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Spelling Subanun¹ Style:

a test of a phonemic-cultural orthography

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0. Introduction.

To my knowledge there is nothing printed and in wide circulation in the language of the Sindangan Subanun except that which has been done under the auspices of SIL since 1970. Subanun speakers who have attended school and are therefore literate in English and Pilipino or Cebuano Visayan tend not to write in their own language. Writing as a skill is confined to other languages. From time to time, a very few Subanun have written letters to other Subanun using the Roman alphabet as is taught for Cebuano and English. Recipients of these letters have a difficult task set before them in trying to read them. The sound system of Sindangan Subanun² probably comes closer to that of Cebuano than to either Pilipino or English, but lacking the pepet vowel /ɛ/ Cebuano is a poor analog for Subanun spelling since although /ɛ/ occurs as a minority vowel in root formation, it is very active in verb morphology. Perhaps because of the difficulty in reading what has been written in their language, Subanun have made no large scale attempt to introduce literacy as a community value.

0.1 The phoneme inventory of Sindangan Subanun is as follows: a, i, ɛ, u, b, d, g, k, l, m, n, ng (ŋ), p, q (glottal catch), s, t, w, and y. /h/ has been recorded in three stems borrowed from neighboring languages and partially assimilated.³ /r/ (an alveolar flap) occurs in one major dialect of Sindangan Subanun as a variant of /d/ which has been forced to the status of a phoneme by the presence of many assimilated borrowed words of basically Spanish origin such as kuarta "money"; rilu "watch"; martilyu "hammer".

0.2 Basic to the solution of many of the orthographic problems encountered in writing Sindangan Subanun is the fact that the teaching of reading in the Philippines nearly universally involves a phonics approach. The problems can be summarized as (1) choice of symbolization for sounds not ordinarily represented by Roman letters; (2) symbolization of geminate vowel clusters which affects the writing also of nongeminate vowel clusters; (3) how to write the substantive marking particle <g>; (4) the symbolization, if any, of /r/; (5) how to write syllabic nasal consonants; (6) what to do about morphophonemic changes; and (7) how to write enclitics.

0.21 Only two sounds not thought of as symbolized by Roman letters occur in Subanun: the pepet vowel, /ɨ/, and glottal catch, /q/. Choices for the pepet vowel include o, which is the choice made in Siocon Subanon (where /ɨ/ and /ɔ/ are submembers of one phoneme, /o/); and e as used in Ilokano and Pangasinan. Glottal catch may be symbolized by nothing at all; by (-) which is used in certain environments for glottal catch in Cebuano Visayan; by a system of accents as in Pilipino; or by (') as in Maranaw and some other dialects of Mindanao.

0.22 The basic syllable pattern of Sindangan Subanun content words is (C)(C)V(C)(C)(C)V(C), i.e. the minimum meaningful utterance is VV, e.g. aa, an interjection which is often equated with English Ah! All content words, whether nouns, verbs, or adjectives have a minimum of two syllables. In literacy classes, when the author was teaching syllable drills such as ba, bi, bu, the students invariably mimicked /ba:/, /bi:/, /bu:/. This pattern results in many roots which are of the shape CVVC as /piid/ "shame", /baal/ "do, make", /buus/ "later", /biid/ "deaf". Parallel to them are roots in which the VV sequence is not geminate as /buat/ "arise", /niug/ "coconut", /pais/ "machete", /baud/ "flood debris", /tiag/ "shine". Since Pilipino, Cebuano, and English do not have vowel clusters of this type, the problem is how to write them. This problem is intensified by the fact that both Pilipino and Cebuano characteristically have a phonemic y following i before a or u as Ceb. tiyan "belly", and a phonemic w following u before a or i as Ceb. luwat "quit a job", and, both these major languages use the writing of contiguous vowels as a device signaling the intervention of glottal catch as Ceb. laas /laʔas/ "brandish a sword", Ceb. pauy /puʔai/ "spill over". Therefore, to write Subanun /baal/ as baal "do, make" presents problems to those literate in Cebuano (which is the dialect most Subanun, if literate, are literate in).

