

CERTAIN UNREPORTED MORPHEMES IN TAGALOG

0. Introduction

0.1. There is a rich bibliography on the splitting of proto-phonemes in AN languages. Brandes (1884:148) calls attention to the necessity of explaining not only derivations of irregular forms but also of doublets (dubbelvormen) which are the result of splitting of phonemes in the course of time, and which became fixed and gave rise to certain alternation in meaning. One doublet cited by Brandes (p. 147) is bogok and bolok, both unglossed, modern Tag. bugok 'rotten, esp. eggs', bulok 'rotten in general'. Schwarz (1908:34-5) reports the alternation of g and l in Tnt.: kegti, keli 'many', and Dunnebier (1929:391) speaks of the alternant prefixes mojo (j = y) and moro meaning 'to do to each other what the stem signifies' or 'to do together, to do reciprocally' in Bol-Mong. Conant (1910:76) finds a large number of r:g variants in Ilk. vocabulary, and according to Brandes (p. 147) the original letter r:g in Lam. has acquired a fixed character, that is, g is predominant in north Lam.; in the south Lam., r has the upper hand. Dyen (1942:233-4) gives instances of assumed d:l doublets in Tag. resulting from the splitting of a proto-phoneme, whereas to Dempwolff (1934-38:34), Tag. d and r "sind gleichwertig, äquivalent". According to Dahl (1951:60), *ɔ splits into j and zero with the latter occurring more frequently than the former in Mnj. than in Mlg.

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0. 2. In Indo-Pacific Linguistic Studies (= *Lingua* 14, 15), Izui (1965:352) reports having heard in Kusaie some people pronouncing, for example, lon 'hear' as ron and luo 'two' as ruo. Cowan (1965:360) speaks of frequent alternation between d and r, t and r, and d and l, and Biggs (1965:390) of doublets. Elbert (1965:435) has a column in Table 1 showing splitting proto-phonemes. Milner (1965:416) deals with a big number of doublets, and in another paper (1963) touches on the problem of doublets. Holmer (1965:481-2) speaks of numerous alternation of 'nasal clusters' with corresponding plain phonemes in Indonesian languages,¹ which is of common knowledge, and cites that "... in Malagasy d and l normally alternate according to position. . ." (p. 482. fn. 21).

0. 3. The purpose of this paper is to present certain unreported cognate morphemes in Tagalog which are the result of (1) the alternation of nasal clusters and the corresponding simple phonemes, (2) the presence and absence of a probable non-productive infix, and (3) the splitting of a proto-phoneme. One unreported morpheme is a member of a triplet, ka:long:kandong:kanlong; the rest of the unreported morphemes are members of doublets, ha:lang:hadlang, kindat:kirat, pindot:pi:rot, sa:lok:sandok, sulot:sundot, qudyok:qu:lok. Two doublets, pindot:pi:rot and sulot:sundot, have no proto-forms, as far as I know.

0. 4. The glosses of the words are from my own dialect, and from the vocabulary of De Noceda and Sanlucar (henceforth Noceda) (1860) and the dictionaries of Laktaw (1916) and Panganiban (1966) which were

printed at intervals of about half a century between them (Noceda and Sanlucar, first edition 1832).

1. ka:long:kandong:kanlong

1.1. PIN *ka(n)dun 'mother's lap'. Tag. ka:long 'carry, take, hold in one's arm (as a child)'; in VL III 'placenta'. Tag Pmp kandong 'carry, take, hold on the lap, esp. of a skirt'; in VL III 'mother's lap'; Mal kandung, NgD kandong 'mother's lap; womb'. Noceda lists calong (= ka:long) 'the womb when the child is in the belly of the mother', candong (= kandong) 'carry something in the skirt', canlong (= kanlong) 'shade of a tree'; Laktaw lists kalong 'womb; carry; carry in the arms; put on the lap', kandong 'have, hold in the lap, carry something in the skirt gathered in front', kanlong 'sheltered; protected; covered; isolated, remote'. Panganiban lists kalong 'held in one's lap', kandong 'held on the lap of a skirt', kanlong 'hidden'. The meanings of the two words, ka:long and kandong, in my dialect are those given at the beginning above. Noceda's and Laktaw's gloss 'womb' for ka:long and VL III's 'placenta' are not known in my dialect where 'womb' is ba:hay-ba:taq, an exocentric compound literally meaning 'house-child', and 'placenta' is qinu:nan, lit. 'what is made pillow' (< -in- + qu:nan 'pillow', ultimately from qu:lo 'head' (PIN *ulu 'head') + -nan).

