

6 SOME NEW MORPHEMES IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

Cecilio Lopez, 'Some new morphemes in Philippine languages', *The Archive* (New Series) 1(1):5-32 (1970).

INTRODUCTION

A FEW YEARS AGO I became interested in (a) the reflexes of Dempwolff's doublet reconstructions in the Philippine languages¹ and (b) in non-productive infixes in the Indonesian languages.² To gather the basic data I went through Dempwolff's three volume work (*Vergleichende Lautlehre*).³ In the process of gathering the data, some of Dempwolff's reconstructions called to mind equivalents in the Philippine languages which are not reflexes of his reconstructions.⁴ My curiosity was aroused and simultaneous with the data I was gathering for (a) and (b) above, I made a list of the equivalents which I came to in a random manner and by accident. This list is the subject of this paper which, at this stage, makes no claim to exhaustiveness. And it is not the intention either to use a diagnostic vocabulary.

These equivalents in the Philippine languages which are not reflexes of Dempwolff's reconstructions, I now call new morphemes.⁵ I went further and looked up their cognates in non-Philippine Indonesian languages. These cognates are grouped under NPL (Non-Philippine Languages) to distinguish them from the group under PL (Philippine Languages). This distinction is purely geographic. The purpose of this paper is to furnish data which may serve to explore the possibility of reconstructing forms additional to Dempwolff's *Ur-Indonesisch*

¹ Data organized.

² Almost finished.

³ O. Dempwolff, *Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes*.

⁴ In my manuscript on *A comparative Philippine word-list*.

⁵ Suggested by Dyen in a conversation, summer 1967, when he was in the Philippines.

(=PIN) where the cognate new morphemes occur in both PL and NPL, and additional Proto-Philippine (PP) forms, where the cognates occur only in PL.⁶

6. In 1910 appeared C. E. Conant's 'The RGH law in Philippine languages', *JAOS* 31.70-85, and in 1912 his 'The pepet law in Philippine languages', *Anthropos* 7.920-47. In his two papers Conant reconstructed only a few Philippine prototypes, and of those he did in the second, one can be a possible prototype of the words with the meaning 'dirt' (6. PL:b. and NPL), namely, Phil (=Philippine) *lena*, with reflexes Ilk *lenna*, Bkl *lana*, Bis *luna*. But since Conant did not gloss the reflexes, I hesitate to colligate them with the words in 6. PL:b. and NPL particularly when his reflexes under Ilk and Bis are different from those under Ilk and (Bis) Hil SamLey Seb in 6. PL:b.

In 1911 R. Brandstetter's *Gemeinindonesisch und Urindonesisch* was published. He examined languages in "three frontier districts (Grenzdistrikte)..., Batan Islands and Formosa in the north... the islands from Lombok to New Guinea in the east... the chain of islands south of Sumatra in the Southwest." He did not include the frontier district of Halmahera and the neighboring islands because their affinity to Indonesian languages is questionable (*Einführung*, pp. 3-4).

Brandstetter established the following sound-system of *GemeinIN* allowing that certain sounds are not absolutely proven to be certain: *a i u ê e o; k g ŋ; c j ñ; t d n; p b m; y r l w; s; h* (p. 14). In Brandstetter's interpretation Proto-Indonesian is not fundamentally different from the contemporary living idioms (p. 45, par. 189).

Years before Conant and Brandstetter, in 1884, J. L. A. Brandes wrote his dissertation on *Bijdrage tot de Vergleichende Klankleer der Westersche Afdeeling van de Maleisch-Polynesische Taal-familie*. About two-thirds of the dissertation covers comparative phonology, the remaining third affixation and reduplication.

In 1942 my friend H. Costenoble left a manuscript, *Woerterbuch des Ur-Filippinischen*, an inductive reconstruction based on his comparison of four languages, Tagalog, Pampangan, Iloko and Samar-Bisaya. The *Woerterbuch* comprises 101 pages, typewritten single space on both sides of 8½ x 10½ bond paper. Based on Dempwolff's *Austronesische Woerterverzeichnis*, except the Vorwort of 17 pages, the rest covers the word-list with about 6,500 entries in *Ur-Filippinisch* (which I abbreviate and translate PP = Proto-Philippine) with corresponding glosses, which is about three times the number of entries in Dempwolff's *Woerterverzeichnis*.

Costenoble follows Dempwolff's spelling in general except for his substitution of *w* and *y* for *v* and *j*. Like Brandstetter, who reconstructed *s* in PIN, Costenoble does the same in PP, and he reconstructs the glottal stop, for which he used *ʔ*. "For reasons not clear to me, Brandstetter did not include the glottal stop in his inventory of *GemeinIN* sound-system (1911). In his monographs before and after 1911, he did recognize hamzah, symbolizing it with *q*. Dyen believes "that the reconstruction of *ʔ* where Dempwolff writes intervocalic and final *h* will permit a simpler treatment of phenomena found in the Philippine languages" ('The Malayo-Polynesian Word for "Two"', *Lang.* 23.53, fn. 18). In a later paper, Dyen started substituting *q* for Dempwolff's *h* in any position ('Proto-Malayo-Polynesian "Z"', *Lang.* 27.535, fn. 3), which substitution he maintains in his subsequent publications.

