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YATTUKA AND TUWALI IFUGAO HUDHUD: YATTUKA, KELEY-I, AND TUWALI IFUGAO INTERFERENCE

1. Introduction[1]

Hudhud, proclaimed as one of the world's most remarkable examples of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity by UNESCO in 2001 [UNESCO 2014], is an epic chant performed in a limited number of central and southern municipalities of the Ifugao province in Northern Luzon [Stanyukovich 2013: 170]. In spite of the popular view that the genre has no ritual significance [Lambrecht 1960: 2; Lambrecht 1967: 268; Dulawan 2000: 249; Dulawan 2005: 3; Acabado 2010: 132; Blench, Campos 2010: 57], hudhud epics have strong ritual connections, as they are performed in a variety of important rituals [Stanyukovich 1982; Stanyukovich 2003; Stanyukovich 2013]. The protagonists of the stories — Guminigin, Aliguyon, Bugan, and others — belong to a group of benevolent deities [Stanyukovich 2007: 64].

Hudhud is performed in three different languages: Tuwali Ifugao, Amganad Ifugao (both belong to the Central Cordilleran languages), and Yattuka (a Southern Cordilleran language). The epic is mostly known in the first two languages. All the published texts were recorded

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in Tuwali-speaking areas, except for three hudhud texts in Yattuka that appeared in pre-print without translation. The existing Yattuka hudhud records remain unpublished as of now. The Tuwali and Yattuka texts seem to contain a number of borrowings from other languages. Until present, it has been unclear how ubiquitous such borrowings are and what languages they come from. This paper deals with the phenomenon of interference (defined here as the use of elements of one language, lexemes or morphemes in the context of this study, in speech in a different language) of linguistic units coming from different languages in the hudhud genre. This phenomenon has already been tackled in several studies [Stanyukovich 2011a; Stanyukovich 2011b; Stanyukovich 2012], however still remains understudied. Here, we aim to shed some light on the interference in hudhud, regarding more specific questions, including: (i) what languages spoken in Ifugao province do hudhud singers borrow from? (ii) is it possible to find any linguistic evidence to support the hypothesis that the hudhud genre originated in the Yattuka culture?

Hudhud varieties fall into four different situational variation categories: *hudhud di ʔani*[2] — harvest hudhud, performed during harvesting native varieties of rice that bear ritual significance; *hudhud di qolot* — haircut rite song, performed during *qolot* — the haircut rite for boys of the rich, which is part of the life-cycle rituals [Stanyukovich 2013: 168]; and *hudhud di nate* — funeral chant, which is a shamanistic song of the same epic form as the other hudhud genres, but is used to guide the soul to the abode of the dead during the wake or *bogwa* — the secondary burial ritual [Stanyukovich 2003; Stanyukovich 2013: 168] (*hudhud ni ʔani*, *hudhud ni qolot* and *hudhud ni nosi* in Yattuka, correspondingly) [Stanyukovich 2007: 64]. Hudhud also used to be performed during *ʔujaʔuj–* the wedding ritual for the rich,

[2] Tuwali, Yattuka and Keley-i words in this paper are given in IPA. Translations of examples cited from other works are given in the original.

Brackets in glossing are used whenever a form expresses a meaning not denoted by any of its individual morphemes. Consider, for example, the verb *ʔum-qiliggen* in (9), which has only two morphemes: the root *qiliggen* and the actor voice prefix *ʔum-*. The verb, however, also expresses an aspect meaning, which is represented by the whole form as opposed to all the rest in its paradigm, rather than by either of the individual morphemes. Hence the use of NEUT outside the brackets in the gloss.

also constituting part of the life-cycle rituals, which is not performed anymore by the modern Ifugaos [Stanyukovich 2013: 179–180].

At present, hudhud is an endangered genre, as there are very few lead singers left and younger generations are no longer interested in learning the tradition, due to the disintegration of the traditional society and fading of the native belief system. *Hudhud di ʔujaʔuj* is no longer performed, and *hudhud di*/*ni ʔani* is occasionally performed in the field in Asipulo (the municipality of the Ifugao province where Keley-i and Yattuka are spoken), but no longer in Tuwali-speaking areas, while *hudhud di*/*ni qolot* and the funeral hudhud are rare both in Tuwali and Yattuka/Keley-i speaking areas.

Hudhud is sung by a lead chanter — *mun-hawʔe* (Tuwali) or *mo-haʔwi* (Yattuka) — who narrates the events of the story, and the chorus, consisting of two or more people — *mun-ʔabbuj* (Tuwali) or *ma-ʔobbuj* (Yattuka) — who finish every line with formulae containing the character names, place names and rhythmic fillers (as well as time formulae, characteristic of the Tuwali hudhud texts published by Fr. Lambrecht and A. Daguio).

Hudhud is a predominantly female tradition [Stanyukovich 2007: 64], sung by women who have passed childbearing age [Stanyukovich 2013: 172]. In Asipulo, males join the chorus much more often than elsewhere. Occasionally male lead chanters can be met. Such chanters can either be males who mastered the art of hudhud from their mothers, or homosexual ritual specialists who were taught by elder women.

Data on Yattuka in this research comes primarily from the field studies of the authors of this paper.

2. The languages in Ifugao province

The numerous isolects spoken across Ifugao province belong to two different genealogical groups: Central Cordilleran (IFG for Ifugao in Figure 1) and Southern Cordilleran (KLN for Kallahan in Figure 1) languages.

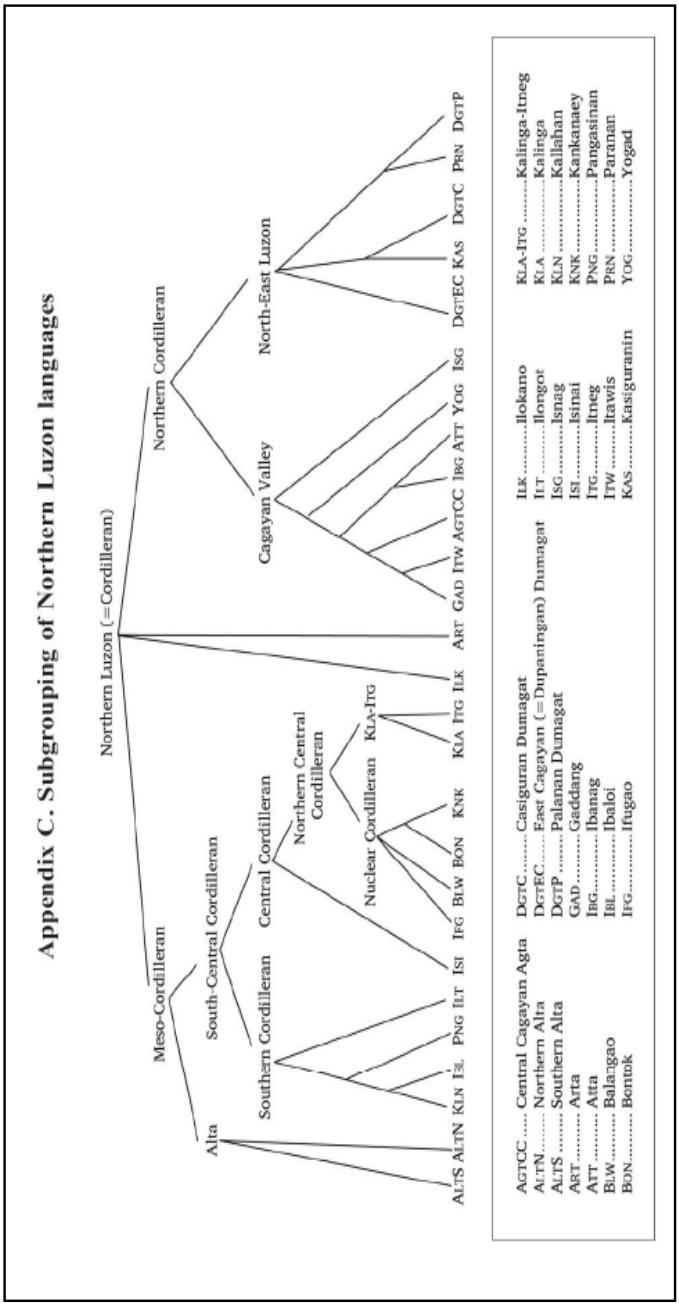


Figure 1. Position of the Central Cordilleran and Southern Cordilleran languages of Ifugao in Northern Luzon languages (from [Reid 2007: 28])

Central Cordilleran isolects include at least four Ifugao languages recognized in *Ethnologue* [Simons, Fennig 2017] and *Glottolog* [Hammarström et al. 2018]: Tuwali Ifugao (ISO 639-3 ifk)[1] (descriptions of the grammar of this language can be found in [Hohulin, Hohulin 2014; Klimenko 2012]), Amganad Ifugao (639-3 ifa) [Madrid 1980; Sawyer 1975; West 1973], Batad Ifugao (639-3 ifb) [Newell 2005, 2008], and Mayoyao Ifugao (639-3 ifu) [Hodder 1999]. The latter is not recognized as an independent entity in some studies. Thus, in the following map (Figure 2) the Tuwali-speaking area is shown enclosed with the solid line, the Amganad area is enclosed with the broken line, while the Mayoyao and Batad languages are lumped together and enclosed with the dotted line. It should be noted that Amganad, Batad, and Mayoyao are not universally recognized as independent languages in the folk taxonomy of the Ifugao population. Tuwali, Kalanguya, Keley-i, and Yattuka speakers normally consider them to be one under the name of Ayangan Ifugao.

Southern Cordilleran isolects include at least three different languages, only two of which are recognized in *Ethnologue* [Simons, Fennig 2017] and *Glottolog* [Hammarström et al. 2018]: Kalanguya, Keley-i, and Yattuka. Figure 3 shows the geographical boundaries of these three closely related languages, which cover the northern parts of the provinces of Pangasinan and Nueva Viscaya, the east of Benguet province, and the south of Ifugao province.

Kalanguya (referred to as Ahin-Kayapa Kalanguya (639-3 kak) in [Simons, Fennig 2017]) has at least four dialects: (i) Northern, spoken in Tinoc municipality of Ifugao and Ambaguio municipality of Nueva Vizcaya, a province adjacent to Ifugao (referred to as Kallahan, Tinoc 639-3 tne in [Simons, Fennig 2017]); (ii) Central, spoken in Kayapa municipality of Nueva Vizcaya (Kallahan, Kayapa 639-3 kak in [Simons, Fennig 2017]); (iii) Southern, spoken in Aritao and Santa Fe municipalities of Nueva Vizcaya; (iv) Benguet dialect, spoken in Benguet province. The approximate number of speakers of the language is 100,000 [Santiago 2015].

There are, most likely, other dialects that have never been studied or recognized as such in literature or any reference materials. Thus, the locals of Asipulo municipality report that residents of Takak sitio[2]

[1] Tuwali Ifugao is also sometimes referred to as Kiangan Ifugao.

[2] Sitio is a typically rural territorial enclave forming a part of a barangay.

speak the Itkak "language" with very few speakers left. The Itkak isolect is said to be different — although mutually intelligible — from the surrounding Kalanguya dialects. Also, the Itkak people are reported to have a distinct self-identity.

