Language Documentation and Description

Inati (Panay Island, Philippines) - Language Contexts

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Language Name:	Inati
Language Family:	Malayo-Polynesian > Inati
ISO 639-3 Code:	atk
Glottolog Code:	atii1237
Population:	1044 (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2010)
Location:	Numancia, Aklan, Panay Island, Philippines
Vitality rating:	EGIDS 6b*

Abstract

Inati is a language from Panay Island in the southern Philippines, spoken by the Ati ethnolinguistic group. There are two existing linguistic descriptions: Pennoyer (1985), and a small section in Lobel (2013). This paper discusses the current socio-linguistic situation of Inati based on two sets of fieldwork, gives background on the genetic relationship of the language to widely-used neighboring languages, consolidates and compares data from published linguistic literature, and identifies gaps for future research.

1. Introduction

In the Philippines, there are over 30 indigenous Negrito groups residing in the Sierra Madre, Panay Mountain Range, Palawan, and other sites (see Figure 1). Negrito groups are described in most literature as hunter-gatherers, relying mainly on the ecology for sustenance in the mountains they inhabit. The Ati of Panay belong to this group; they speak Inati, a language demonstrably different from the major languages used in the region (i.e., Hiligaynon, Kinaray-a, and Aklanon).

Figure 1: Panay Island, Southern Philippines
(Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2021)
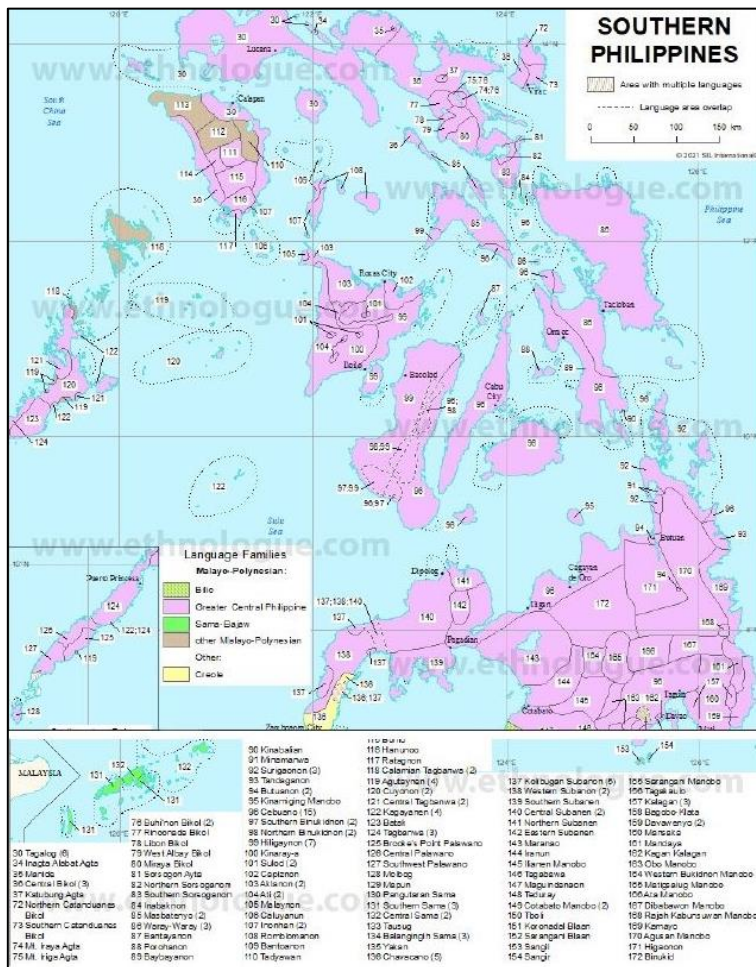
This paper discusses the current situation of Inati and its speakers in Barangay Bulwang, Numancia, Kalibo, and Aklan (Figure 2). Linguistic descriptions of Inati are mostly based on the variety spoken in Iloilo. This community is relatively isolated compared to the variety spoken in Barangay Bulwang, which is nearer to the city of Aklan. The linguistic vitality and ecology of the variety spoken in Barangay Bulwang is, therefore, relatively more complex, with two or more major languages competing for use in the home and the community domains. Information discussed in this paper comes from fieldwork carried out in March 2017 (two weeks) and July 2017 (four weeks) in Barangay Bulwang, Numancia, Kalibo, and Aklan, with subsequent visits to nearby towns such as Malay and Boracay.

Figure 2: Location of Ati communities in Panay. A larger version of this map is on page 53.

Legend for locations of research:
Red - Lobel (2013), Pennoyer (1985)
Violet - Pennoyer (1985)
Blue - Lobel (2013)
Green - author's fieldwork

The remainder of this paper is divided into five sections. Section 2 discusses demographic and ethnographic information on the speakers, Section 3 is about varieties of Inati, Section 4 outlines its history and genetic relationships, Section 5 covers the current linguistic neighborhood and language vitality, and Section 6 overviews the published linguistic literature.

