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TAGALOG BU:ROK: AN INTERIM REPORT

by

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ABBREVIATIONS

Akl = Aklan; Ekl = Bikol; BolMong = Bolaang-Mongondow; Bus = Busang;
Hov = Hova; Ibg = Ibanag; Ilk = Iloko; IN = Indonesia(n); Ivt = Ivatan;
Jav = Java; LeySam = Leyte-Samar; Mal = Malay; Mar = Maranao;
Mer = Merina; Mgd = Magindanao; Mk = Makela'i dialect of Tnt;
Mnj = Maanjan; Nbl = Nabaloi; NgD = Ngadju-Dayak; Pai = Paiwan;
PAN = Proto-Austronesian; Pmp = Pampangan; Png = Pangasinan;
Sak = Sakalava; Sbl = Sambales; Seb = Sebu; Spa = Spanish; Sul = Sulu;
Tag = Tagalog; Tir = Tirurai; Tnt = Tontemboan; ToF = Toba-Batak;
VL = Dempwolff's Vergleichende Lautlehre.

I quote Hova and Merina as they appear in the literature; they are, of course, equivalent.

TAGALOG BU:ROK: AN INTERIM REPORT

1. PAN bujuk¹ 'be rotten'. The Tag reflexes in VL III are bugok 'rotten' and bulok 'putrid', which I now write bugók and bulók and gloss on the basis of my dialect as 'addled, esp. eggs' and 'rotten (in general)', respectively.² Not reported is bú:rok, that is, it is not in VL III, and neither is it discussed in the literature, as far as I know. De Noceda and Sanlucar (henceforth Noceda) (1860) gloss boroc (= bu:rok) 'yema del huevo' and illustrate it in the clauses may boroc pa sa olo (= may bu:rok pa sa qu:lo), lit. 'has egg yolk still in the head', and boroc ca pa (= bu:rok ka pa), lit. 'egg yolk you still', both glossed 'aun no tienes juicio', 'you are still without judgment or decision', and labeled metaphor. Tag is, to be sure, rich in metaphor. Speaking of a person, bugók is a quality similar to that assigned by Noceda to boroc 'without judgment or decision'. On the other hand, bulók not bugók, connotes low, poor or bad performance in a chosen pursuit, e. g., bulók sa klá:se, sa matemá:tiká 'poor in class, in mathematics', bulók na meká:nikó 'bad mechanic'. Laktaw (1914) gives búrok (= bú:rok) 'encarnado, da' adj., búrok ng itlóg (= bú:rok nan qitlóg) 'yema', and Panganiban (1966) reports bú:rok 'rosiness (s. o. skin); egg yolk'. In my dialect bú:rok does not occur as an independent form, and I have not heard it in others, except in the reference below to Batangas Tagalog. Common, however, is the derivative with nasal substitution and reduplication to express quality, as bugók and bulók

do, thus, namumú:rok 'pink and rosy, delicate, almost transparent skin, esp. a lady's cheeks, with capillaries visible'.³ I am not acquainted with De Noceda's 'yema del huevo', Laktaw's 'yema' and 'yema del huevo' and Panganiban's 'egg yolk', which must be either old or dialectal. Modern Tag for 'egg yolk' is pula nan qitlog, lit. 'red of egg'. To the old dialectal meaning, Panganiban adds 'rosiness (s. o. skin)', which is near synonym to the meaning of namumú:rok in my dialect. In the dialect of one speaker from Batangas Province, from where Panganiban comes, bú:rok is 'healthy characterized by having pinkish cheeks'.⁴

2. The purpose of this paper is to show if bu:rok may be considered a variant of bugók and bulók.

There are no definite rules on accentuation in Tag although the penultimate stress prevails.⁵ There are Tag words which are stressed either on the penultimate or ultimate syllable. When a word belonging to this group of words is stressed on the penultimate syllable (with its vowel becoming long), it expresses an "abstract" meaning, usually nominal. When the same word is stressed on the final syllable (with penultimate vowel length lost), its meaning changes to that of quality: tá:kot 'fear', takót 'afraid', há:baq 'length', habáq 'elongated', pú:tol 'cut (piece)', putól 'cut'. If bugók and bulók, quality words, are developments from pre- or early Tag abstract words *bú:gok and *bú:lok 'putridity, putridness', then bú:rok could be assumed to have

resisted the shift of stress and loss of length and retained the shape of *bu:gok and *bu:lok with the old nominal meaning retained, 'egg yolk', to which are added a new nominal meaning, 'rosiness (s. o. skin)', and a quality meaning, 'healthy characterized by having pinkish cheeks' in certain dialects; in others it occurs only as a derivative, namumu:rok, with a quality meaning, also without shift of stress and loss of length.

3. PAN *buyuk 'be rotten' in some IN languages. Conant (1910) has treated the correspondences of the RGH-consonant (Dempwolff's * γ) in Philippine languages, and it is superfluous to repeat his findings here. For purposes of this paper, however, I give the reflexes of PAN *buyuk in some IN languages: Seb Hil Bkl LeySam bugók 'addled, esp. eggs', Png Pmp Sbl bugók 'id.', bulók 'rotten', Cuy bugók 'id.', burók 'rotten', Ilk buyók, Mgd buruk, Sul buhuk 'rotten', CAta mas-búruk, Pai ma-vúk 'rotten (as log)', Bol-Mong buruk, mo-buruk, no-buruk 'rotten', Jav wu (Pigeaud (1938) wuk), Mal buru (van Ronkel (1916) buruk), NgD kam-borok-an, tam-borok-an 'id.', Mnj bujok 'sick', burok 'rotten', Mer ma-voroka 'offensive odor', Sak voroke 'rotten'. The Tir witness is not available.

