Chapter 2
2.1 PHONOLOGY INTRODUCTION

Central Ifugao dialect, locally called the "***munkalyon***", is one of two dialect varieties of Ifugao Amganad language variety; the other is the "***mun'alyon***" dialect.   The central Ifugao dialect is spoken in thirteen baranggays starting from baranggay Pitawan, Hingyon municipality in the north to baranggay Tungod, municipality of Lagawe in the south. The thirteen baranggays are Pitawan, Namuldita, Piwong, Bitu, and Anao, all in the municipality of Hingyon; baranggays Burnay, Cudog, Boliwong, Poblacion North, Poblacion West, Pablacion East, Poblacion South, and Tungod, all in the municipality of Lagawe. The total population in all these thirteen baranggays is about 90,000 in 2000 (NSO).

On the other hand, Ifugao Amganad dialect or the "mun'alyon" is spoken in the seven northeastern baranggays more particularly baranggays Amganad, Tam-an, and Balawis in the municipality of Banaue, baranggays Cababuyan North, Cababuyan South, Poblacion, Mompolia, and Umalbong, all in the minucipality of Hingyon.   The distinctive difference of the central Ifugao dialect variety is the use of velar voiceless plosive /k/ in place of glottal stop /ʔ/ in some of the lexemes.

These two dialect varieties and those spoken in the other western baranggays of Banaue municipality (Ujah, San Fernando, Gohang, View Point, Bocos, Poblacion) are lumped together and referred to as Ifugao Amganad language and is entered in the ethnologue three-letter code as "IFA".

II. CONSONANTS AND VOWELS
A. Consonant and Vowel Charts

MANNERS OF ARTICULATION	PLACES OF ARTICULATION				
	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive vl	π	τ		κ	ʔ

	β	δ		γ	
vd					
Fricatives		(σ)			η
Nasals	μ	ν		N	
Flaps		(P)			
Liquid		λ			
Glide	w		φ		

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
CLOSE	ι		υ
OPEN-MID	E		□
OPEN		A	

2.2 Phoneme Inventory

Central Ifugao dialect variety phonemes as evidenced by Minimal Pairs (Contrast in Identical Environment) and Near Minimal Pairs (Contrast in Analogous Environments) are the following:

2.2.1 Consonants

1. /p/ vs /b/

Example:

(1) *bahul*   'fault, sin'   (5) *nablih*   'ruptured'
(2) *pahul*   'spear'   (6) *naṗlih*   'wind-swept (rice   plant)'
(3) *kaltib*   'scissors'   (7) *ʔabɔk̄*   '(sleeping) mat'
(4) *kaͨttip̄* 'water bug'   (8) *ʔapɔk̄*   'drizzling (rain)'

2. /d/ vs /t/

Example:

(1) *ʔipadduŋ*   'compare'
(2) *ʔipaͨtduŋ* 'allow to shelter'   (5) *ʔɔdnan*   'hold'
(3) *hapid*   'leaf of a vine used in (6) *ʔɔͨtnan*   'place on top of'
                 betel nut chewing(7) *induk̄*   'prick with something'
(4) *hapiͨt*   'speech'   (8) *tutuk̄*   'very close'

3. /d/ vs /l/

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Example:

(1) *kadana*	'where'	(5) *patal*	'to light'
(2) *ʔalana*	'he gets'	(6) *patad*	'level/flat'
(3) *dulug*	'put between gap'	(7) *bɔlhɛh*	'separation'
		(8) *ʔ□dɲan*	'to hold/clutch/touch'
(4) *lulug*	'knee'		

4. /k/ vs /g/
Example:

(1) *makan*	'food, edible'	(6) *paghiŋ*	'pointed foot of rooster'
(2) *magan*	'drying'	(7) *takhiŋ*	'a game using flat stones'
(3) *hulug*	'to give-in'		
(4) *huluk̄*	'extra/excess'	(8) *kilat̄*	'lightning'
		(9) *gilat̄*	'dread/ phobia'

5. /k/ vs /ʔ/
Example:

(1) *kɔlɔŋ*	'pinch'	(5) *huluk̄*	'excess/extra'
(2) *ʔɔlɔŋ*	'nose'	(6) *huluʔ*	'my trap'
(3) *kakan*	'eat more'		
(4) *kaʔan*	'remove'		

6. /μ/ vs /ν
Example:

