

1. Syllables

A syllable in Tigwa Manobo has always a vowel (V) as an element, which functions as a unit of potential stress placement. A vowel may occur singly, preceded or followed by a consonant (C), or with a consonant both before and after it, thus resulting in CV, CVC, V, and VC syllable patterns. Syllable patterns V and VC occur only after an open syllable.

CV	/su/ ⁴	'because'
CVC	/dan/	'they, their'
V	/bo.i/	'girl'
VC	/do.un/	'leaf'

There may also be occasionally a CVSC syllable as a result of morphophonemic contraction (see Section 7.3).

CVwC	kow	qogkagi	/kowg.ka.gi/	'Don't talk.'
CVyC	koy	qogpuqun	/koyg.pu.qun/	'We started from here.'

A word consists of as few as one or as many as eight syllables, e.g., /ko/ 'if'; /qu.pa/ 'hen'; /li.wa.ti/ 'earthworm'; /ma.nuk.ma.nuk/ 'bird'; /ka.ba.gal.ba.gal/ 'cicada'; /qog.pa.ka.pa.la.guy/ 'to have to run'; /qog.pa,ka.pa,si.lak.si.lak/ 'to rain while the sun is shining'.

2. Segmental phonemes

There are nineteen segmental phonemes in the Tigwa Manobo language. These phonemes include fifteen consonants: /p, t, k, q (glottal stop), b, d, g, h, m, n, ng (velar nasal), s, l, w, and y/; and four vowels: /i, a, o, and u/. Stress is nonphonemic.

2.1 Interpretation of high vocoids and geminates

The high front and back vocoids [i] and [u] are interpreted as vowels /i/ and /u/ when they function as syllabics, or syllable peaks, and consonants /y/ and /w/ when they then function as nonsyllabics, or syllable margins. High vocoids [i] and [u] are thus interpreted to fit the two basic nonsuspect syllable patterns of Tigwa Manobo, CV, and CVC. /qi.am/ 'new'; /mu.quy/ (species of banana); /wa.doq/ 'none'; /ga.wod/ 'vine' (generic); /yow.yow/ 'to despise'; /qu.ya/ 'yes'. [iV] and [uV] are interpreted as /iV/ and /uV/, rather than as /iyV/ and /uwV/, because other vowel clusters also occur across syllable boundaries. Most other Manobo languages must interpret these sequences as /iyV/ and /uwV/ because they lack any other permissible vowel clusters.

The long consonants [b:], [d:], [g:], [m:], [n:], [ng:], [l:] are interpreted as sequences of two phonemes occurring across syllable boundaries. Long consonants contrast phonemically with short consonants. /kodid/ 'intestinal parasite', /koddid/ 'I, me'. Long consonants are, therefore, structurally analogous to those nonsuspect diverse CC sequences that occur. Only voiced stops, nasals, and the lateral have been found in geminate consonant clusters.

All vowels may carry length. A long vowel is interpreted as a geminate vowel sequence occurring across a syllable boundary. Long vowels contrast with short vowels (see Section 2.3.2) and are structurally analogous to clusters of two diverse vowels. They also contrast with VqV sequences, for example, /hu.us/ 'shoo' (to a pig), /qu.qus/ 'to suck sugar cane'; /tu.ul/ (species of spider), /tu.qud/ 'purpose'. Most long vowels in Tigwa Manobo appear to be the result of loss of intervocalic Proto-Manobo *h. Note synchronic morphophonemic dropping of /h/ in Section 4.

2.2 Description of the phonemes

2.2.1 Consonants

/p/, /t/, and /k/ are voiceless lightly aspirated stops occurring at the bilabial, dental, and velar points of articulation respectively. This series has unreleased allophones in syllable final position. /q/ is a voiceless glottal stop.

/p/ /pupu/ [pupu] 'to pluck'; /palpal/ [pa|pa|] 'to pound'; /kopkop/ [kʷpʷkʷpʷ] 'to hug.

/t/ /tatok/ [tatok'] 'stob of a bird snare'; /tuktuk/ [tuk'tuk']

'to peck'; /bitbit/ [bit'bit'] 'to carry at the side'.

