

The Sambalic Languages of Central Luzon

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This paper examines the Sambalic languages of Central Luzon in order to ascertain the degree to which the languages are lexically similar to each other, to Ivatan, and to the languages of wider communication (LWCs); specifically, Kapampangan, Ilokano and Tagalog. The study compares 268 lexemes from eleven languages, and computes cognate percentages within seven grammatical categories. The data presented in the paper is used to hypothesize subgroupings within the Sambalic language family. While no attempt is made to reconstruct the past history of the Ayta and Sambalic languages, it is hoped that this paper will help lay a foundation for other linguists to do such a study.

1. Introduction

Little published data exists on the Sambalic languages and virtually no published data exists on the Ayta languages. This study aims to suggest possible subgroupings within the Sambal language family based on lexical similarity. It has also been hard to determine what languages belong in the same subgrouping with the Sambalic languages. Many have included the Bashiic languages with Sambal under the Northern Philippines branch (Rubino 2005, Rubrico 2005, Gordon 2005, Zorc 1977), although Blust (1991) suggests there is no convincing evidence to make this claim. Many have included Kapampangan directly with Sambal in the Central Luzon languages (Rubino 2005, Rubrico 2005, Gordon 2005), while others (Llamzon 1978) have rejected this hypothesis. Because of these questions, Kapampangan and Ivatan (Bashiic) are included in this comparative study of the Sambal languages. The languages of wider communication (LWCs) Tagalog, and Ilokano are also included in the study.

The methodology used to compare these languages has much in common with McFarland's (1974) work on the Bikol languages and Zorc's (1977) work on the Bisayan Dialects in that comparisons are made by grammatical category. Seven grammatical categories are studied, namely nouns, verbs, adjectives, pronouns, particles conjunctions and interrogatives. Cognate percentages are determined separately for each grammatical category.

2. The Sambalic Language Family

The following languages are generally accepted to form the Sambalic language family, although Ayta Magbukun, which has not been included in this study, is likely to also belong to the group. Note also that there are a few alternate spellings for some of the languages. (See, for example, Gordon, 2005).

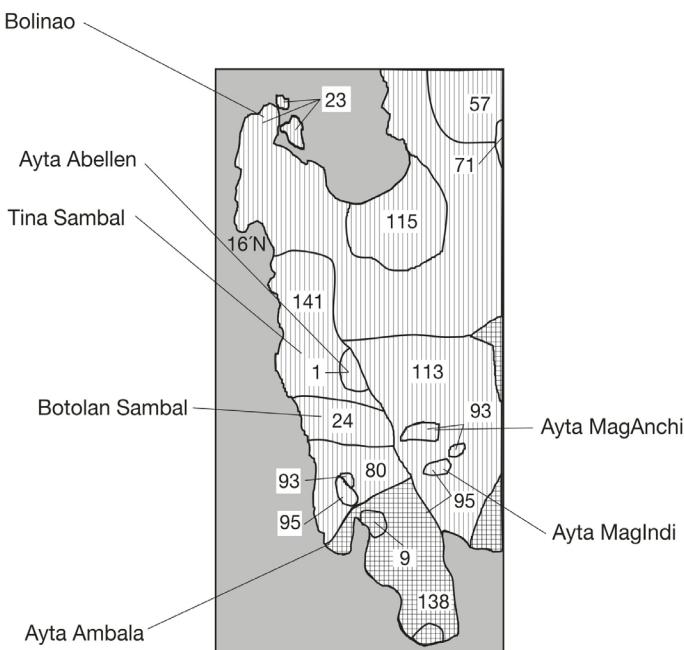


Figure 1. Sambalic Languages of Central Luzon

2.1 Ayta Abellen

The speakers of Ayta Abellen are located in the mountainous western part of the Tarlac province of Luzon with the area reaching into the province of Zambales even on the western side of the Zambales mountains (Nitsch 1998). There are about 3500 speakers of the language (Stone 2005).

2.2 Ayta Ambala

Ayta Ambala is spoken by more than 2,000 Ayta living in the provinces of Bataan and Zambales (Ramos 2005).

2.3 Ayta MagAntsi

Ayta MagAntsi is spoken by approximately 4,200 Ayta in a number of sitios (small villages) in the provinces of, Tarlac, Pampanga and Zambales. (Storck and Storck 2005).

2.4 Ayta MagIndi

The speakers of Ayta MagIndi live in the province of Pampanga in the areas of Nabuklod, Floridablanca, Pasbul, Planas, Kamias, and other areas. The Ayta MagIndi speakers number approximately 5000 (Green 1991).

2.5 Bolinao

The Bolinao language is spoken by approximately 50,000 people (Gordon 2005) located in the municipalities of Bolinao and Anda, Pangasinan (Persons 1998).

2.6 Botolan Sambal

Botolan Sambal is spoken by 32,867 people (Gordon 2005) who live around the municipality of Botolan in the Zambales province. There is also a group of Aytas living in the upland areas of Zambales who speak this language. (Antworth 1979)

2.7 Tina Sambal

Tina Sambal is spoken by 70,000 people (Gordon 2005) located in the Northern half of the Zambales province and in two barangays (villages) across the border in Pangasinan (Goschnick 2005).

3. Data

Initial survey for the Ayta languages was done by Kurt and Margaret Storck in the early 1980s. The data collected by them and others laid the foundation for the delineation of language boundaries for the 5 Ayta languages. However, that survey data was never published and a review of it made this researcher realize that it would be better to base an analysis on more current data, including the Storcks' outstanding work on MagAntsi (2005) rather than the old wordlists collected many years ago. But even having access to the latest lexicography work done for each of these languages was still deemed inadequate, so for most of the language data presented here, the dictionary data was verified with a resident linguist or face to face with a native speaker of the language. (See Appendix 2 for Data Acknowledgements.) It is still acknowledged, however, that despite these efforts, there may be inaccuracies in the data.

The findings of this study, as well as the data collected (which is included here in appendix 1), are intended to help modify the language groupings and lexical similarity percentages presented in the Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) which is based on the older survey data.

4. Method for Determining Cognate percentages

For determining which lexical forms are cognate with each other, syllolexicostatistics was used. Syllolexicostatistics is a hybrid of syllostatistics and lexicostatistics and is currently being developed by Noel Mann (Mann 2005). The process involves the following steps:

- 1) Split root words into their constituent syllables.
- 2) Compare syllables for apparent cognicity.
- 3) Categorize syllable pair into one of three categories as follows:

- Category 1: Probable match of cognate syllables; onset and rhyme elements match – that is, they map in a predictable or recurrent manner.
- Category 2: Possible match of cognate syllables; either onset or rhyme elements match
- Category 3: Unlikely match of cognate syllables; onset and rhyme do not match
- 4) Use the following chart to determine cognicity. The chart shows the minimum requirements for two words to be regarded as cognates.

Table 1. Cognicity Criteria

Syllables	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3
1	1	0	0
2	1	1	0
3	1	1	1
4	2	1	1
5	2	2	1
6	2	2	2

After determining cognicity as per the method outlined above, the data was inputted into the computer program WordSurv, which then organized, grouped, and computed cognate percentages for each language. Below are the results and observations for the seven grammatical categories analyzed.

5. Results by Grammatical Category

Presented here are the cognate percentages for the languages, grouped initially according to grammatical category. Composite cognate percentages are included at the end. Within the results tables, the bold section represents the Sambalic languages.

5.1 Nouns

129 common nouns were selected for analysis. This is the largest set of words gathered and analyzed for any of the grammatical categories included in this study.

Almost one third of all lexical items here have a unique form that is repeated among Sambalic languages but not cognate with the same lexical item in any of the LWCs studied.