0.23 In common with the other Subanun/on dialects, Sindangan Subanun characteristically marks a noun or a noun-like construction with the morpheme <g>. For example, although libun is the word for woman, if you ask a Subanun, "How do you say woman?" he will reply, "Glibun." Or take this sentence, Ta' alanduni gbinaal niu? "What are you-all making", where "what you are making", binaal is preceded phonologically by g. Before p, t, and s, the morpheme occurs as /k/; before b, d, l, r and vowels as /g/; before m and n as /ŋ/; and before k, g, and ng as zero, i.e. it is assimilated. In some dialects and idiolects it occurs as /d/ before l. In Siocon Subanun this morpheme seems only to occur following the articles, o, no, and so and hence is written as a part of them: og, nog, sog, ok, nok, sok, ong, nong, song. In Sindangan Subanun, by contrast, the substantive marker occurs when not preceded by the article as in the example above, glibun. Further, Sindangan Subanun plural marker nga occurs following the article but before the g as in su nga glibun 'the women'. How is this g to be written?

0.24 Probably half of the Subanun have an intervocalic allophone of the phoneme /d/. These speakers have assimilated many borrowed words with /r/ in non-intervocalic positions as /kuarta/ "money" and /tiradur/ "slingshot". Those speakers who do not have the intervocalic flap, pronounce such

borrowings as /kualta/ and /tiladu/. It must be added, however, that even some of these speakers, when educated, learn to pronounce /r/. The question is when is /r/ to be written? Only in loan words?

0.25 Sindangan Subanun in common with the other Subanun/on dialects has consonant clusters word initial consisting of a nasal continuant plus the stop formed at the same point of articulation as mb, nd, and ngg. Some of these clusters are actively underived, others are morphophonemic alterations. The negatives ndi', nda' never occur without the n nor with a vowel in the first syllable. On the other hand, any two syllable verb in which the first syllable begins a or e, when suffixed, drops the a or e: alap "acquire" becomes /lapen/ "it will be acquired (by someone)" and eket "to gnaw" becomes /keten/ "it will be gnawed by someone". There is no Philippine analog for a syllable without a vowel, so how shall this be written?

0.26 Both consonants and vowels undergo morphophonemic change. For example, /g/ becomes either "k" or /ŋ/ as in māg- vb prefix+ silig meksilig "(he) will sweep", and as g, the substantive marker +muli' --> su gmuli', "the one going home". b becomes m or assimilates to m when a verb root beginning in b is infixed with -um-, the actor focus, present tense, innate aspect morpheme: basa "to read" +-um- --> masa as in Inaani gmasa dun. "I will be the one to read from it". In addition to dropping out as in the above illustration for 0.25, /ɬ/ also assimilates to the vowel quality of neighboring vowels in uninterrupted clusters. For example, basa "to read" +-en, the goal focus, present tense innate aspect suffix --> besaan "it will be read (by someone)". This example also points up the fact that penultimate a becomes antepenult e. There are many more morphophonemic changes, some with ordered rules for generating them, but the question is well illustrated, how does one write them?

0.27 Certain enclitics are unquestionably part of the phonological word. To write them as separate words has proven to result in halting reading. These enclitics are single syllables which become part of the phonological word, but they do not affect the stress of the word as does a suffix: -u, singular speaker pronoun, subject; -u₁ku, singular speaker pronoun, actor; -a₁ka, singular hearer pronoun, subject; -mu, singular hearer pronoun, actor; -en₁nen, singular referent pronoun, actor; -ta speaker+hearer pronoun, actor; and -i, ligature. Shall they be written as part of the word, separated by a hyphen, or written separately? For example, is "my house" to be written gbalayu, gbalay-u, or gbalay u? Some suggest gbalay yu.