Costenoble emphasizes that his PP *Woerterbuch* is not a finished work in any sense at all. He describes his procedure, showing what he has done and what remains to be done, hoping that eventually somebody will later expand and complete his work.

All in all, I have examined some 87 languages and dialects,⁷ 27 in the PL with *A Comparative Philippine Word-List* as the main source, and 60 in the NPL based on printed sources. Not all 87 languages and dialects, understandably, are attested in the 41 meanings in the LIST. Those which are represented are enumerated in the ABBREVIATIONS (of languages and dialects attested).

The guide words in the LIST, numbered in alphabetic order, are meanings in English which are my translation of Dempwolff's glosses (*Austronesisches Woerterverzeichnis*) followed by PMP in Dyen's symbols for orthographic convenience. The LIST includes morphemes which are the reflexes of Dempwolff's reconstructions as well as the new morphemes in the PL, but in NPL only the new morphemes are included.⁸ The cognates, homosemantic⁹ or not, are grouped together after small letters. In some cases the grouping may not stand close formal and semantic scrutiny, but it is attractive and perhaps justifiable — if only tentatively—because the morphemes are new morphemes.

In the PL only those morphemes are listed which occur as cognates among themselves in at least two languages. A morpheme which occurs in only one Philippine language is also included, provided it has a cognate in the NPL. Conversely, in

(Costenoble was a sugar chemist. He disappeared during the occupation of the Philippines while "detailed" to a sugar Central somewhere in Central Luzon.)

7. The languages and dialects examined from the sources are:

In the PL: Aklan, Apayao, Bagobo, Bontok, BontokJ (Jenks in Scheerer's *The Batan Dialect*, 1908), Cuyunon, Hiligaynon, Ibanag, Ilongot, Iloko, Itawis, Itbayat, Ivatan, Kalamian, Maranao, Magindanao, Nabaloi, Pinatubo Negrito, Pampangan, Pangasinan, Sagada, Samar-Leyte, Sambales, Sebu, Taosug, Tagalog, Tirurai.

In the NPL: Ami, Amboina, Atayal, Atjeh, Balinese, Bare'e, Bê, Bima, Bolaang-Mongondou, Brôu, Bugi, Buhwan, Bulu, Busang, Ceram, Cham, Chamorro (I, II, III), Chru, Ci'uli Atayal, Favorlang, Formosa, Gayo, Hova, Jarai, Javanese, Kayan-Dayak, Lampong, Lowangan, Makassar, Malay, Menadonese, Menangkabau, Malagasy, Maanjan, Nias, Ngadju-Dayak, Old Betsimisarakaka, Old Javanese, Paiwan, Pazeh, Rade, Rotti, Rukai, Saisiyat, Sakalawa, Sasak, Sedik, Squli Atayal, Simalur, Siraya, Sumba, Sundanese, Tetum, Thao, Timor, Toba-Batak, Tontemboan, Tsou, Vonum, Yami.

8. The original list includes both the reflexes of Dempwolff's reconstructions and the new morphemes in the PL and NPL and dialects. To list them all here will hardly serve the purpose of this paper. They will be useful when additional data from more languages shall have become available to justify the application of PP reconstructions to PIN, or inversely of PIN to PP.

9. Dyen's term (IJAL), Memoir 19, p. 16).

the NPL a morpheme is listed even if it occurs in only one language, provided it has a cognate in the PL.

SOURCES

For Philippine Languages

The *A Comparative Philippine Word-List*, a manuscript which includes about 2,500 items in 27 languages with Dempwolff's *Vergleichende Lautlehre* (III *Austronesisches Woerterverzeichnis*) used as basis. The bulk of the items in this *Word-List* was elicited from student informants supplemented by printed sources which are not enumerated here because these will be incorporated in the *Word-List* when this is published. The coverage is uneven, particularly in the minor languages, because students did not continue to enroll in courses in Philippine linguistics, some dropping out after one or two terms. For the interpretation of the data, I alone am responsible.

For Non-Philippine Languages

- Asai, Erin. 1953. *The Sedik Language of Formosa*. Kanazawa: Cercle Linguistique de Kanazawa. (*Acta Orientalia*, Osaka, 1954).
- Brandes, Jan L. A. 1884. *Bijdrage tot de Vergelijkende Klankleer der Westersche Afdeeling van de Maleisch-Polynesische Taal-Familie*. Utrecht.
- Brandstetter, Renward. 1908. *Malaio-polynesische Forschungen*. Zweite Reihe IV (Mata-Hari oder Wanderungen einen Indonesischen Sprachforschers durch die drei Reiche der Natur). Luzern.
- 1911. *Gemeinindonesisch und urindonesisch*. Luzern.
- 1912. *Sprachvergleichendes Charakterbild eines indonesischen Idioms*. Luzern.
- 1912. *Das Verbum* (Dargestellt auf Grund einer Analyse der besten Texte in vierundzwanzig indonesischen Sprache). Luzern.
- Costenoble, H. 1940. *Die Chamorro Sprache*. 's-Gravenhage.
- Dahl, Otto Chr. 1951. *Malgache et Maanjan*. Oslo.
- Dempwolff, Otto. 1934, 1937, 1938. *Vergleichende Lautlehre des austronesischen Wortschatzes*. 3 vls. (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen). Berlin/Hamburg.
- Ferrel, Raleigh. Spring 1966. *The Formosan tribes: A preliminary linguistic, archaeological and cultural synthesis*. The Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica. No. 21.
- 1967. *Atayal Vocabulary*. Taipei.
- 1969. *Taiwan aboriginal groups: Problems in cultural linguistic classification*. Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica. Monograph No. 17.

