

Notes from the Field: Inagta Alabat: A moribund Philippine language, with supporting audio

Jason William Lobel
University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

Amy Jugueta Alpay
Tribal Chieftain, Alabat Island, Quezon

Rosie Susutin Barreno
Tribal Chieftain, Alabat Island, Quezon

Emelinda Jugueta Barreno
Alabat Island, Quezon

Arguably the most critically-endangered language in the Philippines, Inagta Alabat (also known as Inagta Lopez and Inagta Villa Espina) is spoken by fewer than ten members of the small Agta community on the island of Alabat off the northern coast of Quezon Province on the large northern Philippine island of Luzon, and by an even smaller number of Agta further east in the province. This short sketch provides some brief sociolinguistic notes on the group, followed by an overview of its phoneme system, grammatical subsystems, and verb system. Over 800 audio recordings accompany the article, including 100 sentences, three short narratives, and a list of over 200 basic vocabulary items.

1. Introduction¹ Of the 175 indigenous languages currently spoken in the Philippines (Eberhard et al. 2019), few if any are as critically endangered as the Inagta language spoken on Alabat Island and around Villa Espina in the mountains of the Lopez-Guinayangan area in eastern Quezon Province on the large northern Philippine island

¹The first author wishes to thank his many Agta friends, and their families, on Alabat Island and in Lopez town, including Rosie Susutin Barreno, Chieftain Amy Jugueta Alpay, Emelinda Jugueta Barreno, Pacita Jugueta Villasanta, Arturo Jugueta, Jesus Susutin, Donicia Jugueta, Rosaly Susutin Barreno, Liza Jugueta Alpay, Pilar Susutin Barreno, and Milanio Jugueta; Manide friends including Ronnie Abriol and Emily Casialo who have contributed substantially to this study; consultants for the various other languages mentioned in this paper; Chris Sundita, David Zorc, Manny Tamayao, Bill Hall, Robert Blust, Alisa Hetio and Anthony Grant; and two anonymous referees whose feedback helped improve the paper. Any errors or misrepresentations in this paper are my responsibility alone.

of Luzon (cf. Figure 1).² The language, spoken by a Black Filipino group³ which self-identifies as *Agta* in their own language, is largely unlike neighboring Tagalog and Bikol, and appears to have no close relatives other than Manide to its east (cf. Lobel 2010; 2013). The seemingly discontinuous distribution of the language is the result of relatively recent migrations: the group on Alabat Island, in fact, only began permanently migrating to its present location from Villa Espina in the early 1970s,⁴ and its members still have close family ties to those who remain in Lopez town, with many members of both communities traveling back and forth to visit each other. At present, there are 19 nuclear families on Alabat Island in which at least one parent is at least one-half Agta, yet fewer than ten individuals can speak the language fluently, primarily due to intermarriage with other groups on the island (including the majority Tagalogs among whom they have lived for half a century;⁵ Bikol-speaking immigrants; and Black Filipinos known locally as Dumagat, Katabagan or Katabanglin who predate the arrival of the Agta from Lopez town, but speak only Tagalog as their native language). Back in the mountains of the Lopez-Guinayangan area, the language has fared no better than on Alabat, not due to the dominance of the Tagalog language, but instead to the influx of Manide from Camarines Norte province starting in the 1970s. In fact, according to former chieftain Ronald San Luis (personal communication, 8/20/2014), the approximately 260 Agta (including children) that remain in the Lopez-Guinayangan area are far outnumbered by the Manide who have migrated into that area and with whom most of the Agta have intermarried. At present, only four elderly Agta remain in the Lopez-Guinayangan area who can speak Inagta without considerable interference from Manide, while others who can still speak some Inagta do so with a considerable amount of lexical and grammatical influence from Manide, and it is difficult for them to tease apart the elements of the two languages. As a result, it is now much easier to find Agta in the mountains of Lopez and Guinayangan who speak only Manide and Tagalog, than to find Agta who have an appreciable degree of fluency in their own ancestral language,⁶ and the

²Table 1 includes audio recordings of the names of many of the places and ethnolinguistic groups mentioned in this section.

³The term “Black Filipino” is used herein as a neutral cover term for the various Philippine populations generally referred to as “negritos” in the academic literature (including not only the Agta and the Manide, but also the Ayta, Alta, Arta, Atta, Ata, Ati, Mamanwa, and Dumaget), in order to avoid not only the diminutive meaning of the term “negrito” but also the negative connotations of the term *negrito* (and its feminine equivalent, *negrita*) as used both in Philippine languages and in Philippine English. It should be noted that Black Filipinos are the descendants of pre-Austronesian populations that have inhabited the Philippines for at least 40,000 years (Blust 2013: 8), and who apparently began adopting Austronesian languages soon after their speakers arrived in the Philippines from Taiwan after 3,000 B.C. (ibid.)

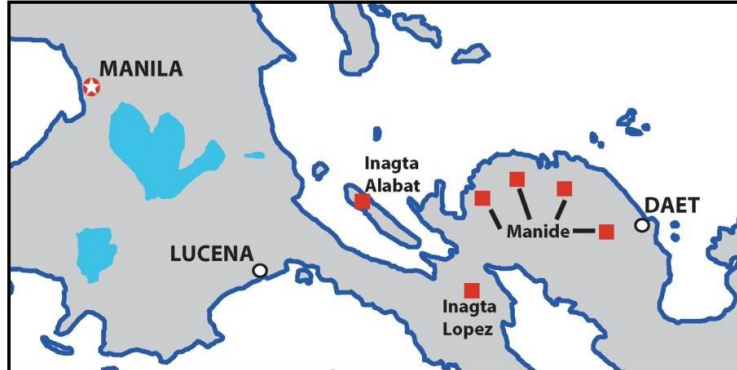
⁴Note, however, that members of the group had been travelling to the island on a temporary basis since at least World War II, and even earlier, if the groups labelled “Agta” that Garvan (1963: 8) encountered in Perez town on Alabat Island between 1903 and 1924 were indeed related to the current Agta of Alabat Island and eastern Quezon province.

⁵Note that like many of the other Black Filipino groups throughout the Philippines, the Agta refer to the Tagalogs and other non-black Filipinos as *puti* ‘white’ when speaking their own language, or *unát* ‘straight-haired’ when speaking Tagalog.

⁶“Fluency” is defined herein as being communicatively competent in the language without a considerable amount of interference from Manide and/or Tagalog.

language therefore appears to have been better preserved among the handful of Agta who migrated to Alabat Island than in their birthplace of Villa Espina.

Figure 1. The location of Inagta Alabat



In spite of its highly-endangered state, no fieldwork was done on the Inagta Alabat language in the 82 years between John Garvan’s departure from the Philippines in 1924, and the beginning of the current first author’s work on the language in 2006, at which time little was known about the language or its speakers, other than the brief sociolinguistic notes contained in the Ethnologue. The only data that has previously been published on the language are the 116 words in Lobel (2010) which were cited in support of Proto-Manide-Alabat lexical reconstructions, although additional information about the language and its phonology was also included in Lobel (2013).

Following the usage of the native speakers themselves in their own language, and of recent publications such as Lobel (2010; 2013), the language of the Agta of Alabat and Lopez is referred to herein as “Inagta”, and the population that speaks it as “Agta”.⁷ Tagalogs, however, refer to them as “Ayta”, a term which the Agta also use when speaking Tagalog but never when speaking Inagta, and as such, “Ayta” is clearly an exonym.⁸ Both *Agta* and *Ayta* ultimately derive from PMP *qaRta ‘outsider’ (Blust and Trussel, ongoing), as do the names of other Black Filipino groups such as the Alta (reflecting an *R > /l/ shift), Arta (reflecting *R > /r/), Atta (reflecting C₁C₂ > /C₂C₂/),

⁷It should be pointed out here that, assuming the accuracy of the gloss ‘outsider’ as assigned to PMP *qaRta by Blust and Trussel (ongoing), even the term *Agtâ* is likely to have originated as an exonym borrowed by the Agta from speakers of a Central Philippine language at some point in the relatively distant past. At present, however, the term *Agtâ* can only be considered an endonym for the Agta of Quezon Province, since no neighboring population refers to them by this name.

⁸Reflecting the *R > /g/ shift characteristic of the Greater Central Philippine languages (Blust 1991), *Agta* would be the expected Tagalog, Bikol, and Bisayan reflex of PMP *qaRta. However, the form *Ayta* (reflecting the *R > /y/ innovation characteristic of Kapampangan and the Sambali-Ayta languages) has become the de facto Tagalog term for Black Filipinos in most areas, although *Dumagat* is used to refer to the once largely-coastal Black Filipinos from General Nakar to Casiguran on the eastern coast of northern Luzon. In addition to *Ayta*, an alternate Tagalog form, *ita* /ita/, is an assimilated borrowing from Kapampangan *eta* /eta/, with Kapampangan /e/ (a vowel which does not exist as a separate phoneme in most Tagalog dialects) being reinterpreted as /i/ in Tagalog. Note, finally, that while *ayta* ~ *ita* has become the cover term for Black Filipinos in Tagalog, the only ethnolinguistic groups which self-identify as *Ayta* in their own languages are the five Ayta groups native to the provinces of Pampanga, Zambales, Tarlac, and Bataan (i.e., Ayta Mag-Antsi, Ayta Mag-Indi, Ayta Abellen, Ayta Ambala, and Ayta Magbukun).

Table 1. Names of places and ethnolinguistic groups, with audio examples

Inagta Alabat	IPA	English Gloss
Inagtâ	/ʔinag'taʔ/	'Inagta Alabat' (language name)
Agtâ	/ʔag'taʔ/	'Agta' (endonym of the ethnic group which speaks Inagta Alabat)
Alabat	/ʔa'labat/	'Alabat' (island where Inagta Alabat is spoken, and the name of the town on that island where most of the Agta live)
Bacong	/ba'kuŋ/	'Bacong' (name of community in Alabat town where the Agta live)
Lopez	/lupis/	'Lopez' (town where Agta live, and from which the Agta of Alabat Island migrated)
Villa Espina	/bilja ʔis'pina/	'Villa Espina' (community which has been the center of the Agta population in Lopez town for at least the past 75 years)
Guinayangan	/ginja'ŋan/	'Guinayangan' (town where some Agta also live)
Gumaca	/gu'maka/	'Gumaca' (town where some Agta lived as late as the mid-20th century)
Mabungga	/ma'buŋa/	'Mabungga' (name of community in which the Agta once lived in Gumaca town)
Quezon	/kesun/	'Quezon' (province where the aforementioned places are located)
Manide	/mani'de/	'Manide' (endonym of the ethnolinguistic group whose language is closely related to Inagta Alabat)
Agtâ de Bikol	/ʔag'taʔ de 'bikul/	'Manide' (Inagta Alabat name for the Manide)
Tagalog	/ta'galug/	'Tagalog'
Dumagat	/du'magat/	'Dumagat' (Tagalog name for the Black Filipinos of the eastern coast of Luzon from Infanta in the south to Casiguran in the north)
Katabagan	/kata'bagan/	'Katabagan' (non-Agta Black Filipinos of Alabat Island whose only native language is Tagalog)
Katabanglin	/katabaŋ'lin/	'Katabanglin' (non-Agta Black Filipinos of Alabat Island whose only native language is Tagalog)
Putî	/pu'tiʔ/	'Inagta Alabat term for non-black Filipinos, e.g., Tagalogs and Bikolanos'

and Ata and Ete/"Ati" (apparently reflecting a shift of either *R > Ø or *C₁C₂ > /C₂/). No less than eight other ethnolinguistic groups self-identify as *Agta*, yet these groups do not form a linguistic subgroup, with five (Dupaningan Agta, Pahanan Agta, Dinapigue Agta, Casiguran Agta, and Nagtipunan Agta) forming the Northeastern Luzon branch of Northern Luzon (Robinson & Lobel 2013); one (Central Cagayan Agta) belonging to the Cagayan Valley subgroup; and two (Inagta Partido and Inagta Rinconada) forming an Inagta branch of the Bikol subgroup (Lobel 2019a). Inagta

Alabat, on the other hand, subgroups with the Manide language in a Manide-Alabat subgroup (Lobel 2010; 2013) which appears to be a primary branch of the Philippine subfamily, yet the Manide neither call themselves *Agta*, nor are called *Agta* by any of the neighboring lowlander populations (although the Agta of Alabat and Lopez do refer to them as *Agtâ de Bikul* ‘the Agta in the Bikol Region’), and in fact object to this term being applied to them.⁹ Other than the close relationship to Manide, Inagta Alabat has no close relationship to any other Black Filipino language, including Inagta Partido and Inagta Rinconada in Camarines Sur province (both members of the Bikol subgroup); Umiray Dumaget to the northwest (an apparent isolate in the Philippine subfamily, cf. Lobel 2013);¹⁰ and the Remontado/Hatang-Kayi, Ayta, Alta, and Arta languages further north and west.

In spite of their relatively small population and limited distribution at present, the Agta of Quezon Province were, until the first half of the 20th century, much more widespread in the province, according not only to the recollections of the older Agta, but also to historical documents. John Garvan (1963: 8), during his tenure in the Philippines from 1903 to 1924, encountered 36 families which he identified by the name “Agta” (with *Itim*, the Tagalog word for ‘black’, listed as an alternative) in the towns of Gumaca, Atimonan, and Perez. He lists another 80 Black Filipino families in the towns of Lopez (presumably the ancestors of the Agta currently living in Villa Espina) and Calauag (*ibid.*), and elicited a wordlist (Garvan 1913) in the latter for what was clearly the same language as that currently spoken by the Agta of Alabat and Lopez. Today, some of the older Agta of Alabat and Lopez still recall their parents mentioning ancestors who lived in the barangays of Bantad and Mabunga/Bungahan in Gumaca town, where Garvan encountered Agta a century ago; one—Pacita Jugueta Villasanta, who at 75 years old is believed to be the oldest living Agta in Quezon Province—even recalls visiting that area with her parents in the decade after World War II (although by that time, most if not all of the Agta living there had intermarried with Tagalogs and no longer fluently spoke Inagta Alabat-Lopez). Just south of this area, in Catanauan town, Garvan encountered another 79 Black Filipino families which he identified only as “Ayta” or “Ita” (Garvan 1963: 8), a community which still exists today, but whose only native language is Tagalog, which is also true of the so-called “Ayta” community in Tayabas town just north of the provincial capitol of Lucena. Further west in the province, Garvan (*ibid.*) lists another 26 families of “Abiyan” (the same ambiguous Tagalog name which he assigned to the Agta in the towns of Calauag and Lopez at that time) in Mauban town, which may have been either Agta or (descendants of) speakers of Umiray Dumaget. In spite of the fact that no record exists of whatever language was once spoken by the ancestors of the Black Filipinos of Catanauan, Tayabas, and Mauban towns, it is possible that at least

⁹Note, however, that there is nothing inherently offensive about the term *Agta*, and the Manide simply object to being incorrectly referred to by the name of a different ethnolinguistic group. Ironically, however, the Manide also refer to the Agta as “Manide”, just as the Agta refer to the Manide as “Agta”.

¹⁰Lobel (2013) suggests the remote possibility of a close relationship between Manide and Inagta Alabat, on the one hand, and Umiray Dumaget on the other, although this was based largely on retentions and areal features, not on innovations.

some of them spoke either Inagta Alabat-Lopez or some other now-extinct member of Manide-Alabat subgroup.

