Overview of Aita Mag-Anchi in Central Luzon, Philippines:

A Preliminary Grammatical Analysis

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Pasínag:

Ing misúlat métung yang pasamipiáung pamaniúrí ning Amánu ding Aítá a Mag-anchi kétí kng Aláya.

Ding atípun ming salitáng Aítá a Mag-anchi a kasalungsúngan ming panigarálan meángú la karing inapsé rang amánu ri Ápúng Ramon Tiglao at i Ápúng Rodolfo Pamintuan, at pati na mu naman ding mápilan karing karáí ra karin kng Sitio Bábo ning Barangay Sápángbatu ning Lakanbalén ning Angeles kétí kng Indúng Kapampangan.


Makapasúsug mu naman kng misúlat ing métung a Makáyad dang Amlat ding Aítá ning Sápángbatu ampaúng Mápilan a Salitáng Mibalangkas kng Amámung Aítá a Mag-anchi.

Summary:

This paper is an overview of the Aita Mag-anchi language in Central Luzon, Philippines. Our documentation and analysis are based on the speeches of Ápúng Ramon Tiglao, Ápúng Rodolfo Pamintuan, and other people in Sitio Bábo, Barangay Sápángbatu, Angeles City, Pampanga Province. After introducing the basic facts of the language, it tentatively presents a synopsis of the phonology, morphology, and syntax, followed by two appendices, “Brief History of the Sápángbatu Aita” and “List of Aítá Mag-anchi Basic Constructions”.

1. Introduction

The Aita people are distinguished from the majority of (Malay) Filipinos by their small height, dark complexion, and curly hair. They are considered to be the
direct descendants of those that first inhabited the Philippines during the Pleistocene Period.

The Aita Mag-anchi are spread across the mountain ranges north of Porac in the province of Pampanga all the way to the mountains of Bamban in Tarlac. According to Ápū¹ Ramon Tiglao, a respected Aita elder now living in Sitio Bábo, Barangay Sápángbatu, Angeles City, the Aita Mag-anchi formerly lived together as one nation in one vast region that stretched from Northern Porac in Pampanga up to Southern Capas in Tarlac. They became scattered into small family clusters and cut off from one another because of the incursions of Kapampangan land grabbers during the Spanish era and then the expansion of Fort Stotsenburg into Clark Airbase during the 20th century.

The word mag-anchi literally means one who always says “chi” when speaking. That is because the Aita Mag-anchi are prone to pronounce “ti” as “chi”. For example: Kapampangan kamuți (‘sweet potato’, from Spanish camote) is kumuchi in Aita Mag-anchi, Kapampangan mate (‘to die’) is machi and Kapampangan hitis (‘foot’) is bichih.

Both Aita languages, Mag-anchi and Mag-indi, share the Botolan Sambal’s preference of pronouncing “s” as a rough or sibilant “h”. For example, Kapampangan masampat (‘beautiful’) is mahampat in Botolan Sambal and Aita Mag-anchi, usa (‘deer’) is uyha, and Sambal is Hambal.

Kapampangan: Námung lagiū mu?
Botolan Sambal: Anyay ngalan mu?
Aita Mag-anchi: Himuy langan mu?
Aita Mag-indi: Hantuy lagiū mu?

Aita Mag-anchi exhibits certain difference in pronunciation from Botolan Sambal. For example: Botolan Sambal ngalan (‘name’) becomes langan, datang (‘to come’) in both Kapampangan and Botolan Sambal becomes latang².

¹ Ápū is the title of respect used to address the elders, and hence leaders, of the community. The elder who has done more for the community usually becomes the most influential. His voice becomes the voice of the community.

² Ethnologue (web version, 2002) reports Aita Mag-anchi’s 76% lexical similarity with Botolan Sambal, 50% with Tagalog, 46% with Kapampangan, 77% intelligibility with Aita Mag-indi Sambal, 65% with Aita Ambala Sambal, and 46% with Kapampangan.

2. Documentation

We have been documenting the Mag-anchi language as used in Sitio Bábo, Barangay Sápangbatu, Angeles City, Pampanga Province. Our chief consultants are Ápûng Ramon Tiglao (born in 1947) and Ápûng Rodolfo Pamintuan (born in 1953). Mag-anchi is their native language, or at least one of the native ones; they also learned some local languages, Kapampangan (the dominant language of the region), Tagalog, and English. We are grateful to Ápûng Ramon and Ápûng Rodolfo for sharing their linguistic knowledge with us.

Basic constructions have been elicited by one of us, Michael Pangilinan, and his team, Carlos Buan and Aries Pangilinan, and then linguistically analyzed mainly by Hiroaki Kitano (see Appendix 2 for the whole data).

Our data were not systematically collected; we respected our consultants’ spontaneous speech, without too much forcing them to produce what the field linguist normally wants. We believe we have collected “natural constructed utterances”. However, because of the lack of systematicity in data collection, the following grammatical sketch remains preliminary and tentative, and may contain errors, leaving a number of issues to be done for future research.

3. Basic Phonology

This chapter gives an overview of the phonemes identifiable in our data. Aita Mag-anchi has six vowels as shown in Table 1 below. There is probably a high central unrounded vowel /i/⁴, which also appears in Botolan Sambal (Antworth 1979: 2). This vowel is also found in the dialect of Kapampangan in Capas, Tarlac.

³ 17,794 (2,300 families) in Pampanga, 21,026 (4,262 families) in Zambales, 17,246 (3,273 families) in Tarlac, and 3,206 (386 families) in Bataan.

⁴ In the examples to follow, and in Appendix 2 (List of Aîtâ Mag-anchî Basic Constructions), the symbol ‘û’ is used for the vowel /i/.
Incidentally, Shimizu and Yamashita (1982: 120) identify the mid central unrounded vowel in Kakilingan Sambal.

Table 1: Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FRONT</th>
<th>CENTRAL</th>
<th>BACK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>high</strong></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MID</strong></td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOW</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The consonants are displayed in Table 2.

Table 2: Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BILABIAL</th>
<th>DENTAL</th>
<th>PALATAL</th>
<th>VELAR</th>
<th>GLOTTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>STOPS</strong></td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ch [c]</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NASALS</strong></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>ng [ŋ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FRICATIVES</strong></td>
<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LATERAL</strong></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FLAP</strong></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SEMIVOWELS</strong></td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Basic Morphology

We are not ready for discussing most complicated issues in any Philippine languages, such as affixation and aspectual forms of predicates. This chapter only deals with such word classes as pronouns, determiners, and so forth.

4.1. Pronouns

Mag-anchi has three cases; absolutive (better known as “topic”, “nominative” or “subject” in Philippine linguistics), ergative (or “genitive”), and oblique. Tables 3-5 below show the pronominal forms identified in our data, although not all variants seen in our data are included.
Table 3: Personal pronouns (absolutive)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>FIRST</th>
<th>SECOND</th>
<th>THIRD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ku</em></td>
<td><em>ka</em></td>
<td><em>ya</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kui</em></td>
<td><em>kai</em></td>
<td><em>yai</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>aku</em></td>
<td><em>hika (=hi ka)</em></td>
<td><em>hiya (=hi ya)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>hiku (=hi ku)</em></td>
<td><em>hikai (=hi kai)</em></td>
<td><em>hiyai (=hi yai)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(a)ki- (of (a)kina)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| DUAL  | *kita* (‘two of us’, ‘you and me’) |

| PLURAL | *kata* | *kaingan (= kai ngan)* | *la* |
|        | *kitami- (‘all of us’) | *hila (=hi la)* |
|        | *(of kitamina)* | *hilai (=hi lat)* |
|        | *kitamung* | *hili- (of hilina)* |

Note that *hi*- in some of the forms above, such as *hiku*, *hika*, and *hiya*, is actually a determiner (see 5.2.). Third person forms with *hi*- should refer to humans. Forms without *hi*- are so-called second-position enclitics, occupying the second position of the construction (i.e., sentences and noun phrases). Compare the following two sentences. *Ya* is an enclitic third person singular pronoun, whereas *hiyai* is a free counterpart of the same pronoun.

(1) Aita
    ya.
    human.being  ABS.3SG
    He is a human being. (#11)\(^5\)

(2) Hiyai
    Aita.
    ABS.3SG  human.being
    He is a human being. (#12)

Second person plural, *kaingan*, can be analyzed as being composed of *kai* (‘you’) and *ngan* (‘all’).

Philippine languages usually have the inclusive (‘us’ including the addressee ‘you’) vs. exclusive (‘us’ excluding the addressee ‘you’) distinction in first person plural, but due to the lack of relevant data, we do not know exactly what the

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\(^5\) Numbers in parentheses indicate Ref numbers in Appendix 2.
(absolutive) inclusive and exclusive forms are in Mag-anchi. The following are some examples of first person plural forms.

