic *rat drown because no can-swim*

'The rat drowned because he didn't know how to swim.'

Ewan makalakad tu pile.
no can-walk topic *cripple*

'The cripple could not walk.'

6.4.2 Purposive Aspect

The purposive affixes of Table 8 signify that the actor goes to do something or get something (often the stem is a noun). In some measure the action is intense or deliberate, or has an unstated purpose behind it.

mégaged	*to beg*	mékiaged	*to go and beg*
butag	*betel nut*	mékibutag	*to go and get betel nut*
ménuyu	*to win someone's favor*	mékisuyu	*to make an effort to win someone's favor*
méguhon	*to converse*	mékiuhon	*to plead*
dios	*God*	mékidios	*to be religious*

6.4.3 Continuative Aspect

The continuative aspect is signalled by the combination of certain affixes with a partial reduplication of the first syllable of the stem, as shown in Table 11. This affixation only has subject focus forms, and indicates that the action is continual, repetitive or intensive.

TABLE 11. CONTINUATIVE ASPECT

	non-past	past	
consonant initial stems	mégCé--én	minégCé--én	négCé--én
glottal initial stems	mégé--én	minégé--én	négé--én

mégéasenén	*keep eating salt*
mégéeknudén	*stay sitting*
mégéginanén	*running on and on*
minégsésangitén	*kept on crying*

6.4.4 Casual Aspect

The casual aspect is signalled by the combination of certain prefixes with a fully reduplicated stem, as shown in Table 12. This aspect indicates that an action is done casually or slowly, and only has subject focus forms.

TABLE 12.   CASUAL ASPECT

non-past	past	
magR-	minagR-	nagR-
mégR-	minégR-	négR-

méglakad-lakad kame san.
walk   we   just
'We're just walking around.'

6.4.5 Playing Aspect

The playing aspect is shown by the combination of these same prefixes with reduplication of the first syllable of the stem (which is often a noun) as shown in Table 13. This aspect only has subject focus and dependent forms, and signifies that the actor (usually a child) is playing at an action or pretending to be something.

TABLE 13.   PLAYING ASPECT

	non-past	past	
consonant initial stems	magCV- mégCV-	minagCV- minégCV-	nagCV- négCV-
glottal initial stems	magV- mégV-	minagV- minégV-	nagV- négV-

badil   *gun*   mégbabadil *to play guns*

Ikan   *fish*   méglikan   *to swim, pretending one is a fish*

mégliso *to hide something*   mégliliso   *to play hide and seek*

mégogsa *to shoot a deer*   mégoogsa   *to pretend one is a deer*

6.4.6 Deceptive Aspect

The deceptive aspect is formed by the combination of certain affixes with the reduplication of the first two syllables of the stem, as shown in Table 14. This aspect only has subject focus forms and signifies that the actor is only pretending to do the action in an attempt to deceive.

TABLE 14. DECEPTIVE ASPECT

	non-past	past	
consonant initial stems	magCVCV(C)--an mégCVCV(C)--an	minagCVCV(C)--an minégCVCV(C)--an	nagCVCV(C)--an négCVCV(C)--an
glottal initial stems	magVCV(C)--an mégVCV(C)--an	minagVCV(C)--an minégVCV(C)--an	nagVCV(C)--an négVCV(C)--an

matidug   *be asleep*   mégtidug-tidugan   *to pretend to be asleep*
purupeta   *prophet*   mégpurupurupetaan   *to predict something false*

6.4.7 Accidental Aspect

The accidental aspect is formed by combining the inner prefix ke- with other affixes. Only a few combinations have been observed and these are listed in Table 15. This aspect has forms for all focuses and also dependent forms. It signifies that the action is done accidentally or unintentionally.

TABLE 15. ACCIDENTAL ASPECT

intentional action			accidental action		
még-	minég-	nég-	méke- mégke-	minéke- minégke-	néke- négke-
még--an	minég--an	nég--an	mégke--an	minégke--an	négke--an
méngi-	minéngi-	néngi-	méngike-	minéngike-	néngike-
-én	-in		ke--an	kine--an kine-	
-an	-in--an		ke--an	kine--an	
i-	ni-		ike-	nike-	

Mékepana ék dén ta anak.
arrow I already oblique *child*

'I accidentally shot the child.'