1.2. Not reported in VL III is kanlong 'hidden; covered; sheltered as against sunshine, strong wind or rain, or from a pursuer'.

1.3. *-(n)d- in Tag. PIN *-(n)d- is normally reflected by -nd- in

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Tag: PIN *pa(n)dan 'screw-palm; pandanus', Tag pandan, Seb Ilk pangdan, Bkl Png Sul pangdan, ToB Jav Mal NgD pandan, Hov fandrana 'id.'

However cognates with -l-nd- variants are not uncommon: PIN *li(n)dun

'protection', Tag li:long, Pmp lilung 'shade; shady place', Tag lindong,

Pmp lindung 'shelter; protection against the wind', Jav lindun, Mal lindun

'protection; protected'. While Tag -nd- represents PIN *-(n)d-, -l- on the

other hand represents the simple PIN C *-d-, not the nasal-combination:

PIN *gudan 'be grown up', Tag gu:lang 'age; maturity', Hil gulang

'matured', Bkl gurang 'old person', ToB godang 'be grown up'. Tag

-nd- for PIN *-(n)d- and -l- for PIN *-d- are regular. But see below,

1.4.

- 1.4. There is one case in Philippine languages without the variant with nasal-combination: PIN *pa(n)(d)³m 'close the eyes', where the nasal-combination is facultative: Tag Pmp piring, Bkl pirong, Png pereng, Mgd pirung, Sbl pereng 'blindfold', Sul pidung, pirung 'close the eyes; wink', ToB podom 'close the eyes', pondom 'grave; tomb', Jav merem 'close the eyes', pendem 'bury', NgD ma-merem 'hide oneself'. (In Jav merem, m- is due to nasal-substitution; in NgD ma-merem is due to a peculiarity of sound-shift in the older language stratum.) In other words, PIN *-d- may singularly be reflected by -r- in Tag (Dyen 1947) and other Philippine languages. On final -ng in Philippine languages reflecting PIN *-m, compare Bugi pedden (n=n or ng) 'close the eyes' (Brandstetter 1910:15).

1. 5. I know of no -l-:-nl- variants in Tag. although, to be sure, the cluster -nl- occurs: Tag banlaw, Seb bunlaw, Akl banlaw 'rinse', Hil bulnaw, Ilk balnaw, Png belnaw 'id. '. One is now in doubt as to whether n precedes or follows l in the proto-morph. But see 2. 3.

1. 6. -nd-:-nl- variants do not occur in Tag. and I doubt if they do in other Philippine languages.

1. 7. Kern (1942:307) reports that r and l are not nasalized in Austro-nesian languages but Charles (1974:461) cites cases of PP medial (nasal) consonant clusters with *l: FP *banglu 'fragrant', Ilk banglo, Sbl mayba'ngo, Tag bango, Mansaka mayballu, etc.

1. 8. The facts seem to point out that that Tag kanlong is the result of contamination of ka:long and kandong.

2. ha:lang:hadlang

2. 1. PIN *halan 'be situated transversely; crosswise', Tag ha:lang 'id. ', hadlang 'obstacle', Pmp qalang, qarang, Mgd Sul halang, 'cross-piece', Akl qalang 'snare', Jav alan, Mal alan 'be situated transversely; crosswise', NgD halan 'hold back'. In Noceda are found halang 'thing lying across the way', harlang² (= hadlang) 'impede, intercept, lay athwart, lie across the way'; in Laktaw halang 'cross-piece', hadlang 'interception, cross-piece'; in Panganiban halang 'barricade, obstacle', hadlang 'obstruction; bar; hindrance'.

2. 2. Unreported in VL III is hadlang.

