

MORPHOPHONEMICS OF CASIGURAN DUMAGAT (AGTA)

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 N~~a~~ December 1965

1. Assimilation
2. Replacement
3. Reduction
4. Phenomena of the i- prefix
5. Phenomena of words ending in h
6. Irregular/rare types of morphophonemic changes
7. Stress shift

1. ASSIMILATION

1.1. Phenomena of n.

When the consonant n occurs medial or final in a word, and is followed by the consonants m, b, p, k, or g, it assimilates to the point of articulation of those consonants.

kɨbɨl + -in- = kɨmbɨl took, carried

ʔangɨn + koʔ = ʔangɨng koʔ I go(to get)

1.2. Phenomena of <mang->

When the ~~prefixes~~ ~~mang-~~ <mang-> prefixes are affixed to a stem beginning with the consonant s, or any stop except g, the velar nasal of the prefix assimilates to the point of articulation of that consonant, and the consonant itself is dropped.

mang- +	{	sábkal =	manábkal	to chant, sing
		paná?	mamaná?	to shoot an arrow
		bunó?	mamunó?	to commit murder
		tabúg	manabug	to drive game with dogs
		dikán	manikán	to cook meat
		kágkag	mangágkag	to dry in the sun

2. REPLACEMENT

2.1. Change from o to u, and e to i.

Whenever the mid close vowels o and e occur in closed syllables, if the syllable opens due to affixation, these vowels will be replaced by their high close counterparts, u and i.

gamót	=	gamutín	to treat sickness
bísóg	=	bísug ík	I am full
digét	=	digitá?	the sea there
bígés	=	bígisá?	the rice there
déklan	=	dikíl	big

2.11. The -um- infix

Under the above rule, the -um- changes to -om- when the i vowel drops out (as discussed in paragraph 3.1).

g i b i k	} + -um- =	g ó m b i k	to draw near
l i d i p		l ó m d i p	to swim under water
ʔ i l i d		ʔ ó m l i d	to sink

2.12. The -in- infix

Under the above rule, the -in- changes to -en- when the i vowel drops out of the stem.

ʔ i d e m	} + -in- =	ʔ e n d e m	to loan
l i b u g		l e l u g	to quarrel
k i t ó l		k e n t ó l	to cut wood

2.2. Replacement of the low open vowels o and e.

2.21. Whenever a stem-final o is suffixed, the o changes to aw.

d**i**l**o**ʔ + -in = d**i**l**aw**i**n** to hit the target

l**i**s**o**ʔ + -an = l**i**s**aw**a**n** hiding place

2.22. Whenever a stem-final e is suffixed, the e changes to ay.

ʔ**a**ng**e**ʔ + -an = ʔ**a**ng**ay**a**n** place one is going to

b**i**l**e**ʔ + -an = b**i**l**ay**a**n** place of houses

2.3 Replacement of o by w, and of i by y.

When i and o become non-syllabic (by affixation on the stem in which they occur), they are replaced by y and w respectively.

baté?	+	-an	=	batyán	hearing
saniké?	+	-an	=	sanikyán	shameful
luás	+	-um-	=	lumwás	to go outside
bitó?	+	ka-	-an	=	kabétwan riverbed

3. Reduction

3.1. Reduction of i (pepet vowel).

3.11. When the suffix -in, 'objective focus' is added to a glottal final stem, the vowel of the suffix drops.

tókso?	+	-in	=	tókson	to fool him
kági?	+	-in	=	kagin	to say to him
bába?	+	-in	=	baban	to carry it on your back

3.12. In a stem with final -CVCVC, with a i as second V, the i ~~axi~~ drops out when the stem is suffixed.

ʔadíg	+	-en	=	ʔadgén	to turn your back on
ʔidíp	+	-in	=	ʔidpín	to put out a light
ʔulís	+	-an	=	ʔólsan	to cover with a blanket
dikál	+	-an	=	déklan	to make it big

3.13. When the first syllable of a stem is open, and it has i as its peak, the i will drop out when the stem is prefixed or infixed.

dɪlɔʔ	+	-in-	=	dɪnlɔʔ	to hit the target
kɪrɛt	+	-um-	=	kómret	to strike a match
sɪbúk	+	mang-	=	manbúk	rooting of a pig
ʔɪman	+	mag-	=	magmán	to chew the betel chew
kɪyóg	+	pə-	=	pakyóg	to be bent over
kɪmɪd	+	CV _r - -en	=	kɪkmɪdén	spilled blood

3.2. Reduction of other vowels

The following are irregular cases we have found in which pairs of vowels coming together have reduced to one vowel.