4. Sources of Tag -g-. (1) *-g-: PAN *gun 'gong; cymbal', Tag qá:gong, Akl Mar qagong, Ilk Png gong, Sul qagung 'gong', Seb LeySam Mgd qagong 'bell of the Bisayas', Hil qagung 'drum', ToB agung, Jav gong, Mal ẽgung 'id.', NgD geng 'sound of a gong'; (2) * γ -: PAN *baxat 'husked rice', Tag bigás, Sb Hil bugás, Ilk Bkl bagás, Png belás, Pmp abyás, Ibg baggaq, Sbl buyáh, Cuy begás, Nbl bekás, Sul bugas

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'id.', Mar begas 'cooked rice', margas 'id.', ToB boras, Jav wos = bēras, Mal bēras, NgD behas 'id.'; (3) *-(n)g- with only the simple C reflected and not the nasal-combination, (see 6, 3; 9, 3): PAN *t'a(n)gu 'pith; pulp', Tag Ilk Bkl Png Sbl Hil LeySam Pmp Ibg Mgd sagú 'a species of palm (Metroxylon rumphii Mart.) out of which fermented sap and starch, among others, are made', ToB sagu, Mal sagu, sago, NgD sago 'pith; pulp; sago flour', Hov saku 'corn', Jav sagu 'pith; pulp; sago flour'.

5. Sources of Mal -g-. (1) *-g-: PAN *gagah 'use force', Mal Jav gagah 'be strong', ToB gaga, NgD gagah 'resist', Tag gagá 'usurpation'; (2) *-(n)g- with Mal variants -g- and -ngg-: PAN *la(n)gat 'shed its leaves', Mal ragas = ranggas, ToB ranggas, Jav ragas 'stripped of leaves', Hov raka-raka 'get loose (hair)', Tag lá:gas, Pmp Sbl lagas, Hil lagás 'falling of leaves, feathers, hair', Bkl lagás 'one who has changed voice', LeySam lagás 'aged', Png lagás 'remnants (cloth, paper, etc.)', Sul langgas 'id.'.

6. Sources of Tag -l-. (1) *-d-: PAN *kudug 'boom; resound', Tag kulóg, Png karúl, Pmp kulúg, Sbl koról, Nbl kerul 'thunder', Jav g-l-udug, k-r-udug 'boom; resound', Hov kutruka 'thunder';

(2) *-g'-: PAN *ig'un 'nose', Tag Seb Hil Sul qilóng, Ilk qagóng, Bkl qorong, LeySam Cuy qiróng, Png qeléng, Pmp qarong, Ibg qigong, Mgd hidung, hirung, ngirung, Sbl qaqlong, Nbl qedeng, Mar ngirong 'id.', ToB igung, Jav irung, Mal idung 'id.'; (3) *-(n)g'- of which many languages reflect only the simple C and not the nasal-combination

(see 4, 3; 9, 3), in which case it is identical to 2: PAN *a(ñ)gí 'blood kins (mostly younger)', Tag qá:li 'miss; missis; aunt (reference); stepmother (reference); reference to a woman whose name is unknown to the speaker', qanggíq 'a woman's pet name', Ilk qadi, Ivt warí 'younger sibling', Png qagí 'aunt', qatsí 'elder sister', Pmp qatsi 'elder sister', Ibg wagí 'sibling; relative', Nbl qagi, qali 'sibling', Mgd qari 'younger brother', Mar wari 'younger relative; younger person', ToB anggi 'younger sibling', Jav adi 'id.', ari 'placenta', Mal adi, NgD andi 'younger sibling'; Hov z-andri 'placenta', raz-andri 'younger sibling'; (4) *-1-: PAN *palu 'beat; strike', Tag pá:loq, Hil paloq, Bkl Mgd palo, Pmp paluq, Ibg Cuy palúq, Sul paloq 'id.', Seb paloq 'whip', Ilk malo 'club; mallet', Ivt pado 'beat cotton', Mar palo 'the butt plate of a rifle', ToB Jav Mal palu 'id.'; (5) *-1-: PAN *pilak 'silver', Tag pí:lak, Pmp Sbl Nbl pilak, Ilk pirák, Bkl pirak, Png pilák, Ibg piréq, Mgd pilak, pirak, Ivt pulák 'silver; money', Hil pilak 'id.', Sul pilak, Mar pirak 'silver; money; peso', ToB pirak, perak, Jav pera³ (Pigeaud pérak), Mal pěra¹ (van Ronkel pérak) 'id.', Hov firaka 'zinc; tin'; (6) *-nd-: PAN *təndək 'spoon', Tag sá:lok 'fetch water; a variety of fishing net; swoop (as of a kite)', sandók 'ladle made of coconut shell', Seb kalos 'fetch water', sandók 'ladle', Ilk sagdo, sakdo 'fetch water', Bkl sarók 'id.', Tag sá:lok saldók 'ladle', Png salok 'swoop (as of a kite)', Pmp saluk 'fetch water; a variety of a fishing net', sandúk, salok 'ladle; spoon', sakloq 'fetch water', Sbl halok 'id.', Tag sá:lok, Sul saduk,

saruk 'a variety of sun-helmet', sauk 'dip up, liquids', Mar panandok, saridot 'spoon', sakedo 'dipper', ToB sonduk, Jav sěndu (sěndok in Pigeaud), Mal sěndu (sendoek in van Ronkel), NgD sendok 'spoon'.

7. Source of Mal -l- is *-l-: PAN *'alun (swell of the sea; wave', Mal Jav NgD alun, Hov aluna 'id.', Tag qá:lon, Seb Sbl Mgd qalon, Pmp Sul qalun 'wave', Hil qalon 'small waves', hanol 'wave', Ilk qalon 'wave', qallon 'small waves', Bkl Png qalon 'small waves', LeySam qalon 'move in the water', Ivt qalnon 'restless sea'.

8. -g-:-l- variants in Tag. The following are a few pairs exhibiting -g-:-l- variants in Tag: dagás 'hurried emergency call' (in VL III dagas 'hurry'), dalás 'frequency; rapidity'; Hil dalás 'agitated', Ilk darás 'promptness', Bkl Pmp dalás 'frequency', Png dalás 'velocity', Cuy dalás 'talkative', ToB doras 'be fast', Mal děras 'hasten' (< PAN *dayat 'hasten'); Tag dá:gat 'sea; ocean', dalá:tan 'highland for cultivation'; Seb Hil Bkl LeySam Akl Sul dagat, Pmp dayat, Sbl layat 'id. Tag dá:gat', Ilk darat, Ibg daggat 'sand', Png dayat 'seashore', ToB darat 'continent' (< PAN *dayat 'surface'); Tag halí:gi 'post, esp. of a house', sarí:li 'self; oneself'; Seb Hil haligi, Ilk qadigi, LeySam harige, Ibg qarigi, Sul haag 'id. Tag halí:gi', Bkl harigi 'id. Tag halí:gi', sadiri 'id. Tag sari:li', Png ligiq 'post; house-post', sarili, dili 'id. Tag sari:li', Pmp Sbl sarili, Cuy sadiliq 'id. Tag sari:li', ToB diri 'self', Mal bě-diri 'stand', diri 'person', sěn-diri 'self' (< PAN *divi 'stand; person; self'). Of the pairs none has a third variant with r. Here belong, of course,

bugók and bulók.

