Some general thoughts on low-level prosody of Tagalog

BASIC STRESS
By the way, this is just my own personal analysis-of-the-month—not any standard view.

Data are from
- French 1988 (“Fr”)¹
- Ferrer 2006 (“Fe”)²—no page numbers given, because it’s a dictionary
- Schachter & Otanes 1972 (“S&O”)³
- Things I’ve heard over the years

(1) Data
If open penult, stress on penult or ultima:

basá? ‘wet’, bása ‘reading’

If closed penult, stress on ultima only:

bantás ‘punctuation’

Except in some loans—and it’s often unstable:

bénda ‘bandage’ (Sp.) bán.yo ‘bathroom’ (Sp.) but ban.yós ‘sponge bath’ (Fe)

Stress shifts one to the right in verbal suffixation:

basá? ‘wet’ basa?-ín ‘be wetted’
bása ‘read’ basáh-in ‘be read’
bantás ‘punctuation’ bantas-án ‘be punctuated’ (Fe)

Except in those loans—there it shifts all the way to the end, sometimes with secondary stress retained:

bénda ‘bandage’ bendah-án ~ bèndah-án ‘be bandaged’ (Fe)

(2) Moraic grid
Coda consonants moraic (except final ones, which are extrametrical):

\[
x \quad x \quad x \quad xx \quad x \quad xx \quad x
\]

ba.sa<?> ba.sa ban.ta<s> ben.da

(3) Default final stress
\[ x \times x \times \times \times \]
ba.sá\(<?\)  ba.sa.?-í\(<n\)  ban.tá\(<s\)  ban.ta.s-á\(<n\)

(4) Lexically marked penultimate-mora stress
/bása, x.]pwd/ ‘read’
\[ x \times x \times x \times \]
bá.sa  ba.sá.h-í\(<n\)

(5) Lexically marked penultimate-mora stress doesn’t work if penult is closed
hypothetical /bántas, x.]pwd/ ‘punctuation’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/bántas, x.]pwd/</th>
<th>*STRESSED C</th>
<th>FaithStress Pattern</th>
<th>*Final Lapse</th>
<th>FinalStress</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>a. x</td>
<td>*!</td>
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This is why we don’t see pairs like *bántas, bántas-in. To rule out (verb) pairs like *bantás, bantás-in, we need some O-O templatic correspondence (see Sabbagh 2004).

(6) Exceptional loans have lexically linked stress
/bénda/  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/bénda/</th>
<th>*STRESSED C</th>
<th>*SYLLABIC CLASH</th>
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<th>*BAD FINAL LAPSE</th>
<th>FAITHSTRESS SPEC</th>
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(7) Stress in suffixed nouns is different (Sabbagh 2004)

palít ‘exchange’ palít-an ‘trade by exchanging goods’
háwak ‘grasp’ hawak-án ‘handle’

For nouns, Sabbagh proposes that stress wants to stay in the same place (O-O correspondence), but the lapse in *háwak-an is not allowed, so you get default (final) stress. (His analysis of verbs is different from the above, btw.)

⇒ suggests (stem suffix)pwd

PREFIXES: INSENSITIVE TO STEM STRESS

(8) Stress a reduplicated syllable (at least in verbs...)

makiki-ʔúsap ‘will request’ p-in-akiki-ʔúsáp-an ‘is making a request of’ (Fr71)

(9) Stress a closed syllable
màgpaka-ʔárál ‘study intensely’ (Fr75)
makapàgpa-ʔárál ‘be able to send to school’ (Fr75)
pàg-ʔárál-an ‘be studied’ (Fr75)
(10) Clash not allowed within prefixes

\[ \text{mag?à-?áral} \quad \text{‘will study’ (Fr74) (*màg?à-?áral)} \]
\[ \text{magpàpaka-?áral} \quad \text{‘will study intensely’ (Fr75)} \]

\[ \text{but} \]
\[ \text{makàkapàg-?áral} \quad \text{‘will be able to study’ (i.e., it is OK to have two stresses in the prefix complex)} \]

(11) Default: stress first syllable of prefix complex (but skip infix and /?i/)

\[ \text{sáma ‘join’ } \quad \text{màka-sáma} \quad \text{‘be able to join’ (Fr70)} \]
\[ \text{bílí ‘buy’ } \quad \text{màka-bílí} \quad \text{‘be able to buy’ (Fr71)} \]
\[ \text{?úsap ‘request’ } \quad \text{pàki-?úsáp-an} \quad \text{‘make request of’ (Fr71)} \]
\[ \text{p-in-àki-?úsáp-an} \quad \text{‘made a request of’ (Fr71)} \]
\[ \text{?i-pàki-?úsap} \quad \text{‘be requested’ (Fr80)} \]
\[ \text{?i-p-in-àki-?úsap} \quad \text{‘was requested’ (Fr80)} \]

(12) Clash between prefix and stem OK

\[ \text{màg-?áral} \quad \text{‘study’ (Fr74)} \]
\[ \text{makapàg-?áral} \quad \text{‘be able to study’ (Fr74)} \]
\[ \text{mag?à-?áral} \quad \text{‘will study’ (Fr74)} \]

\[ \Rightarrow \text{suggests (prefix (stem)}_{\text{P\text{Wd}}} \text{, maybe (prefixes)}_{\text{P\text{Wd}}} \text{ (stem)}_{\text{P\text{Wd}}} \text{ for long prefix complexes} \]

(There’s more going on with the prefixes that I don’t have a handle on...)