Figure 2. Ifugao languages (from [Walrod 1978])

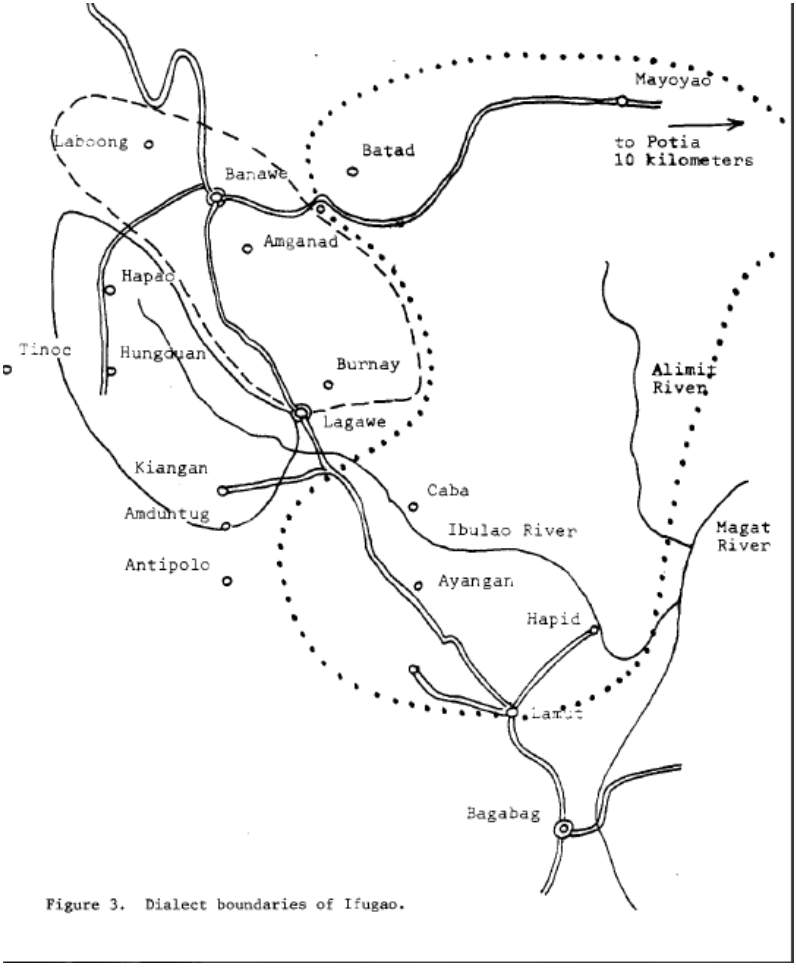
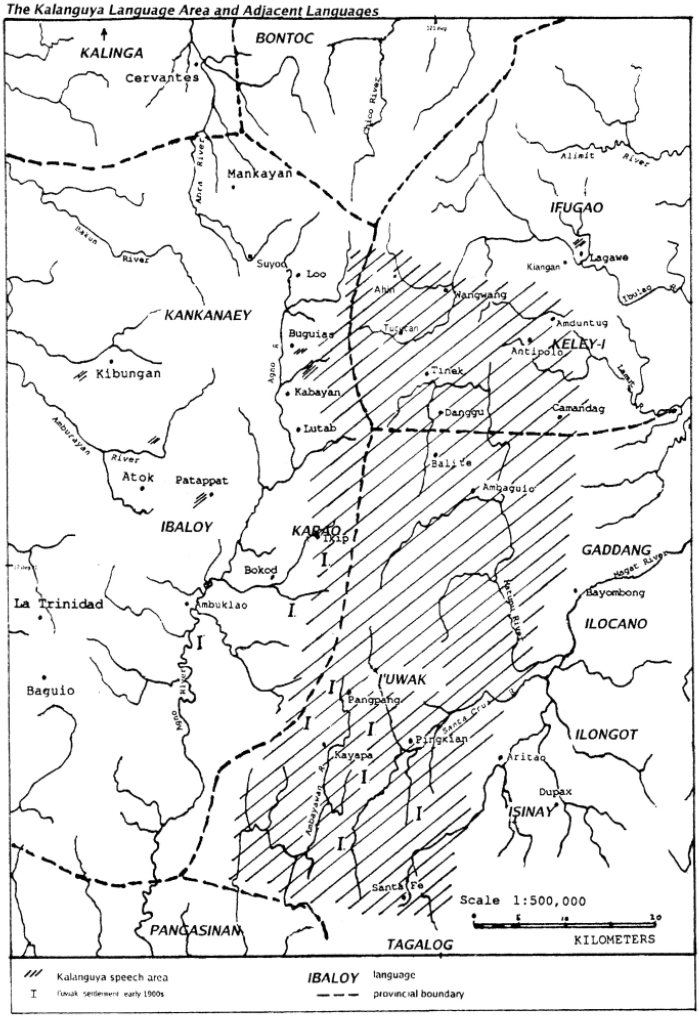


Figure 3. Geographical distribution of Kalanguya, Yattuka, and Keley-i (from [Afable 2004])



Keley-i (Kallahan, Keley-i 639-3 ify in [Simons, Fennig 2017]) [Hohulin, Kenstowicz 1979; L. Hohulin, Hale 1977; R. Hohulin, Hale 1977]

is spoken in two barangays[3] in Asipulo municipality — Antipulo and Pula. There are around 8,000 speakers of Keley-i, according to [Simons, Fennig 2017]. However, this figure also includes the Yattuka speakers. The population of barangays Antipulo and Pula is about 2,700 people [National Statistics Office 2010].

Yattuka (mentioned as the 'Ya-tuka' dialect of Keley-i in [Simons, Fennig 2017]. The spelling with a glottal stop seems to be incorrect, as native speakers pronounce it with a geminated [t]) [Klimenko 2016, 2017] is spoken in another two barangays in Asipulo municipality — Amduntog and Nungawa (in the north-easternmost part of the highlighted area in Figure 3), whose total population is also around 2,700 people [National Statistics Office 2010]. These two barangays are adjacent to the Keley-i-speaking area. Yattuka has another name — Hanglulaw — which is less frequently used by the people. It is also known to some Tuwali speakers as Hanglulo.

Keley-i and Yattuka are very close to each other, as well as to Kalanguya. Similar to 'Ayangan Ifugao', the term 'Kalanguya' is also frequently used by Ifugao people to refer to all speakers of these closely related Southern Cordilleran isolects in the south western municipalities of Ifugao province — Tinoc and Asipulo. 'Kalanguya' is also used as an umbrella term for all isolects of the cluster in [Himes 1998]. However, there are numerous differences between them on phonological, morphological and syntactic levels. For instance, it is reported that Keley-i and Yattuka share 94 percent of basic vocabulary, while the Ahin dialect of Kalanguya shares 85 percent of basic vocabulary with Keley-i and only 58 percent with Yattuka [Himes 1998: 150]. Also, Asipulo residents claim that Kalanguya speakers do not easily understand Keley-i and Yattuka speech, while it is easier for Keley-i and Yattuka speakers to understand Kalanguya.

In spite of this linguistic proximity, the three groups are greatly different culturally. The Keley-is and Yattukas consider themselves as Ifugaos, unlike the Kalanguyas from the lowlands of Nueva Vizcaya (and, probably, the Kalanguyas of Tinoc and Asipulo, who most likely consider themselves Ifugaos only nominally — due to their inclusion into the administrative division of the Ifugao province). There is an

[3] Barangay is the smallest administrative unit in the Philippines, in the rural setting equal to a village together with surrounding hamlets.

archaic term in the area — *ʔi-happuwan* — which refers to 'original peoples' of Kiangan and Asipulo, that is Tuwali, Keley-i, and Yattuka (and, perhaps, Kalanguya of Asipulo and Tinoc), sharing very similar material culture and ritual literature, as opposed to the other Kalanguya groups and Ayangan Ifugaos. Thus, Keley-i and Yattuka should not be labeled as 'Kalanguya' or 'Kallahan', since the latter terms exist in the local folk taxonomies as referring to other ethnolinguistic groups (cf. also the discussion on the controversy related to the terms 'Kalanguya' and 'Kallahan' in [Arsenio, Stallsmith 2008]. Also, the classification given in *Ethnologue* might need reconsideration, since Keley-i and Yattuka, in spite of being inherently mutually intelligible, have distinctly separate ethnolinguistic identities[4]. The only larger group that both Keley-i and Yattuka believe themselves to belong to is Ihappuwan and Ifugao, with whom they are connected on the basis of the very similar culture.

Kalanguyas in the hudhud-singing region of Asipulo practically have no immediate contact with Tuwali, while the Keley-i and Yattuka-speaking areas are adjacent to Tuwali-speaking Kiangan.

3. Languages of hudhud

Hudhud is mostly known in Tuwali Ifugao and Amganad Ifugao [Stanyukovich 2013: 170] — Central Cordilleran languages of Northern Luzon branch of the Philippine group spoken in some of the municipalities of Ifugao province.

All the published texts — [Daguio 1983], [Lambrecht 1957; 1960; 1961; 1967], as well as those archived in Ateneo Epic Archive [Dulawan, Revel 1993, 1997a, 1997b], were recorded in Tuwali-speaking areas — Kiangan and Lagawe, two municipalities of Ifugao province, except for the three hudhud texts in Yattuka that appeared in pre-print in [Dulnuan-Bimohya, Lunag [no place, no date]] without line breaks and translation. However, there have been numerous claims that the Ifugao ritual literature to a certain extent relies on lexis from some other language, which is sometimes labelled as "the secret language of Lagawe" and it is noted that this language is spoken south of Kiangan,

[4]This situation is in a way similar to the Hindi-Urdu distinction in *Ethnologue* and *Glottolog*, where important sociolinguistic differences are said to be at play.

that is in the municipality of Asipulo, sometimes it is directly pointed out that the language is "Kalanguya":

> The language of *ʔalim* is related to that of the Asipulo people in Southern Ifugao and to the nearly extinct "secret" language of the Liguawe people [Barton 1946: 101].
>
> Hudhud chanters use quite a number of peculiar words which are never heard in ordinary speech... [Lambrecht 1960: 21].
>
> Yagu'd is commonly used by those who speak the old and now disappearing language of Lagawe, but it is still spoken in a number of villages northwest of that village and seems to be closely related to the language spoken in the southwest of Nueva Vizcaya province [Lambrecht 1960: 48].
>
> The vocabulary of these long epic poems [hudhud], while they are sung in the Ifugao heartland ... actually involve a dialect that is not linguistically related to Ifugao [Afable 2004].
>
> Even more apparent as loans are those items that appear in IFG of Kiangan and that Lambrecht [1978] labels *hudhud* words. Virtually all of these items come from the "Lagawe language", that is Kalanguya [Himes 1998: 151].
>
> Undoubtedly, several S[outhern] C[ordilleran] languages that were spoken in centuries past are extinct. Mention was made earlier of the "Lagawe language", referred to by Lambrecht (1978) [Himes 1998: 174].

It is unclear if the so-called "Lagawe language", referred to by Barton and Lambrecht, is one of the languages discussed here or a language which is extinct now, as suggested by Himes.

As for Kalanguya, which some of the works quoted above refer to, there is a question what speech variety exactly is meant by this term in the mentioned works?

It has already been mentioned above that hudhud is best known as sung in Tuwali. However, it is also sung in Yattuka [Stanyukovich 2013: 170; Stanyukovich 2014: 192, 197]. Two interesting points are worth noting in regard to this fact. First, residents and singers from Asipulo (Keley-i and Yattuka) claim that hudhud originated from their area and were borrowed into the Tuwali culture. Second, Asipulo singers who are native Keley-i speakers perform hudhud only in Yattuka, but never in Keley-i. As of now there have been no records of hudhud in Keley-i and we have never heard of it from anybody. In fact, its existence is normally denied by the local residents.

4. Some grammatical differences between Tuwali Ifugao, Yattuka, and Keley-i

This section presents some differences between the systems of verbal affixes, case markers, locative, demonstrative pronouns, and personal pronouns in Tuwali, Yattuka, and Keley-i that are relevant for the following discussion on the interference in hudhud.

4.1. Verbal affixes

The differences in verbal affixes among the three languages that are relevant for the discussion below consist in the fact that (i) the actor voice marker <*um*>, used as an infix in most Philippine languages, including Tuwali, functions as a prefix in the neutral aspect form[5] in Keley-i and Yattuka, and (ii) Tuwali employs the stem-deriving prefixes *paN-* and — the more often occurring one — *puN-*, while in Keley-i and Yattuka there are only prefixes *paN-* and *pan-* (in verbs with the former the consonant after this prefix can be omitted, while in forms with the latter the consonant is never omitted; there are some rare instances of minimal pairs for these two prefixes: e.g., in Yattuka the reciprocal verb *man-ʔahwa* <NEUT[AV-RECP-spouse]> 'to marry each other' vs. its non-reciprocal counterpart *moŋ-ahwa*[6] <NEUT[AV-STEM-spouse]> 'to marry someone').

