"NON-PRODUCTIVE" INFIXES IN INDONESIAN

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Abbreviations of languages

Apa-Apayao, Akl-Aklan, Bkl-Bikol, Bol-Mong-Bolaang

Mongondow, Btk-Bontok, Bug-Bugi, Cha-Chamorro, Cuy-Cuyunon,

Hil-Hiligaynon, Hov-Hova (in Dempwolff), Ibg-Ibanag, Ilt-Ilonggot,

Ilk-Iloko, Ivt-Ivatan, Jav-Javanese, Kuv-Kuvalan, Maa-Maanjan,

Mak-Makassar, Mal-Malay, Mar-Maranao, Mer-Merina (in Dahl),

Mgd-Magindanao, Nbl-Nabaloi, NgD-Ngadju-Dayak, Pai-Paiwan,

Paz-Pazeh, Pmp-Pampangan, PNeg-Pinatubo Negrito, Png-

Pangasinan, Ruk-Rukai, Sam-Ley-Samar-Leyte, Sbl-Sambales,

Seb-Sebu, Sir-Siraya, Sun-Sundanese, Tag-Tagalog, Tao-Taosug,

Tnt-Tontemboan, ToB-Toba Batak, Yam-Yami.

Conventions

Akl <u>L</u> is dorso-lateral fricative. Ivt <u>ñ</u> is palatal nasal.
Sequence of two C's in Ibg and Ilk is geminate C. Colon (:) after
a V in Tao indicates length of the preceding V. In Philippine
languages I write <u>q</u> before a V in initial position only in Tag.

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1. Introductory

"Non-productive" infixes in IN do not seem to have attracted
the attention they deserve from comparatists. In two of his
monographs, Brandstetter speaks of the fusion of formative
elements with roots, like -ĕr-, -ĕl-, -um- and -in-[1] (-um-
and -in- are excluded in this paper) in the formation of stems, and
of -ar- or -al- as formatives producing active verbs in ToB.[2]
Adriani and Dunnebier treat quite in detail in Tnt and Bol-Mong
respectively infixes similar to the ones under study, and Kern
in his 'Wortels en Grondwoorden' covers a wide field from the
comparative point of view. As much as I can ascertain there has
been no attempt so far to postulate proto-forms of non-productive
infixes.

Dempwolff calls "erstarrte Infixe", without further comment,
infixes in his reconstructions of *p-aR-atpat 'a plant', *p-al-upuh
'vegetable material', and of the doublets *baNah/*b-al-aNah
'vessel', *kebaw/*k-ar-ebaw 'buffalo', *papah/p-al-apah
'vegetable material'. I exclude *b-uq-ayah 'crocodile' and the
doublets with by-forms *baRuh/*b-aq-aRuh and *beRuh/*b-aq-eRuh
'new'.[3] The reflexes in IN other than the languages in Dempwolff
are: Seb Hil Ilk Bkl Sam-Ley Png Sbl Mgd Tao p-ag-atpat 'a plant'

(Sonneratia pagatpat); Pmp p-al-upu 'ridge of the roof'; Ivt
bangaq/vangaq 'earthen jar', v-ah-angaq 'earthen cooking pot;
a kind of plate', Pai v-al-angaq 'mortar' (Ferrel 259), Sir
v-al-angaq 'pond' (Ferrel 92); Hil k-al-abaw/k-ar-abaw, Bkl
Sam-Ley Cuy k-ar-abaw, Mgd kabaw, Tao ka:baw 'water buffalo',
Maa Mer k-ar-awau 'water buffalo' (Dahl 44, 76), Kuv kavau/
qa:bau/k-r-avao 'buffalo' (Ferrel 141); Pmp p-al-apaq, Bkl
p-al-aqpaq, Mgd p-al-apa, PNeg p-al-a-o-pa 'whole leaf of
banana and palms', Tao pa-i-pa (could have been a misprint for
pa:pa) 'the midrib of banana and palms'.

The purpose of this paper is to look for additional evidence in
IN which may bolster the validity of Dempwolff's "erstarrte Infixe",
and construct proto-forms accordingly. The principal sources
are Dempwolff's Austronesisches Wörterverzeichnis from which
are selected PAN forms with infixed reflexes in at least one IN
language and with cognates in other languages, and on Philippine
languages my unpublished manuscript on a comparative Philippine
word-list of about 2,500 items in 23 languages (which is still in
the process of revision and expansion), supplemented by printed
works. The coverage is rather uneven, some printed works yielding
more cognates and others much less.

2. <u>List of cognates and supplement</u>

$$C_1V_1C_2C_1V_1C_2$$

2.1 PAN *<u>dandan</u> 'bring in order', Sam-Ley <u>dandan</u>/
<u>d-al-andan</u> 'float with the current', Jav Mal <u>dandan</u> 'in order',
NgD <u>dandan</u> 'shipbuilding'.

2.2 PAN *<u>gemgem</u> 'be dumb; be silent', Tag g-<u>al</u>-<u>imgim</u>
'mourn', Jav g-<u>l</u>-ĕmgĕm 'be silent in mourning', NgD ga<u>gom</u>
'grow dumb'.

2.3 PAN *<u>qakqak</u> 'laughter', *<u>qikqik</u> 'giggling', Tag <u>h</u>-<u>al</u>-<u>akhak</u>
'laughter', <u>h</u>-<u>al</u>-<u>ikhik</u> 'giggling', Ilk <u>gakgak</u>, Png g-<u>al</u>-<u>akgak</u>
'laughter', Pmp g-<u>al</u>-<u>akgak</u> 'happiness', Btk g-<u>al</u>-<u>ikgik</u> 'giggling',
Jav <u>aka</u> 'laughter', <u>iki</u> 'giggling', Mal g-<u>ĕl</u>-<u>akak</u> 'laughter' (Kern
301), Tnt <u>keqkeq</u> 'laugh', <u>k</u>-<u>al</u>-<u>eqkeq</u> 'laugh often' (Kern 301).

2.4 PAN *<u>kaNkaN</u> 'spread out; stretch out', Tag <u>bi</u>-<u>kangkang</u>
<u>bu</u>-<u>kangkang</u> 'spread out the legs', <u>k</u>-<u>al</u>-<u>angkang</u> 'place where one
can stand only with the legs spread out', Jav Mal <u>kangkang</u>, ToB
<u>h</u>-<u>al</u>-<u>akkang</u> 'stand with the legs spread out', NgD <u>k</u>-ăl-<u>angkang</u>
'propped stall for fumigation'.

