"Free Syllabics" or "Loose Diphthongs" in Austronesian and Philippine Languages

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1 Introduction to the Problem

There are several etymologies that can be reconciled via a process that I have called "FREE SYLLABICS" or "LOOSE DIPHTHONGS" (for lack of a better term). Often these appear to be cases of metathesis[1] of a sequence of vowels which result in varying vowel and semivowel positions. Most involve reconstructions containing the diphthong ***iw** proposed by Dempwolff[2] and Blust[3], but which can have several cognates of different shapes in a single daughter language. If, historically, a single etymon was involved, synchronically there have been substantially different outcomes.

FIVE [Hanunoo (1) **balaliyuhán** 'exchanging goods, carrying on barter' | (2a) **báliw**$_1$ 'transformation, metamorphosis' | **báliw**$_2$ 'toward [apocope of baliwa]' | (2b) **binaliw** 'petrified, fossilized' | (3) **baliw-baliw** 'at both sides; at opposite ends'| (4) **baliyú** and |or (5a) **bályu**

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[1]In an unpublished paper on this very topic, Blust (2018) proposed V_2C_3 METATHESIS for Kayan **baluy** 'alter, change' < ***baliw**, Miri **baroy** 'typhoon; wind' < ***baRiuS**, and Maranao **lagoy** 'flee; hurry' < ***laRiw**.

[2]In his extended note under ***baliw** in the Austronesian Comparative Dictionary (ACD), Blust notes that "***-iw** occurs in only three of the over 2,200 reconstructions in Dempwolff (1934-38) (PAN ***baliw** 'change', PMP ***baRiw** 'spoiled, tainted', PAN ***laRiw** 'flee')". I will not discuss ***baRiw** here because cognates only seem to appear in southern Mindanao (Tiruray and Tboli) but are otherwise well-represented in Indonesian and Central Eastern Malayo-Polynesian languages. The absence thus far of cognates in northern and central Philippine languages is quite striking. There are two other reconstructions in the literature that will not be discussed herein because of the limited number of cognates thus far available: Proto-South-Formosan ***baNiw** 'edible fungus sp.' (proposed by Li (1995:658(#50)): Puyuma **baliw**, AmiF **faniw**, Siraya **bariw**, and PHF[Z] ***siLiw** 'noose, loop' (proposed by Dyen and Tsuchida (1984): Ilokano **silu** 'loop, lasso', Pazeh **siliw** 'running noose').

[3]Blust's ACD adds the following etymologies with this sequence: Fm ***bajiw** 'edible mushroom sp.' | PWMP ***bariwis** ∼ ***baliwis** 'wild duck: Dendrocygna sp.' | PMP ***baRiw** 'beginning to spoil, tainted (of food left uneaten too long)' | PPH ***iliw** 'homesick; long for something that is missed' | PAN ***kaSiw** > PMP ***kahiw** 'wood; tree' | Fm ***keRiw** 'hemp plant; hemp' | PAN/PHF[Z] ***kiwkiw**$_1$ 'to wave, wag (tail); stir (people) up' | PPH/PNP[Z] ***kiwkiw**$_2$ 'to stir, mix in' | Fm ***qaRiw** 'dry' | PAN ***saliw** 'buy, sell' ∼ PHF[Z] doublets):***saluy** and ***sayluh** 'exchange, barter' | Fm ***saNiw** 'whetstone' | PAN, PHF[Z] ***siwsiw** 'to cheep; chick, baby fowl' | PPH ***tiwtiw** 'a bird and its call, probably the tailor bird, Orthotomus atrogularis' | I have also noted that this sequence occurs in several cognates of ***baRiuS** 'typhoon' (after loss of ***h** < ***S**) that ambiguously reflect either ***baRiw** or ***baRuy**.

(**magbályu**) 'exchange, change') | (5b) **balyu-bályu** [full reduplication] 'exchange of goods, presents, etc.']

THREE [Tagalog (1) **ibáyo** 'other side' | (2) **báliw** 'demented person', **balíw** 'crazy, mad' | (3) **balyó** (**magbalyó**) 'exchange seats']

THREE [Aklanon (1) **báyloh** 'trade, exchange' | (2) **baliw** 'bewitched' (3) **baliw-baliw** 'bridge of nose'.]

TWO [Cebuano (1) **báliw** 'divine punishment, usually for incest, consisting of being struck by lightning and turned into stone' | (2) **baylu** | **baylu?i** [1] 'exchange'; [2] 'take s.t. with the understanding that one will give it or its equivalent back'; **baylu?un**; [3] buy things for immediate household use; **baylu?áy**, **baylú?ay** 'exchange with one another'.]

TWO [Sangir (1) **baliw** 'evil spirit that sometimes possesses persons' | (2) **baluy** 'change something'.]

This phenomenon has led to sporadic sound changes, yielding doublets or multiple variants throughout daughter languages, such as PAN ***kaiuS** | Blust [ACD] ***kaSiw** 'tree' > PMP ***kayuh** (Itbayaten **kayoh**, Malay **kayo**), PCP ***ka:huy** (Tagalog, Aklanon, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Waray), Ifugaw **kayiw**, Pangasinan **kiew**.

The PMP word for 'far, distant' may have been ***diauq**, which, with free syllabics, yielded PMP ***zauq**, POC ***sauq** (i.e., the sequence ***di > *z**), PPH ***dayuq < *daiuq** with metathesis.

