

I. INTRODUCTION

Amganad language is one of the six major languages spoken in the province of Ifugao. This language is spoken in six barangays with a total population of about 8,000. It is a sub-dialect of central Ifugao that partly covers three municipalities of Banaue, Hingyon, and Lagawe. Amganad language is entered in the ethnologue three-letter code as “IFA”. One of the four researchers, a speaker of the language acted as the language resource person. Still some of the data were culled from a compilation of research papers from Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) on Amganad Phonology (1963).

II. CONSONANT AND VOWELS

A. Consonant and Vowel Charts

MANNERS OF ARTICULATION	PLACES OF ARTICULATION				
	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive vl vd	π β	τ δ		κ γ	ʔ
Fricatives		(σ)			η
Nasals	μ	ν		N	
Flaps		(P)			
Liquid		λ			
Glide			φ	ω	

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
CLOSE	ɪ		ʊ
OPEN-MID	E		◻
OPEN		A	

B. Phoneme Inventory

Amganad (Ifugao) Phonemes as evidenced by Minimal Pairs (Contrast in Identical Environment) and Near Minimal Pairs (Contrast in Analogous Environments).

a. Consonants

1. /π/ vs /β/

Example:

- | | | | |
|---------------------|--------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| (1) <i>bahul</i> | ‘fault, sin’ | (6) <i>nap/lih</i> | ‘wind-swept (rice plant)’ |
| (2) <i>pahul</i> | ‘spear’ | (7) <i>babaʔ</i> | ‘my teeth’ |
| (3) <i>kaltib/</i> | ‘scissors’ | (8) <i>ʔupaʔ</i> | ‘leaves removed from
betel nut’ |
| (4) <i>kat/tip/</i> | ‘water bug’ | | |
| (5) <i>nab/lih</i> | ‘ruptured’ | | |

2. /δ/ vs /τ/

Example:

- | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------------|
| (1) <i>ʔipad/δvN</i> | ‘compare’ | (3) <i>ηaπιδ/</i> | ‘leaf used in
betel nut
chewing’ |
| (2) <i>ʔipat/δvN</i> | ‘allow to
shelter’ | | |

- | | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------|
| (4) <i>ηΑριτ/</i> | ‘speech’ | (7) <i>tudu?</i> | ‘letter’ |
| (5) <i>?od/nAv</i> | ‘hold’ | (8) <i>patal</i> | ‘to light’ |
| (6) <i>?□t/vAv</i> | ‘place on top of’ | | |

3. /δ/ vs /λ/

Example:

- | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) <i>?ΑδAvA</i> | ‘where’ | (6) <i>p□tad/</i> | ‘cuttings for planting’ |
| (2) <i>?ΑλAvA</i> | ‘he gets’ | (7) <i>b□lhE</i> | ‘separation’ |
| (3) <i>δvλvγ/</i> | ‘put in between gap’ | (8) <i>?□d/nan</i> | ‘to hold/clutch/touch’ |
| (4) <i>λvλvγ/</i> | ‘knee’ | | |
| (5) <i>patal</i> | ‘to light’ | | |

4. /κ/ vs /γ/ vs /?/

Example:

- | | | | |
|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| (1) <i>μΑκAv</i> | ‘food, edible’ | (7) <i>πΑγ/ηιN</i> | ‘pointed foot of rooster’ |
| (2) <i>μΑγAv</i> | ‘drying’ | (8) <i>τΑκ/ηιN</i> | ‘a game using flat stones’ |
| (3) <i>μΑ?Α?av</i> | ‘to remove’ | (9) <i>δΑ?γιN</i> | ‘edge, side’ |
| (4) <i>ηvλvγ/</i> | ‘to give-in’ | (10) <i>kilAt </i> | ‘lightning’ |
| (5) <i>η□λ□?</i> | ‘grass’ | (11) <i>?ilvt/</i> | ‘fixing sprains w/ hand massage’ |
| (6) <i>η□λλ□κ/</i> | ‘a man’s name’ | (12) <i>gilat </i> | ‘dread/ phobia’ |

5. /μ/ vs /ν/ vs /N/

Example:

- | | | | |
|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) <i>μΑδAv</i> | ‘be ready’ | (6) <i>banη□μ</i> | ‘you borrow’ |
| (2) <i>νΑδAv</i> | ‘readied’ | (7) <i>ban□N</i> | ‘rice field embankment’ |
| (3) <i>ΝΑδAv</i> | ‘name, what?’ | (8) <i>dam□t </i> | ‘weight’ |
| (4) <i>ΝΑδAvAv</i> | ‘to give a name’ | (9) <i>dan□p </i> | ‘cutting of weeds’ |
| (5) <i>π□δ/v□v</i> | ‘hold ones hand’ | (10) <i>daN□</i> | ‘a kind of beetle’ |

6. /η/ vs /?/ vs /O/

Example:

- | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| (1) <i>ηι</i> | ‘noun marker’ | (6) <i>μvνηvνη</i> | ‘receiving repeatedly’ |
| (2) <i>?ι</i> | ‘from (place)’ | (7) <i>μvν?vλεη</i> | ‘go slowly’ |
| (3) <i>ηivΑη</i> | ‘there’ | (8) <i>?id□h</i> | ‘python’ |
| (4) <i>?ivΑη</i> | ‘mother (animal)’ | (9) <i>?id□?*</i> | ‘my python’ |
| (5) <i>?ivA</i> | ‘mother (address)’ | (10) <i>?id□</i> | ‘red bird’ |

The null (\emptyset) has a limited distribution. It does not occur in word initial or word medial but in word final only.

7. /ω/ vs /—/

Example:

- | | | | |
|---------------------|------------|------------------|------------|
| (1) <i>wada</i> | ‘there is’ | (3) <i>gaweh</i> | ‘to reach’ |
| (2) <i>j□g/g□d/</i> | ‘swing’ | (4) <i>bajah</i> | ‘ricewine’ |

(5) *lawlaw* 'loose'

(6) *lajlay* 'to wither'

b. Vowels

1. /ɪ/ vs /E/

Example:

- (1) *ʔi* 'from (place)'
- (2) *ʔE* 'go'
- (3) *ʔivA* 'mother (address)'

- (4) *ʔEvA* 'he goes'
- (5) *μυνʔυλιη* 'sprain'
- (6) *μυνʔυλεη* 'go slow'

2. /E/ vs /A/

Example:

- (1) *ʔυμEη* 'to go'
- (2) *ʔυμAη* 'kaingin/clearing'

- (3) *β□ληE* 'separate/divorce'
- (4) *β□ληA* 'pocket'

3. /ʊ/ vs /□/

Example:

- (1) *κιδʊλ* 'thunder'
- (2) *ʔαδ□λ* 'body'
- (3) *ηυρ/ηυρ/* 'to suck'

- (4) *η□ρ/η□ρ/* 'to cover'
- (5) *ʔivAδʊη* 'spatula'
- (6) *ʔivAδ□η* 'garden in the rice field'

4. /A/ vs /□/

Example:

- (1) *η□ρ/η□ρ/* 'cover'
- (2) *ηAρ/ηAρ/* 'to chop'

- (3) *ʔivδ□?* 'to write'
- (4) *ʔivδA?* 'to send away'

C. Borrowed Words

The consonants /ρ/ and /σ/ do occur in Amganad (Ifugao), but they have not been included in this alphabet since they only occur in words borrowed from other languages. In some instances, /ρ/ and /σ/ do not change.

- Example:
- (1) [συλAτ/] (Tagalog) [συλAτ/] 'letter'
 - (2) [πEτρ□μAκσ] (English) [πEτρ□μAκ/] 'Petromax'
 - (3) [κAλAμAνσι] (Tagalog) [κAλAμAνσι] 'lemon'
 - (4) [πAδAσ] (Ilocano) [πAδAσ] 'to try'

However, in most cases, these consonants have been assimilated into the Amganad (Ifugao) language and have received the following substitutions: /λ/ for /ρ/; /τ/ in word final only and /η/ elsewhere for /σ/.