(3) \textit{Hinu hi kata?}  
what/who DET ABS.1PL  
Who are we? (#29)

(4) \textit{Malyu kitamina.}  
bathe ABS.1PL.INCL + already/now  
Let us take a bath. (#160)

(5) \textit{Hii, mangahui kainan lanum}  
EXCLAM draw ABS.2SG + already/now water  
ta ain \textit{kitamung inumun.}  
because NONEXIST ABS.1PL drink  
You draw water [from the well] now for we no longer have anything to drink. (#135)

\textit{Ya} (and \textit{yai}) (third person singular) can mean ‘that’ or ‘it’. However, it may be polysemous or multifunctional. There is an extensive discussion in 5.2. below.

Ergative forms are used for a more agent-like argument in a transitive clause (“A” in typological literature) and a possessor in a noun phrase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4: Personal pronouns (ergative)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FIRST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLURAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naui (exclusive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here are examples of ergative forms.

(6) \textit{Labayin mu kuina.}  
like ERG.2SG ABS.1SG + that  
(You) Love me. (#95)
(7) **Hikui kulau mu.**  
ABS.1SG child ERG.2SG  
I am your son/daughter. (#63)

In addition to the personal pronouns above, there are pronominal combinations of the first person singular ergative ('I') and second person singular absolutive ('you'): *kata*, *katai-* (< *katai-na*), and *kita*.

(8) **Labai kata.**  
like ERG.1SG + ABS.2SG  
I like you. (#92)

Oblique case represents all nonprimary grammatical relations. From Table 5, it would easy to infer that the first person singular oblique form is *kan***ku*. Some examples from our data are given below.

Table 5: Personal pronouns (oblique)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FIRST</th>
<th>SECOND</th>
<th>THIRD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
<td>(no data)</td>
<td>kanmu</td>
<td>hana (common)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kanna (personal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLURAL</td>
<td>kannaiîn (exclusive)</td>
<td>(no data)</td>
<td>kanla (personal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(9) **Hinu hatui punganai kanla?**  
what/who that firstborn OBL.3PL(from.them)  
Who is the firstborn among them? (#79)

(10) **Hûi, maku ka ri tâ main**  
EXCLAM go ABS.2SG here because EXIST  
akui ipaditîg kanmu.  
ABS.1SG do OBL.2SG(for.you)  
Come here for I have something for you to do. (#151)

4.2. Determiners

With our present insufficient data, it is difficult to discuss the determiners in Mag-anchi. The absolutive determiner for common nouns would be *ya* and *yai* (or -i
which attaches to a preceding word), although these forms are so frequent in the data that, for each appearance, we cannot determine their functions accurately (see 5.2.).

Table 6: Determiners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NOUNS</th>
<th>ABSOLUTIVE</th>
<th>ERGATIVE</th>
<th>OBLIQUE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ya, yai, -i</td>
<td>(no data)</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PERSONAL NAMES AND HUMAN (PRO)NOUNS

| hi (singular) | (no data) | (no data) |

Note that *hi*, an absolutive determiner, is used not just for personal names and some human nouns such as ‘mother’ and ‘sibling’, but for human pronouns as well. The Kapampangan counterpart, *i*, has the similar distribution; one can say *yaku* (< *i aku*) in Kapampangan, but one cannot say *si ako* in Tagalog, where *si* is the Tagalog counterpart of Mag-anchi *hi*.

(11)  


DET | ABS.1SG | that | DET | Pedro  

I am Pedro. (#116)

4.3. Demonstratives

We do not know whether Mag-anchi has either a two-way, three-way or even four-way distinction in demonstratives. The following forms are found in our data. It seems that the demostratives in Table 7 may function as adverbials and as modifiers. As already mentioned in 4.1., *ya* (and *yai*) can also mean ‘that’.

Table 7: Demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>this</th>
<th>that</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hachai, hachi</td>
<td>hatu, hatui</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following table shows the demonstrative (locative) adverbs.

Table 8: Demonstrative adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>here</th>
<th>there</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bairi, hachiri, iri, ri</td>
<td>bairo, di, ro, ru, rui</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4. Question words

Here are the question words, or interrogative proforms, identified in our data.

Table 9: Question words

| where       | airi, iri, antu, antui |
| what, who   | hinu, hinui, hini     |
| whose       | hinuman               |
| why         | hentå                 |
| how many, how much | unngmu             |

The determiner *hi*, discussed above, distinguishes the following pairs of questions. The function of the determiner here is to “humanize” the referent of the pronoun (see the footnote 2 of Appendix 2, and relevant examples there).

(12a) **Hinu** ka?
what/who ABS.2SG
What are you?

(12b) **Hinu** hi ka?
what/who DET ABS.2SG
Who are you?

(13a) **Hinu** ya bai?
what/who ABS.3SG on.earth(adverb)
What on earth is it? (#22)

(13b) **Hinu** hi ya?
what/who DET ABS.3SG
Who is it? (#23)

The meaning of *unngmu* (‘how many, how much’) may be differentiated as in the following. Again, the determiner *hi* (fused as *hilai* here) is crucial in humanizing ‘the children’.
(14a) Ungnu hilai kulau mu?
how many/much ABS.3PL child ERG.2SG
How many children do you have? (#75)

(14b) Ungnu ya kulau mu?
how many/much that child ERG.2SG
How much are your children? (#76)

5. Basic Syntax

5.1. Basic constructions

Like other Philippine languages, Aita Mag-anchi is a predicate-initial language; verbs, adjectives and predicate nominals usually occupy the initial position of the construction.

(15) Lumat ūng aku amehūn.
come ABS.1SG today
I will come today. (#153)

Case marking in Mag-anchi can be seen on an ergative/absolutive basis. Absolutive forms ("topic", "nominative" or "subject") are used to mark the only core argument in an intransitive clause and a more patient-like argument in a transitive clause. Ergative forms ("genitive") are used to mark a more agent-like argument in a transitive clause and a possessor in a noun phrase. Here are examples of intransitive and transitive clauses.

(16) Maku ku ru ha Sitio Bābo.
go ABS.1SG there DET.OBL Sitio Bābo
I will go to Sitio Bābo. (#149)

(17) Intagū ku ya.
hid ERG.1SG ABS.3SG
I hid it. (#173)

The negative ū is placed sentence-initially. Note that enclitic pronouns come
immediately after á in the following example, occupying the second position.

(18) Á ku ya nakitán.
    not ERG.1SG ABS.3SG saw
    I did not see it. (#176)

Both existence and possession are expressed by the existential particles main (‘there is, be present, have’) and áin (‘there is not, be absent, do not have’). Examples of existential constructions are as follows.

(19) Main Aita.
    exist human.being
    There is someone. (#8)

(20) Áin Aita.
    nonexist human.being
    There is no one.

The next two are examples of possessive constructions.

(21) Main akín luwai kulau.
    exist ABS.1SG two child
    I have two children. (#78)

(22) Áin yan tarūm ya katana na.
    nonexist that edge that sword ERG.3SG
    His sword is dull (His sword has no edge). (#192)

5.2. The interpretation of ya/yai

With our present data, it is difficult to determine the meaning or function of ya and yai, which are very frequent in the data. In Appendix 2, ya is interpreted as the third person singular (‘him, her, it’) or ‘that’. The following pair of sentences suggests that ya contrasts with la only in number.
(23a)  
\textit{Aita}  
\text{human being}  
\text{ABS.3SG}  
He is a human being. (#11)  

(23b)  
\textit{Aita}  
\text{la.}  
\text{human being}  
\text{ABS.3PL}  
They are human beings. (#13)  

However, \textit{ya} can also appear when third person singular does not seem to be involved, as below. Another interpretation is that third person singular is indeed involved, if the sentence is read ‘Human being is me’. If this is the correct analysis, \textit{ya} is not a puzzle.

(24)  
\textit{Hi}  
\textit{aku}  
\textit{ya}  
\textit{Aita}.  
\text{DET}  
\text{ABS.1SG}  
\text{that}  
\text{human being}  
I am a human being. (#3)

In some cases, \textit{ya} seems to be optional. Consider the following pair of sentences.

