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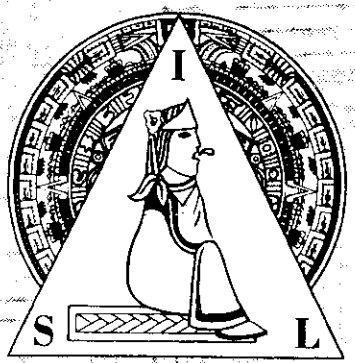

ASIAN-PACIFIC SERIES, NUMBER 8

MAMANWA GRAMMAR

Jeanne and Helen Miller

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LANGUAGE DATA

Asian-Pacific Series No. 8

(Also published as Language Data Microfiche AP 8)

MAMANWA GRAMMAR

by

Jeanne and Helen Miller

Summer Institute of Linguistics
Huntington Beach, California 92648

LANGUAGE DATA is a serial publication of the Summer Institute of Linguistics with international headquarters at Huntington Beach, California 92648. The series is intended as an outlet for data-oriented papers authored by members of the Institute. All volumes are issued as microfiche editions, while certain selected volumes are also printed in offset editions. A listing of available volumes will be sent on request.

Published 1976

Printed by F.E.B.C., Marshburn Press
Manila, Philippines

ISBN 0-88312-208-1
(also microfiche 0-88312-308-8)

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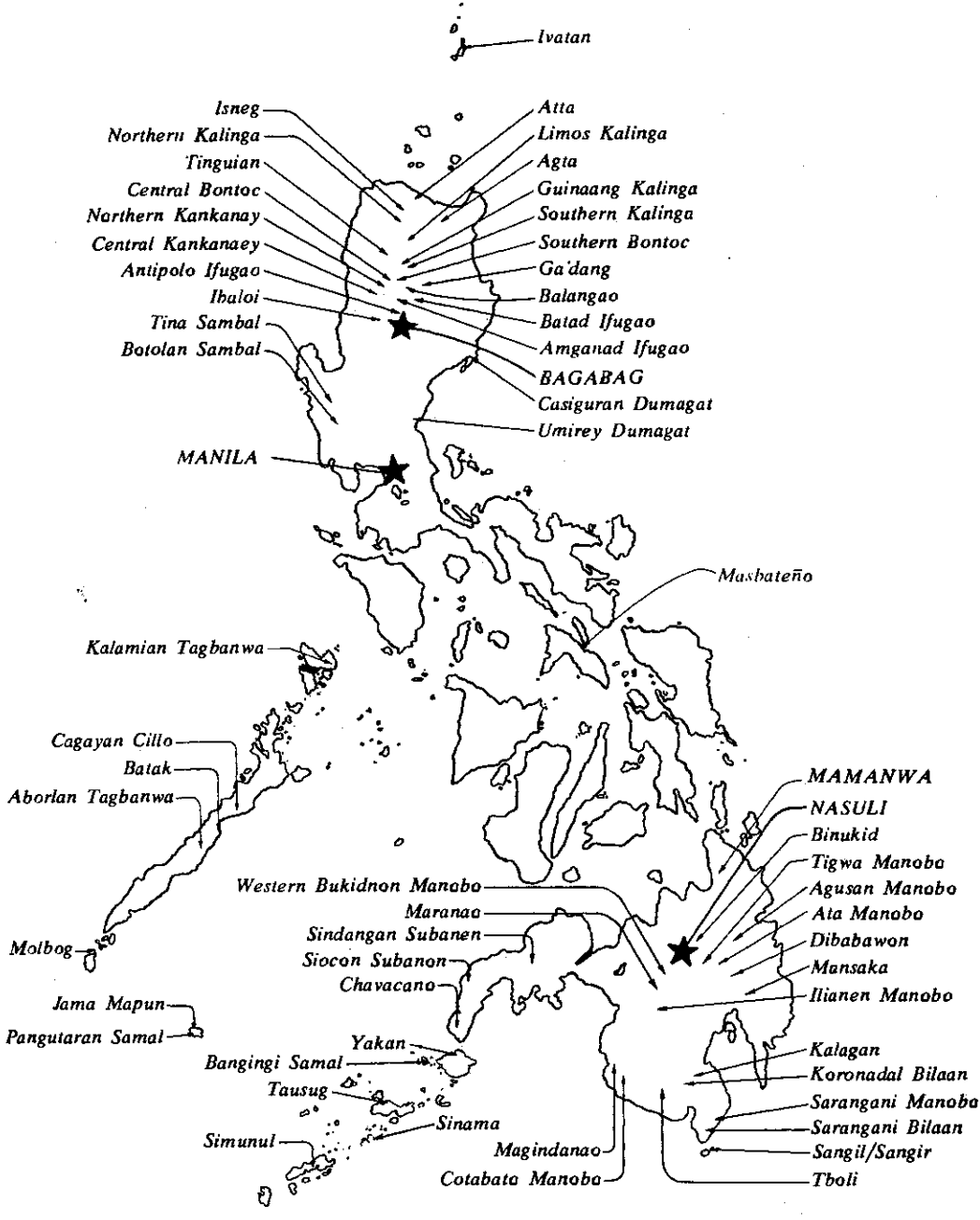

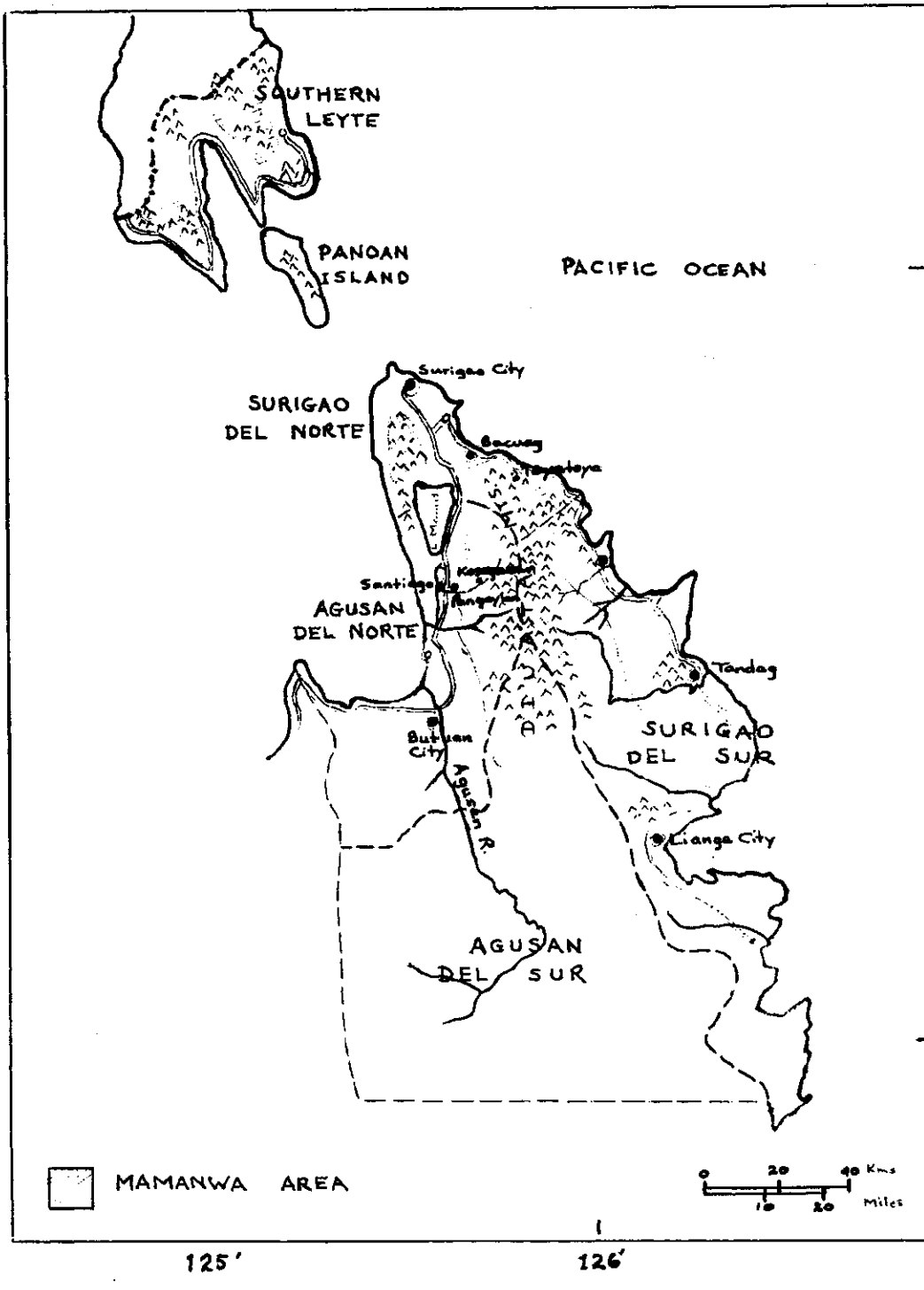
SOUTHERN LEYTE
PANOAN ISLAND
PACIFIC OCEAN
10°
Surigao City
SURIGAO DEL NORTE
Bacuag
Santiago
AGUSAN DEL NORTE
Tandag
SURIGAO DEL SUR
Butuan City
Agusan R.
Lianga City
AGUSAN DEL SUR
8°
MAMANWA AREA
0 20 40 Kms
10 20 Miles
125°
126°

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Following a listing of the symbols used in formulas, abbreviations appearing in most or all levels are listed. These are followed by a listing of abbreviations and symbols at the structural level to which they are most relevant in this volume.

SYMBOLS USED IN FORMULAS

+	obligatory
±	optional
( )	functioning together as a unit
< >	class of morphemes or other slot fillers
n	(superscript) the item may be repeated any number of times
=	is composed of
:	filled by, manifested by
/	or

ABBREVIATIONS APPEARING ON MOST OR ALL LEVELS

adv	advisability adjunct
attn	attention adjunct
bec	because
cmp	completive particle
dem	demonstrative pronoun
desid	desiderative adjunct
dqp	direct quotation particle
emph	emphatic
emph poss	emphatic possessor
eqp	equative particle
exc	exclusive
excl	exclamation
exis	existential particle
immed	immediately
imp	imperative mode
inc	inclusive
IndCl	Independent Clause
intr	interrogative particle
iqp	indirect quotation particle
neg	negative
nip	new information particle
ntp	nontopic case-marking particle or pronoun
O	object focus
ph	phrase
pl	plural
pron	pronoun
R	referent focus
ref	referent particle
rsp	reported speech particle

s	singular
S	subject as actor in focus
Si	simultaneous aspect
Subp	subordinating particle
surp	surprise adjunct
superl	superlative degree
thp	theme particle or pronoun
tp	topic case-marking particle or pronoun

PHONOLOGY

[x]	phonetic representation
/x/	phonemic representation
'	primary stress
"	secondary stress
C	consonant
V	vowel
q	glottal stop

NOUN PHRASES

Dg	degree of quality or quantity
D	distributive affix
Emph Dem NP	Emphatic Demonstrative noun phrase
Emph Poss NP	Emphatic Possessor noun phrase
H	noun head
incl cl	included clause
Lo NP	Locative noun phrase
M	modification tagmeme
Ms	measure
Nu ph	Number phrase
Poss	possessive tagmeme
Ser NP	Serial noun phrase
Sim NP	Simple noun phrase
Sim Poss NP	Simple Possessor noun phrase
Ti NP	Time noun phrase
thp	theme particle or pronoun
Top NP	Topic noun phrase

AFFIXATION

A	accessory focus
Ab	possibility aspect
Au	augmentative aspect
B	action-begun aspect
Ca	causative aspect
Cv	continuative aspect
Dim	diminutive aspect
D	distributive aspect
Imp	imperative mode
Nb	action-not-begun aspect

Npur	nonpurposeful aspect
O	object focus
R	referent focus
Rec	reciprocal aspect
Refx	reflexive aspect
Rep	repetitive aspect
Si	simultaneous aspect
S	subject focus
St	indicative stative mode
Tp	topic case-marking particle
#	the zero shape of a morpheme
-	separates an affix from a stem

CLAUSES

AccA	Accessory as item involved in the action
AccB	Accessory as benefitor of the action
AccI	Accessory as instrument
Act	Actor
Ben	Benefactive
Ca	Causer
Cl	Clause
CondT	Conditional Temporal
De	Descriptive
Dep	Dependent
e	emphasized tagmeme in a kernel verbal clause
Em	emphasized tagmeme in a nonverbal clause
Eq	Equational
eqp	equative particle
Ex	Existential
f	focus
G	Goal
IC	Included clause
Id	Identification
Imp	Imperative mode
Into	Intonation
Intr	Interrogative
Intro	Introduced
M	Manner
NT	Narrative Temporal
nt	nontopic
O	Object
p	particle
Po	Possessive
Pr	Predicate
pron	pronoun
R	Referent
Rlo	Referent location
S	Subject
SCmNP	Simple case marked noun phrase

Sta	Indicative Stative mode
T	Topic
V	Verb stem class
?	ambiguous focus marker

SENTENCES

Alt	Alternative
Ant	Antithetical
B	Base
Cl	Clause
ConcM	Concessive Margin
CondM	Conditional Margin
Coor	Coordinate
DQF	Direct Quote Formula
Eq	Equational
Exis	Existential
idp	identificational particle
IndSt	Indicative Stative mode
lndQP	Indirect Quote Formula
IndQsF	Indirect Question Formula
lk	link
MT	Mistsken Thought
nonvb	nonverbal
NTemM	Narrative Temporal Margin
PurM	Purpose Margin
Ques	Question
RAS	Relator Axis Sentence
ReaM	Reason Margin
resp	response
rp	respect particle
S	Sentence
Sim	Simple
STop	Sentence Topic
Voc	Vocative
WogM	Warning Margin

Temporal Deep Structure symbols

Punctiliar motion

Extended motion 

Motion towards a goal 

State of being 

Series of actions

PARAGRAPHS

ACT	Activity tagmeme
BU	Build-up
CL	Climax
cplx	complex sentence
DQF	Direct Quote Formula
DQS	Direct Quote Sentence

Exhor	Exhortation
Expo	Expoaition
FIN	Fínis
PAREN	Parenthesis
PRELIM	Preliminary
PTop	Paragraph Topic
REINF	Reinforcement
RESOL	Resolution
Res	Result
S	Step
SD	Step down
SET	Setting
SIMEX	Simple Exchange
SS	Simultaneous Step
STIM	Stimulus
TERM	Terminus
term mker	terminal marker
∅	deletion of subject or object tagmeme

DEFINITION OF SYMBOLS USED IN CHAPTERS 5 AND 6

$a \in U$	Term a is an element of set U.
a,b, ..., n	Terms of predicates, always written immediately to the right of the predication containing them.
x,y	Further predicate terms with a spacial or temporal function.
a'	Synonym or situational equivalent of term a.
a"	Antonym or situational opposite of term a.
Eab	Equational predication. "term a is b"
P,Q,R(but not U)	Predicates.[1] If terms have been assigned to some or all of the variables to form an acceptable statement, the reault is called a predication. With no terms specified, predicate symbols without temporal quantifiers refer to the entire predication. With terms specified, they refer to the predicator only.
$\bar{P}$	Negation of predicate P.
P'	Predication involving a synonym or situational equivalent of a lexical item with the same function in P.

The following three symbols are used as temporal quantifiers of predicates:

$\underline{P}$	P denoting a non-punctiliar activity or state.
$\dot{P}$	P denoting a punctiliar event.
$\underline{P} \wedge Q$	P denoting a non-punctiliar activity or state which overlaps in time with a punctiliar event in Q.

$P \supset Q$	If P, then Q.
Pa	P with first term (actor) a.
Pab	P with first term (actor) a, and a subsequent term b which may or may not function as goal.
Pa $\wedge$ Qb	P with first term (actor) a, and Q with first term (actor) b, distinct from a. If no terms are specified in a predicate, it is understood that the actors may be either the same or different.
Pa $\wedge$ Qa	P with first term (actor) a, and Q with the same first term (actor) a.
P(a) $\wedge$ P(b) ... $\wedge$ P(n)	Conjunction of n identical predications with nonidentical terms having the same function in each predication.
P_{β}	Operator β changes the positive-negative value of P so that every predicate in the expression takes one of the two values. For example, $[P_{\beta} \supset Q_{\beta}] \wedge P \wedge Q$ means any one of the four possibilities: $[\bar{P} \supset \bar{Q}] \wedge P \wedge Q$, $[\bar{P} \supset Q] \wedge \bar{P} \wedge Q$, $[P \supset \bar{Q}] \wedge P \wedge Q$, or $[P \supset Q] \wedge P \wedge \bar{Q}$.
P(a)	P involving term a which has the same function as any other term or terms enclosed in parentheses in the same expression.
P v Q	P or Q or both (inclusive disjunction).
$P \not\equiv Q$	Either P or Q, but not both (exclusive disjunction).
$P_{\forall a}$	P with universally quantified participant term a which may or may not have the same function in other predications in the expression.
$P_{\forall t}$	P with universally quantified temporal term t which may or may not have the same function in other predications in the expression.
P(U)	P with universal set U as a term which has the same function as other terms in the expression which are enclosed in parentheses. For example, in $\bar{P}(U) \wedge P(a)$, U has the same function in $\bar{P}$ as term a has in P.

The following seven symbols occur with subscripts preposed to predicate symbols, distinct from the terms of the respective predicates, which occur postposed. These preposed subscripts relate P to a following predicate in the same expression.

aP	P with a reporting function denoting awareness of a statement in the following predicate.
cP	Metalanguage predicate with a calling or naming relationship to the following predicate.
gP	P involving a more generic term which contrasts with a corresponding and more specific term in predicate sP.

iP	P denoting an intent relationship with the following predicate.
sP	P involving a more specific term which contrasts with a corresponding and more generic term in gP.
tP	P which denotes a mistaken idea in the following predicate.
wP	P which denotes reported speech in the following predicate, with no implication about whether or not the statement results in a corresponding action.

The following symbol is similar to the seven above, but relates to the preceding predicate instead.

pQ	Q has a purposive relationship (final cause) to the preceding predicate. That is, the preceding predicate was for the purpose of Q.
$\exists$P	Existential[2] predication. "There is _____."
t	Predicate term with a temporal function.
U	Universal set, such as the set of all people or all places.
$\overline{U - a}$	Complement of set U - a.
$\forall$a	Universal quantifier. "for every term a."
$\exists$	Existential quantifier.
( )	Expression enclosed in parentheses, which must be more than just a predicate term, is an unstated presupposition with respect to the remainder of the expression not so enclosed.
[ ]	Expression so enclosed must be grouped as one unit.
$P \wedge \begin{Bmatrix} P \\ Q \\ R \end{Bmatrix}$	The three expressions P $\wedge$ P, P $\wedge$ Q, and P $\wedge$ R.

0 INTRODUCTION

0.1 Language classification
0.2 Geographical location
0.3 Dialect notes
0.4 History
0.5 Social organization and economic life
0.6 Objective
0.7 Approach
0.8 Acknowledgements and previous publications

0.1 LANGUAGE CLASSIFICATION

Mamanwa is a Malayo-Polynesian language classified by Dyen (1965) as a member of the Visayan language family of the Southern Philippines. According to comparative studies being made by Kemp Pallesen, the Southern Visayan language family historically has two main branches which are Proto-Surigao and Proto-Mansaka. From Proto-Surigao are descended Mamanwa, Surigaonon, Butuanon, Kamayo, and Tausug. Comparison of standard 372 word lists yields the following percentages of shared cognates with Mamanwa: Surigaonon 82%, Butuanon 77%, Bislig Kamayo 75%, Tausug 57%, and Cebuano 69% (Pallesen, 1975).

A dialect survey needs to be done which will give the percentage of intra-branch mutual intelligibility of Proto-Surigao.

The Mamanwa language area, shown on the map on page 6\, is bordered on the north and east by Surigaonon, on the west by a mixed dialect of Surigaonon and Cebuano, on the southwest by Butuanon, and on the southeast by Bislig Kamayo.

Variations of the name Mamanwa are Mamaw, Amamanwa, Congking, and Conquista (Maceda, 1964). The term Conquista is used to refer to the Mamanwas living around Lake Mainit. The term Congking is derogatory in Sitio Pangaylan, Santiago, Agusan del Norte where the authors lived for extended periods from 1957 to 1975. Mamanwas in Pangaylan refer to themselves as Mamanwa and to their language as Minamanwa.

0.2 GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

The Mamanwa language is spoken by the Negritos living in the marginal, out-of-the-way places of northeastern Mindanao in Agusan and Surigao provinces, Philippines. Population figures for the Mamanwa are difficult to obtain since the places where they live are accessible only by foot travel and the majority of the Mamanwas do not live together in large settlements, but prefer to live in small houses along the mountain ridges. They occupy the foothills of the

Diuata mountains (called Panlabaw in Minamanwa) from Surigao City down to the break in the mountain range northwest of Lianga City. They also live in the mountains west and north of Lake Mainit. A small number live on Panoan Island and in the mountains of southern Leyte. The Diuata mountains are 6,601 feet at their highest point. Mamanwas probably stay below 4,000 feet since it is cold and very rocky at higher elevations. Natural resources of this area are copper and gold.

0.3 DIALECT NOTES

The Mamanwa area appears to be dialectally fairly homogeneous with slight intonation or vocabulary differences, but not to any serious degree. Zezeqan (also known as Walat), which is spoken in Bacuag and in a small area of the mountains north of Lake Mainit is laughed at and sometimes called baby talk by most Mamanwas. The majority of Mamanwas are bilingual to the degree that they have contact with the Visayans. There is a small percentage of English loan words in the Mamanwa language. In Pangaylan it is not uncommon for English loan words to be used as friendship names. The Mamanwas who are in frequent contact with Visayans tend to have a low opinion of their own language. With the Mamanwa language now reduced to writing and vernacular reading books being used in Toyatoya, Kasagazan, and Pangaylan it is hoped that the Mamanwas will develop pride in their own language. The Mamanwas are about 5% literate at present. Since reading has no function in the world of the Mamanwa, literacy work has been uphill and attention continues to be given to the problem of motivation.

0.4 HISTORY

John M. Garvan, leading authority on Filipino Negritos, states in his manuscript that the Mamanwas are full-blooded Negritos in every respect, physically and culturally (1921). When the Spaniards arrived in the Philippines the Negritos were numerous. The Spaniards gave them various names, one of which was Negritos because they resembled the Negroes of Africa, only were smaller. In general, the Spanish writers showed contempt for the Negritos, which could be due to the fact that all attempts to christianize them ended in failure (Panzio, 1967).

In local regions the Negritos were given different names and in northeastern Mindanao they were called mamanwa, derived from banwa 'forest', thus 'people of the forest'. Mamanwas, like other Filipino Negritos, are considered to be a non-Malayan race. But due to the influx of settlers and the mixture with other Malayan peoples pure Mamanwa Negritos are disappearing (Maceda, 1967).

The Mamanwas are essentially nomadic and are food gatherers, hunters, and fishers. The elusiveness and timidity of the Mamanwa gave rise in the past to the practice of silent bartering. The person who wanted to trade with the Mamanwa would leave presents of

bananas or other items on the Mamanwa trail. The next morning the person would come back to see if his presents were still there. Within a day or two he would find that the presents had been taken and replaced by honey or wild pig meat. Exchange would continue like this for weeks or months.

The Mamanwas are unsurpassed in their knowledge of the forest. They are keen observers of nature and know the medicinal, edible, and poisonous plants of the region where they live. They rely on their extraordinary physical endurance and sharp senses for survival, their senses of sight, hearing, and smell being highly developed and carefully trained.

0.5 SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND ECONOMIC LIFE

Mamanwa society is an example of the band level of primitive social organization (Service, 1972). A band is a group of no more than six nuclear families, ordinarily numbering 30-100 people, which has loose ties allying it with no more than two other bands. In the band everyone is equal in economic status, and political and religious functions are very informal. There is no legal system above the modest authority of the male elder, who is also a medicine-man. Generally speaking, decisions involving the group are actually the crystallized opinions of all adult members in the band.

Marital residence customs among the Mamanwas continue to be predominately patrilocal.

Core Mamanwa values are generosity, to be a good hunter, to work together as one unit, to respect one's elders, to remember the dead, and to avoid trouble. A Mamanwa prefers to move away without a word of warning, rather than retaliate. Tradition is a primary social control and in-group feeling is very tenacious. Kinship, not tribal loyalty, is the binding force of Mamanwa society. Because a Mamanwa thinks and acts as a member of the small primitive society in which he is born, lives, and dies, he has a seeming backwardness toward the responsibilities of citizenship.

Maceda (1967) classifies Mamanwas into three groups economically: food collectors, transitional groups, and semi-sedentary groups. A few of them own lands now and have become both farmers and food collectors. The more acculturated Mamanwas also have domesticated pigs and chickens for sacrifices and food. Camote, a tropical sweet potato, is the basic crop. In the steep mountains surrounding Pangaylan the Mamanwas practice slash and burn agriculture. Further upriver they hunt and trap wild pigs, deer, and wild chickens. A limited amount of corn, sugarcane, tobacco, squash, and bananas are grown. It is not uncommon for one family to plant and others to live off of them.

From their practice in the past of occasionally bartering items

with their lowland neighbors the Mamanwas have evolved a fairly large scale trade of rattan, abaca, and woven sleeping mats. Money economy is little understood, and in trading the Visayan middleman usually gets the best of the bargain. The men also work for lowland farmers, clearing land for planting bananas and coconut groves.

0.6 OBJECTIVE

The objective of this grammar is to make the data on the Mamanwa language available to scholars and others interested in the language. Although Mamanwa is structurally similar to other languages of the Philippines, it differs sufficiently from them to necessitate separate treatment.

0.7 APPROACH

The Phonology, Noun phrase, and Affixation Chapters are based on the theory of tagmemics as proposed by Pike (1954-60). Clause Section 4.1-5 uses Pike's expanded tagmeme and paradigm (Pike, 1963-4), while 4.6 is based on the theory of case grammar (Fillmore, 1968, Langendoen, 1970). The Sentence nuclei, Sentence margin-nucleus combinations, and Paragraph Chapters are based on Longacre's (1968) application of tagmemic theory to the analysis of sentence and paragraph structure in Philippine languages. In addition, we applied the deep structure apparatus worked out in the analysis of Inibaloi (Ballard, Conrad, and Longacre, 1971) to interclausal relations in Mamanwa in order to gain better control of the dynamics of the sentence level. The Chapter on Theme is based on Halliday (1967) and Grimes (1972).

A tagmeme is the correlation of a functional slot and the class of items which expounds it. Each symbol in the formulae represents an emic unit (tagmeme). Each unit is considered well defined only as its identifying-contrastive features are clearly described, its variations are given, and its distribution in class, sequence, and system are known. Two structures on the same level are considered distinct, according to Longacre (1964) if "(1) they exhibit at least two structural differences relative to each other, and (2) if these differences are relevant either to both obligatory and optional tagmemes in the two strings, or to more than one obligatory tagmeme. Among the structural differences serving to establish hyper-tagmemic distinctions is transform potential."

Case grammar is based primarily on the semantic case relationships inherent in verb stems, and secondarily on the way the verb and its associated nominal phrase are mapped on the surface structure. The term proposition is used for the semantic structure underlying a clause, the term predicate is used in the logical sense, not the subject predicate sense of grammatical terminology. The term argument is used for the element about which the predicate makes an assertion. We use the term case to refer to a special set of relationships which exists between a predicate and its arguments. Langendoen (1970) calls

a list of roles or cases with which a particular predicate can occur its role structure. Case relationships or situational roles that are assumed in Section 4.6 are Patient, Experiencer, Goal, Source, Instrument, Benefactive, Range, and Non-instigative Cause.

The basic thesis of the deep-surface grammar dichotomy is a) There is a pattern of contrasting surface grammar structures in any language; b) There is a pattern of contrasting deep grammar structures; and c) The two sets of categories are similar in kind but distinct.

The purpose of Chapters 6 and 7 is to describe these two sets of mutually dependent categories and their relationship to each other. We adapted the predicate and statement calculi to symbolize deep structures in interclausal relations. The symbols and their meanings are listed on pages 13-15.

0.8 ACKNDWLEDGEMENTS AND PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Field work among the Mamanwas of Sitio Pangaylan, Santiago, Agusan del Norte, was begun by Jean Shand and Doris McCorkle Abrams in 1956 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc. and the Wycliffe Bible Translators, Inc. They lived in the Santiago Elementary School for one month before the Mamanwas would agree to their living among them. They lived in Sitio Pangaylan for six months and collected data monolingually, but had no regular language helper. Jeanne Miller and Doris Walker Blood succeeded them, and Doris was responsible for a tentative analysis of the phonemes as well as the description of the /Y/ archiphoneme. She was replaced in 1958 by Helen Miller. In 1959 Julian Purogoy became the first regular language helper; he gave us more than half of the materials in our 322-page volume of Mamanwa Texts. By 1963 other Mamanwas joined him, including Lucia Amosway, Lorita Purogoy, and Roberto Culangan. From 1966 to 1973 Lolita Day-um and Julita Monos were our main helpers.

This present volume is essentially a compilation of previous articles, some published, others unpublished (see Bibliography). These articles were written at various workshops from 1959 to 1973 under the direction of Richard Roe, Elmer Wolfenden, Kenneth Pike, Joseph Grimes, Phyllis Healey, and David Thomas. The articles were left in their original form as far as possible, changing only what was necessary to make them into a unified volume and adding an introduction. Hence the different flavor of the different chapters; but we trust the total blend will please the reader's palate. Jeanne Miller wrote most of the chapter on Clauses; Helen wrote most of the chapters on Noun phrases, Affixation, Interclausal relations, and Some features of theme in discourse, and together we wrote the chapters on Phonology and Paragraphs.

We gratefully acknowledge the permission of the editors of

Anthropological Linguistics to publish (in revised form) Blood 1962; of Pacific Linguistics for H. Miller 1969, J. Miller 1969; of Oceanic Linguistics for J. Miller 1964; and of Linguistics for J. Miller 1973, H. Miller 1973.

Other previous publications on the Mamanwa people and their language include:

Castro, Lilia. The Mamanwas of Mindanao. Unpublished Master's Thasis. Talbot Theological Seminary. 80 pp. 1973.

Garvan, John M. Monograph on the Mamanwas (edited by M. Maceda and R. Rahman).

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1 PHONOLOGY

1.1 Syllables
1.2 Consonants
1.3 Vowels
1.4 Stress
1.5 Practical orthography
1.6 Text

The inventory of Mamanwa phonemes consists of /p, b, t, d, k, g, q (glottal stop), h, s, z, m, n, ŋ, l, r, w, y, i, e, a, o/.

1.1 SYLLABLES

The syllable patterns of Mamanwa are CV and CVC: mo 'your(s)', kan (case marking particle). The permissible syllable patterns may be found in various combinations within an utterance. CV.CV bá.ba 'to carry on the back', CVC.CVC sám.bag 'to answer', CV.CVC tá.nan 'all', CVC.CV kél.ba 'to worry'. The most frequent combination of syllable patterns is CV.CVC.

The high vocoids are interpreted as consonants /y/ and /w/ on the basis of distribution in these syllable patterns. Thus, ya (topic indicator), daw 'and', káy.qan 'later', gá.was 'outside'. Since there are no vowel-initial words in Mamanwa, no vowel-initial syllables are posited.

1.2 CONSONANTS

The 17 consonants of Mamanwa are: voiceless and voiced stops and nasals occurring at bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation /p, t, k; b, d, g; m, n, ŋ /; two alveolar grooved fricatives /s, z/; two liquids /l, r/; two laryngeals /h, q/; and two voiced nonsyllabic vocoids /y, w/.

Following are examples of contrast among the consonant phonemes:

p/b: pánday 'to temper', bántay 'to watch', qámpak 'wing', qámbak 'toad', qátep 'roof', sáqqeb 'to get water'.

t/d: tágad 'to wait', dágat 'sea', bátiq 'to hear', bádi 'knife', qálat 'rattan basket', qálad 'fence'.

k/g/q: káwas 'jump down', gáwas 'outside', maka- (prefix) 'ability aspect', maga- (prefix) 'continuative aspect', háwak 'waist', háwag 'to call', kay 'because', qáyqay (exclamation), píkit 'to adher to', páqit 'bitter', qázoq 'to ask', qázok 'friend'.

h/q: hálas 'snake', qálas 'o'clock', lahoŋ 'to carry on a pole', láqoŋ 'to say', qápoh 'grandmother', qaróq 'far'.

d/l/r: dípi 'across', lipát 'forget', bádi 'knife', balóto

'dugout canoe', labád 'headache', támbal 'medicine', rípaq 'dirty', báriq 'to break', gímbar 'drum'.

m/n/ŋ: manánap 'harmful animal', nánay (direct address to mother), báua 'husband', baŋaq 'bite', mámaŋ 'insect', hágdam 'to know', qóran 'rain', dáhon 'leaf', lahoŋ 'to carry on a pole', ŋa (quotative particle, subordinating particle).

s/z: ségaq 'aun', zéhet 'angry', qasáwa 'wife', qazáw 'don't'.

y: ya (topic marker), bóyak 'flower', háyhay 'to hang to dry'.

w: wáni (identificational particle), katáwa 'laugh', qabábaw 'shallow'.

/r/ is either flapped or trilled in all environments: [rapaɾapa ~ ɾapaɾapa] 'ankle', [baɾóy ~ baɾóy] 'a kind of long leafed plant', [gímbaɾ ~ gímbaɾ] 'drum'. /l/ and /r/ alternate freely word initially and medially: [líro ~ rílo] 'wristwatch', [qírek ~ qílek] 'armpit'.

/z/ has variants [z], [ž], and [ǰ]. [z] and [ž] are free variants: [zehet ~ žehet] 'angry', [mazo ~ mažo] 'your(pl)'. When [ǰ] occurs it alternates freely with [ž]: [míǰeq ~ mížeq] 'marry', [ǰawi ~ žawi] 'key', [piǰáŋa ~ pižáŋa] (type of fish). When [ǰ] does not vary to [ž] it is interpreted as the sequence of /d/ and /z/: [bíǰoq] bidzoq 'fish spear', [lóǰoq] lodzoq 'bolo-knife'.

/y/ and /z/ are in contrast in certain positions in the word and are not in contrast in other positions. Contrast is frequently found between /y/ and /z/ word medially and there are some instances of the contrast coming at the beginning of the word base. /bu.yak/ 'flower', /bu.zag/ 'camote'; /pi.yaq/ 'cat', /pi.zeŋ/ 'to close eyes'; /su.yat/ 'to write', /sa.za/ 'skirt'; /ka.yas/ 'to frighten', /ka.za.saw/ 'lizard'; /ya/ 'topic marker', /za.man/ 'onion'.

However, complementary distribution also occurs between the two in that /y/ occurs in syllable final position, but /z/ never does. Moreover, only /z/, never /y/, can occur next to a suffix (syllable initial position). The contrast between /y/ and /z/, and the neutralization of that contrast in syllable final position represent an archiphoneme[1], which we symbolize as Y in the following examples: [bay.huq] /baY.huq/ 'face'; [kay.qan] /kaY.qan/ 'later'; [ge.re.may] /ge.re.maY/ 'small'; [seng.qay] /seng.qaY/ 'to carry on shoulders'.

The contrast is also neutralized in syllable initial position contiguous to a suffix, e.g. [hay.hay] 'to hang to dry' plus [-en] becomes [hay.ha.zen]. Here the affix system is involved.[2] In this instance both the morphology and syllable structure are pertinent to the definition of the archiphoneme. When suffixes of the shape -VC occur with word bases containing final /y/ (non-contrastive /Y/), the final C becomes initial in the new syllable and the /y/ changes to /z/ (non-contrastive /Y/): CV.CVy plus -VC becomes CV.CV.zVC.

[seng.qay] 'to carry on shoulders' plus [-en] 'object focus' becomes [seng.qa.zen] /sengqaYen ya bataq/ 'He will carry the baby on his shoulder.'

[ge.re.may] 'small' plus [-ay] 'diminutive' becomes [ge.re.ma.zay] /geremaYaY/ 'very small'.

[ge.re.may] 'small' plus [-en] 'object focus' becomes [ge.re.ma.zen] /geremaYen ini pagtadtad/ 'Chop this small'.

All consonants occur initially and finally with all vowels within a single syllable, except /s/ and /z/, which do not contrast finally.

Clusters of two consonants occur frequently across syllable boundaries. There are the following restrictions: /ŋ/ occurs only as the first of a sequence and /h/, /z/, and /w/ occur only as the second of a sequence; /r/ occurs only after /b/; /n/ occurs only after /g/ and /k/. bozáŋgit 'boil', sílhig 'broom', baligzaq 'sell', bánwa 'forest', qábri 'open', tágnek 'mosquito', néknek 'flea'. Consonant clusters tend to be homorganic. sódlay 'comb', lágkaw 'house', sombálay 'neighbor'.

1.3 VOWELS

The four vowels of Mamanwa are /a, i, o, e/. /a/ is a low, central, unrounded vocoid. hádhad 'to fell timber', lópaq 'ground', qának 'egg'. [e] is an allophone of /a/ which occurs only following /t/: [tépras] tapras 'measles'. This has not been observed to contrast with [a].

/i/ is a high, front, unrounded vocoid. sílhig 'broom', kasíli 'eel', bítbit 'hand carry'. [i] alternates freely with [ɪ] word medially before bilabial and alveolar stops. [salípit ~ salípit] 'fishing spear', [kolíntas ~ kolíntas] 'necklace'.

/o/ is a back, rounded vocoid which exhibits nondistinctive variation from high to mid position. The variation to mid position depends chiefly on syllable-initial glottal stop, syllable-final glottal stop, syllable-final /ŋ/, or syllable-initial /h/. háqo 'I', táqo 'person', mapásoq 'hot', báloq 'possible if a condition is met', táŋkoŋ 'green vegetable', qíroŋ 'nose', lósoŋ 'mortar for grinding rice', hógas 'to wash', hóbag 'swollen', hómoq 'to shell corn'.

/e/ is a high, open, central, unrounded vocoid. délem 'afternoon', dédeq 'pup', bédbed 'to wind, coil so as to encircle something'. A slightly lower variant has been observed before /g/, /n/, /d/, /k/, and /r/. [báskɨ̞ᵛg] 'strong', [káqɨ̞ᵛn] 'eat', [síŋɨ̞ᵛd] 'like, as', [litɨ̞ᵛk] 'to pronounce', [qɨ̞ᵛrak] 'to play'. This has not been observed to contrast with [ɨ̞] and occurs less frequently than [ɨ̞].

There is no restriction of the occurrence of vowels. In a beginning dictionary a count of some 2,500 to 3,000 phonemes gave the following relative frequencies: /a/ somewhat less than 50%; /i/ and /o/ somewhat less than 15% each; /e/ less than 10%.

1.4 STRESS

Contrastive primary word stress /ˊ/ has been noted falling on the ultimate and penultimate syllables: bahá̋w 'leftover food' and bá̋haw 'to be healed', toqó̋d 'tree stump' and tó̋qod 'purpose', sabé̋t 'to understand' and sá̋bet 'to discuss'.