Table 1 and Table 2 present the portions of the aspect paradigms in the three languages[7] that are relevant for the discussion here. Table 1

[5] "Neutral aspect" here is used to label what is often referred to as the contemplative aspect or sometimes as the non-past.

[6] /a/ of the prefix here is raised to /o/ due to the fact that it is used in an unstressed open antepenultima, as required by the morphosyntactic processes of the language.

[7] In Tuwali, the paradigm differs from those in Keley-i and Yattuka both in the number and type of available forms, and the distribution of meanings across the forms. The Tuwali paradigm includes four forms: the neutral form (referring to imperative, habitual or prospective actions, as well as used for verbs in dependent positions), imperfective (progressive or habitual actions), perfective (completed actions), and the less regular past-imperfective form (completed durative or habitual actions) [Klimenko 2012: 49–54]. The Keley-i and Yattuka paradigms include five forms: the neutral form (prospective actions, also used for verbs in dependent positions), imperfective (progressive or habitual actions), perfective (completed actions), dependent

presents the paradigms for the verb ‘to punch’, which is formed with the actor voice affix *<um>/ʔum-* in the three languages, while Table 2 presents the paradigms for the verb ‘to cut grass’, which is formed with the prefixal complex *muN-* (*p<um>uN-*) in Tuwali Ifugao, and with the prefixal complex *maN-* (*ʔum-paN-*) in Keley-i and Yattuka[8].

Table 1. The aspect paradigms of the verb ‘punch’

aspect form	**Tuwali** [Klimenko 2012: 49–53]	**Keley-i** [Hohulin, Kenstowicz 1979: 244]	**Yattuka** [Klimenko 2017: 120]
neutral	d<um>untuq NEUT[<AV>punch]	ʔum-duntuq NEUT[AV-punch]	ʔum-duntuq NEUT[AV-punch]
imperfective	dum~d<um>untuq IPFV~<AV>punch	qa-ʔum-duntuq IPFV-AV-punch	qo-ʔum-duntuq IPFV-AV-punch
perfective	d<imm>untuq <PFV.AV>punch	d<imm>untuq <PFV.AV>punch	d<imm>untuq <PFV.AV>punch

form (used after some conjunctions, and referring to completed actions after verbal negators), and imperative [Klimenko 2017: 118–120].

[8]The interpretations of *muN-* and *maN-* as prefixal complexes here are by no means historical. Historically, the contractions *maŋ- < (*p<um>aŋ-) and *maR- < (*p<um>aR-) are sometimes explained by the pseudo nasal substitution process in Proto-Austronesian [Wolff 1973: 72; Blust 2013: 374–375]. However, the prefixal complex interpretation is also relevant for the synchronic description, since it presents a simpler unified account for the forms *muN-/nuN-/puN-* and *maN-/naN-/paN-*, combining stem-deriving, aspect and voice marking functions. Also, imperative forms in Yattuka verbs with *um-* lose the actor voice marker, and this is exactly what happens in imperative forms of verbs with *maN-*, where the stem-deriving prefix is preserved (e.g., *paŋ-gabut* <AV.IMP[STEM-cut_grass]>). The complex *maN-* is interpreted as *ʔum-paN-* for Keley-i and Yattuka here due to the fact that *ʔum-* is a prefix in the neutral form in these languages. Again, this is not to be taken as a historical interpretation.

Table 2. The aspect paradigms of the verb ‘cut grass’

aspect form	**Tuwali** [Klimenko 2012: 49–53]	**Keley-i** [Hohulin, Kenstowicz 1979: 247]	**Yattuka** [Klimenko 2017: 127–128]
neutral	muŋ-gabut NEUT[AV.STEM-cut_grass]	maŋ-ge<b~>but AV.STEM-<NEUT~>cut_grass	maŋ-go<b~>but AV.STEM-<NEUT~>cut_grass
imperfective	muŋ-gab~gabut AV.STEM-IPFV~cut_grass	qa-maŋ-ge<b~>but[9] IPFV-AV.STEM-<IPFV~>cut_grass	qo-maŋ-go<b~>but IPFV-AV.STEM-<IPFV~>cut_grass
perfective	nuŋ-gabut AV[PFV.STEM-cut_grass]	naŋ-gabut AV[PFV.STEM-cut_grass]	naŋ-gabut AV[PFV.STEm-cut_grass]

Yattuka and Keley-i are different regarding the prefix *ʔum-* from other Southern Cordilleran languages (e.g., Ilongot, Pangasinan, Ibaloy, Karaw, Kalanguya) as well, where <*um*>also changed into *ʔum-*, but the bilabial nasal further shifted to the alveolar position [Himes 1998: 140].

4.2. Non-personal case markers

Tuwali has the most complex non-personal case marker paradigm among the three (Table 3). While the Keley-i (Table 4) and Yattuka (Table 5) paradigms include only one category — case — with three values: nominative, genitive and oblique, the Tuwali paradigm includes another value in the same category, independent,which is used to introduce non-personal substantives in predicate and topic[10]

[9] Both neutral and imperfective forms in Keley-i and Yattuka are marked with gemination of the medial consonant of the root or — in some cases — reduplication of the initial consonant of the root in the position in front of the medial consonant. It is, however, problematic to single out one function of this marker for both forms that could be meaningfully opposed to all the rest of the forms in the paradigm. Hence the use of the differing glosses — <NEUT> or <IPFV> — for this marker dependending on the aspect form it is used with throughout the paper.

[10] Topic here refers to the same phenomenon as, for instance, the constituent marked with the topic marker *wa* in Japanese. It is not to be confused

positions, and the distinction between place and time markers and all other non-personal markers.

The enclitical forms given after the slash are used when the preceding sound is a vowel. In Keley-i and Yattuka the markers for the nominative seem to be interchangeable.

Table 3. Non-personal case markers in Tuwali Ifugao [Klimenko 2012: 29]

function	**independent**	**nominative**	**genitive**	**oblique**
non-personal	haj	di/=j	di/=ndi	hi/=h
place and time	ʔad/=d			ʔad/=d

Table 4. Non-personal case markers in Keley-i (adapted from [Hohulin, Kenstowicz 1979: 243])

nominative	**genitive**	**oblique**
hu/ø	ni	di

Table 5. Non-personal case markers in Yattuka [Klimenko 2017: 187]

nominative	**genitive**	**oblique**
hu/i/ø	ni/=n	di/=d

The following examples illustrate some of the non-personal case markers in the three languages that are relevant for the discussion below. (1a) and (1b) present the use of the nominative markers *di* and *=j* (the latter being restricted only to the position after a vowel, while the former does not have this restriction)[11], and (1c) and (1d) illustrate the corresponding markers in Keley-i and Yattuka:

with the subject, or nominative-marked constituent, which is often how this term is used in literature on Philippine languages.

[11] Only *=j* in this case is an enclitic, since it is non-syllabic. *Di*, like other syllabic case markers in these languages, is not an enclitic, since it does not depend phonologically on any other forms.

TUWALI IFUGAO

(1a) *ŋanne di quna=m?*
what NOM said=2M.ACT.NNOM
'What did you say?' [Klimenko 2012: 34]

TUWALI IFUGAO

(1b) *daʔana=j paŋ-aj-am?*[12]
where=NOM NEUT[STEM-go-PaV[13].2M.ACT.NNOM]
'Where are you going?' [Klimenko 2012: 123]

KELEY-I

(1c) *ʔitten di pitaqah hu pihhuh.*
DET.MED OBL purse NOM money
'The money is there in the purse.' [R. Hohulin, Hale 1977: 221]

YATTUKA

(1d) *qaq~qaj~jaggud ʔi tu*
INTENS~ADJ~goodness NOM 3M.PREPCOM
ponat~ta<j~>jaw.
ManV[STEM.ITER~<NEUT~>dance]
'Her dancing will be very good.' [Klimenko 2017: 105]

The examples in (2) illustrate the genitive non-personal case markers in the three languages in a postvocalic position:

TUWALI IFUGAO

(2a) *bale=ndi ʔalig*
house=GEN alig_bee
'Honeycomb of the alig-bee' [Hohulin, Hohulin 2014: 179]

[12] In this example, the nominative case marker introduces a substantivized verb. This type of construction is very common in Philippine languages, as practically any content word can occupy the predicate or argument positions without any additional changes in its marking.

[13] Voice grammemes in this study are not established on the basis of what voice affix is used in a particular voice form, but rather on the basis of what semantic participant it refers to. The procedure for semantic participant identification is based on a set of criteria, the most important of which is the marking of participants in non-subject positions, however its detailed presentation [Klimenko 2017: 329–410] is beyond the scope of this paper.

KELEY-I

(2b) *hi* *huan* *neŋ-i-qamdug* *ni*
PRS.SG.NOM PN.Juan AV[PFV.STEM-PV-mix] GEN
libluh=mu=d *libluh=qu=n*
book=2M.ACT.NNOM=OBL book=1M.ACT.NNOM=GEN
nahdem.
last_night
'It was John who mixed your book with my books last night.'
[L. Hohulin, Hale 1977: 245]

YATTUKA

(2c) *hi* *hose* *ʔitan*
PRS.SG.NOM PN.Jose DET.MED
moŋ-ahwa=n *ʔi-tinoq.*
NEUT[AV.STEM-marry]=GEN from-PLN.Tinoc
'Jose is the one who will marry (a girl) from Tinoc.'
[Klimenko 2017: 113]

The sentences in (3) illustrate the use of the oblique non-personal case markers in the three languages:

TUWALI IFUGAO

(3a) *wada=ʔaq* *hi* *bale=n* *pedru.*
EXIST=1M.ACT.NOM OBL house=PRS.SG.ACT PN.Pedro
'I am at Pedro's house.' [Klimenko 2012: 28]

KELEY-I

(3b) *ʔammandeh* *di* *piqdel.*
PRED.NV OBL corner
'It's way over there in the corner.' [R. Hohulin, Hale 1977: 221]

YATTUKA

(3c) *ʔaqo-bosiq=qu* *di* *ʔospital.*
REC-run=1M.ACT.NNOM OBL hospital
'I have just run to the hospital.' [Klimenko 2017: 107]

The following examples illustrate the use of the Tuwali place and time case marker *ʔad* (4a) and the oblique case marker *di*, which is used in Keley-i and Yattuka as its counterpart ((4b) and (4c)):

TUWALI IFUGAO

(4a) *m-i-haʔad=aq* *ʔad* *manila.*
NEUT[AV.STEM-PV-live]=1M.ACT.NOM PLTM PLN.Manila
'I live in Manila.' [Klimenko 2012: 145]

KELEY-I

(4b) *ʔum-law* *hi* *tomasa* *di* *bagjo…*
NEUT[AV-go] PRS.SG.NOM PN.Tomasa OBL PLN.Baguio
'Tomasa will go to Baguio…' [L. Hohulin, Hale 1977: 252]

YATTUKA

(4c) *di* *manilaʔ=hija* *na-bijag.*
OBL PLN.Manila=3M.ACT.NOM AV[PFV.STEM-live]
'It was in Manila where he lived.' [Klimenko 2017: 189]

4.3. Locative and demonstrative pronouns

In addition to a demonstrative pronoun paradigm that occurs, probably, in all Philippine languages, Tuwali also has a paradigm of locative pronouns, which are used to introduce places and grounds of motion (Table 6). In Keley-i (Table 7) and Yattuka (Table 8), the same function is performed by the oblique demonstrative pronouns, which are also used in these languages to introduce some other participants, such as, for instance, recipient. In Keley-i and Yattuka, the demonstrative pronoun paradigms also manifest a four-fold distinction of values within the category of proximity: in addition to the three values most commonly present in other Philippine languages — proximal, medial and distal — there are also non-visual demonstratives that are used to refer to out-of-sight objects and abstract notions.

