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On the reconstruction of the base for 'headhunting' in Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Malayo-Polynesian

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Outline

- Previous reconstructions
- Purpose of this study
- (More) Evidence for the reconstruction of PAn *ɲayaw 'headhunting'
- Evidence for the reconstruction of PMP *ɲayaw 'headhunting'
 - Evidence that seems to go against the reconstruction of PMP *ɲayaw 'headhunting'
 - Ambiguous cases
- Discussion and Conclusion

Previous Reconstructions

- PAn *kayaw 'head-hunting' (Blust 1999)
- PAn *ɲayaw 'head-hunting' (Blust and Trussel (In progress))
- PMP *kayaw 'head-hunting' (Dempwolff 1934-38; Blust and Trussel (In progress))
- PWMP *ayaw 'raid, go head-hunting' (Blust and Trussel (In progress))

Previously Unsolved Problem

Blust and Trussel (In progress): "... It is unclear whether a separate base *ɲayaw is also justified for PMP. This form is reconstructed for PAn, since the only Formosan language that has a related form is Puyuma, in which the base is *ɲayaw*. Cognates such as Ifugaw *ɲáyo*, *ɲáyaw* and Tboli *ɲayaw* may be affixed forms of *káyaw*, or reflexes of a doublet that began with a velar nasal."

Purpose of this Study

- To figure out whether *ayaw, *kayaw, and/or *ɲayaw should be reconstructed as the base form(s) for 'head-hunting' in Proto-Austronesian and/or Proto-Malayo-Polynesian.

*Evidence for the Reconstruction of PAn *ɲayaw 'head-hunting' (1): Puyuma*

Puyuma (1)

- (1) Tamalakaw Puyuma (Tsuchida 1980, 1983)
ma-a-ngayaw 'of many people) to go head-hunting'
- (2) Nanwang Puyuma
 - *pangayangayawan* 'place where one kills the monkey during the rite *basibas*' (Cauquelin 1991:158)
 - *mangayaw* festival' (Sayama 1913[2007]:252-253; cf. Schröder and Quack 2009:xix)
 - *mangayaw* 'to practice hunting/fighting with monkeys' (http://www.nmp.gov.tw/eneews/no5_5.htm)
- (3) Ulivelivek Puyuma
 - *mangayaw* 'go head-hunting' (Taitung County Government 2007:130)

Puyuma (2)

- (4) Likabung Puyuma (Furuno 1945b[2000b] :365-370)
 -- *tumal ma[n]gayaw* 'to go hunting (group hunting)'
- (5) Katripul Puyuma (Schröder and Quack 1979[2009]:30-31)
 - *mangayaw* 'head-hunting'
 - *mangayangayaw* 'the monkey-hunting festival (*basibas* in Nanwang Puyuma)'
 - *pangangayawan* 'the whole head-hunting event'
 - *mangangajao* 'those who go head-hunting' (Quack 1981:96)
 - *pangajangajao* 'to hunt-head' (Quack 1981:172)
 - *pangajaoao* 'start head-hunting' (Quack 1981:244)
 - *mangajaoa* 'to go head-hunting' (Quack 1981:346)

***Evidence for the
Reconstruction of PAn
*ngayaw 'head-hunting' (2):
Amis [East Formosan]***

East Formosan: Amis (1)

- According to Sayama (1913[2007a]:28, 107, 109, 122), the form *mangayaw* 'head-hunting' in Sakizaya (spoken in Sakor, Cipawkan, and Chivarvaran) and in Northern Amis (probably referring to the varieties of Amis spoken in Pokpok, Nataoran, and Lidaw).
- According to Liu (1965:177), in Northern Amis (probably referring to the varieties of Amis spoken in Pokpok, Nataoran, and Lidaw), an Amis chief needs to be familiar with the head-hunting ceremony (*sadumak sakanayau*). In certain age-group organization, there is a position called *sakopañai no sakanayau* 'the master of the head-hunting ceremony'.

East Formosan: Amis (2)

Fata'an Amis (Sayama 1914[2007b]:289)

(1) *mangayaw* to kamo haw?

headhunting Nom.2Pl

'Are you (pl) going to a head-hunting raid?'