Kineinuman na kan tu petrolyo.
drink he hearsay topic *kerosene*

'They say he accidentally swallowed some kerosene.'

6.5 CAUSATIVE VOICE WITH PREFIX pa-

The affixial forms in Table 9 consist of most of the basic affixa-
tions (Table 8) combined with the inner prefix pa-. However, pa-
does not combine with the Abilitative and Purposive forms, nor with
the dependent forms used in temporal clauses. The forms containing
pe- could be regarded as involving a fusion of pa- and i-.

The addition of pa- signifies that there is an extra participant in
the situation who causes the actor to act. The causer is always
expressed in the subject and the caused actor is expressed either in
the referent or the object, depending on the particular affix.

Inunek no ulito tu pitukan.
climb attrib. *single-man* topic *bee*

'Honey is what the man climbed up (the tree) to get.'

Nipaunek ko to ulito tu pitukan.
climb I oblique *single-man* topic *bee*

'Honey is what I had the man climb up (the tree) to get.'

Niunek no ulito tu igut.
climb attrib. *single-man* topic *rope*

'It was rope that the man took up (the tree).'

Nipeunek ko to ulito tu igut.
climb I oblique *single-man* topic *rope*

'It was rope that I had the man take up (the tree).'

6.6 VOICES OF <pag-> PREFIXES

The affixial forms in Table 10 consist of most of the basic
affixations (Table 8) combined with the inner prefixes pag-, pég-,
pang- and péng-. The general effect of adding this <pag-> group of
affixes is to bring an extra participant into the situation which a
verb describes. This shows up in the English translation in several
different ways.

6.6.1 Causative Voice

The object focus affixes of orientation 2 in Table 8, plus <pag->
are causative in meaning. These have some differences (such as trans-
itivity) from the corresponding pa- forms (section 6.5).

Inunek no ulito tu pitukan.
climb attrib. *single-man* topic *bee*

'*Honey is what the man climbed up (the tree) to get.*'

Pinangunek ko tu ulito ta pitukan.
climbed I topic *single-man* oblique *bee*

'*The man is the one I had climb up to get the honey.*'

Pinaunek ko tu ulito.
climb I topic *single-man*

'*The man is the one I had climb up the tree (so the bull wouldn't gore him).*'

6.6.2 Cooperative Voice

The subject focus and dependent affixes of orientation 1 in Table 8, plus <pag-> always take a plural subject and signify a cooperative activity.

Nagpagiskuwela kame to araw ta Kalabgan.
went-to-school we the past-time oblique *Kalabgan*

'*We all went to school together at Kalabgan long ago.*'

Du bébe me éy mégpégladey ta abék.
topic-pl. *women our* link *weave* oblique *mat*

'*Our women all weave mats (working) together.*'

Mégpégkona kitam san se a mégiknud a mesapal kitam.
like we only this link *sit* link *starving we*

'*We just sit around like this together starving to death.*'

6.6.3 Cooperative Purposive Voice

The purposive affixes of Table 8, plus <pag-> may take either a singular or plural subject and signify that the actor is making an effort to join others in the activity.

mékipagtarabaho *to go and join others in working*
mékipaguhon   *to seek to converse with others*
mékipagkasal   *to go to a wedding*

6.6.4 External Ability

When <pag-> is added to the abilitative affixes of Table 8 the combination signifies that the actor is given his ability by some outside circumstance or person. This contrasts with the abilitative affixes of Table 8, which without <pag-> signify an internal ability originating within the actor.

Makaantipara dén ti Déngdéng.
diving-goggles already topic *Déngdéng*

'*Déngdéng knows how to go spear-fishing.*'

Makapagantipara dén ti Déngdéng.
diving-goggles already topic *Déngdéng*

'Déngdéng can now go spear fishing (because the river has become clear).'

6.6.5 Benefactive Voice

When <pag-> is combined with the orientation 4 affixes of Table 8, the extra participant brought into the situation is the person (other than the actor) for whom the action is being performed. This beneficiary is expressed in the object, and may or may not be in focus.

Méngipagsikaw ék ni Didog.
make-field I oblique *Didog*

'I am making a field for Didog.'

Ipagsikaw ko ti Didog.
make-field I topic *Didog*

'It is for Didog that I am making a field.'

