International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics 13
Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan
July 18–23, 2015

On the interference of Tuwali Ifugao, Yattuka and Keley-i elements in hudhud

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Acknowledgements

- Ifugao hudhud singers and language consultants;
- Dr. Lawrence Reid.
1. Hudhud

- Epic singing performed in the Central and Southern municipalities of the Ifugao province in Northern Luzon (Stanyukovich 2003; 2013).
2. Languages: Tuwali texts & “Kalanguya” borrowings

- Mostly known in Tuwali Ifugao – a Central–Cordilleran language. All the published texts were recorded in Tuwali-speaking areas – Lagawe or Kiangan.

- However, there have been claims that the Ifugao ritual literature to a certain extent relies on lexis from “Kalanguya”.
3. Languages: borrowings from ‘Kalanguya’

- **Barton** (1945: 101): “The language of *alim* is related to that of the Asipulo people in Southern Ifugao and to the nearly extinct “secret” language of the Ligauwe people”.

- **Lambrecht** (1960: 21): “Hudhud chanters use quite a number of peculiar words which are never heard in ordinary speech...” “Some words are regularly chanted with corrupted vowels, apparently to obtain a better sound effect. For example: *pambiyuwan* instead of *pumbayuwan*, *bukakel* instead of *bukakol*, *pambukahan* instead of *pumbakahan*”
4. Languages: borrowings from ‘Kalanguya’

- **Lambrecht** (1960: 48): “Yagu’d is commonly used by those who speak the old and now disappearing language of Lagawe, but it is still spoken in a number of villages northwest of that village and seems to be closely related to the language spoken in the southwest of Nueva Vizcaya province”

- **Afable** (2004): “The vocabulary of these long epic poems [hudhud], while they are sung in the Ifugao heartland ... actually involve a dialect that is not linguistically related to Ifugao”. 
5. Languages: borrowings from ‘Kalanguya’

- **Himes (1998: 151):** “Even more apparent as loans are those items that appear in IFG of Kiangan and that Lambrecht (1978) labels *hudhud* words. Virtually all of these items come from the “Lagawe language”, i.e. Kalanguya”.

- **Himes (1998: 174):** “Undoubtedly, several S[outhern] C[ordilleran] languages that were spoken in centuries past are extinct. Mention was made earlier of the “Lagawe language”, referred to by Lambrecht (1978)”
6. Languages: Kalanguya

- **Kalanguya** – a Nuclear Southern–Cordilleran language (closely related to Ibaloy and Karaw).
- Number of speakers – 120,000 (Santiago)
7. Languages: Keley-i & Yattuka

- However, the term ‘Kalanguya’ is also sometimes used by Ifugao people to refer to all speakers of closely related Southern Cordilleran languages in Asipulo (which is reciprocated by Asipuloans who lump together Ifugao speakers into 2 groups – Tuwali and Ayangan).

- Apart from Kalanguya in Tinoc, there are also Keley-i and Yattuka.
8. Languages: Keley–i & Yattuka

- **Keley–i** – barangays Antipulo and Pula of Asipulo (639–3 ify). 8,000 speakers (Ethnologue).

- **Yattuka** (Hanglulaw)– mentioned as the ‘Ya–tuka’ dialect of Keley–i in Ethnologue. 2 barangays in Asipulo – Amduntog and Nungawa. Number of speakers – ~2,700 (Census of the NSO 2010).
9. Languages: Similarity & Difference

- **Linguistic similarity:** ‘Kalanguya’ is used as an umbrella term for all varieties in the cluster by (Himes 1998). Keley-i and Yattuka share 94% of basic vocabulary, while Ahin dialect of Kalanguya shares 85% with Keley-i and only 58% with Yattuka.

- **Cultural difference:** Keley-is and Yattukas consider themselves Ifugaos, unlike Kalanguyas from lowlands. Reportedly, Kalanguyas of Asipulo and Tinoc together with Ayangans are opposed to *Ihappuwan* – a ‘deep’ term referring to ‘original peoples’ of Kiangnan and Asipulo – Tuwali, Keley-i and Yattuka, sharing similar material culture and ritual literature.
Apart from Tuwali, hudhuds are also sung in Yattuka.

Residents and singers from Asipulo claim that hudhuds originate from their area and were borrowed by the Tuwali culture.