2. Demographic and ethnographic information

Data on the estimated number of Inati speakers varies between sources. Eberhard, Simons & Fennig (2021) list 1,500 speakers, with a vitality status of *Threatened* (6b*).[1] Headland (2010), based on data published in the 1990s, gives 930 speakers. The National Commission on Indigenous People (NCIP) reports the Ati population in December 2011 as 63,654, however this is based on ethnicity and not language fluency. According to the Philippine Statistics Authority (2010) 227 households speak Inati (average household size is 4.6 people, which would suggest roughly 1,044 speakers), with 51 households (235 speakers) in Aklan. This is relatively large compared to other indigenous languages spoken in Aklan (e.g., Batak, Gubaton, Tagkaulo and Tau-buid with five households each, Manobo with 15 households), however shift is underway to Aklanon, or Hiligaynon, the lingua franca of Panay. During my fieldwork, I observed low levels of fluency among the younger generation, especially in Aklan. In addition, some younger speakers note that they have difficulty understanding the variety of Inati spoken in Malay and Boracay (see Section 3).

Ati ([ati], or sometimes [ɛtɛ]) is an endonym used by the community to refer to themselves. The infix <in> is added to form the language name, hence *Inati* ([i.ˈna.ti] sometimes [i.ˈnɛ.tɛ]). The term *Ati* contrasts with *mangayew* or *uta* 'non-Ati person'. Reid (2013) proposes reconstructions of proto-Malayo-Polynesia (PMP) *ʔa(R)ta '(negrito) person', *ʔuRtin 'non-Negrito person' (compare Blust 2013a) PMP *qaRta 'outsiders, alien people'.

The Ati people are often called Negritos of Panay and like other Negrito groups are hunters and gatherers (Bolante 1986), primarily in the mountains of Panay. The tip of Central Panay Mountain Range starts from the northwest of the island in the province of Aklan and ends near Hamtic in Antique, located in the southwest. The Ati are the first inhabitants of the island, as narrated in one of their songs Ang Pagbaligya Sang Panay 'The Sale of Panay' (Bolante 1986: 40), which describes how Bornean (Malay) chieftains approached Ati chieftain Ibo Marikudo 'Grandfather Marikudo' and his wife, Obaye Maniwantiwan 'Grandmother Maniwantiwan'. The chieftain then consulted the elders and they agreed to give the plains to the Malay migrants, and reserve the mountains and the streams for themselves.

There are also Ati communities located on the shores of Panay Island (see Figure 1), who practice fishing and rely on aquatic resources. The Inati community of Numancia live close to the commercial center of the province, so most speakers rely on selling *bulong* 'medicinal plants' or *uring* 'charcoal'. Very few have jobs in Kalibo or Boracay since access to education is scarce.

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[1] The asterisk indicates further research is needed.

Older Inati speakers still practice *mama* 'betel nut chewing', while a few males sometimes hunt *itok* 'lizard' and gather fruit to sell, but these cultural practices are being lost and are no longer passed down to younger Inati.

Like the Ati community in Iloilo (Bolante 1986) and in Antique (Rahmann & Maceda 1962), the social structure of the Ati community in Numancia, Aklan includes the nuclear and extended family which makes up one *panung* 'band'. The oldest woman or man takes the chieftain role; this leadership can be passed down to a male or female successor. Most chieftains are *mananambal* 'herbal doctor', as pointed out by Bolante (1986), but sometimes the chieftain is not trained as *mananambal* and would only take on the crucial roles of decision-making, settling disputes, and dispensing justice.

The Ati communities in urbanized areas like Numancia are losing most of their cultural and linguistic indigenous practices faster than communities in non-urban areas. In my second fieldwork, an older Inati woman recounted a wedding rite that they formerly practiced. The parents of the bride and the groom would negotiate and select a time for their wedding, depending on the phase of the moon. During the wedding, the bride and the groom go around the whole community seven times, while the community claps and dances. The new bride and groom are then welcomed after this ritual. This wedding rite is no longer practiced and intermarriage with *mangayew* (non-Ati) makes it difficult to pass down these rites and cultural practices to younger generations (I observed this at a wedding of a young Ati woman to a non-Ati man which followed the practice of an independent non-trinitarian Christian church to which they both belong).