2   The Most Polysemous Austronesian Word

Of all reconstructions, that of PAN ***baliw** is the most complex and problematic, phonologically and semantically. Blust reconciles the multiplicity of meanings with just three subscripted etyma:

(1)   PMP ***baliw** {dual division} 'moiety'

In his ACD, Blust reconstructs this sense, but none of the daughter languages retain any cognates having to do with {dual division} or {moiety}. Nevertheless, this brilliant semantic assignment makes sense, especially in light of the cognates below; see, in particular (9) and (10).

(2)   PAN ***baliw** 'return'

The evidence presented under this entry covers an enormous range of meanings or senses, which will be treated under (4) to (20) below.

(3)   PFM ***baliw** 'buy, sell' [only Formosan evidence is presented]

Kavalan **baliw** 'sell'
Saisiyat (Taai) **baLiw** 'buy'
Saisiyat (Taai) **Si-baliw** 'sell'
Seediq **m-bali** 'buyer, seller'
Seediq **səm-bali** 'buy and sell; conduct commerce'
Pazeh **bariw-i** 'buy it!'
Pazeh **muxi-bariw** 'to sell'
Pazeh **mu-bariw** 'to buy'
Thao **fariw** 'buy'

These have to be modern reinterpretations or applications based on an introduced monetary system. However, if the semantic range of {trade, barter, exchange} is considered, then there are cognates in the Philippines. Hence, I recommend the following modification:

PAN ***baliw** 'barter, trade, exchange' | ***Si-baliw** => 'sell' (traded item away from agent) | ***b\<um\>aliw** ∼ ***baliw-en** 'buy' (traded item towards agent) | GCP ***balyu** > PBS ***baylu**

Hanunoo **balaliyuhán** 'exchanging goods, carrying on barter'
Aklanon **bayloh** 'to exchange, trade'
Aklanon **ka-bayloh** 'item used in an exchange'
Cebuano **baylu** | **bayluʔi** [1] 'exchange'; [2] 'take s.t. with the understanding that one will give it or its equivalent back'; **bayluʔun**; [3] 'buy things for immediate household use'; **bayluʔáy**, **baylúʔay** 'exchange with one another'.)
Dibabawon Manobo **baylu** 'trade'

(4) ***baliw** {change} [unspecified or "generic"]

Sangir **baluy** 'change s.t.'
Iban **baliʔ** 'changing'
Tondano **waloi-en** [\<M] 'change!' (imperative)

(5) ***baliw** {change, transform} 'change into, mutate; alteration; metamorphosis'

Ilokano **ag-báliw** 'change, vary, alter, fade, be inconstant, fickle, unstable'
Bontok **balíw-an** 'change, as one's habits or appearance'
Hanunoo **báliw** 'transformation, metamorphosis'
Western Bukidnon Manobo **baluy** 'turn into or be changed into something, as magic'
Maranao **baloy** 'make into, convert, mutate'
Iban **ukoy baliʔ** 'chameleon'
Kayan **baluy** [\<M] 'altered, changed; to repent'
Bare'e **bali** 'different, altered, changed'
Wolio **bali** 'change, lose color, discolor, fade'
Ngadha **bhalé** [*i > é unexpl.] 'change, exchange, alter'
Hawu **ɓare**, **ɓari** 'change, repent, change one's mind'
Yamdena **bal** 'change oneself into'
Kei **wāl** 'change into'
Buruese **bali** 'change, form, become; be transformed, as by magic'

(6) ***baliw** {crazy} 'demented, out-of-one's mind'

Tagalog **balíw** 'crazy, demented'
Cebuano **báliw** 'crazy'

(7)   ***baliw** {mourning} 'don mourning apparel; mourn for a deceased spouse'

[Ifugaw (Batad) **bālu** 'that which a man or woman wears to indicate that his or her spouse has died; to put on clothing to indicate that one's spouse has died'[4]]
Pangasinan **baliw-an** 'black clothing worn by a person in mourning; to wear such clothing'
Murut (Timugon) **maluy** [<M] 'change into white mourning clothes on the death of one's spouse'
Tae' **to pa-bali-an** 'assistant, helper; the slave who stands at the side of the to mebalun (funeral director) at the performance of the death ritual'
Fordata [CMP] **bali-n** 'veil oneself, as a woman does when her husband is dead'
Fordata **na-bali-n nitu** 'mourn for the dead, be in mourning'
Lakalai [OC] **vali** 'to mourn'
Mota **val** 'to refrain from certain food as a sign of mourning'

(8)   ***baliw** {oppose}

Gorontalo **bali** 'opponent, adversary (as in a cockfight)'
Proto-South-Sulawesi **bali$_2$** 'enemy (oppose)'
Proto-South-Sulawesi **bali$_3$** 'answer (contradict, answer back)'
Wolio **bali** 'opponent, enemy'
Tae' **bali** 'whenever two parties oppose each other, as in a cockfight; opponent; oppose, resist'

(9)   ***baliw** {other side} 'opposite shore', 'other side of river, mountain, etc.'   [The   locational sense is primary here.]