- Example:
- | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|------------|
| | Amganad (Ifugao) | |
| (1) [σAβον] (Tagalog) | [ηAβον] | 'soap' |
| (2) [κAμισετA] (Spanish) | [κAμAηηιτA] | 'shirt' |
| (3) [τAωAρ] (Ilocano) | [τAωAλ] | 'bargain' |
| (4) [σAρδινAσ] (Tagalog) | [ηAλδινAτ] | 'sardines' |
| (5) [ρAσ□ν] (Ilocano) | [λAσ□ν] | 'reason' |

D. Allophones

1. /κ/ has two allophones: [κ] and [χ]. This process is called FRONTING, since the back consonants move to a point of articulation farther to the front as a result of conditioning by high front vowels.

[χ] occurs preceding and/or following high front vowels /ι/ and /Ε/.

Example: (1) /κΑκΕ/ [κΑχΕ] 'khaki'
 (2) /πΑλτικ/ [πΑλτιχ] 'string line'

[κ] occurs preceding and/or following central and back vowels /Α/, /□/, and /υ/.

Example: (1) /κΑτκΑτ/ [κΑτ|κΑτ] 'to bring out'
 (2) /κΑττιπ/ [κΑτ|τιπ] 'rat trap'

RULE:

/κ/ → [χ]/___ [ι, Ε]
 → [κ]/ elsewhere

2. /γ/ has two allophones: [γ] and [ι]. The process that transpires here is FRONTING, since the back consonants move to a point of articulation farther to the front as a result of conditioning by high front vowels.

[ι] occurs preceding and/or following high front vowels /ι/ and /Ε/.

Example: (1) /γινΑλυτ/ [ιινΑλυτ] 'dirt'
 (2) /λΑγιμ/ [λΑ|ιμ] 'to burn feathers (of fowl)'

[γ] occurs preceding and/or following central and back vowels /Α/, /□/, and /υ/.

Example: (1) /γΑ?υδ/ [γΑ?υδ] 'shovel'
 (2) /γ□γ□δ/ [γ□γ□δ] 'slice'

RULE:

/γ/ → [ι]/___ [ι, Ε]
 → [γ]/ elsewhere

3. /λ/ has three allophones: [λ5], [ι], and [λ]. This allophonic process is conditioned by the preceding and/or following vowels.

[λ5] occurs syllable-initial preceding front vowels /ι/ and /Ε/.

Example: (1) /λιμΑ/ [λ5ιμΑ] 'five'
 (2) /βαλεη/ [βαλ5εη] 'house'

[ι] occurs syllable-final. The intensity of retroflexion varies with the position of the preceding vowel and/or a preceding back consonant. Prominent retroflexion occurs when the preceding vowel is a back vowel and a back consonant.

Example: (1) /β□λβ□λ/ [β□>β□] 'pine tree'
 (2) /?□ΝΑλ/ [?□ΝΑ] 'big/large'

[ι] also occurs syllable-initial when contiguous to itself.

Example: (1) /τυλλιτυλ/[τυ>>ιτυ] 'to writhe in pain'
 (2) /τιλλιτιλ/ [τι>>ιτι] 'to twist'

[λ] occurs syllable-initial followed by central and back vowels /Α/, /□/, and /υ/.

Example: (1) /βαλατ/ [βαλατ] 'banana'
 (2) /ηιβλ□τ/ [ηιβλ□τ] 'cursed food (that causes stomach ache)'

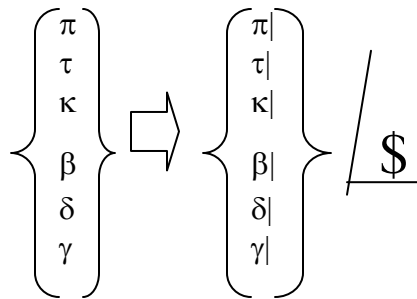
RULE:

/λ/ → [λ5]/___ [front vowels]

- [ɔ̃]/___#
- [λ]/ elsewhere

4. The voiced and voiceless plosives of Amganad (Ifugao) become unreleased in syllable-final. This occurs all over the board.

