

# CURRENT AND PROTO TAGALIC STRESS

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

In recent years Malayo-Polynesian linguistics has successfully established itself and many reconstructions, even back to the Proto Austronesian level. However, the question of phonemic stress has, in general, been too long in the background.<sup>1</sup> If, for example, one posits stress as predictable and hence non-phonemic for Proto Malayo-Polynesian, how is it that it does become phonemic in so many daughter languages in the Philippines? What events took place in the development of such languages as Aklanon, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Tagalog, or Waray within the Tagalic family, or Palawan Batak, Iraya, Palawano, and many Northern Philippine languages outside of the Tagalic family where stress is now phonemic?

In this paper<sup>2</sup> we will discuss how certain phenomena of stress and length come to be in two languages: Tagalog and Aklanon (Visayan), *from the historical point of view*, i.e. by taking a certain number of reconstructions we will explain why the stress occurs where it does on the reflex forms. Some residual forms that correspond in all sister languages reflecting phonemic stress suggest that stress must have occurred on that syllable in the proto language. A number of unexplained forms leave us with some questions worth further discussion.

### 1.1. THE DATA

In the interest of being systematic I have taken an adapted version of the Swadesh 200 word list (see Table 2) and indicated the Tagalog and Aklanon forms as well as the most probable Proto Tagalic reconstruction(s), suggested not only by the two languages but by other members of the family as well: Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Kuyonon, Kinaray-a and Odionganon. Where no single proto form is discernable, I have listed two forms in parentheses, the first form listed being the most probable reconstruction based on evidence from other sister languages. In some cases innovations may be shown (cf. Aklanon *dugúngan* 035 'ear'). The Proto Tagalic form is shown followed by the innovation in parentheses. In those cases needing more clarification, the Proto Malayo-Polynesian reconstruction is also

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<sup>1</sup>Being in the field I am unable to check my references, but I believe Dempwolff decided that stress was not phonemic for PMP. Bloomfield also thought that the materials available to date were not accurate enough and rarely indicated stress.

<sup>2</sup>I am writing this paper towards the end of eight months of field work on Central Philippine languages under the auspices of the Foreign Area Fellowship Program. I am most grateful for their assistance. I would also like to express my gratitude to the Summer Institute of Linguistics and its members for their assistance, particularly Drs. Alan and Phyllis Healey for their advice, Ed Ruch for information on Kalamian Tagbanwa, Chuck Walton for data on Surigaonon and Butuanon, and Jerry Eck for information on Magindanao.

given (cf. PMP\**penuq* 056 'full'). Stress has been indicated on all but uncertain proto forms. A circumflex accent (˘) indicates that morphemic stress also occurs on a different syllable of the same form (see section 3.2). Glottal catch is indicated by ' in the two languages, but by *q* where definitely in the reconstruction, or by empty brackets [ ] where uncertain for the proto language. Brackets around a phoneme otherwise indicate its loss in the reflexes but its presence in the proto form. The symbol *g* indicates a mid back unrounded semivowel with some local friction in Aklanon (a fricative unrounded *o*). The symbol *L* indicates the Tagalic proto phoneme becoming *d* in initial and final position in most daughter languages<sup>3</sup> and in intervocalic position becoming *-l-* in Tagalog,<sup>4</sup> *-g-* in Aklanon, and *-r-* in Bulalakawnon, Kinaray-a, Kuyonon, and Waray.

## 1.2. STATISTICAL INFORMATION

The first 186 items are drawn from the Swadesh 200 word list and yield a percentage of 60.2% shared cognates between Tagalog and Aklanon. The remaining 14 items were added to make an even 200 which yield 60.0% cognates. Taking the Swadesh 100 word list as is, I found 64.0% cognates. In any case, a Tagalog-Aklanon separation of slightly more than a millennium is indicated.

Both Tagalog and Aklanon are considered languages where penultimate stress prevails. This is readily observed in the writing convention of indicating final stress only. A lack of any accent mark on a word indicates penultimate stress. Yet Tagalog has 120 of the 200 items stressed on the ultima, while Aklanon has 94. In each language a stressed open (CV) syllable has a long vowel, while the vowel in a closed (CVC) syllable is short. However, Tagalog words of the shape CVCCVC are always stressed on the ultima, while such Aklanon words are stressed on the penultimate. If we take into consideration this influence of canonical form on stress patterns and the one monosyllabic form (085), then Tagalog has 106 forms out of 185 unexplainably stressed on the ultima while Aklanon has 94 forms out of 164. Stress falls on the final syllable in *more than half* of the cases where it could occur on either syllable of a CVCV(C) form. These statistics are shown in Table 1. Surely such an anomaly is worth investigation. Most of these anomalies can be explained from the historical point of view if we consider canonical form, proto phonological shapes and morphology.

TABLE 1

	TAGALOG		AKLANON	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Stress:				
Canonically dictated –	14	7.0%	35	17.5%
Monosyllabic form –	1	.5%	1	.5%
On ultimate –	106	53.0%	94	47.0%
On penultimate –	79	39.5%	70	35.0%
TOTAL –	200	100.0%	200	100.0%
Unexplained ultimate –	106/ 185	57.29%	94/ 164	57.31%

<sup>3</sup>Odianganon (Visayan, on Tablas, Romblon) has the reflex /r/ in all positions.