/k/ /kukuk/ [kukuk'] 'cuckoo'; /kotkot/ [kot'kot'] 'to gnaw';
/bakbak/ [ba^k'ba^k'] 'frog'.

/q/ /qamoq/ [?amo?] 'father'; /luqluq/ [lu?lu?] 'to wash'; /tulqid/
[tu^l?id] 'to straighten'.

/b/, /d/, and /g/ are voiced stops occurring at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation respectively. /b/ and /g/ have corresponding voiced lenis fricative allophones, [b̥] and [g̥], which occur intervocalically and syllable initial following /l/. /d/ has a voiced alveolar flap allophone, [ɾ], which occurs in intervocalic position only.

/b/ /baba/ [baba] 'to carry on the back'; /bulbul/ [bu^lbu^l] 'hair';
/loblob/ [l̥^vbl̥^vb] 'to fell a tree'.

/d/ /dadalu/ [daʔalu] 'ill'; /doldog/ [d̥^ld̥i^g] 'spear';
/sidsid/ [sidsid] 'to clear the ground'.

/g/ /gugud/ [gugud] 'to relate'; /gawalgawal/ [gawalgawal] (a medicinal herb); /tigtig/ [ti^gti^g] (species of frog).

/s/ is a voiceless alveolar retroflexed grooved fricative [ʂ]. /h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative.

/s/ /sising/ [ʂiʂ^ŋ] 'ring'; /ngosngos/ [ŋ̥^ʂŋ̥^s] 'whining of a dog'; /salaksak/ [ʂala^k'ʂa^k'] 'kingfisher'.

/h/ /hadi/ [haʔi] 'younger sibling'; /hulqag/ [hu^l?a^g] (species of tree); /hiphipanow/ [hu^p'hipan̥^w] 'to walk'.

/m/, /n/, and /ng/ are voiced nasals occurring at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation respectively.

/m/ /maqama/ [ma?ama] 'brother'; /dagman/ [da^gma^ŋ] 'also';
/komkom/ [k̥i^mki^m] 'to carry in hand'.

/n/ /nanaq/ [nan̥^?] 'purulence'; /sonson/ [ʂi^ŋʂi^ŋ] 'to scoop with the hands'.

/ng/ /ngangang/ [ŋaŋa^ŋ] 'whimper of a dog'; /ngosngos/
[ŋ̥^ʂŋ̥^ʂ] 'whining of a dog'; /tingyas/ [ti^ŋyaʂ] 'to raise the eyebrows'.

/l/ is a voiced alveolar lateral consisting of three allophones, [l̥], [l], and [l̩]. The lenis allophone [l̥] occurs syllable initial; the retroflexed allophone [l̩] occurs syllable final following /a/, /o/, and /u/; and the flap allophone [l] occurs syllable final following /i/.

/lalud/ [lalud] 'friendship name'; /palpal/ [palpal] 'to pound'; /mabolbol/ [maʔ^lʔ^l] 'swift-currented'; /qulqul/
[?u^l?u^l] (species of bird); /bilbil/ [bilbil] 'simple-minded'.

/w/ and /y/ are voiced nonsyllabic vocoids occurring at the bilabial and palatal points of articulation respectively.

/w/ /wasoy/ [uasë^ˈi] 'axe'; /wakwak/ [ua^ˈk'ua^ˈk'] 'crow'; /qaldow/ [ʔaldë^ˈu] ^ˈ'sun'.

/y/ /yokyok/ [jë^ˈk'jë^ˈk'] 'a choking cough'; /maya/ [majä] 'rice bird'; /hapuy/ [hapuj] 'fire'.

2.2.2 Vowels

/i/ is a voiced high close front unrounded vocoid consisting of two allophones, [i] and [i^ˈ]. The open raised allophone [i^ˈ] occurs in closed syllables preceding /p/, /k/, /g/, and nasals; and the allophone [i] occurs in all other environments.

