

Linguistic Archaeology: Tracking Down the Tasaday Language*

1. Introduction¹

In July 1971 a report by Manuel Elizalde Jr.,² then Presidential Assistant on National Minorities in the Philippines (Elizalde and Fox 1971) to the Smithsonian Institution's Center for Short-Lived Phenomena from Southern Cotabato, Mindanao in the Philippines, informed the world of a small, isolated group of hunter-gatherers supposedly living in caves in the rain forests of southern Mindanao in the Philippines. The group of six families numbered approximately twenty-seven individuals, ranging in age from infancy to old-age, including a retarded male albino child with severe skin lesions and an elderly couple both of whom were said to be deaf-mutes. The group had a few metal tools, used stone tools, and were claimed to have no knowledge of agriculture or domesticated plants, including rice. They wore loin cloths, made either of old cotton fabric, bark cloth or the leaves of a ground orchid. They were said to have had no knowledge of tobacco or alcoholic drinks, but were familiar with betel nuts and chewed them with lime and a variety of leaves and bark from plants in their environment.

Initial reports claimed that prior to June 1971, when they were first contacted by members of PANAMIN at Mutu?lung, a clearing at the edge of the rain forest, the Tasaday had been in contact with only one outsider, a hunter

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¹ All transcriptions are phonemic. The phonological inventory of Tasaday is identical to Blit and Kulaman Valley Manobo, with fifteen consonants and five vowels, alphabetized as follows: ʔ, a, b, d, ə, e, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, ŋ, o, p [f], s, t, u, w, y. All Tasaday and Blit data are cited from my field notes, and Kulaman Valley data are cited from Errington and Errington (1981), but in phonemic transcription. Other languages such as Botolan Sambal, Binukid, Sarangani Manobo, Bontok, Ilokano, etc., are cited from either Reid (1971, 1976) or from field notes.

² Prepared in collaboration with the late Robert Fox, then Chief Anthropologist of the National Museum of the Philippines, and Director of the Research Center associated with a private project to assist national minorities, known as PANAMIN, established by Elizalde. Editors' note: Elizalde died May 3, 1997.

named Dafal, although they knew of two other forest groups, called respectively Sanduka and Tasafeng, with whom they intermarried. The contacts with Dafal occurred during his various hunting trips into the mountains where the Tasaday lived. Dafal was born in the nearest agricultural community to the Tasaday area: a place called Blit. The Blit community was the furthest expansion east from the Kulaman Valley of a group of Manobo whose language is referred to in the literature as South Cotabato Manobo. One other language—Tboli—is commonly spoken in the area, and most people in Blit are conversant with both languages. A full record of the events surrounding the ‘discovery’ of the Tasaday, and of the controversy that has accompanied these events, is found in Nance (1988).

The Tasaday, when first contacted by the PANAMIN group, supposedly spoke a language considerably different from either the Manobo or Tboli dialects spoken in Blit and the surrounding areas, although comparison of word lists taken by linguists and anthropologists soon revealed that the language spoken by the Tasaday was far more similar to the Manobo spoken in Blit than it was to Tboli.

Initial reports stated that apart from their contact with the hunter Dafal, they had had no ‘recurring’ contacts with other people, although they had seen the houses and fields of peoples who lived at lower elevations than themselves, presumably the Blit community which was at that time only about a three- to four-hour hike away from the caves to the west. A number of Blit individuals were involved with the initial contact arrangements when Elizalde first flew in, and have remained in close contact with them since. These include the leader of the Blit community, Datu? Dudim,³ and several members of his large family. Datu? Dudim’s son by the second of his seven wives (Luan), a young man named Mafalu, learned to operate communications equipment for Elizalde’s organization, PANAMIN, and assisted in other ways. It was Datu? Dudim’s oldest daughter Sindi (by his first wife, Kelaya) who was persuaded to become the wife of the Tasaday Belayem, who, probably in his early twenties, had not been able to acquire a wife for himself from the traditional sources of Tasaday spouses. It was also Datu? Dudim’s daughter Soléh (by his fifth wife, Filey) who

³ Editors’ note: Datu? Dudim died in August, 1999.

became Belayem's second wife in the early 1980s, after Sindi failed to bear children. Datu? Dudim told me that he had seen the Tasaday in the forest during hunting trips in his youth, but that they had always run away from him.

2. The Hoax Claims

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

In 1986, news of the Tasaday reappeared in the media. A Swiss journalist, Oswald Iten, claimed to have visited the Tasaday in the aftermath of the overthrow of Marcos, in the company of a number of local individuals who told him that the Tasaday were not what they had been claimed to be, but were a mixed group of Manobos and Tbolis motivated by promises of land and money to act the part of cave-dwelling, stone-tool-using primitives whenever Elizalde required them to do so. Various other individuals had questioned the authenticity of the Tasaday prior to this, most notably the Filipino anthropologist Zeus Salazar (1971, 1973). However, it was Iten's report which spawned the virulent controversy that was first officially debated at a conference (the International Conference of the Tasaday and Other Urgent Anthropological Issues) at the University of the Philippines in 1986. At this conference, University of the Philippines anthropologist Zeus Salazar presented a series of genealogical charts which he claimed was evidence that the Tasaday were blood relatives (some of them college-educated) of various individuals living in communities outside of the rain forest. The genealogies however were not collected in the usual manner by interviewing the individuals concerned, but were reported to him on the eve of the conference by George Tanedo, a well-known son of an Ilokano settler in Maitum, part of the Tboli area. The real names of the individuals who supposedly participated in the scheme were given, with their corresponding Tasaday aliases.

A second symposium was held as part of a conference in Zagreb in 1988 (The International Congress on Anthropological and Ethnological Studies), and in 1989 a third conference (a special Invited Session of the 88th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association) to discuss the Tasaday controversy was held in Washington, DC. A number of papers, both pro and con (e.g. Berreman 1992), which were presented at the last conference were published in a volume (Headland 1992), and probably did little to change anyone's opinion on the status of the Tasaday. Headland's summary attempted to claim the middle ground between two diametrically opposed points of view, the one being that prior to Elizalde's involvement in the events there were no Tasaday people as such, they were a group of disparate individuals brought together from various communities who were instructed to rush to the caves, dress like primitives, and told how to act and what to say (and not to say) whenever they were required to be shown off to gullible journalists, prominent personalities (and scientists). The polar opposite of this point of view was that the Tasaday were remnants of some paleolithic population who had survived in isolation in the rain forest for perhaps thousands of years, or at least five to seven hundred years, based on one published glottochronological estimate (Llamzon 1989:61), without contact with peoples outside the rain forest.

