

TOWARD THE STANDARDIZATION OF PILIPINO ORTHOGRAPHY:
STANDARDIZING THE SPELLING OF SPANISH LOANS ASSIMILATED INTO TAGALOG

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O. Introduction

0.1 *Purpose of the paper.* This paper will be concerned with the spelling of Spanish loan words which have been assimilated into Tagalog (henceforth SLAT).

It is hoped that the standardization of the spelling overlay¹ in Tagalog (hereafter T.) will help in the standardization of Filipino orthography inasmuch as Tagalog is the basis of Pilipino, and as is well known, Spanish assimilated loan words make up a big percentage² of Tagalog content words.

One of the problems³ in the standardization of Pilipino orthography is the consistent spelling of Spanish assimilated loans. It is known that although the alphabets of both Spanish and Pilipino are phonetic — each is spelled as pronounced and each has a one-to-one correspondence (or almost so in the case of Spanish) between the spoken and the written form, there are differences in the value of their letters or in the letter or letters each language uses to represent a sound. For instance, to represent /k/ Pilipino uses *k*, but Spanish uses *c* before *a*, *o*, *u*, and *qu* before *e* and *i*; to represent /s/, Pilipino uses *s* before any vowel, but Spanish, besides using *s* before any vowel, also uses *c* before *e* and *i*. To spell /g/, Spanish uses *g* before *a*, *o*, *u*, and *gu* before *e* and *i*, but Pilipino uses only *g* before any vowel. Again, Spanish uses *g* before *e* and *i*, and *j* (a letter Pilipino does not have) before any vowel to represent /h/, which sound Pilipino represents with *h*. Spanish in turn writes *h* but gives it no sound.

Tagalog-based Pilipino does not have certain letters⁴ which Spanish does either because the sounds they spell are not found in the language, or if the sounds are there, it has other letters to spell them with. Accordingly, it does not have *f* and *v*; *q*, *c*, and *j*; whose functions are, however, served by *k* (which S. does not have), *s* and *h*, respectively; it does not have *ch*, *ll*, *ñ*, *rr*, *x* and *z*.

When Spanish loan words were assimilated in the major languages, they had to be spelled as the Filipinos pronounced them, and letters were gradually added to the alphabets to accommodate them. Take Tagalog as an example. One of the changes in the old Tagalog syllabary called *baybayin*, which was Romanized by the Spanish missionaries, was the addition of the vowels *e* and *o*, making Tagalog vowels five in all. Later, came the addition of *k*, suggested independently by Rizal and Pardo de Tavera, in place of the

¹Cecilio Lopez' term. See his 'The Spanish overlay in Tagalog' in *Readings in Philippine linguistics*, (1973:737-66).

²An actual count of the words in a random one hundred consecutive pages (pp. 210-310) of Panganiban's *Tesaurus-diksiyunariyo Pilipino-Ingles* yielded 1284 SLAT out of 2718 entries, or 46.17%.

³Two other problems are whether or not to indicate the orthographic accent and how to indicate the glottal stop, which is just as much a phoneme as any other Pilipino sound that makes a distinction in meaning, and which therefore should have a letter or an unambiguous symbol rather than the hyphen to represent it.

⁴That is, until the INL (Institute of National Language) proposal of October 19, 1971, q.v.

ungainly *cq* (as in *bacquit*), which the Spanish missionaries used for *k* in their *catecismos* and *vocabularios*, and the addition of *w* to take the place of *u* when it is used as a consonant (as in S. *huelguista*, T. *welgista*).

Other changes were made in the Tagalog alphabet (subsequently the Pilipino alphabet) to accommodate S. loans assimilated into the language. The latest proposal⁵ to add eleven foreign letters; viz., *c*, *ch*, *f*, *j*, *ll*, *ñ*, *q*, *rr*, *v*, *x*, and *z* will result in greater conflict between the values of the letters in the S. and the P. alphabets, necessitating acceptance of too many spelling variants for SLAT. The longer the SLAT word and the more foreign letters it has, the more the number of its spelling variants. (See Section 3.4)

A problem of Pilipino orthography is to prevent the use of more than one letter to represent one sound and to have a letter represent only one sound. For instance, should the foreign letters *x* and *j* be used for spelling SLAT, there will be added to the two Pilipino spellings, *ekstranhero* and *estranhero*, four more spellings of S. *extranjero*; namely, *extranjero* itself, and *estranjero*, *extranhero*, *ekstranjero*, making a total of six. This does not include another possible six (or more?) spellings, where the *n* in S. *extranjero* is pronounced /ng/ and represented by T. *ng*. With regard to reading the language, spelling this word with *j*, the Filipino, who associates *j* with its English value, might pronounce the word /ekstrandzero/.

Assumption

The writer considers T. orthography to be identical with Pilipino orthography and assumes that the orthographic problems met in standardizing the spelling of SLAT are identical with the problems connected with the standardization of S. loans assimilated into Pilipino, inasmuch as except for a handful of words adopted from other Philippine languages, the vocabulary of Pilipino is Tagalog vocabulary.

0. 3. Corpus used

For the corpus of her work, the writer has made use of Lopez' 'The Spanish Overlay in Tagalog', an article published in *Lingua*, 14.467-504 (1965) and reprinted in *Readings in Philippine Linguistics*, q.v. and her own knowledge of Tagalog, which is the Manila dialect. This dialect has more than its share of SLAT. The writer herself grew up in a home where Spanish was spoken by both her paternal and maternal grandfathers. These two sources were supplemented by words looked up in the Vocabulary portion of Pattison's *Representative Spanish Authors* (1942), Cardenas' *Diccionario Moderno* (1963), and the *University of Chicago Spanish Dictionary* (1948).

0.4. Parts of the paper

The paper consists of four parts. Part 1 will summarize the present Pilipino orthographic system (which is also the Tagalog orthography). Part 2 will give an exposition of the spelling correspondences between T. and S. letters and the attendant problems. Part 3 will present the problems of orthography related to SLAT. Part 4 will give suggestions for the solution of the problems.

⁵INL, October 19, 1971. The INL recommended the addition of the eleven foreign letters because of the need to write words that Pilipino borrows from both English and Spanish. Eight of these letters are in both the Spanish and English alphabets, although they do not all represent identical sounds in both languages. The three other letters, *ll*, *ñ*, and *rr* represent sounds found only in S.