Schwarz (1908:34-5) reports a special exchange of l and g in certain dialects of Tnt:

"Eene bijzondere wisseling van l moet hier nog worden vermeld, nl. die met g, zie ook aldaar. Zij kwam in vroegeren tijd geregeld voor in het dialect der dorpen Sulu'un en Tangkunei, beide in het district Sonder gelegen, dus in het taalgebied van het Matanai'i. Thans hoort men deze eigenaardigheid in de uitspraak alleen nog maar van oude menschen, bv. kēgi, voor kēli (veel), gēge, voor lēle (baden), gewo, voor lewo (slecht), gētek, voor lētek (bestendig), gumegempār, voor lumelempār (vogel); Sugu'un, voor Sulu'un. Men kan deze g een velare l noemen, in aanmerking genomen het karakter der g, die in het Tt. eene gebrowde (uvulare) r nabijkomt. Hetzelfde verschijnsel valt op te merken bij de vergelijking van woorden die in het Tt. eene g vertoonen en in verwante talen eene l, bv. gio en Bar. lio (uiterlijk), laga (mier), en Parigisch lala (bijtend), Mal lada (peper), vgl. ook die bij de g vermelde afwisseling met l in de taal zelve." (Underscoring supplied.)

9. Sources of Tag -r-. Tag -r- comes from several sources:

- (1) *-d-, PAN *gadin 'ivory', Tag gá:ring, Png garing 'id.; false teeth', Seb Bkl garing 'id.; doll', Ilk Pmp Akl Sbl garing, LeySam Mar garing, Mgd gading, Sul gading, garing 'id.', ToB Mal gading, Jav gading 'id.';⁶
- (2) *-d'-: PAN *ad'al 'theory; teaching; rule', Tag qá:ral⁷, Png Pmp Ibg Sbl qaral 'study (occupy oneself with learning)', ToB Jav Mal NgD ad'ar

'id. ' (3) *-(n)d-: PAN *a(n)dav 'day; sun', Tag qá:raw, Ivt qaraw 'id. ' in which only the simple C and not the nasal-combination is reflected (see 4, (3): 6, (3) and 11, (1) for other cognates) making source (3) identical with source (1); (4) *-l-, which usually becomes -l- in Tag but occasional -r- co-occurs with -l-: PAN *balun 'hut', Tag barungbá:rong (in VL III balongbalong) 'id. ', ToB Mal barungbarung 'id. ', NgD barong 'bathing place'; *-l- becomes Tag -r- without -l- alternant: PAN *palahu 'water vessel; ship', Tag Hil Bkl Png Sbl paráw 'big sailboat', Seb Ilk paráw 'small sail-boat', Mar padaw 'sail-boat', ToB paraw, Jav Mal peraw, NgD paraw 'ship'; (5) *-(n)[d]-, where -r- varies with -nd- in Tag: PAN *ki(n)[d]at 'open the eyes', Tag Png Pmp kirát 'unequal size of the eyes', kindát 'wink', Seb kirát, kidhát 'wink', Hil kirhát 'id. ' Tag kirát, kindat 'wink', Ilk kilát, kirát 'chide by pulling down the lower eyelid', Bkl kihát, kiqát, kiyát, Mgd kindát 'wink', LeySam kidhát 'wink', kirát 'id. Tag kirát, Ibg kilág 'id. Tag kirát, Sbl kindat 'wink', kirlat 'id. Tag kirát, Akl kindat 'wink', kihat 'open and close the eyes intermittently', Sul kundat 'wink', kirát 'id. Tag kirát, Mar kindat 'shiny; radiant', Hov hiratra 'open the eyes'; (6) *-(n)d- of which only the simple C is reflected, as in 3 (see 4, (3): 6, (3)), making it the same as (2); PAN *gańd'il 'be strange', Tag Hil Pmp Sbl garíl 'stammerer; stutterer', ToB Jav gańd'il 'odd number', Mal gańd'il 'odd number; be strange', NgD gańd'il 'laborious to calculate; (7) retention of r, articulated as flap-r, in loanwords from Spa: Tag relós, rilós 'watch; clock'

(Spa reloj 'id. '), Tag harina (h pronounced in unsophisticated, silent in sophisticated, 'speech') 'flour' (Spa harina 'id. '), Tag andar 'functioning of machinery; progressing of an enterprise' (Spa andar 'to go, move (s. o. a machinery)').

Summarizing 9, the Tag and Mal respective correspondences are as follows:

PAN	TAG	Mal	PAN	Tag	Mal
*-d-	-r-	-d-	*-l-	-r-:-l-	-r-
*-d'-	-r-	-d'-	*-(n)[d]-	-nd-/r-	
*-(n)d-	-r-/nd-	-nd-	*-nd'-	-r-	-nd'-
* <u>tanduk</u>	<u>tandok</u>	<u>tanduk</u>	(Spa r	r)	
'horn'	'dry-cupping'	'horn'			

The reconstructed nasal-combination with n in parenthesis and d in square brackets is unique and deserves further study.

10. Sources of Mal r. Mal r- and -r- are from *l- and *ɣ-, and *l- and *ɣ-, respectively; (1) PAN *libu '(marking the) thousand(s)', Mal ToB NgD ribu, Jav ewu, Hov a-rivu 'id. ', Tag libo, Seb Hil Sbl libo, Ilk Bkl ribo, Png Pmp libu, Ibg rivú, zivu, Mgd ribu, Ivt libo, livo, Sul qibu 'id. ', LeySam ribo 'ten thousand; million', Mar gibo, bariboribo 'unnumbered'; (2) PAN *ɣatut '(marking the) hundred(s)', ToB NgD ratus, Jav atus, Hov zatu 'id. ', Tag (old) gátos, Ibg gatúq, Mgd Sul gatus, Sbl Ivt yatos 'million', Seb Hil Bkl gatos, Ilk gasút.