2.5 PAN *<u>kemkem</u> 'keep shut', Tag <u>kimkim</u> 'held in clenched
fist', ToB <u>hokkom</u> 'keep the mouth shut', NgD <u>k</u>-ăr-<u>anggam</u>
'handful', Bol-Mong <u>k</u>-<u>oj</u>-<u>ungkum</u> 'fist' (Dunnebier 581).

2.6 PAN *kiskis 'scrape; grate', Tag kiskis 'rub against',
Jav k-r-ĕkĕs 'begged off', Mal kikis 'scrape off', ToB hishis
'scraped off', NgD kikis/ikis 'scraped'.

2.7 PAN *kubkub 'cover', Tag kubkob 'beleaguer', Jav
kukub 'covered', k-r-ukub 'cover', ToB huphup 'covered', NgD
k-ăl-ukup 'cover; lid', măngokop 'cover'.

2.8 PAN *citcit 'chirp; warble; bird's song', Tag Tao
s-ag-itsit 'hissing, crackling noise (as of fat frying)', Mal tjitjit
'chirp; warble', NgD kă-sisit 'whistle through the teeth', Hov
tsetsetra 'smack the tongue as a sign of approbation'.

2.9 PAN *rayray 'hang', Tag laylay 'hanging; drooping',
l-ag-aylay 'unfurled', Jav lĕrĕ 'slip; slide', ToB rere 'old mat'.

2.10 PAN *NetNet 'gnash the teeth', Tag ngitngit 'gnash the
teeth', Ilk ngetnget 'cut with the teeth', ng-ar-etnget 'gnash the
teeth', ToB ngotngot 'pain'.

2.11 PAN *pakpak 'beat, flap the wings', Tag pakpak 'wing;
applause', p-ag-akpak 'flapping sound', p-al-akpak 'applause',
Hil pakpak 'applause', p-al-akpak 'flapping of the wings; applause',
Bkl Sbl pakpak, p-al-akpak, Akl p-aL-akpak, Cuy p-ar-akpak
'applause', ToB pakpak 'flapping of the wings', NgD pakpak 'strike,
drive a nail'.

2.12 PAN *paspas 'shake off; clean', Tag paspas 'shake off; dust off', p-ag-aspas 'flapping', p-al-aspas 'palm leaves, esp. those blessed in the church on Palm Sunday', Jav papas 'pluck feathers', Mal papas 'put away clothes', ToB paspas 'shake off', NgD papas 'sweep; broom', p-al-apas 'wing; flap' (Kahlo 32), Hov fafa 'sweep; cleanse'.

2.13 PAN *puNpuN 'gather; collect', Tag pungpong 'bouquet', p-al-umpong 'plants growing freely in clusters', Seb pungpong, p-al-umpong, Sam-Ley pongpong, p-ar-umpong 'bouquet; bundle', Hil pongpong 'bouquet', p-al-ongpong 'cluster of branches', Ilk Bkl p-al-ungpong 'stump', NgD pumpong, Hov fumpună 'gather; collect'.

2.14 PAN *taytay 'step; gangplank; bridge; row', Tag taytay, Ibg tetay/t-al-etay 'bridge', Ilk taytay 'bridge', t-al-aytay 'footbridge made of one or more bamboo poles', Png taytay 'bridge', t-al-aytay 'small bridge', Jav t-ĕl-iti 'parentage', Mal titi 'step over a gangplank', ToB t-al-ete 'stand for plates', NgD t-al-ĕtay/tăte-an 'bridge', Hov teti 'traverse', tetez-ană 'bridge'.

2.15 PAN *tiNtiN 'make loose by shaking', Jav t-r-intjing 'nimble' (Kern 300), tingting 'clean by shaking', Mal ToB tingting 'clean by shaking'.

2.16 PAN *tuntun 'lead; guide; direct', Tag tunton 'trace the cause or effect; claim kinship', t-ag-unton 'row; range', t-al-unton 'straight row or file; follow or observe strictly' Tao t-ay-unton 'hang; dangle', Jav Mal tuntun 'lead; guide; direct', ToB tuttun 'do deliberately'.

2.17 PAN *TakTak 'crack; clatter', Tag taktak 'hack, Jav t-r-ata 'rattle; crattle', ToB taktak 'musical instrument'.

2.18 PAN *TekTek 'knock; rap', Jav tĕtĕk 'knock; rap', t-r-ĕtĕk 'quake; shiver', Mal tĕta 'knock; rap'.

2.19 PAN *TikTik 'tap', Tag tiktik 'ticking', Jav titi/tĕtĕ 'tap', t-r-iti 'pulverize', Mal titi, ToB tiktik 'rap', NgD titik 'small pieces'.

2.20 PAN *TiNTiN 'clink; ring clearly', Tag Seb Hil Bkl Sam-Ley t-ag-inting 'tinkling; jingling', Mar t-al-inting 'shrill, sharp sound', Jav tingting, Mal tinting 'clink; ring clearly', ToB tingting 'notification'.

2.21 PAN *TukTuk 'knock', Tag tuktok 'knock', t-ag-uktok 'sharp, solid sound', Jav tutu/toto, Mal tutu, ToB tuktuk 'knock', Hov tutukă 'noise of footsteps'.

2.22 PAN *saksak 'stab; thrust into', Tag saksak 'stab; thrust into', s-al-aksak 'thrust into repeatedly', Pmp saksak

'stab; thrust into', s-al-aksak 'filled; stuffed', Jav sasa 'penetrate',
Mal sasa 'rough bamboo wicker work'.

2.23 PAN *suNsuN 'go against', Tag sungsong 'go against the
wind or current; China', s-al-ungsong 'go against the wind,
current, or crowd of people', Mal songsong 'go against', ToB
sungsung 'participate in a war'.

CVCVC

2.24 PAN *hatay 'liver; courage', Tag qatay, Png a-l-těy,
Sbl Apa a-g-tay, Nbl a-l-těy, Ilt a-g-sě, Jav ati, ToB ate-ate
'liver', NgD atei 'courage'.

2.25 PAN *hasem 'sourness', Tag qasim 'sourness', k-asim
'sour-tart taste', Seb Hil Sam-Ley Akl Mgd Tao as-l-um, Ilk
a-l-sem, Bkl a-l-som, Sbl a-l-hěm, Cuy as-l-ěm, Btk a-r-sum
'sourness', Pmp as-l-am, Ibg Ivt si-l-am 'vinegar', Jav asěm,
Mal asam, ToB asom, NgD asem, Cha a-g-sum (Costenoble 93)
'sourness', Tnt k-ěr-ěsěm 'sour; sharp taste' (Kern 301).

