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An Essay Towards a Historical Description of Tagalog and Cebuano Bisaya

EUGENE VERSTRAELEN

IN this article I offer a little contribution towards a better knowledge of Philippine languages by examining the influences of Sanskrit, Malay and Javanese upon Tagalog.

It is a well known fact that the Tagalog words which are borrowed from the Sanskrit have /l/ where the Sanskrit has /r/.¹ To cite a few examples: The Tagalog *alibugha* (irresponsible, prodigal) corresponds to the Sanskrit *paribugha* (enjoyment). (Incidentally, the Tagalog word has no initial *P*. We might have here a case of backformation: *ali* was considered a prefix.) Other examples might be cited. Thus:

TAGALOG	SANSKRIT
<i>Alipusta</i> (certificarse de algo) ²	<i>Pariprsta</i> (examined)
<i>Antala</i> (delay)	<i>Antara</i> (interval)

¹ If the letter is italicized and enclosed in bars thus /r/, a phoneme is indicated. A letter placed between two parentheses, thus (r), indicates the phonetic sound in a generally sufficient though not perfectly accurate way.

Sanskrit words are given without diacritics. Words of other languages are given according to their respective official spelling.

² In all the following examples, wherever I have given the meaning in Spanish, I am citing Noceda and Sanlucar, VOCABULARIO DE LA LENGUA TAGALA (Manila, 1860) under the word in question.

<i>Asal</i> (custom, habit)	<i>Acara</i> (habit) ³
<i>Bahala</i> (cien millones, encargar, cuidado)	<i>Bhara</i> (load, a large quantity)
<i>Balata</i> (vow)	<i>Vrata</i> (vow)
<i>Balita</i> (news, information)	<i>Vrtta</i> (happened, event)
<i>Bathala</i> (God)	<i>Bhattara</i> (God)
<i>Kalunya</i> (amiga in malam partem)	<i>Karunya</i> (pity) ⁴
<i>Dala</i> (load, burden, carry)	<i>Dhara</i> (bearing)
<i>Dalita</i> (suffering)	<i>Dhrta</i> (borne)
<i>Dulu</i> (end, extremity)	<i>Dura</i> (far) ⁵
<i>Duluhaka</i> (glossar las palabras que uno dice)	<i>Drohaka</i> (injuring) ⁶
<i>Golobhi</i> (move, alterarse con la negativa)	<i>Krodha</i> (anger) ⁷
<i>Halaga</i> (price, value)	<i>Argha</i> (price, value)
<i>Halata</i> (noticeable, perceptible)	<i>Artha</i> (sense, notice)
<i>Labhasa</i> (destroying, prodigal)	<i>Rabhasa</i> (impetuosity)
<i>Ladya</i> (king)	<i>Raja</i> (king)
<i>Laho</i> (eclipse)	<i>Rahu</i> (the demon who causes an eclipse)
<i>Lasa</i> (taste)	<i>Rasa</i> (taste)
<i>Lathala</i> (poner en el rio algun palo cuando no puede vadear por la avenida, aunque sea bejuco)	<i>Ratha</i> (chariot)
<i>Likta</i> (left, omitted)	<i>Rikta</i> (left)
<i>Luksa</i> (in mourning)	<i>Ruksa</i> (dry) ⁸
<i>Mantala</i> (incantation)	<i>Mantra</i> (incantation)
<i>Palamara</i> (ungrateful)	<i>Pramada</i> (negligence)
<i>Palibhasa</i> (insult)	<i>Paribhasa</i> (word, discussion)
<i>Paliksa</i> (probar las fuerzas)	<i>Pariksa</i> (examination)

³ The Tagalog word has no final *a*. This etymology is therefore doubtful. Perhaps *Acara* is not the corresponding form, but a Prakrit form without the final *a*.

⁴ Cf. Malay *Karunia* (bounty, favor of a superior); Cam. *karun* (present, favor). Or does the Tagalog word come from the Spanish *calumnia*?

⁵ Why the final *u* in Tagalog? Vowel-assimilation? This correspondence is doubtful.

⁶ Cf. Malay *durhaka* (rebellious).

⁷ This correspondence is very doubtful.

⁸ The meanings are rather different, but the correspondence is certain. Cf. Old Javanese *ruksa*: (rough, dry) sad, unkempt as a sign of mourning. The word is found in these meanings respectively in *Ramayana* IX 57; 168; VI 34.

<i>Sakla</i> (ring around handle)	<i>Cakra</i> (ring, disc)
<i>Salanta</i> (poor)	<i>Sranta</i> (tired, exhausted)
<i>Salita</i> (word)	<i>Carita</i> (deeds, adventure) ⁹
<i>Salamtala</i> (meanwhile)	<i>Samanantara</i> (without delay) ¹⁰
<i>Sampalataya</i> (faith)	<i>Sampratayaya</i> (trust, faith)
<i>Sansala</i> (forbid)	<i>Samsara</i> (the vicissitudes of mundane existence) ¹¹
<i>Sapala</i> (modest)	<i>Saparya</i> (homage) ¹²
<i>Sigla</i> (liveliness, animation)	<i>Sighra</i> (quick)
<i>Talikala</i> (chain)	<i>Srnkhala</i> (chain)
<i>Upasala</i> (linsonjero)	<i>Upacara</i> (polite or obliging behavior)
<i>Walna</i> (multicolored tissue)	<i>Warna</i> (color)

There are probably many other Sanskrit loan words in Tagalog with the L-R correspondence, but I do not have the list of Pardo de Tavera and F. R. Blake at hand, and the words included in the above list were found only from various references and my effort. I am not certain of the correspondence in some of the cases given above, but they are here included for what they are worth. But the whole list together offers massive proof of my point.

Let us now examine a few words that require special attention. The Tagalog *dalaga* (girl in puberty, unmarried woman) seems to correspond with the Sanskrit *dara* or *darika* (wife, courtesan).¹³ But I am dubious about this correspondence. Not only does it not fit very well, but we have a better correspondence with which we shall deal below in the R-G-H group.

The Tagalog *haraya* (imagination) corresponds with the Sanskrit *hrdaya* (mind). Yet on the analogy of *balita*, we would expect something like *haliraya*.

