

philippine studies

Ateneo de Manila University · Loyola Heights, Quezon City · 1108 Philippines

Some Further Remarks About the L-Feature

Eugene Verstraelen

Philippine Studies vol. 9, no. 1 (1961): 72–77

Copyright © Ateneo de Manila University

Philippine Studies is published by the Ateneo de Manila University. Contents may not be copied or sent via email or other means to multiple sites and posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's written permission. Users may download and print articles for individual, noncommercial use only. However, unless prior permission has been obtained, you may not download an entire issue of a journal, or download multiple copies of articles.

Please contact the publisher for any further use of this work at philstudies@admu.edu.ph.

<http://www.philippinestudies.net>
Fri June 30 13:30:20 2008

Some Further Remarks About The L-Feature

EUGENE VERSTRAELEN

IN a former paper I suggested that the l-feature is not yet clear.¹ In this article I shall try to shed some light on this problem.

Let us first consider the following facts:

The /l/ in T (Tagalog) can be:

(1) an original /l/, e.g. T *lakad* — Il (Ilokano) *lakad*. We are not concerned about this /l/ here.

(2) an /l/ as a result of the soundshift: $r > l$, e.g. all the /r/'s in Sanskrit become /l/'s in T (Sanskrit loanwords).² Of course other words than Sanskrit loanwords may also have the /l/ as a result of the same soundshift, e.g. (List I):

B ³ T <i>alak</i> "wine"	Il <i>arak</i>
B <i>bakilid</i> "slope"	Il <i>bankirig</i>
T <i>galaw</i> "move"	Il <i>garaw</i>
B <i>hilar-os</i> "wash the face"	Il <i>diram-os</i>
T <i>hilaros</i>	
B <i>hirig, hilig</i> "incline"	Il <i>irig</i>
T <i>hilig</i>	
B T <i>kulang</i> "shortage"	Il <i>kurang</i>
T <i>kulong</i> "confine"	Il <i>kurong</i>

¹ E. Verstraelen: "An Essay towards a Historical Description of Tagalog and Cebuano Bisaya", PHILIPPINE STUDIES VIII (July, 1960), p. 508, note 7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 491, 492 and 493.

³ Bisaya.

B	T	<i>lagari</i> "saw"	Il	<i>ragadi</i>
B	T	<i>libo</i> "thousand"	Il	<i>ribu</i>
B	T	<i>pulo</i> "island"	Il	<i>puro</i>
B	T	<i>salamín</i> "mirror"	Il	<i>sarming</i>
	T	<i>silip</i> "peep"	Il	<i>sirip</i>
	T	<i>singil</i> "collect payment"	Il	<i>singir</i>
B		<i>sukol</i> "oppose"	Il	<i>sukir</i>
B	T	<i>uling</i> "charcoal"	Il	<i>uling, uging</i> (* <i>uring</i>)

But we also see /l/ in T and B where we find a /d/ in related languages, e.g. (List II):

B		<i>ulipon</i> "slave"	Il	<i>adipen</i>
	T	<i>alipin</i>		
	T	<i>huli</i> "last"	Il	<i>udi</i>
B		(<i>ha-</i>) <i>layo</i> "far"	Il	<i>adayo</i>
	T	(<i>ma-</i>) <i>layo</i>		
B	T	(<i>ma-</i>) <i>ligo</i> "take a bath"	Il	<i>digus</i>
	T	<i>talim</i> "sharp"	Il	<i>tadem</i>

The following words also belong to List II, notwithstanding certain irregularities in this respect in Il:

B	T	<i>ilong</i> "nose"	Il	<i>agong</i>	Mal (Malay)	<i>hidung</i>
	T	<i>kalulua</i> "soul"	Il	<i>kararua</i>	Apayaw	<i>kadudua</i>
B		<i>ngalan</i> "name"	Il	<i>nagan</i>	OJ	<i>ngaran</i> (<* <i>ngadan</i>)
	T	<i>palay</i> "rice"	Il	<i>pagay</i>		Mal <i>padi</i>
B	T	<i>tulog</i> "sleep"	Il	<i>turog</i>	Mal	<i>tidur</i> ⁴

From the correspondence: B, T /l/ — Il /d/ we can conclude to one of the two following soundshifts: either $d > l$; or $d > r$, and this r changed into l in the l-period.

The latter is more probable, because this soundshift is confirmed, e.g. by Waray.

Waray, a subdialect of Bisaya, is—as I have tried to indicate in my previous article—relatively conservative. It has the *g*-feature, which feature is already old. It also has the $d > r$ soundshift, e.g.

⁴ I hope to explain these irregularities in Il in another paper.

W (Waray) <i>uripong</i> "slave"	Il <i>adipen</i>
W <i>urhi</i> "last"	Il <i>udi</i>
W <i>harayo</i> "far"	Il <i>adayo</i>
W (<i>maka-</i>) <i>rigo</i> "to take a bath"	Il <i>digus</i>

This suggests two points: first, that there was a $d > r$ soundshift; second, that this soundshift is more or less old. But it does not have the $r > l$ soundshift and all the other later developments of the Cebuano Bisaya.

But we have in W *hadi* and *kodal* etc., where we see a d not changed into r . These are later loanwords, borrowed when the period in which the soundshift $d > r$ occurred had ended. In Cebuano B we have: *hari*, *koral*. This leads to the conclusion that in B and also in T (T also has v.g. *hari*) the $d > r$ soundshift happened twice! After the first soundshift $d > r$ we have the $r > l$ soundshift in B and T and not in W (**hadayo* > W *harayo* > B, T *halayo*, *malayo*); after the second soundshift: $d > r$, which soundshift W does not have, the r remains r (W *hadi* > B, T *hari*). Perhaps there are some minor differences between the first and the second $d > r$ soundshift, which differences we shall now try to examine.