(25a)  
\textit{Hiku}  
\textit{ya}  
\textit{pati\text{\text{"u}}l}  
\textit{mu}.  
\text{ABS.1SG}  
\text{that}  
\text{sibling}  
\text{ERG.2SG}  
I am your brother/sister (#33)

(25b)  
\textit{Hikui}  
\textit{pati\text{\text{"u}}l}  
\textit{mu}.  
\text{ABS.1SG}  
\text{sibling}  
\text{ERG.2SG}  
I am your brother/sister. (#34)

Descriptions of neighboring languages tell us that these languages also have some phonologically similar form. In Botolan Sambal and Kakilingan Sambal, \textit{ya} (and its allomorph \textit{-y}, which is \textit{-i} in the present paper) functions as the absolutive determiner for common nouns and as the linker, which connects, for example, adjectives and nouns (Antworth 1979: 6-7 and 55ff, Shimizu and Yamashita 1982: 132-133). This is a reasonable possibility in Mag-anchi as well. Consider the following. In this sentence, \textit{ya} cannot be the linker, but can be the determiner, which
is the head of a noun phrase yai ahawa ku (‘the spouse of mine’).6

(26) Kapampangan yai ahawa ku.
    Kapampangan that spouse ERG.1SG
    My husband/wife is Kapampangan. (#52)

In the sentence below, yai should be the linker, which forms a predicate noun phrase mihai yai Kapampangan (‘one Kapampangan’).7

(27) Mihai yai Kapampangan hatui ahawa ku.
    one that Kapampangan that spouse ERG.1SG
    My husband/wife is a Kapampangan. (#53)

One may think that yai in the above two sentences is the enclitic third person singular pronoun, since it occupies the second position of the sentence. However, the noun phrase mihai yai Kapampangan can be postposed, and yai is still inside the noun phrase, not in the second position of the sentence.

(28) Hachai ahawa ku mihai yai Kapampangan.
    this spouse ERG.1SG one that Kapampangan
    My husband/wife is Kapampangan. (#54)

Thus, it is concluded that ya/yai has several different meanings or functions. More research should be carried out in order to fully understand the multifunctionality of ya/yai.

6 In many of the examples here and in Appendix 2, we keep the English gloss ‘that’ for ya/yai, even if ABS.3SG (pronoun), DET (determiner) or LK (linker) seems likely or appropriate. We are not consistent in glossing ya/yai.

7 There must be other forms of the linker in Mag-anchi. Forms such as -n and -ng are very likely to be a linker. However, we did not separate them from the rest of the word, since we are not completely sure if our analysis is correct.

6. Conclusion

This paper has presented a tentative and partial synopsis of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the Aita Mag-anchi language. Our data are extremely
limited and our documentation is not fully successful, but since very little is known about the language, we believe that our attempt will be an important contribution for Philippine linguistics and for local Aita Mag-anchi communities.

Bibliography
Appendix 1: Brief History of the Sápângbatu Aitâ

Most lowlanders now think that the Aitas were primitive hunters and gatherers who never understood farming. Those who benefited from taking over Aita lands would justify their actions by saying that the said lands were unproductive in Aita hands because the Aitas were simply too lazy to even think of farming. According to Ápûng Ramon Tiglao of Sitío Bâbo, a respected Aita elder in Sápângbatu and our principal resource person, however, the Aitas were skilled farmers who understood the land and followed the seasons on knotted cords tied about their loincloths [buknû].

According to Ápûng Ramon, the north bank of Sápângbatu (Eng. stony river; Jpn. ishikawa) was once a rich valley that the Aitas converted into a prosperous rice farming community even before his grandfather’s time. This territory included a significant portion of Clark where the heart of it was once located at the present site of Camp Stotsenburg and the CDC office complex.

On the south bank of Sápângbatu, on what was once known as Pulûng Anûnas, was said to be a trading outpost of Kapampangans from the town of Mexico that was more than a day’s distance further downstream. The Aitas traded mangoes, pulut [honey], tâpang usa at bâbing dikut [dried deer and boar’s meat], nitu [vines], yuru [sago], and tûnas [seeds used to heal wounds]. In exchange, the Kapampangans brought asin [salt for preserving meat], ápî [lime for betelnut chewing], kuran [claypots for cooking], pinggan [Chinese porcelain plates], bárû [shirts], tobacco and gin for offering and kalâme [rice cakes].

Ábakâk was the name the Aita gave to the lower stretch of Sápângbatu for they could walk downstream along its banks till the next morning and still find no other community in sight. The Kapampangan traders from downstream also called the river Ábakâk because it was at its banks that they would have to spend the night before paddling back downstream to the town of Mexico.

The extent of the influence of the Kapampangan forest traders from downstream upon the Aita culture was evident. Leading Aita families began adopting the surnames of the leading families downstream, like the names Laksamana and Pamintuan of the Kapampangans from Mexico.

When the Americans were said to have occupied the town of Angeles during the time of Ápûng Ramon’s grandfather, Kapampangan families from that town began evacuating further up the source of Sápângbatu to where the sacred balîtî [ficus benjamina Linn.] tree once stood. This place was a fertile valley where the Aitas used to draw fresh water for drinking. It soon became a permanent Kapampangan settlement.
When the Americans came during the time of Ápûng Ramon’s grandfather, the Americans began building Camp Stottenburg on the community’s vast mango plantation. Mango was one of the most lucrative trading crops with the Kapampangans downstream. The Aitas chose from among themselves a chief to deal with the Americans. His name was Ápung Úkat. The Americans simply ignored the Aita’s demands. Ironically, they promoted Ápung Úkat to the rank of “general” and made him “king” of all the Aita.

During the time of Ápung Ramon’s father, the Americans confined the Aitas to a hill called Takundû (now Barangay Margot). Their movement across the mountains became somewhat restricted and many of them were cut off from their relatives in Zambales and Mabalacat because the American base now stood in the way.

There was no longer trade with the Kapampangans from downstream. The Americans began to build more and more permanent structures on Aita lands while Kapampangans began to swell in number and began spilling beyond the south bank of Sápângbatu. These Kapampangans were not forest traders from downstream who understood and respected Aita ways. Like the Americans, these Kapampangans were strangers who without permission simply settled and farmed on Aita lands. Unlike the Americans, these new settlers did not allow the Aitas to venture back or even pass through the lands that was once theirs. It was because of this that the Aitas began to work with the Americans and distance themselves from the Kapampangans.

Some years before Ápûng Ramon was born, the Aitas were forced by the Americans to evacuate as far up the mountains as possible to escape from the Japanese and the fighting in the lowlands. They could not forget the terror of the bombs dropped by the Japanese on the Aita village. Many of the Aitas were killed by the bombs dropped by the Japanese when they raided Clark at the beginning of the war. They could not understand however why the Americans also blew up their houses that stood on Takundû. Worst of all, when the Americans blew up the stone bridge of Sápângbatu, they also blew up the sacred balît tree that stood guard over the community.

During the war, some American paratroopers forced the Aitas they have evacuated to join their war against the Japanese. They promoted Kudîaro Laksamana, an Aita who had saved many paratroopers to the rank of colonel. From then on these Americans used the Aitas as trackers, scouts, messengers and snipers against the Japanese. These Aitas and their families did not receive anything from the Americans after the war.

When the Americans began rebuilding Clark after the war, the Aitas who came down the mountains were made to live in a “village” at the northern edge of Clark where the PTT-Coastal Fuel Depot now stands. Takundû (now Margot) was now occupied by
Kapampangan refugees. Although the Aitas here continued to farm rice, the land was not big enough to get sufficient crops. Many Aitas began to rely on food rations provided by the Americans.

At the time of President Diosdado Macapagal, the Aitas were again moved to a new “village” further north. Named after the former president, Macapagal Village is now the site of the Centennial Expo. When the Americans decided to convert Macapagal Village into a fuel dump, the Aitas were forced to relocate to San Joaquin along the Mabalacat exit of Clark Airbase. Unsure of where they will be forced to resettle next, the Aitas abandoned farming and became more and more dependent on the Americans for their subsistence. The Americans employed many of them as security guards, janitors and jungle survival instructors. The more enterprising ones began to gather and sell iron scraps and military junk.

According to Ápung Rodolfo Pamintuan of Sitio Bábo, our second consultant, it was in 1968 that the Americans, together with President Marcos, decided to resettle the Aitas on a permanent reservation outside of Clark Airbase. Located on the foothills of Mabalacat, Marcos Village became the longest standing settlement of the Sápángbatu Aita that lasted until the eruption of Mount Pinatubu.

When Mount Pinatubu blew up, the government and various NGOs forced the Aitas on to different resettlement sites. Some of them were even resettled to distant provinces, far away from their ancestral lands (Gaillard et al., in submission). Most of them were resettled at the foothills of Bunduk Aláya in Magalang. It was here in Magalang that King Alfonso, the head of all Aita Mag-anchi and the son of Ápung Úkat, the Aita chief made king and general by the Americans, died. He had no sons to succeed him. It was at this point that the Aita Mag-anchi felt themselves to be a lost and scattered people. Each family now had to decide its own fate. Most of them decided to go back to the vicinity of Clark. It was around Clark that they began to rebuild their homes.

Sitio Bábo was one of those Aita communities now scattered around Clark. Sitio Bábo, formerly called Little Baguio, was once a rest house facility built by the Americans before the war. Rebuilt by Ápung Ramon and by the elders who still command respect in the community, Sitio Bábo is now five years old. It still lacks the basic facilities any normal community needs: proper housing, safe roads, drinking water, sewage, toilets, a school and a clinic. To make matters worse, the government introduced to the community a political system alien to traditional Aita ways. The electoral process was understood slightly by the educated Aita youth. So it was only they who participated in the process. Ápung Ramon and the traditional elders slowly found themselves being displaced by the powers of the new elite who unfortunately
abused their authority, despised tradition and did nothing to serve the community. Now two authorities exist in Sitio Bábo, the council of elders as mandated by the majority and the elected council recognised only by the Philippine government.