With regard to the word *hari* which in Tagalog means king or queen, and in Sanskrit sun, lion and wind, I do not

⁹ Cf. Malay *tjarita*, *tjaritera* (story).

¹⁰ The Tagalog word is one syllable shorter.

¹¹ This etymological correspondence is not certain.

¹² Cf. also the Pampango *sapala* (proud and hurting).

¹³ J. Gonda, *SANSKRIT IN INDONESIA* (Arya Bharati Mudranalaya, Nagpur, 1952) p. 54.

find this words in Javanese. Neither in Old Javanese nor in Malay does it mean "king" as Pardo de Tavera claims. He may be mistaken here as he is in other cases.¹⁴ Probably *hari* is a loanword from Old Javanese: *haji* (king).¹⁵

Of the Tagalog *maharlika* (noble) and the Sanskrit *Ma-harddhika* (very rich, prosperous or powerful), we are more certain. Cf. the Malay *merdeka* (free). Probably we have here a metathesis: *maharlika* for *maharrika*.¹⁶

If the Tagalog *mariwara* (unfortunate) corresponds with the Sanskrit *paribadha* (trouble), we may explain the change by: *mariwara* from *maliwara*.

Finally the Tagalog *raha* (king) and the Sanskrit *raja*. It is quite certain that the Sanskrit *raja* was read and pronounced the Spanish way and was thus written in the European fashion. But this was surely a late development, and I am considering here only the Sanskrit loanwords of ancient times. Thus, the Tagalog equivalent is *ladya* (king).

It thus becomes evident that a Tagalog /l/ in Sanskrit loanwords corresponds to the /r/ in the Sanskrit original word.

There is a further important conclusion. The word for rice in Old Javanese and in Malay is *beras*. If Tagalog had borrowed this word during the time it borrowed Sanskrit words, then the Tagalog word for rice would be *bilas*, or later *biras*. But the Tagalog word is *bigas*. This is in accordance with the R-G-H formula of correspondence, viz. the Malay /r/ corresponds to the Tagalog /g/ and often to the Old Javanese zero.

Thus we know that the R-G-H relation must have originated before the R-L relation. I have an impression that this is

¹⁴ Gonda, *op. cit.* p. 76.

¹⁵ *Ramayana* I 62. (Hereinafter referred to as R.)

¹⁶ J. M. van de Kroef says ("Modern Trends in Indonesian Literature", JOURNAL OF EAST ASIATIC STUDIES III, 2, p. 150) that Malay *merdeka* (free) is a portugese loan-word. But already in R. I, 2; VI, 113 etc. we find *maharddika* (powerful, wise, reverend); here Portugese influence is impossible.

a rather important conclusion, a first stratification in the history of the Philippine languages.

The R-G-H correspondence may be illustrated by the following examples:

TAGALOG	MALAY	JAVANESE
<i>Bigas</i> (rice)	<i>Beras</i>	(k) <i>Wos</i> from * <i>Weas</i> from * <i>Weras</i>
<i>Bigat</i> (heavy)	<i>Berat</i>	(ng) <i>A-bot</i> from * <i>A-beat</i> from * <i>A-berat</i>
<i>Bigay</i> (give)	<i>Beri</i>	(ng) <i>Weh</i> from * <i>Wei</i> from * <i>Weri</i>
<i>Tigas</i> (hard)	<i>Teras</i> (core)	(ng) <i>A-tos</i> from * <i>A-teas</i> from * <i>A-teras</i> (hard)

We know by experience that in the Indo-Germanic languages regular correspondence in the sense of the neo-grammarians¹⁷ may be disturbed by all kinds of borrowing. We have to pay attention to this possibility in Javanese. We know from the history of Java that the dynasties oftentimes moved from one place to another, with the probable result that there was considerable dialect-borrowing in Old Javanese literature. In Modern Javanese we have *kramagnoko* and other systematic distinctions which may force one to borrow words or to use archaic words. Thus in the case of the R-G-H correspondence, we may have exceptions in Old Javanese.¹⁸

Other examples:

TAGALOG	MALAY	JAVANESE
<i>Agus</i> (current)	<i>Arus</i>	<i>Arus</i> (O.J.) <i>Harus</i> (surf) ¹⁹

¹⁷ Bloomfield, LANGUAGE (London, 1937), chapter 20.

¹⁸ We cannot consider Old Javanese as one language. By Old Javanese (O.J.) I mean the literature written in Java in olden times. But this literature was written in different places at different times.

¹⁹ R. XXII, 30.

<i>Baga</i> (glowing ember)	<i>Bara</i>	(ng) <i>A-bang</i> (red) ²⁰
<i>Bago</i> (new)	<i>Baru</i>	<i>Bung</i> (young growth of bamboo)
<i>Bahog</i> (mix liquid)	<i>Baur</i> (mixed)	<i>Wor</i> (mixed)
<i>Bugaw</i> (drive away)	<i>Buru</i> (hunt)	<i>Buru</i> (hunt) ²¹
		(O.J.) <i>Aburu</i>
<i>Bulag</i> (blind)	<i>Bular</i> (light colored eyes)	(O.J.) <i>Buler</i> (with sick eyes)
<i>Busug</i> (bow)	<i>Busur</i>	(O.J.) <i>Wusu</i> ²²
<i>Dagat</i> (sea)	<i>Darat</i> (beach, land)	<i>Darat</i> (beach) ²³
<i>Dalampasig</i> (seashore)	<i>Pasir</i> (sand)	(O.J.) <i>Pasir</i> (sea, seashore) ²⁴
<i>Damag</i> (toda la noche)	<i>Damar</i> (resin, torch)	(ng) <i>Damar</i> (lamp, light)
		(O.J.) <i>Damar</i> (lamp) ²⁵
<i>Dapog</i> (hearth)	<i>Dapur</i> (kitchen, cooking place)	<i>Dapur</i> (kitchen)
		(O.J.) <i>Dapur</i> (kitchen) ²⁶
<i>Dinig</i> (hear)	<i>Dengar</i>	(ng) <i>Rungu</i>
		(O.J.) <i>Rengo</i> ²⁷
<i>Gabok</i> (dust)	<i>Rabuk</i> (dung)	<i>Abuk</i> , <i>Rabuk</i> (dung)
<i>Gapo</i> (rotten)	<i>Rapuh</i> (rotten)	<i>Rapuh</i> (weak)
		(O.J.) <i>Rapu</i> (tired) ²⁸
<i>Gapus</i> (tie)	<i>Apus</i> (belt)
<i>Gatos</i> (million)	<i>Ratus</i> (hundred)	<i>Atus</i> (hundred)
		(O.J.) <i>Atus</i> (hundred) ²⁹

²⁰ R. IV, 18.

