

MORPHOPHONEMICS

1.0. The phonemes of Daga are thirteen consonants and five vowels. The consonants are the stops p, b, t, d, k, and g; the nasals m and n; the semivowels w and y; the lateral r; and the fricatives s and v.

The voiceless stops are unaspirated, and utterance-finally, unreleased. The nasal /n/ has a velar variant [ŋ] preceding velar stops. The liquid /r/ consists of flap [ɾ] and lateral [l] in free variation. The voiced fricative /v/ freely varies between a bilabial [ɸ] and a labiodental [ɸ] articulation.

The vowels are i, e, a, u, and o. The front vowel /i/ has a high open variant [i] before word-final /n/. The mid front vowel occurs as mid close [e] contiguous to another vowel, word medially preceding /w/, and word finally in free variation with [ɛ]. Mid open [ɛ] occurs in all other positions.

Some words exhibit free variation between /s/ and /t/, some show free variation between the sequences /ai/ and /ei/, and in closed syllables there is free variation between /o/ and /u/.

1.1. Morphophonemic Rules. (1) There are four morphophonemes G, R, S, and W which occur as the final segment of some stems and one suffix (-niS '(intensive)'). These morphophonemes have the following phonemic shapes when followed by a suffix:

Morpho- phoneme	followed by /i/ or /e/	followed by /a/, /o/, or /u/	followed by consonant	word final
G	g	g	---	k
R	r	r	ra	t
S	s	t	---	t
W	v	w	wa	o
batnaG count	+ -en 3p/p	= batnagen 'they counted'		
batnaG count	+ # 2s/imp	= batnak 'count!'		

waR get	+	-an 3p/p	=	waran 'they got'		
waR get	+	-nege me	+	-an 3p/p	=	waranegen 'they got me'
waR get	+	# 2s/imp	=	wat 'get (it)!'		
yamoS lick	+	-ivin ls/pr/cont	=	yamosivin 'I am licking'		
yamoS lick	+	-ain 3p/f	=	yamotain 'they will lick'		
yamoS lick	+	# 2s/imp	=	yamot 'lick!'		
yaW see	+	-ivin ls/pr/cont	=	yavivin 'I am seeing'		
yaW see	+	-an 3p/p	=	yawan 'they saw'		
yaW see	+	-nege me	+	-an 3p/p	=	yawanegen 'they saw me'
yaW see	+	# 2s/imp	=	yao 'see!'		

It should be noted that S was apparently a phoneme a few generations ago. The low frequency contrast between /s/ and /t/ is found mainly in words borrowed from English and Hiri Motu. Similarly, W was a phoneme two generations ago. The few contrasts between /v/ and /w/ are found only in words borrowed from English.

(2) There are three stems which do not conform to the above rules; when followed by a consonant the stem-final morphophoneme is lost.

unuG enter	+	-nege me	+	-en 3s/p	=	ununegen 'he (spirit) entered me'
yagiR burn	+	-nege me	+	-iwan 3s/pr/cont	=	yaginegiwan 'it is burning me'

ewas	+	-nege	+	-en	=	ewanegen
show		me		3s/p		'he showed me'

(3) All stems ending in consonants other than G, R, S, and W add /a/ when followed by a consonant-initial suffix.

en	+	-ne	+	-en	=	enanen
put/in		us		3s/p		'he put us in'

(4) The final consonant of prefixes in affix-derived stems assimilates in point of articulation to the contiguous root-initial consonant.

em-benag-en
stick-tear-ls/p
'I stuck into and tore (it)'

en-dum-an
stick-split-ls/p
'I stuck into and split (it)'

(5) When a morpheme-initial /w/ is preceded by a back vowel /o/ or /u/, the /w/ is lost.

amo	+	-wan	=	amoan
go		pr/cont		'they are going'

(6) Following vowel-final stems, except Classes A₁ and A₂, and vowel-final suffixes, the initial vowel of a vowel-initial suffix is lost. If the initial vowel is /i/ it is retained. No example of a stem final /i/ is included because all /i/-final verb stems are Class A₁.

na	+	-an	=	nan
eat		ls/p		'I ate'

na	+	-ivin	=	naivin
eat		ls/pr/cont		'I am eating'

to	+	-nege	+	-en	=	tonegen
hit		me		3s/p		'he hit me'

to	+	-mo	+	-an	=	tomon
hit		them		ls/p		'I hit them'

tunu	+	-an	=	tunun
cook		ls/p		'I cooked'

(7) When an /i/-initial suffix follows a vowel-final suffix the final vowel of the first suffix is lost, except in the third person plural object suffix where all vowels are retained. In the verb se 'put' the vowel of the verb stem is lost when an /i/-initial suffix occurs. All other vowel-final verb stems retain the final vowel and the initial /i/ of the suffix.

to	+	-nege	+	-iwan	=	tonegiwan
hit		me		3s/pr/ cont		'he is hitting me'

to	+	-mo	+	-iwan	=	tomoiwan
hit		them		3s/pr/ cont		'he is hitting them'

se	+	-ivin	=	sivin
put		ls/pr/cont		'I am putting'

na	+	-ivin	=	naivin
eat		ls/pr/cont		'I am eating'

(8) The third singular intimate possessive suffix, which is -e, replaces the final vowel in vowel-final nouns.

yama	yam-e
eye	eye-his
meima	meim-e
husband	husband-her
ina	in-e
mother	mother-his

(9) When an /a/-initial suffix follows the first and second person singular continuous suffix -ingi, the final /i/ of -ingi is lost.

waR	+	-ingi	+	-apen	=	waringapen
get		ls/cont		sub		'I should get'

ta	+	-ingi	+	-an	=	taingan
do		2s/cont		plg		'you keep on doing'

(10) Contractions optionally occur when a word-final /a/ is followed by a word-initial /a/.

amba	ag-ean	=	/ambagean/
where	go-2s/p		'Where did you go?'

wa	aton-as-iwan	=	/watonasiwan/
say	happy-vz-3s/pr/cont		'he is praising'

(11) With a few exceptions, the location clitic -a occurs on consonant-final nouns; the location clitic -p occurs on vowel-final nouns.

tonan-a
door-lc
'at the door'

nani-p
hand-lc
'at his hand'

(12) The first singular intimate possessive suffix -na becomes -ana following consonant-final nouns.

oaen-ana
woman-my
'my wife'

nani-na
hand-my
'my hand'

(13) The allomorphs of the medial verb suffixes are conditioned by the final phoneme of the person/tense suffix. The basic form -a in the second person singular and plural follows a consonant-final person/tense suffix. The allomorph -ana follows a vowel-final person/tense suffix.

war-aan-a
get-2s/p-m
'you got (it)...'

war-ai-ana
 get-2s/f-m
 'you will get (it)...'

The basic medial form -i of the first person plural follows those person/tense suffixes which end in -on. The allomorph -oni follows the consonant /t/.

war-iton-i
 get-lp/p-m
 'we got (it)...'

war-ait-oni
 get-lp/f-m
 'we will get (it)...'

(14) The nominalizer suffix has two allomorphs, -at and zero. The zero allomorph follows verb stems ending in S, and -at occurs on all other stems.

anu tumaS	+	#	=	anu tumat		
believe		nom		'faith'		
anu waramaS	+	#	=	anu waramat		
confuse		nom		'confusion'		
yaW	+	-at	+	wan	=	yawat wan
see		nom		he/said		'He said that he saw (it).'