MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGES IN DIBABAWON[1]

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0. Introduction

1. Changes within words

2. Changes between words

0. INTRODUCTION

Regular changes in the phonemic shape of morphemes of Dibabawon are presented in this paper by means of ordered rules, illustrated with examples from the language. The description accounts for changes in two dialects of Dibabawon, and also for differences between them. Dialect A is spoken in the municipality of Monkayo, dialect B is spoken farther to the west. Actual usage by individual speakers of the language falls somewhere between the two 'norms'.

Transformational symbols are used as follows:

X -m-> Y = rewrite X as Y

$\left\{\begin{matrix} X \\ Y \end{matrix}\right\}$ = either X or Y

{X,Y} = either X or Y

$\begin{bmatrix} X \\ Y \end{bmatrix}$ -m-> $\begin{bmatrix} A \\ B \end{bmatrix}$ = if X, rewrite as A; if Y, rewrite as B

in the environment $\left\{\begin{matrix} __X \\ Y__ \end{matrix}\right\}$ = preceding X or following Y

(X) = with or without X

Other symbols and notations will be defined where they are introduced.

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1. CHANGES WITHIN WORDS

Rewrite rules M1 through M9, account for morphophonemic changes occurring within words.

M1. *Reduction of initial* L.

$$\#l \text{ -m-> null in the environment } \left\{\begin{matrix} ka \\ ma \\ na \end{matrix}\right\} __$$

= word boundary

e.g. ma + lɨgdɨg *'flame'* -m-> maɨgdɨg *'red'*

ka + lisɨd -m-> kaisɨd *'difficulty'*

na + lutuq -m-> nautuq *'cooked'*

ma + lakwat -m-> *maakwat[2] *'spaced'*

L in the environment V__V (between vowels) within morphemes is reduced in the idiolect of some speakers as well, and there is considerable variation of the extent to which this change operates in the two dialects under investigation. Comparison with cognate forms in related Manobo languages shows that many Dibabawon vowel clusters[3] are the result of reduction of intervocalic L at an earlier stage of the language, and there is evidence that this shift is continuing to spread.

M2. *Introduction of* H.

$$\text{-V(C) -m-> -hV(C) in the environment } \left\{\begin{matrix} CV \\ \#CV_1V_1 \end{matrix}\right\} \#__$$

V = any vowel, C = any consonant

e.g. bɨli + an -m-> bɨlihan *'market'*

daa + a -m-> *daaha *'carry* (it)'[4]

No change:

bunaa + i —> *bunaai *'hit* (it)'[4]

M3. *Merger of* ɨ *with* A.

$$ɨ\begin{bmatrix} y \\ \\ w \end{bmatrix}\# + \text{-V(C) -m-> } a\begin{bmatrix} y \\ \\ w \end{bmatrix}V(C)$$

e.g. bɨgɨy + an -m-> bɨgayan *'give* (to someone)*'*

baɨy + an -m-> *baayan *'house site'*

bugɨw + i -m-> bugawi *'drive* (it)*'*

dibabɨw *'upland'* + ɨn -m-> dibabawɨn *'uplander'*

M4. *Merger of* H *and* Q *in Dialect* A.[5]

h -m-> q

e.g. bɨlihan -m-> bɨliqan *'market'*

qahu -m-> qaqu *'pestle'*

himatɨy -m-> qimatɨy

M5. *Split of* Ɨ *in Dialect* B.[5]

(a) Contiguous with another vowel.

ɨ remains ɨ in the environment $\left\{\begin{matrix} i__ \\ u__ \begin{Bmatrix} w \\ y \end{Bmatrix} \end{matrix}\right\}$

ɨ -m-> e in the environment $\left\{\begin{matrix} __V \\ V__ \end{matrix}\right\}$

e.g. maɨgdɨg -m-> maedɨg *'red'*

gupaa + ɨn -m-> *gupaaen *'cut* (it) *up'*

sɨɨd -m-> seed *'inside'*

bɨad -m-> bead *'dry'*

quɨd -m-> qued *'snake'*

bɨuq -m-> beuq *'anger'*

No change:

buɨw *'fight'* suɨy *'diverge'*

plɨŋ *'blink'* tlɨg *'earthquake'*

(b) Preceding a shifted vowel in the following syllable.

ɨ -m-> e in the environment __Ce

e.g. bɨ + bead -m-> bebead *'dry'*

*qɨbee -m-> qebee *'smoke'*

M6. *Shift of stress with suffixation.*

$$\begin{bmatrix} \acute{V}(C)(C)V(C) \\ V(C)(C)\acute{V}(C) \end{bmatrix} + \text{-V(C) -m->} \begin{bmatrix} V(C)(C)V(C)V(C) \\ V(C)(C)V(C)\acute{V}(C) \end{bmatrix}$$

e.g. búgɨw + i -m-> bugáwi *'drive* (it)'

kaisɨ́d + an -m-> kaisɨdán *'hard up'*

bunáa + i -m-> *bunaái *'hit* (it)'

Acute accent over V or vowel indicates placement of primary stress.

M7. *Reduction of geminate vowels in syllables preceding the final.*[6]

$$(C)V_1V_1(C)(C)V(C) \text{ -m-> } (C)V_1(C)(C)V(C)$$

e.g. *baayan -m-> bayan *'house site'*

*bunaai -m-> bunai *'hit* (it)'

*kaseeman -m-> kaseman *'morning'*[7]

M8. *Assimilation of N of the prefix* QIN-.

$$\text{qin -m->} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{qim in the environment } __\{p,b\} \\ \text{qiŋ in the environment } __\{k,g\} \end{Bmatrix}$$

e.g. qin + bɨgɨy -m-> qimbɨgɨy *'gave* (it)'

qin + ka + tanɨm -m-> qiŋkatanɨm *'planted* (it)'

No change:

qin + quliq —> qinquliq *'returned* (it)'

qin + hɨbɨŋ —> qinhɨbɨŋ *'hid* (it)'

M9. *Assimilation with and without reduction of N of the prefix* CAN-.