<sup>4</sup>In some cases Tagalog evidences *-h-* or *-φ-* for *\*-L-*. These instances warrant further study.

## 2. PHONOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

## 2.1. CANONICAL FORM

Tagalog and Aklanon have eight cognates mutually reflecting the shape CVCCVC:

	PROTO FORM	TAGALOG	AKLANON	GLOSS
038	*qitlug	'itlóg	'ítlog	'egg'
049	*qis[e]dáq	'isdá'	'ísda'	'fish'
095	*LinLiq	'hĩndi'	'ĩndi'	(negative)
122	*binhiq	binhĩ'	bĩnhi'	'seed'
138	*tindeg	tindĩg	tĩndog	'stand'
142	*sepsep	sipsĩp	sũpsup	'suck'
152	*te+t[e]lú	tatló	tátlo	'three'
176	*pak+pak	pakpák	pákpak	'wing'

Each language handles the stress differently but systematically. Because other daughter languages are equally ambivalent as to penultimate or ultimate stress, it would be hard to suggest where the stress fell on such forms in Proto Tagalic. One point, however, is clear. I know of no central Philippine language that shows contrasts of stress on words of this shape: stress will regularly fall on the ultimate in Kuyonon and on the penultimate in Cebuano or Kalamian CVCCVC forms. An investigation of other Philippine languages would be most enlightening to see if this generalization holds true. It seems that stress contrasts may *only* occur on forms of the CVCV(C) shape. Hence, where stress fell on Proto Tagalic CVCCVC forms is of academic interest since it does not bear on the issue at hand.

Tagalog has five other individual occurrences of this shape: 052, 089, 102, 145, 146; Aklanon has twenty-seven: 009, 010, 014, 028, 030, 035, 036, 043, 045, 055, 090, 098, 118, 126, 127, 129, 136, 141, 143, 147, 160, 170, 173, 181, 188, 190, and 192.

## 2.2. \*e IN PENULTIMATE

If we posit for Proto Tagalic the same process that is now current in Malay, namely that if the penultimate has a pepet then the stress falls on the ultimate, we can consistently account for a number of ultimate stresses in our data: 14 in Tagalog and 11 in Aklanon. Forms from outside of our check list also confirm this pattern.

013	*heyép	hĩhip <sup>5</sup>	huyóp	'blow'
017	*lebén	libĩn	gubón	'bury'
051	*letáw	litáw	gutáw	'float'
053	*lepád	lipád	gupád	'fly'
056	*penúq (PMP)	punó'	punó'	'full'

<sup>5</sup>The form presented here shows morphological regularization of the stress, e.g. Tag: hĩhip or Akl: púga'. (See section 3.2.)

076	*welá [ ]	kaliwá <sup>6</sup>	wagáh	'left side'
082	*lesáq	lisá'	gusá'	'nit'
137	*pegáq	pigá'	púga <sup>5</sup>	'squeeze'
182	*deláw	diláw	dugáw	'yellow'
189	*heyáq	hiyá'	huyá'	'shame'
194	*beṇél	biṇí	buṇóg	'deaf'
PMP	*beRás	bigás	bugás	'milled rice'
PMP	*[ ] etút	'utót'	'utót	'flatulence'
PMP	*besúR	busóg	busóg	'satisfied'

See also Tagalog 057, 063, 126, 199 and Aklanon 018.

### 2.3. CONSONANT LOSS

The loss of a proto consonant phoneme under certain conditions influences the placement of stress in a good number of Tagalog forms. Aklanon is more conservative and preserves the basic phonemes, although the process of metathesis often occurs.

#### 2.31. LOSS OF GLOTTAL FROM \*-qC-

In words of the shape CVqCV(C), loss of \*q from the penultimate results in stress on the penultimate reflex, not only in five forms from our data but also in forms from outside.

055	*qe[q] pát	'ápat	'áp'at	'four'
129	*qe[q] né[m]	'ánim	'án'om	'six'
098	*baqgu	bágo	bág'o	'new'
173	*si+q [e] nú	síno	sín'o	'who?'
192	*paṇ+tagqinep	panaginip		'dream'
PMP	*buqni	búni	bún'i	'ringworm'
PMP	*leqya	lúya	gúy'a	'ginger'
PMP	*káq [e] n+en	kánin	kán'on	'cooked rice'
PMP	*baqtaw	bátaw		(beans)

#### 2.32. LOSS OF GLOTTAL FROM \*-Cq-

In words of the shape CVCqV(C), loss of \*q in the ultimate evidences stress on the ultimate in six forms from our data and in nine additional forms.

014	*butqul	butó	Han: bú't'ul	'bone'
030	*dumqi	dumí	Tsg: dúmmi	'dirty'
034	*qali+k+abquk	'alikalábók	Hil: yáb'ok	'body'
136	*besqak	sibák <sup>6</sup>	Sem: bés'ak	'chop/split'

<sup>6</sup>The form presented shows metathesis.