The data in this paper is the result of fieldwork between 2006 and 2019 with Amy Jugueta Alpay (b. 1967), Emelinda Jugueta Barreno (b. 1970), Rosie Susutin Barreno (b. 1967), Pacita Jugueta Villasanta (b. 1944), Arturo Jugueta (b. 1967), Jesus Susutin (b. 1947), Donicia Jugueta (b. 1958), Rosaly Susutin Barreno (b. 1983), Liza Jugueta Alpay (b. 1973), and Pilar Susutin Barreno (b. 1956). Rosie Susutin Barreno, a full-blooded Agta who was the chieftain of the Alabat Agta until 2014, translated and read the story “The Wind and the Sun” (cf. Appendix A) from an unpublished Tagalog version, and is also the voice of the two short monologues in Appendix B, as well as the sentences in Appendix C. The lexical items included in the tables throughout this paper are a combination of those voiced by Rosie Barreno and her cousin, Amy Jugueta Alpay,¹¹ who has been chieftain of the Alabat Agta since 2014. All audio samples included in this paper were recorded at 44.1 kHz 16-bit quality on Zoom H4 and H6 recorders with Shure SM-81 and SM-94 microphones and edited on a Samsung laptop using Adobe Audition software.

2. Phonology Other than the inclusion of the vowel /e/, the phoneme inventory of Inagta Alabat is similar to those of the majority of Philippine languages, with 16 consonants and four vowels, as illustrated in Table 2, with examples of each consonant in word-initial, intervocalic, and word-final position provided in Table 3. Note that all consonants can appear in all positions, with the exception of /r/, which does not occur in word-initial or word-final position in the native stratum, and /h/, which does not appear to be contrastive in word-final position.

Table 2. The phoneme inventory of Inagta Alabat

CONSONANTS				VOWELS	
p	t	k	ʔ	i	u
b	d	g		e	
	s		h		a
m	n	ŋ			
	l				
	r				
w	j				

Examples of the four vowels in word context are given in Table 4, along with examples of the seven vowel-glide sequences found in the language.

¹¹Chieftain Rosie voiced Tables 3 and 18, along with the sentences and texts in Appendices A–C, while Chieftain Amy voiced Tables 1, 10, 13, 19–20, and 23–26. Appendix D and all other tables were voiced by a combination of the two.

Table 3. The consonant phonemes of Inagta Alabat, with audio examples

#_	V_	#_
p	hapáy /ha'paj/ 'fire'	keldép /kel'dep/ 'lightning'
b	kubû /ku'buʔ/ 'chest'	katlúb /kat'lub/ 'tongue'
m	mabhún /mab'hun/ 'many'	madeklém /madek'lem/ 'black'
w	wédi /'wediʔ/ 'younger sibling'	behéw /be'hew/ 'young woman'
t	tedés /te'des/ 'crush lice'	magkuldút /magkul'dut/ 'run'
d	dumag-ás /dumag'as/ 'exit'	esgéd /ʔes'ged/ 'across from'
s	sip-ún /sip'un/ 'mucus'	limpús /lim'pus/ 'bury'
n	nagbi-dís /nagbiʔ'dis/ 'defecate'	saklágén /sak'lagen/ 'jaw'
l	les-â /les'ʔaʔ/ 'lice egg'	séngul /'seŋul/ 'sit'
r	—	—
j	yagâ /ja'gaʔ/ 'rat'	luntáy /lun'taj/ 'hungry'
k	ka-nún /kaʔ'nun/ 'cooked rice'	bagsúk /bag'suk/ 'lazy'
g	gúyam /'gujam/ 'ant'	kalabúg /kala'bug/ 'companion'
ŋ	ngépen /'ŋepen/ 'tooth'	bu-lúng /buʔ'lunʔ/ 'knee'
ʔ	út-ut /'ʔutʔut/ 'suck'	maghabtû /maghab'tuʔ/ 'search for'
h	helát /he'lat/ 'wait'	—

Table 4. Vowels and vowel-glide sequences, with audio examples

Inagta Alabat	IPA	English Gloss
dangyá	/daŋ'ja/	'play'
magsekég	/magse'keg/	'listen'
kumitín	/kumi'tin/	'accompany'
tumulúng	/tumu'lunŋ/	'look'
ginákaw	/gi'nakaw/	'steal'
bayáy	/ba'jaj/	'modern house'
káhew	/'kahew/	'wood'
beléy	/be'lej/	'native Agta hut'
sísiw	/'sisiw/	'chick'
sáhuy	/'sahuj/	'speak'
nahuhúnguw	/nahu'huŋuw/	'reside'

Table 5. Glottal stop and phonemic stress, with audio examples

Inagta Alabat	IPA	English Gloss
ut-út	/'ʔut'ʔut/	'suck'
mag-ut-út	/magʔut'ʔut/	'suck' (AF.INF)
gawâ	/ga'waʔ/	'do'
ginawâ	/gina'waʔ/	'did' (OF.PST)
gawaí	/gawa'ʔi/	'do' (OF.NIMP)
begkát	/beg'kat/	'get up'
bigkát	/big'kat/	'mountain'
kabég	/ka'beg/	'fruit bat'
kabíg	/ka'big/	'cut wood'
ubán	/'ʔu'ban/	'carry child tied in front'
úben	/'ʔuben/	'grey hair'
sáyug	/'sajug/	'river'
sayúg	/sa'jug/	'floor'
susû	/su'suʔ/	'snail'
súsù	/'susuʔ/	'breast'
káun	/'kaʔun/	'eat'
kaúnen	/ka'ʔunen/	'eat' (OF.INF)
kaún	/ka'ʔun/	'go to pick someone up'
kaunén	/kaʔu'nen/	'go to pick someone up' (OF.INF)

It should be noted that both word-initial and word-final glottal stop are retained when prefixed or suffixed, as illustrated by the combination of *út-ut* ‘suck’ and Actor Focus prefix *mag-*, and of *gawâ* ‘do’ and the negative imperative suffix *-i* (cf. Table 5).¹² Likewise, stress is contrastive, as illustrated in Table 5 by the minimal pairs *sáyug* ‘river’ vs. *sayúg* ‘floor’, *súsù* ‘breast’ vs. *susû* ‘snail’, and *káun* ‘eat’ vs. *kaún* ‘go to pick someone up’. Two minimal pairs for the contrast between /e/ and /i/ are also included in Table 5 (*begkat* ‘get up’ vs. *bigkat* ‘mountain’ and *kabég* ‘fruit bat’ vs. *kabíg* ‘cut wood’), as well as a near-minimal pair for the contrast between /e/ and /a/ (*ubán* ‘carry a child tied in front’ vs. *úben* ‘grey hair’).

While there is little noteworthy about the synchronic phonology of Inagta Alabat, there are several noteworthy features in its historical phonology, including two sporadically-reflected vowel shifts, Low Vowel Fronting and Back Vowel Fronting. In Low Vowel Fronting (cf. Table 6), earlier /a/ has been fronted to either /e/ or /i/ after a voiced stop or glide /b d g w j/, a shift which is also found sporadically in Manide (Lobel 2010), Southern Alta (Reid 1991), Artá (Reid 1989), and Kasiguranin and the Northeastern Luzon languages (Robinson & Lobel 2013), in addition to being a regularly-reflected, synchronically productive shift in Umiray Dumaget (Lobel 2019b). Back Vowel Fronting—the fronting of earlier *u to either /i/ or /e/—is reflected after /b d g j/ in the closely-related Manide, but curiously, only after /b/ in Inagta Alabat, as illustrated in Table 7.¹³

Table 6. Low Vowel Fronting, with audio examples

Triggering Consonant	Inagta Alabat	Earlier form	IPA	English Gloss
b	bébuy	*babuy	/ˈbebuj/	‘pig’
	beét	*biʔat	/beˈʔet/	‘carry on one’s back’
	be-gú	*baʔgu	/beˈʔgu/	‘new’
	beh-én	*bahʔən	/behˈʔen/	‘sneeze’
	beléy	*balay	/beˈlej/	‘house (traditional Agta hut)’
	bélù	*balu	/ˈbeluʔ/	‘widow’
	bélud	*balud	/ˈbelud/	‘Pied imperial pigeon (Ducula bicolor)’
	beság	*basag	/beˈsag/	‘shatter’
	besí	*basəʔ	/beˈsiʔ/	‘wet’
	betés	*batis	/beˈtes/	‘waterfall’
	betû	*batu	/beˈtuʔ/	‘stone’
	beyég	*bayag	/beˈjeg/	‘scrotum’

¹²Austronesianists will no doubt notice the addition of non-etymological word-final glottal stops in a number of functors and basic vocabulary items found throughout this paper, such as *úlu* /ˈʔuluʔ/ ‘head’, *matâ* /maˈtaʔ/ ‘eye’, *pâ* /paʔ/ ‘still, yet’, *kû* /kuʔ/ ‘1SG.GEN’, *mî* /miʔ/ ‘1EXCL.GEN’, *tâ* /taʔ/ ‘1INCL.GEN’, *kamî* /kaˈmiʔ/ ‘1EXCL.NOM’, *kitâ* /kiˈtaʔ/ ‘1INCL.NOM’, *ba-nû* /haʔnuʔ/ ‘what’, *bi-nû* ‘who’, *be-sâ* /heʔsaʔ/ ‘one’, etc. While this is not a regular correspondence, it may be the result of some phonological rule that was active in Inagta Alabat and Manide in the distant past.

¹³Note that Umiray Dumaget reflects what initially appears to be Back Vowel Fronting (e.g., *unid* < *unud ‘flesh’) and Front Vowel Backing (e.g., *langot* < *lanit ‘sky’, *putok* < *putik ‘mud’), but both turn out to be unconditioned shifts.

Continued from previous page

Triggering Consonant	Inagta Alabat	Earlier form	IPA	English Gloss
d	hagbéen	*hagbaʔan	/hag'beʔen/	'Emerald dove (Chalcophaps indica)'
	telbéed	*tilbad	/tel'bed/	'lie on side'
	úben	*uban	/ʔuben/	'grey hair'
	démal	*damal	/demal/	'torch'
	detúng (w/ nag-)	*datuŋ ¹⁴	/de tuŋ/	'arrive'
	digí	*dagaʔ	/di'giʔ/	'blood'
	hidehén	*sida	/hide'hen/	'they'
	kádè (w/ nag-)	*kadaʔ	/kadeʔ/	'say'
	keldép	*kildap	/kel'dep/	'lightning'
	mananagdég	*mananagdag	/mananag'deg/	'alpha male monkey'
	ngáden	*ŋadan	/ʔaden/	'name'
	tedè (w/ na-)	*tədaʔ	/te'deʔ/	'remain'
	tugdè	*tugdaʔ	/tug'deʔ/	'spear'
	udébi	*udabiʔ	/ʔu'debiʔ/	'wild yam sp. (Dioscorea polystachya)'
g	umedés	*umədas	/ʔume'des/	'sister-in-law'
	ágè	*ʔagaʔ	/ʔageʔ/	'fig tree'
	anggegemáy	*anggagamay	/ʔanggege'maj/	'centipede'
	degéw	*degaw	/de'gew/	'day, sun'
	esgéd	*esgad	/es'ged/	'across from'
	geén	*gaʔan	/ge'ʔen/	'fruit'
	gilú-gù	*galuʔguʔ	/gi'luʔguʔ/	'fly (n.)'
	kagét	*kagat	/ka'get/	'bite'
	tagè	*tagaʔ	/ta'geʔ/	'hack at'
umáged	*umagad	/ʔu'maged/	'son/daughter-in-law'	
w	héwè	*hiwaʔ	/heweʔ/	'slice'
	tewéd	*tuwad	/te'wed/	'bend over'
	wédi	*wadi	/wediʔ/	'younger sibling'
y	beéye	*buʔaya	/be'ʔeje/	'crocodile'
	béyen	*beyan	/bejen/	'bone'
	heyé	*siya	/he'je/	'he/she'
	lu-yé	*luʔya	/lu'ʔje/	'ginger'
	kéyet†	*kiyat	/kejet/	'thunder'
	malúye	*ma-luya	/ma'lujə/	'weak'
	teyéw (w/ nag-)	*tiyaw	/te'jew/	'point (v.)'

(† = no audio recording available)

¹⁴This is attributed to the borrowing of a form *datuŋ, rather than to the direct inheritance of *datəŋ, because the latter would have yielded an expected **deténg in Inagta Alabat (as well as in Manide, where the form *detúng* is also found).

Table 7. Back Vowel Fronting, with audio examples

Triggering Consonant	Inagta Alabat	Proto-form	IPA	English Gloss
b	ambibíyi	*ambubuyug	/ʔambi'biji/	'bee'
	behék	*buhək	/be'hek/	'hair'
	beéye	*buqaya	/be'ʔeje/	'crocodile'
	bílan	*bulan	/bilan/	'moon, month'

Table 8. Competing vowel shifts in Inagta Alabat and Manide

Triggering Consonant	Inagta Alabat (w/ Low Vowel Fronting)	Manide (w/ Low Vowel Backing)	Earlier form	English Gloss	
b	beét /be'ʔet/	biút /bi'ʔut/	*biʔat	'carry on one's back'	
	beyég /be'jeg/	buyúg /bu'jug/	*bayag	'scrotum'	
	beyen /bejen/ hagbéen /hag'beʔen/	beyun /bejun/ hagbúun /hag'buʔun/	*bayan *hagbaʔan	'bone' 'Emerald dove (Chalcophaps indica)'	
d	telbéd /tel'bed/ úben /'ʔuben/	tilbúd /til'bud/ úbun /'ʔubun/	*tilbad *uban	'lie on side' 'grey hair'	
	degéw /de'gew/ démal /'demal/	degúw /de'guw/ dúmal /'dumal/	*dɔgaw *damal	'day' 'resin of pili nut tree'	
	hidehén /hide'hen/	hidú /hi'du/	*hida < *sida	'they (NOMINATIVE)'	
	kádè /'kadeʔ/ keldép /kel'dep/ mananagdég /mananag'deg/ ngáden /'ɲaden/ tedé /te'deʔ/ tugdè /tug'deʔ/ umedés /'ume'des/	kádú /'kaduʔ/ kildup /kil'dup/ mananagdúg /mananag'dug/ ngáदन /'ɲadun/ tedú /te'duʔ/ tugdú /tug'duʔ/ umedús /'ume'dus/	*kadaʔ *kildap *mananagdag *ɲadan *tedaʔ *tugdaʔ *umədas	'say' 'lightning' 'alpha male monkey' 'name' 'remain' 'spear' 'sister-in-law'	
	g	ágè /'ageʔ/ anggegemáy /'aŋgege'maj/ esgéd /'es'ged/ geén /ge'ʔen/ kagét /ka'get/ umáged /'u'maged/	ágù /'aguʔ/ anggugumáy /'aŋgugu'maj/ esgúd /'es'gud/ guún /gu'ʔun/ kagút /ka'gut/ umágud /'u'magud/	*agaʔ *aŋgagamay *esgad *gaan *kagat *umagad	'fig tree' 'centipede' 'across from' 'fruit' 'bite' 'son/daughter-in-law'
	w	tewéd /te'wed/	tiwúd /ti'wud/	*tuwad	'kneel on all fours'
	y	beéye /be'ʔeje/ heyé /he'je/ kéyet /'kejet/ teyéw /te'jew/	biúyu /bi'ʔuju/ hiyú /hi'ju/ kíyut /'kijut/ tiyúw /ti'juw/	*buʔaya *hiya < *siya *kiyat *tiyaw	'crocodile' 'he/she' 'thunder' 'point'

The vowel shifts are also one of the features that distinguish Inagta Alabat from its close relative Manide. First, Manide has a third vowel shift, Low Vowel Backing, in which earlier *a is reflected as /u/, a shift which is not found in Inagta Alabat. Second, several of the forms that reflect Low Vowel Backing in Manide reflect Low Vowel Fronting instead in Inagta Alabat, as illustrated in Table 8. Third, as mentioned earlier and illustrated in Table 9, Back Vowel Fronting occurs only after /b/ in Inagta Alabat, but also after /d g j/ (and likely also after /w/, although no examples have been found in the current data set) in Manide, and occurs after /b/ in the words for ‘pig’ and ‘sugarcane’ in Manide but not in Inagta Alabat.