²¹ *Kunjarakarna* 71.

²² *Bhomakavya* XII, 5.

²³ Cf. Ilocano *baybay* (sea) and Tagalog *baybay* (seashore). See also *dalampasig* below.

²⁴ *Nagarakrtagama* XXII, 1; *Bhomakavya* I, 2; respectively.

²⁵ R. XXIV 25. — In Tagalog we have a strange semantic development: torch—time during which torch is necessary—*toda la noche*? This development is probable because the Tagalog *damag* does not mean simply night (never used in this meaning) but the whole night. *Magdamag*, during the whole night. Or perhaps the following is a better explanation: when we compare *magdamag* with T. *maghapon* (the whole day) and Bisaya *magbuntag* (go on till morning), then *magdamag* has the original meaning: till the (morning-) light.

²⁶ *Nagarakrtagama* LXXIX, 2. Hereafter N.

²⁷ R. VI, 12.

²⁸ R. XX, 61.

²⁹ R. VI, 177.

<i>Giba</i> (demolish)	<i>Rebah</i> (fall down)	(k) <i>Rebah</i> (fall down)
<i>Guwang</i> (cavity)	<i>Ruang</i> (place in between)
<i>Habagat</i> (west wind, monsoon)	<i>Barat</i> (west)	<i>Barat</i> (west, moon- soon) (O.J.) <i>Barat</i> (wind) ³⁰
<i>Hilig</i> (inclination)	<i>Hilir</i> (downstream)	<i>Hilir</i> (downstream) (O.J.) <i>Hili</i> (stream) ³¹
<i>Hulug</i> (fall)	<i>Ulur</i> (let go down)	(O.J.) <i>M-ulu</i> (hang out) ³²
<i>Ikug</i> (end, handle)	<i>Ekor</i> (tail)	(O.J.) <i>Iku</i> (tail) ³³
<i>Jilog</i> (egg)	<i>Telur</i>	(ng) <i>Antelu</i> (O.J.) <i>Hantelu</i> ³⁴
<i>Kagat</i> (bite)	<i>Mengerat</i> (gnaw)	<i>Keret</i> (cut)
<i>Latag</i> (spread)	<i>Datar</i> (even)	(ng) <i>Rata</i> (even) (O.J.) <i>Rata</i> (even) ³⁵
<i>Layag</i> (sail)	<i>Layar</i>	<i>Layar</i> (O.J.) <i>Layar</i> ³⁶
<i>Liig</i> (neck)	<i>Leher</i>
<i>Niyug</i> (coconut)	<i>Njiur</i> (coconut tree)	(O.J.) <i>Nyu</i> (coconut tree) ³⁷
<i>Panibugho</i> (grudge, jealousy)	<i>Tjemburu</i> (envy)	<i>Tjemburuan</i> (jealous) (O.J.) <i>Kimburu</i> (jea- lous) ³⁸
<i>Sigaw</i> (shout)	<i>Seru</i> (shout)	<i>Seru</i> (loud)
<i>Sinag</i> (rays of light)	<i>Sinar</i>	(O.J.) <i>Sinang</i> (clear, red) ³⁹ <i>Sina</i> (blinking) ⁴⁰

³⁰ *Lubdhaka* XXV 6.

³¹ R. III, 36.

³² R. XIX, 125.

³³ R. IV, 23.

³⁴ R. XXIII, 22.

³⁵ N. XXII, 1.

³⁶ R. XXII, 32.

³⁷ R. IX, 55.

³⁸ R. III, 7 and 55. The final glottal stop in *Panibugho* is irregular here. We have in Tagalog also *Gimbolo* which I would consider a loanword from the Old Javanese *Kimburu*, but Berg has made me change my opinion. He has produced so much material to prove that we have here a case of his variation theory that I am inclined to discard my opinion for his. He has not yet published his theory.

³⁹ R. X, 72 and N. XVIII, 4.

⁴⁰ N. LXXXIV, 3.

<i>Sunug</i> (burn)	<i>Tunu</i>	<i>Tunu</i> (O.J.) <i>Tunu</i> ⁴¹
<i>Timog</i> (south)	<i>Timur</i> (east)	<i>Timur</i> (eastwind) (O.J.) <i>Timur</i> (day-break) ⁴²
<i>Tulug</i> (sleep)	<i>Tidur</i>	(ng) <i>Turu</i> (O.J.) <i>Turu</i> ⁴³
<i>Ugat</i> (root)	<i>Urat</i> (vein)	(O.J.) <i>Urat</i> (vein) ⁴⁴

I have not found any exceptions. This I regret because exceptions, whether true or false, are always important for testing a theory.⁴⁵

The following are some special cases:

TAGALOG	MALAY	JAVANESE
<i>Dalaga</i> (girl in puberty, unmarried woman)	<i>Dara</i>	(O.J.) <i>Rara</i> ⁴⁶

Some think that this is a loanword from the Sanskrit.⁴⁷ But we do not see how this can be. We have in Old Javanese *Dara* (wife or woman)⁴⁸ in texts probably of a later date, agreeing perfectly with

⁴¹ R. VI, 74.

⁴² *Samanasantaka* CXLI, 18.

⁴³ R. XII, 26 and VIII, 95. There is no agreement about the phonetic and phonematic value of the long and short vowels of Old Javanese. According to Berg there is a phonematic distinction at least in the oldest texts, while according to Uhlenbeck there is none. (This I know from oral informants.) But it is a general phenomenon that the absence of one phoneme leaves some special phonetic shape with perhaps phonematic value. For instance in Cebu City in colloquial language the /l/ between two vowels is often absent: *Tulug* becomes *Tug*; *Balay*, *Bay*. But *Tug* and *Bay* are pronounced with the vowel elongated. In the Limburg dialect of Holland we have *Berg* (mountain) and *Berg* (from **Berge*) mountains. There is a slight difference in pronunciation with phoneme value, most probably a result of the loss of the final E in *Berge*. Besides, it is remarkable that in all our examples there is a long vowel where we would expect it, except in *Tunu*. But then, is the correspondence between *Sunug* and *Tunu* really certain?