1. The testing procedures which were used to determine cultural preference in answering the above questions were similar to those widely used by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. A cross section of speakers of the dialect was assembled. It was explained to them that the test was of an alphabet suited for Subanun. All of those gathered were literate, came from four different barrios, and were not selected by the ones administering the tests. A call was simply issued for literate Subanuns to help determine how to write Subanun and those who gathered formed the group of respondents. As it turned out there were twenty individuals, of both sexes, all have completed, or currently students in, grade six. One was a barrio captain, a couple were teachers, several had been to high school. The test consisted of three parts.

1.1 First the students, grouped around a large table (there were eight one day and twelve another), were asked to spell Subanun words dictated to them as sounded best to them, seemed most correct, or as they liked.

1.2 The second part of the test was a multiple choice list. Several words, some containing the problem phonemes or sequences (in some cases, of course, phrases) were typed out with a series of differing spellings. The respondents were asked to underline what they considered to be the most correct, nicest looking, or preferable spelling.

1.3 The third part of the test consisted in having each respondent, in private, read a short text in Subanun, first to familiarize himself with how it looked in print. Then he was asked to read it again while being recorded. As he read one copy, the author noted on another his hesitations, stumblings, and mistakes.

2. Evaluation

2.1 For non-Roman sounds, /ɿ/ and /ʔ/, as might be expected, there was very little consistency. For /ɿ/ responses included a, e, i, o, ʻ, and nothing at all. Some, less than a majority of the respondents, used e consistently. It was learned on asking that they had been reading pamphlets published by SIL and by Scriptures Unlimited in which e was used for /ɿ/. The multiple choice section did not focus on this problem. In the oral reading section, there seemed to be no problem at all in reading this symbol for /ɿ/.

For glottal catch the following symbols were written: hyphen (-), apostrophe ('), nothing at all, and a circumflex (^) accent. More opted for some symbol rather than nothing at all. Some doubled the preceding vowel. Apostrophe was misread 3% of the time orally.

2.2 In the spelling test vowel sequences were written 55% of the time in word bases, including 45% of the time representing non-geminate sequences, ia, ai, ua, au, ui, and iu. In the multiple choice section 61% of the time double vowels were chosen as opposed to single vowels (in the case of potential geminates) and insertion of y or w in the non-geminate sequences. Noninsertion of the semi-vowels was misread orally 3% of the time and geminate vowel clusters were misread 9%. Glottal catch was pronounced in these cases.

2.3 Some form of the substantive marker <g> was written in the spelling test, in single words 41% and in phrases 42% of the time. There was no consensus as to whether to write this morpheme phonetically as /g/, /k/, or /ng/, although /g/ was sometimes written for one of the other allomorphs. In the multiple choice section, respondents chose relation marker plus <g> on the head word 48% of occurrences as over against writing no <g> at all or writing it at the end of the relation marker. Orally, g was misread 11.1% of the time when prefixed to nouns. 15% of the occurrences of g needing to be read as /k/ or /ng/ were misread.

2.4 Although about half of the respondents were from areas in which /r/ occurs as a submember of /d/, 70% of the time d was written in the intervocalic position. In the multiple choice section, the majority opted for writing d in Subanun words and r in borrowed words.

2.5 Only 35% of the possible occurrences of syllabic nasals were written as such. Other responses included vowel insertion or apostrophe. The responses to the multiple choices indicate a marked preference for writing a vowel ɿ before the syllabic nasal where a vowel has been elided to leave the syllabic nasal, but a similarly marked preference for writing only the nasal where there was no elided vowel, e.g. to write engkagen for /ɿ/ng.ka.gɿn/ where the stem is /ɿng.kag/ but to write ndi' for /n.di?/ where no vowel occurs. No trouble was recorded in reading orally a syllabic nasal.

2.6 Morphophonemic changes were quite consistently written, which probably reflects the phonic approach to reading and spelling used in the Philippine educational system.

