

PROTO EAST MINDANAO AND ITS INTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS

by

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ABSTRACT

PROTO EAST MINDANAO AND ITS INTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS

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This study reconstructs Proto East Mindanao, the ancestor language from which the East Mindanao languages have developed. This is accomplished by tracing the development from the ancestor language through the intermediate proto languages, Proto North East Mindanao, Proto Central East Mindanao, and Proto South East Mindanao, to the attested daughter languages. This study also presents over 1400 reconstructed vocabulary items. The term East Mindanao used in this study refers to three groups of languages spoken on the island of Mindanao in the southern part of the Philippines (in addition to Tausug, which is spoken on the island of Jolo). These three groups are the following:

(1) North East Mindanao, which includes Mamanwa, Surigaonun, Butuanun, and Tausug. Cebuano is included in the

East Mindanao reconstructed vocabulary, but its exact relationship is still uncertain. Its closest relationship seems to be with SUR.

(2) Central East Mindanao, which includes Kamayo, Davawenyo-Banganga, Davawenyo-Monay, and Davawenyo-Digos.

(3) South East Mindanao, which includes Mandaya-Kabasagan, Mandaya-Caraga, Mandaya-Boso, Mandaya-Maragusan, Mandaya-Islam, Mansaka, Kalagan-Kaagan, and Kalagan-Tagakaulu.

The evidence from lexicostatistical comparisons, analysis in terms of probabilities, phonological features, and lexical innovations supports the establishment of Proto East Mindanao as a subgroup of the South Central Philippine language group in very close contact with the Bisayan languages. The position taken in this study is that Proto East Mindanao came from the Visayan Islands and settled on the northeastern tip of Mindanao. From there the group has dispersed southward to include much of the northeastern, east central and southeastern coastline of Mindanao.

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LIST OF CONVENTIONS

- q glottal stop
- > "became" (diachronically)
- < "yield", "comes from" (diachronically)
- * a reconstructed form
- () an optional element (in a reconstruction), i.e.,
*ka(m)ban = both *kaban and *kamban
- { } an ambiguous or undetermined element (in a
reconstruction), i.e., *(st)adug = *sadug or *tadug
- (*) an uncertain reconstruction
- d/r alternation between d and r
- V vowel
- Vl_=_Vl a segment occurs between two vowels both of which are
the same, e. g., u__u, or i__i.
- C consonant
- ŋ velar nasal

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BUT	Butuanun
CEB	Cebuano
CS.2	Central Sinama
DVD	Davawenyo Digos
DVB	Davawenyo Banganga
DVM	Davawenyo Monay
ISM	Mandaya Islam
KMY	Kamayo
KLK	Kalagan Kaagan
KLT	Kalagan Tagakaolo
MAR	Maranao
MDB	Mandaya Boso
MDC	Mandaya Caraga
MDK	Mandaya Kabasagan
MDM	Mandaya Maragusan
MSK	Mansaka
MWA	Mamanwa
PAN	Proto Austronesian
PBS	Proto Bisayan
PCEM	Proto Central East Mindanao
PCP	Proto Central Philippine
PEM	Proto East Mindanao
PMP	Proto Meso Philippine
PPH	Proto Philippine
PNEM	Proto North East Mindanao
SUR	Surigaonun
TAG	Tagalog
TSG	Tausug

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Purpose

Pallesen (1977) proposed that a number of languages of eastern Mindanao in the southern Philippines are related in a grouping termed East Mindanao (for a full discussion see chapter 6 of this study). This study is a comparative reconstruction of the EM languages. The integrity of the group as posited here is a matter of some importance, since it differs from earlier published analyses which assign the low level subdivisions of EM which I have called North East Mindanao (NEM), Central East Mindanao (CEM) and South East Mindanao (SEM) to different subgroups of the Central Philippine (I) languages. The purpose of this study is then two-fold:

(1) To demonstrate that Proto North East Mindanao, Proto Central East Mindanao and Proto South East Mindanao are related to one another within this East Mindanao grouping. This will be done by reconstructing the phonology of the ancestor language, Proto East Mindanao, from which the East Mindanao languages have developed and by tracing the development from the ancestor language through the

intermediate proto-languages to the attested daughter languages.

(2) To show the internal relationships of these languages to one another. This will be done by following at least four lines of evidence: (1) lexicostatistics; (2) analysis in terms of probabilities; (3) phonological features; and (4) lexical innovations.

The term East Mindanao (EM) used in this study refers to three groups of languages (see figure 1.3) spoken on the island of Mindanao in the southern part of the Philippines (in addition to Tausug, which is spoken on the island of Jolo). These three groups are:

(1) North East Mindanao (NEM), which includes Mamanwa (MWA), Surigaonun (SUR), Butuanun (BUT), and Tausug (TSG). Cebuano (CEB) is included in the EM reconstructed vocabulary, but its exact relationship is still uncertain. Its closest relationship seems to be with SUR.

(2) Central East Mindanao (CEM), which includes Kamayo (KMY), Davawenyo-Banganga (DVB), Davawenyo-Monay (DVM), and Davawenyo-Digos (DVD).

(3) South East Mindanao (SEM), which includes Mandaya-Kabasagan (MDK), Mandaya-Caraga (MDC), Mandaya-Boso (MDB), Mandaya-Maragusan (MDW), Mandaya-Islam (ISM), Mansaka (MSK), Kalagan-Kaagan (KLG), and Kalagan-Taqakaulu (KLT).

1.2 Genetic Relationships

The EM languages are a subgroup of the Central Philippine languages, spoken in the southern part of the Philippines. Figure 1.1 is a display of the genetic relationships that include the Central Philippine languages (Zorc 1977:34). Zorc places the Central Philippine languages as a subgroup of Meso-Philippine. According to Dyen (1965a), Meso-Philippine is a subgroup of Proto Philippine, which in turn is a subgroup of the Austronesian language family.

FIGURE 1.1

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SOUTHERN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES
(after Zorc 1977)

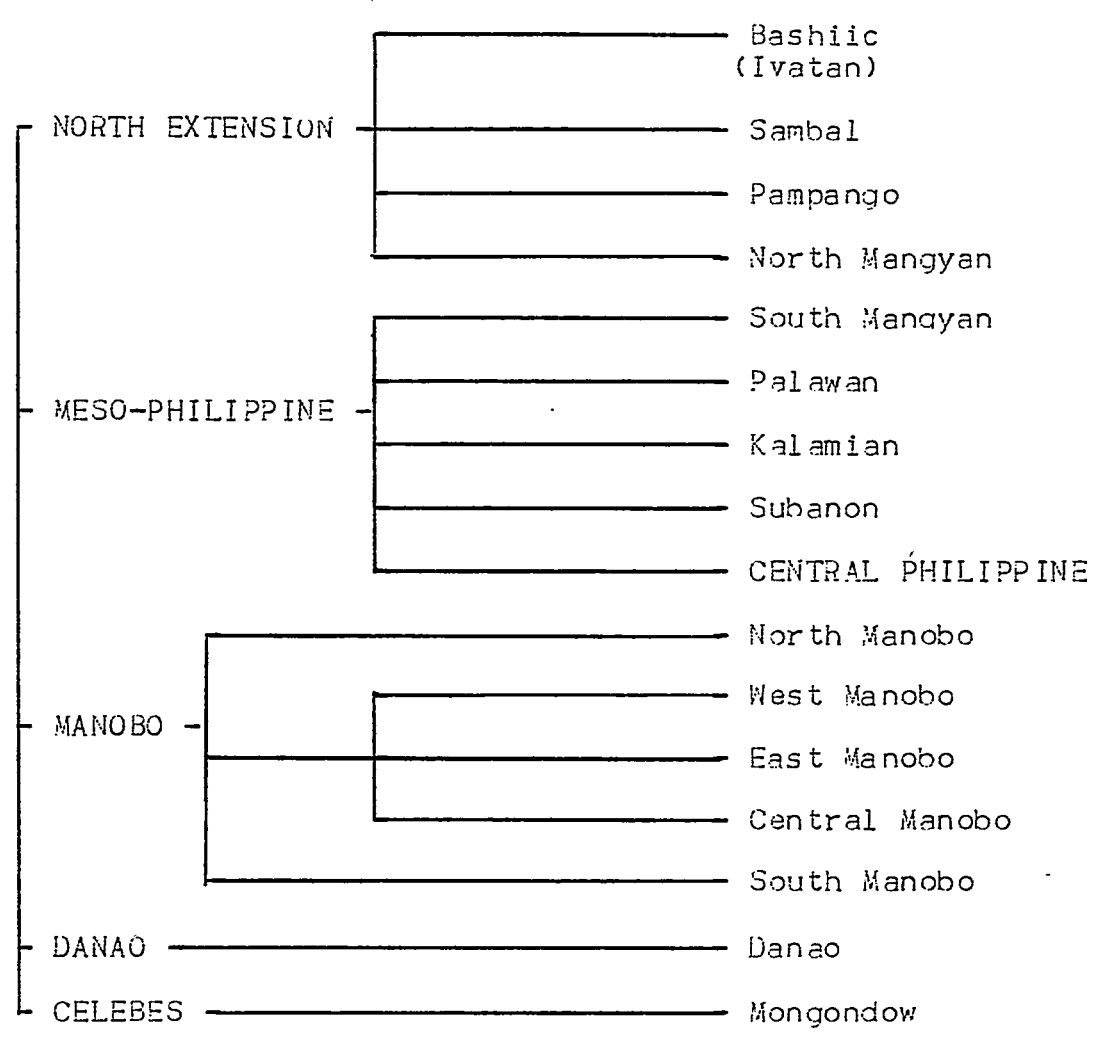


Figure 1.2 shows the internal relationships among the Central Philippine languages, as proposed in this study. Here the EM languages are shown as subgroup of the South Central Philippine languages, in a coordinate relationship with the West Bisayan, Banton, Central Bisayan and Cebuan subgroups. Zorc (1977:2) has proposed a different subgrouping theory for

these languages. His theory is well argued and is presented in detail in chapter 6.

FIGURE 1.2

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG CENTRAL PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

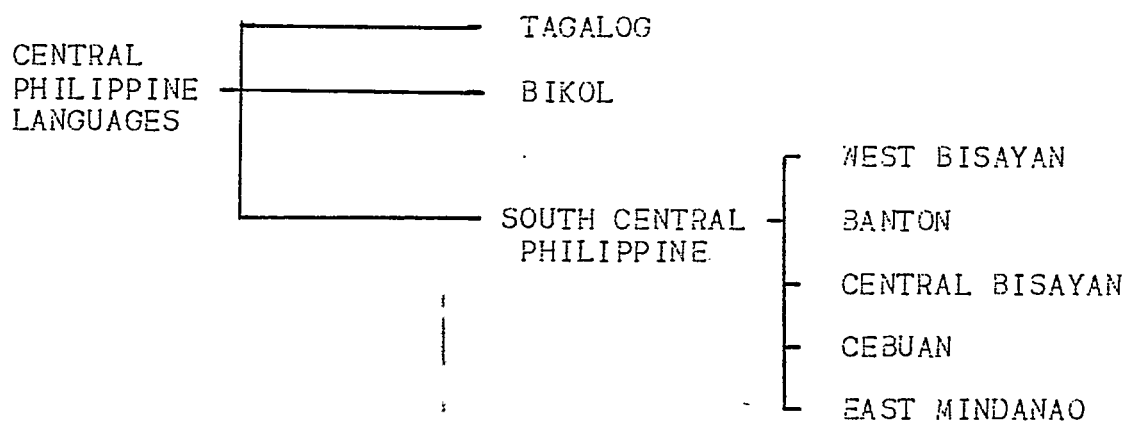
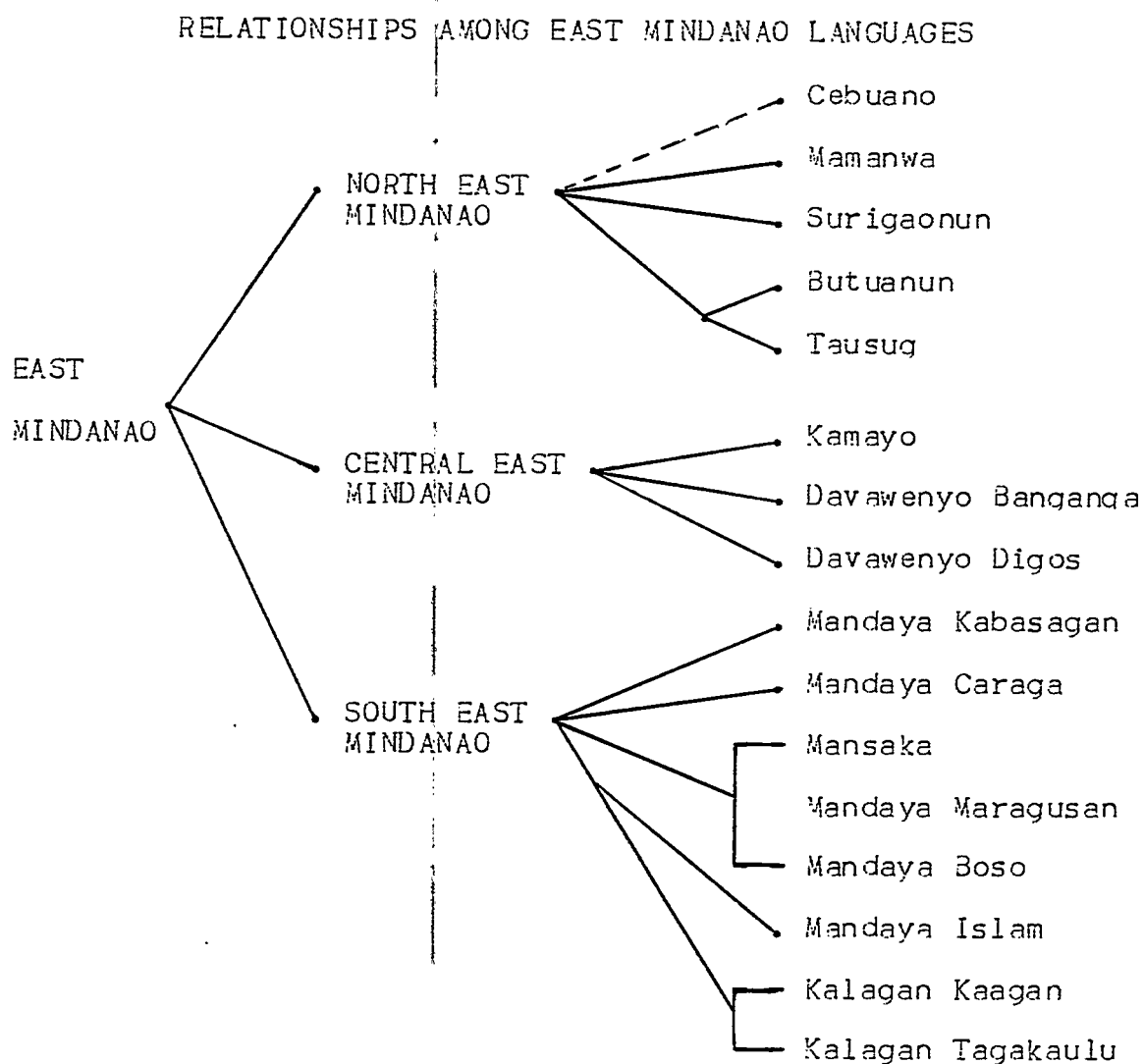


Figure 1.3 shows the internal relationships among the East Mindanao languages, as proposed in this study. The exact relationship of CEB is uncertain, as indicated by the dotted lines. This tree is based on evidence presented in chapter 6, and reflects the subgrouping theory which most reasonably accounts for the linguistic facts.

FIGURE 1.3



1.3 Background Information

In 1974 I reconstructed the phonology of the SEM languages, based on over four hundred SEM cognate sets, in a study entitled "Proto-Mansakan" (Gallman 1974). Proto Mansakan was later revised (Gallman 1979) and published under the title of "Proto South East Mindanao". In preparation for the present study, I assembled over five hundred more SEM cognate sets

primarily from KLK, KLT, and MSK. The enlarged corpus indicates an analysis slightly different from that of Gallman 1979. This revised analysis of PSEM is included in chapter 5.

Pallesen (1977) in showing the convergence (2) between TSG and the Sulu languages, noted that the Tausugs actually migrated from the northeastern coast of Mindanao to the Sulu area, which is off the southwestern coast of Mindanao (3). In order to show the linguistic characteristics of TSG prior to its contact with the Sulu languages, he described much of the phonology of other NEM languages. In a joint study Pallesen and I compared the data of NEM languages, SEM languages and Davawenyo, and we saw that these languages were closely linked. In order to account for these close relationships we developed the theory of subgrouping which underlies this study. The reconstruction of PNEM (chapter 3), PCEM (chapter 4), and the more inclusive PEM (chapter 2) on the basis of PNEM, PCEM, and PSEM is previously unpublished material.

This paper supports the position held by Gallman and Pallesen, and demonstrates the problems with the subgrouping theory proposed by Zorc.

1.4 Geographical Location

All of the languages of the NEM subgroup, apart from TSG, are spoken along an extended area of the coast and immediate hinterland of northeast and east Mindanao. The map (figure

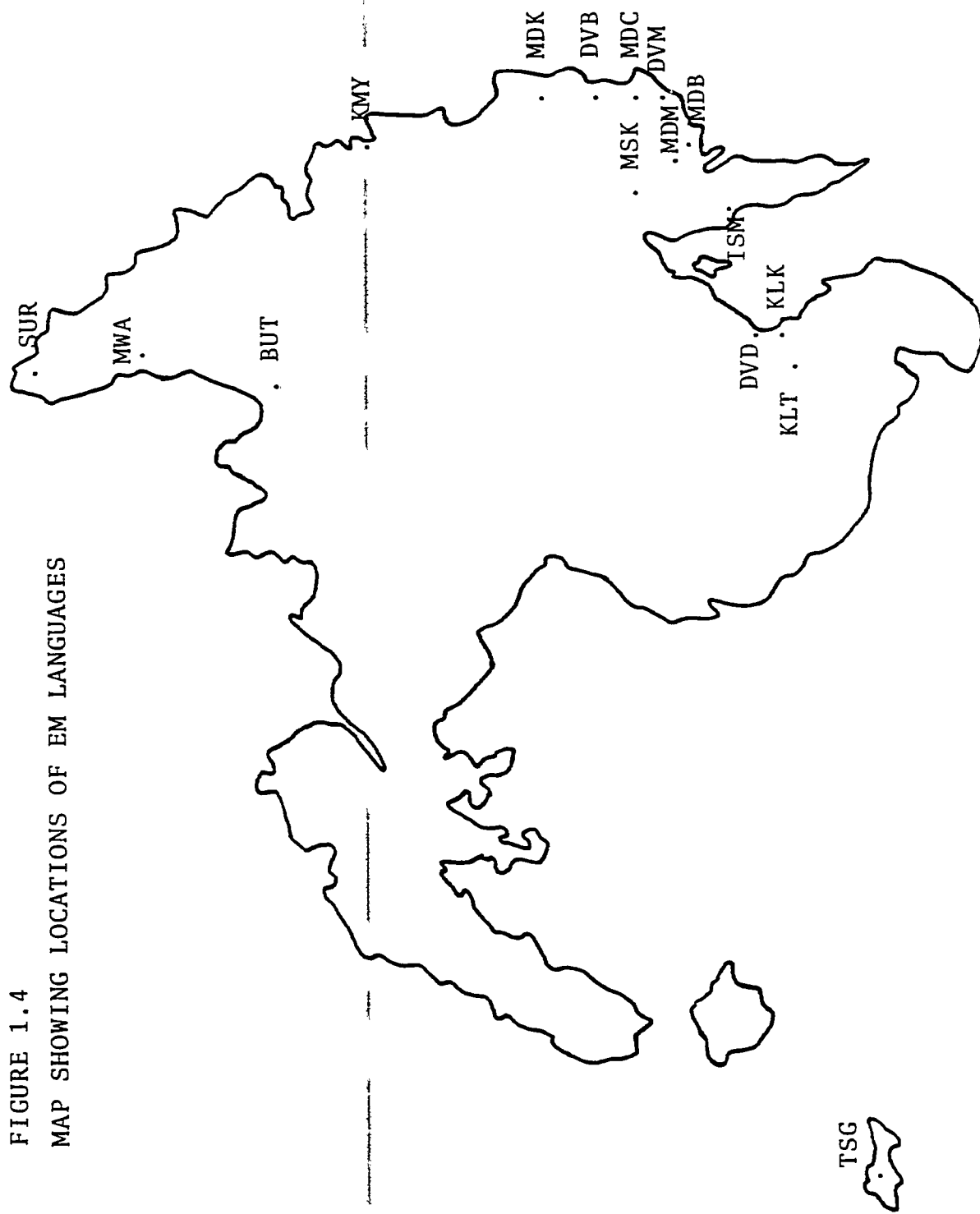
1.4) shows points where data were recorded for the various EM languages.

The SUR people live in Surigao del Norte. The SUR data for this paper were collected in Surigao City. The BUT people are primarily in Butuan City, Agusan del Norte, where these BUT data were gathered. The MWA people are located in the Lake Mainit area, Agusan del Sur. Miller and Miller (1976:17) report:

They occupy the foothills of the Diuata mountains (called Panlabaw in Minamanwa) from Surigao City down to the break in the mountain range northwest of Lianga City. They also live in the mountains west and north of Lake Mainit. A small number live on Panoan Island and in the mountains of Southern Leyte.

TSG is spoken primarily on Jolo Island. But, as pointed out by Ashley in the preface to the Tausug dictionary (Hassan, Halud, et. al. 1975): "Tausug is the mother tongue of more than a quarter million people and the trade language spoken throughout the entire Sulu Archipelago".

FIGURE 1.4
MAP SHOWING LOCATIONS OF EM LANGUAGES



The Central East Mindanao languages are found in the central and southern portions of eastern Mindanao. The KMY people are located around Bislig. Zorc (1977:14) reports that Bislig is spoken as far north as Marihatag and as far south as Lingig. Davawenyo speakers are spread throughout the coastal area of southeastern Mindanao from Cateel in Davao Oriental on the north to Mati on the south. They also live along the coast from Davao City south to Digos, Davao del Sur. Data for Davawenyo were collected in Banganga and Monay in Davao Oriental and near Digos in Davao del Sur.

The South East Mindanao languages are found in the provinces of Cotabato and Davao. The Kalagan people live in the western part of this area. Most of them, according to Dawson (1958:47), live on the Sarangani Peninsula. The Kalagan-Tagakaulu data are from Mainit, South Cotabato. The Kalagan-Kaagan data are from Lelino, Digos, which is by the sea. Mansaka covers an extensive area in the middle of the SEM languages. Svelmoe and Svelmoe (1974:13) place the Mansakas "along the mountain streams emptying into the northeastern portion of the Davao Gulf, along the Masara and upper Hijo Rivers, and the relatively large mountain valley of Maragusan at the headwaters of the Agusan River. Some also live on the upper Sumlug, which is separated by a relatively high mountain pass from the Maragusan Valley."

The five Mandayan dialects are spoken to the north, south, east, and west of the Mansakas. The Mandayan-Maragusan

data represent a dialect spoken in the Maragusan Valley, Davao Oriental, south of the Mansakas. The Mandayan-Kabasagan data represent a dialect spoken in Kabasagan, Boston area, northeast of the Mansakas. The Mandayan-Caraga data are from Sangab, Caraga, Davao Oriental, east of the Mansakas. The Mandayan-Islam data represent a language spoken on the east coast of the Davao Gulf at Piso, Banaybanay, in Davao Oriental west of the Mansakas. And finally, the Mandayan-Boso data are from Boso, Mati, Davao Oriental, which is south of the Mansakas.

In 1977 I visited each of the SEM language areas in order to add to and check my data. I found that there are no longer any speakers of Mandayan in Kabasagan, Boston, Davao Oriental. The movement of the Mandayans has been southward, and the people in Boston believed that it had been over five years since there were Mandayans in the area. However, I was able to contact Mandayans in other areas.

The Kalagan-Kaagan people at Leling are also on the wane. This has not happened because of movement to a new location, but through integration into the Visayan (4) community. Wendel (private communication) reports that over 90% of the Kalagans in Leling and the surrounding area have married non-Kalagan speakers. KLK data show evidence of borrowing from CEB.

1.5 Data Sources

The TSG data come primarily from the Halud, Hassan and Ashley (1975) dictionary of Tausug. Pallesen also contributed his personal field notes.

The BUT data are from Pallesen's personal field notes, made during a visit to Butuan City in 1974.

The MWA data are from an unpublished Mamanwa-English dictionary prepared by Miller and Miller (1974). Lillia Castro also supplied data in response to questions.

The SUR data are from Pallesen's personal field notes made during a visit to Surigao City in 1974. Data are supplied by Jane Montenegro, a 20 year old college student from Surigao, and a 30 year old school teacher (male) from Hingakit.

The KMY data are from Pallesen's personal field notes made during a visit in Bislig in 1974. Various Kamayo speakers in Bislig offered their help.

The DVB data are from personal field notes made during a visit in Banganga in 1979. The main language helper was Helenita Pregon, an 18 year old from Banganga; the other was Pio G. Cabrera, a 35 year old man from Banganga, who works in Davao City.

The DVM data are from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) survey notes, a 372-item wordlist developed by Reid (1970).

The DVD data are from SIL survey notes made in 1979 by Dag Wendel and Tom Nickel. This wordlist was provided by Uhino Rehino of Coronan, Davao del Sur, near Digos City.

The MDK data are from SIL survey notes. I visited this area in 1977 but could not find any speakers of Mandayan.

The MDC data are personal field notes, a 372-item wordlist, taken in 1977. The wordlist was prepared in Sangab, Caraga, Davao Oriental.

The MDB data are personal field notes, a 372-item wordlist, taken in 1977. The data were provided by Pilis Pagutlan from Boso, Mati, Davao Oriental.

The MDM data are from SIL survey notes. They were gathered in the Maragusan Valley near Townsite.

The MSK data are from an unpublished Mansaka-English dictionary prepared by Svelmoe and Svelmoe.

The ISM data are from personal field notes, a 372-item wordlist, collected in 1977. It was prepared in Piso, Banaybanay, Davao Oriental.

The KLK data are from personal field notes and very helpful data from Dag and Asa Wendel, SIL researchers in Leling, Digos, Davao del Sur.

The KLT data are from an unpublished Tagakaulu Kalagan-English dictionary prepared by Murray and Murray.

The CEB data are from Wolff (1972) in his published dictionary of Cebuano Visayan.

Chapter Two

The Phonological Systems in PEM

2.1 The Phonemic Systems of the Reconstructed EM Languages

PEM is reconstructed from PNEM, PCEM, and PSEM. A description of the phonological system of PNEM is found in chapter 3, PCEM in chapter 4, and PSEM in chapter 5.

2.1.1 The Consonants

The reconstructed consonants for PNEM, PCEM and PSEM are listed in figure 2.1. All three reconstructed languages have voiceless stops at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation: *p, *t, and *k.

Each has voiced stops at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation: *b, *d, and *g.

Each has voiced nasals at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation: *m, *n, and *ŋ.

Each has a voiceless grooved fricative at the alveolar point of articulation *s.

All three reconstructed languages have the lateral *l; the flap *r is reconstructed in PNEM and PCEM but not in PSEM.

Each has the palatal semivowel *y and the labial semivowel *w.

Finally, each group has a glottal stop *q; the glottal fricative *h is reconstructed in PNEM and PCEM but not in PSEM.

2.1.2 The Vowels

The reconstructed vowels for each proto language are listed in figure 2.3. The cardinal vowels *i, *a, and *u occur in all three. The high central vowel *ɨ occurs in PNEM and PSEM but not in PCEM.

2.2 The Phonemic System of PEM

The reflexes of the PEM phonemes reveal a variety of sound changes in the daughter languages. In the examples provided for each proto-phoneme, I have attempted to give an example of the proto-phoneme in each environment of change in the order of the environments listed in the rules. The reconstructions cited in this chapter are PEM. If there has been no phonological change, then the examples of the proto-phoneme are arranged in an order that shows first, stem initial position of the proto-phoneme; second, intervocalic position; third, stem-final position; fourth, as first member of a consonant cluster; and fifth, as a second member of a consonant cluster. A statement is also given of any discrepancies that occur.

Stems are generally of the shape CV(C)CVC. Any of the consonants may occur in any position with the following

exceptions: /q/ does not occur as the first member of a consonant cluster except in TSG, and /w/ does not occur as the first member of a consonant cluster.

2.2.1 The Consonants

The reconstructed consonant correspondences that each of the reconstructed EM languages have with PEM reconstructed consonants are listed in figure 2.1.

FIGURE 2.1

CONSONANT CORRESPONDENCES OF THE RECONSTRUCTED EM LANGUAGES

PEM	PNEM	PCEM	PSEM	SECN. NO.
**p	*p	*p	*p	2.2.1.1
**t	*t	*t	*t	.2
**k	*k	*k	*k	.3
**b	*b	*b	*b	.4
**d	*d	*d	*d	.5
**g	*g	*g	*g	.6
**m	*m	*m	*m	.7
**n	*n	*n	*n	.8
**ŋ	*ŋ	*ŋ	*ŋ	.9
**s	*s	*s	*s	.10
**l	*l	*l,∅	*l	.11
**r	*r	*r,*l	*l	.12
**w	*w	*w	*w	.13
**y	*y	*y	*y	.14
**h	*h	*h	*w,*y,*q,∅	.15
**q	*q	*q	*q,∅,*w,*y	.16

2.2.1.1 **p

In PNEM, PCEM, and PSEM

**p -> *p

**palad 'palm of hand': *palad (PNEM, PSEM), *paad (PCEM)

**apa 'husk of rice grain': *apa (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**dakup 'to seize': *dakup (PNEM, PSEM), *dakup (PCEM)
 **apdu 'bile, gall': *apdu (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 **dagpiq 'to slap with palm': *dagpiq (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

2.2.1.2 **t

In PNEM, PCEM, and PSEM

**t -> *t

**tawag 'to call': *tawag (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 **utuk 'brain': *utuk (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 **dagat 'sea': *dagat (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 **itlug 'egg': *itlug (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 **buktun 'arm': *buktun (PNEM, PSEM), *buktun (PCEM)

2.2.1.3 **k

In PNEM, PCEM, and PSEM

**k -> *k

**kilat 'lightning': *kilat (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 **dekut 'to stick to': *dekut (PNEM, PSEM), *dukut (PCEM)
 **buhuk 'hair (of head)': *buhuk (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 **buktun 'arm': *buktun (PNEM, PSEM), *buktun (PCEM)
 **kabkab 'to fan': *kabkab (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

2.2.1.4 **b

In PNEM, PCEM, and PSEM

**b -> *b

**buñul 'deaf': *buñul (PNEM, PSEM), *buñul (PCEM)
 **lebuñ 'to bury': *lebuñ (PNEM, PSEM), *lubuñ (PCEM)
 **tag(uə)b 'sheath for bolo': *tagəb (PNEM), tagub (PCEM,
 PSEM)
 **kabkab 'to fan': *kabkab (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 **ambaw 'rat': *ambaw (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

2.2.1.5 **d

In PNEM, PCEM, and PSEM

**d -> *d

**duñug 'to hear': *duñug (PNEM, PSEM), duñug (PCEM)
 **idug 'dog': *idug (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 **bayad 'to pay': *bayad (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 **adlaw 'day': *adlaw (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 **dañdañ 'to cook by parching': *dañdañ (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

2.2.1.6 **g

In PNEM, PCEM, and PSEM

**g -> *g

**gusuk 'rib': *gusuk (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 **dagat 'sea': *dagat (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 **duñug 'to hear': *duñug (PNEM, PSEM), duñug (PCEM)
 **tighaw 'reeds growing along river bank': *tighaw (PNEM,
 PCEM, PSEM)
 **qutqut 'to cut across the neck': *qutqut (PNEM, PSEM),
 *qutgut (PCEM)

2.2.1.7 **m

In PNEM, PCEM, and PSEM

**m -> *m

**manuk 'chicken': *manuk (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**lumun 'close kin': *lumun (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**tanum 'to plant': *tanum (PNEM, PSEM), *tanum (PCEM)

**ambaw 'rat': *ambaw (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**dagmay 'rags': *dagmay (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

2.2.1.8 **n

In PNEM, PCEM, and PSEM

**n -> *n

**niwarŋ 'skinny': *niwarŋ (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**manuk 'chicken': *manuk (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**asin 'salt': *asin (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**sanduk 'to serve food from pot': *sanduk (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM
'ladle')

**dagnay 'nick-name': *dagnay (PNEM, PCEM)

A small number of PNEM sets displays a contrast between the presence and absence of final /n/. It is not always clear which form was prior.

**dulun 'locust'.

PNEM *duru(n): dulu (TSG), duun (BUT, durun (MWA), duyun
(SUR)

PCEM *durun: durun (KMY), duun (DVB)

PSEM *dulun: dulun (MSK), duun (KLK)

**həqə 'yes'.

PNEM *həqə(n): huqun (TSG), huqu (BUT), həqə (MWA), uqu
(SUR)

PCEM *huqu: huqu (KMY), uqu (DVB)

PSEM *əqə: əqə (MSK, KLK, KLT)

CEB uqu.

(**)iban 'companion'.

PNEM *iba(n): iban (TSG, BUT, SUR), iba (MWA)

PCEM *iban: iban (DVB), kaqiban (DVM), kaqibanan (DVD)

CEB iban (var. of uban)

2.2.1.9 **ŋ

In PNEM, PCEM, and PSEM

**ŋ -> *ŋ

**ŋaran 'name': *ŋaran (PNEM, PCEM), *(ŋ)alan (PSEM)

**buŋa 'fruit': *buŋa (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**lusuŋ 'rice mortar': *lusuŋ (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**daŋdaŋ 'to cook by parching': *daŋdaŋ (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**pisŋi 'cheek': *pisŋi (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

2.2.1.10 **s

In PNEM, PCEM, and PSEM

**s -> *s

**sipaq 'to kick': *sipaq (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 **isa 'one': *isa (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 **lawas 'body': *lawas (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 **isdaq 'fish': *isdaq (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 **bugsay 'canoe paddle': *bugsay (PNEM, PSEM), *bugsay (PCEM)

2.2.1.11 **1

(a) In PCEM

**1 -> Ø/*1 \ V1__V1
 -> *1 \ elsewhere

where V1 ≡ i

(b) In PNEM and PSEM

**1 -> *1

**laba 'to wash clothes': *laba (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 **hulug 'to fall': *hulug (PNEM), *huug (PCEM), *ulug (PSEM)
 **balañaw 'rainbow': *balañaw (PNEM, PSEM), *bañaw (PCEM)
 **wala 'left hand': *wala (PNEM, PSEM), *waa (PCEM)
 **salaq 'sin, mistake': *salaq (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 (**)hala 'let's go, invitation to proceed': *hala (PNEM,
 PCEM)
 **paluq 'to hit with a stick': *paluq (PNEM, PCEM),
 *paluq-paluq (PSEM)
 **baligyaq 'to sell': *baligyaq (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 **bilas 'eye infection': *bilas (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 **kasal 'to wed': *kasal (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**badlis 'to engrave, furrow': *badlis (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**balsahan 'sled, raft': *balsahan (PNEM, PCEM)

Discrepancies: **aplud 'astringent' -> *appud (PCEM)

**bulbul 'hair' -> *bu(1)bu(1) (PSEM)

(**)tanlad 'grass' -> *tanlad (PCEM)

**taklub 'to cover' -> *tak{lq}ub (PNEM)

In PCEM there are five sets which show a sound change of **l -> *w in the word-final position. However, this change did not affect the majority of the PCEM data. This could well be a sound change in process. It appears to be the result of **l being velarized in word-final position--or at least after back(-ish) vowels **u and **a.

**bunal 'to pound' -> *buna(wl) (PCEM)

**duhul 'to hand over' -> *duhuw (PCEM)

**kabal 'hardened sago' -> *kabuw (PCEM)

**katumbal 'peppery' -> *katumbaw (PCEM)

**sapal 'dregs of coconut' -> *sapaw (PCEM)

The widespread occurrence of /l/ loss in EM languages suggests the presence, at the PEM stage, of an alternation between the loss and retention of **l as noted in the PCEM rule. The distribution of the phenomenon of /l/ syncope is illustrated in figure 2.2. This chart includes languages from NEM, CEM and SEM.

FIGURE 2.2

/l/ SYNCOPE IN EAST MINDANAO LANGUAGES

	a__a a__a u__u	a__u a__a	u__a	a__i i__i	__l#	-Cl-
TSG	X(1)	X(2)	∅	X(3)	∅	∅
BUT	X(4)	X	X(5)	∅(6)	X	∅(7)
KMY	X(8)	∅	X(5)	∅	X(9)	∅(10)
DVB	X(11)	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
MDK	X	X	X	∅	∅	∅
ISM	X	X	X	∅	∅	∅
KLK	X(12)	X	X(13)	∅	∅	∅

Exceptions as footnoted in chart:

1. Except when final consonant is /w/ (a restriction shared to some degree by CEB), and in *pala 'palm of hand' -> pala (TSG), *hulug 'to fall' -> hulug (TSG)
2. Except when the final consonant is /q/, and in *kalut 'to scratch' -> kalut (TSG).
3. Sometimes: 7 examples out of 17 in the data.
4. Except for one example: *pulus 'all alike' -> pulus (BUT).
5. Except for three examples in BUT and two in KMY: *gulaman 'edible seaweed' -> gulaman (BUT, KMY), *kulasisi 'kind of parakeet' -> kulasisi (BUT), *tulay 'bridge' -> tulay (BUT, KMY).
6. Except for one example in the data: *daliq-daliq

- 'presently' -> daiq-daiq (BUT).
7. Except in three examples: *haqlu 'pestle' -> haqu (BUT), *bɛklad 'to spread out' -> bukad (BUT), *saŋlag 'to roast' -> saŋag (BUT)
 8. Normally, *l -> l in a__a environment, but there are two examples of *l -> Ø in that environment: *salaquntiŋ 'roof truss' -> saguntiŋ, *salaq 'sin, mistake' -> saaq. There are also two exceptions to the regular *l loss in u__u environment: *puluhu 'lazy' -> puluhu (KMY), *pulus 'all alike' -> pulus (KMY).
 9. In the word final position there appears to be a change in process, e.g., *dakmul 'thick in dimension' -> dakmul ~ dakmuu (KMY). Cf. 2.2.1.12.
 10. Except for one example: *hadluk 'to fear' -> haduk (KMY)
 11. In DVB *l -> Ø ~ l in both u__u and ɛ__ɛ environment, but *l -> l in a__a environment.
 12. There are five examples where *ala -> ala in KLK, these may have been influenced by CEB (see 5.2.1.11).
 13. Except in bulak < *burak 'flower'.

2.2.1.12 **r

(a) In PNEM

**r -> *r

(b) In PCEM

**r -> *l/*r \ #__
-> *r \ elsewhere

(c) In PSEM

**r -> *l

**riḅaq 'dirty': *riḅaq (PNEM, PCEM), *liḅaq (PSEM)

(**)rumbu 'goal': *rumbu (PNEM, PCEM)

**rayuq 'far': *(ha)rayuq (PNEM), *-layuq (PCEM, PSEM)

(**)riḡḡun 'bad': *riḡḡun (PNEM), *liḡḡun (PCEM)

**baribad 'to reject, to refuse': *baribad (PNEM, PCEM),
*balibad (PSEM)

**daraga 'girl': *daraga (PNEM, PCEM), dalaga (PSEM)

(**)saruwar 'trousers': *saruwar (PNEM), *saluwal (PSEM)

(**)barhibu 'fur, body hair': *barhibu (PNEM, PCEM)

(**)dumpur 'dull, blunt': *dumpur (PNEM)

Discrepancies: (**)sikruḡ 'hiccups' -> *sikduḡ (PCEM)
-> *sikruḡ (PSEM)

2.2.1.13 **w

In PNEM, PCEM, and PSEM

**w -> *w

**wati 'worm (earth)': *wati (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**tawag 'to call': *tawag (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**sabaw 'soup': *sabaw (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**biḡwit 'to fish with hook and line': *biḡwit (PNEM, PCEM)

2.2.1.14 **y

In PNEM, PCEM, and PSEM

**y -> *y

**yahyab 'to shake cloth': *yabyab (PNEM, PCEM)

**bayad 'to pay': *bayad (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**balay 'house': *balay (PNEM, PSEM), baay (PCEM)

**baybay 'shore': *baybay (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**baligyaq 'to sell': *baligyaq (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

2.2.1.15 **h

(a) In PNEM and PCEM

**h -> *h

(b) In PSEM **h sporadically became *q in PSEM between

vowels, then *q -> *y \ *i__*V1, where V1 ≠ i

*q -> *w \ *u__*V2, where V2 ≠ u

Also in PSEM **h -> ∅ \ C__, __C

**hip{ue}s 'to tidy up': *hipes (PNEM), *hipus (PCEM), *ipus
(PSEM)

**amihan 'northeast wind': *amihan (PNEM, PCEM), *amiyan
(PSEM)

**gihapun 'still, as always': *gihapun (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**buhānin 'sand': *buhānin (PNEM, PCEM), *buwānin (PSEM)

**buhis 'tribute, tax': *buhis (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**bahaq 'flood': *bahaq (PNEM, PCEM), *baqaq (PSEM)

**bahaw 'left over food': *bahaw (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

- *buhuk 'hair (of head)': *buhuk (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)
 *tuhud 'knee': *tuhud (PNEM, PCEM), *tuqud (PSEM)
 *ihiq 'to urinate': *ihiq (PNEM, PCEM), *iqiq (PSEM)
 *mañhud 'younger sibling': *mañhud (PNEM, PCEM), *mañud
 (PSEM)

Initial *h is usually retained in all NEM languages. However, TSG and MWA do show a greater tendency than other NEM languages to drop initial *h. About 5% of the reconstructions in the corpus show this phenomenon.

(**)hapit 'almost, nearly'. Cf. apit (MSK)

PNEM *hapit: apit (TSG), hapit (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hapit: hapit (KMY, DVB)

CEB hapit.

(**)hasaq 'to sharpen'.

PNEM *hasaq: asaq (TSG), hasaq (BUT, MWA)

PCEM *hasaq: hasaq (KMY, DVB)

*harək 'to kiss'.

PNEM *harək: hauk (BUT), arək (MWA), hayuk (SUR)

PCEM *haruk: haruk (KMY), hauk (DVB)

PSEM *alək: alək (MSK), awək (KLK)

CEB haluk.

Medial **h was lost but replaced by *q in all SEM languages except MDK and KLK, which retained (or have borrowed) medial *h in several words (perhaps due to the

influence of KMY, which is contiguous to MDK, and CEB which is contiguous to KLK).

****buhuk** 'hair'.

PNEM *buhuk: buhuk (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buhuk: buhuk (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *buhuk: buhuk (MDK), buquk (MDC)

CEB buhuk.

****tah{æ}p** 'to winnow'.

PNEM *tah{æ}p: tahap (TSG), tahəp (MWA), tahup (SUR)

PCEM *tah{au}p: tahap (KMY, DVM), tahup (DVB, DVD)

PSEM *tahap: tahap (MDK), taqap (MDC, MSK), gataap (MDB), gataqap (MDM), taap (ISM), tap (KLK)

2.2.1.16 ****q**

(a) In PNEM and PCEM

****q** -> *q

In PCEM when *q occurs in a consonant cluster, *qC and *Cq -> *Cq.

(b) In PSEM

****q** -> Ø \ C__, __C

-> *y \ i__V1, where V1 ≠ i

-> *w \ u__V2, where V2 ≠ u

-> *q \ elsewhere

In all EM languages a word which is written with an initial vowel always has a glottal stop word initially. In

this study I have not written word initial glottal stop. Thus, /abaga/ is qabaga both phonetically and phonemically.

**abaga 'shoulder': *abaga (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**daqan 'old': *daqan (PNEM, PCEM), *dadaqan (PSEM)

**duriqan 'the durian': *duriqan (PNEM, PCEM), *duliyan
(PSEM)

**liqəg 'live, dwell': *liqəg (PNEM), *liqug (PCEM), *liyəg
(PSEM)

**buqaya 'crocodile': *buqaya (PNEM, PCEM), *buwaya (PSEM)

(**)luqag 'wide, roomy, spacious': *luqag (PNEM), *luwag
(PSEM)

**buqud 'to be sulky': *buqud (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**bitiqis 'leg': *bitiqis (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**həqə 'yes': həqə (PNEM, PCEM), əqə (PSEM)

**datuq 'to be rich': *datuq (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**baqgu 'new': *baqgu (PNEM), *bagqu (PCEM), *bagu (PSEM)

**baqqaŋ 'molar': *baqqaŋ (PNEM, PCEM), baqaŋ (PSEM)

Discrepancies: **naŋaq 'why?' -> *naŋa(q) (PSEM)

**nipaq 'nipa' -> *nipa (PSEM)

**ŋuhuq 'speak' -> *ŋuhu(q) (PNEM)

**haqin 'where?' -> *wa(q)in (PSEM)

**ka(ga)biqi 'yesterday' -> *kagabi (PSEM)

**balaqi 'relationship' -> *bala{yq}i (PNEM)

Although /q/ loss was not as widespread as /l/ loss noted above, there is evidence of an alternation between the loss and retention of **q in PEM.

(**)b{au}bayi 'female, woman'. Cf. babaqi (TAG). In this set **q was lost in most contexts but retained in TSG.

PNEM *babayi: babaqi (TSG), babazi (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *b{au}bayi: bubayi (KMY, DVB, DVM), babayi (DVD)

PSEM *bubayi: bubayi (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

**balaqi 'relationship between people whose children are married'. Here by contrast **q was retained in most contexts but lost in MWA and SUR.

PNEM *bala{yq}i: baaqi (TSG), balaqi (BUT), balazi (MWA), byazi (SUR)

PCEM *baqi: baqi (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *balaqi: balaqi (MSK), baaqi (MSK)

CEB balayi.

(**)tukmu(q) 'kind of dove'. Cf. tukmu (KMY, KLK). Where the reconstruction of **q is uncertain.

PNEM *tukmuq: tukmuq (BUT, MWA, SUR)

CEB tukmu 'the Philippine turtledove'.

There is another phonological change involving **q which makes it difficult to determine whether to reconstruct a **q loss.

Some languages insert /q/ epenthetically to separate a vowel cluster formed by consonant loss. TSG, KLK, and MDK thus occasionally inserts /q/ to replace a deleted /l/ or the transitional *w or *y of a proto form:

****salud** 'to catch water'.

PNEM *salud: saqud (TSG), sawud (BUT), salud (MWA),
sayud (SUR)

PCEM *sawud: sawud (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *salud: salud (MSK), sawud (KLK)

(**)puwas 'to be free from'. Cf. luwas (DVB)

PNEM *puwas: puqas (TSG 'after'), puwas (MWA, SUR)

PSEM *puwas: puwas (MSK, KLK 'take off')

Several of the PSEM languages (MDC, MDB, MDM, and MSK) regularly insert /q/ to replace deleted *h:

****bahuq** 'smelly'.

PSEM *baquq: mabaquq (MDK), yabaquq (MDC), gabaquq (MDB,
MDM), baquq (MSK), bauq (ISM), boq (KLT)

The convention is followed of reconstructing *q intervocalically wherever a language other than TSG, MDC, MDB, MDM, and MSK has /q/, and none has /h/. Where at least one language other than TSG etc. has /q/, and at least one has /h/, the ambiguous alternation *{hq} is reconstructed.

****balintuqad** 'to overturn, to somersault'.

PNEM *balintuad: balintuad (TSG), balintuwad (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *balintuqad: balintuqad (KMY), balintuad (DVB)

PSEM *balintuwad: balintuwad (KLK, KLT)

CEB balintuwad

**ka(ga)qina 'formerly'.

PNEM *ka(ga)qina: kaqina (TSG, SUR), kagaqina (BUT),
kazina (MWA)

PCEM *ka(ga)qina: kaqina (KMY), kagaqina (DVB)

PSEM *kagaqina: kagaqina (MSK), kagaina (KLK)

(**)ta(hq)ul 'to howl, of dogs'. Cf. taqul (MSK), tahul (KMY)

PNEM *taqul: taquu (BUT), taqul (MWA, SUR)

Where daughter languages differ as to the presence of a final /q/, the protoform is reconstructed as *(q). No consistent pattern of final *q loss is apparent, though it occurs more frequently in MWA.

(**)asu(q) 'steam'.

PNEM *asu(q): asu (TSG, MWA, SUR), asuq (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *asu(q): asu (KMY), asuq (DVB)

CEB asu.

(**)liku(q) 'curve, change direction'. Cf. likuq (MSK)

PNEM *liku(q): liku (TSG, MWA), likuq (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *likuq: likuq (KMY, DVB)

CEB likuq.

****saru(q)** 'to eat together from the same plate'.

PNEM *saru(q): saug (TSG, BUT), saru (MWA), sayu (SUR)

PCEM *saru: saru (KMY), sau (DVB)

PSEM *salu: salu (MSK), sawu (KLK)

CEB salu.

()taŋga(q)** 'rung of ladder'.

PNEM *taŋga(q): taŋgaq (BUT, SUR), taŋga (MWA)

PCEM *taŋga(q): taŋgaq (KMY 'notches in trunk'), taŋga
(DVB)

Several languages, particularly TSG and the SEM languages, tend to drop the *q of *qC clusters. *qC (see 2.3.2.4.4) is reconstructed when any daughter language has /qC/ or /Cq/, except where the order *Cq is the result of syncope.

****buqqat** 'heavy'.

PNEM *buqqat: buqqat (TSG), bugqat (BUT, SUR), buqqat
(MWA)

PCEM *bugqat: bugqat (KMY, DVB), mabugat (DVM, DVD)

PSEM *buqat: buqat (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLK, KLT),
mabugat (MDC, ISM)

()ka(q)p{uə}t** 'to hold'. Cf. kapət (MSK 'to reach with hand or stick')

PNEM *ka(q)put: kaput (TSG, BJT), kaptanan (BUT), kapqut
(SUR)

PCEM *kaput: kaput (KMY, DVB)

CEB kaput

(**)lu(q)pad `to eject residue of something chewed from
mouth'. Cf. lupad (KMY)

PNEM *lupad: lupad (BUT, MWA)

PSEM *lupad: lupad (KLT, MSK)

CEB lupqad.

(**){uæ}qy{uæ}q `to sway, to shake'. Cf. uyuu (KLK)

PNEM *u(q)yuq: uyug (TSG, BUT `to shake a tree to get
fruit'), uyquq (SUR)

CEB uyquq.

CEB uyuuq.

2.2.2 Consonant Replacement

The following is a brief description of consonant replacement phenomena. Some of these alternations are frequent enough, but too random in distribution, to suggest correspondence sets.

(a) Change in manner of articulation: *s/*t and *d/*l are the most frequent of these.

(**)buntit `protruding stomach'. Cf. buntit (KMY), buncit (MLY
`bloated').

PNEM *buntit: buntit (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PSEM *buntit: buntit (KLK, KLT)

CEB buntis.

**{ts}ampun 'to block the flow of something'.

PNEM *(ts)ampun: tampun (TSG, BUT), sampun (TSG, BUT, SUR), sampun (MWA)

PCEM *sampun: sampun (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tampun: tampun (MSK, KLK)

CEB sampun 'to cover an opening or passage'.

CEB tampulun 'stone dike to divert fish'.

**{dl}alag 'yellow'.

PNEM *(dl)alag: laag (BUT), dayag (SUR)

PCEM *(dl)alag: daag (KMY), laag (DVB), malag (DVD)

PSEM *lalag: malag (MDK), malalag (MDC, MDB, KLT), dalag (MSK 'dead leaf'), lalag (MSK 'yellow'), laag (KLK)

CEB dalag

CEB lalag

(**)rarag 'reddish'.

PNEM *rarag: laag (TSG), rarag (MWA)

**dagat 'sea': *dagat (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

(**)dagatun 'seasick'.

PNEM *dagatun: lagatun (TSG), dagatun (BUT), qidagat (BUT), dagatun (MWA), idagat (SUR)

PCEM *dagatun: dagatun (KMY, DVB)

CEB gidagat.

(**)duyun 'manatee'. Cf. duyuñ (KLK)

PNEM *duyuñ: duyun (TSG), dusuñ (MWA -- prob. from the
regular reflex duzuñ)

CEB duguñ

CEB duyuñ (var. of duguñ)

(b) Changes involving the point of articulation also occur.

(**)sagi{tq}si{tq} 'crackling sound as of frying fat'. Cf.

sagitsit (DVB)

PNEM *sagi{tq}si{tq}: sagitsit (TSG), sagiqsiq (BUT,
MWA, SUR)

**si 'person class marker'.

PNEM *si: hi (TSG), si (BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf. This h/s
alternation, with TSG having the h form, is displayed
in a number of sets.

PCEM *si: si (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *si: si (MSK, KLK)

CEB si.

**sañlag 'to roast dry in a pan'.

PNEM *sañlag: sañlag (TSG, MWA), sañag (BUT '...without
oil'), sañyad (SUR)

PCEM *sa(n)lag: sañlag (KMY), sanlag (DVB)

PSEM *sallag: sallag (MSK, KLK)

CEB sañlag.

(c) A number of interesting examples show an alternation between l/n/y:

(**)na 'past tense attributive or involuntary action marker'.

PNEM *na: na (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *na: na (KMY, DVB rel. 'who, which'), da (DVB), ya
(KMY)

PSEM (*)na: ya (MSK), na (MSK)

CEB na.

(**)inaqen 'aunt'.

PNEM *inaqen: inaqun (TSG, BUT, SUR), inaqen (MWA), iyaq
(SUR) iyaqen (SUR 'female relative')

PCEM *inaqun: iyaq (KMY), inaqun (DVB)

(**)kanugun 'exclamation, what a waste'. Cf. hinugun, hanugun
(CEB)

PNEM *ka(n)ugun: kaugun < *kalugun (TSG), kanugun (MWA)

PSEM *kanugun: kanugun (MSK, KLK)

**his(ln)añ 'active': hisnañ (MWA), hislañ (KMY)

(**)kanakuq 'oblique pronoun, 1st pers. singular'.

PNEM *ka(n)akuq: kaakuq (TSG), kanakuq (BUT)

PCEM (*)kanakuq: kanakuq (KMY), kanak (~KMY)

(**)kanimu 'oblique pronoun, 2nd pers. singular'. Cf. kanmu
(KMY)

PNEM *kanimu: kaymu (TSG), kanimu (BUT)

**puluq 'ten, ten's marker'.

PNEM *puluq: haŋpuuq (TSG), napuu (BUT), napuluq (MWA),
napuyuuq (SUR)

PCEM *puuq: napuuq (KMY), yapuuq (KMY), sampuuq (DVD)

PSEM *puluq: yapuuq (MDK), sampuluq (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK,
KLT), sampuuq (ISM), sampuuq (KLK)

(d) There are several sets which show a change between voicing and non-voicing.

(**)buŋtud 'hill, ridge'. Cf. puŋtud (KMY), buntud (KLT
'summit')

PNEM *buŋtud: buŋtud (MWA, SUR)

CEB buŋtud 'hill'.

(**)ti(p)tip 'cliff'.

PNEM *ti(p)tip: tibtib (TSG), tiptip (BUT, MWA), tikip
(SUR)

PCEM *ti(p)tip: titip (KMY), tikip (DVB - which
exhibits a further modification).

(e) Changes involving a complex of phonological features.

(**) {ps}iŋkaw 'deformity of arm'.

PNEM *{ps}iŋkaw: piŋkaw (BUT), siŋkaw (MWA)

PCEM *{ps}iŋkaw: piŋkaw (KMY), siŋkaw (~KMY, DVB)

CEB piŋkaw

~CEB siŋkaw

(**) lə(m)gəm 'to soak'.

PNEM *lə{mq}gəm: luqum (TSG), ləmgəm (MWA)

CEB luqum 'for water to collect'

**{nk}{uə}s(nk){uə}s 'to scour something'

PNEM *{nk}us(nk)us: kuskus (TSG, SUR), nusnus (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *{nk}us(nk)us: nusnus (KMY, DVB), kuskus (KMY)

PSEM *n{uə}sn{uə}s: nəsnəs (MSK), nusnus (KLK)

CEB nusnus

(f) Some vowel-final stems substitute /q/ for the *h which regularly occurs between the stem and a vowel-initial suffix. Compare the following:

(**) huri 'rear' -> *huri (PNEM) -> ulihan (TSG 'area behind')

**laba 'to launder' -> *laba (PCEM) -> labhanan 'things to be washed' (KMY, CEB)

**asawa 'wife' -> *asawa (PNEM) -> asawaqunun (BUT, SUR 'wife to be')

(**)-aya 'future, later on' -> *-aya (PNEM) -> gaya (BUT)

gaygaya (~BUT), kayqan (MWA), nazqan (SUR)

**katawa 'to laugh' -> *katawa (PNEM) -> katawqanan (BUT
'laughable', CEB)

2.2.3 The Vowels

The reconstructed vowel correspondences that each of the reconstructed EM languages have with PEM reconstructed vowels are listed in figure 2.3.

FIGURE 2.3

VOWEL CORRESPONDENCES OF THE RECONSTRUCTED EM LANGUAGES

PEM	PNEM	PCEM	PSEM	SECN. NO.
**a	*a	*a	*a	2.2.2.1
**u	*u	*u	*u	.2
**i	*i	*i	*i	.3
**u	*u	*u	*u	.4

2.2.3.1 **a

In PNEM, PCEM, and PSEM

**a -> *a

**apug 'lime': *apug (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**atay 'liver': *atay (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**bulan 'moon': *bulan (PNEM, PSEM), *buwan (PCEM). Cf. For
explanation of **l -> *w see 2.3.2.1.1.

**bulawan 'gold': *bulawan (PNEM, PSEM), *buwawan (PCEM)

**asawa 'wife': *asawa (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

2.2.3.2 **u

(a) In PCEM

**u -> *u

(b) In PNEM and PSEM

**u -> *u

**bugas 'husked rice': *bugas (PNEM, PSEM), *bugas (PCEM)

**aslum 'sour': *aslum (PNEM, PSEM), *aslum (PCEM)

**balagen 'vine': *balagen (PNEM, PSEM), *bagun (PCEM)

**bugen 'swelling, goiter': *bugen (PNEM, PSEM), *bugun
(PCEM)

Discrepancies: **lawud 'ocean' -> *la{u}d (PSEM)

**panum 'close association' -> *pan{u}m (PSEM)

**saru 'to attach' -> *sar{u}n (PSEM)

(**)turu 'because of' -> *t{u}r{u}d (PSEM)

2.2.3.3 **i

In PNEM, PCEM, and PSEM

**i -> *i

**bitay 'to hang down': *bitay (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**bukid 'mountain': *bukid (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**bili 'to buy': *bili (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**gihapun 'afternoon': *gihapun (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**kasili 'eel': *kasili (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

Discrepancies: **hiyem 'smile' -> *h{iu}yem (PNEM)

2.2.3.4 **u

In PNEM, PCEM, and PSEM

**u -> *u

**buqaya 'crocodile': *buqaya (PNEM, PCEM), *buwaya (PSEM)

**bayu 'to pound in a mortar': *bayu (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**buslut 'hole in wall of a container': *buslut (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**limukun 'kind of dove': *limukun (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

**ugañan 'parent-in-law': *ugañan (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM)

2.2.4 Vowel Syncope

Vowel syncope is a widespread phenomenon in PEM. Wolff (1972:xii) states for Cebuano that "when a suffix is added to a root with a stressed final syllable, the tendency is to drop the vowel of the final syllable of the root." Miller and Miller (1960:27) also describe a similar phenomenon for Mamanwa: "When -an 'referent focus' and -en 'object focus' occur with (certain) stems...the last vowel of the stem drops when the penult of the stem is open." Thus, CEB dakup 'to arrest' and MWA dakup 'to catch' both become dakpan when the stem is suffixed with -an.

The apparent arbitrariness of the operation of vowel syncope may eventually be explained in terms of PEM or PPH stress, since it reduces word length and thus affects placement of stress. However, in the EM languages, we can

find syncope on the penultimate vowel of prefixed stems and of suffixed trisyllabic stems.

Some stems exhibit frozen syncope:

**luyu 'other side of s.t. solid'.

PNEM *luyu: liyu (TSG), luyu (BUT), luzu (MWA, SUR
 'rear')

PCEM *luyu: luyu (KMY, DVB)

CEB liyu 'to circle around'

CEB luyu 'at back of'

(**)baylu < (*)bal(u)yu 'to change, replace'. Cf. baluy (KLT)

PNEM *baylu: baylu (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *baylu: baylu (KMY, DVB)

CEB baylu

The operation of vowel syncope is limited, with very few exceptions to the vowels *a and *u. Since syncope results in consonant clusters, some of which are unacceptable in the phonology of either PEM or of a daughter language, a further process of metathesis (see 2.3.2.3) operates to resolve the tension. No three member consonant clusters arise since the process is limited to stems with a single medial consonant.

(a) Syncope of the first vowel of the stem takes place when the stem is prefixed:

**gɘbaq 'to fell, to topple'.

PNEM *gɘbaq: gubaq (BUT, SUR), gɘbaq (MWA 'house in state of collapse'), pagbaq < (*)pagɘbaq (MWA, SUR 'to collapse, of house')

PCEM *gubaq: kagbaq < (*)kagɘbaq (KMY 'to collapse, of house) gubaq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM (*)gɘbaq: gɘbaq (MSK). Cf. gubɘ (KLK 'to collapse')

CEB gubaq 'cleared area'.

(**)guwaq 'out, outside'. Cf. guwaq (MSK)

PNEM *guwaq: guwaq (TSG, BUT, SUR)

**lugwaq < (*)lug(u)waq 'to be or go outside'.

PNEM *lugwaq: lugwaq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lugwaq: lugwaq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *lugwaq: lugwaq (MSK), luwaq (KLT, KLK)

(**)digwaq < (*)dig(u)waq 'to throw out, to vomit'. Cf.

digwaq (DVB)

PNEM *digwaq: digwaq (BUT, MWA), digwaq-digwaq (SUR)

CEB digwaq.

(b) Syncope of the final vowel of the stem, a more frequent case, takes place when the stem is suffixed:

**gɘbaq 'to fell, etc.': gubqun < (*)gɘb(a)qɘn (KMY 'to dismantle something')

****bayad** 'to pay': baydi < *bay(a)di (KMY 'to pay for something')

****sugaq** 'to ignite': sugqan < (*)sug(a)qan (MWA), sugqan < (*)sug(a)qan (SUR 'light it')

(c) With trisyllabic stems syncope operates on the middle vowel of the stem:

****atubañ** 'to be face to face with'.

PNEM *atubañ: atubañ (TSG, BUT, MWA), atubañan (BUT, MWA 'front'), atbañan (BUT, MWA 'opposite sides'), atbañ (MWA 'opposite', SUR)

PCEM *atubañ: atbañ (KMY), atubañ (DVB)

PSEM *atubañ: atubañan (MSK), atubañ (KWK)

****apleđ** < (*) (h)apleđ 'astringent taste, puckery flavor': Cf. puleđ (WBManobo), pellođ (CS-Sama 'metallic taste')

(d) Syncope of the final vowel of the stem occurs when the stem is suffixed by two suffixes:

****asawa** 'wife' -> *asawa (PNEM) -> asawqunun (BUT, SUR 'wife-to-be')

****bili** 'to buy' -> *bili (PNEM) -> bilqunun (BUT 'buying price')

****tanem** 'to plant' -> *tanem (PNEM) -> tamnanan (BUT, SUR 'farmed area'). Note: This also shows metathesis.

(e) Except for a small set, composed of number formations, when a stem is both prefixed and suffixed, it is the final vowel of the stem which undergoes syncope:

**bəkəg 'bone' -> *bukug (PEM) -> ibukgan (KMY 'to have a bone stuck in the throat')

**bəqət 'good sense, intelligence' -> *buqut (PEM) -> kabubutqan < *kabəbəq(ə)tan (KMY 'psyche')

tələn 'to swallow': **tətənlen 'throat' < ()tətəl(ə)nan

Four numeral stems undergo syncope when affixed with *ka- -an to indicate multiples of ten. In these constructions it is the first stem vowel which undergoes syncope, in contrast with the otherwise prevailing (see (d) above) pattern. This is one of the few cases where TSG exhibits syncope, and *kalimqan 'fifty' is the only example in the data where TSG exhibits a *Cq order reversal.

tulu 'three': ()katuluwan 'thirty': katluwan (TSG, BUT, KLT, CEB). Note: the syncopated vowel here may be *ə; cf. PPH *təlu.

upat 'four': ()kaupatan 'fourty': kapqatan (BUT), kapatan (KLT). Cf. kaupatan (TSG), where the *u has not undergone syncope.

lima 'five': ()kalimaqan 'fifty': kaiqman (TSG), kalimqan (BUT), kaliman (KLT)

***ənəm* 'six': (**)*kaqənəman* 'sixty': *kaqnuman* (TSG), *kanquman* (BUT, SUR, CEB), *kanəman* (KLT, KLK)

(a) The form for 'twenty' displays a later operation of vowel syncope, after the loss of intervocalic /l/:

***duha* 'two': (**)*karuhaqan* 'twenty': *kawhaqan* <
 **ka(l)uhaqan* (TSG, SUR, KMY), *kawuhaqan* (BUT), *karuhaqan*
 (MWA), **kaluwaqan* (PSEM, CEB)

(b) The remainder of the numeral constructions did not undergo syncope in PEM. One non-numeral stem displays the same pattern of initial vowel syncope when affixed with /ka- ... -an/:

***dalagan* 'to run' -> **dalagan* (PNEM) -> *kadlaganun* (BUT
 'given to running away')

2.2.5 Vowel Assimilation

There are several PEM sets which exhibit vowel assimilation or harmony. In most languages the first vowel assimilates to the quality of the second.

(a) Involving a/i:

(**)h{ai}inay 'slowly'.

PNEM *h{ai}inay: hinay (TSG, BUT, SUR), anay-anay (TSG
 'with care'), anay (MWA 'continue doing s.t.', SUR
 'to wait')

PCEM *hinay: hinay (KMY, DVB)

(**){ai}sip 'give thought to'. Cf. isip (MSK 'to count up')

PNEM *(ai)sip: asip (TSG 'to heed'), isip (BUT, MWA,
 SUR)

PCEM *isip: isip (KMY, DVB)

**p{ai}sak 'mud'.

PNEM *pisa{kq}: pisak (TSG, BUT), pisaq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *pasak: pasak (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *pasak: pasak (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
 KLT)

(b) Involving a/u:

(**)buqsag 'to water'. Cf. busag (KLT)

PNEM *buqs{au}g: buqsug (TSG), busqag (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *busqag: busqag (KMY, DVB)

(**){au}ñas 'nearly bald'.

PNEM *(au)ñas: uñas (TSG, BUT), añas (MWA). Cf. bañas
 (MWA, SUR)

PCEM (*){au}nas: uñas (KMY), añas (KMY). Cf. bañas
(KMY)

**raqat 'bad'.

PNEM *-raqat: maqat (BUT), yaqut (SUR)

PCEM *raqat: raqat (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *laqat: maqat (MDK, MSK), matay (ISM), matay (KLK),
malatay (KLT)

(c) Involving i/u:

**kimpit 'to hold'.

PNEM *kimpit: kumpit (TSG), kimpit (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kimpit: kimpit (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kimpit: kimpit (MSK, KLK)

CEB kimpit

CEB kumpit

(d) Involving u/i:

(**)giq{ui}k 'to thresh rice by treading'. Cf. giyuk (KLK)

PNEM *giq{ui}k: giqik (TSG, BUT), giquk (MWA), giquk
(SUR)

PCEM *giquk: giquk (KMY, DVB)

CEB giquk

(**)i(rl)əg 'to take without permission'. Cf. ilug (KMY)
 PNEM *irəg: iig < (*)ilig (TSG 'to remove something
 entirely'), ilug (BUT, SUR), irəg (MWA)
 CEB ilug '...without permission'

2.2.6 Vowel Dissimilation

The following exhibit dissimilation of *u__u sequence:

**dəgləm 'dark phase of moon'.

PNEM *dəglum: tigidlum (TSG 'dark'), dəgləm (MWA),
 dugyum (SUR),

PCEM *duglum: dugum (KMY, DVB), duggum (DVM), dugqum
 (DVD)

PSEM *dəgləm: dəgləm (MDK, KLK), dəggəm (MDB, ISM)

**həkət 'to tie'.

PNEM *həkət: hukut (TSG, BUT, SUR), əkət (MWA)

PCEM *hukut: hukut (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *əkət: ukut (MDK), ukət (MDC), əkitan (MDB), əkətan
 (MDC), əkət (MSK, ISM, KLK)

CEB hukut (var. of hikut)

CEB hikut

**sələm 'tomorrow'.

PNEM *-sələm: kunsuum (TSG, BUT), kinsuum (~TSG),

kunsiləm (MWA), masasələm (MWA), silum (SUR), suyum
 (SUR), masusuyum (SUR)

PCEM *-suum: suum (KMY), masasuum (KMY), silum (KMY),
 kisuum (DVB, DVM), kisu (DVD)

PSEM *-sələm: kisuum (MDK), kisələm (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK)
 kisəum (ISM), kinsəm (KLK, KLT)

2.3 Stem Shape in PEM

The canonical shape of stems in PEM has been modified by several phonological processes. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight these modifications and give examples of each.

2.3.1 Stems

The canonical shape of the PEM stem is: C1V(C2).C3V(C4):
 where C = Consonant

V = Vowel

C2 ≈ C3

The canonical PEM bisyllabic stem shape is essentially the same as that of Proto-Austronesian, i.e., there are no geminate consonant clusters, vowel clusters or syllables commencing with a vowel.

The following restrictions should be noted:

- (1) **[j] and **h do not occur as syllable coda.
- (2) **r rarely occurs as syllable coda.
- (3) **w and **y rarely occur in C1 position.

A distinctive characteristic of PEM stem shape and other Central Philippine languages, is the variety and frequency of permitted C2C3 sequences. Some of these are the result of

vowel syncope, as described in chapter 2.3.2.1.2. There is virtually no restriction on the CC sequences resulting from the loss of the separating vowel. However, the data provide no examples of syncope after **h* or **[j]*, and some sets showing consonant metathesis suggest a restriction on certain consonant sequences. For example **tətənlan* 'throat' rather than **tətəlnan*, from **tələn* 'to swallow' via (**tətəl(ə)nan*).

The CC sequences formed by the reduplication of a CVC monosyllable, or by the preposed infixation of **ŋ*, as described in chapter 2.3.2.4.1, reflect a pattern inherited from Proto Austronesian (PAN). Examples:

PEM **bədəbəd* 'confection of sticky rice cooked in leaf wrapper'; PAN **bəjbəj* 'to wind (wrap)'

PEM (****)*gantun* 'to hang'; PAN **gantun* 'to hang'

PEM stems, like those of Zorc's Bisayan subgroup, show considerable modification of the basic CVCVC stem shape of Austronesian by the infixation of one of a variety of medial consonants.

PEM **bakhaw* 'mangrove sp.' < PAN **bakaw* 'name of a tree'

PEM **bəgsay* 'canoe paddle' < PAN **bəsay* 'canoe paddle'

PEM **kidlap* 'to flash, glitter' < PAN **kilap* 'brightness, glossy'

The medial consonant clusters of PEM are presented in figure 2.4 below.

FIGURE 2.4
MEDIAL CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN PEM

Infixes C	Co-occurring Consonants	
	Following an infix C	Preceding an infix C
*g	All stops (except *g and *q), *s, *w, *y	-----
*h	-----	All stops (except *p(1)), *s, *w, *y
*k	*b, *l, *s, *t	-----
*l	-----	*b, *d, *p, *t
*N(2)	*s, *w, *y	*g, *k, *p
*q(3)	All stops (except *g), *l, *m, *n, *r, *s, *w, *y	-----
*s	*d, *k	-----

1. The absence of *-ph- clusters is probably due to a lacuna in the data.
2. N as a preposed infix usually assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant; as a postposed infix it usually dissimilates.
3. The order of clusters with infixes *q is difficult to determine. Daughter languages do not agree because different reordering of PEM **CC clusters have occurred

in the daughter languages.

2.3.1.1 Bisyllabic Stems

Some bisyllabic stems are presented here.

**katig 'outrigger'

**batu 'stone'

**bastun 'staff, cudgel'

**apdu 'bile, gall'

2.3.1.2 Multisyllabic Stems

Some multisyllabic stems are presented here.

**asawa 'wife'

**baŋkaqag 'to have knowledge of'

**baribad 'to reject, to refuse'

**bitanqag 'kind of tree used for firewood'

There are no examples in the PEM data of a multisyllabic stem with more than two CVC syllables in succession.

2.3.2 Modifications on the PEM Stem Shape

The shape of a stem is subject to modification by the operations of metathesis, infixation, and by syllable addition and deletion. For convenience, all phenomena of this type are discussed in this chapter, regardless of whether they are relevant either to PEM or to one of its daughter languages.

2.3.2.1 Metathesis

Consonant metathesis and, less often, vowel metathesis occur sporadically in EM (as in other Bisayan languages (Wolff, Zorc)). In some cases the metathesis is a device for resolving unacceptable consonant clusters:

****baqqu** 'new'.

PNEM *baqqu: baqqu (TSG), bagqu (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bagqu: bagqu (KMY, DVB, DVD), bagu (DVM)

PSEM *bagu: bagu (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB bagqu

Metathesis was an active process at the PEM stage (at least), as witnessed by PEM doublets (note that in this example, I have written the ****q**):

(qalhu** 'pestle'.

PNEM *qalhu: ahu (BUT), alhu (MWA), ayhu (SUR)

CEB qalhu

****haqlu** 'pestle'.

PNEM (*)haqlu: haqlu (TSG)

PCEM *haqu: haqu (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *alu: au (MDK), alu (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT), awu
(KLK)

CEB halqu

In many cases the daughter language data do not allow unambiguous identification of the prior form. Where possible external evidence is adduced in an effort to resolve the ambiguity:

(**)ukquk 'cockroach'. Cf. ukquk (TAG 'worn off, as by worms, fire, time')

PNEM (*)kuquk: kuquk (TSG)

PCEM *ukquk: ukquk (KMY, DVB)

CEB ukquk 'infested with cockroaches'

Otherwise the form is reconstructed to display the ambiguity:

PNEM *a(m)pa(ŋ)gud: ampugud (TSG), apuŋgud (BUT, SUR),
apaŋgud (MWA)

A variety of patterns of metathesis is displayed in the data.

(a) Across a vowel:

(**)bulu(q) 'kind of bamboo'.