⁴⁴ R. XIX, 85.

⁴⁵ Especially here, I regret that I do not have at hand Dempwolff's *Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes*.

⁴⁶ R. II, 13.

⁴⁷ Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia*, p. 54.

⁴⁸ *Bhōmakavya* LIV, 3 and LXV, 2 respectively.

the Sanskrit form and surely a Sanskrit loanword. It would be strange to find a Sanskrit loanword, *Rara*, in an older text⁴⁹ which does not agree etymologically with the Sanskrit *Dara*. If *Rara* is from **Rarara*, then **Rarara* becomes the Tagalog *Dalaga* from **Lalaga* by dissimilation of the two l's. (Malay *Dara* from **Dadara*, from **Rarara*).⁵⁰ Or simply, the Tagalog *Dalaga* and **Daga* corresponding with the Javanese *Rara*, is a doublet like *Abog* and *Alabog* (dust), *Kabog* (heavy, hollow sound) and *Kalabog* (thud of a falling body).

<i>Dugo</i> (blood)	<i>Darah</i>	(k) <i>Rah</i> (O.J.) <i>Rah</i> ⁵¹ (from <i>*Rarah</i>)
<i>Tubig</i> (water)	<i>Air</i>	<i>Wai, Wwai, Wway</i> ⁵²

The R-G-H formula (or better the R-G-zero formula) is perfectly applicable here, though the shapes of the words are strange. Cf. Bukidnon *Wahig*, Maguindanao and Marano *Ig*.

<i>Bayani</i> (hero)	<i>Berani</i> (brave)	<i>Wani</i> (brave)
<i>Karayom</i> (needle)	<i>Djarum</i>	<i>Dom</i>
<i>Dayami</i> (straw)	<i>Djerami</i>	<i>Damen</i> from <i>*Darami-</i> <i>an</i>
<i>Saluy</i> (current)	<i>Salur</i> (tube)
<i>Tayum</i> (indigo)	<i>Tarum</i>	<i>Tom</i>

These last five words are probably loanwords from Pampanga. The Tagalog *Salog* (pool) is regular; Bisaya has the regular correspondences: *Dagami*, *Dagum*, *Tagum*. The next case is interesting.

<i>Sulat</i> (write)	<i>Surat</i>	<i>Surat</i>
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Some think that this is an Arabic loanword.⁵³ But how? The Arabs use the radicals KTB to express the idea of writing, and I do not see any correspondence with either *Sulat* or *Surat*. It may however come from the Arabic *Sura* (*Surat*), Chapter of the Qoran. But *Surat* (write) is pre-Mohammedan. We meet this word in R. XI, 19 (*Surat*, write); in R. XXIV, 139 (*Anurat-Nurat*, to make scratches). I think the etymology is to be explained thus: the Tagalog *Sugat* (wound) corresponds with the Old Javanese *Surat* (to make scratches). When the Javanese learned to write (probably from the Indians) they took the same word, *Surat*, because to write is to make scratches.

⁴⁹ Most probably the *Ramayana* is older than the *Bhomakavya*.

⁵⁰ For full understanding of these correspondences and of some others (e.g. the *L* in *Tulug*), one must also know the R-D-L law.

⁵¹ R. IV, 73.

⁵² Respectively, *Bharatayuddha* VIII, 3; R. XI, 64; and R. II, 10.

⁵³ Alejandro at Pineda, ANG AKING PANITIKAN, p. X.

In later times Tagalog borrowed *Sulat* from *Surat* (to write) from Javanese or Malay. The same may perhaps have happened with the following cases, viz., that Tagalog-words with the /g/ are old correspondences, but with the /l/ are later loanwords:

<i>Haligi</i> (post)	<i>Ter-Diri</i> (stand)	(O.J.) <i>Mang-Diri</i> (stand) ⁵⁴
<i>Sarili</i> (self)	<i>Sendiri</i> (self)	
<i>Sandig</i> (lean)	<i>Sandar</i>	<i>Sendeni</i> (from * <i>Sendi-Ani</i>)

The Tagalog *Sandal* is a loanword from *Sandar*.

<i>Tago</i> (hide; keep; guard)	<i>Taruh</i> (guard)	<i>Toh</i> (bet)
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Note the *Taruh* has the final h, and *Tago* the final glottal stop. The Malay *Taruh* has also the meaning of risk, bet. Is therefore the Tagalog *Talo* a loanword from *Taruh*? But *Talo* has no final glottal stop.

From this little investigation we can say that the *r* in Sanskrit corresponds to the *l* in Sanskrit loanwords in Tagalog. The Tagalog words to which our R-G-H law is applicable are old words, antedating the sound-shift: *l* from *r*.⁵⁵ I shall call them g-words. The Tagalog words to which the R-D-L law is applicable will be called l-words.

⁵⁴ H. H. Juynboll, OUD-JAVAANSCH-NEDERLANDSCHE WOORDENLIJST (Leiden, 1923) p. 215.

⁵⁵ To avoid all misunderstanding I must comment on the method used by Dempwolff in his book mentioned above. He gives many formulae of correspondences among some Indonesian languages. They are very useful and his work is brilliant and accurate. But these formulae are projected in the so-called Primitive Indonesian Language. By this Primitive Indonesian Language he means at least the mother-language of the languages compared. But this cannot be done. We do not have a clearcut sound-shift in the development of the languages. There are always disturbing factors: v.g. borrowing and special analogic changes. So the different formulae given by Dempwolff do not necessarily reflect the original phoneme pattern—and surely not the phonetic shape—of the Primitive Indonesian Language. For this, a more detailed knowledge of the history of these languages is necessary.

The R-D-L law involves the correspondence: /r/ in Javanese—/d/ in Malay—/l/ in Tagalog. Here are some examples:

TAGALOG	MALAY	JAVANESE
<i>Huli</i> (late)	<i>Kemudian</i> (later)	<i>Buri-Buri</i> (afterwards)
<i>Latag</i> (spread)	<i>Datar</i> (even, flat)	<i>Rata</i> (even, flat)
<i>Tulog</i> (sleep)	<i>Tidur</i>	<i>Turu</i>

The last two examples are the most satisfactory, because we see here again the /g/. We know that we have two words which cannot be borrowed from other languages in later times. The same is the case with the Tagalog *Huli*, which cannot be borrowed because of the total shape of this word, which is quite different.