- Example:
- (1) *dalit*/ 'eel'
 - (2) *map/h□d*/ 'good'
 - (3) *dulig*/ 'to move'
 - (4) *pak/tiw* 'pepper'
 - (5) *?ul□g*/ 'snake'



III. PHONOTACTICS

Example of Syllable Patterns:

[?AτvN]	'heat, warm'	→ ?A.τvN	→ CV.CVC
[?□δ□η]	'beg'	→ ?□.δ□η	→ CV.CVC
[μvν?□δ□η]	'to beg'	→ μvν.?□.δ□η	→ CVC.CV.CVC
[vυν?□δ□η]	'begged'	→ vυν.?□.δ□η	→ CVC.CV.CVC
[δAλ□μ]	'sue'	→ δA.λ□μ	→ CV.CVC
[μvνδAλ□μ]	'to sue'	→ μvν.δA.λ□μ	→ CVC.CV.CVC
[κAvτA]	'song'	→ κAv.τA	→ CVC.CV
[μvNκAvτA]	'to sing'	→ μvN.κAv.τA	→ CVC.CV.CV
[vAλελεη]	'over stretched'	→ vA.λε.λεη	→ CV.CV.CVC
[vAλAφλAφ]	'withered'	→ vA.λAφ.λAφ	→ CV.CVC.CVC
[βεβε]	'lip sore'	→ βε.βε	→ CV.CV
[βαφβαφ]	'ocean'	→ βαφ.βαφ	→ CVC.CVC
[η□π/η□π]	'to cover'	→ η□π.η□π	→ CVC.CVC
[?ιvAδvη]	'spatula'	→ ?ι.vA.δvη	→ CV.CV.CVC
[?ιvAδ□η]	'garden in the rice field'	→ ?ι.vA.δ□η	→ CV.CV.CVC
[μvντAv□μ]	'to plant'	→ μvν.τA.v□μ	→ CVC.CV.CVC
[γA?vδ]	'shovel'	→ γA.?vδ	→ CV.CVC
[μvNγA?vδ]	'to shovel'	→ μvN.γA.?vδ	→ CVC.CV.CVC
[μA?AτAη]	'raw'	→ μA.?A.τAη	→ CV.CV.CVC

The syllable structures of Amganad (Ifugao) are: CV and CVC as attested by the examples above. These syllable types have no limitations because it can occur in all word positions: word initial, word medial and word final.

The ambiguous sequences Aφ and Aω are better treated, not as diphthongs, but as a part of a CVC cluster because there is no evidence of diphthongs in this language. Aside from that, vowel or VV clusters as well as VC clusters are not allowed.

Example:

(1) βαβαφι	‘female’	
Incorrect:	→ βα.βαφ.ι	→ CV.CV.V
Correct:	→ βα.βα.φι	→ CV.CV.CV
(2) γΑωΕη	‘to reach’	
Incorrect:	→ γΑΩ.Εη	→ CV.VC
Correct:	→ γΑ.ωΕη	→ CV.CVC

IV. STRESS

A. In Amganad (Ifugao), the stress is usually on the last syllable of the word. This is true not just for disyllabic words but also for words with three syllables.

Example:

(1) mada□n	‘be ready’	(4) μαβμαβλε□η	‘be a bit tired’
(2) tan□□m	‘to plant’	(5) pumpatε□h	‘to kill many’
(3) βαλε□h	‘house’		

For words having more than three syllables, the stress is marked on the pre-final syllable. This phenomenon requires more analysis before we can establish the factors that can account for this alternation, but the researchers are not prepared to undertake.

Example:

(1) malam□□han	‘gain flesh’	(3) haNgaha□Ngap/	‘a little machete’
(2) ?hapi□lat/	‘to lay flat on something’	(4) nakultina□han	‘had curtain on’

However, there are cases where the stress placement is on the pre-final syllable even for disyllabic words and words with three syllables.

Example:

(1) ?a□ma	‘father’	(3) ba□lat/	‘banana’
(2) ?□d□	‘red bird’	(4) tinda□luh	‘soldier’

B. **Contrastive Stress.** There are also cases where stress placement is used to differentiate meaning for homonyms.

Example:

(1) ?a□□n□n	‘remove’
?an□n	‘to eat’
(2) nahi□l□η	‘dazzled by light’
nahil□□η	‘was dark’
(3) ?u□bih	‘edible root’

?ubi□h

‘basket for a chicken’

V. MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

A. In cases where the roots end in E or □, the E becomes Aφ and the □ becomes Aω when the suffix -□v is attached. The suffix -□v is used for passive forms.