(2) caay *kangayaw*.

Neg head-hunting

'It is not the case of going on a head-hunting raid.'

East Formosan: Amis (3)

- According to Furuno (1945a[2000a]:79-80), the form *mangayaw* means 'hunting' in southern Amis areas (as in Farangaw, Atolan, Mdawdaw, and Tapowaray), whereas it means 'head-hunting' in northern Amis areas (as in Fata'an, Tafalong, Pokpok, Lidaw, and Sakor (Sakizaya)).
- Atolan Amis: *mangayaway* means 'a group hunting ceremony; go on a war' (Huang and Luo 2001:337, 377); *mangayaw* means 'an annual hunting festival'
- Farangaw Amis: *mangayaw* 'deer-hunting festival' (Sayama 1913[2007a]:158)

East Formosan: Amis (4)

- Furuno (1945b[2000b]:358-365) further mentions that the form *mangayaw* also means 'head-hunting' in the varieties of Amis spoken in Kiko and Kiwit.
- In *Dictionnaire de termes de droit coutumier des aborigenes de Formose* compiled by the l'Académie Impériale, the form *manayau* is listed as one of the words related to 'head-hunting' (l'Académie Impériale 1941:77)
- S.W. Huang (2005:59) lists three forms for the meaning 'headhunting' in Sa'aniwan Amis: *mamangayaw*, *mangayaw*, and *mitafaday*.

East Formosan: Amis (5)

- (1) Taitung Amis (village name unknown) (Zeng 2008:337)
- *mingayaw* 'go head-hunting raid, revenge expedition'
 - *ningayaw* 'went head-hunting raid, revenge expedition'
 - *mangayaw* 'go head-hunting raid, revenge expedition'
 - *ngayawen* 'make a head-hunting raid (or revenge expedition) against ~'
 - *pangayaw* 'cause to go head-hunting raid, revenge expedition'
 - *sangayaw* 'head-hunting raid ceremony'

East Formosan: Amis (6)

- (1) Taitung Amis (village name unknown) (Citamih 2005)
- *mangayaw* 'go on a head-hunting raid or a revenge expedition'
 - *ningayaw* 'went on a head-hunting raid or a revenge expedition'
 - *ningayawan* 'the one that was head-hunted'
 - *naningayaw* 'want to go one a head-hunting raid or a revenge expedition'
 - *ngayawen* 'head-hunt against ~'
 - *sapingayaw* 'the reason for going on a head-hunting raid or a revenge expedition'
 - *sapingayawaw* 'the intention to go on a head-hunting raid or a revenge expedition'

East Formosan: Amis (7)

- (1) Amis (Hualien) (Citamih 2005)
- ningayaw* or a revenge expedition
 - *pingayaw* or revenge expedition'
 - *kapingayaw* '([Neg ~]) go on head-hunting raid or a revenge expedition'
 - *sakapingayawan* 'a head-hunting plan or a revenge expedition plan'
 - *sapingayawaw* 'the intention to go on a head-hunting raid or a revenge expedition'

***Evidence for the
Reconstruction of PMP
*ɲayaw 'head-hunting' (1a):
Northern Luzon—Northern
Cordilleran***

N. Cordilleran (1): Isnag-I

Isnag

- *ngáyaw* (Vanoverbergh 1972:402)
-- *agngangáyaw* 'the time of head-hunting'
- *káyaw* (Vanoverbergh 1972:310)
-- *mangáyaw* 'to go head-hunting'.
-- *nakáyawān* 'died suddenly after nosebleed, without any other symptom of illness'
[Reid (pers. comm.): "This means the person has been '*kayaw*'-ed. It clearly has a spirit reference... The same as is cited of Pangasinan. He has been attacked by a spirit and died of a nosebleed."]

N. Cordilleran (1): Isnag-II

Isnag (Rudy Barlaan pers. comm.):

- "...It is similar in Isnag: we have *ngayawan* (not *kayawan*), *mangayaw* (not *mangkayaw*)."
- "My suspicion is that, Vanoverbergh's *kayaw* was abstracted from the affixed form *mangayaw* which is the form that commonly occurs in speech. Probably he deduced from the form that the affix is *mang-* and the root is *kayaw* and there is a nasal assimilation of the initial consonant of the root. There is more convincing evidence that the root is *ngayaw* rather than *kayaw*. There is no definite evidence that the root is *kayaw*."