Ilokano **báliw** 'opposite bank, shore'
Ifugaw **báliw** 'act of turning oneself when walking, etc. and continue (walking, etc.) in the opposite direction; produce an action which will have an effect which is the contrary of what somebody else tries to produce (e.g. to defend the life of somebody who is attacked); opposite part (e.g. the lowlands are the **balíw-on** of the mountain area and vice versa)'
Tagalog **ibáyo** 'other side'
Bikol **balyó** 'go across, go over to the other side'
Binukid **dibaluy** 'other side'
Kalamansig-Cotabato **dibaluy** 'other side'
Saranggani Manobo **dibaloy** 'beyond (x)'
Western Bukidnon Manobo **divaluy** 'opposite side'
Bare'e **bali** 'reverse side, opposite part'
Wolio **bali** 'side, direction; face, be opposite to'

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[4]This is probably an extended meaning (verbal counterpart) of PMP ***bálu** 'widow(er)' and not a direct cognate of ***báliw**. See Ifugaw **báliw** (under sense #9). I owe this observation to my wife, Nellie, who has faithfully proof-read all of my manuscripts for half a century now, and who has recognized it as an Ifugao-Aklanon cognate.

(10)   ***baliw** {one of a set of two}, 'pair, partner, associate; friend; sibling'

Malagasy **vady** 'partner, husband, wife; a companion, an associate; a mate, one of a set of two (thus the saucer is the vady of a cup)'
Malagasy **vadylahy** 'a friend'
Mentawai **baliw** 'sibling: brother/sister'
Bare'e **sam-bali** 'one side'
Tae' **bali** 'companion, mate; partner'
Tae' **sang-bali** 'one side, either member of body parts that come in pairs'
Tae' **si-bali** 'become a pair, marry'
Wolio **bali** [counting word for things occurring in pairs (e.g., parts of the body)]
Manggarai **bali** 'friend, enemy; foreign, alien'
Soboyo **fali-tuha** 'friend, companion'

(11)   ***baliw** {repeat} 'reiterate; again, once more'

Ilokano **balíw-an** 'repeat, reiterate, do again'
Itneg **magbaliw** 'repeat' [Reid, 1971:230]
Manabo **bali:wan** 'repeat' [McFarland, 1977#277]
Ngaju Dayak **baloy** [<M] 'repeat | talkative | restore'
Bare'e **bali** 'repetition'
Bimanese [CMP] **wali** 'again, once more'
Leti **wali** 'again, once more'

(12)   ***baliw** {repent}

Malagasy **valu**, **valuz-i** 'change, repent'
Kayan **baluy** [<M] 'to repent'
Hawu **ɓare**, **ɓari** 'change, repent, change one's mind'

(13)   ***baliw** {replace}

Mongondow **bali** 'exchange, replace, renew, transform'
Tiruray **baliwan** 'a replacement; to replace'

(14)   ***baliw** {restore}

Ilokano **balíwan** 'set right, correct, mend'
Acehnese **baluy** 'restore or replace after a loss'
Ngaju Dayak **baloy** [<M] 'restore'

(15)   ***baliw** {repay} 'return in kind {positive}, retaliate, revenge' {negative}

Berawan (Long Terawan) **baluy** 'the friends or relatives of a slain man who take revenge on his slayer – these are the *baluy* of the slayer'
Acehnese **baluy** 'take revenge'
Tae' **bali** 'repay, retaliate'
Manggarai **wali** 'return in kind (gifts, etc.)'

(16) ***baliw** {return} 'come back; return home'

Proto-Rukai ***mo-a-baLiw** 'return home'
Old Javanese **bali**, **wali** 'come back, return'

(17) ***baliw** {substitute}

Maranao **baliw-an** 'instead of, substitute'

(18) ***baliw** {success in a reciprocal deal}

Manobo (Western Bukidnon) **baluy** [<M] 'in the terminology of marriage arrangements, to accomplish or to complete a successful negotiation'

(19) ***baliw** {supernatural punishment}; 'punitive storm', 'demonic possession'

Aklanon **balíw** 'bewitched'
Cebuano **báliw** 'divine punishment, usually for incest, consisting of being struck by lightning and turned into stone'
Maranao **baloy** [<M] 'enchantment by evil spirit'
Sangir **baliw** 'evil spirit that sometimes possesses persons'
Kelabit **baliw** 'punitive storm provoked by incest or mockery of animals in which the offender and his co-villagers are struck by lightning and turned to stone'
Melanau (Mukah) **buen baliw** 'punitive storm'

(20) Special Senses or Applications of 'change'

Ilokano **ag-báliw** 'fickle, unstable'
Hanunoo **b\<in>áliw** 'petrified, fossilized'
Naga Bikol **balyo** 'transfer'
Buhi Bikol **balyu** 'transfer'
Aklanon **baliw-baliw** 'bridge of nose'
Binukid, Kalamansig-Cotabato **baluy** 'possible'
Iban **manaŋ bali** 'medicine man who dresses as a woman'
Karo Batak **bali** 'alike, equal, settled (of a debt)'
Ngaju Dayak **bali** 'blood money for a murder'
Ngaju Dayak **baloy** [<M] 'talkative'
Bare'e **si-bali** 'merged or fused with'
Soboyo **fali-haya** 'placenta'

3   A Central Philippine Conundrum: *ʔámu, *maʔú, *ʔimáw

There is a word highly prevalent in Northern Philippine languages that I have reconstructed as PNP ***ămú** 'to know (person, fact, how)' [Ilk **ammu**] which has limited representation in only two known Southern languages [Dibabawon Manobo **kaʔamu** and Cebuano **kamaʔú** 'to know how']. There is a contrastive minimal pair found in several Central Philippine languages: in the east it takes the shape ***ʔámu** 'thus, like', whereas in the west it is ***ʔimáw** (a discourse particle with an **i-** prefix and loss of syllabicity and metathesis), and in Cebuano it takes the shape **maʔú**.