Primary word stress on the penultimate syllable of a reduplicated root denotes that the reduplication involves a single stress group rather than two stress groups. Secondary word stress then falls on the syllable preceding the syllable with the primary stress. nakapanáwpánaw iza kahabi 'he was able to walk about a little yesterday', ya banígbánig ani ya hininaŋ naqo 'the small mat was that which I made'.

1.5 PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY

It is proposed that all phonemes be symbolized as in the previous sections with the following exceptions:

(1) Glottal stop will be written as in Pilipino, i.e., omitted word initial and between vowels: /qálad/ alad 'fence', /páqit/ pait 'bitter'; written with a hyphen following a consonant: /gipqósan/ gip-osan 'youngest sibling', /dágqok/ dag-ok 'thunder'; when following a vowel, written as a grave accent over that vowel: /píseq/ pisè 'chick', /qídoq/ idò 'dog'.

(2) Primary word stress will not be written on the penultimate syllable. It will be written as acute accent on the ultima and as a circumflex when the stress symbol and grave accent occur over the same vowel: /baráto/ barato 'cheap', /sabét/ sabét 'understand', and /sapáq/ sapâ 'water'.

(3) The velar nasal phoneme will be symbolized by the digraph ng.

1.6 TEXT IN ORTHOGRAPHIC WRITING

insay-ong na babazi ya boog. 'the woman is carrying the wild pig by headstrap.' daw intabangan na idò. 'and the dog is helping.' daked ka bobong kaw-a na babazi. 'the woman got it up in the mountain.' ya isa nagasay-ong ka bozag. 'the other (woman) is carrying camote.' napatay di ya boog kay in-osi na idò. 'the wild pig is dead because the dog cornered and killed it.' mabeg-at ya boog. 'the wild pig is heavy.' pagdateng ka lagkaw ihawen kay panganen niran. 'when they arrive at the house they will roast it because they will eat it.'

2 NOUN PHRASES

2.1 Simple noun phrase
2.2 Serial noun phrase
2.3 Topic noun phrase
2.4 Emphatic demonstrative noun phrase
2.5 Emphatic possessor noun phrase
2.6 Simple possessor noun phrase
2.7 Modification of the noun phrases
2.8 Time noun phrase
2.9 Locative noun phrase
2.10 Thematization of noun phrases

2.1 SIMPLE NOUN PHRASE

A simple noun phrase (Sim NP) consists of a noun head (H) preceded by an optional plural marker (Pl) and followed by an optional possessive tagmeme (Poss). <lodzoq> class nouns, which are free stems either simple or derived, fill the noun head (see Sec. 3.1 and 3.22 for the discussion on stem types). The possessive tagmeme is filled by <ni> class of possessive particles plus a personal name or a common noun, <naini> class of possessive demonstrative pronouns, <nao> class of possessive personal pronouns, or <naiuing> class of emphatic demonstrative pronouns plus a common noun (see Sec. 2.4 for the discussion on emphatic demonstrative pronouns). The only plural marker is manga. When na plus a common noun manifests the possessive tagmeme manga may precede the common noun in this tagmeme, and may occur simultaneously with the plural marker which precedes the noun in the head tagmeme.

A simple noun phrase manifests the predicate tagmeme of a descriptive clause (Sec. 4.41.2) or an equational clause (Sec. 4.42), $Base_2$ of an alternative sentence (Sec. 5.4), $Activity_2$ of a succession sentence (Sec. 5.12), the axis of a reason margin (Sec. 6.4), or it may function as the response to the question, 'What is this?' in a simple exchange dialogue (Sec. 7.5). The noun head in a simple noun phrase has the same general distribution possibilities as the expansions of the phrase.

Formula:
Sim NP = ±Pl:manga +H: <lodzoq> ±Poss:<ni> + per name or common noun/<naini>/<nao>/<naiuing> + common noun

lodzoq 'bolo-knife'

Lodzoq ini. 'This is a bolo-knife.'

bolo.knife this

Manga lodzoq ani ini. 'Bolo-knives are what these are.'
pl bolo.knife eqp this

Possessive particles may be personal or nonpersonal:

personal(s)	ni
personal(pl)	nin
nonpersonal	na

Lodzoq ni Tatoy ini. 'This is Tatoy's bolo-knife.'
bolo.knife of (name) this

Manga lodzoq na manga tao ini.
pl bolo.knife of pl person this
'These are the people's bolo-knives.'

Possessive demonstrative pronouns may be common or definite:

'of this (one), common'	naini
'of this (one), definite'	nainiheq
'of that (one), common'	naiton
'of that (one), definite'	naitonhoq

Lodzoq naiton ini.
bolo.knife of.that.one this
'This is the bolo-knife of that (one).'

Manga lodzoq nainiheq ani ini.
pl bolo.knife of.this.one.definite eqp this
'The bolo-knives of (definite) this (one) are what these are.'

Possessive personal pronouns show person and number contrast:

'my'	nao ~ o
'your(s)'	mo
'his,hers,its'	naiza
'ours(exc)'	nami
'ours(inc)'	nita ~ ta
'your(pl)'	mazo
'their'	niran

Lodzoq nao ini. 'This is my bolo-knife.'
bolo.knife my this

Manga lodzoq naiza sni ini.
pl bolo.knife his eqp this
'His bolo-knives are what these are.'

2.2 SERIAL NOUN PHRASE

A serial noun phrase (Ser NP) consists of two or more simple noun

phrases joined by daw 'and' or by juxtaposition. Once a speaker starts to use daw in a serial noun phrase he continues to use it to join each additional simple noun phrase to the series. The plural marker maoga is optionally repeatable in a serial noun phrase, and when it occurs preceding one item of a series the following items are likewise pluralized. If an initial item in a series has a human possessor, the following items are likewise possessed by the same person unless otherwise modified by a possessive tagmeme. This rule does not apply to items possessed by or associated with animals, plants, or inanimate objects.

A serial noun phrase manifests the predicate tagmeme of a descriptive or an equational clause, or it may function as the response to the question, 'What are these?' As many as seven noun phrases in a series have been noted in Mamanwa text material.

Formula:
Ser NP = Sim NP^{o} $\pm(daw + Sim\ NP)^{n}$

manga ambaw, maook, kamahan, mireq, manga katozoq daw boog daw osa
pl rat chicken monkey fox pl bear and wild.pig and deer
'rats, chickens, monkeys, foxes, bears and wild pig and deer'

lodzoq ni Tatoy daw bangkaw daw kalasag
bolo.knife of (name) and spear and shield
'Tatoy's bolo-knife and spear and shield'

lodzoq ni Tatoy daw bangkaw daw kalasag ni Roberto
bolo.knife of (name) and spear and shield of (name)
'Tatoy's bolo-knife and spear and Roberto's shield

bonga na baliti daw balala daw saging
blossoms of baliti.tree and young.rattan and bananas
'blossoms of baliti tree and young rattan and bananas'

2.3 TOPIC NOUN PHRASE

A topic noun phrase (Top NP) is either nominal or pronominal and consists of a topic marker plus s noun head. The topic marker tagmeme is manifested by topic particles <si> or by portmanteau marking in the topic demonstrative aod personal pronouns. The noun head is filled by a simple noun phrase, serial noun phrase, topic demonstrative pronouns <ini>, topic personal pronouns <hao>, a pronoun phrase, or an included clause.

A topic noun phrase manifests the topic tagmeme of verbal clauses (Sec. 4.2), derived clauses (Sec. 4.3), or nonverbal clauses (Sec. 4.4), the predicate tagmeme of descriptive or equational clauses, or the afterthought tagmeme of a coordinate sentence (Sec. 5.2).

Formula:
Top NP = +Top mker:<si>/pron(port.) +H:Sim NP/Ser NP/<ini>/<hao>/
pron ph/incl cl

Topic particles may be personal or nonpersonal:

personal(s)	si
personal(pl)	sin
nonpersonal	ya

Ya manga lodzoq ni Tatoy ani ini.
tp pl bolo.knife of (name) eqp this
'The bolo-knives of Tatoy are what these are.'

Minsazo si Tatoy pagpanaw.
early tp (name) left
'Tatoy left early.'

Topic demonstrative pronouns may be either common or definite:

'this one, common'	ini
'this one, definite'	iniheq
'that one, common'	iton
'that one, definite'	itonhoq

Lodzoq ini. 'This is a bolo-knife.'
bolo.knife this

Ihatag mo ini kan Tatoy. 'You give this to Tatoy.'
give you this ntp (name)

Topic personal pronouns show person and number contrast:

'I'	hao
'you(s)'	iko ~ ko
'he,she,it'	iza
'we(exc)'	kami
'we(incl)'	kita
'you(pl)'	kamo
'they'	siran

Ampanaw di hao. 'I'm going now.'
will.go cmp I

Angolig di kita. 'Let's go home now.'
go.home cmp we.inc

In addition to the personal pronouns there is a special identifying construction which manifests the pre-predicate emphasis position in a verbal clause. It consists of the personal plural pronoun kami 'we(exc)' or kamo 'you(pl)' plus ni followed by a personal name.

Kami ni Tatoy nagapilpig.
we.exc (name) Cv-build.dam
'Tatoy and I were building a dam.'

Kamo ni Tatoy manaboq kaan.
you.pl (name) D-market soon
'You and Tatoy do the marketing soon.'

An included clause can manifest the head tagmeme of a topic noun phrase. For further discussion of included clauses see Section 4.52.

Ya namanik ani ya minkawat ka mais.
tp D-climbing eqp tp stole ntp corn
'The ones climbing are the ones who stole the corn.'

2.4 EMPHATIC DEMONSTRATIVE NOUN PHRASE

An emphatic demonstrative noun phrase (Emph Dem NP) consists of an emphatic demonstrative pronoun filled by <ining>/<kining> class of emphatic demonstrative pronouns plus a noun head which is filled by a simple noun phrase or serial noun phrase. An optional emphatic demonstrative possessive noun phrase follows the noun head. The clitic ng on the emphatic demonstrative pronouns contrasts with its absence on topic demonstrative pronouns (Sec. 2.3). Also, emphatic demonstrative pronouns cannot stand alone without a noun head.

An emphatic demonstrative noun phrase manifests the topic tagmeme of verbal clauses and nonverbal descriptive and equational clauses, the predicate tagmeme of descriptive and equational clauses, and the possessor tagmeme of a simple noun phrase. The <kining> class of demonstrative emphatic pronouns is restricted to the referent tagmeme of verbal clauses (Sec. 4.2).

Formula:
Emph Dem NP = +Emph dem pron: <ining>/<kining> +H:Sim NP/Ser NP
±Poss:<naining>

Emphatic demonstrative pronouns may be topic, referent, or possessive:

	topic	referent	possesaive
'this, emphatic'	ining	kining	naining
'that, emphatic'	itong	kitong	naitong
'that, theme'	izang	kizang	naizang

Ining lodzoq ni Tatoy ani madazaw.
this.emph bolo.knife of (name) eqp good
'Thia (emphatic) bolo-knife of Tatoy is the good one.'

Madszaw izang lodzoq naitong tao.
good that.theme bolo.knife of.that.emph person
'That (theme) bolo-knife of that (emphatic) person is good.'

Ihatag mo ya lodzoq kitong tao.
give you tp bolo.knife to.that.emph person
'You give the bolo-knife to that (emphatic) person.'

2.5 EMPHATIC POSSESSOR NOUN PHRASE

An emphatic possessor noun phrase (Emph Poss NP) consists of the emphatic possessor pronoun <kanaong> plus the noun head filled by <lodzoq> class nouns. Emphatic possessor pronouns cannot stand alone without s noun head. Nonpersonal topic and nontopic particles ya/na/ka or theme pronouns izang/naizang/kizang (see Sec. 4.1) may optionally precede the emphatic possessor pronoun except when this phrase fills the predicate tagmeme of descriptive and equational clauses.

This phrase manifests the topic tagmeme of verbal and nonverbal clauses, and the predicate tagmeme of descriptive and equational clauses.

Formula:
Emph Poss NP = ±T&nont:<ya>/<izang> +Emph Poss:<kanaong> +H:<lodzoq>

Emphatic possessor personal pronouns are:

'my'	kanaong
'your(s)'	kammong
'his,hers,its'	toong
'ours(exc)'	kanaming
'ours(inc)'	kantang
'yours(pl)'	kamazong
'theirs'	kanirang

Kanaong lodzoq ini.
my.emph.poss bolo.knife this
'This is my (emphatic possessor) bolo-knife.'

Inkawat na tao izang kantang lodzoq.
stole ntp person theme.that our.inc.emph.poss bolo.knife
'A person stole our (emphstic possessor) bolo-knife.'

May minkawat ka kantang lodzoq.
exis stole ntp our.inc.emph.poss bolo.knife
'Someone stole our (emphatic possessor) bolo-knife.

Indazaw di ya polo na kanirang lodzoq.
fixed cmp tp handle of their.emph.poss bolo.knife
'The handle of their (emphatic possessor) bolo-knife is fixed.'

2.6 SIMPLE POSSESSOR NOUN PHRASE

A simple possessor noun phrase (Sim Poss NP) consists of a possessor marker (Poss mker) plus a head which is filled by a personal name or <kanao> class possessor personal pronouns. The possessor marker is filled by a possessor personal particle kan or kanin, or by portmanteau marking in the possessor personal pronouns. Although these possessor personal particles and pronouns have the same form as the nontopic particles and pronouns <kan>/<kanao> (Sec. 4.1), they contrast in function and distribution with the nontopic particles and pronouns.

This phrase manifests the predicate tagmeme of a nonverbal possessor clause, which is in clause initial emphasis position. The absence of the clitic ng here contrasts with its presence on the emphatic possessor pronouns (Sec. 2.5).

Formula:
Sim Poss NP = +Poss mker:kan/kanin/pron(port.) +H:Per name/<kanao>

Simple possessor personal pronouns are:

'belongs to me'	kanao
'belongs to you(s)'	kaomo
'belongs to him, her'	kanangiza
'belongs to us(exc)'	kanami
'belongs to us(inc)'	kanta
'belongs to you(pl)'	kamazo
'belongs to them'	kaniran

Kanao ini. 'This one belongs to me.'
belongs.to.me this

Kanin Tatoy ining manga lodzoq.
belongs.to.them (oame) this.emph pl bolo.knife
'These (emphatic) bolo-knives belong to Tatoy and company.'

2.7 MODIFICATION OF THE NOUN PHRASES

The topic noun phrase, emphatic demonstrative noun phrase, and emphatic possessor noun phrase can be optionally expanded with a modification tagmeme preceding or following the noun head.

2.71 The modification tagmeme preceding the noun head may be filled by a descriptive modifier or an embedded number phrase (Nu ph). Only descriptives having final vowel or glottal stop can occur before the noun head. The clitic ng on these descriptives contrasts with its absence on descriptives which follow the noun head. If the plural marker is present in the simple noun phrase that fills the head tagmeme, the descriptive follows the plural.

A number phrase consists of a number (Nu) followed by an

obligatory subordinating particle nga ka plus an obligatory common noun or unit of measure (Ms). If the number which precedes nga ka ends in a vowel, the nga undergoes the loss of a and nga becomes a clitic on the number, i.e. isang bolos 'one piece'. The ka is retained when the word indicating measure begins with g, but otherwise it is dropped, i.e. isang ka gantang 'one eight-cup-measure'.
Formula: Nu ph = +Nu:<enem> +Subp:nga ka +Ms<bolos>.

Formula for modification of the noun phrases:
Mod Top NP/Emph Dem NP/Emph Poss NP = ±NP mker:<ya>/<ining>or kining/<kanaong> ±M:descriptive/embedded Nu ph +H:Sim NP

Ya manga bagqong lodzoq nao ani ini.
tp pl new bolo.knife my eqp this
'My new bolo-knives are what these are.'

Ining manga bagqong lodzoq mahait di.
emph.this pl new bolo.knife sharp cmp
'These (emphatic) new bolo-knives are sharp.'

Inhasaq di ya kanaong bagqong lodzoq.
sharpened cmp tp emph.poss.my new bolo.knife
'My (emphatic possessor) new bolo-knife is sharpened.'

Iyang isang ka lodzoq kanao di.
that.theme one subp bolo.knife belongs.to.me cmp
'That (theme) one bolo-knife belongs to me now.'

Inkararingan di ining tolong bolos nga lodzoq.
rusty cmp this.emph three ms subp bolo.knife
'These (emphatic) three bolo-knives are rusty.'

2.72 These same three noun phrases can also be optionally expanded with the subordinating particles nga following the noun head plus a modification tagmeme filled by a descriptive modifier denoting quality or quantity, an embedded number phrase, or an included clause. A descriptive filler of a modification tagmeme can be optionally preceded by degree of quality or quantity <masara>. When a descriptive denotes quality it can be optionally followed by emphasis <gazed>. Degree of quality and emphasis do not occur simultaneously with a single descriptive.

Formula:
+H:Sim NP ±Subp:nga ±Dg:<masara> +M:descriptive/Nu ph/incl cl ±Em:<gazed>

Kaniran ining manga lodzoq nga baggo.
belong.to.them this.emph pl bolo.knife subp good
'Theae (emphatic) new bolo-knives belong to them.'

Ya lodzoq nga masarang kahait ani ya dara o.
tp bolo.knife subp very sharp eqp tp brought.thing my
'The bolo-knife, which is very sharp, is what I brought.'

Indara o ya lodzoq nga mahait gazed.
bring I tp bolo.knife subp sharp emp
'I brought the bolo-knife which is indeed sharp.'

Indara o ya lodzoq nga isang bolos.
bring I tp bolo.knife subp one ms
'I brought the one bolo-knife.'

Indara di nao ya begas nga enem nga ka gantang.
bring cmp I tp rice subp six subp ms
'I brought six ganta of rice.'

Madatqogan ko ka liwaan nga kanaong indeeg.
will.be.hit you ntp tree subp my.emph.poss felled.tree
'You will be hit by the tree which I fell.'

Whenever the noun head is known from context the speaker can shift the focus from the noun head to the descriptive by making the descriptive the filler of the head tagmeme, i.e. ya baggo 'the new one'
tp new.one

Should the noun that is being substituted for by the descriptive need to be supplied for a listener who isn't aware of the context, that noun is made the filler of the modification tagmeme which follows the subordinating particle, i.e.
ya baggo nga lodzoq 'the new one which is a bolo-knife.'
tp new.one subp bolo.knife

In addition to the number phrase described earlier in this section, there is a special plural pronoun plus number identifying construction in which the plural pronoun precedes the number. The number can be optionally followed by the subordinating particle nga plus an apellative noun.
kaming tolo 'we three'
we.exc three

sirang tolo nga Tawwe 'those three lowlanders'
they three subp lowlander

2.8 TIME NOUN PHRASES

A time noun phrase (Ti NP) consists of an obligatory time tagmeme filled by a class of time words <konsilem> or a class of limitation words <sokad> which can be optionally expanded with a modification tagmeme filled by the completive particles pen 'incomplete' or di 'complete'. Time tagmeme is followed by an optional embedded clause which has a semantic reference to time.

Formula:
Ti NP = +Ti:<konsilem>/<sokad> ± M_1:pen/di ± M_2: embedded clause

The members of <konsilem> class are: konsilem 'tomorrow', konqisa 'day after tomorrow', koman 'now', kazina 'awhile ago', kayqan 'later', kaan 'soon', kahabi 'yesterday', isanghabi 'day before yesterday', masiselem 'morning', edto 'noon', delem 'afternoon', kahabzen 'night', aldaw 'day'.

The members of <sokad> class are: sokad 'since', hangtod/keteb 'until'.

konsilem. 'tomorrow'

delem di 'it's afternoon'
afternoon cmp

konsilem ka delem 'tomorrow afternoon'
tomorrow ntp afternoon

kazina ka pagkamasiselem 'awhile ago this morning'
awhile.ago ntp morning

koman kining kadelemen 'now this (emphatic) afternoon'
now emph.this afternoon

masiselem ka Birnis 'Friday morning'
morning ntp Friday

kayqan pen ka pagdateng naiza
later yet ntp arrival his
'later yet upon his arrival'

sokad ka masiselem hangtod ka delem
since ntp morning until ntp afternoon
'from morning until afternoon'

2.9 LOCATIVE NOUN PHRASES

A locative noun phrase (Lo NP) consists of an obligatory location word followed by either an optional simple noun phrase introduced by the nontopic case marking particle ka or an optional personal noun

phrase introduced by the nontopic case marking particle kan. There are simple, directional, and motion locatives.

Formula:
Lo NP = +Lo: <dini> ± (ka + Sim NP/kan + Per NP)

2.91 Simple locatives show distance contrast relative to the speaker and are either common or definite. The simple definite locatives substitute for the whole locative noun phrase formula, i.e. diniheq '(definite) here at hand'.

	common	definite
'here at hand'	dini	diniheq
'there closeby'	dizan	dizanheq
'there distant'	dakoza	dakozaheq
'there far distant'	doro	dorohoq

dini ka lagkaw 'here at the house'
here.at.hand ntp house

dizan ka manga tao 'there at the people'
there.closeby ntp pl person

doro kan ama 'there at father'
there.far.distant ntp father

The simple locatives occur with the nontopic demonstrative pronoun <kini> (Sec. 4.1), as well as with the referent emphatic and thematic demonstratives (Sec. 2.4). With <kini> the resulting combinations are either common, definite, or thematic.

	common	definite
'here at this place'	dini kini	dini kiniheq
'there closeby at that place'	dizan kiton ~ diton	dizan kitonhoq
'there distant at that place'	dakoza kiton	dakoza kitonhoq
'there far distant at that place'	doro kiton	doro kitonhoq
'there closeby at that (theme) place'	dizan kiza	dizan kizaheq
'there distant at that (theme) place'	dakoza kiza	dakoza kizaheq
'there far distant at that (theme) place'	doro kiza	doro kizaheq

The dini 'here' combination is absent in the thematic.

dini kining lagkaw 'here at this (emphatic) house'
here at.this.emph house

dakoza kitong lagkaw
there.distant at.that.emph house
'there distant at that (emphatic) house'

dizan ka kanirang lagkaw
there.closeby at their.emph.poss house
'there closeby at their (emphatic possessor) house'

The distance words arani 'near' and aroq 'far' show distance contrast relative to the object being spoken about and have the same formula as the simple locatives, i.e.
arani ka lagkaw 'near the house'
near ntp house

2.92 Directional locatives show direction contrast and can combine with dini 'here'. In this combination dini undergoes the loss of final -i and the resulting combination substitutes for the whole locative noun phrase formula, i.e. dindaked 'up here'.

'up'	daked
'down'	babaq
'on the other side'	bali
'across the river'	dipi
'upriver'	daza
'downriver'	dilod
'inside'	dalem

babaq ka sapaq 'down at the river'
down ntp water

bali ka Simsimmon
on.the.other.side ntp (name)
'over the mountain at Simsimmon'

dilod ka bariyo 'downriver at the barrio'
downriver ntp barrio

2.93 Motion locatives denote motion and show distance contrast.

'toward here'	ngarini
'toward there distant'	ngaton
'toward there far distant'	ngaro

Dadhen ngarini kanao. 'Bring (it) to me here.'
bring toward.here me

Dadhen ngaro ka lagkaw.
take toward.there.far.distant ntp house
'Take (it) there to the house.'

The motion locatives can combine with ngarini 'toward here'. In this combination ngarini undergoes the loss of final -i, and the resulting combination substitutes for the whole locative noun phrase formula, i.e. ngarindaked 'toward up here'.

The motion-directional ngandaked 'toward up there distant' is an example of either ngaton or ngaro with a directional locative. This combination substitutes for the whole locative phrase formula.

The particle para/kanang 'for' functions like the locatives, i.e.
Wani ya tambal para ka manga bataq.
this.in.hand tp medicine for ntp pl child
'This is the medicine for the children.'

2.10 THEMATIZATION OF NOUN PHRASES

A topic noun phrase can be thematized by using either of two special constructions. In the first type may 'theme' plus a common noun fills the modification tagmeme, which follows the obligatory absence of a noun head. The topic particle ya is obligatory initially in this construction.

Formula:
Th Top NP_1 = +Top mker: ya -H: # +M:may+<lodzoq>

Ya may lodzoq ani mindateng.
tp thp bolo.knife eqp arrived
'The (person) with the bolo-knife is the one who arrived.'

Ya may dahon ani indeeg nao.
tp thp leaf eqp felled I
'The (tree) with the leaves was the one that I felled.'

In the second type of thematized topic noun phrase a simple possessive noun phrase is embedded in the head tagmeme. The filler of the head of this embedded possessor noun phrase is limited to personal names only. The subordinating particle nga plus a common noun follow the embedded possessor noun phrase. The topic particle ya is obligatory initially in this construction.

Formula:
Th Top NP_2 = +Top mker:ya +H:Sim poss NP +Subp:nga +M:<lodzoq>

Ya kan Tatoy nga bataq ani nalaag.
tp belongs.to (name)subp child eqp lost
'The child of Tatoy is the one who is lost.'

The special first person identifying construction (Sec. 2.3) can be thematized by substituting naizang for ni plus a personal name or the word iba 'companion'.

Kami naizang iba nao nagapilpig.
we.exc theme companion my Cv-build.dam
'My companion and I were building a dam.'

The locative noun phrase can be thematized by using may 'theme' before the noun head in the simple noun phrase which is embedded in the locative noun phrase.

Formula:
Th Lo NP = +Lo:<dini> +(ka +may +Sim NP)

dizan ka may nizog naitong Tawwe
there.closeby thp coconut.tree of.that.emph lowlander
'there at the place where there are the coconut trees of the lowlander'

A time noun phrase can be thematized by using may 'theme' plus isang 'one' before the time tagmeme in the time noun phrase formula (Sec. 2.8). The filler of the time tagmeme is limited to days of the week only.

Formula:
Th Tim NP = +Th:may isang +Ti:<Sabado> +M:Embedded clause

May isang Sabado ka delem di nagapanaw si Tatoy.
theme Saturday afternoon cmp Cv-walk tp (name)
'(Theme) It was on a Saturday afternoon that Tatoy was walking.'

The second way time can be thematized is by using the topic pronoun izang 'theme' followed by aldaw 'day', bolan 'month', or toig 'year'. The subordinating particle nga plus a day of the week or a month of the year further specifies week or month, i.e. izang aldaw nga Sabado 'that (theme) day which was Saturday; izang bolan nga Enero 'that (theme) month which was January'.

3 AFFIXATION

3.1 Stem types
3.2 Word inflection
3.3 Morphophonemic alternation

A word in Mamanwa is a segment of speech bounded by points of potential pause and consisting of one or more morphemes. Thus, words include both minimum free forms and word constructions consisting of a stem and affix[1]. We treat first the types of stems in Mamanwa, i.e. substitutes, uninflectable stems and inflectable stems. Of these, the first two are words in that they are minimum free forms. Inflectable stems occur either in word constructions (i.e. verbs) or are minimum free forms (i.e. descriptives).

Morphemes, bound or free, are either relationals or contentives. Bound relationals are inflectional affixes: -en 'object focus' as in palit-en 'will buy it'. Bound contentives are the derivational affixes: mala- 'as large as' as in mala-taro 'as large as a can of kerosene'. Free morphemes, both relational and contentive, are stems which are whole words or affixable stems of longer words.

3.1 STEM TYPES

There are three types of stems: substitutes, uninflectable, and inflectable.

3.11 Substitutes.

Substitutes are relational stems which are words in the sense of minimum free form. There are two kinds of substitutes: pronouns and locatives, e.g. hao 'I', iko 'you(s)', ini 'this', doro 'there far distant'. Substitutes are free morphemes with privileges of occurrence parallel to those of phrases. Like phrases, they show case-like relations to other elements in a sentence[2]. Pronouns show person and number contrasts (Sec. 4.1); directionals show distance contrast (Sec. 2.91).

3.12 Uninflectable stems.

Uninflectable stems are marking particles and adjuncts.

3.12.1 Marking particles. Marking particles are relationals of four kinds: links between clauses, relators in the relator-axis sentences, subordinating, and case-marking.

3.12.11 The bases in sentence nuclei are linked together by conjunctions, particles, or complexes of these (see Chapter 5).

3.12.12 Sentence margins are expounded by relator axis sentences (see Chapter 6).

3.12.13 Subordinating particles (Subp) link modifiers to head nouns or phrases in an attributive relation: nga 'which' and nga ka (attribution in a number phrase). (see Sec. 2.7).

3.12.14 Case-marking particles show the construction which they introduce to be substantival and related in case-like ways to the other elements in the clause. These substantival phrases are of two types: nonpersonal, marked by ya, na, and ka; and personal, marked by si, ni, and kan. Topic case-marking particles ya and si mark the subject as actor in focus. Nontopic case-marking particles na and ni mark the subject as actor out of focus. Nontopic case-marking particles ka and kan mark as being out of focus the direct object of the action, the one on whose behalf the action is performed, the location of the action, the instrument used to perform the action, or the benefactor involved in the action. Section 4.2 discusses in detail the relationships which exist between the elements in a clause.

3.12.2 Adjuncts. Adjuncts are contentives which modify the construction in which they occur by indicating aspectual and modal ideas.

3.12.21 Aspectual adjuncts.

Time: koman 'now', kahabi 'yesterday', konsilem 'tomorrow', kazina 'awhile ago', kayqan 'later', kaqan 'soon'.

Limitation: pen 'incomplete', di 'complete', lamang 'just', ka 'only', hangtod/keteb 'until', sokad 'since'.

Emphasis (Emph): gazed 'emphatic', agad 'emphatic form of also', nganiq 'emphatic form of here', ngaroq 'emphatic form of there', basta...kay 'emphatic form of therefore'.

Examples:

Waraq gazed ya makaen nami. 'We indeed have no food.'
neg emph Tp food our.exc

Agad hao. 'Also (emphatic) me.'
also.emph I

Kanao nganiq. 'This is mine here (emphatic).'
mine here.emph

Kanmo ngaroq. 'That is yours there (emphatic).'
yours there.emph

Basta waraq di kay #-m-aka-bathay hao
therefore.emph neg cmp S-Nb-Ab-carry.over.shoulder I
ka tebaq.
ntp palm.toddy
'Therefore (emphatic) I was not able to carry the palm toddy over my shoulder.'

Repetition: pagqisab 'again', pirmi 'always', teedteed 'always'.

Examples:

Tambal-an mo hao pagqisab. 'You medicine me again.'
medicine-R you me again

Pirmi gazed maggoran. 'It is indeed always raining.'
always emph rain

Desiderative (desid): kontana 'indicates strong desire'.

Example:

Am-#-palit kami kontana ka gas. 'We want to buy kerosene.'
S-Nb-buy we.exc desid ntp kerosene

Degree of certainty: balitaw, lagbey, and matood are used as response statements to indicate certainty; basi 'maybe' is used to indicate uncertainty.

Example:

Basi an-#-tegbeng ya tao kayqan.
maybe S-Nb-go.downriver Tp person later
'Maybe someone will go downriver later.'

Possibility: baloq 'possible if a condition is met', mahimoq 'possible without meeting a condition'.

Example:

Baloq kon may kwarta mo.
possible if exis money your
'It is possible if you have the money.'

Existential: may 'there is'.

Example:

Basi may lomon mo daza ka Mayag.
maybe exis relative your up ntp (name)
'Maybe there is a relative of yours up at Mayag.'

deket is a positive reply to a question regarding the existence of something, as in daw may gabok mazo? 'Do you have firewood?' deket 'We have.'

3.12.22 Modal adjuncts.

Quotative (dqp): nga is a direct quote particle which precedes what is spoken.

Example:

M-in-laong iza nga diri hao. 'He said, "It wasn't me."'
S-B-say he dqp neg I

Reported speech (rsp): koni indicates that a statement has been made by someone other than the speaker.

Example:
Nabahaw di koni iza. 'It is said that he is well now.'
well cmp rsp he

Interrogative (Intr): daw and kon indicate a question.

Example:
Kon an-#-init hao ka sapaq. 'Shall I heat the water?'
intr S-Nb-heat 1 ntp water

Negative (Neg): waraq 'none, did not' and diri 'no, will not'.

Examples:
Waraq di ya makaen nami. 'We have no food.'
neg cmp Tp food our.exc

Diri siran #-m-aka-panaw. 'They are not able to go.'
neg they S-Nb-Ab-go

Hortative (adv): naa 'advisable'.

Example:
M-ag-senqad ko naa kiton. 'It is advisable that you cook that.'
S-Imp-cook you adv that

3.12.23 Other adjuncts are surprise, referent, and number.

Exclamatory: bazaq and ambazaq show surprise, the latter because of an unfilled condition.

Examples:
Daked sa bazaq. 'It's up there!'
up ref surprise

Ambazaq kay waraq sa.
surprise because neg ref
'I was surprised because it was not there.'

Referent (Ref): sa and hinoa refer to a preceding statement.

Example:
Masakit pen hinoa 'It is painful yet.'
painful yet ref

The referent particle sa is sometimes preceded by completive particles di or ka, or incompletive particle pen.

Examples:
Minqoran di sa. 'It is still raining.'
raining cmp ref

Daza ka sa. '(He) is upriver.'
upriver cmp ref

Waraq pen aa. 'There are none yet.'
neg yet ref

Number: manga pluralizes the word it modifies.
manga kamahan 'monkeys'
pl monkey

3.13 Inflectable stems.
Inflectable stems are contentives which are either simple or derived. They manifest verbs and descriptives.

3.13.1 Simple. Simple inflectable stems include all contentive simple stems which are not adjuncts: e.g. deet 'to cross a river', sonog 'to burn', geramay 'small', gabas 'carpenter's saw'.

3.13.2 Derived. An inflectable stem of more than a single morpheme is derived and is built from a simple stem by affixation or compounding.

3.13.21 Stem compounds are rare and are formed by joining two diverse stems without the use of grammatical markers. Stem compounds rarely occur with inflectional affixes. Examples of stem compounds are: toboampaa 'thigh' from the stems toboan 'place of sprouting' and paa 'foot', komanqaldaw 'today' from the stems koman 'now' and aldaw 'day', tagondalan 'wild animal trail' from tagon 'to resemble' and dalan 'trail', oliteo 'young unmarried man' from oliq 'to return to the place from which one started' and tao 'person'.

3.13.22 Contentive affix-derived stems are inflectable[3], but may occur without inflection. The following affixes are not defined as derivational affixes, but rather as the secondary distribution of certain verbal inflectional affixes. The primary distribution of the affixes is in forms which participate in verbal paradigms. The secondary distribution does not retain the structural meaning of these affixes, but in some instances retains the semantic content. In the following description the meaning of the affix is listed only if the semantic content is retained.

-an helqan 'dwelling place' from helaq 'to dwell' and -an 'referent focus'; toboan 'tree trunk' from tobo 'to sprout' and -an 'referent focus'. In some instances -anan is a variant form of -an: lapzahanan 'beach' from lapza 'lapping sound of water' and -anan.

-en basahen 'book' from basa 'to read' and -en 'object focus'. With the names of cities -en indicates 'resident of': Cabadbaranen 'resident of Cabadbaran' from Cabadbaran and -en 'resident of'.

paN- pangotana 'question' from otana 'to request' and paN- 'distributive aspect', panabaq 'word' from sabaq 'voice, language' and paN- 'distributive aspect'.

ka- kapasoq 'heat' from pasoq 'hot' and ka-, kasakit 'pain' from

sakit 'to hurt' and ka-.
When ka- co-occurs with the secondary distribution of -an the resultant form indicates 'collectivity': kabangkawan 'spears' from bangkaw 'spear', -an, and ka-; kabataan 'children' from bataq 'child', -an, and ka-

ika- ikalima 'fifth' from lima 'five', i-, and ka-.

ma- madazaw 'good' from dazaw and ma-; mapait 'bitter' from pait and ma-.

mag- magqasawa 'married couple' from asawa 'wife' and mag-; maglomon 'close relatives' from lomon 'relative' and mag-.
Perhaps in its secondary distribution mag- has the gloss of 'close relationship'.

pag- pagtanem 'the planting' from tanem 'to plant' and pag-; pagkaen 'food' from kaen 'to eat' and pag-.

There are several derivational affixes which include the following:

mala- 'state of being similar in size': malataro 'as large as a can of kerosene' from taro 'kerosene can' and mala-; malagasqaw 'as skinny as a bamboo roof support' from gasqaw 'bamboo roof support' and mala-.

sala- 'state of being similar in shape': salagunting 'principal rafters of a roof' from gonting 'scissors' and sala-.

tig- 'season or time of': tigqani 'harvest time' from ani 'to harvest' and tig-; tigqoran 'rainy season' from oran 'rain' and tig-.

tag- 'each': tagsingko 'five centavos each'; tagdowa 'two pieces for each person'; tagpira 'how much for each one'. tag- has also been observed to occur with the pronoun iza 'he': tagqiza ,

taga- 'resident of', affixed to locatives and names of specific places: tagadaza 'the one from upriver'; tagapaypay 'the one from Paypay'.

-ay indicates 'diminution in size': amaamahay 'small boy' from amaama 'boy' and -ay.
When -ay co-occurs with the secondary distribution of certain verbal inflectional affixes the resultant form indicates 'performer of' the action denoted by the stem: magtoldoay 'teacher' from toldoq 'to guide', mag-, and -ay; ipahiday 'handkerchief' from pahid 'to wipe', i- 'accessory focus', and -ay; ikaboay 'small dipper' from boqboq 'to dip', i- 'accessory focus', ka-, and -ay.

Full reduplication of stem 'diminutive in size':
manokmanok 'bird' from manok 'chicken' plus redup.; banigbanig 'artifact, miniature sleeping mat' from banig 'sleeping mat' plus redup. Children's toys and games are named by full stem reduplication: taraktarak 'toy truck' from tarak 'truck' and redup.; hebenghebeng 'game of hide and seek' from hebeng 'hide' plus redup.
With colors full stem reduplication means 'to a lesser degree': potiqpotiq 'not so white' from mapotiq 'white' plus redup.; itemqitem 'not so black' from maitem 'black' plus redup.

-in- 'characteristic of': tinaotao 'idol' from tao 'person' plus -in- plus full stem reduplication 'diminuative in size'; Tinawwe 'language of the lowlander' from Tawwe 'lowlander' plus -in-.

3.2 WORD INFLECTION

Inflectable stems occur in two types of words: verbs and descriptives. Verbs are inflected words, whereas descriptives are free stems.

3.21 Verbs.

Forms that are marked for aspect, focus and mode are verbs. They function as predicators of clauses, either independent or included within a phrase[4]. In the following example the verb with double underline is the predicate of a clause included within a phrase:

N-a-kit-an nami ya n-a-manik.
B-St-see-R we.exc Tp B.D.climb
'We saw the ones who were climbing.'

In the following example the verb with double underline is the predicate of an independent clause:

M-aga-hinang-en niran ya lagkaw.
Nb-Cv-make-O they Tp house
'They are going to make a house.'

Basic verb inflection in Mamanwa is for aspect I and focus. Charts 1 and 2 are conditioned variants of the same system, showing the intersection of the dimensions of focus and aspect I (Pike 1962). The affixes of Chart 2 occur with aspect II affixes; the affixes of Chart 1 do not occur with aspect II affixes.[5]

		Aspect I	
		Nb	B
Focus	S	an-#-...	m-in-...
	O	#-...-en	in-...-#
	R	#-...-an	in-...-an
	A	i-#-...	#-in-...