We still have many other examples, but the difficulty is: we are not sure if we have later loanwords or more or less original Tagalog words, v.g.:

<i>Ilong</i> (nose)	<i>Danaw</i>	<i>Irung</i>
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Nothing can assure us yet whether this is a loanword or not. When Tagalog borrowed it from Javanese during the time it also borrowed so many Sanskrit words from Javanese (a very clear example is v.g. Tagalog *Luksa*), then we would have exactly the same correspondence. The same is the case with:

<i>Lanaw</i> (lake)	<i>Danaw</i>	<i>Ranu</i>
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Besides this word, we have in Tagalog *Danaw* (lake), which could be a loanword from Malay. Or we have perhaps another explanation, but about this /d/ and /l/ in Tagalog I shall speak afterwards.

All things considered it is still very difficult to discover the exact value of the R-D-L law, just because borrowing can lead to the same formula of correspondence. And in Javanese and Malay we have a structure rule which can disturb the regular correspondence, viz., Javanese and Malay cannot have two /r/'s in one word. In Javanese we often meet an /l/ where perhaps originally was an /r/. Compare v.g.:

	JAVANESE	BALINESE
<i>Leren</i> (rest)		<i>Reren</i>
(O.J.) <i>Lurus</i> (straight, well formed)		<i>Rurus</i>
<i>Lurung</i> (path)		<i>Rurung</i>
<i>Larad</i> (driven away)		<i>Rarad</i> , etc.

But it is beyond the scope of this article to dwell longer on Balinese and Javanese.

We have other correspondences, a little different from the R-D-L. law. V.g.:

TAGALOG	MALAY	JAVANESE
<i>Banal</i> (virtuous)	<i>Benar</i> (right, true)	<i>Bener</i> (O.J.) <i>Bener</i> (right, true) ⁵⁶
<i>Kulang</i> (lacking)	<i>Kurang</i>	<i>Kurang</i> (O.J.) <i>Kurang</i> ⁵⁷
<i>Kulong</i> (confine)	<i>Kurung</i>	<i>Kurung</i> (O.J.) <i>Kurung</i> ⁵⁸
<i>Pilak</i> (silver)	<i>Perak</i>	<i>Perak</i> (O.J.) <i>Pirak</i> ⁵⁹
<i>Dalang</i> (scarce, thin)	<i>Djarang</i>	<i>Arang</i> (O.J.) <i>Arang</i> ⁶⁰
<i>Dalas</i> (thick, full, often)	<i>Deras</i>	<i>Deres</i> (O.J.) <i>Deres</i> ⁶¹
<i>Dalatan</i> (land)	<i>Darat</i>	<i>Darat</i> (O.J.) <i>Darat</i> (on foot) ⁶²

Here we have an R-R-L. correspondence. If I remember well, Dempwolff has a special symbol for this correspondence. It may be very useful to give all these different correspondences their own symbols, but we must be aware that these do not necessarily project the different phonemes in Primitive Indonesian. The above mentioned words may possibly be loanwords of later time, as v.g. Tagalog *Dalatan*. Compare this word with the g-word Tagalog *Dagat* (sea).

⁵⁶ R. III, 74.

⁵⁷ R. II, 45.

⁵⁸ R. VII, 105.

⁵⁹ R. XVI, 9.

⁶⁰ R. VIII, 105.

⁶¹ R. XI, 33.

⁶² *Bharatayuddha* XXIV, 18.

Again another correspondence is:

TAGALOG	MALAY	JAVANESE
<i>Dugo</i> (blood)	<i>Darah</i>	<i>Rah</i> (O.J.) <i>Rah</i> ⁶³
<i>Dinig</i> (hear)	<i>Dengar</i>	<i>Rungu</i> (O.J.) <i>Rengo</i> ⁶⁴
<i>Dahon</i> (leaf)	<i>Dahon</i>	<i>Ron</i> (O.J.) <i>Ron</i> ⁶⁵

Here we have: R-D-D.

The whole situation is rather confusing. Here again we can give a special symbol, but this does not give us a better understanding.

Let us consider only these words which we are sure are not later loanwords:

<i>Huli</i> and the g-words:	<i>Ke-mudi-an</i>	<i>Buri</i>
<i>Tulog</i>	<i>Tidur</i>	<i>Turu</i>
<i>Latag</i>	<i>Datar</i>	<i>Rata</i>
<i>Dugo</i>	<i>Darah</i>	<i>Rah</i>
<i>Dinig</i>	<i>Dengar</i>	<i>Rungu</i>

In these correspondences we see:

An /r/ in Javanese,

A /d/ in Malay,

An /l/, and in the beginning of the word also a /d/ in Tagalog. I cannot say more about this correspondence, if we consider only Tagalog.

For a better understanding of this question I include the Bisayan language in this study. I take this language because it is very closely related to Tagalog. Let us compare these two languages, not in an exhaustive way, but just enough for our purpose.

⁶³ R. IV, 73.

⁶⁴ R. VI, 12.

⁶⁵ R. IV, 17.

The Number of Phonemes and the Phoneme Pattern in T. (Tagalog) and B. (Bisayan) are the same. The distribution of the phonemes in the rootwords are about the same; we meet in B. words more the /o, u/, where we see in T. /e, i/, and we meet in B. the glottal stop also after a consonant inside a word. Not so in T. v.g.:

TAGALOG

Bago

BISAYAN

Bag-o

The realization of phonemes may somehow be different, v.g., I have the impression that the /k/ in T. is realized more backwards in velar position than the /k/ in B. But the exact phonetic pronunciation does not matter so much in this study. We can say the same about the sentence intonation, which is quite different in T. and B. It is, however, a well-known fact that we have differences in phoneme realizations and sentence intonation even in the same language area (cf. v.g. T. in Batangas and Bulacan). Surely we can expect them in such different languages as T. and B. It would be very interesting and useful to study these differences more exactly, but as I said before, this is not necessary for our purpose.