At the Washington conference in 1989, a carefully prepared set of genealogies by Rogel-Rara and Nabayra (1992) which included each of the Tasaday as well as each of what were called the Tasaday poseurs, seemed to show conclusively that the Salazar genealogies were false. This, as well as the linguistic evidence presented in several papers (Molony 1992; Elkins 1992; Johnston 1992; Reid 1992), was suggestive that the Tasaday were in fact a separate ethnolinguistic group, distinct from either Blit Manobo or Tboli. Headland, however, claimed that it would have been impossible for the Tasaday to have lived in total rain-forest isolation without regular access to cultivated foods, especially the rice which was grown in the clearings around the Blit community.

3. The Research Strategy

I had been present at the 1988 conference in Zagreb, and was intrigued by the claims that were being made by those who said that the Tasaday were a

hoax, and that all but two of the participants in the supposed charade were really Tbolis who could speak Manobo. I was puzzled as to why the supposed orchestrators of the hoax had required the whole group (including children) to speak Manobo, the language of the two-member minority, rather than Tboli, supposedly the language of the majority. However, be that as it may, if it were true that they were mainly Tboli speakers, evidence should be forthcoming from the data that was first gathered by linguists and anthropologist in 1971 and 1972, to support it. There should be clear evidence of borrowing from Tbolis.

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

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

In 1989, I had the opportunity to also collect data from some of the Tasaday during a ten-day visit to the Tboli area (Reid 1993). Although my data did not completely coincide with that presented by the Hidalgos, there was sufficient overlap with their data, in forms which were supposedly old terms not recorded in the 1970s, that I decided to spend an extended research period with the group. My plan was to try to find out as much as possible about the language that they currently speak, and as much as could be discovered about the Tasaday language as they claimed to have spoken it twenty-five years ago. I

would compare these forms of speech with that spoken by the nearest agricultural community to Tasaday, the Manobo dialect of Blit, for which almost no data was at that time available, and with the Manobo dialect of Kulaman Valley (KLM), often referred to in the literature as Southern Cotabato Manobo, for which I had available an unpublished dictionary of about 3,500 entries (Errington and Errington 1981), as well as a number of published articles on phonology, morphology, and syntax written by the Erringtons and other members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics who had lived in the Kulaman Valley area. I hoped furthermore to be able ultimately to try to identify etymological sources for those terms that were said to be old Tasaday and for which no obvious cognates existed in the surrounding languages.

The project was planned to take place over a period of three years. The first fieldwork stage consisted of three periods of residence with the Tasaday totaling approximately two and a half months between February and July 1994.⁴ A second period of fieldwork was conducted during the summer of 1995,⁵ and a third trip in the summer of 1996. This chapter is in effect a report of the results of the analysis that I have been able to do of the data collected during the first half of 1994.

4. The Field Work

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

I was taken directly to the thatch-roofed, split palm and bamboo home of Udelen and his wife Dul and their family. In 1971, this couple had only two small sons. Dul had delivered her first daughter, Okon, the following year.

⁴ I am grateful to the University of Hawai'i for granting me a full-time research position during the Spring and Summer, 1994, that enabled me to conduct the first stage of the project.

⁵ A paper reporting on this period of fieldwork, during which some of the tapes secretly recorded in the Tasaday caves in 1972 were transcribed and translated with the assistance of the Tasaday, was presented to the 4th Pan-Asiatic Linguistics Conference (Reid 1996).

When I arrived, Dul was nursing her tenth child, and Okon, now married, was also in the home, mourning the loss of her first child, stillborn only days prior to my arrival. Their oldest son, Sius, lived in an adjacent house with his wife and child; Maman, the second son, who had married a young Tboli woman, was living away from the group with his wife's family. He periodically visited during the time that I was there. His first child was born a couple of months after my arrival. The other children of the family, Diha?, Sungo, Talihin, Dihut, Klohonon, and Fakal also lived in the house, except during periods when the older children accompanied their father on trips to gather palm pith, or to another area of the forest that they were cutting back to form a new *kaingin*.

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

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

Datu? Dudim's son Mafalu was invited to come from Blit and was requested to assist by providing Blit Manobo equivalents for the Tasaday terms that Belayem would give me. Mafalu was one of the few available Manobo-speaking Blit villagers who could communicate also in Tagalog. He was, in addition, the

brother-in-law (twice over) of Belayem, and had been in contact with the group for at least the last twenty-three years.

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

5. The Data

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

Before long, however, I began to become suspicious of the data that Belayem was giving. I noted that he was making a conscious effort to distinguish the forms he gave me from those of Mafalu. Sometimes he would do this by simply switching the affixation of a verb, or by using a different pronominal ending. At other times, it seemed that the forms that he was giving me were deliberate phonological distortions of Blit forms. Data sets 1-56 (see Appendix) are examples of some of these items. However, systematic comparison of the data with Kulaman Valley Manobo showed that at least some of the forms (e.g., sets 57-60) corresponded exactly to their Kulaman Valley cognates, and it was

the Blit form that was phonologically different. This kind of evidence suggested that the irregular forms were not entirely the result of conscious distortion, but rather that at least some of the cases were the result of unconscious, sporadic phonological change. Nevertheless, by the end of the second period of residence in the area I was convinced that some of Belayem's forms, which were completely different phonologically from their Blit equivalents, were indeed fabricated by him.

Between the second and third periods of residence with the Tasaday, the task of systematically entering the data into a database was begun,⁶ so that the material could be compared with the Manobo spoken in the Kulaman Valley. At the end of this period, I had a list of about 750 lexical items supposedly used by Tasaday prior to 1971 that were unknown to Mafalu. An additional list of 1,200-1,500 items formed a second lexical set that were known to both Belayem and Mafalu, and constituted the Blit Manobo corpus.

At this point the Manobo dictionary was searched for possible cognates of the 'unique' old Tasaday data, i.e., those forms that Mafalu had claimed were unknown to him. To my considerable surprise I found that a large number (approximately 300) of the items that had seemed to be completely new coinages by Belayem had similar forms in the Kulaman Valley dictionary. A small set of these is given in the Appendix (61-66). However, there remained a large number of forms that had no equivalents in any of the lexical sources then available to me, forms that are potentially evidence of fabrication; but on the other hand such forms may be genuinely unique, old Tasaday terms. A short list of these items is given in datasets 67-86.

A comparison with other Philippine languages of a number of the Tasaday forms that have no Blit or Kulaman Manobo equivalents, revealed that there are a number that do have possible cognates in other Manobo languages (sets 88, 90, 92, 93), and some that have cognates with languages outside the Manobo group (sets 89, 91, 94, 95, 96), but not with Manobo languages. Such forms are potentially of great value in establishing the relative length of time that the Tasaday language may have been developing independently from other Manobo languages; that is, they are possibly retentions of forms that have

⁶ The program used was Shoebox, a database program for linguists developed by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

been lost in other Manobo languages but which are still retained in Tasaday. At this point, however, the possibility of their being borrowings, or alternatively that cognates will turn up in other Manobo languages, must still be considered.