Example:

	-□v		
(1)	ηιωωE	hiwwaj□n	‘to have something separated’
(2)	?υλE	?ulaj□n	‘to be kind’
(3)	ηυ?λE	hu?laj□n	‘to have the soil be loosened’
(4)	?υγ□	?ugaw□n	‘to have the rain be stopped’
(5)	δANλ□	danlaw□n	‘to have something be made slippery’

Even in circumfixes ending in -□v like ?A-...-□v, and πA-...-□v, the change from E to Aφ and □ to Aω is still evident.

Example:	(1)	δ□κκE	?ad□k/kaj□n	‘to have someone lengthen something’
	(2)	δ□κκE	pad□k/kaj□n	‘to cause something to be lengthened’
	(3)	δANλ□	padanlaw□n	‘to cause something to be slippery’

However, in cases wherein the root is a repeated syllable, E becomes -Eφ when the suffix -□v is attached.

Example:	(1)	λEλE	lelej□n	‘to overstretch something’
	(2)	γEγE	gegej□n	‘to rock the baby’

B. In Amganad (Ifugao), the possessive pronoun suffix for 1st person singular is -?υ and the 2nd person singular suffix is -μυ.

Example:		my _____		your _____	
(1)	μυφυN	mujuη?u		mujuηmu	‘forest’
(2)	γα?υδ/	ga?ud/?u		ga?ud/μu	‘shovel’

However, when the word ends with a vowel or η, the possessive pronoun suffix for 1st person singular -?υ has two allomorphs: [-?υ] and [-?], and the possessive pronoun for 2nd person singular also has two allomorphs: [-μυ] and [-μ]. In these cases, the vowel υ in the suffix is dropped during affixation because it is weak.

Example:

(1)	ματA+?υ	→ mata?	‘my eye’
	ματA+μυ	→ matam	‘your eye’
(2)	βαλE+?υ	→ bale?	‘my house’
	βαλE+μυ	→ balemu	‘your house’
(3)	λαμ□η+?υ	→ lam□?	‘my flesh’
	λαμ□η+μυ	→ lam□m	‘your flesh’

This is also evident in the personal pronouns. The personal pronoun suffix for 1st person singular is -□? and the 2nd person singular is -□μ.

Example:		_____ + ‘I’		_____ + ‘You’	
(1)	τυπιγ	tupig□?		tupig□m	‘to stab’
(2)	η□NπAλ	h□ηpal□?		h□ηpal□m	‘to box’
(3)	πυηι?	puhi?□?		puhi?□m	‘to break’

- | | | | |
|------------|----------|----------|-----------|
| (4) ?□γAη | ?□gah□? | ?□gah□m | ‘to drop’ |
| (5) γ□λγ□λ | golgol□? | golgol□m | ‘to saw’ |

Verb roots with final syllable of CV add a glide, either ω or φ, in between them and the suffixes for 1st person singular or 2nd person singular. For roots ending in υ, w is added. For roots ending in ι and E, φ is added.

Example:

	___ + ‘I’	___ + ‘You’	
(1) λιλι	<i>lilij□?</i>	<i>lilij□m</i>	‘to explain’
(2) γAωE	<i>gawej□?</i>	<i>gawej□m</i>	‘to reach’
(3) ?υλυ	<i>?uluw□?</i>	<i>?uluw□m</i>	‘to slide’
(4) βAφυ	<i>bajuw□?</i>	<i>bajuw□m</i>	‘to pound’

In some instances, the □ is dropped when the verb root is attached to these suffixes for personal pronouns.

Example:

(1) δ□ηλ□λ	<i>d□ηl□?</i>	‘I hear’
	<i>d□ηl□m</i>	‘You hear’
(2) π□η□δ	<i>p□hd□?</i>	‘I like’
	<i>p□hd□m</i>	‘You like’
(2) πυλ□η	<i>pulh□?</i>	‘I grab’
	<i>pulh□m</i>	‘You grab’

C. The process of nasal assimilation occurs very regularly in Amganad (Ifugao). It occurs within verbal prefixes.

- Example:
- μυμπA*
 - νυμπA*
 - ιμπA*

It also occurs morphophonemically, that is, when the affixes are attached to words.