188	*begqat	bigát	Akl: búg'at	'heavy'
196	*ka+taqu+an			
	*ka+tawq+an	katawán	Lub: kataw'an	'body'
PMP	*baŋqis	baŋís	Iry: bán'is	'fierce'
PMP	*baRqaŋ	bagáŋ	Akl: bág'aŋ	'molar tooth'
PMP	*[ Jeggqeb	'igíb	Akl: sag'ob	'fetch water'
PMP	*hamquR	hamóg	Akl: hám'og	'dew'
PMP	*pasqan	pasán	Akl: pás'an	'carry on shoulder
PMP	*sabqa	sabá	Akl: sáb'a	(banana)
PMP	*sipqun	sipón	Akl: síp'on	'mucus; cold'
PMP	*tabqaŋ	tabáŋ	Akl: táb'aŋ	'flavorless'
PMP	*tamqis	tamís	Akl: tám'is	'sweet'

Since Aklanon retains the glottal and Tagalog reflects stress in the syllable losing the glottal, it is often possible to reconstruct a form on the basis of both languages. However, it is important to cross-check with such languages as Bikol or Palawan Batak or Aborlan Tagbanwa which retain the glottal in its exact syllabic position.

### 2.33 LOSS OF CONSONANT FROM \*-CC-

Two examples in our data suggest that the loss of a consonant from a cluster results in stress on the ultima, just as if the form were still of the shape CVCCVC. A search of a Tagalog lexicon is necessary to substantiate this hypothesis.

087	*hid[e]gáq	higá'	Hil: hígda'	'lie down'
090	*bigbig	bibíg		'lips/mouth'

### 2.34 SYNCOPE

The reduction of an original trisyllabic form results in ultimate stress in Tagalog. Three forms from our data as well as two additional forms illustrate this.

060	*kama+i	kamáy		'hand'
099	*gabíqi	gabí	Akl: gabi'i	'night'
135	*ludahaq (PMP)	durá		'spit'
PMP	*tebuhu	tubó	Akl: tubóh	'sugar cane'
PMP	DeDehem	dílím	Akl: dugóm	'dark'

Note that Aklanon also evidences this phenomenon in the last two forms.

### 2.35 CONSONANT CHANGE OR LOSS

Loss of -l- or -r- in Tagalog seems to push the stress to the ultima.

087	*búlan	buwán	búgan	'moon'
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113	*dálan	da'án	dágan	'road'
139	*bitúqen	bituwín	bitú'on	'star'
141	*túqed	tuwíd <sup>7</sup>	tú'od	'straight/ true'

It should be noted, however, that 'ú'od (179) has either not succumbed to this process or perhaps did so but has since regularized stress back to the penultimate.

### 3. MORPHOLOGICAL CONCLUSIONS

#### 3.1. FORM CLASSES

Certain stress patterns may legitimately be explained on the basis of form classes, where groups of words envisioned as part of a semantic or grammatical paradigm are given patterns of stress similar to one another, but apart from the otherwise normal stress patterns of the rest of the lexicon. In almost all cases exceptions are due to the canonical form CVCCVC.

#### 3.11 TOPIC SLOT PRONOUNS

All of the Tagalic daughter languages have topic pronouns stressed on the ultima.

067	*[ jakú	'akó	'akó	'I'
184	*[ jikáw	'ikáw	'ikáw	'thou'
061	*siyá	siyá	'imáw	'he/she'
167	*kamí	kamí	kamí	'we (excl.)'
168	*kitá	táyo <sup>8</sup>	kitá	'we (incl.)'
183	*kamú	kayó	kamó	'you'
147	*siLá	silá	sánda <sup>9</sup>	'they'

#### 3.12 NUMERALS

Numerals are also generally stressed on the ultima in Tagalic languages. Aklanon, interestingly enough, breaks the rule of canonical form only when counting items out, i.e. instead of stress on the penultimate, numerals of the shape CVCCVC are also stressed on the ultima, but only when the numbers are uttered in actual counting.

104	*[ jisá	'isá	'isagá	'one'
160	*de+L[e]wha	dalawá	daywá	'two'
152	*te+t[e]lú	tatló	tatló	'three'

<sup>7</sup>This Tagalog form may be related to Bikol tul'id (\*tulqid), in which case we have both consonant loss and a glottal in the ultima drawing ultimate stress.

<sup>8</sup>Tagalog also has the pronoun kitá, but as a Topic-Patient form ('I-actor to-ye-patient'), 'in'í'big kitá 'I love you.' Táyo is an innovation and has regularized stress.

<sup>9</sup>This stress pattern is explained by the CVCCVC canonical form.

055	*qe+q[e]pát	)2.31(	'ap'át	'four'
050	*limá	limá	limá	'five'
129	*qe+q[e]ném	)2.31(	'an'óm	'six'
123	*pitú	pitó	pitó	'seven'
039	*walú	waló	wagó	'eight'
100	*siyám	siyám	siyám	'nine'

The numeral for ten (146) falls under a different category in each language.

### 3.13 VOCATIVES

The forms for 'father' and 'mother' are handled quite differently in a number of languages. In Magindanao, for example, they receive a final glottal stop. In the Tagalic family the are stressed on the final syllable:

044	*[ ]amá[ ]	'amá	'amáh	'father'
088	*[ ]iná[ ]	'iná	'ináh	'mother'

### 3.14. INTERROGATIVE PARTICLES

These forms are generally stressed on the ultima.

066	*piLa+ŋ	'ilán	pilá	'how many?'
169	*[ ]enú	'anó	'anó	'What?'
171		ka'ilán	hin'unó	'when (fut)?'
172	*sa+(di)+qen[ú]	sa'án	si'ín	'where?'