Of the forms that were known to both Belayem and Mafalu, a considerable number showed some kind of semantic change. Usually a Tasaday form was claimed to have a wider reference than its Blit equivalent (see datasets 97-116). A few sets show a narrower reference (117-18), while others show a clear semantic shift (119-29).

One of the features of Tasaday that has been mentioned a number of times in the literature to support the claim of an extended period of isolation from other groups is the lack of borrowed terms from Spanish or other languages for concepts (such as 'war'), or for post-western contact cultural items that are a ubiquitous part of Blit and other surrounding languages but which were supposedly unknown to the Tasaday prior to 1971. Typically in the Philippines, terms for such items are adapted from a donor language, either Spanish or more recently English. Tasaday is unusual among Philippine languages in that not only are such forms absent, but that even today there is a clear avoidance of them. Belayem consistently used either paraphrastic expressions or metaphorical extensions of 'native' Tasaday terms for items that are claimed to have been introduced to the Tasaday since 1971. Data sets 130-53 are examples of some of these. The data provided by Belayem are unusual in other respects. Data sets 154-73 are paraphrastic expressions for terms that are not introduced concepts, but are items that languages typically have single lexical items for, although at least the term for 'river' (154) is in many languages simply the term otherwise translated as 'water'. This data is suspect and may have been constructed by Belayem to further distinguish his dialect from that of Blit. His choice of one of the terms of certain synonym sets (such as those in 174-5) found in both Blit and Kulaman, while denying the use of the other, was also a practice admitted by Dul to Pascal Lays while I was there as a means of distinguishing the two dialects. Although now only the first member of such sets is used by Belayem, the other member was commonly recorded by earlier researchers, such as Molony (1976), and it still appears in certain fixed expressions such as 133, 143.

The absence of Spanish borrowings has never seriously been challenged, but there are a couple of forms that probably show them. Early word lists, such as that by Molony (1976: 85), give the word *larjit* for ‘sky’, a term which has cognates in Blit, Kulaman, and many other Philippine languages. Presently Belayem uses the term *lugabuan* ‘sky’. This is almost certainly a paraphrastic expressions meaning ‘place of the moon’ combined from a Spanish term widely distributed throughout the Philippines, *lugar* ‘place’ with regular loss of the final *l* (from *r*) plus what appears to be the Tagalog form *buwan* ‘moon’. It is no doubt a term of recent provenance.⁷ The other form *epe?* has an older provenance in the group, in that it appears in Molony (1976: 78). It is transcribed there as *?efe?* ‘spirit’, with *?efe? ilib* ‘owner of the cave, the white-haired spirit’. This is probably the Spanish form also widely distributed in Philippine languages, *jefe* ‘chief, leader’, there being no other Philippine terms meaning ‘spirit’ or ‘owner’ with which it could reasonably be associated.

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

Tboli influence on verbal morphology is seen in Belayem’s use of the *-in-* affix. In Tboli, the affix does not mark completive aspect as it does in Kulaman and other Philippine languages. It is simply the marker of what is commonly

⁷ Editors’ note: Subsequent research with a speaker of Kulaman Valley Manobo, revealed that this analysis is incorrect. The word is actually *lugabu* with a locative suffix *-an*, and was not a compound of Spanish and Tagalog as had originally been suspected.

called an ‘object focus’ verb, and can therefore appear on verbs that have future time reference, and even on imperative forms. This use of the infix is not unique to Belayem. It is commonly heard also in Blit.

6. Conclusions

The data discussed above appear to be of two very different kinds and lead to two quite different conclusions. A person who is skeptical of the authenticity of the Tasaday would focus on one set and surely jump to the conclusion that here is the evidence that is needed to settle the case: distorted forms, borrowings from Spanish, influence from Tboli, apparent coinages, and a host of paraphrases apparently developed by Belayem to make his language different from that of his Blit neighbors. Such a conclusion would have to disregard the other set; namely, the considerable body of data that apparently does not have Blit equivalents (at least not according to Mafalu), but for which corresponding forms can be found in either Kulaman Valley—an area which Belayem has never visited—or most importantly, in neither Blit nor Kulaman but in other Manobo languages or even in more distant Philippine languages.

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

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

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

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

A number of interesting parallels can be drawn between the Tasaday in south-east Asia and another ethnolinguistic group that has recently been described—the Minor Mlabri, an 'evasive' and 'extremely shy' group of hunter-gatherers (only eleven surviving members), living in the border area between North Thailand and Laos (Rischel 1995). In many parts of the description of this group one could replace the name Minor Mlabri with Tasaday without doing violence to the facts. Rischel describes them as follows:

They have in the past lived on food they could find by moving about in the dense forests of the high mountains without settling for more than a few days in any particular place. Until recently their shyness and ability to hide in the forest has prevented their culture and language from being exposed to outsiders except for a few encounters with expeditions (Rischel 1995:23)

He cites Boeles's (1963:150) description of them as 'a group of people who have not known a stone age and thus have no pottery, who do not make their own clothing, who do not practice agriculture, who do not build houses, and who do not wear ornaments'. He suggests that, 'their culture may even reflect *regressions* from more developed stages to a survival culture' (Rischel 1995:22).

There is another, larger group of Mlabri (the 'β-Mlabri'), previously studied by Rischel, hence the term Minor Mlabri (or 'α-Mlabri') for the smaller group that he describes. The larger group have given up a hunter-gatherer lifestyle. Rischel says that they are rapidly adjusting to a peasant life since it is becoming impossible to sustain life on the things they can gather in the forest. The α-

Mlabri on the other hand, still prefer to stay in the forest as much as possible in an attempt to survive as part-time hunter-gatherers (Rischel 1995:36).

The relationship between the two Mlabri groups parallels in several respects the relationship between the Tasaday and the Blit groups. Rischel states:

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

Structurally, the two kinds of Mlabri are so extremely close that one may speak of sub-dialects of one dialect. **The two varieties have almost the same phonology and morphology**, and to the extent that lexical material is shared, it occurs in largely the same phonological shape... There are SEGMENTAL differences between α -Mlabri and β -Mlabri in the pronunciation of several words, but there is also idiolectal variation... The lexical differences may have at least three different causes. They may in some cases reflect the existence of synonymous (or near-synonymous) word pairs in Old Mlabri. Synonymy was then lost as one variety retained only one word, and the other variety retained only the other synonym: ... there are several instances where one variety of Mlabri has an ordinary Mon-Khmer etymon whereas the other variety has a word exhibiting peculiar features, **suggesting that it is a deliberate innovation...** Often a word used in one variety is known but considered obsolete or stigmatized by speakers of the other variety. In several instances **speakers even deny any knowledge of a word used by the other group**. The linguistics attitudes toward lexical materials is a complex issue... **The differences in lexicon are so great that one would not expect easy intercommunication between the two groups...** This lexical divergence, as contrasted with the structural similarity of the two varieties of Mlabri, must be recent but is so strong **that it suggests an effort to mark the distinction between the α - and β -Mlabri**. (Rischel 1995:16, 26-7; bold emphasis added)

The linguistic characteristics noted by Rischel which distinguish the two Mlabri dialects are precisely those that are found between Blit and Tasaday; namely, almost identical phonology and morphology; lexicon which is very divergent between the two groups suggesting, at least in some cases, (relatively) recent deliberate innovation in order to mark the difference between the two groups. The two situations are, however, not completely parallel. The two Mlabri groups continue to avoid one another and to maintain their linguistic distinctiveness, whereas the Blit and the Tasaday now intermarry, and are

merging as a single group, with the children of Tasaday families studying in school in Blit, and speaking Blit Manobo in the home rather than using the Tasaday forms of their parents, just as the children of mixed Tasaday-Blit families do.