Siuála ding Meángûbié Michael Raymon Pangilinan
25 October 2002
Appendix 2: List of Aitâ Mag-anchî Basic Constructions

Provenance: Sitio Bábo, Barangay Sápângbatu, Angeles City, Philippines
Period: 6 August to 31 October, 2002
References: Ápûng Ramon Tiglao and Ápûng Rodolfo Pamintuan
Researchers: Kitano Hiroaki (Japan), Siuálâ ding Meângûbié Michael Raymon Pangilinan [head], Carlos Buan and Aries Pangilinan (Philippines)

Each entry is composed of five lines: Ref (reference number), Ait (Aita construction), Gls (gloss, or word-by-word translation and grammatical information), Eng (free translation in English), and Kap (free translation in Kapampangan).

Stress is represented with an acute accent (’) in Ait lines. The glottal stop [ʔ] is represented with a circumflex accent (ˆ) on the final stressed syllable.

Abbreviations in Ref lines:
[ART] - Ápûng Ramon Tiglao
[ARP] - Ápûng Rodolfo Pamintuan
[VAR] - other Aita consultants

If consultant is not specified, it means that both consultants agree on the sentence structure, etc.

Abbreviations in Gls lines:
ABS - absolutive (the only core argument in an intransitive clause and a more patient-like argument (“object”) in a transitive clause)
DET ‘hi’ - absolutive determiner for personal names and human (pro)nouns (case marker, similar to English article “the”)
DET.OBL ‘ha’ - oblique determiner for common nouns (case marker, similar to English “to the, from the” etc.)
DU - dual (speaker and addressee, “you and me”)
ERG - ergative (a more agent-like argument (“subject”) in a transitive clause and a possessor)
EXCL - exclusive (first person plural excluding the addressee)
EXCLAM - exclamative expressions
EXIST ‘main’ - existential (‘there is’) or possessive (‘have’) with a pronoun
INCL - inclusive (first person plural including the addressee)
LK - linker that may have been adapted from Kapampangan; native Mag-anchi linkers are not marked

NONEXIST ‘āin’ - non-existential (‘none, nothing’)

OBL - oblique (indicating various other grammatical relations than absolutive and ergative)

PL - plural

SG - singular

1, 2, 3 - first, second, third person

Ref: 1
Ait: Hinu ka?
Gls: what you(Abs.2SG)
Eng: What are you?
Kap: Nānu ka?

Ref: 2 [ARP]
Ait: Hinui ka?
Gls: what you(Abs.2SG)
Eng: What are you?
Kap: Nānu ka?

Ref: 3 [ART]
Ait: Hi1 aku ya Aita.
Gls: DET me(Abs.1SG) that human.being
Eng: I am a human being.
Kap: Tāu ku.

Ref: 4 [ARP]
Ait: Hiku ya Aita.
Gls: me(Abs.1SG) that human.being
Eng: I am a human being.
Kap: Tāu ku.

1 hi, Kapampangan i, Tagalog si. The determiner (or article) for personal names and human (pro)nouns (absolutive).
Ref: 5
Ait: Aita ku.
Gls: human.being me(abs.1sg)
Eng: I am a human being.
Kap: Tāu ku.

Ref: 6
Ait: Mihai kui Aita.
Gls: one me(abs.1sg) human.being
Eng: I am a human being.
Kap: Mētung kung tāu.

Ref: 7
Ait: Mihai yai Aita.
Gls: one him/her/it(abs.3sg) human.being
Eng: He is a human being.
Kap: Tāu ya.

Ref: 8
Ait: Main Aita.
Gls: there.is(exist) human.being
Eng: There is someone.
Kap: Atin tāu.

Ref: 9
Ait: Main Aita bairi.
Gls: there.is(exist) human.being here
Eng: There is someone here.
Kap: Atin tāu keni.

Ref: 10
Ait: Main Aita bairo.
Gls: there.is(exist) human.being there
Eng: There is someone there.
Kap: Atin tāu karin.
Ref: 11
Ait: Aita ya.
Gls: human.being him/her(ABS.3SG)
Eng: He is a human being.
Kap: Tâu ya.

Ref: 12
Ait: Hiyai Aita.
Gls: him/her(ABS.3SG) human.being
Eng: He is a human being.
Kap: Tâu ya.

Ref: 13
Ait: Aita la.
Gls: human.being them(ABS.3PL)
Eng: They are human beings.
Kap: Tâu la.

Ref: 14 [ARP]
Ait: Hilai Aita.
Gls: them(ABS.3PL) human.being
Eng: They are human beings.
Kap: Tâu la.

Ref: 15 [ART]
Ait: Hila yai Aita.
Gls: them(ABS.3PL) that human.being
Eng: They are human beings.
Kap: Tâu la.

Ref: 16 [ART]
Ait: Aita kai.
Gls: human.being you(ABS.2SG)
Eng: You are a human being.
Kap: Tâu ka.
Ref: 17
Ait: Aita kaingan.
Gls: human.being you(Abs.2pl)
Eng: You are human beings.
Kap: Tâu kayu.

Ref: 18 [ARP]
Ait: Hikai Aita.
Gls: you(Abs.2sg) human.being
Eng: You are a human being.
Kap: Tâu ka.

Ref: 19 [ART]
Ait: Hikai yai Aita.
Gls: you(Abs.2sg) that human.being
Eng: You are a human being.
Kap: Tâu ka.

Ref: 20
Ait: Hinui hi? ka?
Gls: what det you(Abs.2sg)
Eng: Who are you?
Kap: Ninu ika?

Ref: 21
Ait: Hinu ya?
Gls: what that(Abs.3sg)
Eng: What is it?
Kap: Nanu ita?

2 hi, Kapampangan i, Tagalog si. The determiner (or article) for personal names and human
(pro)nouns (absolutive). This determiner alone would differentiate the sentence Hinu ka? [What are
you?] from Hinu hi ka? [Who are you?].
Ref: 22
Ait: Hinu ya bai?
Gls: what that(ABS.3SG) on.earth(adverb)
Eng: What on earth is it?
Kap: Nánu uáři ita?

Ref: 23 [ART]
Ait: Hinu hi ya?
Gls: what DET that(ABS.3SG)
Eng: Who is it?
Kap: Ninu ita?

Ref: 24
Ait: Hinu hi ka bai?
Gls: what DET you(ABS.2SG) the.hell(adverb)
Eng: Who the hell are you?
Kap: Ninu ika uáři?

Ref: 25
Ait: Hinu ba yai hi ka?
Gls: what the.hell(adverb) that DET you(ABS.2SG)
Eng: Who the hell are you?
Kap: Ninu uáři ika?

Ref: 26
Ait: Hinu ka bai?
Gls: what you(ABS.2SG) the.hell(adverb)
Eng: What the hell are you?
Kap: Nánu ka uáři?

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bá (ba), Kapampangan uáři, Tagalog ba, no English equivalent, probably an adverb used to indicate a strong emphasis or incredulity.
Ref: 27
Ait: Hinu ba yai ka?
Gls: what the.hell(adverb) that you(ABS.2SG)
Eng: What the hell are you?
Kap: Nánu ka uáři?

Ref: 28
Ait: Hinu kita?
Gls: what two.of.us(ABS.1DU)
Eng: What are we?
Kap: Nánu kata?

Ref: 29
Ait: Hinu hi kata?
Gls: what DET us(ABS.1PL)
Eng: Who are we?
Kap: Ninánu kata?

Ref: 30
Ait: Inhinu hi kata?
Gls: what(verb) DET us(ABS.1PL)
Eng: What are we to each other?
Kap: Minánu kata?

Ref: 31 [ART]
Ait: Hi aku ya patůl mu.
Gls: DET me(ABS.1SG) that sibling your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: I am your brother/sister.
Kap: Yaku ing kapatad mu.

Ref: 32 [ART]
Ait: Hi aku ya hi patůl mu.
Gls: DET me(ABS.1SG) that DET sibling your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: I am your brother/sister.
Kap: Yaku ing kapatad mu.
Ref: 33 [ARP]
Ait: Hiku ya patül mu.
Gls: me(abs.1sg) that sibling your(erg.2sg)
Eng: I am your brother/sister.
Kap: Yaku ing kapatau mu.

Ref: 34 [ARP]
Ait: Hiku i patül mu.
Gls: me(abs.1sg) sibling your(erg.2sg)
Eng: I am your brother/sister.
Kap: Yaku ing kapatau mu.