PNEM *bulu(q): lubuq (TSG), buu (BUT), bulu (MWA)

CEB buluq '...Schizostachyum lumampao'

**degləm 'dark phase of moon'.

PNEM *degləm: tigidlum (TSG 'dark' - with vowel
dissimilation'), .degləm (MWA), dugyum (SUR)

PCEM *dugqum: dugum (KMY, DVB), duqum (DVM), duqqum
(DVD)

PSEM *degləm: degləm (MDK, KLK), deqqəm (MDB, ISM)

(**)puqa/puhaq 'dumb, mute'. Cf. pəwa (KLK 'surprized')

PNEM *puqa/puhaq: puwaq (BUT), puhaq (MWA), puqa (MWA,
SUR)

PCEM *puqa/puhaq: puqa (KMY), puhaq (DVB)

(**)tiqayun 'to be married'. Cf. tiyayun (MSK), tiqayun (DVB)

PNEM *tiqayun: tiyaqun (TSG), magtiqazun (MWA 'a married
couple')

CEB tiqayun

(b) Across a consonant (and any intervening vowels)

(**)tukiq 'to investigate'. Cf. tukiq (KLK)

PNEM *tukiq: tukiq (BUT), ukit-ukit (MWA)

PCEM *tukiq: tukiq (KMY, DVB)

CEB tukiq

(**)lamdag 'bright, of a light'. Cf. lamdag (MSK)

PNEM *(ld)amdag: damlag (TSG 'full moon'), lamdag (SUR)
 CEB lamdag

(c) Between consonants of a cluster

(**)ligbɯs 'kind of edible mushroom'. Cf. ligbus (DVB)

PNEM *ligbɯs: ligbus (BUT, SUR), ligbɯs (MWA)

PSEM *ligbɯs: ligbɯs (MSK, KLK)

CEB libgus

(d) Interchange of two vowels

**sigupan 'pipe for tobacco'.

PNEM *sigupan: sigupan (TSG 'cigarette', BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sigupan: sugipan (KMY), sigupan (DVB)

PSEM *sigupan: sigupan (MSK 'to smoke, cigaret', KLK)

(e) Involving vowel plus consonant

(**)lupiq 'to fold up'. Cf. lupiq (DVB)

PNEM *lupiq: lupiq (TSG, BUT)

PSEM *lupiq: lupiq (MSK, KLK)

CEB lupiq 'to turn down a corner'

(**)piluuq 'to fold flat'. Cf. lipiq (KLK)

PNEM *pilug: pilu (TSG 'to twist'), pilug (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *pilug: pilug (KMY, DVB)

CEB pilug

2.3.2.2 Infixation

PEM displays an interesting variety of medial consonant clusters by consonant infixation: **sipit 'to grip between two things', and **sigpit 'constricted; tight-fitting'; **duglɛm 'night', and **dɛlɛm 'dark phase of moon'. The following analysis of clusters formed by infixation is an effort to reduce the complexity of the data. There are four preposed infixes, i.e., the infixes are the first member of a consonant cluster: *N (2.3.2.4.1), *g (.2), *s (.3), and *q (.4). There are three postposed infixes, i.e., the infixes are the second member of a consonant cluster: *l (.5), *h (.6), and *N (.7).

When both members of a cluster are potentially interpretable as infixes, ambiguities arise. Thus the sequence -ŋq- may reflect *ŋq, with the nasal approximating the point of articulation of the stop; or *qŋ, with regular metathesis of *q.

(**)buŋqaw/buqŋaw 'gaping hole'.

PNEM *buŋqaw: buŋqaw (MWA, SUR)

CEB buŋqaw 'chasm'

Such ambiguities are resolved (where possible) by the following considerations:

(a) reference to ranking order of consonants which is based on frequency of involvement in metathesis. For example, *s and *g are not usually subject to metathesis within a cluster (in contrast to *q and *l, which are), so that the occurrence of *s or *g in a postconsonantal position is good evidence that it is not an infix.

(b) the evidence of diagnostic daughter language data. An example of this would be the cognate (buq^haw) in TSG, if it occurred since TSG permits both Cq and qC.

(c) the existence of a cognate without a cluster but with a single consonant in a PEM language, or failing that, in an external language. Such evidence needs to be carefully evaluated, since cluster reduction may have retained the infix rather than the original intervocalic consonant.

2.3.2.2.1 *N

Clusters with a preposed nasal *N form the larger of two parts of the relevant corpus. Dempwolff (1934-38) reconstructed this 'facultative nasal' as a homorganic segment (PAN *dempul 'adhesive' (Dempwolff)). Blust (1972) argues that the existence of such daughter language clusters as la^hsay (MLY 'curtain') is better explained by treating 'the phenomenon of medial nasal accretion as though it involved a single segment *^h which was sometimes infixed preconsonantly

in PAN.' A number of EM languages and some PEM forms support Blust's position, though there is clearly a tendency in all languages towards assimilation of the preposed nasal. The convention has been followed here of reconstructing *~~n~~ wherever one or more daughter languages has /~~n~~/ before a non-velar; and *(~~m~~), or *(~~n~~) wherever the daughter languages have a homorganic nasal other than /~~n~~/.

**hi(~~m~~)bis 'scales of fish'.

PNEM *hi~~n~~bis: hi~~n~~bis (BUT, MWA), himbis (SUR)

PCEM *himbis: himbis (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *imbis: imbis (MSK, KLK)

CEB hi~~n~~bis

**land~~u~~g 'slippery'.

PNEM *land~~u~~g: landug (TSG, BUT, SUR), land~~u~~g (MWA),
danlug (~SUR)

PCEM *landug: landug (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *land~~u~~g: maland~~u~~g (MSK), mend~~u~~g (KLK)

CEB danlug

This same process of assimilation is displayed by reduplicated monosyllables, although in this case the underlying form is clearly recoverable, and may be any of the nasals *m, *n, or *~~n~~.

(**)balinbiñ 'kind of fruit tree'. balinbiñ (KLK)

PNEM *balinbiñ: baimbiñ (TSG), balinbiñ (BUT, MWA, SUR),
balimbiñ (~SUR)

PCEM *balinbiñ: balinbiñ (KMY), balimbiñ (DVB)

CEB balinbiñ

*N occurs as a preposed infix before all the stops (rarely with *q) and, less frequently, with *s, *w, and *y.

**ki(mñ)pañ 'to be out of balance, to limp'.

PNEM *kimpañ: timpañ (TSG), kimpañ (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kimpañ: kimpañ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kimpañ: kimpañ (MSK, KLK)

CEB kimpañ

(**)biñ(w)it 'to fish with hook and line'. Cf. biñwit (MSK)

PNEM *biñ(w)it: biñit (TSG) biñwit (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *biñwit: biñwit (KMY, DVB)

CEB biñit

~CEB biñwit

(**)buñsud 'fish corral'. Cf buñsud (KLK)

PNEM *buñsud: buñsud (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buñsud: buñsud (KMY, DVB)

CEB buñsud

(**)luñyab 'cave'.

PNEM (*)luñyab: luñzab (MWA 'underwater cave')

PCEM (*)luñyab: luñyab (KMY)

CEB luñib (perhaps from (*)luñiyab)

2.3.2.2.2 *g

The regular PEM reflex of PAN *R is *g (PAN *Ra(m)bun 'atmospheric turbidity' -> **{gl}abun 'cloud, mist'). Dempwolff (1925) originally reconstructed PAN *R as the first member of a medial consonant cluster (PAN *bʉrsay 'canoe paddle' -> **bʉgsay), but omitted this distribution but not PAN *R altogether in later publications (PAN *bʉsay). A preposed PPh *R infix may underlie some of the numerous PEM clusters of the form *gC or *kC, but whatever its origin in this preconsonantal context, it is evident that the infixation of *g was an active process prior to the division of PEM.

(**)tusuk 'to poke with a sharp object'. Cf. tusuk (KMY, MSK)

PNEM *tusuk: tusuk (BUT, SUR)

CEB tusuk

**tugsuk 'to inject, to prick'

PNEM *tugsuk: tugsuk (TSG, BUT), Cf. tʉgsʉb (MWA)

PCEM *tugsuk: tugsuk (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tugsuk: tugsuk (MSK, KLK)

CEB tugsuk

(**)tusluk 'to pierce'.

PNEM *tusluk: tusluk (MWA 'to poke in the eye', SUR 'to inject')

PCEM *tusluk: tusluk (KMY, DVB)

CEB tusluk

**dalem 'night'.

PNEM *dalem: duum (TSG, BUT), dalem (MWA), duyum (SUR)

PCEM *duum: duum (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *dalem: dalem (MSK), daman (KLK)

**deglem 'dark phase of moon'.

PNEM *deglem: tigidlum (TSG 'dark' - with metath.), deglem (MWA), dugyum (SUR)

PCEM dugqum: dugum (KMY, DVB), duggum (DVM), dugqum (DVD)

PSEM *deglem: deglem (MDK, KLK), deggem (MDB, ISM)

(**)tugnaq 'to cook a staple food such as rice'. Cf. tugnaq (WS-Sama)

PNEM *tu(g)naq: tugnaq (TSG), tunaq (BUT)

PCEM *tugnaq: tugnaq (KMY, DVB)

Some infixes g's were devoiced before a voiceless consonant or before l but that process was sporadic and that is why *gl and *kl, *gt and *kt occur. Cf. **balad 'to dry in the sun' and **beklad 'to spread out, like a mat'.

*g occurs as a preposed infix before all the stops except *g (there are no geminate consonant clusters in PEM) and *q,

and before *s and *w. It also occurs before /y/ in some problem sets (see 2.2.1.11).

(**)dagbus 'to beat with a stick, as burning grass'.

PNEM *dagbus: dagbus (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *dagbus: dagbus (KMY 'to strike something with force', DVB)

(**)hugpuq 'hips'.

PNEM *hugpuq: hugpuq (TSG 'upper hips', BUT, SUR 'to catch someone around the hips')

(**)sibu(g)kaw 'kind of tree'. Cf. sibukaw (DVB)

PNEM *sibu(g)kaw: sibukaw (TSG), sabukaw (BUT), sibugkaw (SUR)

CEB sibukaw

(**)bakagwañ 'buttocks'. Cf. bakagwañ (KMY)

PNEM *bakagwañ: bakagwañ (MWA, SUR)

CEB baligkawan (var. of balatqañ)

**ba[ɟ]lañ 'kind of plant, the elephant's ear'.

PNEM *ba[ɟ]lañ: bajañ (TSG), badyañ (BUT), bagzañ (MWA, SUR), badzañ (~SUR)

PCEM *badyañ: badyañ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *badyañ: badjañ (KLK), bagyañ (KLT)

*k occurs infixes before *l, *s, and *t; and before *b there is a single example.

****baktin** 'young pig'.

PNEM *baktin: baktin (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *baktin: baktin (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *baktin: baktin (MSK, KLK)

CEB baktin

****lakbañ** 'wide (not of space)'. Cf. labañ (MAR 'to cross a body of water')

PNEM *lakbañ: lakbañ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR '...., as a leaf')

PCEM *lakbañ: lakbañ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *lakbañ: malakbañ (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT),
maakbañ (KLK)

()**laksu 'to jump'.

PNEM *laksu: laksu (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), lasku (TSG)

PCEM *laksu: laksu (KMY), luksu (DVB)

2.3.2.2.3 *s

*s occurs as a preposed infix before *d and *k, in a small number of examples (excluding those *sC clusters formed by syncope, and those of the form *sl, which are interpreted as clusters formed by a postposed *l).

()**bəsdek 'distended stomach'. Cf. basduk (CEB)

PNEM *bəsdek: bəsdek (MWA), busduk (SUR)

(**)b{uɐ}skay 'to count using tally markers'.

PNEM *buskay: buskay (TSG, BUT)

**hu(s)bad 'to untie'.

PNEM *hubad: hubad (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), husbad (~SUR)

PCEM *hu(s)bad: husbad (KMY), hubad (DVB)

PSEM *ubad: ubad (MSK, KLK)

CEB 'to break a grip'

2.3.2.2.4 Preposed Infix *q

Clusters with *q have the form /Cq/ in all NEM and CEM languages except TSG, which has /qC/. Elkins (1973:51) notes for Manobo, which displays a similar metathesis: "We reconstruct *tuqlid ('straight') rather than *tulqid since it appears to be analogous to *tuqlan 'bone' for which there is better evidence".

Clusters with *q are interpreted as having the order qC, except where the order Cq is clearly the result of an infix g (as with **taqas 'high', taqqas (SUR, KMY 'tell')), or the result of syncope on a CVq sequence (**sɛgaq 'to ignite': sugqi (KMY 'ignite it')). TSG is the only EM language retaining this order, but unlike other EM languages it tolerates both the sequences /qC/ and /Cq/; i.e. it does not appear to exert pressure on either order to metathesize. Thus we have TSG mag- (verbal prefix) + *qanad -> magqanad 'to engage in learning', alongside baqgu 'new'. The following

examples illustrate the **Cq order in all languages except TSG which also shows **qC.

(**)baliktad 'to overturn'.

PNEM *bali{kq}tad: baliktad (SUR), balitqad <

(*)baliqtad (MWA)

PCEM *baliktad: baliktad (KMY, DVB)

CEB baliktad

(**)daqak 'to give an order, to send'.

PNEM *daqak: daqak (TSG, BUT), dadaqakun (TSG

'servant'), dakqunun (BUT 'servant' - with syncope and metathesis from (*)daqakunun).

(**)gaqan 'light in weight'. Cf. gan (KLK)

PNEM *gaqan: gaqan (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *gaqan: gaqan (KMY, DVB, ganqay (~KMY 'very light' - with syncope and metathesis from (*)gaqanay).

CEB gaqan

(**)enem 'six'. Cf. unum (DVD)

PNEM *enem: unum (TSG, BUT, SUR), kaqnuman (TSG

'sixty'), kanquman (BUT 'sixty'), enem (MWA)

PSEM *enem: enem (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT), unum (MDC)

CEB unum

CEB kanquman 'sixty'

*q occurs as a preposed infix with all the stops except *q and *d. The latter exception is almost certainly due to a hiatus in the data, since we have parallel clusters *nd and *gd, and CEB ladqan 'slightly brackish water'. Infixed *q also occurs with *l, *s, *n, *r, *s, *w, and *y.

**bitiqis 'leg, excluding foot'.

PNEM *bitiqis/biqtis: biqtis, bitis (TSG), bitiqis

(BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bitiqis: bitiqis (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *bitiqis: bitiqis (MDC, MSK), bitiis (ISM), bitis

(KLK, KLT),

CEB batiqis

CEB bitiqis (var. of batiqis)

(**)haqwas 'to unload'. Cf. hawqas (KMY), **awas (PEM 'to overflow, flow out'.

PNEM *haqwas: hawas (TSG), hawqas (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *awas: awas (MSK, KLK)

CEB hawqas 'to remove from a container'

**luqya 'ginger'.

PNEM *luqya: luqya (TSG - with epenthetic /u/), luyqa

(BUT, MWA)

PCEM *luyqa: luyqa (KMY, DVB, DVD), luya (DVM)

PSEM *luya: luya (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLT,

KLK)

CEB luyqa

Sequences of /q/ plus /m/ or /n/ are interpreted as reflecting a *qN cluster, resulting from a *q infix, even when there is no TSG evidence for this order. In 2.3.2.4.1 we noted that the preposed nasal is either *ŋ or a homorganic nasal. Before /q/, however, /m/ and /n/ also occur, indicating that their point of articulation was determined prior to the formation of the cluster, i.e., they are not themselves infixes.

(**)bitaqnag 'kind of tree used for firewood'. Cf. bitanqag

(KLK)

PNEM *bitaqnag: bitaqnag (TSG), bitanqag (BUT, MWA)

PCEM *bitanqag: bitanqag (KMY, DVB)

CEB bitanqag

**taqm̄is 'sweet'.

PNEM *tamq̄is: tamq̄is (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tamq̄is: tamq̄is (KMY, DVB), tam̄is (DVM, DVD)

PSEM *tam̄is: matam̄is (MDC, MDB, MDM, KLT), tam̄is (MSK,

ISM, KLK)

(**)ta(q)mus 'to ingest by licking and sucking, as soft fruit'.

PNEM (*)taqm̄us: taqm̄us (TSG)

PCEM (*)tamus: tamus (DVB)

CEB tamus

(**)ta(q)nud 'to watch over something that needs care'. Cf.

tanud (KLK)

PNEM *ta(q)nud: tanud (MWA), tanqud (SUR)

PCEM *tan(q)ud: tanqud (KMY), tanud (DVB)

CEB tanud

Sequences of *q plus *l or *r are interpreted as reflecting a *ql or *qr cluster, with infix *q.

(**)baqrus 'to become rancid, of prepared foods'. Cf. barqus

(KMY), balus (KLT), halos (CS-Sama)

PNEM *baqrus: baqlus (TSG), halus (TSG), baqus (BUT)

**haqlu 'pestle'. Cf. alu (MLY).

PNEM (*)haqlu: haqlu (TSG)

PCEM *haqu: haqu (KMY, DVB, DVM),

CEB halqu (var. of alhu)

2.3.2.2.5 Postposed Infix *l

The consonant /l/ occurs as the second member of a cluster in all languages. In MWA it is sometimes metathesized: **badlɔŋ 'to scold': baldɔŋ (MWA).

Some *Cl clusters are the result of syncope and metathesis:

təɫən 'to swallow': **tətənlan < ()tətəl(ɐ)nan 'throat'
 **luyu 'other side of something solid'.

PNEM *luya: liyu (TSG), luyu (BUT), luzu (MWA, SUR
 'rear')

PCEM *luyu: luyu (KMY, DVB)

(**)baylu < (**)baluyu 'to change, replace'. Cf. baluy (KLT)

PNEM *baylu: baylu (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *baylu: baylu (KMY, DVB)

CEB baylu

However, in the majority of *Cl clusters *l is interpreted as a posposed infix.

External data support this interpretation.

**adlaw 'day'. Cf. araw (TAG, which tolerates dl clusters)

PNEM *adlaw: adlaw (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), aldaw (MWA)

PCEM *adlaw: adlaw (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *adlaw: adlaw (MDK), allaw (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK,
 ISM, KLK, KLT).

CEB adlaw

**saɲlag 'to roast in a pan without oil'. Cf. saɲag (TAG,
 which tolerates ñl clusters).

PNEM *saɲlag: saɲlag (TSG, MWA), saɲag (BUT), saɲyag
 (SUR)

PCEM *sa{ʎn}lag: saʎlag (KMY), sanlag (DVB)

PSEM *sallag: sallag (MSK, KLK)

CEB saʎlag

*l occurs as a postposed infix after *b, *d, *p, *t, *k, and *s.

(**)aslag 'large gauge'. Cf. aslag (MSK)

PNEM *aslag: aslag (TSG 'large, of girth', BUT)

(**)daplak 'to slap against'. Cf. daplak (DVB)

PNEM *daplak: daplak (TSG '...as waves on shore', BUT,
MWA)

(**)edlet 'new leaf shoot'.

PNEM *edlet: uplut (TSG), udlut (BUT, SUR), edlet (MWA)

CEB udlut

2.3.2.2.6 Postposed Infix *h

*h occurs as the second member of a cluster with all the stops except *p, and after *s, *w and *y.

All but a few of the examples are analyzed as deriving from processes other than the infixation of *h, either as borrowing, as the result of preposed infixation of *g or *ʎ, or as the result of metathesis following vowel syncope.

(**)budhi(q) `to reciprocate'. Cf. budhiqan (DVB), budhiq (KLK)

PNEM *budhiq: buddi (TSG `to return a kindness, with connotation of `one good turn deserves another'), budhiqan (BUT `to take revenge'), budhiq (SUR `to deceive')

CEB budhiq `to betray'

This is the only example in the data of a *dh cluster, a loan from Skr. buddhi `the intellectual faculty, design'.

(**)balighut `slip knot'. Cf. Possibly an infix *g: liud (MAR `to encircle'), lehod (CS-Sama `welt made by a rope').

PNEM *balighut: balighut (MWA), balighut (SUR)

PCEM *balighu(dt): balighud (KMY), balighut (DVB)

CEB balighut

(**)tuñhaq `to appear'. Cf. tuña (MSK), *tuaq (PSB `to emerge, appear).

PNEM *tuñhaq: tuñhaq (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *tuñhaq: tuñhaq (KMY, DVB)

CEB tuñhaq

(**)simhut `to sniff, to smell'. Cf. **hamet `fragrant, to smell something'.

PNEM *simhut: simut (TSG), simhut (BUT, SUR)

CEB simhut.

(**)tayhup 'to blow on a fire through a tube'. Probably from
ta- + **huyup 'to blow'.

PNEM (*)tayhupan: tayhupan (TSG 'a tube so used')

PCEM (*)tayhupan: tayhupan (DVB)

CEB tayhup

A small number of examples suggests that *h occurred with
low frequency as a postposed infix:

(**)bakhaw 'mangrove'. Cf. bakaw (KLK), *bakaw (PAN 'name of
a tree')

PNEM *bakhaw: bakaw (TSG), bakhaw (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bakhaw: bakhaw (KMY, DVB)

CEB bakhaw

(**)bunhuk 'small insect parasite'. Cf. bunuk (MSK
'grasshopper')

PNEM *bunhuk: bunhuk (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bunhuk: bunhuk (KMY 'flea', DVB)

CEB bunhuk 'chicken mite or louse'

**puthaw 'ferrous metal'.

PNEM *puthaw: puthaw (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *puthaw: puthaw (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *putaw: putaw (MSK, KLK)

CEB puthaw

2.3.2.2.7 Postposed Infix *N

*N occurs as the second member of a cluster after the stops *g, *k, and *p. The clusters display nasal dissimilation from a putative original *ŋ. Some of these clusters are probably the result of vowel syncope.

**dugmun 'animal's den'. Cf. **gumun 'tangled fibres'

PNEM *dugmun: dugmun (ISG, BUT 'farrowing place of a sow', MWA, SUR)

PCEM *dugmun: dugmun (KMY 'materials used in making a farrowing place', DVB)

PSEM *dugmun: dugmun (MSK, KLK)

CEB dugmun

(**)sapnut 'sticky'. Cf. **pulut 'viscous', **saput 'clothes, cloth'.

PNEM *sapnut: sapnut (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM (*)sapnut: sapnut (DVB)

PSEM (*)sapnut: sapnut (MSK)

CEB sapnut 'rough-textured, fibrous'

The remaining examples are interpreted as consisting of a postposed infix *N.

(**)bugnu(st) 'to pull something away'.

PNEM *bugnu(st): bugnus (TSG), bugnut (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bugnut: bugnut (KMY, DVB)

CEB bugnusun 'hauling sheet (naut.)'

CEB bugqus 'to be taken away'

(**)sikmuq 'to jolt'. Cf. **sikruq 'hiccups'

PNEM *sikmuq: sikmuq (TSG, BUT 'to hiccough').

2.3.3 Modification of Stem Inventory

The modification of stem shape by the addition of a non-inflectional syllable was evidently an active process at the PEM stage:

**kaŋkaŋ 'to spread the fingers'.

PNEM *kaŋkaŋ: kaŋkaŋ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kaŋkaŋ: kaŋkaŋ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kaŋkaŋ: kaŋkaŋ (MSK, KLK)

CEB kaŋkaŋ

**bikaŋkaŋ 'to have the feet spread apart'.

PNEM *bikaŋkaŋ: bikaŋkaŋ (TSG), bikaŋkaŋ (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bikaŋkaŋ: bikaŋkaŋ (KMY, DVB)

CEB bikaŋkaŋ

It is clear that PEM also inherited forms in which the added syllable was already frozen as part of the stem:

(**)balimbini 'kind of fruit'.

PNEM *balimbini: baimbini (TSG), balimbini (BUT, MWA, SUR),

balimbini (~SUR)

PCEM *balimbini: balimbini (KMY), balimbini (DVB)

CEB balimbini

In most daughter languages there are only rare examples of a current active alternation between modified and unmodified stems, though the occurrence of doublets in the data suggests that the process continued after the division of PEM.

(**)dasdas 'to slide along a surface, of the feet'. Cf.

dasdas (DVB), dasdas (CS.2)

PNEM *dasdas: dasdas (TSG, MWA 'sound of dancing feet'),

dyasdas (SUR)

(**)gamay 'small'.

PNEM *gamay: gamay (SUR), garamay (MWA 'very small'),

gamatuy (SUR)

PCEM *gama(tu)y: gamay (KMY), gamatuy (KMY 'very small',

DVB)

CEB gamay

The function of the modification, in some cases at least, was to mark a semantic modification, with the *Vr infix sometimes marking diminution, though it is impossible to

isolate a single semantic function for each modifying syllable:

(**)kə(la)ɬay 'to suspend a line between two points'.

PNEM *kə(la)ɬay: kulatay (TSG 'to swing by the hands from a rope'), kəɬay (MWA)

PCEM (*)kutay: kutay (DVB)

PSEM (*)kəɬay: kəɬay (MSK)

CEB kutay

(**)ŋ(ar)agŋag 'roof of the mouth'.

PNEM *ŋ(ar)agŋag: ŋagŋag (BUT), ŋaragŋag (MWA), nyagŋag (SUR)

PCEM *ŋagŋag: ŋagŋag (KMY, DVB)

**{ts)ampɐŋ 'to lay a hand over something, especially to block a hole'.

PNEM *(ts)ampɐŋ: tampurŋ (TSG, BUT), sampurŋ (TSG, BUT, SUR), sampɐrɐŋ (MWA 'to confer a blessing by placing a hand on someone's head')

PCEM *sampurŋ: sampurŋ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tampurŋ: tampurŋ (MSK, KLK)

CEB sampurŋ 'to cover an opening or passage'

CEB tampurulŋ 'stone dike to divert fish'

2.3.3.3.1 Syllable Addition

The most frequent patterns of modification by syllable addition are described in (a) - (e). In (f) there are

examples of a few additions that occur only once in the data.

(a) An infix *-VC-* immediately after the initial consonant of the stem, with *a being the typical exponent of V, and *g, *l, *r, or *y the typical exponent of C.

(**)t(al)aban 'to take by force'. Cf. taban (MSK)

PNEM *t(al)aban: taban (TSG 'to plunder'), tayaban (MWA,
SUR 'to elope')

PCEM *taban: taban (KMY, DVB)

CEB taban

~CEB talaban 'to elope'

**k(ag)aqina 'previously'.

PNEM *k(ag)aqina: kaqina (TSG, SUR), kagaqina (BUT),
gaqina (~BUT, ~SUR), kazina (MWA)

PCEM *ka(ga)qina: kaqina (KMY), kagaqina (DVB)

PSEM *kagaqina: kagaqina (MSK), kagaina (KLK)

CEB ganina CEB (var. of ganiha)

(b) A prefix such as bu-, bi-, lu-, ta-, ti-.

(**)(ta)banug 'kite (artifact)'.

PNEM *(ta)banug: banug (TSG), tabanug (BUT, MWA, SUR),
banug-banug (MWA)

·PCEM (*)banug: banug (KMY)

PSEM *tabanug: tabanug (MSK), ta(la)banug (KLK)

CEB tabanug (var. of talabanug)

(**)gumun 'to be tangled'.

PNEM *gumun: gumun (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), tigumun (~SUR)

PCEM (*)gumun: gumun (DVB)

PSEM (*)gumun: gumun (MSK)

CEB gumun

(c) The prefix *ha-, especially locative stems.
(Apparently a feature of NEM but not of SEM.)

** (ha)rayuq 'far'.

PNEM *(ha)rayuq: layuq (TSG), hayuq (BUT), aruq (MWA -
with deletion of -ay), lazuq (SUR),

PCEM *-rayuq: harayuq (KMY), layuq (DVB), malayuq (DVM,
DVD)

PSEM *-layuq: malayuq (MDK, MDC), maayuq (MDB)

(d) A suffix -hVC which repeats the final VC of the stem. Since this modification, as displayed by the BUT form below, only occurs on stems with an initial *h, it looks as if it might be a doubled monosyllable with an infix. However, the form **hinay, below, appears to be basic. Cf. **anay 'slowly with care': inay (MAR 'slow').

(**)hinay 'slowly'. Cf. hinay-hinay (KLK)

PNEM *hinay: hinay (TSG, BUT, SUR), hinay-hinay (BUT, MWA, SUR 'very slowly'), hinayhay (BUT 'gradually')
 PCEM *hinay: hinay (KMY 'with care', DVB)
 CEB hinay

(e) An infix -Vq- before the final vowel, where V of the infix repeats the final vowel.

(**)gantur 'to be placed vertically'. Cf. *gantur (PAN 'to hang')

PNEM *gantur: gantur (TSG 'to be suspended', MWA 'measure of height')
 CEB gantuqur 'piled high, to loom tall'

(f) A number of affixes which occur only once in the data.

(**)hayaq 'to prepare for burial'.

PNEM *hayaq: hanayaq (TSG 'about to die'), hayaq (BUT), hazaq (MWA, SUR 'to bewail the dead')
 CEB hayag 'to lay out a body'

**kiŋkiŋ 'little finger/toe'.

PNEM *kiŋkiŋ: kiŋkiŋ (TSG, BUT), kumaziŋkiŋ (SUR)

PCEM *kiŋkiŋ: kiŋkiŋ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kiŋkiŋ: kiŋkiŋ (MSK, KLK)

2.3.3.3.2 Syllable Deletion

The length of particular polysyllabic stems is reduced by the deletion of full syllables, i.e., without the creation of new consonant clusters.

Since it is not clear whether we are dealing with addition or deletion, the convention is followed of assuming deletion when only one language has the stem without the affix.

(**)tagiŋtiŋ 'to make a clanging sound'. Cf. tagiŋtiŋ (MWA)

PNEM *tagiŋtiŋ: tiŋtiŋ (TSG), tagiŋtiŋ (MWA)

PSEM *tagiŋtiŋ: tagiŋtiŋ (MSK, KLK)

CEB tagiŋtiŋ

**ulahipan 'centipede'.

PNEM *ulahipan: lahipan (TSG), uhipan (BUT, SUR),

ulahipan (MWA)

PCEM *ulahipan: uhipan (KMY), ulahipan (DVB)

PSEM *ullaqipan: ullaqipan (MSK), ayawpan (KLK)

(**)k(ag)ahap(uŋ)n 'yesterday'. Cf. gaqapun (DVD)

PNEM *k(ag)ahapun: kahapun (TSG), gahapun (BUT, SUR)

CEB kahapun

~CEB gahapun

~CEB kagahapun

**kasili `eel'.

PNEM *kasili: kasil (TSG), kasili (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kasili: kasili (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *kasili: kasili (MDK, MDC, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

Chapter Three

The Phonological Systems in PNEM

3.1 The Phonemic Systems of the NEM Languages

A description of the phonology for MWA and TSG are available. Sufficient data are in hand to determine with fair certainty the phonemic inventories of the other languages of the NEM subgroup, with the exception of stress, which is apparently phonemic in all the languages except TSG. (5)

The segmental phonemes of all the NEM languages are generally without significant allophonic variations or secondary developments, i.e., in contrast to the complexity displayed by several South Bisayan daughter languages. The phonemic inventories of NEM and representative daughter languages are presented below.

3.1.1 The Consonants

The consonants for each language are listed in figure 3.1. Each language has voiceless stops at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation /p, t, k/.

Each language has voiced stops at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation /b, d, g/.

Each language has voiced nasals at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation /m, n, ŋ/.

Each language has a voiceless grooved fricative at the alveolar point of articulation /s/. Both MWA and SUR have a voiced fricative /z/. According to Miller and Miller (1976:23), /z/ has variants [z], [z̥], and [j̥]. "[z] and [z̥] are free variants...When [j̥] occurs it alternates freely with [z̥]...When [j̥] does not vary to [z̥], it is interpreted as the sequence of /d/ and /z/...." The voiced palatal affricate /j/ is contrastive in all NEM languages except MWA.

The voiced lateral phoneme /l/ occurs in each language. However, the flap /r/ does not occur in TSG and BUT.

Each language has the palatal semivowel /y/ and the labial semivowel /w/. Miller and Miller (1976) report that /y/ and /z/ contrast in MWA in certain positions in the word and not in other positions. Contrast is found word medially and at the beginning of the word base. However, complementary distribution also occurs in MWA with /y/ and /z/ in that /y/ occurs in syllable final position, but /z/ never does. Also, only /z/, never /y/, can occur next to a suffix.

Finally, all languages have a glottal stop /q/ and a glottal fricative /h/.

3.1.2 The Vowels

The vowels of each language are listed in figure 3.2. Only MWA has all four vowels /i, a, u, ɛ/. In TSG, BUT, and SUR the vowel /ɛ/ does not occur. The exact allophonic variations of all of these phonemes are uncertain, but their

approximate positions are: high front /i/, low central /a/, mid central /ɘ/, and high back /u/.

3.2 The Phonemic System of PNEM

PNEM is reconstructed from four languages: TSG, BUT, MWA, and SUR. The phonemic system is displayed in the same format as PEM (chapter 2), except that the reconstructed form is PNEM not PEM.

3.2.1 The Consonants

The consonant correspondences that each of the NEM languages have with PNEM reconstructed consonants are listed in figure 3.1.

FIGURE 3.1
 CONSONANT CORRESPONDENCES OF THE NEM LANGUAGES

PNEM	TSG	BUT	MWA	SUR	SECN. NO.
*p	p	p	p	p	3.2.1.1
*t	t	t	t	t	.2
*k	k	k	k	k	.3
*b	b	b	b	b	.4
*d	d	d	d	d,r	.5
*dy	j	dy, j	dz, qz	dz, qz	.5
*g	g	g	g	g	.6
*gy	j	gy	gy	gy	.6
*m	m	m	m	m	.7
*n	n	n	n	n	.8
*ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	.9
*s	s	s	s	s	.10
*l	l, Ø	l, Ø	l, Ø	l, y	.11
*r	l, Ø	l, Ø	r	l, y	.12
*w	w	w	w	w	.13
*y	y, j	y	y, z	y, z	.14
*h	h, q	h	h, q	h, Ø	.15
*q	q	q	q	q	.16

3.2.1.1 *p

In TSG, BUT, MWA, and SUR

*p → p

*palad 'palm of hand': paad (TSG, BUT), palad (MWA), payad (SUR)

*apa 'husk of rice grain': apa (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

*kapkap 'to grope in the dark': kapkap (TSG, BUT, MWA 'to enter house by stealth', SUR)

*apdu 'bile, gall': apdu (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

*impis 'newly-hatched chicken': impis (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

3.2.1.2 *t

In TSG, BUT, MWA, and SUR

*t -> t

*tigbas 'to chop, hack': tigbas (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

*utuk 'brain': utuk (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

*dagat 'sea': dagat (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

*itsa 'to throw thru the air': itsa (BUT, MWA, SUR)

*gantañ 'rice measure': gantañ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

3.2.1.3 *k

In TSG, BUT, MWA, and SUR

*k -> k

*kilat 'lightning': kilat (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

*dekut 'to stick to': dukut (TSG, BUT, SUR), dekut (MWA)

*buhuk 'hair (of head)': buhuk (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

*bektan 'arm': buktun (TSG 'sleeve', BUT, SUR), bektan (MWA)

*(1)in̄kud 'to sit': lin̄kud (TSG), in̄kud (BUT, SUR)

3.2.1.4 *b

In TSG, BUT, MWA, and SUR

*b → b

*buʔul 'deaf': buʔul (TSG 'tumor'), buʔu (BUT), buʔul (MWA),
buʔuy (SUR)

*lebuʔ 'to bury': lubuʔ (BUT, SUR), lebuʔ (MWA)

*tagub 'sheath for bolo': taguban (TSG), tagub (BUT, SUR),
tagqub~tagub (MWA)

*labtik 'to flick with fingers': labtik (TSG, BUT, MWA)

*ambaw 'rat': ambaw (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

3.2.1.5 *d

(a) In TSG

*dy → j \ V__V

(b) In BUT

*dy → j \ i__V
→ dy \ elsewhere

(c) In MWA and SUR

*dy → dy/gy \ V__V
→ dy \ elsewhere

(d) In SUR

*d → r \ V1__V1
→ d \ elsewhere

where V1 ≠ *t

(e) In TSG, BUT, and MWA

*d → d

- *badyaŋ 'kind of plant (Alocasis sp.)': bajaŋ (TSG), badyaŋ (BUT), bagzaŋ (MWA, SUR), badzaŋ (~SUR)
- *bidyuq 'speargun': bijuq (BUT), bidzuq (MWA)
- *tadyaw 'water jar': tadyaw (BUT), tadzaw (MWA, SUR), tagzaw (~SUR)
- *duŋug 'to hear': duŋug (TSG, BUT, SUR), pasiduŋug (MWA 'to boast')
- *iduq 'dog': iduq (TSG, BUT, MWA), iruq (SUR)
- *bədəs 'to be pregnant': budus (TSG, BUT, SUR), kabdəs (MWA)
- *bayad 'to pay': bayad (TSG, BUT), bazad (MWA, SUR)
- *adlaw 'day': adlaw (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), aldaw (MWA)
- *dapdap 'coral tree': dapdap (TSG, BUT, SUR)

3.2.1.6 *g

(a) In TSG

*gy -> j \ V__V

(b) In TSG, BUT, MWA, and SUR

*g -> g

- *bagyu 'typhoon': haju (TSG), bagyu (BUT), bagzu (MWA, SUR)
- *gusuk 'rib': gusuk (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)
- *dagat 'sea': dagat (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)
- *duŋug 'to hear': duŋug (TSG, BUT, SUR), pasiduŋug (MWA 'to boast')
- *tigbaw 'reeds growing along river bank': tigbaw (BUT, MWA, SUR)

*bəqgat 'heavy': buqgat (TSG), bugqat (BUT, SUR), bəqgat
(MWA)

3.2.1.7 *m

In TSG, BUT, MWA, and SUR

*m -> m

*manuk 'chicken': manuk (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

*lumut 'moss, slime': lumut (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

*tanəm 'to plant': tanum (TSG, BUT, SUR), tanəm (MWA)

*ambaw 'rat': ambaw (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

*daqmay 'raqs': daqmay (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

3.2.1.8 *n

In TSG, BUT, MWA, and SUR

*n -> n

*nipis 'thin': nipis (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

*manuk 'chicken': manuk (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

*asin 'salt': asin (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

*sandig 'lean against': sandig (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

*dagnay 'nick-name': dagnay (BUT, MWA, SUR)

3.2.1.9 *ŋ

In TSG, BUT, MWA, and SUR

*ŋ -> ŋ

- **ńaran* 'name': *ńaan* (TSG, BUT), *gihińanlan* (BUT 'named'),
ńaran (MWA), *ńayan* (SUR)
- **buńa* 'fruit': *buńa* (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)
- **lusuń* 'rice mortar': *lusuń* (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)
- **dińdiń* 'wall': *dińdiń* (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)
- **pisńi* 'cheek': *pisńi* (TSG, BUT), *pisńiq* (MWA)

3.2.1.10 *s

In TSG, BUT, MWA, and SUR

*s → s

- **sipaq* 'to kick': *sipaq* (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)
- **isa* 'one': *isa* (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)
- **badlis* 'to engrave, furrow': *badlis* (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)
- **isdaq* 'fish': *istaq* (TSG), *isdaq* (BUT, MWA, SUR), *isdaqan*
 (BUT 'viand')
- **bęgsay* 'canoe paddle': *bęgsay* (TSG, BUT), *bęgsay* (MWA)

3.2.1.11 *l

(a) In TSG

*l → l/∅ \ a__i
 → ∅ \ V__VC1, a__uC2
 → l \ elsewhere
 where C1 ≙ w, C2 ≙ q

In the a__i environment, *l → l in 10 out of 17 examples, in the remaining 7 examples *l → ∅.

*balintuqad 'to overturn': balintuad

*baliñbiñ 'fruit tree': baimbiñ

In the V__VC1 environment, *l → ∅ in 46 examples.

*alad 'fence': aad

*kalaw 'hornbill': kalaw

However, there is one discrepancy:

*hulug 'to fall': hulug.

In the a__uC2 environment, *l → ∅ in 6 examples.

*balud 'kind of wild pigeon': bawud

*balu 'widow': balu

However, there is one discrepancy:

*kalut 'to scratch': kalut

The following are examples of *l → l.

*lanut 'hemp plant': lanut

*bilañ 'to count': bilañ

*bulaq 'to split bamboo': bulaq

*katul 'itch': katul

*balsahan 'sled, raft': balsahan

*adlaw 'day': adlaw

Discrepancies:

In the u__a environment, *l → l in 22 examples.

However, there are 2 examples where *l → ∅ in that environment.

*bulan-bulan 'kind of fish': buan-buan

*bu~~l~~ad 'to dry in sun': buad

(b) In BUT

*l → Ø/l \ a__VI, VI__#

→ Ø \ u__VI

→ l \ elsewhere

where VI ≠ i

*halas 'snake': haas

*hala 'let's go': hala

*balak 'to recite poetry': balak

*alap-alap 'skin disease': aap-aap

*balu 'widow': bau

*baluyut 'soft woven basket': baluyut

*bu~~l~~ul 'deaf': bu~~l~~u

*sagul 'to mix two liquids': sagul

*katul 'itch': katul

*kubal 'hard skin found on hands and feet': kubal

In the u__VI environment, there are 44 examples of *l → Ø.

*bulud 'mountain, hill': buud

However, there are 4 examples where *l → l in that environment. This is probably due to borrowing from CEB, the more prestigious language spoken all over the BUT language area.

- *pulus 'all alike': pulus (BUT, CEB)
 *gulaman 'edible seaweed': gulaman (BUT, CEB)
 *tulay 'bridge': tulay (BUT, CEB)
 *kulasisi 'kind of parakeet': kulasisi (BUT, CEB)

The following are examples of *l -> l.

- *lanut 'hemp plant': lanut
 *atuli 'ear wax': atuli
 *dilaq 'tongue': dilaq
 *balsahan 'raft': balsahan
 *adlaw 'day': adlaw
 Discrepancies: *sañlag 'to roast': sañag
 *daliq-daliq 'presently': daiq-daiq

(c) In MWA

*l -> Ø/l \ u__a
 -> l \ elsewhere

- *alad 'fence': alad
 *daliq 'quickly': daliq
 *balu 'widow': balu
 *baləd 'rough sea': baləd
 *sulat 'to write': suwat
 *ulat 'scar': ulat
 *hulay 'to rest': huway
 *tulay 'bridge': tulay

*abil `lip': abil

*adlaw `day': adlaw

(d) In SUR

*l -> l \ #__, i__, __i

-> l/y \ in reduplicated monosyllable with
l as coda, in consonant cluster

-> y \ elsewhere

*lawas `body': lawas

*bilañ `to count': bilañ

*alima `hand': alima

*bulbul `hair': bulbul

*duldul `kapok tree': duyduy

*adlaw `day': adlaw

*buklad `to spread out': bukyad

*hiñluq `clean, smooth': hiñluq

*sañlag `to roast in a pan': sañyad

*alad `fence': ayad (TSG)

*bulak `flower': buyak

*buls `to borrow, to lend': buyus

Discrepancies:

There are two sets in the data in which the intervocalic
*l was lost, however, it was not replaced by /y/ as expected.

*tagibulus `freshwater eel': tagibuus

*sabula{gk} `to spread': sabuwag

There are eight sets in the data in which the intervocalic *l was neither lost nor replaced. This is probably due to borrowing from CEB, the prestigious language of the SUR area.

*pantalan 'platform': pantalan (SUR, CEB)

*tala 'to be mentally defective': tala (SUR,
CEB)

*kaluq 'hat': kaluq (SUR, CEB)

*puluhu 'lazy': puluhu (SUR, CEB)

*bulag 'to be blind': bulag (SUR, CEB)

*gulaman 'edible seaweed': gulaman (SUR, CEB)

*kulasisi 'kind of parakeet': kulasisi (SUR,
CEB)

*belaq 'to split bamboo': belaq (SUR)

3.2.1.12 *r

(a) In TSG

*r -> Ø \ V__V, a__V

-> l \ elsewhere

*dara 'to carry, take': daa

*diriq 'not, it is not a ...': diq

*baribad 'to reject': baibad

*saru(q) 'to eat together off same plate': sauq

*guraŋ 'mature': magulaŋ

*rarag 'reddish': laag

*sikrəq 'hiccups': sikluq

Discrepancies:

In the V__V environment, there are 17 examples of *r -> Ø. However, there is one example that does not follow this rule.

*duru(n) 'locust': dulu

In the a__V environment, there are 16 examples of *r -> Ø. However, there are 3 examples that do not follow this rule.

*bariq 'to break off': baliq

*baruy 'pandanus': baluy

*haruqan 'kind of mudfish': aluqan

(b) In BUT

*r -> Ø \ V1__V1

-> l \ elsewhere

where V1 ≠ i

*dara 'to carry': daa

*baruy 'pandanus': bawuy

*duru(n) 'locust': duun

*bariq 'to break off': baliq

*diriq 'not, it is not a...': diliq

*ragum 'black eye': lagum

Discrepancies: *para 'in order to': pada

*laraw 'to picture': laraw (BUT, CEB)

Note: Probably a borrowing from CEB.

(c) In MWA

*r -> r

*ragum 'black eye': ragum

*dara 'to carry': dara

*baribad 'to reject': baribad

*gərəb 'to slice': gərəb

*sikrəq 'hiccups': sikrəq

(d) In SUR

*r -> y \ VI__VI, CI__

-> l \ elsewhere

where VI ≈ i, CI ≈ y

*dara 'to carry': daya

*saruk 'dipper': sayuk

*turug 'to sleep': tuyug

*sikrəq 'hiccups': sikyuq

*baruy 'pandanus': baluy

*baribad 'to reject': balibad

*diliq 'not, it is not a...': diliq

Discrepancies: *laraw 'to picture': laraw (SUR, CEB).

Note: Probably a borrowing from CEB.

3.2.1.13 *w

In TSG, BUT, SUR, and MWA

*w → w

*wati 'earthworm': wati (BUT, MWA, SUR)

*tawag 'to call': tawag (TSG, BUT, SUR)

*sabaw 'soup': sabaw (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

*digwaq 'to vomit': digwaq (BUT, MWA), digwaq-digwaq (SUR)

3.2.1.14 *y

(a) In TSG

*y → j \ #__, and syllable initial in
reduplicated syllable

→ y \ elsewhere

(b) In BUT

*y → y/j \ #__, and syllable initial in
reduplicated syllable

→ y \ elsewhere

(c) In MWA

*y → z \ V__V, #__

→ y/z \ C__

→ y \ elsewhere

(d) In SUR

*y → y/j \ #__, and syllable initial in
reduplicated syllable

→ z \ V__V

→ y \ elsewhere

- *yabyab 'to shake clothe': jabjab (TSG), yabyab (BUT, SUR),
 zabzab (MWA)
- *yagyag 'to scatter': jagjag (TSG, BUT, SUR), zagzag (MWA)
- *yagyag 'to shake': jugjug (TSG), zagzeg (MWA)
- *ayaw 'don't': ayaw (TSG, BUT), azaw (MWA, SUR)
- *bayad 'debt': bayad (TSG, BUT), bazad (MWA, SUR)
- *balay 'house': baay (TSG, BUT), balazan (MWA), bayay (SUR)
- *bitay 'to hang down': bitay (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)
- *baybay 'shore': baybay (BUT, SUR), baybayun (BUT 'beach'),
 baybazun (MWA)
- *abay 'to go alongside of': abay (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)
- *banyus 'to apply liniment': banyus (MWA, SUR)
- *bagyu 'typhoon': baju (TSG), bagyu (BUT), bagzu (MWA, SUR)
- *adyiq 'to engage in religious recitation': adjiq (TSG, BUT,
 SUR)
- *baylu 'to change, replace': baylu (BUT, MWA, SUR)
- Discrepancy: *bukayuq 'coconut candy' -> bukayuq (MWA,
 SUR, CEB)

3.2.1.15 *h

(a) In TSG and MWA

*h -> h/q \ #__

-> h \ elsewhere

(b) In BUT and SUR

*h -> h

- *halas 'snake': haas (TSG, BUT), halas (MWA), hayas (SUR)
 *hapit 'almost, nearly': apit (TSG), hapit (BUT, MWA, SUR)
 *hatud 'to take something to someone': hatud (TSG, BUT), atud
 (MWA)
 *tahiꞑ 'sew': tahiꞑ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)
 *banhud 'numbness': banhud (TSG, BUT, SUR), banhud (MWA)
 Discrepancy: *buhis 'taxes' -> buwis (TSG, BUT)

3.2.1.16 *q

In TSG, BUT, MWA, and SUR

*q -> q

- *abaga 'shoulder': abaga (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), agaba (TSG)
 *daqan 'old (object)': daqan (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)
 *dilaꞑ 'tongue': dilaꞑ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)
 *bagqaꞑ 'molar': buqqaꞑ/bagaqaꞑ (TSG), bagqaꞑ (BUT, MWA, SUR),
 buqqaꞑ (BUT)
 *baqqu 'new': baqqu (TSG), bagqu (BUT, MWA, SUR). Note: In
 all the languages of NEM except TSG, *qC -> Cq. TSG is the
 only language to retain the qC cluster.

Discrepancies:

In TSG there are several discrepancies which appear to be a phonological development that lost impetus before affecting the whole of the relevant corpus. These data may be viewed as supporting the claims of lexical diffusion.

*buqbuꞑ 'to pour liquids': bubuꞑ

*haqwas 'to unload': hawas

*luqya 'ginger': luqya
 *siqnu 'who?': siu/siqnu
 *tuqlid 'to be straight': tulid/tuqlid

3.2.2 The Vowels

The vowel correspondences that each of the NEM languages have with PNEM reconstructed vowels are listed in figure 3.2.

FIGURE 3.2

VOWEL CORRESPONDENCES OF THE NEM LANGUAGES

PNEM	TSG	BUT	MWA	SUR	SECN. NO.
*a	a	a	a	a	3.2.2.1
*ɛ	u	u	ɛ	u	.2
*i	i	i	i	i	.3
*u	u	u	u	u	.4

3.2.2.1 *a

In TSG, BUT, MWA, and SUR

*a → a

*apug 'lime': apug (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

*atay 'liver': atay (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

*bulan 'moon': bulan (TSG, MWA), buwan (BUT), buyan (SUR)

*bulawan 'gold': bulawan (TSG, MWA), buwawan (BUT), buyawan
 (SUR)

*asawa 'wife': asawa (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

3.2.2.2 *u

(a) In TSG, BUT, and SUR

*u -> u

(b) In MWA

*u -> u

*bugas 'husked rice': bugas (TSG, BUT, SUR), bugas (MWA)

*abət 'reach, arrive': abut (TSG, BUT, SUR), abət (MWA)

*balagən 'vine': baagun (TSG), bagun (BUT), balagən (MWA),
bayagun (SUR)

*begen 'swelling, goitre': bugun (TSG, BUT, SUR), begen (MWA)

3.2.2.3 *i

In TSG, BUT, MWA, and SUR

*i -> i

*bitay 'to hang down': bitay (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

*buhis 'tribute, tax': buwis (TSG, BUT), buhis (MWA, SUR)

*bitbit 'to carry something in hand': bitbit (TSG, BUT, SUR,
MWA)

*pikit 'stick to': pikit (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

*pilipig 'rice pounded flat': pilipig (MWA, SUR)

3.2.2.4 *u

In TSG, BUT, MWA, and SUR

*u -> u

- *buqaya 'crocodile': buqaya (TSG, BUT), buqaza (MWA, SUR)
- *baquŋ 'dipper made from coconut shell': baquŋ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)
- *bubuŋ 'thatch over ridge of roof': bubuŋ (TSG, MWA, SUR),
bubuŋan (BUT)
- *butbutun 'hemorrhoid': butbutun (BUT, MWA, SUR)

3.3 Summary of Phonological Changes

As can be seen in figure 3.3 and 3.4, there has been no phonological change from PEM to PNEM. This due primarily to MWA, the most conservative language in the EM language group. MWA is the only language in the NEM languages to retain *r and *ɞ.

FIGURE 3.3

DEVELOPMENT OF PNEM VOWELS FROM PEM

PNEM	*i	*a	*u	*ɞ
PEM				
**i	l			
**a		l		
**u			l	
**ɞ				l
	l in all environments			

FIGURE 3.4

DEVELOPMENT OF PNEM CONSONANTS FROM PEM

PNEM	*p	*t	*k	*b	*d	*g	*m	*n	*ŋ	*s	*l	*r	*w	*y	*h	*q
PEM																
**p	l															
**t		l														
**k			l													
**b				l												
**d					l											
**g						l										
**m							l									
**n								l								
**ŋ									l							
**s										l						
**l											l					
**r												l				
**w													l			
**y														l		
**h															l	
**q																l

l in all environments

Figure 3.5 is a display of the phonological changes in the daughter languages of PNEM. The rare consonant *r → l in all NEM languages except MWA, which has retained r. The loss of *r is not uncommon in the Central Philippine language

group. Zorc (1977) maintains that *r can not be reconstructed in Proto Bisayan. The distribution of *r in PNEM is limited. There are only twelve examples of *r in the word initial position. There is only one example of *r as the first member of a consonant cluster, and only one example of *r as the second member of a consonant cluster. There are no examples in the data where *r occurs word final.

FIGURE 3.5

PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES IN NEM LANGUAGES FROM PNEM

	TSG	BUT	MWA	SUR
1. *d -> r \ V1__V1				X
2. *dy -> j \ V__V	X			
3. *dy -> j \ i__V		X		
4. *dy -> dy/gy \ V__V			X	X
5. *gy -> j \ V__V	X			
6. *l -> l/Ø \ a__i	X			
7. *l -> Ø \ V_=C1, a__C2	X			
8. *l -> l/Ø \ a__V2, V2__#		X		
9. *l -> Ø \ u__V2		X		
10. *l -> l/Ø \ u__a			X	
11. *l -> l/y \ C__,_C				X
12. *l -> y				X
13. *r -> Ø \ V__=V, a__V	X			
14. *r -> Ø \ V2__V2		X		
15. *r -> l	X	X		X
16. *r -> y \ V2__V2, C3__				X
17. *y -> j \ #__	X			
18. *y -> y/j \ #__		X		
19. *y -> j \ d__i	X	X	X	
20. *y -> z \ V__V			X	X

FIGURE 3.5--Continued

	TSG	BUT	MWA	SUR
21. *y → z \ #__			X	
22. *y → y/z \ C__			X	
23. *h → h/q \ #__	X		X	
24. *ɯ → u	X	X		X
where V1 ≅ *ɯ, V2 ≅ *i, C1 ≅ *w, C2 ≅ *q, C3 ≅ *y, where no environment is specified, it is understood as "elsewhere"				

There have been several phonological changes in the NEM languages involving *l. In most cases (TSG is the only exception), if /i/ precedes or follows an /l/, all languages reflect *l. When not preceded or followed by an /i/, *l → y in SUR except in the word initial position. In section 2.3.2.1.1 there is a discussion of *l loss.

The only language to preserve the original PNEM four vowel system is MWA. The phoneme /ɯ/ is a mid central unrounded vowel in MWA. In the other languages *ɯ has become a high (to mid) back rounded vowel, i.e., it has fallen together with PNEM *u. There are no examples of *ɯ in the antepenultimate syllable. The merger of *ɯ with *u is very common in the Central Philippine languages.

The phonological change *y → j in the word initial position in TSG and *y → z in both the word initial and

intervocalic position of MWA are also regular sound changes in the Central Philippine language group.

Chapter Four

The Phonological Systems in PCEM

4.1 The Phonemic Systems of the CEM Languages

There is no complete phonemic statement available for any of the CEM languages. However, sufficient data are in hand to determine with fair certainty the phonemic inventories of these languages, with the exception of stress, which is apparently phonemic in all the languages.

The segmental phonemes of all the CEM languages are generally without significant allophonic variations or secondary developments. The phonemic systems of CEM and representative daughter languages are presented below.

4.1.1 The Consonants

The consonants for each language are listed in figure 4.1. Each language has voiceless stops at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation /p, t, k/.

Each language has voiced stops at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation /b, d, g/.

Each language has a voiceless grooved fricative at the alveolar point of articulation /s/.

The voiced lateral phoneme /l/ occurs in each language. The flap /r/ occurs in all languages except DVB and DVM.

Each language has the palatal semivowel /y/ and the labial semivowel /w/.

Finally, all languages have the glottal stop /q/ and the glottal fricative /h/.

4.1.2 The Vowels

The vowels of each language are listed in figure 4.2. The exact allophonic variations of all of these phonemes are uncertain, but their approximate positions are: high front /i/, low central /a/, and high back /u/.

4.2 The Phonemic System of PCEM

PCEM is reconstructed from four languages: KMY, DVB, DVM, and DVD. The phonemic system of PCEM is presented in the same format as PEM (chapter 2) and PNEM (chapter 3). Since the data for DVM and DVD are limited to the 372-item wordlist, the examples do not always include these two languages.

4.2.1. Proto-Consonants

The consonant correspondences that each of the CEM languages have with PCEM reconstructed consonants are listed on figure 4.1.

FIGURE 4.1

CONSONANT CORRESPONDENCES OF THE CEM LANGUAGES

PCEM	KMY	DVB	DVM	DVD	SECN. NO.
*p	p	p	p	p	4.2.1.1
*t	t	t	t	t	.2
*k	k	k	k	k	.3
*b	b	b	b	b	.4
*d	d	d	d	d	.5
*dy	dy, j	dy, j	dy	dy	.5
*g	g	g	g	g	.6
*m	m	m	m	m	.7
*n	n	n	n	n	.8
*ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	.9
*s	s	s	s	s	.10
*l	l, Ø	l, Ø	l	l	.11
*r	r	l, Ø	l, Ø	l	.12
*w	w	w	w	w	.13
*y	y, j	y, j	y	y	.14
*h	h	h	h	h	.15
*q	q	q	q, Ø	q	.16

4.2.1.1 *p

In KMY, DVB, DVM, and DVD

*p → p

- *paad 'palm of hand': paad (KMY, DVB, DVM)
 *apa 'husk of rice grain': apa (KMY, DVB, DVM)
 *tah{au}p 'to winnow': tahap (KMY, DVM), tahup (DVB, DVD)
 *apdu 'bile, gall': apdu (KMY, DVB)
 *impis 'newly-hatched chicken': impis (KMY, DVB)

4.2.1.2 *t

In KMY, DVB, DVM, and DVD

*t -> t

- *tawag 'to call': tawag (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)
 *utuk 'brain': utuk (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)
 *dagat 'sea': dagat (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)
 *itlug 'egg': itlug (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)
 *buktun 'arm': buktun (KMY, DVB, DVM)

4.2.1.3 *k

In KMY, DVB, DVM, and DVD

*k -> k

- *kilat 'lightning': kilat (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)
 *dukut 'to stick to': dukut (KMY, DVB, DVM)
 *buhuk 'hair (of head)': buhuk (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)
 *buktun 'arm': buktun (KMY, DVB, DVM)
 *iŋkud 'to sit': iŋkud (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

4.2.1.4 *b

In KMY, DVB, DVM, and DVD

*b -> b

*buñul 'deaf': buñul (KMY, DVM, DVD), buñu (DVB)

*lubuñ 'to bury': lubuñ (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*tagub 'sheath for bolo': tagub (KMY, DVB, DVM)

*labtik 'to flick with fingers': labtik (KMY, DVB)

*ambaw 'rat': ambaw (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

4.2.1.5 *d

(a) In KMY and DVB

*dy -> j \ i__V

-> dy \ elsewhere

(b) In KMY, DVB, DVM and DVD

*d -> d

*bidyuq 'to engage in religious recitation': bijuq (KMY, DVB)

*badyañ 'kind of plant': badyañ (KMY, DVB)

*duñug 'to hear': duñug (KMY 'fame', DVB, DVM)

*idug 'dog': idug (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*bayad 'to pay': bayad (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*adlaw 'day': adlaw (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*dapdap 'coral tree': dapdap (KMY, DVD)

Discrepancies: *sadlupan -> saupan (KMY), saup (DVB)

4.2.1.6 *g

In KMY, DVB, DVM, and DVD

*g -> g

*gusuk `rib': gusuk (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*dagat `sea': dagat (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*duŋug `to hear': duŋug (KMY `fame', DVB, DVM)

*baligyaq `to buy, sell': baligyaq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*duŋgab `to stab': duŋgab (KMY, DVB, DVM)

4.2.1.7 *m

In KMY, DVB, DVM, and DVD

*m -> m

*manuk `chicken': manuk (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*lumun `close kin': lumun (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*tanum `to plant': tanum (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*ambaw `rat': ambaw (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*dagmay `rags': dagmay (KMY, DVB)

4.2.1.8 *n

In KMY, DVB, DVM, and DVD

*n -> n

*nipis `thin': nipis (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*manuk `chicken': manuk (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*asin `salt': asin (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*sanduk `to serve food from pot': sanduk (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*dagnay `nick-name': dagnay (KMY, DVB)

4.2.1.9 *n

In KMY, DVB, DVM, and DVD

*n → ñ

*ñaran `name': ñaran (KMY), pañalan (DVB, DVD), ñaan (DVB),
pañan (DVM)

*buña `fruit': buña (KMY, DVB, DVD)

*lusuñ `rice mortar': lusuñ (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*diñdiñ `wall': diñdiñ (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*pisñi `cheek': pisñi (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

4.2.1.10 *s

In KMY, DVB, DVM, and DVD

*s → s

*sipaq `to kick': sipaq (KMY, DVB, DVM), sipa(q) (DVD)

*isa `one': isa (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*lawas `body': lawas (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*isdaq `fish': isdaq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*bugsay `canoe paddle': bugsay (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

4.2.1.11 *l

(a) In KMY

*l → Ø \ u__Vl

→ l \ elsewhere

where Vl ≠ i

*kulasisi 'kind of parakeet' -> kuasisi

*kulintas 'necklace' -> kulintas

*lima 'five' -> lima

*alima 'palm of hand' -> alima

*paluq 'to hit with a stick' -> paluq

*buʔul 'deaf' -> buʔul

*balsahan 'sled, raft' -> balsahan

*adlaw 'day' -> adlaw

Discrepancies:

There are four sets in which this *l was retained in an environment where it normally would be lost. This is probably due to borrowing from the more prestigious language CEB spoken in this area.

*puluhu 'lazy' -> puluhu (KMY), pulu (CEB)

*pulus 'all alike' -> pulus (KMY, CEB)

*gulaman 'edible seaweed' -> gulaman (KMY, CEB)

*tulay 'bridge' -> tulay (KMY, CEB)

There is one set where *l did not reflex /l/ as expected in KMY.

*salaq 'sin, mistake' -> saaq

In the word final position there appears to be a phonological change in process:

*dakmul 'thick in dimension' -> dakmul/dakmuu

*katul 'itch' -> katul/katuu

*tubul 'to be constipated' -> tubu

However, there are still several sets (all of which have a velar consonant in the intervocalic position) which have not changed:

*buʔul 'deaf' -> buʔul

*hikul 'laugh' -> hikul

*sagul 'to mix two liquids' -> sagul

(b) In DVB

*l -> l/ʔ \ u__#

-> l \ elsewhere

*buʔul 'deaf' -> buʔu

*tubul 'to be constipated' -> tubul

*hikul 'laugh' -> hiku

*sagul 'to mix two liquids' -> sagul

*kasal 'to wed' -> kasal

*lima 'five' -> lima

*tulay 'bridge' -> tulay

*pulus 'all alike' -> pulus

*balak 'to recite poetry' -> balak

*alima 'hand' -> alima

*sulti 'to write' -> sulti

*adlaw 'day' -> adlaw

Discrepancies: *butakal 'male animal, boar' -> butakaw

*pula 'red' -> puwa

(c) In DVM and DVD

*l -> l

*likud 'back of person' -> likud (DVM, DVD)

*palis 'skin, bark' -> palis (DVM, DVD)

*bulag 'to be blind' -> bulag (DVM, DVD)

*hilut 'to massage' -> hilut (DVM, DVD)

*buñul 'to be deaf' -> buñul (DVM, DVD)

*sulti 'to write' -> sinultihan (DVM)

*adlaw 'day' -> adlaw (DVM, DVD)

Discrepancies: *intalun 'to defecate' -> magintaqun (DVD)

*talun 'eggplant' -> taum (DVM)

4.2.1.12 *r

(a) In KMY

*r -> r

*ripaq 'dirty' -> ripaq

*baraw 'to converse' -> baraw

*duruk 'to clear land' -> duruk

*uran 'rain' -> uran

(b) In DVB and DVM

*r -> Ø \ V1__V1

-> l \ elsewhere

where V1 ≠ i

*rabak 'to throw away' -> labak (DVB), ilabak (DVM)

*waraq 'none' -> waaq (DVB), waq (DVM)

*baruy 'pandanus' -> bawuy (DVB)

*duruk 'to clear land' -> duuk (DVB)

*bariq 'to break off' -> baliq (DVB)

*pira 'how many' -> pila (DVB, DVM)

*pariguq 'to take a bath' -> liguq (DVM)

Discrepancies: *naran 'name' -> pañalan (DVM), ñalan (CEB)

*turug 'sleep' -> matulug (DVM), tulug (CEB)

*ripaq 'dirty' -> maripaq (DVM)

In the data there are seven sets in which *r -> r in DVB where /l/ or /Ø/ was expected:

*raqat 'bad' -> raqat

*rumbu 'goal' -> rumbu

*dumaraga 'female chicken' -> dumaraga

*garab 'to cut with reaphook' -> garab

*para 'in order to' -> para

*kurun 'cooking pot' -> kurun

*duriqan 'durian' -> duriqan

(c) In DVD

*r -> l

*rayuq 'far' -> (ma)layuq

*garas 'to clear forest' -> galas

*diriq 'not, it is not a ...' -> dili

*burak 'flower' -> bulak

*turutug 'to sleep' -> matulug

Discrepancies: *uriñ 'charcoal' -> uriñ

4.2.1.13 *w

In KMY, DVB, DVM, and DVD

*w -> w

*waraq 'none': waraq (KMY), waaq (~KMY, DVB), waq (DVM),
walaq (DVD)

*uwak 'crow': uwak (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*ambaw 'rat': ambaw (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*biñwit 'to fish with hook and line': biñwit (KMY, DVB)

4.2.1.14 *y

(a) In KMY and DVB

*y -> j \ d__i

-> y \ elsewhere

(b) In DVM and DVD

*y -> y

*adyiq 'to engage in religious recitation': adjiq (KMY),
mañadjiq (DVB)

*badyañ 'kind of plant (Alocasis sp.), the elephant's ear':
badyañ (KMY, DVB)

*bayhuq 'face': bayhuq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*yagyag 'to scatter': yagyag (KMY, DVB)

*iyan `that': iyan (KMY, DVB, DVD)

*atay `liver': atay (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

Discrepancies: *yabyab `to shake cloth' -> jabjab (KMY)

*yugyug `to shake' -> jugjug (KMY, DVB)

4.2.1.15 *h

In KMY, DVB, DVM, and DVD

*h -> h

*hiwaq `to slice': hiwaq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*kahuy `wood': kahuy (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*tahay `dry': tahay (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*bayhuq `face': bayhuq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

Discrepancies: *hukay `to uncover' -> ukay (KMY)

*haqin `where' -> aqin (DVM)

*humay `growing rice' -> umay (DVM)

4.2.1.16 *q

(a) In DVM

*q -> Ø \ C__

-> q \ elsewhere

(b) In KMY, DVB, and DVD

*q -> q

*tulqid `to be straight': tulqid (KMY, DVB, DVD), tulid (DVM)

*baqbaq `mouth': baqbaq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*ambaw `rat': ambaw (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*paqit 'bitter': paqit (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*duqun 'locative noun': duqun (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*buyuq 'betel leaf': buyuq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

Discrepancies: *bugqat 'heavy' -> mabugat (DVD)

*laqin 'other, different' -> lain (DVM)

*buqaya 'crocodile' -> buaya (DVM)

4.2.2 Proto-Vowels

The vowel correspondences that each of the CEM languages have with PCEM reconstructed vowels are listed in figure 4.2.

FIGURE 4.2

VOWEL CORRESPONDENCES OF THE CEM LANGUAGES

PCEM	KMY	DVB	DVM	DVD	SECN. NO.
*a	a	a	a	a	4.2.2.1
*i	i	i	i	i	.2
*u	u	u	u	u	.3

4.2.2.1 *a

In KMY, DVB, DVM, and DVD

*a -> a

*apug 'lime': apug (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*atay 'liver': atay (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*buwan 'moon': buwan (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*asawa 'wife': asawa (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

4.2.2.2 *i

In KMY, DVB, DVM, and DVD

*i -> i

*dilaq 'tongue': dilaq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*bituqun 'star': bituqun (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*kasili 'eel': kasili (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*bitiqis 'leg': bitiqis (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

4.2.2.3 *u

In KMY, DVB, DVM, and DVD

*u -> u

*utañ 'debt': utañ (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*utuk 'brain': utuk (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*tiyahuq 'to cry': tiyahuq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

*puluhu 'lazy': puluhu (KMY, DVB)

Discrepancies: *gutum 'full' -> gatum (DVD)

4.3 Summary of Phonological Changes

Figures 4.3 and 4.4 illustrate the phonological changes from PEM to PCEM. In the vowels (figure 4.3) there has been one change. The PEM vowel ~~*u~~ has completely merged with *u in PCEM. This merger is very common in the Central Philippine languages.

FIGURE 4.3

DEVELOPMENT OF PCEM VOWELS FROM PEM

PCEM	*i	*a	*u
PEM			
**i	ɪ		
**a		ɪ	
**u			ɪ
**e			ɪ
	ɪ in all environments		

In the consonants (figure 4.4) both **l and **r show various changes in PCEM. PCEM *r is limited in its distribution and appears to be merging with *l. PCEM *l is completely lost in the intervocalic position except when it occurs contiguous to *i.

PCEM also shares a sound change that Zorc noticed in Proto-Bisayan. PAN *qC → *qC in PCEM. The *qC cluster only occurs in doublets in PCEM.

FIGURE 4.4

DEVELOPMENT OF PCEM CONSONANTS FROM PEM

	* * * * *																					
PCEM	p	t	k	b	d	dy	g	gy	m	n	ɲ	s	l	l/Ø	r	r/l	w	y	h	q	Cq	
PEM																						
**p	1																					
**t		1																				
**k			1																			
**b				1																		
**d					1																	
**g						1																
**m							1															
**n								1														
**ɲ									1													
**s										1												
**l												2	3									
**r												2		4	5							
**w																	1					
**y																		1				
**h																			1			
**q																					1	
**qC																						1

1 in all environments 2 elsewhere
 3 V1__V1, where V1 ≠ i 4 V__V, __C
 5 #__

Figure 4.5 is a display of the phonological changes in the daughter languages of PCEM. The liquid *r has merged with

/l/ in all CEM languages except KMY, which has retained r in most environments. However, the distribution of *r is limited. There are only six examples of *r in the word initial position, one example of *r in a consonant cluster, and no examples where *r occurs word final. Most examples of *r in PCEM occur in the intervocalic position.

PCEM *l has only shown two phonological changes in the CEM languages. However, the environment in which most changes occur (the intervocalic position) has very few examples with *l. This is due to the fact that most examples of the intervocalic **l -> Ø in PCEM.

DVM shows a loss of *q when it occurs as the second member of a consonant cluster. Although this is very common in the SEM languages, DVM is the only language in CEM to exhibit this change.

FIGURE 4.5

PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES IN CEM LANGUAGES FROM PCEM

	KMY	DVB	DVM	DVD
1. *dy -> j \ i__V	X	X		
2. *l -> Ø \ u__VI	X			
3. *l -> l/Ø \ u__#		X		
4. *r -> Ø \ VI__VI		X	X	
5. *r -> l		X	X	X
6. *y -> j \ d__i	X	X		
7. *q -> Ø \ C__			X	

where VI ≠ i, and where no environment is specified, it is understood as "elsewhere".

Chapter Five

The Phonological Systems in PSEM

5.1 The Phonemic Systems of the SEM Languages

There is no complete phonemic statement available for any of SEM languages except KLK, KLT, and MSK. The wordlists for KLK, KLT, and MSK were done by linguists who spoke the language they were studying. They did a phonological analysis, and the wordlists are phonemic. The other five languages for which I have wordlists represent preliminary dialect survey lists in which no phonological analysis is available. I have done tentative phonological analysis of these languages where there was confusion (cf. see 5.1.1 and 5.1.2 below).

5.1.1 The Consonants

The consonants for each language are listed in figure 5.1. All eight languages have voiceless stops at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation /p, t, k/. The phonetic realization of the phoneme /p/ in KLT is a voiceless bilabial fricative.

All eight languages have voiced stops at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation /b, d, g/. The phoneme /d/ in KLT has an allophone [r] which occurs in free

variation with [d] intervocalically. In KLK also the phoneme /d/ has an allophone [r] intervocalically. This allophone was later established as a phoneme due to contrasts introduced by loan words. For this paper we have treated it as an allophone.

All eight languages have voiced nasals at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation /m, n, ŋ/.

All eight languages have a voiceless grooved fricative at the alveolar point of articulation /s/. In MDK the cluster /dy/ is realized as a grooved affricate [dz].

The voiced lateral phoneme /l/ is a very unstable segment in most of the SEM languages. The following is a description of the allophones of the phoneme /l/.

(a) In MDK, KLK, and KLT

/l/ -> [l]

(b) In MDM and MSK

/l/ -> [r] \ V1__V2

-> [l] \ elsewhere

where V1 = i and V2 = any vowel

(c) In ISM

/l/ -> [r]/[l] \ V1__i

-> [l] \ elsewhere

where V1 = i

(d) In MDC

/l/ -> [ly] \ VI__VI, __#

-> [l] \ elsewhere

where VI \approx i

(e) In MDB

/l/ -> [rl] \ VI__i

-> [ly] \ VI__VI, __#

-> [l] \ elsewhere

where VI \approx i

Apparently due to social pressure, a speech style has developed among the Mandayans that drops the allophone [ly], a palatal lateral. When a speaker uses this allophone, he is immediately identified as a Mandayan. This allophone is not found in the more prestigious language of Cebuano. Therefore, there is strong pressure to identify with the Cebuanos and drop this allophone. While I gathered a wordlist from a Mandayan in Sangab, I observed this change. While we were alone, he used the allophone [ly]. But when several Cebuano speakers gathered around and began to laugh each time he used it, he quickly dropped the allophone where it normally occurred.

In MSK the allophone [rl] was later established as a phoneme due to the introduction of certain loan words. But for this paper we have treated it as an allophone.

All eight languages have a palatal semivowel /y/. In KLT this phoneme has as allophone a voiceless alveopalatal grooved fricative when it occurs after /t/. It also has a voiced alveopalatal grooved fricative when it occurs after /d/. In all other positions it is realized as a high front unrounded nonsyllabic vocoid [i]. All eight languages also have a labial semivowel /w/.

All eight languages have a glottal stop /q/. Only KLK, KLT, and MDK have a glottal fricative /h/. In KLT this glottal fricative occurs only in loan words or in onomatopoeia (e.g. a bird is named after the call it makes).

5.1.2 The Vowels

The vowels of each language are listed in figure 5.2. All SEM languages have four vowels /i, a, u, ɘ/ except MDC which has three vowels /i, a, u/. The exact allophonic variations of all of these phonemes are uncertain, but their approximate positions are: high front /i/, low central /a/, mid-central /ɘ/, and high back /u/. In KLT there are two more vowels /e, o/ whose positions are: mid front /e/ and mid back /o/. In KLK this mid front /e/ is also found. I have tentatively analyzed the vocoids [u] and [o] to be in free variation in ISM, MDM, MDK, MDC, and MDB. I have also analyzed [i] and [I] to be in free variation before the phoneme /t/ in MDK and MDB.

5.2 The Phonemic System of PSEM

PSEM is reconstructed from eight languages: MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, and KLT. The phonemic system is displayed in the same format as PEM (chapter 2). Since the data for MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, and ISM are limited to the 372-item wordlist, the examples do not always include all of these languages.

5.2.1 Proto-Consonants

The consonant correspondences that each of the SEM languages have with PSEM reconstructed consonants are listed in figure 5.1.