Chart 1. Aspect I and focus affixes which do not occur with aspect II affixes.

In column Nb of Chart 1 the affixes indicating focus are overt and the symbol # indicates a zero allomorph for action-not-begun. The overt manifesting variant of this # is m- of Chart 2. In column B of Chart 1 the m- indicates subject focus; -an referent focus; #, zero allomorphs of object and accessory focus; and in- action-begun. Dots represent word nucleus slots.

		Aspect I	
		Nb	B
Focus	S	#-m-...	#-n-...
	O	m-...-en	n-...-en
	R	m-...-an	n-...-an
	A	6	

Chart 2. Aspect I and focus affixes which occur with aspect II affixes.

In Chart 2 the affix m- indicates action-not-begun; n- action-begun; #-, zero allomorph of subject focus. The overt manifesting variant of this #- is an- and m- in Chart X. -en indicates object focus and -an referent focus.

3.21.1 Aspect I. Aspect I denotes start-of-action and has two values: action-not-begun and action-begun.

3.21.12 Action-not-begun indicates that the action of the verb is about to be in process or will be in process at some future time. Action-not-begun has allomorpha m- and #-.

Allomorph m- occurs with affixes denoting subject, object, or referent focus and aspect II.

M-aga-hinang-en niran ya kazas.
Nb-Cv-make-O they Tp frame.for.slicing.wild.root
'They are going to make the frame for slicing wild root.'

M-aka-tambal-an nao ya tigbas.
Nb-Ab-medicine-R I Tp wound
'I can treat the wound.'

#-m-amag-bonal kita ka baroy.
S-Nb-Si-pound we.two ntp leaf
'We will pound the leaf together.'

Allomorph #- occurs with affixes denoting subject, object, referent, or accessory focus, but does not occur with affixes denoting aspect II.

Am-#-palit hao ka manok.
S-Nb-buy I ntp chicken
'I will buy the chicken.'

#-oran-en kita. 'We'll be rained on.'
Nb-rain-O we.inc

#-tambal-an ta ko. 'I will medicine you.'
Nb-medicine-R we.inc you

I-#-dohol mo ya lodzoq. 'You hand over the bolo-knife.'
A-Nb-hand.over you Tp bolo.knife

3.21.13 Action-begun indicates that the action of the verb has taken place or that the inception of the action has taken place. Action-begun has allomorphs -in- and n-.

Allomorph -in- occurs with affixes denoting subject, object, referent, or accessory focus, but does not occur with affixes denoting aspect II.

M-in-dateng di ya lomon nami.
S-B-arrive cmp Tp relative our.exc
'Our relative has arrived now.'

In-hinang-# nao ya lagkaw. 'I made the house.'
B-make-O I Tp house

In-ekt-an naiza ya idoq. 'He tied the dog.'
B-tie-R he Tp dog

#-in-haplas naiza ya tambal ka tohod.
A-B-rub he Tp medicine ntp knee
'He rubbed the medicine on the knee.'

Allomorph n- occurs with affixes denoting subject, object, and referent focus and aspect II.

#-n-aga-dara siran ka lanot.
S-B-Cv-bring they ntp abaca
'They are going to bring the abaca.'

#-n-aka-kaen ya piyaq kiton.
S-B-Ab-eat Tp cat that
'The cat can eat that.'

#-n-amag-bonal kita ka baroy.
S-B-Si-pound we.inc ntp leaf
'We pounded the leaf simultaneously.'

3.21.2 Aspect II. Aspect II is obligatory to the affixes displayed in Chart Y, but does not occur with the affixes displayed in Chart X. Aspect II has three values: continuative action, ability, and simultaneous action.

3.21.21 Continuative action indicates that the action of the verb extends over a period of time. Continuative action is marked by the morpheme -aga- and occurs with affixes denoting aspect I and subject focus. When -aga- occurs with affixes denoting object and referent focuses it is restricted to co-occurrence with action-begun affixes of aspect I.

#-m-aga-panabaq iza ka radyo kayqan.
S-Nb-Cv-speak he ntp radio later
'He is going to speak on the radio later.'

N-aga-pa-kan-en kami ni Nanay Gitay kazina.
B-Cv-C-eat-O we.exc ntp mother (name) awhile ago
'Mother Gitay was causing us to eat awhile ago.'

N-aga-hinang-an nami ya bingka.
B-Cv-make-R we.exc Tp cake
'We are making a cake.'

3.21.22 Ability indicates possibility, or that the actor is inherently able to perform the action of the verb. Ability is marked by the morpheme -aka- and occurs with affixes denoting aspect I and subject, object, and referent focus. Ability aspect is absent in accessory focus.

Waraq pen iza #-m-aka-tindeg.
neg yet he S-Nb-Ab-stand
'He isn't able to stand yet.'

N-aka-begket-en nao ya olat.
B-Ab-bandage-O I Tp sore
'I was able to bandage the sore.'

N-aka-tambal-an nao ya tigbas.
B-Ab-medicine-R I Tp wound
'I was able to medicine the wound.'

3.21.23 Simultaneous action indicates that two or more persons are

performing an action simultaneously, in cooperation with each other, or both. Simultaneous action is marked by the morpheme -amag- and occurs with affixes denoting aspect I and subject, object, and referent focus..

#-m-amag-hawaq kami ni Melina konsilem.
S-Nb-Si-weed we.exc (name) tomorrow
'Melina and I will weed together tomorrow.'

#-n-amag-ka-kita kami ni Hulian dilod ka Paypay.
S-B-Si-St-see we.exc (name) down at (name)
'Julian and I saw each other down at Paypay.'

N-amag-lahong-an niran ya taro.
B-Si-pole.carry-R they Tp can
'They were carrying the can on a pole between them.'

3.21.3 Focus. Focus directs attention to the topic substantive of a verbal clause. The topic substantive is a topic noun phrase.(Sec. 2.3). A class of focus affixes in the verb specifies whether the topic is subject, object, referent, or accessory of the clause.[7]

3.21.31 Subject focus indicates that the subject is the topic or focus complement of the clause, i.e. is performing the action of a non-causative clause. Subject focus has allomorphs an-, m-, and #-.

Allomorph an- occurs with affixes denoting action-not-begun, but does not occur with affixes denoting aspect II.

An-#-senqad pen hao ka begas. 'I will cook the rice yet.'
S-Nb-cook yet I ntp rice

Am-#-panaw di kami. 'We're going now.'
S-Nb-go cmp we.exc

Tagad naa kay am-#-badoq pen hao.
wait adv bec S-Nb-dress yet I
'Just wait because I will dress yet.'

Allomorph m- occurs with affixes denoting action-begun, but does not occur with affixes denoting aspect II.

M-in-labay siran kazina. 'They passed by awhile ago.'
S-B-pass.by they awhile.ago

M-ing-karini si Eyeg kahabi kay in-hilant-an iza.
S-B-come.here Tp (name) yesterday bec B-fever-R she
'Eyeg came here yesterday because she had a fever.'

M-in-laong ya babazi nga m-a-hori di si Alaw.
S-B-say Tp girl dqp Nb-St-follow cmp Tp (name)
'The girl said, "Alaw will come later."'

Allomorph #- occurs with affixes denoting aspect I and aspect II.

#-m-aga-hinang iza ka banig.
S-Nb-Cv-make she ntp mat
'She is going to make a mat.'

#-n-aka-tekeb ya piyaq ka ambaw. 'The cat can catch the rat.'
S-B-Ab-catch Tb cat ntp rat

#-n-amag-ka-kita siran dilod. 'They saw each other downriver.'
S-B-Si-St-see they downriver

3.21.32 Object focus indicates that the object is the topic or focus complement of the clause, i.e. is the goal of the action of a non-causative clause. Object focus has the allomorphs -en and -#.

Allomorph -en occurs with affixes denoting action-not-begun aspect and aspect II.

#-oran-en kita. 'We'll be rained on.'
Nb-rain-O we.inc

M-aga-binang-en naiza ya balatik.
Nb-Cv-make-O he Tp pig.trap
'He is going to make a pig trap.'

M-aka-bon-on nao ya boog.
Nb-Ab-spear-O I Tp wild.pig
'I can spear the wild pig.'

M-amag-paksi-en ta ya abaka konsilem.
Nb-Si-separate-O we.inc Tp abaca tomorrow
'Let's separate the abaca tomorrow.'

Allomorph -# occurs with affixes denoting action-begun, but does not occur with affixes denoting aspect II.

In-oran-# kita. 'We were rained on.''
B-rain-O we.inc

Im-pa-tahi-# ni Pitoy ya toong sarowar.
B-C-sew-O ntp (name) Tp emph.poss.his trousers
'Pitoy caused his trousers to be sewn.'

Im-patay-# nao ya manok. 'I killed the chicken.'
B-kill-O I Tp chicken

3.21.33 Referent focus indicates that the referent is the topic or focus complement of the clause, i.e. is the beneficiary or location of the action. Referent focus is marked by the morpheme -an.

#-ekt-an mo ya idoq. 'You tie the dog.'
Nb-tie-R you Tp dog

Im-bantaz-an ni Tanyong ya manga bata kazina.
B-watch-R ntp (name) Tp pl child awhile.ago
'Tanyong watched the children awhile ago.'

M-aga-bahog-an mo ya baboy kan Mam ka parot.
Nb-Cv-feed-R you Tp pig ntp (name) ntp peeling
'You are going to feed the peelings to the pigs for Mam.'

M-amag-bonal-an niran ya baroy.
Nb-Si-pound-R they Tp leaf
'They will pound the leaf simultaneously.'

3.21.34 Accessory focus indicates that the topic or focus complement of the clause is the accessory and may be either (1) the instrument used to perform the action of the verb, (2) the item involved in the action, or (3) the associate or beneficiary of the action. Accessory focus has allomorphs i- and #-.

Allomorph i- occurs with affixes denoting action-not-begun, but not with affixes denoting aspect II.

I-#-haplas mo ya tambal ka tohod.
A-Nb-rub you Tp medicine ntp knee
'You rub the medicine on the knee.'

I-#-bahog mo si Mam ka baboy.
A-Nb-feed you Tp (name) ntp pig
'You feed the pig for Mam.'

I-#-pa-dara mo hao ka soyat konsilem.
A-Nb-C-send you I ntp letter tomorrow
'You cause the letter to be sent for me tomorrow.'

Allomorph #- occurs with affixes denoting action-begun, but not with affixes denoting aspect II.

#ing-karis nao pagdazaw ya badi.
A-B-scrape I well Tp knife
'I scraped well with the knife.'

#-im-begket naiza ining panapton ka olat nao.
A-B-bandage he emph.this material ntp wound my
'He bandaged my wound with the cloth.'

#-im-basa naiza hao ka libro.
A-B-read he I ntp book
'He read the book for me.'

3.21.4 Aspect III. Aspect III in Mamanwa refers to the inflectional category which indicates a variety of physical kinds of actions. Values of aspect III are: distributive, causative, augmentative, diminutive, repetitive, non-purposeful, reflexive, and reciprocal.

3.21.41 Distributive aspect indicates that (1) the action of a verb is repeated over and over again by one person, (2) an action is performed simultaneously by many persons, or (3) there are many actions involved. Distributive aspect is marked by the affix paN-.

Am-#-pang-gabok hao. 'I will gather firewood.'
S-Nb-D-gather.firewood I

Im-pan-hayhay-# ni Lucia ya manga badoq.
B-D-hang.to.dry-0 ntp (name) Tp pl clothes
'Lucia hung the clothes to dry.'

#-im-pam-aylo niran ya lagos ka makaen.
A-B-D-trade they Tp rattan ntp food
'They traded rattan for food.'

M-im-pang-awaq di siran ka begas, tebaq, daw baboy.
S-B-D-got cmp they ntp rice palm.toddy and pig
'They obtained rice, palm toddy, and pig.'

maN- and naN- permit the subject focus and aspect I potential of the distributive aspect marker to be manifested.

#-m-an-hawid siran ka manga lodzoq.
S-Nb-D-hold they ntp pl bolo.knife
'They are going to hold the knives.'

#-n-ang-aen siran ka baay.
S-B-D-eat they ntp wild.root
'They ate the wild root.'

#-m-ang-away siran. 'They are going to fight.'
S-Nb-D-fight they

#-n-am-alit siran ka begas. 'They bought rice.'
S-B-D-buy they ntp rice

A free variant of the distributive aspect marker paN- is the plural marker panga-. manga- and nanga- permit the subject focus and aspect I potential of the plural marker to be manifested. Normally manga 'plural' is not used as a modifier in the topic phrase when it occurs as verbal inflection.

Am-#-panga-hinang siran ka kazas.
S-Nb-pl-make they ntp frame.for.slicing.wild.root
'They will make many frames for slicing wild root.'

#-m-anga-sili siran. 'They are going to catch eel.'
S-Nb-pl-catch.eel they

#-n-anga-bahaw di ya olat. 'The sores are healed now.'
S-B-pl-well cmp Tp sore

#-panga-torog kamo. 'All of you go to sleep.'
S-pl-sleep you.pl

#-panga-lapa-en niran ya boog koman.
Nb-pl-butcher-0 they Tp wild.pig now
'They will butcher the wild pigs now.'

3.21.42 Causative aspect indicates that the causer of the action is the grammatical subject of the clause and the actor is the grammatical

object of the clause. Causative aspect is marked by the affix pa-.

#-m-aga-pa-bahog ya inaq ka maimpis ka parot ka baboy.
S-Nb-Cv-C-feed Tp mother ntp child ntp peeling ntp pig
'The mother is causing the child to feed the peeling to the pig.'

Pa-bahog-en ya maimpis na inaq ka parot ka baboy.
C-feed-O Tp child ntp mother ntp peeling ntp pig
'The child is being caused by the mother to feed the peeling to the pig.'

It is possible to have two causatives, indicating that two causers of the action are present. In other words, one person is being caused to cause another person to perform an action. See Section 4.31 for a more detailed description of causative aspect.

Pa-pa-kaw-en hao ni Mam ka balengkag.
C-C-get-O I ntp (name) ntp pighair.necklace
'Mam is causing me to cause someone else to get her a pighair necklace.'

3.21.43 Augmentative aspect indicates that an action is intensified. Augmentative aspect is marked by the affix -pahi-.

#-n-aga-pahi-katawa kami ka manga dedeq.
S-Nb-Cv-Au-laugh we.exc ntp pl pup
'We were laughing a lot at the pups.'

Im-pahi-bonal-an niran ya baroy.
B-Au-pound-R they Tp leaf
'They pounded the leaves vigorously.'

M-im-pahi-inem siran ka tebaq.
S-B-Au-drink they ntp palm.toddy
'They drank palm toddy excessively.'

3.21.44 Diminutive aspect indicates that less than the usual amount of action is taking place. Diminutive aspect is marked by obligatory reduplication of the first syllable of the verb stem, plus the discontinuous affix re- ... -ay (either one of the two parts of this affix is obligatory). re- ∞ ra- ∞ ro- are alternates by vowel harmony.

#-m-aga-bere-bentag-ay hao dini ka diskanso.
S-Nb-Cv-Dim-lie.down-Dim I here ntp porch
'I'm just going to lie down here on the porch awhile.'

#-m-amag-tara-takpaw ya lagkaw.
S-Nb-Si-Dim-distant tp house
'The houses are not so distant from each other.'

#-n-aga-loqloqto-ay di ya nabedlay.
S-B-Cv-Dim-sit-Dim cmp tp sick.person
'The sick person is sitting up awhile now.'

3.21.45 Repetitive aspect indicates that an action is repeated many

times, even habitually, but not in the distributive sense as described in Sec. 3.21.4. Repetitive aspect has allomorphs -in- and full reduplication of the verb stem. The lexical meaning of the verb stem is a factor that determines which allomorph occurs to indicate repetitive aspect.

Allomorph -in- occurs in its secondary distribution, which contrasts with the primary distribution of -in- 'action-begun' (see Sec. 3.21.13) by manifesting a non-fixed order of occurrence. Allomorph -in- occurs with <karo> class verb stems.

#-m-aga-k-in-aro kami ka Cabadbaran.
S-Nb-Cv-go-Rep we.exc ntp Cabadbaran
'We go repeatedly to Cabadbaran.'

#-m-in-aga-karo kami ka Cabadbaran.
S-Nb-Rep-Cv-go we.exc ntp Cabadbaran
'We go repeatedly to Cabadbaran.'

#-m-aga-pa-h-in-inang siran ka banig.
S-Nb-Cv-C-make-Rep they ntp sleeping.mat
'They will cause sleeping mats to be made repeatedly.'

#-m-in-aga-pa-hinang siran ka banig.
S-Nb-Rep-Cv-C-make they ntp sleeping.mat
'They will cause sleeping mats to be made repeatedly.'

Allomorph full reduplication of verb stem occurs with <iba> class verb stems. Other members of this class are lopog 'to chase', hingas 'to move', sakay 'to ride', garaq 'to misbehave', pikas 'to cut leaves lengthways for decorations', tabas 'to cut cloth into strips', tipak 'to break bread into crumbs'.

#-n-aga-ibaiba ya bataq ka toong ama.
S-B-Cv-accompany-Rep tp child ntp emph.poss.his father
'The child accompanies his father repeatedly.'

#-n-aga-hingashingas ya bataq pagsakay niran ka zip.
S-B-Cv-move-Rep tp child when.ride they ntp jeep
'The child was squirming about while they were riding the jeep.'

3.21.46 Non-purposeful aspect indicates that an action lacks any driving purpose. Non-purposeful aspect is marked by reduplication of the stem and occurs with <laong> class verb stems.

#-n-aga-laonglaong kami kazina.
S-B-Cv-Npur-talk we.exc awhile.ago
'We were just talking (i.e. no serious discussion) awhile ago.'

#-n-aga-helaqhelaq ya malaas kon delem.
S-B-Cv-Npur-house tp elder when afternoon
'The elder just relaxes in the house in the afternoon.'

3.21.47 Reflexive aspect indicates that the actor or acting agent

causes or permits the object, which may be himself, to be in a certain state or to perform an action. Reflexive aspect has allomorphs -paka- and -pati-.

Allomorph -paka- occurs with <daob> class verb stems.

#-m-aga-paka-ohaw ining asin kanao.
S-Nb-Cv-Refx-thirst this.emph salt me
'This (emphatic) salt will make me thirsty.'

#-n-aka-paka-daob di ining bataq.
S-B-Ab-Refx-prone.position cmp this.(emphatic) child
'This (emphatic) shild is able to turn himself over now.'

m-aga-paka-hagdam-en nami si Lucia.
Nb-Cv-Refx-know-O we.exc Tp (name)
'We are going to inform Lucia.'

Allomorph -pati- occurs with <hinang> class stems.

m-im-pati-hinang ya kasili ka lawas na tao.
S-B-Refx-become Tp eel ntp body of person
'The eel caused himself to become like the body of a person.'

#-n-aga-pati-deeg ya bataq pagdegzaq.
S-B-Cv-Refx-fall Tp child while.playing
'The child just let himself fall over while playing.'

3.21.48 Reciprocal aspect indicates reciprocal action in that the actor not only causes the action, but desires or causes the other person to reciprocate in action. Reciprocal aspect has allomorphs paki- and pakig-.

Allomorph -paki- occurs only with tabang 'help' and limos 'to give alms'.

am-#-paki-tabang siran kanao.
S-Nb-Rec-help they me
'They are requesting help from me.'

#-n-aga-paki-limos ya piang.
S-B-Cv-Rec-give.alms Tp lame.person
'The lame person is begging for alms.'

Allomorph -pakig- occurs with verb stems other than tabang and limos.

#-n-aga-pakig-away siran kanao.
S-B-Cv-Rec-fight they me
'They were trying to pick a fight with me.'

am-#-pakig-oliq si Wili ka toong inaq.
S-Nb-Rec-return.home Tp (name) ntp his.emph.poss mother
'Wili is trying to get his mother to return home.'

3.21.5 Mode. In Mamanwa there are two modes: indicative and imperative. Two formal contrasts mark the difference between the indicative and the imperative mode: (1) only the pronouns of direct address (iko and mo 'you(s)' and kamo and mazo 'you(pl)') can be used with the imperative mode, whereas, in the indicative mode there is an unrestricted use of the pronouns; (2) the affixes of the indicative mode predicate cannot be substituted for the affixes of the imperative mode predicate.

M-ag-tanem kamo ka bozag. 'You all plant the camote.'
S-Imp-plant you.pl ntp camote

#-m-aga-tanem siran ka bozag. 'They are going to plant the camote.'
S-Nb-Cv-plant they ntp camote

3.21.51 Indicative mode indicates that the speaker reports the action of the verb objectively. There are two categories in the indicative mode: active and stative.

3.21.51.1 The indicative stative mode denotes that the topic is made to be in a certain state or condition; it is being acted upon by the element represented by a ka or a na phrase construction.

#-n-aga-ka-haldek ya piyaq ka silhig.
S-B-Cv-St-frighten Tp cat ntp broom
'The cat is being frightened by the broom.'

M-aga-#-tambal-an pen kami na doktor.
Nb-Cv-St-medicine-R yet we.exc ntp doctor
'We are being treated yet by the doctor.'

Indicative stative mode has allomorphs -a-, -ka-, and -#-.

Charts 3 and 4 show indicative stative mode as it occurs with aspect I and focus. The affixes of Chart 3 do not occur with any of the affixes of aspect II. With the exception of object and referent focus in column B of Chart YS the affixes of this chart do occur with -aga- 'continuative' and -aka- 'ability' of aspect II.

Aspect I

		Nb	B
	S	#-m-a-...	#-n-a-...
Focus	O	m-a-...-en	———
	R	m-a-...-an	n-a-...-an

Chart 3. Indicative stative mode affixes which do not occur with aspect II affixes.

In Chart 3 the affix denoting indicative stative mode is -a-; in column Nb m- indicates action-not-begun; and the symbol #- indicates a zero allomorph for subject focus. In column B of Chart 3 the n- indicates action-begun; -en, object focus; and -an, referent focus. Dots represent word nucleus slots.

Aspect II

		Nb	B
	S	#-m-aga-ka-...	#-n-aga-ka-...
Focus	O	m-aga-#-...-en	#-in-...-en
	R	m-aga-#-...-an	#-in-...-an

Chart 4. Indicative stative mode affixes which occur with aspect II affixes.

In subject focus of Chart 4 the affix denoting indicative stative mode is -ka-. In object and referent focus the symbol -#- indicates a zero allomorph for indicative stative mode. The affix -aga- represents aspect II; m- indicates action-not-begun; n-, action-begun; -en, object focus; and -an, referent focus.

Allomorph -a- occurs with the affixes of Chart 3. In subject focus stems which denote the experiencer being acted upon by the weather or time of day predominate.

#-m-a-belad ya bataq ka sega.
S-Nb-St-exhausted Tp child ntp sun
'The child will be exhausted by the sun.'

#-n-a-delem hao. 'I was afternooned.'
S-B-St-afternoon I

In referent focus stems which denote the experiencer being acted upon by an external instrument or agent predominate.

M-a-balatik-an ya kanding ka Tawwe.
Nb-St-trap-R Tp goat ntp lowlander
'The goat will be trapped by the lowlander.'

N-a-bildo-han hao. 'I was cut by a piece of glass.'
B-St-glass-R I

Only one stem sakit 'pain, sickness' has been noted occurring with object focus.

M-a-sakit-en hao. 'I'm sick.'
B-St-sick-O I

Allomorph -ka- occurs with affixes of Chart 4, which denote subject focus and continuative or ability aspect of aspect II affixes.

#-m-aga-ka-bahaw ya olat ka tambal.
S-Nb-Cv-St-healed Tp sore ntp medicine
'The sore will be healed by the medicine.'

#-n-aka-ka-onga di ya pitromak ka kararing.
S-B-Ab-St-bad complete Tp lantern ntp rust
'The lantern was in bad condition from the rust.'

Allomorph -#- occurs with the affixes of Chart 4, which denote object and referent focus and continuative aspect of aspect II affixes. In both object and referent focus stems which denote the experiencer as having symptoms of a generalized type of illness predominate.

M-aga-#-hilantan hao. 'I'm fevering.'
Nb-Cv-St-fever-R I

#-in-hilan-tan hao. 'I have a fever.'
S-B-fever-R I

M-aga-#-takig-an hao. 'I'm trembling from malaria.'
Nb-Cv-St-malarial.chills-R I

#-in-takig-an hao. 'I have malarial chills.'
S-B-malarial.chills-R I

3.21.51.2 The indicative active mode is nonstative and is marked by an absence of the stative mode markers. It represents the subject as performing or causing the action of the verb.

I-#-betang mo ya basahen daked kiton.
A-Nb-put you Tp book up that
'You put the book up on that.'

Am-#-pang-aen ya manga kamahan ka bonga daked ka liwaan.
S-Nb-D-eat Tp pl monkey ntp blossoms up ntp tree
'The monkeys will eat the blossoms up in the tree.'

Daza siran #-m-aka-peneng konsilem.
upriver they S-Nb-Ab-fish tomorrow
'They can fish upriver tomorrow.'

3.21.52 The imperative mode indicates an urgent command or some condition to be fulfilled. Imperative mode is marked in two ways: (1) by the affix -ag-, which occurs with affixes denoting subject, object, and referent focus. -ag- combines with m- to manifest subject focus and with p- to manifest object and referent focus. (2) In the absence of -ag-, imperative mode is indicated by ∅ in subject focus, -a in object focus, and -i in referent focus. Semantically there is no contrast in the forcefulness of the command

when the speaker uses the m-ag-, p-ag-, or Ø form of the imperative mode.

M-ag-senqad ko ka bozag! 'You cook the camote!'
S-Imp-cook you ntp camote

Ø-tabang ko kanao! 'You help me!'
Imp-help you me

P-ag-pahid-en mo ya baqbaq mo! 'You wipe your mouth!'
Imp-wipe-O you Tp mouth your

Dawat-a mo ya soyat! 'You receive the letter!'
receive-O you Tp letter

P-ag-hawid-an mo ya bolo! 'You hold the bamboo pole!'
Imp-hold-R you Tp bamboo.pole

Hawid-i mo iton! 'You hold that!'
hold-R you that

The imperative mode occurs with the following affixes of aspect III: pan-, pa-, pahi-, -in-, and stem reduplication.

M-ag-pa-hatag ko kan Badang ka asin!
S-Imp-C-give you Op (name) ntp salt
'You cause the salt to be given to Badang!'

P-ag-pan-hinang-en mazo ya kazas!
Imp-D-make-O you.pl Tp frame.for.slicing.wild.root
'You all make the frames for slicing wild root!'

P-ag-pahi-bonal-an mo ya baroy!
Imp-Au-pound-R you Tp leaf
'You pound the leaf vigorously!'

M-ag-h-in-inang ko ka soong!
S-Imp-make-Rep you ntp rat.trap
'You repeatedly make the rat traps!'

3.22 Descriptives.

Inflectable stems which are not inflected are descriptives. These include simple as well as derived stems. Stems which occur both simple and with verbal affixes in secondary distribution are heard most frequently as simple stems. Some descriptives are: pangotana 'question', mapait 'bitter', pagpakakita 'sight', balagen 'vine', kapait 'bitterness', amaama 'boy', mararag 'red', lagkaw 'house', kahaldek 'fear', pagkabereng 'surprise', asin 'salt', pagkaen 'food', bazawan 'altar', maripaq 'dirty'.

All descriptives have the same distribution in phrases and clauses, can all be possessed, and can all be substituted for by pronouns. In the following examples, note derived stems in noun phrases after ya.

Ono ya pangotana naiza kanmo?
what Tp question his to.you
'What was his question to you?'

Dakolaq ya pagkabereng niran kanao.
great Tp surprise their at.me
'Great was their surprise at me.'

#-kawq-en mo ya mararag. 'You get the red one.'
Nb-get-O you Tp red.one

Malised ya kahimtang naiza kay waray pagpakakita naiza.
difficult Tp condition his bec NegTp sight his
'His condition is difficult because he has no sight.'

Nabogtoq di bazaq ya balagen.
snapped.in.two cmp surprise Tp vine
'The vine has snapped in two now!'

3.3 MORPHOPHONEMIC ALTERNATION

We discuss morphophonemic change both within a word and across word boundaries. Asterisk (*) indicates a nonterminal string.

3.31 Morphophonemic alternation within words is found in Mamanwa when a stem is inflected for focus or aspect.

3.31.1 When nasal final prefixes (i.e. those ending in n or N) occur with stems, two types of morphophonemic alternation take place.

3.31.11 Assimilation of prefix-final n to the point of articulation of the stem-initial bilabial and velar stops occurs when an- 'subject focus' or in- 'action-begun aspect' prefix the stem.

an- + panaw 'to go' ⟶ ampanaw
an- + bonal 'to pound' ⟶ ambonal
an- + kaen 'to eat' ⟶ angkaen
in- + pokaw 'to awaken' ⟶ impokaw
in- + gazon 'to repair' ⟶ inggazon

3.31.12 Assimilation of prefix-final N to the nearest point of articulation of stem-initial bilabial and velar stops, voiceless alveolar stop, and voiceless sibilant occurs when paN-, maN-, or naN- 'distributive aspect' prefix the stem. The initial consonant of the stem in turn is lost except when that consonant is g.

paN- + panaw 'to go' ⟶ pamanaw
paN- + baligzaq 'to sell' ⟶ pamaligzaq
paN- + silhig 'to sweep' ⟶ panilhig
paN- + tanem 'to plant' ⟶ pananem
paN- + goliq 'to return' ⟶ pangoliq
paN- + gabok 'to fetch firewood' ⟶ panggabok

3.31.2 When -an 'referent focus' and -en 'object focus' occur with

stems, five types of morphophonemic alternation take place.

3.31.21 By vowel harmony, -en becomes -on with stems having o in the ultima.

sobo 'to boil' + -en ⟶ *soboon
tolo 'three' + -en ⟶ *toloon
daqob 'to lie prone' + -en ⟶ *daqobon
ponoq 'to fill' + -en ⟶ *ponoqon
potos 'to wrap up something' + -en ⟶ *potoson

3.31.22 Stems ending with a vowel add h.

bali 'over' + -en ⟶ balihen
qiba 'companion' + -an ⟶ qibahan
dara 'to bring' + -en ⟶ *darahen
*soboon 'to boil' ⟶ *sobohon
*toloon 'to triple' ⟶ tolohon

3.31.23 Word final y changes to z (Sec. 1.2).

patay 'to kill' + -en ⟶ patazen
bantay 'to watch over' + -an ⟶ bantazan
sakay 'to ride' + -an ⟶ *sakazan
labay 'to pass by' + -an ⟶ *labazan

3.31.24 In certain stems, the last vowel of the stem drops when the penult of the stem is open. -o⟶ indicates that the change is optional.

3.31.24.1 Lenis vowel in the last syllable drops.

kilala 'to recognize' + -an ⟶ kilalhan
sira 'to close' + -an -o⟶ sirhan
laba 'to launder' + -an ⟶ labhan
*darahen 'to bring' ⟶ *darhen
*sakazan 'to ride on' ⟶ sakzan
*labazan 'to pass by' ⟶ labzan

3.31.24.2 The last vowel of the stem drops if the medial or final consonant of the stem is glottal stop.

heqem 'to soak' + -an ⟶ *heqman
lapaq 'to butcher' + -an ⟶ lapqan
*daqobon 'to lie prone' ⟶ *daqbon
*ponoqon 'to fill' ⟶ ponqon

3.31.24.3 Stems with final p, b, t, d, or s preceded by o or e lose the o or e.

dakep 'to catch' + -an ⟶ dakpan
tekeb 'to catch and kill' + -en ⟶ tekben
qeket 'to tie' + -an ⟶ qektan
qotod 'to cut in half' + -an ⟶ qotdan

lemes 'to drown' + -an ⟶ lemsan
sazod 'to know' + -an ⟶ *sazdan
sazep 'to err' + -an ⟶ *sazpan

Occasionally alternation is seen in stems ending with the above consonants, but preceded by i or a.

lanit 'to tear off' + -an ⟶ lanten
lipaṭ 'to forget' + -an ⟶ liptan

Occasionally alternation is seen in stems ending with l and preceded by o or e.

sakol 'to pound' + -an ⟶ saklon
qegel 'to grunt' + -an ⟶ qeglan
Also, *sobohon 'to boil' -o⟶ sobhon

3.31.25 Some of the consonant clusters formed as a result of vowel loss (3.31.24) change.

3.31.25.1 -rh- becomes -dh- in one instance; -zC- becomes -yC- (Sec. 1.2). C = any stop.

*darhen 'to bring' ⟶ dadhen
*sazdan 'to know' ⟶ saydan
*sazpan 'to err' ⟶ saypan

3.31.25.2 By metathesis, -qC- becomes -Cq-; -ts- becomes -st- in one instance.
*daqbon 'to lie prone' ⟶ dabqon
*heqman 'to soak'' ⟶ hemqan
*potson 'to wrap' ⟶ poston

3.32 Morphophonemic alternation across word boundaries is found in Mamanwa between the nonpersonal topic marker ya and the word immediately preceding it. The change is optional.

ya becomes -y clitic on any preceding word which ends in vowel, q, or n. *-ny and *-qy reduce to -y; *-iy reduces to -i (observed only with wani 'this nearby' and di 'complete').

Dadhen mo ya manga idoq. or 'You will bring the dogs.'
Dadhen moy manga idoq.

Waro iton ya tao. or 'That person is over there.'
Waro itoy tao.

Pira ya makaen niran. or 'How much was their food?'
Piray makaen niran.

Dakolaq ya oran daza. or 'It rained hard upriver.'
Dakolay oran daza.

Waraq ya tirmino niran. or 'They have no set date.'
Waray tirmino niran.

Waraq pen ya sega. or 'There is no sun yet.'
Waraq pey sega.

Waton ya tao. or 'That is someone nearby.'
Watoy tao.

Waraq di ya makaen niran. or 'They have no food.'
Waraq di makaen niran.

4 CLAUSES

4.1 Verb classes
4.2 Verbal kernel clauses
4.3 Derived clauses
4.4 Nonverbal clauses
4.5 Dependent clauses
4.6 Semantic structure of verbs

In Mamanwa an independent clause is any string[1] of tagmemes which includes two grammatical centers, an obligatory predicate or predicate-like tagmeme, and an obligatory topic or focus complement tagmeme. In the clause nagadalagan iza 'running he' = 'He is running', nagadalagan 'running' manifests the predicate tagmeme and iza 'he' manifests the topic tagmeme. In the clause madazaw iza 'good he' = 'He is good', madazaw 'good' manifests the predicate tagmeme and iza 'he' manifests the topic tagmeme. The obligatory topic tagmeme, if not expressed within the immediate clause must be present in the immediate non-linguistic context, or in the proximate linguistic context by antecedent referent, or in the nonverbal context.

There are two basic independent clause types, verbal and nonverbal. Verbal clauses are distinguished from the nonverbal clauses (1) by the occurrence in a verbal clause of a verbal predicate as an obligatory tagmeme, contrasting with the absence of that tagmeme in a nonverbal clause, (2) by the occurrence in a verbal clause of a relationship of focus of attention in a topic as either an actor or a goal, or a referent, or an accessory contrasting with the absence of these relationships in a nonverbal clause, and (3) by the presence in a verbal clause of goal, referent, and accessory tagmemes which do not occur in nonverbal clauses.

Independent verbal clauses may be expanded by the addition of Time, Direction, Manner, Negative, and Interrogative tagmemes. These additions, however, do not result in new clause types. Kernel clauses may also be varied by word order, but neither does this result in a new clause type. From verbal kernel, or basic clauses come several derived clause types which show distinctive contrast with kernel clause types. Derived clauses are the causative, stative mode, and imperative types. Certain non-relational particles also occur in clauses, but they do not signal new clause types.

4.1 VERB CLASSES

A verb in Mamanwa is a word base affixed for focus, aspect, and mode (See 3.2.1) which fills the predicate slot in a verbal clause.

The term FOCUS[2] as applied to Mamanwa refers to the significant relationship that exists in a verbal clause between the action of the predicate and its actor, namely, Subject Focus; or between an action and its goal, namely, Object Focus; or between an action and the one

on whose behalf the action is performed or the location of the action, namely, Referent Focus; or between an action and some other person or thing involved in the action, namely, Accessory Focus. One of the substantive components of the clause serves as the focus-complement or topic of this activity focused relationship of the predicate. Affixes on the verb signal what the topic or focus complement will be in the clause. The affixes are as follows: an- prefix signals the actor as topic; -en suffix signals the object as topic; -an suffix signals the referent as topic; and i- prefix signals the accessory as topic. See Sec. 3.21.3 for a more complete discussion of Focus affixes. Only one topic can be focused at a given time in a given clause.

The following is a complete listing of topic and nontopic particles and pronouns which mark the relationships between the elements in a clause. The topic particles and pronouns mark the subject as actor in focus. The nontopic particles and pronouns <ni>/<naini>/<nao> mark the subject as actor out of focus. This function contrasts with that of the possessive particles and pronouns of the simple noun phrase in Sec. 2.1. The nontopic particles and pronouns <kan>/<kini>/<kanao> mark as being out of focus the direct object of the action, the one on whose behalf the action is performed; the location of the action, the instrument used to perform the action, or the benefactor involved in the action.

Nominal case marking particles are either personal or nonpersonal:

	topic	nontopic	
personal(s)	si	ni	kan
personal(pl)	sin	nin	kanin
nonpersonal	ya	na	ka

Demonstrative pronouns are either common or definite:

'this common'	ini	naini	kini
'this definite'	iniheq	nainiheq	kiniheq
'that common'	iton	naiton	kiton
'that definite'	itonhoq	naitonhoq	kitonhoq

Personal pronouns show person and number contrasts:

1 s	hao	nao ~ o	kanao
2 s	iko ~ ko	mo	kanmo
3 s	iza	naiza	kanangiza
1 pl, exc	kami	nami	kanami
1 pl, inc	kita	nita ~ ta	kanta
2 pl	kamo	mazo	kamazo
3 pl	siran	niran	kaniran

There are eight verb stem classes which are divided on the basis of their occurrence or non-occurrence with the Focus affixes.

Initially an attempt was made to classify the verb stems according to their occurrence with the affixes -en, -an and i-. Following Bloomfield (1917) a limited meaning was given to each affix, i.e., -en signals the object in focus; -an signals the benefactor of the action to be in focus; and i- signals the instrument used to perform the action to be in focus. Problems resulted with this analysis. It was difficult to make the meanings stick, since sometimes it seemed, e.g., that both -en and -an signaled the object in focus:

Bonal-en mo ya baroy.
will.pound-Of you T leaf
'The leaf is what you will pound.'

Bonal-an mo ya baroy.
will.pound-Of(?) you T leaf
'The leaf is what you will pound.'

Likewise the prefix i- seemed to mark the instrument performing the action as well as the benefactor of the action, e.g.,

I-karis mo ya lodzoq ka baboy.
AccIf-will.stab you T bolo.knife the pig
'You will stab the pig with the bolo-knife.'

I-bonal mo si Mam ka baroy.
AccIf(?)-will.pound you T (name) the leaf
'You will pound the leaf for Mam.'

