

Reduplication in Tagalog

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V.—REDUPLICATION IN TAGALOG.

Reduplication is a common linguistic phenomenon, consisting of the repetition of the whole or part of a word, which is found to a certain extent in probably all languages. In many it has failed to be adopted as a part of the machinery or grammar of the language, and is of little or no importance; in others it has become a part of the bone and sinew of the language, and has given rise to many important categories. Nowhere, perhaps, is this linguistic principle more productive of results than in the Philippine languages, and here it probably finds its highest development in Tagalog, the most important language of the archipelago.

Reduplication in Tagalog may be of one or more syllables, and it may be at the beginning or end of a word. The final consonant of a syllable that is reduplicated is not repeated unless it is the final consonant of a word or root.

With regard to form the following are the principal varieties of reduplication, viz.,

1) monosyllabic, where a single syllable is reduplicated to form a root, e. g., *olól* 'mad'.¹

2) partial, where one syllable near the beginning of a word is reduplicated, the syllable being either the first syllable of a root or one of the syllables of a prefix. e. g.,

susúlat from *súlat* 'write'.

magkaka-utang from *magka-utang* 'owe'.

magigin-banál from *magin-banál* 'become good'.

3) full, in which the first two syllables of a word or root are repeated, e. g.,

araw'araw from *araw* 'day'.

sangposangpówo from *sangpówo* 'ten'.

¹ In the various Spanish grammars the accent marks are used to denote both the tonic syllable and the final glottal catch, but without

4) combined partial and full, e. g.,

iisaisá from *isá* 'one'.

babalibaligtád from *baligtád* 'turn'.

5) reduplication of the final syllable, e. g.,

bulaklák 'flower' from **bulak*.

himaymáy 'separate meat from bones' from *himay* (same).

6) final reduplication which consists in adding at the end of a dissyllabic word a syllable consisting of the initial consonant of the first syllable and the vowel and final consonant of the last syllable, e. g.,

kaliskís 'scale (of fish)' from *kalís* 'to scrape'.

Reduplication may be either significant or non-significant, i. e., non-significant in the sense that its significance is not apparent, or that no special semantic category arises from the reduplication, though in every case there was doubtless a reason for the reduplication.

Classes (1), (5) and (6) are always non-significant; partial reduplication (2) is non-significant in the following cases, viz.,

a) in certain nouns simple and derivative, e. g.,

laláki 'man'.¹

babáyi 'woman'.

masasaktín 'sickly'.

inaamá 'god-father'.

b) in the numerals:

dalawá (<**dadawa*) 'two'.²

tatló 'three'.

uniformity or consistency. The following system based partly on their usage is here employed, viz.,

á = accent on either penult or ultima.

â = glottal catch on final unaccented vowel.

ã = accented final vowel with glottal catch.

¹ Here, for instance, the reduplication may be used to emphasize the strength or size of the male (*laki* means 'greatness, size'). The following word *babáyi* 'woman' may owe its reduplication to analogy with this word.

² Here the reduplication may be due to the idea of doubling and in the following word it may be analogical.

c) in roots of the *magkan* verbal class, which indicates 'to emit from body voluntarily', e. g.,

magkanlulúhà 'to weep (modal) '.

Significant reduplication, generally speaking, emphasizes or strengthens in some way the meaning of the simple word. The various significant uses of reduplication are the following.

Partial reduplication (2) indicates emphasis, intensiveness, or plurality in the following cases, viz.:

a) adjectives with prefixed *ma* form their plural thus, e. g., *mabubúti* from *mabúti* 'good'.

b) adjectives of equality denoting 'as much of the quality as', take this form of reduplication when more than two individuals are compared, e. g., *magkalakí*, *singlakí*, *magkasinglakí* 'as large as'; *magkakalakí*, *singlalakí*, *magkakasinglakí*, 'equally large'.

c) the words *kauntí* 'a little', *muntí* 'a little, small', make the forms *kakauntí*, *mumuntí*, which are usually employed as plurals.

d) nouns of relationship with prefixed *mag*, e. g., *magamá* 'father and child' take this form of reduplication to denote a group of three or more, e. g., *magaamá* 'father and children'.