FIGURE 5.1

CONSONANT CORRESPONDENCES OF THE SEM LANGUAGES

PSEM	MDK	MDC	MDB	MDM	MSK	ISM	KLK	KLT	SECN. NO.
*p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	5.2.1.1
*t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	.2
*k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	.3
*b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	.4
*d	d	d,l	d,l	d,l	d,l	d,l	d,l	d,l	.5
*g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	.6
*m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	.7
*n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	.8
*ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	.9
*s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	.10
*l	l,∅	l,∅	l	l	l	l,∅	l,∅	l	.11
*w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	.12
*y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	.13
[*h]	h	q	q,∅	q	q	q,∅	h	q,∅	.14
*q	q	q	q,∅	q,∅	q	q,∅	q,∅	q,∅	.15

5.2.1.1 *p

In MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, and KLT

*p → p

*pisɲi 'cheek': pisɲi (MDK), pisɲi (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*lupaq 'earth': lupaq (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*-inɛp 'dream': tagaynɛp (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)
 *apdu 'bile, gall': apdu (MSK, KLK, KLT)
 *kagpaq 'short (person)': makagpaq (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLK)

5.2.1.2 *t

In MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, and KLT

*t → t

*tawag 'to call': tawag (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*utuk 'brain': utuk (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*upat 'four': upat (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*itlug 'egg': itlug (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK)

*bɛkten 'arm': bɛkten (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT),
 buktun (MDC)

Discrepancies:

There are a few sets in the data which appear to be discrepancies. e.g. *tanap → mananap (KLK). This loss of /t/ is caused by the prefix maN- in which the N is replacive, i.e., it replaces the initial consonant of the stem, tanap, while assimilating to its point of articulation. There is actually no discrepancy of *tanap to mananap.

5.2.1.3 *k

In MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, and KLT

*k → k

*kəkəq 'chin': kəkə (MDK), kukuq (MDC), kəkəq (MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*abaka 'hemp fibre': abaka (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*utuk 'brain': utuk (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*dakməi 'thick in dimension': madəkməi (MDK), madakməi (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLT), madakmə (KLK)

*iŋkud 'to sit': gaqiŋkud (MDK, MDB, MDM), maŋiŋkud (MDC), iŋkud (MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

5.2.1.4 *b

In MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, and KLT

*b → b

*bagaq 'lungs': bagaq (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*subu 'to boil': subu (MDK, MDC, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT), yusubu (MDB, MDM)

*tagub 'sheath for bolo': tagub (MDK, MDC, MDB, ISM, KLK)

*dəbdəb 'belly': dəbdəb (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM)

*ambuŋ 'afternoon':ambuŋ (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

5.2.1.5 *d

(a) In MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, and KLT

*d → l \ __l

→ d \ elsewhere

*adlaw 'day': adlaw (MDK), allaw (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*adlæk 'to fear': yamadlæk (MDK), maluk (MDC), yamallæk (MDB, MDM, ISM) allæk (MSK), kallæk (KLK), mallæk (KLT)

Discrepancies: *kidlap -> kidlap (KLK, CEB)

*sudlay -> sudlay (MSK, KLK, CEB)

The CEB forms are also given since both KLK and MSK borrow from CEB. These discrepancies are probably a result of that contact.

(b) In MDK

*d -> d

*duguq 'blood': duguq (MDK, MDC, MDB, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*iduq 'dog': iduq (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*bayad 'to buy, pay': bayad (MDK, MDC, MDB, MSK, KLK, KLT), gabayad (MDM), mabayad (ISM)

*indug 'to stand': indug (MDK), magindug (MDC), gaindug (MDB), gaqindug (MDM), indug (MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

Discrepancies: *dagami 'rice stalks' -> lagami (KLK)

5.2.1.6 *g

In MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, and KLT

*g -> g

*gamut 'root': gamut (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM)

*sagiñ 'banana': sagiñ (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*tawag 'to call': tawag (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*bɔgsay 'canoe paddle': bɔgsay (MDK, MSK, KLK), bugsay (MDC, ISM, KLT), gabɔgsay (MDB, MDM)

*laŋgam 'bird': laŋgam (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

5.2.1.7 *m

In MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, and KLT

*m -> m

*manuk 'chicken': manuk (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*lima 'five': lima (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*siyam 'nine': siyam (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*ambuŋ 'afternoon':ambuŋ (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*dakmɛl 'thick': madakmɛl (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLT), madakmɛ (KLK)

5.2.1.8 *n

In MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, and KLT

*n -> n

*niwaŋ 'skinny': niwaŋ (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLK, KLT)

*linug 'earthquake': linug (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*silatan 'east': silatan (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*kalintu 'right': kalintu (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*tagnek 'mosquito': tagnek (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

5.2.1.9 *ŋ

In MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, and KLT

*ŋ -> ŋ

*maŋaŋul 'dull (as a knife)': maŋaŋul (MDK), maŋaŋuŋ (MDC), maŋaŋul (MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM)

*laŋaw 'fly': laŋaw (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*uliŋ 'charcoal': uliŋ (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*diŋdiŋ 'wall': diŋdiŋ (MDK, MDC, MDB, MSK, KLK, KLT)

*pisiŋi 'cheek': pisiŋi (MDK), pisiŋi (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

5.2.1.10 *s

In MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, and KLT

*s -> s

*sagiŋ 'banana': sagiŋ (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*susu 'breast': susu (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*palis 'bark, skin': palis (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*isdaq 'fish': isdaq (MDC, MDB, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*bɛgsay 'canoe paddle': bɛgsay (MDK, MSK, KLK), bugsay (MDC, ISM, KLT), gabɛgsay (MDB, MDM)

5.2.1.11 *l

(a) In MDK and ISM

*l → ∅ \ VI__VI

→ l \ elsewhere

where VI ≈ i.

*ulu 'head': uu (MDK, ISM, KLK), ulu (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT)
and 31 other sets.

Discrepancies: *bulak 'flower' → bulak (ISM, CEB)

*dɛglɛm 'dark' → dɛggɛm (ISM)

*pala-pala 'sole of foot' → pala-pala (MDK)

There are also four sets in MDK in which this lost *l was replaced by an intervocalic glottal stop.

*kalut 'itch' → kaqut (MDK)

*talam 'eggplant' → nataqum (MDK)

*tulug 'to sleep' → yatuqug (MDK)

*tɛlɛn 'to swallow' → yatɛqɛn (MDK)

(b) In MDC

*l → ∅ \ al__u

→ l \ elsewhere

*sallupan 'west': salupan (MDC), sallupan (MDB, MDM, MSK, KLK), sallupan (ISM)

Discrepancies: In MDK *l → l in all examples except for the environment listed above and one discrepancy.

*bulak → buwak (MDC)

(c) In KLK

*l → Ø \ V1__V1, #_#

→ l \ elsewhere

where V1 ≠ i

*intalun 'defecate': gaintaun (MDK), magintalun (MDC), gaintalun (MDB), intalun (MDM, MSK), magintaun (ISM), mintaun (KLK), mintalun (KLT) and 52 other examples.

*ubel 'smoke': ubel (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLT), ubel (MDC), ubu (KLK) and 5 other examples.

Discrepancies: *ikel 'itch' → ikel (KLK)

In KLK there are several sets in which the intervocalic /l/ loss rule did not appear to work. However, in each example it should be noted that the KLK word is exactly the same as the CEB word. Although it can not be proven that these KLK discrepancies are borrowed words from CEB, it is apparent that KLK has been heavily influenced by the more prestigious CEB. The examples are:

*balatik 'trap' → balatik (KLK, CEB)

*pala 'shovel' → pala (KLK, CEB)

*bulak 'flower' → bulak (KLK, CEB)

*tabanug 'kite' -> talabanug (KLK, CEB)

(d) In MDB, MDM, MSK and KLT

*l -> l

*lawas 'body': lawas (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*silatan 'east': silatan (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*bunul 'deaf': bunul (MDK, MDB, MDM, ISM, KLT), bunul (MDC), bunul (KLK)

*adlaw 'day': adlaw (MDK), allaw (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

Discrepancies: *deglem 'phase of moon' -> deggem (MDB)

5.2.1.12 *w

In MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, and KLT

*w -> w

*walu 'eight': wau (MDK, ISM, KLK), walu (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT)

*buwaya 'crocodile': buwaya (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*sabaw 'soup': sabaw (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

5.2.1.13 *y

In MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, and KLT

*y -> y

*luya 'ginger': luya (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*kilay 'eyebrow': kilay (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

*baybay 'shore': baybay (MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM)

*bagyu 'storm': bagyu (MSK, KLK)

5.2.1.14 [*h]

In an earlier draft of the phonology of PSEM (Gallman 1979) *h was not reconstructed for PSEM. MDK was the only language which had forms with /h/ and it was found in only four forms. However, with the addition of several KLK cognates, there are now eleven cognate sets with /h/ in KLK. There are several observations which should be noted: (1) Where the /h/ was found in a MDK word, it was not found in the corresponding word in KLK. e.g. **kahuy -> *kahuy -> kahuy (MDK) and kauy -(KLK); (2) Where the /h/ was found in KLK, there was not any corresponding word in MDK, (3) MDK and KLK are languages which are geographically close to the more prestigious Cebuano and Davaweno languages. Each word which has an /h/ in KLK has exactly the same word in CEB. Each word which has an /h/ in MDK has exactly the same word in DVB. This suggests that *h was not found in PSEM. However, based on the number of sets in KLK with /h/, I am reconstructing *h for PSEM. The brackets indicate the tentative nature of this reconstruction.

(a) In KLK and MDK

[*h] -> h

*bahaw 'left over food': baqaw (MSK 'food prepared for a trip'), bahaw (KLK)

*buhuk 'hair (of head)': buhuk (MDK), buquk (MDC)

(b) In MDB, ISM and KLT

[*h] -> Ø \ V__V

-> q \ elsewhere

(c) In MDC, MDM, and MSK

[*h] -> q

*hukum 'to judge': ukum (MSK), hukum (KLK)

*bahiq 'fish-tail palm': baqiq (MSK), bahiq (KLK)

*tahap 'to winnow': tahap (MDK), taqap (MDC, MSK), qataap (MDB), gataqap (MDM), taap (ISM), tap (KLK)

Discrepancies: *tahap 'to winnow' -> tap (KLK)

*kahuy 'wood' -> kauy (KLK)

*buhis 'tax' -> buwis (MSK)

5.2.1.15 *q

(a) In MDB

*q -> Ø \ a__a

-> q/Ø \ a__u, a__i

-> q \ elsewhere

- *kaqan 'eat': yakaqan (MDK), kaqan (MDC, MSK), yakaan (MDB, MDM), makan (ISM), kan (KLK, KLT)
- *baqu 'turtle': baququ (MDC), bau (MDB, MDM, ISM, KLK, KLT), baqu (MSK)
- *baquq 'smelly': mabaquq (MDK), yabaquq (MDC), gabaquq (MDB, MDM), baquq (MSK), bauq (ISM), boq (KLT), baqu (KLK)
- *taqiq 'sew': gataiq (MDB), teqiq (MSK), taiq (ISM), tayiq (KLK), teq (KLK, KLT)
- *daqig 'many': madaqig (MDK, MDC, MDB, MSK), madaig (MDM, ISM), madeg (KLK, KLT)

(b) In MDM

- *q -> Ø \ u__u, a__i
 -> q/Ø \ a__u, a__a
 -> q \ elsewhere

- *puqud 'buttocks, thigh': puqud (MDK, MDC, MDB, MSK), puud (MDM, ISM, KLK, KLT)
- *taqi 'excrement': taqi (MDK, MDC, MDB, MSK), tay (MDM, ISM, KLK, KLT)
- *baquq 'smelly': mabaquq (MDK), yabaquq (MDC), gabaquq (MDB, MDM), baquq (MSK), bauq (ISM), boq (KLT), baqu (KLK)
- *daqun 'leaf': daqun (MDK, MDC, MDB, MSK), daun (MDM, ISM), dawun (KLK, KLT)
- *kaqan 'eat': yakaqan (MDK), kaqan (MDC, MSK), yakaan (MDB, MDM), makan (ISM), kan (KLK, KLT)

*dadaqan: dadaqan (MDC, MDM, MSK), dadaan (MDB, ISM), dadan
(KLK, KLT)

(c) In ISM and KLK

*q -> Ø \ V__V
-> q \ elsewhere

*amaq 'father': amaq (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK), ama
(KLT)

*dadaqan 'old (object)': dadaqan (MDC, MDM, MSK), dadaan (MDB,
ISM), dadan (KLK, KLT)

*puqud 'buttocks, thigh': puqud (MDK, MDC, MDB, MSK), puud
(MDM, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*dakulaq 'big': dakulaq (MDC, MDB, MSK, KLT), dakuq (ISM),
dakwaq (KLK)

Discrepancies: *uqu 'yes' -> uqu (KLK), uqu (CEB)

*baquq 'to smell' -> baqu (KLK), bahuq (CEB)

There are three other sets in which the intervocalic /q/ loss rule did not appear to work. However, the KLK word is exactly the same as the CEB word. This is the same problem noted in the discrepancies for KLK *1 (chapter 5.2.1.11).

*buqud 'to be sulky' -> buqud (KLK, CEB)

*puqut 'airless space' -> puqut (KLK, CEB)

*taqud 'place' -> taqud (KLK, CEB)

(d) In KLT

*q -> Ø \ #VNa__#, V__V

-> q \ elsewhere

*inaq 'mother': inaq (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK
 'vocative/proper noun'), ina (KLT)

*paqit 'bitter': pait (MDK, MDM, ISM, KLK, KLT), mapaqit (MDC,
 MDB, MSK)

(e) In MDK, MSK, and MDC

*q -> q

*ambuñ 'afternoon':ambuñ (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
 KLT)

*bituqun 'star': bituqun (MDK, MDC, MDB, MSK), bituun (MDM,
 ISM), bitun (KLK, KLT)

*duguq 'blood': duguq (MDK, MDC, MDB, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

Discrepancies: *paqa 'thigh' -> paa (MDK)

*paqit 'bitter' -> pait (MDK)

*tuqud 'knee' -> tuud (MDK)

*tuqig 'year' -> tuig (MDK)

There are more than 40 forms in the data where *q -> q in the word final environment in MSK. However, there are four forms here which appear to have lost the word final glottal stop.

**binhiq -> *biniq -> bini (MSK)

**gataq -> *gataq -> qata (MSK)

**panaq -> *panaq -> pana (MSK)

**tubaq -> *tubaq -> tuba (MSK)

5.2.2 Proto-Vowels

The vowel correspondences that each of the SEM languages have with PSEM reconstructed vowels are listed in figure 5.2.

FIGURE 5.2

VOWEL CORRESPONDENCES OF THE SEM LANGUAGES

PSEM	MDK	MDC	MDB	MDM	MSK	ISM	KLK	KLT	SECN. NO.
*a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	4.2.2.1
*ɛ	ɛ,u	u	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ,u	ɛ	ɛ,i	.2
*i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	.3
*u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	.4
*aqi	aqi	aqi	aqi	aqi	aqi	ai	e	e	.5
*aqu	aqu	aqu	aqu	aqu	aqu	au	au	o	.5
*ala	aa	ala	ala	ala	ala	aa	ɛ,aa	ala	.5

5.2.2.1 *a

In MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, and KLT

*a -> a

*ambuɲ 'afternoon':ambuɲ (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*lupaɲ 'earth':lupaɲ (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*abaga 'shoulder':abaga (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

Discrepancies: *dakmɛl 'thick' -> madɛkmɛl (MDC)
 *sawwal 'trousers' -> sawwɛ (KLK)

5.2.2.2 *ɸ

(a) In MDK

*ɸ -> u \ __*lVl, Vl*l__, __*l__
 -> ɸ \ elsewhere
 where Vl ≠ i

*bɛlad 'to dry in sun': gabuwad (MDK), bulada (MDC), bɛladɛn
 (MDB) bɛlad (MDM, MSK, KLT), buɛd (ISM), bɛwad (KLK)

*dalɛm 'space under house': daum (MDK), dalum (MDC), dalɛm
 (MDB, MSK, KLT), agdalum (MDM), daɛm (ISM, KLK)

*tɛlɛn 'swallow': yatuqun (MDK), yatɛlun (MDC), yatɛlɛn (MDB,
 MDM), tɛlɛn (MSK, KLT), atɛɛn (ISM), tɛn (KLK)

Discrepancies: *isɛq 'child' -> isuq (MDK, KMY, DVB)

*kɛsɛg 'strong' -> makusug (MDK, KMY, DVB)

*(t)indɛg 'to stand' -> indug (MDK, KMY, DVB)

*ɛkɛt 'to tie' -> ukut (MDK), hukut (KMY, DVB)

(b) In ISM

*ɸ -> ɸ \ ultimate syllables, penultimate
 syllables when present in ultimate syllable
 -> u \ elsewhere

*itɛm 'black': maitɛm (MDK, MDB, MDM, ISM, KLK, KLT), maqitɛm
 (MSK)

*dɛbdɛb 'belly': dɛbdɛb (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM), dugdug
(MDC)

Discrepancies: There are three sets where *ɛ → u in ISM
where ɛ was expected:

*bɛkɛq 'not so' → bukuq

*kaqɛn 'cooked rice' → kanun

*ɛpɛd 'together' → upud

There were three sets where *ɛ → ɛ in ISM where u was
expected:

*bɛgas 'husked rice' → bɛgas

*dɛglum 'dark phase of moon' → dɛggum

*tɛtɛllan 'to swallow' → tɛtɛllan

(c) In KLT

*ɛ → i \ _y

→ ɛ \ elsewhere

*ɛyaq 'live (dwell)': yagaqɛyaq (MDK, MDB), uyaq (MDC),
yagauyaq (MDM), ɛyaq (MSK, KLK), magɛyaq (ISM), miyaq (KLT)

Discrepancies: *bɛgsay 'canoe paddle' → bugsay (KLT)

(d) In MDC

*ɛ → u

Discrepancies: This rule has not worked through all the MDC
data. There are five sets in which *ɛ → ɛ rather than the
expected u.

*dakmɛl 'thick' → dakmɛl (MDC)

*dɛkɛt 'to stick to' → yɛdɛkɛt (MDC)

*əkət 'to tie' -> ukət and əkətan (MDC)

*tələn 'to swallow' -> yatəlun (MDC)

*əbəl 'smoke' -> ubəl (MDC)

(e) In MDB, MDM, MSK, and KLK

*u -> u

*pəsaq 'bone': pəsaq (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLK, KLT), pusaq
(MDC, ISM)

*inəm 'to drink': inəm (MDK, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT), minum
(MDC), iminəm (MDB)

*kəkəq 'chin': kəkə (MDK), kukuq (MDC), kəkəq (MDB, MDM, MSK,
ISM, KLK, KLT)

Discrepancies: *daləm 'under, below' -> agdalum (MDM)

*kəsəg 'strong' -> kasəgan (MDM)

*baləs 'to repay, revenge' -> balus (KLK)

*dəmət 'to have a grudge' -> dumut (KLK)

*gəməs 'to pickle' -> ginamus (KLK)

*ənət 'to stretch' -> unat (KLK)

5.2.2.3 *i

In MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT

*i -> i

*linug 'earthquake': linug (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

*kasili 'eel': kasili (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*tinaqi 'intestines': tinaqi (MDK, MDC, MSK), tinay (MDB, MDM, ISM, KLK, KLT)

5.2.2.4 *u

In MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT

*u -> u

*tubag 'answer': tubag (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT),
matubag (MDC)

*ambuŋ 'afternoon':ambuŋ (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

*bukubuku 'ankle': bukubuku (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLK
'knee', KLT)

Discrepancies: *uyup 'to blow' -> uyup (KLT)

*suksuk 'to disappear' -> sũksũk (ISM)

5.2.2.5 Vowel Clusters

In both KLK and KLT there has been a reduction of certain vowel clusters. This reduction has introduced two more vowel phonemes in KLT: the mid front /e/ and the mid back /o/, and one more vowel in KLK: the mid front /e/. The vowel cluster in PSEM which introduced /e/ is *aqi. An example of this is *daqig -> madeg (KLT, KLK). The vowel cluster in PSEM which introduced /o/ is *aqu. This is illustrated in *laquŋ -> loŋ (KLT). However, not every cluster of *aqi or *aqu reduces in KLK or KLT. e.g. *baqu -> bau (KLT), *waqin -> ain (KLK, KLT).

In KLK there are several examples of another sound change
 *ala -> ʌ:

*alap-ap 'skin disease' -> ʌp-ʌp

*balay 'house' -> bʌy

*balagbag 'across' -> bʌbʌg

However, this rule does not always work:

*alad 'fence' -> aad

*balaqi 'relationship' -> baaqi

5.3 Summary of Phonological Changes

Figure 5.3 and 5.4 display the phonological changes from PEM to PSEM. In the vowels (figure 5.3) there have been no changes. Unlike CEM and NEM languages, most SEM languages have retained the complete four vowel system.

FIGURE 5.3

DEVELOPMENT OF PSEM VOWELS FROM PEM

PSEM	*i	*a	*u	*ʌ
PEM				
**i	l			
**a		l		
**u			l	
**ʌ				l

l in all environments

**r	1				
**w	1				
**y	1				
**h		3	4	5	2 6
**q	9 8			2	7
1	in all environments	2	elsewhere		
3	i__V1, where V1 ≠ i	4	u__V2, where V2 ≠ u		
5	a__V	6	C__		
7	C__, __C	8	i__a, ɛ		
9	u__a				

Figure 5.5 is a display of the phonological changes in the daughter languages of PSEM. MDK is the only language which does not have the phonological innovation *dl → ll.

In MDK, ISM, and KLK - *l → ∅ in the intervocalic position, except when it is contiguous to /i/ or /y/. This is a common phonological change in the EM languages.

In PSEM *h has almost completely merged with *q. The only daughter languages to exhibit the phoneme /h/ are MDK and KLK, and these reconstructions are questionable because of the influence of CEB and KMY. In most SEM *h → q.

In the SEM languages *q exhibits several changes. In ISM, KLK, and KLK, *q → ∅ in the intervocalic position. In MDB and MDM *q → q/∅ in the intervocalic position.

In ISM *ɛ has merged with u and in MDK *ɛ → u when adjacent to *l. In KLT *ɛ → i when it occurs before /y/.

FIGURE 5.5

PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES IN SEM LANGUAGES FROM PSEM

	M D K	M D B	M D C	M D M	M S K	I S M	K L K	K L T
1. *d → l \ __l		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2. *l → ∅ \ V1__V1	X					X		
3. *l → ∅ \ a1__u			X					
4. *l → ∅ \ V1__V1, __#							X	
5. *h → ∅ \ V__V		X				X		X
6. *h → q		X	X	X	X	X		X
7. *q → ∅ \ a__a		X						
8. *q → q/∅ \ a__u, a__i		X						
9. *q → ∅ \ u__u, a__i				X				
10. *q → q/∅ \ a__u, a__a				X				
11. *q → ∅ \ V__V						X	X	
12. *q → ∅ \ #VNa__#, V__V								X
13. *t → u \ __*lV1, V1*l__, __*l__	X							
14. *t → u						X		
15. *t → i \ __y								X

where V1 ≡ i, where no environment is specified, it is understood as "elsewhere".

Chapter Six

Internal Relationships

This chapter is concerned with determining the internal relationships among the EM languages. Since the composition of the subgroup as posited here differs from that of several other analysts, I have included first a section on previous classifications.

6.1 Previous Classifications

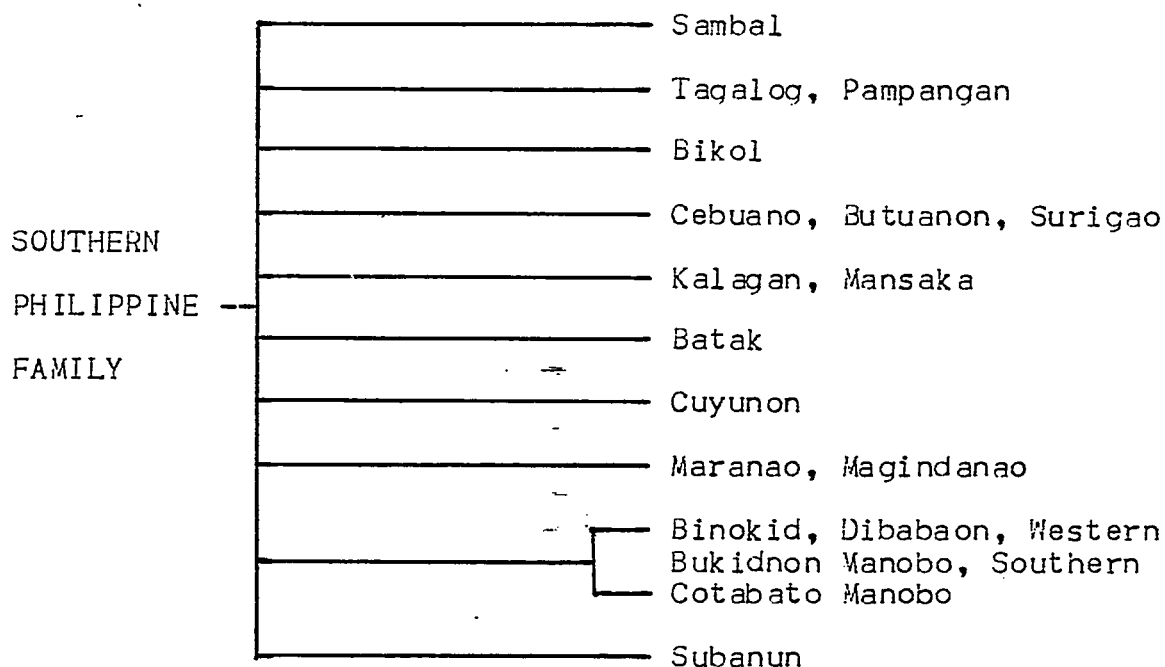
Various lexicostatistical studies of the Philippine languages have been done, but these studies by themselves are no substitute for the thorough investigation of sound shifts and changes in grammatical structures. Adequate studies in comparative phonology and grammar, and the synthesis of these with the results of lexicostatistical studies are necessary to establish a solid scientific grouping of these languages.

Thomas and Healey (1962) in their lexicostatistical study claimed that around 700 B.C. (plus or minus 300 years) the Philippine stock split into a Northern Philippine Family, a Southern Philippine Family, and Pangasinan. Around 100 B.C. (plus or minus 300 years) the Southern Philippine Family split into at least ten branches as shown in figure 6.1. Mansaka and Kalagan, which are two members of the SEM group, are shown as a subgroup of this Southern Philippine Family. Also,

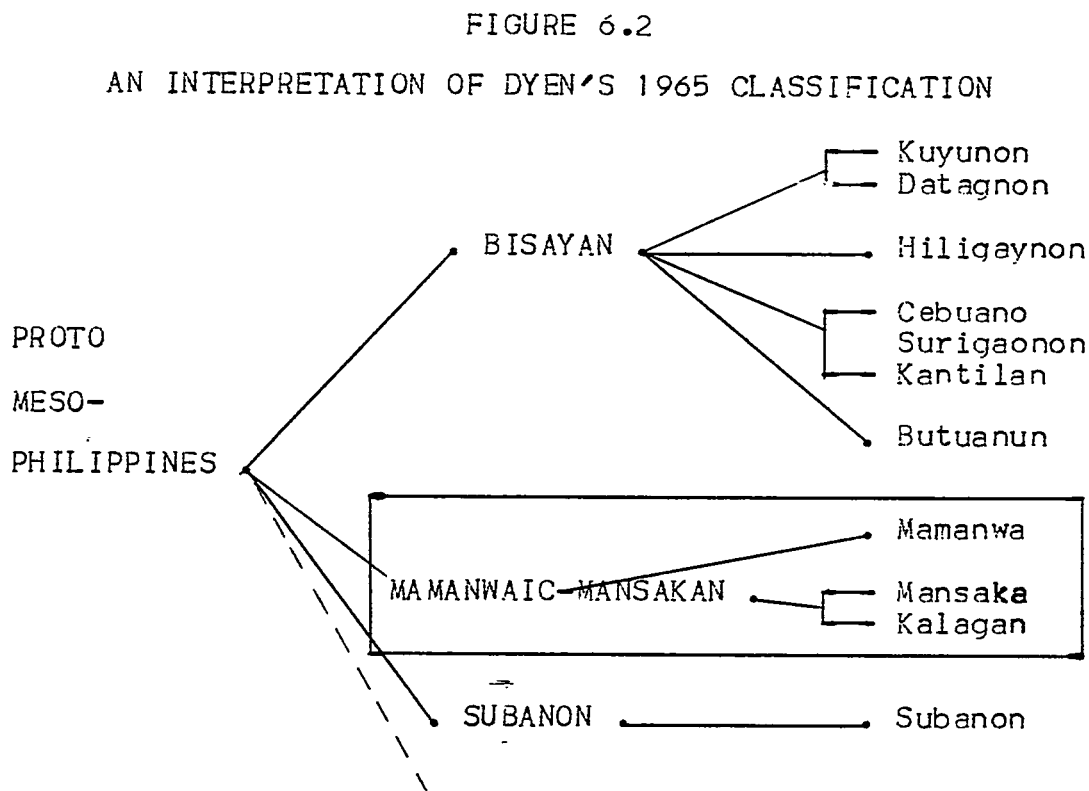
Butuanon and Surigao, which are two members of the NEM group, are shown as a subgroup, along with Cebuano.

FIGURE 6.1

SOUTHERN PHILIPPINE FAMILY (Thomas and Healey)



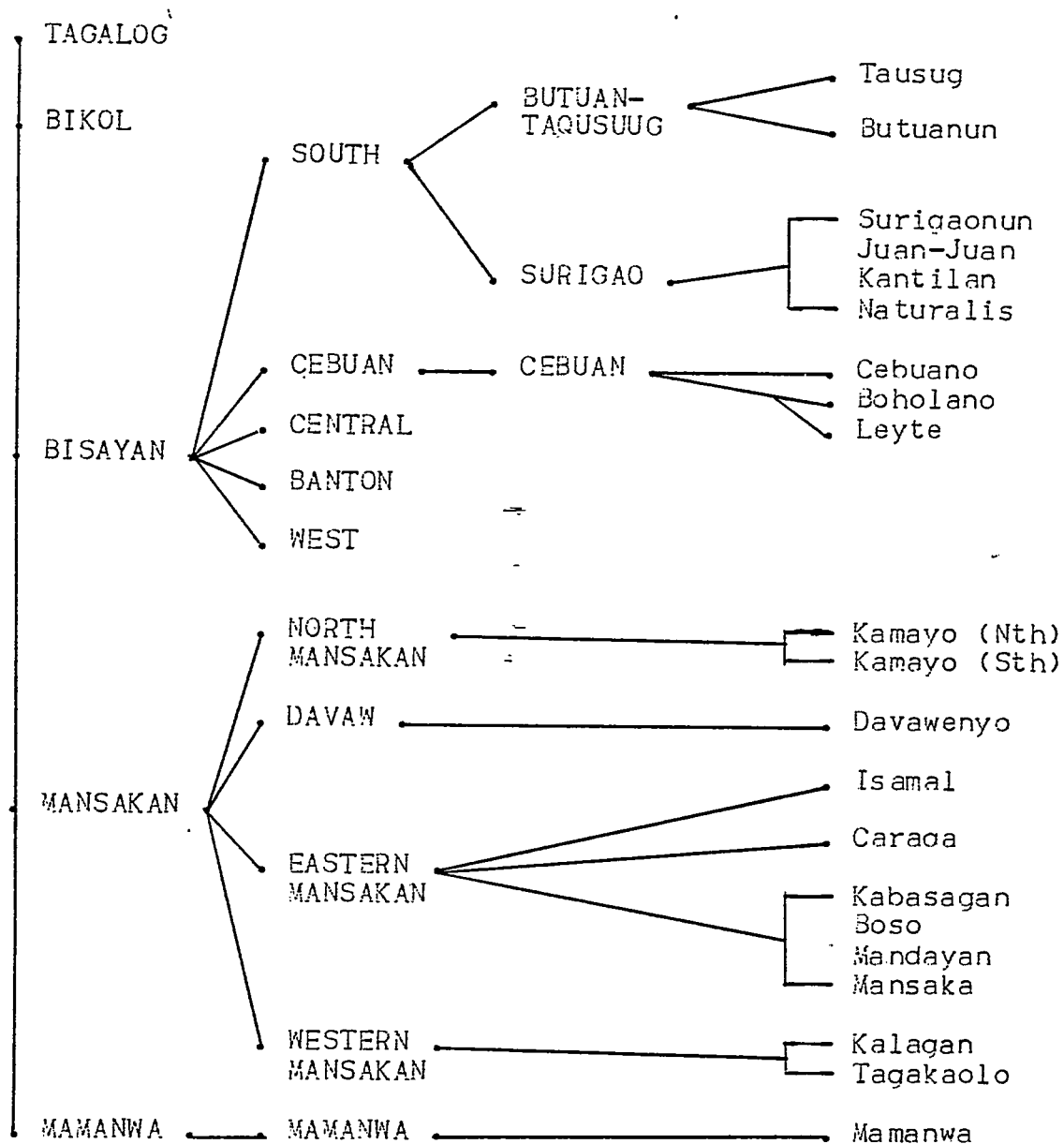
Dyen (1965) proposed the scheme of genetic relationships displayed in figure 6.2. The branch enclosed in the box indicates a later modification by Dyen, as reported by Zorc (1977). Here, Dyen places Mansaka and Kalagan together in a subgroup as Thomas and Healey. However, the placing of Mansakan (my SEM) within the Mamanwaic is unique. He introduces a subgroup termed, Bisayan. In it, he places Surigaonun and Butuanun.



Zorc (1977) recognized the close relationships between Bisayan, Mansakan and Mamanwa and grouped them as coordinate subgroups of a Central Philippine language group, as displayed in figure 6.3. His grouping is well argued, and based on a number of mutually supportive techniques (lexicostatistics; functor comparisons; phonological, lexical and syntactic innovations and retentions). His grouping included Kamayo and Davawenyo (the CEM languages) in the Mansakan Group (nearly equivalent to my SEM). However, Zorc places TSG, BUT, SUR, and CEB, which I include in the NEM group, in the Bisayan languages.

FIGURE 6.3

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG CENTRAL PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES
(after Zorc 1977)

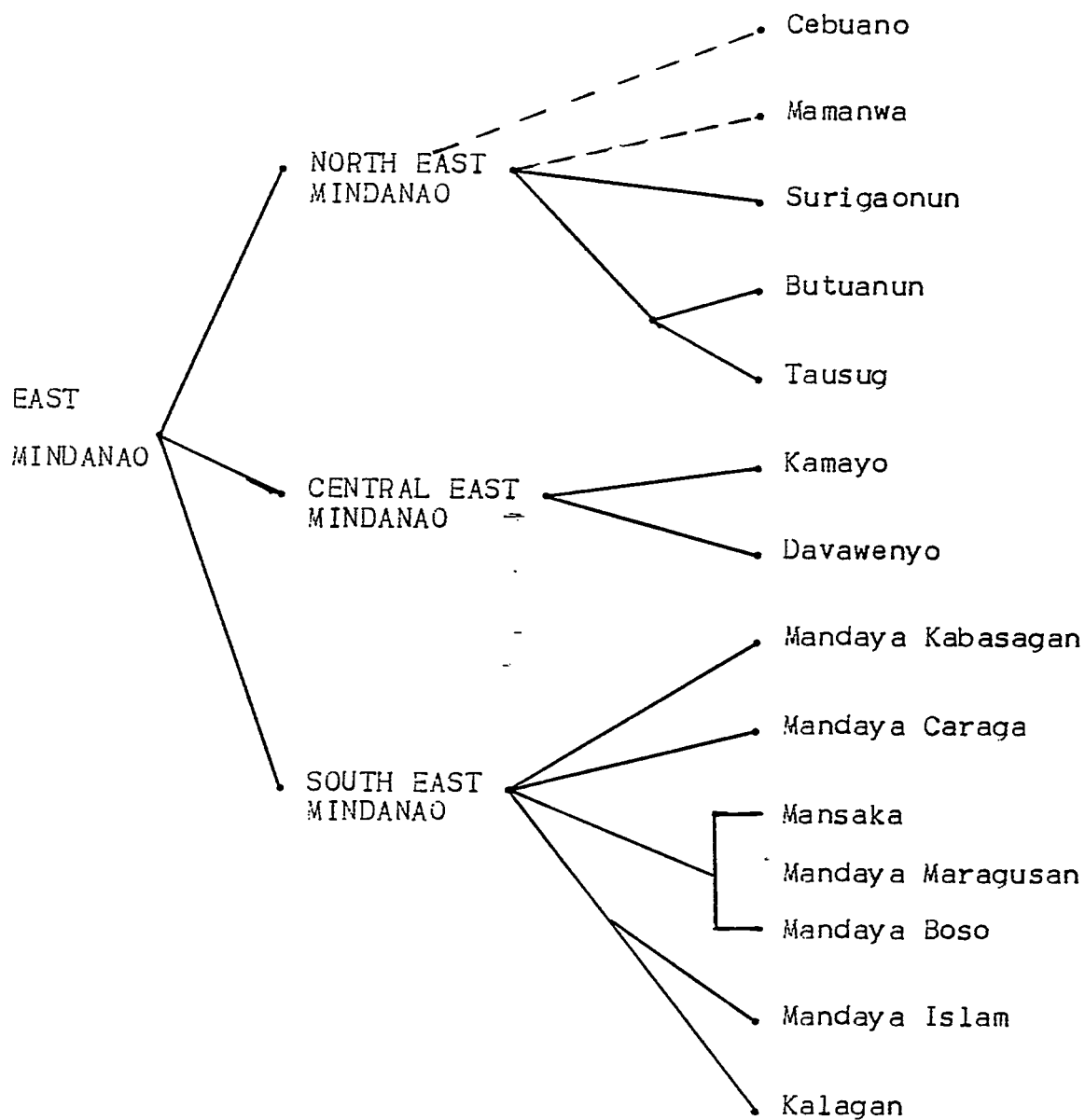


Pallesen, in his 1977 study, displays a tree diagram of EM languages (figure 6.4) based on an earlier study by Pallesen and Gallman. Here Pallesen separates KMY and DVW from

SEM and labels the new subgroup Central East Mindanao (CEM). His North East Mindanao (NEM) is roughly equivalent to Zorc's South Bisayan languages. However, he does include CEB and MWA (which is not part of Zorc's South Bisayan languages) as marginal members. The results of the present study support the schema of relationships displayed in figure 6.4.

FIGURE 6.4

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG EAST MINDANAO LANGUAGES (Pallesen),

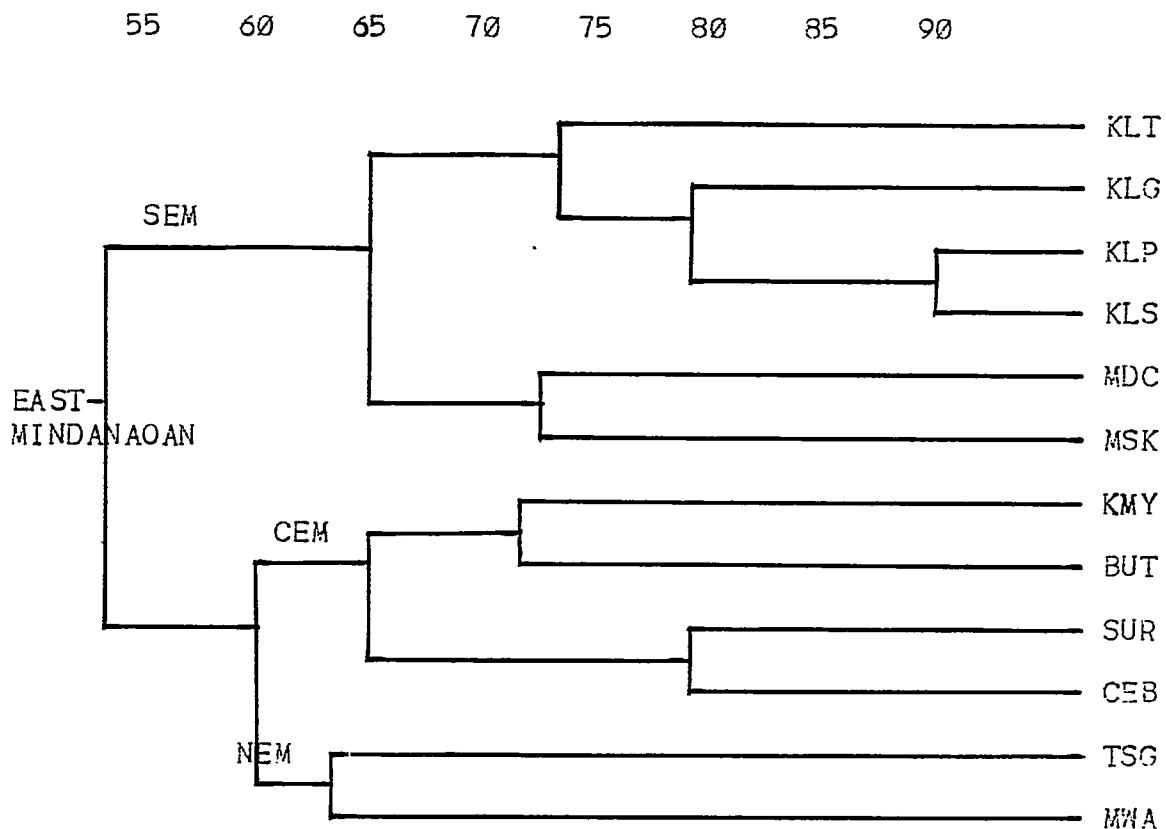


Walton (1979) has developed a Philippine language tree from a matrix of shared cognate percentages for 116 Philippine languages using the Reid 372-item list. His grouping of the EM languages is very similar to the internal relationships

proposed in this study. He shows (Walton 1979:78) the East Mindanao languages splitting off from the Central Philippine language group at 55%. His division of the EM languages is given in figure 6.5.

FIGURE 6.5

EASTERN MINDANAOAN LANGUAGE TREE (Walton)

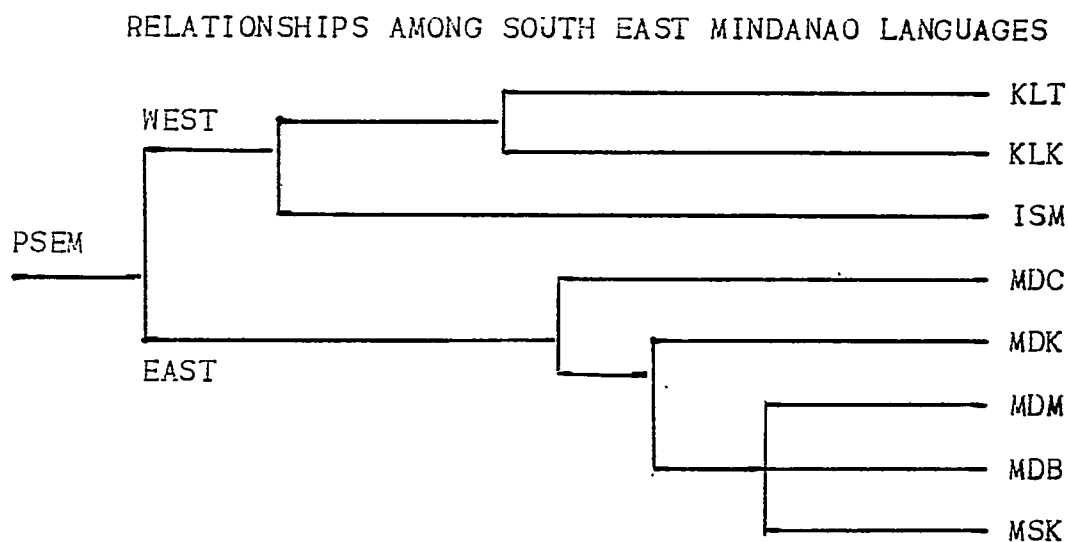


Walton also proposes a three-way split in the EM languages but his NEM and CEM subgroups differ from those of Pallesen and Gallman. Walton's NEM subgroup does not include SUR, CEB, and BUT. These languages are included in his CEM subgroup with KMY. In referring to the NEM subgroup he states

(Walton 1979:85) that "TSG and MWA split at 60%, the percentage of shared cognates each shares with BUT". Walton groups CEB with the EM languages because it has a somewhat greater number of shared lexical innovations with SUR.

Figure 6.6 is a tree diagram of the SEM languages presented in my 1979 study (p. 35). The relationships within the SEM group are supported on the basis of lexical comparisons, shared phonological features and an analysis in terms of probabilities.

FIGURE 6.6



The relationships shown in figure 6.6 and in this study are almost identical to the relationships shown in the tree diagrams of Walton and Pallesen.

McFarland (1981) recognized that the relationships among the Central Philippine languages, and in particular, the

position of Zorc's South Bisayan languages, presented very serious problems. His proposal (McFarland 1981:51-54), as shown in figure 6.7, represents a compromise between Zorc's position and that of Gallman and Pallesen.

FIGURE 6.7

PROPOSED SUBGROUPING OF CENTRAL PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES
(after McFarland, 1981)

- D. Central Philippine languages
 - 1. TAGALOG
 - 2. Bikol languages
 - 3. North Bisayan languages
 - a. West Bisayan languages
 - b. Central Bisayan languages
 - 4. South Bisayan languages
 - a. SEBUANO
 - b. SURIGAONON
 - c. BUTUANON
 - d. TAUSUG
 - 5. East Mindanao languages
 - a. MAMANWA
 - b. KAMAYO
 - c. DAVAWENYO
 - d. MANDAYA
 - e. KALAGAN
 - f. TAGAKAULU

His grouping, as can be seen, divides Zorc's Bisayan languages into two coordinate subgroups. Here, Zorc's South Bisayan languages are placed in a coordinate relationship with the East Mindanao languages. This is much closer to the relationships posited in this study. However, his proposal also implies that CEM and SEM are closer to each other than either is to NEM, and that MWA is closer to CEM and SEM than it is to NEM (South Bisayan), which is not substantiated in this study.

6.2 Lexicostatistical Data

For the lexicostatistical (6) comparison, the Reid 372-item list (Reid 1971) was used. The lexicostatistical comparisons, presented in table 6.1, reveal a typical dialect chain, with geographically contiguous languages sharing rather similar percentages of cognates. However, TSG and MWA are exceptions to this generalization, due in the case of TSG to its lexical convergence with the Sulu languages, and in the case of MWA to a significant body of non-PEM substratum (see 6.6) material. The comparison of TSG and SLU indicates that TSG owes 11% of its vocabulary to TSG-SLU convergence (Pallesen 1977:144). This suggests, according to Pallesen, a 7% adjustment in the TSG-BUT score of 61%. The adjusted TSG-BUT score of 68% shows "clearly that TSG is a member of the EM subgroup, with BUT its closest sister language" (Pallesen 1977:145). Zorc (1977:178) also argues that there is

"good evidence for regarding TSG as having its closest genetic affiliation with BUT," based on lexicostatistical comparisons. However, as pointed out earlier, Zorc places TSG, BUT, and SUR in the SB group, not the EM group.

The highest score of any EM language with a language outside the EM subgroup (excluding the controversial CEB) is only 50%. This is the score of MDK with Dibabawon Manobo (DAM), and between MDB and DAM. The languages from MDK through MSK in table 6.1 have all been in contact with Dibabawon or a closely related Manobo language.

TABLE 6.1

372-ITEM LEXICOSTATISTICAL COMPARISONS OF EM LANGUAGES

CEB

51 MWA

69 66 SUR

47 51 53 TSG

60 61 70 61 BUT

48 56 64 47 58 DVD

55 59 68 52 63 60 KMY

58 50 58 47 59 66 71 DVM

53 52 58 45 55 60 69 68 MDK

50 51 55 46 51 58 62 69 74 MDC

51 46 54 46 45 59 62 67 81 76 MDB

49 46 51 45 48 56 60 63 74 79 87 MDM

46 49 51 46 51 56 59 63 73 79 82 86 MSK

51 48 52 44 51 56 62 65 71 74 76 76 76 ISM

45 46 48 42 46 55 55 54 59 61 63 65 65 69 KLK

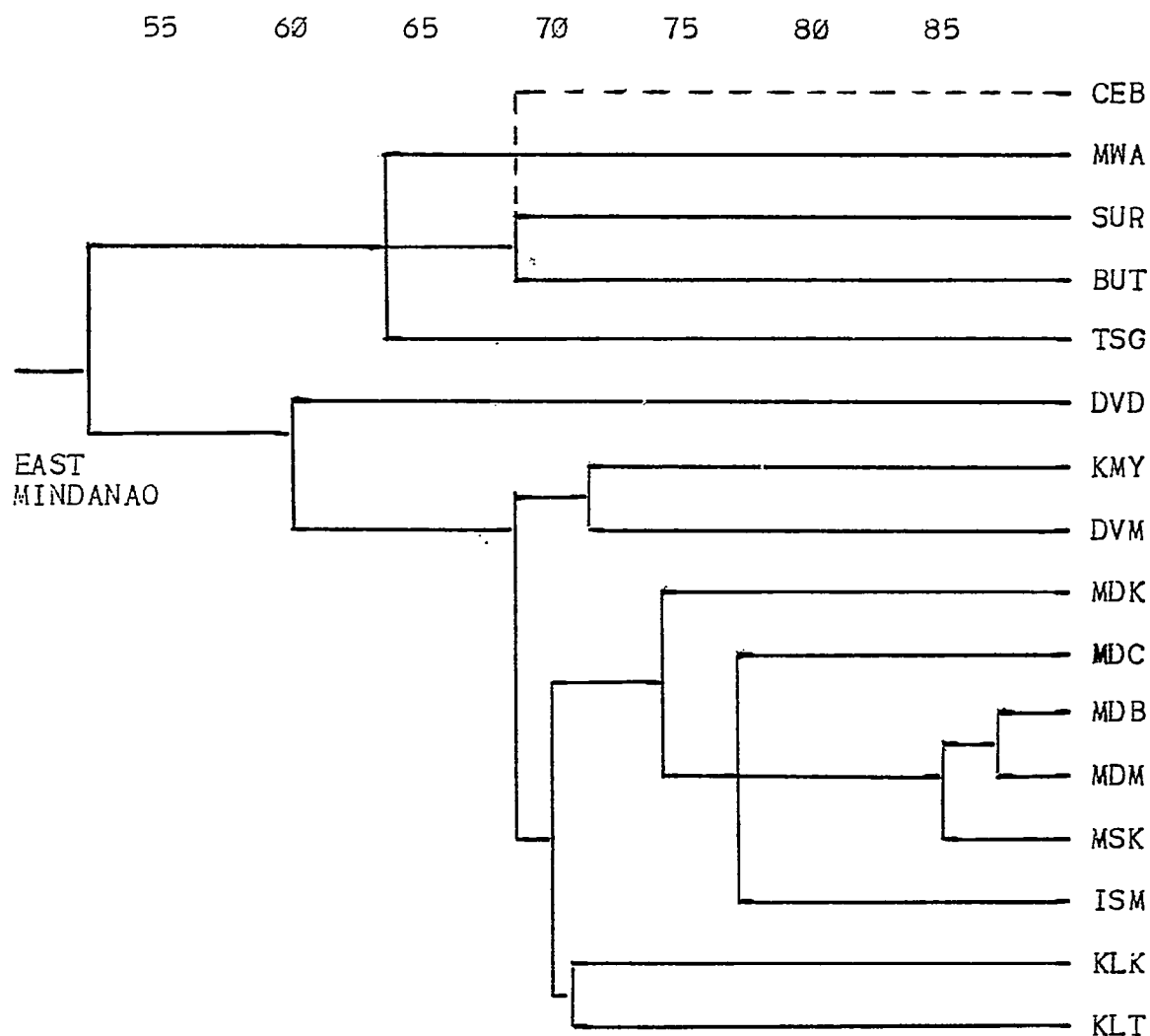
43 42 49 41 46 53 53 51 56 60 61 63 62 63 72 KLT

50 50 47 44 DAM

Figure 6.8 below displays a tree based on the scores along the hypotenuse of table 6.1. This tree recognizes the subdivision of EM into at least two subgroups and the possibility (indicated by the dotted lines) that CEB is an independent branch of EM.

FIGURE 6.8

TREE DIAGRAM OF EM LANGUAGES BASED ON LEXICOSTATISTICAL SCORES



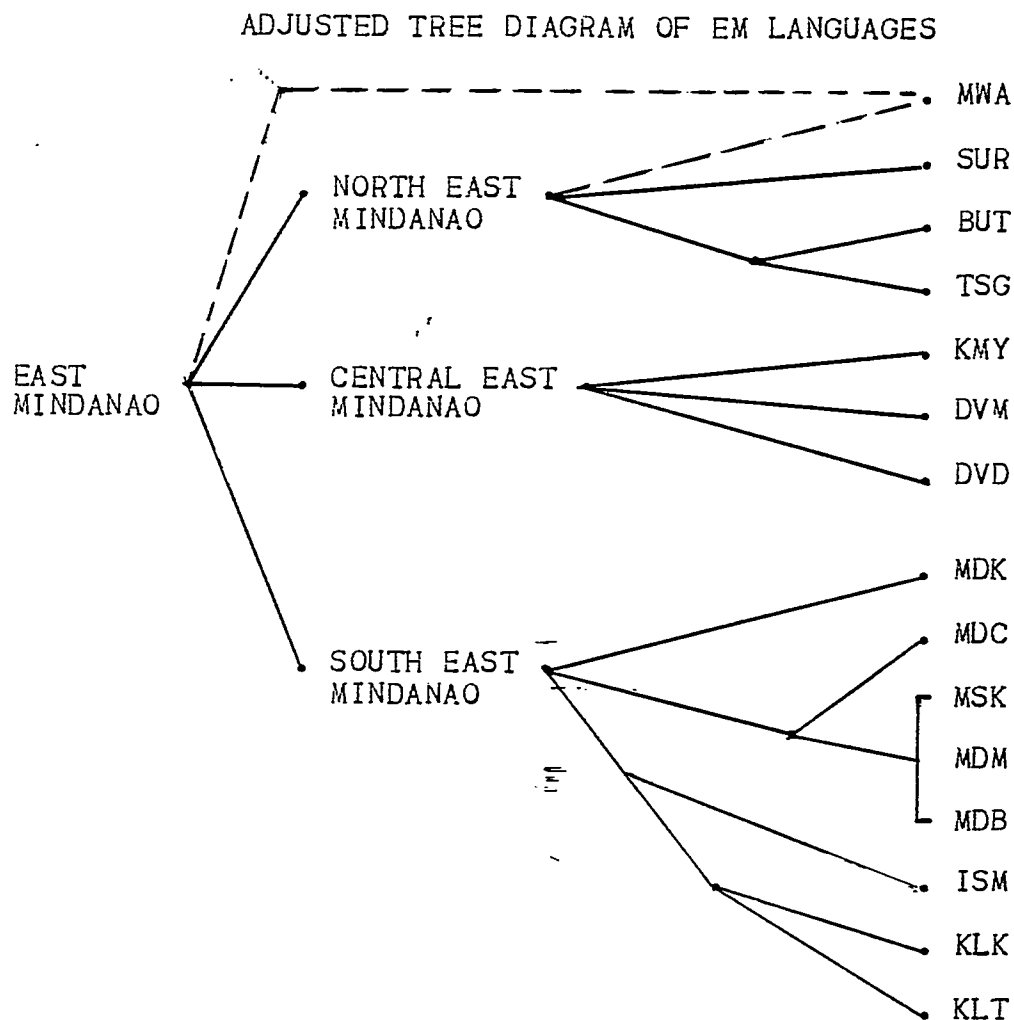
It should be pointed out that this diagram obscures some significant relationships. For example, the DVD/DVM score of 66% holds between languages which are currently spoken in quite diverse geographical locations and it seems likely that this score reflects a closer genetic relationship than the display indicates.

The KMY scores with adjacent languages present a different problem. KMY scores 69% with MDK and 68% with SUR. KMY is thus statistically intermediate between MDK and SUR. Yet the tree diagram of figure 6.8, manifesting a typical distortion, shows a distinct difference between the KMY/MDK and KMY/SUR relationships. Instead of assuming that KMY has borrowed from SUR and that the KMY/SUR scores are inflated, the hypothesis here is that it is KMY and MDK which have converged, deflating the KMY/SUR score and inflating the KMY/MDK score. This hypothesis is consistent with the geography of the Mindanao east coast, with distinctive phonological developments and with facts emerging from an analysis of semantic sets.

Another score that is not highlighted by figure 6.8 is the ISM/KLT score of 69% between languages spoken on opposite sides of the Gulf of Davao, which is a considerable communication barrier. It seems likely that the genetic relationship between ISM and KLT is closer than that indicated by the tree diagram.

Figure 6.9 below is an interpretation of figure 6.8 which recognizes the most probable subdivision of EM into NEM, CEM, and SEM, and the possibility that MWA is an independent branching of EM. It is based on lexicostatistical scores but takes into account the problems just noted in regard to the tree diagram of figure 6.8.

FIGURE 6.9



6.3 Analysis in Terms of Probabilities

Chretien (1962) classified twenty-one Philippine languages on the basis of shared (cognate) vocabulary, using a simple statistical technique. He proposed a technique for measuring the closeness of each pair of languages that utilized simple counting procedures to provide three sets of figures: (a) the total number of morphemes of the basic list

(which for Chretien was 1,904), (b) the number of morphemes from this list represented in each individual language, and (c) the number of morphemes cognate in each pair of languages. From these figures, a coefficient of similarity (K), was calculated to provide a measure of the relationship between the actual number of morphemes shared by a pair of languages, and the number of shared morphemes which would be expected if the identities between any two languages were purely random (x). The formula for calculating K is:

$$K = \frac{100(a - x)}{x}$$

where, for each pair of languages L1 and L2,

a = the number of morphemes that L1 and L2 share

$x = \frac{(a + b)(a + c)}{N}$

N

and N = the total number of morphemes which two or more languages share

b = the number of morphemes in L1 but not in L2

c = the number of morphemes in L2 but not in L1

Originally used with 1,904 morphemes from a wide sampling of Philippine languages, the method is here applied to the closely related EM languages using the 372-item list. Since the number of cognates for any pair of EM languages is expected to be quite high, the resulting figures for K are not directly comparable with those of Chretien's study. It is a

useful approach and deserves wider application, though as Chretien (1962:196) observes:

"...within a relatively homogeneous group of closely related languages occupying a limited geographical region (and this is the situation in the Philippines) the significant ties of relationship are the results of constant intercultural contact."

Table 6.2 presents the values for K. Some of the K values shown in this table deserve brief comment.

TABLE 6.2
VALUES FOR K

CEB

56 MWA

84 82 SUR

70 69 80 BUT

36 48 40 70 TSG

60 59 60 50 30 DVD

45 57 62 66 35 53 KMY

35 36 40 47 26 63 72 DVM

32 41 44 44 26 54 69 68 MDK

27 39 31 33 21 51 54 62 80 MDC

26 29 25 8 17 40 43 53 79 88 MDB

23 21 18 16 16 37 36 47 75 84 96 MDM

27 27 22 23 21 37 41 54 77 86 87 95 MSK

30 31 26 29 18 39 45 58 71 75 76 75 82 ISM

20 28 16 16 13 37 35 40 51 55 58 57 64 72 KLK

24 29 36 27 21 36 36 41 49 55 47 53 60 63 97 KLT

40 57 39 41 41 26 29 28 36 48 44 47 40 39 38 47 DAM

(a) The K values tend to highlight significant convergence with languages outside the subgroup, as shown in the tabulation in table 6.3 of comparisons between simple cognate percentages and the K values for several language pairs. Pallesen found that the K value between TSG and a Sulu language was 120.

TABLE 6.3		
SOME COMPARISONS BETWEEN k VALUES AND SIMPLE COGNATE PERCENTAGES		
Language Pair	Percentage of Shared Cognates	K value
KLI-DAM	44	47
MWA-DAM	48	57
BUT-DAM	48	41
MWA-MDM	46	21
TSG-MDC	46	21
CEB-KLK	45	20
BUT-KLK	46	16

(b) The convergence between Dibabawon Manobo (DAM) and the EM languages contiguous to it is significant. The higher K value for the MWA-DAM comparison suggests, as is hypothesized, that MWA is an EM language with a sizable substratum from a non-EM substratum source.

(c) CEB's highest values, apart from the anomalous CEB-DVD value, are with the three north coast languages, with a marked difference between the CEB-SUR value of 84 and the CEB-MWA value of 56. As the simple lexicostatistical scores show, MWA does not appear to have borrowed extensively from CEB and I interpret the CEB scores as indicating a close genetic relationship with the NEM languages.

(d) The values between NEM and SEM languages do not suggest significant levels of borrowing by SEM languages from NEM. This is an important fact, especially with regard to the low level of borrowing by SEM from CEB. It means that we cannot easily dismiss as due to borrowing the large number of putative SEM-CEB cognates. They are most reasonably explained as being due to a close genetic relationship.

Figure 6.10 displays the significant primary and secondary relationships indicated by the K values of table 6.3. The display is made symmetrical about the diagonal. TSG and DVD are omitted because they obscure rather than illuminate the essential unity of the subgroup. Cut-off points for the differently shaded ranges of values were selected for maximum effect, but they are consistent with gaps in value densities. As it turns out, the use of the Chretien method does not provide any specially novel insights, though it does emphasize the relative distinctness of the CEM subdivision cluster, and the linking position of the geographically intermediate ISM. The inclusion of a larger number of external languages would, of course, have resulted in different values for K, which would have emphasized the integrity of the subgroup as a whole.

FIGURE 6.10

PROBABILITY ANALYSIS FOR THE EM LANGUAGES

	C	M	S	B	K	D	M	M	M	M	M	I	K	K	D
	E	W	U	U	M	V	D	D	D	D	S	S	L	L	A
	B	A	R	T	Y	M	K	C	B	M	K	M	K	T	M
CEB	XXX	Ø	XXX												
MWA	Ø	XXXXXXXX			Ø										Ø
SUR	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX														
BUT			XXXXXXXX		Ø										
KMY		Ø			XXXXXXXX			Ø							
DVM				Ø	XXXXXXXX				Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø			
MDK								XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX					Ø	Ø	
MDC				Ø				XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX					Ø	Ø	Ø
MDB					Ø			XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX						Ø	
MDM					Ø			XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX					Ø	Ø	Ø
MSK					Ø			XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX							
ISM					Ø			XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX							
KLK							Ø	Ø		Ø			XXXXXXXXXXXX		
KLT							Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø				XXXXXXXX	Ø
DAM	Ø							Ø		Ø				Ø	XXX

XXX over 72

Ø over 61

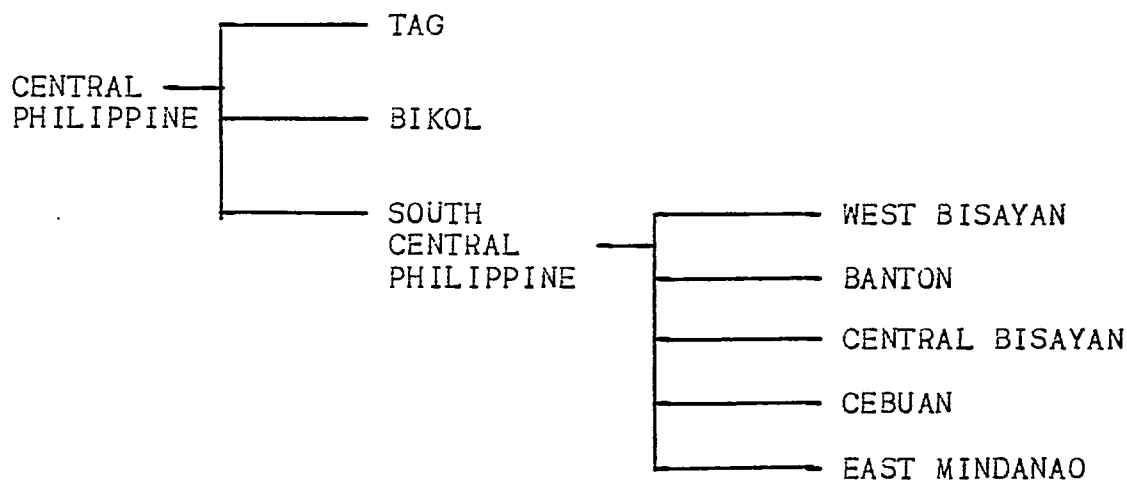
Ø over 47

6.4 Genetic Evidence For The EM Grouping

Zorc cites an impressive number of innovations that are common, and apparently unique, to demonstrate the unity of the Bisayan subgroup. The line of reasoning now followed is to show that a significant number of these innovations are also shared by MWA, KMY and the languages previously referred to as Mansakan. If we avoid the a priori assumption that these languages are not Bisayan and that assumed Bisayan innovations in them must therefore be borrowings, then we are open to consider the possibility that these shared features are inherited, and that the Bisayan subgroup extends to include all of the EM languages. Figure 6.11 displays the subgrouping analysis of Central Philippine languages which most reasonably accounts for the linguistic facts. As we noted in (c) of section 6.3, there is little statistical evidence for assuming that there was massive borrowing into SEM languages from CEB, BUT, SUR, or even from the geographically closer KMY.

FIGURE 6.11

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG CENTRAL PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES



6.4.1 Phonological Innovations

The phonemic system of PEM and its development in daughter languages has been presented in Section 2. It is evident that the phonology, as reconstructed, represents that of a language ancestral to NEM (including MWA), CEM and SEM. While it is not proven that this ancestral language was the proposed PEM (it may have been a more remote language such as Proto Central Philippines), the analysis is consistent with the subgrouping here proposed. PEM phonology and Zorc's Proto-Bisayan (PBS) phonology show one significant difference: *r is not reconstructed for Proto-Bisayan. The consonant **r is clearly reconstructable from the East Mindanao data, and the d/l/r contrast is retained in both MWA and KMY, though it appears that KMY is in the early stages of r/l → l merger.

TSG has already merged r and l, but its phonology is clearly that of an EM language.

Zorc (241) cites two phonological innovations which demonstrate the unity of the Bisayan subgroup:

(1) *lC clusters (except in doubled monosyllables) have undergone metathesis, i.e. *lC and *Cl → PBS *Cl, where *C is any consonant but *l, *h, or *q. This also occurs in each subgroup of PEM.

PMP, PCP *qaldaw 'day' → qadlaw in all Bs dialects; →

*qadlaw (PNEM, PCEM, PSEM).

PPH, PCP *qalsəm 'sour' → qaslum in Bs dialects; → *qalsəm

(PNEM, PSEM), *qaslum (PCEM).

PCP *qitluq 'egg' → qitluq in Bs dialects; → *qitluq (PNEM,

PCEM, PSEM).

(2) PCP *qC and *Cq fall together as PBS *Cq, where *C is any consonant but *q. Zorc (242) states that this is true of most Bs languages, excluding TSG and Argao Cebuano. The same metathesis has also occurred in PNEM and PCEM (in PSEM the *q was lost in consonant clusters). TSG is the only language which did not undergo this innovation. These observations led Zorc (243) to conclude that "metathesis of PCP *qC → PBS *Cq was at least a dialectal innovation of PBS".

Zorc also argues that KMY and the Davawenyo languages relate more closely to the Mansakan (SEM) languages rather

than the South Bisayan (NEM) languages. However, several phonological developments confirm the identification of KMY and DVB as separate from the SEM and closely linked to the NEM languages:

(a) PEM **h ->*h regularly in all NEM and CEM languages, while PEM **h -> *q in cognate sets in PSEM, i.e., a merger of PEM **h and **q.

**hatag 'give'.

PNEM *hatag: hatag (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hatag: hatag (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *atag: atag (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

bahaq 'flood'.

PNEM *bahaq: bahaq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bahaq: bahaq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *baqaq: baqaq (MSK), baq (KLK)

(b) PEM **r -> r in MWA and KMY, while PEM **r -> l in other NEM languages and in all SEM languages.

**baribad 'to reject, to refuse'.

PNEM *baribad: baibad (TSG), balibad (BUT, SUR), baribad
(MWA)

PCEM *baribad: ~baribad (KMY), balibad (DVB)

PSEM *balibad: balibad (MSK, KLK)

**daraga 'girl in early teens'.

PNEM *daraga: daaga (TSG), daga (BUT), daraga (MWA),
dayaga (SUR)

PCEM *daraga: daraga (KMY), daaga (DVB)

PSEM *dalaga: dalaga (MSK), daaga (KLK)

(c) Medial consonant clusters **qC, **Ch, or **Cl are modified in SEM languages: **qC and **Ch both -> C; *Cl -> ll (except MDK which retains *dl -> dl). With few exceptions these consonant clusters are retained in NEM and CEM languages.

**baqqañ 'molar'.

PNEM *baqqañ: buqqañ~baqqañ (TSG), baqqañ (BUT, MWA,
SUR), buqqañ (BUT (variant))

PCEM *baqqañ: baqqañ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bagañ: bagañ (MSK, KLK)

**mañhud 'younger sibling'.

PNEM *mañhud: mañhud (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *mañhud: mañhud (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *mañud: mañud (MSK, KLK)

**adlaw 'day'.

PNEM *adlaw: adlaw (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), aldaw (MWA)
 PCEM *adlaw: adlaw (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)
 PSEM *adlaw: adlaw (MDK), allaw (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK,
 ISM, KLK, KLT)

6.4.2 Functor Innovations

(a) Replacement of *s- in functors by h.

Zorc (248) shows that some Waray, Butuan, and Tausug reflect an "innovated set of functors in which h- has replaced older PMP, PCP *s-". He notes: "This must be posited as a dialectal or areal innovation in PBS, prior to the separation of TSG from the BS community. Its distribution and apparent weight suggest the inclusion of TSG and BUT within the PBS community." However, these are also shared by other EM languages.

PBS *sattu 'yonder' -> hadtu (TSG, BUT, SUR, DVB), adtu (MSK, KLK).

(b) Innovations Among Other Functors.

In a discussion about innovations among other types of functors, Zorc cites several other types of functors which occur only in Bisayan languages. However, it should be noted that these are also shared by MWA, KMY and/or by some SEM languages. I have used Zorc's numbering.

- (3a) PBS *didtu 'there, yonder': didtu (TSG, BUT, SUR, KMY)
- (3b) PBS *qadtu ~ *kadtu 'to go (yonder), go (in general)':
kadtu (TSG, BUT, SUR), qadtu (BUT, SUR, KMY, DVB, MSK,
KLK)
- (4) PBS *basiq 'maybe, might': basi (BUT, MWA, SUR, KMY,
DVB).
- (5) PBS *qagad 'so that, in order to': qagun (MWA 'for that
reason'). (Possible cognate, with innovation of *d -> n).
- (6) PBS *gihapun 'same, as usual': gihapun (BUT, MWA, SUR,
KMY, DVB, KLK), giyapun (MSK).
- (7) PBS *ganiq 'even, indeed': ganiq (BUT, SUR, KMY, DVB,
KLK), ṅaniq (MWA)
- (8) PBS *kuntanaq 'hopefully (optative particle)': kuntana
(MWA 'conditional').
- (9) PBS *na-puluq 'ten': napuluq (MWA), napuuq (KMY, KLK),
yapuuq (KMY, MDK), sampuluq (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT),
sampauq (ISM)

6.4.3 Lexical Items

The following proto-forms were taken from Zorc's (1977:250) GROUP ONE, a list of twenty lexical innovations posited as PBS, and found in a majority of Bisayan dialects including TSG, but not, as far as he could ascertain, in any other Philippine or Austronesian language. I have used Zorc's numbering to give an indication of the high percentage (60%) of his forms that were found in EM languages.

- (1) *batiq 'to hear': batiq (TSG, MWA, SUR, KMY, MSK, KLT).
- (4) *gugma 'love (noun)': gugma (BUT, SUR, KMY, DVB).
- (5) *hunas 'low tide': hunas (TSG, BUT, SUR), hunas (MWA), hunasan (KMY, DVB, MDK 'shore').
- (7) *libat 'cross-eyed': libat (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR, KMY, DVB).
- (8) *ka-libut-an 'the world, surroundings': kalibutan (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR, KMY, DVB, MSK, ISM, KLK).
- (9) *miñaw 'sad, lonely': miñaw (BUT, MWA, SUR, KMY, DVB, MSK, KLK), yamamiñaw (MDM).
- (10) *pañayuq 'to request, ask for': ñayuq (BUT, SUR, KMY), pañayuq (TSG, MSK).
- (11) *puñkuq 'to squat': puñkuq (MWA, SUR, KMY 'to place something on top of another to gain height', DVB).
- (13) *siñgit 'to scream, shout': siñgit (BUT, MWA, SUR).
- (15) *subaq 'river': subaq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR, KMY 'to go upriver', DVB, MSK, KLK, KLT).
- (16) *ta-kilid 'to lie on one's side': takilid (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR, KMY, DVB, MSK, KLK).
- (18) *tankuquq 'nape (of neck)': tankuquq (MWA), tankuquq (KMY, DVB).

The following are a list of lexical innovations which appear to be unique in PEM. These further support the inclusion of NEM with the EM languages and the unity of EM.

(**)atulun 'fire'.

PNEM (*)atuun: atuun (TSG)

PCEM *atuun: atuun (KMY, DVB, DVM), atun (DVD)

PSEM *atulun: atuun (MDK, ISM), atulun (MDC, MDB, MDM,
MSK, KLT), atun (KLK)

(**)bulaq 'to split bamboo'.

PNEM *bulaq: bulaq (TSG, SUR), bulaq (MWA)

PSEM *bulaq: buwaq (MDK), bulaq (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK),
buaq (KLK)

**da 'now, already'.

PNEM *da: da (TSG, BUT), daq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *da: da (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *da: da (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

**daqan 'old, object'.

PNEM *daqan: daqan (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *daqan: daqan (KMY, DVB, DVM), karaqan (DVD)

PSEM *dadaqan: dadaqan (MDC, MDM, MSK), dadaan (MDB,
ISM), dadan (KLK, KLT).

**daman 'angry'.

PNEM *daman: daman (TSG, BUT)

PSEM *daman: daman (MDK, MSK), madaman (MDC, ISM),
yamadaman (MDB, MDM), kadaman (KLK, KLT).

**duqun 'today'.

PNEM *duqun: duqun (TSG, BUT), iduqun (SUR)

PCEM *duqun: duqun (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *aduqun: aduqun (MDK, MDC, MDB, MSK), aduun (MDM, ISM), adun (KLK, KLT).

**init 'to sweat, heat, boil'.

PNEM *init: init (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *init: init (KMY, DVB, DVD), maqinit (DVB)

PSEM *init: initan (MDK, MDM), init (MSK, KLK, KLT)

**kemut 'to hold, to squeeze together'.

PNEM *kemut: kumut (TSG, BUT, SUR). Cf. kemus (MWA)

PCEM *kumut: kumut (KMY), kumutun (DVB)

PSEM *kemut: kemut (MDK, MSK, KLK)

**pawaq 'swidden, clear area'.

PNEM *pawaq: pawaq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *pawaq: pawaq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *pawaq: pawaq (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

**pusaq 'something rather fragile, bone'.

PNEM *pusaq: pusaq (TSG, BUT, SUR), pusaq (MWA)

PCEM *pusaq: pusaq (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *pusaq: pusaq (MDK, MDB, MSK, KLK, KLT), pusaq (MDC, ISM)

(**)samut 'wind, to intensify'.