Claims that Keley–i singers perform hudhuds only in Yattuka (needs to be verified. No records of hudhuds in Keley–i so far).
11. Research questions

- Which ‘Kalanguya’ language is the source of borrowings in hudhuds?
- Anthropological tendency: a folklore genre originates in the area with more ritual distribution limitations and detalization. This is the case in the Yattuka area (Stanyukovich 2013; Field records). Linguistic evidence of this?
- Numerous claims that Tuwali hudhuds borrow ‘Kalanguya’ lexis. Is the opposite true about Yattuka hudhuds?
12. Data

- **Tuwali hudhuds (6):**
  - *Hudhud of Aliguyon who was bored by the rustle of the palm tree at Aladugen* (Lambrecht 1960).
  - *The Hudhud of Dinulawan and Bugan at Gonhadon* (Lambrecht 1967)
  - *Aliguyon nak Binenwahen* (Dulawan, Revel 1993)
  - *Bigan nak Pangaiwan* (Dulawan, Revel 1997)
  - *Bigan an Imbayagda* (Dulawan, Revel 1997)
  - *Hudhud di kolot* (Stanyukovich 1995)

- **Yattuka hudhuds (2):**
  - *Hudhud ni kolot* (Stanyukovich 2012)
  - *Hudhud ni nosi* (Stanyukovich 2012)
13. Object of the study

- Grammatical elements: affixes, pronouns, case markers.

- Lexical elements.
14. Grammatical element interference (SC→Tuwali)

Actor voice prefix um-:

Um-kiliggen ne um-lahun ka’h
AV.INF-stand_up and AV.INF-exit
olladan da olladan da gawwa na gawwa na ynoy ha ad Gonhadon.
‘You stand up and go out into the yard into the yard in the middle in the middle of Gonhadon.’

Um-hep an um-lahun
AV.INF-go_down LK AV.INF-exit
da Daulayan ke Bugan.
‘Daulayan and Bugan go down exiting.’

Um-bangun hi Daulayanatu, Dodhok an hi
AV.INF-get_up
Daulayanatu, eee an hi nak Imbaluwohog.
‘This Daulayan will stand up, this Dodhok Daulayan, son of Imbaluwohog.’
15. Grammatical element interference (SC→Tuwali)

Pronouns:

*hikyu* (2PL.IND) – only Yattuka

*kyu* (2PL.NOM) – only Yattuka

*ida* (3PL.NOM)

*tu* (3SG.GEN)
16. Grammatical element interference (Tuwali→Yattuka)

Verbal prefixes *muN-*/*nuN-*:  
\[Nun-?ing-ngadan\] ‘The one named...’

\[Nung-gillig\] ‘Those living at the village edge’

\[Mun-dadong\] ‘To proceed directly to smth’

\[Nun~nu-hala~halla\] ‘Neighboring’
17. Grammatical element interference (Tuwali → Yattuka)

Personal pronouns:

*dakami* (2PL.IND) (*d<umm>akami*)

*=na* (3SG.GEN)
18. Grammatical element interference (Tuwali→Yattuka)

**Case markers and deictics:**

- $di/=y$ (NPRSNL.NOM)
- $=ndi$ (NPRSNL.GEN)
- $hi$ (NPNRSL.OBL)
- $ad/=d$ (place&time marker)
- $hidi + =d$ (DEM.DIST + place&time marker)
19. Lexical interference

- A list of potential borrowings:
  - ‘Hudhud words’ in Lambrecht’s Tuwali dictionary – 243.
  - Bilingual transcriber’s notes of borrowed words – 136.
  - Hohulins’ Tuwali dictionary – 82.
  - A Yattuka epic singer’s notes of ‘hudhud terms’ – 80.

- Checked if the words are used in existing texts:
  172 words in Yattuka texts, 215 words in Tuwali texts.

- Both lists were read out to naive native speakers of Yattuka, Keley–i and Tuwali to check if the words are recognized as part of everyday lexis of these languages.
20. Lexical interference. Results

- **Tuwali texts** (58 – 27% of 215):
  - Yattuka → : 24 (11%)
  - Keley-i → : 8 (4%)
  - Yattuka&Keley-i → : 26 (12%)

- **Yattuka texts** (12 – 7% of 172):
  - Tuwali → : 6 (3%)
  - Keley-i → : 6 (3%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yattuka →</th>
<th>Italdong ‘to sit straight’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abyu ‘to whittle a vine’ (in hudhud ‘to caress smb’s cheek’)</td>
<td>Kinob–al ‘backyard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agamid ‘to harvest’</td>
<td>Mokaddalu ‘having nothing at all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binha ‘to do smth once in a while’</td>
<td>Noduntug ‘mountainous’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boykat ‘To dress well and travel somewhere for a celebration’</td>
<td>Olladan ‘fenced area’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinolya ‘vegetable bed at the side of a rice field’</td>
<td>Pamadingan ‘doorstep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gayang ‘spear/throw smth’</td>
<td>Pialal ‘dizzy from chewing betel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golaygay ‘hand’</td>
<td>Tu–ngek ‘hitting smb with a stone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haki ‘one’</td>
<td>Tunglub ‘pairing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halakhak ‘clay jar’</td>
<td>Umaldatan ‘fenced area’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiddan ‘who’</td>
<td>Woda EXIST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himmahaki ‘alone’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinagpo ‘horizontal entrance beam’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holyat ‘part of a ritual’</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
22. Lexical interference. In Tuwali texts.