### 3.15 NEGATIVES

094	*bekén	)2.1(	bukón	'not so'
096	*waLáq	walá'	'uwa'	'don't have'
097		huwág	'ayáw	'do not!'

### 3.16 DEICTICS

The basic deictic forms of each language (i.e. those which have no active or frozen inflectional affixes) receive final stress. Derived forms have undergone various morphological processes and are not presently easy to trace to specific proto forms.

025		'irí	'iyá	(near speaker)
026		'itó	'uná'	(near both)
027		'iyán	'iná'	(near listener)
028		'iyón	)2.1(	(far away)

### 3.2 MORPHEMIC STRESS

Another manifestation of the tendency of words to group together as classes can be seen in the stress pairs of both Tagalog and Aklanon. Usually when two forms are identical except for stress, stress tends to be morphemic, i.e. take the place of a morpheme. In Tagalog the pair *tápus*: *:tapús* refer respectively to a verb 'to finish' and an adjective 'finished'. In Aklanon, *gísi* is used as a verb meaning 'to rip/tear', while *gisi* is an adjective meaning 'torn'. In either language the ultimate stress is equivalent to the morpheme *na*- 'accidentally got x-ed'. Even more generally, penultimate stress marks verbs; ultimate stress marks nouns or adjectives derived from those verbs. Hence, Aklanon *bagáy* means 'to build or construct' while *bagay* means 'house'. (187)

Certain forms can be explained as remnants of stress pairs. Aklanon *tanán* (001) means 'all', but derives from Proto Meso-Philippine *\*tánân*, which gives us Tagalog *tánan* 'to elope, run away together' and Iraya *tanán* 'each/both of two'. The Aklanon and the Iraya forms are remnants of the ultimate stress adjective form, while the Tagalog form manifests the penultimate stress verb form.

Aklanon has the minimal pairs *bútoŋ* 'to pull' and *butón* 'young coconut' while Palawan Batak has *béteŋ* 'coconut water' and *betén* 'to pull'. Note the flip-flop of stress between the two languages. Apparently Aklanon has regularized the verb form to penultimate stress and the noun to ultimate stress according to the pattern of the language, while Batak has preserved the original stress placement on the word 'to pull'. The forms relating to coconuts are innovations but regularized according to the canons of each language.

Such morphemic regularization accounts for the stress discrepancies in Aklanon 063, 068, 092, 107, 112, 124, 137, 150, 193 and Tagalog 013, 018, 048, 068.

Both Tagalog and Aklanon show morphemic stress pairs in 016, 019, 078, 092, 115, 131; *even when the forms are not cognate.*

Tagalog:	<i>Siya+y naglulúto</i> 'naŋ saba.
Aklanon:	<i>Imaw hay nagaḡáha</i> 'it sab'a.
English:	He (is) cooking (obj) bananas.
Tagalog:	<i>Lutó</i> 'na.
Aklanon:	<i>ḡahá</i> ḡun.
English:	Cooked now.

### 3.3 REGULARIZATION

Returning to our original premise that Proto Tagalic was stressed on the penultimate syllable except for phonological or morphological considerations as under discussion, we find a large number of our forms "regular": 66 in Tagalog and 62 in Aklanon, with a total of 38 shared cognates. The following shared cognates allow us to difinitively establish penultimate stress on the reconstruction of the proto forms: 006, 016, 024, 037, 041, 046, 047, 062, 064, 071, 073, 075, 080, 081, 083, 091, 106, 120, 121, 130, 133, 139, 151, 155, 156, 157, 158, 161, 163, 164, 166, 175, 177, 178, 185, 186, 197 and 198. The remaining Tagalog regular forms are: 002, 009, 022, 031, 035, 036, 065, 069, 072, 074, 084, 103, 107, 108, 111, 112, 117, 118, 119, 143, 150, 153, 154, 162, 179, 180, 187, 193; Aklanon: 002, 005, 015, 026, 031, 048, 052, 060, 069, 072, 087, 089, 099, 102, 103, 113, 128, 145, 146, 148, 180, 195, 196, 200.



## 4. PROTO FINAL STRESS

## 4.1 MINIMAL PAIRS

In the data presented so far we find at least one minimal pair for Proto Tagalic: \*púnuq 'tree stump' and \*punúq 'full'. Granting that these forms come from different Malayo-Polynesian roots (\*puqun and \*penuq, respectively), all of the Tagalic languages reflect the forms posited, differentiating them by stress, with the exception of Kuyonon which does not have phonemic stress and reflects the two homophonously as *punú*'.

We also find a near minimal stress pair: \*kitá 'we – inclusive' and \*kíta[ ] 'to see'. Although Tagalog alone shows 'áso 'dog' we find it as far out as Chamorro *gwáso*, and if we can grant the form as Proto Tagalic (rather than a recent and independent Tagalog borrowing), then we have another minimal pair: \*[ ]ásu 'dog' and \*[ ]asú 'smoke'. This requires us, however, to posit final stress on \*[ ]asú, which may seem unwarranted.