2. 3. Variants with simple -C- and -dl- co-occur: PIN *gulit

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'scratch', Tag gu:lis 'id.', gudlís (not in VL III) 'light and superficial scratch on the skin; press (not scratch) with the finger-nail, say, itchy mosquito bite with the pressure exerted in several crosswise fashion to relieve the itchiness', Ilk gorlis³ 'scratch', ToB guris 'scraping iron', Mal goris, gores 'scar; scratch', NgD goris 'stroke line; scratch'. Sometimes the sequence is -ld- instead of -dl- in other languages: Bkl taldok 'erect, set up, as a post or candle', tarok 'plant rice', Sbl teldek 'id. Bkl taldok', terek 'post', Tag tarok 'sound in depth of water', ti:rik 'id. Bkl taldok'. On -ld-:-dl- variants, compare Seb qadlaw, Ilk qaldaw, Bkl qadlaw, qaldaw, Tag qá:raw 'day; sun', Sul qadlaw 'day', PIN *'a(n)day 'day; sun'.

2. 4. According to Brandstetter (1910:12), the r of the RLD series occurs as dl under certain conditions (he did not say what conditions), citing Bis kodlit, kodlis 'cut' (p. 23). However, to Dempwolff (1934-38:81) Tag dl for PIN *l in medial position in kidlát 'lightning', PIN *kilat 'id.' is rather unique, which is not quite true had he not missed hadláng, PIN *halan, and by contamination Tag gudlís, PIN *gulit. Perhaps the -d- in hadláng and kidlát, and in gudlís, are conveniently explained as non-productive infix.

3. kindat:kirat

3.1. PIN *ki(n)[d]at 'open the eyes', Tag kindat 'wink', kirát 'unequal size of the eyes', Seb kirát, Png Pmp Mgd kindat 'wink', Ilk kilát, kirát 'chide by pulling down the eyelid', Hov hiratra 'open the eyes'. In Noceda, the entry is qindat (= kindát, q being the Spa q and not the glottal stop) 'make signs

with the eyebrows or wink', but none for unexpected qirat (= kirat); in Laktaw are found kindat 'wink' and kirat 'eye which is extraordinarily small or wrinkled that the owner seems to have difficulty opening it', and in Panganiban, kindat 'wink' and kirat 'narrow-eyed'.

3. 2. Tag kirat is unreported in VL III.

3. 3. Seb kirat with r for *-[d]- and loss of *-(n)-, Png Pmp Mgd kindat with -nd- for *-(n)[d]- are regular. *-(n)- is lost in Ilk, and *-[d]- usually becomes -d-: PIN *hudi 'hind part', Ilk qúdi 'last; behind; end', Ivt naúdi 'rear', or it becomes -l- or -r-: PIN *kadut 'graze, touch in passing; scratch', Ilk kálos 'strickle; level with a strickle', káros 'scrape; scratch', Tag ká:los, Seb kálos 'id. Ilk kálos'. In Hov hiratra, -r- corresponds to Tag -nd- for PIN *-(n)[d]-, and -tra is regular for PIN *-t.

3. 4. PIN *ki(n)[d]at is the only morph in VL III with facultative *-(n)- and provisional *-[d]- which becomes Tag Png Pmp Mgd -nd-. The problem is Tag -r- for *-[d]- in kirát for anticipated -l- after loss of *-(n)-, as in PIN *kadut, Tag ká:los, above.

3. 5. Tag -r- usually reflects the simple C *-d-, not *-(n)d-: PIN *a(n)day 'sun; day', Tag qá:raw, Ivt qáraw 'id.' However, -nd- and -r- variants for PIN *-(n)d- occur in Tag: Tag dandáng, dagandáng 'heated', daráng 'exposed to fire', Bkl dangdang 'heat; dry on fire', daráng 'heat on fire; roast', PIN *da(n)dan 'become heated'.

3. 6. In Tag kirát, -r- is (1) either an innovation for *-d- for

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anticipated -l-, or: (2) PIN *ki(n)[d]at should be revised to *ki(n)dat, in which case the -r- is analogous to the -r- in the variants pindót:pí:rot, for which see 4.