LeySam gatós, Png lasús, Nbl dasus, Mar ma-gatos '(marking the) hundred(s)', Pmp gatus 'hundred thousand'; (3) PAN *túlat 'script', Mal ToB Jay NgD surat, Hov suratra 'id. '; write', Tag sú:lat, Seb Hil sulat, Ilk surat, Sbl hulat, Ivt tulás, Nbl sudat 'letter; write', Bkl surat, LeySam surat, Png Pmp sulat, Ibg turaq, Mgd sulat, surat 'write', Sul sulat, suulat 'write; letter, book; anything written', Mar sorat 'writing; letter; book'; (4) PAN *bəxat 'husked rice' (see 4, (2) for cognates); (5) Mal -r are from *-ɖ, *-l and *-ʃ: PAN *putʃɖ 'turn', Mal pusar 'turning around horizontally', ToB pusor 'cowlick', Jav pusér 'center', Tag Sbl pusód, Cuy pusúd 'knot of the hair'; (6) PAN *kikil 'file (tool); stinginess', Mal kikir 'id. ', ToB hihir, NgD Jav kikir 'file', Hov hihitra 'stinginess', Tag kí:kil 'file', kí:kig 'small stick with soft brush at the tip for cleaning the ear cavity', Png Pmp Mgd kikil 'file', Seb kilkil 'scratch', Hil LeySam kilkig 'skin of ray fish', Ilk kikir 'small saw', Bkl kilkig 'skin of shark for rasping', Sul kikig 'file; rasp'; (7) PAN *bibiʃ 'lips', Mal ToB bibir 'id. ', Jav miwi 'make a twisted mouth', NgD biwih 'lower lip', Hov vivitra 'edge', Tag bibig, Akl bibig, Sbl bebey 'mouth', Seb LeySam bibíg 'labia minora', Hil bibig, Png Ibg bibíl, Ivt bibíg, vivíq, Mgd bibil 'lips', Ilk bibíg 'lips', birbir 'chatterbox; lips shivering', Cuy bibíg 'lips; mouth'.

In certain polysyllabic words, Mal -r- reflects *-g'-: PAN *balig'a 'lathe of the loom', Mal bélira, ToB baliga, Jav walira 'id. ', Tag (old) balí:la, Pmp balila 'implement for weaving (a narrow thin piece of

bamboo used in weaving nets, esp. fishing nets)'.
 Summarizing 10, the Mal and Tag respective correspondences are as follows:

PAN	Mal	Tag	PAN	Mal	Tag
* <u>l</u> -	r-	l-	*- <u>d</u>	-r	-d
* <u>ɣ</u> -	r-	g-	*- <u>l</u>	-r	-l
*- <u>l</u> -, *- <u>g</u> '	-r-	-l-	*- <u>ɣ</u>	-r	-g
*- <u>ɣ</u> -	-r-	-g-			

In other words, *l and *ɣ in all positions, including *-g' and *-d, are unified in Mal r, whereas in Tag *l in all positions, including -g'-, become l *ɣ in all positions becomes g, and *-d becomes -d.

Instructive is what Schwarz (1908:37) reports on the exchange of r and l in certain dialects of Tnt as he did with the exchange of l and g:

"Zoowel in de taal als in de verwante talen, wisselt de Tt. r ook dikwijls met de l, bv. in invoegsels -al- en -ar-, die geheel identisch zijn en frequentative beteekenis hebben; in de voorvoegsels ri- en li- die thans verouder zijn voorts in de taal van voorbeelden, bv. wěřn (oog) Mt., wěłęng Mk.; ruřuk (hout in 't vuur schuiven) Mt. en luluk Mk.; pěra (droog) Mt. en pěla Mk." (The last from PAN *pɣ[l]a 'be dry', ToB pora, Jáv pera 'id.' Underscoring supplied.)

11. 'day; sun' in Philippine languages. The meanings 'day; sun' are reflected in Philippine languages from three PAN forms:

(1) PAN * a(n)day, Tag qá:raw, Seb Hil LeySam Mgd qadlaw, Ilk qaldaw, Bkl qadlaw, qaldaw, Pmp qaldó, Sbl qawló 'id. ', Mar daondaw 'day', ndo 'wind' (see 9, (3)); (2) PAN * ha(ñ)g'av, Png qagew, Ibg qaggaw, Nbl qakow 'id. ', (3) PAN * vaɣi, Sul haarii 'day' in the compound haarii raaya (long a and i) 'holiday; feast day', ToB ari 'day', Jav udan we-we 'sun-shower', Mal ari (hari in van Ronkel) 'day', matahari ('eye of the day') 'sun'.⁸

12. Two Tag loans from Mal. The meanings 'noon; midday' in Tag is tanghá:liq. PAN * təŋah 'middle' is reflected in Tag as tinga 'half a tael' (VL III), glossed by Noceda as 'medio tael de oro, que es el peso de cinco reales de plata', 'half a gold tael, which is the weight of five silver "reales" (a "real" was a small coin, an old legal tender worth about five cents), tingá by Laktaw as 'peso de medio tahl', 'weight of half a tael'. It is not in Panganiban and is not known in my dialect either. Its weight and value have long passed out of circulation, and tinga is now obsolete in Tag. Cognates, however, are current in other languages: Seb tungaq 'half; middle', Hil tungaq 'center; middle-aged', Ilk tengnga, Bkl tenga 'center; middle', Cuy tengaq 'half; divide into halves'. Ibg tangnga, Mgd tungaq, Sbl qagtiawlo 'noon', Mar tenga 'a quarter; twenty-five centavos', ToB tonga, Jav Mal tengah 'middle', NgD tangah 'half', Hov tena-tena 'middle'. In Tag tanghá:liq, the constituents tang- and -há:liq do not occur as independent forms. In Sbl qagtiawlo,

qawlo 'day; sun' is from PAN *a(n)day 'id.' (see 11, (1)), but qagti- must remain unidentified at present.