PNEM *samut: samut (TSG, BUT, SUR), samut (MWA)

PCEM (*)samut: samut (DVB)

PSEM *samut: samut (MDC), samut (MWA, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB samut

****sugbu** 'to plunge into water'.

PNEM *sugbu: sugbu (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sugbu: sugbu (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *subbu: sugbu (MDK, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT),

magsugbu (MDC), gasugbu (MDB)

****suksuk** 'thorn, to disappear from view or under something'.

PNEM *suksuk: suksuk (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *suksuk: suksuk (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *suksuk: suksuk (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLK, KLT)

****sələm** 'tomorrow'.

PNEM *-sələm: -suum (TSG, BUT), -sələm (MWA), -suyun
(SUR)

PCEM *-sulum: -sulum (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *-sələm: -sulum (MDK), -sələm (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK),
-səəm (ISM), -səm (KLK, KLT)

****tanak** 'to lose, or drop something'.

PNEM *tanak: tanak (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *tanak: tanak (KMY, DVB, DVD)

PSEM *tanak: yamatanak (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM), tanak (MSK,
ISM, KLK)

6.5 Members of CEM Subgroup

The proposal here is to assign KMY and the Davawenyo languages to CEM. This assignment implies a rejection of

Zorc's grouping, that they are more closely related to the SEM languages.

Zorc assigns KMY to the SEM (his Mansakan) subgroup of languages. This is clearly indicated, if one is convinced about the greater validity of genetic relationships indicated by functor analysis, as shown in table 6.4. Pallesen (1977) showed evidence from TSG-SLU interaction that functors such as ligatures, phrase marking particles, person markers and pronouns are not immune to borrowing, and proposes (296) "that the social advantages of reducing impediments to comprehension may well induce convergence in the lexical form of these items". In my view, KMY is equally close genetically to BUT, and its high score with MSK in a functor comparison is due to convergence with it during a period of separation from the NEM languages.

TABLE 6.4

LEXICAL AND FUNCTOR COMPARISONS - SOME KMY SCORES

		SUR	BUT	MSK	MDK	DVM	MWA	TSG
KMY	Lexical (372-item)	68	63	59	69	71	59	52
	Lexical (100-item)	80	78	76	81	78	66	62
	Functor (Zorc)	56	66	77				

However, the lexical scores in figure 6.12 do not indicate any clear grouping. Both the 100-meaning and 372-meaning lists indicate a relationship equidistant from SUR (its nearest neighbor to the north), MDK (its nearest neighbor to the south, in close interaction), and DVM, spoken a hundred miles to the south. KMY also scores high with BUT, with which it is not currently in contact.

The phonological reasons for recognizing a distinction between KMY and SEM languages (see 6.4.1), and an affinity between KMY and NEM languages, are compelling.

Further evidence in support of the distinction between the CEM and SEM subdivision of PEM is provided by the lexical data. Both NEM and SEM have a number of innovations or retentions not shared by the other, and CEM tends to share the patterns of NEM rather than those of SEM. Pallesen has shown that body part terminology is a moderately stable set, though it is not immune to borrowing. The data for the body terms elicited by the 372-meaning list are displayed in table 6.5.

TABLE 6.5

NUMBER OF TERMS SHARED BY KMY AND DVD FOR 45 BODY PARTS

	Of 16 NEM terms	Of 15 SEM terms	Of 37 PEM terms
KMY	12	4	28
DVD	5	2	29

One further line of evidence for assuming the distinctiveness of the CEM subdivision is the pattern of clustering indicated by the probability analysis displayed in figure 6.10. This shows a distinctive clustering of KMY and DVM, with secondary relationships of equal value to both NEM and SEM.

6.6 Members of the NEM Subgroup

The placement of TSG, SUR, and BUT together in a subgroup is not in question. Both Zorc and Pallesen agree that these languages are most closely related to each other. However, the placement of CEB and MWA is not so obvious.

The exact placement of CEB is undoubtedly a problem. As Zorc notes, CEB has marginal status as a member of his Bisayan subgroup. The same is true with regard to CEB's proposed membership in the EM subgroup. According to Zorc's functor analysis, CEB's closest relationship is with SUR and BUT.

However, as Zorc points out, the scores involving CEB are not significant enough to form a firm judgment. Based on such evidence, I have included CEB as a marginal member of the NEM subgroup.

The placement of MWA also presents a problem. The highest lexicostatistical scores between MWA and another language are with SUR and BUT. These scores may be inflated due to close interaction, as Zorc argues, but its low score with CEB indicates its general conservatism, at least in its past several centuries of contact with CEB. The high TSG-MWA score, despite their separation and TSG's convergence with Sulu, confirms a close genetic relationship with NEM.

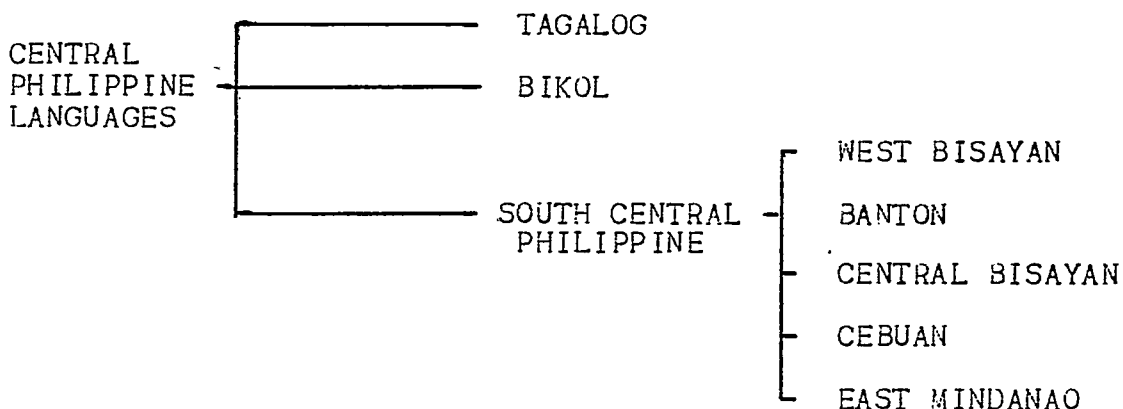
Pallesen (1977:294) notes that MWA has a number of unique features. It is spoken by people of Negrito descent, and its lexicon shows evidence of a non-EM, non-Manobo substratum. Pallesen proposes that MWA is likely the result of an early migration of EM speakers into Mindanao, who encountered a Negrito people already speaking an Austronesian language and settled with them. The EM language of the newcomers largely replaced the earlier language, displaying a phenomenon similar to that undergone by other Negrito languages of the Philippines. I have included MWA in the NEM subgroup on such evidence.

6.7 Conclusion

The evidence cited in this section supports the establishment of PEM as a subgroup of the South Central Philippine language group in very close contact with the Bisayan subgroup (see figure 6.12). The position taken in this paper is that PEM came from the Visayan Islands and settled on the northeastern tip of Mindanao. From there the group has dispersed southward to include much of the northeastern, central and southeastern coastline of Mindanao.

FIGURE 6.12

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The SEM speakers, the data suggest, moved southward with some groups going inland up the river valleys. The SEM subgroup was divided into eastern and western branches, the Davao Gulf separating the two. KLK and KLT, western SEM languages, developed independently of other EM languages, but in contact with Manobo and Blaqan. ISM, part of the western

division, remained on the eastern coast of the Davao Gulf, to be modified by interaction with eastern SEM languages such as MSK.

The CEM languages developed on the eastern coast of Mindanao, in contact with both NEM and SEM. Two of its languages, DVB and DVD, spread far southwards along the coast, and became *linguae francae* as far south as the west coast of the Davao Gulf. Cebuano has now largely displaced the Davawenyo language on the west coast of Davao but it is still very strong on the southeast coast of Mindanao, especially in Banganga.

The NEM languages split up into BUT-TSG, SUR and possibly CEB. MWA was probably an earlier split from PNEM. Although it penetrated no farther than the coastal ranges of northeast Mindanao, and was probably centered on Lake Mainit, its data show that it has been long established in the area, and has undergone a long period of development independent of other NEM languages.

Chapter Seven

Array of Cognate Sets

The following is an array of PEM reconstructions and cognate sets. The first citation given is the PEM reconstruction. The PEM reconstruction is then followed by the PNEM, PCEM and PSEM reconstructions.

In PNEM citations are given in the language order TSG, BUT, MWA, and SUR, with the following exception: where it is convenient to group two or more languages because the citations are identical, at that point the order indicated is suspended with regard to all but the first item of the group.

In PCEM citations are given in the language order KMY, DVB, DVM, and DVD, with the same exception stated above.

In PSEM citations are given in the language order MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, and KLT, with the same exception stated above.

If any part of a reconstruction is indeterminate, then it is enclosed by parenthesis. For example, *la(q)in 'coconut' means that the presence of a glottal stop for this word cannot be clearly determined. If the evidence is not clear as to which phoneme is the parent sound, then the item is enclosed by brackets and the two phonemes are separated by a comma. This is illustrated by *(q,l)abun 'cloud', which means that there are forms gabun and labun, but whether the parent form

contains *g or *l is indeterminate. A hyphen is used to separate morpheme boundaries. Hence, ga-galis indicates that the root galis has a prefix ga-.

The material is alphabetized according to the reconstructed form. The conventional alphabetization is followed except that ɤ follows u, ɳ follows n, and q follows y. Where multiple segments occur in brackets alphabetization is based on the first segment shown.

(**)aag-aag 'to sift'. Cf. aag-qaag (KLL)

PNEM *aag-aag: aag (TSG 'difference'), aag-qaag (BUT, MWA, SUR), aag-aagan (BUT 'screen')

PCEM *aag-aag: aag-qaag (KMY), aag-aagan (DVB)

**abaga 'shoulder'.

PNEM *abaga: abaga (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), agaba (TSG)

PCEM *abaga: abaga (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *abaga: abaga (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLL, KLT)

**abaka 'hemp'.

PNEM *abaka: abaka (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *abaka: abaka (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *abaka: abaka (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLL, KLT)

(**)abay 'to go alongside of'. Cf. abay (DVB)

PNEM *abay: abay (TSG, BUT 'travel parallel as in a fleet', MWA 'to walk along shore of body of water, edge of road', SUR 'accompany, wedding attendants'), abayan (BUT 'fleet')

PSEM *abay: abay (MSK, KLK 'compete, race')

(**)abi-abi 'to be hospitable to visitors'.

PNEM *abi-abi: abi-abi (TSG 'to invite', BUT, MWA, SUR),
abihan (BUT 'friend')

PCEM *abi-abi: abi-abi (KMY, DVB)

(**)abil 'lip'.

PNEM *abil: abil (BUT, MWA), a-abil (SUR 'gum')

PCEM *abil: abil (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

**abu 'ashes'.

PNEM *abu: abu (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR 'firetable')

PCEM *abu: abuhan (KMY 'firetable'), abu (DVB 'smoke',
DVM, DVD)

PSEM *abu: abu (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK 'firetable',
ISM, KLK, KLT)

**a)bug '1. to make an animal change direction'.

PNEM *a)bug: a)bug (TSG, BUT 'drive away', SUR)

PCEM *(a)bug: a)bug (KMY), bugaw (DVB)

PSEM *(a)bug: a)bug (MSK 'drive-away'), bugaw (KLK)

**a)bug '2. dust'.

PNEM *a)bug: a)bug (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *a)bug: a)bug (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *a)bug: a)bug (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK)

(**)abut '1. reach, arrive'.

PNEM *abut: abut (TSG, BUT, SUR), abut (MWA 'refuge or
arriving place'), ma'but (SUR), paqabut (SUR 'to wait
expectantly')

PCEM *abut: abut (KMY, DVB), ma'but (KMY)

(**)ab{uə}t '2. abundant yield'. Cf. abut (KMY)

PNEM *abət: abut (SUR), abət (MWA 'abundance of food')

PSEM *abut 'produce, yield of farm products': abut (MSK, KLK)

(**)a'di 'here (near speaker)'. Cf. a'di (SUR)

PCEM *a'di: a'di (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *adi: aadi (MSK), adi (KLK)

(**)adla 'wild, untamed'. Cf. malyaw (KLK)

PNEM *adla: adla (TSG, BUT)

PCEM *adla: adla (KMY, DVB)

**adlaw 'day'.

PNEM *adlaw: adlaw (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), aldaw (MWA)

PCEM *adlaw: adlaw (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *adlaw: adlaw (MDK), allaw (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB adlaw.

**adtu 'yonder'. Cf. **hadtu

PNEM *adtu: kadtu (TSG, BUT, SUR), adtu (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *adtu: adtu (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *adtu: adtu (MSK, KLK), aqadtu (MSK)

(**)a'duy 'exclamation of pain or distress'.

PNEM *a'duy: aduy (BUT), a'ruy (SUR, MWA)

PCEM *aduy: aduy (KMY, DVB)

(**)adyiq 'to engage in religious recitation'.

PNEM *adyiq: adjiq (TSG 'read Koran', BUT, SUR 'to pray and kneel')

PCEM *adyiq: adjiq (KMY), mañadjiq (DVB)

**agad 'to conform with'. Cf. *(h)(al)agad

PNEM *agad: agad (TSG, BUT, SUR), agarən (MWA
'employer'), alagad (MWA 'attendant, bride service'),
lagad (MWA 'mate, to accompany')

PCEM *agad: agad (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *agad: agad (MSK 'to accompany', KLK 'escort,
accompany')

(**)agaw 'to take by force'. Cf. agaw (DVB)

PNEM *agaw: agaw (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *agaw: agaw (MSK, KLK)

(**)a'gaw 'exclamation of surprize'.

PCEM *a'gaw: a'gaw (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *a'gaw: a'gaw (MSK 'is that a fact!', KLK 'take
note, beware')

**agi 'to pass'.

PNEM *agi: aqi (TSG 'to say', BUT, SUR), agihanan (MWA
'trail')

PCEM *agi: agi (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *agi: agi (MSK, KLK)

(**)aguñ 'gong'. Cf. aguñ (DVB)

PNEM *aguñ: aguñ (TSG, MWA)

PSEM *aguñ: aguñ (MSK, KLK)

CEB aguñ.

(**)ahus 'onion, garlic'. Cf. ahus (KLK)

PNEM *ahus: ahus (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ahus: ahus (KMY, DVB)

****aku** 'first person singular pronoun, actor set'.

PNEM *aku: aku (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *aku: aku (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *aku: aku (MSK, KLK)

()**akuq 'first person singular pronoun, referent set'.

PNEM *akuq: akuq (TSG, BUT, SUR)

PCEM *akuq: akuq (KMY, DVB)

****alad** 'fence'.

PNEM *alad: aad (TSG), alad (MWA), ayad (SUR)

PCEM *aad: aad (KMY 'for animals', DVB)

PSEM *alad: alad (MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT), aad (KLK)

****a(l)ap-aap** 'skin disease characterised by white patches on skin'.

PNEM *a(l)ap-aap: aap-aap (TSG, BUT, SUR), alap-aap (MWA)

PCEM *aap-aap: aap-aap (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *alap-ap: alapap (MSK), ap-ap (KLK)

CEB alap-alap.

()**alhu 'pestle'. Cf. ****haqlu**

PNEM *alhu: alhu (BUT), alhu (MWA), ayhu (SUR)

CEB alhu.

()**alima 'hand'.

PNEM *alima: lima (TSG), alima (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *alima: alima (KMY, DVB, DVD)

****amaq** 'father'.

PNEM *amaq: amaq (TSG, BUT, SUR), ama (MWA)

PCEM *amaq: amaq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *amaq: amaq (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK),
ama (KLT)

**ambak 'frog'.

PNEM *ambak: ambak (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *ambak: ambak (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *ambak: ambak (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

**ambaw 'rat'.

PNEM *ambaw: ambaw (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ambaw: ambaw (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *ambaw: ambaw (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

CEB ambaw.

(**)ambit 'to get a share'. Cf. ambit (MSK)

PNEM *ambit: ambit (BUT 'ask a share', MWA 'to buy
meat', SUR)

PCEM *ambit: ambit (KMY, DVB)

**amihan 'NE wind'.

PNEM *amihan: amihan (BUT, MWA 'rainy season, Nov-Jan,
from east', SUR)

PCEM *amihan: amihan (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *amiyan: amiyan (MSK 'rainy season', KLK)

CEB amihan.

**amu 'master'.

PNEM *amu: amu (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *aamu: aamu (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *amu: amu (MSK, KLK, KLT)

CEB amu.

(**)a'mu 'in fact, indeed, the one, right'.

PNEM *a'mu: a'mu (TSG, BUT 'the one', SUR)

PCEM *a'mu: a'mu (KMY 'right', DVB)

**a'muq 'monkey'.

PNEM *a'muq: a'muq (TSG, BUT, SUR), kamahan (MWA)

PCEM *a'muq: a'muq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *amuq: amuq (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM)

**anad 'to train'.

PNEM *anad: anad (TSG, BUT 'to study, be used to', MWA, SUR)

PCEM *anad: anad (KMY 'to be tame', DVB)

PSEM *anad 'learn': maganad (MDC), gaanad (MDB), yagaanad (MDM), anad (MSK, KLK), ganad (ISM)

**anak 'offspring'.

PNEM *anak: anak (TSG, BUT, MWA 'to give birth to egg', SUR)

PCEM *anak: anak (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *anak: anak (MDK, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK 'nephew', KLT 'niece, nephew')

**anay 'termite'.

PNEM *anay: anay (TSG, BUT, MWA 'termite nest', SUR)

PCEM *anay: anay (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *anay: anay (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

**anay 'slowly with care'. See **hinay

**ani `to harvest rice`.

PNEM *ani: ani (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ani: ani (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *ani: ani (KLK, KLT)

**aninipət `firefly`.

PNEM *aninipət: aniniput (BUT, SUR), aninipət (MWA)

PCEM *aniniput: aniniput (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *an(a)nipət: annipət (MSK), ananipət (KLK)

(**)aninu `shadow`.

PCEM *aninu: aninu (DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *aninu: aninu (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK)

(**)antiñ-antiñ `charm`. Cf. antiñ-antiñ (KLK)

PNEM *antiñ-antiñ: antiñ-antiñ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *antiñ-antiñ: antiñ-antiñ (KMY, DVB)

**anud `to be carried by current`.

PNEM *anud: anud (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *anud: anud (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *anud: anud (MSK, KLK, KLT)

**anup `to hunt (for game)`.

PNEM *anup: anup (BUT, MWA, SUR `to look for`)

PCEM *anup: anup (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *anup: anup (MSK `to hunt with dogs`, KLK)

(**){au}ñas `nearly bald`. Cf. uñas (KMY), añas (KMY), bañas (KMY)

PNEM *(au)ñas: uñas (TSG, BUT), añas (MWA). Cf. bañas (MWA, SUR)

(**) aʎut 'to endure, to last'.

PNEM *aʎut: aʎut (SUR), aʎut (MWA)

PCEM *aʎut: aʎut (KMY, DVB)

**a'pa 'husk of rice grain'.

PNEM *a'pa: a'pa (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *a'pa: a'pa (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *apa: apa (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, ISM, KLT), a'pa
(MSK, KLK)

(**) apan 'grasshopper'. Cf. apan (KLK)

PNEM *a(m)pan: ampan (TSG), apan (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *apan: apan (KMY, DVB)

**apas 'to pursue'.

PNEM *apas: apas (TSG, BUT 'to follow, to go with', MWA,
SUR)

PCEM *apas: apas (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *apas: apas (MSK 'to hurry after someone', KLK
'come later')

**apdu 'bile, gall'.

PNEM *apdu: apdu (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *apdu: apdu (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *apdu: apdu (MSK, KLK)

(**) aplud 'puckery flavour, astringent'. Cf. saplud (KLK)

PNEM *aplud: aplud (TSG), aplud (MWA)

PCEM *appud: appud (KMY, DVB)

**apug 'lime'.

PNEM *apug: apug (TSG 'a. burned firewood; b. prepared
betel chew', BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *apug: apug (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *apug: apug (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

(**)apug 'grandparent, grandchild'.

PNEM *apuq: apuq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), kaqapuq-apuqan (BUT)

PCEM *(a(um))puq: apuq (KMY), kaqapuq-apuqan (KMY 'ancestors'), umpuq (DVB)

(**)apuḡud 'pimple on skin'.

PNEM *(a(m)pu(ḡ)ud: ampuḡud (TSG), apuḡud (BUT, SUR), apuḡud (MWA)

PCEM *apuḡud: apuḡud (KMY, DVB)

**asawa 'wife'.

PNEM *asawa: asawa (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), asawqunun (BUT, SUR 'bride')

PCEM *asawa: asawa (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *asawa: asawa (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLK, KLT)

**a'sin 'salt'.

PNEM *a'sin: a'sin (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *a'sin: a'sin (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *asin: asin (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

(**)aslag 'large gauge'. Cf. aslag (MSK)

PNEM *aslag: aslag (TSG, BUT 'big')

**aslum 'sour'.

PNEM *aslum: aslum (TSG, BUT, SUR), aslum (MWA)

PCEM *aslum: aslum (KMY, DVB), maslum (DVM), maqaslum (DVD)

PSEM *asləm: maslum (MDC), maslēm (MDB)

(**)asu(q) 'steam'.

PNEM *asu(q): asu (TSG, MWA 'smoke, cloudy vision', SUR), asuq (BUT 'smoke', SUR)

PCEM *asu(q): a'su (KMY), asuq (DVD)

CEB asu.

(**)atas 'a sickness of nursing children'. Cf. atas (KLK)

PNEM *atas: atas (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *(a(gu))tas: atas (KMY), gutas (DVB)

**atay 'liver'.

PNEM *atay: atay (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *atay: atay (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *atay: atay (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

(**)atay-atay 'underside of instep, hollow of hand'.

PNEM *atay-atay: atay-atay (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *atay-atay: atay-atay (KMY, DVB)

**atu 'to fight back'.

PNEM *atu: atu (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *atu: atu (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *atu: atu (MSK, KLK)

**atubañ 'to be face to face with'.

PNEM *atubañ: atubañ (TSG, BUT, MWA), atubañan (BUT, MWA 'front'), atbañan (BUT, MWA 'opposite sides'), atbañ (MWA 'opposite', SUR)

PCEM *atubañ: atbañ (KMY), atubañ (DVB)

PSEM *atubañ: atubañan (MSK), atubañ (KLK)

****atuli** 'ear wax'.

PNEM *atuli: atuli (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *atuli: atuli (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *atulay: atulay (MSK, KLT)

(**)atulun 'fire'. Cf. atuun (TSG 'small burning embers')

PCEM *atuun: atuun (KMY, DVB, DVM), atun (DVD)

PSEM *atulun: atuun (MDK, ISM), atulun (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT), atun (KLK)

****a'tup** 'roof'.

PNEM *a'tup: a'tup (TSG, BUT, SUR), a'tup (MWA)

PCEM *a'tup: a'tup (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *a'tup: atup (MDK, MDB, MDM, ISM, KLT), atup (MDC), a'tup (MSK, KLK)

****awas** 'to overflow, flow out'. Cf. **hawas

PNEM *awas: awas (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *awas: awas (KMY 'to drip out, runaway, of water', DVB), awasan (KMY 'waterfall')

PSEM *awas: awas (MSK 'to get off, to unload (from bus, etc.)', KLK)

(**)away 'to fight'.

PNEM *away: away (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *away: away (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

(**)-aya 'later on'. Cf. gaya (KLT)

PNEM *-aya: gaya (BUT), gaygaya (~BUT), kayqan (MWA), nazqan (SUR)

PCEM *qaya: gaya (KMY, DVB)

****ayaw** 'don't!'.

PNEM *ayaw: ayaw (TSG, BUT), azaw (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ayaw: ayaw (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *ayaw: ayaw (MSK, KLK)

**ayuq 'to request'.

PNEM *ayuq: ayuq (TSG, BUT), hañyuq~ñayuq (BUT),
hañyuq~ñazuq (SUR), azuq (MWA, SUR 'keep on begging for
something'). Cf. pañamuyuq (MWA 'to beseech')

PCEM *ayuq: ayuq (KMY), hañyuq~ñayuq (DVB)

PSEM *ayuq: ayuq (MSK, KLK)

CEB ayuq. (var. of kayuq)

**aqun 'to exist, there is'.

PNEM *aqun: aun (TSG), aqun (BUT)

PCEM *aqun: aqun (KMY), aun (DVB)

PSEM *aqun: aqun (MSK), aun (KLK)

(**)ba 'interrogative or intensifier particle'. Cf. ba (KLK)

PNEM *ba: ba (TSG 'intensifier', BUT, SUR)

PCEM *ba: ba (KMY 'interr.', DVB)

**baba 'to carry on back'.

PNEM *baba: baba (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *baba: baba (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *baba: baba (MSK, KLK, KLT)

(**)babaq 'downward direction, under'.

PNEM *babaq: babaq (TSG, MWA)

PSEM *babaq 'below': babaq (MSK, KLT)

**ba' baw 'l. top of, surface'.

PNEM *ba' baw: ba' baw (TSG, BUT, SUR). Cf. hupaw (MWA)

PCEM *ba'ḅaw: ba'ḅaw (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *babaw: babaw (MDK, MDB, MDM), yakababaw (MDC),
ba'ḅaw (MSK, KLK)

(**) -ba'ḅaw `2. shallow'. Cf. mababaw (KLK)

PNEM *-ba'ḅaw: ba'ḅaw (TSG, BUT, MWA), ababaw (~MWA),
ma'ḅaw (SUR)

PCEM *-ba'ḅaw: ba'ḅaw (KMY), ma'ḅaw (DVB)

(**) b{au}bayi `female, woman'.

PNEM *babayi: babaqi (TSG), babazi (MWA, SUR), babazihen
(MWA `sister (of brother)')

PCEM *b{au}bayi: bubayi (KMY, DVB, DVM), babayi (DVD)

PSEM *bubayi: bubayi (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

**babuy `pig'.

PNEM *babuy: babuy (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *babuy: babuy (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *babuy: babuy (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLK)

(**) badbad `to unroll, uncoil'. Cf. badbad (DVB)

PNEM *badbad: badbad (TSG, BUT `to untie', MWA, SUR)

PSEM *badbad: badbad (MSK, KLK)

**badiq `kind of knife'.

PNEM *badiq: badiq (MWA), bariq (SUR)

PCEM *badiq: badiq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *badiq: badiq (MSK, KLK, KLT)

CEB bariq.

**badlis `to engrave, furrow'.

PNEM *badlis: badlis (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), balis~badis
(TSG `row')

PCEM *badlis: badlis (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *badlis: badlis (MSK, KLK)

(**)badluñ 'to scold'. Cf. badluñ (KMY)

PNEM *badluñ: badluñ (BUT, SUR), balduñ (MWA)

PSEM *balluñ 'to play': gapaballuñ (MDK, MDB, MDM),
balluñ (MSK), maballuñ (ISM)

(**)ba'duñ 'kind of large knife'.

PNEM *ba'duñ: ba'duñ (TSG, BUT)

PSEM *ba'duñ: ba'duñ (MSK, KLK)

(**)baduq 'clothing'.

PNEM *baduq: baduq (MWA), baruq (SUR). Cf. bajuq (TSG)

PCEM *baduq: baduq (KMY, DVB)

**badyañ 'kind of plant (Alocasis sp.), the elephant's ear'.
Cf. **bagyu

PNEM *badyañ: bajañ (TSG), badyañ (BUT), bagzañ (MWA,
SUR), badzañ (~SUR)

PCEM *badyañ: badyañ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *badyañ: badjañ (KLK), bagyañ (KLT)

**baga 'live coal from fire'.

PNEM *baga: бага (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *baga: бага (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *baga: бага (MSK, KLK)

(**)bagat 'to find, meet'.

PNEM *bagat: bagat (BUT, MWA), ba'gat (SUR)

PCEM *ba'gat: ba'gat (KMY, DVB)

**bagaq 'lungs'.

PNEM *bagaq: bagaq (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bagaq: bagaq (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *bagaq: bagaq (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

**ba'gaq 'thick in dimension'.

PNEM *ba'gaq: ba'gaq (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *ba'gaq: ba'gaq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *ba'gaq: ba'gaq (MSK 'swelling', KLK 'infected')

CEB ba'gaq.

**bagbag 'to strike with hard blows'.

PNEM *bagbag: bagbag (TSG 'to shatter', BUT, SUR)

PCEM *bagbag: bagbag (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bagbag: bagbag (KLK, KLT 'to strike without purpose')

(**)bagket 'to tie together'. Cf. **bugket, iket (KLK)

PNEM *bagket: baggut (TSG), bagkut (BUT), bugket (MWA)

PCEM *bagket: bagkut (KMY, DVB)

**bagtiñ 'to ring a bell'.

PNEM *bagtiñ: bagtiñ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bagtiñ: bag'tiñ (KMY 'cause to ring'), bagtiñ (DVB)

PSEM *bagtiñ: bagtiñ (MSK, KLK)

**bagyu 'typhoon'. Cf. **badyañ

PNEM *bagyu: baju (TSG), bagyu (BUT), bagzu (SUR, MWA)

PCEM *bagyu: bagyu (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bagyu: bagyu (MSK, KLK)

****bagqañ 'molar'.**

PNEM *bagqañ: buqqañ~bagaqañ (TSG), bagqañ (BUT, MWA, SUR), buqqañ (BUT (variant))

PCEM *bagqañ: bagqañ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bagañ: bagañ (MSK, KLK)

(**)bahag 'loincloth'. Cf. bahag (KLK)

PNEM *bahag: bahag (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bahag: bahag (KMY, DVB, DVD)

CEB bahag.

****ba'haq 'flood'.**

PNEM *ba'haq: ba'haq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ba'haq: ba'haq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *baqaq: baqaq (MSK), baq (KLK, KLT)

****bahaw 'left over food'.**

PNEM *bahaw: bahaw (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bahaw: bahaw (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bahaw: baqaw (MSK 'food prepared for a trip'), bahaw (KLK)

CEB bahaw.

(**)bahin 'to share'. Cf. baqin (MSK)

PNEM *bahin: bahin (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bahin: bahin (KMY, DVB)

(**)bahiq 'fish-tail palm'. Cf. bahiq (DVB)

PNEM *bahiq: bahiq (TSG, BUT, SUR)

PSEM *bahiq: baqiq (MSK), bahiq (KLK)

CEB bahiq.

****bahuq** 'smelly'.

PNEM *ba'huq: ba'huq (MWA, SUR 'a bad smell'), bahuq (SUR 'a smell, good or bad')

PCEM *bahuq: panimahuq (KMY 'to smell', DVB), bahuq (DVB, DVM), bahuqun (DVD)

PSEM *baquq 'to smell': mabaquq (MDK), yabaquq (MDC), gabaquq (MDB, MDM), baquq (MSK), bauq (ISM), boq (KLT), baqu (KLK)

CEB bahuq.

()**baka 'never mind'.

PNEM *baka: baka (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *baka(ni): baka (KMY), bakani (DVB)

CEB baka-baka.

()**bakagwañ 'buttocks'. Cf. bakagwañ (KMY)

PNEM *bakagwañ: bakagwañ (MWA, SUR)

CEB baligkawan. (var. of balatqañ)

()**bakak 'to tell untruth'.

PNEM *bakak: bakak (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bakak: bakak (KMY, DVB)

****bakaka** 'kingfisher'.

PNEM *bakaka: bakakka (TSG), bakaka (BUT, MWA 'vine')

PCEM *bakaka: bakaka (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bakaka: bakaka (MSK 'clam', KLK)

()**bakhaw 'mangrove'. Cf. bakaw (KLK), *bakaw (PAN 'name of a tree')

PNEM *bakhaw: bakaw (TSG), bakhaw (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bakhaw: bakhaw (KMY, DVB)

CEB bakhaw.

****baktin** 'young pig'.

PNEM *baktin: baktin (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *baktin: baktin (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *baktin: baktin (MSK, KLK)

CEB baktin.

****bakul** 'thumb, big toe'.

PNEM *bakul: bakul (TSG), bakul (MWA), bakuu (BUT),
bakayuq (BUT), bakuy (SUR)

PCEM *bakuu: bakuu (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *-bakul: timbabakul (MSK 'thumb'), timbabakul (KLK)

****balabag** 'across, crosswise'.

PNEM *balabag: baabag (TSG), babag (BUT), balabag (MWA
'bar, horizontal'), baybag. (SUR)

PCEM *babag: babag (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *balabag: balabag (MSK 'to bar by placing something
across entrance/path'), babag (KLK)

****balagun** 'vine'.

PNEM *balagun: baagun (TSG), bagun (BUT), balagun (MWA),
bayagun (SUR)

PCEM *bagun: bagun (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *balagun: balagun (MSK), bagun (KLK)

(**)balak 'to recite poetry'. Cf. balak (KLK)

PNEM *balak: balak (BUT, SUR), balakan (MWA 'crossroad')

PCEM *balak: balak (KMY, DVB)

****balañaw** 'rainbow'.

PNEM *balañaw: baañaw (TSG), bañaw (BUT), balañaw (MWA),
ba'yañaw~byañaw (SUR)

PCEM *bañaw: bañaw (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *balañaw: bañaw (MDK), balañaw (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK), bañawan (KLK), bawañawan (KLK (Wendell)), balañawan (KLT)

(**)balat `trepang`.

PNEM *balat: baat (TSG), bayat (SUR)

PCEM *baat: baat (KMY, DVB)

**balatik `trap for animals`.

PNEM *balatik: batik (TSG, BUT), balatik (MWA), bayatik (SUR)

PCEM *batik: batik (KMY `for pigs`, DVB)

PSEM *balatik: balatik (MSK, KLK)

CEB balatik.

(**)balatuñ `string beans`.

PNEM *balatuñ: batuñ (TSG), baatuñ (BUT), balatuñ (MWA), byatuñ (SUR)

PCEM *baatuñ: baatuñ (KMY), batuñ (DVB)

**balay `house`.

PNEM *balay: baay (TSG, BUT), panimaay (BUT `residence`), balazan (MWA `platform`), ba'yay (SUR), panimayay (SUR `residence`)

PCEM *baay: baay (KMY, DVB), bay (DVM)

PSEM *balay: baay (MDK, ISM), balay (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT), bay (KLK)

**balaqi `relationship between people whose children are married`.

PNEM *bala{yq}i: baaqi (TSG), balaqi (BUT), balazi (MWA), byazi (SUR)

PCEM *baqi: baqi (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *balaqi: balaqi (MSK), baaqi (KLK)

CEB balayi.

**bali 'turn over'.

PNEM *bali: bali'hun (BUT, SUR), balhin (BUT, MWA, SUR),
bali (MWA 'other side of solid object')

PCEM *bali: balhin (KMY), bali'hun (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *(b)alin: ballin~balin (MSK 'transfer'), alin (KLK)

CEB balhin 'to transfer'.

(**)balighet 'slip knot'.

PNEM *balighet: ba'lighut (SUR), balighet (MWA)

PCEM *balighu(dt): balighud (KMY), balighut (DVB)

CEB ba'lighut.

**baligyaq 'to sell'.

PNEM *baligyaq: baligyaq (BUT), baligzaq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *baligyaq: baligyaq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *baligyaq: baligyaq (MDK, MDC, MSK, ISM, KLK),
gabaligyaq (MDB), yamaligyaq (MDM)

(**)baliktad 'to overturn'.

PNEM *bali{kq}tad: balitqad < baliqtad (MWA 'backward
somersault'), baliktad (SUR)

PCEM *baliktad: baliktad (KMY, DVB)

CEB baliktad.

(**)balikuq 'crooked, bent over'. See **likuq

PNEM *balikuq: balikuq (BUT, MWA), balikug (SUR)

PCEM *balikuq: balikug (KMY), balikuq (DVB)

CEB balikuq.

**balintuqad 'to overturn, to somersault'.

PNEM *balintuad: balintuad (TSG), balintuwad (BUT, SUR).
Cf. balintuñ (MWA)

PCEM *balintuqad: balintuqad (KMY), balintuad (DVB)

PSEM *balintuwad: balintuwad (KLK, KLT)

CEB balintuwad.

(**)baliñ 'fish net'. Cf. baliñ (KLK)

PNEM *baliñ: baliñ (TSG 'tiny shrimp preserved in
brine', BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *baliñ: baliñ (KMY, DVB)

CEB baliñ.

(**)baliñbiñ 'carambola, a kind of fruit tree (Averrhoa
carambola)'. Cf. baliñbiñ (KLK)

PNEM *baliñbiñ: baimbiñ (TSG), baliñbiñ (BUT, MWA, SUR),
balimbiñ (~SUR)

PCEM *baliñbiñ: baliñbiñ (KMY), balimbiñ (DVB)

CEB baliñbiñ.

(**)balitaw 'particle which confirms speaker's remark'. See
**bitaw

PNEM *balitaw: balitaw (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *balitaw: balitaw (KMY, DVB)

CEB balitaw.

(**)balsahan 'sled, raft'.

PNEM *balsahan: balsahan (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *balsa(han): balsahan (KMY), balsa (DVB, DVD)

CEB balsa.

(**)balu 'widow'. Cf. bau (KMY)

PNEM *balu: balu (TSG, MWA), bau (BUT), bayu (SUR)

PSEM *balu: balu (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT), bau (ISM, KLK)

CEB balu..

(**)balud 'kind of wild pigeon'. Cf. bawud (DVB)

PNEM *balud: bawud (TSG, BUT), balud (MWA), bayud (SUR)

PSEM *balud: balud (MSK 'large dove'), bawud (KLK)

(**)ba{lr}uyut 'soft woven basket'.

PNEM *baluyut: bauyut (TSG), baluyut (BUT), baluzut (MWA), bayuzut (SUR)

PCEM *baruyut: baruyut (KMY), bauyut (DVB)

CEB baluyut.

**balud 'rough sea'.

PNEM *balud: bawud (BUT), balud (MWA), ba'yud (SUR)

PCEM *baud: ba'wud (KMY), baud (DVB)

PSEM *balud: balud (MSK 'wave of sea'), bawud (KLK)

**balus 'to repay, revenge'.

PNEM *balus: baus (TSG, BUT), balus (MWA), bayus (SUR)

PCEM *baus: baus (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *balus: balus (MSK), balus (KLK)

**bana 'husband'.

PNEM *bana: bana (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), banahunun (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bana: bana (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD), banahunun (KMY 'bridegroom')

PSEM *bana: bana (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK)

(**)banahiḡan 'genital organs (male or female)'.
 PNEM *banahiḡan: banahiḡan (BUT, MWA)
 PCEM *banahiḡan: banahiḡan (KMY, DVB)

(**)banak 'mullet'. Cf. banak (KMK). Note: This could be
 **balanak (see TSG and CEB).

PNEM *banak: baanak (TSG), banak (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *banak: banak (KMY, DVB)

CEB balanak.

(**)banhaw 'to revive, resurrect'.

PNEM *banhaw: banhaw (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *banhaw: banhaw (KMY, DVB)

(**)banhud 'numbness'. Cf. banud (KMK)

PNEM *banhud: banhud (TSG, BUT, SUR), banhud (MWA)

PCEM *banhud: banhud (KMY, DVB)

CEB banhud.

(**)ba'nig 'mat'. Cf. banig (MSK 'to place padding between two
 surfaces')

PNEM *ba'nig: ba'nig (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ba'nig: ba'nig (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

CEB ba'nig.

(**)bansil 'artificial gold teeth'. Cf. bansil (KMK)

PNEM *bansil: bansil (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bansil: bansil (KMY, DVB)

CEB bansil.

**bantay 'to keep guard over'.

PNEM *bantay: bantay (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR 'watchman')

PCEM *bantay: bantay (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bantay: bantay (MSK, KLK)

**bantug 'famous'.

PNEM *bantug: bantug (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bantug: bantug (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bantug: bantug (MSK 'to boast, praise, exalt',
KLK)

CEB bantug.

(**)banug 'kite, sail'. Cf. talibanug (KLK)

PNEM *banug: banug (TSG 'triangular sail'), tabanug
(BUT, SUR), banug-banug (MWA)

PCEM *banug: banug-banug (KMY), tabanug (DVB)

**ba'nug (KLK) 'hawk'.

PNEM *ba'nug: ba'nug (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ba'nug: ba'nug (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *ba'nug: banug (MSK 'eagle'), ba'nug (KLK)

CEB ba'nug.

**ban'yus 'to apply liniment'.

PNEM *ban'yus: ban'yus (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ban'yus: ban'yus (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *ban'yus: ban'yus (KLK, KLT)

CEB ban'lus.

(**)baña 'kind of palm'.

PNEM *baña: baña (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *baña: baña (KMY, DVB)

**bañaq `to bite`.

PNEM *bañaq: bañaq (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bañaq: bañaq (KMY, DVB), gibaña (DVD)

PSEM *bañaq: bañaq (MSK `to carry in mouth`, KLK), mañaq (KLT)

(**)ba'ñaq `kind of water jar`.

PNEM *ba'ñaq: ba'ñaq (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *ba'ñaq: ba'ñaq (KMY, DVB)

CEB ba'ñaq.

(**)bañkaw `kind of spear`.

PNEM *bañkaw: binañkaw (TSG `spear with short blade`),
bañkaw (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bañkaw: bañkaw (KMY, DVB)

CEB bañkaw.

(**)bañkaqag `to have knowledge of`.

PNEM *bañkaqag: hibañkaqagan (BUT, SUR), kabañkaqagan
(MWA)

PCEM *bañkaqag: kabañkaqagan (KMY), hibañkaqagan (DVB)

CEB hibañkaqagan.

**bañun `to get up`.

PNEM *bañun: bañun (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bañun: bañun (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bañun: bañun (MSK, KLK)

CEB bañun.

(**)baraw `to converse`.

PCEM *baraw: baraw (KMY), baaw (DVB)

PSEM *balaw: balaw (MSK), bawbaw (KLK)

(**)barhibu 'fur, body hair'.

PNEM *barhibu: bahibu (TSG), balhibu (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *barhibu: barhibu (KMY), balhibu (DVB)

**baribad 'to reject, to refuse'.

PNEM *baribad: baibad (TSG), balibad (BUT, SUR), baribad
(MWA)

PCEM *baribad: baribad (KMY), balibad (DVB)

PSEM *balibad: balibad (MSK 'make excuse', KLK)

(**)bariq 'to break off'. Cf. baliq (MSK)

PNEM *bariq: baliq (TSG, BUT, SUR), bariq (MWA)

PCEM *bariq: bariq (KMY), baliq (DVB)

(**)baruy 'pandanus (Pandanus sp.)'. Cf. baluy (MSK 'palm leaf')

PNEM *baruy: baluy (TSG, SUR), bawuy (BUT), baruy (MWA)

PCEM *baruy: baruy (KMY), bawuy (DVB)

**basa 'to read'.

PNEM *basa: basa (BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf. batsa (TSG)

PCEM *basa: basa (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *basa: basa (MSK, KLK)

(**)basa'kan 'rice paddy'. Cf. basa'kan (KLK)

PNEM *basa'kan: basa'kan (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *basa'kan: basa'kan (KMY, DVB)

CEB basa'kan.

**basaq 'wet'.

PNEM *basaq: basaq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *basaq: basaq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *basaq: basaq (MDK, MDC, MSK, ISM, KLK), mabasaq
(MDB, MDM, KLT)

**basbas 'to trim off twigs and bark, to whittle'.

PNEM *basbas: basbas (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *basbas: basbas (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *basbas: basbas (KLK, KLT)

CEB basbas.

(**)basi 'it might, maybe'. Cf. basi (KLK)

PNEM *basi: basi (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *basi: basi (KMY, DVB)

(**)baskag 'to unravel, unwrap'. Cf. baskag (MSK)

PNEM *baskag: baskag (MWA, SUR 'to rip off, unravel').
Cf. buskag (TSG 'to swell', BUT, SUR, KMY 'to
dismantle')

PCEM *baskag: baskag (KMY, DVB)

CEB baskag.

**bastun 'staff, cudgel'.

PNEM *bastun: bastun (TSG, BUT, SUR)

PCEM *bastun: bastun (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bastun: bastun (KLK, KLT)

CEB bastun 'walking stick'.

**bataŋ 'stalk, stem, log'.

PNEM *bataŋ: bataŋ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bataŋ: bataŋ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bataŋ: bataŋ (MSK, KLK)

CEB batan.

**batasan 'custom, manners, characteristic behaviour'.

PNEM *batasan: batasan (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *batasan: batasan (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *batasan: batasan (MSK, KLK)

CEB batasan.

(**)ba'til 'to mix, scramble'.

PNEM *ba'til: ba'til (BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf. batil (TSG
'wash basin')

PCEM *ba'til: ba'til (KMY, DVB)

**batu 'stone'.

PNEM *batu: batu (TSG, MWA), ba'tu (SUR)

PCEM *batu: ba'tu (KMY, DVD), batu (DVB, DVM)

PSEM *batu: batu (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLT),
ba'tu (KLK)

**batuk 'to search for, especially something left behind'.

PNEM *batuk: batuk (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR 'to notice')

PCEM *batuk: batuk (KMY, DVB), batuk-batukan (KMY 'hide
and seek')

PSEM *batuk: batuk (MSK 'to find and reveal something
hidden'), batuk-batukan (KLK)

(**)batud 'beetle larva'. Cf. batud (MSK 'edible worm')

PNEM *-batud: abatud (BUT), abatud (MWA)

PCEM *batud: batud (KMY, DVB)

**bayad 'to pay'.

PNEM *bayad: bayad (TSG, BUT), bazad (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bayad: baydi (KMY), bayad (KMY, DVB, DVM), 'bayad
(DVD)

PSEM *bayad: bayad (MDK, MDC, MDB, MSK, KLK, KLT),
gabayad (MDM), mabayad (ISM)

**ba'yaw 'brother or sister-in-law'.

PNEM *ba'yaw: ba'yaw (BUT), ba'zaw (SUR)

PCEM *ba'yaw: ba'yaw (KMY 'in-law relationship', DVB)

PSEM *ba'yaw: ba'yaw (MSK, KLK)

**baybay 'shore'.

PNEM *baybay: baybay (BUT, SUR), baybayun (BUT 'beach'),
baybazun (MWA)

PCEM *baybay: baybay (DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *baybay: baybay (MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM)

CEB baybay.

**bay'huq 'face'.

PNEM *bay'huq: bayhuq (TSG, MWA), bay'huq (BUT), baz'huq
(SUR 'forehead')

PCEM *bayhuq: bayhuq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *bayuq 'forehead': bayuq (KLK, KLT)

(**)baylu 'to change, replace'. Cf. baluy (KLT)

PNEM *baylu: baylu (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *baylu: baylu (KMY, DVB)

CEB baylu.

**bayu 'to pound in a mortar'.

PNEM *bayu: bayu (TSG, BUT), bazu (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bayu: bayu (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *bayu: yaqabayu (MDK), bayu (KLT)

CEB bayu 'beat to a pulp'.

(**)bayut 'effeminate man'. Cf. bayut (KLK)

PNEM *bayut: bayut (BUT), bazut (SUR)

PCEM *bayut: bayut (KMY, DVB)

CEB bayut.

**baqbaq 'mouth'.

PNEM *baqbaq: baqbaq (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *baqbaq: baqbaq (KMY, DVB, DVD), babaq (DVM)

PSEM *babaq: babaq (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK)

CEB baqbaq.

**baq'gu 'new'.

PNEM *baq'gu: baqgu (TSG), bag'qu (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bag'qu: bag'qu (KMY, DVB, DVD), bagu (DVM)

PSEM *bagu: bagu (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB bagqu.

(**)baqid 'to ask permission'.

PNEM *baqid: baqid (TSG, MWA)

PCEM *baqid: baqid (KMY, DVB)

(**)baqrus 'to become rancid, of prepared foods'. Cf. barqus (KMY), balus (KLT), balos (CS-Sama)

PNEM *baqrus: baqlus (TSG), balus (TSG), baqus (BUT)

**ba{qh}u(qu) 'tortoise'.

PNEM *baqu(qu): baququ (TSG, BUT), ba'qu (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ba{qh}u(qu): ba'qu (KMY), bahuqu (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *baqu(qu): baququ (MDC), bau (MDB, MDM, ISM, KLK, KLT), baqu (MSK)

CEB ba'qu.

CEB baququ.

(**)baquñ 'dipper made from coconut shell'. Cf. baquñ (MSK)

PNEM *baquñ: baquñ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *baquñ: baquñ (KMY, DVB)

CEB baquñ.

**bibañ 'large lizard'.

PNEM *bibañ: bibañ (TSG, MWA, SUR), gibañ (BUT)

PCEM *bibañ: bibañ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bibañ: bibañ (MSK, KLK)

**bibi 'edible bivalve from river (Wolff 'lucina clam')'.

PNEM *bibi: bibi (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bibi: bibi (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bibi: bibi (MSK 'large clam', KLK)

CEB bibi.

(**)biduq 'to worry, be anxious'. Cf. biduq (MSK 'a man with no desire to marry')

PNEM *biduq: biduq (MWA), biruq (SUR)

PCEM *biduq: biduq (KMY, DVB)

CEB biruq.

**bidyuq 'speargun'.

PNEM *bidyuq: bijuq (BUT), bidzuq (MWA)

PCEM *bidyuq: bijuq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bidyuq: bidjuay (KLK, KLT). Note: *bidyuq -> bidjuqay -> bidjuay

CEB bijuq.

(**)bigaq `indecent, lustful`.

PNEM *bigaq: bigaq (TSG, SUR `swear word`)

PCEM *bigaq: bigaq (KMY, DVB)

CEB bigaq. /

(**)bihag `prisoner`.

PNEM *bihag: bihag (TSG, MWA)

PSEM *bihag: biyag (MSK), bihag (KLK)

CEB bihag.

**bikad `to spread legs apart`.

PNEM *bikad: bikad (BUT, MWA, SUR), bikad-bikad (SUR
`walking with legs far apart`)

PCEM *bikad: bikad (KMY `sprawling`, DVB)

PSEM *bikad: bikad (MSK, KLK)

(**)bikañkañ `to have feet spread far apart`.

PNEM *bikañkañ: biñkañ (TSG), bikañkañ (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bikañkañ: bikañkañ (KMY, DVB)

CEB bikañkañ.

(**)bikaqkaq `sit with legs wide apart`.

PNEM *bikaqkaq: bikaqkaq (TSG, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bikaqkaq: bikaqkaq (KMY, DVB)

CEB bikaqkaq.

**biku `confection of sticky rice cooked with sugar`.

PNEM *biku: biku (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *biku: biku (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *biku: biku (MSK `sticky rice cooked with coconut`,
KLK)

CEB biku.

(**)bikug 'muscular cramp'.

PNEM *bikug: bikug (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bikug: bikug (KMY, DVB)

CEB bikug.

**bilañ 'to count'.

PNEM *bilañ: bilañ (TSG, SUR, MWA)

PCEM *bilañ: bilañ (KMY 'to mark hour of day by ringing church bell', DVD)

PSEM *bilañ: gabilañ (MDB, MDM), bilañ (MSK, KLK, KLT)

(**)bilañkad 'to sit with legs apart, of a woman'.

PNEM *bilañkad: bilañkad (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bilañkad: bilañkad (KMY, DVB)

CEB bilañkad.

**bilas 'eye infection'.

PNEM *bilas: bilas (TSG, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bilas: bilas (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bilas: bilas (MSK, KLK)

CEB bilas.

**bili 'to buy'.

PNEM *bili: biih (TSG), bili (BUT), bilqunun (BUT 'buying price')

PCEM *bili: bili (DVM, DVD)

PSEM *bili: gabili (MDB), bili (MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK)

(**)bilin 'to remain, to be left behind'. Cf. bilin (MSK)

PNEM *bilin: biin (TSG), bilin (BUT, MWA, SUR), kabilin (BUT, MWA 'heirloom, inheritance')

PCEM *bilin: bilin (KMY, DVB)

CEB bilin.

**binhiq 'seed for planting'.

PNEM *binhiq: binhiq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *binhiq: binhiq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *biniq: bini (MSK), biniq (KLK, KLT)

CEB binhiq.

(**)binuquhan 'coconut shell with husk and flesh removed'.

PNEM *binuquhan: binuquhan (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *binuquhan: binuquhan (KMY, DVB)

CEB binuquhan.

(**)biñ(w)it 'to fish with hook and line'. Cf. biñwit (MSK)

PNEM *biñ(w)it: biñit (TSG), biñwit (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *biñwit: biñwit (KMY, DVB)

CEB biñit.

~CEB biñwit.

(**)birik 'to turn'. Cf. bilik (MSK 'to turn oneself around')

PNEM *birik: bilik-bilik (BUT 'twisting'), birik (MWA),
bilik (SUR)

PCEM *birik: birik (KMY), bilik (KMY, DVB)

(**)bisan 'even though'. Cf. bisan (KLK)

PNEM *bisan: minsan (TSG), bisan (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bisan: bisan (KMY, DVB)

CEB bisan.

(**)bisbis 'to sprinkle or drip water'. Cf. bisbis (MSK)

PNEM *bisbis: bisbis (TSG 'to remove weeds which spring up after watering', MWA), balisbisan (BUT 'eave of house where rain drips off'), balisbis (SUR)

PCEM *bisbis: bisbis (KMY, DVB)

CEB bisbis.

**bitay 'to hang down'.

PNEM *bitay: bitay (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), kulambitay (MWA 'to swing across on a rope')

PCEM *bitay: bitay (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bitay: bitay (MSK 'to hang up', KLK)

CEB bitay.

(**)bitaqnag 'kind of tree used for firewood'. Cf. bitanqag (KLK)

PNEM *bitaqnag: bintaqnag (TSG), bitanqag (BUT, MWA)

PCEM *bitanqag: bitanqag (KMY, DVB)

CEB bitanqag.

**bitbit 'to carry something in hand, to carry something heavy suspended from arm'.

PNEM *bitbit: bitbit (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bitbit: bitbit (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bitbit: bitbit (MSK, KLK)

CEB bitbit.

**bitiqis 'leg, excluding foot'.

PNEM *bitiqis/*biqtis: biqtis~bitis (TSG), bitiqis (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bitiqis: bitiqis (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *bitiqis: bitiqis (MDC, MSK 'lower leg'), bitiis (ISM), bitis (KLK, KLT)

****bituqun** 'star'.

PNEM *bituqun: bituqun (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bituqun: bituqun (KMY, DVB, DVD)

PSEM *bituqun: bituqun (MDK, MDC, MDB, MSK), bituun
(MDM, ISM), bitun (KLK, KLT)

****bitək** 'kind of intestinal worm'.

PNEM *bitək: bituk (BUT, SUR), bitək (MWA)

PCEM *bituk: bituk (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bitək: bitək (MSK, KLK)

CEB bituk.

****biyaq** 'to leave behind deliberately, to reject'. Cf. biyaq
(MSK)

PNEM *biyaq: biyaq (BUT), bizaq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *-biyaq: mubiyaq (KMY 'to dwell', DVB)

(**)biyu 'to revolve about something'.

PNEM *biyu: biyuu (BUT 'woven band of native broom'),
bizu (MWA), biju (SUR)

PCEM *biyuu: biyuu (KMY 'twirl', DVB)

****bubuñ** 'thatch over ridge of roof'.

PNEM *bubuñ: bubuñ (TSG, MWA, SUR), bubuñan (BUT)

PCEM *bubuñ: bubuñan (KMY; DVB)

PSEM *b(ui)bun: bubuñ (MSK 'ridge of roof'), bibuñan
(KLK)

(**)budhiq 'to reciprocate'. Cf. budhiqan (DVB), budhiq(KLK),
buddhi (Skr 'the intellectual faculty')

PNEM *budhiq: buddi (TSG), budhiqan (BUT 'to take
revenge'), budhiq (SUR 'to deceive, as a man who takes
a mistress')

(**)bugaw `to drive off, as flies'. Cf. bugaw (KLK)

PNEM *bugaw: bugaw (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bugaw: bugaw (KMY, DVB)

(**)bu({gl})bug `to cook starch foods till soft'. Cf. bibug (MSK `to cook with much water, soft cooked food', KLK)

PNEM *bu({gl})bug: bugbug (TSG), bubug (BUT), bulbug (MWA), buybug (SUR)

PCEM *bubug: bubug (KMY, DVB)

(**)bugnu(st) `to tug, jerk something away from'.

PNEM *bugnu(st): bugnus (TSG), bugnut (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bugnut: bugnut (KMY, DVB)

CEB bugnusun `hauling sheet (naut.)'.

(**)bugsuk `to dive into water'. Cf. bugsuk (MSK `to pour out (water)')

PNEM *bugsuk: bugsuk (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bugsuk: tibugsuk (KMY), bugsuk (DVB)

CEB bugsuk.

(**)bugtuñ `only one, unique'. Cf. bugtuñ (MSK)

PNEM *bugtuñ: bugtuñ (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bugtuñ: bugtuñ (KMY, DVB)

**bugtuq `to snap, break'.

PNEM *bugtuq: bugtuq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bugtuq: bugtuq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bugtuq: bugtuq (MSK, KLK)

CEB bugtuq.

(**)buguk `ear infection with smelly discharge'. Cf. buhuk (CS.2 `rotton'), tabuguk (KLK `small squid')

PNEM *buguk: tabuguk (BUT), bu'guk (SUR)

PCEM *(b)u'guk-: u'gukun (KMY), bu'guk (DVB)

**buharin 'sand'.

PNEM *buharin: buharin (TSG, BUT, SUR)

PCEM *buharin: buharin (KMY, DVB, DVD)

PSEM *buwarin: buwarin (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK)

**buhis 'tribute, tax'.

PNEM *buhis: buwis (TSG, BUT), buhis (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buhis: buhis (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *buhis: buwis (MSK), buhis (KLK)

CEB buhis.

(**)buhiq '1. to be alive'. Cf. buqiq (MSK)

PNEM *buhiq: buhiq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buhiq: buhiq (KMY, DVB)

CEB buhiq.

(**)buhiq '2. to set free, to escape'. Cf. buwi (KLK)

PNEM *buhiq: buhiq (TSG), buhiqan (MWA)

PCEM *buhiq: buhiqan (KMY, DVB)

CEB buhiq.

**buhuk 'hair (of head)'.

PNEM *buhuk: buhuk (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buhuk: buhuk (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *buhuk: buhuk (MDK), buquk (MDC)

CEB buhuk.

buka 'circular opening'. See ()b(uə)kaha

PNEM *buka: buka (TSG 'hoop, large bracelet', BUT 'barrel', SUR 'gun-barrel opening')

PCEM *buka: buka (KMY 'barrel', DVB)

PSEM *buka: buka (MSK 'opening of barrel of gun', KLK)

(**)bukadkad 'to open in an upward direction'. Cf. bukadkad (MSK 'to lay out, to reveal')

PNEM *bukadkad: bukadkad (TSG 'to bubble up', MWA 'to stand up or move quickly because frightened', SUR 'to open up')

PCEM *bukadkad: bukadkad (KMY 'to unfold', DVB)

(**)b(uə)kas 'to uncover'. Cf. bukas (DVB)

PNEM *bukas: bukis (TSG), bukas (BUT, SUR), bəkas (MWA)

PSEM *bukas: bukas (MSK, KLK)

CEB bukas.

**bukay 'white parrot with crest, cockatoo'.

PNEM *bukay: bukay (TSG), abukay (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bukay: abukay (KMY), bukay (DVB)

PSEM *bukay: bukay (MSK, KLK)

CEB abukay.

CEB bukay.

(**)bukayuq 'confection of sugar and grated soft coconut'. Cf. bukyayuq (KLK)

PNEM *bukayuq: bukyayuq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buk(h)ayuq: bukyayuq (KMY), bukyayuq (DVB)

CEB bukyayuq.

~CEB bukyayuq.

(**)bukaq 'to break open, to split apart'. Cf. buka (MSK 'to reveal')

PNEM *bukaq: bukaq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bukaq: bukaq (KMY 'to open the mouth wide, to yawn on waking', DVB)

(**)bukbuk '1. pound into powder'.

PNEM *bukbuk: bubuk (TSG 'food which main ingredient is ground dried fish'), bubuk (BUT, MWA)

PCEM *bukbuk: bubuk (KMY 'powder from wood boring insects', DVB)

(**)bukbuk '2. boring insect, weevil'. Cf. bubuk (DVB)

PNEM *bukbuk: bubuk (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *bukbuk: bubuk (MSK 'termite', KLK)

CEB bubuk.

**bukid 'mountain'.

PNEM *bukid: bukid (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *bukid: bukid (KMY, DVD)

PSEM *bukid: bukid (MDB, MDM)

CEB bukid.

(**)bukiqkiq 'to look for by parting something with fingers'.

PNEM *bukiqkiq: bukiqkiq (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *bukiqkiq: bukiqkiq (KMY 'to spread apart', DVB)

CEB bukiqkiq.

(**)buktut 'hunchback'. Cf. buktut (KLK)

PNEM *buktut: buktuk (BUT), buktut (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buktut: buktut (KMY, DVB)

CEB buktuk 'kind of hump-backed fish'.

**buku `knot`.

PNEM *buku: buku (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *buku: buku (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *buku: buku (MSK, KLK)

CEB buku `node in branch`.

**buku-buku `1. ankle`.

PNEM *buku-buku: buku-buku (TSG, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buku-buku: buku-buku (DVB, DVM)

PSEM *buku-buku: buku-buku (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLK
`knee`, KLT)

(**)buku-buku `2. backbone`.

PNEM *buku-buku: buku-buku (BUT, SUR `protruding bone`)

PCEM *buku-buku: buku-buku (KMY `spinal cord of animal`,
DVB)

CEB buku-buku `back of person or animal`.

(**)bu`lag `to be blind`. Cf. bulag (KLK)

PNEM *bu`lag: bulag (TSG, SUR)

PCEM *bulag: bulag (DVM, DVD)

**bu(lr)ak `flower, young fruit`.

PNEM *bulak: bulak (TSG `unripe`), buwak (BUT), buyak
(MWA, SUR)

PCEM *burak: burak (KMY), buwak (DVB, DVM), bulak (DVD)

PSEM *bulak: buwak (MDK, MDC), bulak (MDB, MDM, MSK,
ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB bulak.

**bulan `moon`.

PNEM *bulan: bulan (TSG, MWA), buwan (BUT), buyan (SUR)

PCEM *buwan: buwan (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *bulan: buwan (MDK, KLK), bulan (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT), buan (ISM)

(**)bulan-bulan `1. kind of fish, a tarpon'. Cf. uwan (KLK)

PNEM *bulan-bulan: buan-buan (TSG, BUT), bulan-bulan (MWA), buyan-buyan (SUR)

PCEM *buan-buan: buan-buan (KMY, DVB)

(**)bulan-bulan `2. kind of game played on moonlight nights'. Cf. buan-buan (DVB)

PNEM *bulan-bulan: buan-buan (BUT), bulan-bulan (MWA), buyan-buyan (SUR)

(**)bulan-bulan `3. kind of plant'.

PNEM *bulan-bulan: bulan-bulan (TSG, SUR), buyan-buyan (~SUR)

(**)bulañ `to fight cocks'.

PNEM *bulañ: bulañ (TSG, MWA), buañ (BUT), buyañ (SUR)

PCEM *buañ: buañ (KMY, DVB)

**bulawan `gold'.

PNEM *bulawan: bulawan (TSG, MWA), buwawan (BUT), buyawan (SUR)

PCEM *buwawan: buwawan (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bulawan: bulawan (MSK), buwawan (KLK)

CEB bulawan.

**bulbul `hair, especially pubic hair'.

PNEM *bulbul: bulbul (TSG `feather, fur, hair of animals', MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bulbul: bulbul (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bu(1)bu(1): bubul (MSK `feathers'), bubu (KLK), bulbul (KLT)

CEB bulbul.

(**)bulhug 'going blind'. Cf. **b{uɐ}{lr}aq, bulhug (KMY), bulag (KLK)

PNEM *bulhug: bulhug (BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf. bulag (TSG)

CEB bulhug.

(**)buli 'buri palm (Corypha elata)'.

PNEM *buli: buli (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buli: buli (KMY), buri (~KMY, DVB)

CEB buli.

**bulig 'cluster, bunch'.

PNEM *bulig: bulig (TSG 'bananas clustered on a central stalk', BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bulig: bulig (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bulig: bulig (MSK, KLK)

CEB bulig.

(**)bulikat 'to distend the eyelids'. Cf. bilat (KLK)

PNEM *bulikat: bulikat (BUT, MWA)

PCEM *bulikat: bulikat (KMY, DVB)

(**)bulud 'mountain, hill'.

PNEM *bulud: buud (TSG, BUT), buyud (SUR)

PCEM *buud: buud (KMY, DVB)

CEB bulud 'low hill'.

(**)bulu(q) 'kind of bamboo'.

PNEM *bulu(q): lubuq (TSG), buu (BUT), bulu(q) (MWA)

CEB buluq 'Schizostachyum lumampao'.

****bunal** 'to pound'.

PNEM *bunal: bunai (MWA, SUR), bunay (~SUR)

PCEM *buna(wl): bunaw (KMY), bunal (DVB)

PSEM *bunal: bunai (MSK, KLT)

CEB bunai.

(**)bunbun 'sand'. Cf. bunbun (DVB)

PNEM *bunbun: bunbun (TSG 'white sand on sea floor', BUT 'mound', MWA, SUR 'sand in middle of river at low tide')

PSEM *bunbun: bunbun (MSK, KLK)

(**)bunhuk 'small insect parasite'. Cf. bunuk (MSK 'grasshopper')

PNEM *bunhuk: bunhuk (BUT, MWA 'chicken lice', SUR 'lice in old houses, fleas')

PCEM *bunhuk: bunhuk (KMY 'fleas', DVB)

CEB bunhuk 'chicken mites'.

(**)buntit 'protruding stomach'. Cf. buntit (KMY)

PNEM *buntit: buntit (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PSEM *buntit 'stomach': buntit (KLK, .KLT)

CEB buntis 'pregnant'.

(**)buntug 'to force something into water'. Cf. buntug (MSK 'to throw')

PNEM *buntug: buntug (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buntug: buntug (KMY, DVB)

CEB buntug 'to sink something'.

****bunut** 'coconut husk'.

PNEM *bunut: bunut (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bunut: bunutan (KMY 'fibre in food'), bunut (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bunut: bunut (MSK, KLK)

**bunuq 'to kill'.

PNEM *bunuq: .bunuq (TSG, BUT, MWA 'with spear', SUR 'to stab')

PCEM *bunuq: bunuq (KMY 'to throw a lethal object', DVB)

PSEM *bunuq: bunuq (MSK, KLK 'throw')

CEB bunuq.

(**)bunqug 'bruise'.

PNEM *bunqug: bunqug (MWA, SUR 'punch')

PCEM *bunqug: bunqug (KMY, DVB)

CEB bunqug.

**buña '1. fruit'.

PNEM *buña: buña (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buña: buña (KMY, DVB, DVD)

PSEM *buña: buña (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

(**)buña '2. betel nut'.

PNEM *buña: buña (TSG 'green betel nut', BUT, SUR)

PCEM *buña: buña (DVB, DVD)

**buñiq 'hairlip'.

PNEM *buñiq: buñiq (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buñiq: buñiq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *buñiq: buñiq (MSK, KLK)

CEB buñiq.

(**)buńsud 'fish corral'. Cf. buńsud (KLK)

PNEM *buńsud: buńsud (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buńsud: buńsud (KMY, DVB)

CEB buńsud.

(**)buńut 'beard'.

PNEM *buńut: puńut (TSG), buńut (BUT, MWA, SUR 'beard, fibres')

PCEM *buńut: buńut (KMY, DVB)

(**)buńtud 'hill, ridge'. Cf. puńtud (KMY), buntud (KLT 'summit')

PNEM *buńtud: buńtud (MWA, SUR)

CEB buńtud 'hill'.

(**)buńqaw 'gaping hole'.

PNEM *buńqaw: buńqaw (MWA, SUR)

CEB buńqaw 'chasm'.

**buriń 'sooty, dirty'.

PNEM *buriń: buliń (TSG 'charcoal', BUT 'dirt that rubs off skin', SUR), bulińit~bulińut (SUR 'dirty face or body'). Cf. uriń (MWA 'charcoal')

PCEM *buriń: buriń (KMY), buliń (DVB)

PSEM *(b)uliń: buliń (MSK 'to corrupt, defile', KLT 'multi-colored'), uliń (KLK)

(**)bu(rl)it 'to paste, to paint'. Cf. bulit (KLK)

PNEM *burit: bulit (BUT, SUR), burit (MWA)

PCEM *bulit: bulit (KMY, DVB)

CEB bulit 'to caulk with viscous substance'.

(**)b(u)skay. 'to count using tally markers'.

PNEM *buskay: buskay (TSG, BUT)

**buslut 'hole in wall of container'.

PNEM *buslut: buslut (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buslut: buslut (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *buslut: buslut (MSK 'to leak', KLK)

(**)busug 'full, satisfies'.

PNEM *busug: busug (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *busug: busug (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

CEB busug.

(**)busuᳵ 'punishment from supernatural being, for failing to keep customs'. Cf. busuᳵ (DVB)

PNEM *busuᳵ: busuᳵ (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PSEM *busuᳵ: busuᳵ (MSK, KLK)

CEB busuᳵ.

**buta 'blind'.

PNEM *buta: buta (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buta: buta (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *buta: buta (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT
'blind in one eye')

CEB buta.

**butakal 'male animal, boar'.

PNEM *butakal: butakaa (BUT 'boar'), butakal (MWA 'male dog or pig'), butakaw~butakay (SUR 'boar')

PCEM *butakal: butakal (KMY 'female pig'), butakaw (DVB)

PSEM *butakal 'male pig': butakal (MSK, KLT)

**butbutun 'hemorrhoid'.

PNEM *butbutun: butbutun (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *butbutun: butbutun (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *butbut 'anus': butbut (MDB, MDM, MSK)

CEB butbut.

**buti 'small pox'.

PNEM *buti: buti (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buti: buti (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *buti: buti (MSK, KLK)

CEB buti.

(**)butiti 'kind of fish, inedible (Agusan River)'. Cf. butiti (KLK)

PNEM *butiti: butiti (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *butiti: butiti (KMY, DVB)

CEB butiti 'puffer fish'.

**butu 'to burst, explode'.

PNEM *butu: butu (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *butu: butu (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *butu: butu (MSK, KLK)

CEB butu.

(**)butud 'to be decaying'.

PNEM *butud: butud (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *butud: butud (KMY, DVB)

(**)butuq 'l. penis'. Cf. butuq (KLK)

PNEM *butuq: butuq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *butuq: butuq (KMY, DVB)

CEB butuq 'female genitalia'.

(**)butuq '2. testicles'. Cf. butuq (MWA)

PCEM *butuq: butuq (KMY, DVB). Cf. butuqan (KMY
'elephantiasis of scrotum')

CEB butuq.

**buwa 'cradle for baby, hung from roof'.

PNEM *buwa: buahan (TSG), bwahan (BUT), buwa (MWA), bua
(SUR)

PCEM *bua: bua (KMY), buahan (DVB)

PSEM *buwa: buwa (MSK, KLK)

(**)buwa-buwa 'to put a baby to sleep'. Cf. buwa-buwa (KLK)

PNEM *buwa-buwa: bua-bua (TSG, BUT 'lullaby', SUR 'rock
a baby to sleep'), buwa-buwa (MWA)

PCEM *buwa-buwa: buwa-buwa (KMY 'to rock'), buwa (DVB)

(**)buwahan 'lansones'.

PNEM *buwahan: buahan (TSG, BUT, SUR), buwahan (MWA)

PCEM *buwahan: buwahan (KMY, DVB)

(**)buwaq '1. endosperm growing in coconut'. Cf. buwaq (KLK)

PNEM *buwaq: buwaq (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buwaq: buwaq (KMY, DVB)

CEB buwaq.

(**)buwaq '2. prolapsed uterus'.

PNEM *buwaq: buwaq (BUT, MWA, SUR 'piles')

PCEM *buwaq: buwaq (KMY, DVB)

CEB buwaq.

(**)buyagan 'ability to perform witchcraft, cast spells'. Cf.
buyagan (KLK)

PNEM *buyagan: buyagan (BUT), buzagan (MWA)

PCEM *buyagan: buyagan (KMY, DVB)

(**)buyug 'kind of wasp'.

PNEM *buyug: buzug (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buyug: buyug (KMY 'bee', DVB)

CEB buyug.

**buyug 'betel leaf'.

PNEM *buyug: buyug (TSG, BUT), buzug (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buyug: buyug (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *buyug: buyug (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK)

CEB buyug.

(**)buqan '1. crazy'. Cf. buqan (KLK)

PNEM *buqan: buqan (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buqan: buqan (KMY, DVB)

CEB buqan.

(**)buqan '2. meatless coconut'.

PNEM *buqan: buqan (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buqan: buqan (KMY, DVB)

CEB buqan.

**buqaya 'crocodile'.

PNEM *buqaya: buqaya (TSG, BUT), buqaza (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buqaya: buqaya (KMY, DVB, DVD), buaya (DVM)

PSEM *buwaya: buwaya (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

CEB buqaya.

(**)buqbuq 'to pour liquid'. Cf. bubuq (MSK)

PNEM *buqbuq: bubuq (TSG), buqbuq (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buqbuq: buqbuq (KMY), bubuq (DVB)

CEB buqbuq.

(**)buqsag 'to pour water on'. Cf. busag (KLT 'to come out of a small opening')

PNEM *buqs{au}g: busug~buqsug (TSG), busqag (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *busqag: busqag (KMY, DVB)

**buqud 'to be sulky'.

PNEM *buqud: buqud (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buqud: buqud (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *buqud: buqud (MSK 'to give up in anger', KLK)

CEB buqud.

**-buquk 'whole, entire, of a piece, unit'.

PNEM *-buquk: -buquk (TSG, SUR), tibuquk (TSG, BUT, SUR), kambuquk (TSG 'one')

PCEM *-buquk: -buquk (KMY, DVB), tibuquk (KMY)

PSEM *-buquk: buquk (MSK 'piece'), sambuk (KLK)

CEB tibuquk.

(**)buquŋ 'to break'. Cf. buquŋ (MSK)

PNEM *buquŋ: buquŋ (TSG 'to break into halves', BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *buquŋ: buquŋ (KMY, DVB)

CEB buquŋ.

**bedbed 'confection of sticky rice cooked in leaf wrapper'.

PNEM *bedbed: bedbud (BUT, SUR), bedbed (MWA)

PCEM *budbud: budbud (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bʉdbʉd: bʉdbʉd (MSK 'to bind up', KLK 'wrapped, bound')

(**)bʉ'dʉs 'to be pregnant'. Cf. mabʉs (KLK)

PNEM *bʉ'dʉs: budus (TSG, BUT, SUR), -bdus (~BUT, ~SUR), kabʉs (MWA)

PCEM *budus: budus (KMY), kabʉs (DVB)

(**)bʉdlay 'fatigued'.

PNEM *bʉdlay: budlay (TSG 'morning sickness', BUT, SUR), mabʉdlay (MWA 'not able to work because of being sickly')

PCEM *budlay: budlay (KMY, DVB)

**bʉgas 'husked rice'.

PNEM *bʉgas: bugas (TSG, BUT, SUR), bʉgas (MWA)

PCEM *bugas: bugas (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *bʉgas: bʉgas (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT), bugas (MDC)

CEB bugas.