Keley-i →:
- *Binwekan* ‘woman with long hair’
- *Bitulung* ‘a kind of very small areca nut’
- *Biyen* ‘betel leaf’
- *Bukakel* ‘Adam’s apple’ (‘pupil of the eye’)
- *Iken* ‘an old man’

(from *Nehiken*?)
- *Madge* ‘painful’
- *Pambiyuwan* ‘mortar’
- *Umhep* ‘to exit’
23. Lexical interference. In Tuwali texts.

Yattuka & Keley-i →:
- Ambayung ‘a hip bag for betel chew’
- Amta ‘know’
- Dallin ‘yard’
- Dalya ‘edge of a rice field’
- Gilig ‘edge’
- Ginyang ‘spear’
- Habi ‘reach the top of a mountain’
- Hinib-at ‘gong beating’
- Hi-yan ‘leave/separate/divorce’
- Itapi ‘betel chew’
- Lyudung ‘to sit smb’
- Kubuhan ‘morning’
- Lidingan ‘a rattan handle put on a piece of meat’; (in hudhud: ‘the handle of a hip bag’
- Makayagud ‘very good’
- Makibkibbi ‘join in chewing betel’
- Mangkablah ‘fair/beautiful’
- Nakaililikik ‘cleaning ears with chicken feather to hear well/to memorize’
- Nangi ‘cried’
- Ni-niyantu nilawwantu ‘??? where smb went’ (‘fitting-well-this, suiting-well-this’)
- Pakahuluphupan ‘serve food continuously’
- Tangila ‘ear’
- Tinonwe ‘a G-string used by the rich for dead people’
- Ugip ‘sleep’
- Yagud ‘goodness’
- Yuddungan ‘seat’
- Yudung ‘sit’

Tuwali →:

- *Immuliyod* ‘to slide down’
- *Kaan* ‘to remove’
- *Kinumtallan-u* ‘cock-a-doodle-doo’ (from *tallan-u*)
- *Nidawwi* ‘far’
- *Palpal-iwon* ‘forget/waste time’
- *Pumbanngan* ‘rice field dike’

Keley-i →:

- *Bukakel* ‘Adam’s apple’ (‘pupil of the eye’)
- *Delwihan* ‘to repeat’ (from *Delwahan*)
- *Iken* ‘an old man’ (from *Nehiken*)
- *Lawwen* ‘to go to smb’
- *Nantengan* ‘arrived at’
- *Nema-gani* ‘dry’ (from *Nema-ganan*)
Limited number of grammatical interference both in Yattuka and Tuwali texts.

In Tuwali texts, a more conspicuous amount of lexical borrowings identified as Yattuka or both Yattuka & Keley-i. A minor amount of borrowings from Keley-i.

In Yattuka texts, a minor amount of lexical borrowings from Tuwali and Keley-i.

Not all Lambrecht’s ‘hudhud words’ are ‘Kalanguya words’, contrary to Himes’ claim.

3 words in the Tuwali dictionary (Hohulin & Hohulin 2014) are marked as both hudhud terms and Keley-i borrowings: *amta* ‘know’, *amuli* ‘pig’, *ba-ba* ‘long time’. *Amta* and *ba-ba* are found both in Yattuka and Keley-i. *Amuli* is not an everyday word in any of the 3 languages.

**Reminder:** Keley-i and Yattuka cannot be called ‘Kalanguya’ or ‘Kallahan’ since the latter terms exist in the peoples’ minds as referring to speakers of other language varieties.
25. Problems

- The findings indicate only a possibility of borrowing. Lexical items could have disappeared from the modern language.
- Some words are used in hudhuds with modifications: *pamadingan* vs. *pamodingan* ‘doorstep’ (Yat), *nemaga-ni* vs. *Nemaga-nan* ‘dry’ (Kel), *delwihan* vs. *delwahan* ‘to repeat’ (Kel).
- Some hudhud words are not used in everyday language. Still, regional variations: *udda-den* ‘cooked rice’ (Yat) vs. *inda-den* (Tuw). Advice of hudhud singers of both languages is required.
- Probably, impossible to establish an exact percentage and inventory of borrowings, given the resource limitations.
- Yattuka singers also speak Tuwali. Some Tuwali singers know Yattuka. Both Yattuka hudhuds were sung mostly by Keley-i speakers. How do we distinguish borrowings as part of the hudhud genre and code-switching?


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