3. Varieties of Inati

Pennoyer (1985) established two main dialects of Inati: Sogodnin and Inete. Sogodnin, he says, is spoken in the northern part of Panay, specifically in Cogon, Malay, and is described as the 'pure', 'original', or 'high' variety. Lobel (2013) clarifies that Sogodnin is not necessarily a high speech register of the northern part of Panay, but is actually a formal register of Inati as a whole. Ati speakers in Numancia have not heard or spoken this register but think that it is a variety spoken *sogod* 'inside'. The current leader of this community says that she does not speak it, but that it might have been spoken previously in Iloilo by the chieftains. Sogodnin might, therefore, refer to a variety used inside a particular social group or by chieftains.

Jocano (2008) describes Panay Bukidnon[2] as having been previously called *Sulod* 'inside'. They are the descendants of the Bornean Malays who arrived in Panay and traded with *Ibo Marikudo* 'Grandfather Marikudo' and his wife, *Obaye Maniwantiwan* 'Grandmother Maniwantiwan'. Panay Bukidnons speak Kinaray'a and practice farming and hunting but are different from other indigenous groups by keeping the tradition of *binukot*, shamanistic beliefs and chanting of epics. They have an epic called Sugidanon, widely researched and described by Dr. Magos (n.d.). While this points us to the probable relationship of Sogidnon, a variety described by Pennoyer, and Sugidanon, Panay Bukidnon's epics, a comparison of the data from my fieldwork (see 6.4) and from both Lobel and Pennoyer can give us a better analysis of this so-called variety of Inati.

I maintain that Inete is not a dialect of Inati, but is in fact another variation of the endonym the Atis use to refer to themselves. In the data I gathered, one of the consultants said, *Ete ikam* 'We are Ati.' She used [ʔɛ.tɛʔ] to refer to their identity as a group and subsequently referred to the language they used as Inete. In all other instances, she used Inati and Ati. Blust (2013: 330) distinguishes Inati of Panay from Inata of Negros, but Pennoyer (1985: 7) considers Ati, Ete and Ata as variations of each other. Inati speakers from Aklan considers Ata of Negros as Ati, too.

Pennoyer also mentions a Malaynon variety but does not explain clearly whether it is a dialect or not. He also says that speakers in the municipality of Malay do not use Sogodnin anymore and have already switched to Malaynon. Ati speakers from Numancia refer to the Inati variety of Boracay as Boracaynin and the Inati variety from Malay as Malaynin. An Aklanon speaker also clarifies that an Aklanon variety called Malaynon exists. It is still not clear, however, if there is a difference between Malaynon, a supposed variety of Aklanon, and Malaynin, a supposed variety of Inati. Prof. Mhargie Guevarra-Morales from Aklan Catholic College conducted a preliminary study on the vitality of Inati and proposed revitalization efforts by the community on 30th August 2019 in the *Jesus Fer Ramos Seryeng Panayam*, a conference conducted by the Departmento ng Filipino at Panitikan sa Pilipinas (DFPP) of UP Diliman. A reference grammar of Inete in Iloilo has also been completed by Dr. Armando Katalbas of Iloilo State College of Fisheries-Main Campus. Data from his reference grammar, along with Guevarra-Morales' preliminary study on the Malay variety, can be used to establish systematic differences between the varieties of Inati spoken in Malay, Kalibo, and Iloilo.

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[2] As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, Inati was previously described in the literature as Bukidnon, but the differences between the two indigenous groups are clarified in their epics and songs.

Figure 2 above shows the location of Ati communities in Panay, Guimaras Island, Carabao Island, and Negros Occidental. The variety described by both Pennoyer and Lobel is spoken in Nagpana, Barotac Viejo, Iloilo. Pennoyer reports spending a few days in Guimaras, Dao, Antique and in Aklan (specifically in Malay and Cogon, from which he was able to get data of the Sogodnin dialect). Other varieties spoken in Antique like Hamtic and Tobias Fornier; Janiuay; San Joaquin, Anilao, San Dionisio and Balasan, Iloilo; Tapaz, Dumarao, and Roxas in Capiz; and in Carabao Island were mentioned by both Lobel and Pennoyer but were not studied or described.

4. History

Philippine Negritos are the first population to come and settle in the Philippines prior to the arrival of other groups such as the Manobo, Sama, Papuans, and Cordillerans (Larena et al., 2021). This group is characterized by two salient similarities: physical similarities (i.e., physically shorter and darker with curly or frizzled hair), and cultural similarities (i.e., hunting and foraging). Despite these similarities and their physical and cultural contrast to other indigenous groups like the Manobo, etc., all Philippine Negrito groups now speak Austronesian languages.

Reid (2013: 331) maintains that Austronesian and Negrito languages only 'appear to be genetically related languages'. He further notes that most Negrito languages are first-order groups or isolates and are relatively conservative, maintaining features of Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) which are lost in the languages of their closest neighbors. Manide and Inagta (Alabat) are both Negrito groups, and these two forms an isolate subgroup shown to be unrelated to any other Philippine languages.