/witik/ [wit^ˈk'] 'sling'; /qibid/ [ʔibid] 'iguana';
/qiling/ [ʔil^ˈŋ] 'same'.

/u/ is a voiced high close back rounded vocoid consisting of two allophones, [u] and [u^ˈ]. The allophone [u^ˈ] occurs in closed syllables preceding /p/, /t/, /d/, /g/, /s/, /l/, and nasals, and the allophone [u] occurs in all other environments.

/supsup/ [su^ˈp'su^ˈp'] 'to suck'; /tutud/ [tutu^ˈd] 'to light a fire'; /kukük/ [kukuk'] 'cuckoo'.

/o/ is a voiced mid close raised back unrounded vocoid consisting of two allophones, [ë^ˈ] and [i^ˈ]. The allophone [i^ˈ] occurs in closed syllables preceding /p/, voiced stops, and nasals; and the allophone [ë^ˈ] occurs in all other environments.

/gotob/ [gë^ˈtü^ˈb] 'tattoo'; /quloson/ [ʔulë^ˈsi^ˈn] 'blanket';
/konoq/ [kë^ˈnë^ˈʔ] 'no'.

/a/ is a voiced low open central unrounded vocoid consisting of two allophones, [a] and [a^ˈ]. The allophone [a^ˈ] occurs in closed syllables preceding /p/, /k/, voiced stops, and nasals; and the allophone [a] occurs in all other environments.

/qalap/ [ʔala^ˈp] 'take'; /qanggam/ [ʔa^ˈngga^ˈm] 'uncle';
/qanaq/ [ʔanaʔ] 'mother'.

2.3 Phoneme contrasts

Examples of phonemic contrasts are listed below. These contrasts are between phonetically similar phonemes and between single and geminated consonants and vowels.

2.3.1 Consonants

/p/:/b/ /pakpak/ 'wing', /bakbak/ 'frog'; /laplap/ 'skin', /lablab/ 'wild boar, pig'.

- /b:/w/ /batbat/ 'to relate a story', /watwat/ (an eye disease).
 /t:/d/ /tuktuk/ 'to peck', /dukduk/ 'to pound'; /saat/ (a medicinal herb), /saad/ 'to tell'.
 /d:/l/ /qidob/ 'blade tip', /qilob/ 'to spit'; /quntud/ 'to ride', /quntul/ 'really'.
 /k:/g/ /kanguq/ (species of bird), /gangu/ (species of tree); /loklok/ 'to choke a person', /loglog/ 'to flame up'.
 /q:/ # /suluq/ 'resin', /sulu/ 'fingernail'; /tuluq/ 'to leak', /tulu/ (species of tree).
 /q:/k/ /qanaq/ 'mother', /qanak/ 'child'; /loqob/ 'rice granary', /lokob/ 'door'.
 /q:/h/ /qilis/ 'side', /hilis/ 'diarrhea'; /qutuk/ 'to carry on the head', /hutuk/ 'to repeat'.
 /h:/s/ /huling/ 'to work', /suling/ 'to imitate'; /holos/ 'to hide', /solom/ 'early'.
 /n:/ng/ /lanow/ 'lake', /langow/ 'fly'; /qutan/ 'vegetable', /qutang/ 'debt'.
 /b:/bb/ /kabodos/ 'pregnant' (singular), /kabbodos/ 'pregnant' (plural).
 /d:/dd/ /kodid/ 'intestinal parasite', /koddiq/ 'I, me'.
 /g:/gg/ /maguyog/ 'disappointed' (singular), /magguyog/ 'disappointed' (plural).
 /m:/mm/ /qumow/ 'to call', /qummow/ 'a deaf mute'.
 /n:/nn/ /ganad/ 'to slacken pace', /ganna/ 'earlier'.
 /ng:/ngng/ /lungag/ 'hole', /longngag/ 'to look upward'.
 /l:/ll/ /malayat/ 'long' (singular), /mallayat/ 'long' (plural).