Therefore, it became necessary to take a closer look at the verb stem classes since it was apparent that these were upsetting the original categorization. A group of 134 verb stems was then analyzed in the light of this original analysis to discover what influence, if any, the stems were having on the function of the affixes. Out of that group of stems an unwieldy number of 45 verb stem classes resulted. It was then decided to broaden the area of meaning for these affixes, and to go through the stems again. (Referent focus was broadened to include not only the one on whose behalf the action is performed, but also the location of the action. The Accessory focus was broadened to include not only the instrument used to perform the action, but also the person or benefactor involved in the action, and the item or associate involved in the action). The result was eight classes of verb stems occurring with the four focus affix tagmemes. Having broadened the areas of meaning for the Referent and Accessory focuses the affixes in the above illustrations now appear without ambiguous meanings:

Bonal-en mo ya baroy.
will.pound-Of you T leaf
'The leaf is what you will pound.'

The affix -en signals the item in focus as the object, which is baroy 'leaf'.

Bonal-an mo ya baroy.
will.pound-Rlof you T leaf
'You will pound the leaf.'

The affix -an signals the item in focus as the location, which is baroy 'leaf'.

Bonal-an mo si Mam ka baroy.
will.pound-Rf you T (name) the leaf
'You will pound the leaf for Mam.'

The affix -an signals the item in focus as the one on whose behalf the action is done, which is si Mam 'Mam'.

I-karis mo ya lodzoq ka baboy.
AccIf-will.stab you T bolo.knife the pig
'You will stab the pig with the bolo-knife.'

The affix i- signals the instrument used to perform the action, which is lodzoq 'bolo-knife'.

l-bonal mo si Mam ka baroy.
AccBf-will.pound you T (name) the leaf
'You will pound the leaf for Mam.'

The affix i- signals the Benefactor of the action which is si Mam 'Mam'.

I-bazad mo ya otang ka kowarta.
AccAf-will.pay you T debt the money
'You will pay the debt with the money.'

The affix i- signals the Associate or item involved in the action.

There is a whole-part relationship that exists in some predicates:

Hinang-en mo ya banig.
will.make-Of you T mat
'You will make the mat (all of it).'

Hinang-an mo ya banig.
will.make-Rf you T mat
'You will (help) make the mat.'

Iba-hen o si Loria.
will.accompany-Of I T (name)
'I will accompany Loria (for my own purpose).'

Iba-han o si Loria.
will.accompany-Rf I T (name)
'I will accompany Loria (for the purpose of helping her).'

Tebeng-an nao si Tatoy konsilem.
will.fell.banana.tree-Rf I T (name) tomorrow
'I will (help) Tatoy fell banana trees tomorrow.'

I-tebeng nao si Tatoy konsilem.
AccBf-will.fell.banana.tree I T (name) tomorrow
'I will fell banana trees for Tatoy tomorrow.'

There are some ambiguities that have not yet been resolved by this whole-part relationship.

All verbs may be affixed for Subject Focus. Class One verb stems = verbs that can be affixed for Object, Referent, and Accessory Focuses; Class Two verb stems = verbs that cannot be affixed for Object Focus; Class Three verb stems = verbs that cannot be affixed for Referent Focus; Class Four verb stems = verbs that cannot be affixed for Accessory Focus; Class Five verb stems = verbs that cannot be affixed for either Object or Referent Focuses; Class Six verb stems = verbs that cannot be affixed for Referent or Accessory Focuses; Class Seven verb stems = verbs that cannot be affixed for Object or Accessory Focuses; Class Eight verb stems = verbs that can only be affixed for Subject Focus.[3]

Clauses illustrating each focus type are presented first in a citation paradigm, secondly in a tagmemic-notation paradigm, and lastly in a tagmatic-notation paradigm. The citation paradigm illustrates the structure of the clause. The tagmemic-notation paradigm shows in a formal manner the internal structure of the clause by representing each functional slot or tagmeme in the clause with a symbol. The tagmatic-notation paradigm contains a more detailed description of the clause structure by symbolizing not only the functional slots in the clause but also the classes of words that may occur in that slot.

4.2 VERBAL KERNEL CLAUSES

The crucial core--or kernel or nucleus--of Mamanwa structure includes the following clause types: Subject focus, Object focus, Referent focus, and Accessory focus.

4.21 Subject focus.

The topic is the originator (actor) of the action.

Subject focus clauses are emically distinct from all other Focus clauses (1) in that the predicate tagmemes contrast in form (affixa-

tion), and function, (2) the first post predicate tagmemes contrast in form (manifesting class and distribution), and function, and (3) the second post predicate tagmemes contrast in form (manifesting class and distribution), and function.

4.21.1 Citation of Subject Focus

Maga-bahog kami ka baboy ka parot kan Melina.
Sf-feeding T we the pig the peeling for (name)
'We are feeding the peelings to the pig for Melina.'

Am-palit ya maimpis ka gas.
Sf-will.buy T child the gas
'The child will buy the gas.'

An-iba hao kan Poniq.
Sf-will.accompany T I (name)
'I will accompany Poniq.'

Maga-katawa si Ana.
Sf-laughing T (name)
'Ana is laughing.'

4.21.2 Tagmemic-notation of Subject Focus is:

$SfCl = +Pr_{Sf}\ +SAct_{T}\ \pm OG\ \pm(\pm AccI\ \pm R)^{4}$

The preceding tagmemic-notation formula is to be read: A subject focus clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme marked for subject focus, and an obligatory subject-as-actor tagmeme marked for topic, plus an optional goal tagmeme, and either an optional accessory-as-instrument or referent tagmeme, or both.

4.21.3 Tagmatic-notation of Subject Focus is:

$SfCl = +Pr_{Sf}$: V 1-8 + $SAct_{T}$:<hao>/si ph/ya ph $\pm$OG: <kanao>/kan ph/ka ph $\pm(\pm$AccI:ka ph $\pm$R:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph)

The tagmatic formula above is to be read:
A subject focus clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme filled by a verb from any of the eight stem classes marked for subject focus, plus an obligatory subject-as-actor tagmeme filled by either a member of the <hao> pronoun class or a si phrase or a ya phrase, plus an optional object-as-goal tagmeme filled by either a member of the <kanao> pronoun class or a kan phrase or a ka phrase, plus an optional accessory-as-instrument tagmeme filled by a ka phrase or an optional referent tagmeme filled by either a member of the <kanao> pronoun class or a kan phrase or a ka phrase; or both an accessory-as-instrument and a referent tagmeme may occur.

4.22 Object focus.
The object or goal of the action is the topic of the predicate.

Object Focus clauses are emically distinct from all other clauses in that (1) the predicate tagmemes contrast in form (affixation), and function, and (2) the second post predicate tagmemes contrast in function only.

4.22.1 Citation of Object Focus

Tambal-en nao si Maria.
will.medicine-Of I T (name)
'I will medicine Mary.'

Azo-on na maimpis ya kowarta kan Mam.
will.ask-Of the child T money (name)
'The child will ask Mam for money.'

Bon-on nao itong baboy ka bangkaw.
will.kill-Of I T that pig with.the.spear
'I will kill that pig with the spear.'

Tagmemic-notation of Object Focus is:

$OfCl = +Pr_{Of}$ +SAct + OG_T ±(±R ±AccI)

The preceding tagmemic-notation formula is to be read:
An object focus clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme marked for object focus, and an obligatory subject-as-actor tagmeme, plus an obligatory object-as-goal tagmeme marked for topic, plus an optional referent or accessory-as-instrument tagmeme, or both.

4.22.3 Tagmatic-notation of Object Focus is:

$OfCl = +Pr_{Of}$: V 1,3,4,6 + SAct:<nao>/ni ph/na ph + OG_T: <hao>/si ph/ ya ph ±(±R:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph ±AccI:ka ph)

The tagmatic formula above is to be read:
An object focus clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme filled by a verb from either Stem Class one, three, four, or six and is marked for object focus, plus an obligatory subject-as-actor tagmeme filled by either a member of the <nao> pronoun class or a ni phrase or a na phrase, plus an obligatory object-as-goal tagmeme filled by either a member of the <hao> pronoun class or a si phrase or a ya phrase, plus an optional referent tagmeme filled by either a member of the <kanao> pronoun class or a kan phrase or a ka phrase, or an optional accessory-as-instrument tagmeme filled by a ka phrase; or both a referent and an accessory-as-instrument tagmeme may occur.

4.23 Referent focus.

The person on whose behalf the action is performed, or the location of the action is the topic of the predicate.

The Referent Focus clauses are emically distinct from all other clauses in that (1) the predicate tagmemes contrast in form (affixa-

tion), and function, and (2) the second post predicate tagmemes contrast in function only.

The Referent-location tagmeme is an etic variant of the Referent tagmeme. There is no contrast in the predicate tagmemes. There is one contrast in the second post predicate tagmemes and that is in form only. The Referent topic ya is unrestricted in form while in the Referent-location the topic ya is restricted in form.

4.23.1 Citation of Referent Focus

Bahog-an mo si Mam ka baboy ka parot.
will.feed-Rf you T (name) the pig the peeling
'It is for Mam that you will feed the peelings to the pig.'

Bahog-an mo ya baboy kan Mam ka parot.
will.feed-Rlof you T pig for (name) the peeling
'You will feed the pig the peelings for Mam.'

4.23.2 Tagmemic-notation of Referent Focus is:

$RfCl = +Pr_{RF} + SAct \quad +R_T \pm(\pm OG \quad \pm AccI)$[5]

The preceding tagmemic-notation formula is to be read:
A referent focus clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme marked for referent focus, and an obligatory subject-as-actor tagmeme, plus an obligatory referent tagmeme marked for topic, plus an optional object-as-goal tagmeme or accessory-as-instrument tagmeme, or both.

$RloCl = +Pr_{Rlof} \ +SAct \ +Rlo_T \pm(\pm AccA \ \pm AccI)$

The preceding tagmemic-notation formula is to be read:
A referent location focus clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme marked for referent focus, and an obligatory subject-as-actor tagmeme, plus an obligatory referent location tagmeme marked for topic, plus an optional accessory-as-associate tagmeme or accessory-as-instrument tagmeme, or both.

4.23.3 Tagmatic-notation of Referent Focus is:

$RfCl = +Pr_{Rf}$: V 1,2,4,7 +SAct:<nao>/ni ph/na ph $+R_T$: <hao>/si ph/ ya ph $\pm(\pm$OG:ka ph $\pm$AccI:ka ph)

The tagmatic formula is to be read:
A referent focus clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme filled by a verb from either Stem Class one, two, four or seven and is marked for referent focus, plus an obligatory subject-as-actor tagmeme filled by either a member of the <nao> pronoun class or a ni phrase or a na phrase, plus an obligatory referent tagmeme filled by either a member of the <hao> pronoun class or a si phrase or a ya phrase, plus an optional object-as-goal tagmeme filled by a ka phrase, or an accessory-as-instrument tagmeme filled by a ka phrase, or both an object-as-goal and an accessory-as-instrument tagmeme may occur.

RlofCl = +Pr_{Rlof}: V 1,2,4,7 +SAct: <nao>/ni ph/na ph +Rlo_T: ya ph/ si ph ±(±AccA:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph ±AccI:ka ph)

The tagmatic formula above is to be read:
A referent location focus clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme filled by a verb from either Stem Class one, two, four or seven and is marked for referent focus, plus an obligatory subject-as actor tagmeme filled by either a member of the <nao> pronoun class or a ni phrase or a na phrase, plus an obligatory referent location tagmeme filled by either a ya phrase or a si phrase, plus an optional accessory-as-associate tagmeme filled by either a member of the <kanao> pronoun class or a kan phrase or a ka phrase or an optional accessory-as-instrument tagmeme filled by a ka phrase or both an accessory-as-associate and accessory-as-instrument tagmemes may occur.

4.24 Accessory focus.

The topic of the predicate may be either (1) the instrument to perform the action, or (2) the person or item involved in the action, or (3) the associate or benefactor of the action.

Accessory Focus clauses are emically distinct from all other clauses in that (1) the predicate tagmemes contrast in form (affixation) and function, and (2) the second post predicate tagmemes contrast in form (restriction in class membership of the accessory topic slot where only one member of the ya class can occur.

Accessory Instrument Focus, Accessory Benefactor Focus, and Accessory Associate Focus clauses are etic variants of one another. The predicate tagmemes of each of these contrast in function only, while the second post predicate tagmemes contrast in the restriction of the class members.

4.24.1 Citation of Accessory Focus is:

I-bahog mo ya parot ka baboy.
AccIf-will.feed you T peeling the pig
'It is the peeling that you will feed the pig.'

I-bahog mo si Mam ka baboy.
AccBf-will.feed you T (name) the pig
'It is Mam for whom you will feed the pig.'

1-bazad mo ya otang ka kowarta.
AccAf-will.pay you T debt with.the money
'The debt you will pay with the money.'

4.24.2 Tagmemic-notation of Accessory Focus is:

AccIfCl = +Pr_{AccIf} +SAct +$AccI_T$ ±OG

The preceding tagmemic-notation formula is to be read:
An accessory-as-instrument focus clause consists of an obligatory

predicate tagmeme marked for accessory focus, and an obligatory subject-as-actor tagmeme, plus an obligatory accessory-as-instrument tagmeme marked for topic, plus an optional object-as-goal tagmeme.

$AccBfCl = +Pr_{AccBf}\ +SAct\ +AccB_T\ \pm Og$

The above formula is to be read:
An accessory-as-benefactor focus clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme marked for accessory focus, and an obligatory subject-as-actor tagmeme, plus an obligatory accessory-as-benefactor tagmeme marked for topic, plus an optional object-as-goal tagmeme.

$AccAfCl = +Pr_{AccAf}\ +SAct\ +AccA_T\ \pm AccI$

The above formula is to be read:
An accessory-as-associate focus clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme marked for accessory focus, and an obligatory subject-as-actor tagmeme, plus an obligatory accessory-as-associate tagmeme marked for topic, plus an optional accessory-as-instrument tagmeme.

4.24.3 Tagmatic-notation of Accessory Focus is:

$AccIfCl = +Pr_{AccIf}$: V 1,3,5 + SAct:<nao>/ni ph/na ph + $AccI_T$: ya ph
$\pm$OG:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph

The tagmatic formula is to be read:
An accessory-as-instrument focus clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme filled by a verb from either Stem Class one, three, or five and is marked for accessory focus, plus an obligatory subject-as-actor tagmeme filled by either a member of the <nao> pronoun class or a ni phrase or a na phrase, plus an obligatory accessory-as-instrument tagmeme filled by a ya phrase, plus an optional object-as-goal tagmeme filled by either a member of the <kanao> pronoun class or a kan phrase or ka phrase.

$AccBfCl = +Pr_{AccBf}$: V 1,3,5 +SAct:<nao>/ni ph/na ph +$AccB_T$:<hao>/si ph/ya ph $\pm$OG:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph

The above formula is to be read:
An accessory-as-benefactor focus clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme filled by a verb from either Stem Class one, three or five and is marked for accessory focus, plus an obligatory subject-as-actor tagmeme filled by either a member of the <nao> pronoun class or a ni phrase or a na phrase, plus an obligatory accessory-as-benefactor tagmeme filled by either a member of the <hao> pronoun class or a si phrase or a ya phrase, plus an optional object-as-goal tagmeme filled by either a member of the <kanao> pronoun class or a kan phrase or a ka phrase.

$AccAfCl = +Pr_{AccAf}$: V 1,3,5 +SAct:<nao>/ni ph/na ph +$AccA_T$:ya ph[6]
$\pm$AccI: ka ph

The above formula is to be read:

An accessory-as-associate focus clause consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme filled by a verb from either Stem Class one, three or five and is marked for accessory focus, plus an obligatory subject-as-actor tagmeme filled by either a member of the <nao> pronoun class or a ni phrase or a na phrase, plus an obligatory accessory-as-associate tagmeme filled by a ya phrase, plus an optional accessory-as-instrument tagmeme filled by a ka phrase.

4.25 Expansions.

Verbal kernel clauses may be expanded with optional Time, Direction, Manner, Negative, and Interrogative tagmemes.

4.25.1 Time.

The optional time slot is filled by temporal time words or phrases. The time tagmeme may occur clause initially, medially, or finally in all four focuses.

4.25.11 Citation paradigm

Kada aldaw ambahog kami ka baboy ka parot kan Melina.
everyday (Ti) will.feed we the pig the peeling for (name)
'Everyday we will feed the pig the peelings for Melina.'

Anqiba hao kan Poniq konsilom.
will.accompany I (name) tomorrow (Ti)
'I will accompany Poniq tomorrow.'

Ampalit si Howan kayqan ka gas.
will.buy (name) later (Ti) the gas
'John will buy the gas later.'

4.25.12 Tagmemic-notation formula

±Ti +Pr_{Sf} +$SAct_T$ ±Ti ±(±OG ±R ±AccI) ±Ti

4.25.13 Tagmatic-notation formula

±Ti:ti +Pr_{Sf}: V 1-8 +$SAct_T$:<hao>/si ph/ya ph ±Ti:ti ±(±OG:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph ±R:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph) ±Ti:ti

4.25.2 Direction.

The optional direction slot is filled by directional words or phrases. The direction slot may occur clause initially, medially or finally. Usually the time slot precedes the direction slot when they both occur in a given clause.

Citation paradigm

Ambahog kami ka baboy kan Mam dizan ka lopaq.
will.feed we the pig for (name) there on.the ground(Dir ph)
'We will feed the pig for Mam there on the ground.'

Kada aldaw ambahog kami ka baboy ka parot kan Melina
everyday(Ti) will.feed we the pig the peeling for (name)

dini ka lopaq.
here on.the ground(Dir ph)
'Everyday we will feed the pig the peelings for Melina here on the ground.'

4.25.22 Tagmemic-notation formula

$+Pr_{Sf}$ $+SAct_{T}$ $\pm$(±OG ±AccI ±R) ±Dir

4.25.23 Tagmatic-notation formula

$+Pr_{Sf}$: V 1-8 + $SAct_{T}$:<hao>/si ph/ya ph ±(±OG:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph
±AccI: ka ph ±R:<kanao>/kanp h/ka ph) ±Dir:dir

4.25.3 Post predicate manner tagmeme.

The post predicate manner slot is filled by a class of descriptive words (See 3.2) affixed with pag- which may be preceded by an optional non-topic ka phrase marker. The manner slot may occur in any post predicate position, but may never occur in a pre-predicate position. It may occur with all four focuses. There is a partial overlap in the distribution class that fills the predicate and manner slots.

4.25.31 Citation paradigm

Magabahog kami pag-taed ka baboy ka parot kan Melina.
feeding we very.much(M) the pig the peeling for (name)
'We are feeding many of the peelings to the pig for Melina.'

Andalagan iza pag-binto. 'He will run very fast.'
will.run he very.fast(M)

Minlaba iza kan Mam ka pag-dogay.
laundered she for (name) long.time(M)
'She did Mam's laundry for a long time.'

4.25.32 Tagmemic-notation formula

$+Pr_{Sf}$ $+SAct_{T}$ ±(±M ±OG ±AccI ±R)

4.25.33 Tagmatic-notation formula

$+Pr_{Sf}$: V 1-8 $+SAct_{T}$:<hao>/si ph/ya ph ±(±M:m ±OG:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph
±AccI:ka ph ±R:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph)

4.25.4 Pre-predicate manner tagmeme.

The pre-predicate manner slot is filled by a class of descriptive words, usually numerals, that cannot be preceded by a phrase marker. This tagmeme may occur with all four focuses.

4.25.41 Citation paradigm

Kadowa badoqi ya maimpis ka badoq.
twice(M) dressed the child the dress
'The child dressed twice.'

Anipen badoqa na maimpis ya badoq.
once(M) dressed the child the dress
'The child dressed once.'

4.25.42 Tagmemic-notation formula

+M +Pr_{Sf} +$SAct_T$ ±OG

+M +Pr_{Of} +SAct +OG_T

4.25.43 Tagmatic-notation formula

+M:<kadowa> +Pr_{Sf}: V 8 +$SAct_T$:<hao>/si ph/ya ph ±OG: <kanao>/kan ph/ka ph

+M:<anipen> +Pr_{Of}: V 8 +SAct: <nao>/ni ph/na ph +OG: <hao>/si ph/ya ph

4.25.5 Negatives.

There are four negative words that can fill the negative slot: diri 'will not, no', waraq 'did not, none', azaw 'don't' and abay 'don't'. The latter two negative words fill the negative slot in the imperative type clause. The negative words fill the first pre-predicate slot except in an emphasis focus clause. When a clause is expanded by an negative slot the subject-as-actor, if a pronoun, moves to the first pre-predicate position and the negative moves to the second pre-predicate position. If the subject-as-actor is a noun phrase, it remains in the normal first post predicate position.

4.25.51 Citation paradigm

Diri kami ambahog ka baboy ka parot kan Melina.
will.not(Neg) we($SAct_T$) will.feed the pig the peeling for (name)
'We will not feed the pig the peelings for Melina.'

Diri ambahog ya maimpis ka baboy ka parot
will.not(Neg) will.feed the child($SAct_T$) the pig the peeling
kan Melina.
for (name)
'The child will not feed the pig the peelings for Melina.'

Waraq siran makakarini.
did.not(Neg) they($SAct_T$) able.to.come.here
'They were not able to come here.'

Azaw kamo pagqaway. 'Don't you fight!'
don't(Neg) you($SAct_T$) fight

Abay kamo pagmatay. 'Don't you cry!'
don't(Neg) you($SAct_T$) cry

4.25.52 Tagmemic-notation formula

+Neg +$SAct_T$ +Pr_{Sf} ±(±OG ±AccI ±R)

+Neg +Pr_{Sf} +$SAct_T$ ±(±OG ±AccI ±R)

4.25.53 Tagmatic-notation formula

+Neg:neg +$SAct_T$:<hao>+Pr_{Sf}: V 1-8 ±(±OG: <kanao>/kan ph/ka ph ±AccI: ka ph ±R:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph)

+Neg:neg +Pr_{Sf}: V 1-8 +$SAct_T$:si ph/ya ph ±(±OG:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph ±AccI: ka ph ±R:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph)

4.25.6 Interrogative.

The interrogative verbal clauses may be signaled (1) by interrogative pronouns which fill a special pre-predicate slot indicating interrogation, or (2) by the occurrence of interrogative particles in the pre-interrogative slot which may also optionally co-occur with the interrogative pronouns, or (3) by simultaneous portmanteau manifestation of interrogative pronouns with verbal affixation in the predicate slot, or (4) intonation. When there is the absence of an interrogative pronoun or particle, intonation signals the interrogation in a clause. The interrogative pronouns are singo 'who?' (simultaneous portmanteau manifestation with subject-as-actor), kagango 'when?' (simultaneous portmanteau manifestation with Time), onhon 'how?', pira 'how many?', kapira 'how many times?'. The interrogative particles that indicate interrogation are daw and kon. These occur in the pre-interrogative slot with or without the occurrence of the interrogative pronouns in an interrogative slot.

Interrogative pronouns filling the predicate slot are ono 'what?', and hain 'where?'. In the non-verbal clauses these interrogative pronouns occur without affixation.

4.25.61 Citation paradigm

Singo ya mimbeles ka palansa?
$Intr_{pron}SAct_T$ the.one borrowed the iron
'Who was the one to borrow the iron?'

Kagango magpanlaba ya Tawe?
$Intr_{pron}Ti$ will.launder the (name)
'When will the Visayan person launder?'

Daw kagango magpanlaba ya Tawe?
$Intr_p$ $Intr_{pron}Ti$ will.launder the (name)
'When will the Visayan person launder?'

Min-ono ya inaq mo?
Sf-Intr$_{pron}$ the mother your
'What did your mother do?'

4.25.62 Tagmemic-notation formula

+Intr$_{pron}$SAct$_T$ +ICP$_{Sf}$ +OG

+Intr$_{pron}$Ti +Pr$_{Sf}$ +SAct$_T$

±(±Intr$_p$ +Intr$_{pron}$Ti) +Pr$_{Sf}$ +SAct$_T$

+Pr$_{Sf}$ +SAct$_T$

4.25.63 Tagmatic-notation formula

Intr$_{pron}$SAct$_T$: sinqo +ICPr$_{Sf}$: V 8 +OG:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph

+Intr$_{pron}$Ti: kaganqo +Pr$_{Sf}$: V 1-8 +SAct$_T$:<hao>/si ph/ya ph

±(±Intr$_p$: daw/kon ±Int$_{pro}$Ti: kaganqo) +Pr$_{Sf}$: V 1-8 +SAct$_T$:<hao>/si ph/ya ph

+Pr$_{IntrpronSf}$: ono/hain +SAct$_T$:<hao>/si ph/ya ph

4.26 Emphasis.

Emphasis of a topic or non-topic slot in the kernel verbal clauses is expressed by a shift of the slot to be emphasized from its normal post predicate position to the first pre-predicate position. (Phrase emphasis within a clause may be expressed by the special tagmeme ani preceding the phrase, or by phrase order of non-topic phrases.)

Nakadara ka kagaw ani ya langaw.
carried the germ e the fly
'The fly carried the germ.'

Ka ongkaq intagan si Howan na maimpis.
the snail(e) given.to (name) by.the child
'The child gave the snail to John.'

4.26.1 Citation paradigm

Kami magabahog ka baboy ka parot kan Melina.
we(eTSf) feeding the pig the peeling for (name)
'We are the ones feeding the pig the peelings for Melina.'

Ya baboy bonqon nao ka bangkaw.
the pig(eTOf) will.spear I the spear
'The pig is what I will kill with the spear.'

Si Melina bahogan nami ka baboy ka parot.
(name) (eTRf) will.feed we the pig the peeling
'It is for Melina that we will feed the pig the peelings.'

Ya parot ibahog nami ka baboy kan Melina.
the peeling(eTAccf) will.feed we the pig for (name)
'It is the peelings that we will feed to the pig for Melina.'

4.26.11 Tagmemic-notation formula

+eSAct$_T$ +Pr$_{Sf}$ ±(±OG +AccI ±R)

+eOG$_T$ +Pr$_{Of}$ +SAct ±(±R ±AccI)

+eR$_T$ +Pr$_{Rf}$ +SAct +OG ±AccI

+eAccI$_T$ +Pr$_{AccIf}$ +SAct ±(±OG ±R)

4.26.12 Tagmatic-notation formula

+eSAct$_T$:<hao>/si ph/ya ph +Pr$_{Sf}$: V 1-8 ±(±OG:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph ±AccI: ka ph ±R:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph)

+eOG$_T$:<hao>/si ph/ya ph +Pr$_{Of}$: V 1,3,4,6 +SAct:<nao>/ni ph/na ph ±(±R:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph ±AccI: ka ph)

+eR$_T$:<hao>/si ph/ya ph +Pr$_{Rf}$: V 1,2,4,7 +SAct:<nao>/ni ph/na ph +OG: ka ph ±AccI: ka ph

+eAccI$_T$: ya ph +Pr$_{AccIf}$: V 1,3,5 +SAct:<nao>/ni ph/na ph ±(±OG: <kanao>/kan ph/ka ph ±R:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph)

4.3 DERIVED CLAUSES

Derived verbal kernel clauses contrast with verbal kernel clauses when they show two or more internal differences in the clause structures. There are three derived clauses: causative, stative, and imperative.

4.31 Causative.

Causative aspect is marked in the predicate verb by the -pa- infix. This, plus an added causer tagmeme in the clause marks the clause as a causative structure. The causer of the action is the grammatical subject and the actor is the grammatical object, referent or instrument. These two internal differences distinguish the contrast between the kernel clause and the derived causative clause. When the causative infix co-occurs with any one of the 4 focus class affixes the relationship of the actor to the verb changes in the following ways: maga- plus -pa- signals causer of action in focus (CaF); pa- plus -en signals subject (actor) of the action in focus (SF); pa- plus -an signals referent or location in focus (RF) or object in focus (OF); i- plus -pa- signals accessory in focus (AccF) or object in focus (OF).

4.31.1 Citation paradigm

Maga-pa-bahog ya inaq ka maimpis ka parot
SCaF-causing.to.feed the mother(SCaT) the child(OAct) the peeling

ka baboy.
the pig
'The mother is causing the child to feed the peeling to the pig.'

Pa-bahog-en ya maimpis na inaq ka parot ka baboy.
Ca-to.feed-Of the child(OActT) the mother(SCa) the peeling the pig
'The child is being caused by the mother to feed the peeling to the pig.'

Pa-iba-han nao si Howan kanmo.
Ca-to.accompany-Rf I(SCa) (name) (RActT) you
'I will cause John to accompany you.'

Pa-baheg-an mo kan Daylinda ya mga bata.
Ca-to.reprimand-Of you(SCa) (name) (RAct) the pl children(OT)
'You cause Daylinda to reprimand the children.'

I-pa-bahog ni inaq ining makaen ka baboy.
AccICaF-feed mother(SCa) this food(AccIT) the pig
'This food mother will cause to be fed to the pig.'

I-pa-dara nao kan Holita ya raspador nin Mam.
OCaF-bring I(SCa) (name) (RAct) the grater of (name)(OGT)
'I will cause Julita to bring Mam's grater.'

4.31.2 Tagmemic-notation formula

$+Pr_{SCaf}$ $+SCa_T$ +OAct ±(±AccI ±OG)

$+Pr_{OCaf}$ $+OAct_T$ +SCa ±(±AccI ±OG)

$+Pr_{RCaf}$ +SCa $+RAct_T$ ±OG

$+Pr_{OCaf}$ +SCa +RAct $+OG_T$

$+Pr_{AccICaf}$ +SCa $+AccI_T$ +OG

$+Pr_{OCaf}$ +SCa +RAct $+OG_T$

4.31.3 Tagmatic-notation formula

$+Pr_{SCaf}$: V 1-8[7] $+SCa_T$:<hao>/si ph/ya ph +OAct:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph ±(±AccI: ka ph ±OG: ka ph)

$+Pr_{OCaf}$: V 1,3,4,6 $+OAct_T$:<hao>/si ph/ya ph +SCa:<nao>/ni ph/na ph ±(±AccI: ka ph ±OG: ka ph)

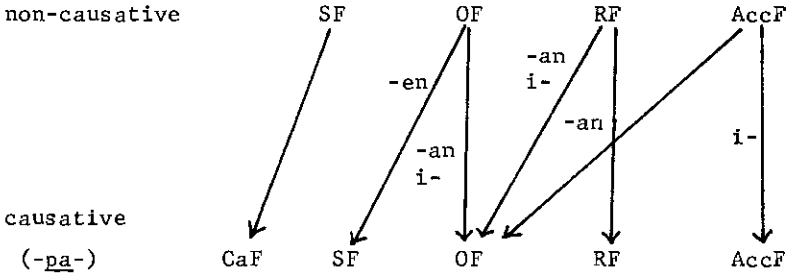
$+Pr_{RCaf}$: V 1,2,4,7 +SCa:<nao>/ni ph/na ph $+RAct_T$:<hao>/si ph/ya ph ±OG:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph

$+Pr_{OCaf}$: V 1,2,4,7 +SCa:<nao>/ni ph/na ph +RAct:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph $+OG_T$: si ph/ya ph

$+Pr_{AccIf}$: V 1,3,5 +SCa:<nao>/ni ph/na ph +$AccI_T$: dempro/ya ph +OG: <kanao>/kan ph/ka ph

$+Pr_{OCaf}$: V 1,2,4,7 +SCa:<nao>/ni ph/na ph +RAct:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph +OG_T: si ph/ya ph

4.31.4 The following formula summarizes the change in relationship that occurs when the -pa- affix co-occurs with the 4 focus affixes:



Rules resulting from the above formula-

1. Non-causative SF always shifts to CaF with -pa-.
2. Non-causative OF -en shifts to causative SF with -pa-; it never shifts to causative RF.
3. Non-causative RF may remain RF or may shift to OF with -pa-.
4. Non-causative AccF may remain AccF or may shift to OF with -pa-.
5. Non-causative OF may be manifested by affixes -en, -an and/or i-.
6. Non-causative RF may be manifested by affixes -an and/or i-.

4.32 Stative mode.

The Stative Mode in Mamanwa)(see 2.15.11) denotes that someone or something is made to be in a certain state or condition. The topic of the clause is acted upon by either ka or na phrases or their substitutes. The stative clause contrasts with the kernel verb clause (1) in form and function of the predicate tagmeme, and (2) in the function of the topic slot filler.

4.32.1 Citation paradigm

Na-belad ya maimpis ka segaq.
SStaf-sunned the child(StaST) the sun(Act)
'The child was overheated by the sun.'

Na-belad ya maimpis na segaq.
SStaf-sunned the child(StaST) the sun(Act)
'The child was overheated by the sun.'

Maga-tambal-an kami ni Mam.
Sta-being.medicined-Rf we(StaRT) (name)(Act)
'We are being medicined by Mam.'

Maga-silot-an siran ka pisi.
Sta-being.punished-Rf they(StaRT) by.the police
'They are being punished by the police.'

4.32.11 Tagmemic-notation formula

$+Pr_{SStaf}$ $+StaS_T$ +Act

$+Pr_{RStaf}$ $+StaR_T$ +Act

4.32.12 Tagmatic-notation formula

$+Pr_{SStaf}$: V 1-8 $+StaS_T$:<hao>/si ph/ya ph +Act:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph/<nao>/ni ph/na ph

$+Pr_{RStaf}$: V 1,2,4,7 $+StaR_T$:<hao>/si ph/ya ph +Act:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph/<nao>/ni ph/na ph

4.33 Imperative.

The imperative clause contrasts with the verbal kernel clause (1) by a difference in the predicate tagmeme, (2) by optional occurrence of only the 2nd person pronoun of class one and two pronouns in the subject-as-actor slot, and (3) by intonation. Imperative clauses are usually shorter than verbal kernel clauses and the speaker's voice is raised in pitch and is more forceful. Any of the four focuses may occur in the imperative clause.

4.33.1 Citation paradigm

Oliq!
return.home(Sf)
'Go home!'

Porot-a!
pick.it.up-Of
'Pick it up!'

Iba-hi hao!
accompany-Rf me
'Accompany me!'

I-hatag!
Accf-give.it
'Give it (to someone)!'

4.33.11 Tagmemic-notation formula

$+Pr_{Sf}$ $+SAct_T$ +Into

$+Pr_{Of}$ $\pm SAct$ $\pm OG_T$ +Into

$+Pr_{Rf}$ $\pm SAct$ $\pm R_T$ +Into

$+Pr_{Accf}$ $\pm SAct$ $\pm AccI_T$ +Into

4.33.12 Tagmatic-notation formula

$+Pr_{Sf}$: V 1-8 $\pm$SAct: ko/kamo +Into:into

$+Pr_{Of}$: V 1,3,4,6 $\pm$SAct: mo/mazo $\pm OG_T$:<hao>/si ph/ya ph +Into:into

$+Pr_{Rf}$: V 1,2,4,7 $\pm$SAct: mo/mazo $\pm R_T$:<hao>/si ph/ya ph

$+Pr_{Accf}$: V 1,3,5 $\pm$SAct: mo/mazo $\pm AccI_T$: ya ph

4.4 NONVERBAL CLAUSES

4.41 Nonverbal Kernels.

The nonverbal kernel clause types are emically distinct from each other in that (1) the predicate tagmemes contrast in form and function, and (2) the topic tagmemes contrast in function. There are six distinct nonverbal kernel clause types in Mamanwa: directional, descriptive, possessive, time, existential, and identification (Verstraelen 1965)[8].

4.41.1 Directional clause.

The directional clause (DirCl) contains an obligatory directional predicate slot (Pr_{dir}) filled by a locative noun phrase (Ph_{lo}), an obligatory topic slot (T) filled by a topic noun phrase marked for topic ($TopNP_t$), and an optional time slot (Ti) filled by a time noun phrase (TiNP):

DirCl = $+Pr_{dir}$: Ph_{lo} +T: $TopNP_t$ $\pm$Ti:TiNP

Doro	siran	ka lengsed	kahabi.
there(Pr_{dir})	they(T)	at.the city(Pr_{dir})	yesterday

'They were at the city yesterday.'

The directional predicate in the above example is discontinuous.

An interrogative directional clause is formed by substituting hain 'where?' in the directional predicate slot.

Hain	siran	kahabi?
where(Pr_{dir})	they(T)	yesterday(Ti)

'Where were they yesterday?'

4.41.2 Descriptive clause.

The descriptive clause (DeCl) contains an obligatory predicate slot (Pr_{de}) filled by a descriptive , an obligatory topic slot (T_{de}) filled by a topic noun phrase marked for topic (TopNP), and an optional time slot filled by a time noun phrase (TiNP):

DeCl = +Pr_{de}: de +T:TopNP ±Ti:TiNP

Mariggen siran. 'They are strong.'
strong(Pr_{de}) they(T)

Pethaw ya badoq. 'The dress is made of steel.'
steel(Pr_{de}) the dress(T)

Madazaw ya paghatag kanami na tao kahabi.
good(Pr_{de}) the giving to.us(T) by.the person yesterday(Ti)
'The giving to us by the person yesterday was good.'

4.41.3 Possessive clause.

The possessive clause (PoCl) contains an obligatory predicate slot (Pr_{po}) filled by a simple possessor noun phrase (SimPossNP) (Sec. 2.6), an obligatory topic slot (T) filled by a topic noun phrase marked for topic, and an optional time slot filled by a time noun phrase (TiNP):

PoCl = Pr_{po}:SimPossNP +T:TopNP ±Ti:TiNP

Kanao ini koman. 'This is mine now.'
mine(Pr_{po}) this(T) now(Ti)

Kan ama ya pala ka pagtanem.
father's(Pr_{po}) the shovel(T) for planting
'The shovel for planting is father's.'

4.41.4 Time clause.

The time clause (TiCl) contains an obligatory predicate slot (Pr_{ti}) filled by a time noun phrase and an obligatory topic slot filled by a Real time clause (RtCl) introduced by a topic marker:

TiCl = +Pr_{ti}:NP +T:$RtCl_t$

Sabado ya paghatag kanami na tao.
Saturday(Pr_{ti}) the giving(T) to.us by.the person
'The giving to us by the person was on Saturday.'

Tolong ka oras ya pagtoon ta kan Holian
three.hours(Pr_{ti}) the learning ours(T) from (name)
ka Minamanwa doro ka Pangaylan.
the Mamanwa.language there at Pangaylan
'We were learning the Mamanwa language from Julian for three hours there at Pangaylan.'

4.41.5 Existential clause.

The existential clause (ExCl) contains an obligatory predicate slot (Pr_{ex}) filled by may 'there is', and an obligatory topic slot (T_{ex}) filled by a descriptive or by an included clause (ICCl):

ExCl = +Pr_{ex}:may +T_{ex}:Ph_{de}/ICCl

May tao dizan. 'There is someone there.'
there.is(Pr_{ex}) person(T) there

May ampakahagdam kanao dindaza konsilom.
there.is(Pr_{ex}) one.who.will.inform(T) me up.here tomorrow
'There is one who will inform me up here tomorrow.'