The position of Inati in the genetic lineage is unique in that it forms an isolate group of its own. Unlike the Manide-Alabat group, Inati does not have any sister languages. Reid in Figure 3 uses a broken line to demonstrate the unrelatedness of Inati to most Philippine languages. It should be noted, however, that Reid considers Inati as an isolate in the PMP subgroup in consideration of his proposal to reject Proto-Philippines (Reid 1982). Blust (2013), on the other hand, proposes a genetic classification where Inati belongs to the subgroup Proto-Philippines as an isolate. Both Reid (2013) and Blust (2013) cite a shift from PMP *R to d in some Inati lexical items as evidence of it being an isolate.
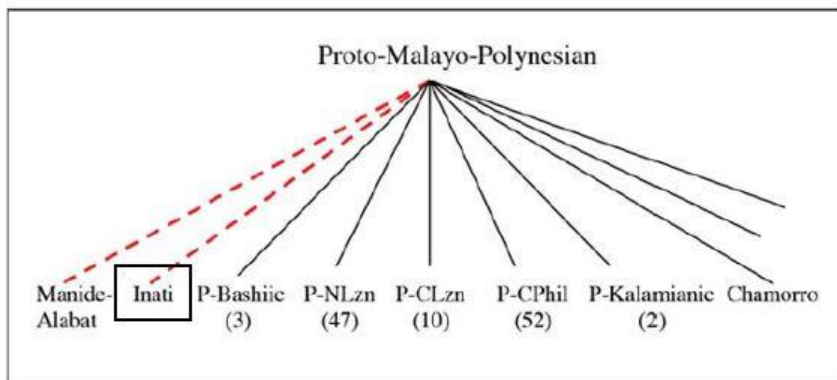
Figure 3: Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (Reid, 2013)

Reid (1994) analyzes unique lexical items found in different Negrito languages, defined as forms that do not have any cognates with any other language. He compares Negrito languages from Luzon such as North Agta, Arta, Alta, Central Agta, South Agta, Sinauna, and Ayta, and claims that since Negrito languages belong to different subgroups, the shared items can be assumed to belong to a pre-Austronesian Negrito substratum. The unique items refer to elements of the environment in which the Negritos live (like abaca, rattan, sugarcane, coconut, betel leaf, rat, snake, buffalo, deer, dog, locust, crocodile, butterfly, termite, mosquito, etc.) or to private parts (like vagina and penis). Reid also explains that the apparent lexical and syntactic similarities of Negrito languages to Austronesian languages might be because Negrito languages underwent pidginization, subsequent creolization, and long periods of decreolization. The last marks a gradual adaptation to the status language in the region where they reside and the acquisition of morphological and grammatical structures from it. However, as Reid (2013) acknowledges, the lexical items shared by Negrito languages cannot be shown to constitute a Negrito substratum since it is yet to be confirmed whether they have been lost in non-Negrito languages and have only been retained in Negrito languages.

Robinson (2011) argues that even though Negrito languages from Luzon share lexical similarities that can be used as evidence for subgrouping, it is not plausible to set up a Proto-Luzon Negrito subgroup because the possible cognate forms come from eight different Negrito languages which belong to four different Austronesian subgroups. Reid (2013), however, explains that there is still a great probability that these languages share a common ancestry and may have only changed through time due to having been relatively remote from each other.

The similarities Negrito languages share with neighboring languages can be explained by their extended contact with surrounding communities. This

would further explain how they have acquired some grammatical properties of the surrounding languages and retained some lexical similarities with other Negrito languages.

5. Linguistic neighborhood and vitality

There are three major languages spoken in Panay Island: Hiligaynon (ISO 639-3: hil), Aklanon (ISO 639-3: akl), and Kinaray'a (ISO 639-3: krj). Most Inati speakers are multilingual and can speak and understand any two of these major languages, as well as Filipino, the national language. Some speakers who finished high school or college can understand and speak English.

Hiligaynon is the lingua franca of Panay, and the de facto language of educational and government institutions, media, and the church. It is mostly spoken in the province of Iloilo and Capiz and Negros. Since Iloilo is the center of trade and commerce in Panay, Hiligaynon is used as the lingua franca of the island.

Aklanon, on the other hand, is mostly used in Aklan, in some parts of Capiz (e.g., Sapi-an, and Mambusao) and Antique (e.g., Pandan) while Kinaray'a is used in large parts of Antique, west Iloilo, Guimaras, and west Capiz.