The cognate percentages of Tagalog, Kapampangan, and Ilokano nouns with nouns in the Sambal languages range between 38–51%, whereas within the Sambal languages, the nouns are between 63–87% cognate. Ivatan nouns are less than 30% cognate with Sambal language nouns.

Table 2. Noun Cognate Percentages

	Bol	T.S.	Abel	B.S.	Ants	Indi	Amba	Kap	Iva	Ilo	Tag
Bolinao	100%	78%	66%	71%	63%	64%	65%	48%	26%	43%	43%
Tina Sambal	78%	100%	67%	75%	64%	64%	66%	48%	28%	42%	43%
Ayta Abellen	66%	67%	100%	80%	73%	70%	69%	45%	26%	44%	41%
Botolan Sambal	71%	75%	80%	100%	78%	78%	77%	47%	28%	44%	43%
Ayta MagAntsi	63%	64%	73%	78%	100%	87%	72%	49%	25%	38%	41%
Ayta MagIndi	64%	64%	70%	78%	87%	100%	76%	51%	25%	38%	41%
Ayta Ambala	65%	66%	69%	77%	72%	76%	100%	45%	27%	42%	45%
Kapampangan	48%	48%	45%	47%	49%	51%	45%	100%	19%	32%	43%
Ivatan	26%	28%	26%	28%	25%	25%	27%	19%	100%	30%	26%
Ilokano	43%	42%	44%	44%	38%	38%	42%	32%	30%	100%	38%
Tagalog	43%	43%	41%	43%	41%	41%	45%	43%	26%	38%	100%

5.2 Verbs

In researching verbs, only root forms were considered, in order to avoid differences due to affixation. 48 lexical entries were analyzed. For these verbs where there is a cognate form common to a majority of the Sambal languages, 38% do not have a corresponding cognate form in the regional LWCs.

Within the verbs, high cognate percentages for Ayta languages with each other can be seen (73–88%) as well as between Bolinao and Tina Sambal (73%). But here, Botolan Sambal groups naturally with the Ayta languages since the cognate percentages are much higher with the other Ayta languages (73–85%) than with the coastal lowland counterparts of Tina Sambal (52%) and Bolinao (52%).

Kapampangan verbs are 44–52% cognate with Sambal language verbs. Ivatan verbs are not more than 27% cognate with any of the Sambal language verbs.

Table 3. Verb Cognate Percentages

	Bol	T.S.	Abel	B.S.	Ants	Indi	Amba	Kap	Iva	Ilo	Tag
Bolinao	100%	73%	56%	52%	54%	58%	54%	48%	25%	42%	40%
Tina Sambal	73%	100%	54%	52%	52%	56%	50%	50%	27%	40%	42%
Ayta Abellen	56%	54%	100%	83%	88%	77%	77%	50%	27%	40%	44%
Botolan Sambal	52%	52%	83%	100%	85%	73%	77%	48%	25%	38%	42%
Ayta MagAntsi	54%	52%	88%	85%	100%	83%	79%	52%	27%	40%	42%
Ayta MagIndi	58%	56%	77%	73%	83%	100%	75%	54%	27%	40%	40%
Ayta Ambala	54%	50%	77%	77%	79%	75%	100%	44%	25%	42%	42%
Kapampangan	48%	50%	50%	48%	52%	54%	44%	100%	25%	25%	40%
Ivatan	25%	27%	27%	25%	27%	27%	25%	25%	100%	23%	17%
Ilokano	42%	40%	40%	38%	40%	40%	42%	25%	23%	100%	33%
Tagalog	40%	42%	44%	42%	42%	40%	42%	40%	17%	33%	100%

5.3 Adjectives

For the 36 adjectives selected, Sambal adjectives exhibit less similarity with each other than for most of the other grammatical categories. Lexical similarity ranges from 44% to 72% within the Sambalic languages.

Ayta MagIndi borrows heavily from Kapampangan (53% cognate) and its adjectives are more cognate with Kapampangan than with two of the other Sambal languages.

Kapampangan adjectives, however, do not have high cognate percentages with other Sambalic languages; its percentages range between 28% and 42%. Ivatan cognate scores with Sambal languages are especially low, ranging from 6% to 17%.

Table 4. Adjective Cognate Percentages

	Bol	T.S.	Abel	B.S.	Ants	Indi	AmBa	Kap	Iva	Ilo	Tag
Bolinao	100%	58%	50%	58%	47%	50%	47%	33%	11%	33%	33%
Tina Sambal	58%	100%	56%	64%	50%	44%	56%	31%	6%	19%	28%
Ayta Abellen	50%	56%	100%	64%	50%	44%	53%	28%	11%	17%	31%
Botolan Sambal	58%	64%	64%	100%	67%	53%	72%	36%	11%	19%	42%
Ayta MagAntsi	47%	50%	50%	67%	100%	61%	61%	33%	11%	14%	36%
Ayta MagIndi	50%	44%	44%	53%	61%	100%	53%	53%	17%	19%	39%
Ayta Ambala	47%	56%	53%	72%	61%	53%	100%	42%	11%	17%	47%
Kapampangan	33%	31%	28%	36%	33%	53%	42%	100%	17%	22%	58%
Ivatan	11%	6%	11%	11%	11%	17%	11%	17%	100%	11%	11%
Ilokano	33%	19%	17%	19%	14%	19%	17%	22%	11%	100%	19%
Tagalog	33%	28%	31%	42%	36%	39%	47%	58%	11%	19%	100%

5.4 Pronouns

Sambalic languages have nearly identical pronoun systems. The differences that exist between the Sambalic languages are predominantly due to phonological changes. The differences between Sambalic pronouns and those of neighboring LWCs are greater and cannot be summarized so easily.

Sambal languages have a fronted pronoun paradigm. This paradigm also exists in Ilokano, Kapampangan, and Ivatan, although many of the forms in these latter languages have multiple differences in comparison to the Sambal languages.

For focused 1st person exclusive pronouns, there is a split distribution among Sambal languages. Tina Sambal, Bolinao, and Ayta Ambala use *kami*, whereas all other languages use *kayi*. For focused 2nd person plural pronouns, Tina Sambal and Bolinao use *kamo* whereas the other languages use *kao* or *kawo*.

For possessive 1st person exclusive pronouns, there is a split distribution. Ayta MagAntsi and Botolan Sambal both have a *nawen* form, whereas the rest of the Sambal languages except for MagIndi have *mi*. MagIndi's *yan* form is unique to all languages researched.

For possessive 2nd person plural pronouns, there is also a split distribution. Tina Sambal and Bolinao both have a *moyo* form, whereas all other Sambal languages have *yo*.

For direction/beneficiary focus pronouns, Sambal pronouns have a *kVn-* prefix. The vowel, however, is not uniform. For instance, the languages along the coast (Bolinao, Tina Sambal, and Botolan Sambal) all have the vowel *o* as in *kon-*. But the inland languages (Ayta) all have *kan-*. Since this is a predictable phenomenon, pronouns with both of these prefixes were counted as cognates of each other.

An interesting phonological difference is that some languages have the /s/ phoneme in their pronouns, while others don't. MagIndi and Bolinao have pronoun forms with the phoneme /s/, while all other Sambal languages use /h/in its place.

In terms of cognate percentages for pronouns, the Sambal languages all have high cognate percentages with each other, ranging from 81–97%. Kapampangan has several forms that at first glance do not seem to be cognate with the Sambal languages, but a further analysis using the syllolexicalstatistics criteria defined previously yields the minimum requirements for being considered cognate. Kapampangan pronouns are between 69% and 75% cognate with Sambal languages. Ivatan pronouns are only between 31% and 38% cognate with Sambal languages.