(a) μυν-, for infinitive forms

Example:

(1) μυν+?□δ□η	→ <i>μυν?□δ□η</i>	‘to beg’
(2) μυν+πAφ□η	→ <i>μυμπAφ□η</i>	‘to build rice field’
(3) μυν+βAφυη	→ <i>μυμβAφυη</i>	‘to pound’
(4) μυν+τAν□μ	→ <i>μυντAν□μ</i>	‘to plant’
(5) μυν+δAλ□μ	→ <i>μυνδAλ□μ</i>	‘to file a case’
(6) μυν+κAντA	→ <i>μυνκAντA</i>	‘to sing’
(7) μυν+γA?υδ	→ <i>μυνγA?υδ </i>	‘to shovel’

(b) ηιν-, for one (quantity)

Example:

(1) ηιν+ηAλυβ	→ <i>hinhalub/</i>	‘one ganta’
(2) ηιν+πAη□ν	→ <i>himpah□n</i>	‘one shoulder load’
(3) ηιν+βANA	→ <i>himbanηa</i>	‘one pot-full’
(4) ηιν+τAν□μ	→ <i>hintan□m</i>	‘one planting (quantity)’
(5) ηιν+δANAN	→ <i>hindanηan</i>	‘one palm width’
(6) ηιν+κAηυν	→ <i>hiηkahun</i>	‘one box-full’

- (7) ηιν+γΑμΑλ → *hiŋgamal* ‘one palm-scoop’
- (c) υν-, for past tense
Example:
- (1) υν+ηΑ??υτ| → *nunha??ut/* ‘lied’
 (2) υν+πΑλΑ → *numpala* ‘shoveled’
 (3) υν+β□λλΑδ| → *numb□llad/* ‘undressed’
 (4) υν+τΑν□μ → *nuntan□m* ‘had planted’
 (5) υν+δΑλ□μ → *nundal□m* ‘had filed a case’
 (6) υν+κΑντΑ → *nuŋkanta* ‘had sung’
 (7) υν+γΑωΕη → *nuŋgaweŋ* ‘had reached for something’
 (8) υν+μ□μΑ → *numm□ma* ‘had chewed betel nut’
 (9) υν+ν□μν□μ → *nunn□mn□m* ‘had thought’
 (10) υν+ΝΑδΑν → *nuŋhadan* ‘named’

(d) πυν-, usually used as instrument/object
Example:

- (1) πυν+ηΑπιδ| → *punapid/* ‘to use a kind of leaf in betel nut chewing’
 (2) πυν+πΑτΕη → *pumpateh* ‘to kill many’
 (3) πυν+βΑλΑ → *pumbala* ‘to use as bullet’
 (4) πυν+μ□μΑ → *pumm□ma* ‘to use as betel nut’
 (5) πυν+τΑν□μ → *puntan□m* ‘to use for planting’
 (6) πυν+δΑλυη → *pundaluh* ‘to use for cleaning’
 (7) πυν+ν□μν□μ → *punn□mn□m* ‘manner of thinking’
 (8) πυν+κΑηυ → *puŋkahu* ‘to use as one’s dog’
 (9) πυν+γΑωΕη → *puŋgaweŋ* ‘to use to reach something’
 (10) πυν+ΝΑδΑν → *puŋhadan* ‘to use as name’

VI. REDUPLICATION

A. There are words in Amganad (Ifugao) that do not have a non-reduplicated counterpart. They are inherently reduplicated.

Example:

- (1) βακ|βακ/ ‘frog’
 (2) β□γ|β□γ/ ‘a male name’
 (3) we?we? ‘crazy’
 (4) w□λw□λ ‘molar teeth’
 (5) τιτ|τιτ/ ‘animal sound (onomatopoeia)’
 (6) τυτ|τυτ/ ‘scold angrily’

B. There are two reduplication processes in Amganad (Ifugao). These two reduplication processes [termed in this paper as Reduplication 1 and Reduplication 2] apply for nouns, adjectives and verbs.