Most Inati speakers in Numancia, Aklan can speak and understand Aklanon. The younger generation are also more familiar with it, and would most likely use that language for transactions outside the community, like the marketplace or the school, since there is no established daycare center or preschool center for Inati speakers in Numancia. Moreover, fluent speakers of Inati are typically aged 35 and above; the youngest I spoke to is 20 years old and studying at college. She only speaks Inati to her parents, since her younger siblings only know Aklanon. She says that she is fortunate to speak Inati because both her parents are Ati, although she recognizes that her fluency is higher in Aklanon. Families where one parent has intermarried with a non-Ati are most likely to have children who speak Aklanon. The Inati woman who married in a Christian ceremony (mentioned above) reported that she would most likely use Aklanon at home, including with future children, as that is her husband's language.

There is a preschool center in Boracay and Malay but MTB-MLE (Mother Tongue-Based, Multilingual Education) materials on Inati are not yet established and approved. Should a preschool center for Inati speakers in Numancia be established, problems of standardization would need to be confronted. According to the younger generation, it is becoming more difficult for them to understand the Inati variety used in Boracay and Malay.

Existing grammatical descriptions of Inati are based on the variety used in Nagpana, Iloilo, as previously mentioned. Language consultant Nanay Ily told me that she wants her child to learn Inati even though Aklanon is used by the

wider community in Aklan, but she also wants them to pass the language down to future generations. She recognised this is difficult due to the prestige not only of Hiligaynon and Aklanon but also the more well-known variety of Iloilo and Boracay Inati, something which deters most of her relatives from passing on their own dialect to their children. Therefore, efforts to revitalize and use the language face difficulties; more comprehensive, systematic research and description of the language and its sociolinguistics would be helpful.

I also experienced resistance during my fieldwork. Inati speakers from different communities expressed research fatigue and vigilance against *uta* or *mangayew* (non-Ati). There have been various reports of harassment (Baleva 2018), including the death of an Ati leader (Burgos 2013) in Boracay. These issues are connected to commercialization of Boracay, a popular tourist destination on Aklan, where the ancestral domain of Ati is. Relentless and continued discrimination by residents of Aklan and visitors to Boracay forces the community to be wary of outsiders, citing various instances when they were defrauded. So, even though more comprehensive and systematic research and description would help language revitalization (for some communities) and maintenance of Inati in the long run, economic and political issues continue to impede these efforts.

6. Descriptions of the Inati language

There are two main studies describing Inati: Pennoyer (1985) and Lobel (2013). The former is by far the more comprehensive, discussing the full phonemic inventory of the language, lexicostatistical comparison to Kinaray-a, Kuyonon, Tagalog, and Casiguran Dumagat, personal and deictic pronouns, and some syntactic properties like phrase markers, negatives, diminutive prefixes, and several verbal affixes. Lobel (2013) includes a very short description of Inati in his dissertation on Philippine and Bornean Languages. This includes an analysis of subgrouping and why Inati does not belong to the same immediate family as neighboring languages like Hiligaynon, Kinaray-a and Aklanon. It also lists Inati personal and demonstrative pronouns and case markers.

Pennoyer's lexical comparison is presented in Table 1; he concludes that although Kinaray-a shows the highest score at 67%, this and other figures are inflated by borrowings. A recomputed adjusted score that eliminates loanwords from Hiligaynon, Kinaray-a and other languages shows much lower cognate levels, including selective retentions or probable innovations with other Negrito languages.

Table 1: Results of lexicostatical analysis (Pennoyer 1985)

	Maximum	Adjusted
Kinaray-a	67%	41%
Kuyonon	58%	34%
Tagalog	45%	30%
Casiguran Dumagat	41%	23%

Pennoyer (1985) describes the pronominal systems of Sogodnin (Aklan) and Inete (Iloilo) dialects (Table 2), which are dissimilar to most Bisayan languages, particularly those that are neighboring.

Table 2: Inete (In) and Sogodnin (S) personal pronouns (Pennoyer 1985)

	Nominative		**Genitive**		**Oblique**	
	Inete	**Sogodnin**	**Inete**	**Sogodnin**	**Inete**	**Sogodnin**
1SG	*ako, ko*	*yak, ak*	*hiʔan, ko*	*yakan, ko*	*ki hiʔan, kaʔan*	*ki yakan*
1PL.incl	*kita*	*ta*	*yatin, te*	*yatin*	*ki yatin*	*ki yatin*
1PL.excl	*ikam*	*kam*	*yamin, mam*	*yaming*	*ki yamin*	*ki yaming*
2SG	*ike, ke*	*ika, ka*	*kiyo, mo*	*kiyo, mo*	*ki kiyo*	*ki kiyo*
2PL	*ikim*	*kim*	*kimi, mim*	*mi*	*ki kimi*	-
3SG	*iye, ye*	*iya*	*kiye, ye*	*kayang, kayaw*	*ki kiye*	*kaya*
3PL	*ire*	*ira*	*karaye, daye*	*karirang, rira*	*ki karaye*	-

Inati has fifteen consonant phonemes /p, t, k, ʔ, b, d, g, s, h, m, n, ŋ, l, y, w/ and five vowel phonemes /a, e, i, ɨ, o/. Two fricatives /ʃ/, and /ʒ/, and one affricate /tʃ/, appear in Pennoyer's data, but he notes that most of these consonants are found in borrowed words, except /ʃ/ which is found in *syam* [ˈʃam] 'nine'. Pennoyer also reports that the post-alveolar fricative [ʃ] may be a palatalized allophone of the alveolar fricative /s/, and concludes that these fricatives may not be phonemic; he also doubts the phonemic status of the trill /r/.