2.26 PAN *babah 'mouth; opening', Tag Pmp babaq, Png
baba, Mgd bahba 'chin', Seb Hil baqbaq, Sam-Ley babaq 'mouth',
Jav b-r-abah 'speak aloud', Mal babah-an 'opening of the bowels',
ToB baba 'opening; muzzle', NgD bawa 'call'.

2.27 PAN *bayaN 'move to and fro', Jav bayang 'carry on a barrow or litter', b-l-ayang 'wander, roam around', Mal bayang-bayang 'shadow'.

2.28 PAN *balaN 'grasshopper', Tag balang 'locust', Jav walang, Mal balang-balang/b-ĕl-alang, Hov v-al-ala 'grasshopper'.

2.29 PAN *batek 'drag', Tag batak 'pull', ba-l-tak 'pull jerking', Jav batĕk 'dragged', Mal batak 'plundered', NgD batak 'mislaid; misplaced'.

2.30 PAN *bekes 'bundle', Tag bi-g-kis 'bundle; diaper; loin-cloth', Seb Bkl Akl bu-g-kos, Png ba-l-kĕs, Pmp bi-g-kis, Cuy bĕ-g-kĕs 'bundle', Hil bi-g-kis 'diaper', bu-g-kos 'bundle', Ilk bi-g-kes 'diaper', b-ar-ikes 'belt', Mar b-al-ĕkĕs 'trousers', Mal bĕ-r̥-kas, ToB bo-r-hos 'bundle'.

2.31 PAN *belih/*bilih 'buy', Tag bili 'buy; sell', Mal bĕli 'buy', NgD bili 'purchase money', bali 'blood-price; blood-fine', Sun möli/m-ar-öli 'buy' (Kern 299).

2.32 PAN *beN/ih/ 'night', Bkl bang-g-i, Pmp bengi 'evening; night', Jav bĕngi/wĕngi, ToB bo-r-ngi-n, Cha I po-y-ngi (Costenoble 55), pu-e-nge/po-y-nge (Costenoble 93) 'night'.

2.33 PAN *be/t/ih 'roasted rice', Mal bĕ-r̥-tih, ToB bo-r-ti 'grains which burst by roasting'.

2.34 PAN *biyak 'be divided; be separated', Tag biyak 'split open', Jav b-l-iya 'make an opening', wiya 'open up'.

2.35 PAN *bunuh 'kill', Tag bunoq 'wrestle', Seb bunoq 'kill', bu-g-noq 'wrestle', Mal bunuh, ToB bunu, Hov vunu 'kill', NgD buno 'blood-feud'.

2.36 PAN *dakep 'add; unite', Tag dakip 'catch; arrest', lakip 'add; unite; enclose (as with a letter)', ToB da-l-hop 'hang on firmly'.

2.37 PAN *zuluk 'stab; pierce', Tag duluk 'stab; pierce', Jav djulu 'push high', Mal djulok 'stab; pierce', ToB dju-l-luk 'bore through', NgD djulok 'bring over'.

2.38 PAN *hezan 'ladder; stairs', Tag Seb Hil Sam-Ley Tao ha-g-dan, Ilk a-g-dan, Bkl ha-g-yan, Png ha-g-dan-an, Pmp éran, Ibg addan, Sbl Ivt a-y-ran, Nbl a-g-chan 'ladder; NgD hedjan 'ladder'.

2.39 PAN *heseN/*qaseN 'breathe loudly', Tag Seb Hil Bkl Sam-Ley Akl hangos, Pmp sunga/ angus-angus, Ibg angngog, Cuy anus 'gasp; pant', Ilk anges 'breathe', Png éngas 'gasp; pant', angés 'speak through the nose', Jav séng 'speak through the nose', Mal ésang 'blow one's nose', ToB hosong 'asthma', o-r-song 'breathe heavily'.

2.40 PAN *gebe/r/ 'cover', Jav gĕbĕr 'curtain' (Kern 303), gabag 'very coarse bamboo wicker-work', Mal gĕbar 'cover', NgD gabar 'a kind of coarse instrument', Sun g-al-abag 'sunhat made of wide bamboo strips! (Kern 303).

2.41 PAN *gemuk 'be fat', Jav gĕmu 'cart-grease', Mal gĕmu 'be fat; be thick', ToB go-l-mok 'be thick'.

2.42 PAN *giliN 'roll; grind; rub', Tag giling 'grind', Jav Mal ToB giling 'roll; grind', NgD giling 'turn; twist', Sun geleng 'ride, turn around', g-ar-eleng/g-er-eleng 'roll' (Kern 300).

2.43 PAN *gi/t/ik 'tickle', Tag k-il-itiq, Sam-Ley g-er-etek-getek, Mal g-ĕl-iti 'tickle'.

2.44 PAN *hilaw 'reflect', Tag qilaw 'light (as from a candle, lamp)', Jav ilo 'be reflected', Mal ilaw 'reflect', ToB hi-l-lo 'mirror', NgD ilaw 'reflection on the mirror; soul'.

2.45 PAN *kawit 'hook', Tag Png kawit/k-al-awit, Seb kawit/ k-al-awqit, Hil kawqit/k-al-awit, Ilk kawit/k-all-awit, Pmp k-al-ait 'hook', Bkl kawit 'hook', k-al-awit 'harpoon', Sam-Ley kawit/kahit 'hook', k-al-awit 'harpoon', PNeg k-al-awit 'a type of knife', Mar k-al-awit 'tendril', Mal kait, ToB hait 'hook', NgD kawit 'hook' (Kern 303), k-ar-ait/k-r-ait 'entwined; twisted', Tnt k-ol-owit 'barbed javelin' (Adriani 187).

2.46 PAN *keTak 'make noise', Jav kĕta 'crack; crackle', k-l-ĕta 'crack the teeth', Mal kĕta 'crack; crackle'.

2.47 PAN *kesaq 'breathe aloud', Jav gĕsah/g-ĕr-ĕsah 'sigh', Mal kĕsah 'groan', ToB hosa 'breathe'.

2.48 PAN *kesik 'rough sand; gravel', Mal kĕ-r-si, ToB ho-r-sik 'rough sand; gravel'.

2.49 PAN *kilap 'gleam; glitter', Tag ki-s-lap, Seb Sam-Ley ki-d-lap, Hil kilap/ki-d-lap, Png ki-d-lap/ki-r-lap, Sbl ki-r-lap 'sparkle; twinkle', Mal kilap 'gleam/ glitter', ToB hilap 'lightning', Bug tj-ar-ila-kila, Mak tji-l-la 'glimmer; glitter' (Matthes 57), Sun gilap 'glimmer; glitter', g-ur-ilap 'give out light' (Kern 302).