The Grammatical Features are in both languages practically the same etymologically. In T. the reduplication has more functions; in B. we have besides the iredalis-forms:⁶⁶-ON (-IN in T.), also the old Indonesian forms⁶⁷ -A and -I. We have in B. a special taxeme for plurality v.g. *Gamay* (small) singular, and *Gagmay* (small) plural.⁶⁸ Besides B. has the prefix *GI-* (v.g. *Gibasa* (is read) which we can compare with the prefix *DI-* in Malay (v.g. *Dibatja* (is read)) because of the similar function. The functional load of B. *SA*, in T. divided over *SA* and *NG* (pronounce: nang), is remarkable. I do not

⁶⁶ This term is used by C. C. Berg. Dr. P. J. Zoetmulder prefers "arealis". Cf. De Taal van het Adiparwa, VERHANDELINGEN DEEL LXXIX, p. 150.

⁶⁷ We see the suffix -A with a related function v.g. in O.J.; the suffix -I in O.J., Javanese Malay, Magindanao, etc.

⁶⁸ Cf. the plural form in Sundanese and Iloko. Compare with these forms also the so-called *Pating-forms* in Javanese.

know of an etymological equivalent in T. for B., *UG*. We still have another suffix *-A* in B. with a kind of individualizing function v.g. in: *Karong Adlaw* (today). This *-A* is comparable with Javanese suffix *-E* in v.g. *Djarane Kuru* (the horse is meager). Very interesting is the so-called "linking verb" *AY* in T. Is the *Y* in v.g. *Dunay Tao* in B. etymologically the same? In T. we have verb forms like *Magsitulug* (sleep, with plural subject); we do not have an etymological equivalent in B. Or perhaps the form like B. *Nagsansimba* (go to the church, with plural subject)? We can compare T. *Nangagluto* (cook, with plural subject) with B. *Managbingkil* (quarrel, with plural subject). I do not find an etymological equivalent in T. for B. suffix *-AY* in v.g. *Maghinigugmay* (love each other), or is *-AY* etymologically the same as *-I*?

In the *Lexicon* we find the greatest divergence. Sometimes we meet in B. a probably old Indonesian word, where we have a new loanword in T. v.g.: T. *Laho* (eclipse) a Sanskrit loanword—B. *Bakunawa* (eclipse); T. *Bihira* (seldom), another Sanskrit loanword; B. *Panagsa* (from: *PA*-nazalation-*Tagsa*) (once in a while); T. *Sinturon* (belt, a Spanish loanword); B. *Bakus*. We have *Dapit* in T. only in special expressions v.g. *Dapithapon* (towards afternoon). In B. *Dapit* (place) is a common word. In T. *Dápit* is a specialized technical term meaning "receiving the corpse by the priest before it is taken to the cemetery". In B. *Dápit* is a common word, meaning "invite". Except in the later Spanish loanwords B. gives the impression of being more conservative. But to prove this we need a thorough study of both lexicons. A vague impression is not enough.

However, we can see from this comparison that these two languages are very closely related. This relationship is still more striking when we study other Philippine languages, v.g. Iloko. There we see immediately greater differences; v.g. Iloko has the article—just like many other Philippine tongues—viz. *TI*, *ITI*. We can compare these words with *ANG* and *SA* in T. and B., but etymologically they are quite different.

In both T. and B. we find the *g*-words. We see in B. even the following words:

BISAYAN

Dagum (needle)
Dagami (straw)
Tagum (indigo)

TAGALOG

(*Ka-*) *rayom*
Dayami
Tayom

B. seems to be the center of the innovation: *g* from *r*?⁶⁹

And now we return to the /l/ in T.

We saw that even the go-words have this /l/, v.g. *Tulog*, *Latag*. Also *Huli*, most probably an old word as well, has the /l/. It is interesting that in *Tulog*, *Huli* we have an /l/ between two vowels, because in many other words in T. the /l/ between two vowels disappeared and we have a zero, /h/, after /o, u/ a /w/, or after /i, e/ a /y/ instead. v.g.:

Tagalog	Bisayan	Malay	Javanese
<i>Bahay</i> (house)	<i>Balay</i> ⁷⁰		<i>Bale</i> (veranda)
<i>Buwan</i> (moon)	<i>Bulan</i>	<i>Bulan</i>	<i>Bulan</i>

⁶⁹ The g-words in Iloko are a different case. It seems that Iloko does not have the g-period like T. and B. But there is a more modern g-development, at least according to Dr. Cecilio Lopez, COMPARISON OF TAGALOG AND ILOKO, Hamburg, 1928, p. 27-28. —We see therefore much irregularity in this respect in Il. due to this borrowing.

⁷⁰ In colloquial Cebuano the /l/ may be omitted between two vowels in the rootwords of two syllables viz. between:

/a/ and /a/ become /a:/

/e, i/ and /e, i/ become /i:/

/o, u/ and /o, u/ become /o:/

/a/ and /o, u/ become *ao* or *au* (without glottal stop)

/o, u/ and /a/ become *uwa* or *owa*

except foreign loanwords v.g. Spanish loanword "kolor" is never "kor". The /l/ may not be omitted between:

/a/ and /e, i/

/e, i/ and /a/

/o, u/ and /i, e/

/e, i/ and /o, u/.

We never meet a /h/ as we do in T. v.g.: *Bahay*. I did not yet study this question in rootwords of more than two syllables. But the above mentioned peculiarities are enough to show the difference in this respect between T. and B.

<i>Daan</i> (road)	<i>Djalan</i>	<i>Dalan</i>
<i>Iyak</i> (cry)	<i>Hilak</i>	
<i>Tainga</i> (ear)	<i>Telinga</i>	<i>Talinga</i>
<i>Uwi</i> (come home)	<i>Ulih</i>	<i>Uli</i>

But the /l/ remains in the words like *Tulog*, *Huli*! What can we conclude from this? The /l/, which we see also in the corresponding Javanese and Malay words, disappeared in T. between two vowels not before the g-period, because during the g-period it was still there as we can see in B. It disappeared in a later time. Let us call this period the no-l-period.

The /l/ in T. words like *Tulog*, *Huli* did not disappear, because in the no-l-period these words did not have the /l/, but got the /l/ only after the no-l-period.