2.7 In spelling there is a marked tendency toward writing phrases together in one way or another, i.e. with no spaces at all or with repetition of word-final consonants on succeeding words. Monosyllabic pronouns were written as part of the preceding head-word 64% of the time. 53% of the responses in the multiple choice section were in favor of attaching enclitics rather than separating them. The oral reading test indicated no problem in reading clitics written on head-words.

3. The results were not easily evaluated. Given the high value the Subanun place on conformity, the assumption was made that each respondent wished to perform according to the norm. Since Subanun has been written very little, the norm perceived was probably from Cebuano Visayan, although the respondents had probably been exposed to a great deal of English, since at the time of the test (1973) English was officially the medium of instruction in the public schools, although the author had visited one school where Cebuano and Subanun were both used, for understanding's sake apparently. For those who had been reading materials prepared by SIL, the norm probably was perceived as in these materials. This latter fact no doubt accounts for the fact that the only consistency noted in the spelling test and multiple choice test was among these respondents. Respondents were drawn from four hinterland communities, two in Zamboanga del Norte and two in Zamboanga del Sur.⁵

In addition to the results of the test, consideration was given to striking a blow for consistency and for ease of transfer of reading skills to other dialects. In that the phonics approach to the teaching of reading is well established throughout the Philippines in both public and private schools, it is advantageous to formulate a writing system for Subanun which is based on the principle, one sound, one symbol.

3.1 This principle, one sound, one symbol, is particularly important in symbolizing non-Roman sounds. The dilemma we face in the Subanun situation is the fact that the pepet vowel needs to be symbolized with a Roman symbol in order to conform to Pilipino usage and at the same time, it must not conflict with Pilipino usage. Since Subanun has four phonemic vowels while the alphabet of Pilipino has five, the question becomes, which non-Subanun Pilipino vowel symbol is best for pepet in Subanun, e or o, neither of which occurs as a phonemic vowel in Subanun? The results of the test aid us here only in deciding on a unique symbolization, since no test was made for e vs. o. The most widely used second language among the Subanuns, particularly those who are literate, is Cebuano Visayan. Both e and o are used in Ceb., but e very sparingly, perhaps primarily in Spanish borrowed words. o, on the other hand, is used widely. It seems preferable to use e for pepet in Sindangan Subanun. The major dialect of Subanun which is easiest for Sindangan speakers to learn other than their own is the "Lapuyan" dialect spoken in the subpeninsulas of Zamboanga del Sur. It uses e for pepet. "Siocon" Subanun, which is not mutually intelligible with Sindangan Subanun, uses o. In this case, however, what is the /au/ /a:/ diphthong in Sindangan Sub. has become a single, short vowel in Siocon Sub. one of whose allophonic variations is the pepet vowel, so that in Siocon Sub. the symbol o covers the range from /ɨ/ to /ɔ/.

For glottal catch /q/ the test clearly shows that some symbolization is preferred. This may be partly due to the fact that there is vital contrast between single vowels, sequences of geminate vowels, and single vowels, such sequences interrupted by glottal catches, for example /mibalu/ means "she has been widowed", /mibaluu/ means "I am widowed", and /balu'u dun/ means "I thought ...". Spelling of these forms contrasts so: Mengimbegu and Mengimbeguu. If glottal catch is not overtly represented, then the tendency to assume a glottal catch in intervocalic position as in Ceb. paa /paʔa/ "thigh" is very strong resulting in misreading Subanun. The question becomes, how shall glottal catch be symbolized? The Pilipino analogs are the grave accent (˘) over an unaccented word-final vowel, a circumflex accent (ˆ) over an accented final vowel, and hyphen (-) between a consonant and a vowel. Sindangan Subanun does not have contrastive word stress. In addition, glottal catch does not occur as non-phonemic utterance-initial nor word-initial before otherwise vowel-initial words, as it does in some Philippine dialects. Another way to express that is that in many Philippine dialects where glottal catch occurs as a consonant, there are no vowel-initial words.