Of the 32 pronouns analyzed, there are six forms that are repeated among Sambal languages which are not cognate with the LWCs included in this study.

Table 5. Pronoun Cognate Percentages

	Bol	T.S.	Abel	B.S.	Ants	Indi	Amba	Kap	Iva	Ilo	Tag
Bolinao	100%	97%	88%	84%	81%	81%	84%	72%	31%	69%	28%
Tina Sambal	97%	100%	91%	88%	84%	84%	88%	72%	34%	69%	31%
Ayta Abellen	88%	91%	100%	91%	94%	94%	91%	75%	34%	66%	31%
Botolan Sambal	84%	88%	91%	100%	97%	91%	84%	69%	38%	63%	34%
Ayta MagAntsi	81%	84%	94%	97%	100%	94%	88%	72%	38%	59%	34%
Ayta MagIndi	81%	84%	94%	91%	94%	100%	91%	72%	34%	59%	31%
Ayta Ambala	84%	88%	91%	84%	88%	91%	100%	75%	34%	66%	31%
Kapampangan	72%	72%	75%	69%	72%	72%	75%	100%	31%	59%	28%
Ivatan	31%	34%	34%	38%	38%	34%	34%	31%	100%	22%	31%
Ilokano	69%	69%	66%	63%	59%	59%	66%	59%	22%	100%	25%
Tagalog	28%	31%	31%	34%	34%	31%	31%	28%	31%	25%	100%

5.5 Particles

The eight Sambalic particles studied are very similar; in general exhibiting only minor pronunciation differences. Once again the Ayta languages have high cognate percentages with each other while Bolinao and Tina Sambal have several mutual particles which are not cognate with the Ayta languages.

The one exception is the particle denoting surprise on account of the speaker (*pala* in Tagalog). Each Sambal language has unique forms for this particle.

Kapampangan has more particle cognates with Tagalog (50%) than with the Sambal languages (< 40%). Ivatan also scores less than 40% cognate with the Sambal languages.

Table 6. Particle Cognate Percentages

	Bol	T.S.	Abel	B.S.	Ants	Indi	Amba	Kap	Iva	Ilo	Tag
Bolinao	100%	63%	50%	50%	38%	38%	63%	25%	38%	13%	25%
Tina Sambal	63%	100%	38%	38%	25%	25%	38%	38%	25%	25%	13%
Ayta Abellen	50%	38%	100%	88%	75%	75%	75%	25%	25%	25%	13%
Botolan Sambal	50%	38%	88%	100%	75%	75%	75%	25%	25%	25%	13%
Ayta MagAntsi	38%	25%	75%	75%	100%	75%	63%	25%	25%	25%	13%
Ayta MagIndi	38%	25%	75%	75%	75%	100%	63%	38%	25%	25%	25%
Ayta Ambala	63%	38%	75%	75%	63%	63%	100%	25%	38%	25%	25%
Kapampangan	25%	38%	25%	25%	25%	38%	25%	100%	38%	25%	50%
Ivatan	38%	25%	25%	25%	25%	25%	38%	38%	100%	25%	38%
Ilokano	13%	25%	25%	25%	25%	25%	25%	25%	25%	100%	25%
Tagalog	25%	13%	13%	13%	13%	25%	25%	50%	38%	25%	100%

5.6 Conjunctions

In analyzing the conjunction systems of these languages, it is easily observed that the most basic conjunctions are virtually uniform among the Ayta languages. Several Ayta languages (Abellen, MagAntsi, and MagIndi) have identical conjunction sets for the seven conjunctions researched. In the three cases where there is a split distribution among Sambal languages, it is accounted for by Tina Sambal and Bolinao having common lexical entries that are different from Botolan Sambal and the Ayta languages.

The LWCs Ilokano, Kapampangan, and Tagalog have had little influence on the current use of connectors in Ayta and the other Sambalic languages. Among the LWCs, Kapampangan conjunctions are 29% or less cognate with Sambal languages. Other than *ta* ‘because’, Ivatan has no conjunctions in common with any of the Sambal languages.

Table 7. Conjunction Cognate Percentages

	Bol	T.S.	Abel	B.S.	Ants	Indi	Amba	Kap	Iva	Ilo	Tag
Bolinao	100%	57%	29%	29%	29%	29%	29%	14%	0%	14%	14%
Tina Sambal	57%	100%	57%	57%	57%	57%	43%	29%	14%	29%	29%
Ayta Abellen	29%	57%	100%	86%	100%	100%	86%	29%	14%	29%	29%
Botolan Sambal	29%	57%	86%	100%	86%	86%	71%	29%	14%	29%	43%
Ayta MagAntsi	29%	57%	100%	86%	100%	100%	86%	29%	14%	29%	29%
Ayta MagIndi	29%	57%	100%	86%	100%	100%	86%	29%	14%	29%	29%
Ayta Ambala	29%	43%	86%	71%	86%	86%	100%	29%	0%	14%	29%
Kapampangan	14%	29%	29%	29%	29%	29%	29%	100%	0%	14%	14%
Ivatan	0%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	0%	0%	100%	14%	0%
Ilokano	14%	29%	29%	29%	29%	29%	14%	14%	14%	100%	0%
Tagalog	14%	29%	29%	43%	29%	29%	29%	14%	0%	0%	100%

5.7 Interrogatives

Unlike other grammatical categories, the six interrogatives studied show very little similarity between Sambalic languages. With the exception of Botolan Sambal's similarity with MagAntsi (67%), Bolinao (67%) and Tina Sambal (83%), there are no combinations over 50% cognate. Even Ayta language interrogative systems compared with each other exhibit very limited similarity.

Kapampangan's interrogatives are 50% cognate with Tagalog and Ivatan but not very cognate with Sambal languages (33% or less). Ivatan, on the other hand, is surprisingly 50% cognate with both Botolan Sambal and Ayta MagAntsi in addition to Kapampangan.

Table 8. Interrogative Cognate Percentages

	Bol	T.S.	Abel	B.S.	Ants	Indi	AmBa	Kap	Iva	Ilo	Tag
Bolinao	100%	67%	17%	67%	50%	17%	17%	17%	33%	33%	33%
Tina Sambal	67%	100%	33%	83%	50%	17%	17%	17%	33%	50%	33%
Ayta Abellen	17%	33%	100%	33%	17%	17%	17%	0%	0%	33%	0%
Botolan Sambal	67%	83%	33%	100%	67%	33%	33%	33%	50%	50%	33%
Ayta MagAntsi	50%	50%	17%	67%	100%	50%	33%	33%	50%	33%	33%
Ayta MagIndi	17%	17%	17%	33%	50%	100%	33%	17%	17%	17%	0%
Ayta Ambala	17%	17%	17%	33%	33%	33%	100%	17%	17%	17%	17%
Kapampangan	17%	17%	0%	33%	33%	17%	17%	100%	50%	17%	50%
Ivatan	33%	33%	0%	50%	50%	17%	17%	50%	100%	17%	50%
Ilokano	33%	50%	33%	50%	33%	17%	17%	17%	100%	100%	17%
Tagalog	33%	33%	0%	33%	33%	0%	17%	50%	50%	17%	100%

5.8 Composite Cognate Percentages

Below are the total composite cognate percentages for all 266 lexical items. There is a distinct gap between Sambal languages and non Sambal languages. The 7 Sambal languages are all 60% or higher in lexical similarity with each other. The Ayta languages are all 70% or more lexically similar with each other. Botolan Sambal is 75% or more lexically similar with all the Ayta languages.

Kapampangan is the most similar of the 3 LWCs with Sambal languages, ranging between 45% and 52% in lexical similarity with Sambalic languages. Ilokano and Tagalog are between 37% and 43% cognate with Sambalic languages. Ivatan is less than 27% cognate with Sambalic languages.