4.41.6 Identification clause.

The identification clause (IdCl) contains an obligatory identification predicate slot (Pr_{id}) filled by an identification phrase (Ph_{id}) and an obligatory topic slot (T) filled by a topic noun phrase marked for topic. This clause is used to identify a participant in a discourse, and also to mark a participant as the theme of a discourse (Sec. 8.1).

The identification phrase consists of an obligatory identification tagmeme filled by <wani> class of identification particles, and can be optionally expanded with a modification tagmeme filled by the completive particles pen 'incomplete' or di 'complete'. The <wani> class of identification particles, which show distance contrast relative to the speaker, parallels the set of simple locatives displayed in Section 2.91 and may also occur in combination with directional and motion locatives: waton babaq wababaq 'that person/thing closeby down there'; waton ngarini 'that person/thing closeby approaching here'.

'this person/thing here in hand'	wani
'that person/thing there closeby'	waton
'that person/thing there distant'	waza
'that person/thing there far distant'	waro

Formula:

IdCl = +Pr_{id}:Ph_{id} +T:$TopNP_t$

Wani di ya lodzoq nao.
this.here.in.hand cmp the bolo.knife my
'This is my bolo-knife.'

Waton pen ya tao.
that.there.closeby yet the person
'That person is there closeby yet.'

4.42 Equational clause.

Equational clauses are derived from kernel, causative, and stative verbal clauses[9] and from descriptive, time, and possessive nonverbal clauses. The topic of the non-equational clause moves to clause-initial position and becomes the predicate of the equational clause (Pr_{eq}). The remainder of the non-equational clause becomes the topic of the equational clause (T_{eq}) and is preceded by a topic marker. Equative particle ani (eqp) precedes the equational topic.

In the examples which follow, ani is optional when enclosed in parentheses.

From verbal kernel clause:

Inhatag nao ya kowarta kan Melina.
given(Pr) by.me the money(T) to (name)
'I gave the money to Melina.'

To equational clause:

Ya kowarta ani ya inhatag nao kan Melina.
the money(Pr_{eq}) Eqp the given by.me(T) to (name)
'Money is what I gave to Melina.'

From causative verbal clause:

Ipabahog ni inaq ining makaen ka baboy.
cause.to.feed(Pr) by mother this food(T) the pig
'Mother will cause this food to be fed to the pig.'

To equational clause:

Ining makaen ani ya ipabahog ni inaq ka baboy.
this food(Pr_{eq}) Eqp the cause.to.feed(T) mother the pig
'This food is what Mother will cause to be fed to the pig.'

From stative verbal clause:

Magatambalan kami ni Mam.
being.given.medicine(Pr) we(T) by (name)
'We are being given medicine by Mam.'

To equational clause:

Kami (ani) ya magatambalan ni Mam.
we(Pr_{eq}) Eqp the being.given.medicine(T) by (name)
'We are the ones being given medicine by Mam.'

From descriptive nonverbal clause:

Mariggen siran.
strong(Pr) they(T)
'They are strong.'

To equational clause:

Siran (ani) ya mariggen.
they(Pr_{eq}) Eqp the strong(T)
'They are the strong ones.'

From time nonverbal clause:

Sabado ya paghatag kanami na tao.
Saturday(Pr) the giving(T) to.us by.the person
'The giving to us by the person was on Saturday.'

To equational clause:

Ya paghatag kanami na tao ani ya Sabado.
the giving(Pr_{eq}) to.us by.the person Eqp Saturday(T)
'The giving to us by the person was on Saturday.'

From possessive nonverbal clause:

Kanao ini.
mine(Pr) this(T)
'This is mine.'

To equational clause:

Ini (ani) ya kanao.
this(Pr_{eq}) Eqp mine(T)
'This is what is mine.'

Interrogative clauses using the interrogative pronouns ono 'what?' and sinqo 'who?' are formed by substituting the pronouns in the equational predicate slot.

From verbal kernel clause:

Inhatag nao ya kowarta kan Melina.
given(Pr) by.me the money(T) to (name)
'I gave the money to Melina.'

To equational interrogative clause:

Ono ya inhatag nao kan Melina?
what(Pr_{eq}) the given by.me(T) to (name)
'What did I give to Melina?'

From descriptive nonverbal clause:

Mariqqen siran.
strong(Pr) they(T)
'They are strong.'

To equational interrogative clause:

Sinqo ya mariqqen?
who(Pr_{eq}) the strong(T)
'Who are the strong ones?'

4.43 Negation.

All nonverbal clauses except interrogative can be negated, by either diri kon or waraq. The negative tagmeme(Neg) occurs pre-predicate.

Diri kon is used to negate descriptive, possessive, time, and equational nonverbal clauses.

Diri kon pethaw ya badoq.
not(Neg) steel(Pr_{de}) the dress(T)
'The dress isn't made of steel.'

Diri kon kanao ini koman.
not(Neg) mine(Pr_{po}) this(T) now
'This isn't mine now.'

Diri kon Sabado ya paghatag kanami na tao.
not(Neg) Saturday(Pr_{Ti}) the giving(T) to.us by.the person
'It wasn't Saturday that the person gave us something.'

Diri kon iza ya impananqogan na tao.
not(Neg) he(Pr_{eq}) the one.told.about(T) by.the person
'He wasn't the one told about by the person.'

Waraq is used to negate directional and existential nonverbal clauses.

Waraq siran doro ka lengsed kahabi.
not(Neg) they(T) there at.the city(Pr_{dir}) yesterday(Ti)
'They were not there at the city yesterday.'

Notice that waraq draws the topic pronoun to a pre-predicate position. In the existential negative, the predicate tagmeme is replaced by the negative existential (Neg_{ex}) and a descriptive phrase filler of the existential topic is introduced by ya topic marker.

Waraq ya tao dizan.
none(Neg_{ex}) the person(T) there
'There is nobody there.'

4.44 Emphasis.

There are three kinds of emphasis in Mamanwa nonverbal clauses: (1) emphasis of the clause topic, (2) emphasis of nonpredicate elements within the topic of an existential clause, and (3) identification of a possessor. In all cases, the emphasized tagmeme occurs in clause-initial position.

4.44.1 The topic of any nonverbal clause (except an existential clause) can be emphasized by being moved to clause-initial position. Em = emphasized tagmeme.

Ya helaq niran doro ka lengsed.
the dwelling.place theirs(EmT) there at.the.city(Pr_{dir})
'Their dwelling place is there at the city.'

Ya kabengtas niran ka isdaq masara.
the hunger theirs(EmT) for fish very.great(Pr_{de})
'They are very hungry for fish.'

Ya impananqogan na tao iza.
the one.told.about(EmT) by.the person he(Pr_{eq})
'He is the one who was told about by the person.'

Ya pala ka pagtanem kan ama.
the shovel(EmT) for planting is father's(Pr_{po})
'The shovel used for planting is father's.'

Ya pagtoon ta kan Holian tolong ka oras.
the learning ours(EmT) from (name) three hours(Pr_{Ti})
'We were learning from Julian for three hours.'

4.44.2 Any nonpredicate tagmeme of an included clause filling the topic of an existential clause may be emphasized. The emphasized tagmeme moves to prepredicate position in the existential clause and is manifested by the same class as when non-emphasized. Em0 = emphasized object tagmeme, EmDir = emphasized direction tagmeme.

Kanao may ampakahagdam dindaza.
me(Em0) there.is one.who.will.inform(T) up.here
'There is one who will inform me up here.'

Dindaza may ampakahagdam kanao.
up.here(EmDir) there.is one.who.will.inform(T) me
'There is one who will inform me up here.'

4.44.3 The possessor in a noun phrase filling a clause topic may be identified. The identified possessor tagmeme(Idpo) is a cross referent to the possessor, occurs first in the clause, and is filled by a topic noun phrase.

In an emphasized directional clause:

Siran ya helaq niran doro ka lengsed.
they(Idpo) the dwelling.place theirs(T) there at.the city(Pr_{dir})
'They have their dwelling place in the city.'

The identified possessor tagmeme specifies niran 'theirs' the possessor of a dwelling place.'

In a descriptive clause:

Ya magamamaq marigqen ya ngipen niran.
the betelnut.chewers(Idpo) strong(Pr_{de}) the teeth theirs(T)
'The betelnut chewers have strong teeth.'

The identified possessor tagmeme specifies niran 'theirs', the possessors of teeth.

4.5 DEPENDENT CLAUSES

A dependent clause in Mamanwa is subordinate to the independent clause. It is distinguished from the independent clause in that (1) it cannot occur alone, and (2) it has different distributions in sentence and phrase level slots.

4.51 Temporal clause.

Temporal clauses include two phases: Narrative Temporal (NT) and Conditional Temporal (CondT). The dependent temporal clause fills either the Narrative Temporal Margin in a sentence (Sec.6.2) or a Conditional Margin with temporal element in a sentence (Sec.6.2). The NT clause is emically distinct from the CondT clause in that (1) it has no introducing particle, and (2) the Predicate tagmeme contrasts in form and function, and (3) the Topic tagmeme cannot occur.

4.51.1 The Narrative Temporal clause includes an obligatory Introduced Predicate slot filled by a verb which is affixed by <pag-> 'time when the event occurred'. An optional nontopic Subject-as-actor tagmeme can occur plus an optional Object or Direction tagmeme. The Narrative Temporal clause usually precedes the independent clause to which it is subordinate.

Citation paradigm

Pag-dateng niran daza minsenqad
arrived (IntroPr) they($SAct_{nt}$) upriver(Dir) prepared.food

di siran.
they (IndCl)
'When they arrived upriver they prepared food.'

Pagpaka-tapon naiza ka hagdan mimmatay ya maimpis.
climbed(IntroPr) he($SAct_{nt}$) the ladder(0) cried the child (IndCl)
'When he climbed the ladder the child cried.'

Pagka-kawaq ni Howan ka gamot inleen
got(IntroPr) (Name) ($SAct_{nt}$) the root(0) placed.inside.of

ka garapa.
the jar (IndCl)
'When John got the root he placed it inside the jar.'

Since the <-kamhan> class of verbs must be complemented by a <pag-> verb, a compound verb fills the Introduced Predicate slot. This compound verb can occur as a discontinuous tagmeme.

Pagka-kamhan	niran	pag-pangaen	ka isdaq
finished(IntroPr)	they($SAct_{nt}$)	eating(IntroPr)	the fish(O)

nangatorog siran.
slept they (IndCl)
'When they finished eating the fish they slept.'

Pagka-kamhan	na amaama	pag-garas
finished(IntroPr)	the man($SAct_{nt}$)	cutting.grass

minoliq di iza.
returned.home he (IndCl)
'When the man finished cutting the grass he returned home.'

Tagmemic-notation formula

NTCl = +IntroPr ±$SAct_{nt}$ ±O ±Dir

The tagmemic formula is to be read:
A Narrative Temporal clause includes an obligatory Introduced Predicate tagmeme plus optional nontopic Subject-as-actor, Object and Direction tagmemes.

Tagmatic-notation formula

NTCl = +IntroPr: $V_{<pag->}$/ Vph_{pag-} ±SActnt:<nao>/ni ph/na ph ±O:
<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph ±Dir:dir

The tagmatic formula is to be read:
A Narrative Temporal clause includes an obligatory Introduced Predicate slot filled by a <pag-> verb or <pag-> verb phrase, plus an optional nontopic Subject-as-actor slot filled by a <nao> class pronoun or a ni phrase or a na phrase plus an optional Object slot filled by a <kanao> class pronoun or a kan phrase or a ka phrase plus an optional Direction slot filled by a directional word.

4.51.2 The Conditional Temporal clause includes the obligatory Introducer tagmeme kon 'whenever' followed by an obligatory Predicate tagmeme plus optional topic Subject-as-actor, Object and Direction tagmemes. This clause may precede or follow the independent clause to which it is subordinate.

Citation paradigm

Kon	domateng	siran	dini
whenever(Intro)	will.arrive(Pr)	they($SAct_T$)	here(Dir)

ansenqad kami.
will.prepare.food we (IndCl)
'Whenever they will arrive here we will prepare food.'

Ansenqad kami kon domateng
will.prepare.food we (IndCl) whenever(Intro) will.arrive(Pr)

siran dini.
they(SAct$_T$) here(Dir)
'We will prepare food whenever they arrive here.'

Kon anhatag si Doni ka bola
whenever(Intro) will.give(Pr) (name) the ball(0)

anerak kami.
will.play we (IndCl)
'When Doni will give the ball we will play.'

Kon makamhan ya amaama pag-garas
whenever(Intro) will.finish(Pr) the man(SAct$_T$) cutting.grass(IntroPr)

daza anqoliq di iza.
upriver(Dir) will.return.home he (IndCl)
'Whenever the man is finished cutting the grass upriver he will return home.'

Kon makamhan siran pag-hogas
whenever(Intro) will.finish(Pr) they(SAct$_T$) washing(IntroPr)

ka palato matorog siran.
the dishes(0) will.sleep they (IndCl)
'Whenever they finish washing the dishes they will sleep.'

Tagmemic-notation formula

CondTCl = +Intro +Pr ±SAct$_{nt}$ ±0 ±Dir

The tagmemic formula is to be read:
A Conditional Temporal clause includes an obligatory Introducer tagmeme plus an obligatory Predicate tagmeme plus optional topic Subject-as-actor, Object and Direction tagmemes.

Tagmatic-notation formula

CondTCl = +Intro:kon +Pr:V(except pag- verbs)/V ph (V ma- + V pag-)
±SAct$_T$:<hao> /si ph/ya ph ±0: <kanao>/kan ph/ka ph ±Dir:dir

The tagmatic formula is to be read:
A Conditional Temporal clause includes an obligatory Introducer slot filled by kon plus an obligatory Predicate slot filled by a verb not affixed with <pag-> or a verb phrase which includes a verb affixed with ma- and a verb affixed with pag- plus an optional topic Subject-as-actor slot filled by a <hao> class pronoun or a si phrase or a ya phrase plus an optional Object slot filled by a <kanao> class pronoun or a kan phrase or a ka phrase plus an optional Direction slot filled by a directional word.

4.52 Included Clauses.

Independent clauses can be transformed to Included Clauses by the loss of topic, and distribution to the head slot of a Noun phrase. The Included clause is emically distinct from any other clause in that (1) there is no focus complement, and (2) the clause fills a phrase level slot (Sec.2.3).

Citation paradigm

Independent Clause:

Nagadara si Paden ka libro doro.
carrying(Pr) (name)(T) the book(O) there(Dir)
'Paden is carrying the book there.'

Transformation into Included Clause:

Si Paden ya nagadara ka libro doro.
(name)(T) the.one(T) carrying(Pr) the book(O) there(Dir)
'Paden is the one carrying the book there.'

Independent Clause:

Inhatag nao ya kowarta kan Melina.
given(Pr) by.me the money(T) to (name)(R)
'I gave the money to Melina.'

Transformation into Included Clause:

Ya kowarta ya inhatag nao kan Melina.
the money(T) that.which(T) given(Pr) by.me to (name)(R)
'The money is what I gave to Melina.'

Independent Clause:

Magatoroq ya sapaq garing ka langit.
dripping(Pr) the water(T) from the sky(Dir)
'The water is dripping from the sky.'

Transformation into Included Clause:

Makitan niran ya sapaq nga magatoroq
seen(Pr) by.them($SAct_{nt}$) the water(T) subp dripping(ICPr)
garing ka langit.
from the sky(Dir)
'They saw the water that was dripping from the sky.'

Independent Clause:

Nagalipsilipsi ya bolan.
eclipsing(Pr) the moon(T)
'The moon is eclipsing.'

Transformation into Included Clause:

Pagpakakita	niran	ka bolan	nga	nagalipsilipsi
upon.seeing(Pr)	they(SAct$_{nt}$)	the moon	subp	eclipsing(ICPr)

maninggit siran.
screamed(Pr) they(T)
'When they saw the moon that was eclipsing they screamed.'

Tagmemic-notation formula

IC = +ICPr ±(±SAct ±O ±R) ±Dir

One of the three tagmemes in parenthesis is obligatorily absent, i.e. that focus complement of the verb in the Predicate.

The tagmemic formula is to be read:
An included clause includes an obligatory included Predicate tagmeme plus optional nontopic Subject-as-actor, Object, Referent and Direction tagmemes.

Tagmatic-notation formula

IC = ICPr: V 1-8 ±(±SAct$_{nt}$):<nao>/ni ph/na ph ±O:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph ±R:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph ±R:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph ±Oir:dir

The tagmatic formula is to be read:
An included clause includes an obligatory included Predicate slot filled by a class one-eight verb plus an optional nontopic Subject-as-actor slot filled by a <nao> class pronoun or a ni phrase or a na phrase plus an optional Object slot filled by a <kanao> class pronoun or a kan phrase or a ka phrase plus an optional Referent slot filled by a <kanao> class pronoun or a kan phrase or a ka phrase plus an optional Direction slot filled by a directional word.

4.6 SEMANTIC STRUCTURE OF VERBS

This section considers the semantic relationships of Mamanwa predicates to the nominal expressions that go with them. This is an initial attempt to describe the semantic structure of Mamanwa verbs, and as a result does not cover all kinds of verbs and the possible role structures that occur with them. The relationships are described in terms of roles (Langendoen 1970). Roles differ from grammatical subjects and objects in that their semantic relations to the predicate remain the same regardless of their position or even their grammatical function in the clause. For example the object of a transitive clause often matches the subject of an intransitive one semantically:

Mimpasobo di iza ka sapaq.
boiled cmp she the water
'She boiled the water.'

Minsobo di ya sapaq.
boiled cmp the water
'The water boiled.'

'Water' is in different grammatical position but stands in the same role relationship to the predicate, that of Patient.

I have taken verbs from each of the eight classes of verb stems to show what semantic structures lie behind the grammatical patterns.

4.61 Semantic Roles.

The semantic roles and their meanings cannot be matched directly to the grammatical or surface structure relations. The following roles appear to be needed for Mamanwa verbs (Frantz 1970):

The AGENT is the initiator of the action:

Ampanaw di hao.
will.go cmp I(Agent)
'I will go.'

The PATIENT is changed or moved by the effects of the action:

Anhinang hao ka lagkaw.
will.build I ntp house(Patient)
'I will build a house.'

The EXPERIENCER is the participant who perceives, feels, or reacts to the predication; the experience must be ascribable to animate entities:

Mimbatiq hao ka kasakit na indiksiyon.
felt I(Experiencer) ntp pain from.the injection
'I felt pain from the injection.'

The INSTRUMENT is the inanimate noninstigative means made use of by the agent:

Ihawaq o kaan ining dazopak.
will.weed I soon this knife(Instrument)
'I will weed soon with this knife.'

When there is no agent expressed but an instrument is expressed, the instrument must be the subject (Langendoen 1970):

Diri andolot ining kanaong lodzoq.
Neg will.cut this my bolo.knife(Instrument)
'This knife of mine won't cut.'

The GOAL is the place or entity to which something is directed:

Minhatag hao ka bozag kan Melda..
given I ntp potatoes to (name)(Goal)
'I gave the potatoes to Melda.'

The SOURCE is the place or entity from which something, not necessarily physical, is directed:

Ambaligzaq hao ka sapatos.
will.sell I(Source-Agent) ntp shoes
'I will sell the shoes.'

The NONINSTIGATIVE and usually involuntary cause of a predication:

Masakiten si Ilina ka biribiri.
is.sick (name) from beriberi(Noninstigative-cause)
'Ilina is sick from beriberi.'

The RANGE identifies the spatial orientation of the predicate:

Mimpanik iza ka nizeg.
climbed he the coconut.tree(Range)
'He climbed the coconut tree.'

The BENEFACTIVE is the participant who benefits from an action which was performed by another participant for him:

Akqakan pen o si Awang.
will.saw.wooden.slabs.from felled.lumber yet I tp (name)(Benefactive)
'I will saw wooden slabs from felled lumber for Awang yet.'

Some of the kinds of predicates that relate to these semantic roles are Direction, Action Process, Conveyance, Acquisition, and Experiencer.

4.62 Direction predicates.

Direction predicates[10] occur with an agent that is involved with motion in relation to either a goal, range, or source. In the surface grammar of the clause agent matches subject, and goal, range, and source match referent. The first case frame for this class is Agent and Goal:

Am-balik hao dini.
Sf-will.return I(S_T) here(R)
'I will return here.'

Also dateng 'arrive', oliq 'go home', dalagan 'run', lapos 'go directly to a place', karo 'go there'.

The second case frame is Agent and Range:

Am-panik hao ka nizeg.
Sf-will.climb $I(S_T)$ ntp coconut.tree(R)
'I will climb the coconut tree.'

Also tokad 'climb a mountain', talikod 'turn one's back to someone'.

The third case frame is Agent and Source:

Am-panaw di hao.
Sf-will.leave cmp $I(S_T)$(source implied)
'I will leave (here).'

Also dalagan 'run'.

4.63 Action process predicates.

Action process predicates occur with an agent who is performing an action on something. In the surface grammar of the clause agent matches subject, patient matches object, range matches referent and instrument matches accessory. The first case frame for this class is Agent and Patient:

An-hinang hao ka lagkaw.
Sf-will.build $I(S_T)$ ntp house(0)
'I will build a house.'

Also dogang 'increase number of something', belad 'dry in the sun'.

The second case frame is Agent and Range:

Banta-zan o ya bata.
will.watch-Rf $I(S_{nt})$ tp child(R_T)
'I will watch the child.'

Also komot 'wrap in a blanket', eket 'tie with a rope',

The third case frame is Agent, Instrument, and Range:

I-balabag o ining kaban dizan kining pirtahan.
AccIf-will.bar $I(S_{nt})$ this chest(I_T) there at.this door(R)
'I will bar this door with this chest.'

Also begket 'bandage with a cloth'.

When there is no agent expressed but an instrument is expressed, the instrument must be the subject (Langendoen 1970):

Diri an-dolot ya kanaong gabas ka liwaan.
Neg Sf-will.cut tp my saw(S_T) the tree(0)
'My saw won't cut the tree.'

Predicates with only a patient, which is then the subject, are possible:

Basi am-birik ya liwaan.
perhaps Sf-will.turn tp tree(S_T)
'Perhaps the tree will turn (as it falls).'

There is a subclass of action process predicates in which the agent performs an action on the patient that changes the state of the patient. The case frame remains the same in this subclass:

Tabtab-en o ining tazoan na bata.
will.cut.in.two-Of I(S_{nt}) this plaything of child(O_T)
'I will cut the child's plaything in two.'

An-hawaq hao konsilom ka kanaong siboyasan.
Sf-will.weed I(T) tomorrow ntp my onion.patch(R)
'I will weed my onion patch tomorrow.'

Also tebeng 'cut down a banana tree', laba 'launder clothes', ilab 'slice potatoes on a special frame', bonoq 'to wound with a spear'.

The instrument is not expressed unless it needs to be:

I-hawaq nao ining dazopak o kayqan.
AccIf-will.weed I(S_{nt}) this knife mine(I_T) later
'I will weed with my knife later (so you can't borrow it).'

4.64 Conveyance predicates.

Conveyance predicates occur with an agent as source of a conveying action. This action goes away from the agent. In the surface grammar of the clause agent as source matches subject, patient matches accessory and goal matches referent. The case frame for this class is Agent as source, Patient, and Goal:

Am-baligzaq hao ka makaen kan Mariya.
Sf-will.sell I(S_T) ntp food(Acc) to (name)(R)
'I will sell the food to Mary.'

Also bazad 'pay a debt', hatag 'give something', betang 'place something', and bahog 'feed an animal'.

There is a subclass of conveyance predicates with the same case frame but the agent is not only the source of the action but also accompanies the action. Many of these predicates are directional predicates with a different case frame:

I-oliq nao ining baskit doro kan Roberto.
AccAf-will.return I(S_{nt}) this basket(Acc$_T$) there to (name)(R)
'I will return this basket to Roberto.'

Also dateng 'arrive', talikod 'turn one's back to someone', balik 'return', panik 'climb a ladder or tree', lapos 'go directly to a place', balhin 'move to another place', karo 'go there', dalagan 'run', bitbit 'handcarry', saygon 'carry with headstrap'.

4.65 Acquisition Predicates.

Acquisition predicates occur with an agent as goal of a conveying action. In the surface grammar of the clause, agent as goal matches subject, patient matches object, and source matches referent. The case frame for this class is Agent as goal, Patient, and Source:

Palit-en o ya bozag doro kan Noay.
will.buy-Of I(S_{nt}) tp potatoes(O_T) there ntp (name)(R)
'I will buy potatoes there from Noay.'

Also ambit 'buy meat', kawaq 'get something'.

It is not unusual for the source, when it is a person, to be embedded into the patient:

An-dawat hao ka bozag mazo.
Sf-will.receive I(S_T) ntp potatoes yours(O)
'I will receive your potatoes.'

4.66 Experiencer Predicates.

Experiencer predicates have a noninstigative cause of the predication (Frantz 1970). In the surface grammar of the clause experiencer matches subject and noninstigative cause matches accessory. The case frame for this class is Experiencer and Noninstigative:

Masakit-en si Ilina ka biribiri.
sick-Of tp (name)(S_T) ntp beriberi(Noninstigative cause)
'Ilina is sick from beriberi.'

Na-balik-an nami ya hilanat.
Stative-returned-Rf we(S_{nt}) tp fever(T)(Noninstigative cause)
'We have fever again.'

Also soka 'nauseated', olat 'suffer a wound'.

Ma-boggat ya kanaong hinawa ka pagpanaw.
Stative-heavy tp my breath(S_T) from walking(Noninstigative cause)
'my breath is heavy from walking.'

Ma-sakit ya kanaong olo ka pagbasa.
Stative-hurts tp my head(S_T) ntp reading(Noninstigative cause)
'My head hurts from reading.'

The perception predicates are also in this class. They have the experiencer and noninstigative cause case frame:

Mim-batiq hao ka kasakit na indiksiyon.
Sf-felt I(S_T) ntp pain from.the injection(Noninstigative cause)
'I felt pain from the injection.'

N-aka-kita kami ka inaq niran.
involuntary Sf-saw we(S_T) ntp mother theirs(Noninstigative cause)
'We unintentionally saw their mother.'

N-aka-bahoq kami
Involuntary Sf-smelled we (S_T)

ka baboy nga nalata.
ntp pig that.was spoiled(Noninstigative cause)
'We unintentionally smelled the rotten pig.'

Also nakabatiq 'unintentionally heard something'.

5 SENTENCE NUCLEI

5.1 Simple sentence
5.2 Coordinate sentence
5.3 Antithetical sentence
5.4 Alternative sentence
5.5 Parallel sentence
5.6 Sequence sentence
5.7 Paraphrase sentence
5.8 Direct Quote sentence
5.9 Indirect Quote sentence
5.10 Indirect Question sentence
5.11 Mistaken Thought sentence
5.12 Succession sentence

Sentence structure in Mamanwa (as opposed to clause) structure involves a combination of predications into larger units as in the statement calculus of formal logic, but requires a richer apparatus (Longacre 1970 pg.783). A sentence in Mamanwa consists of an optional Periphery and an obligatory Nucleus. A sentence Periphery may be further subdivided into an Outer Periphery followed by an Inner Periphery. This distinction between inner and outer derives from the potential of an Inner Periphery along with a sentence Nucleus to nest as a sentence base in the Nucleus of another sentence type. An Outer Periphery on the other hand is never included in a nesting structure, except as quoted speech in a direct quotation sentence.

The Outer Periphery consists of Exclamation, Response, Attention, and Vocative, which are expounded by morphemes, words, and phrases.

The Inner Periphery consists of Sentence Topic and margin tagmemes having the following functions: Narrative Time, Conditional, Concessive, Reason, Purpose, and Warning. With the exception of the Narrative Temporal margin, which is expounded by gerundive clauses, all these tagmemes are expounded by relator axis clauses. The Inner Periphery precedes or follows the Nucleus with which it is normally contiguous.

The structure of the sentence as a whole is illustrated by the following bidimensional array. The following points should be noted:

1. Temporal Margin rarely occurs following the Nucleus.
2. Conditional Margin may occur following the Nucleus.
3. Concessive Margin may occur following the Nucleus.
4. Attention and Vocative tend to move freely within the sentence, even to nucleus-medial position.
5. The relative position of Conditional Margin, Concessive Margin, Purpose Margin, and Reason Margin to one another is not fixed.

±Excl	±Resp	±Attn	±Voc	±STop	±NTemM	±CondM
<aroy>	<ee>	<ey>	proper name		gerun-dive	kon basta
'Wow!'	'Yes'	'Hey!'	kinship term			
			direct respect term			

±ConcM	±NUCLEUS	±ReaM	±PurM	±WngM
bisan(kon) agad	S	kay	kay dazaw kay hasta(ng) dazaw	kay basi

Sentence Topic is expounded by a topic noun phrase and identifies the theme of a discourse or paragraph (Sec. 7). Sentence Topic is frequently used in explanatory discourse and paragraphs, while its use in narrative discourse is less frequent. There is usually a pronoun in the nucleus of the sentence which refers to the item in the Sentence Topic, which has the same referent as the Sentence Topic and must agree with it in person and number.

1 Ya kamahan, anikay hinang niran ka aldaw ka pangita ka
tp monkey (STop) only activity their (pron ref) ntp day ntp searching ntp

kanirang makaen.
their food
'The monkey, their only activity during the day is searching for their food.'

2 Izang manga tao, namagsabet siran nga siran
thp pl (STop) person together.decided they (pron ref) that they

magabaay
gathering.wild.root
'Those (theme) people, they decided together that they will go gathering wild root.'

Each sentence type in Mamanwa has a unique nucleus consisting of a base, a link, and a base. Bases are expounded by clauses, embedded sentences, and phrases. Links are expounded by conjunctions,

particles, or complexes of these. Surface structure produces the following sentence types: Coordinate, Antithetical, Alternative, Parallel, Sequence, Paraphrase, Direct and Indirect Quotations, Indirect Questions, Mistaken Thought and Succession Sentence. Deep structure relationships encoded by these surface structures are described and illustrated under each sentence type (Ballard, Conrad, and Longacre, 1971). The deep and surface categories are similar, but distinct. The deep structure categories are by no means in one-to-one correspondence with the corresponding surface structures, even though the two are similar. The two sets of structures are mutually dependent. The purpose of this chapter is to describe them and their relationship to each other. Definitions of the symbols are on pages 13-15.

5.1 SIMPLE SENTENCE

A Simple Sentence consists of only one Base, in contrast to all other sentence types which contain more than one Base. This Base is expounded by an independent clause. Tagmemes of the sentence periphery may occur without restriction with a simple sentence Base.

Formula: SimS = ±Periphery (+Base : IndCl)

3 B: Waraq ya tabang niran nga amaama pagdara ka boog.
neg tp help their subp man to.carry ntp wild.pig
'They had no man to help them carry the wild pig.'

4 CondM: Kon deket pen ya gabok B: diri ko magpanii.
if there.is yet tp firewood you climb-down
'If there is firewood yet, don't you climb down.'

5.2 COORDINATE SENTENCE

The Coordinate Sentence consists of two and usually no more than three bases obligatorily joined by daw 'and'. There are seven varieties of deep structure coupling encoded by Coordinate Sentence:

1) Coupling of different predicates with the same terms (Ex.5,6),

2) Coupling of predicates which are not related, except that as exponents of the Axis of a Reason Margin, they are both related to the verb of the simple sentence expounding the Nucleus in the Reason Margin (7,8),

3) Coupling with the negated predicate in base two being the result of the positive predicate in base one (9,10),

4) A listing variety of coupling in which the second predicate is synonym or situational equivalent of the first predicate (11,12),

5) Afterthought, with identical predicates and the second predicate obligatorily deleted (13,14),

6) Afterthought, with the second predicate being a synonym or situational equivalent of the first predicate (15),

7) Coupling of predications having temporal overlap (Simultaneity) (16,17).

Coordinate Sentences are typically found in Narrative Discourse and as the exponent of Reason Margin in Explanatory Discourse.

Chart 5 shows the deep and surface structures of the Coordinate Sentence. The following point should be noted:

1. With different predicates and identical subjects in the bases there is deletion of the subject in the second base (5,16).

Deep Structure	Surface Structure				
	+Base$_1$(P)	+CoorLK	+Base$_2$(Q)	±[+CoorLK + Afterthought]	
(Coupling)					
Pa $\hat{\wedge}$ Qa	IndCl	daw 'and'	IndCl(Ex5)		
	SimS		IndCl(6)		
Pa ∧ Qb	IndCl		NonvbCl(7)		
	NonvbCl		NonvbCl(8)		
P ∧ [P⊃$_p$Q]	EqCl		IndCl(9)		
	NonvbCl		IndStCl(10)		
Pa ∧ P'b	EqCl		EqCl(11,12)		
(Afterthought)					
Pab ∧ (Pa)c	IndCl	daw 'and'		daw 'and'	EmphDem NP(13)
Pax ∧ (Pa)y	EqCl				Top NP(14)
Pab ∧ Pac	EqCl		EqCl(15)		
(Temporal Overlap Simultaneity)					
⟵ P	IndCl	daw 'and'	IndCl(16)		
⟵ Q	SimS		IndCl(17)		

Chart 5. Coordinate Deep Structures Underlying Coordinate Sentences.

Examples with coupling of different predicates with same terms, Pa∧Qa:

5 Izang Dominggo nangantipara kami daw nagapangabot daza
thp Sunday spearfishing we.exc and Cv-D-dig.under upriver
ka Asiga.
ntp Asiga
'That Sunday we went spearfishing and digging under rocks for shrimp up the Asiga River.'

6 Pagkakamhan ka paghingbis inhogasan isab daw inkawqan
having.finished ntp scaling washed also and removed

isab ka tinai...
also ntp intestines
'Having finished scaling (the fish), (I) washed it also and removed the intestines...'

Examples of coupling with the predications unrelated except that as exponents of the Axis of a Reason Margin they are both related to the verb in the simple sentence expounding the Nucleus of the Reason Margin, Pa∧Qb:

7 Anqoliq di kita kay si inaq mintagad daw dakolaq di isab
go.home cmp we.inc bec tp mother wait and many cmp also

ya kantang isdaq.
tp our.inc fish
'Let's go home now because mother is waiting and also we have many fish.'

8 Minsarig siran kay mapawaq ya bolan daw mataed sab siran
trusted they bec shining tp moon and many also they

nga mindomog.
subp overnighting
'They trusted because the moon was shining and also they were many who were overnighting.'

Examples of coupling with the negated predicate in base two being the result of the positive predicate in base one, P∧[P$\supset_P$$\bar{Q}$]:

9 Ining nga hozop nao makatambal ka masakit na nabedlay
emph.this subp blowing my can.treat ntp sickness ntp sick.one

daw ya kaporoon diri sab makaarani.
and tp evil.spirits neg also can.approach
'This (emphatic) my blowing can treat the sickness of sick ones and the evil spirits also cannot approach.'

10 Ya lawas na pooy magapanheneten ya manga bekten daw diri
tp body of evil.spirit D-stretched.out tp pl arms and neg

mahingas ya lawas.
can.be.moved tp body
'The body of the evil spirit, the arms are outstretched and the body cannot be moved.'

Examples of a listing variety of coupling, Pa∧P'b, in which P' is a synonym or situational equivalent of P. Etically the predicates are equational: Eab "term a is b". Therefore the etic formula for listing variety of coupling is Eab∧Ecb'.

11 ...mabegqat ya toong tarabaho daw dakolaq ya toong kawied.
heavy tp her work and big tp her worry
'...her work was heavy and her worry was big.'

12 Diri hao makaseled kay masakit ya kanaong olo daw ya kanaong
neg I can.work bec painful tp my head and tp my
mata malabad.
eyes hurt
'I cannot come to work because my head is painful and my eyes hurt.'

Examples with identical predicates and the second predicate obligatorily deleted, parallel terms in the second predications are coupled that are distinct, but from the same lexical domain, e.g. 'wife' and 'husband'; 'envelope' and 'paper'. This parallel coupling signifies afterthought. The afterthought is manifested by sentence final daw 'and' plus a non-predicate tagmeme representing the second lexical term, Pab ∧(Pa)c. When terms have a temporal function, Pax ∧(Pa)y.

13 Izang babazi nanggayay daw izang bana.
thp woman collecting.camote.leaves and thp husband
'That (theme) woman is collecting camote leaves and that (theme) husband.'

14 Ya manga matagqoranen aniton ya magapamanaw
tp pl rainy.season eqp tp place.of.going.about
daw ya kahabzen.
and tp night
'During rainy season that (the forest) is their place of going about and (during) the night.'

The following examples are the same as afterthought, but there are no deletions, Pab∧ Pac:

15 Si Kolites isab mamatazay ka Mabelagan ka patag daw mataed
tp (name) also killer ntp raiders ntp plain and many
isab ya manga Kamanoboan nga pinatay naiza.
also tp pl Manobos subp ones.killed by.him
'Kolites was also a killer of raiders on the plain and many also were the Manobos which were killed by him.'

Examples with coupling of predications having temporal overlap, (Simultaneity) Pab ∧Qcdb:

16 Kamhan impainem dazon ya tagqiza ka lagkaw ka tebaq
then cs-drink immed tp owner ntp house ntp palm.toddy
daw inlamisahan ka makaen.
and put.on.table ntp food

'Then (the father of the boy) caused the owner of the house to drink the palm toddy and put food on the table.'

17 Pagpakapahimlay ka niran minpamatay ka manga boog daw
having.rested cmp they D.killed ntp pl wild.pigs and

ya iba minsenqad ka manga begas.
tp companion cooked ntp pl rice
'Having rested, they killed the wild pigs and (their) companions cooked the rice.'

5.3 ANTITHETICAL SENTENCE

The Antithetical Sentence consists of two opposed bases obligatorily joined by piro 'but'. There are three varieties of Antithetical Sentences which encode deep structure contrast:

1) Opposition sentences in which the Predication in the first base involves an antonym or a situational opposite of the Predication in the second base, and a contrasting pair of terms (18,19),

2) Opposition sentences in which the contrast in terms sometimes involves a whole-part relationship, where the part is inseparable from the whole, but for purpose of contrast is a situational opposite of the whole (20),

3) Opposition sentences having antonyms in the two bases, with a reference to the universal set in the first base and a separable exception to the universal set given in the second base (21,22).

There are three further varieties of Antithetical Sentences which encode deep structure Expectancy Reversal:

1) Opposition sentences with implication in the first base that the terms of the two bases are similar followed by a statement showing dissimilarity in the second base (23,24),

2) Opposition sentences with a frustration of logical or temporal sequence (25,26),

3) Opposition sentences with a great frustration of logical or temporal sequence, indicated by the aspect and modal adjuncts gazed 'indeed', kontana 'desiderative', and bazaq 'exclamatory' (27,28,29).

There is a final variety of Antithetical Sentence with premises implying contradictory consequents (30,31).

Chart 6 shows the deep and surface structure of the Antithetical sentence. The following points should be noted:

1. The bases are not permutable, except in the case of descriptive non-verbal clauses expounding Contrast (18).

2. The second base of Expectancy Reversal may be expounded by a single descriptive (23).

3. When a non-verbal descriptive clause expounds either base of Contrast or Expectancy Reversal Sentences, Sentence Topic frequently occurs in the periphery of the sentence (18,20,23,26).