Ref: 35 [ARP]
Ait: Hiku hi patül mu.
Gls: me(abs.1sg) det sibling your(erg.2sg)
Eng: I am your brother/sister.
Kap: Yaku ing kapatau mu.

Ref: 36
Ait: Patül mu kuina.
Gls: sibling your(erg.2sg) [me(abs.1sg) +that]
Eng: I am your brother/sister.
Kap: Kapatau muku.

Ref: 37 [ARP]
Ait: Patül mu kina.
Gls: sibling your(erg.2sg) [me(abs.1sg) +that]
Eng: I am your brother/sister.
Kap: Kapatau muku.

Ref: 38
Ait: Hiku hi kakâ mu.
Gls: me(abs.1sg) det elder sibling your(erg.2sg)
Eng: I am your elder brother/sister.
Kap: Yaku i koya/achi mu.
Ref: 39
Ait: Hikui hi áli mu.
Gls: me(ABS.1SG) DET younger.brother/sister your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: I am your younger brother/sister.
Kap: Yaku i uáli mu.

Ref: 40 [ART]
Ait: Hi aku ya hi bapa mu.
Gls: DET me(ABS.1SG) that DET father your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: I am your father.
Kap: Yaku i ibpá mu.

Ref: 41 [ART]
Ait: Hi aku ya hi indu mu.
Gls: DET me(ABS.1SG) that DET mother your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: I am your mother.
Kap: Yaku i indu mu.

Ref: 42 [ARP]
Ait: Hikui indu mu.
Gls: me(ABS.1SG) mother your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: I am your mother.
Kap: Yaku i indu mu.

Ref: 43 [ARP]
Ait: Hiku ya hi indu mu.
Gls: me(ABS.1SG) that DET mother your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: I am your mother.
Kap: Yaku i indu mu.

Ref: 44
Ait: Indu mu kuina.
Gls: mother your(ERG.2SG) [me(ABS.1SG) + that]
Eng: I am your mother.
Kap: Indu muku.
Ref: 45 [ARP]
Ait: Indû mu kina.
Gls: mother your(ERG.2SG) [me(ABS.1SG) + that]
Eng: I am your mother.
Kap: Indû mu ku.

Ref: 46 [ART]
Ait: Hi aku yai ahawa mu.
Gls: DET me(ABS.1SG) that spouse your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: I am your husband/wife.
Kap: Yaku ing asáua mu.

Ref: 47 [ARP]
Ait: Hikui ahawa mu.
Gls: me(ABS.1SG) spouse your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: I am your husband/wife.
Kap: Yaku ing asáua mu.

Ref: 48 [ART]
Ait: Hi aku hachi yai ahawa mu.
Gls: DET me(ABS.1SG) this that spouse your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: I here am your husband/wife.
Kap: Yaku ining asáwa mu.

Ref: 49 [ART]
Ait: Hi aku hachi bahûn ya hi ahawa mu.
Gls: DET me(ABS.1SG) this indeed that DET spouse your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: I am indeed this husband/wife of yours.
Kap: Yaku pin ing asáua mu e.

Ref: 50 [ART]
Ait: Hi aku hachi bahûn yai Kapampangan mûn ahawa.
Gls: DET me(ABS.1SG) this indeed that Kapampangan your(ERG.2SG) spouse
Eng: I am indeed your Kapampangan husband/wife.
Kap: Yaku pin ining Kapampangan mung asáua.
Ref: 51 [ARP]
Ait: Hiku bahün ya ahawa mu a⁴ Kapampangan.
Gls: me(ABS.1SG) indeed that spouse your(ERG.2SG) LK Kapampangan
Eng: I am indeed your Kapampangan husband/wife.
Kap: Yaku pin ing asáua mung Kapampangan.

Ref: 52
Ait: Kapampangan yai ahawa ku.
Gls: Kapampangan that spouse my(ERG.1SG)
Eng: My husband/wife is Kapampangan.
Kap: Kapampangan ya ing asáua ku.

Ref: 53
Ait: Mihai yai Kapampangan hatui ahawa ku.
Gls: one that Kapampangan that spouse my(ERG.1SG)
Eng: My husband/wife is a Kapampangan.
Kap: Métung yang Kapampangan ing asáua ku.

Ref: 54
Ait: Hachai ahawa ku mihai yai Kapampangan.
Gls: this spouse my(ERG.1SG) one that Kapampangan
Eng: My husband/wife is Kapampangan.
Kap: Ining asáua ku Kapampangan ya.

Ref: 55
Ait: Hachai ahawa kün Kapampangan.
Gls: this spouse my(ERG.1SG) Kapampangan
Eng: Here is my Kapampangan husband/wife.
Kap: Aini ing asáua kung Kapampangan.

⁴ a before an adjective usually suggests negation in Mag-anchi; this may have been adapted from Kapampangan, in which a is a linker. See also Refs 58 and 68.
Ref: 56
Ait: Antui kulau ku?
Gls: where child my(ERG.1SG)
Eng: Where is my son/daughter?
Kap: Ante ing anak ku?

Ref: 57 [ART]
Ait: Antu yai kulau ku?
Gls: where that child my(ERG.1SG)
Eng: Where is my son/daughter?
Kap: Ante ing anak ku?

Ref: 58 [ARP]
Ait: Antui kulau ku a mahampat?
Gls: where child my(ERG.1SG) LK good
Eng: Where is my beautiful son/daughter?
Kap: Ante ing anak kung masampat?

Ref: 59
Ait: Á ya mahampat in' kulau na.
Gls: not that good the(DET) child his/her(ERG.3SG).
Eng: His son/daughter is no good.
Kap: E ya máyap ing anak na.

Ref: 60
Ait: Airi kulau ku?
Gls: where child my(ERG.1SG)
Eng: Where is my son/daughter?
Kap: Nu ya ing anak ku?

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5 This is probably adapted from Kapampangan ling. See also Ref 82.
Ref: 61
Ait: Iri yai kulau ku?
Gls: where that child my(ERG.1SG)
Eng: Where is my son/daughter?
Kap: Nu ya ing anak ku?

Ref: 62 [ART]
Ait: Hi aku yai kulau mu.
Gls: DET me(ABS.1SG) that child your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: I am your son/daughter.
Kap: Yaku ing anak mu.

Ref: 63 [ARP]
Ait: Hikui kulau mu.
Gls: me(ABS.1SG) child your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: I am your son/daughter.
Kap: Yaku ing anak mu.

Ref: 64 [VAR]
Ait: Hiku hatui kulau mu.
Gls: me(ABS.1SG) that child your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: I am this son/daughter of yours.
Kap: Yaku itang anak mu.

Ref: 65
Ait: Kulau mu kuina.
Gls: child your(ERG.2SG) [me(ABS.1SG)+that]
Eng: I am your son/daughter.
Kap: Anak muku.

Ref: 66 [ARP]
Ait: Kulau mu kina.
Gls: child your(ERG.2SG) [me(ABS.1SG)+that]
Eng: I am your son/daughter.
Kap: Anak muku.
Ref: 67
Ait: Hi aku yai kulau mūn mahampat.
Gls: DET me(ABS.1SG) that child your(ERG.2SG) good
Eng: I am your good son/daughter.
Kap: Yaku ing anak mung máyap.

Ref: 68 [ARP]
Ait: Hikui kulau mu a mahampat.
Gls: me(ABS.1SG) child your(ERG.2SG) LK good
Eng: I am your good son/daughter.
Kap: Yaku ing anak mung máyap

Ref: 69
Ait: Hachiri yai kulau mūn ā mahampat.
Gls: here that child your(ERG.2SG) not good
Eng: Here is your good for nothing son/daughter.
Kap: Aini ing anak mung é máyap.

Ref: 70
Ait: Marauak yai kulau na.
Gls: evil that child his/her(ERG.3SG)
Eng: His son/daughter is bad.
Kap: Marók ya ing anak na.

Ref: 71
Ait: Marauak yan kulau ta āin kan mapakinabangan kanna.
Gls: evil that child because nothing(NONEXIST) you(ABS.2SG) benefiting from him(OBL.3SG)
Eng: He is a bad son/daughter because he is useless.
Kap: Marók yang anak uling alā kāng apakinabangnan kaya.
Ref: 72
Ait: Mapanganîh yai kulau mu.
Gls: cry that(Abs.3SG) child your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: Your child is a crybaby.
Kap: Pagágâ ya ing anak mu.

Ref: 73
Ait: Mapanganîh lai kulau mu.
Gls: cry them(Abs.3PL) child your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: Your children are crybabies.
Kap: Pagágâ la reng ának mu.

Ref: 74
Ait: Ampanangîh yai kulau mu.
Gls: cry that(Abs.3SG) child your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: Your child is crying.
Kap: Kikiak ya ing anak mu.

Ref: 75 [ART]
Ait: Ungnu hilai kulau mu?
Gls: how many them(Abs.3PL) child your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: How many children do you have?
Kap: Pilan la reng ának mu?