- Kahlo, Gerhard. 1941. *Kleines vergleichendes malayo-polynesisches Woerterbuch*. Leipzig.
- Kern, H. 1936. *Verspreide Geschriften*. Supplement. 's-Gravenhage.
- Miller, John D. 1964. 'Word Classes in Brôu.' *Mon-Khmer Studies I*. Publication No. 1, Linguistic Circle of Saigon.
- Pigeaud, Th. 1938. *Javaans-Nederlands Handwoordenboek*. Groningen/Batavia.
- Pittman, Richard S. 1959. 'Jarai as a member of the Malayo-Polynesian family of languages.' *Asian Culture* 1(4):59-67.
- Schwarz, J. Alb. T. en anderen. 1908. *Hofdstukken uit de Spraakkunst van het Tontemboansch*. Samengesteld door N. Adriani en M. L. Adriani, geb. Gunning. 's-Gravenhage.
- Thomas, Dorothy M. 1963. 'Proto-Malayo-Polynesian Reflexes in Rade, Jarai and Chru.' *Studies in Linguistics* 17:59-75.
- Tsuchida, Shigeru. 1964. 'Preliminary Reports on Saisiyat: Phonology.' Gengo Kenkyu (= *Journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan*). No. 46:42-52.
- van Ronkel, Ph. S. 1946. *Maleis Woordenboek: Maleis-Nederlands, Nederlands-Maleis*. 's-Gravenhage/Batavia.

The coverage for the NPL is also uneven, except for the longer treatises. Other printed sources are not available to me.

ABBREVIATIONS (of languages and dialects attested)

Philippine Languages

These are the abbreviations I used in the *A Comparative Philippine Word-List*, except Ilt and SamLey.

Akl	Aklan	Mar	Maranao
Apa	Apayao	Mgd	Magindanao
Bgb	Bagobo	Nbl	Nabaloi
Bkl	Bikol	PNeg	Pinatubo
Btk	Bontok		Negrito
BtkJ	(Jenks in Scheerer)	Pmp	Pampangan
		Png	Pangasinan
Cuy	Cuyonon	Sag	Sagada
Hil	Hiligaynon	SamLey	Samar-Leyte
Ibg	Ibanag	Sbl	Sambales
Ilt	Ilongot	Seb	Sebu
Ilk	Iloko	Tao	Taosug
Ita	Itawis	Tag	Tagalog
Ivt	Ivatan	Tir	Tirurai

Non-Philippine Languages

Am	Ami	Bul	Bulu
Ata	Atayal	Cha	Chamorro
Bug	Bugi	Chru	
Buh	Buhwan	CAta	Ci'uli Atayal

Fav	Favorlang	SAta	Squli Atayal
KayDay	Kayan-Dayak	Sed	Sedik
Mak	Makassar	Sir	Siraya
Mal	Malay	Sun	Sundanese
Mnj	Maanjan	Tha	Thao
Pai	Paiwan	Ttb	Tontemboan
Paz	Pazeh	Von	Vonum
Ruk	Rukai	Yam	Yami
Sai	Saisiyat		

CONVENTIONS

The morphemes in the PL and the NPL are in broad phonemic transcription. Dempwolff's single vertical line is replaced by a hyphen in 39.

Ivt and Cha(I) $\tilde{n}$ is palatal n (1 PL d, 9 PL a; 6 NPL). Akl l represents a dorso-lateral fricative (2 PL b, etc.). ch in Ivt (7 PL c, 25 PL a), Btk (12 PL c), Tao (26 PL a), and PNeg (30 PL a), and ts in Ata SAta and Sed (28 NPL) are equivalent; they both represent unvoiced affricate. z in SAta (24 NPL) has perhaps the same value as the z in Fav (7 NPL), which is the IPA symbol, but the z in CAta (24 NPL) is voiced retroflex fricative. Ata q (25 NPL) is uvular, not glottal, stop. The sequence of two identical consonants in PL Ibg Ilk Ita Png Sag and Tao represents a long consonant. The sequence of two identical vowels represents a long vowel in Tao (4 PL a, 11 PL b). A consonant followed by y is palatal consonant; a consonant followed by w has a labial release, that is, w stands for the onset of a labial release of the preceding consonant. Mnj e is open e (25 NPL), Von o is open o (25 NPL). Itb x is voiced velar fricative (37 PL a). Sir $-ck$ (37 NPL) is as cited in the source (Ferrel 1969, p. 101).

In PL when the stress falls on the penult it is not indicated.

LIST

1. banana, PMP pisaN, pun[t]i[h].
PL: a. Png. punti 'banana'; b. Bkl SamLey Sbl batág 'banana', Pmp batág 'a variety of mountain banana'; c. Akl Cuy Hil SamLey Mar Pmp Seb Tag saging, Btk sakên, Tao saqing 'banana'; d. Ivt viñivêh 'banana'.
NPL: Yam vinêvêq 'banana'.