4. pindót:pí:rot

4.1. Tag pindot 'squeezing, mashing with the fingers or palm of the hand', pí:rot 'pinching with the fingers and twisting, as a moustache'. In Noceda are pindot 'pinch with the fingers twisting the flesh', pirot 'pinch hard with the fingers or with the finger nails'; in Laktaw pindot 'pressure; compression; squeezing', pirot 'twisting; twisted'; and in Panganiban pindót 'squeezing or crushing with the fingers', pirot, páppirot 'act of pinching with the fingers and twisting'.

4.2. Both pindót and pí:rot are unreported, and no proto-morph is reconstructed.

4.3. There are two points of weakness here: (1) the paucity of data for comparison and (2) the highly suspect nature of possible cognates available. Hil Hin have pirot 'shut; close; to shut or close the eyes; to be shut or close', pirót 'one who has the eyes nearly closed or only half open', SamLey has pirot 'sticking together of the feathers of birds when it rains or when wet', Mar pindit 'hold with or between the fingers', pirot 'wink; half-closed eye', Jav peroet 'deformed; misshapen; crooked (as the ear)', poeroet, dipoendoet 'taken', asoe poeroet 'abusive' (Pigeaud 1938). Jav poeroet, dipoendoet 'taken' can be dismissed without much ado because of discrepant meaning, which is more cognate to Tag puirot, Seb Hil

Pmp Sbl pulot, Sul pudyut, pu:t 'pick with the fingers, as from the floor or ground; find by chance', for which also no proto-morph has been reconstructed. Mar pindit poses an unexplainable problem notwithstanding the closeness of meaning to both Tag forms. Sul -dy- in pudyut is palatalized d and long u: in pu:t is the result of the coalition of the two abutting u's after loss of -dy-. This loss of -dy- is rather unusual in Sul because generally it is -l- which is lost between two like V's: Tag qú:lo, Seb Sbl qulo, Bkl qolo, Png quló, Sul u: 'head', PIN *ulu 'id.'

4.4. The -nd- in Tag pindot and the -r- in pi:rot are variants obviously analogous to -nd-:-r- variants in Tag kindát:kirát (disregarding the position of stress and length in the second morphemes of the variants), and thus PIN *pi(n)dut 'squeeze; pinch', with *-(n)d-, may be constructed with *-(n)d- retained in Tag pindot and the simple C *-d- becoming -r- in Tag pi:rot. The Hil Hin SamLey forms and Mar pirot can be dismissed from the comparison from the point of view of too discrepant meaning, and the Jav forms on both phonetic and semantic grounds.

5. sá:lok:sandók

5.1. PIN *tánduk 'spoon', Tag sá:lok 'fetch water; a variety of fishing net; swoop, as of a kite', sandók 'ladle made of halved coconut shell', Seb kalos 'fetch water', sandók 'ladle', Bkl sarok 'id.'; Tag sá:lok, sandók 'ladle', Png salok 'swoop, as of a kite', Pmp salok 'fetch water; a variety of fishing net', sandók, salok 'ladle; spoon', Sbl halok 'id.'; Tag sá:lok, handók 'id.', Bkl saldók, Cuy sarok 'id.'; Tag sá:lok, Sul sauk

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'dip up liquids', Mar paandok 'spoon', sakedo 'dipper', ToB sanduk, Jav sendu', Mal sendu', NgD sendok 'spoon'. Noceda has saloc (= sá:lok) 'something like a spoon to draw out the fish; take something with a vessel or with the hands; or something similar, be it liquor, grain, etc.; take something with the hand; palm turned up, sandoc (= sandók) 'kitchen spoon Laktaw salok 'small net to draw out fish caught in a corral; take something from a vessel, etc. with the hand, etc., be it liquor, grain, etc.; fetch, go for water', sandok 'large spoon; kitchen spoon made of coconut shell', Panganiban salok 'small deep net in spoon-like structure, for catching fish by dipping into water within a fenced-in enclosure; fetching of water (from a well or spring); the swooping or dipping of a kite in the air', sandok (Mal sendok) 'ladle or scoop (made of coconut shell)'.