**bʉgʉt 'to tie'. Cf. **bagʉt, bugʉs and ikʉt (KLK)

PNEM *bʉgʉt: bugʉt (BUT, SUR), bʉgʉt (MWA)

PCEM *bugʉt: bugʉt (KMY, DVB)

CEB bugʉt.

**bʉgsay 'canoe paddle'. Cf. *bʉsay (PAN 'canoe paddle')

PNEM *bʉgsay: bugsay (TSG, SUR), bʉgsay (MWA, ~SUR)

PCEM *bugsay: bugsay (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *bʉgsay: bʉgsay (MDK, MSK, KLK), bugsay (MDC, ISM, KLT), gabʉgsay (MDB, MDM)

CEB bugsay.

****bəgən** 'swelling, goitre'.

PNEM *bəgən: bugun (TSG, BUT, SUR), bəgən (MWA)

PCEM *bugun: bugun (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bəgən: bəgən (MSK, KLK)

(**)bəkad 'to uncover, to spread out, like a mat'. Cf. bəkad (MSK), ****bəkklad**

PNEM *bəkad: bukad (BUT, SUR), bəkad (MWA)

PCEM *bukad: bukad (KMY, DVB)

(**)bəkklad 'to spread out, like a mat'. See ****bəkad**, also 2.3.2.4.5

PNEM *bəkklad: buklad (TSG), bu'kad (BUT), bəkklad (MWA), bukyad (SUR)

PCEM *buk(1)ad: buklad (KMY), bu'kad (KMY, DVB)

CEB buklad.

****bəkten** 'arm (not including hand)'.

PNEM *bəkten: bukten (TSG 'sleeve', BUT, SUR), bəkten (MWA)

PCEM *bukten: bukten (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *bəkten: bəkten (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT), bukten (MDC)

****bu'kəg** 'bone'.

PNEM *bu'kəg: bu'kug (TSG, BUT, SUR), bəkəg (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *bu'kug: bu'kug (KMY, DVB, DVD), ibukgan (KMY 'to have a bone stuck in the throat')

PSEM *bəkəg 'athwart the throat (as a fish bone)': bəkəg (MSK, KLT)

CEB bu'kug.

(**)bəkəg 'not so'.

PCEM *bukuq: bukuq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bukəq: bukəq (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLK, KLT), bukuq (MDC, ISM)

**bəlad 'to dry in sun'. Cf. **bəkład

PNEM *bəlad: buad (TSG, BUT), bəlad (MWA), buyad (SUR)

PCEM *buwad: buwad (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *bəlad: gabuwad (MDK), bulada (MDC), bəladen (MDB), bəlad (MDM, MSK, KLT), buəd (ISM), bəwad (KLK)

(**)bəlag 'to separate'. Cf. búlag (KLK)

PNEM *bəlag: buwag (BUT), bəlag (MWA), buyag (SUR)

PCEM *buwag: buwag (KMY, DVB)

CEB buwag.

(**)bəlaq 'to split bamboo'.

PNEM *bəlaq: bulaq (TSG, SUR), bəlaq (MWA)

PSEM *bəlaq 'rattan': buwaq (MDK), bəlaq (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK), bəaq (KLK)

**bə{lr}əñ 'to be surprized'.

PNEM *bərəñ: buyuñ (BUT 'noisy', SUR), bərəñ (MWA)

PCEM *buuñ: buuñ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bələñ: bələñ (MSK), bəñ-bəñ (KLK)

CEB buluñ.

**bələs 'to borrow, to lend'.

PNEM *bələs: buus (TSG, BUT), bələs (MWA), buyus (SUR)

PCEM *buus: buus (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *bələs: bələs (MSK), bəs (KLK)

(**)bəñkag 'to dismantle, to disintegrate'. Cf. bəñkag (MSK 'to scatter')

PNEM *buñkag: buñkag (MWA), buñkag (SUR)

PCEM *buñkag: buñkag (KMY, DVB)

CEB buñkag.

**buñul 'deaf'.

PNEM *buñul: buñul (TSG 'tumour'), buñu (BUT), buñul (MWA), buñuy (SUR)

PCEM *buñul: buñul (KMY, DVM, DVD), buñu (DVB)

PSEM *buñul: buñul (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLT), buñul (MDC), buñu (KLK)

(**)busdek 'distended stomach'. Cf. basduk (CEB)

PNEM *busdek: busdek (MWA), busduk (SUR)

**butañ '1. thing'.

PNEM *butañ: butañ (MWA), bu'tañ (SUR)

PCEM *bu'tañ: bu'tañ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *butañ: butañ (MSK 'belongings', KLK)

CEB bu'tañ.

**butañ '2. to place something'.

PNEM *butañ: butañ (TSG, BUT, SUR), butañ (MWA)

PCEM *butañ: butañ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *butañ: butañ (MSK, KLK)

(**)butuk 'bunch or bundle of grass, to tie together'. Cf. butuk (DVB)

PNEM *butuk: butuk (TSG, SUR), butuk (MWA 'make a rope ladder (sic)')

PSEM *butuk: butuk (MSK, KLK 'bundle')

CEB butuk 'to make bundles of rice seedlings'.

****butuñ** 'unripe coconut'.

PNEM *butuñ: butuñ (TSG, SUR), butuñ (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *butuñ: butuñ (DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *butuñ: butuñ (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT),
butuñ (MDC)

CEB butuñ.

(**)buyuñ 'noisy'. Cf. budyuñ (MSK), buyuñ (MSK 'to plead')

PNEM *buyuñ: buyuñ (BUT), bezuñ (MWA), buzun (SUR)

PCEM *buyuñ: buyuñ (KMY, DVB)

****buqqat** 'heavy'.

PNEM *buqqat: buqqat (TSG), buqqat (~TSG), buq'qat
(BUT), buqqat (MWA), buqqat (SUR)

PCEM *buq'qat: buqqat (KMY), buq'qat (DVB), mabugat
(DVM, DVD)

PSEM *buqat: mabugat (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLK, KLT),
mabugat (MDC, ISM)

CEB buq'qat.

****buqut** 'good sense, intelligence'.

PNEM *buqut: buqut (BUT, SUR), buqut (MWA)

PCEM *buqut: buqut (KMY, DVB), kabubutqan (KMY 'psyche')

PSEM *buqut: buqutan (MSK 'to be kind, thoughtful'),
buqut (MSK 'to determine, will, resolve, initiate,
direct'), bet (KLK)

****da** 'emphatic particle, indeed'.

PNEM *da(q): da (TSG, BUT), daq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *da: da (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *da 'now, already': da (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK
'already done, completed action', ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB da.

**dabuñ `bamboo shoots`.

PNEM *dabuñ: dabuñ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *dabuñ: dabuñ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *dabuñ: dabuñ (MSK, KLK)

CEB dabuñ.

**dagami `rice stalks`.

PNEM *dagami: dagami (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *dagami: dagami (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *dagami: dagami (MSK `straw (of rice, etc.)`, KLT),
lagami (KLK)

CEB dagami.

**dagat `sea`.

PNEM *dagat: dagat (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *dagat: dagat (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *dagat: dagat (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

CEB dagat.

(**)dagatən `sea-sick`.

PNEM *dagatən: lagatun (TSG), dagatun (BUT), gidagat
(BUT), dagatən (MWA), idagat (SUR)

PCEM *dagatun: dagatun (KMY, DVB)

CEB gidagat.

(**)dagbus `to beat with a stick--as grass, to put out fire`.

PNEM *dagbus: dagbus (BUT `to strike something
forcefully, dash against`, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *dagbus: dagbus (KMY `to strike something
forcefully, dash against`, DVB)

****dagit** `to seize with a hooked instrument'.

PNEM *dagit: dagit (TSG, BUT `to seize with a hook, to get without permission, elope', MWA, SUR)

PCEM *dagit: dagit (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *dagit: dagit (MSK `to dive and seize something on ground (bird)', KLK)

CEB dagit `to seize in claws'.

****dagmay** `rags'.

PNEM *dagmay: dagmay (TSG, BUT `old clothes', MWA, SUR)

PCEM *dagmay: dagmay (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *dagmay: dagmay (MSK `woman's skirt, sarong', KLK)

()dagnay** `nick-name'.

PNEM *dagnay: dagnay (BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf. dagnay (TSG)

PCEM *dagnay: dagnay (KMY, DVB)

CEB dagnay.

****dagpiq** `to slap with palm'.

PNEM *dagpiq: dagpiq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *dagpiq: dagpiq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *dagpiq: dagpiq (MSK `to pat', KLK)

CEB dagpiq.

****dagsaq** `to be driven ashore'.

PNEM *dagsaq: dagsaq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), dumagsaq (BUT, SUR `sea wind')

PCEM *dagsaq: dagsaq (KMY `to break on beach, of waves', DVB)

PSEM *dagsaq: dagsaq (MSK `to drift ashore, driftwood', KLK)

CEB dagsaq.

**dagum 'needle'.

PNEM *dagum: dagum (BUT, SUR), dagum (MWA)

PCEM *dagum: dagum (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *dagum: dagum (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT),
dagum (MDC)

CEB dagum.

(**)dagqum 'raincloud'. Cf. **daglum, daklum (MSK 'thick,
black clouds)

PNEM *dagqum: dagqum (BUT, SUR), dagqum (MWA)

PCEM *dagqum: dagqum (KMY, DVB)

CEB dagqum.

**dahun 'leaf'.

PNEM *dahun: dahun (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *dahun: dahun (KMY, DVB, DVD), daqun (DVM)

PSEM *daqun: daqun (MDK, MDC, MDB, MSK), daun (MDM,
ISM), dawun (KLK, KLT)

**dakmul 'thick in dimension'.

PNEM *dakmul: dakmul (TSG), dakmul (MWA), dakmuy (SUR
'coarse facial features')

PCEM *dakmul: dakmul (KMY, DVB), dakmuu (~KMY), dakmu
(DVM)

PSEM *dakmul: madakmul (MDK), madakmul (MDC, MDB, MDM,
MSK, ISM, KLT), madakmu (KLK)

**dakulaq 'big'.

PNEM *dakulaq: dakulaq (TSG, MWA), dakuwaq (BUT). Cf.
dakuq (SUR)

PCEM *dakuq: dakuq (DVM), dakuq (DVD)

PSEM *dakulaq: dakulaq (MDC, MDB, MSK, KLT), dakuaq (ISM), dakwaq (KLK)

**dakup `to seize`.

PNEM *dakup: dakup (TSG, BUT, SUR `to arrest`), dakup (MWA), dakup-dakup (SUR `catching game`)

PCEM *dakup: dakup (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *dakup: dakup (MSK, KLK)

**da(lr)a `to carry, to take`.

PNEM *dara: daa (TSG, BUT), dara (MWA), daya (SUR)

PCEM *daa: daa (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *dala: dala (MSK), da (KLK)

CEB dala.

(**)dalag `1. to climb`. Cf. daag (KMY `to climb a tree`), dallag (MSK `hike along beach`, KLK `to walk`)

PNEM *dalag: daag (TSG, BUT), dayag (SUR `to climb a tree`)

**{dl}alag `2. yellow`. Cf. daag (CS.2 `dried leaf`), laag (CS.2 `reddish color of ripening fruit`), **rarag

PNEM *{dl}alag: laag (BUT), dayag (SUR)

PCEM *{dl}aag: daag (KMY), laag (DVB), malag (DVD)

PSEM *lalag: malag (MDK), malalag (MDC, MDB, KLT), dalag (MSK `dead leaf`), lalag (MSK `yellow`), laag (KLK)

CEB dalag.

CEB lalag.

**dalagan `to run`.

PNEM *dalagan: daagan (TSG), babuy kadlaganun (BUT `pig which runs`), dalagan (MWA), dayag~dyagan (SUR)

PCEM *daagan: dagan (KMY, DVM, DVD), daagan (DVB)

PSEM *dalagan: yadaagan (MDK), dalagan (MDC, MSK, KLT),
yadalagan (MDB), yagadalagan (MDM), daagan (ISM, KLK)

CEB dalagan.

**dalan 'trail'.

PNEM *dalan: daan (TSG, BUT), dalan (MWA), dayan (SUR)

PCEM *daan: daan (KMY, DVB), daagan (DVM, DVD)

PSEM *dalan: daan (MDK, ISM, KLK), dalan (MDC, MDB, MDM,
MSK, KLT)

CEB dalan.

(**)dalid 'buttress root'. Cf. dalid (DVB)

PNEM *dali{dg}: dalig (TSG, MWA, SUR), dalid (BUT, MWA)

PSEM *dalid: dalid (MSK, KLK)

CEB dalid.

(**)daliq 'short periods of time, quickly'.

PNEM *daliq: daiq (TSG 'come'), daliq (BUT, SUR),
pagdaliq (BUT), daliq (MWA)

PCEM *daliq: pagdaliq (KMY 'quickly'), daliq (KMY
'come', DVB), kadaliqlan (KMY 'just a moment')

(**)daliq-daliq 'presently, soon'.

PNEM *daliq-daliq: daiq-daiq (TSG, BUT), daliq-daliq
(MWA 'hurry', SUR)

PCEM *daliq-daliq: daliq-daliq (KMY, DVB)

(**)dalugdug 'thunder'.

PNEM *dalugdug: daugdug (TSG), dayugdug (SUR)

PCEM *daugdug: daugdug (KMY, DVB)

**dalum 'under, below'. Cf. **salum, **rarum, dawam (KMY)

PNEM *dalum: laum (TSG 'inside', BUT), dalum (MWA),
ilayum (SUR)

PCEM *daqum: daqun (DVB), daum (DVM)

PSEM *dalam 'space under house': daum (MDK), dalam (MDC), dalam (MDB, MSK, KLT), agdalam (MDM), daum (ISM, KLK)

(**)daman 'talk in sleep'.

PNEM *daman: daman (TSG 'cryptic speech', BUT)

PSEM *daman 'anger': daman (MDK, MSK), madaman (MDC, ISM), yamadaman (MDB, MDM), kadaman (KLK, KLT)

**danaw 'lake'. Cf. lanaw (TSG)

PNEM *danaw: danaw (BUT, MWA, SUR 'pool')

PCEM *danaw: danaw (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *danaw: danaw (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLK, KLT)

CEB danaw.

**dañaw 'span'.

PNEM *dañaw: dañaw (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *dañaw: dañaw (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *dañaw: dañaw (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB dañaw.

**dañdañ 'to cook by parching'.

PNEM *dañdañ: dañdañ (TSG, BUT), dañ(ka) (SUR)

PCEM *dañdañ: dañdañ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *dañdañ: dañdañ (MSK 'to warm or dry near fire', KLK)

CEB dañdañ 'to scorch briefly'.

(**)dañin 'to cooperate, as neighbours in harvesting or building'. Cf. dañin (MSK)

PNEM *dañin: dañin (TSG 'to invite someone to cooperative work', BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *daʔin: daʔin (KMY, DVB)

**dapat 'to place in contact with'.

PNEM *dapat: dapat (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *dapat: dapat (KMY 'to step on', DVB)

PSEM *dapat: dapat (KLK, KLT)

CEB dapat.

(**)dapaw 'fine hair on certain plants which causes itchininess'. Cf. dapaw (KLK)

PNEM *dapaw: dapaw (TSG, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *dapaw: dapaw (KMY, DVB)

(**)dapay 'to slap face'.

PNEM *dapay: dapay (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *dapay: dapay (KMY, DVB)

CEB dapay.

(**)dapdap 'coral tree (Erythrina sp.)'.

PNEM *dapdap: dapdap (TSG, BUT, SUR)

PCEM *dapdap: dapdap (KMY, DVB)

CEB dapdap.

**dapit '1. direction or vicinity of'. Cf. dapit (MSK 'to go and get')

PNEM *dapit: dapit (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), harapit (~KMY)

PCEM *dapit: dapit (KMY 'close to', DVB)

CEB dapit.

**da'pit '2. to align with someone in an argument'.

PNEM *da'pit: da'pit (TSG, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *da'pit: da'pit (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *da'pit: dapit (MSK 'to defend, assist in fight'),
da'pit (KLK)

(**)daplak 'to slap against'. Cf. daplak (DVB)

PNEM *daplak: daplak (TSG 'to splash, as waves', BUT,
MWA)

(**)daplus 'to slip down, esp. losing one's grip'.

PNEM *daplus: daplus (MWA, BUT 'to strike a glancing
blow'), dapyus (SUR)

PCEM *daplus: daplus (KMY, DVB)

CEB daplus.

**daraga 'girl in early teens'.

PNEM *daraga: daaga (TSG), daga (BUT 'woman, female'),
daraga (MWA), dayaga (SUR)

PCEM *daraga: daraga (KMY), daaga (DVB)

PSEM *dalaga: dalaga (MSK), daaga (KLK)

(**)dasdas 'to slide along a surface, of the feet'. Cf. dasdas
(DVB), dasdas (CS.2)

PNEM *dasdas: dasdas (TSG, MWA 'sound of feet dancing on
floor'), dyasdas (SUR)

(**)dasmag 'to bang together'.

PNEM *dasmag: dasmag (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *dasmag: dasmag (KMY, DVB)

CEB dasmag.

**dasək 'to cram into container'.

PNEM *dasək: dasuk (TSG, BUT, SUR), dasək (MWA)

PCEM *dasük: dasuk (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *dasək: dasək (MSK 'to crowd together (people)',
KLK)

CEB dasuk.

**datuq 'to be rich'.

PNEM *datuq: datuq (TSG 'male member of a royal family',
BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *datuq: datuq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *datuq: datuq (MSK 'leader', KLK)

(**)datqug 'to lay on top of'.

PNEM *datqug: datqug (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *datqug: datqug (KMY, DVB)

CEB datqug.

**dawat 'to accept'.

PNEM *dawat: dawat (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *dawat: dawat (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *dawat: dawat (MSK, KLK)

CEB dawat.

(**){dl}aya 'inland'. Cf. daya (DVB), daya (KLK 'upstream')

PNEM *(dl)aya: daya (BUT 'farm in hills'), laya (BUT
'upriver'), daza (MWA), ilaza (SUR 'farm in hills')

dayaw 'good, fine'. Cf. ()kadayaw

PNEM *dayaw: dayaw (TSG), madyaw~madiyah (BUT), dazaw
(MWA, SUR)

PCEM *dayaw: dayaw (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *dayaw: madyaw (MDK, MDC, MDM, ISM, KLK, KLT),
madayaw (MDB, MSK), dayaw (MSK 'to repair, make good'),
madyaw~madiyah (KLK)

**day{uə}n 'forthwith, directly'.

PNEM *dayən: dayun (BUT), dazən (MWA), dazun (SUR)

PCEM *dayun: dayun (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *dayun: dayun (MSK 'to fulfill, to take place',
KLK). Note: I would have expected a not u in PSEM

(**)daqak 'to give an order, to send'.

PNEM *daqak: daqak (TSG, BUT), dadaqakun (TSG
'servant'), dakqunun (BUT 'servant' - with syncope and
metathesis < (*)daqakunun)

**daqan 'old (object)'.

PNEM *daqan: daqan (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *daqan: daqan (KMY, DVB, DVM), karaqan (DVD)

PSEM *dadaqan: dadaqan (MDC, MDM, MSK), dadaan (MDB,
ISM), dadan (KLK, KLT)

(**)daqig 'many'.

PCEM *daqig: daqig (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *daqig: madaqig (MDK, MDC, MDB, MSK), madaig (MDM,
ISM), madeq (KLK, KLT)

(**)daqu 'kind of tree'.

PNEM *daqu: daqu (TSG 'Dracontomelum dao', BUT, MWA
'kind of Balete')

PCEM *daqu: daqu (KMY, DVB)

CEB daqu 'kind of hardwood'.

(**)da'qub 'to be face down, to capsize'.

PNEM *da'qub: daq'ub (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *da'qub: daq'ub (KMY, DVB)

(**)daqug 'to win'. Cf. daqug (MSK)

PNEM *daqug: daqug (TSG, BUT, SUR), daug (MWA)

PCEM *daqug: daqug (KMY, DVB)

CEB daqug.

(**)daqug-daqug 'to treat unkindly'.

PNEM *daqug-daqug: indaqug-daqug (MWA), dinaqug-daqug (SUR)

PCEM *daqug-daqug: dinaqug-daqug (KMY), daqug-daqug (DVB)

CEB daqug-daqug.

(**)daqut 'to destroy, not functioning'.

PNEM *daqut: daqut (BUT, SUR), daqut (MWA)

PCEM *daqut: daqut (KMY, DVB)

CEB daqut.

(**)di 'here, near speaker'. Cf. adi (KLK)

PNEM *dii: dii (TSG), diri (SUR). Cf. dini (MWA)

PCEM *di(i): -di (KMY), dii (DVB)

(**)digamu 'to cook a meal'.

PNEM *digamu: digamu (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *digamu: digamu (KMY, DVB)

CEB digamu.

(**){dlr}iguq 'to bathe'. Cf. pariguq (KMY)

PNEM *{dlr}iguq: paiguq (TSG), liguq (TSG, SUR), paliguq (~BUT), diguq (MWA), pariguq (~MWA)

CEB diguq.

~CEB liguq.

(**)digwaq 'to vomit, to throw out'. Cf. digwaq (DVB), *guwaq (PEM)

PNEM *digwaq: digwaq (BUT, MWA), digwaq-digwaq (SUR 'food repeating, of pregnant women')

CEB digwaq.

**dilaq 'tongue'.

PNEM *dilaq: dilaq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *dilaq: dilaq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *dilaq: dilaq (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

CEB dilaq.

**diñdiñ 'wall'.

PNEM *diñdiñ: diñdiñ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *diñdiñ: diñdiñ (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *diñdiñ: diñdiñ (MDK, MDC, MDB, MSK 'to curtain',
KLK, KLT)

CEB diñdiñ.

**diriq 'not, it is not a...'

PNEM *diriq: diq (TSG), diliq (BUT, SUR), diri (MWA)

PCEM *diriq: diriq (KMY), diliq (DVB), dili (DVD)

PSEM *diliq: diliq (MSK 'no, will not', KLK, KLT), diq
(KLK (Wendell))

CEB diliq.

(**)diqin 'where, which'. Cf. diqin (KMY)

PNEM *diqin: diqin (TSG, BUT, SUR), kariqin (MWA 'where
to')

PSEM *diqin: diqin (MDM, MSK). Cf. ayin (KLK)

(**)du'buk 'unfresh, as fish'. Cf. du'buk (MSK)

PNEM *du'buk: du'buk (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *du'buk: du'buk (KMY, DVB)

CEB du'buk.

****dugañ** 'to add to'.

PNEM *dugañ: dugañ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *dugañ: dugañ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *dugañ: dugañ (MSK, KLK)

CEB dugañ.

****dugay** 'long, of time'.

PNEM *(dl)ugay: lugay~ugay (TSG), dugay (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *dugay: dugay (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *dugay: dugay (MSK, KLK)

CEB dugay.

****dugmun** 'den of wild animals'. Cf. ****gumun** (PEM 'tagled fibres')

PNEM *dugmun: dugmun (TSG, BUT 'farrowing place of sow', MWA, SUR)

PCEM *dugmun: dugmun (KMY 'scraps of cloth etc., for farrowing place', DVB)

PSEM *dugmun: dugmun (MSK, KLK)

****duguq** 'blood'.

PNEM *duguq: duguq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *duguq: duguq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *duguq: duguq (MDK, MDC, MDB, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB duguq.

****duha** 'two'.

PNEM *duha: duwa (TSG, BUT, MWA), ikaruha (BUT 'second, second cousin'), duha (SUR), kawhaqan (TSG 'twenty', SUR 'twenty'), kawhaqan (BUT 'twenty'), karuhaqan (MWA 'twenty')

PCEM *duha: duwa (KMY), duha (DVB, DVM, DVD), kawhaqan (KMY 'twenty')

PSEM *duwa: duwa (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT), kaluwaqan (MDC 'twenty', MDB, MDM, MSK), kaluwan (KLT 'twenty')

CEB duna.

CEB kaluwaqan 'twenty'.

(**)duhul 'to hand something over'. Cf. duqul (MSK)

PNEM *duhul: duhal (TSG), duhuu (BUT), duhul (MWA), duhuy (SUR). Cf. dihil (TSG 'to give'), duhul (TSG 'end, extremity')

PCEM *duhuw: duhuw (KMY, DVB)

(**){dl}u'kuq 'stance with head down'.

PNEM *lukuq: lukuq (TSG 'to sit down in relaxed way'), balukuq (MWA 'to slump when sitting or walking'), bayukuq (SUR same as MWA)

PCEM *du'kuq: du'kuq (KMY, DVB)

CEB du'kuq 'to bow head'.

(**)dulaw 'turmeric (Curcuma longa)'.

PNEM *dulaw: dulaw (TSG, MWA), duwaw (BUT), duyaw (SUR)

PCEM *duwaw: duwaw (KMY, DVB)

(**)duldul 'kapok fibre or tree'.

PNEM *duldul: duu-duu (BUT), duldul (MWA), duyduy (SUR)

PCEM *duldul: duldul (KMY, DVB)

CEB duldul 'kapok tree'.

**dumaraga 'female chicken nearing maturity'. See **daraga

PNEM *dumaraga: dumaraga (MWA), dумыaga (SUR)

PCEM *dumaraga: dumaraga (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *dumalaga: dumalaga (KMK, KLT)

CEB dumalaga.

**du'nut `rotten, worn out'.

PNEM *du'nut: du'nut (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *du'nut: du'nut (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *dunut: yadunut (MDK, MDM), dunut (MDC, MSK `to
make soft by beating', ISM), yamadunut (MDB), mawunut
(KLK)

CEB du'nut.

**du'ngab `to stab'.

PNEM *du'ngab: du'ngab (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *du'ngab: du'ngab (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *du'ngab: du'ngab (ISM, KLK)

CEB du'ngab.

(**)du'ngug `to reach shore, of boat, to moor'. Cf. **dugug

PNEM *du'ngug: du'ngug (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *du'ngug: du'ngug (KMY, DVB)

CEB du'ngug.

**duriqan `the durian (Durio Zibethinus)'.

PNEM *duri(q)an: duuyan (TSG), duliqan (BUT), duriqan
(MWA, SUR)

PCEM *duriqan: duriqan (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *duliyan: dulyan (MSK), duliyan (KLK)

(**)duruk `to clear land by felling and burning trees'. Cf.
duluk (MSK)

PNEM *duruk: duuk (TSG), duruk (MWA), duyuk (SUR)

PCEM *duruk: duruk (KMY), duuk (DVB)

CEB duluk.

****durun** 'locust'.

PNEM *durun: dulu (TSG), duun (BUT), durun (MWA), duyun (SUR)

PCEM *durun: durun (KMY), duun (DVB)

PSEM *dulun: dulun (MSK), duun (KLK)

(**)duwa-duwa 'to be in doubt'. Cf. duha-duha (DVB)

PNEM *duwa-duwa: duwa-duwa (TSG, MWA)

PSEM *duwa-duwa: duwa-duwa (MSK, KLK)

CEB duha-duha.

(**)duyan 'swing, hammock'.

PCEM *duyan: duyan (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *duyan: duyan (MSK, KLK)

(**)duyurñ 'manatee'. Cf. duyurñ (KLK)

PNEM *duyurñ: duyurñ (TSG), dusurñ (MWA)

CEB dugurñ.

~CEB duyurñ.

****duqun** 'locative noun: today, now, there'.

PNEM *duqun: duqun (TSG 'there', BUT), saduqun-duqun (TSG 'immediately'), duqun dayun (BUT 'right now'), iduqun dazun (SUR 'immediately')

PCEM *duqun: duqun (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *aduqun: aduqun (MDK, MDC, MDB, MSK), aduun (MDM, ISM), adun (KLK, KLT)

****duqurñ** 'to reach shore'. Cf. **durñguq

PNEM *duqurñ: duqurñ (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *duqurñ: duqurñ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *duqurñ: duqurñ (MSK), durñ (KLK)

CEB duqun.

(**)duqun 'to press down, to compress'.

PNEM *d{au}qun: duqun (BUT, SUR), daqun (MWA)

PCEM *duqun: duqun (KMY, DVB)

CEB duqun.

(**)dɛbdɛb 'belly'. Cf. dɛbdɛb (KMY)

PNEM *dɛbdɛb: dɛbdɛb (MWA, ~SUR), dubdub (SUR)

PSEM *dɛbdɛb: dɛbdɛb (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM)

**dɛgaq 'juice'. Cf. 'dɛgaq (PBS)

PNEM *dɛgaq: dɛgaq (BUT, SUR), dɛgaq (MWA)

PCEM *dɛgaq: dɛgaq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *dɛgaq: dɛgaq (MSK 'honey', KLK)

CEB dɛgaq.

**dɛglɛm 'dark phase of moon'. See **dagqɛm, **dɛlɛm,
2.3.2.4.2

PNEM *dɛglɛm: tigidlum (TSG 'dark'), dɛglɛm (MWA),
dugyum (SUR)

PCEM *dɛgqum: dugum (KMY, DVB), dɛgqum (DVM), dɛgqum
(DVD)

PSEM *dɛglɛm 'rain cloud': dɛglɛm (MDK, KLK), dɛagqɛm
(MDB, ISM)

**dɛkɛk 'to pound, hammer (as nails)'.
'

PNEM *dɛkɛk: dukduk (TSG, BUT, ~MWA, SUR), dɛkɛk (MWA)

PCEM *dukduk: dukduk (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *dɛkɛk: dɛkɛk (MSK, KLK)

**dɛkɛt '1. to stick to'.

PNEM- *dɛkɛt: dukut (TSG, BUT, SUR), dɛkɛt (MWA)

PCEM *dukut: dukut (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *dekət: dekət (MDK, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT), yədekət
(MDC, MDB, MDM)

CEB dukut.

(**)dekət '2. to ignite, catch on fire'.

PNEM *(dl)əkət: dukut (TSG), dekət (MWA), payukūt (SUR)

PCEM *dukut: dukut (KMY, DVB)

CEB dukut.

**dələg 'to proceed on way'.

PNEM *dələg: duug (BUT), dələg (MWA)

PCEM *duug: duug (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *dələg: dələg (MSK), dəg (KLK)

**dələm 'dark phase of 24 hours, night'. Cf. **daqqəm,
**dəgləm

PNEM *dələm: duum (TSG, BUT), dələm (MWA), duyum (SUR),
dəyəm (SUR 'with mari = afternoon')

PCEM *duum: duum (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *dələm: dələm (MSK), dəman (KLK)

**dəmdəm 'thought'.

PNEM *dəmdəm: tumtum (TSG), təmtəm (~TSG), dumdum (BUT,
SUR), taremdəm (MWA), hinumdum (SUR)

PCEM *dumdum: hinumdum (KMY), dumdum (DVB)

PSEM *dəmdəm: dəmdəm (MSK, KLK)

(**)dəmpər 'dull, blunt'.

PNEM *dəmpər: dumpul (TSG), dəmpər (MWA 'dull, of
point')

CEB dumpul 'blunt-ended'.

(**)duməl 'to look down'.

PNEM *duməl: dumul (TSG), duməl (MWA '...from a height')

PSEM *duməl: duməl (MSK), dumə (KLK)

**dumət 'to have a grudge'.

PNEM *dumət: dumut (BUT, SUR), dumət (MWA)

PCEM *dumut: dumtan (KMY), dumut (DVB)

PSEM *dumət: dumət (MSK), dumut (KLK)

CEB dumut.

**dun̄an 'to be together with'.

PNEM *dun̄an: dun̄an (TSG, BUT, SUR), dun̄an (MWA
'co-occurring')

PCEM *dun̄an: dun̄an (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *dun̄an: dun̄an (MSK, KLK)

CEB dun̄an 'co-occurring'.

**dun̄ug 'to hear'.

PNEM *dun̄ug: dun̄ug (TSG, BUT, SUR), pasidun̄ug (MWA 'to
boast')

PCEM *dun̄ug: dun̄ug (KMY 'honour, fame', DVB, DVM)

PSEM *dun̄ug: yedun̄ug (MDK, MDB), dun̄ug (MDC), dun̄ug
(MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

(**)dupa 'arm's length, fathom'. Cf. dupa (DVB)

PNEM *dupa: dupa (TSG), dupa (MWA)

PSEM *dupa: dupa (MSK, KLK)

CEB dupa.

(**)duqut 'opposite bank, to reach the other side'.

PNEM *duqut: duqut (BUT, SUR '...of crowd, river,
road'), duqut (MWA)

PCEM *duqut: duqut (KMY `...of body of water', DVB)

(**)gabaq `misfortune due to impoliteness to elders'. Cf.

**busuŋ

PNEM *gabaq: gabaq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *gabaq: gabaq (KMY, DVB)

CEB gabaq.

**gabuk `wood which is weakened by decay'.

PNEM *gabuk: gabuk (TSG, BUT, MWA `firewood', SUR)

PCEM *gabuk: gabuk (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *gabuk: gabuk (MSK `to be old and weak, easily broken'), iŋbuk (KLK)

CEB gabuk.

**{gl}abun `cloud, mist'. Note: The regular reflex of PAN *R in PSEM and PCEM is *g. The MDC, KLT, KLK and DVD reflexes of labun are probably a borrowing from T'boli and B'laan labuŋ.

PNEM *gabun: gabun (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *{gl}abun: gabun (KMY `morning mist'), labun (DVD)

PSEM *{gl}abun: labun (MDC, KLK, KLT), gabun (MDB, MSK, ISM)

CEB gabun.

(**)gahiq `tough, hard (substance)'.

PNEM *gahiq: gahiq (BUT-f, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *gahiq: gahiq (KMY-f, DVB)

CEB gahiq.

**gakit `raft'.

PNEM *gakit: gakit (TSG `banded with continuous winding', BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *gakit: gakit (KMY, DVB 'banded with winding')

PSEM *gakit: gakit (MDK, MSK, ISM)

CEB gakit.

(**)gakus 'to embrace'. Cf. **gakut, gakus (MSK)

PNEM *gakus: gakus (BUT, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *gakus: gakus (KMY, DVB)

CEB gakus.

**ga(lr)ab 'to cut with reaphook'.

PNEM *garab: gaab (BUT 'reaphook'), garab (MWA 'to hold on to tall grass as you cut it off'), gayab (SUR 'reaphook')

PCEM *ga(lr)ab: gaab (KMY), galab (~KMY), garab (DVB)

PSEM *galab: galab (MSK), gab (KLK)

CEB galab.

**galiñ 'to grind with a wheel'.

PNEM *galiñ: galiñ (TSG 'to revolve, to spin', BUT-f, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *galiñ: galiñ (KMY-f, DVB)

PSEM *galiñ: galiñ (MSK, KLK)

CEB galiñ.

(**)gamay 'small'.

PNEM *gamay: gamay (SUR), gəzamay~gəramay (MWA 'very small'), gamatuy (SUR)

PCEM *gama(tu)y: gamay (KMY), gamatuy (KMY 'very small', DVB)

CEB gamay.

**gamut 'root'.

PNEM *gamut: gamut (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR-f)
 PCEM *gamut: gamut (KMY-f, DVB, DVM)
 PSEM *gamut: gamut (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM)
 CEB gamut.

**gamus 'to pickle in salt brine'.

PNEM *gamus: gamus (TSG, SUR), ginamus (BUT 'pickled fish'), ginamus (MWA 'pickled fish')
 PCEM *gamus: gamus (KMY, DVB)
 PSEM *gamus: gamus (MSK), ginamus (KLK)
 CEB gamus.

(**)gana 'have appetite for, take pleasure in'. Cf. gana (MSK)

PNEM *gana: gana (BUT, MWA, SUR)
 PCEM *gana: gana (KMY, DVB)
 CEB gana.

(**)ganid 'to do or to place in regular sequence'.

PNEM *ganid: ganid (BUT, MWA, SUR)
 PCEM *ganid: ganid (KMY, DVB)
 CEB ganid. (var. of abanid)

(**)ganiq 'even'. Cf. ganiq (KLK)

PNEM *ganiq: ganiq (BUT, SUR), naniq (MWA)
 PCEM *ganiq: ganiq (KMY, DVB)
 CEB ganiq.

(**)gansu 'hook, safety pin'.

PNEM *gansu: gansu (BUT, MWA)
 PCEM *gansu: gansu (KMY, DVB)

CEB gansu.

**gantañ `rice measure, the `ganta' (about 3 liters)'.

PNEM *gantañ: gantañ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *gantañ: gantañ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *gantañ: gantañ (MSK, KLK)

CEB gantañ.

(**)gantuñ `to hang from something'. Cf. *gantuñ (PAN `to hang')

PNEM *gantuñ: gantuñ (TSG, MWA `measure of height')

CEB gantuquñ `piled high, loom tall'.

**gapas `cotton'.

PNEM *gapas: gapas (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *gapas: gapas (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *gapas: gapas (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB gapas.

**gapus `to restrain by binding'.

PNEM *gapus: gapus (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *gapus: gapus (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *gapus: gapus (MSK, KLK)

CEB gapus.

**ga'ras `to clear forest for kaingin land'.

PNEM *garas: gaas (TSG, BUT), ga'ras (MWA), gayas (SUR
`to slash growth')

PCEM *ga'ras: ga'ras (KMY `to chop and clear'), gaas
(DVB), galas (DVD)

PSEM *ga'las: ga'las (MSK `to cut a trail'), gus (KLK)

CEB ga'las 'cut through thicket'.

(**) {gk} asqaw 'thatch poles or purlins'. Cf. kasqaw (KMY),
katsaw (DVB), katsaw (CEB)

PNEM *{gk} asqaw: kasaw (TSG, BUT), gasqaw (BUT, MWA).
Cf. katsaw (SUR)

PSEM *kasaw: kasaw (MSK, KLK)

**gatas 'milk'.

PNEM *gatas: gatas (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR 'mother's milk')

PCEM *gatas: gatas (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *gatas: gatas (MSK, KLK)

CEB gatas.

**gataq 'coconut milk'.

PNEM *gataq: gataq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *gataq: gataq (KMY-f, DVB)

PSEM *gataq: gata (MSK), gataq (KLK, KLT)

CEB gataq.

**gatus 'hundred'.

PNEM *gatus: gatus (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *gatus: gatus (KMY-f, DVB, DVD), saŋgatus (DVM)

PSEM *gatus: saŋgatus (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDV, ISM), gatus
(MSK, KLK, KLT)

CEB gatus.

**gawas 'outside'.

PNEM *gawas: gawas (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *gawas: gawas (KMY-f, DVB)

PSEM *gawas: gawas (MSK, KLK)

CEB gawas.

(**)gayud 'indeed'. Cf. gayud (KLK 'only')

PNEM *gayud: gazud (MWA), qazud (SUR)

PCEM *gayud: gayud (KMY, DVB)

CEB gayud.

(**)gaqan 'light in weight'. Cf. qan (KLK)

PNEM *gaqan: gaqan (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *gaqan: gaqan (KMY, DVB), ganqay (~KMY 'very light'
with syncope and metathesis from (*)gaqanay)

CEB gaqan.

**gihapun 'still, as always'.

PNEM *gihapun: gihapun (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *gihapun: gihapun (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *gihapun: giyapun (MSK), gihapun (KLK)

CEB gihapun.

**gihub 'solar plexus'.

PNEM *gihub: gihub (BUT), gihub (MWA 'part of stomach')

PCEM *gihub: gihub (KMY 'part of body', DVB)

PSEM *giyub: giyub (MSK 'pit of stomach', KLK, KLT)

(**)gikan 'source'.

PNEM *gikan: gikan (BUT), ginikanan (BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf.
gariñ (MWA 'source')

PCEM *gikan: ginikanan (KMY 'parents'), gikan (DVB)

CEB gikan.

(**)ginaq 'to step on'.

PCEM *ginaq: ginaq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *ginaq: ginaq (MSK 'footprints', KLK)

(**)ginit 'leaf sheath of coconut'. Cf. ginit (KLK)

PNEM *ginit: ginit (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ginit: ginit (KMY, DVB)

CEB ginit.

(**)girək 'to tickle'. Cf. gilək (KLK)

PNEM *girək: giluk (TSG 'erotic, easily aroused', BUT, SUR), girək (MWA)

PCEM *giruk: gi'ruk (KMY), giluk (DVB)

CEB giluk.

(**)gituk 'to tickle'.

PNEM *gituk: gi'tuk (TSG, BUT, SUR)

PCEM *gi'tuk: gi'tuk (KMY), ki'tuk (DVB)

(**)giq{ei}k 'to thresh rice by treading'. Cf. giyək (KLK)

PNEM *giq{ei}k: giqik (TSG, BUT), giqək (MWA), giquk (SUR)

PCEM *giquk: giquk (KMY, DVB)

CEB giquk.

(**)gubut 'uproar, troubled'. Cf. gubut (MSK)

PNEM *gubut: gubut (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *gubut: gubut (KMY, DVB)

CEB gubut.

(**)gugma 'love'.

PNEM *gugma: gugma (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *gugma: gugma (KMY, DVB)

CEB gugma.

(**)gulaman 'edible seaweed'.

PNEM *gulaman: gulaman (TSG, BUT, SUR)

PCEM *gulaman: gulaman (KMY, DVB)

CEB gulaman.

**gumun 'to be tangled'. Cf. **dugmun, gumun (DVB, MSK 'to be in disorder')

PNEM *gumun: gumun (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), tigumun (~SUR)

**guntiñ 'scissors'.

PNEM *guntiñ: guntiñ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *guntiñ: guntiñ (KMY, DVB), ginuntiñ (KMY 'bolo with pointed end')

PSEM *guntiñ: guntiñ (MSK), ginuntiñ (KLK)

CEB guntiñ.

**gurañ 'mature, older sibling'.

PNEM *gurañ: magurañ (TSG), guwañ (BUT), magurañ (MWA), gurañ (SUR)

PCEM *gurañ: gurañ (KMY 'ripe, old'), guwañ (DVB)

PSEM *gurañ: gurañ (MSK), magurañ (KLK)

CEB gurañ.

**gurañan 'forest'.

PNEM *gurañan: gurañan (TSG), guwañan (BUT), kagurañan~kagurañan (SUR)

PCEM *gurañan: gurañan (KMY), guwañan (DVB), gurañan (DVM)

PSEM *gurañan: guwañan (MDK), kagurañan (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT), kagurañan (ISM), kagurañan (KLK)

**gusuk 'rib'.

PNEM *gusuk: gusuk (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *gusuk: gusuk (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *gusuk: gusuk (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB gusuk.

(**)gusuq 'kind of seaweed or algae (edible)'. Cf. gusuq (KLK)

PNEM *gusuq: gusuq (TSG, BUT, SUR), gusuq-gusuq (SUR)

PCEM *gusuq: gusuq (KMY-f, DVB)

CEB gusuq.

(**)guwaq 'out, outside'. Cf. guwaq (MSK), **lugwaq, **digwaq

PNEM *guwaq: guwaq (TSG, BUT, SUR 'to go out')

**guyud 'to drag, haul'.

PNEM *guyud: guyud (TSG, BUT 'espec. animals'), guzud (MWA, SUR). Cf. qazud (MWA 'to tow by boat')

PCEM *guyud: guyud (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *guyud: gagayud (MDB), guyud (MSK, KLK, KLT)

CEB guyud.

**gubaq 'to fell, to topple'.

PNEM *gubaq: gubaq (BUT, SUR 'to clear forest for cultivation'), gubaq (MWA 'house in state of collapse'), pagbaq (MWA, SUR 'to collapse, of house')

PCEM *gubaq: kagbaq (KMY 'to collapse, of house'), gubaq (KMY, DVB), gubqun (KMY 'to dismantle something')

PSEM (*)gubaq: gubaq (MSK 'an area in the forest w/o large trees'). Cf. gubæ (KLK 'collapse')

CEB gubaq 'cleared area'.

(**)gurub 'to slice'.

PNEM *gurub: guub (TSG), gurub (MWA), quyub (SUR)

PCEM *gurub: gurub (KMY), guub (DVB)

CEB gulub.

(**)gʉtad 'to slice a chunk off'. Cf. gʉtəd (KLK)

PNEM *gʉtad: gutad (BUT, SUR), gʉtad (MWA)

PCEM *gʉtad: gutad (KMY, DVB)

CEB gutad.

(**)gʉtas 'to faint'.

PNEM *gʉtas: gutas (TSG 'starvation', SUR), gʉtas (MWA)

PCEM *gʉtas: gutas (KMY, DVB), utas (~KMY)

**gʉtɡʉt 'to cut across the neck'.

PNEM *gʉtɡʉt: gʉtɡʉt (TSG 'to draw a bow across a fiddle', SUR), gʉtɡʉt (MWA)

PCEM *gʉtɡʉt: gʉtɡʉt (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *gʉtɡʉt: gʉtɡʉt (MSK 'to rub forcibly', KLK 'cut across something')

CEB gʉtɡʉt.

**gʉtəm 'hunger, famine'.

PNEM *gʉtəm: gutum (TSG, BUT, SUR), gʉtəm (MWA)

PCEM *gʉtəm: gutum (KMY, DVB, DVM), gʉtəm (DVD (?))

PSEM *gʉtəm: magʉtəm (MDK), gutum (MDC), yagʉtəm (MDB), gʉtəm (MDM, MSK, KLK, KLT)

CEB gutum.

(**)habagat 'southwest monsoon wind'. Cf. abagat (MSK)

PNEM *habagat: habagat (TSG, BUT 'W.N.W. wind', MWA, SUR)

PCEM *habagat: habagat (KMY, DVB)

CEB habagat.

(**)habas 'skin rash'. Cf. habat (DVB)

PNEM *habas: habas (TSG, BUT 'between fingers and toes from being in water too much, e.g. in floodtime', MWA, SUR), abas (SUR)

PSEM *abas: abas (MSK 'a sore caused by friction', KLK)

CEB habas 'sores on soft tissue'.

**habaq 'long (object)'.

PNEM *habaq: habaq (TSG, BUT, SUR)

PCEM *habaq: habaq (KMY, DVB), mahabaq (DVM)

PSEM *abaq: maabaq (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK)

(**)habul 'woven blanket, cloth, to weave cloth'. Cf. abut (DVM)

PNEM *habul: habul (TSG), habul (MWA), habuy~habey (SUR)

PSEM *abul: aabul (MDB), yaabul (MDM), abul (MSK, KLT), inabewan (KLK 'woven materials')

CEB habul 'weave with hand loom'.

**hadluk 'to fear'.

PNEM *hadluk: haldek (MWA), hadluk (SUR)

PCEM *hadluk: haduk (KMY), hadluk (DVB), mahadluk (DVM, DVD)

PSEM *adluk: yamadluk (MDK), maluk (MDC), yamalluk (MDB, MDM, ISM), alluk (MSK), kalluk (KLK), malluk (KLT)

CEB hadluk.

**hadtu 'that (past)'. Cf. **adtu

PNEM *hadtu(ŋ): hadtu (TSG), hadtuŋ (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *(h)adtu(ŋ): adtu (KMY), hadtuŋ (DVB)

PSEM *adtu 'there': adtu (MSK, KLK)

****(h)(al)agad** 'to accompany or to have accompany'. Cf. **agad,
 ****(al)agad**

PNEM ***(h)(al)agad**: agad (TSG 'to include, join a group'), hagad (BUT, MWA 'to urge someone to do something', SUR), alagad (MWA 'attendant, bride-service'), lagad (MWA 'mate, to accompany')

PCEM ***hagad**: hagad (KMY 'to have accompany', DVB)

PSEM ***agad**: agad (MSK, KLK), alagad (MSK 'to accompany someone part way on a journey')

CEB hagad 'to invite participation'.

(**)hagas 'to whisper'.

PNEM ***hagas**: hagas-hagas (TSG, SUR), hagashas (BUT 'to make a light sound', SUR 'scratching sound'), hagas (MWA 'hoarse')

PCEM ***hagas**: hagas-hagas (KMY), hagas (DVB)

**hagdan 'ladder, stairs'.

PNEM ***hagdan**: hagdan (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM ***hagdan**: hagdanan (KMY), hagdan (DVB)

PSEM ***agdan**: agdan (MSK, KLK)

CEB hagdan.

(**)hagkut 'to be cold'. Cf. agkut (MSK)

PNEM ***hagkut**: haggut (TSG), hagkut (BUT), hagkut (SUR), hagkut (MWA 'aching of body from malarial attack')

PCEM ***hagkut**: hagkut (KMY 'very cold'), haggut (DVB)

CEB hagkut 'damp, cool air'.

(**)hagubhub 'deep bass sound, rumble'.

PNEM ***hagubhub**: hagubhug (TSG, BUT, SUR)

PCEM ***hagubhub**: hagubhug (KMY, DVB)

CEB hagubhug.

(**)haguk `to snore'.

PNEM *haguk: haguk (TSG, BUT, SUR-f), haguk (MWA)

PCEM *haguk: haguk (KMY-f, DVB)

CEB haguk.

**haguñ `to snore'.

PNEM *haguñ: haguñ (TSG, BUT, SUR-f), haguñ (MWA),
hagjuñ (SUR `deep sound')

PCEM *hag(y)uñ: haguñ (KMY `humming sound of rapidly
moving object'), haguñ (DVB)

PSEM *aguñ: aguñ (MSK, KLK)

CEB haguñ `buzz'.

**haqut `to strip abaca'.

PNEM *haqut: haqut (TSG `to strip fibre'), haqutan
(BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *haqut: haqutan (KMY `abaca stripper'), haqut
(DVB)

PSEM *agut: agut (MSK, KLK)

CEB haqut.

(**)ha'kut `1. red ant'.

PNEM *ha'kut: ha'kut (BUT, MWA)

PCEM *ha'kut: ha'kut (KMY, DVB)

CEB ha'kut `large black ant'.

(**)ha'kut `2. to pick up and carry'. Cf. ha'kut (DVB)

PNEM *ha'kut: ha'kut (TSG, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *akut: akut (MSK, KLK)

CEB hakut.

(**)hakug 'selfish'.

PNEM *hakug: hakug (MWA), hakug (SUR)

PCEM *hakug: hakug (KMY, DVB)

CEB hakug.

(**)hala 'let's go, invitation to proceed'.

PNEM *hala: hala (BUT, MWA)

PCEM *hala: hala (KMY, DVB)

CEB hala.

(**)halas 'snake'.

PNEM *halas: haas (TSG, BUT), halas (MWA), hayas (SUR)

PCEM *haas: haas (KMY, DVB), has (DVD)

CEB halas.

**haligi 'large post'.

PNEM *haligi: haligi (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *haligi: haligi (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *aligi: aligi (MSK, KLK)

CEB haligi.

(**)halin 'to pour liquid into another container'. Cf. halin (DVB)

PNEM *halin: hain (TSG), halin (MWA)

PSEM *alin: alin (MSK, KLK 'transfer, emigrate')

CEB halin 'to emigrate'.

(**)ha(lr)in 'to light a fire'.

PNEM *hariñ: hariñ (MWA), hariñ (SUR)

PCEM *hariñ: hariñ (KMY, DVB)

CEB halin.

**hambug 'boastful'.

PNEM *hambug: hambug (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hambug: hambug (KMY, DVB, DVD)

PSEM *ambug: ambug (MSK, KLK)

CEB hambug.

(**) hamuraw{au}n 'molave'. Cf. amulawun (MSK)

PNEM *hamuraw{au}n: hamulawun (TSG), hamuraqawan (MWA),
hamuyawan (SUR)

PCEM *hamurawun: hamurawun (KMY), hamulawun (DVB)

(**) hamet 'fragrant, to smell something'.

PNEM *hamet: hamut (TSG, BUT-f, SUR-f), hamet (MWA)

PCEM *hamut: hamut (KMY, DVB), mahamut (DVM)

**hanap 'to seek, find'.

PNEM *hanap: hanap (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hanap: hanap (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *anap: anap (MSK, KLK)

(**) handum 'to long for something passed'.

PNEM *handum: handum (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *handum: handum (KMY, DVB)

CEB handum.

(**) hanig 'layer, as layer of leaves inside rice pot'.

PNEM *hanig: hanig (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hanig: hanig (KMY, DVB), hanigan (KMY 'cover')

CEB hanig.

**hantak `gambling game with three coins which are tossed`.

PNEM *hantak: hantak (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hantak: hantak (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *antak: antak (MSK, KLK)

CEB hantak.

(**)hañin `wind`.

PNEM *hañin: hañin (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hañin: hañin (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

CEB hañin.

(**)hañtud `until`.

PNEM *hañtud: hañtud (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hañtud: hañtud (KMY, DVB)

CEB hañtud.

(**)hañup `to greet someone gladly`. Cf. hañup (KLK)

PNEM *hañup: hinañup (BUT, MWA, SUR), hañup (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hañup: hinañup (KMY, DVB)

CEB hañup.

(**)hapaq `to lie prostrated`.

PNEM *hapaq: hapaq (BUT, MWA, SUR `to seek concealment`)

PCEM *hapaq: hapaq (KMY, DVB)

CEB hapaq.

**hapdus `sharp pain, to smart`.

PNEM *hapdus: hapdus (TSG, SUR), apdus (BUT), hapdus
(MWA)

PCEM *hapdus: hapdus (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *apdus: maqapdus (MSK), mapdus (KLK)

CEB hapdus.

(**)hapit `1. almost, nearly'. Cf. apit (MSK)

PNEM *hapit: apit (TSG), hapit (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hapit: hapit (KMY, DVB)

CEB hapit.

(**)hapit `2. drop by'. Cf. apit (MSK)

PNEM *hapit: hapit (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *hapit: hapit (KMY, DVB)

CEB hapit.

(**)haplas `to apply a liquid'. Cf. haplas (DVB)

PNEM *haplas: haplas (TSG `to sponge something', MWA `to rub on liniment'), hapyas (SUR `to rub on liniment').
Cf. ha'pas (BUT)

PSEM *aplas: apas (MSK, KLK)

CEB haplas. Cf. ha'pas (CEB)

(**)hapun `afternoon'.

PNEM *hapun: mahapun (TSG), hapun (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *hapun: hapun (DVB, DVM, DVD)

CEB hapun.

(**)harañ `hot, peppery'.

PNEM *harañ: harañ (MWA), hayañ (SUR)

PCEM *harañ: harañ (KMY), hayañ (DVB)

CEB halañ.

(**)harap `semi-blindness'.

PNEM *harap: haap (BUT), ha'rap (MWA), hayap (SUR)

PCEM *ha'rap: ha'rap (KMY), haap (DVB)

CEB halap.

** (ha)rayuq 'far'.

PNEM *(ha)rayuq: layuq (TSG), ha'yuq (BUT), aruq (MWA),
la'zuq (SUR)

PCEM *-rayuq: harayuq (KMY), layuq (DVB), malayuq (DVM,
DVD)

PSEM *-layuq: malayuq (MDK, MDC), maayuq (MDB)

(**)haruqan 'kind of mudfish'. Cf. luqan (KLK)

PNEM *haruqan: aluqan (TSG), hauqan (BUT), haruqan
(MWA), hayuqan (SUR)

PCEM *haruqan: haruqan (KMY), hauqan (DVB)

CEB haluqan.

**haruk 'to kiss'.

PNEM *haruk: hauk (BUT), aruk (MWA), hayuk (SUR)

PCEM *haruk: haruk (KMY), hauk (DVB)

PSEM *aluk: aluk (MSK), awuk (KLK)

CEB haluk.

**hasan 'gills'.

PNEM *hasan: asan (TSG), hasan (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hasan: hasan (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *asan: asan (MSK, KLK)

CEB hasan.

(**)hasaq 'to sharpen'.

PNEM *hasaq: asaq (TSG), hasaq (BUT, MWA)

PCEM *hasaq: hasaq (KMY, DVB)

**hatag 'give'.

PNEM *hatag: hatag (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hatag: hatag (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *atag: atag (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

CEB hatag.

**hatud 'to take something to someone'.

PNEM *hatud: hatud (TSG, BUT), atud (MWA). Cf. hasud
(SUR)

PCEM *hatud: hatud (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *atud: atud (MSK, KLK)

CEB hatud.

(**)-hawa 'to breathe'. Cf. ginhawa (KMY)

PNEM *-hawa: ginhawa (TSG, BUT, SUR), hinawa (MWA)

PSEM *(h)awa: ginawa (MSK), ginhawa (KLK)

CEB ginhawa.

**hawid 'to hold, restrain'.

PNEM *hawid: hawid (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hawid: hawid (KMY, DVB, DVD)

PSEM *awid: awid (MDK, KLK)

CEB hawid.

(**)hayaq 'to be laid out for burial'.

PNEM *hayaq: hanayaq (TSG 'at point of death'), hayaq
(BUT), hazaq (MWA, SUR 'to weep in mourning')

CEB hayaq.

(**)hayupuq 'short'.

PNEM *hayupuq: hayupuq (TSG), hayupuq (BUT), hazupuq
(SUR ~zupuq), zupuq (~SUR)

PCEM *hayupuq: hayupuq (KMY), mayupuq (DVM, DVD)

(**)hayup 'domestic animals'. Cf. hayup (KMY)

PNEM *hayup: hayup (TSG), hazup- (MWA), hazup (SUR)

PSEM *ayup: ayup (MSK 'pet, toy, wife', KLK)

CEB hayup.

**haqin 'where, which'. See **-kaqin

PNEM *haqin: haqin (TSG, MWA, SUR), ha (SUR in ha man?)

PCEM *haqin: haqin (KMY, DVB, DVD), aqin (DVM)

PSEM *wa(q)in: wain (MDK, MDC, MDB, ISM), waqin (MDM,
MSK), ain (KLK, KLT)

CEB haqin.

(**)haqlu 'rice pestle'. Cf. (**)alhu (PEM 'rice pestle'),
haqlu (TSG)

PCEM *haqu: haqu (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *alu: au (MDK), alu (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT), awu
(KLK)

~CEB halqu. (var. of alhu)

(**)haqwas 'to unload'. Cf. hawqas (KMY), **awas

PNEM *haqwas: hawas (TSG), hawqas (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *awas: awas (MSK, KLK)

CEB hawqas 'to remove from a container'.

(**)hig{u}p 'to sip liquid'. Cf. higup (KMY)

PNEM *higup: higup (TSG, MWA-f, SUR), higup (~MWA)

PSEM *igup: igup (MSK, KLK). Note: I would have expected
u not u here!

CEB higup.

(**)hikəɫ 'laugh'.

PCEM *hikul: hikul (KMY), hikuu (DVB)

PSEM *ikəɫ: aqikəɫ (MDK), ikul (MDC), gaikəɫ (MDB, MDM),
ikəɫ (MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

(**)hi'las '2. to give a portion'. Cf. ilas (KLK)

PNEM *hi'las: ihilas (TSG 'to give from the heart'),
hi'las (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hi'las: hi'las (KMY, DVB)

CEB hi'las.

(**)hilaw 'green, unripe, raw, unprocessed'. Cf. hilaw (DVB)

PNEM *hilaw: hilaw (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *ilaw: ilaw (MSK, KLK)

CEB hilaw.

(**)hilaq 'to drag along (floor)'. Cf. *hellaq (PSB)

PNEM *hilaq: hillaq (TSG), hilaq (BUT, MWA, SUR 'sit on
floor and edge along')

PCEM *hilaq: hilaq (KMY 'to lie', DVB)

(**)hilu '2. to be poisoned, made dizzy'.

PNEM *hilu: hilu (TSG, BUT-f, MWA 'to poison', SUR-f)

PCEM *hilu: hilu (KMY, DVB 'poison')

CEB hilu 'dizzy, vertigo'.

**hilunu 'to moult, to shed the skin as a snake'.

PNEM *hilunu: hilunu (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hilunu: hilunu (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *lunu: lunu (MSK, KLK)

**hilut `to massage`.

PNEM *hilut: hilut (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hilut: hilut (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *ilut: gailut (MDB), ilut (MDM, MSK, KLK)

CEB hilut.

**himuq `to make, do`.

PNEM *himuq: himuq (BUT, MWA, SUR `possible`)

PCEM *himuq: himuq (KMY, DVB), maghimo (DVD)

PSEM *imuq: pagimuq (MDK, MDC, ISM), magayimuq (MDB),
imu (MDM), imuq (MSK, KLK)

CEB himuq.

**hinañ `to work, to make`.

PNEM *hinañ: hinañ (TSG, BUT, MWA `to construct`, SUR)

PCEM *hinañ: hinañ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *inañ: inañun (MDC), inañun (MDB), inañ (MSK, KLK)

(**)hinay `slowly`. Cf. hinay-hinay (KLK)

PNEM *hinay: hinay (TSG, BUT, SUR), hinay-hinay (BUT,
MWA, SUR `very slowly`), hinayhay (BUT `gradually`),
anay-anay (TSG `with care`), anay (MWA `continue doing
something`, SUR `to wait`)

PCEM *hinay: hinay (KMY `with care`, DVB)

CEB hinay.

**hinug `ripe`.

PNEM *hinug: hinug (TSG, BUT, MWA), hi'nug (SUR)

PCEM *hi'nug: hi'nug (KMY), hinug (DVB)

PSEM *inug: inug (MSK, KLK)

CEB hi'nug.

(**)hinək 'to go silently, unobserved'. Cf. inək (MSK)

PNEM *hinək: hinuk (BUT), hinuk-hinuk (BUT, SUR 'whisper or go near quietly'), hinək (MWA 'go quietly')

PCEM *hinuk: hinuk (KMY, DVB)

CEB hinuk.

**hiŋbis 'scales of fish'.

PNEM *hiŋbis: hiŋbis (BUT, MWA), himbis (SUR)

PCEM *himbis: himbis (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *imbis: imbis (MSK, KLK)

CEB hiŋbis.

(**)hi{nŋ}luq 'clean, smooth'. Cf. illuq (MSK)

PNEM *hiŋluq: hiŋluq (MWA, SUR), hinluq (SUR)

PCEM *hinluq: hinluq (KMY, DVB)

CEB hiŋluq.

~CEB hinluq.

(**)hiŋpit 'proper, complete, perfect'. Cf. hiŋpit (KLK)

PNEM *hi{mŋ}pit: himpit (TSG 'modest feminine behaviour, close fitting', BUT 'well-made'), hiŋpit (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hiŋpit: hiŋpit (KMY, DVB)

CEB himpit.

~CEB hiŋpit.

**{h}ipag 'an affinal relative of same generation'.

PNEM *ipag: ipag (TSG, MWA)

PCEM *hipag: hipag (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *ipag: ipag (MSK, KLK)

**hip{uə}s `to tidy up, to pack up'.

PNEM *hipəs: hipus (TSG `to discontinue noisy activity',
BUT, SUR), hipəs (MWA)

PCEM *hipus: hipus (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *ipus: ipus (MSK `to cut off (as fingernail)', KLK)

CEB hipus.

(**)his{ln}aŋ `active, restless'. Cf. hisnay (MWA), hislaŋ
(KMY)

PSEM *inaŋ: inaŋ (MSK, KLK)

(**)hitaq `inner thigh'. Cf. hitaq (DVB)

PNEM *hitaq: hitaq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *itaq: itaq (MSK, KLK)

**hiwaq `to slice lengthwise'.

PNEM *hiwaq: hiwaq (BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf. huyaq (TSG)

PCEM *hiwaq: hiwaq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *iwaq: iwaq (MDK, MDC, MSK, KLK), iwaqən (MDB), iwa
(MDM)

CEB hiwaq.

(**)hi'wiq `crooked'.

PNEM *hi'wiq: hi'wiq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hi'wiq: hi'wiq (KMY, DVB)

CEB hi'wiq.

(**)hiyəm `to smile'. Cf. iyəm (KLK), hijumk (KAN)

PNEM *h{iu}yəm: huyum (TSG), hiyum (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *hiyum: hiyum (KMY, DVB)

CEB hiyum.

**hubad `to untie`.

PNEM *hubad: hubad (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), husband (~SUR)

PCEM *hu(s)bad: husband (KMY), hubad (DVB)

PSEM *ubad: ubad (MSK, KLK)

CEB hubad `to break a grip`.

(**)hubag `to swell up`.

PNEM *hu'bag: hu'bag (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hubag: hubag (KMY, DVB, DVD `boil, infection`)

CEB hu'bag.

(**)hu{(bl)(lb)}ut `to remove, pull out`. Cf. gabut (KLK)

PNEM *hublut: hublut (TSG, BUT), hulbut (MWA), hubut (SUR)

PCEM *hulbut: hulbut (KMY, DVB)

CEB hublut.

~CEB hulbut.

(**)hudhud `to pour out`.

PNEM *hudhud: hudhud (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR `to pour into another container`)

PCEM *hudhud: hudhud (KMY, DVB)

**hugas `to wash hands`.

PNEM *hugas: hugas (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hugas: hugas (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *ugas: ugas (MDK, MDC, MSK, ISM, KLK)

CEB hugas.

(**)hugpuq `hips`.

PNEM hugpuq: hugpuq (TSG `upper hips`, BUT, SUR `to catch someone around hips`)

(**)hu'gut `to pull'.

PNEM *hugut: hugut (TSG `to pull nits off hair', MWA `to draw from sheath')

PCEM *hu'gut: hu'gut (KMY), hugut (DVB)

CEB hu'gut `to pull in a rope'.

(**)hukad `to dish out of container onto plate'. Cf. ukad (MSK `to unpack, unwrap, open up')

PNEM *hukad: hukad (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hukad: hukad (KMY `to tip out of container', DVB)

CEB hukad `to serve rice'.

(**)hu'kay `to uncover by removing or overturning overlaying material'. Cf. ukay (MSK `to stir')

PNEM *hu'kay: u'kay (TSG `to open container', MWA `to search for', SUR), hukay (BUT)

PCEM *hu'kay: u'kay (KMY), hukay (DVB)

(**)hukum `to judge'. Cf. hukum (DVB)

PNEM *hukum: hukum (TSG, MWA)

PSEM *hukum: ukum (MSK), hukum (KLK)

CEB hukum.

(**)hulas `sweat'.

PNEM *hulas: hulas (TSG, MWA), huwas (BUT), huyas-huyas (~MWA), hu'yas (SUR)

PCEM *huwas: huwas (KMY, DVB), huwas-huwas (KMY `prickly heat')

(**)hulat `to wait'.

PNEM *hulat: hulat-hulat (TSG `expectant'), hu'yat (SUR)

PCEM *huwat: huwat (KMY, DVB)

CEB hulat.

(**)hulay 'to rest'.

PNEM *hulay: huway (BUT, MWA), huyay (SUR). Cf. hulaw
(TSG 'to cease, as rain'), haway (MWA 'fatigued')

PCEM *huway: huway (KMY, DVB)

(**)hu'lin 'marble'.

PNEM *hu'lin: hu'lin (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hu'lin: hu'lin (KMY), hulin (DVB)

CEB dyulin.

~CEB hu'lin.

**hulug 'to fall'.

PNEM *hulug: hulug (TSG, MWA), huug (BUT), huyug (SUR-f)

PCEM *huug: huug (KMY, DVB), mahuug (DVM)

PSEM *ulug: yamallug (MDK **hulug -> yama + hulug ->
yama + hlug -> yamallug), malug (MDC), yamulug (MDB,
MDM), ulug (MSK), uug (ISM), maug (KLK), mulug (KLT)

CEB hulug.

**humay 'growing rice'.

PNEM *humay: humay (TSG 'boiled rice, colored yellow',
BUT, MWA, SUR), kahumayan (BUT 'rice plantation')

PCEM *hu'may: hu'may (KMY), humay (DVB), umay (DVM)

PSEM *umay: umay (MDK, MDC, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB humay.

(**)humpid 'to arrange in stack'.

PNEM *humpid: humpid (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *humpid: humpid (KMY, DVB)

CEB humpid.

**hunas `drawer, to pull out a drawer'.

PNEM *hunas: hunus (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hunas: hunus (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *hunas: unus (MSK), hunus (KLK)

CEB hunus-hunas `drawer'.

(**)(h)unus `sudden storm'. Cf. u'nus (DVB)

PNEM *(h)u'nus: hunus (TSG `strong wind, typhoon'),
u'nus (BUT, MWA, SUR-f). Cf. heras (MWA `strong gust of
wind')

PSEM *u'nus: unus (MSK), u'nus (KLK)

(**)hurut `container of coconut shell'. Cf. hurut (DVB)

PNEM *hurut: hurut (TSG `a shell money box', BUT, SUR)

PSEM *hurut: urut (MSK), hurut (KLK)

CEB hurut `...with small hole and used for water'.

**hupas `to have lost effective element (e.g. perfume,
flavour)'.

PNEM *hupas: hupas (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *hupas: hupas (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kupas: kupas (MSK `to fade', KLK). Cf. ka + upas =
kupas

CEB hupas.

(**)huri `rear'.

PNEM *-huri: -huri (TSG `last, end, rear', BUT), ulihan
(TSG `area behind'), mahuri (MWA `to follow behind')

PCEM *huri: huri (KMY sa huri ku `behind me'), -huri
(DVB)

(**)hurut `consumed'.

PNEM *hurut: hurut (BUT, SUR, MWA)

PCEM *hurut: hurut (KMY 'all', DVB)

CEB hurut.

**husay '1. bring peaceful settlement of case, peaceful'.

PNEM *husay: husay (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), husayan (BUT
'judge')

PCEM *husay: husay (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *usay: usay (MSK, KLK)

CEB husay.

(**)husay '2. beautiful, well-groomed'. Cf. maqusay (MSK
'orderly, systematic')

PNEM *husay: mahusay (TSG, MWA)

PCEM *husay: mahusay (KMY, DVB)

CEB mahusay.

**huyup 'to blow'.

PNEM *huyup: huyup (TSG, BUT), huzup (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *huyup: huyup (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *uyup: uyup (MDK, MDC, MDB, MSK, ISM, KLK), yuuyup
(MDM), eyup (KLT)

CEB huyup.

(**)hugut 'to be tight, firm, secure'. Cf. egut (MSK), igut
(KLK)

PNEM *hugut: hugut (TSG, BUT, SUR), hēgut (MWA)

PCEM *hugut: hugut (KMY 'to pull in a rope', DVB)

CEB hugut.

**həkət 'to tie, tether'.

PNEM *həkət: hukut (TSG, BUT, SUR), ekət (MWA)

PCEM *hukut: hukut (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *əkət: ukut (MDK), ukət (MDC), əkitan (MDB), əkətan (MDC), əkət (MSK, ISM, KLK)

CEB hukut. (var. of hikut)

CEB hikut.

**həlaq 'to live, dwell'.

PNEM *həlaq: hulaq (TSG), hu'waq (BUT), həlaq (MWA), huyaq (SUR)

PCEM *huyaq: huyaq (KMY, DVB, DVM), paghuyaq (DVD)

PSEM *əyaq: yagaqəyaq (MDK, MDB), uyaq (MDC), yagaqəyaq (MDM), əyaq (MSK, KLK), magaqəyaq (ISM), miyaq (KLT)

(**)hunās 'low-tide'.

PNEM *hunās: hunas (TSG, BUT, SUR-f), hunas (MWA)

PCEM *hunās: hunasan (KMY 'shore'), hunas (DVB)

CEB hunas.

**hənat 'to stretch'. Cf. hənnat (CS.2)

PNEM *hənat: hənat (MWA), hunat (SUR)

PCEM *hənat: hunat (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *ənāt: ənāt-ənāt (MSK), unat (KLK)

CEB hunat 'to exert pressure on'.

(**)hənaq-hənaq 'to think, thoughts'.

PNEM *hənaq-hənaq: hunaq-hunaq (TSG, BUT, SUR), hənaq-hənaq (MWA)

PCEM *hənaq-hənaq: hunaq-hunaq (KMY, DVB)

CEB hunaq-hunaq.

(**)hə'nəb 'to spread by absorption'.

PNEM *hə'nəb: hə'nəb (MWA), hu'nəb (SUR)

PCEM *hu'nəb: hu'nəb (KMY, DVB)

CEB hu'nub.

(**)həŋaw 'to emit (bad-smelling) vapour'. Cf. uŋaw (KLK e.g. of air, to come out)

PNEM *həŋaw: huŋaw (TSG, BUT, SUR), h(in)uŋaw (BUT, SUR 'smell of bad water'), həŋaw (MWA). Cf. huŋaw (MWA 'tail end of storm')

PCEM *huŋaw: huŋaw (KMY, DVB)

CEB huŋaw.

(**)həŋud 'to dedicate to someone'.

PNEM *həŋud: pahinuŋud (BUT, SUR), pahinəŋud (MWA)

PCEM *huŋud: pahinuŋud (KMY, DVB)

**həqə 'yes'.

PNEM *həqə(n): huqun (TSG), huqu (BUT), həqə (MWA), uqu (SUR)

PCEM *huqu: huqu (KMY), uqu (DVB)

PSEM *əqə: əqə (MSK, KLK, KLT)

CEB uqu.

(**)həqət 'tight fitting'. Cf. piyət (KLK)

PNEM *həqət: huhut (BUT), həqət (MWA), huqut (SUR)

PCEM *huqut: huqut (KMY, DVB)

CEB huqut.

(**)iban 'companion'.

PNEM *iban: iban (TSG, BUT, SUR), iba (MWA)

PCEM *iban: iban (DVB), kaqiban (DVM), kaqibanan (DVD)

CEB iban. (var. of uban)

(**)ibaq 'kind of sour fruit (Averrhoa bilimbi)'. Cf. ibaq (KMY)

PNEM *ibaq: ibaq (TSG, BUT, SUR), iba (MWA)

PSEM *ibaq: ibaq (MSK, KLK)

CEB ibaq.

**ibid 'flying lizard'.

PNEM *ibid: ibid (MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *ibid: ibid (KMY 'kind of lizard', DVB)

PSEM *ibid: ibid (MSK 'large, edible lizard', KLK)

CEB ibid 'kind of large lizard'.

(**)ibis 'kind of small inshore fish'. Cf. ibis (KLK)

PNEM *ibis: ibis (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ibis: ibis (KMY, DVB)

CEB ibis.

(**)ibut 'to pull out, by roots, as hair, grass'. Cf. qabut (KLK)

PNEM *ibut: ibut (ibtun) (BUT, SUR), ibut-ibut (SUR)

PCEM *ibut: ibut (KMY, DVB)

CEB ibut.

CEB ibut-ibut.

**idug 'dog'.

PNEM *idug: idug (TSG, BUT, MWA), i'ruq (SUR)

PCEM *idug: idug (KMY-f, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *idug: idug (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

(**)iguq '1. enough, adequate'.

PNEM *iguq: iguq-iguq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *iguq: iguq-iguq (KMY), iguq (DVB)

CEB iguq.

(**)igqagaw 'cousin'.

PNEM *igqagaw: igqagaw (MWA, SUR), ikaduhañ igqagaw
(SUR)

PSEM *igagaw: igagaw (MSK, KLT)

CEB igqagaw.

**ihalas 'of the jungle'.

PNEM *ihalas: ihalas (MWA), ihayas (SUR)

PCEM *ihaas: ihaas (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *iyalas: iyas (KLK), iyalas (KLT 'wild chicken')

CEB ihalas.

***(i)*halin 'to pour'. See **halin

PNEM **(i)*halin: hain (TSG 'pour from one container to
another'), ihalin (BUT, MWA), halin (MWA)

PCEM *ihalin: ihalin (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *alin: alin (MSK 'to transfer', KLK 'transfer,
immigrate')

CEB halin 'to emigrate'.

(**)ihap 'to count'.

PNEM *ihap: ihap (BUT-f, MWA)

PCEM *ihap: ihap (KMY, DVB)

CEB ihap.

**ihiq 'urine, to urinate'.

PNEM *ihiq: ihiq (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ihiq: ihiq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *iqiq: iqi (MSK), iq (KLK)

(**)ihu `shark'.

