

SOME NEW MORPHEMES IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

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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 (=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

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 Wörterverzeichnis) 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 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 Wörterverzeichnis) 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. Malayo-polynesische Forschungen.

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Indonesischen Sprachforschers durch die drei Reiche der Natur)
Luzern.

_____. 1911. Gemeinindonesisch und urindonesisch.
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eines indonesischen Idioms. Luzern.

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einer Analyse der besten Texte in vierundzwanzig
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austronesischen Wortschatzes. 3 vls. (Beihefte zur
Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen). Berlin/Hamburg.

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linguistic, archaeological and cultural synthesis. The
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cultural linguistic classification. Institute of Ethnology,
Academia Sinica. Monograph No. 17.

Kahlo, Gerhard. 1941. Kleines vergleichendes malayo-polynesisches

- Wörterbuch. 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. Samesgesteld 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)

PL

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 Negrito
Btk	Bontok	Pmp	Pampangan
BtkJ	(Jenks in Scheerer)	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

NPL

Am	Ami	Pai	Paiwan
Ata	Atayal	Paz	Pazen
Bug	Bugi	Ruk	Rukai
Buh	Buhwan	Sai	Saisiyat
Bul	Bulu	SAta	Squli Atayal
Cha	Chamorro	Sed	Sedik
Chr	Chru	Sir	Siraya
CAta	Ci'uli Atayal	Sun	Sundanese
Fav	Favorlang	Tha	Thao
KayDay	Kayan-Dayak	Ttb	Tontemboan
Mak	Makassar	Von	Vonum
Mal	Malay	Yam	Yami
Mnj	Maanjan		

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) ñ is palatal n (1 PL d, 9 PL a; 6 NPL). Ak1 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]li[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 sakēn, Tao saqing 'banana'; d. Ivt viñivēh 'banana'.

NPL: Yam viněvēq 'banana'.

2. be another, change, alter, Pmp hibaq, hubaq.

PL: a. Akl Bkl SamLey ibā, Btk iba, Cuy ibāq, Hil iban, Tag qibā '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 [tliyan.

PL: a. Bkl Hil Ilk SamLey PNeg Sbl Seb Tag tiyán, Pmp atyán, Ibg san, Mgd tian, Tao tiqan 'belly', Mar tian 'abdomen, stomach';
b. Nbl akēs, Png ěgēs 'belly', Ilt agēt 'stomach', Sag ěgēs 'belly; intestines'.

4. buy, PMP belih, bilih.

PL: a. Tag bilí, Tao bii 'buy', Hil SamLey Seb bilí 'price', Png bilí, Sbl mablí 'expensive', Pmp ablí 'payment for commodities';
b. Ibg Ilk gatang 'buy'.

5. cup, PMP maNkuk.

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

6. dirt, PMP laNes.

PL: a. Bkl Tag langís 'oil', Btk langqēs 'filthy odor or taste', Hil langís 'rancid', Ilk langēs, langqēs 'sesame', langsí 'odor of fresh fish', Sag lamēs 'fat, obese', langqēs 'bad odor', lanit 'grease sticking to something; lard'; b. Bkl Btk Hil Ilk 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 Ilk 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, Itb
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 Itb 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 tadiñá, Nbl tangqida, Mar Mgd tangila, Tag Tao
tainga 'ear', Ilk talinga 'handle (as of a trunk or chest)';
b. Ilk lapayag, Png layág 'ear'.

10. egg of louse, nit, PMP li(ñ)sah.

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

11. fire, PMP hapuy.

PL: a. Apa apapoy, Bkl Ilk Png Sbl apóy, Btk Ivt apuy, Ibg
afí, 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 dulong '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 pangadyíq 'education; learning'; b. Btk lowalo, Ilk luwalo 'prayer'.

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

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

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

PL: a. Apa taginap, Cuy tagqiněp, Ibt tagenop, Ilk tagainep, Itb tayněp, Ivt tayěněp, SamLey inóp, onóp, Mar taginěp, pětěginěp, Mgd tagainup, Pmp paninap, Tao inup, panagaynop, Tag panaginip 'dream', Ilt sěněněp '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 tangláq, Mar tingaraq,
Pmp talanga 'look up'; b. Bkl tingáq, Btk Ilk tangad, Ibg tangaq,
Png tangáy, Seb hangád 'look up', Sag tangad 'look up at';
c. Ibg tangngoq 'look up', Mar tēngoq, Mgd tengu 'nape', Tag tangóq
'nod in affirmation'.

NPL: Ttb tēngo 'look down'.

18. molar (tooth), PMP baRaN.

PL: a. Apa.Ilt banggarig 'snout', Bkl Hil SamLey Seb bagqang,
Mar bagang, Mgd Pmp Tag bagáng, Sbl bogáng, Tao buqgang 'molar
(tooth)', Btk bagang, Sag bagáng 'neck'; b. Ilk sangi, Png sangí
'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
lyěg, lyog, Ibg Mgd lig, Mar lěhěr, lig, PNeg luoy, Sbl lěěy,
Tag leqég, liqíg 'neck'; b. Apa buklaw, Ibg bullaw, Ilt buklo,
Nbl bukdow, Png běklěw '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 gangsaw '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 bēboy, Pmp babiq, Tao babuy 'pig'; b. Btk fotog, fotok, Sag bētēg '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. Tbg balayyáng, Png balatyang 'iron'.