2. be another, change, alter, PMP hibaq, hubaq.
PL: a. Akl Bkl SamLey ibá, Btk iba, Cuy ibáq, Hil iban, Tag qibá 'another, other', Sag ibqa 'another; companion; one like another one; similar'; b. Akl laín, Seb lain 'another, other'.
NPL: Mal lain 'another, other', Mnj lain 'other'.

3. belly, PMP [t]iyan.
PL: a. Bkl Hil Ilk SamLey PNeg Sbl Seb Tag tiyán, Pmp atyán, Ibg

san, Mgd tian, Tao tian 'belly', Mar tian 'abdomen, stomach'; b. Nbl akês, Png êgês 'belly', Ilt agêt 'stomach', Sag êgês 'belly; intestines'.

4. buy, PMP belih, bilih.

PL: a. Tag bilí, Tao bii 'buy', Hil SamLey Seb bilí 'price', Png bilí, Sbl mabli 'expensive', Pmp abli 'payment for commodities'; b. Ibg İlk ga-tang 'buy'.

5. cup, PMP maNkuk.

PL: a. Cuy İlk Tag mangkók, Bkl mangkók, mangkoq, SamLey mang-koq, Pmp mangkúk 'bowl; cup'; b. Png Sbl yaóng, Hil Seb yahóng 'bowl'.

6. dirt, PMP laNes.

PL: a. Bkl Tag langís 'oil', Btk langqês 'filthy odor or taste', Hil langís 'rancid', İlk langés, lanqês 'sesame', langís 'odor of fresh fish', Sag lamês 'fat, obese', langqês 'bad odor', lanit 'grease sticking to something; lard'; b. Bkl Btk Hil İlk SamLey Mar Mgd (Old) Tag¹⁰ Sbl Seb Tao lana, Ibg laná, Nbl dana, Pmp lanyá 'oil', Png lana 'the act of administering the extreme unction', Sag lana 'the oil of birds'.
NPL: Bul lana, Cha(I) laña 'oil', KayDay lengo, Mak langa 'sesame'.
Ttb lana 'stinging-nettle'.

7. dog, PMP hasuh; be tame, PMP hayam.

PL: a. Bkl Hil SamLey Seb ayam, Mgd aam, ayam, (Old) Tag qayam 'dog', Btk ayam 'bird', Ibg Mar ayam 'animal'; b. Akl Btk İlk Pmp Mar aso, Apa aso, ato, Ilt Ita ato, Mgd Nbl asú, Png asó, PNeg Sbl aho, Tag qaso 'dog'; c. Hil idóq, iróq, Ibg itu, kitu, Ilt titu, Ivt chitú, Tao iróq, eqdu, eqro 'dog'.
NPL: Fav zito 'a little dog'.

8. door, PMP pin[t]uh.

PL: a. Bkl Tag pintóq, Mgd pintuq, Png pintó 'door', Mar pinto 'door; gate; passageway'; b. Apa Ilt pantaw, Ivt pantáw, Mar paitaw 'door'; c. Ilt patbul 'gate', Nbl pasbul 'entrance', Pmp pasbul 'door'.
NPL: Tha pitáw 'door'.

9. ear, PMP taliNah.

PL: a. Apa Btk Hil Ibg SamLey Pmp talinga, Btk inga, Cuy talingáq, Ilt alénga, Ivt tadiña, Nbl tangqida, Mar Mgd tangila Tag Tao tainga 'ear', İlk talinga 'handle (as of a trunk or chest)'; b. İlk lapayag, Png layág 'ear'.

10. egg of louse, nit, PMP li(ñ)sah.

PL: a. Akl losáq, Bkl Hil Seb Tag lisáq, Ibg litá, İlk lisqá, Mar lisaq, Mgd lisa, Pmp liyás, Png liyês, Tao lissaq 'egg of louse'; b. Hil Pmp Sbl Tag Tao kayumad 'egg of louse'.

10. (Old Tag refers to 'Tag words found in Juan de Noceda and Pedro San Lucar (*Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala*, 1860, 1st. ed. 1754), but not in *Tagalog-English Vocabulary* (Institute of National Language, 1940).

11. fire, PMP hapuy.

PL: a. Apa apapoy, Bkl İlk Png Sbl apóy, Btk Ivt apuy, Ibg aff, afwí, Ilt Mar Mgd Tao apoy, Ita affwí, Nbl apúy, Pmp apíq, Tag qapóy 'fire'; b. Bkl Hil SamLey Seb kalayo, Cuy kalayóq. Tao kaayo 'fire'.

12. grasshopper, PMP balaN.

PL: a. Mar bilalang 'grasshopper', Tag balang 'locust'; b. Akl Hil apán 'grasshopper'; c. Apa Sag dodon, Bkl SamLey duron, Btk chochon, Ibg durún, Pmp durun, Png durón, Seb dulon 'locust'.

13. hut, PMP baruN; hut, redoubt, fort, PMP kubuh.

PL: a. Tag barungbarong 'hut; makeshift shelter'; b. Bkl Cuy kubóq, Mar koboq, Pmp kubu, Sbl Tag kubo 'hut', Png kubó 'pigsty'; c. Akl Bkl Hil SamLey Seb payág, Ibg palayak 'hut'.