(1) *madan*	'be ready'	(4) *damɔt̄*	'weight'
(2) *nadan*	'readied'	(5) *banhɔm*	'you borrow'
(3) *danɔp̄*	'removing grass'	(6) *banhɔn*	'to borrow'

7. /ν/ vs /N/
Example:

(1) *nadan*	'readied'	(4) *daŋɔm*	'your beetle'
(2) *ŋadan*	'name, what?'	(5) *dalan*	'way/path'
(3) *danɔp̄*	'removing grass'	(6) *dalaŋ*	'flame'

8. /η/ vs /ʔ/ vs /O/
Example:

(1) *ηι*	'noun marker'		
(2) *ʔι*	'from (place)'		
(3) *ηιvΑη*	'there'	(6) *μυνηυνυη*	'receiving repeatedly'
(4) *ʔιvΑη*	'mother (animal)'	(7) *μυνʔυλεη*	'go slowly'
(5) *ʔιvΑ*	'mother (address)'	(8) *ʔιd□h*	'python'
		(9) *ʔιdυʔ*	'my spoon'

(10) *ʔidロ*   'red bird'

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

    9. /w/ vs /j/
    Example:

(1) *wagid*	'throw by hand'	(4) g*ajaŋ*		'a kind of spear'
(2) *jaggit̄*	'showy movement'	(5) *lawlaw*	'loose'
(3) *gawaŋ*	'young duck'	(6) *lajlaj*	'to wither'

2.2.2 Vowels

    1. /ı/ vs /E/
    Example:

(1) *ʔı*	'from (place)'	(4) *ʔEvA*	'he goes'
(2) *ʔɛ*	'go'	(5) *μυνʔυλ5ιη*	'sprain'
(3) *ʔıvA*	'mother (address)'	(6) *μυνʔυλ5εη*	'go slow'

    2. /ɛ/ vs /a/
    Example:

(1) *ʔumɛh*	'to go'	(3) *bɔlhɛh*	'separate/divorce'
(2) *ʔumah*	'kaingin/clearing'	(4) *bɔlhah*	'pocket'

    3. /u/ vs /ɔ/
    Example:

(1) *kidul*	'thunder'	(4) *hɔp̄hɔp̄*	'to cover'
(2) *ʔadɔl*	'body'	(5) *ʔinaduh*	'spatula'
(3) *hup̄hup̄*	'to suck'	(6) *ʔinadoh*	'garden in the rice field'

    4. /ɑ/ vs /ɔ/
    Example:

(1) *hap̄hap̄*	'to chop'	(3) *ʔitudak̄*	'to send away'
(2) *hɔp̄hɔp̄*	'to cover'	(4) *ʔitudɔk̄*	'to write'

2.2.3 Borrowed Words

As a result of the influx of foreign goods and services, borrowing was made inevitable and as a result consonants /r/ and /s/ do now occur in Central Ifugao dialect, but they have not been included in this alphabet since they only occur in words borrowed from

other languages. In some instances, /r/ and /s/ are used without undergoing phonological change.

Example: (1) [sulat̚]   (Tagalog)   [*sulat̚*]   'letter'

              (2) [petromak]   (English)   [*petromak̚*]   'Petromax'

              (3) [kalamansi]   (Tagalog)   [*kalamansi*]   'lemon'

              (4) [padas]   (Ilocano)   [*padas*]   'to try'

However, some cases, these consonants have been assimilated into the Central Ifugao dialect and have received the following substitutions: /λ/ for /ρ/; sometimes /τ/ or /η/ for /σ/.

Example: Central Ifugao dialect

              (1) [sabun]   (Tagalog)   [*habun*]   'soap'

              (2) [kamɛsita]   (Spanish)   [*kamihhita*]   'shirt'

              (3) [tawar]   (Ilocano)   [*tawal, tawar*]   'bargain'

              (4) [sardinaz]   (Tagalog)   [*taldinat̚, haldinat̚*]   'sardines'

              (5) [rasɔn]   (Ilocano)   [*lasɔn, rasɔn*]   (rɑhɔn*)   'reason'

2.2.4 Allophones

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

   [χ] occurs before or when it is followed by front vowels /ι/ and /E/.

   Example: (1) /κAκE/   [*κAχE*]   'khaki'

              (2) /πAλτικ/   [*πAλτιχ/*]   'string line'

[κ] occurs before or when it is followed by central and back vowels /A/, /□/, and /υ/ or by another consonant.