2.50 PAN *kiwah 'left', Tag k-al-iwaq, Jav kiwa, Hov havi-a 'left', Mal kiwa 'be awkward'.

2.51 PAN *kuDug 'thunder', Tag kulog 'thunder', Jav k-r-udug/ g-l-udug 'dull sound; thud', Bug gutu 'thunder', g-al-utu 'give a strong cracking sound (as a strong thunderclap)' (Matthes 57).

2.52 PAN *kuhan 'arrangement; regulation', Tag kuwan 'what-you-may-call-it', Jav kon 'order; command', NgD kuan/k-ar-uan 'brought to order'.

2.53 PAN *kukuh 'claw; finger and toe nail', Tag kuko 'finger and toe nail', Jav Mal kuku 'claw; nail', Bol-Mong k-on-uku 'nail;

hoof' (Dunnebier 581), For k-al-ongkong 'claw; talon' (Kahlo 40),
Paz k-al-i:ku 'claw; nail', k-al-ikuk 'finger nail' (Ferrell 209),
k-al-ongkong 'claw; nail' (Brandes 56), Ruk k-al-okoa/k-al-okua
'claw; finger nail' (Ferrell 133), Sir k-al-ongkong/k-al-ungkung
'finger nail' (Ferrell 209).

2.54 PAN *kupas 'come off in thin layers', Tag kupas 'fade;
be discolored', Mal kupas 'come off in thin layers', NgD kupas/
kupis 'fibrous covering', k-al-upus 'scab'.

2.55 PAN *cabut 'pick; pluck', Jav Mal tjabut, ToB sa-r-but
'pick; pluck'.

2.56 PAN *cemed 'be not clean', Jav tjĕmĕr 'be not clean',
tj-ĕr-ĕmĕd/tj-r-ĕmĕd 'unchaste; impure', Mal tjĕmĕr/samar
'be not clean', ToB somor-somor 'be worthless'.

2.57 PAN *pagut 'peck; pick', Jav pagut 'lay hands on; seize',
Mal pagut, ToB pagut/pa-r-gut 'peck; pick'.

2.58 PAN *pajay 'rice-plant; unhulled rice', Tag Hil Mgd
palay, Ilk Ibg pagay, Bkl paray/paroy, Png Nbl pagĕy, Pmp pale,
Akl paLay, Sbl pali, Ivt palay/paray, Ilt pagĕ, Tao pa:i, Jav pari,
Mal padi 'rice-plant; unhulled rice', ToB pa-l-ge, NgD parey
'unhulled rice'.

2.59 PAN *pesan 'carry on the shoulder', Tag pasan, Seb

Hil Sam-Ley pasqan, Bkl Tao paqsan, ToB po-r-san 'carry on the shoulder', Mal pesan 'burden'.

2.60 PAN *putiq 'whiteness', Tag putiq 'white', Seb Hil Sam-Ley put-l-iq 'clean', Jav Mal putih, ToB NgD puti 'whiteness'.

2.61 PAN *saNit 'singe; stink', Tag sangit 'grimace', tangis 'weep', Hil Bkl Sam-Ley Pmp Akl Tao tangis, Ilk sangit, Ibg tangiq, Sbl tangih, Cuy sanget 'weep', Ivt sanget 'grimace', tañis 'weep', Jav Mal sangit 'singed', ToB sa-l-ngit 'stink', NgD ha-hangit 'be burned'.

2.62 PAN *silak 'ray of light', Tag bu-silak 'extremely white', Jav sila 'beam; ray', ToB si-l-lak 'be bright', NgD silak 'slit; slash'.

2.63 PAN */t/akut 'fear; be afraid', Tag takot 'fear; be afraid', Ilk tak-r-ot 'fear', Ibg ta-r-kuq 'coward', Mal takut, ToB tahut 'be afraid'.

2.64 PAN */t/amis 'be sweet', Tag tamis, Seb tamqis, Hil Sam-Ley tamqis/yamqis, Ilk samit/samqit, Bkl tamqis/hamis/ yamqis, Png samit, Sbl hamit 'sweetness', Akl samit 'taste', ToB ta-l-mis 'be fat'.

2.65 PAN *tapak 'palm of the hand; sole of the foot', Tag tapak, Pmp ta-l-pak/da-l-pak 'step on', Png tapak 'step on

lightly', ta-l-pak 'trample upon', Mar d-al-ĕpĕk, Jav tapa
'footsteps', Mal tapa 'palm of the hand; sole of the foot', ToB
tapak 'sandal'.

2.66 PAN */t/ebas 'cut off; cut down; fell', Tag tabas/tibas
'cut down (as a banana plant)', Seb Bkl Mgd Tao ti-g-bas, Ivt
ti-l-pas 'cut off', Hil ti-g-bas/ti-g-pas, Pmp ti-g-bas 'cut
branches of trees', Ilk ta-g-bat 'stab; pierce', Sam-Ley ta-g-bas
'cut off', ti-g-bas 'stab', Mal tĕbas 'chop off', NgD tewas 'cut
off; cut down'.

2.67 PAN */t/eluk 'inlet; bay', Mal tĕlu, ToB to-r-luk,
NgD telok 'inlet; bay'.

2.68 PAN *tipis/*nipis 'be thin', Tag nipis 'thinness', Jav
Mal tipis 'be thin', Yam ma-t-ar-ipis 'thin (as book)', (Ferrell 371).

2.69 PAN *titis 'drop; drip', Tag titis 'cigar and cigaret
snuff', Jav titis/t-r-itis, NgD titis 'drip', Mal titis 'drop', ToB
titis 'become less'.

2.70 PAN *sisik 'pick louse-eggs', Tag hi-niksik, Jav Mal
s-ĕl-isi, ToB sisik 'pick louse-eggs'.

CVCCVC with -CC- homorganic nasal combination

2.71 PAN *zuNkuk 'be bent; be crooked', Jav djungk-r-uk
'sit bent up', Mal djongko 'crouch'.

2.72 PAN *genDaN 'kettle-drum', NgD gandang 'kettle-drum',
Sun gĕndĕng 'grumble', g-ĕl-ĕndĕng 'frequentative of gĕndĕng',
g-ĕr-ĕndĕng 'dull sound' (Kern 302).

2.73 PAN *kenTuN 'bird-rattle', Jav k-ĕl-ĕntung, Mal kentung
'bird-rattle'.

2.74 PAN *panta/r̄/ 'elevation', Tag pantal 'pustule', ToB
pattar 'elevated floor', NgD pantar 'mast put up during feast for the
dead', p-ar-antar-an 'lobby; gallery'.