1.0 Part 1. *The present orthographic system of Pilipino*

1.1. **The Pilipino abakada of 1939. The one-letter-one-sound rule**

The orthographic system followed in present-day Pilipino textbooks, writings, and Pilipino dictionaries, including Jose Villa Panganiban's *Diksiyunariyo-Tesaurus Pilipino-Ingles* is the 'standard spelling adopted since 1940' (1970:x). This standard spelling was based on the qualities and values of the Pilipino *Abakada*⁶ of 1939, which in turn, was based on the romanized *Baybayin* of the Spanish regime. Among the rules in the *Abakada*, and the most important one, is the one-letter-one-sound rule for which Pilipino orthography is famous, it being described by Panganiban as 'one of the most nearly perfect in the world'. Each of its letters has 'one and only one definite, specific, and unchanging phonetic value or sound, and every sound is represented by one and only one letter'. In other words 'it is pronounced as it is spelled and spelled as it is pronounced', according to the 1940 *Balarila ng Wikang Pambansa*.

1.2. **The INL proposal of October 19, 1971**

This one-letter-one-sound characteristic of the Pilipino alphabet and the consequent one-to-one correspondence of the written and the spoken language will, however, be lost with the approval of the proposed addition to the Pilipino alphabet of eleven 'foreign letters'. Formal inclusion of these letters in the Pilipino alphabet was proposed by the INL (INL, "The Alphabet and Rules of Spelling of the Pilipino National Language", 1971) in order to allow the spelling of new loans from both English and Spanish, the two LWCs (Language of Wider Communication) that Pilipino has had to turn to for enrichment and development.

1.3. **The 'foreign letters' and the new proposed alphabet**

With the formal⁷ addition of the eleven foreign letters, which are *c, ch, f, j, ll, n, q, rr, v, x, z*, the Filipino alphabet will have 31 letters instead of the former 20. These foreign letters take their place in alphabetical order in the new alphabet with *ll, n, rr* following *l, n, r*, respectively. In addition *k* (which has been for dictionary users a source of disorientation) no longer comes as the third letter but takes its usual place as in all Roman alphabets. The new alphabet, then, in its new order is:

a b c ch d e f g h i j k l ll m n ñ ng
o p q r rr s t u v w x y z

⁶The name *Abakada* comes from the names of the first letters of the Tagalog alphabet: *a ba ka da* (just as the word *alphabet* comes from *alpha* and *beta*), while *Baybayin* comes from the second letter of the old T. alphabet, the consonants of which were pronounced *baybay, kaykay, dayday*, etc.

⁷These foreign letters have been an informal part of the Pilipino alphabet since 1939, when the INL formed the *Abakada* and informally adopted them to be used 'particularly in the names of persons and identification of geographical places' (See Jose Villa Panganiban, 'On the so-called exclusion of foreign letters' 1966, which was written to answer INL critics who accused INL of purism and which concluded with 'the Pilipino writing system though not its alphabet has, therefore, from 1939 consisted of 31 letters, 20 of which, are based on native traditions and 11 taken from influential cultures'.)

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Of the eleven foreign letters, F and V are to be used presumably⁸ like the other old letters in the alphabet; i.e. used exclusively to spell 'common' words (Rule 1) while *c, ch, j, ll, ñ, q, rr* 'shall be used only in spelling borrowed words and proper names' (Rule 4).

1.4. The exclusion of the loan letters C and Q from spelling 'common words'

It is well that the INL has excluded *c* and *q* from spelling 'common words' (common words presumably include assimilated foreign words, Spanish as well as English). Their exclusion precludes the use of more than one letter to spell one sound and prevents the problem of too many spelling variants and other spelling complications.

Examples:

(1) Using *c* besides *s* to represent /s/ results in six spelling variants for S. *circulación*: T. *circulacion, circulasiyon, cirkulasyon, sirkulacion, sirkulasiyon, cirkulasyon*.

(2) Using *c* besides *k* to represent /k/ results in six more variants for the same word: T. *circulacion, sirculacion, sirculasyon, sirculacion, sirkulasiyon, circulasyon*.

Twelve different spellings for just one SLAT do not make for standardization.

The other spelling complication that would result from adding *c* to the alphabet to spell other than personal and geographic proper names and to spell both /s/ and /k/ in 'common words' is the fact that it is not possible to use *c* with the infix *-in-* with some SLAT or the infix with others. For example, borrowing from Santiago (1967):

- (3) With the infix *-in-* it is possible to use *k* but not *c*:
S. *cajon* – T. *kahon, kinahon*; but T. *cahon, *cinahon*
S. *cambio* – T. *kambyo, kinambyo*, but T. *cambyo, *cinambyo*
- (4) With the infix *-um-* it is possible to use *s* but not *c*:
S. *centro* – T. *sentro, sumentro*; but *centro, *cumentro*
S. *circo* – T. *sirko, sumirko*; but *cirko, *cumirko*

In addition, the use of *c* to spell both /k/ and /s/ may result in the learner or reader of SLAT to puzzle out whether the *c* is to be sounded as /s/ or as /k/. For one who does not know the rules about the use of *c* as /s/ or as /k/, how is *cir* in SLAT *circulación* to be read: /kir/ or /sir/? Or *cu* in the same word: /su/ or /ku/? Whereas *sirkulasion* is unambiguous and therefore easy to read.

Similar exclusion of *q* to spell 'common words' prevents the problem of too many spelling variants (S. *quinque* 'lamp', T. *kinke, kinque, quinke, quinque*) not to speak of the needed knowledge of *q* requiring an accompanying *u*, and the difficulty of reading the spelling variant with *q*: *q* as (k/ or as /kw/?)

1.5. Similar exclusion of *ch*

Though I am of the opinion, as a native speaker of Tagalog, that long, continued exposure to the numerous loans from both S. and English, especially the latter, has enabled Filipinos to pronounce /tʃ/, which is spelled *ch* in both Spanish and English, I

⁸The INL does not include *f* and *v* among the letters which 'shall be used only in spelling borrowed words and proper names' (italics mine), an omission which I take the INL to mean that they can spell words other than [unassimilated] borrowed words and [borrowed] proper names'.

have changed my position regarding the use of *ch* to supersede *ts* in spelling /tʃ/ in SLAT. Instead, I would see *ch* as a variant. This variant spelling is not to be considered the less acceptable of two pronunciations. In other words, there is to be no such thing as preferred spelling. If a certain spelling reflects substandard pronunciation that fact may be stated in dictionaries. Pronunciation is to be indicated as sophisticated pronunciation (sp) or folk pronunciation (fp). Regarding the use of *ch* and *ts* as spelling variants, there should be no combinations of *ts* and *ch* in one word. Thus S. *achara* 'pickles', T. *atsara*, *achara*; S. *chicharron* 'cracklings', T. *sitsaron*, T. *chicharon*, but not **sicharon*, **tsicharon*, **chitsaron*. *Chabacano* 'Philippine Spanish creole', being a proper name, will be spelled in the original.