Example: (1) /κAτκAτ/ [κAτ|κAτ|]   'to bring out'

(2) /βAκAη/ [βAκAη]   'cow'

(3) /kɔhal/   [kɔhal]   'to split'

RULE:

/k/   → [χ] / [ι, E]___ or ___[ι, E]

→ [κ]/ elsewhere

Picture1   picture2

picture3

2. /γ/ has two allophones: [γ] and [|]. By way of FRONTING , the point of articulation of the back consonants moves to the front as a result of conditioning by front vowels.

[|] occurs before or when it is followed by front vowels /ι/ and /E/.

Example: (1) /γινAλυτ/ [|ινAλυτ]   'dirt'

(2) /λAγιμ/   [λA|ιμ]   'to burn feathers (of fowl)'

[γ] occurs when it is followed by central and back vowels /A/, /□/, and /υ/ or by another consonant.

Example: (1) /γA?υδ/   [γA?υδ]   'shovel'

(2) /nagɔd/   [nagɔd]   'wounded with a sharp object'

RULE:

/γ/   → [|] / ___[ι, E]

→ [γ] / elsewhere

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

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

Example: (1) /λιμA/   [λ5ιμA]   'five'

            (2) /βAλEη/   [βAλ5Eη]   'house'

[⟩] occurs syllable-final. The degree of retroflection varies with the position of the preceding vowel and/or a preceding back consonant. Prominent retroflection occurs when it follows a back vowel, while lesser retroflection occurs following the open central vowel.

Example: (1) /β□λβ□λ/   [β□⟩β□⟩]   'pine tree'

            (2) /?□NAλ/   [?□NA⟩]   'big/large'

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

Example: (1) /βAλAτ/   [βAλAτ|]   'banana'

            (2) /ηιβλ□τ/   [ηιβλ□τ|]   'cursed food (that causes stomach ache)'

RULE:

/λ/   → [λ5] /___ [front vowels]

           → [⟩] / ___ [open central vowel]

           → [λ] / elsewhere

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

Example: (1) *dalit*/   'eel'   (4) *pak|tiw*   'pepper'

            (2) *map|h□d/* 'good'   (5) *?ul□g/*   'snake'

            (3) *duli* //   'to move'

$$\begin{Bmatrix} \pi \\ \tau \\ \kappa \\ \beta \\ \delta \\ \gamma \end{Bmatrix} \Rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \pi| \\ \tau| \\ \kappa| \\ \beta| \\ \delta| \\ \gamma| \end{Bmatrix} \Big/ \underline{\quad} \$$$
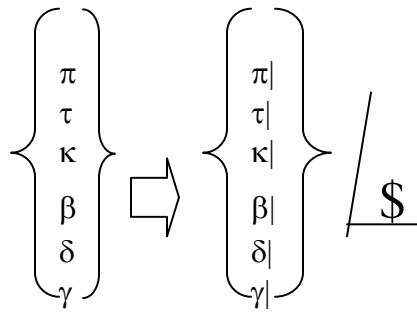
2.3 PHONOTACTICS

Example of Syllable Patterns:

[ʔAτυN]   'heat, warm'   → ʔA.τυN   → CV.CVC

[κ☐δ☐η]   'beg'   → ʔ☐.δ☐η   → CV.CVC

[μυνκοδοη]   'to beg'   → μυν.ʔο.δοη   → CVC.CV.CVC

[νυνκοδοη]   'begged'   → νυν.ʔο.δοη   → CVC.CV.CVC

[δAλ☐μ]   'sue'   → δA.λ☐μ   → CV.CVC

[μυνδAλομ]   'to sue   → μυν.δA.λομ   → CVC.CV.CVC

[κAντA]   'song'   → κAν.τA   → CVC.CV

[μυNκAντA] 'to sing'   → μυN.κAν.τA   → CVC.CV.CV

[νAλ5ελ5εη] 'over stretched'   → νA.λ5ε.λ5εη   → CV.CV.CVC

[νAλAφλAφ] 'withered'   → νA.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

[ʔινAδυη]   'spatula'   → ʔι.νA.δυη   → CV.CV.CVC

[ʔιvAδ□η]   'garden in the rice field'   → ʔι.vA.δ□η   → CV.CV.CVC

[μυντAvoμ] 'to plant'   → μυν.τA.voμ   → CVC.CV.CVC

[γA?υδ]   'shovel'   → γA.?υδ   → CV.CVC

[μυNγA?υδ] 'to shovel'   → μυN.γA.?υδ   → CVC.CV.CVC

[μA?AτAη] 'raw'   → μA.?A.τAη   → CV.CV.CVC

The syllable structures of central 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 Aω ισ better treated, not as diphthongs, but as a part of a CVC cluster because there is no evidence of diphthongs in this language variety. However, VC clusters are evidently allowed.