***Evidence for the
Reconstruction of PMP
*ɲayaw 'head-hunting' (1b):
Northern Luzon—North-
Eastern Luzon***

NELuzon (1): Casiguran Dumagat

Casiguran Dumagat (Headland and Headland 1974)

- **ngayö**
 - (N) 'a raider, a killing raid'
 - (V) 'to attack a house or village for the purpose of killing'.
 - *éng panan na ngayö tu top=mo, éy sumabug id dige dikö.*
'If a raider shoots one of your relatives, blood will spatter on you (sg).'

NELuzon (2): Eastern Cagayan Agta

Eastern Cagayan Agta (Nickell 1985:136)

Awan=na hidi *mabuno* na ngayaw.
able.to.kill Gen raider
'The raider is not able to kill them.'

***Evidence for the
Reconstruction of PMP
*ɲayaw 'head-hunting' (1c):
Northern Luzon—Meso-
Cordilleran***

Meso-Cordilleran (1): Batad Ifugao

Batad Ifugao (Newell 1993:403)

ngāyaw

- **mungngāyaw** [< *maR- + *ngāyaw]: (v.) For a group of men (agent *muN*- & theme) **to go on a headhunting raid**. {A raiding party traditionally consisted of about five to ten men usually from a single clan. Heads, *hewat*, and often arms and/or legs, *pūtel*, were cut off, brought home and a ceremony, *ha'dol* 3b, was performed.}
- **ngumāyaw** [< *-um- + *ngāyaw]: (v.) For someone (actor & theme) **to waylay** an enemy (loc ref) with an offensive weapon, as a spear, *bangkaw*, (inst *i*-) for the purpose of taking a head in revenge.

Meso-Cordilleran (2): Kiangan Ifugaw-I

Kiangan Ifugaw (Lambrecht 1978:368)

- *ngáyo, ngáyaw* 'headhunting raid, revenge expedition'
- *mungngáyaw* 'person who organizes a revenge expedition and is therefore the leader of the group of warriors'
- *makingáyo* 'to accompany a group of warriors'
- *pungngáyawan* 'habitat of those who will be attacked by the starting revenge expedition'

Meso-Cordilleran (2): Kiangan Ifugaw-II

Kiangan Ifugaw (Lambrecht 1978:368-369)

- In *hudhúd* literature, *ngáyo* (or *ngáyaw*) may also be used to describe how a given character travels from one region to another, in order to discover the habitat of one of his nearest relatives who disappeared; since he intends to enter into enemy territory, he may have to fight; he considers himself to be on the warpath and, therefore, performs the *hagóho*-sacrifice [q.v.] before he leaves his village.

Meso-Cordilleran (2): Kiangan Ifugaw-III

Kiangan Ifugaw (Lambrecht 1978:368)

(1) *Ngimmáyaw=da=y* *iKabúy.*
 headhunting.raid=Nom.3pl=Nom people.of.Kababuyan
 'They, the people of Kababuyan made a headhunting raid.' [*ngimmáyaw* < *-in- + *-um- + *ngáyaw]

(2) *Ngáyawan=takú=y*
 headhunting.raid=Gen.1pl.incl=Nom
/bah-él=na.
 from.place.behind.mountain=Gen.3sg
 'Let us make a revenge expedition against the people living behind the mountain.'