The meanings 'noon; midday' are in Mal tengah-hari, which is totally borrowed in Tag tanghá:liq. Mal e in tengah is assimilated to the following a, which is then lost together with the following h (h does not occur in final position in Tag), other wise there will be an -h +h- sequence, which is not tolerated in Tag; Mal -r- becomes Tag -l-, with final q, as in Tag bahàghá:riq 'rainbow' below. Dyen's theory (1953b:60, fn. 92) is that tanghá:liq can easily be traced to the Mal expression by positing the loss of a vowel. On final q in tanghá:liq and bahàghá:riq, see 15. Discussion on Cuy and Pmp, Bus and Mal, and fns. 12 and 13.

The other loan is Tag bahàghá:riq, in Pmp bagariq, pananariq, punangariq 'id.', in Seb Hil LeySam Cuy balangaw, in Ilk bullalayaw, Bkl bulangaw, Png bullayaw, Ibg vulangan, vulimgan, vulungan, Sul baangaw, Sbl kabulalangaw.

The first constituent bahág- of Tag bahàghá:riq means 'G-string; loin-cloth with a part pulled between the thighs and tied behind at the waistline', in Seb Hil Bkl LeySam Pmp Ibg Cuy bahag, Ilk baqag. There is no construction for 'G-string; loin-cloth' in VL-III, and I am tempted to construct Proto-Philippine *ba'a χ . If the identification of the first constituent is correct, then Tag bahàghá:riq literally means 'G-string, loin-cloth of the sun'. The meaning 'loin-cloth' in Mal is pinggang sulbi, 'rainbow' is pelangi or benang radja, the latter

literally means 'thread of the monarch or lord', or (in Batavia, van Ronkel biang lala, lit. 'mother, esp. of animals, of a kind of shell-fish'.

In Tag tanghá:liq, -r- in Mal hari becomes -l-; in bahaghá:riq Mal -r- is retained. In other words, Mal -r- splits into -l- in Tag -há:liq and -r- in -há:riq. From the evidence, it is obvious that Tag tanghá:liq and bahaghá:riq are borrowings from Mal: the first is total borrowing with both constituents borrowed after having undergone certain phonological changes, the second is partial borrowing, a type of blend, with the first constituent Tag and the second Mal. Pmp bagariq is a likely borrowing from Tag where h, which is not in the phonemic inventory of Pmp (but see Pmp bahag above) is lost in both constituents, as is to be anticipated, of Tag bahaghá:riq resulting in the contraction of the two a's in the first constituent with the accent retained in the penult. In Pmp pananariq and punangariq, panan- and punang- remain unidentified at present, but -ariq is definitely borrowed, for the second time, from Mal to Tag to Pmp, since 'day; sun' are in Pmp galdo (< PAN * a(n)day, see 11, (1)).

13. A unique Mal-Tag cognate (?). Scanning the first part of van Ronkel's Maleis-Woordenboek (other dictionaries are not available to me, but this one is sufficient for my purpose), I came across one word which is not in VL III: Mal budu 'kleine vis in pekel', 'small fish in pickles', 'small pickled fish'. Tag has bú:ro which is in Noceda boro 'cosa salada o salpresa', in Laktaw buro 'pickled or

salted'. In my dialect, the meaning of bú:ro is identical with Laktaw's second gloss, 'meat or fish seasoned with boiled rice and salt'. Cognates are Hil Bkl Sbl buro, Pmp buru 'preserved in salt with condiments, like mango and fish', Png buro 'sauce made of boiled rice, salt and mud-fish'.

14. Additional sources of Tag -r-. In addition to the seven sources of Tag -r- (see 9), two more can be added: (8) where Mal -r- results in the split -l- and -r- in Tag (see 12, par. 5), and (9) from Mal -d- unless it can be proven that Mal budu and Tag bú:ro and the cognates in the other Philippine languages (see 13, above) are inherited from a common PAN form *budu 'salted; pickled', which inheritance is regular, at least in Mal and Tag, although constructed *budu is not in VL III.⁹

15. Discussion. The reflexes of PAN *buyuk 'be rotten' (see 3) are now examined limiting comments to such languages only as may help shed light on the possible cognation of Tag bú:rok.

15.1 Of the reflexes, -g- in Png Pmp Sbl bugok, -l- in Pmp Sbl bulok, -y- in Ilk buyok, -h- in Sul buhuk for *-ɣ- are all irregular. Like the diversity of reflexes of *ɣ in the languages of Madagascar (see 15.12),¹⁰ these irregularities may possibly be explained as due to borrowings.

15.2 Cuy buróq with -r- for anticipated -g- and with final q is aberrant. In Cuy stress regularly falls on the final syllable (Zorc 1972:45). Final q may be the result of one of two possible phonological changes: (1) -k is reduced to -q, an assumption which is too facile

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and simplistic, or (2) -k falls off leaving the final syllable open. A final open syllable in Cuy is often followed by a glottal stop: PAN *ba u^I, *b-ah-a u 'be new', Tag bá:go, Ilk baro, Png balo, Pmp bayu, Nbl bado, Cuy bagóq 'id.' For other cases of unexpected final q, see 15. 6.

15. 3 The addition of a final q to a final syllable occurs also in Pmp: PAN *apu 'lime', Pmp qapiq, Tag qá:pog, Seb Hil Bkl LeySam Sbl qapog, Ibg qafug, qafuk, Mgd qapug, qapur 'id.', Mar qapog 'id.', qapor 'to lime', Jav apu 'id.', mr-apu 'whitish', n-apur-an 'betel mixed with lime'. In Pmp *y > y and *-uy should regularly become -uy, but since Pmp knows no diphthong the anticipated *-uy is reduced to a vowel -i leaving the final syllable open. Another example which is analogous to Cuy with accent on the final syllable: PAN *apuj 'fire', Pmp qapiq, Tag Ilk Bkl Png Sbl qapóy, Ibg qafí, qafwí, ToB Jav Mal api, NgD apoy, Hov afu 'id.'. Again as above, the anticipated -uy for *uj is reduced to a simple vowel -i leaving the final syllable open. The final is accented very likely to avoid intolerable homonymity with qapiq 'lime'.

15. 4 In Bus a final vowel is followed by a glottal stop after secondary phonetic change: PAN *b li 'buy', Bus bělēq 'id.', PAN *batu 'stone', Bus batòq 'id.' (Brandstetter 1915:13).