Ref: 76
Ait: Ungnu ya kulau mu?
Gls: how much that child your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: How much are your children?
Kap: Magkanu la reng ának mu?

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6 Pronounce the final h very roughly.
7 Without the pronoun hila, (‘them’), this sentence means “How much are your children?”
Ref: 77 [ART]
Ait: Lima hilai kulau ku.
Gls: five them(ABS.3PL) child my(ERG.1SG)
Eng: I have five children.
Kap: Lima la reng ának ku.

Ref: 78
Ait: Main akün luwai kulau.
Gls: there.is(EXIST) me(ABS.1SG) two child
Eng: I have two children.
Kap: Atin kung aduàng anak.

Ref: 79
Ait: Hinu hatui punganai kanla?
Gls: what that firstborn from.them(OBL.3PL)
Eng: Who is the firstborn among them?
Kap: Ninu itang pangáne karéla?

Ref: 80 [ARP]
Ait: Hinu hatui punganai ya kulau mu?
Gls: what that firstborn that child your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: Who is your firstborn child?
Kap: Ninu itang pangáne a anak mu?

Ref: 81
Ait: Hinu hatui kulau mün punganai?
Gls: what that child your(ERG.2SG) firstborn
Eng: Who is your firstborn child?
Kap: Ninu itang anak mung pangáne?

Ref: 82
Ait: Hinui in kulau nan ahawa mu?
Gls: what the(DET) child his/her(ERG.3SG) spouse your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: What did your wife give birth to?
Kap: Nanu ya ing anak ning asáua mu?
Ref: 83
Ait: Tù, Aita ya habaün!
Gls: EXCLAM human.being that(Abs.3SG) of.course(adverb)
Eng: A human being of course!
Kap: Bá, táu pa mu rin ne!

Ref: 84
Ait: Tù, â ya bakü!
Gls: EXCLAM not that(Abs.3SG) monkey
Eng: Not to a monkey of course!
Kap: Bá, e ya bakúlau ne!

Ref: 85
Ait: Babai yai kulau na.
Gls: female that(Abs.3SG) child him/her(Erg.3SG)
Eng: She gave birth to a girl. (Her child is female.)
Kap: Babái ya ing anak na.

Ref: 86
Ait: Lalaki ya.
Gls: male that(Abs.3SG)
Eng: It is a boy.
Kap: Laláki ya.

Ref: 87
Ait: Hinui labai mu?
Gls: what like your(Erg.2SG)
Eng: What do you want?
Kap: Ninung burĩ mu?

Ref: 88 [ARP]
Ait: Hini labai mu?
Gls: what like your(Erg.2SG)
Eng: What do you want?
Kap: Nánung burĩ mu?
Ref: 89
Ait: Labai ku manúbû.
Gls: like me(Abs.1SG) eat
Eng: I want to eat.
Kap: Bisâ kung mangan.

Ref: 90
Ait: Labai ku ya.
Gls: like me(erg.1SG) that(abs.3SG)
Eng: I like it.
Kap: Buri ke.

Ref: 91
Ait: Hinu hi labai mu?
Gls: what det like you(erg.2SG)
Eng: Who do you like?
Kap: Ninu ing buri mu?

Ref: 92
Ait: Labai kata.
Gls: like [me(erg.1SG) + you(abs.2SG)]
Eng: I like you.
Kap: Buri daka.

Ref: 93
Ait: Á kata labai.
Gls: not [me(erg.1SG) + you(abs.2SG)] like
Eng: I do not like you.
Kap: É daka buri.

Ref: 94
Ait: Á kata talagan labai.
Gls: not [me(erg.1SG) + you(abs.2SG)] really like
Eng: I really don’t like you.
Kap: É daka tagana buri.
Ref: 95
Ait: Labayün mu kuina.
Gls: like you(ERG.2SG) [me(ABS.1SG) + that]
Eng: Love me.
Kap: Luguran muku.

Ref: 96 [VAR]
Ait: Labayün mu kina.
Gls: like you(ERG.2SG) [me(ABS.1SG) + that]
Eng: Love me.
Kap: Luguran muku.

Ref: 97
Ait: Labayün mu kuina dayi.
Gls: like you(ERG.2SG) that [me(ABS.1SG) + that] please
Eng: Love me please.
Kap: Luguran muku dugū.

Ref: 98
Ait: Labayün mu kuina dayi agyan å la ku labay hén luwai matua mu.
Gls: like you(ERG.2SG) [me(ABS.1SG) + that] please even if not them(ERG.3PL)
       me(ABS.1SG) like those two old(=parent) your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: Please love me even if your parents do not like me.
Kap: Luguran muku dugū agyang e daku buri deng aduā mung pengāri.

Ref: 99
Ait: Aw, labayün kataina.
Gls: yes like [me(ERG.1SG) + you(ABS.2SG) + already/now]
Eng: Yes, I will love you.
Kap: Ua, luguran danaka.

Ref: 100
Ait: Åkū, å mabai kata labayün.
Gls: no, not like [me(ERG.1SG) + you(ABS.2SG)] like
Eng: No, I do not want to love you.
Ref: 101
Ait: Labayün kita nu mahampat ka.
Gls: like [me(ERG.1SG) + you(ABS.2SG)] if good you(ABS.2SG).
Eng: I will love you only if you are beautiful.
Kap: Luguran daka nung masampat ka.

Ref: 102
Ait: Labayün kita nu arugün mu kuina.
Gls: like [me(ERG.1SG) + you(ABS.2SG)] if court you(ABS.2SG) [me(ABS.1SG) + that]
Eng: I will like you if you will court me.
Kap: Luguran daka nung paglólon muku.

Ref: 103
Ait: Labayün kataina tâ kapaingalu kan kik.
Gls: like [me(ERG.1SG) + you(ABS.2SG) + already/now] because pitiful you(ABS.2SG) [adverb]
Eng: I will love you because you are to be pitied.
Kap: Luguran danaka uling makalúnus ka dugú.

Ref: 104
Ait: Labayün kuina tâ kapaingalu kün kik.8
Gls: like [me(ABS.1SG) + that] because pitiful me(ABS.1SG) [adverb]
Eng: Please have pity on me and love me.
Kap: Luguran muku kasi makalúnus ku dugú.

Ref: 105
Ait: Â kata labai agyan hinui daigün mu.
Gls: not [me(ERG.1SG) + you(ABS.2SG)] like even what do you(ERG.2SG)
Eng: I will not love you no matter what you do.
Kap: E raka burí agyang nánu man ing daptan mu.

8 A more correct way of saying this sentence may be “Labayün mu kuina...” (cf. Ref 95)
Ref: 106
Ait: Á kata labai tā āin akūn mapakinabangan kanmu.
Gls: not [me(ERG.1SG) + you(ABS.2SG)] like because nothing(NONEXIST) my(ERG.1SG) benefit from you(OBL.2SG)
Eng: I don’t like you because I won’t get anything from you.
Kap: E raka burī uling alā kung ápakina bangnan keka.

Ref: 107
Ait: Labayūn kata tā main akūn mapakinabangan kanmu.
Gls: like [me(ERG.1SG) + you(ABS.2SG)] because there my(ERG.1SG) benefit from you(OBL.2SG)
Eng: I will like you because I can get something from you.
Kap: Burī daka kasi atin kung ápakina bangnan keka.

Ref: 108
Ait: Main kai labai?
Gls: have(EXIST) you(ABS.2SG) like
Eng: Do you want something?
Kap: Atin kang burē?

Ref: 109
Ait: Main kai labai kanna?
Gls: there.is(EXIST) you(ABS.2SG) like from him/her(OBL.3SG)
Eng: Is there something you want from him?
Kap: Atin kang burī kaya?

Ref: 110
Ait: Au a, labai ku hiyai.
Gls: yes oh, like me(ERG.1SG) him/her(ABS.3SG)
Eng: Oh yes, I like him/her.
Kap: Ai ua, burī ke.
Ref: 111
Ait: Au a, labai ku hiyaina.
Gls: yes oh, like me(ERG.1SG) [him/her(ABS.3SG) + already/now]
Eng: Oh yes, I like him/her already.
Kap: A ua, buri kune.

Ref: 112
Ait: Kumusta’ kai?
Gls: how.are.you you(ABS.2SG)
Eng: How are you?
Kap: Komusta ka?

Ref: 113
Ait: Kumusta kaina?
Gls: how.are.you [you(ABS.2SG) + already/now]
Eng: How are you now?
Kap: Komusta naka?

Ref: 114
Ait: Hinui langan mu?
Gls: who name your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: What is your name?
Kap: Nanung lagyû mu?

Ref: 115
Ait: Hinu ba yai langan mu?
Gls: what in.heaven’s.name(adverb) that name your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: What [in heaven’s name] is your name?
Kap: Nânu naka pin lagyô?

