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Guinaang Kalinga texts

C. Richard Gieser, comp.; Fe T. Otones, Austin Hale, series eds.

Appendix D Morphophonemics 119–120



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Appendix D: Morphophonemics

1. Concerning certain pronouns

When certain set II pronouns occur with the verbal suffixes -on and -an, the following are the results:

First person singular: -o' and -a'
 Second person singular: -om and -am
 Third person singular: -ona and -ana
 First person plural: -ommi and -ammi

Also, with the verb form an 'say', the same process is seen.

The first person singular pronoun -a' in sets I and IV has the following variants: -a' following a, -ya' following i, and -wa' following u.

The two first person singular variants, -o and ', in set II occur as follows: -o follows a final consonant, and ' occurs following a final vowel.

The two second person singular variants, -no and -m, in set II occur as follows: -no follows a consonant, and -m follows a vowel.

2. Concerning the verbal suffixes -on and -an

The suffix -on has four variants: -on follows a form having a final -a; -yon follows final -i; -won follows final -u; and -on follows a final consonant.

The suffix -an similarly has four variants: -an follows final -a; -yan follows final -i; -wan follows final -u; and -an follows a final consonant.

3. Concerning the conjunction ot

The connective ot has four variants. ot [ʔot] occurs as a free form. The other three variants occur as clitic forms: -wot following a form with final u (e.g., kayu=wot in text 1, sentence 14), -yot following a form with final i (e.g., ili=yot in text 1, sentence 15), and -ot following a form with a final consonant (e.g., bayas=ot in text 7, sentence 2).

4. Concerning the link on

The linking particle on has three variants: on, -a, and -n. The first occurs as a free form, as illustrated in gingami on iGuinaang in text 1, sentence 27. The second variant, -a, occurs as a clitic following consonant-final forms, as in amin=a ili in text 3, sentence 6, and the third variant, -n, occurs as a clitic following vowel-final forms, as in duwa=n bilig in text 1, sentence 5. Note that in numbers -n assimilates to the initial consonant of the following form, for example, duwa=m pulu (two=LK unit.of.ten) 'twenty' in text 9, sentence 8.

5. Assimilation in affixation

For a fuller description of the morphophonemics of Guinaang Kalinga, see Gieser 1970. For the purposes of this paper, however, the following note is given:

Whenever the final -n of an affix occurs before a bilabial or a velar sound, it assimilates to the point of articulation of that sound; that is, it becomes -m before a bilabial sound or -ng before a velar sound. The affixes primarily involved in this process are the prefixes man- and in- and the infix -in-. Also, when -n of an affix occurs before l, it becomes l; before w, w; and before y, y.

6. The irregular verb -owá 'do/make'

This verb has been seen to have the following inflected forms:

oón (from owá + OF suffix -on) 'to do/make something'

iningwá (from owá + OF infix -in-) 'did/made something'

(Note that the expected form would be ingwá as in text 11, sentence 15; however, for reasons we do not know, the form commonly heard is iningwá.)

ma'wá (from STAT prefix ma- + owá) 'it can be done/made, it can be, it is possible'

mangwá (from agentive prefix mang- + owá) 'one who does/makes'

7. Contractions

When following a vowel-final form, the determiners nan and dit can contract to -n or -t respectively, thus forming the final phoneme of the preceding form. Examples are siya=t (from siya + dit) in text 1, sentence 24, and i=baun=dat (from ibaunda + dit) and mi=pa=uli=n (from mipauli + nan) in text 1, sentence 33.

When dit follows the subordinating particle pon, the contraction pot results. For examples see text 1, sentences 27 and 29.

Other contractions that occur include the following:

pogay (from pon + agay) in text 15, sentence 23

anogay (from ano + agay) in text 15, sentence 14

magay (from man + agay) in text 15, sentence 25

anobo (from ano + abo) in text 15, sentence 29

anobos (from ano + abos) in text 15, sentence 30

siyabos (from siya + abos) in text 16, sentence 10

anogat (from ano + agay + dit) in text 17, sentence 7

mat (from man + dit) in text 17, sentence 10

annabos (from anna + abos) in text 18, sentence 57

magat (from man + agay + dit) in text 19, sentence 13