Meso-Cordilleran (3): Bauco Kankanay

Bauco Kankanay (Vanoverbergh 1933)

- *ngáyew*
 -- *menngáyew* 'to shout, to cry, to clamor, during the *pus-it* sacrifice'

Meso-Cordilleran (4): Ilongot

ngayo 'head-hunting'

(1) Bugkalot (Belance, Quirino, and Aurora)

sit (t)a ngayo(v)an / tan ngayo(v)an

'a group of people going for head-hunting in one place'

(2) Buayo Bugkalot

nginayo 'headhunted against ~'

ngayo(v)in 'will head-hunt/is head-hunting against ~'

ʔangngayo 'go head-hunting'

ʔangngangayo 'is going head-hunting'

nangngayo 'went head-hunting'

Meso-Cordilleran (5): Pangasinan

ngayeo /ŋayəw/ (Cosgaya 1865)

- *“los diccionarios antiguos dicen, que significa ir a la guerra: hacer saluda o emboscada al enemigo: hoy parece que por este **ngayeo** entienden los espíritus malignos: pero cuando se trata de infieles, es que van en busca de alguien que quieren matar.”*

'Old dictionaries say it means to go to war: to meet up with or ambush the enemy: today it seems that the term *ngayeo* is applied to evil spirits [who want to possess (capture) people]: but when it comes to non-Christians, it means that 'they are looking for someone they want to kill.'

Meso-Cordilleran (6): Kalanguya

ngayaw

- *ngayawan* (**kayawan*) 'head-hunt against ~'
- *nginyaw* (**kinayaw*) 'went head-hunt against ~'

***Evidence for the
Reconstruction of PMP
*ngayaw 'head-hunting' (2):
Central Luzon***

Kapampangan

ngayaw 'to go out and hunt heads'; 'to plunder, to grab and snatch things from one another, to go out to kill like the negroes' [listed under the entry *ayaw* in Bergaño's *Pampanga en Romance*]

- *Mangayao a kalmang daratang* 'Dreading ones future karma' or 'Karma comes suddenly like the raiders/headhunters in the night.'
- Michael Pangilinan (pers. comm.): "Bergaño listed it in his *Vocabulario dela Lengua Pampanga* as *ayao* but I believe it is *NGAYAO*... since that is how we say it still. In the same manner Bergaño listed *amanu* instead of *ngamanu* to mean 'word' or 'language' in Kapampangan ... and this is the word picked up by poets, advocates and scholars for the past 200 years. However we still say *ngamanu* in everyday conversation, like *Nanung ngamanuan mu* 'What are you talking about?' instead of *Nanung amanuan mu?*"

Evidence that seems to go against the reconstruction of PMP *ɲayaw 'head-hunting'

Meso-Cordilleran (1): Guina-ang Bontok

Guina-ang Bontok (Reid 1976)

káyew

mangáyew 'to go to the mountains to listen for bird omens, of a men's ward (formerly associated with headhunting)'

Meso-Cordilleran (2): Guinaang Kalinga-I

áyaw /?áyew/ [*< *kayaw*] (Geiser 1987)

Gieser (1987:15) "*áyaw*, the root of *mangayaw*, refers to forays the Guinaang people made in the old days to enemy villages for the purpose of killing and, presumably, to take heads. The practice had been discontinued long before we arrived in Kalinga; therefore, we have no firsthand information concerning the custom."

Meso-Cordilleran (2): Guinaang Kalinga-II

áyaw /*ʔáyew*/ [< *kayaw] (Geiser 1987)

dat tagu=n ummuna amo tuttuwaon=da dit idaw ta siya=t mangil'an=da no baat ya no mangayaw=da.

‘As for (our) ancestors, they really believed in the *idaw* bird, for it was how they knew whether (to continue or abandon their plans) when (making) a buying trip and when they were making a foray.’

Ilokano (1)

Two entries for *káyaw* in Geladé’s (1993) *Ilokano-English dictionary*:

- (1) *káyaw* ‘glamour, beauty charm, fascination, enchantment, elegance, charisma’
- (2) *mangáyaw* ‘to practice headhunting’
kayawán ‘to capture, to take prisoner.’

Ilokano (2)

Ilokano (Vanoverbergh 1956)

- (1) *ma'ngayaw* ‘to practice headhunting’
 - (2) *ka'yawan* ‘to capture, to take prisoner; to captivate, to fascinate’
- Reid (pers. comm.) “... The latter is unique to Ilokano and doesn’t mean to cut off someone’s head, which is what we might be expected from the meaning of *mangayaw*, and is therefore a later development, based on an assumed root form *'kayaw*. People didn’t go out to capture enemies, they went out to kill them.”