Table 6. Locative pronouns in Tuwali Ifugao [Klimenko 2012: 39]

proximal	**medial**	**distal**
hitu	hina	hidi

Table 7. Oblique demonstrative pronouns in Keley-i
(adapted from [R. Hohulin and Hale 1977: 214])

proximal	**medial**	**distal**	**non-visual**
dijjaj	*ditten*	*dimmen*	*dimmun*

Table 8. Oblique demonstrative pronouns in Yattuka [Klimenko 2017: 216]

proximal	**medial**	**distal**	**non-visual**
d[*i*]*ja*(*j*)[14] (*d*[*i*])*ʔudʒa*(*j*) *d*[*i*]*ʔomman*	*d*[*i*]*tan* *d*[*i*]*ʔottan* *d*[*i*]*ʔottun* (*d*[*i*])*ʔudtan*	*d*[*i*]*ʔommun*	*d*[*i*]*man* (*d*[*i*])*ʔudman*

The following examples illustrate the use of the distal locative pronoun in Tuwali Ifugao (4a) and the non-visual oblique demonstrative pronoun *diman*, which is used in corresponding contexts in Keley-i and Yattuka ((5b) and (5c)):

TUWALI IFUGAO

(5a) *maʔid=aq* *hidi.*
EXIST.NEG=1M.ACT.NOM LOC.DIST
'I am not there.' [Klimenko 2012: 90]

KELEY-I

(5b) *…man-daddan* *tuʔu=n* *nam-beblej*
NEUT[AV.STEM-prepare] human=LK AV[PFV.STEM-settle]
di *n-e-ʔi-hnup* *diman*[15].
OBL AV[PFV.STEM-PV-approach] NV.OBL
'…a person who lives near there will prepare himself (to leave).'
[L. Hohulin, Hale 1977: 250]

YATTUKA

(5c) *ʔondi=jaq* *diman.*
EXIST.NEG=1M.ACT.NOM NV.OBL
'I am not there.' [Klimenko 2017: 224]

4.4. Personal pronouns

The parts of the personal pronoun paradigms relevant for the discussion here are equally complex in all three languages. There is a

[14] Brackets in Tables 8 and 9 indicate sounds that are omitted when the pronoun follows a vowel. Parentheses indicate optional sounds.

[15] In [R. Hohulin, Hale 1977], the corresponding form is given as *dimmun* in a tabular form, however it is not used in any examples in the paper. In [L. Hohulin, Hale 1977], it is presented as *diman* in the example above, without any explanation regarding the discrepancy.

distinction between actor and non-actor forms of personal pronouns both in the subject[16] and non-subject positions. The actor forms are used only to refer to actors and possessors, while the non-actor forms introduce all other types of participants[17][18]. There are also special forms that are used in the predicate position.

[16] The subject here is considered to be the nominative argument related tothe predicate, that is a unit of the syntactic structure, rather than a unit of the semantic structure equivalent to the actor.

[17] The traditional approach to describing personal case markers in Philippine languages suggests the same case inventory for both non-personal and personal case marker paradigms (cf., for instance, [Reid, Liao 2004]). Thus, for example, the Tagalog non-personal case marker paradigm is said to include the nominative *ʔaŋ*, genitive *naŋ*, and oblique *sa*, while the personal case marker paradigm is said to be composed of the nominative *si*, genitive *ni*, and oblique *kej* (for the singular). This is erroneous, since there is a clear discrepancy between the functions of the so-called "genitive" and "oblique" non-personal case markers and "genitive" and "oblique" personal case marker in many Philippine languages. The "genitive" non-personal marker (*naŋ* in Tagalog) introduces actor, possessor, and a number of other non-actor participants, while the "genitive" personal marker (*ni* in Tagalog) can be used only to introduce actor and possessor. Any non-actor participants realized as personal nouns have to be marked with the "oblique" personal case marker (*kej* in Tagalog). In other words, the two systems differ both in the form and the function of their forms. Thus, it is justified to reinterpret the personal case marker paradigm as including the nominative, actor (also marking possessors), and non-actor cases. The idea of distinguishing the intentories of case grammemes for non-personal and personal paradigms in Philippine languages is not new. In [Himmelmann 2005: 43], a similar distinction is made with the help of different terms. In principle, it is possible to construe the Philippine case marking system as including four cases, based on the correspondences between the functions of non-personal and personal case markers. For instance, in Tagalog it would include nominative (*ʔaŋ* and *si*), actor (*naŋ* and *ni*), accusative (*naŋ* and *kej*), and oblique (*sa* and *kej*) (the cases could be labeled in any other way). This interpretation, however, does not have any practical ramifications for the linguistic analysis, hence the choice here is made in favor of the simpler interpretation presented above.

[18] In constructions with impersonal verbs, marked with *ma-*/*na-* (the markers indicate prohibition of overt representation of actor; such verbs are also sometimes referred to as stative [Reid, Liao 2004: 461–464] or passive verbs [Reid, Liao 2004: 462; Hohulin, Hohulin 2014: 49–51], the non-actor

The person category involves four values: 1, 2, 12, and 3. 12-person pronouns refer to both first and second persons. Such pronouns are often described as dual or inclusive [Schachter, Otanes 1972: 88]. However, the representation of such forms in this way would mean introducing the category of clusivity, which is applicable only to one subset of personal pronouns, and some gaps in the paradigm, which result in a less economical description of the system. The approach introducing the 12-value into the person category is adopted from [Cunningham, Goetz 1963]. The number category involves the opposition of minimal and non-minimal membership, corresponding to the more traditional singular and plural (adopted from [Foley 1997: 111]. The reason behind this way of description is that the 12-person pronouns cannot be characterized as singular.

Table 9, Table 10, and Table 11 present the forms for the actor nominative, actor non-nominative, and independent forms in the three languages.

Table 9. Personal pronouns in Tuwali Ifugao [Klimenko 2012: 35]

number	**person**	**actor nominative**	**actor non-nominative**	**independent**
minimal	**1**	*=aq*	*=q[u]*	*haʔʔoj/haʔʔon*
	12	*=ta*	*=ta*	*dita*
	2	*=qa*	*=m[u]*	*heʔʔa*
	3	*ø*	*=na*	*hija*
non-minimal	**1**	*=qami*	*=mi*	*daqami*
	12	*=taqu*	*=taqu*	*ditaqu*
	2	*=qaju*	*=ju*	*daqaju*
	3	*=da*	*=da*	*dida*

participant in the subject position is realized as an actor nominative pronoun. In all other instances, a special non-actor nominative form would be used. For instance, in Tuwali the non-actor nominative counterpart of the 2M.ACT.NOM *=qa* is *=daqa* <2M.NACT.NOM>.

Table 10. Personal pronouns in Keley-i (adapted from [Hohulin, Kenstowicz 1979: 243] and [L. Hohulin, Hale 1977])

number	person	actor nominative	actor non-nominative	independent
minimal	**1**	*=Caq*	*=qu*	*hiʔgaq*
	12	*=ʔita*	*=ta*	*hiʔgata*
	2	*=qa*	*=mu*	*hiʔgam*
	3	*Ø*	*=tu*	*hiʔgatu*
non-minimal	**1**	*=qami*	*=mi*	*hiʔgami*
	12	*=itsu*	*=taju*	*hiʔgatsu*
	2	*=qaju*	*=ju*	*hiʔgaju*
	3	*=ʔida*	*=da*	*hiʔgada*

Table 11. Personal pronouns in Yattuka [Klimenko 2017: 199]

number	person	actor nominative	actor non-nominative	independent
minimal	**1**	*=Caq*	*=q*[*u*]	*hiʔgaq*
	12	*=ʔita*	*=ta*	*hita*
	2	*=qa*	*=m*[*u*]	*hiʔgam*/*hiqa*
	3	*Ø*[19]/*=hija*/*=hitu*	*=tu*	*hija*/*hitu*
non-minimal	**1**	*=q*[*o*]*mi*	*=mi*	*hiqmi*
	12	*=ʔissu*	*=toju*/*=s*(*j*)*u*	*hissu*
	2	*=q*[*o*]*ju*	*=ju*	*hiqju*
	3	*=ʔida*	*=da*	*hida*

The following examples illustrate correspondences of some personal pronouns in the three languages. (6) shows the use of the 1st person non-minimal membership pronouns: the independent form

[19] *Hitu* is considered to be a less acceptable form by older speakers due to its use as a euphemism for genitalia. Otherwise, the forms separated with a slash are interchangeable.

daqami in Tuwali (6a), the non-actor non-nominative form[20] *nihiʔgami* in Keley-i (6b), and the independent form *hiqmi* in Yattuka (6c):

TUWALI IFUGAO

(6a) *daqami* *nan* *q<imm><an>anta=ndih*
1NM.IND DET.MED <PFV.AV><ITER>sing=DET.OBL
hiloŋ.
evening
'We were the ones who kept on singing last night.'
[Hohulin, Hohulin 2014: 233]

KELEY-I

(6b) *ʔ<in>*[21]*-tudu=n* *huan* *maθ*
<PFV>PV-teach=PRS.SG.ACT PN.Juan math
nihiʔgami.
1NM.NACT.NNOM
'John taught Math to us.' [L. Hohulin, Hale 1977: 259]

YATTUKA

(6c) *hiqmi* *ʔi* *ʔondi* *pihhuh=daʔ*[22].
1NM.IND NOM EXIST.NEG money=3NM.ACT.NNOM
'We are the ones who don't have money.' [Klimenko 2016: 601]

The examples in (7) show the use of the 3rd person non-minimal membership actor nominative pronoun *=da* in Tuwali (7a) and its counterpart *=ʔida* in Keley-i and Yattuka ((7b) and (7c)):

[20] The non-actor non-nominative personal pronoun forms in Yattuka and Keley-i are derived from the independent forms by attaching *ni-* to them.

[21] The perfective marker *<iN>* in all three languages is normally inserted into the stem of the verb after the initial consonant. In verbs with the voice prefix *ʔi-*, it is inserted after the initial glottal stop of the prefix, while the /i/ of the prefix is omitted. This unusual point of insertion compared to other infixes in these languages — within a voice prefix — is in line with the properties of the voice prefix *ʔi-*, namely the fact that it is not omitted or changed in the imperative form, unlike other voice affixes, and its use in verbs with two voice affixes as a non-dominating voice affix, which points to its stem-distinguishing function.

[22] In Yattuka, substantivized possessive constructions have to have a third person actor non-nominative pronoun, which is coreferential with the possessor, however it does not agree with the latter in person and does not have to agree with it in number.