Let us consider the first $d > r$ soundshift.

In List II we see that the /l/ in T always occurs between two vowels. A probable conclusion is that the $d > r$ soundshift is a conditional one: one that takes place only between vowels.

But let us study the following examples (List III).

Il <i>regreg</i> "fall down"	T <i>laglag</i>	B <i>badbad</i>
Il <i>warwar</i> "untie"	T <i>walwal</i>	B <i>dagdag</i>
T <i>hatid</i> "conduct"	B <i>hatod</i>	OJ <i>ater</i>
T <i>tungkol</i> "regarding"	B <i>tungod</i>	"because"
Il (<i>na-</i>) <i>pagel</i> "fatiguing"	T <i>pagod</i>	"tired"
Il <i>tawar</i> "bargain"	T <i>tawad</i>	
Il <i>sida</i> "viand"	B <i>sula</i>	
Il <i>uleg</i> "snake"	T <i>uod</i>	OJ <i>ula</i> "snake"
	Mal <i>ular</i>	"snake"

We see that the original r did not always change into l , but into d , especially in B. This explains the $d > r$ soundshift more

in detail: after the g-period B did not have *r*. Then came the soundshift: $d > r$, but only between two vowels; the other *d*'s remained *d*'s. Therefore *d* and *r* were never in opposition to each other, the distinction between *d* and *r* was not functional, *d* and *r* were allophones of one phoneme, realized according to the structural rule: between vowels, the allophone *r*; in other positions, the allophone *d*. **Ragrag* was structurally impossible in B, therefore we have: *dagdag*. The same structural rule explains the word-forms:

B *sula* (< **sura*, $d > r$ because *d* between vowels) and *sud-an* (*d* not between vowels).

B *pulo* (< **puro*, $d > r$ because *d* between vowels) and *kapopod-an* (*d* not between vowels).

In this way I think we have to explain the exchange we regularly find in B between the /*d*/ and the /*l*/ as in *sula* and *sud-an*; *wala* and *kawad-an*, etc.⁵

In T we see the same structural rule, v.g. in:

pagod (< **pagor*), *tawad* (< **tawar*), *uod* (< **ulod* < **ulor*). But this structural rule is not so strict in T v.g. in: *laglag* (< **ragrag*), *walwal* (< **warwar*), *tungkol* (< **tungkod*) we see that the *r* remained until the soundshift $r > l$, notwithstanding the *r* was not between vowels.⁶ Probably B was the center of both the soundshift $r > g$ and the conditional soundshifts $d > r$ and $r > d$. T, still being in a border area, consequently has some exceptions.

What about the second soundshift: $d > r$?

Let us consider the examples in the following List.
(List IV):

⁵ By analogy influence we also have the forms like: *sala* "sin" and *sad-an* "guilty". Here the *l* never was an *r* or *d*. cf. C. Bloomfield, *Language*, (London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1939), Chap. 23.

⁶ If the etymology of: II *puted* — B, T *putol* is correct, then I do not know an explanation yet for the /*l*/ in *putol*.

T	<i>aral</i> "learn"	Il	<i>adal</i>	Mal	<i>ajar</i>
T	<i>baro</i> "native dress"	Il	<i>bado</i>	Mal	<i>baju</i>
T	<i>hari</i> "king"	Il	<i>hadi</i>	J	<i>aji</i>
T	<i>larawan</i> "picture"	Il	<i>ladawan</i>		
T	<i>tari</i> "metal spur"	Il	<i>tadi</i>	W	<i>tadi</i> Mal <i>taji</i>
T	<i>tira</i> "left over"	Il	<i>tidda</i>		
T	<i>sariwa</i> "fresh"	Il	<i>sadiwa</i>		

Over a long period, namely from the time of the first conditional soundshift: $d > r$ and $r > d$, B did not have any word where a d was between vowels. And after the soundshift $r > l$ B did not have an r for a certain time. It is therefore quite conceivable that in new loanwords the d between vowels was felt as something strange, and the d was consequently changed into r . This second soundshift is somehow a continuation of the first one, since the first one created word-forms with special structure of word-forms, viz. only between vowels, may explain structure of word-forms, viz. Only between vowels, may explain the form: B *hudno* "oven" — Sp. (Spanish) *horno*. But this structural rule was not widely applied perhaps on account of pressure from foreign languages. *Hudno* is the only example I can find respecting this structural rule. So we have v.g. where

B	<i>karne</i>	Sp	<i>carne</i>
B	<i>karsones</i>	Sp	<i>calzones</i> ⁷

this rule is not followed.

Thus the only difference between the first and second conditional soundshift $d > r$ is:

The first one is concomitant with the conditional soundshift: $r > d$, especially in B.

The second one is not so strongly concomitant with the conditional soundshift: $r > d$, even in B.

⁷ The r in *karsones* a back formation? We must not forget that just during the time of the soundshift $r > l$ writing was introduced in the Philippines, as we can see from the different alphabets. The Mangyans still have one symbol for /l/ and /r/, other alphabets have one symbol for /d/ and /r./ This also created in the respective dialects better possibilities for back formation.

As a provisionl conclusion we may set up this chronological sequence of soundshifts:

In B $r > g$; conditional soundshift $d > r$ and concomitant with it $r > d$. These two kinds of soundshifts also spread to T. Then T has the no-l-period, which was only a local feature, but which shows the first sign of more independence from B. Subsequently T started the $r > l$ soundshift, which spread B. After that we have the second soundshift $d > r$ in T and B.