9 From Spanish “¿Cómo estás?” See also Ref 113.
Ref: 116 [ART]
Ait: Hi aku ya hi Pedru.
Gls: DET me(ABS.1SG) that DET Pedro
Eng: I am Pedro.
Kap: Yaku i Pedru.

Ref: 117 [ARP]
Ait: Hiku ya hi Pedru.
Gls: me(ABS.1SG) that DET Pedro
Eng: I am Pedro.
Kap: Yaku i Pedru.

Ref: 118 [ARP]
Ait: Hiku hi Pedru.
Gls: me(ABS.1SG) DET Pedro
Eng: I am Pedro.
Kap: Yaku i Pedru.

Ref: 119
Ait: Hi Pedru yai langan ku.
Gls: DET Pedro that name my(ERG.1SG)
Eng: My name is Pedro.
Kap: I Pedru ing lagiů ku.

Ref: 120
Ait: Langan ku ya hi Pedru.
Gls: name my(ERG.1SG) that DET Pedro
Eng: My name is Pedro.
Kap: Ing lagiů ku i Pedru.

Ref: 121
Ait: Miknu kai ri.
Gls: sit you(ABS.2SG) here
Eng: Sit here.
Kap: Lukluk ka keni.
Ref: 122
Ait: Iri ka miknu?
Gls: where you(ABS.2SG) sit
Eng: Where will you sit?
Kap: Nu ka lukluk?

Ref: 123
Ait: Hachi ku miknu.
Gls: here me(ABS.1SG) sit
Eng: I am sitting here.
Kap: Keni ku lukluk.

Ref: 124
Ait: Miknu kai ru.
Gls: sit you(ABS.2SG) there
Eng: You sit there.
Kap: Karin ka lukluk.

Ref: 125
Ait: Miknu ka pun di tâ magbaru ku.
Gls: sit you(ABS.2SG) beginning here because dress me(ABS.1SG)
Eng: Sit here first while I get dressed.
Kap: Lukluk ka pâmû kâbang mâníblas ku.

Ref: 126
Ait: Hinui daigûn mu?
Gls: what do you(ERG.2SG)
Eng: What will you do?
Kap: Nânung gâuan mu?

Ref: 127
Ait: Hinui pandiagûn mu?
Gls: what doing you(ERG.2SG)
Eng: What are you doing?
Kap: Nânung gagâuan mu?
Ref: 128
Ait: Hinui diniag mu?
Gls: what did you(ERG.2SG)
Eng: What did you do?
Kap: Nánung géuâ mu?

Ref: 129
Ait: Hinui pandiagün mu amehün?
Gls: what doing you(ERG.2SG) now
Eng: What are you doing now?
Kap: Nánung gagáuan mu ngéni?

Ref: 130 [ART]
Ait: Hinu ya pandiagün mu?
Gls: what that doing you(ERG.2SG)
Eng: What are you doing?
Kap: Nánung gagáuan mu?

Ref: 131
Ait: Nadyüg na?
Gls: done it(ERG.3SG)
Eng: Is it done?
Kap: Yarî ne?

Ref: 132
Ait: Auô, nadyüg na.
Gls: yes done it(ERG.3SG)
Eng: Yes, it is done.
Kap: Ua, yarî ne.

Ref: 133
Ait: Ahû, à nadyüg.
Gls: no not done
Eng: No, it wasn’t done.
Ref: 134 [ART]
Ait: Hüi¹⁰, mangahui kainan lanūm!
Gls: EXCLAM draw [you(ABS.2SG) + already/now] water
Eng: You draw water [from the well] already!
Kap: Öi, maniaklū nakang danum!

Ref: 135 [ART]
Ait: Hüi, mangahui kainan lanūm tâ āin kitamung inumūn.
Gls: EXCLAM draw [you(ABS.2SG) + already/now] water because none(NONEEXIST) us(ABS.1PL) drink
Eng: You draw water [from the well] now for we no longer have anything to drink.
Kap: Öi, maniaklū nakang danum uling alā tānang inuman.

Ref: 136 [ART]
Ait: Hüi, manlūtū kaina tâ oras hana.
Gls: exclam cook [you(ABS.2SG) + already/now] because time to.it(OBL.3SG)
Eng: You start cooking now for it is already time.
Kap: Öi, maglūtu naka kasi óras na.

Ref: 137
Ait: Hüi, mangan kitamina tâ tanutui na.
Gls: exclam eat [all.of.us(ABS.1PL.INCL) + already/now] because cook already/now
Eng: Let us all eat for it is already cook.
Kap: Öi, mangan tānā uling lūtū na.

Ref: 138 [ART]
Ait: Hüi, mambayu kau na.
Gls: EXCLAM pound.rice you(ABS.2SG) already/now
Eng: Start pounding rice.
Kap: Öi, magbayū naka.

¹⁰ hüi [pronounced long hūːːi], Kapampangan öi, Tagalog hoy. Impolite you, used to call one’s attention in place of one’s name. The elders often used it when referring to one’s inferiors. It is often acceptable when calling to someone out in the mountains or in the open fields but deemed uncivilised once used within the household or within the community.
Ref: 139 [ART]
Ait: Hūi, manatap kau na emūn kitamina makapanlūtū.
Gls: EXCLAM winnow you(ABS.2SG) already/now so.that [all.of.us(ABS.1PL.INCL) +
already/now] cook
Eng: Start winnowing the rice so we can already cook it.
Kap: Īī, mamitse naka bang tánang alūtū.

Ref: 140
Ait: Paliu mu yai kulau mu.
Gls: bathe you(ERG.2SG) that child your(ERG.2SG)
Eng: Give your child a bath.
Kap: Dilūan mu ne ing anak mu.

Ref: 141
Ait: Mabai akina rain makiahawa tā matua akina.
Gls: like [me(ABS.1SG) + already/now] wish marry because old [me(ABS.1SG) +
already/now]
Eng: I already wish to marry someone for I am old enough.
Kap: Bisā nāku sānang makiasāua uling matua nāku.

Ref: 142
Ait: Mabai akina rain makiahawa tā kayan kinan manayhay hūn babai bui kulau.
Gls: like [me(ABS.1SG) + already/now] wish marry because can [me(ABS.1SG) +
already/now] support DET7/LK? woman and child
Eng: I already would like to marry for I can already support a family.
Kap: Bisā nāku sāng makiasāua uling agyū ku nang bumie familia.

Ref: 143
Ait: Antui lakün mu?
Gls: where go you(ERG.2SG)
Eng: Where will you go?
Kap: Nu ka ume?
Ref: 144
Ait: Antui panlakün mu?
Gls: where going you(ERG.2SG)
Eng: Where are you going?
Kap: Nu ka máme?

Ref: 145
Ait: Antui likün mu?
Gls: where went you(ERG.2SG)
Eng: Where did you go?
Kap: Nu ka mine?

Ref: 146
Ait: Airi ka maku?
Gls: where you(ABS.2SG) go
Eng: Where are you going?
Kap: Nu ka ume?

Ref: 147
Ait: Iri ka maku?
Gls: where you(ABS.2SG) go
Eng: Where are you going?
Kap: Nu ka ume?

Ref: 148
Ait: Maku ku ru ha babo.
Gls: go me(ABS.1SG) there at(DET.OBL) top
Eng: I will go up the mountain.
Kap: Mukiat ku karin kng bábo.

Ref: 149
Ait: Maku ku ru ha Sitio Bábo.
Gls: go me(ABS.1SG) there at(DET.OBL) Sitio Bábo
Eng: I will go to Sitio Bábo.
Kap: Munta ku karin kng Sitio Bábo
Ref: 150
Ait: Hüi, maku ka ri.
Gls: EXCLAM go you(ABS.2SG) here
Eng: Come here.
Kap: Ôi, ume ka keni.

Ref: 151
Ait: Hüi, maku ka ri tå main akui ipadiüg kanmu.
Gls: EXCLAM go you(ABS.2SG) here because have(EXIST) me(ABS.1SG) do for you(OBL.2SG)
Eng: Come here for I have something for you to do.
Kap: Ôi, ume ka keni uling atin kung pagauå keka.

Ref: 152
Ait: Ai hali, maku kina.
Gls: EXCLAM go [me(ABS.1SG) + already/now]
Eng: Very well, I am going.
Kap: O sige, mako náku.

Ref: 153
Ait: Lumatüng aku amehün.
Gls: come me(ABS.1SG) today
Eng: I will come today.
Kap: Dátang ku ngéni.

Ref: 154
Ait: Lumatüng aku nubuka.
Gls: come me(ABS.1SG) tomorrow
Eng: I will come tomorrow.
Kap: Dátang ku búkas.

Ref: 155
Ait: Nilumatüng aku nåapun.
Gls: came me(ABS.1SG) yesterday
Eng: I came yesterday.
Kap: Dinatang ku nåpun.
Ref: 156
Ait: Hūi, mita kitamina!
Gls: EXCLAM leave [all.of.us(ABS.1PL.INCL) + already/now]
Eng: Let us go!
Kap: Ōi, mako tāna!