15. 5 Speaking of unexplainable q in Mal, Dyen is of the opinion that "it may be that the word lost its expected h by analogy and then acquired a final q by some change not now statable."¹¹

15.6 Other cases cited in this paper with final q: Tag qanggríq, pá:loq, Seb Hil Sul paloq, Pmp paluq, Ibg Cuy palóq (sec. 6), Png ligiq, Cuy sadilíq (sec. 8), Seb Hil tungáq, Cuy tengáq (sec. 12), Tag tanghá:liq, bahaghá:riq, Pmp bagariq, punanariq, punangariq (sec. 12), Cuy bagóq (sec. 15), Sbl qampamimbuloq, Sul qabughoq, Tag panibughóq, manibughóq (fn. 3), panibughô, paninibughô, manibughô (where the circumflex stands for stress and following glottal stop in conventional spelling, fn. 3).

15.7 Mgd burúk with -r- for anticipated -g- makes it a possible borrowing.

15.8 In CATa *-ŷ- is variously reflected: PAN *baxa 'live coals', CATa beleh 'charcoal' (with -l-) PAN *vaxi 'day; sun', CATa wagiq 'sun' (with -g-), and mas-búruk (sec. 3, with -r-). I have not verified which of the three reflexes occurs most often.

15.9 In BolMong r and j are equivalent: dajag, darag 'yellow', bajong, barong 'much; many', jujuq, ruruq 'far' (< PAN *d'auh 'id.').

15.10 In Jav b and w are equivalent, *-ŷ- falls off and the abutting vowels contract: PAN *baxat 'be heavy', Jav a-bot 'id.', bo-bot 'weight', Mal berat 'id.', NgD behat 'counterwiehgt', sa-barat 'so heavy that hardly', Hov vizatra 'serious words', Tag bigát, Seb Hil LeySam Akl buggat, Bkl gabát, Png belát, Pmp Sbl biyát, Nbl bulat, Sul buggat, buggat 'heaviness; weight'.

Pai ma-vúk shows parallelism with Jav wu as far as *-ŷ- is

concerned, and that is $*-\gamma-$ falls off and the abutting vowels contract; final k, however, is retained in Pai while in Jav final k occurs only after ě.

15.11 In NgD $*-\gamma-$ > r- and h-: PAN *ba γ at 'west monsoon', NgD Jav Mal barat 'id. ', Tag ha-bá:gat 'west or southeast monsoon', Sul barat 'west wind', Mgd barat 'abundant rain', Mar barat 'have inclement weather' PAN *u γ at 'tendon; vein', NgD uhat, ToB Mal urat, Jav ot-ot, urat, Hov nzatra 'id. ', Tag Bkl LeySam gugát, Ilk qurát, Ivt quyat, Nbl gulat, Mar qogat 'vein'.

15.12 On the reflexes of $*\gamma$ in Madagascar, which is the result of different points of articulation, I quote Dahl's (1951) interesting interpretation, even only in part, because I think this is the first time it is offered:

"La grande diversité des phonèmes qui représentent INC γ dans les langues modernes s'explique facilement si l'on suppose, comme Dempwolff, que la prononciation originale était celle de la fricative vélaire sonore. Si le point d'articulation se déplace vers le palais dur, le résultat est la fricative palatale j. Si le point d'articulation ne change pas, mais si le dos de la langue se lève, la fricative est transformée en vibrante uvulaire qui, à son tour, peut devenir vibrante linguale et se confondre avec un r linguale Si la langue se lève encore davantage, la fricative se transforme en l'occlusive g . . ." (p. 59).

Some examples: PAN *ba γ at 'west monsoon', Mnj barat 'wind;

west' (r for *ɣ), PAN *uɣat 'tendon; vein', Mnj uwat 'id.' (w for *ɣ), PAN *baɣan 'molar', Mer vazana 'id.' (z for *ɣ), PAN *baɣəh 'abscess', Mer vai 'id.' (∅ for *ɣ), PAN *paɣih 'ray-fish', Mlg fay 'id.' (∅ for *ɣ), PAN *baɣu^I 'be new', Mnj wao 'id.' (∅ for *ɣ), PAN *biɣah 'a plant name', Sak via 'id.' (∅ for *ɣ). The diversity of the reflexes is possible to explain as borrowings (Dahl 1951:58). Of these reflexes, Dahl considers r irregular (1951:352), and the words with r often equally have other irregularities (p. 59).

It can be safely assumed that the diversity of the reflexes of ɣ in the modern languages of Madagascar as the result of the variation of the points of articulation, as interpreted by Dahl, is applicable to the other language groups of the region.

Interesting, however, is the parallelism, fortuitous perhaps, but less so if not, that j and r which are variants in Mnj are equivalent in BolMong: Mnj bujuk 'sick', burok 'rotten' (← PAN *dʰauh 'id.') (Dunnebie 1929-30:85, 309)

15.13 Mal buruk is regular for PAN *buɣuk; PAN *ɣ is represented by Mal r (Dahl 1951:58).

15.14 In some polysyllables, *-ɣ- > Tag -y-: PAN *ba-ɣani 'be fearless', Tag ba-ya:ni 'hero', batu-ba-lá:niq (with -l-) 'magnet', Seb Ilk Bkl Png Sbl bayani, Hil baganihan, Mgd barani 'bravery; heroism', Pmp bayani 'id.', balaniq 'magnet', Sul balani 'courage; worth', ToB barani, Jav wani, Mal berani 'be fearless', Hov vani 'be

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bold'; PAN *daɣami 'straw; stalk; stubble', Tag dayá:mi, dyá:mi, Seb Hil Sul dagami, Ilk garami, Bkl dagami, ragami, Png Sbl dayami, Mgd lagami, ragami 'straw; hay', Mar ragami 'straw; hay', dayami 'a fine variety of rice', Jav dami 'stubble', Mal děrami 'straw; stalk'.

16. Conclusion. For Tag bú:rok to qualify as a cognate variant of bugók and bulók, two conditions must be satisfied: its meaning and shape must be compatible with those of the latter two.