Pennoyer (1985: 35) describes the Inati phrase-marking system where there is no oblique (marked by *sa* in Tagalog) distinct from the genitive (Tagalog *ng*). Only Mangyan languages in Mindoro have been reported to exhibit a similar system. Sentence-initial focused arguments are marked by *kay*, with *ki* indicating unfocused arguments, as in examples (1) to (3). Pennoyer also notes that *kay* appears with the nominal marker *i,* as in (3), and that it might also function like the Tagalog equational *ay*.

Focus *kay*: **Kaynad ini itok** gintiro kinad ini tawo (Pennoyer 1985: 34)[3]

(1)   *Kaynad*   *ini*   *itok,*   *gin-tiro*   *kinad*   *ini*   *tawo*
      NOM.MED   LIG   lizard   TR-shoot   GEN.MED   LIG   man

      'Iyong itok, tinamaan ng tao'
      'That particular lizard (focused) was shot by that particular man (non-focused)

Focus *kay*: **Kay tonod** ig-gamitin ki tawo ki pagpangayam ki itok ki bokid (Pennoyer 1985: 33)

(2)   *Kay*   *tonod*   *ig-gamitin*   *ki*   *tawo*   *ki*   *pag-pangayam*
      NOM   arrow   IFV-use   GEN   person   GEN   NMLZ-hunt

      ki   *itok*   *ki*   *bokid*
      GEN   lizard   OBL   mountain

      'Ang palaso ginamit ng tao na pangaso ng itok sa bundok'
      'The (bow and) arrow is used by the man to hunt lizards in the mountains.

Equational *kay***:** Ma-taas **kay** i Pedro (Pennoyer 1985: 47)

(3)   *Ma-taas*   *kay*   *i*   *Pedro*
      ADJ-tall   equational linker   NOM   Pedro

      '(Ang) matangkad ay si Pedro'
      'Pedro is tall'

Pennoyer (1985), Lobel (2013) only mentions a few aspects of Inati grammar, since his goal is to document and analyze a wide range of languages in the Philippines and North Borneo. He categorizes Inati phrase markers according to case, type of noun marked, and number (see Table 3), although supporting example sentences are not given.

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[3] Glossing and Tagalog translation by the author.

Table 3: Inati phrase markers (Lobel 2013: 78)

	Common	**Personal (SG)**	**Personal (PL)**
NOM	*kay*	*i, kay*	*kaydi*
GEN	*ki*	*i*	*di*
OBL	*ki*	*ki*	*kidi*

My research shows that the Numancia variety of Inati also has 16 consonant and 5 vowel phonemes. The lateral approximant /l/ and /r/ are phonemically distinct, as seen in the minimal pair:

[bɔ.'lak]   'flower'   [bɔ.'rak]   'cotton'

The vowels /a/, /e/, and /i/ are phonetically and phonemically distinct, but phonological processes affect them in certain words, especially in the endonym: Ati, Ete, Ata. The following are minimal pairs for the vowels /e/ and /i/

[bʊ.'kɛd]   'bald'   [bʊ.'kid]   'mountain'
[kɛ]   'you'   [ki]   'genitive marker'

The pronominal system in Aklan, compared to Inete and Sogodnin, is presented in Table 4. Katalbas (2021) shows similar data from Inete in Lipata, Barotac Viejo, Iloilo. Note that in first person plural inclusive Inete *kita* and Inati (Aklan) *kite* there is a correspondence previously identified by Lobel (2013) and Pennoyer (1985), and reminiscent of vowel harmony in affixation, as with the prefixes *ma-* and *ka-* in the following:

ma- +   [tɛ.bɛʔ] 'fat' (noun)   =>   [mɛ.'tɛ.bɛ] 'fat',
ma- +   [dɛ.lɛm] 'darkness'   =>   [mɛ.'dɛ.lɛm] 'dark'
ka- +   [bɛg.nɛʔ] 'afternoon'   =>   [kɛ.'bɛg.nɛ] 'yesterday'