Table 9. Composite Cognate Percentages

	Bol	T.S.	Abel	B.S.	Ants	Indi	Amba	Kap	Iva	Ilo	Tag
Bolinao	100%	76%	62%	66%	60%	60%	61%	47%	24%	43%	38%
Tina Sambal	76%	100%	64%	70%	61%	60%	62%	48%	25%	41%	38%
Ayta Abellen	62%	64%	100%	79%	75%	70%	70%	45%	24%	41%	37%
Botolan Sambal	66%	70%	79%	100%	80%	75%	76%	47%	26%	41%	40%
Ayta MagAntsi	60%	61%	75%	80%	100%	83%	73%	49%	25%	37%	38%
Ayta MagIndi	60%	60%	70%	75%	83%	100%	73%	52%	25%	37%	37%
Ayta Ambala	61%	62%	70%	76%	73%	73%	100%	46%	25%	39%	41%
Kapampangan	47%	48%	45%	47%	49%	52%	46%	100%	22%	31%	42%
Ivatan	24%	25%	24%	26%	25%	25%	25%	22%	100%	24%	23%
Ilokano	43%	41%	41%	41%	37%	37%	39%	31%	24%	100%	31%
Tagalog	38%	38%	37%	40%	38%	37%	41%	42%	23%	31%	100%

6. Discussion and conclusions

6.1. Sambalic languages

In trying to postulate lexical similarity subgroupings within the Sambalic language family, several observations are intuitive. Ayta Abellen and Botolan Sambal appear to belong in the same grouping. Abellen has the highest cognate scores with Botolan Sambal (79%) and Botolan Sambal has its 2nd highest score with Abellen. Their geographic proximity make this conclusion almost predictable.

The northern coastal languages of Tina Sambal and Bolinao also form a group, being 76% cognate with each other. Since these languages are lowland, coastal languages and geographically close, this result also is not surprising.

The southern Ayta languages of MagIndi and MagAntsi also form a group, having the highest composite cognate scores of any two languages in this study (83%).

The mystery language in this study is Ayta Ambala. It has the highest cognate percentage with Botolan Sambal (76%) but that is not very remarkable since that is almost the lowest cognate percentage Botolan Sambal has with any Ayta language. So it is hard to know whether Ayta Ambala belongs with Ayta Abellen and Botolan Sambal in the north or with Ayta MagIndi and Ayta MagAntsi to the east. Another possibility is that emerging research on the Ayta Magbukun language will reveal a possible subgrouping with that language.

Botolan Sambal has high cognate percentages with all the Ayta languages and also fairly high similarity with the coastal lowland languages. This makes one wonder if it was either the original parent of all these other languages or maybe that a form of it is currently emerging as a trade language for Sambal speakers talking to someone from another group. Historical reconstruction is needed to answer these types of questions.

6.2. Sambalic Languages compared with others

In terms of the LWCs, Kapampangan is the most lexically similar with Sambalic languages, however it is still at least 10% less similar than the Sambalic languages are

with each other. Kapampangan also scores in the same range of lexical similarity with Tagalog as with Sambalic languages. While the gap in lexical similarity percentages between Kapampangan and Sambalic languages makes it difficult to conclude they belong to the same microgroup, Kapampangan's higher scores with Sambalic languages than other LWCs suggest macrogrouping.

As for Ivatan, while it is certainly premature to say that all Bashic languages bear no link with the Central Luzon language family, it can be deduced that Ivatan either is fairly far removed from the Central Luzon language family or it has undergone much lexical change to reach the point where not even 30% of its lexicon is recognizable as cognates with any Sambalic language.

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Appendix 1 – Wordlist Data

Table 10. Nouns (129 Total)

	Abel	Amb	Anchi	Bol	BS	Ilo	Indi	Iva	Kap	Tag	TS
afternoon	mahilim	hapon	maʔapon	yabiina	mahilim	mallim	kaʔawat	makoyab	gatpanapan	hapon	'apon
all	kaganaʔan	laʔat	naubuh	sarba	kajanawan	amin	kaganawan	atavo	sabla?	lahat	halban
ankle	tikid	hakuŋan	bukluŋ	ŋalwanalwan	bukon?	bukon?	buwi	kasindan	bukunbukun	bukon?	balogo?
ash	tubog	abo	abo	abonsyaŋ	abo	dapo	abu	avo	abu	abo	aboh
back	gulot	bokot	bokot	gorot	bokot	likod	bukut	dichod	gulut	likod	bokot
banana	haʔa	saʔa	haʔa	batag	haʔa	saba	saʔa	vinyeveh	sagin	sagiq	batag
belly	bitoka?	bitoka	tyan	tiyan	tiyan	bituka	bituka	vodik	atiān	tiʔan	tyan
bird	manokmanok	manokmanok	manokmanok	manokmanok	manokmanok	billit	manuk	manomanok	ayup	ibon	manok?
blanket	owih	owis	uwih	olis	owih	olis	uwis	ayob	ulas	kumot	ili
blood	daya?	daya?	daya?	daya?	daya?	dara	daya	raya	daya?	dugo	daya?
body	lamān	nawini	lawini	lalamān	nawini	bagi	lawini	karakohan	katawan	katawan	lalaman
bone	bot?	bot?	bot?	bot?	bot?	tulaŋ	butu?	toʔhaŋ	butul	butu	botol
brain	utik	otik	utik	otik	itik	utik	utik	otik	utak	utak	otok
breakfast	pamigat	almohal	mamoah	aramosal	almohal	pamigat	almusal	riagin	panaba	almusal	armosal
breast	huho	soso?	oho	soso?	nuno?	suso	suso	soso	suso	suso	soso
butterfly	goparpa?	palo?	palɔʔpalo	kalibahban	palo?	kolibahban	palu	kodibahan	taluban	paruparo	kalibahban
carabao	danwag	damolag	damolag	damowag	nuan̄	dulig	pagad	damulag	kalabaw	damolag	
cheek	pijjhpijh	piŋjh	piŋjh	piŋpis	piŋjh	piŋpiŋ	piŋjh	pisnyi	pisŋji	pisŋji	pihpip
chest	pagaw	dibdib	pagaw	kirip	nibnib	barokoŋ	pagaw	kalanganjan	salu	dibdib	kolop
child	anak	anak	anak	anak	anak	ubbiŋ	anak	motdih	anak	bata	anak