TUWALI IFUGAO

(7a) *mun-pa-bagjo=da.*
NEUT[AV.STEM-DIR-PLN.Baguio]=3NM.ACT.NOM
'They will go to Baguio.' [Klimenko 2012: 77]

KELEY-I

(7b) *ʔettaʔteŋ=ʔida ʔeja ʔubi.*
large=3NM.ACT.NOM DET.NOM sweet_potato
'These camotes are large.' [R. Hohulin, Hale 1977: 220]

YATTUKA

(7c) *ʔum-law=ʔida=lli=d nandaʔul.*
NEUT[AV-go]=3NM.ACT.NOM=FUT=OBL underworld
'They will go to the underworld.' [Klimenko 2017: 242]

The examples in (8) show the use of the 3rd person minimal membership actor non-nominativepronoun *=na* in Tuwali (8a) and its counterpart *=tu* in Keley-i and Yattuka ((8b) and (8c)):

TUWALI IFUGAO

(8a) *ʔinila=na ʔan maʔid=qa=h*
known=3M.ACT.NNOM LK EXIST.NEG=2M.ACT.NOM=OBL
bale=ju.
house=2NM.ACT.NNOM
'He knows that you are not home.' [Klimenko 2012: 92]

KELEY-I

(8b) *b<in>edbed-an nan huan hu*
<PFV>bind-PV PRS.SG.ACT PN.Juan NOM
heli=tu.
leg=3M.ACT.NNOM
'John has bound (it, e.g. the wound) on his leg.'
[Hohulin, Kenstowitcz 1979: 243]

YATTUKA

(8c) *ʔolog=tu ʔamta hodiŋ hantu=waq.*
NEG.V=3M.ACT.NNOM known if who=1M.ACT.NOM
'He does not know who I am.' [Klimenko 2017: 204]

5. Stylistic features of hudhud

The language of hudhud is somewhat different from the everyday language on all levels. The most conspicuous discrepancy is that of vocabulary, as many hudhud words are considered to be 'deep' or archaic (e.g., *ʔindammi* 'thread'), while others have never been used in the colloquial language (e.g., *ʔ<in>-daʔden* 'cooked rice'), as well as some other lexical units seem to come from other languages, as discussed below. The use of pleonastic phrases consisting of two same words following each other (e.g., *=h olladan=da olladan* 'in their yard in the yard' in (10) below) or paired words with a similar meaning (e.g., *ʔum-hep ʔan ʔum-lahʔun* 'exited exited' in (11) below) is one of the main poetic devices. Another one is use of interjections at the beginning of many lines (e.g., *ʔa ʔanhan* 'oh please'in (12), and *ʔappa* 'oh' in (16) below) and meaningless rhythmic fillers which are sometimes assonant with preceding syllables (e.g., *=jnoj* in (9) below). Lambrecht also claims that

> some words are regularly chanted with corrupted vowels, apparently to obtain a better sound effect. For example: *pambiyuwan* instead of *pumbayuwan, bukakel* instead of *bukakol*, *pambukahan* instead of *pumbakahan* [Lambrecht 1960: 21].

As it will be seen later, such items are most likely to be borrowings from other languages and do not contain "corruption" of any kind. On the level of morphosyntax, Lambrecht notes that in Tuwali hudhud there is occasional use of uncommon case markers, demonstrative enclitics (e.g., *daʔulajan=ʔatu* 'this Daulayan' in (12) below), infixes (e.g., *pinugu* instead of the regular *pugu* 'hill' [Lambrecht 1960: 24]) and prefixes (e.g., *paqa-ʔinila* 'known very well') where *paqa-* is used not with its regular meaning of potentiality but with the meaning of "the action as being performed at once, or rapidly, or perfectly" [Lambrecht 1960: 25], as well as unusual expression of aspect[23] (i.e., unusual combinations of aspect forms in multi-verb constructions). Lambrecht gives the following suggestion for interpreting such instances:

> ...the historical present forms put in evidence the main action of a given narrative tract or sentence, or rather what the precentor conceives as

[23] Lambrecht uses the term 'tense'.

> being the main action, while the time denoting forms should be understood in relation to the main action, that is they are conceived by the precentor to precede or follow the main action she has in mind, when she begins her tract or sentence [Lambrecht 1960: 27–8].

In Yattuka hudhud, there is a notable difference with the everyday language regarding the imperfective aspect form of verbs, as the archaic forms are used in hudhud, where the imperfective marker *qa* is a particle that is preposed to the verb and can serve as the base for Wackernagel enclitics, when used with the third person pronouns, unlike in the speech of most Yattukas at present, where *qa-* is strictly a verbal prefix[24]. Nowadays, the strategy used in hudhuds occurs only in the speech of older speakers. There are, probably, many other differences, but they remain unexplored as of now.

A detailed description of the stylistic differences between hudhud and the everyday language is beyond the scope of this paper. There have been a number of studies whose purpose was to establish general stylistic peculiarities of hudhuds as a unique genre [Lambrecht 1960; Lambrecht 1961; Dulawan 2005]. Lambrecht's Tuwali Ifugao dictionary was based primarily on the lexis found in hudhuds [Lambrecht 1978]. Some hudhud-specific items are also recognized as such in the recent Tuwali Ifugao dictionary by the Hohulins [Hohulin, Hohulin 2014]. Of course, there are still many areas that are understudied. For instance, the frequency rate of the poetic devices in hudhuds mentioned above remains to be researched. However, it should be noted that it is practically impossible to create an exhaustive list of all lexical units that are used exclusively in hudhuds — this would be necessary for a complete description of the genre properties of hudhud, — as in order to do so, we would have to record all existing hudhud types from all living soloists, since there is a great deal of variation among them. The cost of such an enterprise would be prohibitively high resource-wise. The hudhud records that are available to us at present cover only a small portion of the existing types of narratives and their variants. Thus, even a full description of the lexical peculiarities of the existing

[24]Incidentally, Keley-i and Yattuka imperfective forms with *qa-* and the prefixal complex *maN-* are misconstrued in [Reid 2013] as being compounds consisting of a pseudo-verb *qama* 'say' + =n <LK>: for instance, *qa-man-jattuqa* (<IPFV-AV.STEM-Yattuka>) 'to speak Yattuka' is presented as *qama-n-yattuka* (<say-LK-Yattuka>) 'those who say *yattuka*'.

hudhud records would not facilitate the study of elements borrowed from other languages into the hudhud genre attempted here, because (i) it would not guarantee that any particular element is not used more frequently in other hudhuds as a hudhud genre property, and (ii) most hudhud soloists are also fluent in the other languages or at least have had some exposure to them, which allows the possibility of the interference in question here being a result of code-switching. This study aims at advancing our understanding of some particular properties of the phenomenon of interference in this genre and how it is realized in individual texts.

6. Research questions and data

Regarding all of the facts discussed above, the following questions arise:

1. Taking into account that there is no direct contact between Kalanguya and Tuwali in the hudhud-singing region and that it has been claimed that Tuwali hudhud have numerous instances of interference from 'Kalanguya' [Stanyukovich 2012c], which 'Kalanguya' language is the source of borrowings in hudhud? Is it Keley-i or Yattuka? Interference is defined here as the use of elements of one language (lexemes or morphemes in the context of this study) in speech in a different language. Borrowings are defined as such elements.

2. In the light of the anthropological tendency of folklore genres typologically originating in areas with more ritual distribution limitations and detailed elaboration and the fact that this seems to be the case in the Yattuka area [Stanyukovich 2013; Stanyukovich, Field records], since there are more ritual restrictions on performing (e.g., the funeral hudhud can be sung only for kadangyans (the rich class), while in other areas it can be performed for any old person [Stanyukovich 2007: 64]), is it possible to find any linguistic evidence to support the hypothesis that the hudhud genre originated in the Yattuka culture?

3. There have been numerous claims that Tuwali hudhud borrow 'Kalanguya' lexis. Is the opposite true about Yattuka hudhud?

To obtain a preliminary understanding of how to approach the questions listed above, we decided to check potential borrowings in Tuwali and Yattuka hudhud texts with respect to how many of such interference elements can be located. The data for the study was taken

from eight hudhud texts. Six texts were in Tuwali: 'Hudhud Aliguyun an Natling hi Bayuwong di Bagabag ad Aladugen' [Lambrecht 1960], 'Hudhud da Dinulawan ke Bugan ad Gonhadan' [Lambrecht 1967], 'Aliguyon nak Binenwahen' [Dulawan, Revel 1993], 'Bugan an Imbayagda' [Dulawan, Revel 1997a], 'Bugan nak Pangaiwan' [Dulawan, Revel 1997b], 'Hudhud di kolot' [Stanyukovich 1995]. Two texts were in Yattuka: 'Hudhud ni kolot' [Stanyukovich 2012a], 'Hudhud ni nosi' [Stanyukovich 2012b]. We looked into two types of data: grammatical elements (i.e. affixes and function words[25]) and lexical elements.

7. Grammatical element interference

Grammatical elements are more easily susceptible to the analysis, since they can be found in a text without resorting to native speakers' help, given that we know certain differences between grammatical features of the Central and Southern Cordilleran languages (sometimes we have no basis to speak specifically of Keley-i or Yattuka here as some elements are the same in both).

7.1. Grammatical element interference in Tuwali texts

Southern Cordilleran elements of only two types have been found in the Tuwali texts: verbal affixation and personal pronouns. Table 12 shows the number of occurrences of each Southern Cordilleran grammatical item that we were able to find in the Tuwali texts. These are discussed in detail in sections 7.1.1 and 7.1.2.

[25] Function words are opposed here to content words, which are defined as lexical classes that can function as independent utterances, arguments or predicates and do not perform grammatical functions of connecting members of syntactic constructions. Thus, function words, as defined here, among others, include pronouns and case markers.

Table 12: Southern Cordilleran grammatical items in the Tuwali texts

	[L[26] 1960]	[L 1967]	[D, R 1993]	[D, R 1997a]	[D, R 1997b]	[S 1995]
ʔum-qiliggen	-	-	-	-	-	4
ʔum-lahʔun	16	32	-	-	-	3
ʔum-baŋun	-	1	-	-	-	-
hiqju	-	-	-	-	-	1
=qju	-	-	-	-	-	1
=ʔida	-	-	-	-	-	2
=tu	6	10	-	-	-	-

7.1.1. Actor voice affix ʔum-. Only one verbal affix seems to be distinctly different in Central and Southern Cordilleran languages *-ʔum* — which is always an infix in Tuwali, as in most Philippine languages, while in Keley-i and Yattuka it is more often a prefix (although in the dependent aspect form it is also an infix). This prefixation strategy instead of that of infixation was found in the Tuwali hudhud texts in three verbs — *ʔum-qiliggen* 'to stand up', *ʔum-lahʔun* 'to exit' and *ʔum-baŋun* 'to get up'. The first two verbs in the texts are almost always part of formulaic phrases consisting of a pair of verbs describing the same action.

There are four occurrences of *ʔum-qiliggen* in [Stanyukovich 1995]. In three instances it is used with another verb with prefixed *ʔum-* — *ʔum-lahʔun* (in [Lambrecht 1960] and [Stanyukovich 2012a] it is sung without a glottal stop, that is *lahun* instead of *lahʔun*):

TUWALI IFUGAO

(9) *ʔum-qiliggen* *ne* *ʔum-lahun=qa=h*
NEUT[AV-stand_up] and NEUT[AV-exit]=2M.ACT.NOM=OBL
ʔolladan=da *ʔolladan=da*
yard=3NM.ACT.NNOM yard=3NM.ACT.NNOM
gawa=na *gawa=na=jnoj* *ha=ʔad*
middle=3M.ACT.NNOM middle=3M.ACT.NNOM=RF RF=PLTM

[26] The abbreviations in this and the following tables are: L for Lambrecht, D&R for Dulawan and Revel, S for Stanyukovich.

gonhadon.
PLN.Gonhadon
'Stand up and go out into the yard into the yard in the middle in the middle of Gonhadon.'[27] [Stanyukovich 1995]

In one instance it is used with the same verb but with an infixed <*um*>:

TUWALI IFUGAO
(10) *ʔ<in>-ʔabba=na* *guminnigin*
<PFV>PV-carry_on_the_back=3M.ACT.NNOM PN.Guminnigin
ʔan *ʔum-qiliggen*
LK NEUT[AV-stand_up]
l<um>ahʔun=qa=h *ʔolladan=da*
NEUT[<AV>exit]=2M.ACT.NOM=OBL yard=3NM.ACT.NNOM
ʔolladan *gawa=na* *gawa=na=jnoj*
yard middle=3SG.ACT.NNOM middle=3NM.ACT.NNOM=RF
haʔaj *gonhadon.*
RF PLN.Gonhadon
'Guminnigin, you carried (it) on your back, you stood up and went out into their yard their yard in the middle in the middle of Gonhadon.' [Stanyukovich 1995]

It should be noted, though, that in this instance it is impossible to claim with certainty that the infixed *l<um>ahʔun* is not a Southern Cordilleran unit as such a form is used in the Yattuka and Keley-i regular aspect paradigms as the dependent aspect form. Particularly, in Yattuka such forms are used at least in the following contexts: after the conjunctions *ta* 'so that; in order to' and *ʔot* 'and then', and after the verbal negator *ʔolog* in the perfective sense. A similar phenomenon is reported to exist in Kalanguya, where *ʔon-* is infixed in verbs in a so-called chaining structure with the meaning of the perfective aspect and in 3 person imperatives [Santiago, Tadena 2013].