Minepanggimet mo tu anak ta bétek na?
make you topic *child* oblique *spear his*

'Was it for the child that you made a spear?'

6.7 INNER PREFIX ka-

In some instances the inner prefix ka- is derivational and changes the meaning of the stem unpredictably. mégtidug *to sleep*; mégkatidug *to lie down*. However, in most instances, ka- is inflectional, and carries various meanings onto the stems on which it occurs. On some verb stems it means 'plural subject', and the sequence magka- seems to be the plural equivalent of me-, when used to describe a state.

Mesibét siya.   *He is strong.*

Magkasibét side. *They are strong.*

On some noun stems ka- means *obtain*.

biténg   *pig net*

mégbiténg   *to set a pig net*

mégkabiténg *to get a pig net*

ACCULTURATION

Until recent years the Negritos along the northeast coast of Luzon have lived relatively isolated from the influences of the Western world and modern Philippine life. They have been kept isolated by the rugged Sierra Madre mountain range which runs along the whole eastern side of the northern half of Luzon, and by the rough and dangerous seas along the east coast during the six months of northeast monsoon winds each year.

For this reason the Negritos along the east coast still reflect many of the traits they must have had in pre-Spanish times. Most of them are still a semi-nomadic, food gathering people, living in extremely simple houses or lean-to shelters. The men are skilled hunters with bow and arrow, the women at fishing and gathering wild roots, or making a type of starchy food by processing the pulp of the wild Caryota palm (agél). The men still wear a G-string, and the women a wrap-around skirt. Their religion is animistic. Their infant mortality is 65%.

However, the authors have witnessed a great deal of acculturation in the last ten years. This has been caused by the recent influx of cheap transistor radios, the introduction of industries such as logging, mining, sawmills, and especially the effect of the high population explosion in the Philippines (3.3 per annum). This population explosion has finally pushed large numbers of landless Filipinos over the rim of the Sierra Madre mountains and down into the Casiguran valley. There have been at least two non-Negrito towns on the northeast coast of Luzon since early Spanish times (Casiguran and Palanan), but not until the last decade have large numbers of outsiders moved into the area. The 1960 population of the Casiguran-Dilasag-Dinalongan area totalled 9113 (Special Bulletin No.1, 1960). The 1970 population of the same area totalled 22,684 (Advanced Report No.54, 1970). This shows a population increase of 149%.

One can thus guess the effect this has had on the Dumagats in these areas. Ten years ago the Dumagat men in the authors' village spent most of their time fishing, or hunting wild pig and deer with bow and arrow. Today these same men work most of the time for the lowland Filipinos on their farms downriver, and only go hunting a few times a month. Ten years ago almost all of the hunting was done with bow and arrow. Today 90% of the hunters use home-made shotguns. Ten years ago there was meat in the village almost daily. Today what little game the hunters bring home is traded to the lowland Filipinos downriver for commodities such as rice, cloth, and wine.

We can be almost certain that the acculturation of the Dumagats will be even greater in the next decade, as landless settlers continue to pour into the area, where there are still vast areas of virgin jungle to be homesteaded. In addition to this, the government began last year the construction of the first road into Casiguran. When this is completed it will bring even more changes to the area.

THE EFFECT OF ACCULTURATION ON THE LANGUAGE

Though the authors have seen no evidence that the Dumagat language is dying out, there have been hundreds of new words introduced into the language in the last decade, from Spanish and English, as well as Tagalog and Ilocano. The men especially, and to a somewhat lesser extent the women, are rapidly becoming fluent in Tagalog. Following are a few examples of recently borrowed words which are now a part of the Dumagat lexicon:

mégbertday *to have a birthday party*; yelo *ice*; sine *movie*; opera *medical operation*; palaslayt *flashlight*; dyet *jet airplane*; lipistik *lipstick*; mégkomlet *to be late for school*.

KINSHIP TERMS

Most vocative terms may also be used as a term of reference with the additional implication of endearment. For a more complete description of the kinship system, see T. Headland 1965a.