14. incantation, charm, spell, PMP hazih.

PL: a. Akl SamLey adyiq, pangadyiq, Bkl Seb pangadyíq, Cuy pargadi, Hil pangadiq, Pmp pangadi 'prayer', Mar pangadiq, 'read', Tao pangad-ýiq 'education; learning'; b. Btk lowalo, İlk luwalo 'prayer'.

15. intestines, bowels, entrails, PMP bi[t]lukah.

PL: a. Bkl SamLey PNeg Png Sbl Tag bituka, Hil Seb bituk 'intes-tiner', Nbl bituka 'stomach', Pmp bituka 'large intestines'; b. Ibg İlk bagis 'intestines'.

16. lie down, sleep, dream, PMP hinep.

PL: a. Apa taginap, Cuy tagqinêp, Ibt tagenop, İlk tagainep, Ilt taynêp, Ivt tayênêp, SamLey inóp, onóp, Mar taginêp, pêtêginêp, Mgd tagainup, Pmp paninap, Tao inup, panagaynop, Tag panaginip 'dream', Ilt sênênêp 'dreamed', PNeg senenep 'was dreamed'; b. Akl Hil Seb damgo 'dream'.

17. look up, PMP [t]iNadaq.

PL: a. Bkl SamLey Sbl Tag tingaláq, Hil tanglág, Mar tingaraq, Pmp talanga 'look up'; b. Bkl tingáq, Btk İlk tangad, Ibg tangaq, Png tangáy, Seb hangád 'look up', Sag tamgad 'look up at'; c. Ibg tangngoq 'look up', Mar têngoq, Mgd tengu 'nape', Tag tangóq 'nod in affirmation'.
NPL: Ttb têngo 'look down'.

18. molar (tooth), PMP baRaN.

PL: a. Apa Ilt banggang 'snout', Bkl Hil SamLey Seb bagqang, Mar bagang, Mgd Pmp Tag bagáng, Sbl bagáng Tao buqang 'molar (tooth)'; Btk bagang, Sag bagang 'neck'; b. İlk sangi, Png sangi 'molar (tooth)'.

19. nail (carpenter's metal), PMP pakuh.

PL: a. Bkl Pmp Tag pakoq, Ibg patoq, Pmp pako 'nail (carpenter's metal)', Ilt naipakut 'fasten'; b. Akl Seb Tao lansang, Btk Sag raysang, Mar ransang 'nail (carpenter's metal)'.

20. neck, PMP lihiR.

PL: a. Akl leog, liog, Bkl Hil SamLey Seb Tao liqog, Cuy lyêg, lyog, Ibg Mgd lig, Mar lêhêr, lig, PNeg luoy, Sbl lêây, Tag leqêg, liqig 'neck'; b. Apa buklaw, Ibg bullaw, Ilt buklo, Nbl bukdown, Png bêklêw 'neck'.

21. oar, PMP DayuN.
PL: a. Mar dayong, Tao dayung 'oar, paddle', Tag daóng 'cast anchor'; b. Bkl Ilk Tag sagwán, Ibg tagawan 'oar, paddle'.
22. odd number, PMP ga(ñ)sal.
PL: a. Cuy Pmp Tag gansál, Mar gansar, Tao gang saw 'odd number', Png gansál 'changing of a horse's gait from trot to gallop and vice versa'; b. Akl wakíq, Bkl pwaki, Hil kwaki, pwaki, SamLey puwaki 'odd number'.
23. outer court, PMP halaman.
PL: a. Hil Tag halaman, Png Seb talaman 'plant (particularly a cultigen)', Tao halaman 'court; garden, yard'; b. Btk mola, Ibg Ilk mula, Ivt muhamuha, Mar pamola, pamomolan 'plant (particularly a cultigen)'. NPL: Mnj ngamule 'to plant'.
24. pig, PMP babuy.
PL: a. Akl Bkl Hil Ilk SamLey Mgd PNeg Sbl Seb Tag baboy, Btk fafuy, Cuy Png babúy, Ibg babuy, bavi, Ilt biboy, Ita bavi, Mar bêboy, Pmp babiq, Tao babuy 'pig'; b. Btk fotog, fotok, Sag bêtêg 'pig', Nbl butbutóg 'small pig'. NPL: Cata bazuk 'wild pig', Sata bziok 'pig'.
25. pile earth, PMP bukid.
PL: a. Bkl Cuy Hil SamLey Mgd Seb bukid, PNeg bukil (bound form) 'mountain', Ibg vukíq 'mountain; forest', Ivt vuchíd 'a species of grass', Pmp bukid 'village', Png bukig 'east', Tag bukid 'field'; b. Ilk bakir 'forest', PNeg bakil (free form) 'mountain'; c. Bkl SamLey Seb umá, Cuy umáq, Ilt uma, omaq, Tao uma 'field', Btk uma 'garden', Hil umá, 'farm', Mar oma 'farm, field', Sag omqá 'camote field'. NPL: Ata meqomah 'cultivate; farm; grassy plain', muma 'plain, field', Bug uma, Mal Sun huma 'field', Mnj ume 'cultivated land', Paz qumamah 'wet rice field', Von mēhoma 'to plant'.
26. poison, PMP racun.
PL: a. Cuy lasón, Mar ratyong, Sbl Tag lason, Tao lachun, rachun 'poison', PNeg ampakalason 'were poisoned'; b. Akl Hil hilóq, Cuy ilóq, SamLey Seb hiló 'poison'.
27. raw material, element, PMP bakal.
PL: a. Hil Pmp Tag bakal 'iron'; b. Ibg balayyang, Png balatyang 'iron'. NPL: Pai vatyuláian 'iron'.
28. salt, PMP hasin.
PL: a. Akl Apa Bkl Cuy Hil Ibg Ilk Ita Ivt SamLey Nbl Pmp Png Seb asín, Btk Mar Tao asin, Mgd asi, masi, Sbl ahin, Tag qasín 'salt', b. BtkJ simut (entered in Scheerer sí-mut), Mar Timos Mgd Tir timus 'salt'. NPL: Ata tsimo, Buh timu, CAta timuq, Ruk timóq, Sai timoq, Sata tsimuq, Sed timu, tsimuq 'salt'.
29. scalloping (on dresses, etc.), PMP suzih.
PL: a. Bkl Pmp Tag Tao suriq, Ivt suri 'scalloping, pleat'; b. Bkl Sam-