Table 9. Back Vowel Fronting in Manide vs. Inagta Alabat

Triggering Consonant	Inagta Alabat	Manide	Earlier form	English Gloss
b	bébuy /'bebuy/	bébiy /'bebij/	*babuy	‘pig’
	tubú /tu'bu/	tubí /tu'bi/	*təbu	‘sugarcane’
d	ídù /'ʔiduʔ/	ídi /'ʔidiʔ/	*iduʔ	‘dog’
	kuldút /kul'dut/	kuldít /kul'dit/	*kuldut	‘run’
g	be-gú /beʔ'gu/	be-gí /beʔ'gi/	*baʔgu	‘new’
	kúgun /'kugun/	kúgin /'kugin/	*kugun	‘cogon grass (Imperata cylindrica)’
y	gilú-gù /gi'luʔguʔ/	galú-gì /ga'luʔgiʔ/	*galuʔguʔ	‘fly (n.)’
	hayúg /ha'jug/	hayíg /ha'jig/	*hayug	‘hunt monkeys’
	yu /ju/	yi /ji/	*yu	‘you (PL., GENITIVE)’

It should be noted, however, that the aforementioned vowel shifts of Manide and Inagta Alabat have long since been inactive and are not synchronically productive, as opposed to the synchronically-productive Low Vowel Fronting in Umiray Dumaget to the north (Lobel 2019b; Lobel et al. 2019). A consequence of this is that while infixation blocks the raising and fronting of vowels in Umiray Dumaget, such blocking does not occur in Inagta Alabat, as illustrated by the seven infixated forms in Table 10. Furthermore, the form *binakléwen* ‘area by which speaker has already passed’ (< *hakléw* ‘walk’ + circumfix <in>...-an) demonstrates that, at the time when Low Vowel Fronting was still productive in Inagta Alabat, it also affected the suffix -an in at least some nominalized forms when the /a/ of that suffix followed the triggering consonants /b d g w j/.¹⁵

Elsewhere in the language, a number of lexical items which appear to be borrowings from an unknown Bisayan source¹⁶ reflect a shift of *l > /j/ (subsequent to a

¹⁵This is evident both because (1) *<in> and *-ən virtually never co-occur in Austronesian languages (other than in Thao, cf. Blust 2013); and because synonymous and/or structurally parallel forms in other Philippine languages also use the circumfix *<in>...-an proposed for the underlying form of *binakléwen*, e.g., Tagalog *dinaánan* (< *daán* ‘pass’ + *<in>...-an), *nilakáran* (< *lákad* ‘walk’ + *<in>...-an), Cebuano *giagyan* (< *ági* ‘pass’ + *gi-...-an), *gilakwán* (< *lákaw* ‘walk’ + *gi-...-an).

¹⁶It is suggested here that the donor language must have been an early Bisayan language due to the fact that (1) with the exception of Agusan Manobo on Mindanao, all other languages regularly reflecting the *l > /j/ shift are members of the Bisayan subgroup; (2) of the three linguistic subgroups (Tagalog, Bikol,

Table 10. Affixed examples of bases with historical vowel shifts, with audio examples

Inagta Alabat	IPA	English Gloss	Comment
bine-gú (< <i>be-gú</i>)	/bineʔ ^h gu/	‘changed’ (OE.PAST)	not **bina-gu
bineley-beléy (< <i>beléy</i>)	/binelejbe ^h lej/	‘housing’	not **binaley-beléy
binésag (< <i>bésag</i>)	/bi ^h nesag/	‘shattered’ (OE.PAST)	not **binásag
binesî (< <i>besî</i>)	/bine ^h siʔ/	‘got wet’ (OE.PAST)	not **binasî
dinegew-dégew (< <i>dégew</i>)	/dinegew ^h degew/	‘daily’	not **dinagew-dégew
diniyahán (< <i>diyá</i>)	/dinija ^h han/	‘brought to’ (LF.PAST)	not **dinayahán
dumetúng (< <i>detúng</i>)	/dume ^h tunʔ/	‘arrive’ (AF.IMP)	not **dumatúng
hinakléwen (< <i>hakléw</i>)	/hinak ^h lewen/	‘the area behind someone or through which someone has just passed’	not **hinakléwan

merger of *-r- and *-d- with *l in the donor language) as well as *ə > /u/, as illustrated in Table 11. The same shift is also found in a similar substratum of apparently borrowed lexicon in Manide (cf. Lobel 2010, where the distinction between the inherited *beléy* ‘traditional Black Filipino hut’ and the borrowed *bayáy* ‘lowlander house’ was also noted), but is otherwise absent from the languages of Luzon.

Finally, the presence of /e/, contrasting with /i/, as a reflex of earlier *ə is also noteworthy, as the only other languages on Luzon to have this reflex of PMP *ə are Manide (Lobel 2010), some northern dialects of Ilokano (Rubino 1997), and two dialects of Kalanguya (Himes 1998).

3. Functor Subsets The relative stability and conservativity of functor subsets in Philippine-type languages, their usefulness for comparative purposes, and their status as the grammatical core of these languages has been suggested by a number of authors (cf. Zorc 1977; 1978; McFarland 1974; Lobel 2013). In recognition of their importance, this section provides an overview of the various functor subsets of Inagta Alabat, including the pronouns (3.1), case markers (3.2), demonstratives (3.3), interrogatives (3.4), negators (3.5), adverbs of time and parts of the day (3.6), and adverbial particles and other important grammar words (3.7), as well as the numbers (3.8) and verb morphology (3.9).

and Bisayan) with which the Agta and Manide would have had contact in their known historical locations, only Bisayan languages have undergone the *l > /j/ shift; and (3) the presence of Proto-Bisayan innovations *umagad ‘son/daughter-in-law’ and *damgu ‘dream’ in one or both languages provides further evidence for contact with a Bisayan language predating more recent borrowing from Tagalog and Bikol.

Table 11. Inagta Alabat forms reflecting the *l > /y/ shift, with audio examples

Inagta Alabat	IPA	Earlier Form	English Gloss
bakyáy (w/ <um>)	/bak'jai/	*baklay	'walk'
bayáy	/ba'jai/	*balay	'house (of lowlanders)'
búyag (w/ nag-)	/'bujag/	*bulag	'separate'
bu-yû	/bu?'ju?/	*bul?u?	'young carabao'
diyá (w/ mag-)	/di'ja/	*dala (after *-d- > *-r- > *-l-)	'night'
diyúm	/di'jum/	*dɔlɔm	'bring'
gúyang	/'gujaŋ/	*gulaŋ (after *-d- > *-r- > *-l-)	'parent'
hiyáw	/hi'jaw/	*hilaw	'unripe'
húyug	/'hujug/	*hulug	'fall'
íyaw	/'ɣijaw/	*ilaw	'morning'
kamáyig	/ka'majig/	*kamalig	'storehouse'
kiyáya	/ki'jaja/	*kilala	'know (a person)'
kúyun	/'kujun/	*kudɔn (after *-d- > *-r- > *-l-)	'pot'
makatúy	/maka'tuj/	*ma-katul	'itchy'
payásan	/pa'jasan/	*palasan	'rattan sp. (Calamus merrillii)'
páyay	/'pajaj/	*palay (after *-d- > *-r- > *-l-)	'rice in field'
sadíyi	/sa'diji/	*sadili (< *sadiri)	'self'
sáyu	/'saju/	*salu (after *-d- > *-r- > *-l-)	'eat together with'
sáyug	/'sajug/	*sálug	'river'
sayúg	/sa'jug/	*salɔg	'floor (esp. of bamboo)'
siyúd	/si'jud/	*sulud	'under'
tubúy†	/tu'buj/	*tɔbɔl	'constipation'
tuyúg	/tu'jug/	*tulug (after *-d- > *-r- > *-l-)	'sleep'
wayâ	/wa'ja?/	*wala? (after *-d- > *-r- > *-l-)	'none'
ya-bún	/ja?'bun/	*la?bun	'boil in water'
yagâ	/ja'ga?/	*ilaga?	'rat'
yang	/jaŋ/	*laŋ	'only, just'
yúkà	/'juka?/	*luka?	'wound'
yumús (w/ na-)	/ju'mus/	*lumus	'drown'

(† = no audio recording available)

3.1 Personal Pronouns Three cases are marked in the Inagta Alabat personal pronouns, nominative, genitive, and oblique, as illustrated in Table 12. For the nominative forms of the first- and second person singular pronouns, there are long forms which occur both clause-initially and as stand-alone utterances, and short enclitic forms which occur elsewhere. Possession can be marked either by a post-positioned genitive pronoun, or a pre-positioned oblique pronoun. The count pronouns can be used to express either dual or plural meanings, and can be followed by numbers, while the plural pronouns marked with the suffix *-an* mark explicitly-plural meanings and cannot be followed by number words. In the third person, however, there is

only one non-singular form, *hidehen*, which obligatorily includes the pluralizing *-an* suffix (realized as *-en* due to Low Vowel Fronting, as mentioned in Section 2). Note also that the singular and plural demonstratives listed in Section 3.3 can be used in place of the third-person personal pronouns.

Table 12. Inagta Alabat personal pronouns, with audio examples

	NOM (LONG)	NOM (SHORT)	GEN	OBL
1SG	há-ku /háʔku/	ek /ek/	kû /kuʔ/	dá-ku /daʔku/ deda-kú /dedaʔku/
2SG	hikáw /hiʔkaw/	ka /ka/	mu /mu/	dikáw /diʔkaw/ didikáw /didiʔkaw/
3SG	heyé /heʔje/	=	adeyé /ʔadeʔje/	deyé /deʔje/ dedeyé /dedeʔje/
1EXCL.CT	kamî /kaʔmiʔ/	=	mî /miʔ/	dekamî /dekaʔmiʔ/
1EXCL.PL	kamihán /kamiʔhan/	=	mihán /miʔhan/	dekamihán /dekamiʔhan/
1INCL.CT	kitâ /kiʔtaʔ/	=	tâ /taʔ/	dekitâ /dekiʔtaʔ/
1INCL.PL	kitahán /kitaʔhan/	=	tahán /taʔhan/	dekitahán /dekitaʔhan/
2CT	kamú /kaʔmu/	=	yu /ju/	dekamú /dekaʔmu/
2PL	kamuhán /kamuʔhan/	=	yuhán /juʔhan/	dekamuhán /dekamuʔhan/
3PL	hidehén /hideʔhen/	=	adehén /ʔadeʔhen/	dedehén /dedeʔhen/

3.2 Case Markers While the pronouns of Inagta Alabat and most other Philippine-type languages are inherently marked for case, common nouns and personal names are preceded by a case-marking particle instead. These case markers mark the same nominative, genitive, and oblique cases that are marked in the pronouns and demonstratives. Inagta Alabat is noteworthy, however, in that it is one of only four known Philippine-type languages in which common nouns and personal names are marked with the same set of case markers.¹⁷ Plurality is marked on common nouns with the addition of the particle *mā* following the case marker, but for plural names, the

¹⁷The others are Manide and Umiray Dumaget (Lobel 2010) and Iraya (Reid 2017), although both Manide and Umiray Dumaget have additional forms which mark [+definite] common nouns but which never appear before personal names.

singular case marker is followed by *deng*, except in the oblique, where *deng* is used alone instead of the non-occurring sequence ***de deng*. Table 13 illustrates the case markers of Inagta Alabat.

Table 13. Inagta Alabat case markers, with audio examples

	Common & personal Sg.	Personal Pl.
NOM	hu /hu/	hu deng /hu den/
GEN	nu /nu/	nu deng /nu den/
OBL	de /de/	deng /den/

3.3 Demonstratives/Deictics As with the personal pronouns and case markers, a three-way distinction between nominative, genitive, and oblique cases is also marked on the demonstrative pronouns. Each of the demonstrative sets has three possible points of deixis, corresponding to the 1st-, 2nd-, and 3rd-person pronouns. Plural forms of these demonstratives can be formed with the circumfix *mā- ...-en*. A set of present locational demonstratives also exists for expressing the present location of a person or object (with synonymous long and short forms), and a separate set of past locatives is used to express the past location of a person or object, derived from the *p*-initial verbal set, but with /n/ replacing the initial /p/ of the latter. Finally, a set of monosyllabic resumptive forms exists which are used after a noun but express the same meanings of ‘this’ or ‘that’ as the nominative demonstratives, although the remote form *dû* is also used in certain expressions of past time, as will be seen in Section 3.6 and Table 17. Tables 14a-c illustrate the demonstratives of Inagta Alabat.

Table 14a. Inagta Alabat demonstratives/deictics, with audio examples

	Nom (Sg)	Gen (Sg)	Obl (Sg)	Past Loc
1SG (near speaker)	huyí /hu'ji/	nuyí /nu'ji/	díí /di'ʔi/	naháy /na'haʔ/
2SG (near addressee)	huyê /hu'jeʔ/	nuyê /nu'jeʔ/	de-yê /de'jeʔ/	nahâ /na'haʔ/
3SG (far from both)	hidû /hi'duʔ/	nidû /ni'duʔ/	de-dû /de'duʔ/	nadû /na'duʔ/

Table 14b. Inagta Alabat demonstratives/deictics, with audio examples

	Prs Loc (long)	Prs Loc (Short)	Verbal	Resumptive
1SG (near speaker)	hadií /hadi'ʔi/	haí /ha'ʔi/	paháy /pa'haj/	i /ʔi/
2SG (near addressee)	hade-yê /hade'ʔjeʔ/	ha-yê /ha'ʔjeʔ/	pahâ /pa'haʔ/	hê /heʔ/
3SG (far from both)	hade-dû /hade'ʔduʔ/	ha-dû /ha'ʔduʔ/	padû /pa'duʔ/	dû /duʔ/

Table 14c. Inagta Alabat demonstratives/deictics, with audio examples

	Nom (Pl)	Gen (Pl)	Obl (Pl)
1SG (near speaker)	mā huyihén /ma: huji'hen/	nu mā huyihén /nu ma: huji'hen/	de mā huyihén /de ma: huji'hen/
2SG (near addressee)	mā huyeén /ma: huje'ʔen/	nu mā huyeén /nu ma: huje'ʔen/	de mā huyeén /de ma: huje'ʔen/
3SG (far from both)	mā hiduén /ma: hidu'ʔen/	nu mā hiduén /nu ma: hidu'ʔen/	de mā hiduén /de ma: hidu'ʔen/

3.4 Interrogatives Table 15 illustrates the interrogatives of Inagta Alabat, many of which are based on the roots *anu ‘what’ and *-da (which is realized as *de* due to Low Vowel Fronting).