2.75 PAN *sintak 'move with a start; jolt; jerk', Tag sintak
'a game played with small shells or pebbles', Jav sĕnta 'move with
a start', Mal senta 'jolt; jerk', NgD sintak 'jolt; jerk', s-al-entak
'smack with the tongue'.

2.76 PAN *humbak 'wave; vault; arching', Tag humbak
'empty feeling in the stomach', Jav umba/omba, Mal omba, ToB
umbak 'wave', NgD g-al-umbang 'wave' (Kahlo 27).

CV(C)CVC with -(C)- facultative homorganic nasal

2.77 PAN *be(N)kuN 'vault; arch', Tag Seb Hil Bkl Sam-Ley
bingkong 'concave', Jav p-el-engkung 'semi-circle' (Kahlo 18),
Mal bĕngkung 'twisted', ToB bokkung 'hump; bend', NgD bă-bengkung
'be bent or twisted', b-ăl-engkung 'throat'.

2.78 PAN *da(n)daN 'become heated', Tag dandang/darang

'exposed to fire', d-ag-andang 'exposed heavily to fire', Jav Mal dandang 'steaming pot', ToB dadang 'singed; scorched'.

2.79 PAN */h_7e(n)Tik 'be small', Tag quntiq/quntik 'few; little', m-untiq/m-untik 'almost', Jav ěnti 'pigmy; mannikin', k-ěti 'make small', ToB otik 'be few; be little', o-l-tik 'have little life'.

2.80 PAN *ka(m)pak 'beat with a crackling sound; axe', Tag kapak 'sound of beating', Jav kampa 'a big axe', k-r-ap-y-a 'rattle; crackle', Mal kapa, NgD kapak 'axe', ToB hapak-hapak 'rattle'.

2.81 PAN *ke(m)buN 'be inflated', Tag kubong 'veil', k-ul-ubong 'cover the head and whole body (as with a blanket)', Jav Mal kěmbung 'swollen', ToB hombung 'big box', NgD kembong 'inflated', Sun k-ar-ěmběng 'depository for rice' (Kern 302).

2.82 PAN *ke(n)Te/r_7 'tremble; shudder; vibrate', Tag katal 'shiver', Jav kětěr 'tremble; shudder; vibrate', kěntěr 'stretch; expand', Mal kětar, gětar/g-ěl-ětar, gěntar/ g-ěm-ěntar, NgD ketar 'tremble; shudder; vibrate', ToB hotor 'stretched, expanded rope made of rattan', hottor 'tremble; shudder; vibrate'.

2.83 PAN *pa(n)tuk 'peck', Jav patu 'beak; bill' (Kern 302), p-l-atuk 'woodpecker', Mal patu 'peck', p-ěl-atu 'woodpecker', NgD patok 'peck'.

2.84 PAN *ta(N)kub 'cover; lid; tilt over', Tag takob 'cover; lid', tak-l-ob 'put lid on; put face-to-face with counterpart half', Bkl takob/tak-l-ob 'cover; lid', Jav tangkĕb 'join; fit', t-ĕl-akup 'ear-flap', Mal tangkub 'shut tightly', ToB takkup 'agree', NgD tangkop/t-al-angkop 'turn one upon another'.

2.85 PAN *tu(n)duq/*/t/unzuk 'show; point out', Tag turoq 'show; point out; teach', Seb tud-l-oq/tu-k-doq 'show; teach', tu-t-doq 'point out', Akl tud-L-oq, Cuy tud-l-oq 'finger', Ivt tudu 'pointer', tungdo 'index finger', Apa tu-l-du 'advice', Tao hinduq 'show; teach', tudju 'course; direction', tud-l-uq 'index finger', Jav tuduh, ToB tudu 'show; point out', Mal tundju 'show; point out', t-ĕl-undju 'index finger', tuduh 'accuse of; charge with', NgD tundjok 'point with the finger', Bol-Mong t-on-on-ujuq 'index finger' (Dunnebier 581).

2.86 PAN *si(m)paN 'side-road; forking of a road', Jav simpang 'deviate; swerve; diverge', Mal simpang 'side-road', NgD simpang 'fork; pitchfork; fish spear', ToB si-r-päng 'side-road; the way to the world to come'.

IN $C_1V_1C_2C_1V_1C_2$ without PAN reconstruction

2.87 Tag k-al-ingking-an, Mal k-el-ingking (Dahl 52, 303), Cha I k-al-ingking-an (Costenoble 27) 'little finger'.

IN CVCVC without PAN reconstructions

2.88 Tag baging, Seb Hil bagon/b-al-agon, Bkl ba-l-gon, Sam-Ley b-al-agon, Akl b-aL-agon, Cuy b-al-agin, Tao b-al-agun 'vine'.

2.89 Tag banak, Ilk Bkl Sam-Ley Png Pmp Cuy Mar Tao b-al-anak, Akl b-aL-anak 'a species of mullet (Mugil spp.)'.

2.90 Tag bangos, Hil bangos/bang-r-os, Sam-Ley bang-r-us, Akl bangos/bang-L-os 'milkfish (Chanos chanos)'.

2.91 Jav bĕning 'bright; clean' (Kern 303), Sun bĕnging 'bright; clean', b-ĕl-ĕnging 'very clean premises' (Kern 303).

2.92 Tag bunot, Hil Akl bu-g-not, Bkl bu-g-not/bun-1-ot, Sam-Ley bunot/bun-1-ot, Ivt vunut/vu-1-nut 'pull out'.

2.93 Tag dapaq, Cuy da-g-paq, Mar t-al-a-g-pa 'lie; fall on the stomach'.

2.94 Tag dayap, Hil PNeg dayap/d-al-ayap, Ilk Png Pmp Ivt Apa Ilt d-al-ayap, Ibg d-al-ayaq, Sbl d-al-aya 'a citrus fruit (Citrus lima)'.

2.95 Tag hagak, Cuy al-agĕk 'gasp; pant', Hil hag-r-aq/ hag-r-ak, Sam-Ley h-ar-agak 'hoarse', Pmp al-akak 'pant; snore'.

2.96 Tag pikat 'compact and gluey soil', Mal pĕkat 'thick liquid', p-ĕr-ĕkat 'lime; cement' (Kern 303).

2.97 Tag susog 'goring (sewing)', Mar s-al-usog 'stitch'.

Supplement: Selected infixed items without PAN reconstructions and occurring only in one language.