2.3.2 Vowels

- /i:/u/ /qitong/ 'ant', /qutong/ 'sharp'; /gisig/ 'to tear', /gusig/ 'to split open'.
 /i:/o/ /qipos/ 'cockroach', /qopos/ 'boredom'; /tuqid/ 'year', /tuqod/ 'stump'.
 /i:/a/ /liqag/ 'to play', /laqag/ 'to lose'; /pila/ 'how many', /pala/ 'shovel'.
 /u:/o/ /sulod/ 'relative', /solod/ 'enter'; /gapun/ 'cloud', /gapon/ 'to chase'.
 /u:/a/ /qubat/ 'lie', /qabat/ 'to slash'; /palu/ 'heel', /pala/ 'shovel'.
 /o:/a/ /botu/ 'to explode', /batu/ 'rock'; /qutong/ 'sharp', /qutang/ 'debt'.

/i:/ii/ /gusiɔ/ 'to split open', /siii/ (species of snail).
 /u:/uu/ /quntul/ 'really', /tuul/ (species of spider).
 /o:/oo/ /pitow/ 'to look', /toow/ (species of bird).
 /a:/aa/ /gapun/ 'cloud', /gaapun/ 'long ago'.

s.4 Distribution of phonemes

2.4.1 Consonants

All consonants occur in syllable initial position. /w/ has not been found syllable final following /i/ nor syllable initial preceding /u/. /h/ never occurs in intervocalic position or in word final position.

When a CVC syllable is followed by a CV or CVC syllable, a two-consonant cluster occurs across the syllable boundary. In such a cluster all consonants except /h/ may occur as the first member and all consonants, including /h/, may occur as the second member.

2.4.2 Vowels

Each of the four vowels occurs in all syllable patterns.

When a CV syllable is followed by a VC or V syllable, vowel clusters result. No vowel clusters, however, have been observed that are not suspect, that is, one of the vowels is high and may be interpreted as a semivowel, or both vowels are the same and may be regarded as a single unit. In all occurrences of the nonsuspect vowels /a/ and /o/ within a word the vowels are separated from each other by consonants.⁷ All other possible vowel clusters of two members have been noted: /ii/, /ia/, /io/, /iu/, /aa/, /ai/, /au/, /oo/, /oi/, /ou/, /uu/, /ui/, /ua/, and /uo/. Examples are: /po.di.i/ 'to halve'; /qu.pi.a/ 'good'; /bi.oq/ 'female chief'; /bi.u/ 'to turn'; /ba.ag/ 'loincloth'; /ka.i/ 'here'; /qa.ma.ung/ 'trousers'; /bo.ow/ 'food for the trail'; /wo.ig/ 'water'; /mo.uq/ 'decayed'; /hu.us/ 'shoo' (to a pig); /ku.il/ (species of bird); /bu.a/ 'maybe'; and /du.oy/ 'a second wife'.

Affixation accounts for the diverse clusters of three vowels that have been recorded. Such clusters, however, rarely occur since few stems end in a vowel cluster. No triple occurrences of identical vowels have been noted. /sa.li.u.an/, /sa.li.u.i/, /og.sa.li.u.on/, 'to trade'; /bi.u.on/ 'to turn'; /qu.a.an/ 'to jounce'.

3. Stress

Stress in Tigwa Manobo is predictable. Primary stress (´) falls normally on the penultimate syllable, except that on 3-syllable words it falls on the antepenult. Secondary stress (˘) falls normally on the third syllable before the primary stress, except that in 4-syllable words it falls on the first syllable.

2-syllable	/qúg.pit/	'bolo'
3-syllable	/bá.ka.ka/	'kingfisher'
4-syllable	/bì.goq.bí.goq/	(species of eel)
5-syllable	/tà.la.sing.tá.sing/	(species of bird)
6-syllable	/qog.pà.ka.ti.núg.puq/	'jump'

4. h/∅ alternations

Stem-initial h is lost when it becomes intervocalic through the adding of a prefix. Examples:

ka- + haldok > kaaldok 'afraid'

CV-reduplication + homut + -i > hoomuti 'very fragrant'

tala- + hadi > talaadi 'siblings'

paka + himoloy > pokoimoloy 'able to rest'