This explains everything very nicely. In the g-period both B. and T. underwent an innovation, viz. /r/ became /g/. Afterwards T. lost the /l/ between two vowels, B. did not. After the no-l-period /l/ appeared again between two vowels in T., because another phoneme became /l/. But there are some problems. 1) What is that other phoneme? 2) What about the words *Bulag*, *Hulog*, etc. which seemed to have the /l/ already before the no-l-period, and did not lose the /l/? 3) Why does B. not have the no-l-period?

The first problem: What is that phoneme?

We see for this phoneme a /d/ in Malay and an /r/ in Javanese. Perhaps this phoneme is one of these two or both according to special structure rules? We can assume an /r/, because we already discovered the l from r sound-shift in the Sanskrit loanwords and we see for this /l/ and /r/ in Waray, a Bisaya subdialect. v.g.:

BISAYAN	TAGALOG	WARAY (W.)
<i>Dalaga</i>	<i>Dalaga</i>	<i>Daraga</i>
<i>Haligi</i>	<i>Haligi</i>	<i>Harigi</i>
<i>Tulug</i>	<i>Tulog</i>	<i>Turug</i>
<i>Ulahi</i>	<i>Huli</i>	<i>Urhi</i>

I took only the g-words and *Ulahi* to be sure to have no later loanwords. Besides, I consider only words where the /l/ respectively /r/ is between two vowels, because it is only this /l/ which disappeared in T.⁷¹

The second problem: What about the words *Bulag*, *Hulog*, etc. which seem to have the /l/ already before the no-l-period and did not lose the /l/?

I explain the difficulty.

These words have an /l/ which is already old, just like the /l/ in B. *Balay* (-T. *Bahay*). When these words had already the /l/ between two vowels, why does not this /l/ disappear in T. in the later no-l-period?

In *Bulag* the /l/ is probably not old. Certainly we have in (O.J.) *Buler*, but here we have the /l/ because of the structure rule: no two /r/'s in one rootword. Did **Burer* become

⁷¹ To consider this phoneme as not being between two vowels is a very difficult study because of all kind of complications. It seems to be that the Old Waray had the structure rule that this phoneme came only after a vowel; if not, it was then a /d/. This would explain the /d/ in the beginning of some words in T. and B., when we would expect an /l/, because their never was an /r/. Only the former /r/ is an /l/ now. So we have a /d/ in:

Tagalog	Bisayan	Javanese	Malay
<i>Dinig</i>	<i>Dunug</i>	<i>Rungu</i>	<i>Dengar</i>
<i>Dugo</i>	<i>Dugo</i>	<i>Rah</i>	<i>Darah</i>

It might be that soemtimes W. *Rigo* was without prefix ending with a consonant, and was then: *Digo*. That is why in B. the doublet: *Danaw* and *Lanaw*? In W. we have *Danaw* and *Lanaw*. *Lanaw* is probably later loanword from B. or T. So also W. *Kulang* I give this short consideration only to show the reader that we must be careful to project the formulas of Dempwolff simply in the Primitive Indonesian language, without considering other possible complications. As far as I am concerned the R-D-L Law is not yet clear.

Buler? At least we have in Kuyunon *Buray* (in B. and W. we have *Buta* [blind], etymologically perhaps a quite different word).

Huli, Hili, Hulog have an /h/ in the beginning of the word. *Huli* does not belong to this group of words with this special difficulty, because the /l/ is not old:

TAGALOG	MALAY	JAVANESE
<i>Huli</i>	<i>Ke-mudi-an</i>	<i>Buri</i>

Besides we have in W. *Urhi*.⁷² When we compare *Urhi* with *Huli*, then we see a metathesis of the /h/. We see the same metathesis in T. *Halo* (pestle) — B. *Alho* — J. *Alu*. In T. *Halo* the /l/ is old! Perhaps we had in the time before the no-l-period: *Alho*, **Ilhig*, **Ulhog*, which became after the no-l-period: *Halo*, *Hilig*, *Hulog*? The /l/ did not disappear here, because the /l/ was not between two vowels.

It may be that the /l/ in *Hilig* was originally an /r/ as we shall see afterwards.

In short: when we have in T. an /l/ between two vowels, then the /l/ was originally not between two vowels (*Huli* from *Urhi*; *Halo* from *Alho*), or this /l/ is not old v.g.: *Pulo* from *Puro*; *Hilig* from **Hirig*?)

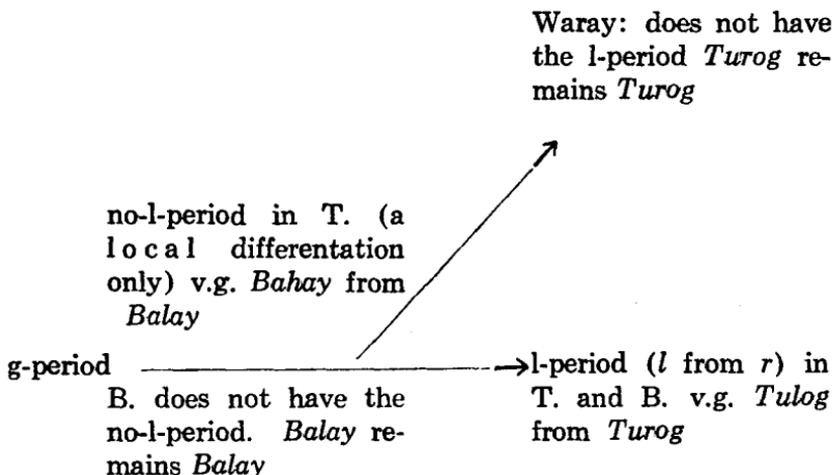
The third problem: why does B. not have the no-l-period? I explain the difficulty.

We accept that in some words in B. the /l/ is the result of a later development, v.g. in *Tulog* from *Turug*; *Ulahi* from *Urhi*. In the g-period T. and B. both were influenced by the innovation: *g* from *r*; in the l-period by the innovation: *l* from *r*. But between the g-period and the period of the change: *l* from *r*, we have the no-l-period. Why does the no-l-period affect only T. and not B.? Because the influence of T. and B. is not purely reciprocal. This is exactly according to the wave-

⁷² In B. we have *Ulahi*. *Ulahi* from **Ulhi* from *Urhi*?

theory of Joh. Schmidt.⁷³ We cannot stick to a family-tree diagram. We already obtained hints of greater conservatism in B. in that time. I shall explain this more extensively at the end of this article.

