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Problem in Kalinga morphophonemics

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PROBLEM IN KALINGA MORPHOPHONEMICS
(Philippines)

INTRODUCTION: In the dialect of Kalinga from which the data below have been taken a number of types of morphophonemic alternation (internal sandhi) are found. This problem has been prepared primarily to illustrate one of these types.

1. What is this type of alternation?

2. What are the affixes in the data that manifest it? Please give their alternants.

3. In so far as this type of alternation is concerned, what is the difference between the prefix of 1. mandagsun and that of 13. marjayu?

In the case of one of the affixes, it can not manifest this alternation unless the form to which it is added also manifests another type of alternation.

4. What is the second type of alternation?

5. With which affix does it occur?

6. What are the word bases of 51, 53, 55, and 56?

NOTES: tm - topic marker
nm - non-topic marker
q - orthographic symbol for glottal stop
Q - question particle

ANSWERS:

1. Assimilation

2. man- (mam-, man-, mar-, mal-, maw-, may-)

maN- (mam-, man-, mar-)

-in- (-im-, -in-, -iq-, -il-)

qin- (qim-, qin-, qiq-, qil-, qiw-)

3. Partial (man-) vs. complete (maN-) assimilation

4. Vowel reduction

5. -in-

6. bosat, toqop, taqbu, ponu

DATA:

1. mandagsun heavy-it 'It is heavy.'
2. mandagsunqa heavy-you (sg.) 'You are heavy.'
3. tinampoq 'rice flour'
4. qillagana used (something) in weaving-she 'She used it in weaving.'
5. sogob sogob a burning a burning 'Fire! Fire!'
6. qamqan din dagsunna how of heaviness-its 'How heavy is it?'
7. manampoq 'one who pounds rice into flour'
8. mayyapit thin-it 'It is thin.'
9. qadu-n kayuna much-tm fire wood-his 'He has much fire wood.'
10. mallaga is weaving-she 'She is weaving.'
11. siggobna burned (something)-he 'He burned it.'
12. qimpadasna tried (something)-he 'He tried it.'
13. qimoy manayu go-he get fire wood 'He is going to get fire wood.'
14. siya-n manila he-tm one who takes possession of the tongue
'He is the one who will take the tongue (of an animal butchered).'
15. qona naqala nan dilana Q taken tm tongue-its 'Has its tongue been taken?'
16. mansaganada prepare (to do something)-they 'They are preparing.'
17. qimbagana told (something)-he 'He told it.'
18. qindawna asked for (something)-she 'She asked for it.'
19. mampada same-it 'It is the same.'
20. manqomos bathing-he 'He is bathing.'
21. gimbada fired (as pots to harden them)-they 'They fired them.'
22. qiyag manqodaw si agas come-I ask for nm medicine 'I come to ask for medicine.'
23. qimmosna bathed (someone)-she 'She bathed him.'
24. mawwatwat distribute-he 'He is distributing.'

25. manujbat 'one to make reply'
26. qindagasna sent (something) with someone-he 'He sent it
with someone.'
27. mammuma chew betel nut-he 'He chews betel nut.'
28. sinu-t sujbatna what-tm answer-his 'What was his answer?'
29. binayu 'pounded rice'
30. mamaltug 'one to use a gun'
31. qingagana killed (something) for food for helpers-he 'He
killed it for food for his helpers.'
32. mambayu pound rice-she 'She is pounding rice.'
33. piga-n dopana how many-tm spans-its 'How many spans is it?'
34. diŋŋolna heard (something)-he 'He heard it.'
35. napaltugan was shot by gun-he 'He was shot by a gun.'
36. sinu-n mamayu who-tm one to pound rice 'Who is the one
to pound rice?'
37. maŋkapi make coffee-she 'She is making coffee.'
38. qillotna tightened (it)-he 'He tightened it.'
39. dimpana measured (it) by span-he 'He measured it by span.'
40. maŋabaq 'One who wins'
41. naqolot tight-it 'It is tight.'
42. mantadum sharp-it 'It is sharp.'
43. qingŋinana sold (something)-he 'He sold it.'
44. naqabaq defeated-he 'He was defeated.'
45. maŋgidu make bodily movements 'He moves.'
46. qoqom nan giyabna make-you tm notch-its 'Make its notch.'
47. qimmulana planted (something)-he 'He planted it.'
48. maŋiyab 'one to do the notching'
49. bintaqna broke (something)-she 'She broke it.'

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50. maṛṛina buy (activity)-he 'He is buying.'
51. binsatna snapped (e.g. a string)-he 'He snapped it.'
52. qiwwalitna gave (something) as walit (a kind of gift) 'He gave it as walit.'
53. tinṛopna satisfied (something)-he 'He satisfied him.'
54. manniqqot sticky-it 'It is sticky.'
55. qintaqbuna spilled (something)-she 'She spilled it.'
56. pimmuna filled (something)-she 'She filled it.'
57. qinsaṛadna set (past) (something) in place-he 'He set it in place.'