Similarly, word-initial h is lost when fused with a preceding vowel-final particle. Examples:

damagi nu ka hadi nu >

damagi nu kaadi nu 'Tend your younger brother.'

so hunqa no ogkinaanglan >

sounqa nogkinaanglan 'what is first needed'

In nondeliberate speech, morpheme-initial h preceded by a consonant is dropped, and the preceding consonant is doubled. Examples:

CVC-reduplication + hipanow > hippipanow 'walking'

pa- + CVC-reduplication + hutuk + -oy > pouttutukoy 'mutually repeat'

pa- + CVC-reduplication + habol + -oy >
paabbaboloy 'share a blanket'

pa- + CVC-reduplication + hidogoq + -oy >
poiddidogoqoy 'mutually overnight'

pig- + himu > piggimu 'made'

CVC-reduplication + himulung + -i > himmimulungi 'lower one's voice'

qin- + holos > qinnolos 'hidden'

pa- + CVC-reduplication + hinggat + -oy > poingnginggatoy
'mutually tease'

5. a/o alternations5.1 o > a

With suffixation, o or oo preceding w or y in the stem ultima are replaced by a or aa. Examples:

bogoy + -i > bogayi 'five'

takow + -on > takawon 'steal'

pa- + CVC-reduplication + samboy + -oy > pasamsambayoy 'take turns'

husoy + -a > husaya 'judge'

qagoloy + -an > qagolayan 'cornfield'

boow + -i > baawi 'cool (it)'

hiboow + -on > hibaawon 'cool off'

o in stem-final -oq is replaced by a when followed by an a-initial suffix. Examples:

qugpoq + -an > qugpaqan 'dwelling place'

qinsoq + -an > qinsaqaan 'asked'

sopoq + -a > sopaqa 'chew'

The same replacement of o by a in stem-final -oq occurs when -oq is followed by an qa-initial form. Examples:

konoq 'no, not'

konaq qa 'I cannot.'

wadoq 'no not, none'

wadaq qa nakasagpit 'I did not stop off.'

wadaq qagoloy 'There is no corn.'

When an oq-final stem is suffixed by -d, they reduce to -ad.⁸
Examples:

dioq + -d > diad 'there (far) now'

soyoq + -d > soyad 'there (near) now'

konoq + -d > konad 'not now'

wadoq + -d > wadad 'none now'

5.2 a > o.

Stem-final a is replaced by o when followed by a suffix in which the vowel is other than a. Examples:

basa + -on > basoon 'read'

ma- + ponga + -i > mapongoi 'finished'

pa- + CVC-reduplication + duma + -oy > padumdumooy 'mutually accompany'

This replacement of a by o occurs also when an a-final stem is followed by an go-initial morpheme. Example:

nadoga 'He is disgusted.'

nadogo qon 'He is disgusted now.'

a is also replaced by o in the prefixes of the Ca and Caka pattern when they are affixed to g-initial and h-initial stems whose first vowels are other than a. Stem-initial h is lost. Examples:

ka- + qitis > koqitis 'will spill'

maka- + qolog > mokoqolog 'fit'

na- + quma > noquma 'arrived'

paka- + himoloy > pokoimoloy 'able to rest'

pa- + hondini > poondini 'cause to come here'

ma- + humol > moumol 'soft'

When an qa- or go-initial stem occurs with a Ca- prefix plus CVC-reduplication and with the suffix -oy, the g of the reduplication and the a of Ca- are lost. When qi- or qu-initial stems are affixed in this way the g of the reduplication is retained and the a of Ca- is replaced by o. Examples:

pa- + qak- + qakal + -oy > pakqakaloy 'mutually betray'

ma- + qod- + qodok + -oy > modqodokoy 'mutually plant rice'

pa- + qil- + qiling + -oy > poqilqilingoy 'mutually compare'

ma- + qum- + qumow + -oy > moqumqumawoy 'mutually summon'

6. Other alternations within words

6.1 Assimilation

When a stem beginning with a voiceless consonant or b is prefixed by Can-, the n of the prefix and the stem-initial consonant fuse to form a single nasal at the point of articulation of the initial consonant. /q/ and /h/ pattern as velars.