1.6. *j* as a loan letter

j should cease as a loan letter and be employed to spell the sound /dʒ/, which the INL spells, as did the Balarila of 1940, with *diy* or *dy* as the nearest graphemic representation of the pronunciation of a sound foreign to the Tagalog or the Pilipino sound system. But several generations which have gone through an educational system using English as a medium of instruction have since then enabled Filipinos to pronounce /dʒ/. It is high time that this sound be were represented by *j* as in English. For purposes of SLAT, however, *j* duplicates Tagalog *h* in representing /h/. I would therefore, like the INL, exclude it from spelling sound /h/ in SLAT in order to avoid such spelling complications as S. *jamba* 'jamb', T. *hamba*, *jamba*, *hinahambahan*, *hinahambajan*, *hinajambajan*, *hinajambahan*, *jinajambajan*, *jinajambahan*, *jinahambahan*, *jinahambajan* – eight different spellings. In other words, since /h/ is adequately spelled by *h*, and no additional advantage, but rather disadvantages, would result from using *j* besides, it would be well to limit *j* to spelling Filipino proper names taken from Spanish, which is the only use INL sets for it.

1.7. The loan letters *ll*, *n*, *rr*

Previous to the October 1971 proposal to add the eleven foreign letters, *ll*, *n*, *rr* have been represented in Pilipino (as also in Tagalog) as *ly*, *ng*, and *r*, respectively to spell SLAT. Together with the other foreign letters, they are added only in order to spell S. proper names – which would be unrecognizable if spelled following the Tagalog word structure: e.g. S. *Chavarria*, T. **Tsabariya*, **Sabariya*; S. *Nuñez*, T. **Nunyes*, S. *Villarreal*, T. *Bilyariyal*, etc.

1.8. The loan letters *x* and *z*

Like *ll*, *n*, and *rr*, *x* and *z* have been added for their Spanish value principally to spell Spanish surnames of Filipinos, like Roxas, Xeres (also Rojas, Jeres respectively), Quezon, and Rizal.

2.0 Part 2. *Spelling the Spanish loans assimilated into Tagalog (SLAT)*

The spelling of Spanish loans assimilated into Tagalog (SLAT) is of course based on the Tagalog production of Spanish phonemes and the letters T. uses to represent those equivalent sounds. Because there are sounds in the S. sound system not found in the T. sound system, like *f*, *ch*, *j*, *ll*, *ñ*, *q*, *v*, there will be changes in some sounds in the former to accommodate them in the latter.

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Below are put together the S. and T. letter correspondences.

I. Consonants

Spanish	Tagalog
b	b
c (a, o, u)	k
c (e, i)	s
ch	ts
d	d (sometimes <i>r</i> , when <i>d</i> is intervocalic)
f	p
g (a, o, u)	g
g (e, i)	h
h	h
j	h (s in old SLAT: S. <i>jabon</i> , T. <i>sabon</i>)
l	l
ll	ly
m	m
n	n
ñ	ny
p	p
q	k
r	r
rr	r
s	s
t	t
v	b
x	ks, s
y	y
z	s

II. Vowels

Spanish	Tagalog
a	a
e	e, i; sometimes a
i	i
o	o, u
u	u

III. Diphthongs

Spanish	Tagalog
ai	ay
ei	ey
oi	oy
au	aw
eu	ew, yu
ia	ya
ie	ye
ua	wa
uo	wo
ui	wi

IV. Consonant clusters

Initial

Spanish	Tagalog
br(a)–	bar(a)– S. <i>brazo</i> , T. <i>baraso</i>
fr(i)–	pir(i)– (CCV) (CVCV)
gr(a)–	gar(a)–
pr(o)–	par(u)– S. <i>proseguir</i> , T. <i>pursigi</i> (<i>purusigi</i>)
bl(a)–	bal(a)–
cl(a)–	kal(a)–
bl(a)–	bal(a)–
pl(e)–	pel(e)–

Medial

–br–	–br– S. <i>sabroso</i> , T. <i>sabroso</i>
–cr–	–kr– S. <i>sacristia</i> , T. <i>sakristiya</i> (CCV) (CCV)
–fr–	–pr– S. <i>refresco</i> , T. <i>ripresko</i>
–pr–	–pr–
–tr–	–tr–
–tr–	–tr–
–bl–	–bl–
–cl–	–kl–
–fl–	–pl–
–gl–	–gl–

2.1. *Consonant correspondences*

For convenience, the spelling correspondences of S. and T. are listed by categories and illustrated with one or two examples.

2.1.1. *Consonant letters that have the same phoneme as referent:*

b, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, y

To illustrate these, we have S. *barbero*, T. *barbero*; S. *largo* 'long', T. *largo*; S. *maleta*, T. *maleta*; S. *nene* 'baby', T. *nene*; S. *perla* 'pearl', T. *perlas*, S. *regalo* 'gift', T. *rigalo*; S. *salsa* 'sauce', T. *sarsa*; S. *tabique* 'wall, partition', T. *tabike*; S. *yarda* 'yard'; S. *tabla* T. *tabla*.

2.1.2. *One S. consonant letter corresponded by two T. letters:*

1. S. c (a, o, u), c (e, i), T. k and s, respectively
2. S. d, T. d, sometimes r
3. S. g(a, o, u), g (e, i) , T. g, h, respectively
4. S. h (silent), T. ϕ or h

For S. c (before a, o, u) and c (before e, i) becoming T. k and s, respectively, we have *cabecera* 'head of bed' becoming T. *kabisera* 'head of table'; S. *conciencia* 'conscience' becoming T. *konsiyensiya*. For S. d becoming T. d and sometimes r (in some words where d is intervocalic) we have S. *cargado* 'loaded, laden', *caridad* 'charity' and *arado* 'ploughed', *candado* 'locked' becoming respectively T. *kargado*, *karidad*, *araro* 'plow', and *kandaro*, a dialect form in Batangas of *kandado*.

