# A SYSTEMATIC ORTHOGRAPHY FOR WRITING IFUGAO ${ }^{1}$ 

HAROLD C. CONKLIN<br>Yale University

## 1. SYMBOLS

A simple way of writing Ifugao requires only 19 lowercase letters (5 vowels and 14 consonants) and 1 long mark.

| typed: |  |  |  |  | handprinted: ${ }^{2}$ |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | e | $a$ | 0 | u | i | e | $a$ | 0 | $u$ |
| m | n | 0 | 1 | - | $m$ | $n$ | 7 | 1 |  |
| b | d | 8 | w | y | $b$ | d | 9 | w | $y$ |
| p | $t$ | $k$ | h | q | $p$ | $t$ | k | h | $q$ |

There is no standard dialect of the Ifugao language. Instead, there are many local variants, each with its slightly differing vocabulary and rules of pronunciation. These 20 signs, however, are sufficient for representing phonemically most if not all dialect forms (words, particles, phrases, etc.) in a systematic and accurate manner with internal consistency and without ambiguity. In the alphabetic listing of symbols that follows, illustrative examples derive from current usage in Bayninan, where this system of orthography has been employed effectively since 1962.

[^0]
## 3. PHONETIC NOTES

Ifugao words always begin with a consonant (C), though they may end in either a consonant or a vowel (V). Intervocalically, consonants occur as -C-, $\mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{C}_{1}$-, or $-\mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{C}_{2}$-. Vowels may occur medially or finally as $-\mathrm{V}_{1}-\mathrm{V}_{1} \mathrm{~V}_{1}$, or $-\mathrm{V}_{1} \mathrm{~V}_{\mathbf{2}}$. In prefinal syllables they may occur in long ( $\overline{\text { I }}$ ) as well as in short, unmarked ( $V$ ) form.

In syllable-initial position, the lax, voiced stops, $b, d$, and $g$, show a wide variety of affrication and other types of coarticulation.' Similarly, in syllable-final position, the lateral $l$ and fricative $h$ cover a broad phonetic range from [l] to [ $\boldsymbol{\xi}$, as in the American English r] and from [ h ] and $[\mathrm{x}]$ to $[\mathrm{s}]$, respectively. These noncontrastive positional variants are automatically determined by the phonological rules of each dialect and do not require minute differentiation orthographically. This phonetic richness, however, partly accounts for the many and frequently inconsistent and consequently confusing ways these phonemes have been written over many decades by different foreign and local writers. For example, /q/ has been indicated by a hyphen, an apostrophe, grave and circumflex accents, j , h , or nothing; $/ \mathrm{b} / \mathrm{by} \mathrm{b}, \mathrm{f}, \mathrm{bf}, \mathrm{ph}, \mathrm{py}$, or wf; /d/ by d, ts, or ch; $/ 1 /$ by $\mathrm{l}, \mathrm{r}, \mathrm{g}$, or e ; /h/by h, j, s , or nothing.

The display below summarizes some of the pertinent data for Bayninan Ifugao. Similar tables can be drawn up for any Ifugao dialect and in most cases the phonemic orthography used will remain intact. (The system used on the maps and in the text of the Ethnographic Atlas of Ifugao is congruent with the analysis presented here. Vowel length is marked identically, glottal stop is always indicated by a raised comma, $\eta$ is written as ng ; and in initially capitalized proper names, /qV-/ becomes V-, e.g., Amgănad. Similarly congruent, since 1968, are the orthographies used in Summer Institute of Linguistics works on Batad Ifugao lexicography.)

| /7/ ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ | [ g ] |
| :---: | :---: |
| /q/ | [ ${ }^{\text {] }}$ ~ [ ${ }^{\text {d }}$ ] |
| NI | [ $\overline{\mathbf{V}}] \sim[\mathrm{V}:]$ |
| /p/ | [p] |
| I/ | [ ${ }^{5}$ ] |

[^1]\[

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { k/ [k누] ~[kㅗ] }
\end{aligned}
$$
\]

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { /g/ [ky(a)-],[k-],[-g.] } \\
& \text { I/ [1- ],[-z]~[Eng."-r"] } \\
& \text { /h/ [h- ],[-(i)s],[-\{道 } \left.\left.\begin{array}{l}
0 \\
u
\end{array}\right\} \times\right]
\end{aligned}
$$

4. SAMPLE TEXT ${ }^{9}$ (and free translation)
nan qāat di panธidoqtuqud bayninan
nan panüdoqtuqud bayninan ya maphod ti qagqagah bahãon muqun qinnila nan naqohha ya nan naduwwan kanhenen qumat goh nan naqohha ya nan naduwwan bäwel, qihaqqādan hi gālih nan baqtun di bāwel qan maqāyun di payali, ya quhalon go nan $q$ ya nan g hi qawadan di qahapullanda, ta qinnilāon hi nahamad di qaton. nan meklon ( - ) ya quhalon qan panälih hinan baqtun di ba̋wel qan maqāyun di panali, qumat hinan qime, qüyun, qaligüyun, baņiban, ballüha, ya pentölan. nan $q$ ya qohan kanhenen qan quhalon muqun makohhëpet di bagan qun qayyon hinan hīpun, gawwäna, ya diqpuh di hāpet qumat hinan qamat, qemog; bāqi, bïqal; baqlo, hulqud; ya habloq, qaggeq, qayyoq, ya qälaq. ya nan $\eta$ ya paddug nan payalih nan 'ng' qan qohay kanhenen qan qumat hinan jädan, qonal, ginga, botje ya bajbans

## Our System of Writing in Bayninan

Bayninan writing works well, it's easy to read because we distinguish single and double consonants as well as single and double vowels, place a line over long vowels, and always use q's and n's to mark needed glottal stops and back nasals, respectively. More explicitly, a macron ( ${ }^{-}$) is used to mark the vowels in long syllables, such as in qime, qüyun, qaligйyun, baytiban, ballutha, and pentolan. A q marks initial, internal, and final glottal stops, such as in qamat, qemog; bäqi, bïqal; baqlo, hulqud; and habloq, qaggeq, qayyoq, and qalaq. An $\eta$ stands for the digraph ' $n g$ ' when it represents a single consonant, such as in nädan, qonal, gina, botne and bajban.

[^2]
[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ I wrote this note in early 1991 in Bayninan, Banaue, in response to requests from Ifugao friends who had observed this orthography in use but who did not understand certain symbols and conventions. After three decades, the system described here has spread both geographically and through several generations.
    ${ }^{2}$ Printed by Buwǐya Tindüngan.

[^1]:    In some dialects, these three consonants occur initially as fricatives.
    'Virgules / / eaclose phonemic symbols, square brackets [] set off subphonemic, allophonic variants.
     closure; 災 stands for a nonsyllabic retroflezed uarounded mid central vowel.

    On typewriters and computers leckiag meaas of represegting the two nonstandard English keyboard signs, $h$ and , the former can be typed as N , as r (a letter not used in the Ifugao 'alphabet' so that only the hooked lower right 'tail' meeds to be added by hand: 5 ), or in most cases as ng; in place of the latter, a following colon (:) or any available acceat can be used (e.g.,,$-{ }^{\wedge}$, or) innasmuch as only one phonemic mark is needed. Thuis, bu:tung, batuN or bition for bltoug. Where [s] has become a noncontrastive but common pronunciation for th/ in positions other than after Ki, underscoriag may be employed. Thus, henhuh as well as henhuh, for 'census'.

[^2]:    ' Written by Bügan Doyog.