3.5 Negators As illustrated in Table 16, there are six distinct negators in the Inagta Alabat language, plus the short *yâ* form of *wayâ*. In negating verbs, *ukún* and *wayâ/yâ* are used interchangeably. The two negative command forms, *huwág* and *wagán*, function differently, with *huwág* being followed by a verb in the infinitive form, while *wagán* is followed by a verb in the negative imperative form.¹⁸ Note that as suffix-final /n/ is usually deleted in Inagta Alabat before the pronoun *mu*, *wagán* loses its final /n/ when speaking to a singular addressee, thus being realized as *waga mú*, whereas in speaking to plural addressees, *wagán* followed by *yu* is realized as *wagan yú*.

¹⁸Note that a number of other Philippine and Philippine-type languages similarly have two distinct negative imperative forms, each of which is followed by a different verb form, e.g., Northern Bikol *daí* and *harí*; Rinconada *dí* and *baí*; West Albay Bikol (*i*)*dí* and *baí*; Donsol Miraya (*in*)*dí* and *alâ*; Northern Catanduanes Bikol *maí* and *ayáw*; Mamanwa *díri* and *ajáw*, *abay*; and even Old Ilonggo *díli* and *ayáw* (Mentrida 1637). Also, while the secondary verbal negator in some languages ends in what may be a frozen *-i* suffix, Inagta Alabat appears to be the only language in which the secondary verbal negator takes an *-an* suffix (i.e., apparently being derived from *huwag + *-an).

Table 15. Inagta Alabat interrogatives, with audio examples

Inagta Alabat	IPA	English Gloss
ha-nû	/haʔ'nuʔ/	'what'
hi-nû	/hiʔ'nuʔ/	'who' (nom)
dehi-nû	/dehiʔ'nuʔ/	'to/for whom' (obl)
kailán‡	/kaʔi'lan/	'when'
de-dé	/deʔ'de/	'where'
nadé	/na'de/	'where' (past)
hade-dé	/hadeʔ'de/	'where' (pres)
tagade-dé	/tagadeʔ'de/	'from where'
pade-dé	/padeʔ'de/	'to where'
taha-nû	/tahaʔ'nuʔ/	'why'
bakín ta‡	/ba'kin ta/	'why'
ba ta	/ba ta/	'why' (contraction of <i>bakin ta</i>)
pa-nû	/paʔ'nuʔ/	'how (manner)', 'how (degree or extent)'
papa-nû	/papaʔ'nuʔ/	'how (manner)', 'how (degree or extent)'
gaanú‡	/gaʔa'nu/	'how much' (price)
hudé	/hu'de/	'which'
ilán‡	/ʔi'lan/	'how many'
nakailán‡	/nakaʔi'lan/	'how many times'
ig-aanû	/ʔigʔaʔa'nuʔ/	'doing what'
pianû	/piʔa'nuʔ/	'what was done to it'
pig-anû	/pigʔa'nuʔ/	'what will be done to it'

‡ Likely borrowings from Tagalog

Table 16. Inagta Alabat negators, with audio examples

Inagta Alabat	IPA	English Gloss
ukún	/ʔu'kun/	(1) 'no' (negates verbs) (2) 'not' (negates nouns)
wayâ	/wa'jaʔ/	(1) 'no' (negates verbs) (2) 'none' (negates existence, possession, or present location)
yâ	/jaʔ/	'none' (short form of <i>wayâ</i>)
huwág‡	/hu'wag/	'don't!' (in commands, followed by infinitive verb)
wagán	/wa'gan/	'don't!' (in commands, followed by negative imperative verb)
wagá mu	/wa'ga mu/	'don't!' (< <i>wagán</i> + genitive pronoun <i>mu</i> , said to a singular addressee)
wagán yu	/wa'gan ju/	'don't!' (< <i>wagán</i> + genitive pronoun <i>yu</i> , said to plural addressees)
hángà (w/ ku)	/hãŋaʔ/	'don't like'; 'don't want to'
kaálam	/ka'ʔalam/	'I don't know'

‡ Likely borrowings from Tagalog

3.6 Adverbs of Time and Parts of the Day Tables 17 and 18 illustrate the adverbs of time and parts of the day in Inagta Alabat. Note that most of the past forms contain a formative *nun-*, and that the genitive case marker *nu* is used in the formation of phrases referring to past time including *nu he-sâ dû a degéw* ‘the day before yesterday’, *nu he-sâ dû a línggu* ‘last week’, and *nu he-sâ dû a bílan* ‘last month’.

Table 17. Inagta Alabat adverbs of time, with audio examples

Inagta Alabat	IPA	English Gloss
<i>nu he-sâ dû a degéw</i>	/nu heʔsaʔ duʔ a de'gew/	‘the day before yesterday’
<i>nunhápun</i>	/nun'hapun/	‘yesterday’
<i>numbe-gú</i>	/numbeʔgu/	‘earlier’
<i>kumanâ</i>	/kuma'naʔ/	‘today’, ‘now’
<i>ngápít</i>	/'ŋapit/	‘later’
<i>gumáak</i>	/gu'maʔak/	‘tomorrow’
<i>kasebáng</i>	/kase'banʔ/	‘the day after tomorrow’
<i>nuntakép</i>	/nunta'kep/	‘last night’
<i>numbiábì</i>	/numbiʔabiʔ/	‘this morning’ (said at any point later in the same day)
<i>nunsigdém</i>	/nunsig'dem/	‘yesterday afternoon’
<i>kinagumaákan</i>	/kinagumaʔakan/	‘the day after, the next day’
<i>kinaiyáwan</i>	/kinaʔi'jawan/	‘the next/following morning’
<i>nu he-sâ dû a línggu</i>	/nu heʔsaʔ duʔ a 'liŋgu/	‘last week’
<i>nu he-sâ dû a bílan</i>	/nu heʔsaʔ duʔ a 'bilan/	‘last month’
<i>nidû</i>	/ni'duʔ/	‘in the past’

Table 18. Inagta Alabat parts of the day, with audio examples

Inagta Alabat	IPA	Gloss
<i>íyaw</i>	/'ɣijaw/	‘morning’
<i>tangháli‡</i>	/taŋ'haliʔ/	‘noon’
<i>lámà</i>	/'lamaʔ/	‘afternoon’
<i>diyúm</i>	/di'jum/	‘night’
<i>hatinggab-í‡</i>	/hatinggab'ɣi/	‘midnight’
<i>degéw</i>	/de'gew/	‘day’

‡ Likely borrowings from Tagalog

3.7 Discourse particles and other important grammatical words Like other Philippine and Philippine-type languages, Inagta Alabat has a number of adverbial particles that are used to add various nuances of meaning to a given clause. Table 19 illustrates the discourse particles of Inagta Alabat, and other miscellaneous function words are listed in Table 20. Note that while some of the adverbial particles, such as *din*, *múnà*,

and *ngáni*, are identical to forms in (Southern) Tagalog and/or Bikol (and therefore likely borrowings), a number of others are unique to the Manide-Alabat subgroup.

Table 19. Inagta Alabat discourse particles, with audio examples

Inagta Alabat	IPA	English
de	/de/	‘already’, ‘now’; ‘anymore’ (when following a negator)
pâ	/paʔ/	‘still’, ‘some more’; ‘yet’ (when following a negator)
din‡	/din/	‘also’, ‘too’
kun	/kun/	quotative particle, reported speech particle
ngáni	/ŋaniʔ/	‘really’, ‘truly’, ‘indeed’
ngá	/ŋa/	(surprise particle; sudden realization)
sána‡	/sana/	‘hopefully’, ‘ideally’ (used in expressing regret for things that could have happened but did not)
úlà	/ʔulaʔ/	‘hopefully’, ‘ideally’ (used in expressing regret for things that could have happened but did not)
degápun	/de'gapun/	‘once again’ (expressing things that happened on multiple occasions)
kibagá	/kiba'ga/	‘perhaps’, ‘possibly’, ‘maybe’
ba‡	/ba/	(question marker)
pa din‡	/pa din/	‘even still’
baganén	/baga'nen/	‘as if’, ‘it’s like’, ‘it seems that’
múnà	/munaʔ/	‘first’ (before doing something else)
gápun	/gapun/	‘again’
demán	/de'man/	‘in turn’; softener
kayâ‡	/ka'jaʔ/	inquisitive particle, ‘I wonder’ (also ‘therefore, so’)
yang	/jan/	‘only’, ‘just’
ulí	/ʔu'liʔ/	‘again’

‡ Likely borrowings from Tagalog

Table 20. Additional Inagta Alabat grammar words, with audio examples

Inagta Alabat	IPA	English
pat	/pat/	‘and’
u‡	/ʔu/	‘or’
píru‡	/píru/	‘but’
ti	/ti/	‘if’
pag	/pag/	‘if’, ‘when’
ta	/ta/	‘because’
túwi‡	/tuwi/	‘each (time), every (time)’
bakâ‡	/ba'kaʔ/	‘perhaps, maybe’
húu	/huʔu/	‘yes’
igá	/ʔi'ga/	‘have, there is/are’

Continued from previous page

Inagta Alabat	IPA	English
nang‡	/naŋ/	‘so that, in order to’
buhát	/buˈhat/	‘from’
hanggán‡	/haŋˈgan/	‘to, until’
balhú‡	/balˈhuʔ/	‘before’
maytián	/majtiˈʔan/	‘almost, nearly’
hába‡	/ˈhabaʔ/	‘while’
pirmí‡	/pirˈmi/	‘always, frequently’
ka-dú	/kaʔˈdu/	‘like, similar to, for example’
taún	/taˈʔun/	‘like’
arí‡	/ʔaˈriʔ/	‘possible, can, able to’
maskí	/masˈki/	‘even if’
mā	/ma:/	pluralizing particle
a	/ʔa/	linker
an	/ʔan/	inversion marker

‡ Likely borrowings from Tagalog (*u*, *piru*, *pirmi*, and *maski* are ultimately from Spanish)

3.8 Numbers Like most other Austronesian languages, Inagta Alabat has a base-ten number system, in which the numbers from one to nine are monomorphemic. Most of the numbers of Inagta Alabat are identical to those of Tagalog, with the main exceptions being the words for ‘one’ (*he-sâ* vs. Tagalog *isá*) and ‘two’ (*dawhá* vs. Tagalog *dalawá* ~ *dalwá* ~ *daluwá*). The word for ‘three’, *tatlú*, differs from Tagalog *tatló* only in the presence of the word-final glottal stop,¹⁹ while the word for ‘four’, *apát*, differs from Tagalog *ápat* only in the syllable which carries stress. The numbers from eleven to nineteen are borrowings from Tagalog, as are the numbers from twenty to ninety-nine. On the other hand, multiples of a hundred, a thousand, and a million are formed by the Inagta Alabat numbers from one to nine plus the linker *a* followed by the base (*dáan* ‘hundred’, *libu* ‘thousand’, *milyun* ‘million’), as illustrated in Table 21.

As illustrated in Table 22, Inagta Alabat also has a set of ordinal numbers which are formed with the prefix *ika-* (or alternately, with the prefix *paN-*), except for the word for ‘first’, which is *hu-nâ*. Note also that in the words for ‘second’ and ‘third’, the initial consonant of the rootwords *dawhá* and *tatlú* are deleted.

Finally, distributive numbers conveying meanings such as ‘two each’ and ‘two-by-two’, can be formed with the prefix *tig-* in Inagta Alabat, as illustrated in Table 23, and numbers indicating multiple occurrences can be formed with the prefix *naka-*, as shown in Table 24.

¹⁹In spite of being written with an ‘o’, most if not all dialects of spoken Tagalog have only three contrasting vowels, /a i u/, with ‘o’ and ‘e’ representing allophones of /u/ and /i/, respectively. As such, the comparison to be made here is between Inagta Alabat /taˈluʔ/ and Tagalog /taˈlu/.

Table 21. Inagta Alabat numbers, with audio examples

Inagta Alabat	IPA	Gloss
he-sâ	/heʔ'saʔ/	1
dawhá	/daw'ha/	2
tatlû	/tat'luʔ/	3
apát	/ʔa'pat/	4
limá	/li'ma/	5
ánim	/ʔanim/	6
pitú	/pi'tu/	7
walú	/wa'lu/	8
siyám	/si'jam/	9
sampû	/sam'puʔ/	10
labíng-isá	/la'biŋʔi'sa/	11
labíndalwá	/la'bindal'wa/	12
dalwampû	/dalwam'puʔ/	20
dalwampû't isá	/dalwam'put i'sa/	21
tatlumpû	/tatlum'puʔ/	30
apatnapû	/ʔapatna'puʔ/	40
limampû	/limam'puʔ/	50
animnapû	/ʔanimna'puʔ/	60
pitumpû	/pikum'puʔ/	70
walumpû	/walum'puʔ/	80
siyamnapû	/sijamna'puʔ/	90
he-sâ a dáan	/heʔ'saʔ a 'daʔan/	100
dawhá a dáan	/daw'ha ʔa 'daʔan/	200
tatlû a dáan	/tat'luʔ a 'daʔan/	300
apát a dáan	/ʔa'pat ʔa 'daʔan/	400
he-sâ a líbu	/heʔ'saʔ a 'libu/	1,000
dawhá a líbu	/daw'ha ʔa 'libu/	2,000
tatlû a líbu	/tat'luʔ a 'libu/	3,000
apát a líbu	/ʔa'pat ʔa 'libu/	4,000
sampû a líbu	/sam'puʔ a 'libu/	10,000
he-sâ a dáan a líbu	/heʔ'saʔ a 'daʔan a 'libu/	100,000
he-sâ a mílyun	/heʔ'saʔ a 'miljun/	1,000,000

Table 22. Inagta Alabat ordinal numbers, with audio examples

Inagta Alabat	IPA	English
hu-nâ	/huʔ'naʔ/	'first'
ikawhá	/ikaw'ha/	'second'
pangawhá	/paŋaw'ha/	'second'
ikatlû	/ikat'luʔ/	'third'
pangatlû	/paŋat'luʔ/	'third'
ikaapát	/ikaʔa'pat/	'fourth'
ikalimá	/ikali'ma/	'fifth'
ikaánim	/ikaʔanim/	'sixth'
ikapitú	/ikapì'tu/	'seventh'
ikawalú	/ikawa'lu/	'eighth'
ikasiyám	/ikasi'jam/	'ninth'
ikasampû	/ikasam'puʔ/	'tenth'

Table 23. Inagta Alabat distributive numbers, with audio examples

Inagta Alabat	IPA	English
tighe-sâ	/tigheʔ'saʔ/	'one each', 'one by one'
tigawhá	/tigaw'ha/	'two each', 'two by two'
tigatlû	/tigat'luʔ/	'three each', 'three by three'
tig-apát	/tigʔa'pat/	'four each', 'four by four'
tiglimá	/tigli'ma/	'five each', 'five by five'
tig-ánim	/tigʔanim/	'six each', 'six by six'
tigpitú	/tigpi'tu/	'seven each', 'seven by seven'
tigwalú	/tigwa'lu/	'eight each', 'eight by eight'
tigsiyám	/tiksi'jam/	'nine each', 'nine by nine'
tigsampû	/tigsam'puʔ/	'ten each', 'ten by ten'