Example:

γAωEη   'to reach'

Incorrect: → γA.ωEη   → CV.CVC (This is correct in Amganad dialect)

Correct: → γAω.?Eη   → CVC.CVC

The ambiguous sequences **ih** is better treated, not as diphthongs, but as a part of a CVC cluster.

Example:

bɑbɑʔih   'female'

Incorrect: → βα.βα.jι   → CV.CV.V (This is correct in Amganad dialect)

Correct: → bɑ.bɑ.ʔih   → CV.CV.CVC

2.4 STRESS

2.4.1 In the Central Ifugao dialect or language variety, the stress is usually placed 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) *μαβ/μαβλ5ε□η* 'be a bit tired'

(2) *tan□□m*　　'to plant'　　　　　(5) *pumpatε□h*　　'to kill many'

(3) *βαl5ε□h*　　'house'

For words having more than three syllables, the stress is marked on the pre-final syllable.

Example:

(1) *malam□□han*　　'to grow flesh'　　(3) *haNgaha□Ngap/* 'a lot of bolos'

(2) *ʔihapi□lat/*　'to lie something on

a surface'

(4) *nakultina□han*　　'adorned w/ curtains'

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) *ʔa□ma*　　　　'father'　　　　(3) *ba□lat/*　　　'banana'

(2) *ʔi□d□*　　　　'red bird'　　　(4) *tinda□luh*　　'soldier'

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

Example:

(1) *κα□□n□n*　　　'remove'　　　　　　*καn□□n*　　　'to eat'

(2) *nahi☐l☐ŋ*   'look in awe'   (3) *ʔu☐bih*   'edible root crop'

nahil☐☐ŋ 'became dark'   *ʔubi☐h*   'basket for chicken'

2.5 MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

2.5.1 In cases where the roots end in front vowels; E, the E changes to   A when the suffix -

☐v is attached, and the approximant φ is inserted before the suffix, and when it end in close

front vowel ɩ, ɩ remain unchanged and the approximant φ is inserted before the suffix -☐v.

Example: -☐v

    (1) ηɩλ5ɩ   *hilij☐n*   'to have something get glared'

    (2) λ5ɩλ5ɩ   *lilij☐n*   'to complain on'

    (3) ηʋʔλ5E   *hu ʔlaj☐n*   'to have the soil be loosened'

However, in cases wherein the root is a repeated syllable, E becomes remains and the

approximant j is attached before the suffix -☐v.

Example:

    (4) λ5Eλ5E   *l5εl5εj☐n*   'to overstretch something'

    (5) |E|E   /ɛ/ɛj☐n   'to rock the baby'

2.5.2 In cases where the roots end in back vowels; ☐, the ☐ becomes A when the suffix -

☐v is attached, and the approximant w is inserted before the suffix -☐v, while ʋ remain

unchanged.

Example: -☐v

    (6) ʔʋγ☐   *ʔugaw☐n*   'to have the rain be stopped'

    (7) δANλ☐   *daŋlaw☐n*   'to have something be made slippery'

(8) ηυλυ   ηυλυω□n   'to have something be trapped'

Even in circumfix ending in -□ν like ?A--□ν, and πA--□ν, the change from /E/ to /A/ and the approximant /φ/ is inserted; and □ still changes to /A/.

Example:

(9) δ□κ/χE   *?ad□k/kaj□n*   'to have someone lengthen something'

(10) δ□κ/χE   *pad□k/kaj□n*   'to cause something to be lengthened'

(11) δANλ□   *padaŋlaw□n*   'to cause something to be slippery'

2.5.3 In the central Ifugao dialect or language, when the possessive pronoun clitic for 1st person singular is **=?u** and the 2nd person singular suffix is **=mu** is attached to the root ending 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]. The final coda /h/ is dropped. In these cases, the vowel υ in the suffix is dropped during affixation because it is weak.