Ref: 157
Ait: Hinui kayai lakūn la?
Gls: what wonder(adverb) go them(ERG.3PL)
Eng: I wonder what their destination is?
Kap: Nānu kaya ing ayan da?

Ref: 158
Ait: Hinui lakūn la?
Gls: what go them(ERG.3PL)
Eng: What is their destination?
Kap: Nānung ayan da?

Ref: 159
Ait: Hinui lakūn tāmu?
Gls: what go us(ERG.1PL.INCL)
Eng: What is our destination?
Kap: Nānung ayan tāmu?

Ref: 160
Ait: Malyū kitamina.
Gls: bathe [all.of.us(ABS.1PL.INCL) + already/now]
Eng: Let us take a bath.
Kap: Mandilū tāna.

Ref: 161
Ait: Main mahampat ya pamalyūan dū.
Gls: there.is(EXIST) good that bathing.place there
Eng: There is a good place to bathe there.
Kap: Atin masanting a pipandilūan karin.
Ref: 162
Ait: Hachai hila ru ha hungüi.
Gls: this them(ABS.3PL) there at(DET.OBL) interior
Eng: They live further inside the jungle.
Kap: Atiu la karin kng kasuludsuluran.

Ref: 163
Ait: Hachai hilina ha kapatagan.
Gls: this [them(ABS.3PL) + already/now] at(DET.OBL) lowland
Eng: They live there in the lowlands.
Kap: Karin na la kng kapatågan.

Ref: 164
Ait: Hinu ya bai.
Gls: what that(ABS.3SG) the.hell(adverb)
Eng: What the hell is it?
Kap: Nånu ita?

Ref: 165
Ait: Katana ya.
Gls: sword that(ABS.3SG)
Eng: It is a sword.
Kap: Talibung ya.

Ref: 166
Ait: Hachai katana.
Gls: this sword
Eng: Here is the sword.
Kap: Aining talibung.

Ref: 167 [ARP]
Ait: Hinuman katana hatu?
Gls: whose sword that
Eng: Whose sword is that?
Kap: Kanînu ya talibung ita?
Ref: 168
Ait: Hinui main katana?
Gls: what have(EXIST) sword
Eng: Who has a sword?
Kap: Ninung atin talibung?

Ref: 169
Ait: Main akūn mihai katana.
Gls: there.is(EXIST) me(ABS.1SG) one sword
Eng: I have a sword.
Kap: Atin kung talibung.

Ref: 170
Ait: Hachi ya katana nai Pedro.
Gls: this that sword his/her(ERG.3SG) Pedro
Eng: Here is Pedro’s sword.
Kap: Aini ing talibung nang Pedro.

Ref: 171 [ARP]
Ait: Hachi katana na Pedro.
Gls: this sword his/her(ERG.3SG) Pedro
Eng: Here is Pedro’s sword.
Kap: Aini ing talibung nang Pedro.

Ref: 172
Ait: Antui katana nai Pedru?
Gls: where sword his/her(ERG.3SG) Pedro
Eng: Where is Pedro’s sword?
Kap: Ante ing talibung nang Pedru.

Ref: 173
Ait: Intagū ku ya.
Gls: hid me(ERG.1SG) it(ABS.3SG)
Eng: I hid it.
Kap: Sélikut ke.
Ref: 174
Ait: Intagû la yang kamanâ.
Gls: hid them(ERG.3PL) it(ABS.3SG) spirits
Eng: It was hidden by the spirits.
Kap: Sélikut de ring núñú.

Ref: 175
Ait: Â mu ya makitan maski hinui diagûn mu.
Gls: not you(ERG.2SG) it(ABS.3SG) see even.though what do you(ERG.2SG)
Eng: You won't find it no matter what you do.
Kap: E me akit agiang náng daptan mu.

Ref: 176 [ART]
Ait: Â ku ya nakitan.
Gls: not me(ERG.1SG) it(ABS.3SG) saw
Eng: I did not see it.
Kap: Eke ikit.

Ref: 177 [ARP]
Ait: Â kuí nakitan.
Gls: not me(ERG.1SG) saw
Eng: I did not see it.
Kap: Eke ikit.

Ref: 178 [ART]
Ait: Naikitân kuina.
Gls: saw [me(ERG.1SG) + that]
Eng: I saw it.
Kap: Ikit ku ne.

Ref: 179
Ait: Kun mu yari.
Gls: get you(ERG.2SG) [it(ABS.3SG) + here]
Eng: Get it from here.
Kap: Kuanan me keni.
Ref: 180
Ait: Kun mu yaro.
Gls: get you(ERG.2SG) [it(ABS.3SG) + there]
Eng: Get it there.
Kap: Kuanan me karin.

Ref: 181
Ait: Hachiri!
Gls: here
Eng: Here it is!
Kap: Aine!

Ref: 182 [ART]
Ait: Hachi ya ri.
Gls: this it(ABS.3SG) here
Eng: Here it is.
Kap: Aine.

Ref: 183
Ait: Acharo!
Gls: there
Eng: There it is!
Kap: Aita!

Ref: 184 [ART]
Ait: Hachi ya ro.
Gls: this it(ABS.3SG) there
Eng: There it is.
Kap: Aita.

Ref: 185
Ait: Â ya iri.
Gls: not it(ABS.3SG) here
Eng: It is not here.
Kap: Alâ yu keni.
Ref:  186
Ait:  Ā ya iriy katana.
Gls:  not it(ABS.3SG) here sword
Eng:  The sword is not here.
Kap:  Alâ yu keni ing talibung.

Ref:  187
Ait:  Ā ya iriy katana nai Pedru.
Gls:  not it(ABS.3SG) where sword his/her(ERG.3SG) Pedro
Eng:  Pedro's sword is not here.
Kap:  Alâ yu keni ing talibung nang Pedru.

Ref:  188
Ait:  Acha bahün.
Gls:  be.there indeed
Eng:  It is there.
Kap:  Atiu ya ken.

Ref:  189
Ait:  Kun mu yarui katana.
Gls:  get you(ERG.2SG) [it(ABS.3SG) + there] sword
Eng:  Get the sword from there.
Kap:  Kuanan me karin ing talibung.

Ref:  190
Ait:  Tapulün mu ya.
Gls:  find you(ERG.2SG) it(ABS.3SG)
Eng:  Find it.
Kap:  Pantunan me.

Ref:  191
Ait:  Matarùm yai katana na.
Gls:  sharp it(ABS.3SG) sword his/her(ERG.3SG)
Eng:  His sword is sharp.
Kap:  Mataram ya ing talibung na.
Ref: 192
Ait: Âîn yan tarûm ya katana na.
Gls: none(NONEXIST) that edge that sword his/her(ERG.3SG)
Eng: His sword is dull.
Kap: Alà yang taram ing talibung na.

Ref: 193
Ait: Nangaláuàng yai katana na.
Gls: rusted that sword his/her(ERG.3SG)
Eng: His sword is rusty.
Kap: Makaláuàng ya ing talibung mu.

Ref: 194
Ait: Hachai lutâ naûn.
Gls: this land our(ERG.1PL.EXCL)
Eng: This is our land.
Kap: Ini ing gabun mi.

Ref: 195
Ait: Kannaûn yai lutâ.
Gls: to.us(OBL.1PL.EXCL) it(ABS.3SG) land
Eng: This is our land.
Kap: Kekami ya gabun ini.

Ref: 196
Ait: Lutâ naûn ya.
Gls: land our(ERG.1PL.EXCL) it(ABS.3SG)
Eng: This is our land.
Kap: Gabun mi ya ini.

Ref: 197
Ait: Ai lutân Aita hiyai biyai naûn.
Gls: the? land Aita him/her(ABS.3SG) life our(ERG.1PL.EXCL)
Eng: Aita (our) life depends on Aita lands.
Kap: Ing gabun ding Aita yang bié ding Aita.
Ref: 198
Ait: Hentâ lutâ mu ya?
Gls: why land your(ERG.2SG) it(ABS.3SG)
Eng: Why, is this your land?
Kap: Gabun me úâri ini?

Ref: 199
Ait: Aluâ mun lutâi hachi.
Gls: not your(ERG.2SG) land this
Eng: This is not your land.
Kap: Ali me gabun ini.

Ref: 200
Ait: Tinakau nai lutân Aita.
Gls: coveted him(ERG.3SG) land Aita
Eng: He stole Aita lands.
Kap: Penâko na ing gabun Aita.

Ref: 201
Ait: Makamana yai mamihalûy hûn lutâ.
Gls: spirits(verb) that seller DET?/LK? land
Eng: He who sells land will be punished by the spirits.
Kap: Manûnû ya ing mâmisaling gabun.