Ley koton, Ibg kutun, Hil kotón, Sbl kêtên 'scalloping, pleat', Pmp kutún 'shorten by making a fold', (Old)Tag kutón 'scalloping, pleat', kunót 'furrow on the forehead'.

30. scissors, PMP guntiN.
PL: a. Akl Bkl Cuy Hil Pmp SamLey Sbl Seb Tag gunting, Ilk getteng, Mar gonting, PNeg gunching, Tao gunting 'shears'; b. Btk Ibg garsik; c. Ilk kartib, Itb kurtib, Png katlí, Sag kaltib, kantib 'scissors'.

31. shark, PMP qí[y]uh, kí[y]uh.
PL: a. Bkl Hil SamLey Seb iho, Cuy yoq, Ilk Sbl iyu, Ivt yu, Png yo, (Old)Tag hiyo 'shark'; b. Akl Bkl Btk Cuy Hil Ilk Ivt Pamp Png SamLey Sbl Seb Tag pating 'shark'; c. Ibg kattang, Tao kaqitan 'shark', Itb katang 'a species of water crab', Mar katang 'spirits (water evil)', Sag kêtqán 'snail'. NPL: Am vuting 'fish'.

32. skull; head (of a bone), PMP baTuk.
PL: a. Apa Tag batok 'nape'; b. Btk têngêd, Ibg tangnga, Ilk tengnged, Png têngngêr, Sag têngngêd 'nape'.

33. streak, stripe; script, PMP tulis.
PL: a. Pmp tulis, Tag tulis, tilos 'point' (tapering end); b. Akl talawis, Bkl tariwis, Cuy tarawís, Hil Png taliwis, SamLey taís, Seb talinis 'point (tapering end)'.

34. sugarcane, PMP tebu.
PL: a. Akl Hil Png SamLey Sbl Seb Tag tubó, Cuy tubóq, Mar têbo, Mgd tebu, Png atbú, Tao tubu 'sugarcane', Ibg agbú 'sugarcane', tevu 'blow-pipe'; b. Apa unat, Ilt ona, Ilk Png unás, Itb unas 'sugarcane'.

35. swelling of the sea, wave, PMP halun.
PL: a. Bkl Png alon 'small waves', Btk Mgd Sbl Seb alon, Pmp Tao alun, Tag qalon 'waves', Hil alon 'small waves', hanol 'waves', Ivt alnon 'restless sea', SamLey alon 'move in the water'; b. Bkl Hil SamLey Seb balúd, Ilk balog, barog, Ivt vahod 'waves'.

36. thud, resound, PMP guruq.
PL: a. Btk nguló, Cuy gulúq, Hil Pmp gulú, Png gulo, Sbl Tag guló 'disorder; confusion, commotion', Mar kēgorogoro 'mob'; b. Bkl riribok, Ilk ribok, SamLey karibók 'disorder; confusion, commotion'.

37. twinkle, glimmer, PMP bulaw.
PL: a. Akl Bkl Cuy Hil SamLey Seb Tao bulawan, Ibg bulawan, vula-awan, Ita vulawan, Itb vuxawan, Ivt vuhawan, Mar bolawan 'gold', (Old)Tag buláw 'golden'; b. Apa Btk Nbl (Old)Tag balitok, Ilk Png balitók 'gold'; c. Pmp gintúq, Png gintó, 'gold' Tag gintóq 'gold'. NPL: Sir malyttok, manituk, vannitock 'silver'.

38. water (collect.) PMP saluR.
PL: a. Ilk salulog, kasalugan, Png salulog 'rain pipe', Tag salog 'pool, puddle'; b. Bkl saguróng, Png salulog, SamLey saruyong, Seb sandu-

yong 'rain pipe'; c. Cuy Pmp alulúd, Png alula 'rain pipe', Tag galulód 'gutter, trough under the lower edge of the roof'.

39. whale, PMP zambu-hara[ql].

PL: a. Pmp Tag dambuhalaq 'whale'; b. Bkl tandayag 'a very large snake', Hil Tag tandayag, Mar tondayag 'whale', SamLey tandayag 'a large fish'.