5.2. Under PIN *t'anduk in VL III, no Tag reflex is given, neither sá:lok nor sandók, but Tag sandók is cited in VL I, § 51, c, 1, p. 98 and cross-referred to § 48, c where it says that the vocalic discrepancy which is not explicable by assimilation or another manner is unique. Additional evidences for "vocalic discrepancy": Tag a occurs for PIN *a in compounds, as Tag tayu-basi 'slag; dross of metals', PIN *bɛi 'iron', and this provisional construction finally is changed to PIN *bɛi on the strength of this evidence; also, Tag ganap 'complete', PIN *gənap, Tag katok 'knock', PIN *katuk. Such sound discrepancies in Tag can be indicated as by-forms of PIN vocabulary partly, at least, through horizontal comparison (cf. § 59, d), here, however, they must

be accepted as unexplicable exceptions.⁴ Tag tayubasi is in Noceda tayobasi 'filings', and in Laktaw tayubasi 'filings', but not in Panganiban, and it is not known in my dialect. Cognates of the second constituent basi, which does not occur independently, are ToB bosi 'iron', Jav wesi 'iron', Mal besi 'iron', Hov vi 'iron', Fij vesi 'name of a spear'; of Tag ganáp are Pmp ganáp 'id. Tag', Ilk ganáp 'common; universal', Sul ganap 'exactly enough; complete; even, as of numbers', ToB gono = ganup 'every one', Jav genep, Mal genap 'complete'; of Tag katók are Sbl katóg 'knock, as at the door', ToB hotuk 'rattle', Jav ketu 'small cymbal', Mal ketu 'small cymbal'.

5. 3. With PIN *tənduk is given the by-form *k'induk 'scoop': Tag sí:lok, Png sirok 'spoon made of palm leaves', Ilk sidok 'id. Tag. Png 'ladle', Ivt sidug 'scoop', sidek 'gourd for scooping wine', Btk sichok 'net', Jav tídu 'scoop', Mal tídu 'scoop out'. The reflexes of the by-form PIN *k'induk show only the simple C for *-nd- unlike *tənduk with the nasal-combination and simple C variants. In view of the facts, perhaps the nasal in *tənduk and *k'induk should be made facultative, *-(n)-.

5. 4. It is very obvious that the -l-:-nd- variants of PIN *-nd- in Tag sa:lok:sandok are parallel to the variation in 1. ka:long:kandong and 6. sulot:sundot. For additional cases, see 1. ka:long:kandong:kanlong.

6. sulót:sundót

6. 1. Tag sulot 'poke; put, insert through an opening or a narrow space',

sundot 'poke, as with the tip of the finger, an elongated object, a pointed blade, and the like'.⁵ Noceda gloss solot (= sulot) 'key; poke, stir with a pole or hand; put something in a basket or hole', but there is no entry sundot; Laktaw has sulot 'stab, poking, thrust', sundot 'stab; prick'; Panganiban has sulot 'poke (with the point of a finger, stick, spear, or the like)'.

6.2. Both words are unreported in VL. III.

6.3. Discussion is handicapped to a certain extent due to paucity of reliable data for comparison. The following, however, may be cited: Seb sulot 'introduce; put on', Hil solot 'fill a fissure', Bkl sorot 'key', Png sulot 'id. Tag sulot', Pmp sulut 'key; open with a key' (Bergaño), sulut 'id. Tag sulot', Ivt sudut 'put a small thing in a big one, like a cup or class, in a larger one, or when an object is encased in another' (various PP. Dominicanos 1933), Menangkabau Mal sundut, menjundut 'bear, wear' (Poerwadarminta and Teeuw 1950). Of these words, Hil solot, Bkl sorot, Pmp sulut, sulut, Ivt sudut are acceptable as non-suspect cognates of Tag sulot, allowing a broad tolerance of meanings.