The meanings of bú:rok, 'egg yolk (old)', which has been retained in certain contemporary dialects, 'rosiness' and 'pinkiness (modern)' with the latter also a sign of 'healthiness', may be viewed as incompatible with 'rotteness' of bugók and 'putridness' of bulók. However, a liberal interpretation of all these meanings taken together may bring about a common denominator: that the egg (yolk) is susceptible to rotteness, that the colors rosy and pink may be interpreted ambiguously, that is, either as a sign of health or as a prelude to rotteness and putridity in everyday practical world. If this interpretation is acceptable, then the qualification of bú:rok as a cognate variant of bugók and bulók on the basis of meaning is complied with. If not, then the theory fails, and bú:rok is disqualified as a variant.

PAN *buɣuk 'be rotten' is reflected by bugók 'rotten' and bulók 'putrid' (sec. 1), and -g- and -l- have been demonstrated as common alternants in Tag for *-ɣ- (sec. 8), whereas -r- never reflects *-ɣ-. The shape with -r- is found in Cuy buróq, Mgd buruk, CAta mas-búruk,

BolMong burok, Mal buruk, NgD kam-borok-an, tam-borok-an, Mnj burok and Sak voroke (sec. 5), all of which are irregular, except for Mal (see fn. 10).

In view of what we know of the cultural history and the directions of borrowings in the area (see fn. 6), evidence points to the inevitable conclusion that Tag bú:rok must have been borrowed, highly likely from Mal buruk (Tag has a tendency to lower u to o in the final syllable, whether open or close), since Mal is the one language which has furnished so many loans to the other languages of the archipelago (Dahl 1951).

Tag changed the meaning 'rotten' of Mal buruk to 'egg yolk' (Doesn't egg yolk suggest rottenness?), and by melioration added modern meanings 'rosiness', 'pinkiness', 'healthiness'. The similarity in shape of Tag bú:rok, then, vis-a-vis bugók and bulók is purely accidental, and it cannot be a cognate variant of the latter two which are inherited together with Mal buruk from PAN *buχuk.

Tag -r- in bú:rok is not a third variant of -g- and -l- (sec. 8), neither does it come from any of the sources in sec. 9. It may roughly be viewed as analogous to the -r- in -há:riq of bahaghá:riq which splits with -l- in -ha:liq of tangha:liq from Mal hari (sec. 12). The almost complete identity in shape between Tag bú:rok and bú:ro is attractive, but the -r- in the former is from the borrowed inherited reflex of *-χ- (sec. 15.13) while the -r- in bu:ro is from *-d- in *budu with -u lowered to -o in the final syllable.

NOTES

- 1) I am not applying Dyen's subscripted *R constructions.
- 2) Tag words in my dialect and from A Comparative Philippine Word-List; Sequels I and II are provided with accent marks, primary (ˈ), secondary (ˌ) and length (:), and the words in the cited Philippine languages with initial q before a vowel.
- 3) There are words in Tag which occur only in derivatives; ngimbulo in De Noceda and Laktaw and ngimbulo-pangimbulo in Panganiban all meaning 'envy' also occur in my dialect in the forms pangimbulo, pangingimbulo 'envy', mangimbulo 'to be envious', including the latter's inflections (< PAN *bulu^I 'grudge'); Tag ngim-bulo, ToB i-buru 'envy', Jav wuru 'be furious' in VL III, Sbl qampamimbuloq 'envy'. Another word is the reflex of PAN *buxu 'jealousy', by-form of *bulu^I, Tag panibugho, pangi-bugho, ToB i-buru, Mal t'ém-buru, NgD ka-behu 'jealousy', in VL III, Seb qabughuan, LeySam qabugho, Ivt qavuvu, Sul qabughuq 'jealousy', Panganiban panibugho 'jealousy', manibughô 'to be jealous', and in my dialect are used panibughuq 'jealousy', manibughuq 'to be jealous', including the latter's inflections. De Noceda reports pangibugho 'jealousy between spouses'.
- 4) Reported by Miss Anicia del Corro, a student of mine.
- 5) Brandstetter (1915, 36) enumerates four systems of accentuation of the IN Grundwort, and in the fourth system which he calls

Philippine Typus, the accent falls either on the pre-final or on the final syllable without definitive rules. The Panultima Typus is the most widespread. In ToB and several Philippine languages accent on the pre-final predominates.

Dahl (1976, 17) recapitulates Brandstetter, to the effect that the accentuation rules of modern languages are too diverse.

According to Zorc (44), in Tag penultima stress prevails, however; Tag words of the shape CVCCVC are always stressed on the ultima. (There are two exceptions: minsan 'once', pinsan 'cousin', which are stressed on the pre-final syllable, obviously both from isa 'one' with stress on the final (<PAN *əta 'one; count'). (CL)

For details on accent in Tag, see also Bloomfield 141-43, Blake 9-11, and Lopez 25-26.

6) According to Wolff (91), Tag ga:ring and other Tag forms with -r- are likely to be borrowings, even though there is no phonological evidence. If the Jav or Mal forms from which these were borrowed are attributable to the proto-language, they must have had *D_. There is often a Jav cognate with D or -r- so that either Jav or Tag must reflect a borrowing, and in view of what we know of the cultural history and the directions of borrowings in the area, it would be preposterous to state that the Tag form is inherited and reflects a phoneme *d_.

On the other hand, let us hear what Dyen says (1974, 229): If, however, Tag r is found in correspondence with Jav d_, then the

construction is *d and not *D: Tag garing, ToB gading, Jav gading, Mal gading 'ivory'. That Tag r and d result from the splitting of a single phoneme can be concluded from internal evidence alone. The two phonemes are to a large extent in complementary distribution, and alternate in the morphology (cf. Bloomfield, 136 f.). A single origin of both is a fair assumption. "Tg. d and r sind gleichwertig, "equivalent." (VL I, 34) In effect, then, the correspondence of an early (or pre-) Tag d precludes the construction of *D. The tag reflex is given priority, as it were, and the Jav word is assumed to be a loan word. It is certain that d appears for the d of foreign words borrowed by Jav: e. g. Jav roda 'wheel' from Portuguese roda 'wheel'.

The alternation of Tag -d- and -r- in the morphology is governed by usage and, sometimes, by meaning. For example, mada:mi and mara:mi 'many; much' (< ma- + da:mi 'quantity; big number or amount') are both heard, but the latter with -r- is more common; madulas 'slippery' (< ma- + dulas 'slipperiness') with -d- is more common than marulas with -r- which is hardly used, and dialectal, if at all; madilim 'dark' (< ma- + dilim 'darkness') with -d- is very common, marilim with -r- I have never heard, even dialectally; marikit 'delicate beauty or charm' (< ma- + dikit 'radiant beauty') with -r- is very appropriate, but never madikit with -d- for the same meaning because of the homophone madikit which means 'of superior pasting or adhering quality'.