	Abel	Amb	Anchi	Bol	BS	Ilo	Indi	Iva	Kap	Tag	TS
chicken	manok	manok	manok	manok	manok	manuk	manuk	manok	manuk	manok	manok
chin	baba?	baba?	baba?	baba?	timid	baba	tomid	baba?	baba	baba	ba?ba?
cloud	uwip	olap	ginim	gonim	ulip	lem	dindim	biga?	ulap	lolom	lolom
coconut	onjot	onjot	onjot	onjot	inyog	unut	nyoy	ηηντ	niyog	onot	
crow	owak	uwak	owak	owak	uwak	wak	wak	uwak	uwak	owak	
day	maja?amot	allo	awro	allo	aldaw	ma?amot	araw	aldo	araw	awlo	
deaf	ti?i?	tolokon	tikkin	tilik	umil	tikin	makotij	maklak	biji	tolok	
debt	utaj	otaj	utaj	otaj	utaj	utaj	gatos	utaj	utaj	otaj	
deer	oyha	oyha	oysa	oyha	ogsas	uwisa	agsah	usa	usa	oysa	
dog	aho	aso	aho	aso	aso	asu	isito	asu	aso	aso	
dream	taynip	taynip	taynip	taynip	tagtagainip	taynip	taynip	tinap	panaqinip	taynap	
dust	tu?apok	gabot	tuwapok	ta?pok	alikabok	tapok	ahbik	alikabuk	alabok	gabok	
ear	talinja?	tik	totolyan	tolih	lapayag	tik	tadinya	balugbug	ta?iña	totolyan	
earthquake	lay?on	dayon	rayon	layon	ginginid	layun	nini	ayun	lindol	layon	
egg	talay	okoy	poga	saly	okoy	itlog	ukuy	otioy	ebun	itlog	oybon
eggplant	taloŋ	balansena	tarom	talam	taroŋ	balasenas	vahosa	balasenas	taloŋ	talom	
elbow	hiko	hiko	siko	hiko	siko	siku	sicho	siku	siko	hiko	
eye	mata	mata	mata	mata	mata	mata	mata	mata	mata	mata	
face	lupa	lupa	ropa	rupa	rupa	lupa	daŋoy	lupa	mukha	lopa	
father	bapa	bapa	tatay	tatay	tatay	tataŋ	bapa	ama	ibpa?	ama	ama?
feather	polokpol	banjibay	habot	sabot	habot	dotdot	sabut	boboh	bulbul	balabitbo	habot
feces	taka?	taka?	takif?	taka?	tak?ki	takya	tatsi	takla?	ta?i	taka	
finger	galamay	galamay	garamay	galamay	ramay	galamay	galamay	kakamay	talirii?	daliri	galawagaw

	Abel	Amb	Anchi	Bol	BS	Ilo	Indi	Iva	Kap	Tag	TS
fire	apoy	apoy	kina?	kona?	kona	ikan	kina?	amoŋ	apoy	apoy	apoy
fish	ikan	kina?	lajiw	lajiw	lajiw	ŋilaw	lajiw	naniɖ	laŋo	laŋaw	ikan
fly		dawa	tagiy	boŋa	boŋa	boŋa	tagiy	asi	buŋa	buŋa	buŋa
fruit	pahiŋa?	pahiŋa?	togak	pasŋŋ	pahiŋa?	tukak	pasinga?	palakak	tugak	palaka?	talakka?
frog		labok	labok	habot	sabot	habot	bu?ok	sabut	vɔk	buak	habot
hair		gamit	gamit	gamt	gamt	gamt	ima	gamit	rapan	amat	gamot
hand	o:	olo	ulo	olo	ulo	ulo	ulo	oho	buntuk	ulo	olo
head		puho	poho	biki?	poso?	puso?	puso	pusu	tawol	pusu?	puso
heart		bu?ih	bowi?	bu?id	bo?eh	mukod	buwi	tovin	sakuŋ	sakoŋ	bo?or
heel		baiy	bali	bali	bali	balay	bali	vahay	bale	bahay	bali?
house		ahawa	ahawa	asawa	ahawa	asawa	asawa	kakovot	asawa	asawa	ka?amba
husband		tu?ol	tagul	to?ol	to?od	tu?ol	tumiŋ	tu?ul	to:d	tud	tu?or
knee	odi	kaliwa?	uki	wiri	oki	kanigid	odi	do ori na	kaili	kaliwa	wili?
leftside		kilat	kimat	kimat	kimat	kimat	kilat	tsidat	kildap	kidlat	kimat
lightening		labi?	labi	labi?	labi?	bibig	labi	vivi	labi?	labi	labi
lip		agtay	agtay	agtay	agtay	dalim	agtay	atay	ate	atay	agtay
liver		baya?	baya	baya?	baga?	bara	baya?	apwaw	baga?	baga?	baya?
lungs		laki	liyaki?	lalaki?	lalaki	lalaki	lilaki	mahakay	lalaki	lalaki	lalaki
man		amak	amak	apay	amak	ikamin	dasay	apin	dase	banig	apay
monkey	baki?	bakulaw	baki?	baki?	bakis	bakulaw	tsoŋo	bakis	ŋngoy	bako?	
moon	buwan	boyan	buwan	bulan	bulan	bulan	vohan	bulan	buwan	bulan	
morning	mahanib	mahambak	hanib	boklas	mahambak	bigat	maranun	mavikas	abak	umaga	boklah
mother	indo	indo?	indo	ina	nanay	ina	indu	ina	indu?	ina	indo?

	Abel	Amb	Anchi	Bol	BS	Ilo	Indi	Iva	Kap	Tag	TS
mosquito	ilik	yamok	ilik	ilik	lamok	ilik	tamoniŋ	yamuk	lamok	ilok	
mouth	bibiy	bibiy	bibiy	bibiy	ŋiwat	bibiy	ŋoso	asbuk	bibig	boboy	
mud	pita?	pita?	pita	topa?	pita?	pitak	burak	hotah	putik	dotak	
name	ŋalan	ŋalan	ŋalan	ŋalan	naqan	laqyu	ŋaran	laqyu?	ŋalan	ŋalan	
neck	liʔiy	biŋ	liʔiy	liʔiy	tiŋid	biŋ	lagaw	batal	liʔig	loʔoy	
needle	kadayim	kadayim	kadayim	kadayim	dagom	karayom	dayim	karayom	karayom	karayom	
night	madiglim	yabi	yabi	yabi	rabi?	yabi	ahip	bsŋi	gabi	yabi?	
noon	ugto	ugto	ugto	ogto	ogto	aldaw	ugtu	payarawnin	ugtu	taŋhali	kaoqitowan
nose	balonjoh	balonjoh	balonjoh	aʔroŋ	balonjoh	agoŋ	baluŋus	momodan	aruŋ	iloŋ	aʔloŋ
palm	daokap	dalipapa	dalokap	dawokap	dakolap	dalipapa?	rapan	palad	palma	palal	
peanut	mani?	mani?	mani?	mani?	mani?	mani?	mani	mani?	mani?	mani?	
pig	baboy	baboy	baboy	baboy	baboy	babuy	bago	babi?	baboy	baboy	
pillow	onan	poŋan	ulunan	alonan	onan	puŋan	ulunan	haŋnan	ulununan	unan	alonan
rain	udan	abagat	uran	rapiq	oran	tudo	uran	timoy	uran	ulan	abagat
rainbow	bowakaw	bolalangaw	buwaŋaw	kabonlalakaw	kabullalangaw	balalayaw	buwaŋaw	ranyiraj	pinaŋari	bahaghari	kabonlalangaw
rat	dagih	baki?	dagih	ibot	baki?	baŋ	dagis	karam	dagis	daga	bolaki
rib	tagyaj	tagyaj	tagyaj	tagyaj	tagyaj	parapag	tagyaj	taglaŋ	tadyaŋ	tudyuhin	tagyan
rice ¹	biyah	biyah	byas	boya	baŋas	biyas	paray	abias	bigas	boyah	
river	kabatu?an	yawog	ilog	bala	karayan	ilug	ahsoŋ	ilug	ilog	kabatwan	
root	yamot	wakat	yamot	ramot	uyat	ramot	yamot	yamut	ugat	yamot	
roof	atip	atip	atip	atip	huboŋ	atip	huboŋ	atip	hubuŋan	huboŋ	atop