6.4. Seb sulot, however, is highly suspect. It is more cognate to Tag su:qot 'put on a piece of wearing apparel, like a dress, a pair of trousers, a hat, pair of shoes, etc.; go through a narrow opening', where -l- in Seb (and in PIN) is lost and is replaced by a glottal stop (not written) in Tag, rather a common phenomenon, like Seb Hil Pmp Ivt dalan, Tag da:qan 'way' (< PIN *d'alan 'id.'). But cognates of Tag suqot, particularly

of the second gloss, without -l- also occur in other languages: Seb suot 'penetrate, pass, enter a narrow passage', Hil suut, SamLey suot 'go deep a narrow passage', Sul suqot 'two persons wearing one sarong for sleeping', Ivt soot 'a native overcoat'.

6. 5. In colloquial Seb -l- is lost in the sequence $-V_1V_1-$, and after loss of -l-, $-V_1V_1- > -V_1-$, as PIN *vada 'be present; none', Seb wa:q ($< \text{waláq}$), Tag waláq, SamLey waráy, wará, Pmp qaláq, Sul wa:y 'none; non-existent', Png walá 'there is; have'.

6. 6. At this stage, Tag sundót remains without non-suspect cognates, unless final -l in Pmp sundul 'urge from below' (Bergaño) were a misprint or miscopied or, if not, is accepted as an unexplicable exception.

Menangkabau Mal sundut, menjundut 'bear, wear', with nasal-combination and nasal-substitution are more cognate to Tag sú:qot, judged from the meaning, than to sundot in spite of the nasal-combination in the latter.

6. 7. In spite of the paucity of cognates of Tag sundot, the proto-morph can be constructed on the analogy of 1. ka:long:kandong and 5. sa:lok:sandok, both with $-l-:-nd-$ variants. For Tag sulot:sundot is, then, constructed PIN *t'u(n)dut 'bear, wear; pass through a narrow passage', with facultative $*(n)-$, as in *ka(n)dun, not obligatory, as in *t'anduk. (But see 5. 3.) $*(n)d- > -nd-$ in Menangkabau Mal sundut, menjundut, and in Tag sundot, and after loss of $*(n)-$, $*-d-$ becomes -l- in Tag Seb Hil Png Pmp, -r- in Bkl and -d- in Ivt, all regular. In the case of Tag su:qot, Sul suqot, Seb suot, etc. after loss of $*(n)-$, the

anticipated reflex of *-d- is also lost, which is a likely later phonological change. Or, is a by-form constructible?

7. qudyók:qú:lok

7.1. PIN *uńdúk 'hand, give over', Tag qudyók 'incitement', qú:lok 'coaxing; cajolery; inducement'; Seb AKI quloggulog, Hil quluqulu, SamLey qulugqulug 'incitement; instigation', Ilk qullok 'insist on; try to win the goodwill', Pmp quluk 'incentive; bribe', ToB uńdúk 'pay a woman's purchase-money', Mal uńdú 'offer; hand, give over'. Noceda has oryoc (= qudyók) 'incite to abuse, scoff, quarrel', oloc (= qú:lok) 'incite another, incite him to take revenge', Laktaw lists udyok 'inducement', but not the expected ulok (= qú:lok), and Panganiban has udyók (Chinese according to him) 'inducement; incitement', ulok 'id.' Tag qú:lok.

7.2. Both words are not reported under *uńdúk in VL III.

7.3. PIN *-ńd- usually becomes -nd- in Philippine languages:

PIN *i(ń)dák 'step; dance', Tag qindak, Pmp mindak 'dance; gambol; -d- or -r- in PIN *[t]uńdúk 'show', Tag tú:roq, Hil Png túroq, Ilk tudú, Bkl Sbl túroq, Pmp turuq 'id.'; or with -dl- (cf. examples 2.3. and 2.4.), as in SamLey tudloq 'id.', Akl tudloq 'finger', Mal tuńdú 'show', NgD tundok 'point with the finger'. PIN *-d- usually becomes -d- or -r-: PIN *ad'al 'theory; teaching; rule', Tag qá:ral,⁶ Png Pmp Ibg Sbl áral, Ilk Bkl Mgd adal 'study (occupy oneself with learning)', ToB ad'ar, Jav ad'ar, Mal NgD ad'ar 'theory; teaching; rule'. Mal NgD -nd- for PIN *-nd-, ToB Jav Mal NgD -d- for PIN *-d-

are all regular, and Tag Pmp -nd- for *-(ń)d'- in PIN *i(ń)d'ak and other Philippine languages -d- or -r- for *-nd- in PIN *[t]uńd'uk and for *-d'- in PIN *ad'al are all regular.