2.98 Mak b-al-umbang 'dust storm' (Kahlo 27).

2.99 Bol-Mong b-ar-ongkaq/b-al-ongkaq 'a species of pumpkin' (Dunnebier 580).

2.100 Sun budak/b-ar-udak 'crack; snap' (Kern 299).

2.101 Bol-Mong b-ul-al-engkoq 'a spirit' (Dunnebier 579).

2.102 Tag dakot 'handful; hold in clenched fist', dak-l-ot 'snatch'.

2.103 Bug geno/g-ar-eno 'necklace' (Matthes 57).

2.104 Tag kangkang/k-ay-angkang 'drying of chickens in the sun; move stiffly (like one suffering from dhobie itch)'.

2.105 Mak k-al-orang 'incision' (Kahlo 27).

2.106 Bol-Mong k-ar-eket/k-or-eket 'creaking; grinding; chirping' (Dunnebier 580).

2.107 Bol-Mong k-ol-uda/k-ul-ul-uda 'dye-plant' (Dunnebier 578).

2.108 Tnt k-um-al-eqkew 'sprawl; flounder' (Adriani 186).

2.109 Sun lömpang/l-al-ömpang 'go' (Kern 209).

2.110 Tag paqos/p-ay-aqos 'hoarse'.

2.111 Tag pikpik/p-ay-ikpik 'compact (as soil)'.

2.112 Tag sinsin 'close; thick (as fabric, a crowd)', s-ag-insin 'close together; hemmed in (as clothes on a line)'.

2.113 Bug suke/s-al-uke 'pick out' (Matthes 57).

2.114 Jav t-al-utuh/t-l-utuh 'flow on' (Kern 300).

2.115 Jav t-er-antjang/t-r-antjang 'transparent' (Kern 300).

2.116 Sun tihöla/tih-ar-öla 'in front' (Kern 209).

3. Summary

3.1 The infix consists either of two phonemes in the shape -VC- or of one C-phoneme only. (A single -V- infix in some items is suspect.)

3.2 Infixation follows a general pattern, i.e. after the initial C of the stem if the infix is -VC-. If the infix is one C-phoneme only, the distribution varies: after the initial C of the stem, as in 2.2 Jav g-l-ĕmgĕm, after the first syllable ending in a V, as in the reflexes in some Philippine languages of 2.25 PAN *hasem, in 2.29 Tag ba-l-tak, 2.33 Mal bĕ-r-tih, 2.36 ToB da-l-hop, 2.65 Pmp ta-l-pak/da-l-pak, or after the initial C of the second syllable, as in 2.60 Seb Hil Sam-Ley put-l-iq, 2.85 Seb Cuy tud-l-oq, Tao tud-l-uq, 2.92 Bkl Sam-Ley bun-l-ot, 2.102 Tag dak-l-ot.

3.3 Some bare and infixed stems alternate.

3.4 Different -VC- infixes of the same stem alternate, as in 2.42 Sun g-ar-eleng/g-er-eleng, 2.99 Bol-Mong b-ar-ongkaq/ b-al-ongkaq, 2.106 Bol-Mong k-ar-eket/k-or-eket.

3.5 -VC- infix alternates with -C- infix in the same stem, as in 2.45 NgD k-ar-ait/k-r-ait, 2.56 Jav tj-er-ĕmŏd/tj-r-ĕmĕd, 2.114 Jav t-al-utuh/t-l-utuh.

3.6 Bol-Mong is unique with forms of more than one -VC- infix in succession, with or without alternant, as in 2.85 t-on-on-ujuq, 2.101 b-ul-al-engkoq, 2.107 k-ol-uda/k-ul-ul-uda. (Unique also are 2.80 Jav k-r-ap-y-a with double "erstarrte Infixe", according to Dempwolff, I, 28, c, and 2.93 Mar t-al-a-g-pa with -VC- ... -C infixes.) Double infixes also occur in certain languages of northern Luzon.[4]

3.7 So powerful is the pattern with infixes that PAN reconstructions without them are reflected with infixes.

3.8 And by contamination infixation extends to other words, with or without cognates, which are not reflexes of proto-forms.

3.9 Bare and infixed stems may or may not have differences in meaning. Where the meanings of infixed stems are transparent, these are generally either augmentative, frequentative, plural, or diminutive. But there are cases where the distinction is not always clear-cut.[5]

4. Discussion

4.1 Dempwolff's "erstarrte Infixe" include *-aR-, *-al- and *-ar-. He is silent about -ĕl- and -ĕr- very likely because these are formatives with roots, not with stems (see Introductory). A few years after the publication of Dempwolff's three-volume work, in his 'Wortels en Grondwoorden' published in 1942, Kern gives examples in Jav Mal and Sun with -ĕl- and -ĕr- as formatives with stems, and he calls the pepet original (oorsprongkelijk). [6]

4.2 The most common and widespread infix is -al-, which is direct inheritance from *-al-, unless it relfects *-ar-. Also common with varying degrees of frequency and geographical limits of distribution are -ar-, -ag-, -ĕl- and -ĕr-, with -ar-, directly inherited from *-ar- occurring in Bol-Mong Bug Hov Maa NgD Sun and Yam, but not in Jav and Mal in the items in the List, [7] and in the Philippine languages in Bkl Ilk Sam-Ley and Cuy. In the other Philippine languages, it is possible that -al- and -ar- have fallen together. On the other hand, -ag- (from *-aR-) is confined to Philippine territory, and -ĕl- and -ĕr- (from *-el- and *-er-, with the latter another spelling of *-el- to be consistent with *-ar- = *-al-) to Jav Mal Sun, and -ĕr- to Tnt.

4.3 The rest of the -VC- infixes are either regular reflexes of the "erstarrte Infixe", the results of secondary phonetic changes,

or due to borrowing, dialect differences, or analogy and contamination.

4.4 To avoid tiresome repetition, for the phenomena raised in 4.3 the reader is referred to the works of Brandes, Brandstetter, Conant, Dempwolff, Kern, Dyen, and Adriani, Dunnebier and Matthes.

4.5 The -VC- infix may suffer loss of the V leaving -C- either as alternant of the -VC- infix, or a residual infix by itself, or as an alternant of another residual infix.