(a) Can -m-> Caŋ in the environment __{g,h}

e.g. pan + himatɨy -m-> paŋhimatɨy *'go killing'*

nan + gɨmɨw -m-> naŋgɨmɨw *'climbed a slope'*

(b)

$$\text{Can} + \begin{bmatrix} p,b \\ t,s \\ k,q \end{bmatrix} \text{ -m-> } \text{Ca}\begin{bmatrix} m \\ n \\ ŋ \end{bmatrix}$$

e.g. pan + pista -m-> pamista *'attend a fiesta'*
man + bigtɨw + ay -m-> mamigtaway *'witch'*
pan + tawag -m-> panawag *'call'*
nan + kayu -m-> naŋayu *'gathered firewood'*
pan + qimatɨy -m-> paŋimatɨy *'go killing'*

No change:

pan + dakɨp —> pandakɨp *'catch'*
nan + laguy —> nanlaguy *'ran away'*

2. CHANGES BETWEEN WORDS

Rewrite rules M10 through M13 account for morphophonemic changes occurring between words.

M10. *Assimilation of final* N *of* MAN, KAN, SIKAN, QIYAN.

$$n \text{ -m-> } \begin{cases} m \text{ in the environment } __\#\{p,b,m\} \\ ŋ \text{ in the environment } __\#\{k,g,ŋ\} \end{cases}$$

e.g. kan bataq -m-> kam bataq *'the child'*
kan kukuq -m-> kaŋ kukuq *'the cat'*

No change:

kan laŋit *'the sky'*

M11. *Reduction of final glottal stop of certain particles and reduction of initial* Qɨ *of th e verbal prefix* QɨG-.

$$\begin{bmatrix} kɨnaq \\ diq \\ kɨ \\ su \\ nɨ \\ tɨ \end{bmatrix} + qɨg\text{-} \text{ -m-> } \begin{bmatrix} kɨnag\text{-} \\ dig\text{-} \\ kɨg\text{-} \\ sug\text{-} \\ nɨg\text{-} \\ tɨg\text{-} \end{bmatrix}$$

e.g. su qɨgkamatɨy ki -m-> sugkamatɨy ki *'because we will die'*
kɨnaq qɨgquliq -m-> kɨnagquliq *'won't return'*
bataq tɨ qɨghipanɨw -m-> bataq tɨghipanɨw *'the one who went was the child'*

M12. *Reduction of final* Q *of certain particles preceding clitic* -D.

$$\begin{bmatrix} wadaq \\ kɨnaq \\ suyaq \\ diaq \end{bmatrix} + \text{-d -m-> } \begin{bmatrix} wada \\ kɨna \\ suya \\ dia \end{bmatrix} d$$

e.g. wadaq-d duqɨn -m-> wadad duqɨn *'no more there'*
kɨnaq-d qɨgquliq -m-> kɨnad qɨgquliq '(he) *won't return now'*

M13. *Reduction of final* Q *of* DIAQ *and vowel of* TɨT.

diaq + tɨ -m-> diat

e.g. diaq tɨ baɨy -m-> diat baɨy *'at/to the house'*

N O T E S

1. Dibabawon is a Manobo language spoken in the province of Davao del Norte, Mindanao, Philippines.

2. Asterisk (*) indicates forms which do not actually occur in either dialect, but undergo further modification according to later rules.

3. Word final geminate vowels in Dibabawon morphemes of the form CVV are the result of reduction of intervocalic L, in morphemes of the form CVCVV they are the result of reduction of a final L plus gemination of the vowel, e.g. *daLa> daa *'carry'*; *bunaL> bunaa *'hit'*.

4. If the reconstructed forms *daLa *'carry'* and *bunaL *'hit'* were taken as the starting point for the description of this morphophonemic change, M2 could be stated as

-V(C) -m-> hV(C) in the environment V__

A further rule would then be required,

$$L \text{ -m-> } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{null in the environment } V__V \\ \text{l elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

5. Rules M4 and M5 deal with changes not generally regarded as morphophonemic, that is, alternation of phonemes between two dialects of the same language. Note that I am assuming a fictitious base for both of these rules, i.e. one in which H and Q both occur (as in Dialect B) and in which ɨ is consistently a central vowel (as in Dialect A). This assumption is valid within the transformational grammar approach used here.

6. See Daniel and Marilou Weaver, 'The Phonology of Agusan Manobo (with special reference to æ)', *Papers on Philippine Languages* 1, 1-6 (Manila, 1963). This paper states that Agusan Manobo æ corresponds to

Dibabawon Manobo geminate A, and a list of cognate forms is given. It has since been found that the forms given in the paper are in fact Ata Manobo not Dibabawon, since in Dibabawon geminate vowels are reduced according to rule M7.

7. A number of words occur in which ɨɨ > EE and the consequent reduction of the geminate vowel cluster has resulted in phonemic contrast between ɨ and E, e.g. *bɨɨqɨg > *beeqɨg -m-> beqɨg *'method of trapping wild pigs'*, compare bɨqɨt *'decide'*; *sɨɨbuq > *seebuq -m-> sebuq *'the only one'*, compare sɨbu *'boil'*.

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