## 4.2 CONSISTENCY OF FINAL STRESS IN RESIDUE

Nonetheless, there are 28 items in the residue which are cognate in Aklanon and Tagalog and are also found in many of the Tagalic daughter languages: Bulalakawnon, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Kinaray-a, Odionganon and Romblomanon, all of which exhibit phonemic stress as well.

003	*[ ]abú	'abó	'abó	'ashes'
004	*likúd	likód	likód	'back'
007	*tiyán	tiyán	tiyán	'belly'
010	*kagát	kagát	kagát/ 'áŋkit	'bite'
011	*qitém	'itím	'itúm	'black'
012, 020, 029, 032, 040, 059, 070, 079, 101, 105, 109, 110, 116, 124, 125, 134, 140, 144, 149, 159, 165, 174, and 191.				

This list should establish the necessity of positing final stress as the only reasonable explanation for the final stress of the forms presented. One cannot account for them on morphological grounds since we have pairs such as \*káqen and \*[ ]inúm (if we think of eating versus drinking as verbs); nor on phonological grounds \*qúlu (062), \*dilaq (155), dugúq (012) (if one toys with the theory that \*q tends to attract stress); nor on semantic grounds \*túhud (071) 'knee' *versus* \*likúd (004) 'back' (if we try to group by body parts). The only sensible classes we can make out of the data are a "life principle" set: \*qatáy (079), \*matáy (029), \*patáy (070); and a color set: \*qitém (011) 'black', \*pulá (110) 'red', \*putíq (174) 'white' along with \*deláw (182) 'yellow'. The color set can also be justified on morphological grounds as an adjective set receiving ultimate stress (see section 3.2).

## 4.3 THE RESIDUE

Our residual forms number 23 for Tagalog and 28 for Aklanon. They do not lend

themselves to easy explanation. Nonetheless the problems they pose give us some directions to turn to in future research.

#### 4.31 DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN TAGALOG AND AKLANON STRESS

Two forms in our data reveal a difference in stress patterns:

042	*ma+layuq	maláyo'	magayó'	'far'
093	*liqeg	li'íg	lí'og	'neck'

In 042 Tagalog reflects the "regular" pattern of penultimate stress while in 093 Aklanon does. Unless more research on stress patterns within Tagalog and other Tagalic languages proves the contrary, we must just leave these as anomalies.

#### 4.32 FORMS FOR WHICH WE HAVE NO PROTOTYPES

A small number of forms seem to reflect innovation or independent retention. Unable to reconstruct a proto form we are at an equal impasse to account for the stress on the forms. Tagalog: lahát 'all' (001), masamá 'bad' (005), hiḡá 'breathe' (015), tuyó' 'dry' (033), tabá' 'fat' (043), mabúti<sup>10</sup> 'good' (058), lamán 'meat' (086), 'upó' 'sit' (127), mali'it 'small' (132), matagál 'long (time)' (195). Aklanon: huyáp 'count' (022), sikí 'foot' (054), buyót 'hold' (065), hibayág 'laugh' (074), ḡubóg 'lie down' (077), 'abó' 'many' (084), ma'isót 'small' (132), pilá' 'spit' (135), tikán 'walk' (162), pandihó' 'move bowels' (193). Outside of Tagalog 086 which has counterparts in the Northern Philippines meaning 'wild pig' (e.g. Agta lamá:n) and Aklanon 077 which is found in Kalamian Tagbanwa as lúbug, these forms seem to be unique to each language.

Since they do seem to represent comparatively independent items, they may illustrate a speech stratum less subject to influence from similar or competing forms in nearby languages, and hence *they might reveal a basic stress pattern on the ultima* contrary to our original premise that most forms were stressed on the penult.

#### 4.33 FORMS WITH PROTOTYPES BUT ULTIMATE STRESS

Alongside the forms just mentioned there are 11 forms in Tagalog and 16 in Aklanon that have cognates in other Philippine languages, but the stress occurs on the final syllable. For example, Tagalog datíḡ 'come' (021), pa'á 'foot' (054) and 'ugát 'root' (114) have their counterparts in many other languages (although \*páḡa generally means 'thigh' and \*qúḡat means 'vein, sinew'). Aklanon has 'abót 'arrive' (021) alongside Kalamian kábut and tapùtapú 'dust' (034) alongside several Bornean languages, but the stress shows a strange independence. Other such Tagalog forms are: 008, 023, 068, 128, 148, 181, 190 and 200; Aklanon: 008, 033, 057, 058, 086, 108, 111, 114, 117, 150, 153, 154, 179 and 199.

<sup>10</sup>Although the stress on mabúti is "regular," we do not know its proto form and therefore cannot say if it is regular or irregular from the historical point of view.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS AND DIRECTIONS

We have examined a number of forms supposedly having a high retention rate. Of these more than half showed a highly suspicious pattern of ultimate stress. In many instances, past or present phonological or morphological processes have accounted for the stress. Furthermore, in a small number of residual forms, particularly in a dozen or so common to each individual language and hence not subject to outside influence, we find a tenacity for word final stress.

Considering these factors we might well ask if this propensity for accent on the ultima was not a feature of Proto Tagalic? Our evidence is reinforced by Kuyonon, the only Tagalic language which does not have phonemic stress. In Kuyonon every word is stressed on the ultima with the single exception of *ká:pon* 'yesterday' (derived from \**kahápun* with compensatory lengthening of the vowel due to the loss of -h-, the long vowel drawing the stress). Thus length, not stress, comes in to play, but with a very, very low functional load.