4.6 The most common and widespread residual infixes are -l-, -g- and -r- in descending order of frequency, and which can be putative residues of -al-, -ag- and -ar- respectively. -l- is found in almost all Philippine languages, and in Jav Mak ToB. -g- is found exclusively in almost all Philippine languages, and in Cha. -r- occurs sporadically in a few Philippine languages, and in Jav Mal NgD ToB, including Kuv. -y-, a putative residue of -ay-, which is the regular reflex of *-aR- in some languages, is found in Ivt Sbl and Cha. (A deviant -ay- for the expected -ag-, from *-aR-, occurs in Tag 2.104 k-ay-angkang, 2.110 p-ay-aqos, 2.111 p-ay-ikpik.) The other extremely rare residual infixes, like -s- in 2.49 Tag ki-s-lap, -k- in 2.85 Seb tu-k-doq, are highly suspect and discrepant. Striking is the fact that there seems to be no residual infix in Bol-Mong Bug Hov Maa NgD Sun Tnt and the languages of Taiwan.

4. 7 The reduction of -VC- to -C- may be attributed to several factors: the structure of the word of a language, like Jav, which tolerates C-clusters in initial position, the system of accentuation, contiguity to a pepet, or secondary phonetic changes. Accentuation in IN, unfortunately, has not been sufficiently explored, and Brandstetter's (1915) bound (gebundener) and free (freier) accent is not of much help. Kern has broken the trail for further exploration which might help clarify the matter of reduction, which involves distribution raised in 3. 2. In the meanwhile, solution to this problem may interest future investigators.

5. Conclusion

5. 1 The infixes tend to cluster in certain languages of the western and northern groups of IN.

5. 2 The reflexes of Dempwolff's "erstarrte Infixe" have remained non-productive in many cases and productive in others, the latter very likely due to some cultural and historical and other reasons which at the moment must remain unexplained.

5. 3 Some problems, particularly those raised in 4. 6 and 7, await solution.

5. 4 In spite of the caveat, evidences point to the justification and validity of retaining Dempwolff's construction of *-aR-, *-al-

and *-ar-, to which may now be added *-el- and *-er-.

5.5 Because some infixes are productive, I hesitate to remove the quotation marks from the title of this paper, "Non-productive" Infixes in Indonesian Languages.

NOTES

[1] C. D. Chrétien ('The statistical structure of the proto-Austronesian morph,' Lingua 14, 1965, p. 245, fn. 8) thinks that we have too lightly laid aside Brandstetter's view that many or most disyllabic word-bases go back to the prefix plus root. If only to serve as a reminder, the relevant passage in Brandstetter deserves to be quoted in full for what it is worth: "Das wichtigste der sprachlichen Mittel, wodurch Grundwörter aus gebildet werden, besteht darin, dass sich ein Formans unlöslich mit der Wurzel verbindet, mit ihr zu einer Einheit erstarrt." (Wurzel und Wort, p. 39, par. 86.)

[2] Das Verbum, p. 29, par. 54.

[3] See Dyen's comments (1953b), pp. 52-53, fns. 27-29.

[4] For example in Ilk, according to Prof. Ernesto Cubar, Department of Oriental Languages and Linguistics, University

of the Philippines. Stems formed by reduplication of $C_1V_1C_2$ roots, often with symbolic connotation, admit a -V-, generally identical with V_1, infixed between the reduplicated root, and also a -VC-, usually -al- or -ar-, after the first C of the stem. Examples are dugdug 'solid sound', dug-u-dug 'more solid sound', d-al-ug-u-dug/ d-al-ag-u-dug 'very solid sound', pakpak 'flapping sound', pak-a-pak 'stronger flapping than pakpak', p-ar-ak-a-pak 'very strong flapping sound'. The -V- may not be identical with V_1. Example: putput 'sound like that produced by sugarcane juice when it is getting thick when boiled into molasses', put-i-put 'sound stronger than putput', p-al-ut-i-put/p-al-at-i-put 'sound stronger than put-i-put'. The meaning is obviously intensification and can be ranked into degrees like the traditional degrees of adjectives, that is, if $C_1V_1C_2C_1V_1C_2$ is positive, then $C_1V_1C_2$-V-$C_1V_1C_2$ is comparative, and C_1-VC-V_1C_2-V-$C_1V_1C_2$ is superlative.

[5] See Adriani, p. 185 ff., Dunnebier, p. 574 ff., and Kern, p. 301.

[6] loc. cit.

[7] The List can not be expected to do justice to the wealth of infixes because the number of items is not as exhaustive as one would have wished it to be. For example, Adriani, loc. cit. enumerates

for Tnt -al-, -al̯-, -ar-, -er-, -il-, -ol-, -or-, -ul-, -uj- and -ur-, and Dunnebier, loc. cit., for Bol-Mong -al-, -ol-, -ul-, -ar-, -oj-, -uj-, -or-, -on- and -un-.

.Viray discusses -CV-, not -VC-, infixes in certain Philippine languages, of the series -la-, -li-, -lo-/-lu- and -ra-, -ri-, -ro-, and -al-. Some examples are: Seb ta-la-hor-on 'respectable' (tahod 'respect'), i-li-mn-on 'water or liquor to be taken' (inum 'drink'), bo-lo-babaye 'like a woman' (babaye 'woman'), bu-lu-hat-on 'work to be done' (buhat 'do'); Hil ma-sa-la-kit-on 'very sickly' (sakit 'sick'), naga-i-li-num 'drinking a little', po-lo-panday 'carpenter of little experience' (panday 'carpenter'), bu-lu-hat-on 'work to be done' (buhat 'do'); Bkl sa-ra-dang-on 'very small' (sadang 'small'), ka-i-ri-ba 'companions' (kaiba 'companion'), ka-ro-kanding 'small goat' (kanding 'goat'); Sam-Ley da-ra-yeg-on 'venerable' (dayeg 'revere'), si-ri-ngba-han 'place of hearing mass' (singba 'go to church'); Ibg maw-wa-ra-gi 'more than two who are siblings' (wagi 'sibling'), map-pi-ri-tta 'more than two who are cousins' (pitta 'cousin'). The distribution of the infixes is -lV- in Seb and Hil, -rV- in Bkl and Sam-Ley, of the Central Philippine Group, and also -rV- in Ibg of the Northern Luzon Group. Except for -ro- in Bkl ka-ro-kanding, vowel harmony plays a preponderant role in the choice of the infix. The meaning conveyed is augmentative

or intensive, frequentative, plural or diminutive (cf. 3. 9). A

superficial inspection may lead to the suspicion that these infixes

are metathesized variants of the corresponding -VC- infixes,

particularly those in Tnt and Bol-Mong.

APPENDIX

Frequency of occurrence of infixes. Infixes are followed by the numbers of the items where they occur in the <u>List</u> and the <u>Introductory</u>.

Apayao: -<u>al</u>- 2. 94; -<u>g</u>- 2. 24; -<u>l</u>- 2. 85.