'aka	*older sibling* (reference)
akéng	*older sibling* (vocative)
'ama	*father* (reference)
amay	*uncle*
améng	*father* (vocative)
anak	*child, offspring* (reference)
anéng	*nephew, niece*
'apo	*grandparent, grandchild* (reference)
'apo ta tod	*great-grandparent* (reference)
'apo ta siko	*great-great-grandparent* (reference)
asawa	*spouse* (reference)
bakés	*wife* (vocative or reference)
ba'lai	*parents of one's son- or daughter-in-law*
'boboy	*grandparent, grandchild* (vocative)
'dada	*aunt*
dipös	*last born child in a family* (reference)
'duduy	*(term of endearment of parent to his child)*
idas	*spouse of brother- or sister-in-law*
'ina	*mother* (reference)
inéng	*mother* (vocative)
'kayong	*brother- or sister-in-law*
lakay	*husband* (vocative or reference)
'maméng	*father* (vocative) (used only by small children)
manugen	*parents-in-law; son- or daughter-in-law* (reference)

météʼtena	*immediate family group (consisting of at least two children plus at least one parent)* (reference)
minaka	*older sibling who has died* (reference)
minaʼwadi	*younger sibling who has died* (reference)
ʼnanéng	*mother* (vocative) (used only by small children)
paʼnganay	*first born child in a family*
partidu	*any relative of Ego's generation* (syn: top)
paʼtena	*one parent plus one of his/her children*
ʼpensan	*cousin* (reference)
ʼpensan-ʼbuu	*first cousin* (reference)
téʼtötöp	*all relatives of Ego's generation* (collective term)
töp	*any relative of Ego's generation* (syn: partidu)
ʼwadi	*younger sibling* (reference)
wadeng	*younger sibling* (vocative)

NUMBERS

ësa/ëssa	*one*	sandaan	*one hundred*
éduwa/duwa	*two*	ësa a 'datos	*one hundred*
été lo	*three*	éduwa a 'datos	*two hundred*
épat/éppat	*four*	été lo a 'datos	*three hundred*
lima	*five*		
éném	*six*	puru'meru	*first*
pitu	*seven*	ikaduwa	*second*
walu	*eight*	ikatélo	*third*
siyam	*nine*	ikaépat	*fourth*
'sapulu	*ten*	ikalima	*fifth*
		ikaéném	*sixth*
'sapulu éy ta ësa	*eleven*	ikapitu	*seventh*
'sapulu éy ta éduwa	*twelve*	ikawalu	*eighth*
'sapulu éy ta été lo	*thirteen*	ikasiyam	*ninth*
'sapulu éy ta épat	*fourteen*	ikasapulu	*tenth*
'sapulu éy ta lima	*fifteen*		
		ësa a 'beses	*once*
du'wapulu	*twenty*	penduwa	*twice*
été lo a pulu	*thirty*	pentélo	*three times*
épat a pulu	*fourty*	penépat	*four times*
li'mapulu	*fifty*	penlima	*five times*
éném a pulu	*sixty*	penéném	*six times*

SPANISH NUMBERS (used when referring to the time of day, and often when counting money)

'unu	*one*	saes	*six*
dos	*two*	si'yete	*seven*
tres	*three*	'otyo	*eight*
'kuwatro	*four*	nu'webi	*nine*
'singku	*five*	diyes	*ten*

'onse	*eleven*	diyesi saes	*sixteen*
'dose	*twelve*	diyesi si'yete	*seventeen*
'trese	*thirteen*	diyesi 'otyo	*eighteen*
ka'torse	*fourteen*	diyesi nu'webi	*nineteen*
'kinse	*fifteen*	'bente	*twenty*

APPENDIX 4
Dumagat Arrows

albid

ambitél

baag

balawét

banglag (with sheath)

