THE MORPHOPHONEMICS
OF AGUSAN MANOBO

by Daniel Weaver

0. The morphophonemics of Agusan Manobo may be classified under two headings: Assimilation and Addition.

1. Prefixes ending with a nasal consonant assimilate to the same point of articulation as the initial consonant of the word base.

Word bases with an initial nasal consonant occur with the velar nasal.

The initial consonant of the word base is occasionally lost, although sometimes retained. The phonemes p, b, t, s, k, and glottal stop are usually lost.

Following the nasal consonant of the prefix in\(^1\) the initial consonant of a word base is not lost.

\(N\) is \(/n/\) before the bilabials \(/p/\) and \(/b/\).

- PAN + PANEW becomes PAMANEW to walk.
- NaN + PIKAS becomes MAMIKAS to divide lengthwise.
- PAN + BETANG becomes PAMETANG to put, to place.
- IN + BEGEY becomes IMBEGEY to give.

\(N\) is \(/n/\) before the alveolars \(/t/\), \(/d/\), \(/l/\), and \(/s/\).

- PAN + TAMPED becomes PANAMPED to cut in pieces.
- MAN + DUMADUMA becomes MANDUMADUMA to accompany.
- PAN + SABUKAN becomes PANABUKAN to untie.
- PAN + LIGAD becomes PANLIGAD to roll.
- IN + TIMBAK becomes INTIMBAK to throw.

\(^1\) \(N\) indicates the morphophonemic nasal.
N is /ŋ/ in all other environments.

- PAN + KAMUTI BECOMES PANGAMUTI TO GATHER CAMOTES.
- PAN + GULAY BECOMES PANGGULAY TO GATHER VEGETABLES.
- PAN + 'ASAWA BECOMES PANGASAWA TO MARRY.
- MAN + 'INEM BECOMES MANGINEM MANY DRINKING.
- PAN + WAKAWAKA BECOMES PANGWAKAWAKA SCATTERING SEED.
- MAN + YAGUY BECOMES MANGYAGUY MANY RUNNING.
- PAN + HAKUT BECOMES PANGHAKUT MANY CARRYING.
- PAN + NANGAN BECOMES PANGNANGAN TO TELL.
- PAN + MARKA BECOMES PANGMARKA TO MARK.
- MAN + NGISI BECOMES MANGISI² MANY LAUGHING.
- IN + KATANEM BECOMES INGKATANEM PLANTED ALREADY.

2. Following word bases ending in a vowel, the phoneme /h/ is added before the suffix.

- AMENU- + /h/ + -EN BECOMES AMENUHEN HOW, OR WHAT TO DO.
- DAE- + /h/ + -A BECOMES DAEHA TO BRING

2 When two geminate consonants occur together, there is no resulting length of consonant.
Additions to Morphology

buney + -an  humadan  rice field
beqey + -an  begadaan  girl (6.3.11)
"  + -i  begadi
himatey + -an  himatadaan  kill
"  + -i  himatadi
bentey + -an  bentadaan  wet
beqey + -an  beqadaan  foot  M.4

pig  beqadaan  4220

sakadan (6.2.21) sick
sahyan (4.5.26.72)
sikamen (M.1.56)
natilingya / natinyahan (6.5.135) (6.4.58.71)

nekey mat  du-en  what happened there?
himafey  at  manuk  I will kill the chicken.
kena d ag  penhit  I cannot climb