If evidence continues to mount in this direction, then perhaps the "academic question" we raised earlier is answerable. Words of the CVCCVC shape were most probably stressed on the ultima, with the Visayan languages regularizing according to a new pattern. But what of the penultimate stresses posited? We are sure Proto Tagalic had them too. Did Proto Tagalic inherit or innovate its ultimate stresses? A careful investigation of the lexicons of Tagalic and other Philippine languages is called for. As time progresses and areas of research increase we should be able to discover just how far back in time we can postulate phonemic stress. A language such as Palau which drops all but stressed vowels, giving *mad* from \**máta* 'eye' or *ptux* from \**bitúqen* 'star', can help us reach the Malayo-Polynesian level, if indeed we can go back that far. What is needed by this time is finally raising our comparative studies from the segmental/phonological level and considering suprasegmentals as well.

TABLE 2  
TAGALOG AND AKLANON 200 WORD LIST WITH (PROBABLE)  
PROTO FORMS AND ENGLISH GLOSS

TAGALOG	AKLANON	RECONSTRUCTION(S)	GLOSS
001 lahát	tanán	(*tánân/ ? )	'all'
002 háyop	sápat	(*háyp/*sápat)	'animal'
003 'abó	'abóh	*qabú	'ashes'
004 likód	likód	*likúd	'back'
005 ma+šamá'	ma+gá'in	(*lá[ ]in/sama[ ])	'bad'
006 pa+ligo'	pa+lígôs	*pa+Líqus	'bathe'
007 tiyán	tiyán	*tiyán	'belly'
008 ma+lakí	ma+bahóg	(*Lakel/bahel)	'big'
009 'ibon	píspis	(*pispis/*[ ]ibun)	'bird'
010 kagát	'áŋkit	(*kagát/*[ ]aŋkit)	'bite'
011 ma+'itím	ma+'itúm	*qitém	'black'
012 dugó'	dugó'	*dugúq	'blood'
013 hihip	huyóp	*heyép	'blow'
014 butó	túg'an	(*teqlan/*butqul)	'bone'
015 hiŋá	ginháwa	(*ge+hi+náwa/*hiŋa)	'breathe'
016 sunúg	súnôg	*súnúg	'burn'

Table 2 (continued)

017	libíŋ	gubónŋ	*lebénŋ	'bury'
018	'anák	'uŋá'	*[ ]anáŋ/(*[ ]eŋáŋ)	'child'
019	lútò	gáhá'	(*lútúŋ/*láhâŋ)	'cook'
020	lamíg	gamíg	*lamíg	'cold'
021	datíŋ	'abót	(*dateŋ/*qabut)	'come'
022	bílaŋ	huyáp	(*bílaŋ/ ? )	'count'
023	'iyák	táŋis	(*táŋis/*[ ]iyak)	'cry'
024	híwa'	kíwa'	*híwaq	'cut'
025	'irí/díni	'iyá/ráya		Deictic-1st
026	'itó/díto	'uná'/rúyon		Deictic-Dual
027	'iyán/diyán	'iná'/raná'		Deictic-2nd
028	'iyón/do'ón	'ídto/rató		Deictic-3rd
029	matáy	matáy	*matáy	'die'
030	ma+dumí	ma+hígko'	(*dumqi / ? )	'dirty'
031	'áso	'áyam	([ ]ásu/qáyam)	'dog'
032	'inóm	'inóm	*[ ]inúm	'drink'
033	tuyó	magáh	(*maLa / ? )	'dry'
034	'alíkabók	tapùtapúh	(*qali+k+abquk/*tapu)	'dust'
035	taŋŋa	dugúŋŋan	*taŋŋa />(*d+eL+eŋ[é]g+an)	'ear'
036	lúpa'	gúgta'		'earth'
037	ká'in	ká'on	*káŋen	'eat'
038	'itlóg	'ítlog	*qitlug	'egg'
039	waló	wagó	*walú	'eight'
040	matá	matá	*matá	'eye'
041	húlog	húlog	*húlug	'fall'
042	ma+láyó	ma+gayó'	*ma+Layuq	'far'
043	tabá'	támbug	(*tabaq/*tambek)	'fat'
044	'amá	'amáh	*[ ]amá[ ]	'father'
045	tákòt	hádlok	(*táku/t/haldeŋ)	'fear'
046	balahíbo	bagahíbo	*balahíbu	'feather'
047	babá'e	babáyí	*baba[ ]i	'female'
048	'apóy	kagáyo	(*[ ]apuy/*k+taL+áyú)	'fire'
049	'isdá'	'ísda'	*qis[e]dáŋ	'fish'
050	limá	limá	*limá	'five'
051	litáw	gutáw	*letáw	'float'
052	bulaklák	búgak	*búlak	'flower'
053	lipád	gupád	*lepád	'fly' (verb)
054	pa'á	sikí	(*paqa/*siki)	'foot'
055	'ápat	'áp'at	*qeŋ[e]pat	'four'
056	punó'	punó'	*punúŋ (PMP*penuŋ)	'full'
057	bigáy	ta'ó	(*begáy/*taqu)	'give'
058	ma+búti	mayád		'good (at)'
059	buhók	buhók	*buhúk (PMP*buhek)	'hair'
060	kamay	'alíma	(*kamá[ ]i/*qalíma)	'hand'
061	siyá	'imáw	*siyá /(*i+maqu)	'he/she'
062	'úlu	'úgo	*qúlu	'head'
063	diníg	bátí	*deŋég /(*batiŋ)	'hear'
064	púso'	tagipusó'on	*púsúŋ	'heart'
065	háwak	buyót		'hold'
066	'ilán	pilá	*piLá+ŋ	'how many?'
067	'akó	'akó	*[ ]akú	
068	lo'ób	sugód	*seléd/(*luqub)	'in(side)'
069	bitúka	tiná'i	(*bitúka/*tináŋi)	'intestines'
070	patáy	patáy	*patáy	'kill'
071	túhod	túhod	*túhed	'knee'
072	'álam	ka+sáyod	(*[ ]álam/*sáLed)	'know (how)'
073	kilála	kilága	*kilála	'know (name)'
074	táwa	hibayág	*táwa / ( ? )	'laugh'
075	dáhon	dáhon	*dáhun	'leaf'
076	kaliwá'	wagáh	*welá[ ]	'leftside'
077	higá'	gubóg	*hid[e]gáŋ/*lebúŋ	'lie down'
078	búháy	búhí'	(*búhíŋ/*búhay)	'live'
079	'atáy	'atáy	*qatáy	'liver'