As a result of this study I give the following diagram:



Here follow some remarks, corrections, and additions. I put them here and not in the body of the article in order not to disturb the development of my thoughts and to prevent confusion.

First about the g-words.

In my study of T. and B., I discovered that we have sometimes an /l/ in T., where we find a /g/ in B., v.g.:

TAGALOG

Lindol (earthquake)
Tulot (allow)
Tilaok (crow)

BISAYAN

Linog
Tugot
Tugaok

and in T. the doublet:

Guwang (hollow, crevice)

Luwang (width)

⁷³ Bloomfield, LANGUAGE, London, 1950. p. 317.

I can give some possible explanations, which may not be the only ones.

When we compare T. *Lindol* and B. *Linog* with O. J. *Lindu*, then we see that the /g/ in *Linog* shows an old relationship with O.J. *Lindu*. The /nd/ and /l/ in T. *Lindol* show a much later relationship. Is T. *Lindol* a later loanword from O.J. **Lindur*?

In T. *Tulot* and T. *Tilook* we see an /l/ between two vowels. This means probably that this /l/ is an evolution from a former /r/. It may be that T. *Tulot* is a loanword from Malay *Turut* (follow), (Cf O. J. *Tut*—B. *Tugot*), or T. *Tulot* and T. *Tilook* are doublet-forms (**Turot* and **Tiraok* originally) with B. *Tugot* and B. *Tugaok*. If this is true, then B. was in the g-period the speech-center and T. was more or less in a border-area? B. started the g-renovation, and T. borrowed it, but not yet completely?

If B. was really the speech-center, and most probably also political center, and the Tagalog speech-community was more in the border-area, then we can understand better why T., and B., borrowed from neighboring dialects words like *Karayom*, *Dayami*, etc.

If we accept that B. was a speech-center for a longer time, then even more items become clearer. We understand that B. can start innovations which are accepted by T. This happened v.g. with the g-words. But an innovation in the T. border-area was considered as a provincialism, v.g. the losing of the /l/ between the vowels in the T. area was considered as non-official, familiar and provincial, and was not accepted by the whole speech-community.⁷⁴

I suggested that an /l/ is old, when we see this /l/ in B. words and also in Malay and Javanese. T. *Pulo* (island)

⁷⁴ It seems that we have in T. still current an old word *Balay* (house), used only in solemn circumstances, where familiar words are taboo; cf. Paula Carolina Malay, "Some Tagalog Folkways" JOURNAL OF EAST ASIATIC STUDIES, 1, Jan. 1957, p. 80.

is in B. *Pulo*, and also in Malay and J. *Pulo*. If this /l/ is old, what is the reason why we do not find **Puwo* in T.? But we see in Waray and Hanunoo *Puro*. (Also in Iloko: *Puro*). This convinces me that we had here originally an /r/. It seems to be that the /l/ in Malay and Javanese is not a sufficient guarantee that we had originally a /l/ also here in the Philippine languages.

We have:

TAGALOG

Hiram (borrow)
Halika (come here)

BISAYAN

Hulam
Marika

and the doublet in B. *Hilig* and *Hirig* (inclined).

Does this mean that originally we had here **Hirig* and not *Hilig*? In this case the /l/ is not old here, just as in *Pulo*.

The whole question of the no-l-period is a rather intricate one. We have the regular forms:

TAGALOG

Buwan (moon)
Bahay (house)
Daan (road)

Tainga (ear)
Baon (provision)

But we have also:

Hulog (fall)
Tulong (help)
Alon (wave)

Bili (buy)
Pili (choose)
Ulo (head) etc.

These /l/'s seem to be old, yet did not disappear! But we must not forget that this is a conditional law. Only the /l/ which is old and stands between two vowels disappeared. We have seen the cases: *Huli* from *Urhi*, *Halo* from *Alho*, where we have a later metathesis of the /h/; formerly the /l/ was not between two vowels.

Besides we can have loanwords. I do not know any case of a disappeared /l/ in Sanskrit loanwords; v.g.:

TAGALOG	SANSKRIT
<i>Dala</i> (fishing-net)	<i>Jala-</i>
<i>Mandala</i> (pile of rice-ears)	<i>Mandala</i> (circle, collection)
<i>Mula</i> (origin)	<i>Mula</i> (root, beginning)
<i>Bala</i> (threaten)	<i>Bala</i> (force)

Thus we conclude that for a relatively long time after the no-l-period the /l/ did not disappear in T., and during that time T. had enough opportunities to acquire new loanwords.

Take v.g. T. *Tulong* (help). In B. we do not have this word. Perhaps *Tulong* is a loanword from Javanese or Malay. Or it is possible that T. borrowed this word from Pampanga at the time it borrowed also *Karayom*, *Tayom*, etc.

For a more exact explanation of all these words we still have to study and to compare T. and B. much more accurately and intensively, and we have to include other languages in this study. But I will draw the following conclusions, of course tentatively and provisionally. They can be tested only by the coherence and consistency of the results in further studies.

In all Sanskrit loanwords in T. we see an /l/ where we have a /r/ in Sanskrit. The /g/ in T. corresponding with /r/ in other Indonesian languages is only found in original Indonesian words and not in loanwords. Therefore: the sound-shift g from r is older than the sound-shift l from r.

The /l/ between vowels disappears in T. where this /l/ is old, and not where we have an /l/ as a result of the sound-shift l from r. Therefore: the /l/ disappeared before the sound-shift l from r. This /l/ disappeared only in T. and not in B.; this was only a local differentiation in T. and did not influence the whole speech community. Also was T. more

influenced by neighbouring dialects than B.⁷⁵ During the g-period B. was probably the speech-center; only later was T. emancipated from the influence of B.

⁷⁵ N. B. I do not say here that this speech-community necessarily had the same geographic area of today. We must be careful not to draw rash conclusions. In this connection I would like to give the following example: many derive *Bisaya* from *Vijaya*. For a linguist this is most improbable. The corresponding form would be: *Bidaya* or *Biraya*, and not *Bisaya*. (cf. G. G. Fabella, "Extension of Historical Studies and Research," BULLETIN NG KAPISANANG PANGKASAYSAYAN NG PILIPINAS, Dec. 1958, p. 28.)