Cebuano **maʔú** [dp-simulative] 'be the one that'[5]
Daraga, Oas, Libon, Iriga, Buhi (Inland Bikol) **ʔámu** 'yes' [affirmative]
Hiligaynon **ʔámu** [dp-simulative]
Romblomanon **ʔimáw** [dp-simulative]
Odionganon **ʔimáw** [dp-simulative]
Akl **ʔimáw** 'he/she' [pro-3-sg-nom] + [dp-simulative] 'thus, like'
Pandan **'imáw** [dp-simulative]
Bulalakawnon **ʔimáw** [dp-simulative]
Datagnon **ʔimáw** [dp-simulative]
Semirara **ʔimáw** [dp-simulative]

4 Monosyllabic Rendition of an Original Disyllable

There are several two-syllable Austronesian roots which, after sound changes occur [such as after loss of ***h** (***bahaq** 'flood') or ***ʔ** (***taʔas** 'high') or a loss in syllabicity] become monosyllabic in some daughter languages. Thus, PAN ***Cau** 'person, human being' has become a monosyllabic root ***taw** in the following:

Pazeh **saw** 'person, human being'
Thao **saw** 'person, human being'
Puyuma **Taw** 'to be human'
Puyuma **T<in>uTaTaw** 'statue, mannequin, scarecrow'
Puyuma (Tamalakaw) **muRTaTaw** 'eyeball'
Blaan (Koronadal) **to** 'person'
Tirurary **ʔetew** 'person'
CMP **ta-mata** 'person' **< *tau-mata** Itbayaten **katawan** 'pupil of the eye'
Bikol **(k)alintataw** 'pupil of the eye'
Tagalog **balintataw** 'pupil of the eye'

With regard to the reconstruction of ***CaCaw** 'pupil of the eye', Blust notes: "This item seems clearly to be a reduplication of ***Cau** 'person, human being', with a probable morphophonemic alternation of ***-u** and ***-w**."

5 From Semivowel to Metathesis to Vowel Loss: *pawíkan > *payukan > *puikan.

PPH ***pawí:kan** [ACD, Zorc penult accent] 'sea turtle' [Replaces PMP ***peñu**.]
Ilokano **pawíkan** 'sea turtle'
Casiguran Dumagat **pawikan** 'large sea turtle'
Tagalog **pawíkan** 'tortoise, the large turtle that lives more in the sea'
Bikol **pawíkan** 'tortoise'
Aklanon **pawíkan** 'large sea turtle'

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[5]See the extensive treatment in (Wolff, 1972:678), where it combines with several discourse particles (**bitaw**, **gayud**, **gihapun**, **ka'ayu**) and can also function as a verb.

Waray-Waray **pawíkan** 'turtle'
Hiligaynon **pawíkan** 'sea turtle'
Cebuano **pawíkan** 'sea turtle' | **pinawíkan** 'crying with a profuse flow of tears (like a sea turtle is said to do)' | **pawikanun** 'tending to cry easily (as women)'
Maranao **pawikan** 'giant turtle'

However, note the following "with reversal of syllabicity in the glide-vowel sequence":

Palawan Batak **payukan** 'turtle'
Tausug **payukan** 'sea turtle'

Some languages further to the south have lost the ***a**, thereby assigning full vowel status (***u**) to the original semivowel (***w**), i.e., ***pawikan > *puikan**:

Sangir **puikang** 'turtle'
Tombulu **puikan** 'sea turtle'
Tontemboan **poikan** 'sea turtle'

6   Metathesis in Variants of 'nine': *siwa > *siaw

PAN ***Siwa** 'nine' is well attested in Formosa [see ACD] but inexplicably becomes PMP ***siwa** 'nine', which is well attested throughout Malayo-Polynesian (but with ***s** instead of expected ***h**).

PPH ***siyám** 'nine' is clearly a widespread and well-established Philippine innovation[6] with ***w > *m** [see ACD ***siám**].

However, unexplained metathesis of PMP ***siwa** yields cognates of PSP ***siaw** in:

Maranao, Iranun, Magindanon **siao** 'nine'
Tiruray **siyow** 'nine'
Ilianen, Obo, Western Bukidnon Manobo **siyew** 'nine'
Kalamansig-Cotabato Manobo, Tasaday **siyow** 'nine'
Tagabawa **siyo** 'nine'
Sangir **sio** 'nine'
Sangil **siaw** 'nine'
Proto-Minahasan [Sneddon] ***siow** 'nine'
Mongondow **siow** 'nine'
Gorontalo **tiyo** 'nine'

7   The Multiple Shapes of PAN *kaiuS 'tree, wood': > Blust [ACD]: *kaSiw versus *kaSuy [Zorc]

I pointed out in my Laryngeals paper (Zorc, 1982:229 – (P50) and Table 2) that conflicting evidence exists for ***iw** versus ***uy** (Paiwan **kasiw**, Amis **kasoy**) and that the change from ***S**