(a) For the Reduplication 1 set, this type of reduplication denotes a diminutive or miniature version of the noun. In other instances, it can also denote a pejorative sense of the noun. However, there are two alternations for this first type of reduplication. For the first alternation,

the words with CV as initial syllable take on the consonant of the next syllable to complete its reduplication. Aside from this, the consonant, which was copied, is also doubled if it is in between vowels or not in a consonant cluster.

Example:

		<u>Reduplication 1: CV</u>		
(1)	βαλεη	‘house’	βαλβαλλεη	‘playhouse’
(2)	ταλακ	‘truck’	ταλταλλακ	‘toy truck’
(3)	ηυκι	‘feet’	huk/huk/ki	‘toy feet, feet’ (pejorative sense)

For the second alternation, the words with CVC as initial syllable do not need to take on another consonant as it is already complete.

Example:

		<u>Reduplication 1: CVC</u>		
(1)	ηΑΝγαπ	‘bolo’	hαhγαhγap/	‘a toy/small bolo’
(2)	β□ληΑ	‘pocket’	b□lb□lha	‘a toy/small pocket’
(3)	παλφ□κ	‘vat’	palpalj□k	‘a toy/small vat’

(b) In the Reduplication 2 set of the nouns, the first two syllables are repeated except for the last consonant, if there is. This type of reduplication denotes an increase in quantity of the noun root.

Example:

		<u>Reduplication 2</u>		
(1)	βαλεη	‘house’	βαλεβαλεη	‘a lot of houses’
(2)	ταλακ	‘truck’	ταλαταλακ	‘a lot of trucks’
(3)	ταγυ	‘human’	ταγυταγυ	‘a lot of people’
(4)	τινδαλυη	‘soldier’	tindatindaluh	‘a lot of soldiers’
(5)	ηΑΝγαπ	‘bolo’	hαhγαhγap	‘a lot of bolos’

C. For adjectives, the two reduplication processes in nouns are also evident. For Reduplication set 1, this type denotes a comparison in value/quality.

Example:

		<u>Reduplication 1: CV</u>		
(1)	δΑκ□λ	‘many’	δAk/δAk/k□λ	‘more’
(2)	?□NAλ	‘big/large’	?□η?□ηηAλ	‘bigger/larger’

Example:

		<u>Reduplication 1: CVC</u>		
(1)	δυκ/κE	‘long’	duk/duk/k ε	‘longer’
(2)	βιλλ□γ	‘wide’	bilbill□g	‘wider’

In this Reduplication 2 set of adjectives, it denotes a superlative level of value or quantity, although it does not mean the highest level. However, Reduplication 2 set has two alternations for CV and CVC initial syllables.

Example:

		<u>Reduplication 2: CV</u>		
(1)	δΑκ□λ	‘many’	δAk/k□δAk/k□λ	‘very many’
(2)	?□NAλ	‘big/large’	?□ηηA?□ηηAλ	‘very big/large’

CVC + CVC CVC

Association: β α λ ε η β α λ ε η = *balballēh* ‘playhouse’

⋮⋮⋮ ⋮⋮⋮

CVCVC + CVCCVC

(a.2) CVC Pattern

Stem: η □N π A λ ‘to knock’

⋮⋮⋮⋮⋮

CVCCVC

Prefixation:

η □N π α λ

⋮⋮⋮⋮⋮

CVC + CVCCVC

Stem copying:

η □N π α λ η □N π α λ

⋮⋮⋮⋮⋮

CVC + CVCCVC

Association: η □N π α λ η □N π A λ = *h□ngh□ngpal* ‘mock knocking’

⋮⋮⋮ ⋮⋮⋮⋮⋮

CVC + CVC CVC

(b) Reduplication 2

(b.1) CV Pattern

Stem: μ A N A v ‘to eat’

⋮⋮⋮⋮

CVCVC

Prefixation:

μ A N A v

⋮⋮⋮⋮

CVCV + CVCVC

Stem copying:

μANA v μ A N A v

⋮⋮⋮⋮

CVCV + CVCVC