PNEM *ihu: ihu (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ihu: ihu (KMY, DVB)

CEB ihu.

**ikaw `second person singular, actor focus'.

PNEM *ikaw: ikaw (TSG), iku (MWA)

PCEM *ikaw: kaw (KMY), ikaw (~KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *ikaw: ikaw (MSK, KLK)

CEB ikaw.

**ikug `tail'.

PNEM *ikug: ikug (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ikug: ikug (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *ikug: ikug (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

(**)ila `mole'. Cf. ilaq (MSK)

PNEM *ila: ila (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ila: ila (KMY, DVB)

**ilis `to exchange, to change'.

PNEM *ilis: ilis (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ilis: ilis (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *ilis: ilis (MSK, KLK)

CEB ilis.

**ilu `orphan'.

PNEM *ilu: ilu (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ilu: ilu (KMY), minailu (DVB)

PSEM *ilu: ilu (MSK), minaqilu (MSK 'orphaned'), minailu (KLK)

**impis 'newly-hatched chicken'.

PNEM *impis: impis (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), maqimpis (MWA 'child')

PCEM *impis: impis (KMY 'newly hatched birds', DVB)

PSEM *impis: impis (MSK 'baby bird, duck', KLK)

(**) (i)mu 'second person sing. attrib.'. Cf. kanmu (DVB)

PNEM *imu: imu (TSG, BUT, SUR), kanmu (MWA)

PSEM *-mu: kanmu (MSK, KLK)

** (iu)nat 'to stretch'.

PNEM *inat: inat (BUT, MWA, SUR), unat (~MWA)

PCEM *inat: inat (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *unat: unat (MSK, KLK)

**inaq 'mother'.

PNEM *inaq: inaq (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR-f), inahan (BUT, SUR), inay (MWA 'grandmother, aunt'), inay (~KMY)

PCEM *inaq: inaq (KMY-f, DVB, DVM, DVD (ina or inaq?))

PSEM *inaq: inaq (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK vocative/proper noun), ina (KLT)

(**) inaqen 'aunt'.

PNEM *inaqen: inaqun (TSG, BUT, SUR), inaqen (MWA), iyaq (SUR), iyaqen (SUR 'female relative')

PCEM *inaqun: iyaq (KMY), inaqun (DVB)

**inday 'I don't know'.

PNEM *inday: inday (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *inday: inday (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *inday: inday (MSK, KLK)

** (t) indag 'to stand'.

PNEM *tindag: tindug (TSG, BUT, SUR), tindag (MWA)

PCEM *indug: indug (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *indag: indug (MDK), magindug (MDC), gaindag (MDB),
gaqindag (MDM), indag (MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

**init 'to heat, to boil'.

PNEM *init: init (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *init: init (KMY, DVB, DVD), maqinit (DVB)

PSEM *init 'to sweat': initan (MDK, MDM), init (MSK,
KLK, KLT)

**intalun 'to defecate'.

PNEM *intaun: intauq (TSG), intaun (BUT), intaunan (BUT
'anus')

PCEM *intalun: intaun (KMY, DVB), intalun (DVM),
magintaqun (DVD)

PSEM *intalun: gaintaun (MDK), magintalun (MDC),
gaintalun (MDB), intalun (MDM, MSK), magintaun (ISM),
mintaun (KLK), mintalun (KLT)

(**) inut 'to do or use gradually'.

PNEM *inut: inut (TSG, SUR-f 'thrifty'), daginutan (BUT,
MWA 'thrifty')

PCEM *inut: daginutan (DVB), ya'inut (KMY 'to make use
of waste')

**inam 'to drink'.

PNEM *inam: inum (TSG, BUT, SUR), inam (MWA)

PCEM *inum: inum (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *inam: inam (MDK, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT), minum
(MDC), iminam (MDB)

(**) -inɛp 'dream'.

PNEM *-inɛp: tagaqinup (TSG), tagqinɛp (MWA)

PSEM *-inɛp: tagaynɛp (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLI), magtagaynup (MDC)

(**) ipil 'kind of tree'. Cf. ipil (DVB)

PNEM *ipil: ipil (TSG, BUT, SUR)

PSEM *ipil: ipil (MSK, KLK)

**irun 'nose'.

PNEM *irun: ilun (TSG, BUT, SUR), irun (MWA)

PCEM *(iɛ)run: ɛrun (KMY), ilun (DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *ilun: ilun (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLI)

(**) i(rl)ɛg 'to take without permission'. Cf. ilug (KMY)

PNEM *iɛg: ilug (BUT, SUR 'to take without permission'), iɛg (MWA). Cf. iig (TSG 'to remove something entirety')

**irɛk 'armpit'.

PNEM *irɛk: iluk (TSG, BUT, SUR), irɛk (MWA)

PCEM *iruk: iruk (KMY), iluk (DVB)

PSEM *ilɛk: ilɛk (MSK, KLK)

**isa 'one'.

PNEM *isa: isa (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *isa: isa (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *isa: isa (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM)

(**) isab 'to repeat, again'.

PNEM *isab: isab (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), sab (~SUR)

PCEM *isab: isab (KMY, DVB), sab (~KMY)

**isdaq 'fish'.

PNEM *isdaq: istaq (TSG), isdaq (BUT, MWA, SUR-f),
isdaqan (BUT 'viand')

PCEM *isdaq: isdaq (KMY-f, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *isdaq: isdaq (MDC, MDB, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

(**) isip 'to think of something'. Cf. isip (MSK 'to count up')

PNEM *isip: asip (TSG 'to heed'), isip (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *isip: isip (KMY, DVB)

**isug 'to express antagonism or courage'.

PNEM *isug: isug (TSG, BUT 'brave, fierce'), isug (TSG,
MWA 'angry, brave'), kaqisug (SUR 'courage'), na'isug
(SUR 'to be angry')

PCEM *isug: isug (KMY 'brave', DVB)

PSEM *isug: isug (MSK 'to be bold'), kayisug (KLK
'bravery')

(**) isug 'child'.

PCEM *isug: isug (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *isug: isug (MDK, MDC), isug (MDB, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

**itlug 'egg'.

PNEM *itlug: iklug (TSG), itlug (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *itlug: itlug (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *itlug: itlug (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK)

(**) itsa 'to throw thru the air'.

PNEM *itsa: itsa (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *itsa: itsa (KMY, DVB)

(**) itu 'kind of mudfish, has barbels and spines on lateral
fins (Agusan R.), edible'. Cf. itu (KLK)

PNEM *itu: itu (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *itu: itu (KMY, DVB)

**item 'black'.

PNEM *item: itum (TSG, BUT, SUR), item (MWA)

PCEM *item: itum (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *item: maitem (MDK, MDB, MDM, ISM, KLK, KLT),
maqitem (MSK)

**iyak 'to shout'.

PNEM *iyak: iyak (BUT), izak (MWA, SUR 'to screech as a
chicken')

PCEM *iyak: iyak (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *iyak: iyak (MSK, KLK)

(**) iyan 'that'. Cf. yan (KLK)

PNEM *iyan: iyan (TSG, BUT)

PCEM *iyan: iyan (KMY, DVB, DVD)

(**)-ka- 'numerical lig.'. Cf. ka (DVB)

PNEM *-ka-: ka (TSG haŋkaqadlaw, BUT isa kaqadlaw, MWA,
SUR Aniza bayay tuyu ka andana)

PSEM *ka: ka (MSK, KLK saŋ kaallaw)

**kaban 'trunk, box'.

PNEM *kaban: kaban (TSG, BUT 'sack of rice', MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kaban: kaban (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kaban: kaban (MSK, KLK)

(**) kabaŋ 'spotted coloring'. Cf. kabaŋ (DVB)

PNEM *kabaŋ: kabaŋ (TSG, BUT)

PSEM *kabaŋ: kabaŋ (MSK, KLK)

CEB kabaŋ.

(**)kabaq-kabaq 'butterfly'.

PNEM *kabaq-kabaq: kabaq-kabaq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kabaq-kabaq: kabaq-kabaq (KMY, DVB)

**kabkab 'to fan'.

PNEM *kabkab: kabkab (TSG, SUR)

PCEM *kabkab: kabkab (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kabkab: kabkab (MSK 'to flap, flutter', KLK)

**kablit 'touch briefly'.

PNEM *kablit: kublit (TSG), kablit (BUT, MWA 'to pluck a string', SUR). Cf. kablit (TSG 'hemstitch')

PCEM *kablit: kablit (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kablit: kablit (MSK, KLK)

(**)kabul 'hardened sago'.

PNEM *kabul: kabuu (BUT), kabuy (SUR)

PCEM *kabuw: kabuw (KMY, DVB)

(**)kabus 'lack, shortage'. Cf. ka'bus (DVB)

PNEM *kabus: ka'bus (TSG, BUT), kabsan (MWA 'destitute person, emptied container')

PSEM *(k)abus: kabus (MSK 'to be consumed'), abus (KLK 'finish')

(**)kabut 'to dig'. Cf. kutkut (MSK 'to dig', KLK 'to dig')

PNEM *kabut: kabut (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kabut: kabut (KMY, DVB)

**kabug 'bat'.

PNEM *kabug: kabug (TSG, BUT, SUR), kabug (MWA)

PCEM *kabug: kabug (KMY 'large fruit bat', DVB)

PSEM *kabug: kabug (MSK 'large bat', KLK)

(**)kadayaw 'extremely'. Cf. pakadayaw (DVB), Cf. **dayaw

PNEM *kadayaw: pakadayaw (TSG), kadiyaw (BUT), karazaw (SUR)

PSEM *(dk)adayaw: diyadadayaw (MSK), kadajaw (KLK 'goodness')

**k(ag)abiqi 'period before last night'.

PNEM *k(ag)abiqi: kabiqi (TSG), kagabiqi (BUT, SUR), kahabi (MWA 'yesterday')

PCEM *k(ag)abiqi: kagabiqi (KMY, DVB), kabiqi (KMY, DVB, DVD), gabi (DVM)

PSEM *kagabi 'yesterday': kagabi (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

(**)k(ag)ahapun 'yesterday'. Cf. **hapun, gaqapun (DVD)

PNEM *k(ag)ahapun: kahapun (TSG), gahapun (BUT, SUR)

CEB kahapun.

~CEB gahapun.

~CEB kagahapun.

**kagaskas 'scratching, rustling sound'.

PNEM *kagas(gk)as: kagaskas (BUT), kagaskas (MWA)

PCEM *kagaskas: kagaskas (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kagaskas: kagaskas (MSK, KLK)

**kagat 'pinchers of a crab'.

PNEM *kagat: kagat (BUT-f, SUR). Cf. kagat (TSG 'to scratch surface with sharp instrument')

PCEM *kagat: kagat (KMY-f, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *kagat: kagat (MDK, MSK 'to bite, sting', ISM, KLK), makagat (MDC), kagaten (MDB)

(**)kagaw 'germs'. Cf. kagaw (DVB)

PNEM *kagaw: kagaw (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *kagaw: kagaw (MSK, KLK)

**k(ag)aqina 'formerly'.

PNEM *k(ag)aqina: kaqina (TSG, SUR), kagaqina (BUT),
gaqina (~BUT, ~SUR), kazina (MWA)

PCEM *k(ag)aqina: kaqina (KMY), kagaqina (DVB)

PSEM *kagaqina: kagaqina (MSK), kaqaina (KLK)

CEB ganina. (var. of ganiha)

**kagis 'to scrape'.

PNEM *kagis: kagis (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kagis: kagis (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kagis: kagis (MSK, KLK)

(**)kagud 'to scrape away surface layer'. Cf. kagud (MSK),
kigid (KLK)

PNEM *ka'gud: ka'gud (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR 'to grate'),
kagdanan (MWA 'coconut grater', SUR)

PCEM *ka'gud: ka'gud (KMY, DVB)

(**)kahimtañ < *butañ 'state of mind'.

PNEM *kahimtañ: kahimtañ (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kahimtañ: kahimtañ (KMY, DVB)

CEB kahimtañ.

**ka'hun 'box'.

PNEM *ka'hun: ka'hun (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ka'hun: ka'hun (KMY 'box, coffin', DVB)

PSEM *ka'hun: kaqun (MSK), ka'hun (KLK)

CEB ka'hun.

**kahuy 'tree'.

PNEM *kahuy: kahuy (TSG, BUT, SUR), kakahuyan (BUT),
kahuynun (BUT 'tree dweller'), manahuy (SUR 'to gather
firewood')

PCEM *kahuy: kakahuyan (KMY 'forest'), kahuy (KMY, DVB,
DVM, DVD)

PSEM *kahuy: kahuy (MDK), kaquy (MDC, MDM, MSK), kauy
(MDB, ISM, KLK (Wendell)), kawuy (KLK, KLT)

(**)kalapi 'edible fruit of rattan vine'. Cf. kalapi (MSK)

PNEM *kalapi: kaapi (BUT), kalapi (MWA), kyapi (SUR)

PCEM *kaapi: kaapi (KMY, DVB)

**kalaw 'hornbill'.

PNEM *kalaw: kalaw (TSG 'kind of bird', BUT, MWA), kayaw
(SUR)

PCEM *kaaw: kaaw (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kalaw: kalaw (MSK), kaaw (KLK)

(**)kalamayu 'infection which causes swelling'. Cf. kamayu
(DVB)

PNEM *kalamayu: kamayu (TSG, BUT), kalamazu (MWA),
kyamazu (SUR)

PSEM *kalamayu: kalamayu (MSK 'stomach ulcer'), kamayu
(KLK)

(**)(k)alimañu 'mud crab'. Cf. alimañu (KMY), alimañu (KLK)

PNEM *(k)alimañu: kalimañu (TSG, BUT), alimañu (MWA,
SUR)

(**)kalintu 'right'.

PCEM *kalintuqu: kanin tuqu (DVB), kalintuqu (DVM)

PSEM *kalintu: kalintu (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM,
KLK, KLT)

**kalut 'to scratch'.

PNEM *kalut: kalut (TSG, MWA), kaut (BUT), kayut (SUR)

PCEM *kaut: kaut (KMY, DVB), kawit (~KMY), mañawut (DVM)

PSEM *kalut: kaqut (MDK), kalut (MDC, MSK), gakalut (MDB), yañalut (MDM), kaut (ISM, KLK), ulut (KLT)

CEB kalut.

(**)kaluq 'hat'. Cf. kaluq (DVB), pawuq (KMY)

PNEM *kaluq: kawuq (BUT), kaluq (MWA, SUR)

PSEM *kaluq: ka(1)uq (KLK), kaluq (KLT)

CEB kaluq.

(**)kamalig 'storehouse, workshed'. Cf. kamalig (KMY)

PNEM *kamalig: kamalig (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *kamalig: kamalig (MSK, KLK)

CEB kamalig.

(**)kamansi 'breadfruit (Artocarpus camansi)'. Cf. kamansi (DVB)

PNEM *kamansi: kamansi (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *kamansi: kamansi (MSK, KLK)

CEB kamansi.

(**)kamañ 'to get'.

PCEM *kamañ: kamañ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kamañ: kamañ (MSK, KLK)

(**)kamas 'to scratch'. Cf. kamas (DVB)

PNEM *kamas: kamas (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *kamas: kamas (MSK, KLK)

CEB kamas.

(**)kambal 'twin'.

PNEM *kambal: kambal (TSG), kambaa (BUT), kambay (SUR)

PCEM *kambal: kambal (KMY, DVB)

**kandiŋ 'goat'.

PNEM *ka(mb)(nd)iŋ: kambiŋ (TSG), kandiŋ (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kandiŋ: kandiŋ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *ka(mb)(nd)iŋ: kambiŋ (MSK), kandiŋ (KLK)

**ka'mu 'second person plural Act.'.

PNEM *ka'mu: ka'mu (TSG, MWA)

PCEM *ka'mu: ka'mu (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *ka'mu: kamu (MSK), ka'mu (KLK)

(**)kamuti 'sweet potato'. Cf. kamuti (KLK)

PNEM *kamuti: kamuti (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kamuti: kamuti (KMY, DVB)

(**)kam(ue)t 'to do with the hands'. Cf. kamut (DVB)

PNEM *kamet: kamut (BUT, SUR), kamet (MWA 'to eat with fingers')

PSEM *kamut 'toe (third)': kamut (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK 'finger, claw', ISM)

CEB kamut 'to weed by hand'.

(**)kan 'personal non-object non-topic marker'. Cf. kan (KLK)

PNEM *kan: kan (TSG, MWA)

PCEM *kan: kan (KMY, DVB)

(**)kanakuq 'oblique pronoun, 1st person sing'.

PNEM *ka(n)akuq: kaakuq (TSG), kanakuq (BUT)

PCEM (*)kanakuq: kanakuq (KMY), kanak (~KMY)

(**)kanat 'scatter over an area'. Cf. kanat (MSK)

PNEM *kanat: kanat (TSG, MWA, SUR 'going in all directions')

PCEM *kanat: kanat (KMY, DVB)

**kandiqis '1. dimple on face'.

PNEM *kandiqis: kandiqis (TSG, BUT, MWA), kyandiqis (SUR)

PCEM *kandiqis: kandiqis (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kandiqis: kandiqis (MSK), pañandis (KLK)

(**)kandiqis '2. kind of fruit tree'.

PNEM *kandiqis: kandiqis (TSG, BUT, MWA), kyandiqis (SUR)

PCEM *kandiqis: kandiqis (KMY, DVB)

CEB kandiqis '(Garcinis sp.)'.

(**)kanimu 'oblique pronoun, 2nd person sing'. Cf. kanmu (KMY)

PNEM *kanimu: kaymu (TSG), kanimu (BUT)

(**)kanugun 'what a waste'. Cf. kanugun (DVB), hinugun, hanugun (CEB)

PNEM *ka(n)ugun: kaugun (TSG), kanugun (MWA)

PSEM *kanugun: kanugun (MSK 'too bad (regret over loss of possessions)', KLK)

**kañkañ 'to spread out fingers'.

PNEM *kañkañ: kañkañ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kañkañ: kañkañ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kañkañ: kañkañ (MSK 'to collapse with hands up', KLK)

CEB kañkañ.

****kapa-kapa** 'flap wings'.

PNEM *kapa-kapa: kapa-kapa (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kapa-kapa: kapa-kapa (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kapakapa: kapakapa (MSK 'to flap and shake (as dying chicken)', KLK)

CEB kapa-kapa.

(**)kapay 'wing or analogous thing which propels'. Cf. kapay (DVB)

PNEM *kapay: kapay (TSG, BUT 'propeller', MWA 'wings, to paddle water like a dog', SUR 'wings')

PSEM *kapay: kapay (MSK 'to signal by hand, to paddle with hands', KLK, KLT 'swim')

(**)kapaya(s), 'papaya (New world plant (Carica papaya))'. Cf. kapayas (DVB)

PNEM *kapaya({sq}): kapayaq (TSG), kapayas (BUT), kapazas (MWA), kapaza (SUR)

PSEM *kapaya(sq): kapayas (MSK), kapayaq (KLK)

(**)kapin 'extra, excess'.

PNEM *kapin: kapin (TSG 'remainder', MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kapin: kapin (KMY 'bonus, extra', DVB)

(**)kapkap 'to grope in the dark'. Cf. kapkap (DVB)

PNEM *kapkap: kapkap (TSG, BUT, MWA 'to enter house by stealth', SUR). Cf. kahap (MWA)

PSEM *kapkap: kapkap (MSK 'to climb a tree', KLK)

CEB kapkap.

(**)kapuy 'fatigued'. Cf. kapuy (MSK 'fail to meet')

PNEM *kapuy: kapuy (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kapuy: kapuy (KMY, DVB)

CEB kapuy.

**karahaq 'frying pan'.

PNEM *karahaq: kahaq (TSG, BUT, SUR), karahaq (MWA),
kyahaq (~SUR)

PCEM *k(ar)ahaq: karahaq (KMY), kahaq (DVB)

PSEM *kalaq: kalaq (MSK), kəq (KLK)

**kasal 'to wed'.

PNEM *kasal: kasal (BUT, MWA, SUR), kaslunun (BUT
'wedding couple')

PCEM *kasal: kasal (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kasal: kasal (MSK, KLK)

CEB kasal.

**kasili 'fresh water eel'.

PNEM *kasili: kasil (TSG), kasili (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kasili: kasili (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *kasili: kasili (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

(**)kasiñ-kasiñ 'heart'. Cf. kasiñ-kasiñ (PBS)

PNEM *kasiñ-kasiñ: kasiñ-kasiñ (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *kasiñ-kasiñ: kasiñ-kasiñ (KMY, DVB)

CEB kasiñ-kasiñ.

(**)katag 'to spread abroad'. Cf. katag (MSK)

PNEM *katag: katag (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *katag: katag (KMY, DVB)

CEB katag.

(**)katambak 'kind of saltwater fish'. Cf. katambak (KLK),
*kutambak (PSB)

PNEM *katambak: kutambak (TSG 'sea-bream or porgy'),
katambak (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *katambak: katambak (KMY, DVB)

CEB katambak 'porgies + sheepheads'.

(**)katawa 'laugh'.

PNEM *katawa: katawa (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR-f),
katawqanan (BUT 'laughable')

PCEM *katawa: katawa (DVM, DVD)

CEB katawa.

CEB katawqanan.

**katig 'outrigger'.

PNEM *katig: katig (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *katig: katig (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *katig: katig (MSK, KLK)

CEB katig.

**katumbal 'peppery, spicy'.

PNEM *katumbal: katumbaa (BUT), katumbal (MWA)

PCEM *katumbaw: katumbaw (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *katumbal: katumbal (MSK), katumbæ (KLK)

**katul 'itch'.

PNEM *katul: katul (TSG), katuu (BUT), katul (MWA),
katuy (SUR)

PCEM *katul: katul (KMY, DVM), katuu (~KMY, DVB),
makatul (DVD)

PSEM *katul: makatul (MDK, ISM, KLT), katul (MDC), katul
(MDB, MDM, MSK), katæ (KLK)

CEB katul.

(**)kawas 'to jump down, go downstairs'. Cf. kawas (KLK)

PNEM *kawas: kawas (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kawas: kawas (KMY, DVB)

**kawat 'to steal'.

PNEM *kawat: kawat (BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf. takaw (TSG)

PCEM *kawat: yañawat (KMY), kawat (DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *kawat: yañawat (MDK, MDB, MDM), mañawat (MDC),
kawat (MSK, ISM)

CEB kawat.

**kawaq 'large roundbottomed cooking pot'.

PNEM *kawaq: kawaq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kawaq: kawaq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kawaq: kawaq (MSK, KLK)

CEB kawaq.

**kawit 'hook on which to hang something'.

PNEM *kawit: kawqit (BUT), kawit (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kawit: kawit (KMY 'to scratch', DVB)

PSEM *kawit: kawit (MSK 'bamboo container for tuba',
KLK)

CEB kawqit.

(**)kay 'because'. Cf. kay (KMY)

PNEM *kay: kay (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *kay: kay (MSK, KLK)

CEB kay.

(**)k(ay)agañ 'various crabs'. Cf. kagañ (MSK)

PNEM *k(ay)agañ: kagañ (TSG, SUR), kayagañ (BUT 'small
edible swamp crab'), kazagañ (MWA 'small edible rock
crab')

PCEM *kagaŋ: kagaŋ (KMY, DVB)

CEB kagaŋ 'kind of crab'.

(**)kayawan 'kind of bamboo'. Cf. kayawan (DVB)

PNEM *kayawan: kayawan (TSG), kazawan (MWA)

PSEM *kawayan: kawayan (MSK, KLK)

(**)kaqan 'eat'.

PCEM *kaqan: kaqan (KMY, DVB), magkaqan (DVM, DVD)

PSEM *kaqan: yakaqan (MDK), kaqan (MDC, MSK), yakaan (MDB, MDM), makan (ISM), kan (KLK, KLT)

(**)kaqig 'skinny'.

PNEM *kaqig: kaqig (MWA, SUR). Cf. kayug (TSG)

PCEM *kaqig: kaqig (KMY, DVB)

(**)-kaqin 'where to'. Cf. ayin (KLK)

PNEM *-kaqin: pakaqin (TSG, BUT). Cf. karqin (MWA)

PCEM *kaqin: kaqin (KMY, DVB)

(**)ka(q)p(uə)t 'to hold'. Cf. kaput (MSK 'to reach with hand or stick')

PNEM *ka(q)put: kaput (TSG, BUT), kaptanan (BUT 'a handle'), kapqut (~SUR)

PCEM *kaput: kaput (KMY, DVB)

CEB kaput.

**kaqənən 'rice that is cooked'.

PNEM *kaqənən: kaqunun (TSG), kanqun (BUT, SUR), kaqənən (MWA)

PCEM *kanqun: kanqun (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *kanən: kanən (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLK, KLT), kanun (MDC, ISM)

(**)kidlap 'to flash, glitter'. Cf. *kilap (PAN 'brightness, glossy'), idlap (DVB), kidlap (KLK)

PNEM *kidlap: idlap (TSG), kidlap (BUT, MWA, SUR),
kidlap-kidlap (BUT 'twinkling')

**kilala 'to recognize someone'.

PNEM *kilala: kilaa (TSG, BUT kilaqan mu siya waaq aku
makakilaa), kilala (MWA), kilaya (SUR)

PCEM *kilaa: kilaa (KMY, DVB), ila (DVD)

PSEM *kilala 'know (a person)': ikilaa (MDK), kilala
(MDC, MDM, MSK), kikirala (MDB), kila (KLK)

**kilat 'lightning'.

PNEM *kilat: kilat (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kilat: kilat (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *kilat: kilat (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

**kilid 'edge, flank'.

PNEM *kilid: kilid (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR 'tip, side'),
kiid (TSG)

PCEM *kilid: kilid (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kilid: kilid (MSK, KLK)

**kiliñ 'tilted, inclined to side'.

PNEM *kiliñ: kiiñ (TSG), kiliñ (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kiliñ: kiliñ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kiliñ: kiliñ (MSK, KLK)

CEB kiliñ.

(**)kilis 'to wash rice for cooking'.

PNEM *kilis: kilis (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kilis: kilis (KMY, DVB)

CEB kilis.

**ki{lr}ay `eyebrow'.

PNEM *kilay: kilay (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kiray: kiray (KMY), kilay (DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *kilay: kilay (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

**ki(mn)pañ `to limp, to be lower one side'.

PNEM *kimpañ: timpañ (TSG), kimpañ (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kimpañ: kimpañ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kimpañ: kimpañ (MSK, KLK)

CEB kimpañ.

**kimpit `to clip between, to grasp'.

PNEM *kimpit: kumpit (TSG), kimpit (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kimpit: kimpit (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kimpit: kimpit (MSK `pincers, chop sticks', KLK)

CEB kimpit.

~CEB kumpit.

(**)kinta `for example, supposing'.

PNEM *kin'ta: kin'ta (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kin'ta: kin'ta (KMY, DVB)

CEB kin'ta.

(**)kintu `to go on tip-toe'.

PNEM *kintu: kintu (MWA `to limp', SUR)

PCEM *kintu: kintu (KMY, DVB)

CEB kintu.

****kiŋkiŋ** 'little finger/toe'.

PNEM *kiŋkiŋ: kiŋkiŋ (TSG, BUT). Cf. kumaziŋkin (SUR),
asiŋkiŋ (MWA)

PCEM *kiŋkiŋ: kiŋkiŋ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kiŋkiŋ: kiŋkiŋ (MSK, KLK)

()kiput** 'to narrow space between edges'.

PNEM *kiput: kiput (TSG, BUT 'to sew a tear', MWA, SUR
'to darn')

PCEM *kiput: kiput (KMY, DVB)

****kiskis** 'scrape surface to make smooth'.

PNEM *kiskis: kiskis (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kiskis: kiskis (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kiskis: kiskis (MSK, KLK)

CEB kiskis.

****kita** 'we inclusive'.

PNEM *kita: kita (TSG, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kita: kita (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kita: kita (MSK, KLK)

****kitaq** 'to see'. Cf. ****paŋitaq**

PNEM *kitaq: kitaq (TSG, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kitaq: kitaq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kitaq: kitaq (MDK, MSK, KLK, KLT), yakitaq (MDC,
MDB), ikitaq (MDM)

()kiqkiq** 'stain on teeth'.

PNEM *kiqkiq: kiqkiq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kiqkiq: kiqkiq (KMY 'food caught in teeth', DVB)

(**)kiqum 'to keep mouth closed'. Cf. tikum (KLK)

PNEM *kiqum: kiqu (BUT), kiqu (MWA)

PCEM *kiqum: kiqu (KMY, DVB)

CEB kiqu.

**kubal 'hard skin on hands or feet'.

PNEM *kubal: kubal (TSG, BUT, MWA), kubay (SUR)

PCEM *kubal: kubal (KMY), kubaw (DVB)

PSEM *kubal: kubal (MSK, KLK)

CEB kubal.

(**)kuba(q)-kuba(q) 'to throb, beat'. Cf. kulbaq (KLK)

PNEM *kuba(q)-kuba(q): kuba-kuba (TSG), kubaq-kubaq (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *kuba(q)-kuba(q): kubaq (KMY), kuba-kuba (DVB)

CEB kuba-kuba.

(**)kubit 'to jerk a line as when fishing'.

PNEM *ku'bit: kublit (TSG 'to touch briefly'), ku'bit (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kub(1)it: ku'bit (KMY), kublit (DVB)

CEB ku'bit 'to touch briefly'.

**k(u)bet 'to pinch someone'.

PNEM *kubet: kubut (TSG), kubet (MWA)

PCEM *kubut: kubut (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kubet: kubet (MSK, KLK)

(**)kugañ 'scab'.

PNEM *kugañ: kugañ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kugañ: kugañ (KMY, DVB)

CEB kugañ.

**kugita 'octopus'.

PNEM *kugita: kugita (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kugita: kugita (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kugita: kugita (MSK, KLK)

CEB kugita 'kind of octopus'.

**kuku 'fingernail'.

PNEM *kuku: kuqku (TSG), kuku (BUT-f, SUR), kakulhun
(MWA)

PCEM *kuku: kukuhun-kuku (KMY), kuku (DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *kukulun: kukuun (MDK, ISM, KLK), kukulun (MDC,
MDB, MDM, MSK), kakulun (KLT)

(**)kulabutan 'cuttlefish'. Cf. kawubutan (KLK)

PNEM *kulabutan: kulabutan (TSG), kuabutan (BUT),
kuyabutan (SUR)

PCEM *kuabutan: kuabutan (KMY, DVB)

(**)kulahaw 'kind of bird'. Cf. kuwahaw (KLK)

PNEM *kulahaw: kuhaw (TSG 'kind of pigeon'), uwahaw (BUT
'red-billed wader'), kulahaw (MWA), kuzahaw (MWA
'vulture')

PCEM *kuwahaw: kuwahaw (KMY 'kind of bird with plaintive
cry'), kuhaw (DVB)

(**)kulañ '1. to lie down'. Cf. kuañ (DVB)

PNEM *kulañ: kulañ (TSG, MWA), kulañan (TSG 'bed'),
kuañ-kuañ (BUT 'to lie down for a rest')

PSEM *kulañ: kulañ (MSK), kuwañ (KLK)

**kulañ '2. lacking'.

PNEM *kulañ: kulañ (TSG, MWA), kuañ (BUT), kuañ-kuañ
(BUT), kuyañ (SUR-f)

PCEM *kuaŋ: kuaŋ (KMY, DVB), kuaŋ-kuaŋ (KMY 'lack in head, stupid')

PSEM *kulaŋ: kulaŋ (KLK, KLT)

CEB kulaŋ.

(**)kulasisi 'kind of parakeet (Loriculus philippensis)'. Cf. kulasisi (KLK)

PNEM *kulasisi: kulasisi (BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf. kulisi (TSG)

PCEM *kulasisi: kuasisi (KMY), kulasisi (DVB)

CEB kulasisi.

(**)kulintas 'necklace'. Cf. kulintas (KLK)

PNEM *kulintas: kulintas (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kulintas: kulintas (KMY, DVB)

(**)kumut 'to cover up with blanket'. Cf. umut (DVD), kumput (KMY)

PNEM *kumut: kumut (BUT, MWA), kinumut (SUR 'cover head with blanket'). Cf. kumput (~SUR)

PSEM *kumut: kumut (MDB, MDM, MSK)

**ku(nŋ) 'if'.

PNEM *ku(nŋ): kuŋ (BUT), kun (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ku(nŋ): kun (KMY), kuŋ (DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *ku(nŋ): kuŋ (ISM, KLT), kun (KLK)

**k(ui)(n)sələm 'tomorrow'. Cf. **sələm

PNEM *kunsələm: kunsuum (TSG, BUT), kunsiləm (MWA)

PCEM *kisuum: kisuum (KMY, DVB), si'lum (KMY)

PSEM *ki(n)sələm: kisələm (MSK), kinsəm (KLK)

**kunu(q) 'quotative particle'.

PNEM *kunuq: kunuq (TSG, BUT, SUR), kuni (MWA)

PCEM *kunu: kunu (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kunu: kunu (MSK, KLK)

CEB kunu.

(**)kuruq `to decrease, shrink'.

PNEM *kuruq: kuuq (TSG `...in price', BUT), kuyug (SUR)

PCEM *ku'ruq: ku'ruq (KMY), kuuq (DVB)

**kurun `cooking pot'.

PNEM *kurun: kurun (MWA), kuyun (SUR)

PCEM *kurun: kurun (KMY, DVB), kuun (DVM), kulun (DVD)

PSEM *kulun: kulun (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT), kuun
(ISM), kun (KLK)

CEB kulun.

(**)kusmed `to frown and pout'. Cf. kusmud (KLK), musmud
(CS.2)

PNEM *kusmed: kusmed (MWA), kusmud (SUR)

PCEM *kusmud: kusmud (KMY, DVB)

(**)kusnit `to pinch small amounts off the whole'.

PNEM *kusnit: kusnit (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *kusnit: kusnit (KMY, DVB)

CEB kusnit.

**kusu `rub together as clothes'.

PNEM *kusu: kusu (TSG, BUT, MWA), ku'su-ku'su (SUR)

PCEM *kusu: kusu (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kusu: kusu (MSK `to wring, squeeze'), kusu-kusu
(KLK)

(**)kuti `choosy, sensitive in selecting'. Cf. kuti (KMY
`detailed work')

PNEM *kuti: kuti (TSG `disgusted with', BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *kuti: kuti (MSK "red tape", KLK `intricate work')

CEB kuti `intricate work'.

**kutu `head lice'.

PNEM *kutu: kutu (TSG, BUT, SUR)

PCEM *kutu: kutu (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD), hiñutu (KMY `to
delouse')

PSEM *kutu: kutu (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK)

**kuwan `what-do-you-call-it'.

PNEM *kuwan: kuan (TSG, BUT, SUR), kuwan (MWA)

PCEM *kuwan: kuwan (KMY, DVB, DVM), kuqan (~KMY, DVD)

PSEM *kuwan: kuwan (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

(**)kuyamad `small insect parasite on body'. Cf. kuyamad (DVB)

PNEM *kuyamad: kuyamad (TSG `young, of hair lice'),
kuzamad (MWA `small flea')

PSEM *kuyamad: kuyamad (MSK, KLK)

(**)kuqut `get by reaching in'. Cf. kuqut (KMY)

PNEM *kuqut: kuqut (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *kuqut: kuqut (MSK), kut (KLK)

CEB kuqut.

**kebet `to pinch'.

PNEM *kebet: kubut (TSG, SUR), kebet (MWA)

PCEM *kubut: kubut (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kebet: kebet (MSK, KLK)

CEB kubut 'to take firm hold'.

****kubkub** 'to bit off a piece'.

PNEM *kubkub: kubkub (TSG, BUT, MWA 'to eat raw camote', SUR), kubkub (~MWA)

PCEM *kubkub: kubkub (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kubkub: kubkub (MSK, KLK 'to chew')

(**)kugdan 'to be hit by something'. Cf. kugdan (DVB)

PNEM *kugdan: kugdan (TSG, BUT), kigdan (SUR)

PSEM *kugdan: kugdan (MSK, KLK)

(**)kə(la)tay 'to hang a line'. Cf. kutay (DVB), kətay (MSK 'to lay out flat and straight')

PNEM *kə(la)tay: kulatay (TSG 'to swing by hands from rope'), kətay (MWA 'hang a line between poles')

CEB kutay.

(**)kuməs 'to crumple'.

PNEM *kuməs: kumus (TSG, BUT), kuməs (MWA)

PCEM *kumus: kumus (KMY, DVB)

CEB kumus.

****kumət** 'crumple, to squeeze together'.

PNEM *kumət: kumut (TSG, BUT, SUR). Cf. kuməs (MWA)

PCEM *kumut: kumut (KMY), kumutun (DVB)

PSEM *kumət: kumət (MDK, MSK, KLK)

****kuməq** 'to crush in palm'.

PNEM *kuməq: kumuq (BUT, SUR), kinumuq (BUT, SUR), kuməq (MWA)

PCEM *kumuq: kinumuq (KMY 'make a fist', DVB)

PSEM *kuməq 'hold': kumuqun (MDC), kuməq (MDB, MSK, ISM, KLT), yəkuməq, (MDM)

CEB kumuq 'clench fist'.

**kənət 'to wrinkle'.

PNEM *kənət: kunut (TSG, BUT, SUR), kənət (MWA)

PCEM *kunut: kunut (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *kənət: kənət (MSK, KLK)

CEB kunut.

**kəkəkək 'with legs or arms bent'.

PNEM *kəkəkək: kəkəkək (TSG, BUT 'to hold in crooked elbow', SUR), tikəkəkək (BUT), kəkəkək (MWA 'sit with legs bent up')

PCEM *kəkəkək: kəkəkək (KMY 'sit with legs bent up', DVB)

PSEM *kəkəkək: kəkəkək (MSK, KLK)

(**)kəpkəp 'held close to body'. Cf. kupkup (DVB), kupkup (CEB)

PNEM *kəpkəp: kupkup (TSG, BUT, SUR 'to hold in hands'), kəpkəp (MWA). Cf. kəpkəp (MWA 'short kinky hair')

PSEM *kəpkəp: kəpkəp (MSK, KLK)

(**)kəpəg 'to squeeze'.

PNEM *kəpəg: kəpəg (MWA '...water from clothes'), kupug (SUR)

PCEM *kupug: kupug (KMY, DVB)

CEB kupug 'to cause to crumble'.

**kə'səg 'strong'.

PNEM *kə'səg: ku'səg (TSG, BUT, SUR), kus'gan (BUT), kəsəg (MWA)

PCEM *ku'səg: ku'səg (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *kəsəg: makusug (MDK), kusug (MDC), kəsəgan (MDB), kasəgan (MDM), kəsəg (MSK, ISM, KLK)

****kətəkət** 'to gnaw'. Cf. kitkit (CEB)

PNEM *kətəkət: kətəkət (TSG 'to bite', BUT, SUR), kətəkət (MWA). Cf. kitkit (SUR)

PCEM *kətəkət: kətəkət (KMY, DVB). Cf. kitkit (KMY)

PSEM (*)kətəkət: kətəkət (MSK). Cf. kətəkət (MSK 'to dig', KLK 'to dig')

****kəqkəq** 'chin'.

PNEM *kəqkəq: kəqkəq (BUT, SUR-f), kəqkəq (MWA). Cf. takuq (TSG)

PCEM *kəqkəq: kəqkəq (KMY, DVB, DVM), kuku (DVD)

PSEM *kəqkəq: kəqkəq (MDK), kukuq (MDC), kəqkəq (MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

****laba** 'to wash clothes'.

PNEM *laba: laba (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *laba: laba (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD), labhanan (KMY 'things to be washed')

PSEM *laba: laba (MSK, KLK)

CEB laba.

CEB labhanan 'things to be washed'.

****labay** 'pass by'.

PNEM *labay: labay (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *labay: labay (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *labay: labay (MSK, KLK)

CEB labay.

()labi** 'more, in excess'. Cf. labi (KMY)

PNEM *labi: labi (TSG, BUT, MWA 'to be more')

PSEM *labi: labi (MSK, KLK)

CEB labi.

(**)labtik `to flick with the fingers'. Cf. labtik (MSK `to strike suddenly (with whip, etc.)')

PNEM *labtik: labtik (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *labtik: labtik (KMY, DVB)

CEB labtik.

**lab{uə}d `whip marks'. Cf. **laɳbəd

PNEM *labud: labud (BUT, MWA, ~SUR), a'bud (SUR)

PCEM *labud: labud (KMY), a'bud (DVB)

PSEM *abud: abud (MSK `a welt', KLK)

CEB labud.

(**)labuk `to practise with fighting cocks'.

PNEM *labuk: labuk (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *labuk: labuk (KMY, DVB)

CEB labuk.

(**)labəd `insect with many legs'. Cf. labud (DVB)

PNEM *labəd: labud (TSG, BUT), labəd (MWA)

PSEM *labəd: labəd (MSK `millipede', KLK)

CEB labud.

(**)labət `to be implicated'. Cf. labut (DVB)

PNEM *labət: labut (BUT, SUR), labət (MWA)

PSEM *labət: labət (MSK `connection, involvement', KLK)

CEB labut.

(**)la{dg}uk `to swallow'. Cf. laguK (KLK `eat excessively')

PNEM *la{dg}uk: ladquk (BUT, SUR), laquk (MWA)

PCEM *la{dg}quk: lagquk (KMY), ladquk (DVB)

CEB ladquk.

~CEB lagquk.

(**)laga 'to blaze'. Cf. laga (DVB)

PNEM *laga: laga (TSG, MWA 'to light a fire or lamp')

PSEM *laga: laga (MSK 'to flame', KLK 'shine')

(**)la'gat 'wide, round-eyed'.

PNEM *la'gat: la'gat (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *la'gat: la'gat (KMY, DVB)

CEB la'gat.

(**)lagbas 'to pierce, penetrate'. Cf. lagbas (DVB)

PNEM *lagbas: lagbas (TSG, MWA)

PSEM *lagbas: lagbas (MSK, KLK)

CEB lagbas.

(**)lagitiq 'to crackle as of hot fat, crack of whip'.

PNEM *lagitiq: lagitiq (MWA 'sound of dried wood being broken', SUR)

PCEM *lagitiq: lagitiq (KMY, DVB)

CEB lagitiq.

(**)lagput 'to fly out, to be sent flying'. Cf. lupput (CS.2 'to pop out'), lagput (KLK)

PNEM *lagput: lagput (BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf. lagput (MWA 'to fly out of')

PCEM *lagput: lagput (KMY, DVB)

CEB lagput.

(**)lagsik 'to fly through the air, to flick'. Cf. lagsik (KLK), lagsik (CS.2)

PNEM *lagsik: lagsik (BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf. pugligsik (TSG
`spark from fire')

PCEM *lagsik: lagsik (KMY, DVB)

CEB lagsik `energetic'.

(**)lagtañ `poison from vine for poisoning fish'. Cf. lagtañ
(DVB)

PNEM *lagtañ: lagtañ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *lagtañ: lagtañ (MSK, KIK)

CEB lagtañ `(Anamirta cocculus)'.

(**)laguñ `blowfly'.

PNEM *laguñ: laguñluñ (TSG `hollow drumming sound'),
laguñ (BUT, SUR). Cf. laguñ (MWA `small lizard')

PCEM *laguñ: laguñ (KMY, DVB `flies (kind of)')

CEB laguñ.

(**)lag(k)us `rattan ready for tying'. Cf. laggos (CS.2 `lash
with rattan'), **salæg

PNEM *lag(k)us: lagus (MWA, SUR), lagkus (MWA `to make a
bundle of')

PCEM *lag(k)us: lagus (KMY, DVB), lagkus (DVB `to make a
bundle of')

**lagud `dregs'. Cf. lagod (CS.2)

PNEM *lagud: lagud (BUT `dregs, last of a number of
siblings', SUR), lagud (MWA `to throw something heavy
into water')

PCEM *lagud: lagud (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *lagud: lagud (MSK `sediment', KIK)

(**)lagus `gums'.

PNEM *lagus: lagus (MWA), lagus (SUR)

PCEM *lagus: lagus (KMY, DVB)

CEB lagus.

(**)lagut `to chew plug tobacco'. Cf. lagut (KLK)

PNEM *lagut: lagut (BUT, SUR), lagut (MWA)

PCEM *lagut: lagut (KMY, DVB)

**lahiñ `ripe coconut'.

PNEM *lahiñ: lahiñ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lahiñ: lahiñ (KMY, DVB, DVD)

PSEM *la(q)iñ: laqiñ (MDK, MSK), laiñ (MDC, MDB, ISM),
layiñ (KLK (Wendell)), leñ (KLK, KLT)

CEB lahiñ.

(**)lahuñ `to combine in carrying something'. Cf. laquñ (MSK
`wood used in carrying casket')

PNEM *lahuñ: lahuñ (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lahuñ: lahuñ (KMY, DVB)

CEB lahuñ.

**lahus `to carry right through'. Cf. laus (CS.2 `to proceed')

PNEM *la'hus: la'hus (BUT, MWA, SUR `to enter, proceed')

PCEM *la'hus: la'hus (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *laqus: laqus (MSK `to arrive in one day or night
at destination'), lawus (KLK `proceed')

CEB la'hus.

(**)lakad `to step over'. Cf. lakad (KMY)

PNEM *lakad: lakad (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *lakad: lakad (MSK `to wade through', KLK)

CEB lakad.

**lakbañ `wide (not of space)'. Cf. makbañ (KLK)

PNEM *lakbaŋ: lakbaŋ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR 'broad, of a leaf bigger than usual')

PCEM *lakbaŋ: lakbaŋ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *lakbaŋ: malakbaŋ (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT),
maakbaŋ (KLK)

(**)laksu 'to jump'.

PNEM *laksu: laksu (TSG, BUT, MWA '...across or up and down', SUR), lasku (TSG)

PCEM *l{au}ksu: laksu (KMY), luksu (DVB)

**lamaw 'to eat young coconuts with sugar'.

PNEM *lamaw: lamaw (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lamaw: lamaw (KMY-f, DVB)

PSEM *lamaw: lamaw (MSK, KLK)

CEB lamaw.

(**)lambug 'kind of edible fruit'.

PNEM *lambug: lambug (BUT, MWA)

PCEM *lambug: lambug (KMY, DVB)

(**)lamdag 'bright, of a light'. Cf. lamdag (MSK)

PNEM *{ld}amdag: damlag (TSG 'full moon'), lamdag (SUR)

CEB lamdag.

(**)lamiq 'tasty'. Cf. lamiq (KLK)

PNEM *lamiq: lamiq (BUT, MWA, SUR 'flavour', SUR-f). Cf. lami (TSG 'to celebrate, have fun')

PCEM *lamiq: lamiq (KMY, DVB)

CEB lamiq.

**lampi{nŋ} 'diaper'.

PNEM *lampin: lampin (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lampin: lampin (KMY-f, DVB)

PSEM *lampin: lampin (MSK, KLK)

CEB lampin.

(**) lamugay 'to mingle'.

PNEM *lamugay: lamugay (TSG, BUT, SUR)

PCEM *lamugay: lamugay (KMY, DVB)

CEB lamugay.

**lamun 'to swallow whole'.

PNEM *lamun: lamun (BUT 'to eat piggyishly', MWA, SUR).
Cf. lamuy (SUR)

PCEM *lamun: lamun (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *lamun: lamun (MSK, KLK)

CEB lamun. Cf. lamuy (CEB 'to put food in mouth')

**lana 'vegetable oil'.

PNEM *lana: lana (TSG, BUT, MWA 'coconut oil', SUR)

PCEM *lana: lana (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *lana: lana (MSK, KLK)

CEB lana 'oil, fat'.

**la(n)deg 'slippery'.

PNEM *landeg: landug (TSG, BUT, SUR), landeg (MWA),
danlug (~SUR)

PCEM *landug: landug (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *landeg: malandeg (MSK), mendeg (KLK)

CEB danlug.

(**) lansan 'nail, spike'. Cf. ransan (ABAK 'ferrous metal')

PNEM *lansan: lansan (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lansaŋ: lansaŋ (KMY, DVB)

CEB lansaŋ.

(**)lantay 'to make a flat surface using bamboo strips'.

PNEM *lantay: lantay (TSG 'floor, deck', BUT, MWA 'bed or platform')

PCEM *lantay: lantay (KMY 'table or bed so made', DVB)

CEB lantay.

**lanut 'hemp plant'.

PNEM *lanut: lanut (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lanut: lanut (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *lanut: lanut (MDC, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB lanut 'prepared hemp fibre'.

(**)laŋan 'delayed'. Cf. laŋan (MSK 'to give for a time'), aŋgaq (KLK)

PNEM *laŋan: laŋan (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *laŋan: laŋan (KMY, DVB)

CEB laŋan.

**laŋaw 'fly (insect)'.

PNEM *laŋaw: laŋaw (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *laŋaw: laŋaw (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *laŋaw: laŋaw (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB laŋaw.

(**)laŋbud 'to coil round'.

PNEM *laŋbud: laŋbud (MWA), laŋbud (SUR)

PCEM *laŋbud: laŋbud (KMY), lambud (DVB)

CEB laɲbud. (var. of lambud)

(**)laɲgam 'bird'. Cf. laɲgam (SUR)

PCEM *laɲgam: laɲgam (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *laɲgam: laɲgam (MDK), laɲgam (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK)

CEB laɲam.

**laɲit 'sky'.

PNEM *laɲit: laɲit (TSG, BUT 'heaven', MWA, SUR)

PCEM *laɲit: laɲit (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *laɲit: laɲit (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB laɲit.

(**)laɲkat 'to dismantle, to break down, take apart'. Cf. laɲkat (KLK)

PNEM *laɲkat: laɲkat (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *laɲkat: laɲkat (KMY, DVB)

CEB laɲkat 'to tear forcibly apart'.

(**)laɲkay 'dried coconut leaves'. Cf. laɲkay (KLK)

PNEM *laɲkay: laɲkay (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *laɲkay: laɲkay (KMY, DVB)

CEB laɲkay.

(**)laɲsa 'strong smell of fish'.

PNEM *laɲsa: laɲsa (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *laɲsa: laɲsa (KMY), malansa (DVB)

CEB laɲsa.

**laɲuy 'swim'.

PNEM *lañuy: lañuy (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lañuy: lañuy (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *lañuy: lañuy (MDK, MDC, MSK, ISM, KLK), vallañuy
(MDB, MDM)

CEB lañuy.

**lañq(u)g 'malodorous of water, stagnant'.

PNEM *lañqug: lañqug (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lañqug: lañqug (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *lañug: lañug (MSK 'to have an offensive odor'),
mañug (KLK)

CEB lañqug.

(**)lapad 'level surface'.

PNEM *lapad: lapad-lapad (TSG 'small shelf'), lapad
(SUR)

PCEM *lapad: lapad (KMY-f 'wide area', DVB, DVD)

CEB lapad.

**lapinig 'wasp'. Cf. lampinig (CS.2)

PNEM *lapinig: lapinig (TSG, BUT, SUR)

PCEM *lapinig: lapinig (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *lapinig: lapinig (MSK, KLK)

CEB lapinig. (var. of lampinig)

(**){lr}apit 'near'.

PCEM *rapit: marapit (KMY), lapit (DVB), malapit (DVM,
DVD)

PSEM *lapit: lapit (MDK, MDC, MDB, KLT)

(**)lapus 'to pierce through'. Cf. lapus (MSK), **lahus

PNEM *lapus: lapus (BUT, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *lapus: lapus (KMY-f, DVB)

CEB lapus.

(**)laraw 'to picture, to plan'. Cf. laraw (KMY)

PNEM *laraw: laraw (BUT, SUR 'to plan'), larawan (MWA
'picture, drawing')

PSEM *ladawan: ladawan (MSK 'likeness, image/statue',
KLK 'idol')

CEB laraw.

(**)latag 'to spread clothes in sun to bleach'. Cf. latag
(MSK)

PNEM *latag: latag (BUT, MWA, SUR), latagan (BUT 'rack')

PCEM *latag: latag (KMY, DVB)

CEB latag '(var. of latad)'

**latay 'to cross a bridge'. Cf. lete (CS.2)

PNEM *latay: kulatay (TSG 'to cross something hand over
hand'), latay (MWA, SUR), latayan (SUR)

PCEM *latay: latayan (KMY 'bridge', DVB), latay (DVB)

PSEM *(la)tay: latay (MSK 'to sag, bend'), taytay (KLK)

CEB latay.

(**)lataq 'overripe, rotten, of fruit'.

PNEM *lataq: lataq (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lataq: lataq (KMY, DVB)

CEB lataq.

(**)latus 'to whip with something flexible'. Cf. **lapu,
**lapdus

PNEM *latus: latus (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *latus: latus (KMY-f, DVB)

CEB latus.

(**)latuq 'edible seaweed'. Cf. latoq (CS.2)

PNEM *latuq: latuq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *latuq: latuq (KMY, DVB)

CEB latus.

**lawas 'body'.

PNEM *lawas: lawas (BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf. tiliwasan (TSG
'section of bamboo or sugar cane')

PCEM *lawas: lawas (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *lawas: lawas (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

CEB lawas.

**laway 'l. saliva'.

PNEM *laway: laway (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *laway: laway (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *laway: laway (MSK, KLK)

CEB laway.

**lawaq 'spider'.

PNEM *lawaq: lawaq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lawaq: lawaq (KMY, DVB), lawa(q) (DVD)

PSEM *lawaq: lawaq (MDK, MSK, ISM, KLK)

CEB lawaq.

**lawi 'feather'. Cf. lawi (CS.2)

PNEM *lawi: lawi (BUT, MWA)

PCEM *lawi: lawi (KMY), panlawi (DVB), palawi (DVM)

PSEM *lawi: palawi (MDK, MDC), pallawi (MDB, MDM), lawi
(MSK, ISM)

CEB lawi 'tail feather'.

**lawud 'open sea, ocean'.

PNEM *lawud: lawud (TSG, BUT, SUR), lawud-lawud (MWA
'centre of lake where water is deep')

PCEM *lawud: lawud (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *law(u)ud: lawud (MSK 'to go down, go seaward,
downstream'), lawud (KLK)

CEB lawud.

(**)laya 'circular fish net'.

PNEM *laya: laya (TSG), laza (MWA)

PCEM *laya: laya (KMY, DVB)

CEB laya.

**layaq 'sail of canoe'.

PNEM *layaq: layaq (TSG, BUT, MWA), lazaq (MWA, SUR).
Cf. lazaq (SUR 'circular fish net')

PCEM *layaq: layaq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *layaq: layaq (MSK 'to set sail, sail', KLK)

CEB layaq.

(**)layaq 'to wither, as leaves'.

PNEM *layaq: layaq (BUT), lazaq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *layaq: layaq (KMY, DVB)

CEB layaq.

(**)laqas 'to be old, of person'.

PNEM *laqas: maqas (TSG, BUT), laqas (TSG 'to grow
old'), malaqas (MWA)

PCEM *laq(au)s: malaqas (KMY 'to have been cooking for
too long a time'), laqus (DVB)

(**)laqin `other, different'. Cf. laqin (KLK), **lalin

PNEM *laqin: laqin (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *laqin: laqin-laqin (KMY), laqin (DVB, DVD),
la(h)in (DVM)

CEB laqin.

(**)laqis `to sharpen, of blade, pencil'.

PNEM *laqis: laqis (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *laqis: malaqis (KMY `pointed'), talqis (DVB)

(**)libat `cross-eyed'.

PNEM *libat: libat (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *libat: libat (KMY, DVB)

CEB libat.

(**)libu `thousand'.

PNEM *libu: ibu (TSG), libu (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *libu: libu (KMY, DVB, DVD)

CEB libu.

(**)libut `to go around, surround'. Cf. libut (MSK), libat
(ISM, KLK)

PNEM *libut: libut (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf. libud (SUR)

PCEM *libut: libut (KMY `rotate', DVB). Cf. libud (KMY
`to go around')

CEB libut.

(**)libud `to coil, wrap around'.

PNEM *libud: libud (TSG, BUT), libud (MWA)

PSEM *libud: libud (MSK `to go by a circuitous route',
KLK)

(**)ligad `to fall off edge'. Cf. ligad (MSK `to rob'),
**ligid

PNEM *ligad: ligad (TSG, BUT, MWA `to stumble'),
ligad-ligad (BUT, MWA)

PCEM *ligad: ligad (KMY, DVB), ligad-ligad (KMY `to fall
over and over', DVB)

CEB ligad `to lie down'.

(**)-ligaw `to stir, as food when cooking'. Cf. kuligaw (KLK)

PNEM *-ligaw: guligaw (BUT), kuligaw (MWA), guyigaw
(SUR)

PCEM *-ligaw: guligaw (KMY), lugaw (DVB)

(**)ligbas `edible mushroom'. Cf. ligbus (DVB), libgas (CEB)

PNEM *ligbas: ligbus (BUT, SUR), libgas (MWA)

PSEM *ligbas: ligbas (MSK, KLK)

**ligid `to rotate, to roll down'.

PNEM *ligid: ligid (BUT `wheel', MWA)

PCEM *ligid: ligid (KMY, DVB, KMY-f `tire')

PSEM *ligid: ligid (MSK, KLK)

CEB ligid.

**ligis `to be mortally wounded'.

PNEM *ligis: ligis (TSG `to die instantly', MWA `to meet
with an accident', SUR)

PCEM *ligis: ligis (KMY-f, DVB)

PSEM *ligis: ligis (MSK, KLK)

CEB ligis `to flatten'.

**lihuk `agile, active'.

PNEM *lihuk: lihuk (BUT `to get going'), lihukan (SUR)

PCEM *lihuk: lihuk (KMY 'to move'), lihukan (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *lihuk: liyuk (MSK), lihuk (KLK)

CEB lihuk 'restless'.

**likud 'back part of body'.

PNEM *likud: taikud (TSG), likud (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *likud: likud (KMY-f, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *likud: likud (MDK, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK), talikudan
(MDC, MDB)

CEB likud.

(**)liku(q) 'curve, change direction'. Cf. likuq (MSK)

PNEM *liku(q): liku (TSG, MWA), likuq (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *likuq: likuq (KMY, DVB)

CEB likuq.

(**)likus 'circumference, to surround'. Cf. likus (MSK)

PNEM *likus: likus (TSG, BUT, SUR)

PCEM *likus: likus (KMY, DVB)

CEB likus 'to wrap around'.

**lima 'five'.

PNEM *lima: lima (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR), kaiqman (TSG
'50'), kalimqan (BUT '50')

PCEM *lima: lima (KMY, DVB, DVD)

PSEM *lima: lima (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

CEB lima.

(**)limas 'remove water by boiling'. Cf. limas (KMY)

PNEM *limas: limas (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR 'to boil')

PSEM *limas: limas (MSK 'to drain off water after washing', KLK 'remove water')

CEB limas.

(**)limat(u)k 'leech'. Cf. alimatuk (DVB)

PNEM *limatuk: limatuk (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PSEM *limatek: limatek (MSK), alimatek (KLK)

CEB limatuk. (var. of alimatuk)

**limbuñ 'to cheat'.

PNEM *limbuñ: limbuñ (BUT, MWA, SUR), limbuñarus (SUR 'a cheat')

PCEM *limbuñ: limbuñ (KMY, DVB), limbuñarus (KMY)

PSEM *limbuñ: limbuñ (MSK, KLK)

CEB limbuñ.

(**)limugmug 'to rinse out the mouth'. Cf. limugmug (KLK)

PNEM *limugmug: paimugmug (TSG), limugmug (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *limugmug: limugmug (KMY, DVB)

CEB limugmug.

**limukun 'kind of dove, the 'omen' bird'.

PNEM *limukun: limukun (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *limukun: limukun (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *limukun: limukun (MSK, KLK)

CEB limukun. (var. of alimukun)

(**)limus 'succour, donate'. Cf. makililimus (KLK 'beggar')

PNEM *limus: makililimus (BUT), pakilimus (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *limus: pakilimus (KMY, DVB), limus (DVB), makililimus (DVB 'beggar')

CEB limus 'alms'.

(**)linaw 'calm, of sea'. Cf. linaw (KLK)

PNEM *linaw: linaw (BUT 'calm, peaceful', MWA, SUR)

PCEM *linaw: linaw (KMY, DVB)

CEB linaw.

**lintiq 'lightning flash acc. by thunderclap'.

PNEM *lintiq: lintiq (BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf. lutiq (TSG)

PCEM *lintiq: lintiq (KMY 'crack of thunder', DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *lintiq 'thunder': lintiq (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK)

CEB lintiq.

**linug 'earthquake'.

PNEM *lin(uə)g: linug (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR), linəg (MWA)

PCEM *linug: linug (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *linug: linug (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB linug.

(**)liñaw 'forget'.

PCEM *liñaw: kaliñaw (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *liñaw: kaliñaw (MDK, MDC, MDM, ISM), yakaliñaw (MDB), liñaw (MSK), miliñaw (KLK), kaliñawan (KLT)

(**)liñin 'to form a circle'.

PNEM *liñin: liñin (MWA, SUR 'rattan grommet which holds broom tog.')

PCEM *liñin: liñin (KMY-f, DVB)

CEB liñin.

**liñiq `turn the head to look`.

PNEM *liñiq: liñiq (BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf. liñiq (CS.2)

PCEM *liñiq: liñiq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *liñiq: liñiq (MSK, KLK)

CEB liñiq.

**(l)in̄kud `to sit`.

PNEM *(l)in̄kud: in̄kud (TSG), in̄kud (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *in̄kud: in̄kud (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *in̄kud: gaqin̄kud (MDK, MDB, MDM), man̄in̄kud (MDC),
in̄kud (MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB in̄kud.

CEB in̄kud.

(**)lipay `happy`.

PNEM *lipay: lipay (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *lipay: lipay (KMY-f, DVB)

CEB lipay.

(**)l{iu}saq `lice`. Cf. lusaq (KMY)

PNEM *l{iu}saq: lisaq (TSG, MWA), lusaq (BUT, SUR)

PSEM *lisaq: lisaq (MSK, KLK)

CEB lusaq.

(**)lisu `seeds other than grain`. Cf. lisu (MSK)

PNEM *lisu: lisu (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lisu: lisu (KMY, DVB)

CEB lisu `seed`.

(**)lisuq `to change direction`. Cf. lisu (KLK)

PNEM *lisuq: lisuq (BUT, SUR), lisu (MWA)

PCEM *lisuq: lisuq (KMY, DVB)

CEB lisuq.

**lisud 'difficult'.

PNEM *lisud: lisud (BUT, SUR), lisud (MWA)

PCEM *lisud: lisud (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *lisud: malisud (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM), malisud (MDC)

CEB lisud.

**liwat 'offspring, in sense of maintaining continuity'.

PNEM *liwat: liwat (BUT, SUR), kaliwat (MWA 'offspring')

PCEM *liwat: liwat (KMY), kaliwat (DVB)

PSEM *-liwat: kaliwat (MSK 'lineage', KLK)

CEB liwat 'to take after forebears'.

**liqtag 'snare, trap, esp. for birds'.

PNEM *liqtag: liqtag (TSG), litqag (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *litqag: litqag (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *litag: litag (MSK, KLK)

CEB litqag.

**liqug 'neck'.

PNEM *liqug: liqug (TSG, BUT-f, SUR), liqug (MWA)

PCEM *liqug: liqug (KMY-f, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *liyug: liyug (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT),
liyug (MDC)

CEB liqug.

**lubid `rope`.

PNEM *lubid: lubid (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *lubid: lubid (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *lubid: lubid (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB lubid.

**l{ue}bl{ue}b `to wallow in mud`. Cf. loblob (CS.2)

PNEM *l{ue}bl{ue}b: lublub (TSG, MWA, SUR), ləbləb (MWA)

PCEM *lublub: lublub (KMY `to sit in a dirty place`),
lubug (DVB)

PSEM *l{ue}bl{ue}b: ləbləb (MSK `to squat, crouch
(chicken on nest or over chicks)`), KLK `to lie down`),
lublub (MSK `to sit down (chicken, etc.)`)

CEB lublub `to bury oneself`.

(**)-l{ue}d `to go downriver`.

PNEM *-lud: luud (TSG `to go downhill`), pawud (BUT),
dilud (MWA)

PSEM *law{ue}d: lawəd (MSK), lawud (KLK)

(**)lugaw `to cook rice a long time, rice gruel`. Cf. lugaw
(MSK `to cook with much water`), **-ligaw

PNEM *lugaw: lugaw (TSG `to stir gruel`, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lugaw: lugaw (KMY, DVB)

CEB lugaw.

**lugit `to pry up`.

PNEM *lugit: lugit (TSG `...esp. coconut meat`, BUT),
malugit (MWA `extracted copra`). Cf. ukit (SUR)

PCEM *lugit: lugit (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *lugit: lugit (MSK, KLK)

CEB lugit.

**lugsuñ 'to go down a hill'. Cf. lugsuñ (MSK)

PNEM *lugsuñ: lugsuñ (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lugsuñ: lugsuñ (KMY, DVB)

CEB lugsuñ.

(**)lugud 'to rub a surface, scour, abrade'.

PNEM *lugud: lugud (BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf. ugud (TSG 'itchy skin infection')

PCEM *lugud: lugud (KMY-f, DVB)

CEB lugud.

**lugwaq 'to be or go outside'. Cf. **guwaq, **digwaq

PNEM *lugwaq: lugwaq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lugwaq: lugwaq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *lugwaq: lugwaq (MSK), luwaq (KLK, KLT)

**luhaq 'tear from crying'.

PNEM *luhaq: luhaq (TSG, MWA, SUR), luha (BUT)

PCEM *luhaq: luhaq (KMY-f, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *luwaq: luwaq (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLT),
luwa (KLK)

CEB luhaq.

**luhud 'to kneel'.

PNEM *luhud: luhud (TSG 'shin', BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf.
lintuhud (TSG 'to kneel')

PCEM *luhud: luhud (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *luhud: luqud (MSK), luhud (KLK)

CEB luhud.

(**)luhuq 'coconut shell'.

PNEM *luhuq: luhuq (TSG 'game with coconut shells', MWA, SUR)

PCEM *luhuq: luhuq (KMY-f, DVB)

(**)lukad 'to uproot'. Cf. lukad (MSK), ukad (KLK 'open')

PNEM *lukad: lukad (TSG, BUT, MWA). Cf. ukab (SUR)

PCEM *luka{dt}: lukad (KMY-f), lukat (DVB)

CEB lukad.

(**)lukay 'fresh leaves of coconut'. Cf. lukay (KLK)

PNEM *lukay: lukay (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *lukay: lukay (KMY-f, DVB)

CEB lukay.

**lukut 'to roll up'.

PNEM *lukut: lukut (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lukut: lukut (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *lukut: lukut (MSK 'to bend, twist', KLK)

CEB lukut.

(**)luku(q) 'to fold the limbs'. Cf. lukuq (KMY), **rukuq

PNEM *lukuq: lukuq (TSG 'to lounge, to kneel down, of animals', BUT, SUR)

PSEM *luku: luku (MSK 'to lie down, animal', KLK)

CEB lukuq.

**-lum 'to brood over, to sit on eggs'. Cf. *(h)ilum (PSB)

PNEM *-lum: hilumhum (BUT, MWA), lumlum (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *-lum: hilumhum (KMY 'to hatch eggs'), ha(w)umhum (DVB)

PSEM *l{ua}ml{ua}m: ləmlə (MSK 'to set (as hen)'),
lumlum (KLK)

CEB lumlum 'to hatch eggs'. Cf. hilum (CEB 'to do something in silence')

(**)lumbiya 'sago palm'. Cf. lumbiya (DVB)

PNEM *lumbiya: lumbiya (TSG, BUT), lumbiza (MWA, SUR)

PSEM *lumbiya: lumbiya (MSK, KLK)

CEB lumbiya.

(**)lu{mg}pat 'to jump up in fright'. Cf. lugpat (DVB)

PNEM *lumpat: lumpat (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *lugpat: lugpat (MSK, KLK)

CEB lumpat.

**lumun 'close kin'.

PNEM *lumun: lumun (MWA, SUR 'siblings, cousins')

PCEM *lumun: lumun (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *lumun: lumun (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK)

CEB lumun 'to live with kin'.

(**)lumut 'moss, slime'. Cf. lumut (KLK)

PNEM *lumut: lumut (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lumut: lumut (KMY, DVB)

CEB lumut.

(**)lunaŋ 'to wallow'. Cf. lunaŋ (KLK)

PNEM *lunaŋ: lunaŋ (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lunaŋ: lunaŋ (KMY, DVB)

CEB lunaŋ.

(**)luñyab 'cave'.

PNEM (*)luñyab: luñzab (MWA 'underwater cave')

PCEM (*)luñyab: luñyab (KMY)

CEB luñib < luñiyab (?).

**lupaq 'earth'.

PNEM *lupaq: lupaq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lupaq: lupaq (KMY, DVB, DVM), lupa(q) (DVD)

PSEM *lupaq: lupaq (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB lupaq 'area depressed below surrounding land'.

(**)lupis 'string of banana bark'. Cf. lupis (MSK 'dried stalk of abaca')

PNEM *lupis: lupis (TSG, BUT, MWA). Cf. lupis (~MWA 'rope, string')

PCEM *lupis: lupis (KMY, DVB)

CEB lupis.

(**)lupiq 'to fold up'. Cf. lupiq (DVB), **pilu(q)

PNEM *lupiq: lupiq (TSG, BUT)

PSEM *lupiq: lupiq (MSK, KLK)

CEB lupiq 'to turn down a corner'.

(**)lupug 'to follow, to go after'. Cf. lupug (MSK)

PNEM *lupug: lupug (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lupug: lupug (KMY, DVB)

CEB lupug.

(**)lusay '1. swollen gland'. Cf. lusay (KLK)

PNEM *lusay: lusay (BUT, MWA 'glands in neck', SUR)

PCEM *lusay: lusay (KMY, DVB)

CEB lusay.

**lusay `2. sea grass'.

PNEM *lusay: lusay (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lusay: lusay (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *lusay: lusay (MSK, KLK)

CEB lusay.

**lusuñ `rice mortar'.

PNEM *lusuñ: lusuñ (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR--f)

PCEM *lusuñ: lusuñ (KMY-f, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *lusuñ: lusuñ (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

CEB lusuñ.

**lusut `to slip through, to go through'.

PNEM *lusut: lusut (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lusut: lusut (KMY-f, DVB)

PSEM *lusut: lusut (MSK, KLK)

CEB lusut.

(**)lutahan `joint of body'. See **lɛqat

PNEM *lutahan: lutahan (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *lutahan: lutahan (KMY), lutaq-lutaq (DVB)

**lutaw `to float'.

PNEM *l{uɛ}taw: lutaw (BUT, MWA, SUR), lɛtaw (MWA `to
set afloat')

PCEM *lutaw: lutaw (KMY-f, DVB)

PSEM *lutaw: lutaw (MSK, KLK)

CEB lutaw.

**lutu 'to be in mourning'.

PNEM *lutu: lutu (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lutu: lutu (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *lutu: lutu (MSK, KLK)

CEB lutu.

**lutuq 'to cook'.

PNEM *lutuq: lutuq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *lutuq: lutuq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *lutuq: lutuq (MDC, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT),
galutuq (MDB)

CEB lutuq.

**luwas 'to save, resuscitate'.

PNEM *luwas: luwas (BUT 'outside', MWA, SUR)

PCEM *luwas: luwas (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *luwas: luwas (MSK, KLK)

CEB luwas 'free, escapes'.

(**)luya 'weak'. Cf. luya (MSK)

PNEM *luya: luya (BUT), luza (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *luya: luya (KMY, DVB, DVD)

CEB luya.

(**)luyu 'other side of something solid'. Cf. liu (CS.2)

PNEM *luyu: liu (TSG), luyu (BUT), luzu (MWA, SUR
'rear')

PCEM *luyu: luyu (KMY, DVB)

CEB liyu 'to circle around'.

CEB luyu 'at back of'.

(**)luqag 'wide, roomy, spacious'. Cf. luqag (DVB)

PNEM *luqag: luqag (TSG), hawag (BUT, SUR), haluqag
(MWA)

PSEM *luwag: maluwag (MSK), mawwag (KLK)

CEB luqag 'not to occupy whole area'.

(**)lu(q)pad 'to eject residue of something chewed from
mouth'. Cf. lupad (KMY)

PNEM *lupad: lupad (BUT, MWA)

PSEM *lupad: lupad (MSK, KLT)

CEB lupqad.

(**)luqud 'to feel nauseated'.

PNEM *luqud: iluqud (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *luqud: iluqud (KMY, DVB), maludqanun (KMY 'morning
sickness')

CEB iluqud.

(**)luquk 'to throttle'.

PNEM *luquk: luquk (BUT, MWA 'evil spirits jump on back
of neck of person and causes them to die because their
heads bends forward and cuts off the breathing')

PCEM *luquk: luquk (KMY, DVB)

CEB luquk.

(**)luquy 'pity, compassion'.

PNEM *luquy: luquy (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *luquy: luquy (KMY, DVB)

CEB luquy.

**luqya 'ginger'.

PNEM *luqya: luqya (*luqya?) (TSG), luyqa (BUT-f, MWA),
luzqa (SUR)

PCEM *luyqa: luyqa (KMY-f, DVB, DVD), luya (DVM)

PSEM *luya: luya (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

CEB luyqa.

**lɛbug `dirty, as water'. Cf. lobog (CS.2)

PNEM *lɛbug: lubug (BUT, SUR), lɛbug (MWA)

PCEM *lubug: lubug (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *lɛbug: lɛbug (MSK, KLK)

CEB lubug.

**lɛburɔn `to bury'.

PNEM *lɛburɔn: luburɔn (BUT-f, SUR-f), lɛburɔn (MWA)

PCEM *luburɔn: luburɔn (KMY-f, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *lɛburɔn: lɛburɔn (MDK, MDM, MSK, KLK, KLT), galɛburɔn
(MDB)

CEB luburɔn.

(**)lɛdaq `to spit'.

PNEM *lɛdaq: ludaq (TSG, BUT-f, SUR-f)

PCEM *ludaq: ludaq (KMY-f, DVB)

CEB ludaq.

(**)lɛgɛs `to force, to urge'. Cf. lugus (DVB), logos (CS.2)

PNEM *lɛgɛs: lugus (TSG), lɛgɛs (MWA)

PSEM *lɛgɛs: lɛgɛs (MSK, KLK)

CEB lugus.

(**)lɛkat `redeem from pawn shop'. Cf. lukat (KLK)

PNEM *lɛkat: lukat (TSG, BUT), lɛkat (MWA), lu'kat (SUR)

PCEM *lukat: lu'kat (KMY), lukat (DVB)

CEB lukat.

**lɛkɛnan 'under-side of knee, elbow'.

PNEM *lɛkɛnan: lukunan (TSG, BUT, SUR), lɛkɛnan (MWA)

PCEM *lukunan: lukunan (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *lɛkɛn: lɛkɛn-lɛkɛn (MSK 'knee, knuckle'), lɛknan (KLK)

CEB lukunan.

**lɛmɛs 'to drown'.

PNEM *lɛ(q)mɛs: luqmɛs (TSG), lumɛs (~TSG, BUT, SUR), lɛmɛs (MWA)

PCEM *lumɛs: lumɛs (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *lɛmɛs: lɛmɛs (MSK), mɛs (KLK)

CEB lumɛs.

(**)lɛ(m)gɛm 'to soak'.

PNEM *lɛ(m)gɛm: luqgɛm (TSG), lɛmgɛm (MWA)

CEB lagun 'to form pools'.