NPL: Pai vatyuláian 'iron'.

28. salt, PMP hasin.

PL: a. Akl Apa Bkl Cuy Hil Tbg 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 SamLey koton, Tbg kutun, Hil kotón, Sbl kětén '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 guntíng, Ilk getteng, Mar gonting, PNeg gunching, Tao gunting 'shears'; b. Btk Ibg garsik; c. Ilk kartíb, Itb kurtib, Png katlí, Sag kaltib, kantib 'scissors'.

31. shark, PMP qílyJuh, kílyJuh.

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 Pmp Png SamLey Sbl Seb Tag patíng 'shark'; c. Ibg kattang, Tao kaqitan 'shark', Itb katang 'a species of water crab', Mar katang 'spirits (water evil)', Sag kětqán 'snail'.

NPL: Am vuting 'fish'.

32. skull; head (of a bone), PMP baTuk.

PL: a. Apa Tag batok 'nape'; b. Btk tēngěd, Ibg tangngaq, Ilk tengnged, Png tēngngěr, Sag tēngngěd '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 tebuh.

PL: a. Akl Bkl Hil Png SamLey Sbl Seb Tag tubó, Cuy tubóq, Mar tēbo, Mgd tebú, Pmp atbú, Tao tubu 'sugarcane', Ibg agbú 'sugarcane', tevu 'blow-pipe'; b. Apa unat, Ilt onat, 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 alon, Tag qalon 'waves', Hil alon 'small waves', hanol 'waves', Ivt alon '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, vulawan, 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, Tag gintóq 'gold'.
NPL: Sir malyttok, manituk, vannitock 'silver'.

38. waters (collect.) PMP salur.

PL: a. Ilk salulog, kasalugan, Png salulog 'rain pipe', Tag salog 'pool, puddle'; b. Bkl saguróng, Png salulong, SamLey saruyong, Seb sanduyong 'rain pipe'; c. Cuy Pmp alulúd, Png alula 'rain pipe', Tag qalulód '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 putíq 'whiteness; the lime used in betel-chewing', Hil Seb putíq 'whiteness', putlíq 'clean', Mar poti^q, Tao poti^q '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)'s 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 sakěn, Tao saqing 'banana'; d. Ivt viñivěh, Yam viñivěq '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 laín, Seb Mal lain 'another, other', Mnj lain 'other'.

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

3. belly, b. Nbl akēs, Png ěgēs 'belly', Ilt agět 'stomach', Sag ěgēs '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'.

PP 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 dulong '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 luhuluh (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 tangad 'look up at', Seb hangád 'look up';

c. Ibg tangngóq '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 raysang, Mar ransang 'nail (carpenter's metal)'.

PP Da(n)saN (L).

20. neck, b. Apa buklaw, Ibg bullaw, Ilt bukol, Nbl bukdow,

Png bëklëw 'neck'.

PP 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, pamomolan 'plant (particularly a cultigen)', Mnj ngamule 'to plant'.

PIN mulah (L).

24. pig, b. Btk fotog, fotok, Sag bētēg, Sata bziok 'pig', CAta bazuk 'wild pig', Nbl butbutōg 'small pig'.

PIN betēr (L).

25. pile earth, c. Ata meqomah 'cultivate; farm; grassy plain', muma 'plain, field', Bkl SamLey Seb umā, Bug Tao uma, Cuy umāq, Ilt uma, omaq, Mal Sun huma 'field', Btk uma 'garden', Hil umā 'farm', Mar oma 'farm, field', Mnj ume 'cultivated land', Paz qumamah 'wet rice field', Sag omqā '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 kētēn '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 kartib, Itb kurtib,
Png katlf, 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 patíng 'shark', Am vuting 'fish'; c. Ibg kattang, Tao
kaqitan 'shark', Itb katang 'a species of water crab', Mar katang
'spirits (water evil)', Sag kětqán 'snail'.

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

32. skull; head (of a bone), b. Btk tēngēd, Ibg tangngag,
Ilk tengnged, Png tēngngēr, Sag tēngngēd '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'.

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

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

b. PP sa(n)DuyòN (L); c. halulud (L).

39. whale, b. Bkl tandayag 'a very large snake', Hil Tag
tandayag, Mar tandayag 'whale', SamLey tahdayag 'a large fish'.

PP tandayag (L).

40. whet, sharpen, b. Ilk baíd, Hil SamLey Seb baqíd, Mar
bagid '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).

NOTES

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.
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 ě e o; k g n; 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 Vergelijkende 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, Wörterbuch des Ur-Filippinischen, an inductive reconstruction based on his comparison of four languages, Tagalog, Pampangan, Iloko and Samar-Bisaya. The Wörterbuch comprises 101 pages, typewritten single space on both sides of 8 1/2 x 10 1/2 bond paper. Based on Dempwolff's Austronesisches Wörterverzeichnis, 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 Wörterverzeichnis.

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 ' . 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 ' 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 Wörterbuch 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.

(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 Betsimisaraka, Old Javanese, Paiwan, Pazeh, Rade, Rotti, Rukai, Saisiyat, Sakalawa, Sasak, Sedik, Squili 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).

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).