ABSTRACT

MORPHOLOGICAL ASSIMILATION OF BORROWINGS IN TAGALOG

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Integration, or *assimilation*, of foreign words implies their adaptation to the rules of the recipient language. The present paper is an analysis of the Tagalog's main strategies in *morphological assimilation* of its numerous borrowings from Chinese, Sanskrit, Malay, Spanish, English, etc. The following aspects will be examined:

1. Use of "phonological citations" as the least adopted borrowings.

The so-called "phonological citations" are unassimilated borrowings used in the recipient language in their original form. However, Tagalog tends to partially bring them into accord with its morphological rules. Thus,

- in the modern Tagalog such loanwords may participate in the Tagalog word-building and derivation by acquiring native affixes, e.g.: *mag-i*-spray *ng kemikal*, *ma*-control *ang sitwasyón*.
- the loanwords used in derivational processes may undergo reduplication of their first syllable, with regular phonetic assimilation (!) of the latter: pagdodraw-up ng project; pag-gagraduate sa Unibersidád.

2. Simplification of borrowings and their use as roots.

Borrowings are usually *simplified* in Tagalog, i.e. become morphologically indivisible, and are used as root words, with the following derivation according to the Tagalog rules:

Mal barat laut "North-West" > Tag balaklaot "north-western wind",

Arab *hikay'at* "preach, legend" > Tag *hikayát* "persuasion" > *hikayát* "the one persuaded", *hikayatin* "to persuade, to talk into",

Sp en paz "in peace" > Tag impás "settled", mag-impás "to settle (an affair)",

Eng (to) stand by > Tag istambáy "to stand by, to stare".

Many early borrowings, which underwent derivation in previous times, are now used as simplified forms, too:

Skt yūpa "post for sacrifice" > Tag yupapà "humble submission; prostration",

Mal *alĕh* "to move; change" > Tag *halili* "substitute";

Ch kut "to dig, excavate" > Tag kutkót "to dig; scratch",

Skt *muni* "sage, ascetic" > Tag *magmunimuni* "to reflect, meditate";

Skt aga "sun" > Tag maaga "early", umaga "morning", agahan "breakfast",

Sp-Mex. *ciruelas* "plums" > Tag *sinigwelas* "plum".

3. Annulment of borrowings' grammatical characteristics.

Even late borrowings are adopted as indivisible root words, with all their grammatical characteristics annulled:

Sp jugar "to play" > Tag sugál "gamble",

Sp Vale! lit."It fits!" (valer "to cost; to fit") > Tag bale "worth; valuable".

Loanwords were usually assimilated in the forms which Filipinos heard most of all, e.g. regardless the number of the originals:

Sp bolsicos "purses on clothes; pockets" > Tag bolsikos/bolsikot "deep pocket of woman's skirt".

Sp pliegues "folds, pleats" > Tag pileges / pleges "fold, bend",

Eng buys > Tag bays "a buy",

Eng fights > Tag paits "a fight".

As for the gender, with more and more Spanish borrowings adopted, Tagalog speakers began to distinguish the gender of the loanwords denoting animates: *Manong/Manang* "elder brother/sister" [< Sp *hermano/-a* "brother/sister"], *Pilipino/Pilipina* "Philippine male/female", *seryoso/seryosa* "serious m/f" (cf. Sp *serio*, not "serioso"!).

4. Hypercorrection: wrong interpretation of a borrowing's morphemic structure.

Due to differences between the donor's and recipient's morphological systems the borrowings may undergo a *hypercorrection*:

- word combinations become merged (the above-mentioned simplification):

Mal juru bahasa "expert in language, interpreter" > Tag dalubhasà "expert",

Mal lěpas tangan "free hand" > Tag lapastangan "irreverent; sacrilegious",

Sp ¿Cómo está? > Tag Kumustá? "How are you?"

- some elements are regarded as native:

Skt *parīkṣā* "to thoroughly examine, check" > *ligsá (as derived by Tagalog dictionaries), paligsahan "competition",

Sp limosna "alms" > Tag limós "alms, charity, grant",

Sp-Mex. zaquisamé "loft, upper floor" > Tag kisamé "ceiling".

5. Hybridization.

While adopting a borrowing Tagalog may replace some part of it with the native lexical material, thus making a hybrid loanword:

Sp carnero marino 'seal' (lit. 'ram-sea') + Tag dagat 'sea' > karnerong-dagat 'seal',

Sp *largo(mira)* 'binoculars, telescope' + Tag *bista* 'sight; view, landscape' [< Sp *vista*] > *largabista* (cf. Sp *vista larga* 'long-sight').

Here the problem of early hybrid loans will also be discussed.