The phrase-marking system of Inati (Numancia) is given in Table 5; it differs slightly from that described by Lobel (2013) (see above and Table 3) in that *kay* is only used for non-personal nouns, and not personal singular. This variety also uses *ang*, apparently borrowed from Hiligaynon (perhaps also via Aklanon). Inati has three basic types of clauses according to valency: monadic or monovalent (one core argument), dyadic or divalent (two core arguments), and triadic or trivalent (three core arguments). Nominal markers along with

verbal morphology are used by speakers to encode semantic roles that nominal phrases may take. The predicate types are set out in Table 6.[4]

Table 4: Inete (In) and Sogodnin (S) personal pronouns (Pennoyer 1985), data from fieldwork

	NOM			GEN			OBL		
	Inete	Sogodnin	Inati (Aklan)	Inete	Sogodnin	Inati (Aklan)	Inete	Sogodnin	Inati (Aklan)
1SG	*ako, ko*	*yak, ak*	*ako*	*hiʔan, ko*	*yakan, ko*	*hiʔan, kiʔan, ko*	*ki hiʔan, kaʔan*	*ki yakan*	*ki kiʔan,*
1PL.incl	*kita*	*ta*	*kite*	*yatin, te*	*yatin*	*yatin, te*	*ki yatin*	*ki yatin*	*ki yatin*
1PL.excl	*ikam*	*kam*	*ikam*	*yamin, mam*	*yamin*	*yamin, mam*	*ki yamin*	*ki yamin*	*ki yamin*
2SG	*ike, ke*	*ika, ka*	*ike, ke*	*kiyo, mo*	*kiyo, mo*	*kiyo, mo*	*ki kiyo*	*ki kiyo*	*ki kiyo*
2PL	*ikim*	*kim*	*ikem*	*kimi, mim*	*mi*	*kimi, mim*	*ki kimi*	-	*ki kimi*
3SG	*iye, ye*	*iya*	*iye, ye*	*kiye, ye*	*kayang, kayaw*	*kiye, ye*	*ki kiye*	*kaya*	*ki kiye*
3PL	*ire*	*ira*	*ire*	*karaye, daye*	*karirang, rira*	*karaye, dire, raye*	*ki karaye*	-	*ki karaye*

Table 5: Inati personal and non-personal phrase markers

		S/O	A	E
Personal	Singular	*i*	*i*	*ki*
	Plural	*di*	*di*	*kidi*
Non-Personal		*ang/kay*	*ki*	*ki*

[4] Description of the verbal systems of Philippine-type languages is rife with debate, including: nominative-accusative (Constantino 1965), ergative-absolutive (Nolasco 2005; Reid & Liao 2004), symmetrical voice (Himmelmann 2002), among others. The objective of this paper is a preliminary description of the context of Inati, so I employ the notional descriptive labels S, O, A and E, following Dixon (2010).

Table 6: Valency, transitivity, and function of arguments in Inati verbal clauses

Valency	Verbal morphology	Transitivity	Markers and syntactic functions of arguments		
Monadic/Monovalent	*<um>, m/nag-, ig-*	Canonical Intransitive	S (*ang/kay*)		
Dyadic/Divalent	*<um>, m/nag-, ig-*	Extended Intransitive	S (*ang/kay*)	E (*ki*)	
Dyadic/Divalent	*i-, gin-, -an, -in*	Canonical Transitive	A (*ki*)	O (*ang/kay*)	
Triadic/Trivalent	*i-, gin-, -an, -in*	Extended Transitive	A (*ki*)	O (*ang/kay*)	E (*ki*)

Canonical intransitive

(4) *Ig-hiwud*   *kay*   *taanak*
     INTR.IPFV-stretch   ABS   child
                                   S

      'Nag-uunat siya.'
      'He is stretching (his body).'

 Extended intransitive

(5) *Ig-mangan*   *ang*   *taanak*   *ki*   *laswa*   *ki*   *plato*
     INTR.IPFV-eat   ABS   child   OBL   food   OBL   plate
                                 S   E
     'Kumain ang bata ng gulay sa plato.'
     'The child ate the food on the plate.'

Canonical transitive

(6) *Ging-mangan*   *ki*   *taanak*   *ang*   *laswa*   *ki*   *plato*
     TR.PFV-eat   ERG   child   ABS   food   OBL   plate
                                  A   O   E
     'Kinain ng bata ang gulay sa plato.'
     'The child ate the food in the plate.'

Extended transitive

(7) *Gin-tudol-an*   *i*   *Pia*   *i*   *William*   *ki*   *bato*
     TR.PFV-give-TR   ERG   Pia   ABS   William   OBL   money
                               A   O   E
     'Binigyan ni Pia si William ng pera.'
     'Pia gave William money.'

7. Conclusion

Inati is an understudied and under-described indigenous language spoken by approximately 235 people in Aklan, Philippines. Because of various factors described above, we observe decreased intergenerational transmission of the language and its culture. A more comprehensive linguistic survey, including further study of the varieties of Inati, is recommended. This will greatly help the community, most especially those who wish to use the language at home and school, and those who plan to create Inati MTB-MLE materials.