Deep Structure	Surface Structure		
	$Base_1$(Thesis)	+AntLk	+$Base_2$(Antithesis)
Contrast $P(a) \wedge P''(b)$	NonvbCl	piro 'but'	NonvbCl(Ex.18)
	NonvbCl		IndCl(19)
	EqCl	piro 'but'	IndStCl(20)
$P(U\text{-}a) \wedge P''(a) \ldots$ $\ldots \wedge (a \in U)$	CoorS	piro 'but'	IndCl(21)
	NonvbCl		NonvbC (22)
Expectancy Reversal $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q_B$	EqCl	piro 'but'	NonvbCl(23)
	EqCl		EqCl(24)
	IndCl		IndCl(25)
	NonvbCl		IndCl(26)
	IndCl		IndCl(27,28)
	Sequence S		IndCl(29)
Conflicting Premises $(P \supset Q \wedge (R \supset \bar{Q}) \wedge P \wedge R$	IndCl	piro 'but'	IndCl(30)
	IndCl		NonvbCl(31)

Chart 6. Antithetical Deep Structures Underlying Antithetical Sentences.

Examples with pair of antonyms or situational opposites in both bases (Contrast), $P(a) \wedge P''(b)$:

18 Ya bayhoq mapotiq ya kilay piro maitem ya keqkeq.
tp face white tp eyebrows but black tp chin
'The face of the monkey the eyebrows are white, but the chin is black.' (In this example 'white' is contrasted with its antonym 'black', as well as 'eyebrows' with 'chin'.)

19 Minlaong hao nga dini ka hao piro nakatorog pen hao kay...
said I dqp here only I but was.asleep yet I bec
'I said, "I'm here only, but I was asleep yet because..." '

Examples with whole-part (Contrast), P(a)∧P"(b):

20 Ya kanirang salimdanan ani ya kalasag piro inlibetan ka
tp their protection eqp tp shield but encircled ntp

korongkorong ya kilid na kalasag.
bronze.band tp edge of shield
'Their protection was a shield, but the edge of the shield was encircled with a bronze band.' Here 'shield' is contrasted with a specific part of the shield.

Examples with antonyms in the two bases, with a reference to the universal set in the first base and with an implicit negative and the exception to the universal set given in the second base (Contrast), P(U-a)∧P"(a)∧(a ∈ U):

21 Minbalik iza dara di ya sinto sinkwinta daw ya manga
returned he bringing cmp tp one.hundred fifty and tp pl

idoq lakip ya begas daw baboy piro inbilin pen daza
dog including tp rice and pig but left yet upriver

ya toong manga dara nga gasto.
tp his pl brought.things attr brideprice.payment
'He returned bringing 150 pesos and dogs along with rice and a pig, but he left upriver yet those things which he had brought along for his brideprice payment.'

22 Ambeles di isab hao ka palato Mana ... Na, ya palato
will.borrow cmp also I ntp plates dtr nip tp plates

otso piro dowa ya dakolaq kon mahimoq.
eight but two tp big if possible
'I will borrow also eight plates, older sister,... eight plates, but two big ones if possible.'

Examples with implication in base one that the terms of the two bases are similar, followed by a statement showing dissimilarity in the second base (Expectancy Reversal), (P⊃Q)∧P∧Q_{β}:

23 Ya alima singed ka alima ta piro bohokon.
tp hand is.like ntp hand our.inc but hairy
'The hand of the monkey is like our hand, but it's hairy.'

24 Anikay kabatian niran ya kabezeng na pooy piro ya sabaq
only heard they tp noise of evil.spirits but tp voice

tao daw idoq.
person and dog
'The only thing they heard was the noise of evil spirits, but the voices were those of a person and a dog.'

Examples with a frustration of logical or temporal sequence (Expectancy Reversal), $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q_{\beta}$ (There may or may not be an explicit negative of a different predicate in the second base):

25 Izang aldaw nagapanokot si Sangay dipi kan Roberto
thp day collect.debt tp (name) across.river ntp (name)

nga nakaotang piro waraq pen makabazad.
subp had.debt but neg yet can.pay
'That (theme) day Sangay went across river to collect from Roberto who had a debt, but he wasn't able to pay.

26 Ya bolo nga seldanan ponoq koni ka manga lasqay piro
tp bamboo subp container full rsp ntp pl animal.fat but

antowad siran ka bolo kay ani ya batasan niran.
will.upturn they ntp bamboo bec eqp tp custom their
'The bamboo container is full, they say, of animal fat, but they will upturn the bamboo because that is their custom.'

Examples with great frustration of logical or temporal sequence, indicated by the aspect and modal adjuncts gazed 'indeed', kontana 'desiderative', and bazaq 'exclamatory' (Expectancy Reversal), $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q_{\beta}$:

27 Maazak gazed si Toldoq magqiskwila piro diri gastohan
would.like indeed tp (name) attend.school but neg pay.fee

na ginikanan.
ntp parents
'Toldo would like very much to attend school, but his parents won't pay the fees.'

28 Inaq, hao kontana ya anbazad ka sineldan ni Lodrita piro
mother I desid tp will.pay ntp school.fee of (name) but

diri pen manohildo kining bolana.
neg yet salary emph.this month
'Mother, I want to pay Lodrita's school fee but (the employer) hasn't paid (us) yet this (emphatic) month.'

29 Kamhan nagahawag ya inaq, nagapangita isab piro bazaq kay diri
then was.calling tp mother D.looking also but excl bec neg

di makaoliq ya toong maanak.
cmp return.home tp her child
'Then the mother was calling (her child), also looking (for her), but how frustrating because her child did not come home now.'

Examples with premises implying contradictory consequents (Conflicting Premises), $(P \supset Q \wedge (R \supset \bar{Q}) \wedge P \wedge R$:

30 Minlaoug ya ama pagtangdeq antangdeq hao piro
said tp father when.negotiating will.negotiate I but

bomalik ko kaan ka Siktimbri.
return you later ntp September
'The father said when negotiating for his daughter's marriage, "I will negotiate, but you return later in September".'

31 Minheneng pen kami kizang baryo nga paniedtohan piro ya
stopped yet we.inc thp barrio subp lunch.stop but tp

makaen doro masarang kamahal.
food there very expensive
'We stopped yet at that (theme) barrio which was a lunch stop, but the food there was very expensive.'

5.4 ALTERNATIVE SENTENCE

The Alternative Sentence consists of two or more bases obligatorily joined by the Alternative Link kon 'or'.

The most frequently occurring variety of Alternative Sentence is that in which the second base contains a predicate that is a negation of the first base, in which case no more than two bases may occur in the sentence (32-35).

A second variety is with an alternation that turns on a choice of antonym of term a (36,37), or antonym or situational opposite of the first predicate (38). A third variety is with an alternation that turns on differing predicates which belong to the same lexical domain (39).

The majority of examples given for Alternative Sentences are from conversation. Only two examples have been found in Mamanwa text materials. In both of these examples the Alternative Sentence was an exponent of the Quote of an Indirect Quote Sentence. If an Alternative Sentence is not interrogative, then it must expound the base of an Indirect Quote Sentence.

Chart 7 shows the deep and surface structures of the Alternative Sentence. Note the following points:

1. Deletion of all of the second base except the negative particle frequently occurs with alternation by negation (32,33) and an interrogative sentence involving a negative in the second base (34,35).

2. Subject is optionally deleted from second and later bases in an Alternative Sentence with different predicates, or predicates that

are antonyms (38,39).

3. If there are two alternative situations encoded in an Alternative Sentence with like predicates and a pair of terms that differ, then all of the second base is deleted except the item encoding the differing term (36,37). This pair of situations can also be expressed by phrase alternation.

4. The particle kon which introduces an alternative quote in an Indirect Quote Sentence means 'if' or 'whether' and is not be confused with the Alternative Link kon 'or' (32,33).

5. Permutation of the bases is possible when alternation turns on a choice of corresponding predicates or terms, other than actor (38,39).

6. The full class of <mahagdam> verbs is: mahagdam 'to know', sazod 'to know', kowinta' to be aware', tengteng 'to look in order to find out', sosi 'to investigate'.

Deep Structure	Surface Structure				
	+Base(Alt$_1$) ±AltLk ±Base$_2$ (Alt$_2$...±[±Lk +Base$_n$(Alt$_n$)])				
Alternation by negation Pab ⋕ P̄ab	<mahagdam> IntrS	kon 'or'	Negp (Ex 32,33) Negp (34,35)		
Alternation by antonym Pa ǂ Pa"	NonvbCl	kon	Sim NP (36a)		
	Alt ph	kon	Top NP (36b)		
Pab ǂ Pab"	NonvbCl		Nu ph (37a)		
	Alt Nu ph	kon	Top NP (37b)		
Pa ǂ P"a	IndCl	kon	IndCl (38)		
Differing Predicates P∨Q∨N	IndCl	kon	IndCl	kon	IndCl (39)

Chart 7. Alternative Deep Structure Underlying Alternative Sentences.

Examples with alternation involving a negation in the second base and the first base is preceded by a <mahagdam> class of verbs signifying awareness, expounding the Quote Formula of an Indirect Quote Sentence, Pab ǂ P̄ab:

32 Hao mindateng dini kamazo kay dazaw masazod hao kon indawat
I arrived here you.pl so.that know I if received

hao kon diri.
I or neg
'I arrived here at your place so that I'll know if you have received me or not.'

33 Antengteng pen hao kon may bisita nao kon waraq.
will.look yet I if exis visitor my or neg
'I will look yet (to see) if my visitor is there or not.'

Examples with interrogative Alternative Sentence involving a negative in the second base, Pab ǂ P̄ab:

34 Daw anseled ko konsilem kon diri?
intr will.work you.s tomorrow or neg
'Will you come to work tomorrow or not?'

35 Daw may gabok mazo kon waraq?
intr exis firewood you.pl or neg
'Do you have firewood or not?'

Examples of the alternation turning on a choice of an antonym of term a (including temporal or spatial modifiers) or an antonym or situational opposite of the first predicate, with the alternative link kon placed sentence finally, Pa ǂ Pa", Pab ǂ Pab", Pa ǂ P"a. In the case of alternation of the predicate, the subject may optionally be deleted from the second base (38). Equivalent phrase level alternation occurs when the terms are placed together in a single phrase, either sentence medially or sentence finally. Examples 36 and 37 are displayed in pairs with sentence level, then equivalent phrase level:

36a Ampaniid hao kon idoq ya magapakaonga ka mais kon baboy.
will.observe I if dog tp is.ruining ntp corn or pig
'I will observe if it's a dog ruining the corn or a pig.'

36b Ampaniid hao kon idoq kon baboy ya magapakaonga ka mais.
will.observe I if dog or pig tp is.ruining ntp corn
'I will observe if a dog or a pig is ruining the corn.'

37a Daw dowang ka bolan ya paghelaq mo dini kon tolo?
intr two conn month tp staying you.s here or three
'Will you be staying here two months or three?'

37b Daw dowang ka bolan kon tolo ya paghelaq mo dini?
intr two ntp month or three tp staying you.s here
'Will you be staying here two or three months?'

38 Daw anpanaw di kita kon antagoq pen?
intr will.leave now we.inc or will.hide yet
'Will we leave now or will we hide yet?'

Examples with differing predicates which belong to the same domain, Pa ∨ Qa ∨ Na:

39 Minkarini hao kay dazaw mahagdam hao kon nakasenqad di ko
came.here I so.that will.know I if could.cook cmp you.s

kon nakahogas di kon nakaiskrub di.
or could.wash cmp or could.skate cmp
'I came here so that I'd know whether you could cook now or wash (the dishes) now or skate (the floor) now.'

5.5 PARALLEL SENTENCE

The Parallel Sentence consists of not more than two juxtaposed nonverbal clauses without medial link, but with a brief medial break. Mid pitch falls on the syllable just before the medial break while low pitch terminates the second clause. The clauses contain different topics. The types of nonverbal clauses found in the Parallel Sentences are existential (40), negated existential (41), and identificational (42). The former two types are typically found in the background information of narrative discourse while the latter type is found in the introduction of narrative discourse.

Chart 8 shows the deep and surface structures of the Parallel Sentence. The following points should be noted:

1. Permutation of the bases is possible (40-43).

2. Identification particles can substitute for existential particles when the existence of an object is given in terms of its location (42).

Deep Structure	Surface Structure	
	+ $Base_1$ ($Proposition_1$)	+ $Base_2$ ($Proposition_2$)
Coupling $\exists P(a) \wedge \exists Q(b)$	NonvbCl	NonvbCl (40-43)

Chart 8. Parallel Deep Structure Underlying Parallel Sentences.

Examples encoding Coupling, $\exists P(a) \wedge \exists Q(b)$:

40 Matipon ya kanirang manga linokad.
gathered tp their pl dug.up.roots

May antolong ka balogbog, may anqopat.
exis three subp lg.basket exis four
'They gathered their dug up roots. There was one who filled three large baskets, there was one who filled four.'

41 Si Yomagas ani magatinagoq kay malaaw iza. Waray sarowar,
tp (name) eqp always.hiding bec ashamed he neg trousers

waray badoq.
neg shirt
'Yomagas was always hiding because he was ashamed. He had no trousers, no shirt.'

42 Anhangod kita ka bahaw kay waton ya bahaw nga magazon
will.smell we.inc ntp leftovers bec idp tp leftover subp good

ya bahoq, waton ya bahaw nga mapanqes.
tp smell idp tp leftover subp spoiled
'We will smell the leftovers because there closeby are leftovers which smell good, there closeby are leftovers which are spoiled.'

The following example is included in this section because it is the same as the former examples in its parallel structure, but instead of Coupling it encodes Simultaneity with Temporal overlap (Pab ^ Qcb) and consists of parallel quasi-existential clauses with lain 'different' which in this example means 'there were some', 'there were others':

43 Pagdateng ka niran doro ka gabok lain ya
having.reached now they there ntp burning.timber different tp

minbonal ka gabok, lain ya minbosqog.
beat ntp burning.timber different tp pour.water
'Having reached now the burning timber some beat the burning timber, others poured water on it.' [This could be read as a Simultanity sentence with temporal overlap '... some beat the burning timber, while others poured water on it'.

5.6 SEQUENCE SENTENCE

The Sequence Sentence encodes two or more events in chronological succession without linking, but with a brief break between each successive Event. With just two Events the intonation is the same as for the Parallel Sentence, mid pitch falling on the syllable before the medial break and low pitch terminating the second clause. The second clause is spoken with a fading of intensity and increasing momentum. There is no change of Subject between the bases. Sequence Sentences are typically found in procedural and narrative discourse and in the narrative paragraphs of expository discourses.

Chart 9 shows the deep and surface structures of the Sequence Sentence. The following point should be noted:

1. After the first base the subject is usually deleted (44,45).

Deep Structure	Surface Structure		
	+Base$_1$(Event$_1$)	+Base$_2$(Event$_2$).....+Base$_n$(Event$_n$)	
Succession Pa∧Qa ...∧Na	IndCl Sim S	IndCl (Ex.44) IndCl (45)	
Simultaneity Pa ___∧___ Qa	IndCl	IndCl (46)	
Pa ___∧___ Qa.. ...∧ ___ Ra	IndCl	IndCl	IndCl (47)

Chart 9. Sequence Deep Structures Underlying Sequence Sentences.

Examples of several bases encoding a sequence of punctiliar events, Pa∧Qa ...∧Na:

44 Sigi si Eduardo ansoroy, anpamalit.
always tp (name) go.about D.buy
'Always Eduardo will go about, will buy at various places in the town.'

45 Kada Birnis karohen niran, tengtengan.
every Friday go.get they look
'Every Friday they will go and get (the jar), and look at it.'

Although showing the same structure as Sequence Sentence, the following example is more a coupling of related activities than a sequence of punctiliar events. Thus it can more accurately be said that it encodes Simultaneity with Temporal overlap, (Pa ___∧___ Qa):

46 Konqisa di ko kay magabalatik hao konsilem,
day.after.tomorrow cmp you.s bec make.pig.traps I tomorrow

magapanlaog hao konsilem.
make.monkey.traps I tomorrow
'Day after tomorrow (you accompany me) because I'll make pig traps tomorrow, I'll make monkey traps tomorrow.'

The following example shows a Statement-Specification Sentence (Qa∧Qax∧Qay) embedded in the coupling of related activities, which encode Simultaneity with Temporal overlap, (Pa ___∧___ Qa∧___ Ra):

47 Waraq kay mahaldek si Singkiq kay magaasantiritindegay,
neg at.all afraid tp (name) bec always.getting.up.and.down

anqirab, antambeq ngambali, anqirab
looking.out looking.down on.other.side looking.out

ngarimbali, magapanoldoq ka manga lagkaw.
on.this.side D-pointing ntp pl house
'Singki wasn't at all afraid up in the airplane because he was always getting up and down, looking out, looking down on the other side, looking out on this side, pointing to the houses.'

5.7 PARAPHRASE SENTENCE

The Paraphrase Sentence is also a juxtaposed structure having two bases without medial link. The intonation is the same as the Parallel Sentence and the two clause Sequence Sentence. There is no change of Subject between the bases except in the encoding of Statement-Specification (49,50). Four deep structure relationships are encoded by this sentence type: (1) A predication followed by a synonymous predication, i.e. Identity-Equivalence paraphrase (48); (2) A predication stating a fact followed by a predication which gives a specification about that fact, i.e. Statement-Specification (49,50); (3) A predication involving a relatively generic meaning followed by a predication involving a relatively specific meaning referring to the same thing (51); (4) Negative-Positive Paraphrase (52,53).

In a Paraphrase Sentence the subject is frequently identified in the first base either by a Sentence Topic (48) or an identificational nonverbal clause (49). The repetition of the subject in the second base is conditioned by the location of the Paraphrase Sentence in the discourse. Paraphrase Sentences are also the exponents of the axis of reason margin in expository discourse and in expository paragraphs of narrative discourse.

Chart 10 shows the deep and surface structures of the Paraphrase Sentence. The following point should be noted:

1. There may be deletion of the subject in base two depending upon the location of the Paraphrase Sentence in the discourse (48,50).

Deep Structure	Surface Structure	
	+Base$_1$ (Remark)	+Base$_2$ (Paraphrase)
Identity-Equivalence Pa∧P'a	IndCl	IndCl (Ex.48)
Statement-Specification Pa∧Pba	IdNonvbCl IndCl	NonvbCl (49) NonvbCl (50)
Generic-Specific gPa∧sPa	NonvbCl	Noun Ph (51)
Negative-Positive Paraphrase $\bar{E}$ab∧Eab" $\bar{P}$a∧P"a	Neg NonvbCl Neg IndCl	NonvbCl (52) IndCl (53)

Chart 10. Paraphrase Deep Structures Underlying Paraphrase Sentences.

Examples encoding Identity-Equivalence, Pa∧P'a:

48 Si Iska diri antangdeq kammo, diri ansogot.
tp (name) neg will.agree to.you neg want
'Iska will not agree to (marriage negotiations) regarding you, she doesn't want you.'

Examples encoding Statement-Specification, Pa∧Pba:

49 Waton ya isdaq, manga geremay ya isdaq.
idp tp fish pl small tp fish
'There closeby were fish, small fish.'

50 Minqosi di ya idoq, manga opat nga bolos.
Barked now tp dog pl four subp in.number
'The dogs barked now, four in number.'

Example encoding Generic-Specific, gPa∧sPa:

51 Waton ya dakolang isdaq, kasili.
idp tp big fish eel
'There closeby is a big fish, an eel.'

Examples encoding Negative-Positive Paraphrase. The first example is $\bar{E}$ab∧Eab" and the second example is $\bar{P}$a∧P"a:

52 ... minlaong si Tapogak nga diri hao amparigoq kay
said tp (name) dqp neg I will.bathe bec

iton diri kon sapaq, iton segqed.
that neg lk water that honey
'...Tapogak said,"I will not bathe because (that isn't water, that's honey)."'

53 Maglaong ya inaq nga daw waraq sa hao maglaong nga
said tp mother dqp intr neg ref I say iqp

diri kita magtibeq pagpanaw, magsilisili kita.
neg we.inc together leave alternate we.inc
'The mother (kingfisher) said,"Didn't I say that we shouldn't leave the nest together, we should alternate?"'

5.8 DIRECT QUOTE SENTENCE

The Direct Quote Sentence consists of a sequence of one or two Quotation Formulas, one of which is obligatory, and a Quote. The formulas are optionally linked to each other and to a following Quote by a quote sign nga. This sentence necessarily contains a verb of speech (say, tell, call, answer). The QF_2 is expounded by a clause which must contain the verb laong 'to say' (54,55). The QF_1 need not be expounded by a clause which contains a verb of speech. When a non-speech verb does occur it encodes an action closely associated with speech, e.g., 'calling' I said (54).

In oral or written texts authored by Mamanwas Direct Quote Sentences are intended to give the words of the speaker without adaptation to the viewpoint of the one who reports them.

The deep structure of this sentence type is Speech, $wP \curvearrowright Q$, where wP symbolizes the Quotation Formula and Q the Quote.

Direct Quote Sentences are typically found in dialogue sections of narrative discourses and in the initial sentence of Hortatory paragraphs. An initial brief dialogue paragraph in narrative discourse creates reader interest and gives the setting and the topic of the discourse.

Chart 11 shows the deep and surface structure of the Direct Quote Sentence. The following point should be noted:

1. In dialogue sections of narrative discourse a response can be given either without any of the DQF or with the subject only. The Quote only may be present.

Deep Structure	Surface Structure				
	±DQF$_1$	±DQLk	±DQF$_2$	±DQLk	+ Dir Quote
Speech wP∧Q	IndCl (54,55)	nga	laong ⟨iza⟩ '⟨he⟩ said'	nga	Sim NP (Sec.2.1) Any Sentences (54,55) Paragraphs Discourse

Chart 11. Direct Quote Deep Structure Underlying Direct Quote Sentences.

Examples encoding Speech, wP∧Q:

54 DQF$_1$: Homawag hao ka ama nao; QF$_2$: maglaong hao
calling I ntp father my said I

Quote: halas ini ey nga magaosihen na idoq.
snake this attn subp barking ntp dog
'Calling to my father I said,"This is a snake that the dog is barking at."'

55 DQF$_2$: Ya nangasawa minlaong lk: nga Quote: hao mimbalik di
tp suitor said I returned now

ngarini kammo kay kon mahimoq otangan di hao
here to.you bec if possible obtain.on.credit cmp I

si Iska koman.
tp (name) now
'The suitor said,"I returned now here to you because, if possible, I will obtain Iska on credit now."'

5.9 INDIRECT QUOTE SENTENCE

The Indirect Quote Sentence consists of one or two Indirect Quote Formulas obligatorily linked by nga 'that', and a Quote. The exponent of the Quote in an Indirect Quote Sentence may be no more extensive than a sentence while that in a Direct Quote Sentence may be a paragraph or a discourse.

The Indirect Quote Sentence is characterized by the adaptation of the words to the viewpoint of the reporter and the hearer which affects pronouns and expressions of time and place. Thus the Direct Quote Sentence: She said,"I'll go there tomorrow" can be reported as an Indirect Quote Sentence one day later: 'She said that she would come here today.' In the Indirect Quote the lexical items: go, over there, and tomorrow are replaced by: come, here, today.

Indirect Quote Sentences are typically found in narrative discourse.

Chart 12 shows the deep and surface structures of the Indirect Quote Sentence. The following points should be noted:

1. One of the two IndQF is obligatory, but both may occur (57).

2. Koni may move to a position within the exponent of the base following any clause level tagmeme except may 'there is' (57).

3. In the encoding of awareness koni does not occur (59,60).

4. The other member of <laong> class 'to say' is singgit 'to scream'.

5. The other members of <mahagdam> class 'to know' are: sazod 'to know', seleng 'to become aware', batiq 'to hear' (See Warning Margin ex.138), kita 'to see', mated 'is it true?'.

Deep Structure	Surface Structure			
	+IndQF$_1$	+IndQLk	+Base(IndirQ)	±IndQF$_2$
Speech wP∧Q	<laong>	nga	ExisCl (Ex.56) IndCl (57,58)	koni (57)
Awareness aP∧Q	<mahagdam>		NonvbCl (60) IndCl (59)	

Chart 12. Indirect Quote Deep Structures Underlying Indirect Quote Sentences.

Examples encoding (oral or written) speech, wP∧Q:

56 IndQF$_1$: Minlaong si Mana lk: nga Quote: may panaw naiza
said tp rp that exis trip she

komanqaldaw
today
'Older sister said that she had a trip today.'

57 IndQF$_1$: Ya babazi minsinggit lk: nga Quote: ambalik
tp girl screamed that will.return

iza ka dao kay mabibo IndQF$_2$ koni.
she ntp baliti bec fun rsp
'The girl screamed that she will return to the baliti tree because she said that it was fun.'

58 IndQF$_1$: Mated ey lk: nga Quote: ampabolan
is.it.true attn that cs-do.housework

iko dilod ka bariyo.
you.s downriver ntp barrio
'Is it true, friend, that you will do housework down at the barrio?'

Examples encoding awareness, aP∧Q:

59 $IndQF_1$: Mahagdam kami daan lk: nga Quote: waro di
know we.exc already that left cmp

iza kahabi.
she yesterday
'We already know that she left yesterday.'

60 $IndQF_1$: Pagseleng ni Yeyeq lk: nga
having.been.aware ntp Uncle that

Quote: inkanto bazaq mindalagan ngaro ka lagkaw.
spirit.person excl ran there ntp house
'Uncle having become aware that it was a spirit person (he) ran there to the house.'

5.10 INDIRECT QUESTION SENTENCE

The Indirect Question Sentence consists of one Quotation Formula obligatorily linked by means of kon 'whether' or 'if' to a following Indirect Question Base. The Indirect Question Sentence contrasts with the Indirect Quotation Sentence in that the Quotation Formula is expounded by a clause whose predicate expresses inquiry (or some lexical equivalent, including don't know, wonder), and has a yes-no question or content question as its Question. The second alternative is always implied, but need not be stated: 'He asked if you were interested (or not).'

The Indirect Question, especially in its alternative subtype, has a similarity to the Alternative Sentence and typically occurs in narrative discourse. The following example shows the transformation of an Indirect Question Sentence to its alternative subtype. Note that when the sentence is transformed, the exponent of Indirect Question is interrogative with daw 'interrogative particle' replacing the indirect question link kon, and has the personal pronoun 'you' rather than 'I'. QF: Nangotana iza lk: kon Ques: baligzaq hao ka manok (kon diri). 'He asked kon if I sold the chicken (or not).' Alternate subtype QF: Nangotana iza kanao Ques: daw baligzaq ko ka manok kon diri? 'He asked me, "Did you sell the chicken or not?"'

Chart 13 shows the deep and surface structures of the Indirect Question Sentence. The following points should be noted:

1. When Indirect Question is transformed to a Direct Quote Sentence, the exponent of Indirect Question is interrogative (See Ex.53 p.119).

2. inday 'don't know' may or may not be followed by explicit kon and has Ø subject (65).

Deep Structure	Surface Structure		
	+IndQs Formula	+ IndQsLk	+ Base (Ind Ques)
Speech wP∧Q	IndCl containing -otana iza 'he asked'	kon	NonvbCl (Ex.61) IntrS (62) Alt S (63)
Awareness aP∧Q	IndCl containing inday 'I don't know	kon	IndCl (64) NonvbCl (65) IntrS (66)

Chart 13. Indirect Question Deep Structures Underlying Indirect Question Sentence.

Examples encoding Speech, wP∧Q:

61 IndQsF: Nangotana iza lk: kon Ques: pira ya pagpalit
Asked he how.much tp cost

nao ka rilo.
I ntp wristwatch
'He asked kon how much I paid for the wristwatch.'

62 IndQsF: Nangotana siran lk: kon Ques: kaganqo kita
asked they when we.inc

makategbeng.
go.to.town
'They asked kon when we were going to town.'

63 IndQsF: Daw waraq pen kamo mangotana lk: kon baliqzaq iza
intr neg yet you.pl ask if sell he

ka toong manok.
ntp emph.his chicken
'Didn't you ask yet if he is going to sell his chicken or not?'

Examples encoding Awareness, aP∧Q:

64 Mana IndQsF: inday lk: kon Ques: mabereng kamo
rp don't.know if surprised you.pl

kitong laong nao piro pasaylohon mo hao kon sazep nao
that request my but forgive you me if mistake my

ya pagbeles.
tp borrow

'Older sister, I don't know if you are surprised about my request (or not), but forgive me if I made a mistake in (requesting) to borrow (the batteries).'

65 Kambabaen di ta ya kantang baay kay kawqen kay
go.down cmp w.inc tp our.inc wild.root bec will.get bec

IndQsF: inday Ques: makaen di.
don't.know.if eatable cmp

"Let's go down now to our wild root (at the river) because we'll get it because I don't know if it's eatable now (or not)."

66 Kamhan QF: nabereng si Yeyeq lk: kon Ques: singo iton.
then wondered tp Uncle who that
'Then Uncle wondered kon who that was.'

5.11 MISTAKEN THOUGHT SENTENCE

The Mistaken Thought Sentence consists of one Quotation Formula obligatorily linked by means of kon or daw to a following Mistaken Thought Base. The Quotation Formula is expounded by a clause whose predicate expresses an error in judgement. The predicate contrasts with the Indirect Quote Sentence and Indirect Question Sentence in that it requires a non-topic pronoun, whereas the indirect question sentence has a topic pronoun. The Mistaken Thought Sentence is found in narrative discourse.

Chart 14 shows the deep and surface structures of the Mistaken Thought Sentence. The following point should be noted:

1. The other member of <silaong> class 'to wrongly think' is kalaong.

Deep Structure	Surface Structure		
	+ Quote Formula	± MTLk	+ Base (MT)
Mistaken Idea (Q_β) tp∧Q	silaong<naiza> 'he wrongly thought'	kon daw	neg IndCl (Ex.67) neg IndstCl (68) negExisCl (69)

Chart 14. Mistaken Thought Deep Structure Underlying Mistaken Thought Sentence.

Examples encoding Mistaken idea, (Q_β)∧tp∧Q:

67 QF: Silaong nami lk: kon MTBase: waraq pen
tho't.wrongly we.exc that neg yet

kamo makadateng.
you.pl arrive
'We thought wrongly that you hadn't arrived yet.'

68 Kizang paghinang na ama ni Virgi QF: silaong
thp made ntp father of (name) tho't.wrongly

nami lk: daw MTBase: diri di maoliq ya parigoanan.
we.exc that neg now return tp swimming.pool
'That (well) which the father of Virgie made, we thought wrongly that the swimming pool had not returned now (to it's former level).'

69 Maglaong ya bana kay QF: silaong sa nao lk: kon
said tp husband bec tho't.wrongly ref I that

MTBase: waray makasibol ka anak ta.
neg steal ntp young our.inc
'The husband said,"Because I thought wrongly that there was nothing that could steal our young."'

5.12 SUCCESSION SENTENCE

A derived Succession Sentence occurs in a special dependent plus dependent construction in which the exponent of the incorporated Temporal Margin reflects an activity prior to that reported in the remainder of the nucleus (Longacre, p.114). A balancing particle ayhaq (pen) 'then' occurs before the part of the nucleus which reports the subsequent activity.

Chart 15 shows the deep and surface structures of the Succession Sentence. The following points should be noted:

1. The Independent Clause in the second base is optionally preceded by kon 'whenever' (70).

2. Subject may be deleted in Independent Clauses expounding the second base (70,73).

Deep Structure	Surface Structure		
	+Activity$_1$	+Antecedent Link	+Activity$_2$
Succession . P . Q	IndCl DepCl DepCl SimS	ayhaq (pen) 'that'	IndCl (Ex.7c) IndCl (71) Sim NP (72) IndCl (73)

Chart 15. Succession Deep Structure Underlying Succession Sentence.

Examples with the two bases encoding one punctiliar event contigent upon another, $P \wedge (P \supset Q)$:

70 Keneten niran naa ya baay ayhaq kon sangkalen.
will.mash they adv tp wild.root then whenever fry
'Advisedly they will mash the wildroot, then (they'll) fry it.'

71 Pagkawaraq di na kegang ayhaq pen mo tambalen.
when.gone cmp ntp scab then you.s medicine.it
'When the scabs are gone, then you medicine it.'

72 Pagkatebteb na nizog ayhaq pen linaw.
having.reached.end ntp coconut.grove then lake
'Having reached the end of the coconut grove, then (you come to) the lake.'

73 Kazina ka pagqoran minqempag kami ayhaq oliq.
awhile.ago ntp rain jumped we.exc then returned.home
'Awhile ago when it rained we jumped (in the river), then (we) returned home.'

6.1 Narrative Temporal margin
6.2 Conditional margin
6.3 Concession margin
6.4 Reason margin
6.5 Purpose margin
6.6 Warning margin
6.7 Embedding

A Sentence Margin is a dependent structure modifying a nucleus (Longacre 1970). The margin tagmemes are contiguous to the nucleus and constitute along with the Sentence Topic tagmeme the inner periphery of the sentence. The Axis of a Sentence Margin may itself contain a Sentence Margin and Nucleus. This Margin may either be the same kind or a different kind from the Margin in which it is embedded (See 6.7).

Six margin tagmemes are posited. These are Narrative Temporal, Conditional, Concessive, Reason, Purpose, and Warning. In Explanatory Discourse the exponents of the Temporal Margin are noun phrases, but in all other kinds of discourse the exponents of the Temporal Margin are dependent clauses containing verbs with <pag-> 'time when the event occurred'. The remaining five kinds of Sentence Margins generally have Relator Axis Sentences as exponents. There is a tendency to have more than one Margin on a Nucleus.

Charts are given to show the deep and surface structure of each Sentence Margin. In Narrative Temporal, Conditional, and Warning Margins it is necessary to give the surface structure of the Nucleus as well because it helps to show the difference between the Margin subtypes in deep structure. In the three remaining margins the surface structure is given only for the margin.

6.1 NARRATIVE TEMPORAL MARGIN

A Temporal Margin plus its following Nucleus encodes only Temporal deep structure, including two types of Overlap and one type of Succession (see Chart 16). Verbal affixes denoting time (past, non-past) and aspect (punctiliar, continuous, stative), and particles denoting completeness (complete, incomplete), frequently occur in the Temporal Margin and its following Nucleus (see Chart 16) and help to show the difference between the four deep Temporal subtypes.

Mamanwa makes frequent use of a gerundive construction <pag-> 'time when the event occurred'. Gerundives serve as a linkage mechanism in a paragraph or discourse by making possible a lexical relationship between sentences. The linking gerundive repeats the

verb in the Nucleus of the previous sentence, or uses a related verb.

English: 'I went downriver and bought rice.'

Mamanwa: 'I went downriver. Having gone downriver, I bought rice.'

Chart 16 shows the deep and surface structures of the Temporal Margin. The following points should by noted:

1. NTemM rarely moves to post-Nuclear position.
2. Post-predicate completeness particle pen 'incomplete' does not occur in the Nucleus, while di 'completive' rarely occurs in the NTemM.
3. Overlap type 1 or Succession may be simultaneously encoded with Reason in the deep structure, but only Overlap is manifested in the surface structure (80,81).

In Overlap type 1 the Temporal Margin action and the Nucleus action are simultaneous, with total overlap. The NTemM has a gerundive <pag-> affix and the Nucleus has a time-aspect affix if the predicate is an active verb. Other varients of <pag-> affix are pagka- ∞ pagpaka- ∞ -em- ∞ -an. -em- ∞ -an are free variants occurring with tengteng/seleng 'see, search'.

Formula: +NTemM:gerundive cl +Nuc: indcl

Examples encoding Overlap type 1 (parentheses enclose the Margin):

74 Pagpanhoraw ka manga tolong ka simana nalazaq
when.hot.weather cmp pl three subp weeks dry

di ya manga liwaan.
cmp tp pl trees
'When the weather is hot for three weeks the trees become dry.'

75 Pagpangoliq niran kahabzen di.
whe when.proceeding.homeward they night cmp
'As they were proceeding homeward it became night.'

76 Semeleng pen hao kitong magatengtengan na idoq
searching yet I emph.that Cv-looking ntp dog

waton ya halas.
idp tp snake
'As I was looking about to see what that (emphatic) dog was continually looking at, there at hand was a snake.'

The filler of the oblique slot in the NTemM is an embedded clause in a clause level tagmeme.

Deep Structures	Surface Structures	
P ∧ Q	NTemM(P)	Nucleus(Q)
(Overlap type 1) P Q	Non-topic dependent clause <pag-> (Ex.74-81) Post-predicate particle pen 'incomplete' (76-79)	Sentences containing verbs with ma-, na-; in-...-an 'stative' (Ex.74,77) maga-, naga- 'continuous' (79) Non-verbal clause (76) Tim NP (75) Post-predicate particle di 'completive' (74,75, 77,78)
(Overlap type 2) P Q P Q P Q	Non-topic dependent clause <pag-> (82,83) waraq pen 'not yet' and verbs with mag- 'time not yet realized' (86-89)	Sentences containing verbs with min- 'punctiliar' (82-84) Non-verbal clauses (80, 81,85) Zero affix on verb (86, 87) min- 'punctiliar' (88,89) Post-predicate particle di 'completive' (86-89)
Succession P Q P Q P Q P Q P Q	Non-topic dependent clause <pag-> (90-98) gerundives built on <aldaw> (99-103)	Sentences containing verbs with in- 'punctiliar' (90,91,93) Post-predicate particles di (90,91,94) dazon 'immediately' (93,96,97,100) naga- 'continuous' (92) na-, in-...-an 'stative' (94,95) Post-predicate particle dazon 'immediately' (93,96,97) min- 'punctiliar' (96,98,99,101) Non-verbal clauses (102)

Chart 16. Temporal Deep Structures Underlying Temporal Margin Sentences.

77 Temengteng pen izang babazi insagbetan di.
searching yet thp woman weedy cmp
'As that woman was looking about (her field) she found that it was weedy.'

78 Temengteng pen ya inaq ka toong anak waraq di sa.
searching yet tp mother ntp her young neg cmp ref
'As the mother (kingfisher) was searching yet for her young she found that they were not there.'

79 Tengtengan pen niran nagalipsilipsi di sa bazaq ya bolan.
watching yet they Cv-eclipsing cmp ref surp tp moon
'As they were watching yet the moon was now in the process of eclipsing!'

In the following examples Overlap type 1: P ⌐_____ and Reason
Q ⌐_____
Margin: P ↄ Q are simultaneously encoded in the deep structure, but only Overlap is manifested in the surface structure:

80 Pagpakakita ka niran nga magazon di ya latiq na
when.saw cmp they subp good cmp tp shining ntp
bolan masara ya kasazaq niran.
moon superl tp happy their
'When they saw that the shining of the moon was good now they were very happy.'

81 Pagkita ka na asawa nga inhoropan di ya bana
when.saw cmp ntp wife that possessed cmp tp husband
masarang kahaldek.
superl frightened
'When the wife saw that her husband was possessed now she was very frightened.'

In Overlap type 2 the Temporal Margin encodes continuous state and the Nucleus encodes a relatively punctiliar event that interrupts it.

Formula: +NTemM: gerundive cl +Nuc:indcl

Examples encoding Overlap type 2:

82 Pagkabereng ka niran nga waraq di anak niran
being.grieved cmp they that neg now young their
mimmatay siran...
cried they
'Being dumbfounded that their young was gone now they cried...'