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

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

Abbreviations

Language abbreviations

BON..... Bontok
 ILK..... Ilokano
 ITGB Binongan Itneg
 KLM..... Kulaman
 MBOBKD Binukid Manobo
 MBOSRN..... Sarangani Manobo
 PMP Proto-Malayo Polynesian
 SBLBT Botolan Sambal

Other abbreviations

euph euphemism
 k.o. kind of
 loc. location
 var..... variant

SML Samal
SUBS..... Sindangan Subanun
TAG Tagalog
TBL..... Tboli
TSD..... Tasaday

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Appendix: Tasaday Data

Possible phonologically distorted Tasaday forms

1. Tasaday *be?e?* ‘grandparent, grandchild’
Blit *bebe?* ‘grandparent, grandchild’
2. Tasaday *bəli?əgaŋ*⁸ ‘molar’
Blit *bi?əgaŋ*, KLM *bi?igaŋ* ‘molar’
3. Tasaday *bikət* (var. *dikət*)⁹ ‘sticky’
Blit, KLM *liməkət* ‘sticky’
4. Tasaday *bulas* ‘semen’
Blit, KLM *bulos* ‘semen’
5. Tasaday *bulat* ‘flower’
Blit, KLM *bulok* ‘flower’

⁸ This phonological distortion by infixation of *-əl-* is identical to that used by Belayem in his pronunciation of the English word ‘beginning’ in the sitio name *nu bəliginiŋ* (‘New Beginning’), as well as in other items such as *təligəsa* ‘other’ (no. 50), and a subsequently rejected variant of *ku?ku?* ‘cough’ (no. 91).

⁹ Both Tasaday pronunciations differ from the Blit and Kulaman forms, but at least *dikət* has cognates distributed widely throughout the Philippines, including other Manobo languages. Cognates with an initial bilabial stop (but usually voiceless) are also found throughout the archipelago (see Reid 1971: 140). The TSD *d-* / BLT, KLM *l-* correspondence seen here is, however, also found in no. 7 *datək* ‘leech’, where it is the *l-* initial form which has greater historical validity.

6. Tasaday *butəd* (var. *libutəd*) ‘k.o. edible wood grub living in sago palms’
Blit *gutəd basag* ‘k.o. edible wood grub living in sago palms’
7. Tasaday *datək* ‘k.o. leech’
Blit *limatək* ‘k.o. leech’
8. Tasaday *dəpəŋ* ‘to be next to one another’
Blit *lətəŋ* ‘to be next to one another’
9. Tasaday *əlam* (əg-) ‘feel sick’, (*nək-*) ‘menstruate’
Tasaday *əla?* ‘pain, injury’; KLM *əla?* ‘crack’
10. Tasaday *gədub* (var. *kedub*) ‘hot’ (weather); ‘fever’
Blit, KLM *ədup* ‘hot’ (weather); ‘fever’
11. Tasaday *gipis* (var. *nigpis*, *lugpipi?*) ‘thin’
Blit *nipis* ‘thin’
12. Tasaday *haya?haya?* (var. *kaya?kaya?*) ‘knee’
KLM *kaya?kaya?* ‘knee’
13. Tasaday *iyub* ‘back of a person’
Blit, KLM *iyug* ‘back of a person’
14. Tasaday *kayampeŋ* ‘hawk’
Blit *kayamba* ‘hawk’
15. Tasaday *kəbugat* ‘k.o. bird’
Blit *bugat* ‘k.o. bird’
16. Tasaday *kələwawan* (var. *lawawan*) ‘body’
Blit *lawa* ‘body’
17. Tasaday *kuməlukesan* ‘old man, old woman’
Blit *lukəs* ‘old man, married man’; KLM *lukəs* ‘old man, old woman’
18. Tasaday *lakipəs* ‘k.o. civet cat’
Blit *kipəs* ‘k.o. civet cat’
19. Tasaday *lambuyug* ‘k.o. bumblebee’
Blit *təbuləg* ‘k.o. bumblebee’
20. Tasaday *ləbaw* ‘to swell, of an injured limb or a flooded river’
Blit, KLM *ləbag* ‘to swell, of an injured limb or a flooded river’
21. Tasaday *ləgəme?* ‘noise of tearing’
Blit *ləgisi?* ‘noise of tearing’
22. Tasaday *ləgka?* ‘to depart; to leave’
Blit, KLM *ləgkaŋ* ‘to depart; to leave’
23. Tasaday *ləha* ‘testicle’
Blit, KLM *laha* ‘testicle’
24. Tasaday *ləkotok* ‘to boil, bubble’
Blit, KLM *lukotok* ‘to boil, bubble’
25. Tasaday *ləkud* (var. *səkud*) ‘flesh, muscle’
Blit, KLM *əkud* ‘flesh, muscle’
26. Tasaday *ləmol* ‘rattan fruit’
Blit *limulan* ‘rattan fruit’
27. Tasaday *ləpa?* ‘arm span, space between the tips of one’s outstretched arms’
Blit *lipo* ‘arm span, space between the tips of one’s outstretched arms’