Table 2 (continued)

080	ma+hába'	ma+hába'	*ma+hábaq	'long'
081	kúto	kúto	*kútu	'louse'
082	lisá'	gusá'	*lesáq (PMP*lisehaq)	'louse egg'
083	laláki	gagáki	*la+láki	'male'
084	ma+dámi	'abó'	(*dame [ ]/* ? )	'many'
085	sa	sa	*sa	marker: 'at'
086	lamán	'unód		'meat/flesh'
087	buwán	búgan	*búlar:	'moon'
088	'iná	'iná	*[ ]iná[ ]	'mother'
089	bundók	búkid	*búkid />(*bunduk)	'mountain'
090	bibíg	bá'ba'	(*baqbaq/bigbig)	'mouth'
091	ḡálan	ḡálan	*ḡálan	'name'
092	ma+lápít	ma+ḡápít	*ma+Lápit	'near(by)'
093	li'íg	li'og	*líqeg	'neck'
094	hindī	bukón'	*bekén	negative: 'not so'
095	hi'adi'	'índi'	*LinLiq	negative: 'will not'
096	walá'	'uwá'	*waLáq	negative: 'have none'
097	huwág	'ayáw	(*[ ]ayáw/ ? )	negative: 'do not!'
098	bágo	bág'o	*baqgo	'new'
099	gabí	gabī'i	*gabiqi	'night'
100	siyám	siyám	*siyám	'nine'
101	'ilóng	'ilóng	*qilLúḡ	'nose'
102	ma+tandá'	ma+ḡúganḡ	(*ḡúLaḡ/*tandaq)	'old (person)'
103	lúma'	ḡági		'old (person)'
104	'isá	'isagá	*[ ]isá	'one'
105	'ibá	'ibá	*[ ]ibá	'other(s)'
106	tá'o	táwo	*ta[ ]u	'person'
107	híla	bútoḡ	(*híla/*betḡ)	'pull'
108	túlak	tugód	(*túlak/*tulud)	'push'
109	'ulán	'ugán	*quLán	'rain'
110	pulá	pugá	*pulá	'red'
111	kánan	tu'ó	(*k + ánan/*tuqu)	'rightside'
112	'ilog	súbá'	(*[ ]ilug/súbaq)	'river'
113	da'án	dágan	*dálán	'road'
114	'ugát	gamót	(*gamut/qugat)	'root'
115	bilóg	bilóg	*bilúg	'round'
116	'asin	'asín	*qasín	'salt'
117	buháḡin	bagás	(*buháḡan/*baLas)	'sand'
118	sábi	hámbag		'say/speak'
119	kámut	kágot	(*kálut/ ? )	'scratch'
120	dágat	dágat	*dágat	'sea'
121	kíta	kíta'	*kíta[ ]	'see'
122	binhi'	bínhi'	*binhiq	'seed'
123	pitó	pitó	*pitú	'seven'
124	tahí'	táhi'	*tahíq	'sew'
125	ma+ talím	ma+tagúm	*ma+taLém	'sharp'
126	+kapatíd	+máḡhud	(*ka+pa+etéd/*ma+ ḡúhed)	'sibling'
127	'upó	púḡko'		'sit'
128	balát	pánit	(*pa+qánit/ ? )	'skin'
129	'ánim	'án'um	*qeq [e]ném	'six'
130	láḡit	ḡáḡit	*láḡit	'sky'
131	túlôg	túḡôg	*túlug	'sleep'
132	ma+li'ít	ma+isót		'small'
133	báho'	báho'	*báhuq	'smell/stink'
134	'asó	'asó	*[ ]asú	'smoke'
135	durá'	pilá'	(PMP*ludhaq/ ? )	'spit'
136	sibák	bús'ak	*besqak	'split/chop'
137	pigá'	púga'	*pegáq	'squeeze'
138	tindíg	túndog	*tindeg	'stand'
139	bitú'in	bitú'on	*bitúqen	'star'
140	bató	bató	*batú	'stone'
141	ma+tuwíd	tádliḡ	(*tuqed/*taldḡ)	'straight'