¹ husked

	Abel	Amb	Anchi	Bol	BS	Ilo	Indi	Iva	Kap	Tag	TS
rope	lubil	yobil	yobil	robir	yobil	tali	yubil	pinospos	lubid	lubid	yobil
salt	ahin	ahin	ahin	asin	ahin	asin	asin	asin	asin	asin	asin
sand	laŋhi?	bohanjin	balah	boyanjin	kapanati?an	darat	balas	anay	balas	buhajin	boyanjin
shadow	anino	anino	alina	anino	anniniwan	aninu	anino	alino	anino	anino	anino
shoulder	bantaw	bantaw	abaya	abaya	abaga	bantaw	pakoh	pago	balikat	abaya	abaya
sibling	kalonjno	patil	busat	patil	kabsat	patil	kaktih	kapatad	kapatid	talakaka	
skin	lutit?	balat	katat	katat	kudil	balat	kodit	balat	balat	katat	
sky	lanit	lanit	lanit	lanit	lanit	lanit	tohos	banua	lanit	lanit	
smoke	anoh	ahok	asok	ahok	asok	asuk	ahob	asuk	usok	asok	
snake	bikat	otan	olay	utan	ulig	utan	boday	ubijan	ahas	ulay	
soup	habaw	habaw	sabaw	habaw	sopas	sabi?	asoy	sabo	sabaw	habaw	
spider	qigan?	pida?	qigan?	qigan?	qigan?	lawwalawwa	gigan?	hahawa	babagua?	gagamba	gigan?
spit	luda?	topay	dula?	dula?	topra?	topay	tipa	lura?	lura	lora?	
star	bitiwin	bitiwin	bitio?in	bitio?in	bitiwin	vitohin	batuin	bitu?in	bitu?in	bito?on	
stone	dapah	batu	batu	batu	batu	batu	batu	batu	batu	batu	
sweat	hayŋit	hayŋit	sayŋit	hayŋit	liŋit	sayŋit	inaliŋdiŋ	pawas	pawis	hayŋot	
potato ²	kamoti	kamotsi	kamoti	kamoti	kamuti	wakay	kamuti	kamoti	kamoti	kamoti	
tail	ikoy	ikoy	ikoy	ikoy	ipos	ikuy	ipos	iki?	buntot	ikoy	
tear ³	lowa?	lowa?	luwa	luwa?	luwa?	luwa	ho:	lua?	luha	lawa?	
teeth	ŋipin	ŋipin	gogot	ŋipin	ŋipin	lasi	ŋipin	ipan	ŋipin	ŋipon	

² sweet
³ from crying

	Abel	Amb	Anchi	Bol	BS	Ilo	Indi	Iva	Kap	Tag	TS
termite	anag	anag	anag	anag	anay	anag	anay	anay	anε	anay	anag
thigh	pa?a	pa?a	pa?a	pa?a	lup?po	pa?a	pa:	puad	pigi	pa?a	pa?a
thorn	diwih	dyiwi	duwi	dowi	sriit	diwi	tolok	suksuk	tinik	dowi	dowi
throat	bik?law	halo	bokraw	boklaw	karabukob	salu	tithinan	akmulan	alamunan	boklaw	boklaw
thunder	kudol	kimat	kodor	korol	gurruod	kilat	adiy	dul dul	kulog	korol	korol
toe	galamay	galamay	garamay	garamay	ramay	galamay	kakamay	talir?i	daliri	galawagaw	galawagaw
tongue	dila	dila	dila?	dila?	dila	dila	rida	dila?	dila?	dila	dila
tree	kayo	kayo	kayo	kayo	kayo	kayu	kayo	pun kayu?	kahoy	kayo	kayo
trousers	pantalon	hanwal	botarga	halwal	pantalon	sanwal	salavini	salol	pantalon	pantalon	pantalon
turtle	pag?oŋ	pag?oŋ	pag?oŋ	pag?oŋ	pag?oŋ	pag?oŋ	iraŋ	pau?	pagoŋ	pag?oŋ	pag?oŋ
urine	duday	dyodyay	duray	om?i?	doray	isbo	duray	pitig	imi?	ihi	omi?
vein ⁴	oyat	oyat	iyat	oyat	iyat	urat	uyat	oyat	uyat	ugat	oyat
wall ⁵	liŋliŋ	dīŋdīŋ	lolog	riŋriŋ	liŋliŋ	didiŋ	liŋliŋ	gadagada	daliq	pader	padir
water	lanom	lanom	ranom	lanom	danom	lanim	danom	danum	tubiq	lanom	lanom
waterfall	halughog	bihay	bosay	bihay	burayok	bisay	komayasakas	puntu?	talon	bosay	bosay
wife	ahawa	ahawa	asawa	ahawa	asawa	asawa	kakovot	asawa	asawa	asawa	ka?ambalin
wing	pakpak	palakpak	puwal	pakpak	payak	palakpak	panyid	pakpak	pakpak	pakpak	pakpak
winnow	bilawo	tatap	bitsay	tatap	bilawo	bigao	igo	bila?ut	tatap	bila?o	tatap
woman	babayi	babayi	babayi	babayi	babayi	babai	mavakis	babai	babayi	babayi	babayi

⁴ blood
⁵ of a house

Abel	Amb	Anchi	Bol	BS	Ilo	Indi	Iva	Kap	Tag	TS
worm	uil	bolati	uwil	bolati	uwil	ig?gis	uwil	bulati	uod	olol
year	ta?on	ta?on	ta?on	ta?on	ta?on	tawin	ta?un	awan	banua	ta?on

Table 11. Verbs (48 Total)

Abel	Amb	Anchi	Bol	BS	Ilo	Indi	Iva	Kap	Tag	TS
answer	hibat	kibat	ubat	tubay	suŋbat	kitbay	atbay	pakbat	sagot	obat
bathe	pali?u	loyo?	palyu	maluyo?	liyo	digos	luyu	ryus	dili?	lyo?
bite	kayat	kayat	kayat	kayat	kayat	sonyit	ket	kagat	kayat	
burn	ulam	ulam	iwik	pu?ol	uram	ulam	susuhan	silaban	sunog	po?ol
bury	ilbij̄	ilbij̄	ilbij̄	tabon	tabon	libij̄	vuvun	ikutkut	ba?on	tabon
buy	haliw	haliw	haliw	gataŋ	haliw	manadiw	sali?	pabili		haliw
call	iŋat	iŋat	baw?gin	iŋat	ayab	big	tawag	aus	tawag	ha?waway
choose	pili?	pili?	pili?	pili?	pili?	pidi	pili?	pili?		pili?
climb	manik	dakiy	unik	oli?	uli	dakey	kayab	ukiat	akyat	oli?
count	bilan̄	bilan̄	bilan̄	bilan̄	bilan̄	vida	bilan̄	bilan̄	bilan̄	bilan̄
cough	kuko?	koko?	koko?	uyik	kuko?	gugu	kuku?	ubo		ko?ko?
cry	tanjih	tanjih	akis	tanjih	sajit	tajis	tomanyis	iyak		tanjih
defecate	taka?	taka?	taka?	taka?	taka?	takya?	tatsi	taka?		taka?
dig	kali	kalih	otkot	kali	kali	kadi	kulkul	hukay		otkot
drink	inom	inim	inom	inom	inom	inum	inum	inom		inom
eat	kan	ikan	kan	manjan	ikan	kan	kan	ka?in		kan
fly	lompad	lompad	lompad	lompad	tayab	lumpad	sayap	sulagpo	lipad	lompar