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[6]Blust's note to ***siám** observes: "Complicating the use of this innovation for subgrouping purposes is its occurrence in the non-Philippine languages of Sabah. As noted in Blust (1998a, 2010a), the languages of Sabah almost certainly subgroup with languages to their south but were subject to a period of intense contact during the period of the Greater Central Philippine expansion into adjacent portions of Borneo and Sulawesi."

to ***h** already happened within Formosa (Saisiyat **kæhœy**, Pazeh **kahuy**), including the loss of ***S** or ***h** (Puyuma, Thao **kawi**, Siraya **kayu**). Little wonder then that Malayo-Polynesian languages reflect several doublets, the most widespread of which is PMP ***kayuh**:

> Itbayaten **kayoh**
> Ilokano, Isneg **káyo**
> Itawis, Kalingga, Hanunoo **káyu**
> Casiguran Dumagat, Palawan Batak **kayó**
> Yami, Maranao **kayo**
> Binukid, Western Bukidnon Manobo, Mongondow, Mapun, Yakan **kayu**
> Tiruray **kayew**
> Tboli **koyu**
> Kadazan **kazu**
> Kelabit, Lun Dayeh **kayuh**
> Kayan **kayoʔ**
> Berawan (Long Terawan) **kajuh**
> Miri **ajuh**
> Bintulu **kazəw**
> Iban **kayuʔ**
> Malay, Karo Batak, Sundanese, Javanese, Balinese **kayu**
> Toba Batak **hau**
> Buginese **aju**
> Fijian, Tongan **kau**

Subsequent rearrangements of the shapes appear to define a few subgroups within the Philippines.

PCP ***káhuy** > Tagalog, Bikol-Naga, Legazpi, Virac, Pandan, Masbatenyo, Aklanon **káhoy**, Hiligaynon, Cebuano, Kamayo, Davaweño káhuy, Datagnon, Kalagan **kawuy**, Bikol-Daraga, Libon, Buhi **kauy**, Semirara, Santa Teresa, Mansaka **kaʔuy**, Tausug **kahuy**. This etymology (continuing PAN ***kaSuy**) draws a perfect isogloss around dialects and languages generally recognized as Central Philippine. All other Southern Philippine languages reflect the sequence ***kayuh**, even those that border on and have intimate contact with CPh speech varieties (such as Samal which has interreacted heavily with Tausug; Hanunoo which has been influenced by West Bisayan dialects; and Sambal or Dumagat which otherwise show heavy influence from Tagalog.

SCr ***kiyew** > Pangasinan **kiéw**, Ibaloy **kiyew**, Ilongot **kiyu**, Kayapa Kallahan **kiyɨw**, Keley'i' Kallahan **keyew**.

Ifugao ***káyiw** > Batad **āyiw**, Amganad **kayiw**, Bayninan **ká:yiw**; Kankanaey **káiw** Bontok **káʔəw** [a formation unique to Bontok].

8   Variations in the word for 'run': *laRiw ~ laRuy.

> Kavalan **m-RaRiw** 'run (away)' < ***ma-laRiw**
>
> Amis **laliw** 'leave behind; desert, escape' < ***laRiw**
>
> Pazeh **maraxiw** 'flee, escape, run away' < ***ma-laRiw**
>
> Itbayaten **yayoh** 'race' [with unexplained final **h**] | **mayayoh** 'to run' < ***ma-laRuh**

Yami **ma-layo** 'to run' < ***ma-laRuh** | **palayo** 'to run' < ***pa-laRuh** [shared Bashiic form]

Ivatan **mayayo** 'to run' < ***ma-laRuh** [shared Bashiic form]

Hanunoo **lagíw** 'running' | **malagíw** 'run, will run' < ***ma-laRiw**

[Tagalog **lagyó?** 'spirit' (Dempwolff ***laRyu** 'flee'; excluded by Blust)]

Aklanon **paEagíw** 'run away and hide, avoid someone' < ***pa-laRiw**

Cebuano **lagíw** 'run away, escape from a place' < ***laRiw**

Butuanon **laguy** 'run' < ***laRuy**

Palawano **palagiw** 'run' < ***pa-laRiw**

Ata & Tigwa Manobo **palaguy** 'run' < ***pa-laRuy**

Maranao **lagoy** 'rush, hurry' < ***laRuy** | **palagoy** 'run away, escape; flight; elope' < ***pa-laRuy** | **palalagoy** 'run, operation, functioning as in a machine' < ***pa-CV-laRuy**

Mongondow **laguy** 'flee, run away, escape' < ***laRuy** | **polaguy** 'flight' < ***pa-laRuy**

Tboli **meloy** (< ***(l<u)m>aRuy**)

Tiruray **ferarey** 'run away, escape or flee' < ***pa-laRuy**

Samal **lahi-lahi** 'to run' < ***laRiw** (with full reduplication)

Abaknon **lahi** 'to run, run away; elope' < ***laRiw**

Iban **lari** 'run away, make off, cause to run away, take away' < ***laRiw**

Iban **rari** 'run away, escape' (doublet, with assimilation of **l > r**)