Table 2 (continued)

142	sipsíp	súpsup	*sepsep	'suck'
143	'áraw	'ádlaw	*qá/l/Law	'sun'
144	laŋóy	gaŋóy	*laŋúy	'swim'
145	buntót	'íkog	(*[ ]íkug/*buntut)	'tail'
146	sam+pú'	na+púgo'	*+púluq	'ten'
147	silá	sánda	*si[n]Lá	'they'
148	ma+kapál	ma+dámog	(*kapal/*dámel)	'thick'
149	ma+nipís	ma+nipís	*ma+nipís	'thin'
150	ma+kítid	ma+kítid	ma+kítid	'narrow'
151	'ísip	'ísip	*[ ]ísip	'think'
152	tatló	tátlo	*tet[e]lú	'three'
153	tápon	pilák		'throw'
154	táli'	higót	*táli /(*higut)	'tie'
155	díla'	díla'	*dílaq	'tongue'
156	ŋípín	ŋípon	*ŋípen	'tooth'
157	káhoy	káhoy	*káhuy (PMP*kahiw)	'tree/wood'
158	púno'	púno'	*púnuq (PMP*puqun)	'tree (trunk)'
159	balík	balík	*balík	'turn (back)'
160	dalawá	dáywa	*deL[e]wha	'two'
161	súka	súkah	*súka	'vomit'
162	lákad	tikáŋ	*lákad /(*tikaŋ)	'walk'
163	'ínit	'ínit	*qínit	'warm/hot'
164	húgas	húgas	*húgas	'wash/rinse'
165	basá'	basá'	*basáq	'wet'
166	túbíg	túbí'	*túbíg	'water'
167	kamí'	kamí'	*kamí'	'we (excl.)'
168	táyo	kitá	*kitá	'we (incl.)'
169	'anó	'anó	*qenú	'what?'
170	ka'ilán	kán'o	*ke+(piLán/qenú)	'when (past)?'
171	ka'ilán	hin'unó		'when (fut.)?'
172	sa'an	sí'in	*sa+[di]+qen [ú]	'where?'
173	síno	sín'o	*si+qenú	'who?'
174	putí'	putí'	*putíq	'white'
175	háŋin	háŋin	*háŋin	'wind'
176	pakpak	pákpak	*pakpak	'wing'
177	páhid	páhid	*páhid	'wipe'
178	'asáwa	'asáwa	*qasáwa	'wife/spouse'
179	'ú'od	gagó	*qúled / ( ? )	'worm'
180	buláti	bítos		'worm (stomach)'
181	ta'on	dág'on	(*taqun/daqúgun)	'year'
182	diláw	dugáw	*deláw	'yellow'
183	kayó	kamó	*kamú	'you (pl.)'
184	'ikáw	'ikáw	*[ ]i+káw	'you (sing.)'
185	súso	sóso	*súsu	'breast'
186	súŋay	súŋay	*súŋay	'horn'
187	báhay	bágáy	*bálay	'house'
188	bigát	búg'at	*begqat	'heavy'
189	hiyá'	huyá'	*heyáq	'shame'
190	palít	báylo	(*báliw/*palit)	'exchange'
191	dalá	dagá	*daLá	'bring/carry'
192	panagínip	dámgo	(*paŋ+tagqínep/ ? )	'dream'
193	tá'e	pandihó'	(*táqi / ? )	'move bowels'
194	biŋí	buŋóg	*beŋél	'deaf'
195	ma+tagál	ma+buhay		'long time'
196	katawán	gáwas	(*ka+tawq+an/*láwas)	'body'
197	'útak	'útok	*qútek	'brain'
198	'ilálim	'idágom	*qi+LáLem	'under'
199	kabilá'	piháq	(*ke+beláq/*pihak)	'across'
200	'ita'ás	'ibábaw	(*qi+taqas/*+bábaw)	'above'

Abbreviations of the languages used in this article are:

- Akl: Aklanon (Northern Panay)
- Han: Hanunoo (Southern Mindoro)
- Hil: Hiligaynon (Southern Panay and Negros Occidental)
- Iry: Iraya (Northern Mindoro)
- Lub: Lubang Tagalog (Lubang Island)
- Sem: Semirara (Semirara Island Group, north of Panay)
- Tag: Tagalog
- Tsg: Tausug (Jolo Island and Southern Palawan)

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Corrigenda to Robert A. Blust, "A Tagalog Consonant Cluster Conspiracy," *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 2(2):85-91.

Page 86: Rule 1 TAGALOG METATHESIS

$$\begin{bmatrix} - \text{cont} \\ + \text{cor} \\ \text{nas} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} - \text{cont} \\ - \text{cor} \\ \text{nas} \end{bmatrix} \quad 1, 2 \longrightarrow 2, 1$$

Page 85, line 11: [a'sin] 'salt': [as'nan] 'what is to be salted'  
line 12: [a'tip] 'roofing': [ap'tan] 'what is to be roofed'  
line 13: [ta'nim] 'that planted': [tam'nan] 'what is to have plants put into it'.

Page 87, footnote 2, line 4: kiníg ~ kiñíg