

philippine studies

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

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

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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.