pan- + pallaguy > pamallaguy 'running'

nan- + tigus > nanigus 'leaking'

man- + kali > mangali 'digging'

pan- + qulaluy > pangulaluy 'screaming'

nan- + saliu > nanaliu 'trading'

man- + hibat > mangibat 'lying on one's back'

pan- + batbat pamatbat 'relating an account'

When Can- is prefixed to a stem beginning with m, ng, and g, the -n of the prefix assimilates to the point of articulation of the initial consonant. Examples are:

man- + gongon > manggongon 'touching'

pan- + miqmiq > pammiqmiq 'flatten'

man- + ngisak > mangngisak 'smiling'

When Can- is prefixed to other consonants there is no morphophonemic change, for example:

pan- + naqasnaqas > pannaqasnaqas 'whispering'

nan- + diqok > nandiqok 'stepping'

pan- + lipodong > panlipodong 'sleeping'

nan- + waliqwaliq > nanwaliqwaliq 'teasing'

man- + yowyow > manyowyow 'scorning'

The n of the qin- prefix assimilates to the point of articulation of the stem-initial consonants b, g, and ng; and with h, the h assimilates to the n (Section 4.). When qin- is prefixed to other stem-initial consonants, n does not assimilate. Examples:

qin- + bogoy > qimbogoy 'gave'

qin- + gapon > qinggapon 'chased'

qin- + ngadan > qingngadan 'named'

qin- + holos > qinnolos 'hidden'

6.2 Addition of q

When certain a-final stems are suffixed, q is added between the stem and suffix. Examples:

qasawa + -on > qasawoqon 'marry'

ma- + CVC-reduplication + giba + -oy > magibgiboqoy 'sit on each other's lap'

kita + -a > kitaqa 'see'

pamula + -an > pamulaqan 'plant'

baba + -i > baboqi 'carry on the back'

6.3 Syllable loss

When reduplicated stems are suffixed, the portion following the initial CVC of the reduplication and preceding the final two stem syllables is lost. Examples:

qasawa + -on > qasawoqon 'marry'

ma- + CVC-reduplication + giba + -oy > magibgiboqoy 'sit on each other's lap'

kita + -a > kitaqa 'see'

pamula + -an > pamulaqan 'plant'

baba + -i > baboqi 'carry on the back'

6.3 Syllable loss

When reduplicated stems are suffixed, the portion following the initial CVC of the reduplication and preceding the final two stem syllables is lost. Examples:

qanggamqanggam + -on > qangqanggamon 'act in a niece or nephew relationship'

langanlangan + -an > langlanganan 'to loiter'

lasilasi + -on > laslasion 'to perform an act often'

7. Other alternations across word boundaries

7.1 Particle fusion with preceding word

Contractions that result in loss of certain phonemes are frequent in Tigwa Manobo. Most of these contractions involve the fusion of a monosyllabic particle with a preceding word, and in this fusion the vowel of the particle is lost. Other morphophonemic processes may also be at work at the same time, as in the last three examples below (see Sections 7.2, 7.4). Examples:

hondoqi ka duma nu > hondoqik duma nu 'Where is your companion?'

noquma niu si Towoq dioq to lunsud > noquma nius Towoq diot lunsud
'You came upon Towoq there in the village?'

qimbogoy ku ki Asang > qimbogoy kuk Asang 'I gave it to Asang.'

kagi ni Ayongkoq > kagin Ayongkoq 'says Ayongkoq'

pigtudluqan qa nikandin > pigtudluqan qan kandin 'I was taught by him.'

konoq no kandin > konon kandin 'not his own'

soqini so batoq > soqis batoq 'this child'

dadua no puluq > daduam puluq 'twenty'

7.2 Loss of n or q before particles

Word-final n or q is dropped before a particle (7.1) or an qog- prefix (7.3) and fuses with the particle or prefix. Examples:

moqupia man so pogqugpoq noy dutun to Iglogsad > moqupia mas
pogqugpoq noy dutut Iglogsad 'Good indeed is our life there
in Iglogsad.'

konoq no kandin no taligoboq > konon kandin no taligoboq 'not
his own garden'

mosiq so qaldow no kai to soqini > mosis qaldow no kait soqini
'when the sun was in this position'

konoq ka paq qogloqus > konoq ka pagloqus 'Don't proceed yet.'