7. 4. Tag -dy- (palatalized single C-phoneme -d-) for anticipated -r- for PIN *-d- after loss of *-n-, is irregular.⁷ A witness, however, is Sul gadyal (also palatalized -d-) 'work; doing; performing'. Also irregular is -l- in other Philippine languages (geminated in Ilk), and likewise irregular or inexplicable is the voicing to -g of PIN *-k in Seb SamLey Akl and its loss in Hil.

7. 5. In two cases, PIN *-d- > Tag -dy- instead of the anticipated -r-: PIN *[r]ad'i 'magic spell; incantation, Tag ngá:dyiq, pangadyiq,⁸ Seb Bkl pangadyiq, Hil pangadiq, SamLey Akl gadyiq, pangadyiq, Pmp pangadi, Cuy pargadi 'pray; prayer', Sul pangadyiq 'education; learning', Mar pangadian 'read', ToB Mal 'ad'i', Jav 'ad'i' 'magic spell; incantation', NgD k-ad'i 'learnedness'. Another is PIN *gađ'ah 'elephant', (Old) Tag gá:dya, Bkl gadya, Hil gadyáq, Sul gadydya (geminate palatalized d) 'id.', ToB gađ'a, Jav Mal NgD gađ'ah 'id.' This -dy- for *-d'- in PIN *gađ'ah is not yet a naturalized phoneme in Philippine languages as it is in non-Philippine IN languages.

7. 6. An unexplicable exception with Tag -l- for anticipated -r- for PIN *-d- is Tag talím 'blade; cutting edge', Hil talúm, Ilk tadém, Bkl SamLey taróm, Png Sbl Ivt Cuy tarém, Akl talum, Ibg Ita tarám 'id.

Tag¹, Seb talúm, Pmp tarám 'sharpness', Mgd talám 'arms; weapons', Nbl tarem 'edge; knife', matachim 'sharp'. Other Philippine languages join Tag with unexplicable -l-, like Hil Akl Seb Mgd; others show regular -d- or -r-, like Ilk Bkl SamLey Png Sbl Ivt Cuy Ibg Ita Pmp; and the retention of *-d- after loss of *-n- is regular in ToB Jav Mal. Nbl splits PIN *-d- into -r- and -ch- (/c/), as in PIN *hud'an 'rain', Nbl quran:quch Tag Seb Hil Akl Mgd qulán, Bkl SamLey Png Cuy Pmp Ita qurán, Btk qoda, Btk qochan 'id.'

7. 7. Unique is the split of PIN *-d- into -l- and -r- in Tag: PIN *hid'av 'be green or unripe', Tag hilaw 'green; unripe; raw; uncooked', hi:raw 'color of feathers of chicken which is a combination of black or dark grey and green', Seb Hil Bkl SamLey hilaw 'id.', Tag hilaw, Ilk qidaw, Pmp qiroo⁹ 'id.', Tag hi:raw, Mgd Mar qilaw 'id.', Tag hilaw; 'uncooked rice', Sul hilaw 'raw; uncooked', Jav id'o, Mal idao, NgD hid'ao 'be green'. The final -o in Pmp following -o < *-aw (< PIN *-av) is unexplicable at this stage.

7. 8. For the nasal-combination PIN *-nd- Tag reflects only the simple *C. To the unique split of PIN *-d- into Tag -l- and -r- in hilaw:hiraw, PIN *hid'av, must now be added another split into Tag -dy-:-l-, in qudyók:qú:lok. From evidences attesting to the loss of PIN *(n)- in Philippine languages, PIN *und'uk is now corrected to *u(n)d'uk.