28. Tasaday *libəl* ‘to throw away, throw out’
Blit *diwəl* ‘to throw away, throw out’
29. Tasaday *linabu?*¹⁰ ‘to fall’
Blit, KLM *nabu?* ‘to fall’
30. Tasaday *lugaŋan* ‘parent-in-law; co-parent-in-law’
Blit, KLM *nugaŋan* ‘parent-in-law; co-parent-in-law’
31. Tasaday *lugkip* ‘to have a piece cut out’
Blit *lugkab* ‘to have a piece cut out’
32. Tasaday *lugkug* ‘hunched, stooped’
Blit *logkog* ‘hunched, stooped’
33. Tasaday *lugpayas* ‘nice, bright, clear, good weather, smooth, light, beautiful’
Blit *lugkayat* ‘nice, bright, clear, good weather, smooth, light, beautiful’
34. Tasaday *lumitan* ‘k.o. moss’
Blit *lumut* ‘k.o. moss’
35. Tasaday *məʔambəm* ‘man’
Blit, KLM *məʔama* ‘man’
36. Tasaday *məʔitas* ‘crow’
Blit *məʔitəs* ‘crow, dark feathered domesticated chicken’
Blit, KLM *uwak* ‘crow’
37. Tasaday *nadəg* ‘odor; smell, good or bad’
Blit, KLM *ŋadəg* ‘odor; smell, good or bad’
38. Tasaday *pulut* ‘to tie, as a string, the top of a skirt’
Blit, KLM *sigpalut* ‘to tie, as a string, the top of a skirt’
39. Tasaday *pundaŋ* ‘buttocks’
Blit, KLM *punuk* ‘buttocks’
40. Tasaday *saluŋan* ‘shadow’
Blit, KLM *aluŋ* ‘shadow’
41. Tasaday *saluwaga* ‘k.o. snake’
Blit *suwaga* ‘k.o. snake’
42. Tasaday *səluʔuŋ* ‘hat’
Blit *səlaʔuŋ* ‘hat’
43. Tasaday *sinəm* ‘mole on one’s body’
Blit, KLM *sonəm* ‘mole on one’s body’
44. Tasaday *susu?* ‘breast’
Blit *susu* ‘breast’
45. Tasaday *takəwəs* ‘stomach’
Blit *təkuwan*, *təkuwis*, KLM *təkuwəs* ‘stomach’
46. Tasaday *taŋəg* ‘to nod one’s head’
Blit *taŋu?*, KLM *taŋu* ‘to nod one’s head’
KLM *taŋəd* ‘to shake uncontrollably, of one’s head or hands’

¹⁰ This Tasaday form may be a reflex of an older form of the Manobo cognates. Cf. SML *labu*, and SUBS *labu?* ‘to fall’.

47. Tasaday *tawawan* ‘person’
Blit, Klm *ətaw* ‘person’
48. Tasaday *təkəmu?* ‘to grab’
Blit *kəmu?* ‘to grab’
49. Tasaday *tələgkəb* ‘to lie on one’s stomach’
Blit, KLM *lagkəb* ‘to lie on one’s stomach’
50. Tasaday *təligəsa* ‘other’
Blit *tigəsa* ‘other’
51. Tasaday *təlub* ‘belch’
Blit *təlaʔiyub* ‘belch’
52. Tasaday *tigdudu?* (var. *tignudu?*) ‘index finger’
Blit *tigtudu?*, KLM *katudu?* ‘index finger’
53. Tasaday *toko?* ‘short’
Blit, KLM *poko?* ‘short’
54. Tasaday *tugʔinəp* ‘dream’
Blit *tigʔinəp*, KLM *təgəʔinəp* ‘dream’
55. Tasaday *tulu* ‘fingernail, toenail’
Blit, KLM *sulu* ‘fingernail, toenail’
56. Tasaday *tunjal* (var. *təŋal*)¹¹ ‘nape of neck’
Blit, KLM *təŋal* ‘nape of neck’

Phonological change in Blit but NOT in Tasaday

57. Tasaday *kumabus* ‘rib cage’; KLM *kumabus* ‘lower ribs’
Blit *kəməbus* ‘lower ribs’
58. Tasaday, KLM *səgələt* ‘sound of creaking, grinding’
Blit *sələgək* ‘sound of creaking, grinding’
59. Tasaday, KLM *bahaʔən* ‘to sneeze’
Blit *baʔən* ‘to sneeze’
60. Tasaday, KLM *lipədəŋ* ‘to close one’s eyes’
Blit *pemidenj* ‘to close one’s eyes’

Tasaday forms shared with Kulaman, but NOT with Blit

61. Tasaday, KLM *ələd* (-um-) ‘sink in water, set (of the sun)’
Blit *sandəp*, *agdaw* ‘sunset’
62. Tasaday, KLM *hibat* ‘lie down on one’s back’
Blit *dəga?* ‘lie down on one’s back’
63. Tasaday *lagas* ‘female genitals’; KLM *lagas* ‘seed, fruit; female genitals (euph)’
Blit, KLM *bəti?* ‘female genitals’
64. Tasaday, KLM *pəŋiyab* ‘yawn’
Blit *kəluwab* ‘yawn’

¹¹ Variant forms with loss of final *-l* were both recorded. This phonological process commonly occurs in both Blit and Tasaday.

65. Tasaday, KLM *ələt* ‘space between two objects’
Blit *tiwada?* ‘space between two objects’
66. Tasaday, KLM *səgodoy* ‘drag; pull something’
Blit *hənat* ‘drag; pull something’

Possible Tasaday unique forms

67. Tasaday *əngel* ‘angry’
Blit, KLM *bulit* ‘angry’
68. Tasaday *bələrus* ‘nose’
Blit, KLM *idun* ‘nose’
69. Tasaday *bəliboy* ‘child, young’
Blit, KLM *anak; bata?* ‘child, young’
70. Tasaday *bətikənan* ‘lower leg, ankle area’
Blit *sokil, pəniŋtiŋ* ‘lower leg, ankle area’
71. Tasaday *bugəl* ‘base (as of a tree)’
Blit, KLM *pəsu* ‘base (as of a tree)’
72. Tasaday *dawdaw* ‘be near’
Blit, KLM *dapag* ‘be near’
73. Tasaday *dontot* ‘drink’
Blit, KLM *inəm* ‘drink’
74. Tasaday *kuməmil* ‘touch’
Blit, KLM *kuməbit* ‘touch’
75. Tasaday *kundom* ‘eat’
Blit, KLM *ka?ən* ‘eat’
76. Tasaday *lagiŋsiŋan* (var. *lagisiŋan*) ‘curly, of hair’
Blit *kulət* ‘curly, of hair’
77. Tasaday *ləgədol* ‘chin’
Blit *bəha?*, KLM *baha?* ‘chin’
78. Tasaday *lətəkok* (var. *ligtəkok*) ‘to vomit’
Blit *suwa*, KLM *suwah* ‘to vomit’
79. Tasaday *paliŋan* ‘wind’
Blit, KLM *kəlamag* ‘wind’
80. Tasaday *ludad* ‘liver’
Blit, KLM *atay* ‘liver’
81. Tasaday *tələwon* ‘orphan’
Blit, KLM *nə?ilu* ‘orphan’
82. Tasaday *pəglo?on* ‘sun’
Blit, KLM *agdaw* ‘sun’
83. Tasaday *sagdigan*¹² ‘hear, listen’
Blit, KLM *dinəgan* ‘hear, listen’
84. Tasaday *subəŋan*¹³ ‘answer’
Blit, KLM *sagbi?* ‘answer’

¹² Also recorded as *sandigan*.