**COMPOUNDING REDUPLICATION: TWO PRIMARY STRESSES**

(13) Examples

\[ \text{hálo? ‘mixture’ } \quad \text{hálo-hálo? ‘(icy dessert)’} \]
\[ \text{túro? ‘point’ } \quad \text{túro-túro? ‘(steam-table restaurant)’} \]
\[ \text{sapín ‘pad’ (Sp.) } \quad \text{sapín-sapín ‘(layered dessert)’} \]

\[ \Rightarrow \text{suggests (stem)}_{\text{P\text{Wd}}} \text{ (stem)}_{\text{P\text{Wd}}} \]

**Phonotactic evidence**

(14) Bad clusters across the prefix-stem boundary

\[ \text{(mag-(gugó)) ‘shampoo’ (Fe)} \]
\[ \text{(pag-(ká?in)) ‘food’} \]

---

5 I picked some words you’re likely to encounter in local restaurants.
(15) Problem: also bad clusters across the prefix-prefix boundary

magkì-kìta ‘will see each other’ *màgkì-kìta (I think?)

If structure is (mag (ki (kìta))), to allow gk cluster, why is clash not allowed?

(16) Bad clusters across stem-stem boundary

taŋkád ‘tallness’ ma-taŋkád-taŋkád ‘rather tall’ (Fr87)

(17) Clusters that would be bad at word edge OK when suffix follows

Syncope occurs in some verbs:

(sakît) ‘illness, pain’ (sakt-án) ‘be harmed’
(bilî) ‘buying’ (bilh-ín) ‘be bought’ (if h viewed as epenthetic, opaque here)

Alternation evidence

(18) Glottal-stop deletion after consonant
Obligatory within stem, after syncope (some non-derived exceptions):

gawá? ‘task’ gaw-ín ‘be done’ *gaw?-ín

Not obligatory after prefix (occurs in fast speech, and maybe for some words even in careful speech):

?anák ‘child’ mag-?anák ‘give birth’

Not obligatory at stem-stem boundary (occurs in fast speech; not sure if different probability of application from prefix-stem boundary):

?áraw ‘day’ ?áraw-?áraw ‘daily’

(19) Mid vowels allowed in last syllable only; no [u] in last syllable
(All this applies to native words only; loans are more complicated)

Suffix counts in calculation of “last syllable”—alternation is obligatory:

hálo? ‘mixture’ halú?-in ‘be mixed’

But alternation is optional in stem-stem reduplicaton:

hálo-hálo? ~ hálu-hálo? ‘halo-halo’

Say domain in p-phrase—then two phrasings are possible for reduplicated forms, because they have two p-words, but only one phrasing possible for suffixed words.
(20) **Intervocalic tapping of /d/ (‘r’ = tap)**
(All this applies to native words only; loans are different)

Obligatory across stem-suffix boundary:

lákad ‘walk’  lakár-an ‘be walked on’

Forbidden across stem-stem boundary:

dalá-dalá ‘load carried’

...except in a couple of special items

ma-rámi ‘many’—*much more frequent than* dámi ‘large quantity’
ma-dámi-dámi ~ ma-rami-rami ~ ma-rami-dámi (*ma-dámi-rami, as far as I know)

Optional (item by item) at prefix-stem boundary:

dáhan ‘slowness’  ma-ráhan ‘slow’
dáhon ‘leaf’  ma-dáhon ‘leafy’

**More on prefixed words**

(21) **Variation in tapping suggests difference in structure**

(ma-ráhan) vs. (ma-(dáhon))
or (ma-(ráhan)) vs. (ma)-(dáhon)

Haven’t been able (yet?) to investigate whether there’s any stress evidence that backs this up.

Another possibility: tapping is variable between adjoined and core p-word? (With variation governed by lexical marking...)

(22) **We also see variation in nasal substitution**

bansá? ‘nation’  pam-bansá? ‘national’
banság ‘famous’  pa-manság  not sure—maybe ‘news-spreading’?

(23) **And nasal assimilation**


Unfortunately, no way to see if two or more of these rules correlate in behavior—only one can be applicable per form.

**CLITICS**

I have a very poor handle on them...
(24) **Prosody**
They don’t cause stress shift quite the way verbal suffixes do:

\[
\begin{align*}
&b-\text{in-ása} \quad \text{‘was read’} \quad b-\text{in-ása ba} \quad \text{‘was read?’} \\
&\text{but they may still attract default final stress, depending on which description you believe—I can’t decide, myself:} \\
&\text{bántás} \quad \text{‘punctuation’} \quad \text{bántás ba or bantas bá ‘punctuation?’}
\end{align*}
\]

(Why is this so hard to decide? The length difference between stressed and unstressed word penults is very noticeable, but between stressed and unstressed word ultimas not as much.)

(25) **Segmental rules**
Yes pre-C glottal deletion:

\[
\begin{align*}
&b-\text{um-asá?} \quad \text{‘wetted’} \quad b-\text{um-asá ba ‘wetted?’ (S&O: compensatory lengthening)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Vowel-height alternations optional:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{‘úlo ‘head’} \quad \text{úlu ko ~ úlo ko ‘my head’}
\end{align*}
\]

Diphthong coalescence optional:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{báhay ‘house’} \quad \text{báhay ko ~ báhey ko ~ báhe ko ‘my house’ (S&O14)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Tapping optional: clitics *din* and *daw* have allomorphs *rin* and *raw*

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ako din ~ ako rin ‘me too’} \\
&\text{ako daw ~ ako raw ‘me, reportedly’}
\end{align*}
\]

...but they can also occur after consonants (though less frequently)

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{dapat daw ~ dapat raw ‘should, reportedly’}
\end{align*}
\]

-\[\Rightarrow \text{suggests } (\text{word})_{\text{PWd clitic}}_{\text{PPhrase}}\]