The verb *ʔum-lahʔun* has 16 occurrences in [Lambrecht 1960] and 32 occurrences in [Lambrecht 1967]. All of them, except for one in [Lambrecht 1960] are used with the verb *ʔum-hep* 'to exit':

[27] Examples from Lambrecht's works have original translations, while those from other hudhud texts are our own.

TUWALI IFUGAO

(11) *ta* *ʔum-hep* *ʔan* *ʔum-lahʔun* *hi*
so_that DEP[AV-exit] LK NEUT[AV-exit] OBL
ʔohladan=da=n *ʔumaldatan=da=h*
yard=3NM.ACT.NNOM=LK fenced_area=3NM.ACT.NNOM=OBL
habijan *an* *duntug=na* *ʔad* *na*
hill LK mountain=3M.ACT.NNOM PLTM RF
ʔeee *ʔad* *bujjaqaw<ah>an.*
RF PLTM <RF>PLN.Buyakawan
'And he comes-down coming-down to the frontyard theirs, stonewalled-yard theirs at the hill-site, hillcrest at Buyakawan.'[28]
[Lambrecht 1967: 472]

ʔum-hep is not listed in this section as *ʔum-* is prefixed to *ʔehep* which is a Keley-i root, thus it is rather a lexical interference than a grammatical one.

The third verb in the section — *ʔum-baŋun* 'to get up' — has only one occurrence in [Lambrecht 1967]:

TUWALI IFUGAO

(12) *…ʔum-baŋun* *hi* *daʔulajan=ʔatu*
NEUT[AV-get_up] PRS.SG.NOM PN.Daulayan=this
dodhoq *ʔan* *hi* *daʔulajan=ʔatu* *ʔeee*
PN.Dodhok LK PRS.SG.NOM PN.Daulayan=this RF
ʔan *hi* *naq* *ʔimbaluwohog.*
LK PRS.SG.NOM child PN.Imbaluwohog
'This Daulayan will stand up, this Dodhok Daulayan, son of Imbaluwohog.' [Lambrercht 1967: 468]

7.1.2. Personal pronouns. There are four personal pronouns from Southern Cordilleran languages that were found in the available Tuwali texts — *hiqju* '2NM.IND' (13), *=qju* '2NM.ACT.NOM' (14), *=ʔida* '3NM.ACT.NOM' (15), *=tu* '3M.ACT.NNOM' (16):

TUWALI IFUGAO

(13) *hiqju=n* *ʔaʔammod* *bulalaqqi* *nehaj* *ʔad*
2NM.IND=LK elders adult_male RF PLTM

[28] The somewhat ill-formed phrases in the translations were retained from the original works by Lambrecht.

gonhadon *nema* *ʔem.*
PLN.Gonhadon RF RF
'You, male elders from Gonhadon.' [Stanyukovich 1995]

TUWALI IFUGAO

(14) *ʔali=qju=n* *no* *ʔaʔammod*
AV.IMP[come]=2NM.ACT.NOM=LK RF elders
bulalaqqi *ni* *ʔaj*[29] *gonhadon.*
adult_male RF RF PLN.Gonhadon
'Come, you, male elders in Gonhadon.' [Stanyukovich 1995]

TUWALI IFUGAO

(15) *no-gibbuh* *ʔida=n*
PV[PFV.IMPRS-finish] 3NM.ACT.NOM=LK
nun-tapi=h
AV[PFV.STEM-chew_betel]=OBL
paŋ-aj-an=da=h *doldolla=ndi*
NEUT[STEM-go-PaV]=3NM.ACT.NNOM=OBL yard=GEN
nakaŋ~ŋiwwe=n *bulalaqqi* *ni* *hi* *ʔad*
INTENS-bare=LK adult_male RF OBL PLTM
gonhadon.
PLN.Gonhadon
'They finished chewing betel when they went to the yard of the poor males in Gonhadon.' [Stanyukovich 1995]

TUWALI IFUGAO

(16) *niʔnijan=tu=n* *ni-laww-an=tu=j*
???[30]=3NM.ACT.NNOM=LK PFV-go-PaV=3NM.ACT.NNOM=NOM
binla=n *ʔintaliqtiq* *ʔintaliqtiq*
whiteness=LK PN.Intaliktik PN.Intaliktik
ʔintaliqtiq=ana *ʔeeeeeeja* *ʔeee* *ʔan* *hi*
PN.Intaliktik=that RF RF RF RF

[29] In some hudhud lines, the positions of locative markers in front of place names are occupied by rhythmic fillers.

[30] The meaning of *niʔnijan* is not clear. Lambrecht translates *niʔnijan=tu=n ni-laww-an=tu* as 'was-fitting-well this, suiting-well this', although the word *ni-laww-an* exists in Yattuka and Keley-i and means 'to go' used in the path voice ('where somebody went').

ʔin-dadjaʔahon *ʔeeehem.*
wife_of-PN.Dadyaahon RF
'Was-fitting-well this, suiting-well this (the) whiteness (beauty) of Intaliktik / Intaliktik Intaliktik of old eeeeeeya, the wife of Dadyaahon eeehem.' [Lambrecht 1960: 94]

Hiqju and *=qju* are Yattuka pronouns, while *=tu* is both Yattuka and Keley-i.

The pronoun *=tu* occurs in [Lambrecht 1960] and [Lambrecht 1967] for 16 times: all occurrences are in the same phrase *niʔnijan=tu=n ni-laww-an=tu*, like the one in (16).

It should be noted that the Southern Cordilleran grammatical elements found in Lambrecht's hudhud texts occur mostly as part of formulaic constructions, while in [Stanyukovich 1995] they are mostly used in singular occurrences. This is, probably, due to the fact that that particular hudhud was sung by Domingo "Ngayaw" Dulnuan, a singer about whom we know for sure that he was to a certain degree competent in Yattuka (his wife comes from the Yattuka-speaking region). Another possible explanation is that Lambrecht's texts were edited and certain "irregularities" might have been corrected.

7.2. Grammatical element interference in Yattuka texts

There are three types of Tuwali grammatical elements found in Yattuka texts: verbal prefixal complexes *muN-*/*nuN-* (*nuN-* is not always the perfective aspect counterpart of *muN-*, unlike in the instance of the Tagalog *mag-* and *nag-* or *maN-* and *naN-*, as it is sometimes the counterpart of the stem deriving prefix *puN-* used in the perfective aspect in non-actor voice forms), personal pronouns, case markers and demonstrative pronouns. Table 13 shows the number of occurrences of each Tuwali grammatical item that we were able to find in the Yattuka texts:

Table 13. Tuwali grammatical items in the Yattuka texts

	[Stanyukovich 2012a]	[Stanyukovich 2012b]
nun-u-ʔi-ŋadan	80	1
nuŋ-gilig	10	13
mun-dadoŋ	1	2
nun-nu-hala~halaʔo	6	29
=ndaqami	1	-
=na	59	70
di/=j	4	2
=ndi	25	50
hi	99	142
ʔad/=d	14	39
hidi(=d)	5	41

7.2.1. Actor voice prefixal complexes muN-/nuN-. These prefixal complexes do not exist in Yattuka (the only prefixal complexes whose part is the actor voice prefix *ʔum-* in Yattuka are *man-* and *maN-*). However, there are at least four forms in the Yattuka texts with the Tuwali actor voice prefixes *muN-* and *nuN-*:

YATTUKA

(17) *ʔa* *ʔuŋŋa~ʔuŋŋa=j* *nun-u-ʔi-ŋadan*
CE very~young=NOM AV[PFV.STEM-RF-PV-name]
nom *bugan=adeeehe ʔoooj*[31] *ʔaʔahaj*
PRS.SG.NACT PN.Bugan=RF RF
naq-a-paŋoʔiwan *ʔehmmm.*
child_of-RF-Pangoiwan RF
'The one named Bugan, the child of Pangoiwan, was very young[32].' [Stanyukovich 2012b]

YATTUKA

(18) *ni* *ʔondi* *baʔba=n*
and NEG.EXIST long=LK

[31] Triple occurrences of letters in the examples indicate protracted sounds.

[32] According to our Yattuka consultant who is also a hudhud soloist, *ʔuŋŋa~ʔuŋŋa*, literally meaning 'very young' in everyday language, means 'young and beautiful' in hudhud.

nan-toŋ-an=tu=d=du
PFV.STEM-arrive-TV=3M.ACT.NNOM=OBL=RF
pidipid *di* *nuŋ-gilig* *ʔa*
stone_pavement OBL AV[PFV.STEM-edge] LK
bulalaqqi=nniʔeji *ʔa=hi* *gonhadon.*
adult_male=RF RF=OBL PLN.Gonhadon
'And before long she arrived at the stone pavement of the males at the edge of Gonhadon.' [Stanyukovich 2012a]

YATTUKA

(19) *ʔi-laqhig=da=m*
NEUT[PaV-step_over_gate]=3NM.ACT.NNOM=LK
mun-dadoŋ=da=n
NEUT[AV.STEM-go_directly]=3NM.ACT.NOM=LK
go<w~>wa[33]*-on=da=j=ja*
<NEUT~>go_into_the_middle-PaV]=3NM.ACT.NNOM=NOM=RF
qo-gawa-ʔan=tu *gawa=ʔajja*
NMLZ-middle-NMLZ=3M.ACT.NNOM middle=RF
gawa=na=jnoji *ʔa=hi=d* *ʔamduntug.*
middle=3M.ACT.NNOM=RF RF=OBL=OBL PLN.Amduntog
'They will step over the gate and they will go straight and they will go to the middle to the middle in the middle in the middle of Amduntog.' [Stanyukovich 2012b]

YATTUKA

(20) *ʔa* *ʔanhan* *ʔita* *ʔammulih* *gulluqay*
CE please DET.MED pig chicken
qo=da *ʔi-p~pa<ŋ~>ŋ-ulu*
IPFV=3NM.ACT.NNOM PV-IPFV~<IPFV~>STEM-headway
dalan ʔud=du *hinal<a>on=da*
PLTM=RF <RF>adjacent=3NM.ACT.NNOM
nun-nu-hala~halaʔo
AV[PFV.STEM-ITER~adjacent]

[33] In Yattuka, /a/ in some syllables in unstressed positions is raised to /o/, hence *go<w~>wa-on* 'go into the middle' in this example instead of *ga<w~>wa-on*.

h<um><an>ilʔo[34]*=ji* *ni-dawwi=n*
NEUT[<AV><ITER>radiate_light]=RF ADJ-far=LK
bob<o>le.
<RF>village
'Oh, please, they were leading the pigs and chickens on the way among the glistening distant neighboring villages.'
[Stanyukovich 2012b]

7.2.2. Personal pronouns. There are at least two Tuwali personal pronouns in the Yattuka texts — *=ndaqami* <1NM.NACT.NNOM> and *=na* <3M.ACT.NNOM>:

YATTUKA
(21) *ʔaj* *ŋadan* *ni*
CE what LK
ʔo<ʔ~>hol-on=mu=nd<um>aqami=nni
<NEUT~>say-PV=2M.ACT.NNOM=<RF>1NM.NACT.NNOM=LK
ʔoʔammod *ʔam* *bulalaqqi=nniʔeji* *ʔa=hi*
elders LK adult_male=RF RF=OBL
dul<u>nuwan.
<RF>PLN.Dulnuwan
'Oh, what will you tell us, the male elders of Dulnuwan.'
[Stanyukovich 2012a]

The pronoun *=ndaqami* is used here in a form which never occurs in colloquial Tuwali — with the infix <*um*>. The infix does not bear any meaning, but seems to be another element of the hudhud style, like the <*in*>-infixation mentioned above.