Table 24. Inagta Alabat multiplicative numbers, with audio examples

Inagta Alabat	IPA	English
he-sâ a b́isis	/heʔ'saʔ a 'b́isis/	'once', 'one time'
nakadawhá	/nakadaw'ha/	'twice', 'two times'
nakatatlû	/nakatat'luʔ/	'three times'
nakaapát	/nakaʔa'pat/	'four times'
nakalimá	/nakali'ma/	'five times'
nakaánim	/nakaʔanim/	'six times'
nakapitú	/nakapì'tu/	'seven times'
nakawalú	/nakawa'lu/	'eight times'
nakasiyám	/nakasi'jam/	'nine times'
nakasampû	/nakasam'puʔ/	'ten times'

4. Verb Morphology Inagta Alabat, like other Philippine languages, has a complex agglutinative verb system which marks the phenomenon commonly known as “focus” or “voice”, up to six tense-aspect distinctions, and various semantic modes including the abilitative/accidental, causative, and reciprocal. The six focuses of Inagta Alabat are the Actor Focus, marked primarily by *mag-*; the Object Focus, marked by *-en*; the Location Focus, marked by *-an*; the Secondary Object Focus (and Beneficiary Focus) marked by *i-*; the Instrument Focus, marked by *ipag-*; and the Reason Focus, marked by *ika-*. Like Manide, Camarines Norte Tagalog, and the vast majority of Bikol languages, the Actor Focus is marked primarily by a *mag-* paradigm in which *<um>* is relegated to marking only the imperative, with comparatively little use of *maN-*, as opposed to most other Philippine-type languages, which have three distinct, fully-productive Actor Focus paradigms (*<um>*, *mag-* and *maN-*). Unlike the reduced-focus system of Manide, however, Inagta Alabat has not lost the Secondary Object Focus, which is marked by *i-* as in most other conservative Philippine and Philippine-type languages. While Inagta Alabat lacks the subjunctive forms present in Manide (cf. Lobel 2010), it still distinguishes the infinitive, past, present, and future, as well as an imperative in the Actor Focus marked by *<um>*, and a negative imperative in the Object Focus and Location Focus marked by *ig-...-i*. Table 25 illustrates the basic verb conjugations of Inagta Alabat, and affixed forms are provided in Tables 26a-c based on the roots *káun* ‘eat’ (‘feed’ in the causative mode), *awéy* ‘give’, *pútel* ‘cut’, *anggút* ‘anger’, *tubág* ‘answer’, *dukút* ‘stick to’, *úsap* ‘converse’, *diyá* ‘bring’ (‘send’ in the causative mode), and *igá* ‘have’.

Abbreviations The following abbreviations not in the Leipzig Glossing Rules are used in this paper:

ABIL	abilitative/accidental mode
AF	actor focus
Brgy.	barangay (the next smallest geopolitical division in the Philippines after the city or town)
GEN	genitive
IF	instrument focus
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
INF	infinitive
INV	inversion marker
LF	location focus
LNK	linker
NIMP	negative imperative
NOM	nominative
OBL	oblique
OF	object focus
OF ₂	secondary object focus
PMP	Proto Malayo-Polynesian
SUP	superlative

Table 25. Inagta Alabat verb conjugations

		AF	OF	LF	OF ₂ /BF	IF	RF
Basic	INF	mag-	-en	-an	i-	ipag-	ika-
	PST	nag-	<in>	<in>...-an	<in>	ipinag-	ikina-
	PRS	ig-CV-, pa-	pig-CV-	pig-CV...-an	pig-CV-	pigpapag-	pigkaka-
	FUT	ig-	pig-	pig...-an	pig-	pigpag-	pigka-
	IMP	Ø, <um>	-en	-an	i-	-	-
Abil/Accd ₁	NIMP	mag-	-i, ig...-i	-an, ig...-i	i-	-	-
	INF	maka-	ma-	ma...-an	mai-	-	-
	PST	naka-	na-	na...-an	nai-	-	-
	PRS	nakaka-	na-CV-	na-CV...-an	naii-	-	-
	FUT	makaka-	ma-CV-	ma-CV...-an	mai-	-	-
Abil/Accd ₂ †	NIMP	-	-	igka...-i	-	-	-
	INF	maka-	ma-	ma...-an	-	-	-
	PST	naka-	na-	na...-an	-	-	-
Reciprocal	PRS/FUT	niki-	ni-	ni...-an	-	-	-
	INF	mag...-an	pag...-en	pag...-an	-	-	-
	PST	nag...-an	pinag-	pinag...-an	-	-	-
	PRS	ig-CV...-an	pigpapag-	pigpapag...-an	-	-	-
Rcp-Abil/Accd	FUT	ig...-an	pigpag-	pigpag...-an	-	-	-
	INF	magka...-an	-	-	-	-	-
	PST	nagka...-an	-	-	-	-	-
	PRS	igkaka...-an	-	-	-	-	-
Causative	FUT	igka...-an	-	-	-	-	-
	INF	magpa-	pa...-en	pa...-an	ipa-	-	-
	PST	nagpa-	pina-	pina...-an	pina-	-	-
	PRS	igpapa-	pigpapa-	pigpapa...-an	pigpapa-	-	-
Caus-Abil	FUT	igpa-	pigpa-	pigpa...-an	pigpa-	-	-
	INF	makapagpa-	mapa-	mapa...-an	maipa-	-	-
	PST	nakapagpa-	napa-	napa...-an	naipa-	-	-
	PRS	nakakapagpa-	napapa-	napapa...-an	naiipa-	-	-
Plural	FUT	makakapagpa-	mapapa-	mapapa...-an	maiipa-	-	-
	INF	magsi-	-	-	-	-	-
	PST	nagsi-	-	-	-	-	-
	PRS	igsisi-	-	-	-	-	-
Social		pasi-	-	-	-	-	-
	FUT	igsi-	-	-	-	-	-
	INF	makipag-	-	-	-	-	-
	PST	nakipag-	-	-	-	-	-
	PRS	nakikipag-	-	-	-	-	-
Petitive	FUT	makikipag-	-	-	-	-	-
	INF	maki-	-	-	-	-	-
	PST	naki-	-	-	-	-	-
	PRS	nakiki-	-	-	-	-	-
Possessive‡	FUT	makiki-	-	-	-	-	-
	INF	magka-	-	-	-	-	-
	PST	nagka-	-	-	-	-	-
	PRS	igkaka-	-	-	-	-	-
	FUT	igka-	-	-	-	-	-

† Used for verbs of senses such as *maán* 'see', *sekég* 'hear', *intindí* 'understand', *alála* 'remember', *batúg* 'see from far away', and *silág* 'catch a glimpse of'.

‡ Also used as the accidental/abillative of certain reciprocal verbs.

Table 26a. Inagta Alabat verbs conjugated, with audio examples

		AF	OF	LF	OF ₂ /BF
Basic	INF	magkáun /mag'ka?un/	kaúnen /ka'ʔunen/	aweyán /?awe'jan/	iawéy /?i?a'wej/
	PST	nagkáun /nag'ka?un/	kináun /ki'na?un/	inaweyán /?inawe'jan/	inawéy /?ina'wej/
			pikáun /pi'ka?un/	piaweyán /?piawe'jan/	piawéy /?i?a'wej/
	PRS	igkakáun /igka'ka?un/	pigkakáun /pigka'ka?un/	pig-aaweyán /pig?a?awe'jan/	pig-aawéy /pig?a?a'wej/
	FUT	igkáun /ig'ka?un/	pigkáun /pig'ka?un/	pig-aweyán /pig?awe'jan/	pig-awéy /pig?a'wej/
	IMP	kumáun /ku'ma?un/	(=of.inf)	(=lf.inf)	(=of ₂ .inf)
	NImp	(=af.inf)	kaúni /ka'ʔuni/	(=lf.inf)	(=of ₂ .inf)
	NImp ₂		igkaúni /?igka'ʔuni/	ig-aweyí /?ig?awe'ji/	
Abil/ Accd ₁	INF	makakáun /maka'ka?un/	makáun /ma'ka?un/	maaweyán /ma?awe'jan/	maiawéy /ma'i?a'wej/
	PST	nakakáun /naka'ka?un/	nakáun /na'ka?un/	naaweyán /na?awe'jan/	naiawéy /na'i?a'wej/
	PRS	nakakakáun /nakaka'ka?un/	nakakáun /naka'ka?un/	naaaaweyán /na?a?awe'jan/	naiiawéy /na'i'i?a'wej/
	FUT	makakakáun /makaka'ka?un/	makakáun /maka'ka?un/	maaaaweyán /ma?a?awe'jan/	maiiawéy /ma'i'i?a'wej/
Abil/ Accd ₂ †	INF	makamaán /makama'ʔan/	mamaán /mama'ʔan/	mamaanán /mama?a'nan/	—
	PST	nakamaán /nakama'ʔan/	namaán /nama'ʔan/	namaanán /nama?a'nan/	—
	PRS,	nikimaán	nimaán	nimaanán	—
	FUT	/nikima'ʔan/	/nima'ʔan/	/nima?a'nan/	—
Reciprocal	INF	magtubágan /magtu'bagan/	pagdukutén /pagduku'ten/	pag-usápan /pag?u'sapan/	—
	PST	nagtubágan /nagtu'bagan/	pinagdukút /pinagdu'kut/	pinag-usápan /pinag?u'sapan/	—
	PRS	igtutubágan /?igtutu'bagan/	pigpapagdukút /pigpapagdu'kut/	pigpapag-usápan /pigpapag?u'sapan/	—
	FUT	igtubágan /?igtu'bagan/	pigpagdukút /pigpagdu'kut/	pigpag-usápan /pigpag?u'sapan/	—
Rcp-Abil/ Accd	INF	magkatubágan /magkatu'bagan/	—	mapag-usápan /mapag?u'sapan/	—
	PST	nagkatubágan /nagkatu'bagan/	—	napag-usápan /napag?u'sapan/	—
	PRS	igkakatubágan /?igkakatu'bagan/	—	napapag-usápan /napapag?u'sapan/	—
	FUT	igkatubágan /?igkatu'bagan/	—	mapapag-usápan /mapapag?u'sapan/	—
Causative	INF	magpakáun /magpa'ka?un/	pakaúnen /paka'ʔunen/	padiyahán /padija'han/	ipakáun /?ipa'ka?un/

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		AF	OF	LF	OF ₂ /BF
	PST	nagpakáun /nagpa'ka?un/	pinakáun /pina'ka?un/	pinadiyahán /pinadija'han/	pinakáun /pina'ka?un/
	PRS	igpapakáun /?igpapa'ka?un/	igpapakáun /igpapa'ka?un/	igpapadiyahán /igpapadija'han/	igpapakáun /igpapa'ka?un/
	FUT	igpakáun /?igpa'ka?un/	igpakáun /igpa'ka?un/	igpadiyahán /igpadija'han/	igpakáun /igpa'ka?un/
Caus-Abil	INF	makapagpakáun /makapagpa'ka?un/	mapakáun /mapa'ka?un/	mapadiyahán /mapadija'han/	maipakáun /ma?ipa'ka?un/
	PST	nakapagpakáun /nakapagpa'ka?un/	napakáun /napa'ka?un/	napadiyahán /napadija'han/	naipakáun /na?ipa'ka?un/
	PRS	nakapagpakáun /nakapagpa'ka?un/	napapakáun /napapa'ka?un/	napapadiyahán /napapadija'han/	naiipakáun /na?i?ipa'ka?un/
	FUT	makapagpakáun /makapagpa'ka?un/	mapapakáun /mapapa'ka?un/	mapapadiyahán /mapapadija'han/	maiipakáun /ma?i?ipa'ka?un/

Table 26b. Inagta Alabat verbs conjugated, with audio examples

		AF
Plural	INF	magsikáun /magsi'ka?un/
	PST	nagsikáun /nagsi'ka?un/
	PRS	igsisikáun /?igsisi'ka?un/
Social		pasikáun /pasi'ka?un/
	FUT	igsikáun /?igsi'ka?un/
	INF	makipag-úsap /makipag'?usap/
	PST	nakipag-úsap /nakipag'?usap/
Petitive	PRS	nakikipag-úsap /nakikipag'?usap/
	FUT	makikipag-úsap /makikipag'?usap/
	INF	makikáun /maki'ka?un/
	PST	nakikáun /naki'ka?un/
Possessive	PRS	nakikikáun /nakiki'ka?un/
	FUT	makikikáun /makiki'ka?un/
	INF	magkaigá /magka?i'ga/
	PST	nagkaigá /nagka?i'ga/
	PRS	igkakaigá /?igkaka?i'ga/
	FUT	igkaigá /?igka?i'ga/

Table 26c. Inagta Alabat verbs conjugated (Instrument and Reason Focus), with audio examples


		IF	RF
Basic	INF	ipagpútel /?ipag'putel/	ikaanggút /?ika?an'gut/
	PST	ipinagpútel /?ipinag'putel/	ikinaanggút /?ikina?an'gut/
	PRS	igpapakpútel /igpapak'putel/	igkakaanggút /igkaka?an'gut/
	FUT	igpagpútel /igpag'putel/	igkaanggút /igka?an'gut/

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Jason William Lobel
jasonlobel@yahoo.com

 orcid.org/0000-0001-7780-3184

Appendix A. Inagta Alabat narrative

The second author, Rosie Susutin Barreno, translated the text ‘The Wind and the Sun’ (“Hu he-new pat hu degew” in Inagta Alabat), which has been included in this journal in sketches of Maranao (Lobel & Riwarung 2011), Ponosakan (Lobel 2016), and Remontado (Lobel & Surbano 2019), as well as in numerous similar sketches in the Journal of the International Phonetic Association. In spite of not being a native text, it allows for the comparison of Inagta Alabat with other languages for which translations of this text are available. The orthographic form (written in a general Philippine orthography) is interlinearized with the phonemic transcription, morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, and a rough English translation.

Audio:

- (1) *Hu hé-new pat hu degéw*
 hu 'heʔnew pat hu de'gew ||
 NOM wind and NOM sun
 The wind and the sun
- (2) *He-sâ a degéw, igtatálu hu hé-new pat hu degéw.*
 heʔ'saʔ ʔa de'gew | ʔigta'talu hu 'heʔnew pat hu de'gew ||
 one LNK day AF.PRES.argue NOM wind and NOM sun
 One day, the wind and the sun were arguing.
- (3) *Nagkádè hu hé-new,*
 nag'kadeʔ hu 'heʔnew |
 AF.PST.say NOM wind
 The wind said,
- (4) *“Ha-kú hu malakás dekitâ a dawhá.”*
 haʔ'ku hu mala'kas deki'taʔ ʔa daw'ha ||
 1SG.NOM NOM strong 1INCL.OBL LNK two
 “I am the stronger of the two of us.”
- (5) *Nagtubág hu degéw, “Ukún!*
 nagtu'bag hu de'gew | ʔu'kun ||
 AF.PST.answer NOM sun no
 The sun answered, “No!”