	Abel	Amb	Anchi	Bol	BS	Ilo	Indi	Iva	Kap	Tag	TS
forget	liwa	liwan	liwa	liwa	lipat	liwa	wayak	kaliujuan	limot	liŋwan	
give	biay	am? ⁷ i?	bi	mam? ⁷ iḥ	itid	bi	turuh	bie	biŋgāy	bi	
hear	liŋ? ⁷	liŋ? ⁷	iŋar	liŋ? ⁷	dinŋiq	liŋ? ⁷	adjiy	damdam	kiŋig	loŋo?	
hide	tayo	tago?	adi	tago?	limming	tagu?	tayu	salikut	tago	ari?	
kill	patiy	patsi	pati	pati	patay	pati	diman	pate	patay	pati	
laugh	kili?	kaili?	ka? ⁷ ili	katawa	kayli?	ayak	kaili	tawa	omlih	omlih	
lie ⁶	boŋkok	boŋkok	bula?	boŋkok	ulbod	lawig	dada? ⁷ ay	laram	kasinuŋaliŋan	kalotoy	
pay	bayad	bayad	bayad	bayad	bayad	bayad	paga	bayad	bayad	bayar	
plant	tanim	tanim	tanim	tanim	mula	tanim	muha	tanam	tanam	mola	
pull	goloy	guloy	goroy	goloy	guyod	binunay	palaj	igut	batak	bira	
play	dagaw	daragaw	dagaw	ikap	dagaw	ay? ⁷ ayam	kapal	yayam	alur	laro?	ikap
push	tudon	doron	dulin	toror	tulak	turon	pasosoy	tulak	tulak	tolak	
repeat	oman	oman	uman	ulit	uman	pirwah	uman	ulit	ulit	olit	
run	mayiw	lokho?	uwawayu	powayo	taray	uwawayu	yayu	pulayi	takbo	olayo?	
see	kit	ikit	kit	kit	akit	akit	vuya	akit	kita	kit	
sew	tahi?	tayi?	tayi?	da? ⁷ it	tayi?	da? ⁷ it	kapanhiniḥ	tayi?	tahi?	tayi?	
sit	ikno?	ikno?	tikri?	ikno?	tugaw	iknu?	disna	lukluk	upo	toklo?	
sleep	toloy	toloy	iliŋ	tuloy	turog	biliw	itsih	tuditud	tulog	maʔilok	
smell	da? ⁷ ip	da? ⁷ ip	aŋot	da? ⁷ ip	aŋut	dip	aŋot	bau	amoy	anjot	
squeeze	pihpih	pispis	pihpih	pispis	pispis	pispis	pispis	pastan	siksik	poloh	
stand	idiŋ	idiŋ	iriŋ	iriŋ	takder	iriŋ	atnik	tikdo	tayo	odoŋ	

6 false

Abel	Amb	Anchi	Bol	BS	Illo	Indi	Iva	Kap	Tag	TS
steal	takaw	takaw	takaw	takaw	takaw	takaw	takaw	tako	takaw	takaw
suck	hiphip	sipsip	hiphip	sipsip	hiphip	susop	sipsip	somosoh	sipsip	hophop
swim	tajoy	lanjy	kaway	tajoy	lanjoy	kaway	yawat	kawε	lanjoy	tajoy
throw	tapon	halo?	tapon	bantak	tapon	batō	tapun	pagsid	ugse	tapon
vomit	hoka?	hoka	huka	soka	hoka	tarwa	suka	mutawta	suka	hoka
walk	kodaj	alyako?	bita	lalako	owako	magna	bita	mayam	lakad	lalako?
wait	agad	injan	injan	ta?gan	anti?	uray	itiŋ	nanaya	aya	hiñtay
wash	oyah	laba	uyah	uyas	oyah	buqgo	huyas	uyas	uas	oyah
winnow	tatap	tatap	tatap	tatap	ta?ip	tatap	wakwak	tatap	tatip	tatap
work	obda	trabaho	obra	trabaho	trabaho	obra	trabahu	obra	trabaho	trabaho

Table 12. Adjectives (38 Total)

Abel	Amb	Anchi	Bol	BS	Illo	Indi	Iva	Kap	Tag	TS
big	laki	hmak	hilay	?alaki	hilay	dak?il	ragul	rakoh	dagul	laki
bitter	pa?it	pa?it	pa?it	pa?it	pa?it	pa?it	akpad	payit	pa?it	hi?ban
black	ŋitit	wliŋ	ŋitsit	ŋitit	ŋitit	ŋitit	uyaŋ	vahiŋ	tulij	ŋitit
cold	lay?ip	lay?ip	ray?ip	ray?ip	lami?is	lip?it	hanibniň	dimla	lamig	layop
deep	lali?	lali?	?ararin	lali?	uniq	lali?	rahim	alam	alam	lalo
difficult	?idap	?idap	?idap	?idap	?irat	?irat	sakit	sakit	hirap	?irap
dirty	dinat	yŋat	rimik	nikasana?	yŋat	rugit	dinat	rudit	rumi	yŋat
dull	mo?mo	purul	porol	kamil	mudi!	purol	ngarih	puruł	porol	porol
far	ta?an	dayo?	rayu?	?adayo?	rayo?	dayo	rayi	dayu?	layo	rayo?
fat	taba?	taba?	taba?	taba?	lukmig	taba?	tava	taba?	taba?	taba?

fragrant	baŋoh	baŋo?	baŋoh	baŋlu	baŋoh	baŋlo	baŋi?	asdip	baŋlu	baŋo	baŋlo
good	ŋid	hampat	hampat	bista	byat	dagsin	biyat	rarahmit	bayat	buti	labah
heavy	biyat	biyat	byat	byat	?mot	pudot	?umut	kuhat	pali?	?init	byat
hot	?amot	?umot	?omot	bitil	lonoh	bisin	layaŋ	aptiŋ	danup	guton	aʔmot
hungry	bitil	bitil	bitil	karaŋ	?andro	kara?	ati?og	karaŋ	anaru	kaba?	bitil
long	kadaŋ	kadaŋ	karaŋ	?abaw	laki?	adu	laki	aru	dakal	rami	lako?
many	laboŋ	dila?	l?at	?akipot	kapit	akikid	kapit	idid	kiput	kipot	kipot
narrow	hapiy	kayik	kapit	?akipot	rani	asiqiq	dani	asŋin	lapit	lapit	rani?
near	haliy	dani?	rani	?adani	ba?yu	baro	bayu	vayu	bayu	bago	bayo
new	bayo	bayo	orit	o?dit	orit	labaga	udit	vaya	lutu?	pula	tibya?
red	tribya	odit	tadim	tadim	tadim	tadir	tadir	tarim	tarim	talim	talas
sharp	tadim	biŋ	toklod	biŋ	ibiq	kuttoŋ	ibiq	golaŋ	payat	payat	aʔbon?
skinny	biŋ	biŋ	nanawa	daʔikinj	yamo?	bassit	biliŋ	didikiy	lati?	liʔit	kalog
small	kandi	kayik	ŋolininjnj	dalonot	kiniš	lamuyot	siliŋ	whas	kinis	kinis	yamo?
smooth	lino?	kinis	ŋiho	alsim	ahim	alsim	aslasm	napa	aslam	ʔasim	ʔalhom
sour	ahim	asim	toynoŋ	toʔirr	toynoŋ	linitig	tinek	taliniŋ	tulid	tuwid	tynon?
straight	toynoŋ	hikaw	hikaw	ksaw	hikaw	pigsa	lakas	mayit	sikan	lakas	kohaw
strong	hikaw	lakas	tam?ih	ayaŋ	sam?it	tam?ih	tam?is	unawnas	yumu	tamis	hamit
sweet	lam?ih	lam?ih	kodpa	kodpa	kodpa	puskol	kudpa	tukpuh	karal	karal	korpal
thick	kuŋpa	kuŋpa	impiph	impiph	impiph	impiph	impiph	taripis	inpis	inpis	impih
thin	inphiph	inphiph	ayna	ayna	ayna	kapoy	ina	kaha	ina?	hina	kapoy
weak	kapiy	ina?	albit	baha?	baha?	basa?	basa?	vasa	basaa?	basaa?	torpalkon
wet	baha?	baha?	poti?	poti?	poti?	puti?	puti?	idak	puti?	puti?	poti?
white	puti?	puti?	lawag	ak?wal	?alawan	lawa	kuwal	wvuŋ	lapad	lapad	lawan
wide	way	dilaw	holyaw	silyaw	holyaw	kiɻaw	yuhama	dilo	dilaw	holyaw	holyaw