For S. *g* (before *a, o, u*), *g* (before *e* and *i*) becoming T. *g* and T. *h*, respectively, we have S. *garbanzo* 'chick pea' becoming T. *garbansos* (the plural form again); S. *gelatina* 'gelatine' becoming T. *gelatina*; S. *gigante*, T. *ligante*.

S. *h*, which in standard form, is silent, is sometimes actualized in T. and sometimes not. Examples are S. *hablar* 'to speak, to talk' becoming T. *habla* 'suit' (law); S. *harina* (fp); S. *hora* 'hour, time', T. *oras* (plural in form); S. *habilidad* 'ability skill, talent', T. *abilidad*, with the added meaning of cleverness.

Other examples of variations in S. *h* are S. *hebill*a 'buckle', T. *ebilya* (sp), *hibilya*, S. *harapo* 'rag' becoming T. *trapo* (perhaps originally misheard as *tarapo* and later becoming a hypercorrect form, *trapo*). S. *horno* 'oven', T. *hurno*, *urno* (sp); S. *haragan* 'loafer, idler', T. *haragan* 'hooligan, rough fellow'; S. *hotel*, T. *otel*. Of this variation, Lopez says:

It is believed that the actualization of *h* in T., where in modern Spanish it is mute, may be attributed to the influence of Andalusian speech where *h* is pronounced due to the predominance of Spaniards from . . . Andalusia who settled in the Philippines during the Spanish regime. (1973: 743)

There are examples of S. *h* becoming T. *g*: T. *laguerta* is from S. *la huerta* 'the orchard' (vide T. *lamesa*, from S. *la mesa*, 'the table'); *vihuela* 'guitar', T. *bigwela*.

2.13. More than one consonant letter in S. corresponded by one letter in T:

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. S. c(a, o, u), q (u), | T. k |
| 2. S. c(e, i), s, z, | T. s |
| 3. S. g(e, i), j; (h), | T. h; (h or ϕ) |
| 4. S. f, p, | T. p |
| 5. S. v, b, | T. b |
| 6. S. r, rr | T. r |

For examples of S. *q* becoming T. *k* we have S. *queja* 'complaint', T. *keha*, and S. *quilate* 'karat', T. *kilates* (pl. form). For S. *c* (*a, o, u*) becoming *k*, see examples in 2.1.

For examples of S. *c* (*e, i*) becoming T. *s*, see examples in 2.1; for S. *s* remaining *s*, see 1.1; for S. *z* becoming *s*, we have S. *zapatero* 'shoemaker', T. *sapatero*, and S. *zaguan* 'entrance hall', T. *sagwan*, defined in Panganiban's *Talasalitaan* as 'paddle' but from my experience as a child I know to be that part of a (big) house that is the entrance hall right after the main door of a two-story house.

For examples of S. *g* (before *e, i, j*, and *h*, all becoming *h* in T, we have S. *general* 'general'; S. *giro* (in *giro postal*) 'money order', T. *hiro* (postal).

For examples of S. *p*, remaining T. *p*, see 1.1. For S. *f* becoming T. *p*, we have S. *fandanguero* 'dizzy' from the other, familiar meaning of *fandango* meaning 'noise' becoming T. *pandanguero* with the meaning of 'one who plays fandango music'; S. *fogon*, T. *pugon*.

For examples of S. *b* remaining T. *b*, see 1.1; for S. *v* becoming T. *b*, we have S. *voz* 'voice', T. *bozes* (plural form), S. *vuelta* 'return, turn', T. *buwelta*.

For the T. correspondence of S. *r*, see 1.1 (and footnote 29). For S. *rr* becoming T. *r*, we have S. *garrote* 'club, cudgel', T. *garrote* (v) 'to beat'; S. *carreton* 'cart', T. *kariton*;

S. *carromata* 'rig', T. *karumata*; S. *garrafa* 'decanter', T. *garapa* 'small bottles'; S. *garra-
fon* 'large decanter', T. *garapon* 'glass container for sugar, biscuits, etc.'; S. *arras* 'wedding
gift', T. *aras* 'coins used in the wedding ceremony'.

Barrio (var. *baryo*, *baryo*) seems to be one SLAT, aside from personal and geogra-
phic names, that is spelled with its original double *r*.

2.14. S. Consonant letters represented by their original letters as well as by their T. corres-
pondences:

1. S. *ch*, T. *ts*, *s*, and S. *ch*
2. S. *ll*, T. *ly* and S. *ll*
3. S. *ñ*, T. *ny* and S. *ñ*
4. S. *rr*, T. *r* and S. *rr*
5. S. *x*, T. *ks*, *s* and S. *x*
6. S. *z*, T. *s*, and S. *z*

These letters, *ch*, *ll*, *n*, *rr*, *x*, and *z*, together with *c*, *j*, and *q*, have been designated as
letters used solely for spelling unassimilated 'foreign words and personal and geographical
names that must be retained in their original and/or orthography and sound, unless there
is a [established] local or native version'.⁹

S. *ch* is T. *ts*, and often T. *s* in initial position, inasmuch as there are no consonant
clusters in T. Native speakers have difficulty pronouncing even the *ch* Tagalog equivalent
ts in initial position, where it must be pronounced as a cluster, but which can be phoneti-
cally syllabified in medial position. The *t* in *ts* is syllabified with the vowel (sometimes
with the consonant) ending the preceding syllable. For example, S. *chapin* 'slipper', T.
sapin, and S. *chocolate*, T. *sikolate*, *sokolate* (*tsokolate*, representing a sophisticated
pronunciation), but S. *salchicha* 'sausage', T. *salsitsas* (*sal-sit-sas*) and S. *chucheria* 'trifle,
tidbit', t. *sitsirya* (*sit-sir-ya*). The *sp* of these last two words is indicated by *saltsitsas* or
even *salchichas*, and by *tsitserya* or *chicherya*, respectively.

A lone word spelled with the original *ch* is *Chabacano*, a Philippine creole language,
the name probably having originated from the S. word *chabacano*, meaning 'rude, rough',
the adjective the Spaniards must have used to describe the pidgin Spanish which is
Chabacano: 'rude, rough Spanish'.

Personal names like *Chavez*, *Sanchez*, must, however, be written in their original
spelling, according to the INL rules of both 1962 and 1971.