YATTUKA
(22) *ni* *naŋ-ŋol-an* *ʔiqen* *di*
and PFV.STEM-hear-TV old_man OBL
pamadiŋ-an *ni* *bale=ju*
NEUT[STEM.lean-LV] GEN house=2NM.ACT.NNOM

[34] *H<um><an>ilʔo* is also present in hudhuds published by both Lambrecht and Dulawan and Revel. In both sources it is always used as a modifier of rice wine, and the whole phrase is translated as 'yellowish rice wine' in Lambrecht's hudhuds and 'glistening rice wine' in Dulawan and Revel's texts. However, there is the root *hilʔo* in Tuwali with the meaning 'radiance', which is also attested in the dictionary [Hohulin, Hohulin 2014: 231].

gawa=na=jnoji *ʔa=hi* *gon<o>hadon.*
middle=3M.ACT.NNOM=RF RF=OBL <RF>PLN.Gonhadon
'Then the Old man[35] heard (it) at the doorjamb[36] of your house in the middle of Gonhadon.' [Stanyukovich 2012a]

The pronoun *=na* is used here as part of the formula including the noun *gawa* 'middle'.

7.2.3. Case markers and demonstrative pronouns. There are at least four different Tuwali case markers that occur in the Yattuka texts: *di*/*=j* <NOM> (example (19)), *=ndi* <GEN> (example (23)), *hi*/*=h* <OBL> (examples (18), (19), (21), (22), and (23)) and *ʔad*/*=d* <PLTM> (example (20), where it is sung as *ʔud*); there is also at least one locative pronoun *hidi* <DIST>, which in the available texts is frequently used with the oblique marker *=d* (*hidi=d*):

YATTUKA
(23) *hi* *luqbut=a* *maŋ~maŋ-bun* *di*
PRS.SG.NOM PN.Lukbut=RF NEUT[ITER~AV.STEM-sit] OBL
hi *lug<u>tu=ndi* *qamalig=i* *hi* *ʔoladan*
OBL <RF>midrib=GEN hagobi=RF OBL frontyard
ʔ<um>aɻdatt-an=da=ji
NEUT[<AV>stone_wall-PLV]=3NM.ACT.NNOM=RF
hidi=d *ʔamduntug.*
LOC.DIST=OBL PLN.Amduntog
'As for Lukbut, she will be sitting on the midrib of the hagobi[37] in the frontyard within their stone walls there in Amduntog.'
[Stanyukovich 2012b]

7.3. The summary of the grammatical element interference

To sum up this section, there are two types of Southern Cordilleran grammatical elements present in the Tuwali texts, while three types of Tuwali elements in the Yattuka texts. The Tuwali texts employ the Southern Cordilleran actor-voice prefix *ʔum-* instead of the Tuwali infix <*um*>, and four personal pronouns: *hiqju* <2NM.IND>,

[35] *ʔiqen* 'Old man' is used as a name of a specific character in hudhuds, hence it is capitalized in the translation.

[36] 'The place where one leans'.

[37] *Hagobi* (*hagabi* in Tuwali) is a monolith wooden bench that is made during the topmost prestige ritual of the Ifugaos [Hohulin, Hohulin 2014: 145].

=qju <2NM.ACT.NOM>, *=ʔida* <3NM.ACT.NOM>, *=tu* <3M.ACT.NNOM>. It is impossible to differentiate between Yattuka and Keley-i in the instance of these grammatical elements, as they are the same in both languages. The Yattuka texts employ the Tuwali verbal prefixes and *nuN-*, the personal pronouns *daqami* <2NM.IND> and *=na* <3M.ACT.NNOM>, the case markers *di/=j* <NOM>, *=ndi* <GEN>, *hi/=h* <OBL>, and *ʔad/=d* <PLTM>, and the locative pronoun *hidi* <LOC.DIST>. In the Yattuka texts, the number of grammatical items from Tuwali is comparable in size with that of Southern Cordilleran grammatical items in the Tuwali texts. However, it can be noted that many items have much higher frequency.

8. Lexical interference

To get an insight about the extent of lexical interference both in Tuwali and Yattuka hudhud texts, the following procedure was implemented. First, we compiled a list of potential borrowings which came from so-called 'hudhud words' in Lambrecht's Tuwali dictionary [Lambrecht 1978] (only 243 such items out of more than 600 were taken from the dictionary due to limited resources), notes on borrowed words made by a bilingual transcriber hired by us to work on recordings (136 items), 'hudhud restricted' words in the Hohulin's Tuwali dictionary[38] [Hohulin, Hohulin 2014] (82 items), notes on 'hudhud terms' made by a Yattuka hudhud singer (80 items). Second, we checked if the words from the compiled list were used in the available texts and came up with a 211-item list for the Tuwali texts and a 168-item list for the Yattuka texts. Third, words in both lists were read out to naive (i.e., those who have never participated in performing any ritual literature) native speakers of Tuwali (four), Yattuka (seven) and Keley-i (two) in order to check if the words are recognized as part of everyday lexis of these languages.

The findings are presented in Table 14:

[38] Three words in the dictionary are marked both as hudhud terms and Keley-i borrowings: *ʔamta* 'know', *ʔamuli* 'pig' and *baʔba* 'long time'. *ʔamta* and *baʔba* are actually found both in Yattuka and Keley-i, while *ʔamuli* is not an everyday word in any of the three languages in question here.

Table 14. Lexical interference in the Tuwali and Yattuka texts

Source Language	**Tuwali texts (211 items)**	**Yattuka texts (168 items)**
Tuwali		7 (4%)
Yattuka	21 (9%)	
Keley-i	9 (4%)	3 (2%)
Yattuka & Keley-i	41 (18%)	
Total	71 (31%)	10 (6%)

8.1. Lexical interference in Tuwali texts

For the Tuwali texts, 71 items (34 percent of the list) were recognized as everyday lexis in Yattuka, Keley-i or both.

8.1.1. Yattuka lexical items. Table 15 shows the number of occurrences of each of the 21 items from the Tuwali texts that were unknown to our naive Tuwali consultants but recognized by naive Yattuka consultants:

Table 15. Yattuka lexical items in the Tuwali texts

	[L 1960]	[L 1967]	[D, R 1993]	[D, R 1997a]	[D, R 1997b]	[S 1995]
ʔabju ‘to whittle a vine’ (in hudhud ‘to caress smb’s cheek’)	-	3	2	-	3	-
ʔagamid ‘to harvest’	2	-	-	-	2	2
bojqat ‘to dress up and travel somewhere for a celebration’	2	-	1	1	3	-
dammutu ‘alright’	-	-	-	-	-	2
dinolja ‘vegetable bed at the side of a rice field’	3	4	-	-	-	-
golajgaj ‘hand’	4	11	-	2	-	-
haqi ‘one’	3	7	-	-	1	-
halaqhaq ‘clay jar’	-	9	2	-	-	-

	[L 1960]	[L 1967]	[D, R 1993]	[D, R 1997a]	[D, R 1997b]	[S 1995]
h<imm>a~haqi ‘alone’	1	-	-	-	-	-
h<in>agpo ‘horizontal entrance beam’	5	1	-	-	-	-
holjat ‘part of a ritual’	-	8	2	-	-	-
ʔi-taldoŋ ‘to sit straight’	-	-	-	-	-	-
qinobʔal ‘backyard’	-	5	-	4	3	-
moqad~dalu ‘having nothing at all’	-	3	-	-	-	-
ʔolladan ‘fenced area’	16	74	-	40	83	132
pamadiŋ-an ‘doorjamb’	6	13	1	3	8	2
piʔalal ‘dizzy from chewing betel’	1	-	-	-	-	-
tuʔŋeq ‘hitting smb with a thrown stone’	1	-	-	-	-	-
tuŋlub ‘pairing’	3	4	-	-	-	-
ʔumaldatan ‘fenced area’	16	56	-	38	1	-
woda ‘EXIST’	-	-	-	-	-	25

ʔabju in hudhud means ‘to caress smb’s cheek’, while our Yattuka consultants recognized the word as having the meaning ‘to whittle a vine’. In spite of this difference, the word is included in the list as it seems that the two meanings are related to each other metaphorically on the basis of motion it refers to.

Dammutu ‘alright’ consists of the root *dammu* ‘meet’ and the personal pronoun *=tu* <3M.ACT.NNOM>. In Tuwali there is a similar word *dammuna* with the same root and the Tuwali counterpart of *=tu* — *=na*. *Dammutu* is placed in this section and not in the grammatical

elements because the root also exists in Yattuka, so it is considered to be an instance of lexical interference.

Woda is the existential predicate in Yattuka (the corresponding item in Tuwaliis *wada*). In the available hudhud texts it is, however, used in combination with the linker *=n* with the meaning ‘perhaps’ (the combination is indeed used with this meaning in the everyday language), while *wada* is used in the text primarily in its original function:

TUWALI IFUGAO

(24) *ʔappa=n* *woda=n*
CE=LK EXIST=LK
hogp-on=na=j *pamadiŋ-an*
NEUT[enter-PAV]=3M.ACT.NNOM=NOM NEUT[STEM.lean-LV]
di *bale=ju* *gawa=na=jnoj*
GEN house=2NM.ACT.NNOM middle=3M.ACT.NNOM=RF
hi *ʔad* *gonhadon.*
OBL PLTM PLN.Gonhadon
‘Oh, perhaps, he will go through the doorjamb of your house in the middle of Gonhadon.’ [Stanyukovich 1995]

8.1.2. Keley-i lexical items. Table 16 shows the number of occurrences of each of the nine items from the Tuwali texts that were unknown to our naive Tuwali consultants but recognized by naive Keley-i consultants:

Table 16. Keley-i lexical items in the Tuwali texts

	[L 1960]	[L 1967]	[D, R 1993]	[D, R 1997a]	[D, R 1997b]	[S 1995]
b<in>weq-an ‘woman with long hair’	-	3	-	-	-	-
bituluŋ ‘kind of very small areca nut’	6	-	-	-	-	-
biqen ‘betel leaf’	8	2	-	5	15	-
buqaqqel ‘Adam’s apple’ (in hudhud ‘pupil of the eye’)	9	22	-	1	-	-

	[L 1960]	[L 1967]	[D, R 1993]	[D, R 1997a]	[D, R 1997b]	[S 1995]
ʔiqen (?) 'old man'	220	43	36	30	35	-
laww-en 'to go to smb'	-	-	-	-	-	5
madge 'painful'	1	-	-	-	-	-
pam-biju-wan 'mortar'	7	11	1	2	-	-
ʔum-hep 'to exit'	14	43	6	1	1	-

Buqaqqel is an everyday Keley-i word for 'Adam's apple'. In hudhud the same form (sometimes used without the gemination of *q*, as claimed by a hudhud singer. However, this is arguable since length of sounds in words used in hudhud lines depends heavily on the musical rhythm) is used with the meaning 'pupil of the eye'. The corresponding word in Yattuka is *buqaqqol.*

ʔiqen in hudhud refer to one of the characters who is an old man. Classifying this word as a potential borrowing from Keley-i into Tuwali hudhud is actually only a (far-fetched) guess, since there is no such word in Keley-i (neither in Tuwali and Yattuka), however it was suggested by one of the Keley-i consultants that the word should read as *ne-hiqen* (<AV[<PFV>STEM-male_growing_up>) 'grown man'). This form is a perfective aspect verb whose neutral aspect form is *me-hiqen* <NEUT[AV-STEM-male_growing_up]>, which refers to a small boy ('the-one-who-will-grow-up'). The Tuwali and Yattuka counterpart of this word is *ma-h~hiqon*, which is used in hudhud as part of the frequent formulaic expression *guminnigin gu ma-h~hiqon* 'Guminnigin the boy'.

Note that "*pambiyuwan*" 'mortar' and "*bukakel*" 'pupil of the eye', mentioned above in section 5 in the quote from [Lambrecht 1960] as words which are "regularly chanted with corrupted vowels", are in fact not "corrupted" Tuwali words but are part of regular Keley-i lexis.