Malay **lari** 'go at a run; escape; evasion' < ***laRiw** | **pelari** 'fugitive' < ***pa-laRiw** | **palarian** 'act of running fast' < ***pa-laRiw-an**

Old Javanese **malayū** 'run, run away, take flight, flee' < ***ma-laRyu** | **palayū** 'running, running away, flight < ***pa-laRyu** | **palaywan** 'running, funning away, flight' < ***pa-laRyw-an**

Javanese **playu** 'running pace' < ***pa-laRiw** ∼ ***pa-laRyu**

Sasak **rari?** 'take something and flee' [with secondary final **?**] | **pelai** 'run, flee', **perari?** 'flight' < ***pa-laRiw**

Makasarese **lari** 'run, run away, flee' < ***laRiw** | **palari** 'runner, funning, flight' < ***pa-laRiw** | **palaria■** 'running, running away' < ***pa-laRiw-an**

Chamorro **falagu** 'run! (imperative); move swiftly, hasten, go rapidly; elope, escape, flee' < ***pa-laRiw**

Kambera **njara lai** 'a racing horse' | **palai** 'run, run away, flee' < ***pa-laRiw**

Soboyo **lahi** 'run, run away, flee' < ***laRiw**

Rotinese **lai** 'run away, flee' < ***laRiw** | **ma-lai** 'run away, flee' < ***ma-laRiw**

Numfor **frār** 'run, run away, flee' < ***pa-laRiw**

9   The many shapes of the word for 'far': *diauq > PMP *zauq, PPH *ha-dayuq ∼ ha-dawiq.

The ACD has seven relatable reconstructions for 'far': PMP ***zauq**, POC ***sauq**, PMP ***ma-zauq**, PPH ***adayúq**, PPH ***hadawiq**, PPH ***ma-dayúq**, PPH ***d<um>ayúq**. Another reconstruction, ***dáyu** 'stranger, foreigner; guest', was included in Dempwolff but assigned to PPH by Blust. The root ***dayuq** (or, with free syllabics, ***dawiq**) is a member of a class of adjectives of {MEASURE} that could alternately be marked with prefix ***ha-** (< PAN ***Sa-**), rather than ***ma-**. I believe that all of these can be reconciled under the formula ***diauq**. The ***di** sequence would then have yielded the ***z** that appears in PMP ***zauq** > POC ***sauq**. With metathesis or "free syllabics", both PPH ***dayúq** (< ***daiuq**) and ***dawíq** (< ***dauiq**) can be reconciled. The adjective doublets ***ma-dayuq** and ***ha-dayuq** relate to the standard adjective prefix ***ma-** competing with the adjective of measure prefix ***ha-**, and the verb form is derived with the ***<um>** infix.

> Yami **arai** 'far' < ***hadawiq** [with loss of ***w**] | **araiin** 'to feel it is too far'
>
> Itbayaten **harawiʔ** 'far, distant; distance' < ***ha-dawiq** | **michaharawi** 'to be far from each other' < ***maR-ka-ha-dawiq** | **homarawi** 'to keep away from, to go far away' < ***h<um>adawiq**
>
> Ivatan **maraiʔ** 'far' < ***madawiq** [with loss of ***w**]
>
> Ilokano **adayó** 'far distant' < ***hadayúq** | **maʔ adayó** 'distant (in personal relationship)' < ***ma-ha-dayuq** [with both the ***ma-** adjective and **ha-** measure prefixes] | **kaʔadayó** 'interval, distance' < ***ka-ha-dayúq** | **dáyo** 'guest from another town', **d<um>áyo** 'to go to another place (for livelihood)' | **adawan** 'to go far away from, get away from, keep one's distance' < ***ha-dau-an** [with unexplained loss of ***y**]
>
> Itawis **arayyú** 'far, distant' < ***hadăyúq** | **dáyu** 'foreigner'
>
> Gaddang **aroyo** 'far' < ***hadăyúq** [with assimilation of short ***ă** to final ***u**]
>
> Bontok **ʔadáwwi** 'far, distant' < ***hadăwíq** [with gemination following short **ă**]
>
> Kankanaey **adawí** 'far, far off, at a distance, remote' < ***hadawíq**
>
> Ifugaw **adáwi** ∼ **adawí** 'far' < ***hadawiq** [with interesting vacillation of accent]
>
> Casiguran Dumagat **adëyo** 'far, distant; to withdraw, go far away' | **dáyu** 'to visit, to come calling (having come from a long way); to go on a long hunting trip' < ***dáyu** | **dayúan** 'stranger, foreigner' < ***dayú-an**
>
> Tagalog **láyoʔ** 'distance' < ***dayuq** | **maláyoʔ** 'far' < ***ma-dayuq** [unexplained penult accent, possibly contaminated by **dáyo**, **dayúhan** 'foreigner, alien' or see Waray, Samar-Leyte (below)]
>
> Naga Bikol **rayóʔ** 'distance, stretch; range (as of a gun) < *dayúq | Naga, Pandan harayóʔ | Daraga, Iriga, Oas, Libon, Buhi **ʔarayóʔ** 'far, distant' < ***ha-dayuq** | Naga **magrayóʔ** 'to take further away, to move something to a more distant location' < ***maR-dayúq**
>
> Kinaray-a, Kuyonon **rayə́ʔ** 'far, distant' [West Bisayan dialects have ultimate accented schwa, instead of ***u**]