S. *ll* is spelled in T. as *ly*, but in the case of S. words where the *ll* is pronounced *y*,
is spelled with *y*.¹⁰ The pronunciation of *ll* as *y*, called *yeismo*, has left a number of
words in SLAT, like T. *kabayo* (from S. *cabayo* <S. *caballo* 'horse'), T. *sibuyas* (from S.
ceboyas <S. *cebollas* 'onions'), T. *yano* (from S. *yano* <*llano* 'plain, simple'), but the
majority of *ll* words are spelled in SLAT with T. *ly*: S. *calle* 'street', T. *kalye*; S. *callejon*
'narrow street', T. *kalyehon*; S. *toalla* 'towel', T. *tuwalya*; S. *llamado* 'popular racehorse', T.
lyamado; S. *pillo* 'naughty', T. *pilyo*; S. *camilla* 'narrow portable bed', T. *kamilya*; S.
paella 'rice dish with chicken, vegetables, etc.', T. *paelya*.

⁹INL 'Guiding principles for a nationally uniform orthography of all Philippine
languages', Feb. 28, 1962, Rule w, and INL 'The alphabet and rules on spelling of the
Pilipino National Language', October 19, 1971, Rule 4.

¹⁰Another effect of the speech of Andalusian Spaniards, Andalusia being among
'las regiones mas yeistas de España' (Navarro 1957:135).

Again personal as well as geographical names of Spanish origin are to keep their original spelling: *Llamas, Llamado, Valladolid*, etc.

S. *ñ* is spelled in T. as *ny*. Examples are: S. *pañ*o 'woolen cloth', T. *pany*ò 'kerchief'; S. *pañuelo* 'handkerchief', T. *panyuelo* 'T. *alampay*'. Again, however, personal and geographic names retain their original spellings: *Nuñez, Meñez, Las Piñas, Cataluña*.

For examples of S. *rr* becoming T. *r* see 2.13 above.

S. *x* is spelled *ks* in T. Examples are: S. *exacto* 'exact', T. *eksakto*; S. *excomunion* 'excommunication', T. *ekskomunyon*. Again, the spelling of proper names of Spanish origin like *Xeres, Roxas*, must be spelled in the original.

S. *z* is spelled *s* in T. For examples of this, see 4.6 below. Personal and geographic proper names must be written in their original spelling: *Gonzales, Chavez, Nuñez, Zabala, Zaragoza*.

2.2. Spelling of the vowels in SLAT

The vowels in SLAT are represented by the letters that reflect the changes they undergo when they are assimilated into Tagalog. The list below shows the correspondence of Spanish and Tagalog vowel letters:

Spanish	Tagalog
a	a
e	e, i Sometimes a (sais) S. seis 'six'
i	i
o	o, u
u	u

S. *a, i, and u* are spelled *a, i, u*, respectively in T., but S. *e* and *o* both undergo raising in unstressed non-final positions. The unstressed, non-final *e* in S. *atrevido* become *i* in T. *atribido* 'daring', but the *e* in both S. *negro* and S. *azogue* (where it is stressed in the first one and in final position in the other) remains *e*: T. *negro* and T. *asoge*. There are instances where the *e* in S. diphthong *ey* is *a*: S. *veinte, seis, peineta*, T. *baynte, says, payneta*, also S. *telefono, T. talepono (fp)*. S. *o* also undergoes raising in unstressed, non-final position: e.g. S. *completo, T. kumpleto*, but note S. *goma, T. goma*, and S. *antiguo, T. antigo*.

The S. vowels *i* and *u*, when unstressed, combine with each other or with other vowels to form diphthongs. They are semivowels when they occur at the end of a diphthong and are semiconsonants when they occur at the beginning.

2.3. Spelling the V-sequences and diphthongs in SLAT

As explained in the previous paragraph, certain vowel sequences are diphthongs in Spanish. Other vowel sequences are mere vowel clusters. Where *i* or *u* is stressed, it must be pronounced separately from the other vowel in the sequence.

Regarding vowel sequences in S., Lopez says:

¹¹ This must be another vestige of Andalusian pronunciation. T. Navarro gives these words among those of 'pronunciación vulgar en algunos lugares de Castilla y Andalucía' (Navarro 1957:53).

Certain V-sequences in S. which are articulated with a hiatus are diphthongs in T.: S. *suave*, T. *swabe* 'delicate, gentle'; S. *piano*, T. *pyano*, 'piano'. (1973:143).

Here Lopez does not define what constitute S. diphthongs, but only tells us how vowel sequences with a *u* and *i* are pronounced and, therefore spelled in T. He goes on to say:

This articulation in T. is also true in cases where in medial position *i* and *u* carry strong stress, especially in verbal /sic/ forms: *fianza*, T. *pyansa*, 'surety, bail, security'; S. *guia* T. *giya*, *gya* 'guide'. Similarly, with nouns S. *diario*, T. *dyaryo* 'daily newspaper'; S. *viaje*, T. *byahe*, 'journey, trip'.

Of the words containing S. vowel-sequences that Lopez gives above, only *guia* has a v-sequence with a stressed or strong *i*, and this sequence, not being a diphthong, requires a different spelling from the v-sequences that are diphthongs. While I would spell the *ia* in S. *fianza*, *diario*, *viaje*, with either *iya* or *ya*: *piyansa* (also *pyansa*) *diyariyo* (also *dyaryo*); *biyahe* (also *byahe*), I would spell S. *guia* only with *iya*, and with *i* stressed: *giya*, to distinguish it from the other SLAT spelled with *iya* but with *i* unstressed. This will prevent second-language learners of T. from pronouncing SLAT like *basiyo* as /basyo/ or /basiyo/ and *ekonomiya* as /ekonomya/ or /ekonomya/.

2.31. Spelling S. v-sequences that are diphthongs

Below are the corresponding spellings in S. and T. of the vowel sequences which are considered S. diphthongs:

S. ai, ei, oi,	T. ay, ey, oy
S. au, eu, ou	T. aw, ew,
S. ia, ie, io, iu	T. iya, ya; iyo, yo, iyo, yo, iyu, yu
S. ua, ue, uo, ui	T. wa, we, wo, wi

Examples are: S. *aire* 'air, tune, conceit', S. *baile*, 'dance', S. *reina* 'queen'; T. *ayre*, *bayle* (*bele* -fp), *reyna* (*rena* -fp), respectively; S. *veinte* 'twenty', T. *beynte*, *baynte* (fp), *bente* (fp); S. *seis* 'six', T. *seys*, *sa-is*¹²; S. *oidores* 'hearers, judges', T. *oydores* (obs.)

S. *viaje* 'trip, journey', *bienes* 'property', *piorrhea*, 'pyorrhea', *viuda* 'widow', T. *biyahe*, *byahe*, *biyenes*, *byenes*, *piyorea*, *pyorea*, *pyoreya* (fp); *biyuda*, *byuda*; respectively.