Example:

(12)   μAτA+?υ   → *mata?*   'my eye'

        μAτA+μυ   → *matam*   'your eye'

(13)   βAλE+?υ   → *balε?*   'my house'

        βAλE+μυ   → *balεm*   'your house'

(14)   λAμ□η+?υ   → *lam□?*   'my flesh'

        λAμ□η+μυ   → *lam□m*   'your flesh'

This is also evident in the personal pronouns. The personal pronoun suffix for 1ˢᵗ person singular is -□?, the 2ⁿᵈ person singular is -□μ ανδ the 3ʳᵈ person plural is ψυ.

Example: noun/verb forms ___+ 'I' ___+ 'You (sg)' ___+ 'You (pl)'

(15) τυπιγ|/τυπιγον *tupig□?* *tupig□m* *tupig□νψυ* 'to stab'

(16) η□NπΑλ/hɔŋpalɔn *h□ŋbal□?* *h□ŋbal□m* *h□ŋbal□νψυ* 'to box'

(17) πυηι?/puhi?ɔn *puhi?□* *puhi?□m* *puhi?□νψυ* 'to break'

(18) ?□γΑη/ ?ɔgahɔn *?ɔ gah□?* *?□gah□m* *?□gah□νψυ* 'to drop'

(19) γ□λγ□λ/gɔlgɔlɔn *g□lg□l□?* *g□lg□l□m* *g□lg□l□νψυ* 'to saw'

However when the root or word ends with a consonant other than h, the word does not undergo any morphological change when the possessive pronouns and personal pronouns is attached.

Example: my _____ your _____

(20) μυφυN *mujuŋ?u* *mujuŋmu* 'forest'

(21) γΑ?υδ/ *ga?ud?u* *ga?udmu* 'shovel'

????Verb roots with final syllable of CV add a glide, either ω orφ, 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:

noun form verb form ___ + 'I' ___ + 'You (sg)' ___ + 'You (pl)'

(1) λ5ιλ5ι λ5ιλ5ij□n *λ5ιλ5ιφ□?* *λ5ιλ5ιφ□μ* *λ5ιλ5ιφ□νψυ* 'to explain'

(2) γΑωE γΑωEj□n *γαωεφ□?* *γαωεφ□μ* *γαωεφ□νψυ* 'to reach'

(3) ?υλυ ?υλυω□ν *?υλυω□?* *?υλυω□μ* *?υλυω□νψυ* 'to slide'

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(4) βΑφυ   βΑφυω□ν   *βαφυω□?*   *βαφυω□μ*   *βαφυω□νψυ* 'to pound'

In some instances, the vowel □ in the final syllable is dropped, since it is weak, when the

verb root is attached to these suffixes for personal pronouns.

Example:

noun form	verb form	___ + 'I'	___ + 'You (sg)'	___ + 'You (pl)'	
(1) δ□N□⟩	δ□N⟩□ν	*d□ŋl□?*	*d□ŋl□m*	*d□ŋl□νψυ*	'hear'
(2) π□η□δ|	π□ηδ□ν	*p□hd□?*	*p□hd□m*	*p□hd□νψυ*	'like'
(3) (3πυλ□η	πυλη□ν	*pulh□?*	*pulh□m*	*pulh□νψυ*	' grab'

2.5.3 The process of nasal assimilation occurs very regularly in the morphophonemic

processes; that is, when the affixes are attached to words.

  2.5.3.1 μυν-, for infinitive forms

Example:

  (1) μυν+?□δ□η   → *μυν?□δ□η*   'to beg'

  (2) μυν+πΑφ□η   → *μυμπΑφ□η*   'to build rice field'

  (3) μυν+βΑφυη   → *μυμβΑφυη*   'to pound'

  (4) μυν+τΑν□μ   → *μυντΑν□μ*   'to plant'

  (5) μυν+δΑλ□μ   → *μυνδΑλομ*   'to file a case'

  (6) μυν+κΑντΑ   → *μυNκΑντΑ*   'to sing'

  (7) μυν+γΑ?υδ| → *μυNγΑ?υδ*'to shovel'

  2.5.3.2 ηιν-, for one (quantity)

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Example:

    (1) ηιν+ηΑλυβ| → *hinhalub/*   'one ganta'

    (2) ηιν+πΑη□ν   → *himpah□n*   'one shoulder load'

    (3) ηιν+βΑΝΑ   → *himbaŋa*   'one pot-full'

    (4) ηιν+τΑν□μ   → *hintan□m*   'one planting (quantity)'

    (5) ηιν+δΑΝΑν   → *hindaŋan*   'one palm width'