8.1.3. Yattuka and Keley-i lexical items. Table 17 shows the number of occurrences of each of the 41 items from the Tuwali texts

that were unknown to our naive Tuwali consultants but recognized by both naive Yattuka and Keley-i consultants:

Table 17. Yattuka and Keley-i lexical items in the Tuwali texts

	[L 1960]	[L 1967]	[D, R 1993]	[D, R 1997a]	[D, R 1997b]	[S 1995]
ʔambajuŋ 'hip bag for betel chew'	-	3	2	8	6	2
ʔamta 'know'	-	1	-	-	1	-
dallin 'yard'	68	61	37	30	15	13
gilig 'edge'	22	87	90	47	47	8
g<in>jaŋ 'spear'	-	7	-	-	-	3
habi 'reach the top of a mountain'	-	-	-	-	2	-
habi-jan 'mountain top'	2	125	14	6	81	-
habi-jon 'to reach a higher site'	-	-	1	-	1	-
h<in>ibʔat 'gong beating'	1	3	1	-	-	-
hiʔjan 'leave/separate/ divorce'	-	-	1	-	-	-
ʔi-habi 'to reach a higher site'	-	1	-	-	4	-
ʔi-tapi 'betel chew'	9	20	5	-	-	-
ʔi-jagud 'to approve'	-	1	-	-	-	-
ʔi-juduŋ 'to sit smb'	3	2	1	-	1	-
qa-jagud 'good'	-	2	-	3	-	-
qi-juduŋ-an 'sitting'	1	1	-	2	3	-
qubuhan 'morning'	13	16	12	3	8	-

	[L 1960]	[L 1967]	[D, R 1993]	[D, R 1997a]	[D, R 1997b]	[S 1995]
lidiŋan ‘rattan handle put on a piece of meat’ (in hudhud: ‘the handle of a hip bag’)	1	9	-	-	-	-
maqa-jagud ‘very good’	37	9	-	1	-	4
maqib~qibbi ‘to join in chewing betel’	1	3	-	-	-	-
maŋ-i-t~tapi ‘to chew betel’	-	-	1	-	-	-
maŋ-i-juduŋ ‘to sit smb’	1	2	-	-	-	-
mi-jagud	-	-	-	-	1	-
mi-jagud-an	-	-	-	-	3	-
mun-tapi ‘to chew betel’	2	1	-	-	-	1
mun-jagud ‘to bring smth in approval’	-	1	-	1	-	-
mun-jaggud-an	-	-	-	-	1	-
mun-ju<d~>duŋ ‘to sit down’	-	-	1	-	-	-
naqa-ʔiliqiliq ‘cleaned ears with feather to hear well/to memorize’	3	4	-	-	-	-
naŋi ‘cried’	5	4	2	-	4	-
ni-laww-an=tu ‘where smb went’	3	5	-	-	-	-
paqa-huluphup-an ‘to serve food continuously’	2	-	-	-	-	-
pun-jagud-an	-	-	-	-	1	-
taŋila ‘ear’	2	3	-	-	-	-

	[L 1960]	[L 1967]	[D, R 1993]	[D, R 1997a]	[D, R 1997b]	[S 1995]
t<in>onwe ‘G-string used by the rich for the dead’	1	-	-	-	-	-
ʔugip ‘sleep’	3	2	-	-	-	-
jagud ‘goodness’	-	-	-	1	1	-
jaggud-on	-	-	-	-	1	-
ju<d~>duŋ-an ‘seat’	-	2	1	-	1	-
juduŋ ‘sit’	-	-	-	-	1	-
juduŋ-on ‘to sit down on smth’	-	-	1	-	3	-

Ginjaŋ was also found to be known by naive Tuwali speakers. Tuwali speakers responded that the meaning of the word is ‘to throw smth’, a stone, a stick or anything else, including a spear. While for Yattuka speakers the first meaning of the word was ‘spear’. In hudhud the word means ‘spear’. It is not clear if <*in*>in *ginjaŋ* is a verbal marker of the perfective aspect or a hudhud stylistic device (like in *pinugu* discussed in section 5).

The first meaning of the root *liqiliq* of *naqa-ʔiliqiliq* is ‘clean ears with feather to hear well’. Metaphorically, that means ‘memorize’. The latter meaning is the one present in hudhud.

Ni-laww-an=tu is the path voice form from the root *ʔolaw* ‘go’ used together with the personal pronominal enclitic *=tu* <3M.ACT.NNOM>. In hudhud it is used only as part of the formula *niʔnijan=tu ni-laww-an=tu*, which is translated by Lambrecht as ‘fitting-well-this, suiting-well-this’ [Lambrecht 1978: 373]. The first word of this pair was not recognized by speakers of any of the three languages, however *ni-laww-an* and *=tu* are confidently recognized by Yattuka and Keley-i consultants, although the meaning reported by Lambrecht is different.

The instance of *qi-juduŋ-an* ‘sitting’, *maqa-jagud* ‘very good’, *mun-tapi* ‘to chew betel’, *mun-jagud* ‘to bring smth in approval’ and *mun-juduŋ* ‘to sit down’ is peculiar, since the roots *jaggud* ‘goodness’, *juduŋ* ‘sit and *tapi* ‘betel chew’ are Southern Cordilleran, while the affixes *qi- -an*, *maqa-*, and *mun-* come from Tuwali. Nevertheless, the

meanings of these items were transparent for our Yattuka and Keley-i consultants. The exact meanings of *mi-jagud, mi-jagud-an, mun-jagud-an, pun-jagud-an* and *jaggud-on* is not clear, since the affixation attached to the Southern Cordilleran root in these items is part of Tuwali grammar. There is no glossing or literal translation provided in hudhud published by Dulawan and Revel. The meaning of the affixes according to [Hohulin, Hohulin 2014] is the following: *mi-*and *mi- -an* are markers of "passive" (in fact, impersonal verbs, since the markers result in prohibition of using the actor); *pun- -an* is the marker of time or locative voice; *-on* is a marker of one of the non-actor voices; the combination *mun- -an* in *mun-jagud-an* is unusual for the everyday language.

Lambrecht provides curious definitions and etymologies for some of the words in Tuwali hudhud which are not part of the everyday Tuwali lexis. For instance, *dallin* 'yard' above is described as being "the metathetical form of *dinla*" from the regular *dola* 'houseyard' [Lambrecht 1978: 136]. *Qubuhan* 'morning' above is provided even a more peculiar etymology: the root *qubu* 'house lot' derives *qubu-han* 'the be-house-loted', that is "the ground which has one or more house lots, the village ground or simply, houseyard. This "place denoting word" is, however, used "only in the time denoting phrase": *ma-waʔwa=h qubuhan* '(when things are) made visible in the house-lots' or *ma-waʔwa=n qubuhan* '(when there are) made visible house-lots', both expressions meaning 'at dawn' (*ma-waʔwa*[39] means 'early') [Lambrecht 1978: 304]. It seems that the fallacy of such an analysis is too obvious to be further discussed, given the existence of *dallin* as 'yard' and *qubuhan* as 'morning' in everyday Yattuka and Keley-i.

8.2. Lexical interference in Yattuka texts

For the Yattuka texts, only 10 items (6 percent of the list) were recognized as everyday lexis in Tuwali or Keley-i.

8.2.1. Tuwali lexical items. Table 18 shows the number of occurrences of each of the seven items from the Yattuka texts that were unknown to our naive Yattuka consultants but recognized by naive Tuwali consultants:

[39] *=h* and *=n* in *ma-waʔwa=h qubuhan* and *ma-waʔwa=n qubuhan* are the oblique case marker and the linker, correspondingly.

Table 18. Tuwali lexical items in the Yattuka texts

	[Stanyukovich 2012a]	[Stanyukovich 2012b]
ʔ<imm>ulijod ‘slid down’	1	-
ʔi<ŋ>-qaʔan ‘removed’	1	-
qinumtallanʔu ‘crowed’	1	-
t<imm>alanʔu ‘crowed’	1	4
ni-dawwi ‘far’	7	14
pal~palʔiw-on ‘to forget/waste time’	1	-
pum-banaŋ-an ‘ricefield dike’	4	18

Qinumtallanʔu in this form does not exist in everyday Tuwali, however the word was recognized as related to *tallanʔu* ‘crow’.

The Yattuka counterpart of the prefixal complex *ni-*(*q<in>a-ʔi*) is *no-i-*(*q<in>o-ʔi*). However, the former is consistently used in the Yattuka texts in the adjective *ni-dawwi* ‘far’ (the Yattuka counterpart is *no-i-dawwi*), used as a modifier of the noun *boble* ‘village’ (example (12)).

8.2.2. Keley-i lexical items. Table 19 shows the number of occurrences of each of the three items from the Yattuka texts that were unknown to our naive Yattuka consultants but recognized by naive Keley-i consultants:

Table 19. Keley-i lexical items in the Yattuka texts

	[Stanyukovich 2012a]	[Stanyukovich 2012b]
buqaqqel ‘Adam’s apple’ (in hudhud ‘pupil of the eye’)	2	-
ʔiqen (?) ‘old man’	8	-
laww-en ‘to go to smb’	4	10

See section 8.1.2. for comments on these items.

9. Conclusion and problems

Summarizing the findings presented above, we should emphasize the following points:

1. There is only a limited number of grammatical interference instances both in the Yattuka and Tuwali texts. The number of occurrences of Tuwali units in the Yattuka texts is much higher than that of Southern Cordilleran units in the Tuwali texts.

2. As for lexical interference, in the Tuwali texts there is a more conspicuous number of potential lexical borrowings identified as Yattuka or both Yattuka and Keley-i. As for potential lexical borrowings from Keley-i, there is only a minor number. In the Yattuka texts, there is only a minor number of potential lexical borrowings from Tuwali and Keley-i.

3. Not all Lambrecht's 'hudhud words' are 'Kalanguya words', contrary to Himes' claim.

The following problems related to this study should be noted for future research:

1. The findings indicate only a possibility of borrowing, since it is just as possible that lexical items disappeared from the modern language.

2. Many hudhud words are not used in everyday language. Still, there seem to be regional variants of some hudhud terms: for example, *ʔuddaʔden* 'cooked rice' is common in the Yattuka texts, while in the Tuwali texts we mostly come across only *ʔ<in>-daʔden* 'cooked rice'. The question is should we treat such items as borrowings when, for example, the Yattuka *ʔuddaʔden* is used in a Tuwali text or the other way around? Advice of hudhud singers of both languages might be beneficial in this matter.

3. It is, probably, impossible to establish an exact percentage and inventory of potential borrowings in hudhud texts, given the resource limitations. Also, there are no written materials or dictionaries that would show historical changes in borrowed vocabulary, which would assist in a study like this.

4. There are, probably, no monolingual speakers of any language in Ifugao. All the native Yattuka and Keley-i singers known to us also speak Tuwali. Some Tuwali singers know Yattuka. Both available Yattuka hudhud were sung mostly by Keley-i speakers, which raises the question, already posited above, how do we distinguish borrowings as part of the hudhud genre and code-switching?

Abbreviations

1 — first person; 2 — second person; 3 — third person; ACT — actor pronoun; ADJ — adjectival derivation affix; AV — actor voice; CE — counter-expectation; DET — demonstrative determiner; DIR — directional; DIST — distal; EXIST — existential predicate; FUT — future; GEN — genitive; IMP — imperative; IPFV — imperfective; IMP — imperative; IMPRS — impersonal; IND — independent form; INTENS — intensive; ITER — iterative; LK — linker; LOC — locative demonstrative pronoun; LV — locative voice; M — minimal membership pronoun; ManV — manner voice; MED — medial; MOD — modal; NACT — non-actor pronoun; NEG — negative; NEUT — neutral aspect; NM — non-minimal membership pronoun; NMLZ — nominalization; NOM — nominative; NNOM — non-nominative; NV — non-visual demonstrative pronoun; OBL — oblique; PaV — path voice; PFV — perfective; PL — plural; PLN — place name; PLTM — place and time marker; PN — personal name; PRED — predicative demonstrative pronoun; PREP — preposed pronoun; PRS — personal; PV — patient voice; REC — recent perfective; RF — rhythmic filler; SG — singular; STEM — stem derivation affix; SURP — surprise; TV — temporal voice.

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