- (6) *Ha-kú hu malakás dekitâ a dawhá!*
 ha?ku hu mala'kas deki'ta? ?a daw'ha ||
 1SG.NOM NOM strong 1INCL.OBL LNK two
 I am the stronger of the two of us!"
- (7) *Kayâ, kinádè nu he-néw, "Tulúngan ta deyáng*
 ka'ja? | ki'nade? nu he?'new | tu'luŋan ta de'jan
 so AFPST.say GEN wind LF.INF.look 1INCL.GEN just
 So, the wind said, "Let's just see
- (8) *ti hi-nû dekitâ hu malakás talagá.*
 ti hi?'nu? deki'ta? hu mala'kas tala'ga ||
 if who 1INCL.OBL NOM strong really
 which of the two of us is really stronger."
- (9) *Igá 'ng nagdetúng a he-sâ a laláki,*
 ?i'ga =ŋ nagde'tuŋ ?a he?'sa? ?a la'laki? |
 exist LNK AFPST.arrive LNK one LNK man
 There was a man who arrived
- (10) *igá 'ng su-lút a makapál a mahábà-a-kamáy.*
 ?i'ga =ŋ su?'lut ?a maka'pal ?a ma'haba?=?a=ka'maj ||
 exist LNK wear LNK thick LNK long=LNK=arm (jacket)
 who had a thick jacket on.
- (11) *Pagka maán adehén de laláki a hidû,*
 pagka ma?'an ?ade'hen de la'laki? ?a hi'du? |
 when see 3PL.GEN OBL man LNK that
 When they saw that man,
- (12) *nag-úsap hu hé-new pat hu degéw,*
 nag?'usap hu 'he?'new pat hu de'gew |
 AFPST.converse NOM wind and NOM sun
 the wind and the sun conversed,

- (13) *nagkaubiyahán hidehén ta ti hi-nû hu makakapagpaúmag*
 nagkaʔubijaʔhan hideʔhen ta ti hiʔnuʔ hu makakapagpaʔumag
 AF.RCP.ABIL.PST.agree 3PL.NOM that if who NOM AF.ABIL.CAUS.FUT.take-off
 they agreed that whoever could cause what the man was wearing to be re-
 moved,
- (14) *de su-lút nu laláki, hidû hu mas malakás.*
 de suʔlut nu laʔlakiʔ | hiʔduʔ hu mas malaʔkas ||
 OBL wear GEN man 3SG.NOM NOM more strong
 he was the stronger.
- (15) *Hu hu-nâ a nagsúbuk an hu hé-new.*
 hu huʔnaʔ ʔa nagʔsubuk ʔan hu ʔheʔnew ||
 NOM first LNK AF.PST.try INV NOM wind
 The first to try was the wind.
- (16) *Nagsimulâ heyé a humiyúp nu malakás,*
 nagsimuʔlaʔ heʔje ʔa humiʔjup nu malaʔkas |
 AF.PST.start 3SG.NOM LNK AF.INF.blow GEN strong
 He started to blow strongly,
- (17) *hanggán de kalakas-lakásan a hiyúp.*
 haŋʔgan de kalakas=laʔkasan ʔa hiʔjup ||
 until OBL strongest LNK blow
 to the strongest of blows.
- (18) *Ti pa-nû kalakás hu hiyúp adeyé, taún kalakás*
 ti paʔnuʔ kalaʔkas hu hiʔjup ʔadeʔje | taʔun kalaʔkas
 if how strong NOM blow 3SG.GEN like strong
 However strong his blowing was,
- (19) *hu pagkáhet nu laláki de deyé a mahábà-a-kamáy.*
 hu pagʔkahet nu laʔlakiʔ de deʔje ʔa maʔhabaʔ=ʔa=kaʔmaj ||
 NOM holding GEN man OBL 3SG.OBL LNK long=LNK=arm(jacket)
 the man's grip on his jacket was equally strong.

- (20) *Ukún nagtagál bágu nagsúkù hu he-néw.*
 ?u'kun nagta'gal 'bagu nag'suku? hu he?'new ||
 not AF.PST.long-time before AF.PST.give-up NOM wind
 It wasn't long before the wind gave up.
- (21) *Ikáwha a naghíklas, hu degéw.*
 ?i'kawha ?a nag'hiklas | hu de'gew ||
 second LNK AF.PST.try NOM sun
 The second to try was the sun.
- (22) *Nagpaínit heyé a nagpaínit.*
 nagpa'ínit he'je ?a nagpa'ínit ||
 AF.CAUS.PST.hot 3SG.NOM LNK AF.CAUS.PST.hot
 He shone and shone.
- (23) *De súbra a ínit nu degéw,*
 de 'subra ?a 'ínit nu de'gew,
 OBL too LNK heat GEN sun
 In the overwhelming heat of the sun,
- (24) *ginan-út nu mabhún hu laláki,*
 ginan'ut nu mab'hun hu la'laki? ||
 OF.PST.sweat GEN a-lot NOM man
 the man sweat a lot,
- (25) *ta ukún nagtagál, inúmag adeyé hu*
 ta ?u'kun nagta'gal | ?i'numag ?ade'je hu
 so not AF.PST.long-time OF.PST.take-off 3SG.GEN NOM
mahábà-a-kamáy.
 ma'haba?=?a=ka'maj ||
 long=LNK=arm(jacket)
 so before long, he removed his jacket.
- (26) *Pag natulungán nu he-néw hu nangyári,*
 pag natulu'nan nu he?'new hu nan'jari |
 when LF.PST.see GEN wind NOM happened
 When the wind saw what happened,

(27) *kinádè adegé de degéw,*
 ki'nadeʔ ʔade'je de de'gew |
 OF.PST.say 3SG.GEN OBL sun
 he said to the sun,

(28) “*Hikáw dengáni hu malakás dekitâ a dawhá!*”
 hi'kaw de'ɲaniʔ hu mala'kas deki'taʔ ʔa daw'ha ||
 2SG.NOM truly NOM strong 1INCL.OBL LNK two
 “You truly are the stronger of the two of us!”

Appendix B. Two short Inagta Alabat monologues

The two short texts in this section were recorded by Chieftain Rosie Susutin Barreno in March of 2011.

TEXT 1: COMMUNITY ISSUES**Audio:**

(29) *Ha-kú hu Rosie.*
 ha?'ku hu 'rosi ||
 1SG.NOM NOM Rosie
 I'm Rosie.

(30) *Halid kamî an*
 ha'lid ka'mi? ?an
 back.then 1EXCL.NOM INV
 Back then,

(31) *pigpápansín nu mā putî de-dû de Alabat.*
 pigpapan'sin nu ma: pu'ti? de?'du? de ?a'labat ||
 OF.PRES.pay.attention GEN PL white there.OBL OBL Alabat
 the non-black Filipinos in Alabat would pay attention to us.

(32) *Ay, kumánà, ay, bagá, ukún de.*
 ?aj | ku'mana? | ?aj | ba'ga | ?u'kun de ||
 INTJ now INTJ CLAR no already
 Oh, nowadays, well, basically, not anymore.

(33) *Gawâ nu pag igá yang nu mā kailángan dekamî,*
 ga'wa? nu pag ?i'ga jaŋ nu ma: ka?'i'laŋan deka'mi? |
 result GEN when have only GEN PL need 1EXCL.OBL
 For the reason that only when someone needs something from us,

(34) *sákà kamí yang nipansín, péru pag wayâ de,*
 'saka? ka'mi jaŋ nipan'sin | 'peru pag wa'ja? de |
 after 1EXCL.NOM only OF.ABIL.PAST.notice but when none already
 only then do they notice us, but when they don't need anything from us any-
 more,

- (35) *ay, ukún kamí de pig-iintindí, ka-dú kumánà,*
 ?aj | ?u'kun ka'mi de pig?i?intin'di | ka?'du ku'mana? |
 INTJ no 1EXCL.NOM already OF.PRS.think-of similar now
 oh, they don't think about us, like right now,
- (36) *hu ahényug nu laláki kú,*
 hu ?a'henu? nu la'laki? ku? |
 NOM sibling GEN spouse 1SG.GEN
 my husband's brother,
- (37) *ni..., kinadéan a igá kun nu ginawá a páyuk, wayâ*
 ni | kina'de?an ?a ?i'ga kun nu gina'wa ?a 'pajuk | wa'ja?
 – LFPST.say LNK have QUOT GEN OF.PST.do LNK bad none
demán.
 de'man ||
 SOFT
 someone said he did something bad, when in fact he didn't.
- (38) *Gústu yang a papalayuhán de-dû de baranggay a*
 'gustu jaŋ ?a papalaju'han de?'du? de ba'raŋgaj ?a
 want only LNK LF.CAUS.INF.far there.OBL OBL community LNK
hidû.
 hi'du? ||
 that.NOM
 They just want to make him have to leave that barangay.
- (39) *Ay... ha-kú naaáwà, kamí mabhún a anák.*
 ?aj ha?'ku na?a'?awa? | ka'mi mab'hun ?a ?a'nak ||
 INTJ 1SG.NOM OE.ABIL.PRS.pity 1EXCL.NOM many LNK children
 Oh...I felt sorry for them, they have a lot of children.
- (40) *Wayá'ng pigpakáun, wayá'ng hanap-búhay.*
 wa'ja-ŋ pigpa'ka?un | wa'ja-ŋ hanap'buhaj ||
 none=LNK OE.CAUS.FUT.eat none=LNK livelihood
 They don't have anything to feed them, they don't have jobs.

- (41) *Payát de hu mag-asáwa.*
 pa'jat de hu magʔa'sawa ||
 skinny already NOM RCP.spouse
 Both husband and wife are skinny.
- (42) *Tápus, nagpataín de baránggay, nakikiúsap*
 'tapus | nagpata'ʔun de ba'rangaj | nakiki'ʔusap
 so AF.PST.go OBL community-government AF.SOC.PRS.converse
de kapitán,
 de kapi'tan |
 OBL captain
 So, he went to the barangay hall, and made a request to the barangay captain,
- (43) *a hidehén an igsúhì de-dú, hángà de*
 ʔa hide'hen ʔan ʔig'suhi? de'ʔdu? | 'haŋa? de
 LNK 3PL.NOM INV AFFUT.return there.OBL dislike already
pasuhén,
 pasu'hiʔen |
 OF.CAUS.INF.return
 for them to return there, (but) they didn't want to let them go back,
- (44) *ta páyuk kun ngáni a piggagawâ.*
 ta 'pajuk kun 'ŋani? ʔa piggaga'wa? ||
 because bad QUOT EMPH LNK OF.PRS.do
 because someone said they were doing bad things.
- (45) *Kayâ, nagkádè da-kú hu bakés nu ahényug nu laláki*
 ka'ja? | nag'kade? da'ku hu ba'kes nu ʔa'henjug nu la'laki?
 therefore AF.PST.say 1SG.OBL NOM wife GEN sibling GEN husband
kú,
 ku? |
 1SG.GEN
 So my husband's brother's wife said to me,
- (46) *a kung ári kun an igsúhì hidehén dekamî.*
 ʔa kunj 'ʔari? kun ʔan ʔig'suhi? hide'hen deka'mi? ||
 LNK if possible QUOT INV AFFUT.return 3PL.NOM 1EXCL.OBL
 that if possible, they would stay with us.

- (47) *Ay, hu pighuhungúwan mi dũ din demán,*
 ʔaj | hu pighuhu'ɲuwan mi duʔ din de'man |
 INTJ NOM LF.PRS.reside 1EXCL.GEN DIST also SOFT
 Oh, the place where we live, too,
- (48) *an hu..., ibá din hu ugáli,*
 ʔan hu | ʔi'ba din hu ʔu'galiʔ |
 INV – different also NOM behavior
 their behavior is different,
- (49) *bakâ kamî demán hu mapapalayú.*
 ba'kaʔ ka'miʔ de'man hu mapapala'ju ||
 perhaps 1EXCL.NOM TURN NOM OF.CAUS.INF.leave
 (and) perhaps we too would have to leave.
- (50) *E, pá-nù kamí din demán deʔ*
 ʔe | 'paʔnuʔ ka'mi din de'man de ||
 INTJ how.manner 1EXCL.NOM also SOFT already
 Well, what would become of us, too?
- (51) *E kamí demán an wayâ din nu kabángà a*
 ʔe ka'mi de'man ʔan wa'jaʔ din nu ka'baŋaʔ ʔa
 INTJ 1EXCL.NOM CLAR INV none also GEN other LNK
igpataúnan.
 ʔigpata'ʔunan ||
 LF.PRS.reside
 Because we, too, don't have any other place to go.

TEXT 2: MOVING TO ALABAT

Audio:

- (52) *Halíd ha-kú de Lopez nabuhúnguw.*
 ha'lid ha'ku de 'lupis nahu'huŋuw ||
 previously 1SG.NOM OBL Lopez AF.PRS.reside
 I used to live in Lopez.
- (53) *De-dû ek nag-áral,*
 de?'du? ek nag?'aral |
 there.OBL 1SG.NOM AF.PST.study
 I went to school there,
- (54) *ukún ek demán nakatápus nu "Grade One".*
 ?u'kun ek de'man naka'tapus nu grejd wan ||
 no 1SG.NOM SOFT AFABIL.PST.finish GEN first-grade
 (but) I didn't finish the first grade.
- (55) *Tápus nu ha-kú dû an mā katúrsi de hu idád,*
 'tapus nu ha'ku du? ?an ma: ka'tursi de hu ?i'dad |
 then back-then 1SG.NOM DIST INV PL fourteen already NOM age
 Then, when I was around 14 years old,
- (56) *hu ahényug kû a kumákà ay nagkalalákì nu*
 hu ?a'henjug ku? ?a ku'maka? ?aj nagkala'laki? nu
 NOM sibling 1SG.NOM LNK older-sibling LNK AF.POSS.husband GEN
taga-Alabat.
 taga?a'labat ||
 from.Alabat
 my older sister married a man from Alabat.
- (57) *Tápus, nakalípas sigúru hu mā limá a táun*
 'tapus | naka'lipas si'guru hu ma: li'ma ?a 'ta?un
 then AFABIL.PST.pass maybe NOM PL five LNK years
 Then, after around...five years,

- (58) *nagsúhì hu abényug kû.*
 nag'suhi? hu ?a'henjug ku? ||
 AF.PST.return NOM sibling 1SG.GEN
 my sister came back home.
- (59) *Iníkag ek pataún de Alabat.*
 ?i'nikag ek pata'ʔun de ?a'labat ||
 OF.PST.invite 1SG.NOM go-to OBL Alabat
 She invited me to go to Alabat.
- (60) *Pagdetúng ku de-dû, ha-kú ig-iibil,*
 pagde'tuj ku de?du? | ha?ku ?ig?i?i'bil |
 upon.arriving 1SG.GEN there.OBL 1SG.NOM AF.PRS.cry
 After I arrived there, I would cry,
- (61) *ta ha-kú pig-uutíg nu mā..., mā Agtâ din de-dû.*
 ta ha?ku pig?u?u'tig nu ma: | ma: ?ag'ta? din de?du? ||
 because 1SG.NOM OF.PRS.joke GEN PL PL Agta also there.OBL
 because the Agta there would joke with me.
- (62) *Igsasagákan ek, ay, ha-kú demán ukún maálam*
 ?igsasa'gakan ek | ?aj | ha?ku de'man ?u'kun ma'ʔalam
 LF.PRS.laugh 1SG.NOM INTJ 1SG.NOM CLAR no accustomed
a
 ?a
 LNK
 They would laugh at me, oh, I wasn't used to
- (63) *táun-nidúén, di ha-kú i..., iibil deyáng.*
 'ta?un-nidu'ʔen | di ha?ku ?i... | ?i'ibil de'jaŋ ||
 OF.INF.like-that so 1SG.NOM – AF.PRS.cry just
 having people do things like that to me, so I would just cry.
- (64) *Tápus nu ha-kú dû i kabehéwan de,*
 'tapus nu ha?ku du? ?i kabe'hewan de |
 then GEN 1SG.NOM DIST INV pubescent-girl already
 Then, when I reached my teenage years,

