

Eastern Cagayan Agta Morphophonemics

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1. Semi-vowels

1.1 Replacement of vowels by semi-vowels

When /i/ or /e/, or /u/ or /o/ become non-syllabic by the suffixation of -an on the root in which they occur, they are replaced by /y/ or /w/ respectively.

masaniki	+	-an	→	masanikyan	to be ashamed of something
madi	+	-an	→	madyan	to dislike something
ilako	+	-an	→	ilakwan	to sell something
nagipu	+	-an	→	nagipwan	to come from somewhere

1.2 Insertion of semi-vowels /y/ and /w/.

When the vowels /u/ and /i/ and /a/ occur contiguously at morpheme boundaries with the vowel /a/, the semi-vowel

/y/ or /w/ is inserted between its vowel counterpart and the /a/.

i-	+	angay	→	iyangay	to carry something (generic)
i-	+	atad	→	iyatad	to give something
katandi	+	-an	→	katandian	to know something
solli	+	-an	→	solliyan	to return something
irugi	+	-an	→	irugiyan	to begin something
magbiyu	+	-ak	→	magbiyuwak	I pound rice
matiru	+	-ak	→	matiruwak	I speak something
itoldu	+	-an	→	itolduwan	to point at something

2. Vowel Replacement, Change and Deletion

2.1 Replacement of /e/.

Whenever the mid close front vowel /e/ occurs in closed ultimate syllables, and resyllabification occurs, due to the addition of a suffix or reduplication, resulting in an open syllable, the /e/ will be replaced by its high close counterpart /i/.

kagét	+ -an	→ kagitán	to bite something
buktét	+ pag- -an	→ pagbúktitán	pregnancy (gerund)
salánep	+ pag- -an	→ pagsalánipan	hunting (gerund)
séset	+ -an	→ sésitan	to stick a thorn in something
ugét	+ R	→ ugiuget	veins

2.2 Replacement of /o/.

Whenever the mid close vowel /o/ occurs in closed ultimate syllables, if the syllable becomes open due to suffixation or reduplication, the /o/ will be replaced by its high close counterpart /u/.

dílod	+ mang- -an	→ maníludan	to send something beyond
kémot	+ ma- -an	→ makémutan	to keep something from
kambóng	+ pagi- -an	→ pagikambúngan	for containing water in glass or plastic fishing floats
talón	+ -an	→ talúnan	to work in rice fields
dílod	+ mang- + R -an	→ maniludiluden	to send something beyond the down- stream vicinity.

2.3 Coalescence of /a/ and /i/

When the prefixes pa- or ma- are followed with the prefix -i- the low central vowel (/a/) coalesces with the high close front vowel (/i/) to form the mid close front vowel (/e/).

ma- + -i- + karpes	→ mekarpes	to be tripped by something
pa- + -i- + masom	→ pemasom	to use something to cause something to slow down

2.4 Deletion of vowels

2.4.1 Deletion of /ə/.

When the vowel /ə/ is followed by the consonant /l/ in the ultimate syllable of a CVCVC word, the vowel /ə/ is deleted when the suffix -an occurs.

dakəl + maka- -an	→ makadəklan
katal + ma- -an	→ makatlan
ingal + -an	→ inglan

2.4.2 Deletion of /i/

The prefix i- may be optionally deleted when preceding any other prefix beginning with p-, when the verb is in the non-past tense.

ipatoduk or patoduk to treat someone medically

ipangalap or pangalap to get for someone

However, this prefix cannot be dropped when the form of the verb is in the past tense.

nipatoduk to have treated someone with medicine

nipangalap to have gotten for someone

2.4.3 Deletion of /a/

When /a/ is the coda of a phonological word suffixed with -an, the homophonous coda, /a/, is optionally deleted.

ipeta	+	-an	→	ipetan	to tell to someone
enta	+	-an	→	entan	to look at something

2.5 Change of /a/ to /e/

The suffix -an

The verbal suffix -an has an allomorph, -en, which occurs whenever the root to which it is affixed has a final voiced alveolar or bilabial stop.

pageknoden	instrument for sitting (chair)
pagbukaben	hole for hiding
palageden	to cause to pull something
pasogkaben	to cause to build something
maleptanan	to forget something
pataknigan	to cause something to stand
tagubetan	to chase after something

3. Assimilation

3.1 Assimilation of /n/

When the consonant /n/ occurs at morpheme boundaries, either medial or final in a word, and is followed by the consonants /m/, /b/, or /p/, the /n/ optionally assimilates to the point of articulation of those consonants.

angayan	+	mo	→	angayam mo	where are you going?
mabisag	+	-in-	→	naimbisag	was able to throw
pasnek	+	in-	→	impasnek	

When the consonant /n/ occurs at morpheme boundaries and is followed by /l/, the /n/ optionally assimilates completely.

b ₃ kan	+	la	→	bəkəlla
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3.2 Assimilation of /ng/

When a phonological word beginning with a stop is prefixed with mang- or pang-, the /ng/ assimilates to the point of articulation of the stop and the stop is deleted.

mang-	+	galgal	→	mangalgal	to cut
mang-	+	kotkot	→	mangotkot	to dig
mang-	+	bitbit	→	mamitbit	to carry with one hand
mang-	+	pisat	→	mamisat	to tear bettle nut husks
mang-	+	kanteng	→	manganteng	to be fearful
mang-	+	tagiletel	→	managiletel	to climb a steep hillside
mang-	+	dilod	→	manilod	to go beyond
mmang-	+	nakam	→	manakam	to think
mang-	+	manok	→	mamanok	to get birds

4. Glottal Insertion

The glottal stop is inserted when vowel initial words are preceded by a pause, and vowel final words are followed by a pause. Also glottal stop is inserted between vowels in vowel clusters.

laba	+	-an	laba [?] an	to launder
maki-	+	ingal	maki [?] ingal	to argue
ipa-	+	enta	ipa [?] enta	to show