I propose using 'Inati' as the general term for the language used by the Ati ethnolinguistic group of Panay, and treating Inete and Inata as variants. Further study is needed to confirm the status of Sogodnin, which Numancia Inati speakers consider to be a sociolect of the *datus* of Panay (a view supported by songs and epics).

For morphosyntax, a full discussion of deictic and the spatial contrasts is needed, along with more details on adjectival predicate clauses, and the various functions of nominal phrase markers.

8. Acknowledgments

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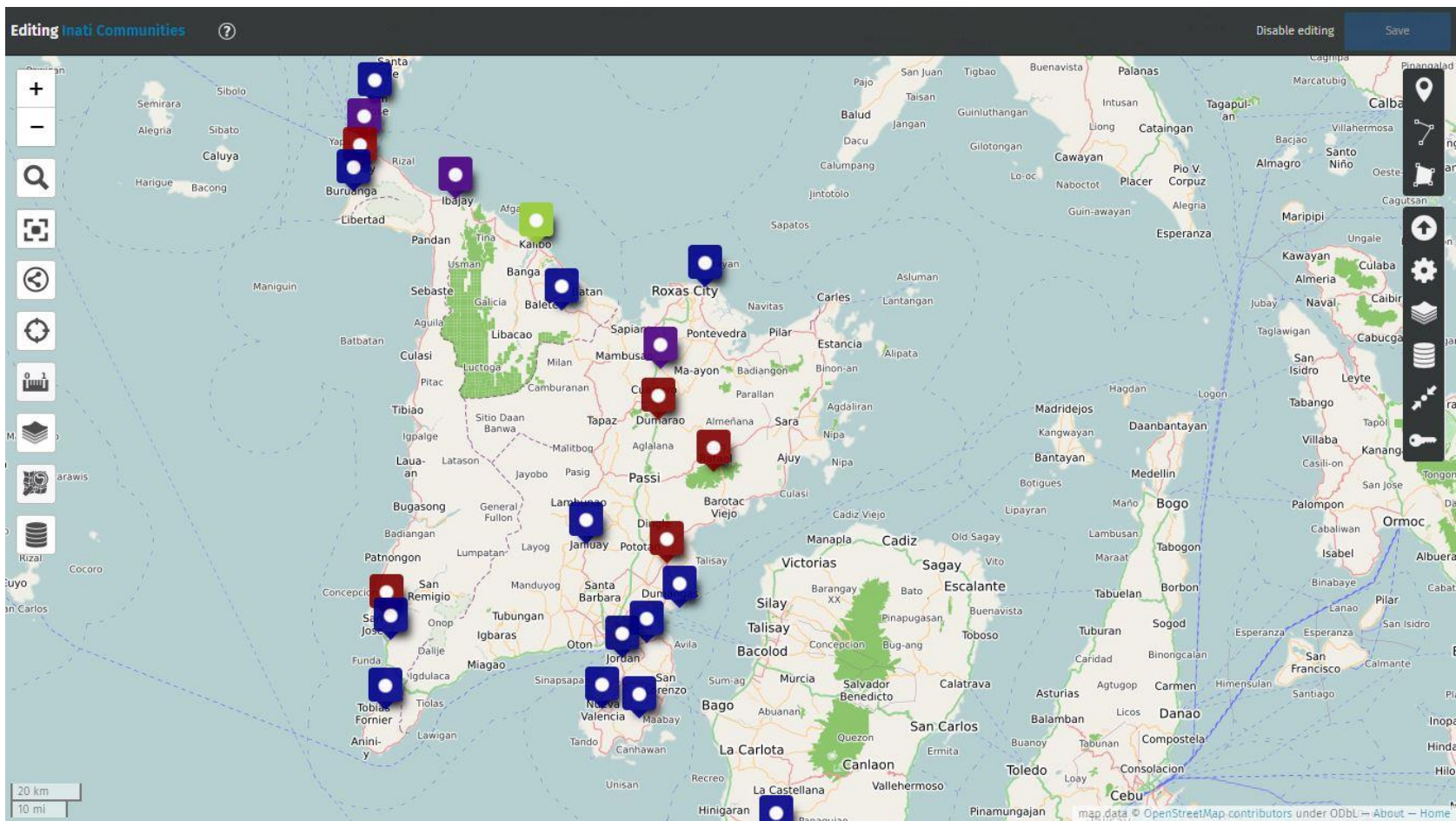
Figure 2: Location of Ati communities in Panay. This is a larger version of the map on page 37.

Legend for locations of research:
Red - Lobel (2013), Pennoyer (1985) :: **Violet** - Pennoyer (1985) :: **Blue** - Lobel (2013) :: **Green** - author's fieldwork