In order to disambiguate clearly the difference between vowel clusters interrupted by glottal catch and purely vowel clusters, it is necessary to choose a symbol which has less tendency to be left out in writing as do the accent marks, so apostrophe has been chosen. Time may see this symbol drop out or change, but the attempt is made here to be consistent for the sake of reading with fluency. Once again, the problem is not to symbolize glottal catch, so much as it is to stress awareness of the absence of glottal catch since 11% of the words in a 3,000 Subanun dictionary have vowel clusters.

3.2 The combined facts that 11% of common vocabulary has vowel clusters and that the respondents wrote vowel clusters in half of their responses even though they had little analog for so doing indicates that vowel clusters should be written. This decision is further corroborated by the fact that some grammatical contrast is lost without writing vowel clusters as in the example above Mengimbegu vs. Mengimbeguu.

3.3 For the time being, the substantive marker will be written exclusively with g. This is contrary to strict phonics but is done so for the following reasons: (1) not writing it at all causes grammatical confusion in reading and results in readers saying, "It doesn't sound like Subanun, sounds like Visayan"; (2) since it uniformly marks all substantive phrases, it scarcely comes above the threshold of Subanun consciousness, and therefore if written at all, should be written consistently with one symbol to aid in recognition. Subjectively, the author has found that some Subanun, frustrated in attempts to write Subanun prior to the formulation of this proposed orthography, have expressed pleasure on using this one, primarily due to the handling of the g substantive marker.

3.4 Since many of the Subanun respondents who pronounce /d/ between vowels as /r/ even so chose d on the test, the decision was made to write d uniformly for the voiced velar stop which presents no reading problem. r will be written, however, in loan words where appropriate.

3.5 To avoid the unnatural pronunciation of a non-existent vowel, where the syllabic nasal has no underlying vowel in the same syllable, only the n, m or ng will be written when syllabic. In cases where, due to the morphophonemic rules, a vowel has been elided, the vowel shall be written.

3.6 The results of morphophonemic changes shall be written.

3.7 Although there is a tendency noted to write substantive phrases as one word, e.g. sugbalayu, which would be equivalent to writing Pilipino ang bahay ko as angbahayko "my house", in order to conform to Pilipino substantive phrases will be written in separate words except for the following: monosyllabic enclitics will be written on the preceding head-word. There are six such forms, -u, -u -ku, -a ~ -ka, -mu, -en ~ -nen, and -ta which occur phonologically linked to preceding word. The test respondents wrote such 64% of the time and chose such 53% of the time even though they have no Cebuano analog for doing so.

4. Conclusion.

Language, as human behavior, is a constantly changing phenomenon. "Correct" spelling has been called an English teacher's fetish. If communication takes place with relative ease in spite of spelling variations, forcing consistency on a cultural community is a waste of energy. This orthography, therefore, is offered to the Subanun public not as THE standard way to write Sinubanen, but as a way to do so to promote literacy as a community value.

Appendix: Chart of spelling rules

1. The orthography of Sindangan Subanun consists of the following symbols used for common Subanun words whether borrowed or original:

<u>a</u>	as in	<u>abang</u> "to help"; <u>abel</u> "to weave cloth".
<u>b</u>	as in	<u>baba</u> "to carry on back"; <u>babuy</u> "pig".
<u>d</u>	as in	<u>dabung</u> "bamboo shoot"; <u>dada</u> "to lap up liquid".
<u>e</u>	as in	<u>penepeten</u> "clothing"; <u>tigel</u> "to force oneself to".
<u>g</u>	as in	<u>gela</u> "to consume"; <u>ginis</u> "class, kind of".
<u>h</u>	as in	<u>himan</u> "tool"; <u>ahus</u> "garlic".
<u>i</u>	as in	<u>inum</u> "to drink"; <u>ipes</u> "silverfish".
<u>k</u>	as in	<u>kalemot</u> "mosquito"; <u>keles</u> "to squeeze".
<u>l</u>	as in	<u>libun</u> "female"; <u>balay</u> "house".
<u>m</u>	as in	<u>mabu</u> "perhaps"; <u>menentuy</u> "salamander".
<u>n</u>	as in	<u>napu</u> "river plain"; <u>nigu</u> "winnowing tray".
<u>ng</u>	as in	<u>ngisi</u> "tooth"; <u>panga</u> "branch".
<u>p</u>	as in	<u>pelak</u> "to disperse"; <u>lupa</u> "land, earth".
<u>'</u>	as in	<u>bela'i</u> "wedding"; <u>gembai</u> "mature, hardened wood".
<u>r</u>	as in	<u>rilu</u> "timepiece"; <u>kuarta</u> "money".
<u>s</u>	as in	<u>sintak</u> "to jerk"; <u>asal</u> "inherited trait".
<u>t</u>	as in	<u>teduk</u> "to poke, stab"; <u>lintu</u> "right hand".
<u>u</u>	as in	<u>tubus</u> "to finish"; <u>atel</u> "to itch".
<u>w</u>	as in	<u>wa'a</u> "yes"; <u>teg daw</u> "cold".
<u>y</u>	as in	<u>ya'a</u> "you"; <u>baluy</u> "to become".

2. Long vowels shall be written as double vowels:

<u>aa</u>	as in	<u>baal</u> "to do, make"; <u>taang</u> "infrequently".
<u>ee</u>	as in	<u>beed</u> "deaf"; <u>kineeg</u> "to listen".
<u>ii</u>	as in	<u>piid</u> "shame"; <u>liig</u> "neck".
<u>uu</u>	as in	<u>buus</u> "later"; <u>gimuud</u> "departed spirit".

3. Diphthongs are of two types, (1) monosyllabic and (2) bisyllabic.

3.1 Monosyllabic diphthongs shall be written y/w plus vowel and vowel plus y/w as follows:

<u>aw</u>	as in	<u>sabaw</u> "soup"; <u>enaw</u> "to be cold".
<u>ay</u>	as in	<u>begay</u> "to give"; <u>abay</u> "to lead".
<u>uy</u>	as in	<u>buguy</u> "thief"; <u>languy</u> "to swim".
<u>wa</u>	as in	<u>benwa</u> "place, country"; <u>sigwag</u> "spread".
<u>ya</u>	as in	<u>megyaga</u> "he will speak"; <u>gyakit</u> "jacket".
<u>yu</u>	as in	<u>tegyung</u> "to remind"; <u>megegyugegyug</u> "shake".

3.2 Bisyllabic diphthongs shall be written i/u plus vowel and vowel plus i/u as follows (these are referred to throughout this paper as vowel sequences because they constitute two syllables) (Brichoux, 1972b):

<u>ai</u>	as in	<u>pais</u> "machete"; <u>pemenai'an</u> "embroidery".
<u>au</u>	as in	<u>baud</u> "flood debris"; <u>kaunutan</u> "leader".
<u>ua</u>	as in	<u>gua'</u> "to go out of"; <u>uak</u> "crow".
<u>ui</u>	as in	<u>buid</u> "interior"; <u>uit</u> "carry".
<u>ia</u>	as in	<u>tiag</u> "to shine"; <u>belian</u> "shaman".
<u>iu</u>	as in	<u>iup</u> "to blow on"; <u>liu</u> "to exit".

4. The noun marking particle g shall uniformly be written as g, even when it sounds like k of ng and shall be written on the noun or noun phrase which it marks, and separated from the article (relation marking particle) as follows:

<u>su</u> <u>gbabuy</u> "the pig";	<u>su</u> <u>nga</u> <u>gbabuy</u> "the pigs".
<u>su</u> <u>gpanga</u> "the branch";	<u>su</u> <u>nga</u> <u>gpanga</u> "the branches".
<u>su</u> <u>gmanga</u> "the sharpening stone";	<u>su</u> <u>nga</u> <u>gmanga</u> "the sharpening stone".