The demonstrative pronouns soqini and duqon have been observed to lose their final syllable before marking particles so and to. o of the particles is lost (see Section 7.1). Examples:

soqini so baton > soqis baton 'this child'

soqini to Bunakow > soqit Bunakow 'here at Bunakow'

duqon to lama > dut lama 'there in the yard'

7.3 Prefix reduction

When the prefix qog- is preceded by a CV monosyllabic particle, a pronoun enclitic of the CV or CVw/CVy patterns, or a word ending in an open syllable, the qo of the prefix is lost, and the two words fuse. Examples:

hontow ka qogbayad kaniu > hontow kagbayad kaniu 'Who is the one
paying for you?'

qogduma ki to qogsasagop > qogduma ki togsasagop 'We will go to
catch fish.'

konoq ki qogpamula to saging > konoq kigpamulat saging 'We will
not plant banana (shoots).'

koq kow qogkagi > koq kowkagi 'Don't talk.'

dini koy qogpuqun > dini koygpuqun 'We started from here.'

basta qogkoqupiqan koy no qogtopak > bastagkoqupiqan koy nogtopak
'if we wish to go to the water'

ko qogbuyuq to saging > kogbuyuq to saging 'if he asks for
bananas'

Also, if the word or particle preceding the qog- ends in n or q, the n or q is also lost (see Section 7.2). Examples:

konoq koy man qian qogkaaldok > konoq koy man qiagkaaldok 'We
just aren't afraid.'

dioq qogpuqun to dibaboq > diogpuqut dibaboq 'coming from down-
stream'

basta duqon qogqogot > basta duqogqogot 'if there is one who scolds''

When the prefix qin- is preceded by the marking particle ka, qi of the prefix is lost, and the two words fuse. Examples:

hontow ka qinkita nu > hontow kankita nu 'Who was it you saw?'
 ka qintaguq nu gabiqi > kantaguq nu gabiqi 'The one you put
 there yesterday.'

When the prefix nig- is preceded by one of the marking particles ka, so, or to, a pronoun enclitic of the CV or CVw/CVy patterns, or a word ending in an open syllable, ig of the prefix is lost, and the two words fuse. Examples:

ka nigpatoy > kanpatoy 'the one who died'
 hondoqi so nigbotu > hondoqi sonbotu 'Where was the explosion?'
 nataman to nigpagundolag qa > nataman tonpagundolag qa 'after I
 walked across the flat land'
 wadoq qa nigpitow > wadaq qanpitow 'I didn't look.'
 waq kow nigkita to dalan > waq kownkitat dalan 'You didn't see
 the trail?'
 waq koy nigkamot > waq koynkamot 'We didn't make a swidden.'
 dini nigpuqun > dininpuqun 'They started from here.'

7.4 n assimilation to following word

Word-final n assimilates to the point of articulation of an initial p, t, k, b, or d of the following word, but no such assimilation occurs before non-stops. Examples:

polodon pad > polodom pad 'They will yet fell it.'
 napotow on bua > napotow om bua 'Maybe they were surprised.'
 duqon koy qon > duqong koy qon 'There we were then.'

This assimilation also takes effect when a nonfinal n has become final through fusion and vowel loss (7.1). Examples:

dadua no puluq > daduan puluq > daduam puluq 'twenty'
 maqama ni Boi > maqaman Boi > maqamam Boi 'brother of Boi'
 tuguni nu paq > tugunin paq > tugunim paq 'Send for him.'

STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS

Edited by
Casilda Edrial-Luzares
Austin Hale

Managing Editor
Marjorie Cook

VOLUME 3

1979

NUMBER 1

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF THE PHILIPPINES
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS