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:

>   basáʔ '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:

>   basáʔ 'wet'   basaʔ-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  x      x  x       xx  x             xx   x
ba.sa<?>  ba.sa      ban.ta<s>         ben.da
```

[1] Koleen Matsuda French (1988). *Insights into Tagalog: reduplication, infixation, and stress from nonlinear phonology*. Arlington: SIL and University of Texas at Arlington.
[2] Alicia S. Ferrer (2006). *Ang Bagong Filipino-English Diksyunaryo*. Millenium Edition. Manila: MECS Publishing House.
[3] Schachter, Paul and Fe Otanes (1972) *Tagalog Reference Grammar*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

(3) Default final stress

```
     x                 x              x                        x
  x  x       x  x  x          xx  x          xx   x     x
ba.sá<?>  ba.sa.?-í<n>    ban.tá<s>        ban.ta.s-á<n>
```

(4) Lexically marked penultimate-mora stress

/`basa, x.]`PWd/ 'read'

```
  x                 x
  x  x         x  x  x
bá.sa       ba.sá.h-i<n>
```

(5) Lexically marked penultimate-mora stress doesn't work if penult is closed

hypothetical /`bantas, x.]`PWd/ 'puntuation'

/`bantas, x.]`PWd/	*STRESSEDC	FAITHSTRESS PATTERN	*FINAL LAPSE	FINALSTRESS

a.   `x`
    `xx  x`
    `bań.ta<s>`
	*!			*

b.   `x`
    `xx  x`
    `bán.ta<s>`
		*	*(!)	*(!)

☞ *c.*   `x`
    `xx  x`
    `ban.tá<s>`
		*		

This is why we don't see pairs like *bántas, bantás-in.* To rule out (verb) pairs like *bantás*, *bantás-in*, we need some O-O templatic correspondence (see Sabbagh 2004[4])

(6) Exceptional loans have lexically linked stress

/bénda/	*STRESSEDC	*SYLLABIC CLASH	FAITHSTRESS SPEC	*FINAL LAPSE	FINALSTRESS

a.   `x`
   `xx  x`
   `beń.da`
	*!		*		*

☞ *b.*   `x`
   `xx  x`
   `bén.da`
				*	*

c.   `x`
   `xx  x`
   `ben.dá`
			*!		

d.   `x  x`
   `xx  x`
   `bèn.dá`
		*!			

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[4] Joseph A. Sabbagh (2004). Stress shift and prosodic correspondence in Tagalog. Talk presented at WECOL, University of Southern California.

/bénda+an/	*StressedC	FaithStress Pattern	*Bad Final Lapse	FaithStress Spec	OneStress PerWord	*Final Lapse	Final Stress
a. x xx x x bén.da.han			*!			*	*
☞*b.* x xx x x ben.da.hán				*			
☞*c.* x x xx x x bèn.da.hán					*		
d. x xx x x* beń.da.han	*!			*		*	*
e. x xx x x ben.dá.han				*			*!

(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.)

$\Rightarrow$ **suggests (stem suffix)$_{PWd}$**

PREFIXES: INSENSITIVE TO STEM STRESS

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

maki̱ki-ʔúsap 'will request'   p-in-aki̱ki-ʔusáp-an 'is making a request of' (Fr71)

(9) Stress a closed syllable
màgpaka-ʔáral 'study intensely' (Fr75)
makapàgpa-ʔáral 'be able to send to school' (Fr75)
pàg-ʔarál-an   'be studied' (Fr75)

(10) Clash not allowed within prefixes

magʔà-ʔáral   'will study' (Fr74) (*màgʔà-ʔáral)
magpàpaka-ʔáral 'will study intensely' (Fr75)

but
ma<u>kà</u>kapàg-ʔáral '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 /ʔi/)

sáma	'join'	màka-sáma	'be able to join' (Fr70)
bilí	'buy'	màka-bilí	'be able to buy' (Fr71)
ʔúsap	'request'	pàki-ʔusáp-an	'make request of' (Fr71)
		p-in-àki-ʔusáp-an	'made a request of' (Fr71)
		ʔi-pàki-ʔúsap	'be requested' (Fr80)
		ʔi-p-in-àki-ʔúsap	'was requested' (Fr80)

(12) Clash between prefix and stem OK

màg-ʔáral   'study' (Fr74)
makapàg-ʔáral 'be able to study' (Fr74)
mag<u>ʔà</u>-ʔáral   'will study' (Fr74)

$\Rightarrow$ **suggests (prefix (stem)$_{PWd}$)$_{PWd}$, maybe (prefixes)$_{PWd}$ (stem)$_{PWd}$ 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[5]

háloʔ	'mixture'	hálo-háloʔ	'(icy dessert)'
túroʔ	'point'	túro-túroʔ	'(steam-table restaurant)'
sapín	'pad' (Sp.)	sapín-sapín	'(layered dessert)'

$\Rightarrow$ **suggests (stem)$_{PWd}$ (stem)$_{PWd}$**

Phonotactic evidence

(14) Bad clusters across the prefix-stem boundary

  (ma**g**-(**g**ugó)) 'shampoo' (Fe)
  (pa**g**-(**k**áʔin)) 'food'

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[5] I picked some words you're likely to encounter in local restaurants.

(15) Problem: also bad clusters across the prefix-prefix boundary

> ma**gk**ì-kíta   'will see each other' *màgkì-kíta   (I think?)

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

(16) Bad clusters across stem-stem boundary

> taŋkád 'tallness'   ma-taŋká**d-t**aŋkád   'rather tall' (Fr87)

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

Syncope occurs in some verbs:

> (sakít) 'illness, pain' (sa**kt**-án)   'be harmed'
> (bilí) 'buying'   (bi**lh**-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):

> gawáʔ 'task'   gaw-ín 'be done' *gawʔ-ín

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

> ʔanák 'child'   mag-ʔanák 'give birth'

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

> ʔáraw 'day'   ʔáraw-ʔáraw '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:

> háloʔ 'mixture'   halúʔ-in   'be mixed'

But alternation is optional in stem-stem reduplicaton:

> hálo-háloʔ ~ hálu-háloʔ   '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-dami-dami ~ ma-rami-rami ~ ma-rami-dami (*ma-dami-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

      bansáʔ 'nation'   pam-bansáʔ   'national'
      banság 'famous'   pa-manság   not sure—maybe 'news-spreading'?

(23) And nasal assimilation

      dáyaʔ 'deceit'   man-dáyaʔ ~ maŋ-dáyaʔ 'cheat'

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:

  b-in-ása   'was read'   b-in-ása ba 'was read?'

but they may still attract default final stress, depending on which description you believe—I can't decide, myself:

  bantás   'punctuation'   bantás ba *or* bantas bá 'punctuation?'

(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:

b-um-asáʔ 'wetted' b-um-asá_ ba 'wetted?' (S&O: compensatory lengthening)

Vowel-height alternations optional:

  ʔúlo 'head' ʔúlu ko ~ ʔúlo ko 'my head'

Diphthong coalescence optional:

  báhay 'house'   báhay ko ~ báhey ko ~ bàhé ko   'my house' (S&O14)

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

  ako din ~ ako rin 'me too'
  ako daw ~ ako raw 'me, reportedly'

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

  dapat daw ~ dapat raw 'should, reportedly'

⇒ **suggests ((word)$_{\text{PWd}}$ clitic)$_{\text{PPhrase}}$**