83 Pagbeet ka kizaheq na ama minlaong ya ama...
while.overseeing cmp thp ntp father said tp father
'While overseeing (the marriage negotiations) the father said...'

The following two examples are atypical in that they show Overlap type 2 with the Narrative Temporal Margin expounded by naga- 'continuous action' with incompletive particle pen, rather than a gerundive:

84 Nagapanhelaq pen kami minqosi ya idoq.
when-D-resting yet we.exc barked tp dog
'When we were resting yet the dog barked.'

85 Nagapanaw pen iza ngaro ani di nakitan naiza ining
Cv-going yet he there eqp cmp seen by.him emph.this
kamabelagan.
raiders
'As he was going there he saw these (emphatic) raiders.'

In this example the Nucleus consists of an equational construction.

In a variation of Overlap type 2 Narrative Temporal Margin encodes a distance not yet reached, or a time not yet realized marked by a negative time phrase containing waraq pen 'not yet' and verbs with <mag-> 'time not yet realized'. The Nucleus encodes either (1) an activity which started when time started in Temporal Margin, but finished before that time was realized: P ——→| (the completion
Q |——|
of the activity is indicated by zero affix on the verb and post-predicate completive particle di), or (2) a relatively punctiliar event that interrupts the distance not yet reached: P ——→
Q .
(verbs have min- 'punctiliar action' with completive particle di).

86 Waraq pen magqedto sega kamhan di niran pagpeneng.
neg yet noon sun finished cmp they fishing
'When (it) wasn't yet noon they finished fishing already.'

87 Waraq pen magqedto aldaw dakolaq di ya toong lanot.
neg yet noon day large.amt cmp tp his abaca
'When (it) wasn't yet noon he already had a large amount of abaca.'

88 Waraq pen dateng doro ka bozagan minqosi di ya idoq.
neg yet reach there ntp camote.field barked cmp tp dog
'When (they) had not yet reached the camote field the dog barked now.'

89 Waraq pen magqisang ka pook minqoringngit di
neg yet one ntp stone's.throw squealed cmp

ya boog.
tp wild.pig
'When (they were) not yet one stone's throw away the wild pig squealed now.'

In Chronological Succession the Temporal Margin encodes a relatively punctiliar event and the Nucleus encodes a subsequent relatively punctiliar event.

Formula: + TemM:gerundive + Nuc:indcl

Examples encoding Chronological Succession:

90 Pagsobo ka na init inlonod di ya isdaq.
when.boiling cmp ntp hot.water immersed cmp tp fish
'When the hot water reached boiling (she) immersed the fish.'

91 Pagkalotoq ka na makaen impanlowag di ....
when.cooked cmp ntp food D-dished it cmp
'When the food was cooked now (they) dished it now ...'

92 Pagpakakita niran ka baay nga mataed nagapahilokad
when.saw they ntp wild.root subp many Cv-Aug-dug.up

siran.
they
'When they saw that there were many wild roots they continually dug them up vigorously.' In this example a series of actions in the TemMg parallels a series of actions in the Nucleus ⊢— — — —⊣ . Also, Chronological Succession and Reason ⊢— — — —⊣
Margin: P ⊃ Q are simultaneously encoded in the deep structure, but only Overlap is manifested in the surface structure.

93 Pagpakakita ka sa nami ka minqaso di hasta minlaga
when.cs.see cmp ref we.exc ntp smoke cmp and flames

di impanhies dazon ya kanaming manga libro.
cmp packed.up immed tp our.exc pl books
'When we saw the smoke and flames now we immediately packed up our books.'

The following two examples the Nucleus encodes a subsequent state of being and has verbs with stative affixes: ⊢—⊣

94 Pagpakakaen ka niran nangabohiq di siran.
when.eaten emp they full cmp they
'When they had eaten they were full now.'

95 Pagbatiq ka na amaama inhoropan iza.
when.heard cmp ntp man possessed he
'When the man heard (what his wife said about the moon) he became possessed.'

In all of the following examples Chronological Succession P . Q . and Reason Margin P ⊃ Q are simultaneously encoded in the deep structure, but only Overlap is manifested in the surface structure.

96 Pàgkita na idoq mindalagan dazon ya idoq ngaro kanangiza.
when.saw ntp dog ran immed tp dog there to.him
'When the dog saw (his owner) the dog ran there to him.'

97 Pagkita ka pigek imbizoq dazon.
when.saw cmp name.of.fish speared immed
'When (Tino) saw the fish now immediately he speared it.'

98 Pagbatiq ka sa nami ka sabaq na manga maimpis
when.heard cmp ref we.exc ntp words ntp pl child

mintambeq kami ngandaza.
looked we.exc upriver
'When we heard now the words of the children we looked upriver.'

Chronological Succession with Narrative Temporal Margin can encode motion towards a goal with gerundive constructions whose verbs are built on a restricted class of time and directional words, <aldaw>. The Nucleus encodes a subsequent punctiliar event: → (P . Q).

99 Pagkaaldaw minhadhad siran nga dowang ka tao.
when.day felled.trees they subp two subp man
'When day the two men felled trees.'

100 Pagqarani naiza imbonoq dazon ya boog ...
when.up.to he speared immed tp wildpig
'When he got up to (the wildpig) he immediately speared the wildpig ...'

101 Pagdateng ka napoloq nga ka minoto minhaon
having.reached cmp ten subp minute removed.from.fire

ya kanaong inaq.
tp my mother
'When ten minutes was up mother removed (the fish) from the fire.' In this example Chronological Succession and Reason Margin are simultaneously encoded in the deep structure, but only Overlap is manifested in the surface structure.

In the following example Narrative Temporal Margin encodes motion towards a goal, while the Nucleus encodes a subsequent state of

being which is signified by verbs with stative affixes: P→
Q ⊢

Here again Chronological Succession and Reason Margin are simultaneously encoded in the deep structure but only Overlap is manifested in the surface structure.

102 Pagdateng ka niran doro ka lagkaw ni Salekep
when.reached cmp they there ntp house of (name)

ya manga babazi masarang pagpangahaldek.
tp pl women superl D-frightened
'When (the raiders) reached the house of Salekep the women were very frightened.'

In the following example the Narrative Temporal Margin is modified by bisan 'even if'. Note that in this case pen 'incomplete' occurs in the Nucleus. This is an exception to Point 2 on page 128.

103 Bisan pagdateng nao inhilantan pen si Ray.
even when.arrived I fever yet tp (name)
'Even when I arrived Ray had fever still.'

6.2 CONDITIONAL MARGIN

The Conditional Margin with its following Nucleus regularly encodes two kinds of deep structure Implication with corresponding variations in the surface structure. Conditional Margin is expounded (surface structure) by Relator axis sentences with kon 'simple conditional relator 'if' or basta 'emphatic conditional relator 'if' Kon occurs with both varieties of Implication, while basta occurs only with hypothetical Implication (Ex.105). The two varieties of Implication are:

1) Hypothetical, in which the action of the Nucleus of the sentence is dependent on the fulfillment of the condition expressed in the Margin, i.e. an "if" sentence. Hypothetical Conditional Margin contains a temporal element, thus giving the additional meaning 'whenever' to the exponent of Relator (104,106,107),

2) Contrary to Fact, in which the meaning in the Margin and Nucleus are the opposite of what actually happened, i.e. an "if he had" sentence (110-114).

Both types of Conditional Margin occur frequently in Narrative and Explanatory discourse. Many examples are also from letters written to the authors by Mamanwas.

Chart 17 shows the deep and surface structures of the Conditional Margin. The following points should be noted:

1. With Hypothetical, RAS with relator basta comes only after the nucleus (105).
2. With Hypothetical (104-109) tense and aspect are similarly

matched, but not with Contrafactual (113,114).

3. There is matching of the negatives in margin and nucleus with Hypothetical (106), but not with Contrafactual (113,114).

4. With Hypothetical two margins may simultaneously occur before the nucleus (106), or one of the two may come after the nucleus (107).

5. Request formula kon mahimoq and expansions thereof expound Hypothetical Implication (108,109).

6. With Hypothetical and Contrafactual the Conditional Margin comes after the nucleus about 50% of the time.

7. With Contrafactual past tense cannot occur in the Conditional Margin when the axis exponent is an equational clause (112).

8. Negative Contrafactual (113,114) is a variety of Contrafactual.

Deep Structure	Surface Structure	
P ⊃ Q	Cond. Mg.	Nucleus
(Simple Hypothetical) P ⊃ Q	RAS in which Relators are kon 'if; whenever' (Ex.104,106-109) basta 'emph. if' (105) Verbs having affix -om- 'possibility' (104,106,107) occur frequently in the Axis.	Any clause type
(Contrafactual) $P_{\beta} \wedge \overline{P}_{\beta} \supset Q_{\beta} \wedge P \supset Q$	RAS in which Relator is kon 'if' (110-114) Verbs having indicative stative affixes (111) or indicative active affixes (110,113,114).	Clauses in which topic is emphasized (110,111) or action is emphasized (112)

Chart 17. Conditional Deep Structures Underlying Conditional Margin Sentences.

Examples encoding Hypotheticality, P ⊃ Q:

104 Miulaong ya asawa baligzaq naa itong lanot kon
said tp wife sell adv emph.that abaca whenever

tomahay.
dry
'The wife said, "Sell that (emphatic) abaca whenever it's dry."'

105 Naazak gazed hao pagsosi ka baqbaq na karabaw
like indeed I to.examine ntp mouth of carabao

basta naanad ya karabaw.
emph.if tame tp carabao
'I indeed like to examine the mouth of a carabao, if (emphatic) the carabao is tame.'

106 Kon tomambal ko kon diri ko pomarigoq ya kagaw
whenever medicine you.s if neg you.s bathe tp germs

diri mapatay ...
neg will.die
'Whenever you medicine, if you do not bathe the germs will not die ...'

107 Mam, kon pomanaw kamo ngaro ka Amirika magpadara
Ma'am whenever go you.pl there ntp America send

kamo ka soyat kon domateng kamo.
you.pl ntp letter whenever arrive you.pl
'Ma'am, whenever you go there to America you send us a letter whenever you arrive.'

108 ... Kon mahimoq otangan di nao si Iska koman.
if possible obtain.on.credit cmp I tp (name) now
'... If possible I will obtain Iska on credit now.'

109 Mana kon mahimoq ka hinawa mo anhangzoq
older.sister if possible ntp breath your will.ask.favor

hao nga kada aldaw isa ka lamang ya ansenqad.
I that every day one only just tp will.cook
'Older sister if it meets your approval I will ask a favor that every day only one of us will cook.'

Examples encoding Contrafactuality, $(P_{\not p} \wedge [P_{\not p} \supset Q_{\not p}] \wedge P \supset Q]$ Negation of the Predicate results in a variety known as Negative Contrafactuality, $(\bar{P}ab \wedge [\bar{P}ab \supset Qb] \wedge [Pab \supset \bar{Q}b]$ (113,114).

110 Kita manga horipot di kita kon mindazon ya
we.inc pl wiped.out cmp we.inc if completed tp

bolan paglipsilipsi.
moon eclipse
'We would have been wiped out completely if the eclipse of the moon had been completed.'

111 Kon ani natigbas ni Adan ya bato siran patay kay ...
if idp slashed ntp Adam tp rock they dead bec
'If that which was slashed by Adam had been the rock they (evil spirits) would be dead because ...'

112 Kon manga dowa ka siran andalagan gazed siran.
if pl two only they run indeed they
'If they had been only two people they indeed would have run.'

Examples encoding $\bar{P}ab \wedge [\bar{P}ab \supset Qb] \wedge [Pab \supset \bar{Q}b]$:

113 Kon waraq bohii mangarini di say manga kaporoon
if neg freed D-come.here cmp ref pl evil.spirits
kanta.
us.inc
'If (the moon) had not been freed the evil spirits would have come here now to us.'

114 Minlaong ya bozag nga kon waraq hao makakarini
said tp old.woman dqp if neg I come.here
maobos kamo.
died.off you.pl
'The old woman said, "If I would not have come here you would have died off."'

6.3 CONCESSION MARGIN

A Concessive Margin plus its following Nucleus encodes deep structure Expectancy Reversal, i.e. it expresses an action which is directly contrary to what is expected under the circumstances. Concessive Margin is expounded (surface structure) by Relator Axis Sentences with bisan (kon) 'simple concessive relator, even if' or agad 'emphatic concessive relator, even if'.

Chart 18 shows the deep and surface structures of the Concessive Margin. The following points should be noted:

1. Concessive Margin usually comes before the Nucleus (115-117).
2. There may be a Concessive Margin before the Nucleus and after it (118).

Examples encoding Concessive Margin $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q_{\beta}$:

115 Bisan makakaro kamo ka Bukidnon mahagdam di kamo
even.if go you.pl ntp Bukidnon know cmp you.pl
ka Minamanwa.
ntp Mamanwa.language
'Even if you go to Bukidnon you know the Mamanwa language already.'

116 Bisan mazetek siran ani dakolaq gihapon ya rara.
even.if small they eqp big also tp poison
'Even if they are small, the poison that is also what is big.'

Deep Structure	Surface Structure	
	ConcM($\overline{P}$)	Nucleus(Q)
Expectancy Reversal $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge \sim Q$	RAS in which Relators are bisan (kon) 'even if' or agad 'emph, even if'.	Anything

Chart 18. Concessive Deep Structure Underlying Concessive Margin Sentences.

117 Agad somoab di ya Mamalagay kamazo
emph.no.matter.if have.surrounded cmp tp raiders you.pl

diri kamo makitan.
neg you.pl can.be.seen
'No matter if (emphatic) the raiders have already surrounded you you won't be seen by them.'

118 Bisan makita hao diri gazed ansogot bisan kon
even.though found I neg emph want even.though

patazen pen hao.
killed yet I
'Even though you find me I do not want (to marry) even though you kill me.'

Bisan functions not only as a Relator in a Concessive Margin, but also in a special Concessive sentence type (Longacre, 1968 p.111). In this construction a Concessive Relator Axis Sentence, introduced by bisan (kon) 'even if', is incorporated into the Nucleus as $Base_1$. This is unlike all other sentecce types in that a Relator Axis Sentence is exponent of a Base. The phrase waray bali basta (kay) 'never mind, emphatic just so' is the Link followed by $Base_2$ which gives the element being emphasized.

Examples of special Concessive Sentence, + B_1 + Link + B_2:

119 $Base_1$: Bisan kon maonga ya tengtengan Lk: waray bali
even.if bad tp appearance never.mind

basta $Base_2$: malotoq.
emph.just.so baked

$Base_1$: 'Even if the appearance (of the cake) is bad, Lk: never mind just so (emphatic) $Base_2$: it's baked.'

Deep Structure	Surface Structure		
	+ $Base_1$	+ Lk	+ $Base_2$
Expectancy Reversal $P \supset Q_{\alpha}P_{\alpha}Q_{\beta}$	Conc RA sentence introduced by bisan (kon) 'even if'	waray bali basta (kay) 'never mind, emph, just so'	Nonvbcl (119-120)

Chart 19. Concessive Deep Structure Underlying Special Concessive Sentences.

120 $Base_1$: Bisan hilaw ya begas Lk: waray bali
even.though not.cooked tp rice never.mind

basta kay $Base_2$: ya karni lotoq di.
emph.just.so tp meat cooked cmp

$Base_1$: 'Even though the rice is not cooked Lk: never mind just so (emphatic) $Base_2$: the meat is cooked already.'

We also have these other sorts of Concessive Margin where bisan 'even if' occurs with relative particles followed by a complement (121-123).

Formula:

+R:bisan +Rel P:onhon/hain/ono +Compl:Nom Cl/Sim N/Red Cl

121 Si Salekep bisan onhon pagbonoq niran diri masakem.
tp (name) no.matter how to.spear they neg mortal.blow
'Salekep no matter how they (tried) to spear him they did not strike a mortal blow.'

122 Bisan hain ya tindahan basta anseled.
no.matter where tp store just will.enter
'No matter where the store just anywhere we will enter.'

123 Bisan onoy magahatag nga hazeq diri anheneng pagmatay.
no.matter what will.give subp toy neg will.stop crying
'No matter what toy (they) will give (the child) he will not stop crying.'

6.4 REASON MARGIN

Reason Margin with its preceding Nucleus encodes deep structure Efficient Cause, i.e. it expresses the cause which directly occasions a given outcome (124,125). Reason Margin occasionally encodes negative

Final Cauae 'so that not' (126), and Warning 'leat' (127). Reason Margin is expounded by Relator Axis aentences with relator kay 'because'.

Reaaon Margin occurs in every discourse type in Mamanwa, but is found most frequently in Explanatory and Hortatory discourse, and in Explanatory paragraphs of Narrative and Procedural discourses.

Chart 20 shows the deep and surface structures of the Reason Margin. The following point should be noted:

1. Reason Margin comes after the Nucleus 99% of the time (124-127).

Deep Structure	Surface Structure	
	Nucleus	ReaM
(Efficient Cause) $P\ [P \supset Q]$	Anything	RAS in which Relator is kay 'because'. Axis which is expounded by SimNP (124), IndCl (125)
(Negative Final Cause) $P \wedge [P \supset {}_{p}\bar{Q}]$		IndCl (126)
(Warning) $(P \supset Q) \wedge \bar{P} \wedge Q$		StaCl (127)

Chart 20. Reason Deep Structures Underlying Reason Margin Sentences.

Examples encoding Efficient Cause, i.e. $P \wedge [P \supset Q]$:

124 Alas sayis pen ka kadelemen ansebay di ya
o'clock six yet ntp evening will.come.up cmp tp

bolan kay kalazan sa.
moon bec time.of.full.moon ref
'At six o'clock in the evening the moon will come up already because it is the time of full moon.'

125 Kamhan sigi siran maglalislalis kay diri siran magqangay
then always they arguing bec neg they same

ka sabaq niran.
ntp language they

'Then they were alwaya arguing because they did not speak the same language.'

Reason Margin occasionally encodes negative Final Cause 'so that not', $P \wedge [P \supset {}_{p}\bar{Q}]$:

126 Maghamarag kita kaniran kay siran diri makaarani
take.care we.inc them so.that they neg can.come.near

kanta.
us.inc
'Therefore let's take care regarding them so that they can't come near us.'

Reason Margin occasionally encodes Warning, $(P \supset Q) \wedge \bar{P} \wedge Q$:

127 Minlaong ya toong lagi pagbantay ey tombabaq kay
said tp his friend watch.out attn down.there lest

madatqogan ko ka liwaan nga kanaong indeeg.
will.be.reached you.s ntp tree subp my felling
'His friend said, "Watch out down there lest the tree that I'm felling fall on you."'

6.5 PURPOSE MARGIN

The Purpose Margin with its preceding Nucleus encodes deep structure Final Cause, i.e., the end towards which the event of the Nucleus is directed. In contrast to Efficient Cause which involves some element of time sequence or at least involves contemporaneous circumstances, Final Cause involves projected or future time. The Purpose Margin is expounded by Relator axis sentences with relators kay dazaw, kay hasta (ng), dazaw 'so that'.

Purpose Margin typically occurs in Explanatory discourse and in the explanatory paragraphs of Narrative and Procedural discourses.

Chart 21 shows the deep and surface structure of the Purpose Margin.

Examples encoding Final Cause, $P \wedge [P \supset {}_{p}Q]$:

128 Naninggit siran kay dazaw makabatiq koni ya mananap
D-screamed they so.that able.to.hear rsp tp beast

nga minbangaq ka bolan.
subp was.biting ntp moon
'They screamed so that the beast which was biting the moon would be able to hear, they said.'

Deep Structure	Surface Structure	
	Nucleus	Pur M
Final Cause $P \wedge [P \supset {}_{p}Q]$	Anything	RAS in which Relator is kay dazaw/kay hasta (ng)/ dazaw 'so that' Axis which is expounded by IndCl (128-130), Nonverbal Cl (13i)

Chart 21. Purpose Deep Structure Underlying Purpose Margin Sentences.

129 ... anqandam hao ka kanaong ipanabaq doro ka
will.prepare I ntp my speech there ntp

ginikanan ni Lucia kay hasta makadàra kami ka babazi.
parents ntp (name) so.that can.bring we.exc ntp girl
'... I will prepare my speech there at the parents of Lucis so that we can bring the girl.'

130 Inoamligan nami ya pilpig dazaw kabhazan.
pad we tp dam so.that water.will.recede
'We will pad the dam so that the water will recede.'

131 Konsilem pen hao kon omqoliq kay hsstang
tomorrow yet I whenever return.home so.that

dakolaq ya kantang makaen.
big tp our.inc food
'Tomorrow yet is when I will return home so that we will have a large amount of food.'

6.6 WARNING MARGIN

Warning Margin with its preceding Nucleus encodes two kinds of deep structure Implication with corresponding variations in the surface structure. Warning Margin is expounded by Relator axis sentences with relator kay basi 'lest' which occurs with both varieties of Implication.

The two varieties of Warning Margin which encode deep structure Implications are:

1) Warning, in which the Nucleus has a negative or positive command or intention and the axis in the Margin frequently has a non-past indicative stative mode construction signifying a desired

result opposite to what is actually stated in the Axis (132-135).

2) A kind of Awareness, 'fear lest', in which the Nucleus has the verb class <-haldek> 'afraid', and the Axis is non-past, signifying that the desired state is opposite to what is actually stated in the Axis (136-140).

Chart 22 shows the deep and surface structure of the Warning Margin. The following points should be noted:

1. With Awareness the only other member of verb class <-haldek> is -wied 'worry, be anxious' (138).
2. With Awareness kay is optional following <-haldek> (136).
3. With Warning if the topic in the Nucleus is not a person, then it is deleted in the following Warning Margin (133,134).
4. Occasionally the exponent of Warning Margin may contain an Indirect Question Sentence and the verb 'fear' in the Nucleus (139) or in the Axis of the Warning Margin (140). Here the Indirect Question Link means 'that'.
5. Warning Margin always follows the Nucleus (132-140).

Deep Structure	Surface Structure	
	Nucleus	WngM
Warning $(P \supset Q) \wedge \overline{P} \wedge Q$	Neg or Positive Command	RAS in which Relator is kay basi 'lest' and Axis is frequently expounded by verbs having NP IndSt Mode affixes (132-134)
Awareness $aP \wedge Q$	<-haldek> 'afraid'	RAS in which Relator is kay basi 'fear lest' and Axis having IndCl (136) ExisCl (137) EqaCl (138)

Chart 22. Warning Deep Structures Underlying Warning Margin Sentences.

Examples encoding Warning 'lest', $(P \supset Q) \wedge \overline{P} \wedge Q$:

132 Diri isab ko magqazoq kay basi mabonoq ko.
neg also you.s ask lest be.killed.with.spear you
'Don't you ask (for a spear) lest you be killed with it.'

133 Diri mo pabelaan ya rilo mo kay basi magkaonga.
neg you.s cs.to.borrow tp watch your.s lest be.broken
'Don't you lend your watch lest it be broken.'

134 Ieket kiton baloto kay basi maanod.
secure that dugout lest be.washed.away
'Secure that dugout lest it be washed away.'

135 Pokawen mo si Rosita kay basi diri iza makaapas
awaken you.s tp (name) lest neg she can.on.time
ka pagsaled ka iskwilahan.
ntp enter ntp schoolhouse
'You awaken Rosita lest she not be able to get to the schoolhouse on time.'

Examples encoding Awareness 'fear lest', aP∧Q:

136 Magakahaldek hao ka idoq nga minqagmoq kahabi ka
was.afraid I ntp dog subp barking yesterday ntp
pagqazi o dizan ka dalan kay basi magapamangaq iton.
passing I there ntp trail lest D-will.bite that
'I was afraid of the barking dog yesterday as I was passing there on the trail lest (he) bite.'

137 Maazak hao ankatondaza piro diri pen hao
would.like I come.upriver but neg yet I
togotan na amaen o kay basi may
grant.permission ntp uncle my lest exis
maonga tondaza.
misfortune up.there
'I would like to come upriver, but my uncle has not granted me permission yet (I am afraid) lest a misfortune befall me upriver.'

138 Kazina ka pagqoliq ni inaq nawied iza ka
awhile.ago ntp came.home ntp mother worried she ntp
nabatian nga may nalemes koni ka bahaq
news that exis drowned rsp ntp flooded.river
kay basi si ama ani ya nalemes.
lest tp father idp tp drowned
'Awhile ago when mother returned home she was worried at the news that someone had drowned in the flooded river lest father was the one who had drowned.' [This example has an Equation in the Axis following kay basi, with a past verb form in Complement.]

Occasionally the Axis in the Warning Margin is expounded by an Indirect Question Sentence (aP∧Q):

139 Nagasolog di siran ka moron kay mahaldek
lighted.the.way cmp they ntp kerosene.lamp bec afraid

siran kon may halas daw sawa.
they IndQLk exis snake and boa.constrictor
'They lighted the way with a kerosene lamp because they were afraid that there was a snake and a boa constrictor.'

140 Ya maimpis nga kamahan magakakolapot ka debdeb kay basi
tp young subp monkey clutched.by ntp chest lest

mahaldek kon maholog.
be.afraid IndQLk will.fall
'The young monkey will be clutched by the chest lest he be afraid that he will fall.'

6.7 EMBEDDING

In Mamanwa there is a considerable amount of embedding of sentences within sentences just as there is a considerable amount of embedding of phrases within phrases.

It is not uncommon for a Nucleus and a Reason Margin to be embedded within a Reason Margin. The following example shows multiple embedding in the Reason Margin.

141 Ya tao imbengtas kay waraq ya bozag nga tanem
tp people hungry bec neg tp camote subp planted

kay matagqoranen sa koman kay izang panhorawen
bec rainy.season ref now bec thp good.weather

pen waraq siran makatanem ka bozag.
yet neg they able.to.plant ntp camote
'The people are hungry because there was no camote planted because it's rainy season now because at the time of good weather yet they were not able to plant camote.'

In case of Reason Margin encoding Final Cause: $P \wedge (P \supset {}_{p}Q)$ with a sentence in its Axis consisting of Concessive Margin plus Nucleus encoding Expectancy Reversal: $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q_{\beta}$, the two juxtaposed relators kay agad/occasionally permute to agad ka.

142 Magqozamet kamo pagqiskwila sgad ka aroq
concentrate.effort you.pl schooling so.that.even.if far

iko kanao nakahimoq di kamo ka pagbineetan
you.s from.me possible cmp you.pl ntp to.msnage

ka kamazong kaogaringen.
ntp you.pl selves
'You concentrate your efforts on your schooling so that even if you are far away from me you'll be able to manage yourselves.'

Coordinate sentence is embedded in the Nucleus before a Warning Margin.

143 Pagkakamhan o magabalazan ka hagqotan
having.finished I will.make.platform ntp apparatus.for. stripping.abaca

daw magatalqoban o kay basi oranen hao.
and will.make.shelter I lest rained.on I
'Having finished (that) I will make a platform for the apparatus for stripping abaca and I will make a shelter lest I be rained on.'

Conditional sentence is the Antithesis of an Antithetical sentence.

144 Diri hao makaseled kay paibahen hao piro
neg I can.come.to.work bec cause.to.accompany I but

kon makasazo kami pagqoliq anseled ka delem.
if can.early we.exc return.home will.work ntp afternoon
'I cannot come to work because (someone) is causing me to accompany them (to town), but if we are able to return home early I will come to work this afternoon.'

Expectancy Reversal Antithetical sentence is embedded within $Base_2$ of a Contrast Antithetical sentence.

145 Kawandini peng manga aldaw ya langit koni ababaq piro
olden yet pl day tp sky rs low but

may manga tao di singed disab kanta
exis pl person already like now.also us.inc

kataed piro ya hinawa niran singed pen ka
in.number but tp understanding their like yet ntp

hinawa na maimpis.
understanding ntp child
'In the olden days yet the sky was low, they say, but there were people already like us in number, but their understanding was yet like the understanding of a child.'

Succession sentence is embedded within the Axis of a Reason Margin.

146 Ya malita o diri ni Bilaq ihatag kanao kay gosto
tp suitcase my neg ntp (name) give.it to.me bec want

paolien hao ayhaq ihatag.
cs.to.return.home I then give.it
'Bila will not give me my suitcase because he wants me to return home then he will give it.

Indirect Quote sentence embedded within a Direct Quote sentence.

147 Maglaong ya inaq DQLk:nga Quote: daw waraq sa hao
said tp mother intr neg ref I

maglaong IndQLk:nga diri kita magtibeq pagpanaw
say that neg we.inc together leave

magsilisili kita.
alternate we.inc
'The mother (bird) said, "Didn't I say that we shouldn't leave (the nest) together, we should take turns?"'

7 PARAGRAPHS

7.1 Narrative
7.2 Procedural
7.3 Explanatory
7.4 Hortatory
7.5 Dialogue

This paper describes the five contrastive paragraph types in Mamanwa. The five semantic categories of paragraphs are Narrative, Procedural, Explanatory, Hortatory, and Dialogue. Form categories on the paragraph level, as on the sentence level, are simple, antithetical, coordinate, and parallel.

The five semantic categories contrast structurally in (1) the kinds of tagmemes which compose the nucleus of each paragraph type, (2) the kinds of focus and aspect affixes on the verbs in the nucleus, particularly in Narrative versus Procedural paragraphs, (3) the kinds of mode affixes on the verbs, and the kinds of personal pronouns in the nucleus, particularly in Hortatory versus Explanatory paragraphs, (4) the linkage mechanism, particularly in Narrative versus Procedural paragraphs, and (5) the marking of paragraph topic.

The chief prosodic feature of Mamanwa paragraphs is the Paragraph Topic, which occurs in the initial sentence of a paragraph and is expounded by a topic noun phrase. Throughout the paragraph non-topic personal, demonstrative, and thematic pronouns refer anaphorically to the Paragraph Topic given in the initial sentence. The function of Paragraph Topic is to identify the theme of the paragraph. Grammatical devices for marking Paragraph Topic are as follows:

(1) Moving the subject of the verb in the initial sentence of a Narrative paragraph to pre-predicate emphasis position:

Ya	bogtakaw	nagaanak	doro	ka	anay.
tp	kingfisher	was.laying.eggs	there	ntp	termite.nest
	(P Top)				

'The kingfisher was laying eggs there at the termite-nest.'

(2) Moving the subject of the initial non-verbal clause of an Explanatory paragraph to clause initial emphasis position:

Ya	pagakabohian	niran	obod	koman.
tp	food	their	bamboo.shoots	now
	(P Top)			

'Their food is bamboo shoots now.'

(3) A vocative pronoun moved to the pre-predicate emphasis position in the initial sentence of a Hortatoty paragraph. The

vocative pronoun is usually present also in its normal position following the verb:

Kamo	nga	manga	babazi	Ø-panhies	kamo	ka	manga	betang...
you.pl	subp	pl	woman	imp.pack	you.pl	ntp	pl	belongings
	(P Top)				(pron ref)			

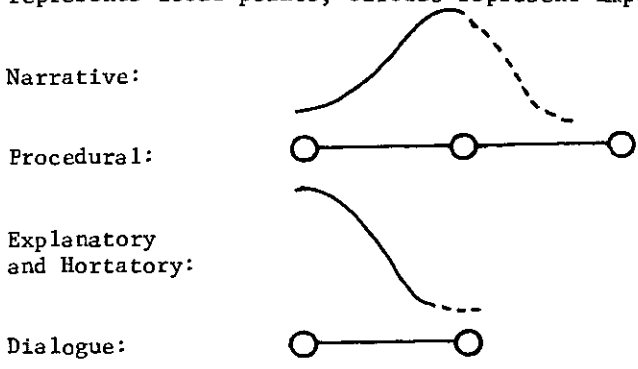
'You women, you pack the belongings...!'

(4) Emphatic demonstrative noun phrase expounding Paragraph Topic in the initial sentence of Narrative, Explanatory, and Hortatory paragraphs. Section 2.4 lists the emphatic demonstrative pronouns.

Izang	manga	tao	namagsabet	siran	nga	siran	magabaay.
thp	pl	person	decided.together	they	iqp	they	collect.tuber
(P Top)				(pron ref)			

'Those (theme) people, they decided together that they would collect tubers.'

The focal points (CLIMAX in Narrative paragraphs, TEXT in Explanatory paragraphs, and EXHORTATION in Hortatory paragraphs) produce different profiles as seen in the following representations: (height represents focal points, circles represent important units)



In this paper the general characteristics and formula are given for each paragraph type. The form, function, and distribution of each tagmeme in each formula is discussed and illustrated.

7.1 NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS

7.11 General characteristics.

A Mamanwa speaker uses Narrative paragraphs to tell about the chain of actions that make up a particular event. He could be talking about a personal experience or telling the experience of a third person. Sometimes he uses Narrative paragraphs to relate a folktale or historical narrative.

Since Narrative paragraphs basically consist of a chain of actions within a given time span, consecutive time horizons are especially characteristic of Narrative paragraphs in Mamanwa.

The most frequent exponent of sentence Temporal Margins are Independent clauses. It is its paragraph level function in narrative linkage that most readily identifies an Independent clause as a Temporal Margin (Longacre 1968:62).

An alternative exponent of sentence Temporal Margins is the gerundive construction <pag> 'time when the action occurred'. In contrast to an Independent clause where there is no similarity to what has gone before, gerundives serve as a linkage mechanism by making possible a lexical relationship between sentences and between paragraphs, and even between non-contiguous paragraphs in a Narrative discourse. The linking gerundive repeats the verb in the nucleus of the previous sentence, or uses a related verb. English: 'I went downriver and bought rice.' Mamanwa: 'I went downriver. Having gone downriver, I bought rice.'

Other temporal links in Narrative paragraphs include the conjunction kamhan and the particle na. Both kamhan 'next, then' and na 'after a time' are optional sentence initially and indicate forward motion between the BUILD UP tagmemes of Narrative paragraphs.

There are also unifying mechanisms within a Narrative paragraph to give cohesiveness to the whole. Non-topic personal, demonstrative, and thematic pronouns refer anaphorically to the topic given in the first sentence of the paragraph. Referent particle sa occurs within a Narrative paragraph to refer anaphorically to the action given in the first sentence of the paragraph. If a location phrase is given in the first sentence, location particles throughout the paragraph make anaphoric reference to this location.

The post-predicate particles pen 'incomplete', di 'complete', and post-gerundive particle ka 'complete' also give continuity and unity within a paragraph.

7.12 Formula and Definition of Tagmemes.

Narr Par:
+SETTING(SET) +(±BUILD UP(BU)^{n} ±CLIMAX(CL)) ±PARENTHESIS(PAREN)
±STEPDOWN(SD)^{n} ±TERMINUS(TER)

Setting. Obligatory SETTING occurs paragraph initially and is most frequently manifested by a complex sentence with Temporal Margin expounded by a gerundive. The function of SETTING is to signal a new step in the development of the narrative and to indicate the direction that the new paragraph is to take. In SETTING the speaker selects a new time, identifies new characters, and gives a new situation, building up his narrative in a logical way. The importance of SETTING as

a part of the development of a Narrative paragraph is shown by the fact that it is obligatory paragraph initially.

Discourse initially paragraph SETTING and Discourse APERTURE (Longacre 1968:5) can have a portmanteau exponent. A simple sentence or Simple Exchange Dialogue are the most frequent exponents of portmanteau SETTING. In the portmanteau SETTING of a folktale koni 'it is said' optionally follows the assertions made by the narrator, signalling to the listener that the speaker isn't taking responsibility for the truth of the story. A Simple Exchange Dialogue animates the narrative while implicitly revealing the main characters, time, location, and activity at hand.

In Mamanwa Narrative paragraphs SETTING can be very simple or it can be complex. The most simple SETTING observed has been a Temporal Margin, while the most complex SETTING has consisted of a Temporal Margin, a Nucleus introducing a new participant, and a Quote which identifies the key to the new situation. This complex SETTING is shown in Ex.1::

1) SET_1:NTemM Pagpakadateng ka na manga tao nga garing
having.arrived cmp ntp pl person subp from

dilod SET_2:Nucleus minlaong ya babazi nga SET_3:Quote
downriver said tp woman dqp

waraq di kita kaan kay ambothoq di ya manga
neg cmp we.inc soon bec will.appear cmp tp pl

kaporoon.
evil.spirits
SET_1:NTemM 'When the people arrived from downriver SET_2:Nucleus the woman said, SET_3:Quote "Soon we'll all be dead because the evil spirits have appeared."'

Build Up. Either BUILD UP or CLIMAX is obligatory in a Narrative paragraph. BUILD UP is most frequently manifested by an Independent clause or a complex sentence with Temporal Margin expounded by a gerundive. There two constructions give variety to the narrative as it moves along. The sequence conjunction kamhan 'next, then' can occur sentence initially with either of these two constructions. Both constructions also have a fair number of Reason Margins marked by kay 'because'. BUILD UPs are the chain of events which are numbered consecutively up to the CLIMAX, if a CLIMAX can be detected in the paragraph. In only one of the fourteen Narrative paragraphs analyzed was there no BUILD UP. Most of the time they are the major part of the paragraph.

2) SET:Cplx+NTemM Pagkapatay na boog minkawaq dazon
having.died ntp wild.pig went.and.got immed

ka pagbaba izang tao. BU_1:IndCl Ingakotan dazon
ntp carry.on.back thp person tied immed

naiza ya boog. BU_2:Cplx+NTemM Pagkahoman imbaba
he tp wild.pig having.finished carried

dazon naiza ya boog. BU_3:IndCl Mimbalik dazon ka
immed he tp wild.pig returned immed ntp

toong azi Pagpanagzad.
his path name.of.mt

SET:Cplx+NTemM 'The wild pig having died, the man immediately went and got it to tie on his back. BU_1:IndCl He immediately tied the wild.pig. BU_2:Cplx+NTemM Having finished, he carried the wild pig on his back. BU_3:IndCl He immediately returned to his path at Pagpanagzad.'

Climax. CLIMAX is most frequently expounded by a Simple Exchange Dialogue or a complex sentence with Temporal Margin expounded by a gerundive. CLIMAX occurred in five out of the fourteen paragraphs analyzed. In contrast to the absence of CLIMAX in some paragraphs is the high degree of embedding found in two Narrative paragraphs. In a personal travel narrative there is an explanatory paragraph embedded in the location phrase of the IndCl expounding CLIMAX. In a hunting narrative CLIMAX is complex, each one of its two parts having a Narrative paragraph with three BUILD UPs.

CLIMAX is the highest point of activity in a Narrative paragraph. In Ex.3 CLIMAX is complex, $CLIMAX_1$ gives the high point of the paragraph while $CLIMAX_2$ gives the attendant argument.