(**)lɛnɛd 'to sink'. Cf. lunud (DVB)

PNEM *lɛnɛd: lunud (TSG), lɛnɛd (MWA)

PSEM *lɛnɛd: lɛnɛd (MSK, KLK)

CEB lunud.

(**)lɛʎɛn 'coffin'. Cf. luʎun (DVB)

PNEM *lɛʎɛn: luʎun (BUT, ~MWA, SUR), lɛʎɛn (MWA)

PSEM *luʎun: luʎun (MSK, KLK)

CEB luʎun.

(**)lupad 'to fly'.

PNEM *lupad: lupad (TSG, BUT, SUR), lupad (MWA)

PCEM *lupad: lupad (KMY, DVB, DVD)

CEB lupad.

(**)mahal 'expensive, precious'. Cf. mahal (DVB)

PNEM *mahal: mahal (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *mahal: maqal (MSK), mahal (KLK)

CEB mahal.

(**)makupa 'fruit tree, the rose apple (Syzygium samarangense)'. Cf. makupa (DVB)

PNEM *makupa: makupa (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *makupa: makupa (MSK, KLK)

**mamañ 'generic term for insect, creature'.

PNEM *mamañ: mamañ (BUT 'bird', MWA, SUR)

PCEM *mamañ: mamañ (KMY 'spirit', DVB 'ant')

PSEM *mamañ: mamañ (MSK, KLK)

**mamaq 'the whole betel chew'.

PNEM *mamaq: mamaq (TSG, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *mamaq: mamaq (KMY, DVB, DVM), mamaqun (DVD)

PSEM *mamaq: yagamamaq (MDK), mamaqun (MDC), mamaqun (MDB), mamaqun (MDM), mamaq (MSK, KLK, KLT), kamamaq (ISM)

CEB mamaq.

(**)mamaqun 'betel nut'. Cf. mamaqun (KLK)

PNEM *mamaqun: mamqun (BUT), mamqun (MWA), mamaqun (SUR)

PCEM *mamaqun: mamaqun (KMY), mamaqun (DVB)

****mananap** 'animal'.

PNEM *mananap: mananap (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *mananap: mananap (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *mananap 'snake': tinanap (MDM), mananap (MSK, KLK)

CEB mananap.

(**)manatad 'kind of wild pigeon, smaller than balud'. Cf. manatad (KLK)

PNEM *manatad: manatad (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *manatad: manatad (KMY, DVB)

CEB manatad 'Chalcophaps indica'.

****mani** 'peanuts (a new world cultigen)'.

PNEM *mani: mani (BUT-f, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *mani: mani (KMY-f, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *mani(q): maniq (MSK, KLT), mani (KLK)

CEB mani.

****manuk** 'chicken'.

PNEM *manuk: manuk (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *manuk: manuk (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *manuk: manuk (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB manuk.

****maña** 'plural marker'.

PNEM *maña: maña (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *maña: maña (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *maña: maña (MSK, KLK)

CEB maña.

(**)mañga 'mango (mangifera indica)'. Cf. mañga (KLK)

PNEM *mañga: mañga (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *mañga: mañga (KMY, DVB)

CEB mañga.

**mañhud 'younger sibling'.

PNEM *mañhud: mañhud (TSG, BUT, MWA), kamañhudan (TSG, BUT, MWA 'younger siblings'), tayimañhud (TSG), talimañhud (BUT 'in sibling relation'), kinamañhuran (SUR)

PCEM *mañhud: mañhud (KMY, DVB), kinamañhudan (KMY 'youngest child')

PSEM *mañud: mañud (MSK, KLK)

CEB mañhud.

**mata 'eye'.

PNEM *mata: mata (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *mata: mata (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *mata: mata (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB mata.

(**)matay 'to wail for the dead'. Cf. magmatay (KLK)

PNEM *matay: magmatay (BUT), pinagmatay (MWA), matay (SUR)

PCEM *matay: magminatay (KMY), magmatay (DVB)

(**)maya 'rice bird (Munia)'. Cf. maya (DVB)

PNEM *maya: maya (TSG, BUT 'the weaver bird'), maza (MWA, SUR)

PSEM *maya: maya (MSK, KLK)

CEB maya 'the chestnut mannikin (Lonchura malacca)'.

**miñaw 'lonely'.

PNEM *miñaw: miñaw (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *miñaw: miñaw (KMY, DVB, DVD), mamaiñaw (DVM)

PSEM *miñaw: yamiñaw (MDK, MDB), yamamiñaw (MDM), miñaw
(MSK, KLK)

CEB miñaw.

(**) -mu 'second person singular possessive'.

PNEM *-mu: -mu (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *-mu: -mu (KMY, DVB)

CEB -mu.

**mugqut 'to frown, look of displeasure'.

PNEM *mugqut: mugqut (MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *mugqut: mugqut (KMY, DVB)

CEB mugqut. (var. of mudquk)

**mutyaq 'precious stone'.

PNEM *mutyaq: mutsaq (TSG 'pearl'), mutyaq (BUT, SUR),
mutzaq (MWA)

PCEM *mutyaq: mutyaq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *mutyaq: mutyaq (MSK, KLK)

CEB mutyaq.

(**) na 'past tense attributive or involuntary action marker'.

PNEM *na: na (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *na: na (KMY, DVB rel. 'who, which'), da (DVB), ya
(KMY)

PSEM *na: na (MSK), ya (MSK)

(**) nanaq 'pus'. Cf. nanaq (DVB)

PNEM *nanaq: nanaq (TSG, MWA)

PSEM *nanaq: nanaq (MSK, KLK)

CEB nanaq.

(**) nanaq 'why?'

PCEM *nanaq: nanaq sa (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *nana(q): nana (MSK), nanaq (KLK)

(**)(nl)anakaq 'jack fruit'. Cf. lanakaq (DVB)

PNEM *nanaq: nanaq (TSG, MWA)

PSEM *lanakaq: lanakaq (MSK, KLK)

CEB nanaq.

**naqug 'to go down, to get off'.

PNEM *naqug: naqug (TSG, BUT, SUR)

PCEM *naqug: naqug (KMY), panaguq (DVB)

PSEM *naqug: naqug (MSK), minawug (KLK)

CEB naqug.

**nipaq 'nipa (Nipa fruticans)'.

PNEM *nipaq: nipa (TSG), nipa (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *nipaq: nipa (DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *nipa: nipa (MDB, MDM)

CEB nipa.

**nipsis 'thin'.

PNEM *nipsis: nipsis (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *nipsis: nipsis (KMY-f, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *nipsis: manipis (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

CEB nipis.

(**) (n)ira 'third person plural oblique pronoun'.

PNEM *(n)ira: nila (TSG, BUT), kanila (TSG), ila (BUT, SUR), nirañ (MWA), kaniran (MWA)

PCEM *(n)ira: nira (KMY), ira (KMY), kanilan (DVB)

CEB nila.

CEB ila.

**niwañ 'skinny'.

PNEM *niwañ: niwañ (BUT-f, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *niwañ: niwañ (DVB, DVM)

PSEM *niwañ: niwañ (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLK, KLT)

CEB niwañ.

**niyug 'coconut palm'.

PNEM *niyug: niyug (TSG, BUT), nizug (MWA, SUR 'coconut fruit or tree')

PCEM *niug: niug (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *iyug: iyug (MSK, KLK)

{(nk){uə}s{(nk){uə}s 'to rub against, to abrade'. Cf. ()nisnis

PNEM *(nk)us{(nk)us: kuskus (TSG, SUR 'to scrape'), nusnus (BUT, MWA 'to scrub with brush or cloth', SUR)

PCEM *(nk)us{(nk)us: nusnus (KMY, DVB), kuskus (KMY)

PSEM *(n{uə}sn{uə}s: nəsnuəs (MSK 'to scrub, rub'), nusnus (KLK)

CEB nusnus.

(**)ñ(ar)agñag 'roof of mouth'.

PNEM *ñ(ar)agñag: ñagñag (BUT), ñàragñag (MWA), ñyagñag (SUR)

PCEM **hagʰag*: *hagʰag* (KMY, DVB)

***h*aran 'name'.

PNEM **h*aran: *h*aan (TSG, BUT), *gihih*anlan (BUT 'named'),
*h*aran (MWA), *h*ayan (SUR)

PCEM **h*aran: *h*aran (KMY), *pa*halan (DVB, DVD), *h*aan
(DVB), *pa*han (DVM)

PSEM *(*h*)alan: *h*aan (MDK), *alan* (MDC, MDB, MDM), *h*alan
(MSK, KLT), *aan* (ISM), *han* (KLK)

(**) *h*ilu 'teeth on edge'.

PNEM **h*ilu: *h*iluq (TSG), *h*ilu (BUT, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM **h*ilu: *h*ilu (KMY, DVB)

CEB *h*ilu.

(**) *h*irit 'to show the teeth in a grimace'. Cf. *h*ilit (MSK 'to show teeth in smile')

PNEM **h*irit: *h*irit < **ni*hilit (TSG), *h*irit (MWA)

PCEM **h*irit: *h*irit (KMY, DVB)

CEB *h*ilit 'to grin'.

(**) *h*uhuq 'to speak through nose'.

PNEM **h*uhu(q): *h*uhu (BUT), *h*uhuq (SUR)

PCEM **h*uhuq: *h*uhuq (KMY-f, DVB)

CEB *h*uhuq.

***pa* 'incompletive particle'.

PNEM **pa*: *pa* (TSG, BUT, SUR). Cf. *pen* (MWA)

PCEM **pa*: *pa* (KMY, DVB)

PSEM **pa*: *pa* (MSK, KLK)

CEB *pa*.

(**)pagi `sting ray'. Cf. pagi (DVB)

PNEM *pagi: pagi (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *pagi: pagi (MSK, KLK)

CEB pagi.

(**)pa{kt}aw `handle'. Cf. pataw (DVB)

PNEM *pakaw: pakaw (TSG, MWA)

PSEM *pa{kt}aw: pakaw (MSK), pataw (KLK)

(**)paksiq `to remove skin'.

PNEM *paksiq: paksiq (BUT, MWA `to peel off layers of abaca tree', SUR)

PCEM *paksiq: paksiq (KMY, DVB)

CEB paksiq.

(**)pala `shovel'. Cf. pala (DVB)

PNEM *pala: pala (TSG, MWA)

PSEM *pala: pala (MSK, KLK, KLT)

CEB pala.

**palad `palm of hand'.

PNEM *palad: paad (TSG, BUT), palad (MWA), payad (SUR)

PCEM *paad: paad (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *palad: paad (MDK, ISM, KLK), palad (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT)

CEB palad.

(**)palakaq `frog'.

PNEM *palakaq: palakaq (MWA, SUR), pakaq (~SUR)

PCEM *palakaq: palakaq (KMY, DVB)

CEB palakaq.

**p(al)akpak 'to clap hands'.

PNEM *p(al)akpak: pakpak (MWA), palakpak (SUR)

PCEM *p(al)akpak: pakpak (KMY), palakpak (DVB)

PSEM *p(al)akpak: pakpak (MSK), palakpak (KLK)

CEB palakpak.

(**)p(al)añgaq 'to cherish'. Cf. pinayañgaq (KLK) See **palañka

PNEM *p(al)añgaq: pañgaq (BUT, SUR), pinayañgaq (MWA)

PCEM *pañgaq: pañgaq (KMY, DVB)

CEB pañgaq.

(**)palaw 'kind of tuber'. Cf. palaw (KLK)

PNEM *palaw: paaw (BUT), palaw (MWA), payaw (SUR)

PCEM *paaw: paaw (KMY 'taro'), pawu (DVB)

CEB palaw 'famine food (Cyrtosperma merkusii)'.

(**)palid '1. a piece'. Cf. palid (KLK)

PNEM *palid: palid (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *palid: palid (KMY, DVB)

CEB palid '...of something flat'.

**palid '2. to be carried by wind'.

PNEM *palid: palid (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *palid: palid (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *palid: palid (MSK, KLK)

CEB palid.

(**)palis 'bark, skin'.

PNEM *pa(lq)is: paqis (TSG, SUR), palis (BUT 'outer husk of rice, not tiki-tiki = apa')

PCEM *palis: palis (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *palis: palis (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

**palit 'to buy'.

PNEM *palit: palit (MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *palit: palit (KMY-f, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *palit: palit (MDK, ISM), mapalit (MDC), gapalit
(MDB)

CEB palit.

(**)paliya(q) 'bitter melon (Momordica charantia)'. Cf. paliya
(DVB)

PNEM *paliya(q): paliyaq (TSG), paliza (MWA)

PSEM *paliya(q): paliyaq (MSK), paliya (KLK)

CEB paliya.

(**)paliq 'wound or scar'. Cf. paliq (DVB 'not scar')

PNEM *paliq: paliq (TSG, BUT, SUR)

PSEM *paliq: paliq (MSK, KLK)

CEB paliq.

(**)palu-palu 'clothes paddle'.

PNEM *palu-palu: palu-palu (BUT, MWA), payu-payu (SUR)

PCEM *palu-palu: palu-palu (KMY, DVB)

**paluq 'to hit with a stick'.

PNEM *paluq: paluq (TSG), pawuq (BUT)

PCEM *paluq: paluq (KMY), pawuq (DVB)

PSEM *paluq-paluq: palu-paluq (MSK), paluq-paluq (KLK)

CEB paluq.

(**)panagat 'to go fishing'. Cf. panagat (KLK), **dagat

PNEM *panagat: managat (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR 'gather sea food along coast'), panagat (SUR)

PCEM *managat: managat (KMY, DVB)

CEB panagat.

**panaw 'to walk'.

PNEM *panaw: panaw (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *panaw: panaw (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *panaw: panaw (MDK, MDC, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT),
yapanaw (MDB, MDM)

CEB panaw.

(**)panaq 'bow, arrow'. Cf. panaq (DVB)

PNEM *panaq: panaq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), mamanaq (SUR)

PSEM *panaq: pana (MSK), papanaq (KLK), panaq (KLT)

CEB mamanaq 'to hunt with bow'.

(**)panday 'expert, craftsman'. Cf. panday (DVB)

PNEM *panday: panday (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *panday: panday (MSK, KLK)

CEB panday 'to forge, tradesman'.

**panik 'to climb'. Cf. *panahik (PSB)

PNEM *panik: panik (MWA, SUR-f, SUR 'to go upstairs')

PCEM *panik: panik (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *panik: panik (MDC, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK), qapanik
(MDB)

(**)panit 'bonito, tuna'.

PNEM *panit: panit (TSG), pa'nit (BUT, MWA), pañanitan
(SUR)

PCEM *panit: pa'nit (KMY), panaŋgitan (DVB 'eel')

CEB panit.

(**)panit 'bark, skin (of person)'. .

PNEM *panit: panit (BUT, SUR), napanit (BUT 'to have skin flake off')

PCEM *panit: panit (KMY-f, DVB) .

CEB panit.

(**)pantalan 'platform'. Cf. pantalan (DVB)

PNEM *pantalan: pantaan (TSG 'porch'), pantalan (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *pantalan: pantalan (KLK, KLT)

CEB pantalan 'wharf'.

(**)panum 'to be closely associated'. Cf. panun (DVB)

PNEM *panum: panun (TSG 'close friend', BUT-f, SUR), panun (MWA 'group')

PSEM *pan{uɐ}m: panum (MSK), panum (KLK)

CEB panun 'large group'.

(**)paŋag 'gap in series, as teeth or comb'.

PNEM *paŋag: paŋag (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *paŋag: paŋag (KMY '...or toothless', DVB)

CEB paŋag.

**paŋanud 'cloud'. See **anud

PNEM *paŋanud: paŋanud (BUT, MWA 'very large clouds', SUR)

PCEM *paŋanud: paŋanud (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *paŋanud: paŋanud (MDK, MDC, MSK)

CEB paŋanud.

(**)pañinabuhıq 'means of livelihood'. Cf. pañinabuhıq (KLK)

PNEM *pañinabuhıq: pañinabuhıq (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *pañinabuhıq: pañinabuhıq (KMY, DVB)

CEB pañinabuhıq.

(**)pañitaq 'to seek'. See **kitaq

PNEM *pañitaq: pañitaq (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *pañitaq: pañitaq (KMY 'to watch', DVB)

CEB pañitaq.

(**)pañpañ 'cliff, bank'. Cf. pañpañ (DVB)

PNEM *pañpañ: pañpañ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *pañpañ: pañpañ (MSK, KLK)

CEB pañpañ.

(**)pañqus 'to chew sugar cane'. Cf. pañus (MSK), paqus (KLK)

PNEM *pañqus: pañqus (BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf. paqus (TSG)

PCEM *pañqus: pañqus (KMY, DVB)

CEB pañqus.

(**)para 'in order to, for purpose of'. Cf. pada (KLK)

PNEM *para: pada (BUT), para (MWA)

PCEM *para: para (KMY, DVB)

CEB para.

(**)parıguq 'to take a bath'. See **{dl}ıguq

PNEM *parıguq: paıguq (TSG), ııguq (TSG), paıguq (BUT), parıguq (MWA), nalıguq (SUR)

PCEM *parıguq: parıguq (KMY), ııguq (DVM), malıgu (DVD)

(**)pareñ 'to extinguish flame'.

PNEM *paruḥ: paruḥ (BUT), paruḥ (MWA), paruḥ (SUR). Cf.
puuḥ (TSG)

PCEM *paruḥ: paruḥ (KMY), paruḥ (DVB)

CEB paruḥ.

(**)pasag 'to roast something'.

PCEM *pasag: pasag (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *pasag: pasag (MSK, KLK)

(**)p{ai}sak 'mud'.

PNEM *pisa{kq}: pisak (TSG, BUT), pisaq (MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *pasak: pasak (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *pasak: pasak (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

(**)paspas 'vigorously, fast'. Cf. paspas (MSK)

PNEM *paspas: paspas (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *paspas: paspas (KMY, DVB)

CEB paspas.

**pasuq 'hot'.

PNEM *pasuq: pasuq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *pasuq: pasuq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *pasuq: pasuq (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

CEB pasuq 'hot sun, burned'.

**patag 'flat, level'.

PNEM *patag: patag (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *patag: patag (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *patag: patag (MSK, KLK)

CEB patag.

**patay 'to kill, dead'.

PNEM *patay: patay (TSG, BUT-f, SUR)

PCEM *patay: patay (KMY-f, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *patay: patay (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT),
patayan (MDC)

CEB patay.

(**)patiñ 'kind of shark'. Cf. patiñ (KLK 'crossed-eyed')

PNEM *patiñ: patiñ (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *patiñ: patiñ (KMY, DVB)

CEB patiñ 'various small sharks'.

(**)patu 'duck'. Cf. patu (KLK)

PNEM *patu: patu (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *patu: patu (KMY, DVB)

CEB patu.

(**)patuñ 'to place or be on top of'. Cf. patuñ (MSK 'button')

PNEM *patuñ: patuñ (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *patuñ: patuñ (KMY 'to place load on shoulders',
DVB)

CEB patuñ.

**pawaq 'cleared area'.

PNEM *pawaq: pawaq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *pawaq: pawaq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *pawaq 'swidden': pawaq (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM,
KLK, KLT)

CEB pawaq.

****pawikan** 'turtle'.

PNEM *pawikan: pawikan (BUT, MWA 'kind of fish shaped like a turtle'). Cf. payukan (TSG)

PCEM *pawikan: pawikan (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *pawikan: pawikan (MSK, KLK 'kind of fish')

CEB pawikan.

****pawud** 'nipa'. Cf. paud (CS.2 'unit of roofing measurement, one shingle length')

PNEM *pawud: pawud (BUT, MWA, SUR 'nipa shingle')

PCEM *pawud: pawud (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *paw(uə)d: pawud (MSK), pawud (KLK)

CEB palud.

()payag** 'field hut'. Cf. payagpayag (MSK)

PNEM *payag: payag (BUT), pazag (SUR)

PCEM *payag: payag (KMY, DVB)

CEB payag.

****payaq** 'half of coconut shell'. Cf. *payaq (PSB)

PNEM *payaq: pazaq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *payaq: payaq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *payaq: payaq (MSK, KLK)

CEB payaq.

****payuñ** 'umbrella'.

PNEM *payuñ: payuñ (TSG, BUT), pazuñ (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *payuñ: payuñ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *payuñ: payuñ (MSK, KLK)

CEB payuñ.

**paqa `thigh`.

PNEM *paqa: paqa (TSG, BUT, SUR), tubuqampaqa (MWA)
 PCEM *paqa: paqa (KMY `upper leg`, DVB, DVM, DVD)
 PSEM *paqa: paa (MDK, MDB), paqa (MDC, MSK), pa (ISM)
 CEB paqa.

**paqit `bitter`.

PNEM *paqit: paqit (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR-f)
 PCEM *paqit: paqit (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)
 PSEM *paqit: pait (MDK, MDM, ISM, KLK, KLT), mapaqit
 (MDC, MDB, MSK)
 CEB paqit.

(**)paqsan `carry over shoulder`. Cf. pisan (KLK)

PNEM *paqsan: paqsan (TSG), pasqan (BUT, SUR)
 PCEM *pasqan: pasqan (KMY-f, DVB)
 CEB pasqan.

(**)paqun `bait`.

PNEM *paqun: paqun (BUT, MWA, SUR)
 PCEM *paqun: paqun (KMY-f, DVB)
 CEB paqun.

(**)pidpid `to tremble, shake`.

PNEM *pidpid: pidpid (TSG, BUT `...with fever`, MWA)
 PCEM *pidpid: pidpid (KMY, DVB `convulsion`)

(**)pigiq `buttocks`.

PNEM *pigiq: pigiq (TSG, BUT, SUR)
 PSEM *pigiq: pigiq (MSK, KLK, KLT)

(**)pignit `to pinch a bit off with fingertips'.

PNEM *pig(n)it: pignit (BUT, SUR), pignit (~BUT, ~SUR).
Cf. bagnit (TSG)

PCEM *pignit: pignit (KMY, DVB)

CEB pignit.

(**)pikas `to divide up into pieces'. Cf. pikas (MSK)

PNEM *pikas: pikas (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *pikas: pikas (KMY, DVB)

CEB pikas.

(**)pikit `stick to'. Cf. pikit (MSK)

PNEM *pikit: pikit (TSG, BUT `to be touching', MWA, SUR)

PCEM *pikit: pikit (KMY, DVB)

(**)pikpik `to put palm on'. Cf. pikpik (MSK)

PNEM *pikpik: pikpik (MWA, SUR `to pat')

PCEM *pikpik: pikpik (KMY, DVB)

CEB pikpik.

(**)pikut `slit eyed'. Cf. pikut (MSK), kiput (KLK)

PNEM *pikut: pikut (BUT, SUR `to have the eyelids
stuck'), pikut (MWA)

PCEM *pikut: pikut (KMY, DVB)

CEB pikut.

(**)pilipig `rice pounded flat'.

PNEM *pilipig: pilipig (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *pilipig: pilipig (KMY, DVB)

CEB pilipig.

(**)pilit 'to be sticky'.

PNEM *pilit: piqit (TSG 'stiff, tacky'), pilit (BUT)

PCEM *pilit: pilit (KMY, DVB, DVD), pi'lit (KMY 'sticky rice')

CEB pilit.

**piliq 'to choose'.

PNEM *piliq: piiq (TSG), piliq (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *piliq: piliq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *piliq: yagapiliq (MDK), piliq (MDC, MDB, MSK, ISM, KLK), pamalliq (KLT). Note: paN- + piliq -> pamiliq -> pamlig -> palliq -> paN- + palliq -> pamalliq

CEB piliq.

(**)pilug 'to fold flat'. Cf. lipiq (KLK)

PNEM *pilug: pilu (TSG 'to twist'), pilug (MWA 'to fold or overturn', SUR-f)

PCEM *pilug: pilug (KMY-f, DVB)

CEB pilug.

**pina 'to threaten, warn'.

PNEM *pina: pina (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *pina: pina (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *pina: pina (MSK, KLK)

CEB pina.

**pintik 'slingshot, to fire a slingshot'. Cf. pitikan (CS.2 'slingshot')

PNEM *pintik: pintik (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *pintik: pintik (KMY 'to flick', DVB).

PSEM *pintik: pintik (MSK), pintikay (KLK)

CEB pintik.

(**) {ps}iñkaw 'deformity of arm such that it cannot be fully straightened at elbow'.

PNEM *{ps}iñkaw: piñkaw (BUT), siñkaw (MWA)

PCEM *{ps}iñkaw: piñkaw (KMY), siñkaw (¬KMY, DVB)

CEB piñkaw.

¬CEB siñkaw.

(**) piñkiq 'clash together, as jars'. Cf. piñkiq (MSK)

PNEM *piñkiq: piñkiq (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *piñkiq: piñkiq (KMY, DVB)

CEB piñkiq.

**pira 'how many?'

PNEM *pira: pila (TSG, SUR), pirañ (MWA)

PCEM *pira: pira (KMY), pila (DVB, DVM), pilah (DVD)

PSEM *pila: pila (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB pila.

**pirək 'eyelashes'

PNEM *pirək: piluk (TSG, BUT-f, SUR-f), pirək (MWA)

PCEM *piruk: piruk (KMY), piluk (DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *pilək: pilək (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT),
piluk (MDC)

CEB piluk.

**pisgaq 'to squeeze'

PNEM *pisgaq: pisgaq (BUT, MWA)

PCEM *pisgaq: pisgaq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *pisgaq: pisgaq (MSK, KLK)

(**)pisiq 'twist fibre to make string, string'.

PNEM *pisiq: pisiq (BUT, MWA, SUR 'rope of abaca'). Cf.
pisi (TSG 'to remove husk as corn, peanuts')

PCEM *pisiq: pisiq (KMY, DVB)

CEB pisiq.

(**)pislát 'flat of nose, squashed arm, vegetables'.

PNEM *pislát: pislát (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *pislát: pislát (KMY, DVB)

**pisñi 'cheek'.

PNEM *pisñi: pisñi (TSG, BUT), pisñiq (MWA)

PCEM *pisñi: pisñi (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *pisñi: pisñi (MDK), pisñi (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK,
ISM, KLK, KLT)

(**)pitik 'intermittent, repeated'. Cf. pitik-pitik (KLK)

PNEM *pitik: pitik (MWA, SUR), pitik-pitik (MWA 'ticking
of clock')

PCEM *pitik: pitik (KMY, DVB)

CEB pitik 'to throb'.

(**)pitlæk 'to choke someone'.

PNEM *pitlæk: pitlæk (MWA 'to be strangled to death'),
pitluk (SUR)

PCEM *pitluk: pitluk (KMY, DVB)

CEB pitluk.

(**)pitpitaw 'kind of bird'. Cf. pitpitaw (KLK)

PNEM *pitpitaw: pitpitaw (BUT, MWA 'black with white
head', SUR)

PCEM *pitpitaw: pitpitaw (KMY, DVB)

**pitu `seven`.

PNEM *pitu: pitu (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR-f), kapituqan
(BUT)

PCEM *pitu: pitu (KMY, DVD)

PSEM *pitu: pitu (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

CEB pitu.

CEB kapituqan `seventy`.

(**)piqañ `dislocated or sprained`. Cf. piqañ (KLK)

PNEM *piqañ: piqañ (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *piqañ: piqañ (KMY-f, DVB)

CEB piqañ.

**pugad `nest`.

PNEM *pugad: pugad (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *pugad: pugad (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *pugad: pugad (MSK, KLK)

CEB pugad `put hens away for night`.

(**)pugus `hair done in knot`. Cf. puñus (DVB)

PNEM *pugus: pugus (TSG `to dress the hair`, BUT, MWA)

PSEM *pu(ñ)us: pugus (MSK), uñus (KLK)

**puhag `to cause to scatter`.

PNEM *puhag: puhag (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *puhag: puhag (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *puwag: puwag (MSK `to drive away bees`), puwag
(KLK)

CEB puhag.

(**)puhun 'God willing'.

PNEM *puhun: puhun (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *puhun: puhun (KMY, DVB)

CEB puhun.

(**)pukaw 'to wake up'. Cf. pukaw (DVB)

PNEM *pukaw: pukaw (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *pukaw: pukaw (MSK, KLK)

CEB pukaw.

**pula 'red'. Cf. *pula (PSB 'ripe betel nut')

PNEM *pula: pula (TSG), puwa (BUT), puya (SUR)

PCEM *pula: puwa (KMY, DVB), pula (DVM, DVD)

PSEM *pula: mapuwa (MDK), pula (MDC), mapulaq (MDB, KLT), mapula (MDM, MSK), mapua (ISM), puwa (KLK)

CEB pula.

(**)puli-puli 'to take turns'. Cf. puli-puli (MWA), puli (HIG)

PCEM *puli-puli: puli-puli (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *puli: puli (MSK), puli-puli (KLK)

CEB puli-puli.

(**)pulu(han) 'handle, hilt'. Cf. puuhan (KMY)

PNEM *pulu: pulu (MWA), puyu-puu (SUR)

CEB pulu.

(**)puluhu 'lazy'.

PNEM *puluhu: puluhu (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *puluhu: puluhu (KMY, DVB)

CEB puluhu.

(**)pulus '1. of worth, usefulness'. Cf. pulus (KLK)

PNEM *pulus: puus (TSG, BUT), pulus (MWA), puyus (SUR)

PCEM *pulus: puus (KMY), pulus (DVB)

CEB pulus.

(**)pulus '2. all alike'.

PNEM *pulus: pulus (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *pulus: pulus (KMY, DVB)

CEB pulus.

**pulut 'viscous'. Cf. **sapnut.

PNEM *pulut: puqut (TSG 'stickiness'), pulut (MWA 'bird lime'), aplut (MWA), apyut (SUR)

PCEM *-p(y)ut: apyut (KMY), apud (DVB)

PSEM *pulut: pulut (MSK), put (KLK)

**puluq 'tens marker'.

PNEM *puluq: haŋpuuq (TSG), napuu (BUT), napuluq (MWA), napuyuq (SUR)

PCEM *puuq: napuuq~yapuuq (KMY), sampuq (DVD 'ten')

PSEM *puluq 'ten': yapuuq (MDK), sampuluq (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT), sampuuq (ISM), sampuq (KLK)

CEB puluq.

**punay 'kind of green pigeon'.

PNEM *punay: punay (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *punay: punay (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *punay: punay (MSK, KLK)

CEB punay.

(**)punuq 'l. full, of container'.

PNEM *punuq: kapnuq (BUT), punuq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *punuq: punuq (KMY-f, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *punuq: yamapunuq (MDK), punuq (MDC, MDB)

CEB punuq.

(**)puŋkay 'summit'.

PNEM *puŋkay: puŋkay (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *puŋkay: puŋkay (KMY, DVB)

CEB puŋkay.

(**)puŋkuq 'to step on s.t. in order to gain height'.

PNEM *puŋkuq: puŋkuq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *puŋkuq: puŋkuq (KMY), pukuq (DVB)

(**)puŋpuŋ 'to bunch together'. Cf. puŋpuŋ (MSK)

PNEM *puŋpuŋ: puŋpuŋ (TSG 'buttocks', BUT, SUR), punpun
(MWA)

PCEM *puŋpuŋ: puŋpuŋ (KMY, DVB)

CEB puŋpuŋ. (var. of paluŋpuŋ)

(**)puŋtud 'steep part of hill'.

PNEM *puŋtud: puŋtud (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *(pb)uŋtud: puŋtud (KMY 'summit'), buŋtud (DVB)

CEB puŋtud 'steep hillside'.

**puruq 'island'.

PNEM *puruq: puuq (TSG, BUT), puruq-puruq (MWA), puruq
(MWA 'crown of head, summit'), puyuuq (SUR)

PCEM *puruq: puruq (KMY), puuq (DVB)

PSEM *puluq: puluq (MSK), puuq (KLK)

CEB puluq.

(**)pusta 'to bet'. Cf. pusta (DVB)

PNEM *pusta: pusta (BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf. apus (TSG)

PSEM *pusta: pusta (MSK, KLK)

CEB pusta.

(**)putu 'kind of cake of steamed meal'. Cf. putu (DVB)

PNEM *putu: putu (TSG 'steamed cassava cakes', MWA
'...cassava and brown sugar')

PSEM *putu: putu (MSK 'rice cake', KLK)

CEB putu.

**pusud 'navel'.

PNEM *pusud: pusud (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *pusud: pusud (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *pusud: pusud (MSK, KLK)

CEB pusud.

(**)pusuñ 'i. a legendary trickster, mischief'.

PNEM *pusuñ: si Pusuñ (TSG, SUR)

PCEM *pusuñ: si Pusuñ (KMY, DVB)

CEB si Pusuñ.

(**)pusuq 'banana flower'. Cf. pusuq (DVB)

PNEM *pusuq: pusuq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *pusuq: pusuq (MSK, KLK, KLT)

CEB pusuq.

(**)pusqun 'protruding stomach'.

PNEM *pusqun: pusqun (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *pusqun: pusqun (KMY, DVB)

CEB pusqun 'area below stomach'.

**puthaw 'ferrous metal'.

PNEM *puthaw: puthaw (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *puthaw: puthaw (KMY-f, DVB)

PSEM *putaw: putaw (MSK, KLK)

CEB puthaw.

**putiq 'white'.

PNEM *putiq: putiq (TSG, BUT, MWA), puti (SUR)

PCEM *putiq: putiq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *putiq: maputiq (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLT),
putiq (MDC, KLK)

CEB putiq.

(**)putliq 'pure, virgin'. Cf. putliq (KLK)

PNEM *putliq: putliq (TSG 'princess', MWA, SUR)

PCEM *putliq: putliq (KMY, DVB)

CEB putliq.

(**)putut 'newly set fruit'.

PNEM *putut: putut (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *putut: putut (KMY, DVB)

CEB putut 'esp. of coconut'.

(**)putyukan 'kind of bee'. Cf. patyukan (KLK)

PNEM *pu{st}{sy}ukan: pussukan (TSG), putyukan (BUT)

PCEM *putyukan: putyukan (KMY, DVB)

(**)puwas 'to be free from'. Cf. luwas (DVB)

PNEM *puwas: puqas (TSG 'after'), puwas (MWA, SUR)

PSEM *puwas: puwas (MSK, KLK 'take off')

(**)puqasa 'to fast'. Cf. puqasa (DVB)

PNEM *puqasa: puqasa (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *puwasa: puwasa (MSK, KLK)

CEB puqasa.

(**)puqpuq 'to harvest by plucking'. Cf. ipuq (KLK)

PNEM *puqpuq: puqpuq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *puqpuq: puqpuq (KMY, DVB)

CEB puqpuq.

(**)puqut 'to be in an airless space'. Cf. puqut (KMY)

PNEM *puqut: puqut (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *puqut: puqut (MSK, KLK)

CEB puqut.

(**)puqaq 'to squeeze out liquid'. Cf. puqaq (DVB)

PNEM *puqaq: puqaq (TSG, BUT, SUR), puqaq (MWA)

PSEM *puqaq: puqaq (MSK, KLK)

CEB puqaq.

(**)puhaq/**puqa 'dumb, mute'. Cf. puwa (KLK 'surprized')

PNEM *puhaq/*puqa: puwaq (BUT), puhaq (MWA), puqa (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *puhaq/*puqa: puqa (KMY), puhaq (DVB)

**pusaq 'something rather fragile'.

PNEM *pusaq: pusaq (TSG, BUT, SUR), pusaq (MWA)

PCEM *pusaq: pusaq (KMY-f, DVB, DVM 'bone')

PSEM *pusaq `bone': pusaq (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLK, KLT), pusaq (MDC, ISM)

CEB pusaq `to hatch eggs'.

(**)pusdak `to set something down heavily'.

PNEM *pusdak: puskak (BUT, SUR), pusdak (MWA). Cf. bustak (TSG `to burst out')

PCEM *pusdak: puskak (KMY, DVB)

CEB pusdak.

(**)rabak `to throw away'. Cf. labak (WS.2 `id')

PNEM *rabak: labak (BUT `to run off', SUR)

PCEM *rabak: rabak (KMY), labak (DVB), ilabak (DVM)

CEB labak.

(**)ragum `black eye'.

PNEM *ragum: lagum (BUT, SUR), ragum (MWA)

PCEM *ragum: kagum < karagum? (KMY-f), lagum (DVB)

CEB lagum `black and blue'.

**ra{lr}a `intense pain venomous bite'. See **dalaq (rarag)

PNEM *rara: malaa (BUT), marara (MWA `venomous'), laya (SUR)

PCEM *laa: malaa (KMY, DVB `snake')

PSEM *lala: lala (MSK `poisonous worm', KLT), malala (KLK `poisonous')

CEB lala `for bites to be poisonous'.

(**)rarag `reddish'. Cf. daag (CS.2 `dried leaf'), laag (CS.2 `reddish color of ripening fruit'), (**)dalag

PNEM *rarag: laag (TSG), rarag (MWA)

ra{lr}em `deep'. Cf. ()dalam, **salem

PNEM *rarum: laum (TSG), haum (BUT), ararum (MWA), layum (SUR)

PCEM *laum: halaum (KMY), laum (DVB, DVM), malaqum (DVD)

PSEM *lalum: malalum (MDC), malalum (MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT), maatum (ISM), maum (KLK)

**{rl}apa-{rl}apa `sole of foot'.

PNEM *rapa-rapa: lapa-lapa (BUT, SUR), rapa-rapa (MWA)

PCEM *lapa-lapa ~ pala-pala: lapa-lapa (KMY), pala-pala (~KMY, DVB)

PSEM *pala-pala: pala-pala (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK)

**raqat `bad'. Cf. *raqat (PSB)

PNEM *-raqat: maq'at (BUT), yaqut (SUR-f)

PCEM *raqat: raqat (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *laqat: maqat (MDK, MSK), matay (ISM), matay (KLK),
kət (KLK *laqat -> ka + laqat -> kalaat -> kalat ->
kaat -> kət), malatay (KLT)

(**)rigqun `strong, durable'. Cf. madigun (MSK)

PNEM *rigqun: marigqun (MWA), maligqun (SUR)

PCEM *ligqun: maligqun (KMY, DVB)

CEB maligqun.

(**)ri{lr}uq `eddy, small whirl in current'.

PNEM *riruq: liluq (TSG, BUT, SUR), riruq (MWA)

PCEM *liluq: liluq (KMY, DVB)

CEB liluq.

**ripaq `dirty'. Cf. lipaq (CS.2 `to apply paste')

PNEM *ripaq: ripaq (MWA), lipaq (SUR)

PCEM *ripaq: ripaq (KMY), lipaq (DVB), maripaq (DVM),
malipaq (DVD)

PSEM *lipaq: malipaq (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK)

(**)ruhaq `twenty'. Cf. kawhaqan (KMY `twenty'), **du(h)a

PNEM *ruhaq: kawhaqan (TSG, SUR), kawuhaqan (BUT),
karuhaqan (MWA)

PSEM *luwaq: kaluwaqan (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK), kaluwan
(KLT)

CEB kaluwaqan `twenty'.

**{rl}umbaq `to race'.

PNEM *lumbaq: lumbaq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *rumbaq: rumbaq (KMY), lumbaq (DVB)

PSEM *lumbaq: lumbaq (MSK, KLK)

CEB lumbaq.

(**)rumbu `goal'.

PNEM *rumbu: rumbu (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *rumbu: rumbu (KMY, DVB)

(**)sa `Loc. phrase marker'. Cf. s- (MSK)

PNEM *sa: ha (TSG), sa (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *sa: sa (KMY, DVB)

CEB sa.

(**)sabak `to have child or adult sit in lap'. Cf. sabak (MSK)

PNEM *sabak: sabak (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sabak: sabak (KMY, DVB)

CEB sabak.

(**)saba'nas `blanket'.

PNEM *saba'nas: saba'nas (BUT, MWA)

PCEM *saba'nas: sabanas (KMY), saba'nas (DVB)

**sabañ 'mouth of river'.

PNEM *sabañ: sabañan (BUT, MWA)

PCEM *sa'bañ: sa'bañ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *sabañ: sabañ (MSK), sa'bañ (KLK)

CEB sabañan.

**sabaw 'soup'.

PNEM *sabaw: sabaw (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *sabaw: sabaw (KMY-f, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *sabaw: sabaw (MDK, MDC, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB sabaw.

(**)sabay 'to go together'. Cf. sabay (DVB)

PNEM *sabay: sabay (BUT, MWA 'to race together')

PSEM *sabay: sabay (MSK, KLK)

CEB sabay.

(**)sabaq '1. to make a noise'.

PNEM *sabaq: sabaq (MWA, SUR), kasabaq-sabaq (MWA),
sabaq-sabaq (SUR 'to groan')

PCEM *sabaq: kasabaq-sabaq (KMY 'how noisy!'), sabaq
(KMY, DVB), sabaq-sabaq (DVB 'noisy')

CEB sabaq 'be quiet'.

(**)sabaq '2. stop crying'.

PNEM *sabaq: kabaq (BUT), sabaq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sabaq: sabaq (KMY, DVB)

(**)sabay 'to hang up, of clothes'. Cf. saguat (DVB 'to hang
(clothes)'), sagbay (KMY)

PNEM *sabay: sablay (TSG, MWA), sabyay (SUR). Cf.
sagbay (BUT)

PSEM *sablay: sablay (MSK, KLK)

CEB sablay 'to place something on top of something else'.

(**)sabsab 'to eat grass'. Cf. sabsab (KLK)

PNEM *sabsab: sabsab (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sabsab: sabsab (KMY, DVB)

CEB sabsab.

(**)sa'bud 'to scatter'. Cf. sabud (MSK), sabug (KLK)

PNEM *sa'bud: sa'bud (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), sabud (SUR
'to feed chickens, scatter')

PCEM *sa'bud: sa'bud (KMY, DVB)

CEB sa'bud.

(**)sabula{gk} 'to spread, broadcast'. Cf. sabuwag (DVB)

PNEM *sabula{gk}: sabulak (TSG), sabuwag (SUR 'to plant
rice by scattering')

PSEM *sabula{gk}: sabulak (MSK), sabug (KLK)

CEB sabulag.

CEB sabulak.

**sabut 'to agree, come to an understanding'.

PNEM *sabut: sabut (BUT), kasabutan (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sabut: kasabutan (KMY, DVB), sabut (DVB)

PSEM *sabut: sabut (MSK, KLK)

CEB kasabutan 'agreement'.

(**)sabud 'to accidentally bump against'. Cf. sabud (KLK 'to
get tangled in rope')

PNEM *sabud: sabud (BUT, SUR), sabud (MWA).

PCEM *sabud: sabud (KMY, DVB)

CEB sabud 'catch on an obstruction'.

**sadlupan 'west, place of setting sun'. Cf. **salup,
2.3.2.4.5

PNEM *sadlupan: sadlupan (TSG), sadpan (BUT, SUR), salup
(BUT), salupan (MWA)

PCEM *sadlupan: saupan (KMY), saup (DVB), salupan (DVM),
sadlupan (DVD)

PSEM *sa{dl}lupan: salupan (MDC), sallupan (MDB, MDM,
MSK, KLK), sallupan (ISM)

CEB sadpanan.

**sadsad 'to find by means of foot (in dark, under water)'.

PNEM *sadsad: sadsad (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *sadsad: sadsad (KMY 'to walk shufflingly', DVB)

PSEM *sadsad: sadsad (MSK, KLK)

(**)sa'gan 'to protect oneself from effects of blow'. Cf.
sa'gan (KLK)

PNEM *sa'gan: sa'gan (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sa'gan: sa'gan (KMY, DVB)

CEB sa'gan.

**sagay 'kind of nettle'.

PNEM *sagay: sagay (TSG 'Laportea sp', BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sagay: sagay (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *sagay: sagay (MSK 'an irritating poisonous plant,
causes rash', KLK)

(**)sa{gm}bat 'to interfere'. Cf. sakbat (DVB)

PNEM *sa{gm}bat: sambat (BUT, SUR), sagbat (MWA)

PSEM *sagbat: sagbat (MSK, KLK)

CEB sagbat 'to interfere when talking'.

CEB sakbat 'to speak without regard to turn'.

**sagda 'to give instruction in proper behaviour'.

PNEM *sagda: sagda (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), sagdaqanən (MWA
'wise person')

PCEM *sagda: sagda (KMY 'to admonish', DVB)

PSEM *sagda: sagda (MSK 'to rebuke, forbid', KLK)

**sagiñ 'banana'.

PNEM *sagiñ: saiñ (TSG), sagiñ (BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf.
(**)sagad for loss of medial -g- in TSG

PCEM *sagiñ: sagiñ (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *sagiñ: sagiñ (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

CEB sagiñ.

(**)sagi{tq}si{tq} 'crackling sound as of frying fat'. Cf.
sagitsit (DVB)

PNEM *sagi{tq}si{tq}: sagitsit (TSG), sagiqsiq (BUT,
MWA, SUR)

(**)saguksuk 'kind of bird (cuckoo?)'. Cf. saguksuk (MSK)

PNEM *saguksuk: saguksuk (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *saguksuk: saguksuk (KMY, DVB)

(**)sagul 'to mix two liquids'. Cf. sagul (MSK), sagol (CS.2
'method of cooking fish liver')

PNEM *sagul: sagul (BUT, SUR), sagul (MWA)

PCEM *sagul: sagul (KMY, DVB)

CEB sagul.

(**)sagqub 'l. to fetch water'. Cf. sagqub (DVB)

PNEM *sagqub: sagqub (BUT), sagqub (MWA)

PSEM *sagqub: sagqub (MSK, KLK)

CEB sagqub.

(**)sagqub `2. water container of more than one joint of bamboo'.

PNEM *sagqub: sagqub (MWA), sagqub (SUR)

PCEM *sagqub: sagqub (KMY, DVB, DVD)

CEB sagqub.

(**)sa'ka `to climb a hill'. Cf. saka (MSK)

PNEM *sa'ka: sakat (TSG), sa'ka (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *sa'ka: sa'ka (KMY, DVB)

(**)sakañ `deformity of legs, bow-legged'. Cf. sakañ-sakañ (KLK)

PNEM *sakañ: sakañ (TSG `knock-kneed', BUT-f `bowlegged'), sikakañ (MWA `bow-legged')

PCEM *sakañ: sakañ (KMY-f `to walk with a limp', DVB)

CEB sakaqañ `walk with legs spread'.

**sakay `to ride a conveyance'.

PNEM *sakay: sakayan (TSG `canoe'), sakyun (BUT), sakyanan (BUT `boat'), sakay (MWA, SUR), sakzanan (MWA `conveyance')

PCEM *sakay: sakay (KMY, DVB), sakayan (DVB `boat, car')

PSEM *sakay: sakay (MSK), sakyanan (KLK)

CEB sakay.

**sakit `1. pain, sickness'.

PNEM *sakit: sakit (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sakit: sakitay (KMY), sakit (DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *sakit: masakit (MDK, MDC, MSK), sakit (ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB sakit.

(**)sakit '2. emotional stress'. Cf. saksak (MSK)

PNEM *sakit: sakit atay (TSG 'hatred, bitter feelings'),
sakit (BUT 'grief')

PCEM *sakit: sakit (KMY 'anger'), sakit atay (DVB)

CEB sakit.

(**)saksak 'to cut into many pieces'. Cf. saksak (KLK)

PNEM *saksak: saksak (TSG, MWA 'cut into strips', SUR)

PCEM *saksak: saksak (KMY, DVB)

CEB saksak.

(**)sakut 'to mix'.

PNEM *sakut: sakut (MWA), sakut (SUR)

PCEM *sakut: sakut (KMY, DVB)

CEB sakut '...esp. spices with food'.

(**)s(al)abay '1. jelly fish with long stinging threads'. Cf. sabay (KLK)

PNEM *s(al)abay: sabay (TSG), syabay (SUR), sabay (SUR)

PCEM *sabay: sabay (KMY), sabay (DVB)

CEB salabay 'long line fishing with multiple leaders'.

(**)s(al)abay '2. to catch prey'. Cf. sabayan (DVB 'catch')

PNEM *s(al)abay: sabay (TSG '...as fish does'), salabay
(MWA 'trap for certain birds')

PSEM *salabay: salabay (MSK), sabay (KLK)

(**)salag(ue)ntiñ 'roof truss'. Cf. salaguntiñ (KLK)

PNEM *salag(ue)ntiñ: salaguntiñ (BUT, MWA), salaguntiñ
(MWA)

PCEM *salaguntiñ: saguntiñ (KMY), salaguntiñ (DVB)

CEB salaguntiñ 'principal rafters of roof'.

(**)s(al)apiq 'money'. Cf. sapiq (DVB), sapiyanan (MSK 'wealthy')

PNEM *s(al)apiq: sapiq (BUT, MWA), sapiqan (BUT, SUR 'wealthy'), sayapiq (SUR). Cf. sapiq (TSG 'cattle')

PSEM *sapiq: sapiq (MSK, KLK)

CEB salapiq.

**salaq 'sin, mistake'.

PNEM *salaq: saaq (TSG, BUT), salaq (MWA), sa'yaq (SUR)

PCEM *salaq: saaq (KMY), salaq (DVB)

PSEM *salaq: salaq (MSK), saq (KLK)

CEB salaq.

(**)s(al)aqag 'to lose, to lose the way'. Cf. saqag (CS.2 'to discard')

PNEM *s(al)aqag: saqag (BUT), laqag (MWA)

PCEM *saqag: saqag (KMY, DVB)

CEB salaqag.

**salud 'to catch water'.

PNEM *salud: saqud (TSG), sawud (BUT), salud (MWA), sayud (SUR 'to catch something falling'). See **saruk for TSG problem.

PCEM *sawud: sawud (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *salud: salud (MSK), sawud (KLK)

CEB salud.

(**)salug 'floor'. Cf. sawug (DVB), *lagus (PSEM) for complex metathesis, (**)lag(k)us

PNEM *salug: sawug (BUT), salug (MWA), sa'yug (SUR)

PSEM *lagus: lagus (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK)

CEB salug.

(**)salum 'to go under water, low, under'. Cf. salum (MSK),
 (**)dalam, **rarum

PNEM *salum: saum (TSG 'space under something'), salum
 (MWA 'socially inferior, to humble oneself'), saum
 (BUT), sayum (SUR 'to go under water')

PCEM *saum: saum (KMY 'to go under water', DVB)

CEB salum 'to swim under water'.

(**)samad 'wound'. Cf. samad (PBS)

PNEM *samad: samad (BUT, SUR-f)

PCEM *samad: samad (KMY, DVB)

CEB samad.

(**)sambag 'tamarind (Tamarindus indica)'. Cf. sambag (DVB)

PNEM *sambag: sambag (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *sambag: sambag (MSK, KLK)

CEB sambag.

(**)samuk 'trouble'. Cf. samuk (DVB)

PNEM *samuk: samuk (BUT, MWA, SUR), samuk-samuk (SUR
 'nuisance, interruption')

PSEM *samuk: samuk (MSK, KLK)

CEB samuk.

(**)samut 'to intensify'. Cf. samut (DVB)

PNEM *samut: samut (TSG 'rapid, do immediately', BUT,
 SUR 'to worsen'), samut (MWA)

PSEM *samut 'wind': samut (MDC), samut (MDB, MDM, MSK,
 ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB samut.

(**)sandig 'lean against'. Cf. sandig (DVB)

PNEM *sandig: sandig (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *sandig: sandig (MSK, KLK)

CEB sandig.

(**)sandig 'to rest one's back against'. Cf. sande (JM)

PNEM *sandig: sandig (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sandig: sandig (KMY, DVB)

**sanduk 'to serve food from pot'.

PNEM *sanduk: sanduk (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sanduk: sanduk (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *sanduk 'ladle of coconut shell': sanduk (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM), saduk (KLK, KLT)

CEB sanduk 'ladle'.

(**)sani 'sago palm'.

PNEM *sani: sani (TSG, BUT, SUR)

PCEM *sani: sani (KMY, DVB)

(**)santik 'to rub against to strike a match'.

PNEM *santik: santik (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *santik: santik (KMY, DVB)

CEB santik.

(**)saña 'branch'. Cf. saña (DVB)

PNEM *saña: saña (TSG, BUT, SUR), kasañhan (SUR 'intersection')

PSEM *saña: saña (MSK, KLK)

CEB saña.

**sañat 'to place something up on something'.

PNEM *sañat: sañat (TSG, MWA 'to place on a rack', SUR-f)

PCEM *sañ(q)at: sañat (KMY), sañqat (DVB)

PSEM *sañgat: sañqat (MSK 'to hook over/on, to hang on hook', KLK)

CEB sañat.

(**)sañay 'two people having the same name'. Cf. sañay (DVB)

PNEM *sañay: sañay (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR-f)

PSEM *sañay: sañay (MSK, KLK)

CEB sañay.

**sañgut 'implement with hooked blade, sickle'.

PNEM *sañgut: sañgut (TSG, SUR), sañqut (MWA)

PCEM *sañgut: sañgut (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *sañgut: sañgut (MSK, KLK)

CEB sañgut.

(**)sañil 'to accuse'.

PNEM *sañil: pasañil (MWA, SUR), sumañil (MWA 'to tell a lie')

PCEM *sañil: yamasañil (KMY), pasañil (DVB)

CEB pasañil.

(**)sañkap 'complete equipment'. Cf. kasañkapan (DVB)

PNEM *sañkap: kasañkapan (TSG, MWA, SUR), sañkap (BUT 'tools only')

PSEM *sañkap: sañkap (MSK 'to chisel', KLK)

CEB sañkap.

**sañlag 'to roast in a pan, without oil'.

PNEM *sañlag: sañlag (TSG, MWA), sañag (BUT '...without oil'), sañyad (SUR)

PCEM *sa(ñ)lag: sañlag (KMY), sanlag (DVB)

PSEM *sallag: sallag (MSK 'to roast', KLK)

CEB sañlag.

(**)sañpinit 'kind of thorny vine'. Cf. sampinit (DVB)

PNEM *sañpinit: sampinit (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), sañpinit (MWA)

PSEM *sampinit: sampinit (MSK, KLK)

CEB sampinit 'Caesalpinia nuga'.

(**)sañun 'to install, to attach'.

PNEM *sañun: sañun (TSG, BUT, SUR), sañun (MWA)

PSEM *sañ(uu)n: sañun (MSK), sañun (KLK)

CEB sañun.

(**)sapal 'dregs of coconut'. Cf. sapal (MSK)

PNEM *sapal: sapaa (BUT), sapal (MWA), sapay (SUR)

PCEM *sapaw: sapaw (KMY, DVB)

CEB sapal.

(**)sapaq 'to take an oath'. Cf. panumpa (DVB)

PNEM *sapaq: sapa (TSG), nanapaq (MWA)

PSEM *sapaq: sapaq (MSK, KLK)

(**)sapnut 'sticky, tacky'. Cf. sapnut (MSK), **pulut (PEM 'viscous'), sap'nut (DVB)

PNEM *sapnut: sap'nut (BUT, SUR 'rough-textured, fibrous'), sapnut (MWA)

CEB sap'nut 'having rough or tacky surface'.

(**)sapu 'to wipe, to brush off'. Cf. sapu (MSK)

PNEM *sapu: sapu (TSG, BUT, MWA 'to fan insects away from your face', SUR 'to knock accidentally')

PCEM *(s(tr))apu: sapu (KMY), trapu (DVB)

CEB sapu.

(**)saput 'clothes'. Cf. saput (DVB)

PNEM *saput: saput (TSG 'shroud for corpse', BUT, SUR),
panaptun (MWA)

PSEM *saput 'cloth': saput (MSK, KLK)

CEB saput.

(**)saput 'to be irritable, touchy'.

PNEM *saput: saput (BUT, SUR), saput (MWA 'to be quickly
angered as when there is much talking and noise')

PCEM *saput: saput (KMY 'sulky, murmuring', DVB)

CEB saput.

**sapqañ 'to carry on hip'. See **su(kp){lq}uñ

PNEM *sapqañ: sapqañ (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sapqañ: sapqañ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *sapañ: sapañ (MSK), sappañ (KLK)

CEB sapqañ. (var. of salipqañ)

(**)sarab 'to singe'. Cf. saban (DVB)

PNEM *sarab: saab (TSG, BUT), sarab (MWA)

PSEM *salab: salab (MSK), sab (KLK)

CEB salab.

(**)sarig 'to trust'.

PNEM *sarig: salig (BUT), sariq (MWA), sinaligan (SUR 'a
trusted one')

PSEM *salig: salig (MSK, KLK)

CEB salig.

**saruk 'dipper'.

PNEM *saruk: sauk~saquk (TSG), saruk (MWA 'a container for carrying water, made from the soft bark of certain trees'), sayuk (SUR)

PCEM *saruk: saruk (KMY), sauk (DVB)

PSEM *saluk: saluk (MSK), saruk (KLK)

(**)saruwar 'trousers'.

PNEM *saruwar: sauwal (TSG), sawaa (BUT), saruwar (MWA)

PSEM *sa(lu)wal: sawwal (MSK), sawwa (KLK)

CEB saluwal.

**saru(q) 'to eat together off same plate'.

PNEM *saru(q): sauq (TSG, BUT), saru (MWA), sayu (SUR)

PCEM *saru: saru (KMY), sau (DVB)

PSEM *salu: salu (MSK), sawu (KLK)

CEB salu.

**sawa 'python'.

PNEM *sawa: sawa (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sawa: sawa (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *sawa: sawa (MDK, MSK, ISM, KLT), sawwa (KLK)

CEB sawa.

(**)sawan 'having convulsions'.

PNEM *sawan: sawan (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sawan: sawan (KMY 'intense fear', DVB)

CEB sawan 'dizzy feeling, vertigo'.

(**)saway 'to criticize'. Cf. saway (DVB)

PNEM *saway: saway (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *saway: saway (MSK, KLK)

CEB saway.

(**)sayaw '1. to dance'. Cf. sayaw (DVB)

PNEM *sayaw: sayaw (BUT), sazaw (MWA, SUR)

PSEM *sayaw: sayaw (MSK, KLK)

CEB saway.

(**)sayaw '2. swallow or swiftlet (Collocalia spp.)'. Cf. sayaw (KLK)

PNEM *sayaw: sayaw-sayaw (TSG 'bird's nest, swiftlet'), sayaw (BUT), sazaw (MWA)

PCEM *sayaw: sayaw (KMY), sayaw (DVB)

CEB saway.

**saqad 'promise'.

PNEM *saqad: saqad (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *saqad: saqad (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *saqad: saqad (MSK), sad (KLK)

CEB saqad.

**si 'person class marker'.

PNEM *si: hi (TSG), si (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *si: si (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *si: si (MSK, KLK)

CEB si.

(**)sibad 'to devour, as a crocodile does'.

PNEM *sibad: sibad (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sibad: sibad (KMY, DVB)

(**)sibu(g)kaw 'kind of tree'. Cf. sibukaw (DVB)

PNEM *sibu(g)kaw: sibukaw (TSG), sabugkaw (BUT), sibugkaw (SUR)

CEB sibukaw 'Caesalpinia sappan'.

(**)sidsid 'hem, edge'. Cf. sidsid (DVB)

PNEM *sidsid: sidsid (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *sidsid: sidsid (MSK, KLK)

CEB sidsid.

(**)siga 'glowing flame'. Cf. siga (KLK 'flame'), **sugaq

PNEM *siga: siga (TSG 'cigarette', BUT, SUR)

PCEM *siga: siga (KMY, DVB)

CEB siga.

(**)sigpit 'tight-fitting'. Cf. sigpit (DVB)

PNEM *sigpit: sigpit (TSG, BUT)

CEB sigpit.

**sigupan 'pipe for tobacco'.

PNEM *sigupan: sigupan (TSG 'cigarette', BUT, MWA, SUR),
sugipan (MWA)

PCEM *s(ui)gipan: sugipan (KMY), sigupan (DVB)

PSEM *sigupan: sigupan (MSK 'to smoke, cigaret', KLK)

(**)sigqab 'to yawn'.

PNEM *sigqab: sigqab (MWA, SUR 'to burp')

PCEM *sigqab: sigqab (KMY, DVB)

**siki 'foot, lower leg'.

PNEM *siki: siki (TSG, BUT, SUR-f)

PCEM *siki: siki (KMY, DVB, DVD)

PSEM *siki: siki (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT)

CEB siki 'fetlock'.

(**)sikmuq 'to jolt'.

PNEM *sikmuq: sikmuq (TSG, BUT 'hiccough')

(**)sikrəq 'hiccups'. Cf. *səkloq (PSB)

PNEM *sikrəq: sukluq (TSG), sikrəq (MWA), sikyuq (SUR)

PCEM *sikduq: sikduq (KMY, DVB)

**siksik 'to look closely for to remove lice'.

PNEM *siksik: siksik (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *siksik: siksik (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *siksik: siksik (MSK, KLK)

CEB siksik.

**siku 'elbow'.

PNEM *siku: siku (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR), maniku (MWA)

PCEM *siku: siku (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *siku: siku (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, .
KLT)

CEB siku.

CEB maniku 'measure from elbow to finger-tip'.

(**)silhiq 'broom, to sweep away with broom'.

PNEM *silhiq: silhiq (BUT, MWA, SUR 'broom')

PCEM *silhiq: silhiq (KMY, DVB)

(**)si{lr}iñan 'adjoining, edge'.

PNEM *siriñan: siiñan (TSG 'eaves'), siriñan (MWA
'neighbour'), siliñan (SUR)

PCEM *siliñan: siliñan (KMY-f, DVB 'neighbour')

CEB siliñan.

****silut** 'to punish'.

PNEM *silut: silut (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *silut: silut (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *silut: silut (MSK, KLK)

CEB silut.

(**)siləm 'morning'. See ****sələm**

PNEM *siləm: kunsiləm (MWA), silum (SUR)

PCEM *silum: silum (KMY, DVB)

(**)simhut 'to sniff, to smell'. Cf. ****hamət** (PEM, 'fragrant, to smell something

PNEM *simhut: simut (TSG), simhut (BUT, SUR)

CEB simhut.

(**)simud, 'beak, mouth'. Cf. simud (DVB)

PNEM *simud: simud (TSG 'mouth', BUT 'beak', SUR-f 'upper lip')

PSEM *simud: simud (MSK 'snout', KLK)

CEB simud 'snout'.

****sinaw** 'shiny, glaring'.

PNEM *sinaw: sinaw (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sinaw: sinaw (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *sinaw: sinaw (MSK, KLK)

CEB sinaw.

****siŋsiŋ** 'ring for finger'.

PNEM *siŋsiŋ: siŋsiŋ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *siŋsiŋ: siŋsiŋ (DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *siŋsiŋ: siŋsiŋ (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK), paniŋsiŋ (MDC, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB siŋsiŋ.

**sipaq `to kick`.

PNEM *sipaq: sipaq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sipaq: sipaq (KMY, DVB, DVM), sipa(q) (DVD)

PSEM *sipaq: sipaq (MDK, MDC, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT),
gasipaq (MDB)

CEB sipaq `game played by kicking rattan ball`.

**sipit `to grip between two parts, as arm and body`.

PNEM *sipit: sipit (TSG `to hold between fingers`, BUT,
MWA `hold between arm and body`, SUR)

PCEM *sipit: sipit (KMY `carry with arms around`, DVB)

PSEM *sipit: sipit (MSK, KLK)

CEB sipit.

**sippiq `hand (of bananas), split off main stalk`.

PNEM *sippiq: sippiq (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *sippiq: sippiq (KMY-f, DVB)

PSEM *sippiq: sippiq (MSK, KLK)

CEB sippiq.

(**)sipug `shame`. Cf. sipug (MSK)

PNEM *sipug: sipug (TSG, BUT, SUR), sipug (MWA)

PCEM *sipug: sipug (KMY, DVB)

(**)sirak `rays of light, esp. sunlight`. Cf. silak (DVB)

PNEM *sirak: silak (TSG, BUT), sirak (MWA)

PSEM *silak: silak (MSK, KLK)

CEB silak.

< **sirib 'to peep at, to spy on'.

PNEM *sirib: siib (TSG), silib (BUT, SUR), sirib (MWA)

PCEM *sirib: sirib (KMY), silib (DVB)

PSEM *silib: silib (MSK, KLK)

CEB silib.

**sirun 'to take shelter'.

PNEM *sirun: silun (TSG, BUT), silunan (BUT, SUR), sirun
(MWA)

PCEM *sirun: sirun (KMY), silunan (DVB)

PSEM *silun: silun (MSK, KLK)

CEB silunan 'shelter'.

(**)sisig 'to clean rice'.

PNEM *sisig: sisig (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sisig: sisig (KMY, DVB)

CEB sisig. (var. of aligqig)

(**)sisik 'shell of turtle or crocodile, dorsal ridge of fish'. Cf. sisik (KLK)

PNEM *sisik: sisik (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *si(k)sik: sisik (KMY), siksik (DVB)

CEB sisik.

(**)siwit 'sunbird'. Cf. siwit (KLK)

PNEM *siwit: siwit (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *siwit: siwit (KMY, DVB)

(**)siyam 'nine'. Cf. siam (DVD)

PNEM *siyam: siyam (TSG, BUT), kasiyaman (TSG, BUT),
sizam (MWA, SUR-f)

PSEM *siyam: siyam (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB kasiyaman 'ninety'.

CEB siyam.

**siqnu 'who'.

PNEM *siqnu: siu < siqnu (TSG), sinqu (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sinqu: sinqu (KMY, DVB), sinu (DVM, DVD)

PSEM *sini: sini (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLK), sinu (ISM)

(**)siqpun 'cold in nose'.

PNEM *siqpun: siqpun (TSG), sipun (~TSG), sipqun (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *sipun: sipun (MSK, KLK)

CEB sipqun.

(**)siq(uə)t 'cramped for space'.

PNEM *siqut: siqut (BUT), siqət (MWA). Cf. siqlut (TSG 'to squeeze through narrow opening')

PCEM *siqut: hasiqut (KMY), siqut (DVB)

CEB siqut.

**subay 'to follow a certain way'.

PNEM *subay: subay (TSG 'indicates obligation, ought', BUT). Cf. subayan (MWA 'easterly direction')

PCEM *subay: subay (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *subay: subay (MSK, KLK)

CEB subay.

(**)subaq 'l. river'.

PNEM *subaq: subaq (TSG, SUR-f)

PCEM *subaq: subaq (KMY-f, DVB)

CEB subaq.

**subaq `2. to go upriver`.

PNEM *subaq: subaq (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *subaq: subaq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *subaq: subaq (MSK, KLK, KLT)

**subu `to boil`.

PNEM *subu: subu (TSG, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *subu: subu (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *subu: subu (MDK, MDC, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT), yusubu
(MDB, MDM)

CEB subu `to boil over`.

(**)sudlat `to poke into eye`. Cf. sullat (MSK `to despise,
insult`)

PNEM *sudlat: sudlat (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *sudlat: sudlat (KMY, DVB)

**sudlay `comb`.

PNEM *sudlay: sudlay (TSG-f, BUT-f, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sudlay: sudlay (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *sudlay: sudlay (MDK, MSK, KLK), sullay (MDM)

CEB sudlay.

(**)sudsud `to scrape off surface`. Cf. sudsud (DVB)

PNEM *sudsud: sudsud (BUT, MWA `game of children, hop
scotch`, SUR)

PSEM *sudsud: sudsud (MSK, KLK)

CEB sudsud.

****sugbu** 'to plunge into water'.

PNEM *sugbu: sugbu (MWA, SUR 'to run thru rain')

PCEM *sugbu: sugbu (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *sugbu 'bathe': sugbu (MDK, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT), magsugbu (MDC), gasugbu (MDB)

CEB sugbu 'to plunge in'.

()**sugpat 'to join end to end'.

PNEM *sugpat: sugpat (TSG, MWA)

PSEM *sugpat: sugpat (MSK, KLK)

()**sugud 'to begin'. Cf. sugud (DVB)

PNEM *sugud: sugud (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *sugud: sugud (MSK 'to go to a place or to go around', KLK)

CEB sugud.

****suguan** 'water container of single joint of bamboo'.

PNEM *suguan: suguan (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *suguan: suguan (KMY 'long'), suguan (DVB)

PSEM *suguan: suguan (MSK 'bamboo container for tuba (native wine)'), suguan (KLK)

CEB suguan.

()**sugut 'to acquiesce, agree to an opinion'. Cf. sugut (MSK)

PNEM *sugut: sugut (MWA), nusugut (SUR)

PCEM *sugut: nusugut (KMY-f), sugut (DVB)

CEB nusugut.

****suguq** 'to send, order'.

PNEM *suguq: suguq (MWA, SUR), suguqunun (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *suguq: suguqunun (KMY 'slave, servant'), suguqun (KMY), suguq (DVB)

PSEM *suguq: suguq (MSK, KLK)

CEB suguq.

**suka 'vomit'.

PNEM *suka: suka (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *suka: suka (KMY, DVB, DVD), sukaq (DVM)

PSEM *suka: suka (MDK, MDC, ISM, KLK, KLT), gasuka (MDB, MDM), sukaq (MSK)

CEB suka.

**sukay 'delouse'.

PNEM *sukay: sukay (TSG, BUT-f, MWA), sukay-sukay (SUR)

PCEM *sukay: sukay (KMY, DVB), magsukay (DVM)

PSEM *sukay: gasukay (MDK), sukay (MDC, MDM, MSK 'to part grass, hair in looking for something', ISM, KLK, KLT), sukayen (MDB)

(**)su{kp}{lq}uñ 'to carry on the head'.

PNEM *suk{ql}uñ: sukquñ (BUT, SUR), sukluñ (MWA), supyuñ (~SUR)

PCEM *su{pk}quñ: supquñ (KMY), sukquñ (DVB)

**suksuk 'to disappear from view in or under something'.

PNEM *suksuk: suksuk (TSG, BUT, MWA 'to place or insert something in an out of the way place')

PCEM *suksuk: suksuk (KMY 'to hide', DVB)

PSEM *suksuk 'thorn': suksuk (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLK, KLT), saksuk (ISM)

CEB suksuk.

(**)s{ul}apid 'to plait'. Cf. saapid (YK), salapid (CEB 'var. of sulapid')

PNEM *s(ul)apid: sapid (BUT, SUR), sulapid (MWA 'to
plait hair or rope')

PCEM *sapid: sapid (KMY 'to intertwine feet by catching,
to catch foot on heel of other foot', DVB)

(**)sulat 'to write'. Cf. surat (MSK)

PNEM *sulat: surat (TSG), surat (BUT), surat (MWA), surat
(MWA, SUR)

PCEM *surat: surat (KMY 'letter', DVB)

CEB surat.

**sulti 'to speak, word, language'.

PNEM *sulti: sulti (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *sulti: sulti (KMY, DVB), simultihan (DVM)

PSEM *sulit: sulit (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK)

CEB sulit.

**su{lr}ud 'lice comb (has fine teeth)'. Cf. suud (CS.3)

PNEM *surud: suud (BUT), surud (MWA), surud (SUR)

PCEM *suud: suud (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *sulud: sulud (MSK), suud (KLK)

CEB sulud 'weaving comb'.

(**)su{rl}uk 'corner of house'. Cf. suuk (KLK)

PNEM *suruk: suruk (MWA), suruk (SUR)

PCEM *suuk: suuk (KMY, DVB)

(**)sulug 'spear with use of lantern'. Cf. sulug (MSK)

PNEM *sulug: sulug (TSG 'lamp, fish with lamp', BUT),
sulug (MWA), sulug (SUR)

PCEM *sulug: sulug (KMY), sulug (DVB)

CEB sulug 'torch, fish with lamp'.

(**)sumbag `to fight with hands`.

PNEM *sumbag: sumbagan (BUT), sumbag (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sumbag: sumbag (KMY, DVB)

CEB sumbag `to box`.

(**)sumpay `to join, connect`. Cf. sumpajan (KAN)

PNEM *sumpay: sumpay (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sumpay: sumpay (KMY `knot in end`), sumpay (DVB)

CEB sumpay `...to make larger`.

(**)sumpit `to eject under pressure, as to spray, fire a blowgun`. Cf. sumpit (MSK)

PNEM *sumpit: sumpit (TSG, BUT, MWA `blowgun`)

PCEM *sumpit: sumpit (KMY, DVB)

CEB sumpit. (var. of sumpit)

(**)sumsuman `food eaten with a drink`.

PNEM *sumsuman: sumsuman (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sumsuman: sumsuman (KMY, DVB)

CEB sumsuman.

(**)sumu(q) `to be revolted by having too much of something`.

PNEM *sumu: sumu (TSG, SUR, MWA `satisfied`), sumuq (BUT `bored with`, MWA `nauseated from eating meat that is fatty and cooked in too much grease`)

PSEM *sumu(q): sumu (MSK), sumuq (KLK)

CEB sumu.

**suntuk `to punch someone's head, to box`.

PNEM *suntuk: suntuk (TSG, BUT `to bang one's head against something`, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *suntuk: suntuk (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *suntut: suntut (MSK, KLK)

CEB suntut.

**sunud 'to follow'.

PNEM *sunud: sunud (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sunud: sunud (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *sunud: sunud (MSK, KLK)

CEB sunud.

**sunug 'to burn'.

PNEM *sunug: sunug (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sunug: su'nug (KMY 'burnt'), sunug (KMY 'fire',
DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *sunug: sunug (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

CEB sunug.

(**)sunuy 'cockerel'. Cf. sunuy (MSK)

PNEM *sunuy: sunuy (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *sunuy: sunuy (KMY, DVB)

CEB sunuy.

(**)sunuq 'to attain a further stage'.

PNEM *sunuq: sunuq (TSG 'to increase, to follow', BUT
'the next', MWA 'to ask for more (food)')

PCEM *sunuq: sunuq (KMY, DVB 'to grow up')

(**)suñay 'horn'. Cf. suñay (KLK), **suñu

PNEM *suñay: suñay (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *suñay: suñay (KMY, DVB)

CEB suñay.

**suŋgu 'nose bleed'.

PNEM *suŋgu: suŋgu (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *suŋgu: suŋgu (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *suŋgu: suŋgu (MSK, KLT)

CEB suŋgu.

(**)suŋit 'to eat with fingers'. Cf. suŋit (DVB)

PNEM *suŋit: suŋit (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *suŋit: suŋit (MSK 'to eat', KLK)

(**)suŋkud 'walking cane'. Cf. suŋkud (MSK)

PNEM *suŋkud: suŋkud (BUT, SUR). Cf. sugkud (MWA)

PCEM *suŋkud: suŋkud (KMY, DVB)

CEB suŋkud.

(**)supak 'to hand back'.

PNEM *supak: supak (TSG 'to repay, get even', BUT 'to be opposed to', MWA, SUR 'to reject something, to contradict')

PSEM *supak: supak (MSK, KLK)

CEB supak 'to violate, oppose'.

**supu 'to take after a parent'.

PNEM *supu: supuhun (TSG), supu (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *supu: supu (KMY), supuhun (DVB)

PSEM *supu: supu (MSK, KLK)

(**)suruŋ 'to advance'. Cf. suluŋ (MSK)

PNEM *suruŋ: suuŋ (TSG 'let's go, future marker', BUT 'to attack'), suruŋ (MWA), suluŋ (MWA), suyuŋ (SUR).
Note: suluŋ (MWA) is probably a borrowing from CEB.

PCEM *suruŋ: suruŋ (KMY), suuŋ (DVB)

CEB sulun 'to advance in battle'.

(**)susi 'to seek, inspect'. Cf. susi (DVB)

PNEM *susi: susi (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *susi: susi (MSK, KLK)

CEB susi.

**susu 'breast'.

PNEM *susu: susu (MWA, SUR), magsusu (SUR 'to suck')

PCEM *susu: susu (KMY, DVM, DVD), magsusu (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *susu: susu (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB susu.