Aklan: -<u>a</u>L- 2. 11, 2. 88, 2. 89; -<u>g</u>- 2. 30, 2. 92; -<u>L</u>- 2. 85, 2. 90; -<u>l</u>- 2. 25.

Bikol: -<u>ag</u>- 2. 20; -<u>al</u>- 2. 11, 2. 13, 2. 45, 2. 89; -g- 2. 30, 2. 32, 2. 66, 2. 92; -<u>l</u>- 2. 25, 2. 84, 2. 88, 2. 92.

Bolaang Mongodow: -<u>al</u>- 2. 99; -<u>ar</u>- 2. 99, 2. 106; -<u>oj</u>- 2. 5, -<u>ol</u>- 2. 107; -<u>on</u>- 2. 53; -<u>on</u>- + - <u>on</u>- 2. 85; -<u>or</u>- 2. 106; -<u>ul</u>- + -<u>al</u>- 2. 101; -<u>ul</u>- + -<u>ul</u>- 2. 107.

Bontok: -<u>al</u>- 2. 3; -<u>r</u>- 2. 25.

Bugi: -<u>al</u>- 2. 51, 2. 113; -<u>ar</u>- 2. 49, 2. 103.

Chamorro: -<u>al</u>- 2. 87; -<u>e</u>- 2. 32; -g- 2. 25; -<u>y</u>- 2. 32.

Cuyunon: -<u>al</u>- 2. 88, 2. 89; -<u>ar</u>- 2. 11; -g- 2. 30, 2. 93; -<u>l</u>- 2. 25, 2. 85.

Formosa: -<u>al</u>- 2. 53.

Hiligaynon: -<u>ag</u>- 2. 20; -<u>al</u>- 2. 11, 2. 13, 2. 45, 2. 88, 2. 94; -<u>d</u>- 2. 49, -<u>g</u>- 2. 30, 2. 38, 2. 66, 2. 92; -<u>l</u>- 2. 25, 2. 60; -<u>r</u>- 2. 90, 2. 95.

Hova/Merina: -<u>al</u>- 2. 28; -<u>ar</u>- <u>Introductory</u>.

Ibanag: -al- 2. 14, 2. 94; -l- 2. 25; -r- 2. 63.

Ivatan: -al- 2. 94; -l- 2. 25, 2. 66, 2. 92; -y- 2. 38.

Ilonggot: -al- 2. 94; -g- 2. 24.

Iloko: -al- 2. 13, 2. 14, 2. 89, 2. 94; -all- 2. 45; -ar- 2. 10,
2. 30; -g- 2. 30, 2. 38, 2. 66; -l- 2. 25; -r- 2. 63.

Javanese: -al- 2. 114; -el- 2. 77; -ĕl- 2. 14, 2. 70, 2. 73, 2. 84;
-ĕr- 2. 47, 2. 56, 2. 115; -l- 2. 2, 2. 27, 2. 34, 2. 46, 2. 51, 2. 83,
2. 114; -r- 2. 6, 2. 7, 2. 15, 2. 17, 2. 18, 2. 19, 2. 26, 2. 51, 2. 56,
2. 69, 2. 71, 2. 115; -r- ... -y- 2. 80.

Kuvalan: -r- Introductory.

Maanjan: -ar- Introductory.

Magindanao: -g- 2. 66; -l- 2. 25.

Makassar: -al- 2. 98, 2. 105; -l- 2. 49.

Malay: -el- 2. 87; -ĕl- 2. 28, 2. 43, 2. 70, 2. 82, 2. 83, 2. 85;
-em- 2. 82; -ĕr- 2. 96; -r- 2. 30, 2. 33, 2. 48.

Maranao: -al- 2. 20, 2. 45, 2. 65, 2. 89, 2. 97; -al- ... -g-
2. 93.

Nabaloi: -g- 2. 38; -l- 2. 24.

Ngadju-Dayak: -al- 2. 12, 2. 14, 2. 54, 2. 76, 2. 84; -ăl- 2. 4,
2. 7, 2. 75, 2. 77; -ar- 2. 45, 2. 52, 2. 74; -ăr- 2. 5; -r- 2. 45.

Paiwan: -al- Introductory.

Pampangan: -al- 2.3, 2.22, 2.45, 2.89, 2.94; -g- 2.30, 2.66; -1- 2.25, 2.65.

Pangasinan: -al- 2.3, 2.14, 2.45, 2.89, 2.94; -d- 2.49.

Pazeh: -al- 2.53.

Pinatubo Negrito: -al- 2.45, 2.94.

Rukai: -al- 2.53.

Sam-Ley: -ag- 2.20; -al- 2.1, 2.45, 2.88, 2.89; -ar- 2.13, 2.95; -er- 2.43; -d- 2.49; -g- 2.38; -1- 2.25, 2.60, 2.92; -r- 2.90.

Sambales: -al- 2.11, 2.94; -g- 2.24; -1- 2.25; -r- 2.49; -y- 2.38.

Sebu: -ag- 2.20; -al- 2.13, 2.45, 2.88; -d- 2.49; -g- 2.30, 2.35, 2.38, 2.66; -k- 2.85; -1- 2.25, 2.60, 2.85; -t- 2.85.

Siraya: -al- Introductory, 2.53.

Sundanese: -al- 2.40, 2.109; -ar- 2.31, 2.42, 2.81, 2.100, 2.116; -ĕl- 2.72, 2.91; -er- 2.42; -ĕr- 2.72; -ur- 2.49.

Tagalog: -ag- 2.8, 2.9, 2.11, 2.12, 2.16, 2.20, 2.21, 2.78, 2.112; -al- 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.11, 2.12, 2.13, 2.16, 2.22, 2.23, 2.45, 2.50, 2.87; -ay- 2.104, 2.110, 2.111; -g- 2.30, 2.38; -1- 2.29, 2.84, 2.102; -il- 2.43; -s- 2.49; -ul- 2.81.

Taosug: -ag- 2.8; -al- 2.88, 2.89; -ay- 2.16; -g- 2.38, 2.66; -1- 2.25, 2.85.

Toba Batak: -al- 2. 4, 2. 14; -l- 2. 36, 2. 37, 2. 41, 2. 44,
2. 58, 2. 61, 2. 62, 2. 64, 2. 79; -r- 2. 30, 2. 32, 2. 33, 2. 39, 2. 48,
2. 55, 2. 57, 2. 59, 2. 67, 2. 86.

Tontemboan: -al- 2. 3, 2. 108; -ĕr- 2. 25; -ol- 2. 45.

Yami: -ar- 2. 68.