e) the exclamatory expressions formed of abstract noun + genitive with the meaning of how + predicate adjective + subject, e. g., *búti niyá* 'how beautiful she is!' (literally 'beauty of her!') may have their meaning intensified by this form of reduplication, which is used especially when the genitive is plural, e. g., *bubúti niyá* 'how beautiful she is !!' *bubúti nilá* 'how beautiful they are !!'

f) with numerals and names of pieces of money this reduplication emphasizes the meaning of the numerals in a restrictive sense, e. g., *úisá* 'only one' from *isá* 'one', *titigalawá* 'only two apiece' from *tigalawá* 'two apiece', *mimínsan* 'only once' from *mínsan* 'once', *pipiso* 'only one peso' from *piso* 'peso'.

g) a similar restrictive reduplication is found in nouns of individuality with prefixed *ka*, e. g., *katáwo* 'one man', *kakatáwo* 'one man only'.

h) in the regular verbal forms this kind of reduplication indicates intensity in time, e. g., from the root *laró* 'play' we have

naglalarô present from *naglarô* preterite, and *maglalarô* future from *maglarô* modal; the same reduplication is found in most verbal nouns of action, e. g., *paglalarô* 'act of playing'.

i) intensive active imperatives are formed by prefixing *ka* to the partially reduplicated root, e. g., *kalalákad* 'go quickly'.

j) the same formation as in (i) is used as a passive verbal form in the sense of 'to have just', e. g., *kaaalis niyá* 'he has just gone' from *alis* 'go'.

k) the oblique case of the article, *sa*, followed by a partially reduplicated noun or root is said to indicate that something has been done which is displeasing to the speaker, e. g., *sa titínġin ka* 'you kept on looking : ' here the force of the reduplication is probably to emphasize the incontrovertibility of the statement as in 'you did, you know you did, you needn't deny it'.

In (a), (b), (c), (d), (e) the reduplication usually denotes plurality, though at times it intensifies some idea other than number; in (f), (g) it emphasizes the idea of individuality or number; in (h), (i), (j) it indicates additional vividness in time relations; in (k) it emphasizes the incontrovertibility of the statement.

Partial reduplication (2) denotes distribution in,

a) the distributive numerals with prefixed *tig* from 'five' upward, e. g., *tiglimá* 'five each' from *limá* 'five'.

b) nouns derived from names of money with the suffix *in*, e. g., *sasalapġin* 'having value of a *salapġ* each', from *salapġ* 'half-peso'.

c) *magkakanó* 'how much apiece' from *magkanó* 'how much'.

d) perhaps in cardinal numeral adverbs above 'five', e. g., *makalimá* or *makalilimá* 'five times' from *limá* 'five'; the reduplicated forms probably meant originally 'five several times', etc.

Full reduplication (3) indicates emphasis, intensiveness or plurality in the following cases, viz. :

a) the pronoun of the third person plural may take this reduplication, e. g., *silasilá*, *kanikanilá*, as well as *silá*, *kanilá*.

b) the plural of interrogative pronouns is made in the same way, e. g., *sinosino*, from *sino* 'who', *alinalin* from *alġn* 'which', *anoanó* from *anó* 'what'.

c) a general intensive idea is given by full reduplication of the root either in root or derivative abstract nouns, e. g., *mulamulâ* 'the very beginning', *karunungrunúnġan* 'knowledge', *pagkábutibúti* 'beauty' (in exclamations).

d) adjectives indicating qualities that affect the mind are made by prefixing *ka* to the fully reduplicated root, e. g., *kaibigíbig* 'lovable'.

e) the superlative of adjectives is in form at least an abstract noun with fully reduplicated root, e. g., *katam'istam'isan* 'sweetest' from *ma-tam'is* 'sweet'.

f) certain adverbs have their meaning emphasized by this form of reduplication, e. g., *kanġikanġina* 'just a moment ago', *sa magkabikabilá* 'from all sides'.

g) verbs made on the basis of fully reduplicated roots may have an intensive meaning, e. g., *magkasirasíra* 'to be completely destroyed'.

h) the particle *ka* prefixed to fully reduplicated verbal roots or passive stems imparts the idea of 'as soon as', e. g., *katakbotakbó niyá* 'as soon as he began to run'.