NOTES

- 1) This, of course, is treated in detail in VL; see also Lopez 1972a.
- 2) In harlang r and d in medial position is a residue of (Old) Tag and is still heard in some Tag dialects. In Noceda, for instance, is found burhi 'treachery, goodwill, reveal, modern Tag budhiq 'conscience', and even in final position, particularly in doubled CVC roots, borbor 'pulverize', modern Tag budbód 'sprinkling of particles of powdered or pulverized matter'. See also oryóc, 7.1 (= qudyák).
- 3) The o in Ilk gorlis is similar to the o in Mal, that is, in free variation with u; in NgD, however, the o is due to the sound-shift in the old stratum of the language. Suspicious, however, is whether Ilk r corresponds to Tag d and Ilk d to Tag l since PIN *l > Ilk r, as in PIN *alak 'intoxicating drink, distillate', Ilk qarak, Tag qá:lak 'wine', PIN *kulan 'lacking, too little', Ilk kurang, Tag kú:lang 'id.' PIN *l is usually retained in Ilk as it is in Tag, as in PIN *balik 'reverse side', Ilk Tag balík 'return', PIN *dilah 'tongue', Ilk dila, Tag di:laq 'id.' PIN *l and *l are unified in Tag l.
- 4) "Vereinzelt finden sich im Tag vokalische LU., die nicht durch Assimilation oder auf andere Art zu erklären sind. "Tag a tritt fuer UIN *ə auf in Tag (im Kompositum) tayu-basi Schlacken zu UIN bet[i'] (§ 47, a) - jene vorläufige Konstruktion wird durch diesen

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Beleg entguelitig zu UIN *bə́tí‘; Tag ganap Vollzaehligsein zu UIN gənəp (§ 32, a); Tg. katok Pochen zu UIN kətuk (§ 43, b).

"Derartige LU. der Tg. wird man durch horizontale Vergleichung wenigstens zum Teil als "Nebenformen" deuten koennen (vgl. § 59, d); hier aber muss sie als unerklaerte Ausnahmen hinnehmen.

5) I was tempted, but abstain, to connect Tag su:rot with sulot:sundot, but meanings are too discrepant: Tag su:rot 'reprimand verbally accompanied by pointing an accusing finger' (italics supplied), Ilk surot 'to follow' (Vanoverbergh), Isn surot 'to follow a scent, etc.' (Vanoverbergh), Mal soedoet 'corner, as of a room' (van Ronkel), Indonesia (Bahasa Indonesia) sudut 'corner; point of view; visual angle' (Poerwadarminta and Teeuw). The Ilk and Isn words are certainly cognates between them, so are the Mal and Indonesia, but the meanings in both cases are too far from Tag sú:rot whose meaning, in turn, may not be easily reconciled with those of Tag sulót:sundót.

6) According to Wolff (3, 4, 4, p. 100), Tag qá:ral is one of the "nine (eight?) cases . . . , which have spread into Tg from Ml by borrowing. The others are kíkil 'file', lábol 'glowing iron', kundol 'kind of gourd', tábal 'kind of plant with thick leaves', pantalan 'wharf', tábil 'screen, curtain', singil 'collect debt', qúkol 'concerning, what something is intended for, set aside for'.

7) In Tag when a C is followed by i in an accented syllable, the C is articulated palatal: bakiyáq > bakyáq 'wooden clogs', pasiyá > pasya

'decision', tadiyáng > tadyáng 'rib', and the word loses one syllable.

8) Tag ngadyi (= ngá:dyiq) is not in Noceda, but pangadyi (= pangá:dyiq) is. Laktaw lists ngadyi and Panganiban ngadyî which, according to Panganiban, is Mal ngá:dyiq and pangá:dyiq are not known in my dialect where the word for 'prayer' is dasal (= Spa rezar).

9) -o in Pmp qiroo is a supporting V similar to what Brandestetter calls Stuetzvokal, a in Talaut inuma, Hov inuna, PIN *inum 'drink', o in Kaidipan putiho, PIN *putih 'white' (Brandestetter 1910, 206, p. 58), and what Dempwolff calls vowel accretion (vokalische Zuwachs) in Tag daiti = dait where he considers -i an unexplicable exception since it does not occur in Tag with a grammatical function. (VLI, § 48, d) p. 75.)

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