**susuq 'edible snail-shaped monovalve, found in trunks of nipa'. Cf. susuq (KLK)

PNEM *susuq: susuq (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *susuq: susuq (KMY, DVB)

CEB susuq 'fresh water cerith'.

**s(ue)y(ue)p 'to suck candy'.

PNEM *s(iu)yep: sizep (MWA), sujup (SUR)

PCEM *suyup: suyup (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *s(ue)y(ue)p: seyep (MSK), suyup (KLK)

CEB suyup.

(**)suqu{dk} 'near'. Cf. suqud (KLK)

PNEM *suqu{dk}: suquk (TSG), suqud (BUT 'close, as friends', SUR). Cf. suquk (BUT 'interior portion of house')

PCEM *suqud: suqud (KMY, DVB)

CEB suqud.

**suga `sun`.

PNEM *suga: suga (TSG), su'ga (BUT), suga (MWA)

PCEM *su'ga: su'ga (KMY), suga (DVB)

PSEM *suga: suga (MSK, KLK)

(**)sugaq `1. lamp`.

PNEM *sugaq: sugaq (BUT-f, SUR), sugaq (MWA)

PCEM *sugaq: sugaq (KMY-f, DVB)

CEB sugaq.

(**)sugaq `2. to ignite`. Cf. sugaqan (DVB)

PNEM *sugaq: sugaq (BUT-f, SUR), sugqan (MWA), sugqan
(SUR `light it`)

PCEM *sugaq: sugaq (KMY), sugaqan (DVD), sugqi (KMY
`light it`)

PSEM *sugaq: sugaqan (MSK, KLK)

CEB sugaq.

**sulud `inside`.

PNEM *sulud: suud (TSG), sūd (TSG), suud (BUT `enter`),
sulud (MWA), suyud (SUR-f)

PCEM *suud: suud (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *sulud: sulud (MSK), sūd (KLK)

CEB sulud.

**sulug `current`.

PNEM *sulug: suug (TSG), sulug (MWA), suyug (SUR)

PCEM *suug: suug (KMY), sawug (DVB)

PSEM *sulug: sulug (MSK), sug (KLK)

CEB sulug.

****silum** 'early morning'. See ****silam**

PNEM *-silum: kunsuum (TSG, BUT 'tomorrow'), kinsuum (~TSG), kunsilam (MWA), masasilam (MWA), silum (SUR), suyum (SUR), masusuyum (SUR)

PCEM *-suum: suum (KMY), masasuum (KMY), silum (KMY), kisuum (DVB, DVM), kisum (DVD)

PSEM *-silam 'tomorrow': kisuum (MDK), kisilam (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK), masilam (MSK 'morning'), kisiam (ISM), kinsam (KLK, KLT)

()silun** 'to stare at'.

PNEM *silun(n): silun (MWA), suyun (SUR)

PCEM *su(y)un: suyun (KMY), sulun (DVB)

CEB sulun.

()sunqad** 'to cook'.

PNEM *sunqad: sunqad (BUT 'to place pot on fire'), sunqad (BUT), sunqad (SUR 'to place pot on fire')

PCEM *sunqad: sunqad (KMY, DVB)

CEB sunqad 'to boil young corn on cob'.

****supaq** 'to chew something'.

PNEM *supaq: supaq (TSG 'cud, quid', BUT, SUR), supaq (MWA '...food')

PCEM *supaq: supaq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *supaq: supaq (MSK, KLK)

CEB supaq.

****supsup** 'to suck'.

PNEM *supsup: supsup (TSG, BUT-f, SUR). Cf. sizup (MWA)

PCEM *supsup: supsup (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *supsup: supsup (MDC), sapsup (MDM, MSK, KLK, KLT)

CEB supsup.

(**) (ta)banug 'kite'. Cf. banug-banug (KMY)

PNEM *(ta)banug: tabanug (BUT, MWA, SUR), banug (TSG
'sail'), banug-banug (MWA)

PSEM *tabanug: tabanug (MSK), ta(la)banug (KLK)

CEB tabanug. (var. of talabanug)

**tabaŋ 'to help'.

PNEM *tabaŋ: tabaŋ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tabaŋ: tabaŋ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tabaŋ: tabaŋ (MSK, KLK)

CEB tabaŋ.

**tabas 'to cut out cloth'.

PNEM *tabas: tabas (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tabas: tabas (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tabas: tabas (MSK, KLK)

CEB tabas.

**tabaq '1. fat (adj.)'.

PNEM *tabaq: tabaq (MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *tabaq: matabaq (KMY-f, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *tabaq: matabaq (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT), tabaq
(MDC, KLK)

(**) tabaq '2. fat (noun)'. Cf. tabaq (MSK)

PNEM *ta'baq: ta'baq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ta'baq: ta'baq (KMY, DVB), tabaq (DVM, DVD)

CEB ta'baq 'pork fat'.

(**)tabid `to twist'. Cf. tabid (DVB)

PNEM *tabid: tabid (TSG, SUR)

PSEM *tabid: tabid (MSK, KLK)

CEB tabid `to braid'.

(**)tabiq `to talk'.

PNEM *tabiq: tabiq (BUT-f `talkative', MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tabiq: tabiq (KMY-f `to discuss', DVB)

CEB-f tabiq `to gossip'.

(**)tabukaw `kind of skin disease'. Cf. tabukaw (KLK)

PNEM *tabukaw: tabukaw (BUT, MWA, SUR-f `ringworm')

PCEM *tabukaw: tabukaw (KMY `disease of chicken pleurisy', DVB)

CEB tabukaw `yaws'.

**tabun `1. to cover'.

PNEM *tabun: tabun (TSG, BUT, SUR-f)

PCEM *tabun: tabun (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tabun: tabun (MSK, KLK, KLT)

CEB tabun.

**tabun `2. kind of bird (in rice paddies)'. Cf. tulabuñ (CEB `white cattle egret' var. of tabun)

PNEM *tabun: tabun (TSG `megapod', BUT, MWA). Cf. tyabuñ (SUR), talabuñ (MWA `pelican')

PCEM *tabun: tabun (KMY `kind of bird, a wader', DVB)

PSEM *tabun: tabun (MSK, KLT)

(**)-tabuq `to happen'.

PNEM *-tabuq: hitabuq (BUT, MWA, SUR), hinabuq (BUT), hinabu (SUR). Cf. hina'bu (TSG: `during')

PCEM *-tabuq: hitabuq (KMY, DVB)

**tabuq `2. dipper for water'.

PNEM *ta'buq: ta'buq (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ta'buq: ta'buq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *ta'buq: tabuq (MSK), ta'buq (KLK)

(**)tabqañ `brackish taste of water'. Cf. matabañ (KLK)

PNEM *tabqañ: taqbañ (TSG), tabqañ (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tabqañ: tabqañ (KMY, DVB)

CEB tabqañ `tasteless'.

(**)tadtad `to chop finely'.

PNEM *tadtad: tadtad (TSG `to split repeatedly and lay open, of bamboo for walling', BUT, MWA `...only of meat', SUR)

PCEM *tadtad: tadtad (KMY, DVB)

CEB tadtad.

(**)tad(au)ñ `to straighten'. Cf. taduñ (KLK)

PNEM *tad(ua)ñ: taruñ (BUT, SUR `to sit erect, to be upright (morally)'), tadañ (MWA)

PCEM *taduñ: taduñ (KMY), taruñ (DVB)

CEB taruñ.

(**)tadyaw `water jar'.

PNEM *tadyaw: tadyaw (BUT `large w.j.'), tadzaw (MWA, SUR), tagzaw (~SUR)

PCEM *tadyaw: tadyaw (DVB, DVD)

PSEM *tadyaw: tadyaw (MDK, MDB)

CEB tadiyah.

(**)tag- 'marker of customary relationship'. Cf. tag- (DVB)

PNEM *tag-: tag- (TSG 'having...', MWA)

PSEM *tag-: tag- (MSK, KLK 'each')

**tagad 'wait'.

PNEM *tagad: tagad (TSG, BUT-f, MWA)

PCEM *tagad: tagad (KMY-f, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *tagad: tagad (MDK, MDC, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT),
yagatagad (MDB), gatagad (MDM)

(**)tagama 'to make preparations'. Cf. tagana (DVB)

PNEM *tagama: tagama (TSG, BUT 'to prepare for a guest',
SUR 'to set aside for future')

PSEM *tagana: tagana (MSK, KLK)

**tagaw 'to be unsophisticated, naive'.

PNEM *tagaw: tagaw (BUT-f, MWA 'ignorant', SUR 'shy')

PCEM *tagaw: tagaw (KMY 'yokel, an innocent', DVB)

PSEM *tagaw 'stingy': tagaw (MSK, KLK)

CEB tagaw 'boorish'.

(**)tagaylu 'please'.

PNEM *tagaylu: tagaylu (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tagaylu: tagaylu (KMY, DVB)

CEB tagaylu 'to exchange help on each other's farm'.

(**)tagaq 'fish hook'.

PNEM *ta'gaq: ta'gaq (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ta'gaq: ta'gaq (KMY, DVB)

CEB ta'gaq.

(**)tagaɣuk 'to crow, as a cock'. Cf. tagaɣuk (DVB)

PNEM *tagaɣuk: tagaɣuk (TSG, BUT, MWA), tugaɣuk (SUR)

PSEM *tagaɣuk: tagaɣuk (MSK), taga-u' (KLT)

CEB tagaɣuk. (var. of tugtugaɣuk)

(**)tagibulus 'kind of freshwater eel'.

PNEM *tagibulus: tagibuus (BUT, SUR), tagibulus (MWA)

PCEM *tagibuus: tagibuus (KMY, DVB)

(**)tagiɳtiɳ 'to make a clanging sound'. Cf. tagiɳtiɳ (DVB)

PNEM *tagiɳtiɳ: tiɳtiɳ (TSG), tagiɳtiɳ (MWA)

PSEM *tagiɳtiɳ: tagiɳtiɳ (MSK, KLK)

CEB tagiɳtiɳ.

(**)tagnaɣ 'beginning'. Cf. tagnaɣ (DVB)

PNEM *tagnaɣ: tagnaɣ (TSG, MWA)

PSEM *tagnaɣ 'first': tagnaɣ (MSK, KLK)

(**)tag(u)sa 'indicates unity or singularity'.

PNEM *tagsa: tagsa (BUT, MWA, SUR), tagsa-tagsa (BUT, MWA), panagsa (BUT, SUR 'seldom, rare'), katagsa (MWA), igtagsa (SUR)

PCEM *tagsa: igtagsa (KMY 'first cousin'), tagsa-tagsa (KMY 'one-by-one'), tagsa (DVB)

CEB tagsa 'one, first'.

**tagubtub 'to throb'.

PNEM *tagubtub: tagubtub (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *tagubtub: tagubtub (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tagubtub 'make a hollow sound': tagubtub (MSK, KLK)

CEB tagubtub 'beat of drum'.

****taguq** 'to hide'.

PNEM *taguq: taguq (BUT, MWA, SUR), taguqanan (SUR
'shelter'). Cf. tauq (TSG < PSB)

PCEM *taguq: taguq (KMY, DVB, DVM), magtagu(q) (DVD)

PSEM *taguq: yagataguq (MDK), gataguq (MDB), taguq (MDC,
MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB taguq.

****tag{uə}b** 'sheath for bolo'.

PNEM *tagəb: taguban (TSG), ta'gub (BUT, SUR),
tagəb-tagəb (MWA)

PCEM *ta'gub: ta'gub (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *tagub: tagub (MDK, MDC, MDB, ISM, KLK)

****tagək** 'sticky sap, gum'.

PNEM *tagək: taguk (TSG, BUT, SUR), tagək (MWA)

PCEM *taguk: taguk (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tagək: tagək (MSK, KLK)

CEB taguk.

()** tagən 'to hold'. Cf. tagun (DVB)

PNEM *tagən: tagun (BUT, SUR), panagunsilaw (BUT 'to
peer from shaded eyes'), tagən (MWA)

PSEM *tagən: gatagən (MDB), tagən (MDM, MSK 'to
restrain', KLK)

CEB tagun 'long-suffering'.

****tah{aə}p** 'to winnow'.

PNEM *tah{aə}p: tahap (TSG), tahəp (MWA), tahup (SUR)

PCEM *tah{aə}p: tahap (KMY, DVM), tahup (DVB, DVD)

PSEM *tahap: tahap (MDK), taqap (MDC, MSK), gataap
(MDB), gataqap (MDM), taəp (ISM), tap (KLK)

CEB tahup.

(**)tahay `dry'.

PNEM *tahay: tahay (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *tahay: tahay (KMY-f, DVB, DVM, DVD)

**tahi^hq `sew'.

PNEM *tahi^hq: tahi^hq (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *tahi^hq: tahi^hq (KMY-f, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *ta^hq^h: gata^hq (MDB), ta^hq^h (MSK), tai^hq (ISM),
tay^hq (KLK (Wendell)), te^hq (KLK, KLT)

CEB tahi^hq.

(**)tahud `to pay respect to'. Cf. taqud (MSK)

PNEM *tahud: tahud (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tahud: tahud (KMY, DVB)

CEB tahud.

(**)tah(æ)d `rooster's spur'. Cf. tahud (KMY)

PNEM *tah^æd: tahud (TSG, BUT, SUR), ta^hh^æd (MWA)

PSEM *ta^æd: taqad (MSK), tad (KLK)

CEB tahud.

(**)ta(hq)ul `to howl, of dogs'. Cf. taqul (MSK), tahul (KMY)

PNEM *taqul: taquu (BUT), taqul (MWA, SUR)

(**)tah(u^h)n `harvest cycle, year'. Cf. panahun (KLK `time')

PNEM *tah^un: tahun (TSG `year'), panahun (MWA `a
season'), panahun (SUR)

PCEM *ahun: panahun (KMY, DVB)

CEB panahun `a season'.

**taka \to be weary of, e.g. of ceaseless chatter or requests'.

PNEM *ta'ka: ta'ka (BUT \you're talking nonsense', SUR), takqan (~BUT), takanan (MWA)

PCEM *ta'ka: yata'ka (KMY), ta'ka (DVB)

PSEM *taka \lazy': taka (MSK), mataka (KLK)

CEB ta'ka \fed up'.

**takig \chill stage of fever'.

PNEM *ta'kig: ta'kig (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ta'kig: ta'kig (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *ta'kig: takig (MSK), ta'kig (KLK)

CEB ta'kig.

**taklub \to cover'.

PNEM *tak{lq}ub: tagub (TSG \a covering which magically disguises the wearer'), takqub (BUT), taklub (MWA)

PCEM *taklub: taklub (KMY, DVB), tagub (DVB)

PSEM *takl{uə}b: taklub (MSK), taklɐb (KLK), tagub (KLK \sheath')

**takus \1. to wear something tied around arm or waist, especially of side-arms'.

PNEM *takus: takus (TSG \...only of bladed weapons', BUT), panakus (MWA \band around biceps'), takus (MWA). Cf. takyus (SUR \to carry child on hip, side-arms')

PCEM *takus: takus (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *takus: takus (MSK, KLK \only of bladed weapons')

(**)takus \2. to measure by volume'. Cf. takus (KLK)

PNEM *takus: takus (BUT, SUR), takus (MWA)

PCEM *taks-: taksan (KMY, DVB)

CEB takus.

**takqum `to close`.

PNEM *takqum: takqum (MWA), takqum (SUR)

PCEM *takqum: takqum (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *takup: takip (MSK `to close door, etc.`), KLK)

CEB takqum `...mouth`. Cf. takqum (CEB)

(**)tala `to be mentally defective`.

PNEM *tala: tala (MWA, SUR), tala-tala (SUR)

PCEM *tala: tala-tala (KMY `to become deranged`), tala (DVB)

CEB tala.

(**)t(al)aban `to take by force`. Cf. taban (MSK `to plunder`), taban (CS.2 `to plunder`)

PNEM *t(al)aban: taban (TSG `to plunder`), tayaban (SUR), tyaban (~SUR)

PCEM *taban: taban (KMY, DVB)

CEB taban.

~CEB talaban `to elope`.

(**)talaw `to be afraid to do something`. Cf. talawan (DVB)

PNEM *talaw: talaw (TSG `excessive fear`), talawan (MWA `cowardly`)

PSEM *talaw: talaw (MSK), mataw (KLK)

CEB talaw.

(**)talikud `to turn the back on someone`. Cf. talikud (DVB)

PNEM *talikud: taikud (TSG), talikud (MWA)

PSEM *talikud: talikud (MSK, KLK)

CEB talikud.

(**)talinis 'to be pointed, to put a point on'.

PNEM *talinis: talinis (SUR), talinsan (~SUR)

PCEM *talinis: talinis (KMY, DVB)

CEB talinis.

**taliña 'ear'.

PNEM *taliña: taiña (TSG), taliña (BUT, MWA, SUR),
manaliña (BUT, SUR 'to listen to')

PCEM *taliña: taliña (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *taliña: taliña (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

CEB taliña.

**talun{mñ} 'eggplant (Solanum melongena)'. Cf. tarum (MLY
'Indigo plant'), tarun (MLY 'eggplant')

PNEM *talun: talun (TSG), tawun (MWA)

PCEM *talun: talun (DVB, DVD), taun (DVM)

PSEM *talun: talun (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT), taun (ISM,
KLK)

CEB talun.

(**)tamak 'mark or impression left by something'. Cf. tamak
(MSK)

PNEM *tamak: tamak (TSG 'stain, moral blemish', BUT,
MWA, SUR 'to step on something')

PCEM *tamak: tamak (KMY 'foot-print', DVB)

(**)tamay 'despise'.

PNEM *tamay: tamay (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tamay: tamay (KMY, DVB)

CEB tamay.

(**)tambal 'medicine'. Cf. tambal (MSK), tambal (CS.2)

PNEM *tambal: tamba (BUT), tambal (MWA), mananambal (MWA 'herbalist'), tambay (SUR), manyambay (SUR 'quack doctor, one who treats')

PCEM *tambal: tambaw (KMY), tambal (DVB, DVM, DVD)

CEB tambal.

(**)tambis 'kind of edible fruit, Eugenia aquea'. Cf. tambis (DVB)

PNEM *tambis: tambis (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *tambis: tambis (MSK, KLK)

CEB tambis.

(**)tambubuqan 'kind of bee or hornet'. Cf. tabuwan (KLK)

PNEM *tambubuqan: tambubuqan (BUT), tabuwan (MWA 'hornet')

PCEM *tambubuqan: tambubuqan (KMY 'bee'), tabuwan (DVB)

CEB tambubuqan.

(**)tambuliq 'triton shell'.

PNEM *tambuliq: tambuliq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tambuliq: tambuliq (KMY, DVB)

CEB tambuliq.

(**)tambuñ 'to think about something intensely'. Cf.ambuñ (DVB)

PNEM *tambuñ:ambuñ (TSG 'longing, desire', BUT, MWA, SUR 'to pay attention')

PSEM *tambuñ 'attend':ambuñ (MSK, KLK)

(**)tamiluk 'edible eel-like creature'. Cf. tamiluk (KLK), *tamb(ei)lok (PSB)

PNEM *tamiluk: tamiluk (BUT, MWA, SUR 'edible mucus-like discharge from certain trees'). Cf. tambiluk (TSG 'teredo worm or shipworm')

PCEM *tamiluk: tamiluk (KMY 'worm which lives in a tree', DVB)

CEB tamiluk 'shipworms, nasal mucous'.

(**)tampisaw 'cause water to splash up, as when falling in, having bath'.

PNEM *tampisaw: tampisaw (BUT, SUR), tampasaw (MWA)

PCEM *tampisaw: tampisaw (KMY, DVB)

**{ts}ampun 'to block the flow of something'.

PNEM *(ts)ampun: tampus (TSG, BUT 'to block the movement of fish to the sea on outgoing tide, by use of fence'), sampun (TSG 'to close anything by hanging hand over it', BUT, SUR), sampun (MWA 'to cover it'). Cf. sampun (to bless by placing hand over head)

PCEM *sampun: sampun (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tampun 'close something': tampun (MSK, KLK)

CEB sampun 'to cover an opening or passage'.

CEB tampus 'stone dike to divert fish'. (var. of tampus)

**tanak 'to drop something'.

PNEM *tanak: tanak (TSG '...deliberately', BUT, MWA)

PCEM *tanak: tanak (KMY, DVB, DVD)

PSEM *tanak 'lose something': yamatanak (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM), tanak (MSK, ISM, KLK)

(**)tandak 'to apply pressure with the foot'. Cf. tandak (TSG 'to stamp')

PCEM *tandak: tandak (KMY 'to push with the foot', DVB)

PSEM *tandak: tandak (MSK, KLK)

(**)tandaw 'to look out from window of house'. Cf. **tanqaw

PNEM *tandaw: tandaw (TSG, BUT, MWA). Cf. tanqaw (SUR)

PSEM *tandaw: tandaw (MSK, KLK)

**tanday `to lie with one's legs across someone else'. Cf. taṅday (CS.2)

PNEM *tanday: tanday (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tanday: tanday (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tanday: tanday (MSK `to cross the legs', KLK)

CEB taṅday.

(**)tanud `sewing thread, to thread a needle'. Cf. tanod (CS.2)

PNEM *tanud: tanud (TSG, BUT-f, SUR `to thread')

PCEM *tanud: tanud (KMY-f, DVB)

CEB tanud.

**tanum `to plant'.

PNEM *tanum: tanum (TSG, BUT-f, SUR-f), tamnanan (BUT, SUR `farmed area'), tanum (MWA)

PCEM *tanum: tanum (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *tanum: tanum (MDK, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT), tanum (MDC), gatanum (MDB, MDM)

CEB tanum.

(**)taṅga(q) `rung of ladder'.

PNEM *taṅga(q): taṅgaq (BUT, SUR), taṅga (MWA)

PCEM *taṅga(q): taṅgaq (KMY `notches in trunk'), taṅga (DVB)

(**)taṅkig `water snake'.

PNEM *taṅkig: haas taṅkig (TSG, BUT), taṅkig (MWA), hayas taṅkig (SUR `kind of eel')

PCEM *taṅkig: haas taṅkig (KMY, DVB)

CEB taṅkig `water snake'.

(**) tañkuñ 'green leaf veg., like spinach'. Cf. tañkuñ (DVB)

PNEM *tañkuñ: kañkuñ (TSG), tañkuñ (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *tañkuñ: tañkuñ (MSK, KLK)

(**) tañkugug 'nape of neck'.

PNEM *tañkugug: tañkugug (MWA), tañkugug (SUR)

PCEM *tañkugug: tañkugug (KMY, DVB)

CEB tañkugug.

(**) tañlad 'kind of grass used for flavouring'.

PNEM *tañlad: tañlad (MWA), tañlad (SUR)

PCEM *tañlad: tañlad (KMY, DVB)

CEB tañlad.

(**) tañu 'canine tooth, fang'. Cf. tañu (MSK 'tusk')

PNEM *tañu: tañu (TSG, BUT '...only of animals', MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tañu: tañu (KMY 'boar's tusk', DVB)

CEB tañu.

(**) tapa 'to dry over a fire, as meat or copra'. Cf. tapa (MSK)

PNEM *tapa: tapa (TSG, BUT, SUR), tapahan (BUT, MWA)

PCEM *tapa: tapahan (KMY 'copra drying shed', DVB 'a place for drying'), tapa (DVB)

CEB tapa.

(**) tapak '1. to mend a hole in cloth, as by patching or darning'. Cf. tapak (MSK)

PNEM *tapak: tapak (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tapak: tapak (KMY, DVB)

CEB tapak.

(**)tapak '2. to sink foot into mud'.

PNEM *tapak: tapak (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tapak: tapak (KMY, DVB)

CEB tapqak 'to step on'.

(**)tapis 'skirt'.

PNEM *tapis: tapis (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tapis: tapis (KMY, DVB)

CEB tapis.

(**)tapus 'to reach the end, conclusion or completion'. Cf. tapus (MSK)

PNEM *tapus: tapus (TSG, BUT, SUR), katapus (SUR 'after')

PCEM *tapus: tapus (KMY 'after', DVB)

CEB tapus.

(**)tastas 'to dismantle something which is sewn'.

PNEM *tastas: tastas (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tastas: tastas (KMY, DVB), tastas (KLK)

CEB tastas.

(**)tatay 'father (voc.)'. Cf. tatay (KLK)

PNEM *tatay: tatay (MWA, BUT, SUR), itay (MWA)

PCEM *tatay: tatay (KMY, DVB), itay (DVB)

CEB tatay.

**tawag 'to call'.

PNEM *tawag: tawag (TSG, BUT, SUR). Cf. hawag (MWA 'call from a distance')

PCEM *tawag: tawag (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *tawag: tawag (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB tawag.

**tayiq 'excrement'.

PNEM *tayiq: tayiq (TSG, BUT), taziq (MWA 'defecate'), taqi (SUR)

PCEM *taqi: taqi (KMY, DVB, DVD)

PSEM *taqiq: taqi (MDK, MDC, MDB, MSK), tay (MDM, ISM, KLK, KLT)

(**)tayhup 'to blow through a tube'. Cf. *tiup (PSB)

PNEM (*)tayhupan: tayhupan (TSG 'a tube so used')

PCEM (*)tayhupan: tayhupan (DVB)

CEB tayhup.

(**)taytay 'to cross a bridge or narrow walkway'. Cf. taytay (KMY), latay (DVB), lete (CS.2)

PNEM *taytay: taytay (TSG, BUT). Cf. latay (MWA, SUR)

PSEM *taytay: taytay (MSK, KLK)

(**)taytayan 'bridge'. Cf. taytayan (KMY), latayan (DVB)

PNEM *taytayan: taytayan (TSG, BUT). Cf. latay (MWA, SUR), latazan (SUR)

PSEM *taytayan: taytayan (MSK, KLK)

CEB taytayan.

**taqas 'l. high'.

PNEM *taqas: taqas (TSG, BUT 'very tall person', SUR), ataas (MWA 'high, tall, long'). Cf. tagqas (SUR)

PCEM *taqas: mataqasay (KMY 'very high person'), taqas (KMY, DVB). Cf. tagqas (KMY 'to tell')

PSEM *taqas: taqas (MSK 'up, above'), tas (KLK 'upstairs'), matas (KLK 'tall, high')

(**)taqas `2. long'.

PNEM *taqas: taqas (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *taqas: taqas (KMY, DVB, DVD)

**taqmis `sweet'.

PNEM *tamqis: tamqis (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tamqis: tamqis (KMY-f, DVB), tamis (DVM), matamis (DVD)

PSEM *tamis: matamis (MDC, MDB, MDM, KLT), tamis (MSK, ISM, KLK)

CEB tamis.

(**)ta(q)mus `to ingest by licking and sucking, as soft fruit'.

PNEM (*)taqmus: taqmus (TSG)

PCEM (*)tamus: tamus (DVB)

CEB tamus.

taqaw `to see, notice'. Cf. ()tandaw

PNEM *tanqaw: tanqaw (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *tanqaw: tanqaw (KMY, DVB, DVD), tanaw (DVM)

PSEM *tanaw: tanaw (MSK, KLK)

CEB tanqaw.

(**)ta(q)nud `to look after, as a baby'. Cf. tanud (KLK)

PNEM *ta(q)nud: tanud (MWA), tanqud (SUR)

PCEM *tan(q)ud: tanqud (KMY), tanud (DVB)

CEB tanud.

(**)taqud `to put something in its place'. Cf. taqud (DVB)

PNEM *taqud: taqud (BUT, MWA)

PSEM *taqud: taqud (MSK, KLK)

CEB taqud.

(**)taqub 'high tide'.

PNEM *taqub: taqub (TSG, BUT, SUR), taqub (MWA)

PCEM *taqub: taqub (KMY, DVB)

**tibaw 'to visit, to go and see how something is'.

PNEM *tibaw: tibaw (TSG, MWA)

PCEM *tibaw: tibaw (KMY 'to inspect traps', DVB)

PSEM *tibaw: tibaw (MSK, KLK)

CEB tibaw.

(**)tibtib 'to cut a scarf in piece of wood'. Cf. tibtib (KLK)

PNEM *tibtib: tibtib (BUT, MWA, SUR 'to chop back growth, to cut off')

PCEM *tibtib: tibtib (KMY, DVB)

(**)tibuq 'to accomplish'. Cf. tibug (BUT)

PCEM *tibuq: tibug (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tibuq 'full, well-grown, e.g. of rice': tibug (MSK, KLK)

(**)tibuq 'to be in close association with'.

PNEM *tibuq: tibug (BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf. sibug (TSG 'alike')

PCEM *tibuq: tibug (KMY, DVB)

CEB tibug 'all together'.

**tibuquk 'whole, complete'.

PNEM *tibuquk: tibukuk (TSG, BUT, SUR), buquk (TSG, BUT 'piece, unit')

PCEM *tibuquk: tibukuk (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tibuquk: tibuquk (MSK), tibuk (KLK)

CEB tibuquk.

(**)tigam `to know something'.

PCEM *tigam: tigam (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tigam: tigam (MSK, KLK)

CEB tigam `keep in mind'.

(**)tigbak `to stab'.

PNEM *tigbak: tigbak (TSG, BUT `to stab to death', MWA
`to get an abundance of something', SUR)

PCEM *tigbak: tigbak (KMY `violent death', DVB)

CEB tigbak `kill instantly'.

(**)ti(g)bas `to chop, hack'.

PNEM *tigbas: tigbas (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ti(g)bas: tigbas (KMY), tibas (DVB)

PSEM *tibas: tibas (MSK, KLK)

CEB tigbas. (var. of tikbas)

**tigbaw `reeds growing along river bank'.

PNEM *tigbaw: tigbaw (BUT, MWA `kind of tall grass', SUR
`kind of grass in rice paddy')

PCEM *tigbaw: tigbaw (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tigbaw: tigbaw (MSK, KLK)

**tignaw `cold, as of water'.

PNEM *tignaw: tignaw (MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *tignaw: tignaw (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *tignaw: matignaw (MDK, MDC)

CEB tuq naw.

(**)tignus `to be of medium hard consistency, of foods'.

PNEM *tignus: tignus (TSG `variety of jackfruit with crisp flesh', BUT `partly cooked or ripe', SUR `good quality, of fresh vegetables'), tignus (MWA)

PCEM *tignus: tignus (KMY `compact, firm fleshed', DVB)

(**)tigpuq `to break the end off'. Cf. tigpuq (DVB)

PNEM *tigpuq: tigpuq (TSG, BUT, SUR)

PSEM *tigpuq: tigpuq (MSK, KLK)

(**)tigtig `to separate from by sharp blows'. Cf. tigtig (KLK)

PNEM *tigtig: tigtig (TSG `to chop up something brittle', SUR `to chisel out')

PCEM *tigtig: tigtig (KMY `to loosen by knocking with a hard object', DVB)

(**)tikaŋkaŋ `to spread legs when sitting or standing'.

PNEM *tikaŋkaŋ: tikaŋkaŋ (BUT, MWA, SUR). Cf. siŋkaŋ (TSG `to walk with legs apart')

PCEM *tikaŋkaŋ: tikaŋkaŋ (KMY, DVB)

CEB tikaŋkaŋ.

(**)tikiq `kind of lizard'. Cf. tikiq (KLK)

PNEM *tikiq: tikiq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tikiq: tikiq (KMY, DVB)

CEB tikiq `house lizard'.

(**)tiktik `fragments left as a result of cleaning rice'. Cf. tiktik (KLK)

PNEM *tiktik: tiktik (MWA), titik (SUR)

PCEM *tiktik: tiktik (KMY), titik (DVB)

CEB tiktik.

(**)tikud 'heel'. Cf. tikud (KLG)

PNEM *tikud: tikud-tikud (TSG), tikud (BUT, SUR), tikud (MWA)

PCEM *tikud: tikud (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD), tikud (~KMY)

CEB tikud.

(**)tilaw 'to taste a small portion'. Cf. *tilaw (PSB 'to ask')

PNEM *tilaw: tilaw (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tilaw: tilaw (KMY, DVB)

CEB tilaw.

(**)tilaq 'to lap, as a dog'.

PNEM *tilaq: tilaq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tilaq: tilaq (KMY, DVB)

CEB tilaq.

(**)tilaqq 'throat'.

PNEM *tilaqq: tilaqq (BUT, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *tilaqq: tilaqqan (KMY), tilaqq (DVB)

CEB tilaqq 'region of upper back of mouth'.

(**)timaqqan 'to remember, to use a mnemonic device'. Cf. timaqan (KLG)

PNEM *timaqqan: timaqan (MWA, SUR), timanaqqan (~SUR)

PCEM *timaqqan: timaqan (KMY, DVB)

CEB timaqan.

**timbag 'to throw'.

PNEM *timbag: timbag (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *timbag: timbag (KMY, DVB, DVD)

PSEM *timbag: timbag (MDC, MSK, KLK)

**timbañ 'to weigh'.

PNEM *timbañ: timbañ (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *timbañ: timbañ (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *timbañ: timbañ (MSK, KLK)

(**)timbaq 'draw water from a well'. Cf. timbaq (KLK)

PNEM *timbaq: timbaq (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *timbaq: timbaq (KMY, DVB)

CEB timbaq.

(**)timug 'south wind'. Cf. timug (KLK)

PNEM *timug: timul (TSG < MLY), timug (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *timug: timug (KMY, DVB)

CEB timug 'wind that hits Cebu from the east'.

(**)timus 'kind of insect'. Cf. timus (KLK)

PNEM *timus: timus (BUT, SUR 'kind of large biting insect')

PCEM *timus: timus (KMY, DVB)

CEB timus 'kind of small grasshopper'.

(**)timuq 'take a snack'. Cf. timuq (DVB)

PNEM *timuq: timuq (MWA, SUR)

PSEM *timuq: timuq (MSK, KLK)

CEB timuq.

**tinaqi 'intestines'.

PNEM *tinaqi: tinaqi (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tinaqi: tinaqi (KMY, DVB, DVD)

PSEM *tinaqi: tinaqi (MDK, MDC, MSK), tinay (MDB, MDM, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB tinaqi.

(**)tindək 'kind of banana'. Cf. tindung (MSK)

PNEM *tindək: tindung (TSG, BUT, SUR), tindək (MWA)

PCEM *tindung: tindung (KMY, DVB)

CEB tindung.

(**)tiñala 'surprised'.

PNEM *tiñala: tiñaa (BUT), tiñaya (SUR)

PCEM *tiñaa: matiñaa (KMY 'to wonder'), tiñaa (DVB)

CEB tiñala.

(**)tiñug 'sound, noise, voice'.

PNEM *tiñug: tiñug (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *tiñug: tiñug (MSK, KLK)

CEB tiñug.

(**)tipasiq 'unhusked rice in with husked rice'.

PNEM *tipasiq: tipasiq (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tipasiq: tipasiq (KMY, DVB), pasiq (~KMY)

CEB tipasiq.

(**)ti(p)tip 'steep slope or cliff'.

PNEM *ti(p)kip: tibtib (TSG), tiptip (BUT-f, MWA), tikip (SUR-f)

PCEM *ti(p)ip: titip (KMY), tikip (DVB)

CEB titip.

**tipun 'gather together'.

PNEM *tipun: tipun (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tipun: tipun (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tipun: tipun (MSK, KLK)

(**)tisuk 'to plant seed'.

PNEM *tisuk: tisuk (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tisuk: tisuk (KMY 'for foot to sink into mud',
DVB)

CEB tisuk.

(**)tiwas 'to finish up, to complete'. Cf. tiwas (MSK)

PNEM *tiwas: tiwas (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *tiwas: tiwas (KMY, DVB)

CEB tiwas.

(**)tiyahuq 'to cry'. Cf. tiyahuq (BUT)

PCEM *tiyahuq: tiyahuq (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *tiyaquq: gatiyahuq (MDK), gatiyauq (MDB), tiyaquq
(MSK), tiyauq (ISM)

(**)tiyan 'belly'.

PNEM *tiyan: tiyan (TSG, BUT), tinaqi (MWA), tizan
(SUR-f)

PCEM *tiyan: tiyan (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

CEB tiyan.

(**)tiqayun 'to be married'. Cf. tiyayun (MSK), tiqayun (DVB)

PNEM *tiqayun: tiyaqun (TSG), magtiqazun (MWA 'married
couple')

CEB tiqayun.

**tubag 'to answer'.

PNEM *tubag: tubag (BUT, SUR), sambag (MWA)

PCEM *tubag: tubag (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *tubag: tubag (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT),
matubag (MDC)

CEB tubag.

**tubig 'water'.

PNEM *tubig: tugig (TSG, BUT, SUR)

PCEM *tubig: tubig (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *tubig: tubig (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

**tubud 'to pour out steadily'.

PNEM *tubud: tubud (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *tubud: tubud (DVB, DVM)

PSEM *tubud: tubud (MSK, KLK)

CEB tubud.

(**)tubus 'to take someone's place, to redeem'. Cf. tubus
(MSK)

PNEM *tubus: tubus (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *tubus: tubus (KMY, DVB), tubsun (KMY)

CEB tubus.

(**)tubuq 'to grow, esp. of plants'. Cf. tubuq (MSK)

PNEM *tubuq: tubuq (TSG 'offspring', BUT, MWA, SUR
'...of plants')

PCEM *tubuq: tubuq (KMY, DVB)

CEB tubuq.

(**)tudlis 'to remove a splinter with aid of needle'.

PNEM *tudlis: tudlis (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tudlis: tudlis (KMY, DVB)

CEB tudlis.

(**)tudluq \1. to point out or at, to instruct'. Cf. **hadluk for loss of l/d-, tuliq (KLK)

PNEM *tudluq: tudluq (TSG, BUT, SUR), tulduq (MWA)

PCEM *tudluq: tudluq (KMY, DVB), tuduq (~KMY)

CEB tudluq.

**tudluq \2. index finger'. Cf. tuliqay (KLK)

PNEM *tudluq: tudluq (TSG, BUT, SUR), tulduq (MWA)

PCEM *tudluq: tudluq (KMY, DVB, DVD), tulduq (KMY),
tuduq (~KMY)

PSEM *tudluq: tudluq (MDK), tulluq (MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM,
KLK, KLT)

CEB tudluq.

(**)tu{gɳ}kad \to reach bottom thru water'. Cf. tɛkkad (CS.2)

PNEM *tu{gɳ}kad: tuɳkad (TSG, BUT), tugkad (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tuɳkad: tuɳkad (KMY, DVB)

CEB tugkad.

**tugpa(q) \to move thru space to a surface below'. Cf. tugpa (CS.2 \to jump down, dive')

PNEM *tugpa(q): tugpaq (TSG \to fall down, waterfall',
BUT \to alight'), tugpa (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tugpaq: tugpaq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tugpaq: tugpaq (MSK \to spit water or other liquid
on someone', KLK)

CEB tugpaq \to land'.

**tugsuk \to inject, to prick'.

PNEM *tugsuk: tugsuk (TSG, BUT). Cf. tɛgsɛb (MWA)

PCEM *tugsuk: tugsuk (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tugsuk: tugsuk (MSK, KLK)

CEB tugsuk.

(**)tugun 'to command'. Cf. tugun (DVB)

PNEM *tugun: tugun (TSG, MWA)

PSEM *tugun: tugun (MSK, KLK 'instruct')

CEB tugun 'to send word'.

(**)tugqan 'to admit, confess'.

PNEM *tugqan: tugqan (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tugqan: tugqan (KMY, DVB)

CEB tugqan.

**tuhud 'knee'.

PNEM *tuhud: tuhud (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tuhud: tuhud (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *tuqud: tuud (MDK, MDM, ISM), tuqud (MDC, MDB, MSK)

CEB tuhud.

(**)tuhug 'to thread something, as a needle, fish on string'.

PNEM *tuhug: tuhug (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tuhug: tuhug (KMY, DVB)

CEB tuhug.

**tukaq 'beak'.

PNEM *tukaq: tukaq (TSG, BUT, SUR)

PCEM *tukaq: tukaq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tukaq: tukaq (MSK, KLK)

CEB tukaq 'to peck'.

(**)tukiq 'to investigate'. Cf. tukiq (KLK)

PNEM *tukiq: tukiq (BUT), tukiq-tukiq (SUR). Cf.
ukit-ukit (MWA)

PCEM *tukiq: tukiq (KMY, DVB)

CEB tukiq.

(**)tukmu(q) 'kind of dove'. Cf. tukmu (KLK), tukmu (KMY)

PNEM *tukmuq: tukmuq (BUT, MWA, SUR)

CEB tukmu 'the Philippine turtledove (Streptopelia bitorquata)'.

**tula(q) 'to cook fish in water with vegetables'.

PNEM *tula(q): tulaq (TSG), tula (MWA), tuya (SUR)

PCEM *tuwa: tuwa (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tula: tula (MSK), tuwa (KLK)

CEB tula 'to cook in lots of water'.

**tuktuk '1. forehead'.

PNEM *tuktuk: tuktuk (TSG, BUT, MWA 'beak')

PCEM *tuktuk: tuktuk (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tuktuk 'top of something': tuktuk (MSK, KLK)

**tuktuk '2. to knock on something'.

PNEM *tuktuk: tuktuk (TSG, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tuktuk: tuktuk (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tuktuk: tuktuk (MSK, KLK)

CEB tuktuk.

(**)tukub 'to tear apart with teeth, as wild beast does'.

PNEM *tukub: tukub (TSG 'to chew on', BUT, SUR), tukub
(MWA '...., to swallow the whole thing')

PCEM *tukub: tukub (KMY-f 'to swallow the whole thing as
python does a chicken', DVB)

**tuwad 'to bend'.

PNEM *tu{lw}ad: tuwad (BUT, MWA, SUR), tuyad (~SUR)

PCEM *tuwad: tuwad (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tuwad `fall': tuwad (MSK, KLK)

(**)tulay `bridge'.

PNEM *tulay: tulay (BUT, MWA)

PCEM *tulay: tulay (KMY, DVB)

CEB tulay.

**tulin `to move forward without hindrance'.

PNEM *tulin: tulin (TSG `straight, direct', BUT)

PCEM *tulin: tulin (KMY `fast', DVB)

PSEM *tulin `grow': tulin (MSK, KLK)

CEB tulin `to progress, speed'.

**tulis `to prevent someone from proceeding, esp. to rob'.

PNEM *tulis: tulis (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tulis: tulis (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tulis: tulis (MSK `to rob', KLK)

CEB tulis `to rob'.

(**)tulu `three'. Cf. tuu (KMY)

PNEM *tulu: tuu (TSG, BUT), katluwan (TSG `thirty', BUT
`the third one'), tulu (MWA), tuyu (SUR)

PSEM *tulu: tuu (MDK, ISM), tulu (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK,
KLT), tu (KLK), katluwan (KLT `30')

CEB katluwan.

**tuluk `to push'.

PNEM *tuluk: tuud (TSG, BUT), tulud (MWA), tuyud (SUR)

PCEM *tuud: tuud (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tulud: tulud (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT), tuud (ISM, KLK)

CEB tulud.

**tuma 'lice in clothes'.

PNEM *tuma: tuma (TSG 'body louse', BUT 'large louse', MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tuma: tuma (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tuma: tuma (MSK, KLK)

**tuman 'definitely, certain'.

PNEM *tuman: tuman (TSG, BUT 'to adhere to, be consistent with', MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tuman: tuman (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tuman 'to fulfil': tuman (MSK, KLK)

(**)tumba (Sp.) 'to fall headlong'. Cf. tumba (MSK 'to fell')

PNEM *tumba: tumba (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *tumba: tumba (KMY, DVB)

CEB tumba.

(**)tumbaga 'brass, bronze'. Cf. tumbaga (KMY)

PNEM *tumbaga: tumbaga (TSG, BUT)

PSEM *tumbaga: tumbaga (MSK, KLK)

CEB tumbaga.

(**)tumuy 'summit'.

PNEM *tumuy: tumuy (BUT 'of post', SUR-f)

PCEM *tumuy: tumuy (KMY-f, DVB)

CEB tumuy.

(**)tunaq 'to wallow'.

PNEM *tunaq: tunaq (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tunaq: tunaq (KMY, DVB)

CEB tunaq.

(**)tuntu (Sp.) 'stupid'.

PNEM *tuntu: tuntu (BUT, MWA)

PCEM *tuntu: tuntu (KMY, DVB)

CEB tuntu.

(**)t{uə}nt{uə}n 'to lower something onto the ground, to sag'.
Cf. tuntun (DVB), tonton (CS.2 'to sag down'), tuntun (CS.2
'to lower on a line')

PNEM *t{uə}nt{uə}n: tuntun (TSG, MWA), tenten (MWA)

PSEM *tuntun: tuntun (MSK, KLK)

CEB tuntun.

(**)tunuk 'thorn, spike, spine (of fish)'.
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PNEM *tunuk: tunuk (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *tu{nb}uk: tunuk (KMY-f), tubuk (DVB)

CEB tunuk.

(**)tuña 'to emerge from water'. Cf. tuña (KLK)

PNEM *tuña: tuña (TSG, BUT, SUR)

PCEM *tuña: tuña (KMY, DVB)

CEB tuña.

**tuñaw 'small red ticks'. Cf. tuñaw (MLY)

PNEM *tuñaw: tuñaw (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *tuñaw: tuñaw (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tuñaw: tuñaw (MSK, KLK)

CEB tuñaw.

(**) *tunbuy* 'to insult by reminding someone of favors done for them by speaker'. Cf. *tumbuy* (KLK 'homosexual woman')

PNEM **tunbuy*: *tunbuy* (TSG, MWA), *tumbuy* (BUT, SUR)

PCEM **tumbuy*: *tumbuy* (KMY, DVB)

CEB *tumbuy*.

(**) *tunhaq* 'to appear'. Cf. *tuna* (MSK), **tuaq* (PSB 'to emerge, appear')

PNEM **tunhaq*: *tunhaq* (BUT, SUR)

PCEM **tunhaq*: *tunhaq* (KMY 'to attend school', DVB)

CEB *tunhaq*.

(**) *tunkad* 'to reach bottom'. Cf. *tugkad* (CEB)

PNEM **tunkad*: *tunkad* (TSG 'to dive to bottom', BUT). Cf. *tugkad* (MWA, SUR)

PCEM **tunkad*: *tunkad* (KMY, DVB)

(**) *tunkud* 'pole used as prop, walking-stick'. Cf. *tukud* (KLK)

PNEM **tunkud*: *tunkud* (TSG, SUR). Cf. *tukud* (MWA)

PCEM **tunkud*: *tunkud* (KMY, DVB 'like umbrella'). Cf. *tukud* (DVB)

CEB *tunkud*. (var. of *sun kud*)

(**) *tunisan* 'sprouting coconut'.

PNEM **tunisan*: *tunisan* (BUT), *patunisan* (MWA, SUR). Cf. *panisan* (TSG)

PCEM **tunisan*: *patunisan* (KMY, DVB)

(**) *tuntun* 'to step on something in order to gain height'. Cf. *tuntun* (MSK)

PNEM **tuntun*: *tuntun* (MWA, SUR)

PCEM **tuntun*: *tuntun* (KMY, DVB)

CEB *tuntun*.

(**)tupak `to darn a hole in cloth`.

PNEM *tupak: tupak (TSG, BUT, MWA `to patch`, SUR)

PCEM *tupak: tupak (KMY, DVB)

(**)tu{rl}iq `to circumcize`. Cf. tuliq (KLK)

PNEM *turiq: tuliq (BUT-f), turiq (MWA)

PCEM *tuliq: tuliq (KMY, DVB)

CEB tuliq.

**turug `to sleep`.

PNEM *turug: tuug (TSG, BUT), turug (MWA), tuyug (SUR)

PCEM *turug: turug (KMY), maturugun (KMY `sleepy`), tuug (DVB), matulug (DVM, DVD)

PSEM *tulug: yatuqug (MDK), matulug (MDC), yatulug (MDB, MDM), tulug (MSK), matuug (ISM), tuug (KLK), katulug (KLT)

CEB tuug.

CEB tulug.

(**)tusuk `to poke with a sharp object`. Cf. tusuk (KMY, MSK), **tugsuk, **tusluk

PNEM *tusuk: tusuk (BUT, SUR)

CEB tusuk.

(**)tusluk `to pierce`. Cf. **tugsuk, (**)tusuk

PNEM *tusluk: tusluk (MWA `to poke a person in the eye`, SUR `to inject`)

PCEM *tusluk: tusluk (KMY `to pierce`, DVB)

CEB tusluk.

(**)tuway `kind of edible clam`. Cf. tuway (KLK)

PNEM *tuway: tuway (TSG, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *tuway: tuway (KMY, DVB)

CEB tuway.

(**)tuyuq 'purposeful'. Cf. tuyuq (KMY 'to commit suicide')

PNEM *tuyuq: tuyuq (TSG 'diligent'), tinuyuq (BUT),
tuzuq (MWA, SUR)

PSEM *tuyuq: tuyuq (MSK 'no aim, purpose', KLK)

**tuqig 'year'.

PNEM *tuqig: tuqig (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tuqig: tuqig (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *tuqig: tuig (MDK, ISM), tuqig (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK)

CEB tuqig.

**tuqlid 'to be straight'.

PNEM *tuqlid: tuqlid (TSG), tulid (~TSG), tulqid (BUT,
MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tulqid: tulqid (KMY, DVB, DVD), tulid (DVM)

PSEM *tulid: matulid (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLK,
KLT), tulid (ISM)

CEB tulqid.

(**)tuqu 'to believe'. Cf. tuqu (KMY)

PNEM *tuqu: tuqu (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *tuqu: tuqu (MSK, KLK)

CEB tuqu.

(**)tuqud 'so, in fact'. Cf. tinuqud (KLK), tuqud (MSK
'purpose'), *tuqud (PSB 'indeed')

PNEM *tuqud: tuqud (TSG 'very, indeed', SUR), matuqud
(BUT, MWA 'very true'), tinuqud (SUR)

PCEM *tuqud: tinuqud (KMY 'true'), matuqud (DVB)

(**)təbaq 'palm toddy'. Cf. tubaq (KMY)

PNEM *təbaq: tubaq (TSG, BUT, SUR-f), təbaq (MWA)

PSEM *təbaq: təba (MSK), təbaq (KLK)

CEB tubaq.

**təbəl 'to be constipated'. Cf. tobol (CS.2)

PNEM *təbəl: tubu (BUT-f), təbəl (MWA), tubuy (SUR-f)

PCEM *təbul: tubu (KMY-f), tubul (DVB)

PSEM *təbəl: təbəl (MSK), təbə (KLK)

CEB tubul.

(**)təgbəŋ 'to go downhill, go to coast from mountains'. Cf. təgbəŋ (MSK 'to go downstream')

PNEM *təgbəŋ: təgbəŋ (MWA), tugbuŋ (SUR)

PCEM *tugbuŋ: tugbuŋ (KMY, DVB)

CEB tugbuŋ.

(**)təgk(ə)liŋ 'kind of crane or heron with bald forehead'. Cf. tukaliŋ (KLK), tukliŋ (CS.2)

PNEM *təgk(ə)liŋ: tukliŋ (TSG), tugkaliŋ (BUT),
təgkaliŋ (MWA)

PCEM *tikliŋ: tikliŋ (KMY, DVB)

CEB tikliŋ 'marred rail'.

(**)təgnaq 'to cook a staple food such as rice'. Cf. təgnaq (WS.1)

PNEM *tu(g)naq: tugnaq (TSG), tunaq (BUT)

PCEM *tugnaq: tugnaq (KMY, DVB)

**tələŋ 'to swallow'. See **t(ar)əmdəŋ, **tətəŋlən

PNEM *tələŋ: tuun (TSG, BUT), tələŋ (MWA)

PCEM *tuun: tuun (KMY, DVB), tun (DVD)

PSEM *tulun: yatun (MDK), yatun (MDC), yatun (MDB, MDM), tun (MSK, KLT), atun (ISM), tun (KLK)

CEB tulun.

(**) tunaq 'half, mid-point'. Cf. tunaq (DVB)

PNEM *tunag: tunag (TSG, BUT, SUR), tunag (MWA)

PSEM *tunag: tunag (MSK, KLK)

(**) tunud '1. because of'. Cf. tunud (DVB)

PNEM *tunud: tunud (BUT), tunud (MWA)

PSEM *t(uu)u(uu)d: tunud (MSK), tunud (KLK)

CEB tunud.

**tunud '2. location, site directly below'. Cf. tunud (CS.2)

PNEM *tunud: tunud (TSG, BUT, SUR), tunud (MWA 'surrounding area, area downstairs')

PCEM *tunud: tunud (KMY-f, DVB)

CEB tunud 'placed directly below or opposite'.

(**) tupud 'to be treated alike'. Cf. tupud (MSK), topod (CS.2)

PNEM *tupud: tupud (TSG, BUT, SUR), tupud (MWA 'to complete a series')

PCEM *tupud: tupud (KMY, DVB)

**tupun 'to be level, as with brim of container'. Cf. tupun (CS.2)

PNEM *tupun: tupun (TSG 'to measure out dry materials like flour in a unit container', BUT), tupun (MWA), tipun (SUR)

PCEM *tupun: tupun (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *tup(p)un: tupun (MSK), tupun (KLK)

CEB tupun 'to be of equal height'.

(**)tutunlan 'throat'. Cf. **tutun (PEM 'to swallow'),
tutunlan (BUT)

PSEM *tutellan: tutellan (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM)

CEB tutunlan 'throat'.

(**)t(ua)y(ua)k 'to spin'. Cf. tuyuk (KLK)

PNEM *tuyak: tuyuk (BUT), tuzak (MWA), tuzuk (~MWA, SUR)

PCEM *tuyuk: tuyuk (KMY, DVB)

CEB tuyuk.

**uban 'grey hair'.

PNEM *uban: uban (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *uban: uban (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *uban: uban (MSK, KLK)

CEB uban.

**ubay 'to lie parallel'.

PNEM *ubay: ubay (TSG, SUR)

PCEM *ubay: ubay (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *ubay: ubay (MSK 'friend', KLK), ubay-ubay (KLK
'friend')

CEB ubay.

**ubu 'to cough'.

PNEM *ubu: ubu (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *ubu: ubu (KMY, DVD)

PSEM *ubu: ubu (MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB-f ubu.

**ubud 'leaf bud of coconut palm, used for salad'.

PNEM *ubud: ubud (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ubud: ubud (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *ubud: ubud (MSK, KLK)

CEB ubud.

(**)ubus 'to be consumed'.

PNEM *ubus: ubus (TSG 'after, next', BUT, MWA 'empty')

PSEM *ubus: ubus (MSK, KLK), mabus (MSK)

CEB ubus.

(**)uga(rl)in 'inherent quality or reason'.

PNEM *ugarin: dugarin (TSG 'other different'), ugalin (BUT 'itself', SUR 'of itself, by nature'), ugarin (MWA 'because')

PCEM *ugalin: galin (KMY 'just because, only'), ugalin (DVB)

CEB ugalin 'one's own'.

(**)ugam 'an infection of the mouth, tiny ulcers on the mucosa'. Cf. ugam (KLK), ugam (CS.2)

PNEM *ugam: ugam (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *ugam: ugam (KMY, DVB)

CEB ugam 'white coating on mucosa of mouth'.

**ugalan 'parent-in-law'.

PNEM *ugalan: ugalan (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ugalan: ugalan (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *ugalan: ugalan (MSK, KLK)

CEB ugalan.

**ugat 'vein'.

PNEM *ugat: ugat (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *ugat: ugat (KMY-f, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *ugat: ugat (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

CEB ugat.

**ugbus 'new leaf shoot'. Cf. **edlet

PNEM *ugbus: ugbus (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ugbus: ugbus (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *ugbus: ugbus (MSK, KLK)

CEB ugbus '...of palm frond'.

(**)ugis 'albino'. Cf. ugis (KMY)

PNEM *ugis: ugis (TSG, BUT, MWA-f, SUR-f)

PSEM *ugis: ugis (MSK, KLK)

CEB ugis.

(**)uhaw 'thirst'. Cf. awaw (KLK)

PNEM *uhaw: uhaw (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *uhaw: uhaw (KMY-f, DVB, DVD)

**ukab 'to open'.

PNEM *ukab: ukab (TSG, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *ukab: ukab (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *ukab: ukab (MSK, KLK)

CEB ukab 'to open with a lifting motion'.

(**)ukay 'to open up in order to see contents'. Cf. ukay (DVB), ukay (CS.2 'to open', NS.1)

PNEM *ukay: ukay (TSG, MWA 'to search for something')

PSEM *ukay: ukay (MSK, KLK)

CEB ukay 'to turn things over while searching'.

(**)ukquk 'cockroach'. Cf. kuquk (TSG)

PCEM *ukquk: ukquk (KMY, DVB)

CEB ukquk 'infested with cockroaches'.

**ulahipan 'centipede'.

PNEM *ulahipan: lahipan (TSG), uhipan (BUT, SUR),
ulahipan (MWA)

PCEM *ulahipan: uhipan (KMY), ulahipan (DVB)

PSEM *ullaqipan: ullaqipan (MSK), ayawpan (KLK)

**ulat 'scar'.

PNEM *ulat: uwat (BUT), ulat (MWA 'sore, laceration'),
uyat (SUR)

PCEM *uwat: uwat (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *ulat: uwat (KLK), ulat (KLT)

CEB ulat.

(**)ulitaw 'bachelor'. Cf. ulitaw (KLK)

PNEM *ulitaw: ulitaw (MWA, SUR)

PCEM *ulitaw: ulitaw (KMY, DVB)

CEB ulitaw.

**uliq '1. to return something borrowed'.

PNEM *uliq: uliq (TSG, BUT), iquliq (MWA)

PCEM *uliq: uliq (KMY, DVB, DVD), muliq (DVM)

PSEM *uliq: uliq (MSK, KLK)

CEB uliq.

**uliq '2. to return home'.

PNEM *uliq: uiq (TSG), uliq (BUT-f, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *uliq: uliq (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *uliq: yumuliq (MDK, MDB, MDM), muliq (MDC), uliq (MSK, KLK, KLT)

CEB uliq.

**ulu 'head'.

PNEM *ulu: uu (TSG, BUT), ulu (MWA), uyu (SUR)

PCEM *uu: uu (KMY, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *ulu: uu (MDK, ISM, KLK), ulu (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT)

(**)ulud 'worm'. Cf. uud (DVB)

PNEM *ulud: uud (TSG 'worm, maggot', BUT, SUR), ulud (MWA), uyud (SUR '...in plant')

PSEM *ulud: ulud (MSK, KLT), uud (KLK)

CEB uud.

~CEB ulud.

(**)ulunan 'pillow'. Cf. unlan (SUR)

PCEM *unlan: unlan (KMY, DVB), uanan (DVM), unan (DVD)

PSEM *ulunan: unan (MDK), ulunan (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK), uunan (ISM), unan (KLK)

CEB unlan.

CEB ulunan.

~CEB ulunlan.

(**)uma 'swidgeon'.

PNEM *uma: uma (TSG, BUT, MWA)

PCEM *uma: uma (KMY, DVB)

(**)umagad '2. child's spouse'.

PNEM *umagad: umagad (BUT, SUR)

PCEM *umagad: umagad (KMY, DVB)

**una 'ahead'. Cf. una (MAR)

PNEM *una: una (TSG, BUT)

PCEM *una: una (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *una: una (MSK), muna (KLK)

CEB una.

**unahan 'area in front'.

PNEM *unahan: unahan (TSG, BUT, SUR), muna (TSG),
hunqahan (MWA)

PCEM *unahan: unahan (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *unaqan: unaqan (MSK 'proceed'), muna (MSK 'go
ahead'), (adti) muna (KLK)

CEB unahan.

(**)unaw 'edible pith of sago'. Cf. u'naw (KLK)

PNEM *u'naw: unaw (MWA 'starchy tuber'), u'naw (BUT,
SUR)

PCEM *u'naw: u'naw (KMY), unaw (DVB)

CEB u'naw 'cassava or buri flour'.

(**)untu 'teeth'.

PCEM *untu: untu (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *untu: untu (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

(**)untul 'to bounce, as ball'.

PNEM *untul: untul (BUT, MWA)

PCEM *untul: untul (KMY, DVB)

CEB untul.

**unu 'what'.

PNEM *unu: unu (TSG, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *unu: unu (KMY, DVB), unan (~KMY, DVB, DVD), unaan (DVM)

PSEM *unu: unu (MDB, ISM, KLK)

(**) unuhun 'how? what to do?'. Cf. unuhun (DVB)

PNEM *unuhun: unuhun (TSG), unhun (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *unuqun: unuqun (MSK), unun (KLK)

**unud 'flesh, substance'.

PNEM *unud: unud (TSG, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *unud: unud (KMY 'husked rice', DVB)

PSEM *unud: unud (MSK, KLK)

CEB unud.

(**) unuñ 'to share same fate or conditions'. Cf. unuñ (DVB)

PNEM *unuñ: unuñ (TSG, MWA)

PSEM *unuñ: unuñ (MSK, KLK)

CEB unuñ.

**upat 'four'.

PNEM *upat: upat (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR-f), kaupatan (TSG 'forty'), kapqatan (BUT 'forty')

PCEM *upat: upat (KMY-f, DVB, DVD)

PSEM *upat: upat (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

(**) upaw 'bald'. Cf. upaw (DVB), upaw (CS.2), **{u#}ñas

PNEM *upaw: upaw (TSG 'bald on crown', BUT, MWA, SUR)

PSEM *upaw: upaw (MSK, KLK)

CEB upaw 'fully bald'.

**upus 'stub, of candle, cigarette'.

PNEM *upus: upus (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *upus: upus (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *upus: upus (MSK, KLK)

CEB upus.

(**)urabañ 'kind of fresh water shrimp'. Cf. urabañ (MWA)

PCEM *urabañ: urabañ (KMY), wabañ (DVB)

PSEM *ulabañ: ulabañ (MSK), uyabañ (KLK)

CEB uyabañ 'fry of river shrimp'.

**uran 'rain'.

PNEM *uran: ulan (TSG), uan (BUT), uran (MWA), uyan
(SUR-f)

PCEM *uran: uran (KMY-f), uan (DVB, DVM), ulan (DVD)

PSEM *ulan: uwan (MDK), ulan (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT),
uan (ISM, KLK)

**uriñ 'charcoal'. See **buriñ

PNEM *uriñ: uliñ (BUT, SUR), uriñ (MWA)

PCEM *uriñ: uriñ (KMY, DVD), uliñ (DVB, DVM)

PSEM *uliñ: uliñ (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK,
KLT)

CEB uliñ.

**usa 'deer'.

PNEM *usa: usa (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *usa: usa (KMY-f, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *usa: usa (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK)

(**)usqus 'to slope down gradually'. Cf. usus (MSK 'to move backwards')

PNEM *usqus: usqus (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *usqus: usqus (KMY, DVB)

CEB usqus.

**utañ `debt`.

PNEM *utañ: utañ (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *utañ: utañ (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *utañ: utañ (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

**utin `penis`.

PNEM *utin: utin (TSG, SUR)

PCEM *utin: utin (KMY, DVB, DVD)

PSEM *utin: utin (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLK, KLT)

CEB utin.

(**) utud `to cut a piece off`. Cf. utud (DVB), utud (HIG `chop up`)

PNEM *utud: utud (TSG, BUT `cut off, cut down tree`, MWA, SUR). Cf. hətud (MWA `to terminate`)

PSEM *utud: utud (MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

**utuk `brain`.

PNEM *utuk: utuk (TSG, BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *utuk: utuk (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *utuk: utuk (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

**uwak `crow`.

PNEM *uwak: uak (TSG), uwak (BUT-f, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *uwak: uwak (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *uwak: uwak (MDK, MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT)

**uway `rattan`.

PNEM *uway: uway (TSG, BUT-f, MWA, SUR-f)

PCEM *uway: uway (KMY-f, DVB, DVM)

PSEM *uway: uway (KLK, KLT)

CEB uway.

(**)uyun `to be in agreement with`. Cf. uyun (DVB), uyun (HIG)

PNEM *uyun: uyun (TSG `to be alligned with`, BUT), uzun (MWA, SUR)

PSEM *uyun: uyun (MSK, KLK)

(**)(uḡ)qy(uḡ)q `to sway, to shake`. Cf. uyuḡ (KLK)

PNEM *u(q)yuq: uyuq (TSG, BUT `to shake a tree as to get fruit`), uyquq (SUR). Cf. hḡzḡḡ (MWA)

CEB uyquq.

CEB uyuq.

(**)ḡḡḡl `smoke`.

PSEM *ḡḡḡl: ḡḡḡl (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLT), ḡḡḡl (MDC)

(**)ḡḡḡs `base, lower part`. Cf. ḡḡḡs (MSK `to place something on the edge of a drop so that it will slide or fall`)

PNEM *ḡḡḡs: ḡḡḡs (TSG, BUT, SUR), ḡḡḡs (MWA `to descend`), hiḡḡḡs (MWA `inferior`)

PCEM *ḡḡḡs: ḡḡḡs (KMY, DVB)

CEB ḡḡḡs.

(**)ḡḡḡḡt `new leaf shoot`.

PNEM *ḡḡḡḡt: ḡḡḡḡt (TSG), ḡḡḡḡt (BUT, SUR), ḡḡḡḡt (MWA)

CEB ḡḡḡḡt.

(**)ḡḡḡtu `noon`.

PNEM *udtu: ugtu (TSG), udtu (BUT, MWA, SUR), udtu
(~MWA)

PCEM *udtu: udtu (KMY, DVB)

CEB udtu.

(**)ulət 'between'.

PNEM *ulət: uut (TSG), ulət (MWA). Cf. haqut (BUT 'canoe
thwart') and haqut (TSG 'in between')

PSEM *ulət 'boundary': ulət (MSK), ut (KLK)

CEB ulut.

(**)unaq 'sauce of pickled fish'. Cf. unaq (KLK)

PNEM *unaq: unaq (MWA), unaq (SUR)

PCEM *unaq: unaq (KMY, DVB)

CEB unaq.

(**)unəm 'six'. Cf. unum (DVD)

PNEM *unəm: unum (TSG, BUT, SUR), kaqnuman (TSG
'sixty'), kanquman (BUT 'sixty'), unəm (MWA)

PSEM *unəm: unəm (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT),
unum (MDC)

CEB unum.

CEB kanquman 'sixty'.

(**)upəd 'together, in company'. Cf. sama-onpod (CS.2 'same
level')

PCEM *upud: upud (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *upəd: upəd (MDK, MDB, MSK, KLK, KLT), upud (MDC,
ISM)

CEB upud.

**usug 'man, male'.

PNEM **usug: usug (TSG, BUT)

PCEM *usug: usug (KMY-f, DVB, DVD)

PSEM *usug: usug (MDK, MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM, KLK, KLT),
usug (MDC)

**wala 'left hand'.

PNEM *wala: lawah (TSG), kawaa (BUT), wala (MWA), waya
(SUR)

PCEM *waa: kawaa (KMY), kaliwaa (~KMY), kawaa (DVB),
kaliwaq (DVM), kaliwa (DVD)

PSEM *wala: kawaa (MDK), kawala (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK,
KLT), kawa (ISM, KLK)

(**)walu 'eight'. Cf. walu (DVD), wayu (HIG)

PNEM *walu: walu (TSG, MWA), kawaluqan (TSG '80'), wawu
(BUT), kawawuqan (BUT '80'), wayu (SUR)

PSEM *walu: wau (MDK, ISM, KLK), walu (MDC, MDB, MDM,
MSK, KLT)

**waraq '1: none'.

PNEM *waraq: walaq (TSG), waaq (~TSG, BUT), waraq (MWA),
wa'yaq (SUR)

PCEM *waraq: waraq (KMY-f), waaq (~KMY, DVB), .waq (DVM),
walaq (DVD)

PSEM *walaq: waa (MDK), walaq (MDC, MDB, MDM, MSK, KLT),
waaq (ISM, KLK)

(**)waraq '2. to lose'. Cf. mawu (KLK)

PNEM *waraq: lawaq (TSG), mawaaq (BUT), nawaraqan (MWA),
wayaq (SUR), nawadqan (~SUR)

PCEM *waraq: waraqun wadqun (KMY), walaq (DVD)

**wa'ti 'earthworm'.

PNEM *wa'ti: wa'ti (BUT, MWA, SUR)

PCEM *wa'ti: wa'ti (KMY, DVB, DVM, DVD)

PSEM *wati: wati (MDB, MDM, MSK, ISM), wa'ti (KLK, KLT)

(**)yabyab 'to shake cloth'. Cf. yabyab (MSK 'to winnow'),
 **jəg jəg

PNEM *yabyab: jabjab (TSG), yabyab (BUT), yabyab (SUR),
 zabzab (MWA)

PCEM *yabyab: jabjab (KMY), yabyab (DVB)

(**)yagyag 'to scatter'.

PNEM *yagyag: jagjag (TSG 'shake up', BUT, SUR 'to shake
 out of a container'), zagzag (MWA 'to shake out a mat,
 rug')

PCEM *yagyag: yagyag (KMY, DVB)

**yəgyəg 'to shake'.

PNEM *yəgyəg: jugjug (TSG), zəgzəg (MWA)

PCEM *yəgyəg: jugjug (KMY, DVB)

PSEM *yəgyəg: yəgyəg (MSK 'to push so as to go up and
 down', KKK 'rock')

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

In the introduction it was stated that the purpose of this paper was two-fold:

"(1) To demonstrate that Proto North East Mindanao, Proto Central East Mindanao and Proto South East Mindanao are related to one another within the East Mindanao grouping. This will be done by reconstructing the phonology of the ancestor language, Proto East Mindanao, from which the East Mindanao languages have developed and by tracing the development from the ancestor language through the intermediate proto-languages to the attested daughter languages.

(2) To show the internal relationships of these languages to one another. This will be done by following at least four lines of evidence: (1) lexicostatistics; (2) analysis in terms of probabilities; (3) phonological features; and (4) lexical innovations."

Based on over 1400 reconstructed vocabulary items the proto-phonemes shown in figure 8.1 have been reconstructed for Proto East Mindanao.

FIGURE 8.1

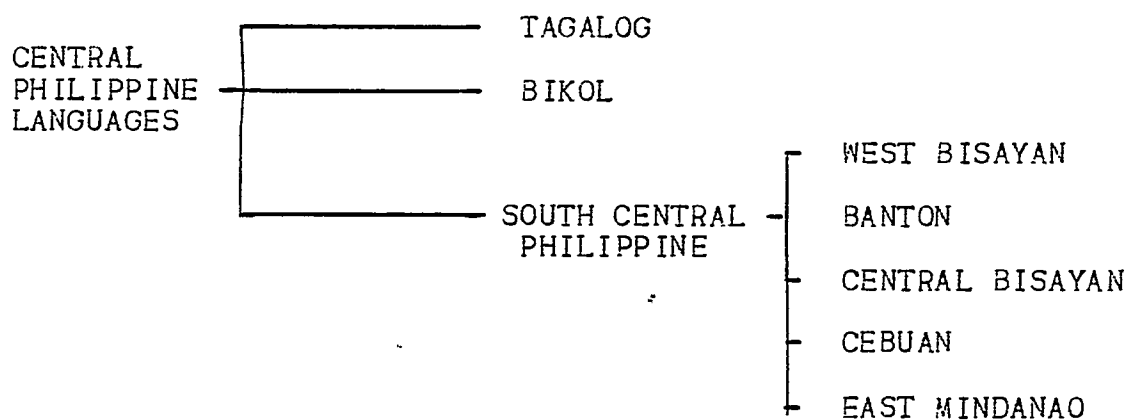
RECONSTRUCTED PHONEMES FOR PROTO EAST MINDANAO

**p	**t	**k	**q	**i	**u
**b	**d	**g			**ɥ
**m	**n	**ŋ			**a
	**s				
	**l				
	**r				
**w	**y	**h			

The evidence from lexicostatistical comparisons, analysis in terms of probabilities, phonological features, and lexical innovations supports the establishment of PEM as a subgroup of the South Central Philippine language group in very close contact with the Bisayan subgroup (see figure 8.2). This analysis also supports the conclusion that PEM came from the Visayan Islands and settled on the northeastern tip of Mindanao. From there the group has dispersed southward to include much of the northeastern, central and southeastern coastline of Mindanao.

FIGURE 8.2

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG CENTRAL PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES



The SEM speakers, the data suggest, moved southward with some groups going inland up the river valleys. The SEM subgroup was divided into eastern and western branches, the Davao Gulf separating the two. KLK and KLT, western SEM languages, developed independently of other EM languages, but in contact with Manobo and Blaqan. ISM, part of the western division, remained on the eastern coast of the Davao Gulf, to be modified by interaction with eastern SEM languages such as MSK.

The CEM languages developed on the eastern coast of Mindanao, in contact with both NEM and SEM. Two of its languages, DVB and DVD, spread far southwards along the coast, and became *linguae francae* as far south as the west coast of the Davao Gulf. Cebuano has now largely displaced the Davawenyo language on the west coast of Davao but it is still

very strong on the southeast coast of Mindanao, especially in Banganga.

The NEM languages split up into BUT-TSG, SUR and possibly CEB. MWA was probably an earlier split from PNEM. Although it penetrated no farther than the coastal ranges of northeast Mindanao, and was probably centered on Lake Mainit, its data show that it has been long established in the area, and has undergone a long period of development independent of other NEM languages.

Chapter Nine

Further Research

The following are a brief listing of areas of further research.

(1) More work should be done on stress. Zorc has shown the significance of stress in the Central Philippine languages. Since most of the data used in this study were recorded without stress, it was not possible to include that in this study.

(2) More research should be done on the relationship of CEB to the Bisayan and East Mindanao languages. This language has had a major influence on all of the BS and EM languages. A study of convergence would be most helpful.

(3) It was noted in chapter six that MWA has a substratum of non-EM data. More research needs to be done on this language to determine if this is an indicator of a relationship to other Negrito languages.

(4) Since one's view of language relationships is partially affected by the choice of criteria, it is important to study further Zorc's criteria of functor analysis and lexical innovation to see to what extent they are reliable indicators of linguistic relatedness. Although the subgrouping theory presented in this study best fits the linguistic facts available at this time, we are open to more

suggestions as we learn more information that may lead to a different conclusion.

FOOTNOTES

(1) I have followed Zorc's (1977) use of the label 'Bisayan' to designate his Central Philippine subgroup as it includes South Bisayan, Cebuan, Central Bisayan, Banton and West Bisayan. The more inclusive subgroup of Central Philippine languages that included all my EM languages as well as his Central Bisayan, Banton and West Bisayan I have called the South Central Philippine subgroup.

(2) Pallesen (1977:23-26) broadly defines the term convergence as the similarities between two languages that result from their interaction rather than those due to shared linguistic features.

(3) Most of this study deals with linguistic symbols and their historical development. However, Pallesen's TSG findings also point out other social factors of language development. Language is a form of social behavior and a full understanding of language change draws on information regarding social practice and preference as well as linguistic structure.

(4) 'Visayas' is the English term, adapted from Spanish, denoting the region, while 'Visayan' refers to a person from that region. The Tagalog term Bisaya is used by Zorc (1977) in referring to a subgroup of languages in Central Philippines.

(5) Stress is not contrastive in the varieties of TSG spoken in Sulu, but Zorc (1975) reports that contrastive stress has been retained in the TSG dialect spoken on southern Palawan.

(6) In this study lexicostatistical analyses are used to indicate genetic relationships among the EM languages. They are not used to compute the time of divergence of a pair of languages from their common parent as in glottochronological studies.

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