85. Tasaday *tənək* ‘thorn’
Blit, KLM *dugi* ‘thorn’
86. Tasaday *tupasan* ‘soil, earth, ground’
Blit, KLM *tana?* ‘soil, earth, ground’

Tasaday forms NOT shared with Blit or Klm, but found in other languages

87. Tasaday *bəliwəs*; BON *balliwəs*¹⁴ ‘dance’
Blit *adal* ‘dance’; KLM *sayaw, dəlayaw* ‘dance’
88. Tasaday *dələman*; MBOSRN *dələm*; MBOBKD *dələman* ‘night’
Blit, KLM *sigəp* ‘night’
89. Tasaday *duda*; TAG *dura?*; SUBS, SBLBT *dula?* ‘spit’
Blit, KLM *iləb* ‘spit’
90. Tasaday *huməs*; MBOSRN *aməs*; MBOBKD *haməs* ‘wet’; BON *?əməs* ‘take a bath’
Blit, KLM *pələ?* ‘wet’
91. Tasaday *ku?ku?*; ¹⁵ BON *?uk?uk*; SBLBT *'kuku?* ‘cough’
Blit, KLM *buha?* ‘cough’
92. Tasaday *lipot*; ¹⁶ Tboli *lipot*; MBOBKD, ILK *lipat* ‘forget’
Blit, KLM *lipəŋ* ‘forget’
93. Tasaday *lisaha?* ‘head louse’; ¹⁷ MBOSRN *liseha?* (< PMP *liseSeq) ‘nit, louse egg’
Blit, KLM *kutu* ‘head louse’
94. Tasaday *liyaŋ* ‘a natural hole in the ground’; BON *liyaŋ* ‘cave’
Blit *kokob* ‘a natural hole in the ground’; KLM *tosəŋ* ‘hole’
95. Tasaday *mələm* ‘afternoon’; NB: PMP *elem ‘shade, darkness’
Blit *mapun*, KLM *məhapun* ‘afternoon’
96. Tasaday *sakat*¹⁸ ‘leg and hoof of an animal’; TAG, ITGB *saka* ‘leg’
Blit *səki*, KLM *kələmagiŋ* ‘hoof of an animal’

Tasaday forms showing semantic extension

97. Tasaday *balu't baŋag* ‘head hair, eyebrow’
Blit, KLM *balu't ulu* ‘head, skull’
98. Tasaday *baŋag* ‘head, skull’
Blit *baŋag* ‘head, skull’

¹³ Note KLM *subəŋ* ‘handle of a tool’.

¹⁴ In Bontok, *balliwəs* is ‘dance in a circle’. The form of the first vowel and the doubled consonant following it indicates that it is probably borrowed from one of the Cagayan Valley languages in which *ə > a, and reflects an earlier form *bəliwəs.

¹⁵ Also recorded as *kəlu?ku?*, but this form was subsequently rejected.

¹⁶ Possibly a borrowing from Tboli.

¹⁷ Note that both KLM *kutu*, and TSD *lisaha?* *ləgləg* have the extended meaning of ‘sparks throw off by a fire, flying ashes’, implying that the Tasaday circumlocution here is a coinage of recent origin.

¹⁸ That this is not a borrowing from Tagalog or from some other language is suggested by the final *t*, probably a frozen genitive form found on certain other body parts in Tasaday, Blit, and Kulaman, e.g., *balu't ulu* ‘hair of head’.

99. Tasaday *ləgləg* ‘fire’
Blit, KLM *ləgləg* ‘flame’; Blit, KLM *apuy* ‘fire’
100. Tasaday *dita?* ‘blood, sap, resin’
Blit, KLM *dita?* ‘sap, resin’; Blit *nəpanug*, KLM *dəpanug* ‘blood’
101. Tasaday *əpuy* ‘snake’ (general term)
Blit *əpuy* ‘snake species’; Blit *uləd* ‘snake’ (general term)
102. Tasaday *mətimbulu* ‘male genitals’
Blit, KLM *bulu* ‘rounded, bulging’; Blit, KLM *lasu?* ‘penis’
103. Tasaday *bitbit* ‘to bring, to carry’
Blit, KLM *bitbit* ‘to hold in one’s free swinging hand’
Blit, KLM *uwit* ‘carry’
104. Tasaday *əlam* (*əg-*) ‘feel sick’, (*nək-*) ‘menstruate’
Blit *paʔan* (*mə-*) ‘happen, be sick, menstruate’
Blit *haʔa* (*nəkə-*) ‘menstruate’; KLM *bulan* (*-ən*) ‘menstruate’
105. Tasaday *haʔa* (*-um-*) ‘see, know, be acquainted with’; *pehaʔa* ‘eye’
Blit, KLM *haʔa* (*-um-*) ‘see’; Blit, KLM *mata* ‘eye’
Blit, KLM *kilala?* ‘know, be acquainted with’
106. Tasaday *ilib* ‘cave, shelter, house’
Blit *ilib* ‘cave’; KLM *ilib* ‘boulder, stone face of a cliff’
Blit *lawi?* ‘field shelter’; KLM *lawi* ‘temporary shelter’; Blit, KLM *dalasan* ‘house’
107. Tasaday *kumabus* ‘rib cage’
Blit *kəmabus*; KLM *kumabus* ‘lower ribs’
108. Tasaday *mələwis* ‘tree’
KLM *lawis* ‘sapling’; Blit, KLM *kayu* ‘tree’
109. Tasaday *litay* (*-um-*) ‘walk the length of a fallen log’; *lunitay* ‘monkey’
Blit, KLM *litay* (*-um-*) ‘walk the length of a fallen log’; Blit, KLM *ubal* ‘monkey’
110. Tasaday *məliton* ‘female’
Blit, KLM *məliton* ‘old woman; married woman with children’; Blit, KLM *bayi* ‘female’
111. Tasaday *mələk* ‘chicken; bird’
Blit, KLM *mələk* ‘wild chicken’; Blit, KLM *manuk* ‘domesticated chicken; bird’
112. Tasaday *mətuluk* ‘stone’
Blit *mətuluk* ‘kind of stone’; Blit, KLM *batu* ‘stone’
113. Tasaday *saba?* (*-an*) ‘hold in one’s hand; grasp; get; receive’
Blit, KLM *saba?* (*-an*) ‘hold in one’s hand; grasp’; Blit, KLM *kuwa* ‘get; receive’
114. Tasaday *səbaŋ* ‘moon’
KLM *səbaŋ* ‘first quarter of the moon’; Blit, KLM *bulan* ‘moon’
115. Tasaday *təpəs* ‘betel chew’; (*-um-*) ‘to chew on, as betel, sugarcane’
Blit, KLM *təpəs* (*-um-*) ‘to chew on, as sugarcane’; Blit, KLM *mama?* ‘betel chew’
116. Tasaday *ugah* ‘plaintain, wild banana, domesticated banana’
Blit *ugah* ‘k.o. banana’; Blit, KLM *sagiŋ* ‘banana, generic’