Aklanon **Eayóʔ** ∼ **ʔiEayoʔ** 'to put far away, put a distance between' | **kaEayóʔ** 'distance' < ***ka-dayúq** | **maEayóʔ** 'far, distant' < ***ma-dayúq** | **paEayóʔ** to go far away' < ***pa-dayúq** | **naEayoʔan** 'feel s.t. is too far, feel the effects of a journey'

Hiligaynon **malayóʔ** 'far' < ***ma-dayúq**

Cebuano **layúʔ** 'far, distant' < ***dayúq** | **díliʔ ʔigláyuʔ** 'not distantly related by blood' | **halayúʔ** 'far away' < ***ha-dayúʔ** | **pahilayúʔ** 'go far away' < ***pa-hi-dayúq** | **gilayʔun** ∼ **kalayʔun** 'distance' | **kinalayʔan** 'farthest' | **dayʔu** 'foreigner, from another place' | **manayʔu** ∼ **mudayʔu** 'migrate; visit a distant place'

Waray, Samar-Leyte **haráyoʔ** 'far' [the prefix of measure shifts accent leftward]

Odionganon **yadóʔ** 'far'

Tausug **layuʔ** 'distance' < ***dayuq** | **malayuʔ** 'far' < ***ma-dayuq** | **lumayuʔ** 'to get far away from (something)' < ***d<um>ayuq**

Subanon-Western (Siocon) **molayuʔ** | Eastern (Sindangan) **mɨlayuʔ** 'far' < ***madayuq**

Western Bukidnon Manobo **diyuʔ** 'to be far away' < Proto-Manobo ***diyuq** < ***dăyúq** [with short **ă** assimilating to ***y**] | **meziyuʔ** 'far' < ***ma-dăyúq**

Mongondow **moyayuʔ** 'far, far away' < ***ma-dayuq** | **yumayuʔ** 'to distance oneself, move far away' < ***d<um>ayuq**

Tiruray **rayuʔ** 'far, distant, far apart' < ***dayuq** | **serayuʔ** 'being related by blood, but not closely, no closer than fourth cousin' < ***sa-dayuq**

Tboli **layuk** 'distance; to be a long way off; to go away' < ***dayuq**

Agutaynen **dayo** 'people who are living at a place but are not from there, or are not permanent residents' | **magdayo** 'to go and stay in a place temporarily for a purpose, usually to trade or to fish'[7]

Belait **jau** 'far' < ***diauq**

Sa'ban **adiəw** 'far' < ***hadiauq**

Narum **jaoʔ** 'far' < ***diauq**

Kenyah (Long Anap) **coʔ** 'far' < ***diauq**

Kiput **jəuʔ** 'far' < ***diauq**

Bintulu **jauʔ** 'far' < ***diauq**

Iban **jauh** 'far, far off, distant, remote' < ***diauq**

Malay **jauh** 'remoteness' < ***diauq**

Karo Batak **dauh** 'far; other' | pedauhdauh 'separately from one another' < ***dauq**

Madurese **jau** 'far' < *diauq | majau 'distance oneself' < ***ma-diauq**

Sundanese **jauh** 'far, far away' < ***diauq**

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[7]Agutaynen (as well as Kalamian Tagbanwa) have [**alawid**] from a completely different etymon for 'far': PWMP ***ha-lawid** 'far', with cognates in Palawan Batak **ʔaláwid**, Ma'anyan **lawit**, Malagasy **lávitra**. [SEE ACD ***alawid**].

Old Javanese **doh** 'a distance, the distance, afar, being far away' < ***dauq** | **adoh** 'far away, distant' < ***hadauq** | **kadohan** 'distance' < ***kadauqan** | **dumoh** 'to go away, withdraw' < ***d\<um>auq** | **dumohi** 'to avoid, evade, shun, forsake, desert, abandon' < ***d\<um>auq-i**

Madurese **jau** 'far, distant' < ***diauq** | **majau** 'distance onself' < ***madiauq**

Sasak **jaoʔ** 'far' < ***diauq** | **be jaoʔ** 'make a distant trip' | **be jaoʔan** 'be distantly related to one another'

Sangir **dau** 'far distance' < ***dauq** | **marau** 'far, distant, remote' < ***madauq**

Chamorro **chagoʔ** 'far, afar, distant' | **chagoʔña** 'further, more distant' < ***zawuq**

Bimanese **ɗoʔo** 'far' < ***dauq**

Buli **lau** 'far, far away' < ***dauq**

Vitu **zau** 'far' < ***diauq**

Kairiru **isau** 'far away' < ***isauq**

Bugotu **hau** 'to be far; a long time' < ***sauq** | **ihau** 'far; of old' < ***isauq** | **hauni** 'be far off from, distant'

Sa'a **haʔa tau** 'to be far off, distant' < ***paka-sau**

Arosi **haʔa tau** 'far off < ***paka-sau**

10   Another Word for 'trade, exchange': *saliw

In his ACD, Blust reconstructs a doublet ***saliw** for ***baliw** 'buy, sell'. While not nearly as widely represented as the item discussed in section 2 above, it does have at least one cognate in Formosa and several distributed throughout the northern and southern Philippines.