There are two PAN constructions, *dakat^I 'Haften' and *dakɔt^{II}

'Anzunden', both reflected as dikit in Tag. But there is no construction for the meaning 'radiant beauty', and Tag dikit in this sense cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be an extension of either of the two *dɔkɔt- constructions, even metaphorically speaking. For PAN *dɔkɔt^{II} 'kindle; ignite', Tag dikit hardly enters into morphology with ma-. The common derivative is pamparikit 'kindling' (< pang- + pa- + dikit) always with -r-, pampadikit with -d- interpreted as 'means to make (something) adhere' is forcing the issue, stretching the meaning to the breaking point. Another common derivative is magparikit 'to kindle, esp. firewood for cooking' (< mag- + pa- + dikit) with -r-, magpadikit with -d- is 'to allow or order to paste or stick (something)'. Another is nagdi:dikit or nagdi:rikit 'catching fire' (progressive of mag- + red. of dikit), never nagri:rikit; nagdi:dikit preferable to nagdi:rikit also means 'pasting; sticking'. This alternation of Tag -d- and -r- in the morphology should be investigated further.

7) Referring to other forms with -r- which the Philippine cannot be proven to be a borrowing, Wolff (100) accounts for eleven other forms with final *-r- for which there is no proof that these forms refer to the items of the sort which have spread into Tag from Mal by borrowing. Wolff gives examples where Tag forms have final l and Mal r, and one of them is *azar 'study', Tag qa:ral 'study (occupy oneself with learning)', Mal belajar 'teach', in VL III Mal ad'ar 'theory; teaching; rule'.

8) To Wolff (92) Tag r corresponds to Mal nj and NgD nd from *nZ and *nj, e. g. Tag qa:raw 'day; sun', NgD andaw from *qanjaw and Tag tú:roq 'point', Mal tunjuk 'id.' from *tunZuq. Thus intervocalic r in Tag may reflect *nZ or *nj. (In fn. 34, p. 105 he says that the construction is his own.) And to say that *nZ and *nj are reflected in Tag as r offers some problems, as there are examples in Tag where nd is thought to reflect *nZ and *nj. However, he thinks an explanation can be found for these forms.

For 'day' Dyen (1951, 540) suggests the possibility of uniting Dempwolff reconstruction *hadaw, *handaw with his *qajaw under the formula *qajaw, *qanjaw. And on Tag tu:roq, his explanation for r that it reflects *1Z. Those interested in the details which are too long to reproduce here may read the 1951 paper, secs. 15-23, pp. 538-540.

Within the first decade of the century, Brandstetter (1908, 4-5) proposed in his Haupttypus I, Variation 2, Bin zweisilbiges Wort, bestehend aus a +Wurzel: Tag arau, Bis. adlau, mit dl neben Tag r wie in der Parallele todlo neben Tag. toro 'zeigen, Bagobo allo, mit ll neben Bis. dl wie bolle neben Bis. bodlai "mude", . . . And by the end of the decade (1910, 12) he said: In Bis. erscheint das r der RGH-Reihe . . . als g; das r der RLD-Reihe unter gewissen Bedingungen als dl; . . . (Underscoring supplied)

9) Blust (119) reconstructs 62. *budu 'salted or pickled fish'. In section 14, source 9 of Tag -r- is superfluous.

10) After a close examination of Dyen's subscripted *R constructions and the reflexes of *ɣ in the languages in Dempwolff's "Die L-, R- and D-Laute . . ." plus those in Ferrell's "Taiwan aboriginal groups . . ." and a few others, a total of 66 languages, Dahl (1976, 91) arrives at the following summary:

19 languages have regular reflex r: Atjeh, Gayo, Malay, Minankabau, Toba Batak, Madurese, Sundanese, Bugi, Makassar, Rade, Cham, Kanakabu, Saaroa, Puyuma, Nufoor, Mota, Mutu, Pala, Tuna, thus spread from Sumatra to Melanesia.

15 languages have regular ɔ: Nias, Paiwan, Bare'e, Bima, Gilbert, Ponape, Aneitum, Fiji, Rotti, Easter Island, Futuna, Maori, Marquesas, Samoa, Tonga, spread from West of Sumatra to Polynesia. But Jav has ɔ and r (Dahl 1976, 87).

7 with g: Bikol, Bisay (? Bisaya), Ibanag, Iloko, Tagalog, Atayal, Chamorro, thus from the Philippines to the Northern Pacific.

5 with h: Utdanum, Bulu, Gorontalo, Sangir, Buru, thus from Borneo to the Moluccas. But NgD has h and r (Dahl 1876, 87).

4 with l: Ami, Bunun, Paulohu, Sa's, thus from Formosa, the Moluccas and Melanesia.

The g- reflex is found only in the northern area, but the others

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are widely spread.

Palau always has the reflex s, and Ivatan y.

Nabaloi has initial d- and medial -l-, Busang initial Ø, medial and final h.

Mlg reflexes are complicated (Dahl 1951, 56-60; 1976, 37).

The following languages may be added from Conant: with r, Karo Batak; with Ø-, Tonsea; with g, Duzon and Iranun (NW Borneo), Singkan and Favorlang (Formosa), Ponosakan and Mongondou (N Celebes), Bagobo, Mangindanao and Sulu (S Philippines); with h, Dayak (but see NgD with h and r); with y, Gayo (but see r), Lampong, Pampangan, Sambal; with l, Bontok, Kalamian, Kaukanai, Pangasinan.

Conant (75) calls Iloko and Tirurai r-languages with Iloko exhibiting a large number of r:g variants, r being the original representation of the RGH series in that languages unless disturbed.

11) Dyen 1951, 540. His observations on final q in Mal may be applicable to certain Philippine languages. For examples of PMP final q, see Dyen 1953b, 15-16.

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Note - The contribution of John U. Wolff, 1974, Malay borrowing in Tagalog in papers presented to D. G. B. Hall on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday, Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, is not available to me.