3.21. By affixation

a - a = a

maka-ʔaláp	=	makaláp	to be able to get
pa-ʔasawáʔ	=	pasawáʔ	married couple

a - i = e

ma-ʔítaʔ	=	métaʔ	to see
pa-ʔinóm	=	pénom	to cause to drink

a - u = ɔ

pa-ʔutáng	=	pɔtáng	to loan
ʔa-ʔulitɔʔ	=	ɔlitɔʔ	single man

e - u = o

ʔude-ʔudén	=	ʔudóden	rain and rain
ʔude-ʔudék	=	ʔudódek	to climb and climb

1 - a = e

míkí-[?]agéd = míkégéd to beg

1 - i = i

ní-[?]ibút = nibút to throw away

1 - i = e

sólí-[?]ín = sólén to return it

3.22. Between words

a - a = a

íba [?]a [?]ágtá = íba [?]ágtá a different negrito

ta [?]agés = tagés location particle plus place name

e - a = a

de [?]ápo mo[?] = dépo mo[?] your grandparents

de [?]amáy ko[?] = demáy ko[?] my uncle (and aunt)

i - a = a

ti [?]amáy ko[?] = tamáy ko[?] my uncle

ti [?]ápo ko[?] = tápo ko[?] & my grandparent

i - a = e

ti [?]áka ko[?] = téka ko[?] my older sibling

i - a = i

siya dín = sídín he now

siya [?]ina[?] = sí[?]iná[?] he there (near)

i - i = e

ti ʔina ko? téna ko? my mother

3.3. Reduction of Consonants. These are regular rules which always apply.

t - t = t

bigét ta? bigéta? our(dual) bananas

g - g = g

nag-gápas nagápas to harvest rice

n - m = m

diyán mo? diyámo? don't (you)

angén mo? angémo? you go (to get

The n of the particle din, 'now, already', drops out when the particle occurs medial in an utterance, if the word following it begins with a consonant other than glottal stop.

nalúktut ~~dx~~ dí sidé? they were startled

pinana na dí tu biklát he shot a python

3.4. Reduction of glottal stop

Word final glottal stop always drops when the word occurs medial in an utterance. Word initial glottal stop drops when it occurs utterance medial following a consonant.

líbru?	book
káxi tē líbru siyá?	he has a book
ʔáɡta?	negrito person
te ʔáɡta ta bilé?	there is a negrito in the house

4. PHENOMENA OF THE ʔi- PREFIX

4.1. The prefix ʔi-, 'accessory focus' can be optionally dropped when preceding the P- class of prefixes.

ʔipaktól or paktól, to cut a log for someone

ʔipangaláp or pangaláp, to go get for someone

It is never ~~kə~~ dropped off when the form of the verb is in the past tense.

nipaktól, to have cut a log for someone

4.2. When the ʔi- prefix occurs on a word whose first syllable is open, and the peak of that syllable is a i, the i is dropped (as described in paragraph 3.13), and the ʔi- prefix manifests itself as ye-.

sápaʔ ʔi- yéspaʔ betel nut in mouth

tíbúŋ ʔi- yétbung to mix in water

libíŋ ʔi- yélbíŋ to bury a body

The ʔi- prefix manifests itself in the same way when affixed to words which begin with i.

ʔigút ʔi- yégut to tie

ʔimbíg ʔi- yémbíg to lay someone near a fire

5. PHENOMENA OF WORDS ENDING IN h.

When a word ending in h is followed by a word beginning with a consonant (other than glottal stop), the vowel preceding the h will be reduplicated after the h.

kudúh	+	ko'	=	kudúhu ko'	to make magic
pagháh	+	mo'	=	pagháha mo'	to tie up a pig or deer to carry
máikíh	+	ka	=	máikíhí ka'	you are coughing

6. Irregular or rare types of morphophonemic changes:

tagipó' + míng- = mínegipó', 'to follow later'. Here the first vowel of the stem has changed from a to e.

ibút + píg- ^{pígbután} ~~-an~~ = to throw away'. This is the only case of the i vowel being dropped that we have found.

sunud + -ín = sundín, 'obey' This is the only case of the u vowel being dropped that we have found

lóktab + ípa- = ípelóktab, 'cause to spit' This is the only case we have seen where the a in the pa- prefix changes to e.

gimét + -ín = gémín, 'make it' This is the only case of the e vowel being dropped that we have found.

7. STRESS SHIFT

Whenever stress occurs on the ultima of a stem, when the stem becomes affixed, the stress occurs on the ultima of the resultant form unless the resultant form has e, o, é, or ó in a non-ultima syllable, in which case stress occurs on the

e, o, e, or o.

pahéy + -a	=	pahayá?	the rice there
bilé? + -a	=	biléa?	the house there
bunó? + -in	=	bunuín	kill it

If however, the resultant form has e or o in both the ultima and another syllable, then stress occurs on the ultima of the words in column one, and on the non-ultima of the words in column two.

column I

ídem + -in-	=	íendém	borrowed it
kátol + -in-	=	kentól	cut it

column II

kárét + -um-	=	kómret	to strike a match
ínóm + pa-	=	pénom	cause to drink
údén + CVCV _r -	=	udóden	raining and raining
ágéd + miki-	=	mikéged	to beg