    (6) ηιν+κΑηυν   → *hiŋkahun*   'one box-full'

    (7) ηιν+γΑμΑλ   → *hiŋgamal*   'one palm-scoop'

2.5.3.3 νυν-, for past tense

Example:

    (1) νυν+ηΑ??υτ| → *nunha??ut/* 'lied'

    (2) νυν+πΑλΑ   → *numpala*   'shoveled'

    (3) νυν+β□λλΑδ| → *numb□llad/*   'undressed'

    (4) νυν+τΑν□μ   → *nuntan□m*   'had planted'

    (5) νυν+δΑλ□μ   → *nundal□m*   'had filed a case'

    (6) νυν+κΑντΑ   → *nuŋkanta*   'had sung'

    (7) νυν+γΑωΕη   → *nuŋgawεh*   'had reached for something'

    (8) νυν+μ□μΑ   → *numm□ma*   'had chewed betel nut'

    (9) νυν+ν□μν□μ   → *nunn□mn□m*   'had thought'

    (10) νυν+ΝΑδΑν   → *nuŋŋadan*   'named'

2.5.3.4 πυν-, usually used as instrument/object

Example:

(1) πυν+ηΑπιδ| → *punhapid/* 'to use a kind of leaf in betel nut chewing'

(2) πυν+πΑτΕη → *pumpatɛh* '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 → *puŋgawɛh* 'to use to reach something'

(10) πυν+ΝΑδΑν → *puŋŋadan* 'to use as name'

2.6 REDUPLICATION

2.6.1 **Inherent Reduplication.** There are words in the dialect or language 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) *wɛʔwɛʔ* 'crazy'

(4) *w□〉w□〉* 'molar teeth'

(5) *τιτ/τιτ/* 'animal sound (onomatopoeia)'

(6) *τυτ/τυτ/* 'scold angrily'

There are two reduplication processes in the dialect or language. These two reduplication processes [termed in this paper as Reduplication-1 and Reduplication-2] apply for nouns, adjectives and verbs.

2.6.2 **Nouns.**

(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: Reduplication 1: CV

(1) βΑλεη   'house'*βαλβα⟩⟩εη*   'playhouse'

(2) *τΑλΑκ|*   'truck'   *τα⟩τα⟩⟩ακ/*   'toy truck'

        (3) ηυχι   'feet'   *hukhuk/ci*   '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: Reduplication 1: CVC

(1) ηΑΝγΑπ| 'bolo'   *haŋhaŋgap/*   'a toy/small bolo'

(2) β□⟩ηΑ   'pocket'   *b□⟩b□⟩ha*   'a toy/small pocket'

(3) πΑ⟩φ□κ/   'vat'   *pa⟩pa⟩j□k/*   'a toy/small vat'

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(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: Reduplication 2

(1) βΑλ5εη   'house' *βαλ5εβαl5εη*   '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'   *haŋgahaŋgap/*   'a lot of bolos'

2.6.3 **Adjectives.** For adjectives, the two reduplication processes in nouns are also evident.

(a) For Reduplication-1 set, this type denotes a comparison in value/quality.

Example: Reduplication 1: CV

(1) δΑκ□⟩   'many'   *δAk/δAk/k□⟩*   'more'

(2) ?□ΝΑ⟩   'big/large' *?□η?□ŋŋA⟩*   'bigger/larger'

Example: Reduplication 1: CVC

(1) δυκ/χΕ   'long'   *duk/duk/cε*   'longer'

(2) βι⟩⟩□γ| 'wide'   *bi⟩bi⟩⟩□g/*   'wider'

(b) 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.

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Example: Reduplication 2: CV

    (1) δAκ□〉   'many'   *δAk/k□δAk/k□〉*   'very many'

    (2) ?□NA〉   'big/large'   *?□ŋŋA?□ŋŋA〉*   'very big/large'

Example: Reduplication 2: CVC

    (1) δυκ/χE   'long'   *duk/cɛduk/cɛ*   'very long'

    (2) βι〉〉□γ| 'wide'   *bi〉〉□bi〉〉□g/*   'very wide'

    (3) βAββι〉〉□γ|'wide(pl n)'   *babbi〉□bi〉□g/*   '(each is) very wide'

Other adjectives have prefixes like ?A-, νA- and μA-. In these cases, the prefixes are not reduplicated.