In (b) the reduplication usually, though not necessarily, indicates the plural, in (c) the nouns are often used in connection with a plural genitive, in (h) it denotes additional vividness in time relations, in (e) it indicates the superlative, otherwise it is simply intensive.

Full reduplication denotes distribution in the following cases, viz.:

a) with root nouns it has the force of 'every', e. g., *ta-wotáwo* 'every man', *araw'araw* 'every day'.

b) the numerals *tigatló*, *tigápat*, 'three apiece', 'four apiece', have also the reduplicated forms *tigatigatló*, *tigatigápat*.

c) regular series of distributive numerals meaning 'so many at a time', and 'every so many' are derived from the cardinal and ordinal numerals respectively, e. g., *daladalawá* 'two by two', from *dalawá* 'two', *ikaikatló* 'every third' from *ikatló*.

d) in certain adverbs, e. g., *untíuntí* 'little by little'.

Occasionally this form of reduplication has the force of 'various' or 'some', e. g., *bagaybagáy* 'things of various kinds', *maminsanmínsan* 'sometimes'.

This form of reduplication has also developed a peculiar diminutive force in the following, viz.:

a) in nouns with suffix *an*, e. g., *tawotawóhan* 'manikin' from *táwo* 'man'.

b) in adjectives with prefix *ma*, e. g., *mabutibúti* 'somewhat good, pretty good' from *mabúti* 'good'.

c) in verbs, e. g., *sumusulatsúlat* 'he writes a little' from *sumusúlat* 'he writes'; these diminutive verbal forms are said to differ from the emphatic reduplicated verbal forms like *magkasirasirá* 'to be completely destroyed' (cf. above, p. 429) in their intonation.

Combined reduplication (4) regularly indicates a greater degree of restriction than that implied by (2) in

a) restrictive numerals and names of money, e. g., *úisaisá* 'one only' from *úsá*, *pipisopiso* 'only a single *piso*', from *pípiso*.

b) nouns of individuality with prefixed *ka*, e. g., *kakatakátáwo* 'one man only' from *katáwo*.

Various combinations of the different kinds of reduplication also occur in which each kind has its own special force, e. g., *natotoyotoyô* present of *matoyotoyô* 'be very dry', where we have partial reduplication indicating the present, with intensive full reduplication, etc.

The most original form of reduplication in Tagalog seems to have been the repetition of a monosyllabic or a dissyllabic root. This combination had originally two meanings, one intensive as in *mulamulâ* 'the very beginning' from *mulâ* 'root, beginning', and the other extensive, e. g., *tawotáwo* 'one man, another man (and so on)', i. e., 'every man'.¹ Partial reduplication either at the beginning or end of a word is probably to be regarded as originally a substitute for full reduplication. From these simple beginnings, through the influence of analogy, the complicated system which has just been outlined has been developed. From intensive reduplication are derived all forms that denote simple emphasis, plurality, the superlative, additional vividness in time relations, and restriction;

¹ Evidences of this double meaning of reduplication are found also in Semitic; cf. my article, The Expression of Indefinite Pronominal Ideas in Hebrew, *Journal of American Oriental Society*, Vol. XXXIV, parts I and II (1914), p. 140, n. 3.

from extensive reduplication, all forms that denote distribution, whether it has the meaning of 'so many at a time', 'so many to each', 'every so many', 'of various sorts', 'some'. Reduplication that has a diminutive force is perhaps derived from the intensive reduplication of some word denoting 'little' or the like, e. g., *mumuntî*, from which it was extended to other words with the diminutive force still adhering to it.¹

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¹ Reduplication with a similar diminutive force is occasionally found in Sanskrit adjectives, e. g., *kṣāmakṣāma* 'rather thin' from *kṣāma* 'thin' (cf. Speier, *Sanskrit Syntax*, Leyden, 1886, p. 191); and also in certain color words in Hebrew, e. g., *adamdamet* 'reddish' from *adom* 'red' (cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, 2d Eng. ed., p. 235, §84. n).