Amis **caliw** 'borrow, lend' < ***saliw**

Ivatan **mapasaliw** 'sell' < ***saliw** | Also: **manadiw** 'buy' < ***maN-** + ***saliw**

Ilokano **saliwen** 'to buy slaves; traffic in slaves or prostitutes' < ***saliw** + **-en**

Ilongot (Kakiduge:n) **taiw** 'buy' < ***saliw** | **ngitaiw** 'sell' < ***i-** + ***saliw**

Ata Manobo **saliu** 'trade, barter' < ***saliw**

Proto-Sangiric ***saliu** 'exchange'

To these can be added:

+ Pangasinan **salíw**, **manalíw** 'buy' < ***saliw** + ***maN-**

+ Sambal-Bolinao, Botolan **manáliw** 'buy' [McFarland, 1977 #294, #295] < ***maN-** + ***saliw**

+ Kapampangan **sáliʔ** 'buy' < ***saluy** [Cf: **apiʔ** < ***Sapuy**]

+ Aklanon **sáyloh** [1] 'come in, enter'; [2] 'transfer, move to another place;' [3] 'translate (to another language) | **pasáyloh** 'bring in, let in'; 'forgive' | **Pasaylóha imáw** 'Forgive him!' < ***saylu** (with metathesis and unexplained final ***h**)

+ Bulalakawnon **sályu** 'other side' < ***salyu**

+ Odionanon **sáydu** 'transfer' < ***saylu**

+ Hiligaynon **saylo** 'transfer' < ***saylu**

+ Waray **pasaylu** 'forgive' < ***pa-** + ***saylu**

+ Cebuano **sáylu** [1] 'pass, bypass' | **saylúʔan** ∼ **saylúʔi**; [2] 'do s.t. beyond a certain point in space and time'; [3] 'omit, leave s.t. out' | **pasáylu** 'forgive, pardon' | **mapasaylúʔun** 'forgiving' < ***ma-pa-saylu** (with metathesis but correct final zero)

+ Gubat **salyu** 'change, exchange' < ***salyu**

+ Subanon-Western (Siocon) **saloy** 'sell' | Eastern (Sindangan) **saluy** 'sell' < ***saluy**

+ Buhid, Tawbuid **sali** 'buy' [regular loss of final ***w**] | **fasaliwan** 'sell' < ***pa-saliw-an**

+ Mongondow **taluy** 'buy' < ***saluy**

+ Gorontalo **tali** 'buy' < ***saluy**

11   Two Possible Monsyllabic Roots: *siw (*siu) 'chick' and *liw (*liu) 'outside'.

Blust (1988) and I (Zorc, 1990) both share a sense of fascination with the monosyllabic root: "a weed in the garden of language." The ACD has the reconstruction ***siwsiw** 'baby chick; to cheep', cognates of which show both full (CVC+CVC) and partial (CV+CVC) reduplication. However, Romblomanon (and Aklanon) reflect an inflected monosyllabic root (**i+siw**), whereas Mansaka, Kamayo, and Dibabawon in contrast with Naga and Legaspi Bikol all exemplify varying degrees of "free syllabics".

Amis **ciwciw** 'baby chick, baby bird' < ***siw+siw**

Puyuma **siwsiw** 'to cheep' | **siwsiwan** 'chicks, small birds' | **pasaliwsiw** 'noise made by cheeping (as baby chicks looking for their mother)'

Itbayaten **siwsiw** 'baby chick' < ***siw+siw**

Pangasinan **siwsíw** 'chick' < ***siw+siw**

Ayta Abellen **hiwhiw** 'chick' < ***siw+siw**

+ Kapampangan **sísiʔ** < ***si+siw**

+ Sambal **sísiw** 'chick' < ***si+siw**

Hanunoo **sisíw** chick' < ***si+siw**

+ Waray **sisíw** 'chick' < ***si+siw**

+ Tagalog **sísiw** 'chick' < ***si+siw**

Murut Tagol **sisiw** 'baby chick' < ***si+siw**

Proto-Minahasan ***sisi** 'chicken (baby fowl)' < ***si+siw**

Romblomanon **ʔisiw** 'chick, a baby chicken' < ***ʔi+siw**

+ Aklanon **ʔisiw** 'chick, a baby chicken' < ***ʔi+siw**

Mansaka **ʔosoy** 'chick, baby fowl' < ***ʔV+suy**

+ Kamayo **ʔunsuy < *ʔVN+suy**

+ Dibabawon **ʔunsuy < *ʔVN+suy**

+ Naga Bikol **siyóʔ < *siyúʔ**

+ Legazpi Bikol **siwóʔ < *siwúʔ**

We have already dealt with ***baliw** and ***saliw**. Is it possible that they share a monosyllabic root ***liw**? Blust proposes three enticing reconstructions: PAN ***liuS** 'circumambulate, circumvent,' PMP ***liu₂** 'circle round [sic], circumvent', and ***líwan** 'outside'. The second contains disjunctive cognates from Cebuano (**líyu** 'circle round [sic]') and Western Bukidnon Manobo (**liyu** 'go around an object or obstacle to get to the other side') where the orthographic "y" put in by Wolff and Elkins respectively had been removed. The Samoan cognate (**liu** 'alter, change') nicely matches the extended meanings of glosses for both ***baliw** and ***saliw**. Is not {barter}, after all, a {change} in both possession and location?

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