

ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONTRASTIVE WORD ACCENT: PANGASINAN, A CASE IN POINT

R. DAVID ZORC

1. PROTO-PHILIPPINE ACCENT

Contrastive accent, manifested as vowel-length or its absence on the penult, is a phenomenon found in a large number of Philippine languages, e.g. Aklanon (Akl), Balangao (Blw), Bikol (Bik), Cebuano (Ceb), Hanunoo (Han), Ibanag (Ibg), Ifugao (Ifg), Ilokano (Ilk), Isneg (Isg), Kalinga (Kla), Kapampangan (Pam), Sambal (Sbl), and Tagalog (Tag). Research in progress¹ on the status of an impressively large number of cognate forms that agree on the placement of such accent (e.g. penult length as in Tag *di:laq* [dɪ:laq] '*tongue*' (example #6 below), or penult shortness as in Tag *mata* [mǎtá]² '*eye*' (example #25 below)) in these genetically diverse languages suggests that the phenomenon may be attributed to their common parent language, herein called Proto-Philippine (PPH).³

Forms reconstructable with penult length include:⁴

(1) Akl, Ceb *qaba:gah-*, Bik, Ilk, Isg *qaba:ga*, Kla *qaba:la* '*shoulder*', Kalamian *kabalaq* '*arm*' < PPH **qaba:Ra[h]*.

(2) Akl, Ceb *ba:gah-*, Tag, Bik, Han *ba:ga*, Pam, Sbl *ba:ya*, Ilk *ba:ra*, Ifg *ba:la* '*glowing embers*' < PPH **ba:Ra[h]*.

(3) Ceb, Bik, Ibg, Ilk, Ifg, Isg, Pam *ba:lu* '*widow*' < PPH **ba:lu*.

(4) Isg *da:ga*, Ilk *da:ra*, Ifg *da:la*, Pam, Sbl *da:yaq* '*blood*' < PPH **da:Raq*.

(5) Bik, Ceb, Blw, Han, Ibg, Ilk, Isg, Pam *da:lan* '*path, trail*' < PPH **da:lan*.

(6) Akl, Ceb, Bik, Han, Pam, Tag, Sbl *di:laq*, Ifg, Ilk, Isg *di:la* '*tongue*' < PPH **di:laq*.

(7) Akl, Ceb, Bik, Han hi:lut, Tag hi:lot, Pam, Sbl, Ilk, Isg qi:lut
'to massage, rub' < PPH *hi:lut.

(8) Akl, Ceb, Bik, Han qi:kug, Sbl qi:kuy, Kankanay qi:ko 'tail' <
PPH *i:kuR.

(9) Akl, Ceb ku:tuh-, Bik, Han, Isg, Ilk, Pam, Sbl ku:tu, Tag ku:to
'(head) louse' < PPH *ku:tu[h].

(10) Ceb, Pam, Sbl, Tag la:la, Bik ra:ra, Ifg, Ilk, Isg la:ga 'to
weave, braid (mats)' < PPH *la:ja.

(11) Bik, Ceb, Han, Ilk, Sbl, Tag la:na, Pam la:ña 'coconut oil' <
PPH *la:ña.

(12) Akl, Ceb, Bik, Han qi:pun, Tag qi:pin, Ibg, Isg qi:pan, Ilk,
Sbl qi:pən 'tooth' < PPH *qi:pən.

(13) Akl, Ceb, Bik, Han pu:sud, Tag pu:sod, Ilk pu:səg, Isg pu:sag,
Pam pu:sad 'navel' < PPH *pu:səj.

(14) Akl, Ceb, Bik, Han, Ilk, Isg, Pam si:ku, Tag si:ko, Ifg hi:qu,
Sbl hi:ku 'elbow' < PPH *si:ku.

(15) Akl, Ceb, Bik, Han, Pam, Sbl tu:buq, Tag tu:boq, Ilk, Isg, Ifg
tu:bu, Ibg tu:vu 'to grow, sprout' < PPH *tu:buq.⁵

Forms reconstructable with a short penult vowel include:

(16) Ceb, Han, Ilk, Pam, Sbl, Tag qanak, Ibg, Isg qanaq ~ qanak-
'child' < PPH *anak.

(17) Akl, Ceb qapuh-, Tag qapo, Ilk, Isg qapu, Ibg qafu 'grand-
child' < PPH *apu[h].