40. whet, sharpen, PMP qa(ñ)saq.

PL: a. Bkl Tag hasaq, Ilk asa, Tao hasaq, asa 'whet, sharpen'; b. Ilk baíd, Hil SamLey Seb baqíd, Mar bagid 'whet, sharpen'.

41. whiteness, PMP putiq.

PL: a. Bkl putiq 'whiteness; the lime used in betel-chewing', Hil Seb gutiq 'whiteness, putliq 'clean', Mar potiq, Tag putiq Tao putiq 'whiteness' SamLey putli 'clean'; b. Ibg furáw, furó 'whiteness', Ilk pudaw 'whiteness of a person', puráw 'whiteness'.

SUMMARY OF NEW MORPHEMES WITH RECONSTRUCTIONS

Assuming that they are not formally and semantically discrepant, the morphemes are grouped together followed by reconstructions by Costenoble (C) and Lopez (L). (C)'s gloss, which is my translation in English, follows his reconstruction. If his gloss is identical with the meaning in the LIST, it is not written. Tentatively, my reconstructions are not glossed; it is assumed that the meaning is identical with that in the LIST. Where C) and (L) reconstructions and glosses are identical, they are followed by (C, L). (L) standing alone means that (L)', reconstruction is identical with (C)'s. Where to (L) the etymon is unstatable, the reconstruction by (C) stands alone, if (C) has one, or it is so stated. The reconstructions will be discussed in detail in a later more technical paper in another journal which the Department of Oriental Languages and Linguistics plans to put up shortly. The reconstructions follow Dyen's orthography, with (C)'s likewise converted thereto.

1. banana, b. Bkl Pmp SamLey Sbl batág; c. Akl Cuy Hil SamLey Mar Pmp Seb Tag saging, Btk sakên, Tao saqing 'banana'; d. Ivt viñivêh, Yam vinivêq 'banana'.

b. PP bataR (L); c. PP sagiN (c. L); d. Yam is perhaps a borrowing from Ivt.

2. be another; change, alter; b. Akl lain, Seb Mal lain 'another, other', Mnj lain 'other'.

PP lahin 'another, other' (C), PIN lahin (L).

3. belly, b. Nbl akês, Png êgês 'belly', Ilt agêt 'stomach', Sag êgês 'belly, intestines'.

PP eges (L).

4. buy, b. Ibg Ilk gatang 'buy'.

PP gataN (L).

5. cup, b. Png Sbl yaóng, Hil Seb yahong 'bowl'.

PP yahoN (L).

6. dirt, b. Bkl Btk Bul Hil Ilk SamLey Mar Mgd (Old)Tag Sbl Seb Tag Ttb lana, Cha(I) laña, KayDay lengo, Ibg laná, Mak langa, Nbl dana, Pmp lanyá 'oil', Png lana 'act of administering the extreme unction', Sag lana 'the oil of birds'.

PIN lanah (L).

7. dog, c. Fav zito, Hil idóq, iróq, Ibg itu, kitu, Itb titu, Ivt chitú, Tao iróq, eqdu, eqro 'dog'.

PP hiduq 'domestic animal' (C), PIN hiDuq (L).

8. door, b. Apa Itb pantaw, Ivt pantáw, Mar paitaw, Tha pitaw 'door'; c. Ilt patbul 'gate', Nbl pasbul 'entrance', Pmp pasbul 'door'.

b. PIN pa(n)taw (L); c. PP pasbul (L).

9. ear, b. Ilk lapayag, Png layag 'ear'.

The etymon is unstatable.

10. egg of louse, nit, b. Hil Pmp Sbl Tag Tao kayumad 'egg of louse' PP kayumad (L).

11. fire, b. Bkl Hil SamLey Seb kalayo, Cuy kalayóq, Tao kaayo 'fire'.

PP k-al-ayuh (L).

12. grasshopper, b. Akl Hil apán 'grasshopper'; c. Apa Sag dodon, Bkl SamLey duron, Btk chochon, Ibg durún, Pmp durun, Png durón, Seb dulon 'locust'.

b. PP hapan (L); c. PP duDun (L).

13. hut, c. Akl Bkl Hil SamLey Seb payág, Ibg palayaq 'hut'. PP payaR (L).

14. incantation, charm, spell, b. Btk lowalo, Ilk luwalo 'prayer'. PP luhalo (C), PP luhaluh (L).

15. intestines, bowels, entrails, b. Ibg Ilk bagis 'intestines'. PP bagis (L).

16. lie down, sleep; dream, b. Akl Hil Seb damgo 'dream'. The etymon is unstatable.

17. look up, b. Bkl tingaq, Btk Ilk tangad, Ibg tangaq, Png tangáy, Sag tamgad 'look up at', Seb hangád 'look up'; c. Ibg tangngoq 'look up', Mar tengog, Mgd tengu 'nape', Tag tangóq 'nod in affirmation'.

b. PP taNaq 'raise the face; look up' (C), PP taNal 'from above; look from a distance; open the window; erect' (C); c. teNuh (L).

18. molar (tooth), b. Ilk sangi, Png sangí 'molar (tooth)'.
PP saNiq 'branching off; branch; side-road' (C), PP saNih (L).