Table 13. Pronouns (32 Total)

	Abel	Amb	Anchi	Bol	BS	Ilo	Indi	Iva	Kap	Tag	TS
F1D	hikita	hakita	hikita	sit'a	hita	sita	sikita	sikita	ikata	hita	hita
F1E	hikayi	hakami	hikay	si?kami	hikayi	sikami	sikay	yamin	ikami		hikami
F1I	hikitawo	hakitamu	hikitamo	si?tamo	hitamo	sitayo	sikitamo	yatin	tamu		hitamo
F1S	hiko	haku	hiko	si?ko	hiko	siak	siku	yakin	yaku		hiko
F2P	hikawo	hakawu	hikaw	si?kamo	hikawo	sikayo	sikau	inio	ikayu		hikamo
F2S	hika	haka	hika	si?ka	hika	sika	sika	imo	ika	ikaw	hika
F3P	hila	hila	hila	sira	hila	isuda	sila	sira	ila		hila
F3S	hiya	hiya	hiya	sya	hiya	isuna	siya	sia	iya		hiya
Foc1D	kita	kita	kita	ata	ta	ta	kita		kata		ta
Foc1E	kayi	kami	kay	kami	kayi	kami	kay	kami	kami		kami
Foc1I	kitawo	tamu	kitamo	atamo	tamo	tayo	kitamu	ta	ikatamu	tayo	tamo
Foc1S	ako	aku	ako	ako	ako	ak	aku	ako	ku	ako	ako
Foc2P	kawo	kawu	kaw	kamo	kawo	kayo	kau	kamo	kayu	kayo	kamo
Foc2S	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka
Foc3P	hila	hila	sara	hila	da	da	sila	sira	la	sila	hila
Foc3S	ya	ya	ya	ya	na	ya	sia	ya	siya	ya	ya
Pos1D	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta		ta		ta	
Pos1E	mi	mi	na?in	mi	nawin	mi	yan	namin	mi	namin	mi
Pos1I	tawo	tamu	tamo	tamo	tayo	tamo	ta	tamu		natin	tamo
Pos1S	ko	ku	ko	ko	ko	ko	ku	ku	ko	ko	ko
Pos2P	yo	yu	yo	moyo	yo	yo	yu	nio	yu	ninyo	moyo
Pos2S	mo	mu	mo	mo	mo	mo	mu	mo	mo	mo	mo
Pos3P	la	la	ra	la	da	da	la	da	nila	nila	la

Pos3S	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	niya	na
Dir1D	kanta	kanta	kanta	konta	konta	konta	kanta	kanta	kekata		konta
Dir1E	kammi	kanyan	kanna?	in	komi	konnawin	kaniami	kanyan	kekami	amin	komi
Dir1I	kantawo	kantamu	kantamo	kontamo	kontamo	kaniatayo	kantamu	diatin	kekatumu	atin	kontamo
Dir1S	kajko	kajku	kajko	konko	konko	kaniak	kajku	diakin	kanaku	akin	konko
Dir2P	kanyo	kayu	kamoyo	komoyo	komoyo	kaniayo	kamuyu	dinio	kekayu	inyo	komoyo
Dir2S	kammo	kamu	kamo	komo	komo	kaniam	kamu	dimo	keka	iyo	komo
Dir3P	kanla	kanla	kalla	konra	konla	kaniada	kalla	dira	karela	kanila	konla
Dir3S	kana	kana	kona	kona	kona	kaniiana	kana	dia	kaya	kaniya	kona

Table 14. Particles (8 Total)

	Abel	Amb	Anchi	Bol	BS	Illo	Indi	Iva	Kap	Tag	Ts
surprise	manayti	alud	awod	anamain	awod	gayam	pata	sawon	pala	pala	payti
still/yet	po?	pun	pon	it	pon	pay	pun	pa	pa	pa	ot
now	ana	yna	ana	ana	ana		ana	na	na	na	ana
desire	dayi	hana	dayi	sapa	dayi	koma	dayi	sana	sa?	sana	komor
only	bijat	dili?	tana	bojatana	bojat	la?in	kay	voyvoh	mu?	lang	bojat
also	met	it	anamaet	it	mit	it	it	pa	rin	din	anamaot
it is said	kano	kanu	kano?	kano	kano	kano	kanu	kono	kanu	daw	kano
again	oman	uman	oman	uman	uman	manin	uman	mirwa	nanaman	ulit	anaman

Table 15. Conjunctions (7 Total)

	Abel	Amb	Anchi	Bol	BS	Ilo	Indi	Iva	Kap	Tag	TS
and	boy	boy	tan	boy	kin	buy	kano	ampon	at	tan	tan
because	ta	kasi?	ta	bana?	ta	ta	ta	uliŋ	dahil	ta	ta
but	noba	nowa?	no?	bale?	piro	ŋim	nuwa?	amna	oneŋ	pero	kot
if/when	no	nu	no	no	no	nu	an	nuŋ	kuŋ	no	no
or	o	o	ono	o	win?no	o	ammana	o	o	o	o
so that	ta?omon	ta?imin	ta?imin	pigaw	imin	tapno	imin	tapihan	baŋ	upŋ	pigaw
therefore	kaya?bay	kaya?	kabay	kanya?	kaya?	ŋarud	kaya	dawa	inia?	kaya	kanya?

Table 16. Interrogatives (6 Total)

	Abel	Amb	Anchi	Bol	BS	Ilo	Indi	Iva	Kap	Tag	TS
when?	makano	makano	ka?no	makano	ka?ano	makano	an?maju	kapilan	ka?ilan	makano	
where?	way?ihiw	ha?anto?	anto	adti	ayri	ayan	antu	dinu	nu	nasatan	ayti
who?	hinya	hita?	hino	si?no	hino	simno	sisabit	sino	ninu	sino	hino
what?	aya	hita?	hino	ani	anya	anya	sabet	aŋu	nanu	ano	anya
how?	way?omon	pakapakun	panno	pa?no	kasano	parasa?antu	maypanu	makananu	pa?ano	pa?no	
why?	takit	owta?	awta	mayin	inta?	awta	inta?	unta	inta?	bakit	anonkot

Appendix 2 – Data Acknowledgements

Ayta Abellen	Data files of Wilhelm Nitsch and Roger Stone, interview with Rodante Capiendo and Emilio Laurzano
Ayta Ambala	Data files of Mercy Ramos and Hennie Chiu, SIL survey files
Ayta MagAntsi	<i>Ayta MagAntsi Dictionary</i> (Stork and Stork, 2005), correspondence with Kurt and Margaret Storck
Ayta MagIndi	Data files of Roger and Joanne Green, SIL survey files, interview with numerous Ayta MagIndi in Nabuklod, Pampanga
Botolan Sambal	Data files of Char Houck, <i>Grammatical Sketch of Botolan Sambal</i> (Antworth, 1979), interview with Joelito De La Cruz
Bolinao	Correspondence with Gary Persons
Ilokano	<i>Ilocano Dictionary and Grammar</i> (Rubino, 2000), interview with Evangeline Stone and Mary Jane Mercado
Ivatan	<i>Ivatan-Filipino-English Dictionary</i> (Hidalgo, 1998) and correspondence with Ginny Larson
Kapampangan	Correspondence with Michael Raymon Manaloto Pangilinan, and <i>English to Kapampangan Dictionary</i> , (Turla)
Tagalog	<i>An English-Tagalog Vocabulary</i> (Enriquez and Guzman, 1998)
Tina Sambal	<i>English-Tina Sambal-Pilipino Dictionary</i> (Elgincolin, 1998) and correspondence with Hella Goschnick