S. *jaula* 'bird cage', T. *hawla*, *ha-ula* (fp), but *Paula*; S. *reuma* 'rheumatism', S. *Europeo* 'European', T. *rayuma*¹³ and T. *yuropeyo*, respectively.

S. *cuidado* 'care, attention'; *cuadro* 'frame'; *fuera* 'force, strength', *casafuego* 'matches'; T. *kuwidado*, *kwidado*; *kuwadro*, *kwadro*; *puwersa*, *pwersa*; *kasapuwego*, *kasapwego*, respectively.

2.32 Spelling of S. V-sequences that are not diphthongs

2.321. The following S. v-sequences are by definition not diphthongs because they do not contain *i* or *u*:

S. ea — (S. <i>pasear</i> 'to take a walk'; S. <i>real</i> 'a Spanish coin'
S. <i>teatro</i> 'theater'; S. <i>ideal</i> 'ideal')

¹²The hyphen represents a glottal stop. See below, Sec. 3.

¹³Andalusian pronunciation of *e* = *a*, and then *au* > *ay*, hence, T. *rayuma*.

¹⁴In fp, *eu* > *yu*, *eo* > *yo*; hence T. *yuropeyo* (See Navarro 1957:68).

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- S. eo – (S. *peon* ‘unskilled laborer’; *leon* ‘lion’)
 S. ao – (S. *sarao* ‘soiree, evening party’; *caoba* ‘mahogany tree’; *caos* ‘chaos’)
 S. oa – (S. *cloaca* ‘sewer’; *toalla* ‘towel’)

In a S. syllable containing two vowels, one a peak and the other a satellite (Hockett’s terms), as in *peón*, Tagalog uses two syllables thus: S. CVVC > T. CV – CV(C): S. *peon* > T. *pi-yon*; but also *pyon*; S. *leon*, T. *liyon* (T. *layon* (fp) – must be the Andalucian *a* in place of *e* as explained elsewhere in this paper), *lyon*. The change from *eo* > *yo* (as also *êa* > *ya*, and *oa* > *wa*) is described by Tomas Navarro as the speech of uncultured persons (*el habla popular*) and also happens ‘abundantemente en America hasta en la pronunciacion de las personas cultas’. When words containing these vowel clusters have heavy functional load, the *iyo* (*yo*), *iya* (*ya*), *uwa* (*wa*) pronunciation is general; thus we have *pasiyal*, *pasyal*; *piyon*, *pyon*; *tuwalya*, *twalya*, but words that have low functional load and are known only to the cultured have both the sophisticated as well as the folk pronunciation, thus: T. *teatro* (sp) *tyatro* (fp); (Cine) *Ideal*, *Idyal*; which pronunciations are reflected in the spelling. *Joaquin* is pronounced T. /hwakin/ or /huwakin/ and would be phonetically written the same way but for the INL orthographic rule about personal and geographic proper names being spelled in the original language; hence, *Joaquin*.

2.322. The following v-sequences do not by definition constitute diphthongs in Spanish because the *i* or *u* in them are stressed, but since in SLAT they are spelled as T. diphthongs, provision must be made to differentiate their spelling so that this may reflect the difference between folk and sophisticated pronunciation:

- S. ia – (S. *guia* ‘guide’; *via* ‘way’; *Mesias* ‘the Messiah’)
 S. io – (S. *genitio* ‘crowd, throng’)
 S. ai – (S. *caida* ‘fall ; part of a house’)
 S. au – (S. *baul* ‘large trunk’)

In such vowel sequences, ‘se usa la tilde para deshacer un diptongo: *raíz*, *baúl*, *laúd*, *gentío*, etc. (Cardenas 1961: 566). Thus, there are two syllables in the first three words and three in *gentío*. T. uses *iya* (*ya*), *iyo* (*yo*), and *ay* for the S. *ia*, *io*, and *ai*, respectively, the same spelling used to represent diphthongs. T. folk pronunciation is reflected by the spelling *gya*, *vya*, *Mesyas*. The separate vowels in S. *baúl* is reflected in SLAT by a glottal stop before *u*, and indicates this in spelling by a hyphen; T. *ba-ul*.

2.4. *Spelling the Consonant Clusters in SLAT*

The consonant clusters in S. have two spellings as SLAT: the spelling which represents fp and that which represent sp. Because there are no consonant clusters in T. or in any Philippine language for that matter, Filipinos who are naive in foreign languages have difficulty pronouncing consonant clusters especially if they come in initial position. Those Filipinos who speak either Spanish or English can pronounce consonant clusters without difficulty.

In initial position, folk pronunciation breaks the cluster by inserting a vowel between the consonants in the cluster, the vowel being that which follows the cluster; for instance S. *brazo*, T. *ba-ra-so*, or *baraso* (fp), but *braso* (sp); S. *tren* T. *teren* (fp), *tren* (sp); S. *frito*, T. *pirito* (fp), *prito* (sp).

In medial position consonant clusters are broken by syllabifying the first member of the cluster with the preceding syllable leaving only one consonant in the succeeding syllable. For example, S. *negro* – T. *neg-ro*; S. *abrigo*, – T. *ab-rigo*; S. *atrevido* – T.

at-ribido. This phonetic syllabication is common with folk pronunciation; it is not usual with sophisticated pronunciation inasmuch as knowledge of both S. and E. has made it easy for those speakers to produce consonant clusters.

A problem that arises with the *sp* spelling of consonant clusters is the use of Tagalog infixes with this spelling. For example how would T. *prito* take the infix *-in-*? *prito* + *-in-* *pinrito*? or *prinito*? With *pirito*, it is easier and the resulting word seems the more usual: *pirito* + *-in* = *pinirito*. *Pinirito*, which is based on the fp *pirito* is, however, both *sp* and *fp*.

The following SLAT are considered substandard or fp: *palatito*, *porbinsya*, *tarabaho*, or *tarbaho*, *tarankaso*, *parasko*, *kilyente*, from S. *platito* 'saucer', *provincia* 'province', *trabajo* 'work', *trancaso* 'influenza', *frasco* 'small bottle', and *cliente* 'client'. *Porbinsya*, *tarbaho* and *kilyente* look like cases of metathesis, but they are more likely the result of the elision of a vowel so common in T., like T. *kitlan* from *kitilan* 'cut, kill'; *tangnan* 'hold'. First, the consonant cluster in SLAT *probinsya*, *trabaho*, *kilente* was broken by the insertion of the vowel in the syllable containing the cluster thus: *porbinsya*, *tarabaho*, *kilyente*. Fast speech elided the second vowel resulting in *porbinsya*, *tarbaho*, *kilyente*.