Example: Reduplication 1   Reduplication 2

(1) μA?AτA   'raw'   *ma?at?ata* 'more raw'   *ma?ata?ata*'always raw'

(2) μAδANι   'smooth'   *μAδANδANι* 'smoother'   *μAδANιδANι*

        'always smooth'

(3) ?Aτικ/χE 'short'   *?Atik/tik/cɛ* 'shorter'   *?Atik/cɛtik/cɛ* 'very short'

    2.6.4 **Verbs.** For verbs, these two reduplication processes are also in place, but they are limited to certain verbs.

    2.6.4.1 In Reduplication-1 set, the verbs denote a degree of progressiveness. The CV and CVC initial syllable have similar reduplication just as in nouns.

    Example: Reduplication 1: CV

    (1) μANAν   'eat'   *μANμANNAν*   'eating'

(2) μAλ□?   'sleep'   *ma⟩ma⟩⟩□?*   'sleeping'

Example: Reduplication 1: CVC

(1) μAβ⧸λ5εη   'be tired'   *μαβ⧸μαβ⧸λ5εη*   'be a bit tired'

(2) ?□δ⧸νAμ   'hold'   *?□d⧸?□d⧸nAm*   'hold for awhile'

   2.6.4.2 For Reduplication-2 set, the verbs denote a repeated or ongoing kind of event/action and they are reduplicated in the following manner.

Example: Reduplication 2

(1) μANAν   'eat'   *μANAμANAν*   'keep on eating'

(2) μAλ□?   'sleep'   *mal□mal□?*   'sleeping'

(3) μAβ⧸λ5εη   'be tired'   *μαβλ5εμαβl5εη*   'repeatedly tired'

(4) ?□δ⧸νAμ   'hold'   *?□d⧸nA?□d⧸nAm*   'keep on holding'

2.6.5   Association

2.6.5.1   Reduplication-1

2.6.5.1.1   The case of CV pattern is reduplicated in the following manner.

Stem: β α λ ε η   'house'

                    | | | | |
                    CVCVC

Prefixation: β α λ ε η

                    | | | | |
          CVC   +   CVCVC

Stem copying: β α λ ε η   β α λ ε η

                    | | | | |
          CVC   +   CVCCVC

Association: β α λ ε η   β α λ   ε η   = *βαλβα⟩⟩εη* 'playhouse'

┆ ┆ ┆   │ │ ∖ │ │

CVCVC   +   CVCCVC

2.6.5.1.2   The case of CVC pattern is, on the other hand, reduplicated in the following manner.

Stem: η □Nπ α ⟩   'to knock'

│ │ │ │ │ │

CVCCVC

Prefixation: η □N   πα ⟩

│ │ │ │ │ │

CVC   +   CVCCVC

Stem copying: η □N   πα λ   η □N   πα ⟩

│ │ │ │ │ │

CVC   +   CVCCVC

Association: η □Nπα λ   η □N   πα ⟩   = *h□ŋh□ŋpa⟩* 'mock knocking'

┆ ┆ ┆   │ │ │ │ │ │

CVC   +   CVC CVC

2.6.5.2   Reduplication-2
2.6.5.2.1 The case of CV pattern is reduplicated in the following manner.

Stem: μA N A ν   'to eat'

│ │ │ │ │

CVCVC

Prefixation: μA N A ν

│ │ │ │ │

CVCV   +   CVCVC

Stem copying: μANA ν   μ A N A ν

│ │ │ │ │

CVCV   +   CVCVC

Association: μ A N A ν +   μ A NA ν   = *maŋamaŋan* 'keep on eating'
                      ¦ ¦ ¦ ¦ | | | | | |
                         CVCV   CVCVC

       2.6.5.2.1 On the other hand, the case of CVC pattern alternation for adjectives only is reduplicated in the following manner.

Stem: δ Aκ □ ⟩   'many'
                                   | | | | | |
                                      CVCVC

Prefixation: δA κ □⟩
                                   | | | | |
                  CVCV   +   CVCVC

Stem copying: δA κ □⟩   δA κ   □⟩
                                | | | | |
                  CVCCV   +   CVCCVC

Association: δA κ   □⟩   δA κ   □⟩= *dak|k□dak|k□*⟩   'very many'
                  | | ǀ. | | | ǀ. | |
                     CVCCV   +   CVCCVC

naŋalat = nun kalat
?inumbun = imm ?ubun
Tun   hi tuwe ?an
Panganon pakanon

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