(18) Akl, Ceb, Bik, Han, Ibg, Ilk, Isg, Pam, Kla, Tag qasin,
Kalamian kasin 'salt' < PPH *qasin.

(19) Bik, Pam bagaq, Sbl bayaq, Ilk bara, Ifg, Kla bala 'lungs' <
PPH *baRaq. (There is a doublet *ba:Raq among Southern Philippine lan-
guages, e.g. Akl, Ceb, Han, Tag, Kalagan ba:gaq 'lungs'.)

(20) Akl, Ceb, Bik, Pam, Tag basaq, Ilk, Isg basa, Sbl bahaq 'wet'
< PPH *basaq.

(21) Akl, Ceb, Han bugas, Tag bigas, Sbl bəyah, Isg baggat 'husked
rice' < PPH *bəRas.

(22) Han, Ibg, Ilk, Isg, Pam danum, Sbl lanum 'water' < PPH *danum.

(23) Ilk (da)kayu, Kla (di)qayu, Pam (qi)kayu, Tag kayo 'ye' < PPH
*kayu.

(24) Bik, Ceb, Han, Ilk, Isg, Tag laḡuy 'to swim' < PPH *laḡuy.

(25) Ak1, Ceb, Bik, Han, Ifg, Isg, Ilk, Pam, Sbl, Tag mata 'eye' < PPH *mata.

(26) Ceb puluq, Bik, Han puruq, Isg pugu, Ibg fugu 'island' < PPH *pujuq.⁶

2. THE POSITION OF PANGASINAN

In most instances where forms in Pangasinan (Png) are clearly cognate (and least likely to be borrowings), such forms do not agree in reflecting penult length: Png qabala 'shoulder' (#1), balu 'widow' (#3), dala 'blood' (#4), dalan 'road, path' (#5), dila 'tongue' (#6), qilut 'to massage' (#7), qikul 'tail' (#8), kutu 'louse' (#9), laga 'to weave mats' (#10), lana 'oil' (#11), nipen 'tooth' (#12), puseg 'navel' (#13), siku 'elbow' (#14), tubu 'to grow, sprout' (#15). On the other hand, forms cognate with those having a short penult do agree: Png qanak 'child' (#16), qapu 'grandchild' (#17), qasin 'salt' (#18), bala 'lungs' (#19), basa 'wet' (#20), belas 'husked rice' (#21), danum 'water' (#22), kayu 'ye' (#23), languy 'to swim' (#24), mata 'eye' (#25), pugu 'island, islet' (#26).

That this state of affairs is the result of loss, rather than of retention, can be determined by having a sound hypothesis about the sub-grouping of Png in relation to other Philippine languages.

It is now clear that Png is immediately related to Inibaloi, Kallahan (Kayapa and Keley-i), Karaw, and Ilongot;⁷ together these languages form a subgroup which is here called Pangasinic.⁸ Previous surveys have not agreed on the placement of Pangasinic languages. Thomas and Healey (1962) put Png between the Northern and Southern Philippine families, but group Inibaloi independently as one member of Northern Philippine (NPh). Dyen (1965) puts Inibaloi (the only language of the group used in his study) in the Cordilleran (NPh) Hesion. Llamzon (1974) clearly delineates a Pangasinic subgroup (including Pangasinan, Kallahan, and Inibaloi), but puts it within what Reid (1974) calls the Igorot or Central Cordilleran subgroup of NPh languages. Note that each study identifies Pangasinic (or at least some members of the group) as NPh.

At least three solutions could be offered for the absence of penult length in the first set of words above. (1) If Pangasinic had separated earlier than Ilk, Ifg, Tag, Han, etc., these latter languages together might have developed contrastive word accent after the split with Pangasinic, but before the NPh and SPh languages began to diverge. (2) Since there are other Philippine languages that do not reflect PPH accent, e.g. Kuyonon and Tausug within Bisayan (Zorc 1977), Buhid within South Mangyan, Gaddang within Banagic, etc., it is therefore

plausible that Png independently lost contrastive accent in cognate forms. (3) The development of contrastive accent could have been a dialectal feature of PPH, and languages like Ivatan, Tausug, Pangasinan, and Gaddang are all survivors of dialects in which such contrasts were not made, while Ilokano, Ibanag, Ifugao, Tagalog, and Hanunoo are all survivors of dialects where contrasts were made.