Tasaday forms showing semantic narrowing

117. Tasaday *daməs* ‘rain’
Blit, KLM *daməs* ‘storm, wind and rain for several days’

118. Tasaday *lagas* ‘female genitals’
KLM *lagas* ‘seed, fruit; female genitals (euphemism)’; Blit, KLM *bəti?* ‘female genitals’

Tasaday forms showing semantic shift

119. Tasaday *dompol* (-um-) ‘have intercourse’
KLM *dumpal* (-um-) ‘collide with something, bang into something’; Blit, KLM *iyut* (-um-) ‘have intercourse’
120. Tasaday *əla?*¹⁹ ‘pain, injury’
KLM *əla?* ‘crack, as in wood, glass, cement, etc.’; Blit, KLM *sakit* (mə-) ‘pain, sickness’;
Blit *ladu* (-in-) ‘feel sick’; Blit, KLM *pali* (-an) ‘injury, wound’
121. Tasaday *ima* (tig-) ‘give’
KLM *ima* (əgpə-) ‘feign to offer something to someone’; Blit, KLM *bəgay* (əg-) ‘give’
122. Tasaday *kəlamag* (pə-) ‘have intercourse (euphemism)’
Blit, KLM *kəlamag* ‘wind’
123. Tasaday *ləkən* ‘tongue’
KLM *ləkən* ‘shrink back, e.g., person anticipating attack, elastic after stretching’; Blit, KLM *dila?* ‘tongue’
124. Tasaday *lukəsan* ‘father’
Blit *lukəs* ‘old man, married man’, KLM *lukəs* ‘old man, old woman’; Blit, KLM *əma?* ‘father’
125. Tasaday *səgdig* (-an) ‘ear’; (-um-) ‘hear, listen’²⁰
Blit, KLM *səgdig* (-um-, i-) ‘lean against’; Blit, KLM *təliŋa* ‘ear’
126. Tasaday *təbul* ‘water’
Blit, KLM *təbulan* ‘spring, natural water source from ground’; Blit, KLM *wəyəg* ‘water’
127. Tasaday *təliŋa* (-um-) ‘hear, listen’
Blit, KLM *təliŋa* ‘ear’; Blit, KLM *dinəg* (-um-) ‘hear, listen’
128. Tasaday *tigbas* ‘right hand’; (i-) ‘to use one’s right hand’; (-um-) ‘strike with a bolo’
Blit, KLM *tigbas* (-um-) ‘strike with a bolo or other tool’; Blit, KLM *kuwanan* ‘right hand’
129. Tasaday *ukitan*²¹ ‘trail, path, road’
KLM *ukitan* ‘to pass by or through’; Blit, KLM *dalan* ‘trail, path, road’

Tasaday paraphrases and metaphorical extensions, post-1971

130. Tasaday *baŋi?* ‘clothes’, (-um-) ‘wear clothes’
Cf. *baŋi?* ‘k.o. ground orchid with wide leaves’
131. Tasaday *basag lati?* ‘coconut palm’
Cf. *basag* ‘sago palm’, *lati?* ‘brush, small trees; vegetation outside rain forest’
Blit, KLM *ləpo?* ‘coconut’; *lati?* ‘brush, small trees’

¹⁹ For example: *du?ən əla? pəha? ku*
there.is pain eye my
‘My eye is painful.’

²⁰ See also TSD *tuməliŋa* ‘hear, listen’.

²¹ Variant *nukitan*.

132. Tasaday *bəgiyaŋ* ‘corn, maize’
 Cf. *bəgiyaŋ* ‘k.o. rain forest plant’
 Blit, KLM *kəlaŋ* ‘corn, maize’
133. Tasaday *bitog momo? dakəl* ‘canned sardines’
 Cf. *bitog* ‘tadpole’, *momo? dakəl* ‘Big Uncle’²²
134. Tasaday *butu? basag lati?* ‘fruit of the coconut palm’
 Cf. *butu?* ‘lump, rounded thing’ (see *basag lati?* above)
 Blit, KLM *ləpo?* ‘fruit of the coconut palm’
135. Tasaday *da?un kayu* ‘money’
 Cf. *da?un* ‘leaf’; *kayu* ‘tree’
 Blit, KLM *pilak* ‘money’
136. Tasaday *hibatan* ‘mattress’
 Cf. *hibat* ‘lie down on one’s back’
 Blit *tilam* ‘mattress’
137. Tasaday *kətilis mata* ‘to be drunk’
 Cf. *kətilis* ‘turn, spin’, *mata* ‘eye’
 Blit, KLM *məkəhilu* ‘to be drunk’
138. Tasaday *kudit (-um-)* ‘to write’
 Cf. *kudit* ‘k.o. plant with leaf markings’
 Blit, KLM *sulat* ‘to write’
139. Tasaday *kulinsuŋ* ‘flashlight’
 Cf. *kulinsuŋ* ‘fire drill’
 Blit, KLM *pasla?it* ‘flashlight’
140. Tasaday *luyuŋ məlawis* ‘large brass gong’
 Cf. *luyuŋ* ‘hidden’, *məlawis* ‘wood, tree’
 Blit, KLM *səlagi* ‘large brass gong’
141. Tasaday *maghalin* ‘lowlander; those who move to the boundaries of the reservation’
 Cf. TAG *maghalin* ‘to move’
 Blit *kristiano* ‘Christian settler, lowlander’
142. Tasaday *məbukəh balu’t baŋag* ‘Caucasian’
 Cf. *məbukəh* ‘write’, *balu’t baŋag* ‘hair of the head’
 Blit *amərikano* ‘Caucasian’
143. Tasaday *natək momo? dakəl* ‘husked or cooked rice’
 Cf. *natək* ‘palm starch’, *momo? dakəl* ‘Big Uncle’
 Blit, KLM *bəgas* ‘husked rice’
144. Tasaday *ninan* ‘Moslem’
 Cf. Blit *ninan* ‘word commonly used by Moslems’
145. Tasaday *pa?is tupasan* ‘shovel, pick, mattock’
 Cf. *pa?is* ‘tool’, *tupasan* ‘earth’
 Blit *pala* ‘shovel’, *sadul* ‘mattock’

²² Ethnonym for Manuel Elizalde, Jr.