5. r shall be written only in loan words, for example,

r as in risibu "receipt"; trak "truck". And d in words of Subanun origin, for example:

d as in tedung "puppy"; seda' "fish".

6. Syllables which contain no vowel shall be written without a vowel unless there is an underlying form which contains the vowel as follows:

nda' "not"; ndi' "no"; nda'idun "none".
mbasa' "will get wet"; mbaal "will be made".
Ngguil (a woman's name).

But with underlying vowel e or a shall be written with e as follows:

from enggat "to invite", enggaten "he will be invited".
 from engluk "to dig", engluken "it shall be dug".
 from alap "to inquire", elapen "it will be acquired".
 from anud "float away", enuden "it will be floated away".

It should be noted carefully, however, that a natural reading of these latter forms will leave out the first e.

7. The results of morphophonemic changes will be written (except in cases cited above such as g being uniformly written as g when it is the noun marker), as follows:

meg- with putuk will be written mekputuk "he will sever it".
-en with basa will be written besaan "it will be read".
basa with -en or -an will be written besaan.
-um- with gebek will be written guubek "he will run".
-umin- with gebek will be written gumibek "he ran".
-in- with enggat will be written iinggat "he was invited".
mig- with taap will be written miktaap "he winnowed".

8. The monosyllabic enclitics will be written on the head-word which they follow as follows:

- u "I" with gebek will be written guubeku "I will run".
- u with melegenan will be written melegenanu "I will suffer".
- u -ku with gbalay will be written gbalayu "my house".
- u -ku with uiten will be written uitenku "I will carry it".
- a -ka with uiten will be written uitenka "you will be carried".
- a -ka with mpanaw will be written mpanawa "you will go".
- mu with gbalay will be written gbalaymu "your house".
- mu with uiten will be written uitenmu "you will carry it".
- en -nen with gbalay will be written gbalayen "his house".
- en -nen with uiten will be written uitenen "he will carry it".
- en -nen with ngisi will be written ngisinen "his tooth".
- en -nen with suklin will be written suklinen "he will change it".
- ta with gbalay will be written gbalayta "our (inc) house".
- ta with uiten will be written uitenta "we will carry it".
- i with gembagel will be written gembageli gbalay "it's a big house".
- i with uiten will be written uiteni gbata'en "he is carrying his child".

NOTES

¹ Sindangan Subanun as distinct from Siocon Subanon, Lapuyan or Margosatubig Subanun, and Dikayu or Tuboy Subanun. Estimates range as high as 80,000 persons being speakers of Sindangan Subanun. They inhabit chiefly the towns and hinterlands of Zamboanga del Norte and Zamboanga del Sur, Philippines. The Subanun/on language group seem to be most closely related to the Maranao/Maguindanao group in Mindanao and the Southern Philippine group in general including Cebuano Visayan.

² See Brichoux 1970. Note, however, that further analysis under the guidance of Eunice V. Pike at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of Oklahoma, 1971, revealed that the phonemes listed in that paper as /e/ and /o/ are more accurately diphthongs /ai/ and /au/, respectively. Siocon Subanon, which has lost length and vowel sequences, has phonemes /e/ and /o/. The author had previously studied that dialect and was obviously prejudiced.

³ By partially assimilated I mean that native speakers who use the word cannot agree on its assimilated form. There being no /h/ native to Sindangan Subanon, these three stems are variously pronounced [ahus] or [agus] "garlic"; [dayahan] or [dayaxan] "wealthy"; and [himan] or [iman] "tool".

⁴ See Ruch 1972.

⁵ Titik and Guigang, Sindangan, Zambo. del Norte and Dipurihan, and Gluanan, Bayog, Zamboanga del Sur.

⁶ Due to the mistaken analysis (Brichoux, 1970), two additional phonemes occur in (Reid, 1971).

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