The problem connected with spelling SLAT consonant clusters is whether to accept both spellings representing fp and sp.

3.0 Part 3. *Problems of orthography relating to SLAT; suggestions for solutions*

Among the problems to be threshed out in Tagalog orthography and Pilipino orthography are (1) the problem of diacritical marks for orthographic accent, (2) the related problem of representing the glottal stop, (3) the problem of differentiating the spelling of vowel clusters of S. that are not diphthongs from that of vowel clusters that are, (4) the problem of too many variant spellings.

3.1. *The problem of indicating the orthographic accent*

Orthographic accent is indicated in Tagalog and Pilipino by the use of diacritical marks, the acute accent, ´, the grave, ` , the circumflex, ^, and no mark.

The acute accent mark is placed over the vowel of the syllable to indicate the stressed syllable; e.g. *buháy* 'alive', *talagá* 'indeed', *maliít*, 'small', *labí* 'remainder'. It is omitted whenever the stress falls on the penultima; e.g. *buhay* 'life', *dalaga* 'maiden'. Syllable stress other than that in the final syllable, which is indicated, and that in the penultima, which is unmarked, 'may be found - (a) in combination with the acute stress, in which all the stresses are marked, like *káwanihán* 'bureau', *náriritó* 'is (are) here', or (b) in combinations with the penultimate", where again the penultima is not marked: *táhanan* 'home', *mákita* 'be seen' (Panganiban 1970: xiii).

The grave accent mark ` is 'placed on the end vowel that takes a glottal stop sound': *batà*, *binatà*, *labì*, *paglalahò*, 'child, young man, lip, disappearance', respectively. Again the penultima is not marked. Where, however, the final syllable is stressed and at the same time the vowel in it takes a glottal stop, the circumflex accent mark is used. As Panganiban explains, the circumflex accent mark is not 'to be considered a third accent', by which he means it is, like the acute and the grave accent marks, not indicative of degree of stress, but merely a means of indicating the coincidence of the syllable stress and the glottal stop on one and the same syllable. The circumflex accent mark,

would, for instance, contrast with the acute accent and with the grave accent, as in the following examples of the homograph *baga*.

1. Stressed on the last syllable: *baga'* 'question particle'
2. Stressed on the last syllable and the vowel in that syllable taking a glottal stop: *baga̰* 'an abscess'
3. Cf. Stressed on the penultima, with the vowel on the ultima taking a glottal stop: *baga̰* 'lungs'
4. Cf. Unmarked: *baga* 'live coal'

Should orthographic accent be indicated? If it is to be optional, and a writer omits it, should there be no exceptions? How should the exceptions apply to SLAT? When should orthographic accent be used in SLAT?

3.2. *The related problem of indicating the glottal stop*

The glottal stop coming between a consonant and a vowel is indicated by a hyphen (INL 1971: Rule 8). That this hyphen is optional is indicated by the examples the INL gives: *pag-asa*, *pagasa*; *pag-ibig*, *pagibig*; *mag-alis*, *magalis*; *mag-ingat*, *magingat*.

With regard to T. words like the examples given, there are minimal pairs where the indication of the glottal stop would make a semantic difference. One such minimal pair is found in the examples given above: *mag-alis* and *magalis*. *Magalis* depending on the context could mean (1) 'to remove' and that would be the word spelled with the glottal stop indicated: *mag-alis*. It could mean (2) 'full of sarna' and that would be the word spelled without the glottal stop diacritic or symbol: *magalis* (the prefix *ma-* and the root *galis*). Many such examples could be found in Tagalog. Another pair comes to mind which is not exactly minimal: *pag-iba* 'a change' and *pagiba* 'in a razing manner'. Of course in *pag-ibá* the last syllable has the acute accent mark on *a* while in *pagibá*, the second *a* has a circumflex mark. The hyphen should, therefore, not be optional as a symbol of the glottal stop.

What is the problem in indicating the glottal stop in SLAT? Are there assimilated Spanish loans whose meanings would be different because of the presence or absence of the glottal stop symbol?

3.3. *The problem of spelling S. vowel clusters in SLAT*

As explained in 2.322, there are vowel clusters in S. that are diphthongs and vowel clusters that are not. The vowel clusters that are not diphthongs should not be pronounced as if they were. Pronouncing the non-diphthongal clusters as diphthongs marks folk pronunciation. Sophisticated pronunciation separates the cluster as two vowels. Another pronunciation separates the two vowels with a glottal stop. How should these pronunciations be spelled?

3.4. *The problem of too many variant spellings*

3.41 *The addition of f and v among the letters that may spell common words.*

The letters *f* and *v* are among the eleven foreign letters that have been added to the Pilipino alphabet by the INL proposal of October 19, 1971, but the INL rules for spelling do not include them among those foreign letters that are to spell only unassimilated English or Spanish words and proper names and geographic names. This will mean that with the exception of those loan words that have long-established spellings, we can now spell SLAT that have *f* and *v* not only with *p* and *b* but also with *f* and *v*. A word like S.

fugitivo, containing *f* and *v*, would have four spellings as a SLAT: *puhitibo*, *puhitivo*, *fuhitivo*, and *fuhitibo*, where formerly there was only one: *puhitibo*. *S. veintinueve*, which formerly had only two variant spellings as a SLAT – *beyntinuwebe* and *beyntinwebe* – would now have eight: *beyntinuwebe* and *beyntinwebe*; *veyntinuweve* and *veyntinweve*; *veyntinuwebe* and *veyntinwebe*; *beyntinuweve* and *beyntinweve*¹⁵.

3.42. *The three INL-accepted spellings of the high-front glide and of the high-back glide.* When finally the INL added the eleven ‘foreign’ letters to the Pilipino alphabet, it also added to the spelling rules three accepted alternative spellings of the high front glide (the INL *iy*, the mass media *i*, and the phonemic *y*) and of the high-back glide (the INL *uw*, the mass media *u*, and the phonemic *w*). We have seen in the *veintinueve* example how two variant spellings of the high back glide *u* has increased the spelling variants of the SLAT *beyntinwebe* (see footnote 15 for the other variants). Let us see how the three accepted variant spellings of the high-front glide *i* affect the number of variant spellings of a word. With a word that has no other sound which may be spelled in more than one way, like *S. ocioso*, there will be three: *osiyoso*, *osioso*, *osyoso*. Let’s take the word *S. farmacia*, which may now be spelled with either *f* or *p*. We have *parmasiya*, *parmasia*, *parmasya*; *farmasiya*, *farmasia*, *farmasya* – six spellings. With *S. fotografía*, we have *fotografiya*, *fotografía*, *fotografya*; *fotograpiya*; *fotografía*, *fotografya*; *potografīya*, *potografía*, *potografya*; *potograpiya*, *potografía*, *potografya* – twelve spellings.