146. Tasaday *pəlaʔpaʔ bəgiyaŋ* ‘corn cob’
 Cf. *pəlaʔpaʔ* ‘growth (?)’, *bəgiyaŋ* ‘corn’
 Blit *tagbu* ‘corn cob’
147. Tasaday *pəlaʔpaʔ ugaŋ* ‘stalk of banana’
 Cf. *pəlaʔpaʔ* ‘growth (?)’, *ugaŋ* ‘banana’
 Blit *tagduk* ‘stalk of bananas’
148. Tasaday *puyut dugi* ‘shoe, slipper’
 Cf. *puyut* ‘cloth bag’, *dugi* ‘thorn’
 Blit, KLM *talumpaʔ* ‘shoe’
149. Tasaday *səkəg baŋag* ‘pillow’
 Cf. *səkəg* ‘support’, *baŋag* ‘head’
 Blit *dənanan*, KLM *dananan* ‘pillow’
150. Tasaday *taguʔan* ‘sheath of a bolo or knife’
 Cf. *taguʔan* ‘hiding place’
 Blit, KLM *gumaʔ* ‘sheath of a bolo or knife’
151. Tasaday *tinosoŋ məlawis* ‘mortar’
 Cf. *tinosoŋ* ‘hollowed’, *məlawis* ‘wood, tree’
 Blit, KLM *ləsuŋ* ‘mortar’
152. Tasaday *usa mətaʔəs lisən* ‘horse’
 Cf. *usa* ‘large animal’, *mətaʔəs* ‘long’, *lisən* ‘leg’
 Blit *kudaʔ* ‘horse’
153. Tasaday *usa paŋawan* ‘water buffalo’
 Cf. *usa* ‘large animal’, *paŋawan* ‘having horns’
 Blit, KLM *kalabaw* ‘water buffalo’

Tasaday paraphrastic expressions, pre-1971

154. Tasaday *amayan təbulan* ‘river’
 Cf. *amayan* ‘big’, *təbulan* ‘water + loc’
 Blit *dakəl wayəg* ‘river’
155. Tasaday *amayan hayaʔhayaʔ* ‘thigh, upper leg’
 Cf. *amayan* ‘big’, *hayaʔhayaʔ* ‘leg’
 Blit, KLM *bubun* ‘thigh, upper leg’
156. Tasaday *amayan ŋuŋut* ‘molar’²³
 Cf. *amayan* ‘big’, *ŋuŋut* ‘tooth’
 Blit *biʔəgaŋ*, KLM *biʔigaŋ* ‘molar’
157. Tasaday *aŋayan təbul* ‘fetch water’
 Cf. *aŋayan* ‘go-for’, *təbul* ‘water’
 Blit *səkədu* ‘fetch water’, KLM *səkədu* ‘bamboo water container’

²³ An alternative Tasaday term, *bəliʔəgaŋ* ‘molar’, was subsequently elicited. However, it should be noted that a number of circumlocutions for teeth appear in Errington and Errington’s (1981) dictionary of the Kulaman dialect, for example, *ŋipən ulu* ‘upper front teeth’ (lit. ‘teeth of head’), *ŋipən bahaʔ* ‘lower front teeth’ (lit. ‘teeth of chin’), and *ŋipən tuyəŋ* ‘eye teeth’ (lit. ‘teeth of dog’).

158. Tasaday *balu't məluk* 'feather'
Cf. *balu't* 'hair-of', *məluk* 'bird'
Blit, KLM *bulbul* 'feather'
159. Tasaday *balu't baŋag* 'eyebrow'
Cf. *balu't* 'hair of', *baŋag* 'head'
Blit, KLM *kəlewəŋ* 'eyebrow'
160. Tasaday *balu't pəha?* 'eyelash'
Cf. *balu't* 'hair of', *pəha?a* 'eye'
Blit, KLM *piləkpilək* 'eyelash'
161. Tasaday *bəliboy lisaha?*²⁴ 'nit'
Cf. *bəliboy* 'child', *lisaha?* 'head louse'
Blit *kəliha?*²⁵ 'nit'
162. Tasaday *buku haya?haya?* 'knee'
Cf. *buku* 'lump', *haya?haya?* 'leg'
Blit *buku lulud*,²⁶ KLM *lulud* 'knee'
163. Tasaday *buku bətikənan* 'ankle'
Cf. *buku* 'lump', *bətikənan* 'lower leg'
Blit *sokil, pəniŋtiŋ* 'ankle'
164. Tasaday *ilib sumakul*²⁷ 'field shelter'
Cf. *ilib* 'shelter', *sumakul* 'pound palm pith'
Blit *lawi?*, KLM *lawi* 'field shelter'
165. Tasaday *limusaŋ lugabuan* 'dew'
Cf. *limusaŋ* 'sweat', *lugabuan* 'sky'
Blit, KLM *agmu?* 'dew'
166. Tasaday *mətibulu lubad* 'gall bladder'
Cf. *mətibulu* 'lump', *lubad* 'liver'
Blit, KLM *pədu* 'gall bladder'
167. Tasaday *nə?uyat idəŋ*²⁸ 'orphan'
Cf. *nə?uyat* 'dead', *idəŋ* 'mother'
Blit, KLM *nə?ilu* 'orphan'
168. Tasaday *nə?uyat tinəlomin* 'widow, widower'
Cf. *nə?uyat* 'dead', *tinəlomin* 'spouse'
Blit, KLM *balu* 'widow, widower'
169. Tasaday *səgoysəy pəha?a*²⁹ 'tear'
Cf. *səgoysəy* 'drip', *pəha?a* 'eye'
Blit, KLM *luha?* 'tear'

²⁴ This term may apply to the egg of the head louse. A different Tasaday term *kuwol* was subsequently elicited for 'nit'.

²⁵ Or, Blit *kəliha*.

²⁶ Lit. lump of lower leg.

²⁷ Temporary shelter for preparation of palm starch.

²⁸ *tələwon* 'orphan' was subsequently elicited.

²⁹ Also recorded as *təbul pəha?a* (lit. 'water of eye')

170. Tasaday *suli? olom*³⁰ ‘answer’
 Cf. *suli?* ‘return’, *olom* ‘speech’
 Blit, KLM *sagbi?* ‘answer’
171. Tasaday *təbul lawawan* ‘sweat’
 Cf. *təbul* ‘body’, *lawawan* ‘water’
 Blit, KLM *limusəŋ* ‘sweat’
172. Tasaday *tosəŋ bəlitaŋ* ‘navel’
 Cf. *tosəŋ* ‘hole’, *bəlitaŋ* ‘umbilical cord’
 Blit, KLM *pusəd* ‘navel’
173. Tasaday *usa məʔidəb bələŋus* ‘pig’
 Cf. *usa* ‘large animal’, *məʔidəb* ‘pointed’, *bələŋus* ‘snout, nose’
 Blit, KLM *babuy* ‘pig’; *usa* ‘deer’

Manobo synonyms restricted in Tasaday

174. Tasaday, Blit, KLM *amayan*; Blit, KLM *dakəl* ‘big’
 175. Tasaday, Blit, KLM *bukeh*; Blit, KLM *bula* ‘white’

Phonological shift

176. Tasaday *dəmpol* ‘have intercourse’
 KLM *dəmpal* ‘collide with something, bang into something’
177. Tasaday *pondol (mi-)* ‘go’
 Blit, KLM *panaw (mi-)* ‘walk’

³⁰ Also recorded as *subəŋan*.