Central Luzon

Ayta Mag-antsi (Storck and Storck 2005:150)

- *kayaw* [v.] ‘wait in ambush at the house or field of s.o. (to kill them)’

Ambiguous Cases

Agusan Manobo

Agusan Manobo

mangajow [n.] 'a killer; one who kills, loots, and captures women and children to be sold or made into wives and slaves of the captors.'

Western Bukidnon Manobo

Western Bukidnon Manobo (Elkins 1968:39)

kayew 'to be in readiness to fight; to be in array'

-- ***mengayew*** 'a raider'

-- ***pengayew*** 'to raid a house or village in order to kill someone. The killing is generally random'

Binukid

Binukid (Post 1992:103, 113, 187)

- ***mangangayaw*** [n] 'raider; someone who raids (with the intent to kill or kidnap)'

- ***pangayaw*** [v] 'to raid, ambush'

- ***Migbuhat sa mga laas hu mga bangkaw ta agpangayaw siran.***

'The old men were making spears because they are going to raid.'

Sarangani Manobo

Sarangani Manobo (DuBois)

- *ayaw*: *mengayaw* 'of an animal, to be ferocious; to be prepared to fight; to raid a house or settlement and kill people at random'
- *mengayaw* 'a raider'
- *ngayaw*: cf. *ayaw*

Tiruray and Tboli

Tiruray (Schlegel 1971:117)

- *fejayaw* 'to invade, to attack another tribe or country'

Tboli (Awed et al. 2004:430)

- *nayaw* (var. *ngayaw*) (from *ayaw*):
[v.] '(of people) to raid at night, to kill and take things.'
g-, *h-*, *hem-*, *hen-*.
-- *hennayawen* 'raid'
-- *menayaw* 'to raid/kill'

Discussion and Conclusion

The Development of *mangayaw (1)

- PAn **mangayaw**
< ***ma-** 'AF(dynamic)' + ***ngayaw** 'head-hunting'
- The base form for **mangayaw** (or ***pangayaw**) was still ***ngayaw** in PMP. However, the word ***mangayaw** (or ***pangayaw**) was no longer analyzable as a bimorphemic word.

The Development of *mangayaw (2)

- Reflexes of PMP *mangayaw (or *pangayaw) are either remembered as a synchronically unanalyzable word or being reanalyzed as *maN- + *kayaw or *mang- + *ayaw.
- The reanalysis was motivated by an important morphosyntactic change in Malayo-Polynesian languages.
-- More specifically, reflexes of PAn *ma- can be used to form dynamic verbs in some Formosan languages, whereas reflexes of PMP *ma- were restricted to 'stative' and/or 'potentive' functions.

The Development of *mangayaw (3)

- Speakers of some Phillipine languages (e.g. Guina-ang Bontok, Guinaang Kalinga, Ilokano, Ayta Mag-antsi, etc.) might have reanalyzed the form **mangayaw** as:
 - (1) **maN- + *kayaw**
 - (2) ***mang- + *ayaw**

The Development of *mangayaw (4)

- The reanalysis of the form ***mangayaw** as *maN- + *kayaw might be the result of analogizing ***mangayaw** 'head-hunting' with ***mangayo** 'gathering fire wood' (< *maN- 'Dist' + *kayo 'fire wood')
-- [Guinaang Kalinga] 'If a man or boy goes to get firewood, he goes *mangáyu* (< maN- + *káyu* 'tree, wood') (Gieser 1987:66) [cf. *mangayaw* (< *áyaw*) 'forays the Guinaang people made in the old days to enemy villages for the purpose of killing and, presumably, to take heads ']

The Development of *mangayaw (5)

- The reanalysis analysis is supported by the fact that even sophisticated lexicographers like Vanoverbergh misanalyzed Isnag *mangayaw* as having a base form **kayaw.
- Some of the cases of *kayaw* (e.g. Guina-ang Bontok, Guinaang Kalinga, Ilokano, etc.) may be the result of misanalyses by linguists, in that no evidence for transitive verbs beginning with 'k' was provided.

The Development of *mangayaw (6)

- Tboli might represent a language in an intermediate stage (with three base forms coexisting: *ayaw*, *ngayaw*, and *nayaw*).

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