19. nail (carpenter's metal), b. Akl Seb Tao lansang, Btk Sag ray-sang, Mar ransang 'nail (carpenter's metal)'.
PP Da(n)saN (L).

20. neck, b. Apa buklaw, Ibg bullaw, Ilt bukol, Nbl bukdow, Png bêklêw 'neck'.
P beklew (L).

21. oar, b. Bkl Ilk Tag sagwán, Ibg tagawan 'oar, paddle'.
PP saguhan (C, L).

22. odd number, b. Akl wakíq, Bkl puwaki, Hil kwaki, pwaki, SamLey puwaki 'odd number'.
PP wakih (L).

23. outer court, b. Btk mola, Ibg Ilk mula, Ivt muhamuha, Mar pamola, pammolan 'plant (particularly a cultigen)', Mnj ngamule 'to plant'.
PIN mulah (L).

24. pig, Btk fotog, fotok, Sag bêtêg, STta bziok 'pig', CAta bazuk 'wild pig', Nbl butbutóg 'small pig'.
PIN betêR (L).

25. pile earth, c. Ata meqomah 'cultivate; farm; grassy plain', muma 'plain, field', Bkl SamLey Seb umá, Bug Tao uma, Cuy umáq, Ilt uma, omaq, Mal Sun huma 'field', Btk uma 'garden', Hil umá 'farm', Mar oma 'farm, field', Mnj ume 'cultivated land', Paz qumamah 'wet rice field', Sag omqá 'camote field', Von mehoma 'to plant'.
PIN humah (L).

26. poison, b. Akl Hil hilóq, Cuy ilóq, SamLey Seb hiló 'poison'.
PP hiluh 'poison; narcotic; deafened' (C); PP qiluh (L).

27. raw material, element, b. Ibg balayyang, Png balatyang, Pai vatyuláian 'iron'.
The etymon is unstatable.

28. salt, b. Ata tsimo, BtkJ simut, Buh timu, Mar timos, Mgd Tir timus, SAta tsimuq, Sed timu, timuq 'salt'.
PIN timus (L).

29. scalloping (on dresses, etc.), b. Bkl SamLey koton, Ibg kutun, Hil kotón, Sbl kêtên 'scalloping, pleat', Pmp kutún 'shorten by making a fold', (Old)Tag kutón 'scalloping, pleat', kunót 'furrow on the forehead'.

PP kunut 'fold; put together; shrink; wrinkle' (C); keten (L).

30. scissors, b. Btk Ibg garsik; c. Ilk kartíb, Itb kurtib, Png katlí, Sag kaltib, kantib 'scissors'.

The etyma are unstatable for both b. and c.

31. shark, b. Akl Bkl Btk Cuy Hil Ilk Ivt Pmp Png SamLey Sbl Seb Tag pating 'shark', Am vuting 'fish'; c. Ibg kattang, Tao kaqitan 'shark', Itb katang 'a species of water crab', Mar katang 'spirits (water evil)', Sag kêtqán 'snail'.

b. PIN patiN (L); c. PIN ketaN (L).

32. skull; head (of a bone), b. Btk têngêd, Ibg tangngag, Ilk tengnged, Png têngngér, Sag têngngéd 'nape'.

PP teNed 'neck; stretch the neck' (C), teNeD (L).

33. streak, stripe; script, b. Akl talawis, Bkl tariwis, Cuy tarawis, Hil Png taliwis, SamLey taís, Seb talinis 'point (tapering end)'.
PP tahis (L).

34. sugarcane, b. Apa unat, Ilt onat, Ilk Png unás, Itb unas 'sugarcane'.
PP hunas (L).

35. swelling of the sea, wave, b. Bkl Hil SamLey Seb balúd, Ilk balog, barog, Ivt vahod 'waves'.
PP baLuj (L).

36. thud, resound, b. Bkl riribok, Ilk ribok, SamLey karibók 'disorder; confusion, commotion'.
PP Dibuk (L).

37. twinkle, glimmer, b. Apa Btk Nbl (Old)Tag balitok, Ilk Png balitók 'gold', Sir malyttok, manituk, vannittock 'silver'; c. Pmp gintúq, Png gintó, Tag gintóq 'gold'.

b. PP balituk 'gold' (C), PIN balituk (L); c. PP gintuq 'gold' (C, L).

38. waters (collect.), b. Bkl saguróng, Png salulong, SamLey saruyong, Seb sanduyong 'rain pipe'; c. PP Cuy Pmp alulúd, Png alula 'rain pipe', Tag qalulód 'gutter, trough under the lower edge of the roof'.

b. PP sa(n)DuyoN (L); c. halulud (L).

39. whale, b. Bkl tandayag 'a very large snake', Hil Tag tandayag, Mar tandayag 'whale', SamLey tandayag 'a large fish'.
PP tandayag (L).

40. whet, sharpen, b. Ilk baíd, Hil SamLey Seb baqíd, Mar bagíd 'whet, sharpen'.
PP bahid, 'whet, sharpen; polish' (C), (L).

41. whiteness, b. Ibg furáw, furó 'whiteness', Ilk pudaw 'whiteness of a person', puráw 'whiteness'.
PP pudaw 'pure; clean; white' (C), PP puDaw (L).