bétek

eblog

kinamangan

gahaygay

pangal

gungot

palsok

sagud

sahaysay

uténg

unay

sigangat
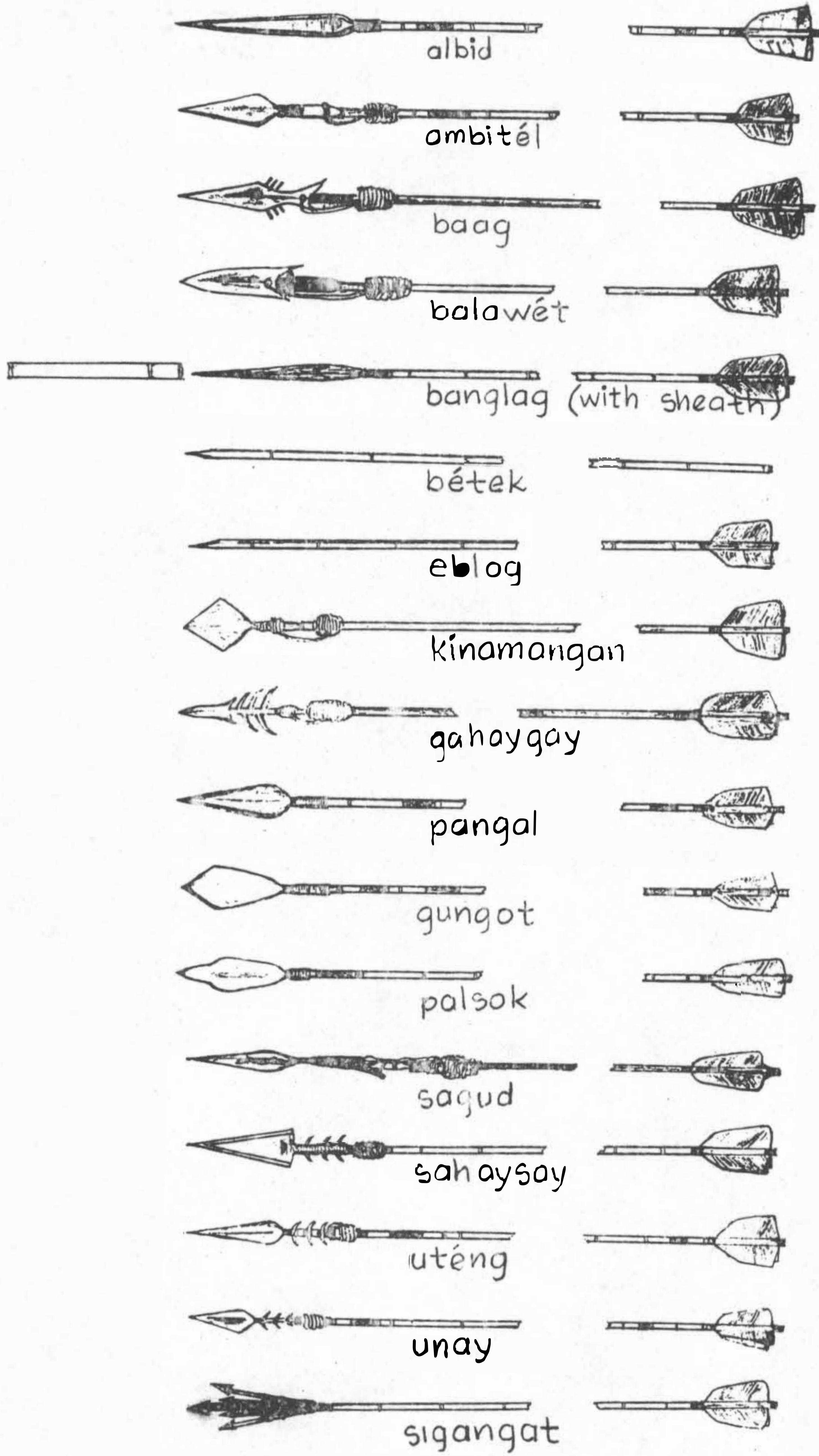
N O T E S

1. A previous investigation (Headland and Wolfenden 1967) was much
briefer and was marred by the printer's omission of the diacritics used
to distinguish the vowels.

2. Demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative-like noun suffixes (cf.
section 5.2) occur optionally (and frequently) in substantive phrases
with the noun-marking particles i, na, ta and di. These demonstratives
are obligatorily absent in phrases with any of the other noun-marking
particles.

3. The use of this type of phrase to refer to a deceased person is
optional. It is used only occasionally, to show respect, and may be a
form of speech that is dying out. The phrase requires the se particle
after the noun.

4. Five exceptions have been found in the Dumagat concordance to this
statement, all occurring in clauses with the verb pabayan *disregard*.
Examples are: Pabayan mo sina. *Disregard that.* Pabayan mo sa, Améng,
éng mamuno. *Disregard that one, Father, when he kills someone.*

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