- (65) *ha-kú an nagkaigá hek de ngáni,*
 ha?'ku ?an nagka?'i'ga hek de 'ŋani? |
 1SG.NOM INV AF.PST.POSS.have 1SG.NOM already emph
 I ended up having someone,
- (66) *nang-ibug da-kú hu laláki kú,*
 naŋ?'ibug da?'ku hu la'laki? ku? |
 AF.PST.court 1SG.OBL NOM husband 1SG.GEN
 my husband courted me,
- (67) *hanggán de nakalípas hu mā dawhá a táun*
 haŋ'gan de naka'lipas hu ma: daw'ha ?a 'ta?un
 until OBL AF.PST.ABIL.pass NOM PL two LNK year
 until two years had passed
- (68) *bágu kamí náging mag-asáwa.*
 'bagu ka'mi 'nagiŋ mag?a'sawa ||
 before 1EXCL.NOM AF.PST.become RCP.spouse ||
 before we became man and wife.
- (69) *Ha-kú an nagsúhi nu López an nidú ay,*
 ha?'ku ?an nag'suhi? nu 'lupis ?an ni'du? ?aj |
 1SG.NOM INV AF.PST.return GEN Lopez INV back-then INTJ
 I went back to Lopez back then,
- (70) *igá hek deng anák,*
 ?i'ga hek de=ŋ ?a'nak |
 have 1SG.NOM already.LNK child
 I already had a child.
- (71) *Tápus an pasúhi-súhi kamí de Alábat*
 'tapus ?an pa'suhi?'suhi? ka'mi de ?a'labat
 then INV REP.return.return 1EXCL.NOM OBL Alabat
 Then, we kept going back to Alabat,

- (72) *kamí a nidû wayáng pighuhunguwán.*
 ka'mi ʔa ni'duʔ wa'ja=ŋ pighuhunʔu'wan ||
 1EXCL.NOM LNK back-then none.LNK LF.PRES.reside
 back then we didn't have a place to live.
- (73) *Hadé les-ékan ku ha-kú i-..., kamî igtutulúy,*
 ha'de les'ʔekan ku ha'ʔku ʔi... | ka'miʔ ʔigtutu'luj ||
 LOC parent-in-law 1SG.GEN 1SG.NOM – 1EXCL.NOM AF.PRES.reside
 We'd live at my in-laws' house,
- (74) *sakâ pag igsusúhì kamí (de) López*
 sa'kaʔ pag ʔigsu'suhiʔ ka'mi de 'lupis
 and when AF.PRES.return 1EXCL.NOM OBL Lopez
 and when we went home to Lopez,
- (75) *de gúyang kú ha-kú ighuhúnguw,*
 de 'gujaŋ kuʔ ha'ʔku ʔighu'huŋuw |
 OBL parent 1SG.GEN 1SG.NOM AF.PRES.reside
 I'd stay with my parents,
- (76) *kayâ kumbága man de panahún ngáni huyí*
 ka'jaʔ kum'baga man de pana'hun 'ŋaniʔ hu'ji
 so EXPL SOFT OBL time EMPH this.NOM
 so, in other words, at this time
- (77) *nu ha-kú an magkalaláki de de Alábat,*
 nu ha'ʔku ʔan magkala'lakiʔ de de ʔal'abat |
 GEN 1SG.NOM INV AF.INF.POSS.husband already OBL Alabat
 when I got married in Alabat,
- (78) *ay hánggan kumánà an de-dû kamí de*
 aj 'haŋgan ku'manaʔ an de'ʔduʔ ka'mi de
 INTJ until now INV there-far.OBL 1EXCL.NOM already
ighuhúnguw.
 ighu'huŋuw ||
 AF.PRES.reside
 until now, that's where we're living.

Appendix C. Inagta Alabat Sentences with Audio

Table 27. Sentence examples for pronouns, with audio examples

	Example sentence	Audio
há-ku	Há-ku hu Jason. /háʔku hu 'dʒisun/ 'I'm Jason.'	
hikáw	Inaweyán kû hikáw numbé-gu. /ʔinawe'jan kuʔ hi'kaw num'beʔgu/ 'I gave you some earlier.'	
heyé	Igsúhì heyé díí nu Abril. /ʔig'suhiʔ he'je di'ʔi nu ʔab'ril/ 'He'll come back here in April.'	
kitahán	Káun kitahán. /kaʔun kita'han/ 'Let's eat.' (said in a group of more than two people)	
hidehén	Hi-nû hidehén? /hiʔnuʔ hide'hen/ 'Who are they?'	
ek	Ikuhá ek mu 'n pagkáun. /ʔiku'haʔ ek mu=n pag'kaʔun/ 'Get me some food.'	
kû	Pig-aweyán kû hikáw gumaák. /pigawe'jan kuʔ hi'kaw guma'ʔak/ 'I'll give you some tomorrow.'	
mu	Kailán mu isinúhì dedeyé? /kaʔi'lan mu isi'nuhiʔ dede'je/ 'When did you return it to him?'	
dada-kú	Heyé píirmi ig-aawéy dada-kú. /he'je 'pirmi ʔigʔaʔa'wej dadaʔku/ 'He's the one who always gives me things.'	
dikáw	Hí-nù nag-awéy dikáw? /hiʔnuʔ nagʔa'wej di'kaw/ 'Who gave it to you?'	
dedeyé	Há-nù pig-awéy mu dedeyé? /háʔnuʔ pigʔa'wej mu dede'je/ 'What are you going to give him?'	

Table 28. Sentence examples for case markers, with audio examples

	Example sentence	Audio
hu (common)	Heyé hu naglútù nuyê. /he'je hu nag'lutu? nu'je?/ 'He's the one who cooked that.'	
nu (common)	Igpataún ek de-dû pag-údu nu gemés. /ʔigpata'ʔun ek de?'du? pag'ʔudu nu ge'mes/ 'I'll go there when it stops raining.'	
hu (personal)	Namaanán kû hu Mariyá. /nama'a'nan ku? hu mari'ja/ 'I saw Maria.'	
nu (personal)	Huyí hu bayáy nu Mariyá. /hu'ji hu ba'jaj nu mari'ja/ 'This is Maria's house.'	
de (personal)	Iawéy mu huyí de Mariyá. /ʔi'a'wej mu hu'ji de mari'ja/ 'Give it to Maria.'	
nu (as marker of past)	Nagsúhì heyé díí nu Disímbri. /nag'suhi? he'je di'ʔi nu di'simbri/ 'He came back here in December.'	
	Nagkámaán kamî nu Mártes dû. /nag'kama'ʔan ka'mi? nu 'martis 'du?/ 'We saw each other on Tuesday.'	
nu (verb-adverb linkage)	Naggemés nu malakás numbé-gu. /nagge'mes nu mala'kas num'be?gu/ 'It rained hard earlier.'	

Table 29. Sentence examples for demonstratives, with audio examples

	Example sentence	Audio
huyí 'this' (nominative)	Da-kú huyí. /da?'ku hu'ji/ 'This is mine.'	
huyê 'that' (nominative)	Dikáw huyê. /di'kaw hu'je?/ 'That's yours.'	
māhuyihén 'these' (plural nominative)	Hugásan mu māhuyihén. /hu'gasan mu ma: huji'hen/ 'Wash those things.'	

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nuyí ‘this’ (genitive)	Hikáw ba naglútù nuyí? /hi'kaw ba nag'lutu? nu'ji/ ‘Are you the one who cooked this?’
nuyê ‘that’ (genitive)	Taún nuyê pigkakáun mî áraw-áraw. /ta'ʔun nu'je? pigka'kaʔun mi? 'ʔaraw'ʔaraw/ ‘That’s the kind of stuff we eat every day.’
díi ‘here’ (oblique)	Pumaháy ka díi. /puma'haj ka di'ʔi/ ‘Come here.’
de-yê ‘there (near addressee)’ (oblique)	Ba ta nakasengul ka de-yê? /ba ta naka'seŋul ka de'ʔje?/ ‘Why are you sitting there?’
de-dû ‘there (far from speaker and addressee)’ (oblique)	Ilipát mu de-dû. /ʔili'pat mu de'ʔdu?/ ‘Put it there.’
hadíi ‘is here’ (present location)	Hadíi heyé numbé-gu. /ha'diʔi he'je num'beʔgu/ ‘He was here earlier.’
hadé-dù ‘is there’ (present location)	Hadé-dù heyé nunhápun. /ha'de'ʔdu? he'je nun'hapun/ ‘He was there yesterday.’

Table 30. Sentence examples for interrogatives, with audio examples

	Example sentence	Audio
há-nu ‘what’	Há-nù inawéy mu dedeyé? /haʔnu? ʔina'wej mu dede'je/ ‘What did you give him?’	
hí-nu ‘who’	Hí-nù naglútù nuyê? /hiʔnu? nag'lutu? nu'je?/ ‘Who cooked this?’	
dehí-nu ‘whose; to whom’	Dehí-nù mu pig-aawéy? /de'hiʔnu? mu pigʔaʔa'wej/ ‘Who do you give it to?’	
	Dehí-nù huyê? /de'hiʔnu? hu'je?/ ‘Whose is this?’	

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kailán ‘when’	Kailán ka nagdetúng? /kaʔiʔlan ka nagdeʔtuŋ/ ‘When did you arrive?’
	Kailán ka igpalayú? /kaʔiʔlan ka ʔigpalaʔju/ ‘When are you going to leave?’
de-de ‘where’	De-dé kitá igkáun ngápít? /deʔde kiʔta ʔigʔkaʔun ʔnapit/ ‘Where are we going to eat later?’
hade-dé ‘where’ (present location)	Hade-dé hidehén? /hadeʔde hideʔhen/ ‘Where is he?’
báta ‘why’	Bá ta ginawâ mu huyê? /ba ta ginaʔwaʔ mu huʔjeʔ/ ‘Why did you do that?’
tá-nu ‘why’	Tá-nu, ukún arí? /taʔnu ʔuʔkun ʔaʔriʔ/ ‘Why, is it forbidden?’
pá-nu ‘how’ (manner or extent)	Pá-nù mu huyê ginawâ? /paʔnuʔ mu huʔjeʔ ginaʔwaʔ/ ‘How did you make that?’
	Pá-nù ba heyé katáas? /paʔnuʔ ba heʔje kaʔtaʔas/ ‘How tall is he/she?’
gaanú ‘how much’ (price)	Gaanú huyê? /gaʔaʔnu huʔjeʔ/ ‘How much does that cost?’
ilán ‘how many’	Ilán hu magkakaguút? /ʔiʔlan hu magkakaguʔut/ ‘How many people are going to come along?’
mustá ‘how is/are’	Mustá ka de? /musʔta ka de/ ‘How are you?’
nakailán ‘how many times’	Nakailán ka de a súhì díí? /nakaʔiʔlan ka de ʔa ʔsuhíʔ diʔʔiʔ/ ‘How many times have you come back here?’
hudé ‘which’	Hudé díí? /huʔde diʔʔiʔ/ ‘Which one of these?’

Table 31. Sentence examples for negators, with audio examples

	Example sentence	Audio
ukún ‘no; not’	Ukún ku ginawâ. /ʔu'kun ku gina'wa?/ ‘I didn’t do it.’	
	Ukún kamí ‘gpalayú. /ʔu'kun ka'mi gpala'ju/ ‘We aren’t going to leave.’	
	Ukún huyê ahényug kû. /ʔu'kun hu'je? ʔa'henuj 'ku?/ ‘That’s not my brother/sister.’	
	Ukún ku heyé kiyayá. /ʔu'kun ku he'je kija'ja/ ‘I don’t know him.’	
	Ukún taún nuyê, taún nuyí. /ʔu'kun ta'ʔun nu'je? ta'ʔun nu'ji/ ‘Not like that; like this.’	
hángà ‘don’t like’	Hángà ku nuyí. /haŋa? ku nu'ji/ ‘I don’t like this.’	
weyâ ‘none; there isn’t’	Wayâ heyé díí. /wa'ja? he'je di'ʔi/ ‘He’s/She’s not here.’	
huwág ‘don’t!’	Huwág mu huyê de-yê ilagáy. /hu'wag mu hu'je? de'je? ʔila'gaj/ ‘Don’t put that there.’	
	Huwág ka magpalayú. /hu'wag ka magpala'ju/ ‘Don’t leave.’	
	Huwág mu heyé aweyán. /hu'wag mu he'je ʔawe'jan/ ‘Don’t give him any.’	
	Huwág mu huyê bukasán. /hu'wag mu hu'je? buka'san/ ‘Don’t open that.’	

Table 32. Sentence examples for parts of the day, with audio examples

	Example sentence	Audio
lámà ‘afternoon’	Pigbubukasán túwi a lámà. /pigbubuka'san 'tuwi ʔa 'lamaʔ/ ‘They open it every afternoon.’	
diyúm ‘night’	Igdidiyá heyé díí ‘n pagkáun túwi a diyúm. /ʔigdidi'ja he'je di'ʔi n pag'kaʔun 'tuwi ʔa di'jum/ ‘He brings food here every night.’	

Table 33. Sentence examples for adverbs of time, with audio examples

	Example sentence	Audio
nu he-sâ dû a degéw ‘the day before yesterday’	Namaánan ku hidehén nu he-sâ dû a degéw. /nama'ʔanan ku hide'hen nu he'ʔsaʔ 'duʔ a de'gew/ ‘I saw them the day before yesterday.’	
nuntakép ‘last night’	De-dé ka nagtúyug nuntakép? /de'ʔde ka nag'tujug nunta'kep/ ‘Where did you sleep last night?’	
numbe-gú ‘earlier’	Hí-nù pinakáun mu numbe-gú? /hi'nuʔ pina'kaʔun mu numbe'ʔgu/ ‘Who did you feed earlier?’	
kumanâ ‘today’	Há-nu piggagawâ mu kumanâ? /ha'nu piggaga'waʔ mu kuma'naʔ/ ‘What are you doing right now?’	
ngapít ‘later’	Igpataún ek ngápít deng Mariyá. /ʔigpata'ʔun ek 'ŋapit deŋ mari'ja/ ‘I’m going to go to Maria and the others later.’	
gumaák ‘tomorrow’	Pigpadiyahán ku hikáw gumaák. /pigpadija'han ku hi'kaw guma'ʔak/ ‘I’ll send you some tomorrow.’	

Table 34. Sentence examples for particles and other grammar words, with audio examples

	Example sentence	Audio
de ‘now, already’	Pumalayú ka dé! /pumala'ju ka 'de/ ‘Leave (now/already)!’	
pâ ‘still, yet’	Pigbukasán mu pâ? /pigbuka'san mu 'pa?/ ‘Are you still going to open it?’ Ukún ku pa naiawéy dedeyé. /ʔu'kun ku pa naʔiʔa'wej dede'je/ ‘I haven’t had a chance to give it to him yet.’	
kun (quotative particle)	Ukún de kun. /ʔu'kun de kun/ ‘No, he said.’	
ba (question particle)	Igguút ba heyé? /ʔiggu'ʔut ba he'je/ ‘Is he going to come along?’	
gápun ‘again’	Káun ka gápun. /'kaʔun ka 'gapun/ ‘Eat again.’	
kibága ‘perhaps’	Ukún de kibága hidehén igdetúng. /ʔu'kun de ki'baga hide'hen ʔigde'tuŋ/ ‘It seems like they aren’t going to arrive anymore.’	
kayâ ‘inquisitive particle’	Tutuú kayâ hidû? /tutu'ʔu ka'jaʔ hi'du?/ ‘Is that true, I wonder?’ Maiawéy mu kayâ dedeyé? /maʔiʔa'wej mu ka'jaʔ dede'je/ ‘Do you think you’ll be able to give it to him?’	
de ngàni ‘emphatic’	Tutuú de ngàni. /tutu'ʔu de 'ŋani?/ ‘It really is true.’	
pa din ‘still’	Hadíi hék pa dín. /ha'diʔi 'hek pa 'din/ ‘I’m still here.’	
de yang ‘just’	Ikáun ek mu de yang. /ʔi'kaʔun ek mu de jaŋ/ ‘Just eat some on my behalf.’	