Too many variant spellings make it difficult for even the native speaker to handle the written language and for the second language learner doubly hard to read and write it. It is true that the INL has provided that the ‘most commonly used spelling is the preferred spelling’, but how is a native speaker to know that a certain spelling is the most commonly used? And if this is not easy for the native speaker, the more difficult it is going to be the second-language learner. This state of affairs would be a far cry from the one-to-one correspondence between the spoken and written language for which the Pilipino alphabet is justly famous. English, reputed to be the most difficult language to spell, is more consistent and has at the most only two variants for some patterns: *s* or *z* for *civilization*; *s* or *c* for *practice*; *or* or *our* for *honor*, *labor*, etc.

4.0 Part 4. *Suggestions for the solution of the problems*

4.1. *What I would do with the orthographic accent.* With reference to the use of the orthographic accent, I would, like the INL (INL 1971: Rule 7), leave the marking of accentuation to be an optional matter. In written discourse and even in dictionary entries I would leave it out and leave the orthographic accent as one of the matters for which a dictionary is consulted about a word. I would, however, in the case of homographs differing only in the matter of diacritical accents, mark the homograph so as to immediately disambiguate the sentence where it is found. Let me use in sentences Panganiban’s example of a word which can have four different meanings because of differing orthographic accents. The homograph is *kaibigan*.

1. Ito ang kanilang *kaibigan*. (Unmarked: ‘friend’)
2. Ito ang kanilang *kaibigán*. (‘desire, preference’)
3. Ito ang kanilang *káibigán*. (‘mutual consent’)
4. Ito ang kanilang *kâibigan*. (‘sweetheart’)

¹⁵ Actually, with the INL 1971 proposal of spelling the highback glide three different ways – INL *uw*, mass media *u*, and phonemic *w*, there would be twelve. The mass media *u* is not given in these examples.

Marking homographs diacritically would help the reader's comprehension. R. A. Reyes Jose (1939:6) gives a similar instance of the need for diacritical marks for easier comprehension and gives *magnanakaw* as the word that must be disambiguated. He, however, advocated diacritic marking for all words.

4.2. Although I would leave orthographic accent unindicated except for homographs that must be disambiguated, I would mark the glottal stop where it is obligatory and for purposes of dialectology where it is not phonemic. For purposes of SLAT, however, it is merely the latter purpose which would be served by the glottal stop symbol. For instance, the SLAT of the S. *laurel* and *jaula* are pronounced /la^ʔurel/ and /ha^ʔula/, respectively. This pronunciation is to be indicated by using a symbol for the glottal stop. Instead of using the hyphen to indicate the presence of the glottal stop between vowels, I would use both the grave accent mark and the hyphen – the grave accent on the first vowel and the hyphen to separate the two vowels. In a SLAT made up of a T. prefix ending in a consonant and a S. assimilated loan as the other part of the SLAT, I would use only the hyphen. Actually, here the glottal stop may or may not be present and where it is present, it is not indicative of a dialect form or of folk pronunciation and here, the glottal stop may be optionally marked. E.G. *Mag-abrigo* may also be written *magabrigo*.

Likewise, to separate a Tagalog prefix *ma*, *na*, from a SLAT word beginning with a vowel and prevent it from being mistaken as a Tagalog diphthong *ay*, *oy*, *ey*, *iy*, *aw*, *yu*, etc., the hyphen and the grave accent mark would be used to separate what would otherwise become vowel clusters or diphthongs; e.g.

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| na + S. embargo, T. | ná-imbargo, not naymbargo, which would be difficult to understand |
| napaka + S. ocioso, T. | napaka-usyoso (where the hyphen is used only to separate the prefix from the rest of the word), making the word more easily comprehended as against napakawusyoso. |
| naka + S. invento, T. | naka-imbento (like napaka-usyoso), is more easily understood than a possible nakaymbento. |

4.3. *Spelling S. ia and io in SLAT so as to distinguish between ia and io as diphthongs and as mere vowel clusters with the vowels to be separately pronounced.* The Tagalog spelling *iya*, *iyo* may represent the S. v-cluster *íá* and *íó*, which are not diphthongs since the *i* is stressed, provided the *iya*, *iyo* spelling for these clusters is stressed on the *i*. E.g. S. *economía*, T. *ekonomiáya*; S. *vacío*, T. *basíyo* as against S. *penitencia*, T. *penitensiya*, *penitensya*; S. *diccionario*, T. *diksiyunariyo*, *diksyunaryo*. Moreover, the *íya*, *íyo* spelling cannot have the variants *ya* and *yo*, which are allowed for the diphthongs: T. *penitensya* and *diksiunaryo* (phonemic spelling).

Attention to the diacritic marking of *iyo* and *iya* in SLAT would prevent folk pronunciation like /bwéndya/ (rather than/bwendíya/ for S. *Buendía*; and /potográpya/ (rather than/potograpiya/ for S. *fotografía*; /éspya/ (rather than/espíya) for S. *espía*.

Note, however, the following exceptions, which usage has established as accepted:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| S. <i>lotería</i> , | T. <i>loteriya</i> , <i>loterya</i> , <i>loteria</i> |
| S. <i>mejoría</i> | T. <i>mehoriya</i> , <i>mehorya</i> , <i>mehoria</i> |
| S. <i>librería</i> | T. <i>libreriya</i> , <i>librerya</i> , <i>libreria</i> . |
| S. <i>barrilla</i> 'loose change', | T. <i>bariya</i> , <i>barya</i> , <i>baria</i> |
| (where ll = y) | |

4.4. *What to do with the spelling of consonant clusters*

Both spellings of consonant clusters will be entered in the dictionary, with the spelling representing fp listed after the sp spelling and described as the spelling that reflects fp pronunciation of the word. The fp spelling will also be made an entry in the dictionary and properly described as the fp spelling variant. A cross reference will refer the dictionary user to the sp spelling.

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