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	Huyí de yang ipakáun mu dedeyé. /hu'ji de jang 'ipa'ka?un mu dede'je/ 'Just give him this to eat.'
úlà 'ideally'	Pataún ek úlà. /pata'ʔun ek 'ʔula?/ 'I would have gone (if something else hadn't happened).'
múnà 'first (before doing something else)'	Séngul ka múnà. /seŋul ka 'muna?/ 'Sit down first (before doing something else).'
ulí 'again'	Aweyán mu ulí. /ʔawe'jan mu u'li?/ 'Give him some again.'
man yang '(not) even'	Ukún man yang heyé nagkádè. /ʔu'kun man jaŋ he'je nag'kade?/ 'He didn't even tell us.'
yang 'only, just'	Kapapalayú yang adeyé. /kapapala'ju jaŋ ade'je/ 'He just left.'
pat 'and'	Igáng hé-sà a lalákì pat hé-sà a babáyi. /ʔi'gaŋ 'he?sa? ʔa la'laki? pat 'he?sa? ʔa ba'baji/ 'There's a man and a woman.'
agád 'immediately'	Nagpalayú agád hidehén pagkakáun. /nagpala'ju ʔa'gad hide'hen pagka'ka?un/ 'They left right away after eating.'
bagu 'before'	Kumáun ka múnà bágú ka magpalayú. /ku'ma?un ka 'muna 'bagu ka magpala'ju/ 'Eat before you leave.'
pára 'so that'	Káun múnà kitâ pára ukún maluntáy. /ka?un 'muna? ki'ta? 'para ʔu'kun malun'taj/ 'Let's eat first so that we won't get hungry.'
a 'linker'	Káun kitâ a dawhá. /ka?un ki'ta? ʔa daw'ha/ 'Let's eat, the two of us.'
ta 'because'	Ukún ek makakapataún ta iggegemes. /ʔu'kun ek makakapata'ʔun ta 'iggege'mes/ 'I won't be able to go there because it's raining.'
bakâ 'maybe'	Bakâ gumaák hidehén igdetúng. /ba'ka? guma'ʔak hide'hen 'igde'tuŋ/ 'Maybe they'll arrive tomorrow.'

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maski 'even if'	Igpataún ek de-dû máski maggemés. /ʔigpata ʔun ek deʔ duʔ 'maski magge'mes/ 'I'm going to go there even if it rains.'
	Mag-awéy ka, máski matí. /magʔa'wej ka 'maski ma'tiʔ/ 'Give something, even if only a small amount.'
hába 'while'	Naglútù ek hábang heyé tuyúg. /nag'lutuʔ ek 'habaŋ he'je tu'jug/ 'I cooked while he was asleep.'
hánggan 'until'	Igá hek nu trabáhu mulá alas-kwátru hánggan alas-síngku. /ʔi'ga hek nu tra'bahu mu'la ʔalas 'kwatru 'haŋgan ʔalas 'siŋku/ 'I have work from four o'clock until five o'clock.'
buhát 'from'	Nagdetúng de heyé buhát de Mayníla. /nagde'tuŋ de he'je bu'hat de maj'nilaʔ/ 'He's arrived from Manila.'
bága 'as if, it seems'	Bága wayáng mā táwu de-dû. /baga wa'jaŋ ma: 'tawu deʔ duʔ/ 'It seems like there aren't any people there.'
pírmi 'frequently'	Pírmi ku heyé 'gpapadiyahán. /pírmi ku he'je gpapadija'han/ 'I always send him some.'
maytían 'almost'	Maytían ek de mahúyug numbé-gu. /maj'tiʔan ek de ma'hujug num'beʔgu/ 'I almost fell earlier.'
maytí 'almost'	Maytí mu deyé a madetúngan. /maj'tiʔ mu de'je ʔa made'tuŋan/ 'You almost caught him.' (i.e., 'you almost arrived while he was still here.')
mā (pluralizer)	Ig-aantúl hu mā idû. /ʔigʔaʔan'tul hu ma: ʔi'duʔ/ 'The dogs are barking.'

Appendix D. Inagta Alabat Basic Vocabulary List

Table 35. The 210-item Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database list (Greenhill et al. 2008)

(† = files for which no audio recording is available)

English	Inagta Alabat	IPA
above	taás†	/ta'ʔas/
all	lahát	/la'hat/
and	pat	/pat/
ash	abú	/ʔa'bu/
at	de	/de/
back	kúlud	/'kulud/
bad, evil	páyuk	/'pajuk/
belly	bitúkà	/bi'tukaʔ/
below	lupág	/lu'pag/
big	damakû	/dama'kuʔ/
bird	manuk-mánuk	/manuk'manuk/
black	madeklém	/madek'lem/
blood	digî	/di'giʔ/
bone	béyen	/'bejen/
branch	sangâ	/sa'ŋaʔ/
breast	súsù	/'susuʔ/
child	anák	/ʔa'nak/
cloud	panginúrin	/paŋi'nurin/
cold	malamíg	/mala'mig/
correct, true	katuúdan	/katu'ʔudan/
day	degéw	/de'gew/
dirty	madumí	/madu'mi/
dog	ídù	/'ʔiduʔ/
dry	tuyû	/tu'juʔ/
dull, blunt	mapurúl	/mapu'ru/
dust	alikalábuk	/ʔalika'buk/
ear	sewéng	/se'weŋ/
earth/soil	lemák	/le'mak/
egg	itlúg	/'it'lug/
eight	walú	/wa'lu/
eye	matâ	/ma'taʔ/
far	kalahúnat	/kala'hunat/
fat/grease	tabâ	/ta'baʔ/
father	umamá	/'uma'maʔ/
feather	gitgít	/git'git/
fifty	limampû	/limam'puʔ/
fire	hapúy	/ha'puj/
fish	isdâ	/'is'daʔ/
five	limá	/li'ma/
flower	bulaklák	/bulak'lak/

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English	Inagta Alabat	IPA
fog	alapáap	/ʔala'paʔap/
four	apát	/ʔa'pat/
fruit	géen	/'geʔen/
good	maubiyá	/maʔubi'ja/
grass	damú	/da'mu/
green	bírdi	/'birdi/
hair	behék	/be'hek/
hand	alímà	/ʔa'limaʔ/
he/she	heyé	/he'je/
head	úlù	/'ʔuluʔ/
heavy	mabug-át	/mabug'ʔat/
house (traditional Agta hut)	beléy	/be'lej/
(modern lowlander house)	bayáy	/ba'jaj/
how?	pa-nû	/pa'nuʔ/
husband	lalákì	/la'lakiʔ/
I	ha-kú	/ha'ku/
if	ti	/ti/
in, inside	lúub	/'luʔub/
	hulúk	/hu'luk/
intestines	bitúkà	/bi'tukaʔ/
lake	dagat-dagátan	/dagatda'gatan/
leaf	dáhun	/'dahun/
left (side)	kaliwâ	/kali'waʔ/
leg/foot	bitíis	/bi'tiʔis/
lightning	keldép	/kel'dep/
liver	atáy	/ʔa'taj/
long	huhúnat	/hu'hunat/
louse	kútù	/'kutuʔ/
man/male	lalákì	/la'lakiʔ/
meat/flesh	lamán	/la'man/
moon	bílan	/'bilan/
mosquito	peléngut	/pe'leŋut/
mother	uminâ	/'umi'naʔ/
mouth	bibíg	/bi'big/
name	ngáden	/'ŋaden/
narrow	labí	/la'bi/
near	kagíyan	/ka'gijan/
neck	lúg	/'liʔug/
needle	karáyum	/ka'rajum/
new	be-gú	/be?'gu/
night	diyúm	/di'jum/
nine	siyám	/si'jam/
no, not	ukún	/'u'kun/
	wayâ	/wa'jaʔ/

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English	Inagta Alabat	IPA
nose	ha-dúng	/haʔ duŋ/
old (of object)	lúmà	/'lumaʔ/
(male)	puháwang	/pu'hawaŋ/
(female)	baybayî	/bajba'jiʔ/
one	he-sâ	/heʔ saʔ/
one hundred	he-sâ a dáan	/heʔ saʔ ʔa 'daʔan/
one thousand	he-sâ a líbu	/heʔ saʔ ʔa 'libu/
other	kabangâ	/kaba'ŋaʔ/
painful, sick	mahapdús	/mahap'dus/
person/human being	tawú	/ta'wu/
rain	gemés	/ge'mes/
rat	yagâ	/ja'gaʔ/
red	pulá	/pu'la/
right (side)	kánan	/'kanan/
road/path	kanúg	/ka'nug/
root	ugát	/'ʔu'gat/
rope	lúbid	/'lubid/
rotten (of egg)	búkes	/'bukes/
(of cooked meat)	pan-ús	/pan'ʔus/
(of uncooked food)	sirâ	/'si'raʔ/
salt	asín	/'ʔa'sin/
sand	aget-ét	/'ʔaget'ʔet/
sea	dágat	/'dagat/
seven	pitú	/pi'tu/
sharp (of blade or edge)	matayúm	/mata'jum/
(of tip)	masudsúd	/masud'sud/
short	bubuktít	/bubuk'tit/
shoulder	mugmúgen	/mug'mugen/
shy, ashamed	nahahálay	/naha'halaj/
six	ánim	/'ʔanim/
skin†	bala-kís	/bala'kis/
sky	lángit	/'laŋit/
small (in size)	matî	/ma'tiʔ/
(quantity)	mamáti	/ma'matiʔ/
smoke	asú	/'ʔa'su/
snake	béek	/'beʔek/
spider	lávà	/'lawaʔ/
star	bituín	/bitu'ʔin/
stick/wood	kahéw	/ka'hew/
stone	betû	/be'tuʔ/
tail	buntút	/bun'tut/
ten	sampû	/sam'puʔ/
that (near addressee)	huyê	/hu'jeʔ/
(far from both)	hidû	/hi'duʔ/

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English	Inagta Alabat	IPA
thatch/roof	atúp	/ʔa'tup/
they	hidehén	/hide'hen/
thick	makapál	/maka'pal/
thin	manipís	/mani'pis/
this	huyí	/hu'ji/
thou (you, sg.)	hikáw	/hi'kaw/
three	tatlû	/tat'luʔ/
thunder	kulúg	/ku'lug/
to bite	kagét	/ka'get/
to blow	hiyúp	/hi'jup/
to breathe	hingá	/hi'ŋa/
to burn	natuúk	/natu'ʔuk/
to buy	nagbilí	/nagbi'li/
to chew	ngasngás	/ŋas'ŋas/
to choose	píli	/'piliʔ/
to climb (up tree or house)	aknít	/'ak'nit/
(up hill)	sabnít	/sab'nit/
to come	paháy	/pa'haj/
to cook	lútù	/'lutuʔ/
to count	bílang	/'bilang/
to cry	íbil	/'ʔibil/
to cut, hack (cut)	pútel	/'putel/
(hack)	tagê	/ta'geʔ/
to die, be dead	pálà (w/ ma-)	/'palaʔ/
to dig	húkay	/'hukaj/
to dream	dalángit	/da'laŋit/
to drink	inúm	/'i'num/
to eat	káun	/'kaʔun/
to fall	húyug	/'hujug/
to fear	tálaw	/'talaw/
to flow	hagpî	/hag'piʔ/
to fly	lipád	/li'pad/
to grow (sprout)	túbù	/'tubuʔ/
(grow larger)	nagdakû	/nagda'kuʔ/
to hear	nasekegán	/naseke'gan/
to hide	tágù	/'taguʔ/
to hit (with hand)	tampî	/tam'piʔ/
(with object)	bugbúg	/bug'bug/
to hold (in hand)	kahét	/ka'het/
(as a bag by its handles)	tu-kúy	/tuʔ'kuj/
to hunt (deer or wild pig, using bow and arrow & accompanied by dog)	mag-aláw	/mag'a'law/
(monkeys)†	hayúg	/ha'jug/

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English	Inagta Alabat	IPA
to kill	pála (w/ mag-)	/'palaʔ/
to know, be knowledgeable	alám	/ʔa'lam/
to laugh	ságak	/'sagak/
to lie down	magbúlíd	/mag'bulid/
to live, be alive	buháy	/bu'haj/
to open, uncover	bukás	/bu'kas/
to plant	nagtaním	/nagta'nim/
to pound, beat (of rice)	bayú	/ba'ju/
to say	kádè	/'kadeʔ/
to scratch (an itch)	kámút	/'kamut/
(the ground, as a chicken)	kakaybút	/kakaj'but/
to see	mamaanán	/mamaʔa'nan/
	natulungán	/natulu'ŋan/
to sew	tahî	/ta'hiʔ/
to shoot	baríl	/ba'ril/
to sit	séngul	/'seŋul/
to sleep	tuyúg	/tu'jug/
to sniff, smell	sagká	/sag'ka/
to spit	luntáb	/lun'tab/
to split (as a coconut)	pisáng	/pi'saŋ/
to squeeze	ípít	/'ipit/
to stab, pierce	saksák	/sak'sak/
to stand	tegdék	/teg'dek/
to steal	ginákaw	/gi'nakaw/
to suck	ut-út	/'ut'ʔut/
to swell	mamagâ	/mama'gaʔ/
to swim	panagbéy	/panag'bej/
to think	ísip	/'isip/
to throw	pesát	/pe'sat/
to tie up, fasten	bugkús	/bug'kus/
to turn	likû	/li'kuʔ/
to vomit	teg-ák	/teg'ʔak/
to walk	hakléw	/hak'lew/
to work	tarabáhu	/tara'bahu/
to yawn	hákay	/'hakaj/
tongue	katlúb	/kat'lub/
tooth	ngépen	/'ŋepen/
twenty	dalwampû	/dalwam'puʔ/
two	dawhá	/daw'ha/
warm (lukewarm)	maligamgám	/maligam'gam/
(hot)	maínit	/ma'ʔinit/
water	túbig	/'tubig/
we (exclusive)	kamî	/ka'miʔ/
(inclusive)	kitâ	/ki'taʔ/
wet	besî	/be'siʔ/

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English	Inagta Alabat	IPA
what?	ha-nû	/haʔ'nuʔ/
when?	kailán	/kaʔi'lan/
where?	de-dé	/deʔ'de/
white	malem-át	/malem'ʔat/
who?	hi-nû	/hiʔ'nuʔ/
wide	bebelág	/bebe'lag/
wife	bakés	/ba'kes/
wind	he-néw	/heʔ'new/
wing	pakpák	/pak'pak/
woman/female	babáyi	/ba'baji/
woods/forest	kalásan	/ka'lasan/
worm (earthworm)	bukbúk	/buk'buk/
year	taún	/ta'ʔun/
yellow	díláw	/di'law/
you	kamú	/ka'mu/