3) CL_1:Cplx+NTemM Temengteng pen ya inaq ka toong anak
searching yet tp mother ntp her young

waraq di sa. CL_2:SimEx Maglaong ya inaq nga daw
neg cmp ref said tp mother dqp intr

waraq sa hao maglaong nga diri kita magtibeq
neg ref I say iqp neg we.inc at.same.time

pagpanaw, magsilisili kita. Daw magqonoono pen sa
leave take.turns we.inc intr will.do yet ref

kita ka anak ta nga inkawaq na
we.inc ntp young our.inc subp come.and.taken ntp

owak. Minsambag ya bana nga onhon pen minqiba
blackbird answered tp husb dqp how yet accompanied

sa hao kay silaong kon waray makasibol ka
ref I bec mistakenly.tho't iqp neg could.steal ntp

anak ta.
young our.inc

CL_1:Cplx+NTemM As the mother (kingfisher) searched for her young, she discovered that they were gone! CL_2:SimEx The mother said, "Didn't I say that we shouldn't leave (the nest) at the same time, that we should take turns? Whatever will

we do about our babies that the blackbird has come and taken away?" The father (kingfisher) replied, "How was I to know? I went with you because I was thinking that nothing was around that could steal our young."

Parenthesis. Optional PAREN in Narrative paragraphs is manifested by an equational or parallel sentence, and doesn't figure into the linkage system of the paragraph. The function of PAREN is to supply additional information, or give an extraneous remark for reader interest.

4) BU_1:Cplx+NTemM Pagkakaaldawen minselem pagpanaw izang toong
at.daybreak early left thp her

bana. PAREN:Parallel s Mindara ka tolóng bolos
husband took ntp three in.number

nga idoq, dara ya bangkaw. BU_2:IndCl Mimpanaw dazon
subp dog took tp spear left immed

ngandaked ka tebteb na oma.
up ntp edge of farm

BU_1:Cplx+NTemM 'At daybreak her husband left early (to hunt). PAREN:Parallel s He took three dogs, took a spear. BU_2:IndCl He left immediately, going up to the edge of his farm.'

Step down. Optional STEP DOWN is most frequently expounded by a complex sentence with Temporal Margin expounded by a gerundive. A fair number of Reason Margins marked by kay 'because' also occur. STEP DOWN follows CLIMAX and expresses an action that is the result of the activity in the CLIMAX. STEP DOWN may also function as an exhortation or explanation. Four out of the fourteen Narrative paragraphs analyzed had STEP DOWNs. Ex.5 illustrates the STEP DOWNs which follow the complex CLIMAX in Ex.3:

5) SD_1:Cplx+NTemM Pagkabereng ka niran nga waraq di
being.dumbfounded cmp they iqp neg cmp

anak niran minmatay siran ka kawied niran ka
young their wept they ntp concern their ntp

kanirang anak. SD_2:Cplx+NTemM Pagkakamhan niran
their young having.finished they

pagpinagmatay namaglingawlingaw si siran...
weeping sang.softly.together they

SD_1:Cplx+NTemM 'Being dumbfounded that their young were missing, they wept in their concern about their young. SD_2:Cplx+NTemM Having finished weeping, they sang softly together...'

Terminus. Optional TERM occurs at the end of a Narrative paragraph and is most frequently expounded by a simple sentence or a complex sentence with the Temporal Margin expounded by a gerundive. Reason and Purpose occur frequently with either of these sentence types, since the function of TERM is to explain the reason or purpose

for the foregoing chain of actions. TERM can also function as a summary or a song. The TERM in Mamanwa narrative paragraphs doesn't fit well the typical picture of a TERM in that its exponent can frequently be portmanteau with the exponent of CLIMAX, terminating the paragraph at the highest point of activity. TERM can also be portmanteau with a BUILD UP or STEP DOWN. Ex.6 illustrates the TERM following the STEP DOWNs in Ex.5:

6) TERM:Song

Minlingaw	di	siran	bogtakaw	bogtakaw	oliq
sang	cmp	they	kingfisher	kingfisher	return

ka	lagkaw	ta.	Inkawat	sa	ni	owakay	ya	anak
ntp	house	our.inc	stolen	ref	ntp	blackbird	tp	young

nami.
our.exc
TERM:Song 'They sang, "Kingfisher, kingfisher, return home. Our young have been stolen by the blackbird."'

7.2 PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS

7.21 General characteristics.

When a Mamanwa speaker wants to give the steps making up a particular process such as weaving a sleeping mat or making a wild pig trap he uses Procedural paragraphs. These are well-defined units; most frequently a single Procedural paragraph composes a full Procedural discourse, but Procedural paragraphs may also be found within Narrative or Didactic discourses. The average Procedural paragraph is ten steps in length.

Procedural paragraphs in Mamanwa have two structural differences with Narrative paragraphs. Procedural paragraphs are goal oriented with object focus and absence of $aspect_2$ affixes, whereas Narrative paragraphs are actor oriented with subject focus and $aspect_2$ affixes.

In contrast to Narrative paragraphs, the deletion of certain clause-level tagmemes is characteristic of Procedural paragraphs (Longacre 1968:88). The topic of a goal-oriented clause can be deleted in Procedural paragraphs if it is 1) inherent in the predicate, or 2) is given in the Nucleus of the preceding sentence, or 3) has been stated in the initial tagmeme of the paragraph, e.g. ACTIVITY. Since a Procedural paragraph is usually oriented towards a single goal, strings of sentences may occur in which that goal is deleted. This is illustrated in Figure 1. The illustration also shows the degree of deletion of Subject tagmeme that occurs in a Procedural paragraph since actor is the same.

Lexical chaining is explicit and obligatory in the linkage mechanism of Procedural paragraphs as it is in Narrative paragraphs. However, a step to step sequence of actions in a process, with the completion of one step before another is begun, is the chief characteristic of a Procedural paragraph while an event to event sequence

Figure 1.

	Predicate (action)	Subject (actor)	(P Top) Object (goal)	Referent (location)
1.	went to collect leaves to make a mat	we	inherent in verb	
2.	collected leaves	∅	leaves	
3.	cut lengthwise	∅	∅	
4.	removed thorns	∅	leaves	
5.	put in sun	∅	∅	sun
6.	pressed in sand	∅	∅	sand
7.	put in sun	∅	∅	inherent in verb
8.	wound together	∅	∅	
9.	unwound	∅	leaves	
10.	tied in bundles	∅	∅	
11.	pounded	∅	∅	
12.	cut bundles	∅	∅	

of actions within a given time span, with each event a consecutive build up brought on by a time margin, is the chief characteristic of a Narrative paragraph.

This semantic difference in the linkage mechanism of these two paragraph types is reflected in the gerundive construction which manifests the sentence Sequence Margins of Procedural paragraphs and the sentence Temporal Margins of Narrative paragraphs. In Procedural paragraphs the linking gerundive <pag-> 'having finished (that step)' is frequently a compound verb which repeats either the verb or the goal in the Nucleus of the preceding sentence: Pagkakamhan paggakot imbaba nao 'Having finished tying (the pig), I put it on my back'. Pagkakamhan ka kawekawe, sabazan o 'Having finished (attaching) the rattan loop, I'll connect the trap'.

In addition to Sequence Margins there may be other links between steps such as kamhan 'next' and na 'after a time'. The post-predicate particle di 'complete' frequently occurs in the Nucleus of the sentence and helps to mark the completion of a step.

7.22 Formula and Definition of Tagmemes.

Proc Par:
+ACTIVITY(ACT) +STEP(S)^{n} ±PARENTHESIS(PAREN) ±SIMULTANEOUS STEP(SS) +FINIS(FIN)

Activity. Obligatory ACTIVITY tagmeme occurs paragraph initially and is most frequently manifested by a simple sentence with optional Reason Margin marked by kay 'because'. The function of ACTIVITY is to announce or anticipate the activity whose steps are given in the following sentences of the Procedural paragraph (Longacre 1968:102). Ex.7 shows the ACTIVITY tagmeme for a Procedural paragraph on making a wild pig trap.

7) ACT:Cplx+NTemM Pagpanaw ka lagkaw ankaro hao ka banwa
having.left cmp house will.go I ntp house

kay anhinang hao ka balatik.
bec will.make I ntp wild.pig.trap
ACT:Cplx+NTemM 'Having left the house, I will go to the forest because I will make a wild pig trap.'

In Mamanwa where Procedural discourses are typically one paragraph in length the sentence which expounds the ACTIVITY tagmeme of the paragraph is the portmanteau exponent of Discourse APERTURE.

Step. Obligatory STEP tagmeme in Procedural paragraphs is most frequently manifested by a Complex sentence with a Sequence Margin expounded by a gerundive. STEP tagmemes also have a frequent number of Purpose and Reason Margins because of the desire for clarity on the part of the speaker. STEP tagmemes are the sequence of actions making up a given activity or process and are numbered consecutively up to the final step in the process. Ex.8 gives the procedure for making a farm.

8) ACT:SeqM Maggoma di nganiq S_1:Nucleus garasan
how.to.make.farm cmp this cut.underbrush

dazon kay hastang waraq di makaireg. S_2:Cplx+SeqM
immed so.that neg cmp can.steal

Pagkakamhan paggaras hadhadan di kay hastang
having.finished cutting.grass fell.trees cmp so.that

madaliq masonog. S_3:SeqM Diri pen ko ansonog
quickly burned neg yet you.s burn

tadtaden mo kay dazaw domaliq ka lopaq ya manga
chop you.s so.that quickly ntp land tp pl

sagbet. S_4:Cplx+SeqM Pagkakamhan pagtadtad sonogon
debris having.finished chopping burn

di dazaw mahorot ya sagbet pagkasonog. S_5:Cplx+SeqM
ntp so.that gone tp debris having.burned

Pagkakamhan pagsonog dorokan di. FIN:Cplx+SeqM
having.finished burning clean cmp

Pagkakamhan pagdorok tamnan ka bozag daw saging
having.finished cleaning plan ntp yams and bananas

daw tabakoq.
and tobacco

ACT:SeqM When you make a farm S_1:Nucleus immediately cut away the underbrush so that no one can claim your piece of land. S_2:Cplx+SeqM Having finished burning away the underbrush, fell trees so that it will burn quickly. S_3:Cplx+SeqM Before you burn the underbrush chop up the felled trees so that the debris will burn quickly. S_4:Cplx+SeqM Having finished chopping the felled trees, burn them so that the debris will be completely gone, having burned. S_5:Cplx+SeqM Having finished burning it, clean off the land. FIN:Cplx+SeqM Having finished cleaning the land, plant yams, bananas, and tobacco.

Parenthesis. PARENTHESIS in a Procedural paragraph is manifested by an equation sentence and doesn't figure into the linkage system of the paragraph. The function of PARENTHESIS is to provide additional information for the reader who is not familiar with the particular process being described. PARENTHESIS is illustrated in Example 9:

9) S_1:SimS Ankawaq hao ka baweg. PAREN:equa s Ani
will.go.get I ntp supple.branch eqp

kawqen o ya lingbahan kay magahiq ya liwaan.
go.get I tp kind.of.wood bec hard tp wood

S_2:Cplx+SeqM Pagkakamhan o ka baweg
having.finished I ntp supple.branch

padagpakanan o.
make.split.post I

S_1:SimS '1 will go and get a supple branch (for making a wild pig trap). PAREN:equa s Lingbahan is the kind of branch I will go and get because it is hard wood. S_2:Cplx+SeqM Having finished getting the branch, I'll make a split post.'

Simultaneous Steps. Optional SIMUL STEPS are manifested by complex sentences with Sequence Margins expounded by compound gerundives. An alternate exponent of SIMUL STEP is an Independent Clause with the particle isab 'also'. When SIMUL STEPS occur in a Procedural paragraph the clause-level tagmemes expounding the SIMUL STEPS have their own goals, which helps to accomplish the single goal towards which the paragraph is oriented. Example 10 illustrates the function of SIMUL STEPS:

10) ACT:DQS Minlaong si inaq mataed ya bozag nita.
said tp mother many tp yams our.inc

Lidgiden mazo ya bozag. S_1:Cplx+SeqM
prepare.grated.yams you.pl tp yams

Pagkaalas onsi minsangat kami paglidgid. S_2:Cplx+SeqM
at.hour eleven started we.exc to.prepare

Pagsogod imparotan ya bozag. S_3:Cplx+SeqM Pagkakamhan
having.begun peeled tp yams having.finished

pagparot inlidgid ya bozag. SS_4:Cplx+SeqM Pagkaobos
peeling grated tp yams having.finished

ka paglidgid minkawaq kami ka dahon. SS_5:Cplx+SeqM
ntp grating went.and.got we.exc ntp leaves

Pagdateng dini ka lagkaw imbolad. SS_6:IndCl
having.arrived here ntp house put.in.sun

Minkawaq isab ka nizog. S_7:IndCl Insaketan ya
went.got also ntp coconut mixed tp

linidgid ka nizog. S_8:Cplx+SeqM Pagkalazaq ka
grated.yams ntp coconut having.dried cmp

na dahon impamotos ya linidgid. S_9:Cplx+SeqM
ntp leaves D-wrapped tp grated.yams

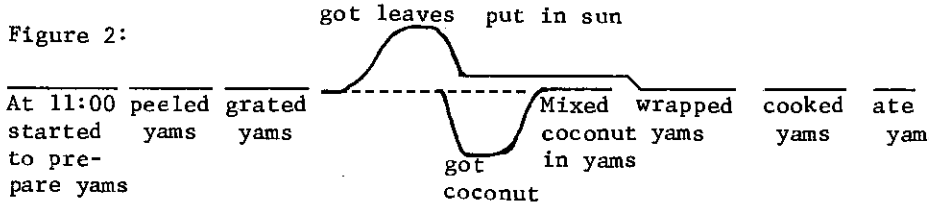
Pagkakamhan pagpamotos insenqad. FIN:Cplx+SeqM
having.finished wrapping cooking

Pagkalotoq ka na linidgid impangaen.
having.cooked cmp ntp grated.yams D-ate

ACT:Quote 'Mother said, "We have many yams. You prepare grated yams." S_1:Cplx+SeqM At 11:00 we started to prepare grated yams. S_2:Cplx+SeqM Having started (we) peeled the yams. S_3:Cplx+SeqM Having finished peeling, (we) grated the yams. SS_4:Cplx+SeqM Having finished grating (we) went and got banana leaves. SS_5:Cplx+SeqM Having arrived here at the house, (we) put them in the sun to dry. SS_6:IndCl (We) also went and got coconut. S_7:IndCl (We) mixed the coconut with the grated yams. S_8:Cplx+SeqM When the leaves were dry (we) wrapped the grated yams in them. S_9:Cplx+SeqM Having finished wrapping the yams, (we) cooked them. FIN:Cplx+SeqM When the yams were finished cooking, (we) ate them.'

Figure 2 is a continuum showing SIMUL STEPS in relation to the single goal of the above paragraph.

Figure 2:



Finis. Obligatory FINIS occurs paragraph finally and is manifested by a Complex sentence with Sequence Margin expounded by a gerundive. A parallel sentence has also been observed manifesting FINIS. The function of FINIS is to correlate the end of the Procedural paragraph with the ACTIVITY tagmeme, and to terminate the paragraph by an action which is a logical result of the activity given in the foregoing STEPS, e.s. prepared food is eaten, a completed sleeping mat is sold, or a cleared field is planted. The function of FINIS is illustrated in Example 8 and 10.

7.3 EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS

7.31 General characteristics.

When a Mamanwa speaker wants to explain how his forefathers practiced intertribal warfare, or what Mamanwas do when the moon eclipses he uses Explanatory paragraphs.

The first sentence of an Explanatory paragraph states the topic (or TEXT) of the paragraph. The rest of the paragraph is dependent both structurally and semantically on the text sentence. The relationship between a TEXT and its EXPOSITIONS resembles that between the two bases of a statement-specification sentence in which the subject is identified in the first base and further specified in the second base: $Base_1$ 'Closeby were fish, $Base_2$ small fish'. EXPOSITIONS similarly specify or explain the subject identified in the TEXT, as in Example 11.

11)

Text	$Expo_1$	$Expo_2$
The deeds of the people, this is what they did.	They continually speared (people) because there was no law of the governor yet.	They are even spearing yet because they do not yet recognize the law of the governor.

The TEXT is the focal point of an Explanatory paragraph, as the climax is the focal point of a Narrative paragraph. But the TEXT comes at the beginning of an Explanatory paragraph, while the climax comes near the middle or end of a Narrative paragraph.

The TEXT and EXPOSITION tagmemes of Explanatory paragraphs are largely expounded by non-verbal clauses, equational clauses and simple sentences. Moving the topic of a nonverbal clause to clause initial emphasis position is the most frequent way a Mamanwa speaker identifies the subject in his TEXT: Ya pagakabohian niran obod koman (Their food, bamboo shoots now) 'Their food is now bamboo shoots.'

Reason Margin sentences with kay 'because', Purpose Margin sentences with dazaw/kay dazaw/hasta(ng) 'so that', and Conditional Margin sentences with kon 'if, whenever' abound in Explanatory paragraphs as a speaker develops and explains his TEXT.

7.32 Formula and Definition of Tagmemes.

Explan Par:
+TEXT +EXPOSITION(EXPO)^{n} ±REASON(REA) ±TERMINAL(TERM)

Text. Obligatory TEXT tagmeme occurs paragraph initially and is manifested by nonverbal clauses, equational clauses and simple sentences. Any of these clauses and sentences occasionally has a Reason Margin. An Antithetical Explanatory paragraph has also been observed as exponent of TEXT. The function of TEXT is to state the subject of the Explanatory Paragraph. TEXT may be simple or compound. An illustration of a simple TEXT is shown in Example 10. In a compound TEXT the second part is related to the first as an integral part of the topic of the Explanatory Paragraph. In Example 12 the compound TEXT identifies the weapons used in intertribal warfare. $TEXT_1$ gives the weapons used for offensive fighting, while $TEXT_2$ gives that which is used for defensive fighting.

12) $TEXT_1$:EqCl

Ya	kanirang	harominta	ani	ya	bangkaw	daw
tp	their	weapons	eqp	tp	spear	and

kalis	daw	panaq.	$TEXT_2$:EqCl	Ya	kanirang
bolo.knife	and	bow.arrow		tp	their

salimdanan	ani	ya	kalasag.	$EXPO_1$:SimS+PurM	Inlibetan
protection	eqp	tp	shield		encircled

ka	korongkorong	ya	kilid	na	kalasag	kay dazaw
ntp	bronze.band	tp	edge	ntp	shield	so.that

longqon	iza	nga	hanas	di.	
will.say	that.one	iqp	expert.fighter	cmp	TERM:SimS

Kamhan	anwarawara	siran	ka	kanirang	kalasag.
term.mker	will.flourish	they	ntp	their	shield

$TEXT_1$:EqCl 'Their weapons were a spear, bolo knife, and bow and arrows. $TEXT_2$:EqCl Their protection was a shield. $EXPO_1$:SimS+PurM The edge of the shield was encircled by a bronze band so that (people) will say, "That one is an expert fighter." TERM:SimS+term marker That's why they would flourish their shields.'

Exposition. Obligatory EXPOSITION tagmeme is manifested by nonverbal clauses, equational clauses and simple sentences. Any of these clauses and sentences frequently has a Reason, Purpose, or Conditional Margin. A rhetorical question, antithetical explanatory paragraph, quote sentence, and parallel coupling have also been observed as exponents of EXPO tagmeme. The function of EXPO is to explain the subject identified in the TEXT. Examples 11 and 12 illustrate the function of EXPO tagmeme.

Reason. Optional REASON tagmeme is manifested most frequently by Reason Margin sentences expounded by Relator Axis Sentences with kay 'because' as Relator, and nonverbal clauses as Axis. REASON tagmeme

is manifested less frequently by a simple sentence or a nonverbal clause plus a Reason Margin aentence. The function of REASON tagmeme is to state the reaaon for a condition which exists in the TEXT. Example 13 illustrates a compound REASON tagmeme in which one sentence manifests two paragraph slots, TEXT and REASON. The example also illustrates how $REASON_2$ and $REASON_3$ are aeparated by the TERMINAL tagmeme marked by aniton 'That's why'. $REASON_3$ is thus an afterthought.

13) TEXT:nonvb cl Masarang pangahaldek niran $REASON_1$:ReaM kay
superl fear their bec

kon malomon di ya bolan diri di maaldaw.
if swallowed cmp tp moon neg cmp become.day

$REASON_2$:ss+ReaM Ya manga kaporoon ambothoq di
tp pl evil.spirits will.appear cmp

sab kay mangaen ka manga tao. TERM:equa s Aniton
also bec will.eat ntp pl person term.mker

ya inkahaldekan niran $REASON_3$:ReaM kay ya gabok isab
tp made.afraid they bec tp firewood also

mawaraq di bisan ono pagharing.
be.gone cmp no.matter.what try.to.light

TEXT:nonvb cl 'Their fear was very great $REASON_1$:ReaM because if the moon would be swallowed (by the spider) it would never become day again. $REASON_2$:SimS+ReaM The evil spirits would also appear because they will eat people. TERMINAL:equa a That's why they are afraid $REASON_3$:ReaM because the firewood also would by completely gone, no matter what was tried (for firewood).'

Terminal. Optional TERMINAL tagmeme is manifested by nonverbal clauses and simple sentences. If TERMINAL follows REASON tagmeme or Reason Margin sentences, it is expounded by nonverbal clauses marked by aniton/anizaheq 'that's why'. If TERMINAL follows a Purpose Margin sentence, it is expounded by a simple sentence marked by kamhan 'that's the purpose'. The function of TERMINAL is to summarize the EXPOSITIONS of the Explanatory paragraph and correlate them with the TEXT. Examples 12 and 13 illustrate the form and function of TERMINAL tagmeme.

7.4 HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS

7.41 General characteristics.

When a Mamanwa elder commands or advises anyone to perform an activity or to improve his behavior, he uses Hortatory paragraphs. Usually a woman advises only other women and children.

Hortatory paragraphs have two structural differences with Explanatory paragraphs. Hortatory paragraphs have imperative mode affixes <-ag-> with vocative pronouns (iko, mo 'you(s)', kamo, mazo 'you(pl)',

and kita 'we(inc)'), as their purpose is to give commands and exhortations; whereas Explanatory paragraphs have indicative mode affixes and no vocative pronouns, since their purpose is to explain a given subject.

The first sentence of a Hortatory paragraph gives the command (or EXHORTATION) of the paragraph. The remainder of the paragraph is dependent both structurally and semantically on the EXHORTATION sentence. This is similar to Explanatory paragraphs where the first sentence states the topic (or TEXT) of the paragraph and the remainder of the paragraph is dependent on the text sentence. However, a REINFORCEMENT tagmeme, which paraphrases the EXHORTATION for emphasis, and the extensive use of REASON and RESULT tagmemes for appeal through motivation, are the chief characteristics of Hortatory paragraphs, whereas EXPOSITION tagmemes for the purpose of explaining the TEXT is the chief characteristic of Explanatory paragraphs.

7.42 Formula and Definition of Tagmemes.

±PRELIMINARY(PRELIM) +EXHORTATION(EXHOR) +(±REASON(REA)^{n} ±PURPOSE(PUR) ±RESULT(RES)^{n}) ±REINFORCEMENT(REINF) ±TERMINAL(TERM)

Preliminary. Optional PRELIMINARY tagmeme occurs paragraph initially and is manifested by a sequence of one or two Quotation Formulas of a Direct Quote Sentence. This initial Direct Quote Sentence generally manifests from two to four paragraph-level slots, and may be very complex. It usually manifests the PRELIM in its Quotation Formula slot, and manifests the EXHOR and sometimes REA or PUR in its Quotation slot. The function of PRELIM tagmeme is to identify the participants in the paragraph and give a very brief description about the situation at hand. The function of PRELIM tagmeme is illustrated in Example 14.

Exhortation. Obligatory EXHORTATION tagmeme occurs paragraph initially and is manifested by the Quote of a Direct Quote Sentence. The Quote is expounded by sentences having imperative mode affixes <-ag-> and vocative pronouns. The function of EXHOR tagmeme is to command or adivse someone to perform an activity or to improve his behavior.

14) PRELIM:DQF$_2$ ... ya baylan nagalaong EXHOR:Quote
tp medicine.man was.saying

m-ag-pongkay kamo ka baboy ka balazan PUR:PurM
imp.place.upon you.pl ntp pig ntp altar

kay dazaw ya kaporoon diri makakawaq ka mabedlay.
so.that tp evil.spirits neg can.get ntp sick.person

PRELIM:DQF$_2$ '... the medicine man was saying, EXHOR:Quote "You put a pig upon the altar PUR:PurM so that the evil spirits won't be able to get the sick person."'

Reason. Optional REASON tagmeme follows EXHOR tagmeme, and is manifested most frequently by Relator Axis Sentences with kay 'because' as Relator. Simple sentences with or without Reason and Purpose Margins, coordinate sentences, and antithetical explanatory paragraphs have also been observed manifesting REASON tagmeme. The function of REASON tagmeme is to appeal through motivation, as illustrated in Example 15:

15) EXHOR:Quote Kamong nga manga babazi Ø-panhies kamo ka
you.pl subp pl woman imp.pack you.pl ntp

manga betang daw Ø-manhabet kamo ka manga
pl belongings and imp-carry you.pl ntp pl

maimpis REA:ReaM of DQS kay ambantay kami doro ka
child bec will.guard we.exc there ntp

honqahan PUR:PurM of DQS kay dazaw makahonqa kita.
ahead so.that can.proceed we.inc

EXHOR:Quote '"You women, you pack the belongings and carry your children REA:ReaM because we will guard ahead PUR:PurM so that we can all proceed."'

Purpose. Optional PURPOSE tagmeme follows EXHOR or REASON tagmemes. It is less frequent than REASON or RESULT tagmemes and is expounded by Relator Axis Sentences with kay dazaw 'so that' as Relator. The function of PURPOSE tagmeme is to appeal through motivation, as illustrated in Examples 14 and 15.

Result. Optional RESULT tagmeme occurs following EXHOR, REASON or PURPOSE tagmemes, and is manifested by Relator Axis Sentences with kay 'as a result' as Relator. When a Concessive Margin (agad 'even if') is the exponent of Axis, the relators are juxtaposed, kay agad 'as a result even if'. This is true also when Conditional Margin (kon 'if) is the exponent of Axis, kay kon 'as a result if'. Simple sentences and coordinate sentences have also been observed in RESULT tagmeme. The function of RESULT tagmeme is to appeal through motivation, as illustrated in Example 16:

16) PRELIM:DQF$_1$ Ining nga kataohan kawandini pen PRELIM:DQF$_2$
these subp people long.ago

inlongqan na oloolo niran EXHOR:Quote abay kamo
were.told ntp leader their neg you.pl

pagkabereng ka kanaong manga aogoq kamazo ka
be.surprised ntp my pl command to.you.pl ntp

pagqarem kamazo RESULT$_1$:ResM+ConcM kay agad
to.train you.pl as.a.result.even.if

may kontra ta kayqan ya kamazong lawes malaksi
exis enemy our.inc later tp your.pl body agile

di kay arem di sa kamo ka pagsinolog.
cmp bec trained cmp ref you.pl ntp shield.and.spear

$RESULT_2$:SimS Ya mata mazo malaksi kay kelqawen
tp eyes your.pl quick bec dart

kon makabongol ya hinganiban ka mata mazo kay
if can.point tp sword ntp eye your.pl bec

bansay di kamo ...$RESULT_3$:SimS Makita di mazo
trained cmp you.pl can.see cmp you.pl

ya pagpaazi ka hinawahan mazo ka pagpildi ka
tp exhaling ntp breath your.pl ntp defeat ntp

isang ka tao. REINF:Quote Agonsang m-ag-hamarag
each subp person therefore imp-prepare

kamo ka kabangkawan daw manga kasablihan.
you.pl ntp spears and pl bolo.knives

PRELIM:DQF_1 'These people, a long time ago PRELIM:DQF_2 (they) were told by their leader, EXHOR:Quote "Don't be surprised at my commands to you to train you $RESULT_1$:ResM+ ConcM for, as a result even if we have enemies later, your bodies will be agile because you are trained to use the shield and spear. $RESULT_2$:SimS Your eyes will be quick, as a result you will quickly dart away when (the enemy) points his sword at your eyes, because you are trained fighters now. $RESULT_3$:SimS You'll be able to see your own ferocious breathing as you defeat each person. REINF:Quote Therefore you prepare spears and bolo knives."'

Reinforcement. Optional REINFORCEMENT tagmeme follows REASON, RESULT, or PURPOSE tagmemes and may be marked by the particle agon/agonsang 'therefore'. It is manifested by sentences with verbs having imperative mode affixes <-ag-> and vocative pronouns. The function of REINFORCEMENT tagmeme is to paraphrase the EXHORTATION tagmeme for emphasis. The function of REINF is illustrated in Example 16.

Terminal. Optional TERMINAL tagmeme occurs paragraph finally. Only one TERM was observed in eleven Hortatory paragraphs analyzed. The particular Hortatory paragraph which had this TERM was the initial paragraph in an Explanatory discourse, whereas the remaining ten Hortatory paragraphs analyzed occurred in Hortatory discourses. TERM is manifested by a parallel sentence which repeats the elements found in the REASON tagmeme following the EXHOR. Its function is to correlate the end of the paragraph with the initial sentence and bring the paragraph to a conclusion.

17) PRELIM:DQF_2 Ya Tahaw ani nagatoldoq ka manga
tp God eqp was.teaching ntp pl

kamalaasan nga EXHOR:Quote m-ag-mamaq kamo
elders dqp imp-chew.betelnut you.pl

singed	kanami	REA:ReaM	kay	ya	magamamaq			marigqen
like	ua.exc		bec	tp	betelnut.chewers			strong
ya	ngipen	daw	ya	kamazong	hinawa	marigqen...		TERM:
tp	teeth	and	tp	your.pl	breath	strong		
parallel a	Ya	lawas	mazo	mabaskeg	ya	ngipen	mazo	
	tp	body	your.pl	strong	tp	teeth	your.pl	

marigqen.
strong
PRELIM:DQF$_2$ 'God was the one who was teaching the elders, EXHOR:Quote "You chew betelnut like us REA:ReaM because those who chew betelnut, their teeth are strong and their bodies are strong... TERM:parallel s Your body is strong, your teeth are strong."'

7.5 DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS

7.51 General characteristics.

Dialogue paragraphs are verbal exchanges between two or more people, and are the most frequent paragraph in everyday life. They contain Direct Quote Sentences which function as STIMULUS given by one speaker, and RESOLUTION given by a second speaker. RESOLUTION can become a new STIMULUS to which the first speaker, or a third speaker responds.

Dialogue paragraphs occur in Narrative and Conversational texts, as well as in everyday conversation.

Dialogue paragraphs are of three types, (1) Simple Exchange, which consists of a single resolved exchange between two speakers, (2) Compound Exchange, which consists of two or more resolved exchanges between two or more speakers, and (3) Complex Exchange, which consists of STIMULUS followed by resistance to STIMULUS or COUNTER-RESOLUTION, resulting in an unresolved exchange.

7.52 Formula and Definition of Tagmemes.

General formula for Dialogue Para: +STIMULUS +RESOLUTION

7.52.1 Simple Exchange Dialogue: same as general formula

Stimulus. Obligatory STIMULUS given by the first speaker is manifested by a Direct Quote Sentence, which functions as a question, announcement, proposal, or remark.

Resolution. Obligatory RESOLUTION coming from the second speaker is manifested by a Direct Quote Sentence, which functions as an answer to a question, acknowledgement of an announcement, concession to or rejection of a proposal, or evaluation of a remark in STIMULUS. RESOLUTION is also expounded by a simple sentence, which indicates a nonverbal response. In any of these

functions RESOLUTION terminates the Simple Exchange Dialogue, as shown in the following illustrations. Example 18 is a typical Mamanwa greeting, and Example 19 is a mandatory Mamanwa farewell.

18) STIM:DQS Ankarqin sa ko? 'Where are you going?'

RESOL:DQS Doro ka longsod. 'To the city.'

19) STIM:DQS Ampanaw di hao. 'I'm leaving now.'

RESOL:DQS Ee ey 'Yes, friend.'

A Simple Exchange Dialogue frequently expounds CLIMAX or SETTING in Narrative paragraphs. As portmanteau exponent of SETTING and APERTURE in Narrative paragraphs, a Simple Exchange Dialogue animates the narrative while implicitly revealing the participants, time, location, and activity at hand, as illustrated in Example 20:

20) STIM:DQS	Minlaong	ya	asawa	ankarqin	sa	ko	konsilem?	
	said	tp	wife	are.going	ref	you.s	tomorrow	
RESOL:DQS	Minlaong	izang	bana	dini	ka	ko		
	said	thp	husband	here	only	you.s		
	konsilem	kay	manganop	hao	konsilem.			
	tomorrow	bec	D-hunt	I	tomorrow			

STIM:DQS The wife said, "Where are you going tomorrow?"
RESOL:DQS The husband answered, "You just stay here tomorrow because I'm going hunting."

A nonverbal response is illustrated in Example 21:

21) STIM:DQS	Minlaong	ya	toong	lagi	pagbantay	ey	tombabaq	
	said	tp	his	friend	watch.out	attn	down.there	
	kay	madatqogan	ko	ka	liwaan	nga	kanaong	indeeg.
	lest	will.be.atruck	you.s	ntp	tree	subp	my	felled
RESOL:SimS	Mindalagan	dazon	ya	toong	lagi.			
	ran	immed	tp	his	friend			

STIM:DQS 'His friend said, "Watch out below lest you be struck by the tree I've felled." RESOL:SimS His friend immediately ran.'

7.52.11 A Simple Unresolved Dialogue consists only of an obligatory STIMULUS, and lacks a resolving utterance, +STIMULUS:

21) STIM:DQS	Magapanhawag	nga	tabang	kamo	kay	ampamatay	di		
	Cv-D-calling	dqp	help	you.pl	bec	will.die	cmp		
	kaan	ining	tao	kay	magapamidpid	di	sa	ya	toong
	soon	this	person	bec	D-tremble	cmp	ref	tp	his
	lawas. -RESOL:SimS	Ya	manga	tao	waray	minaambag	kay		
	body	tp	pl	person	neg	answered	bec		

nangalisang siran ka bolan.
concerned they ntp moon
STIM:DQS (The woman called), "You help because this man will die because his body is trembling (from being possessed)."
-RESOL:SimS No one answered because they were concerned about the moon (that was in the process of eclipsing).

7.52.2 . Compound Exchange: +(SIMEX)^{n}

Obligatory multiple SIMEX is expounded by two or more Simple Exchange Dialogues. The STIMULUS for each succesaive exchange grows out of the terminating utterance of the preceding exchange.

In Example 22 a Compound Exchange takes place between parents as they negotiate a marriage contract for their son and daughter. The typical greeting upon approaching a person's house is exchanged, followed by a proposal from the boy's father. Resolution to this proposal is a question about the terms of the marriage contract. The boy's father then initiates the third Simple Exchange Dialogue by a proposal to drink and eat. The resolution to this proposal is nonverbal, that of drinking and eating. The Compound Exchange Dialogue then continues until the two speakers agree on the terms of their contract. In some ways Example 22 resembles a Narrative paragraph, but essentially it is a Compound Exchange Dialogue:

22) SIMEX$_1$:STIM:DQS Minlaong ya amaama nga ey wani di
said tp man dqp attn here cmp

kami. RESOL:DQS Minlaong ya taghelaq nga panapon
we.exc said tp house.owner dqp climb

sa kamo ngarindaked. Pagpakatapon ka kizaheq
ref you.pl up.here having.climbed cmp there

SIMEX$_2$:STIM:DQS minlaong ya amaama nga ey kon
said tp man dqp attn if

mahimoq hao ampakahagdam kanmo kay dazaw masazod
possible I will.inform you.s so.that will.know.

ko nga may katozoan o kanmo dini. Minkarini
you.s iqp exis purpose my you.s here came.here

hao kay may kaazak nao ka maimpis mo agad
I bec exis liking my ntp child your.s even.tho'

waraq magkatarato ya maanak ta kay haoy
neg engagement tp children our.inc bec I

dakolang kaazak kanmo daw maanak mo. Hao
great liking for.you and child your.s I

mindateng dini kamazo kay dazaw masazod hao kon
arrived here to.you so.that will.know I if

dawaten hao kon diri. RESOL:DQS Minlaong ya
will.receive I or neg said tp

ama na babazi ey daw maono sa kon magkaozong
father of girl attn intr what ref intr mk.parallel

ya kasabetan ta. SIMEX$_3$:STIM:DQS Minlaong di
tp understanding our.inc said cmp

ya amaama nga ey manginem naa kita. RESOL:SimS
tp man dqp attn drink adv we.inc

Kamhan ya tebaq nga dara impainem
then tp palm.toddy subp had.brought caused.to.drink

dazon ya tagqiza na lagkaw daw inlamisahan di ka
immed tp owner of house and tabled cmp ntp

makaen. Pagkakamhan ka niran...
food having.finished ntp they

SIMEX$_1$:STIM:DQS 'The man said, "Friend, we have come here." RESOL:DQS The owner of the house said, "You come up." Having climbed up there SIMEX$_2$:STIM:DQS the man said, "If it's alright with you I'll inform you so that you'll know that I have a purpose with you here. I came here because I like your child even though our children are not engaged, because great is my liking for you and your child. I arrived here at your place so that I will know if you will receive me or not." RESOL:DQS The father of the girl said, "What are the terms of our contract?" SIMEX$_3$:STIM:DQS The man said, "Friend, let's have a drink." RESOL:SimS Then he immediately provided palm toddy for the owner of the house, and placed food on the table. Having finished, they...'

7.52.3 Complex Exchange Dialogue: +STIMULUS +COUNTER-RESOLUTION

Stimulus. The form, function, and distribution of obligatory STIMULUS are the same as that in Simple Exchange Dialogue. However, in contrast with SIMEX, it is possible to have a simple sentence as exponent of STIMULUS, as illustrated in Example 23.

Counter-Resolution. Obligatory COUNTER-RESOLUTION is manifested by a Direct Quote Sentence, which functions as a counter-question, counter-proposal, or counter-remark. The purpose of COUNTER-RESOLUTION is to avoid a direct reply to what is requested by STIMULUS, and introduce one's own question, proposal, or remark instead. In Example 23 the initial exchange is a Simple Exchange Dialogue, but each exchange thereafter is a Complex Exchange, the father resisting any proposals to kill the snake because this would be a violation of the holy day. As in Ex.22, Ex.23 resembles a Narrative paragraph in some respects, but is essentially a Complex Exchange Dialogue:

23) SIMEX:STIM:DQS Minlaong ya ama nao nga tengtengi
said tp father my dqp look

mazo koni magaosiheu na idoq daw ono iza.
you.pl rsp barking ntp dog intr doing he

RESOL:SimS Olazon hao minkaro. Semeleng pen hao kitong
immed I went looking yet I that

magatengtengan na idoq waton ya halas nga malataro.
was.looking.at ntp dog idp tp snake subp size.kero-sene.can

CPLXEX$_1$:STIM:DQS Homawag hao ka ama nao maglaong
calling I ntp father my said

hao halas ini ey nga magaosihen na idoq. Patazen
I snake this attn subp barking ntp dog kill

ta. RESOL:DQS Minsambag ya malaas nga abay kamo
we.inc answered tp elder dqp neg you.pl

pagpatay kay ladhan kamo. CPLXEX$_2$:STIM:SimS
kill lest be.poisoned you.pl

... minkawaq hao ka bangkaw. RESOL:DQS Minlaong ya
went.got I ntp spear said tp

malaas nga abay pagbonoq kay ambales iton.
elder dqp neg spear bec will.retaliate that

CPLXEX$_3$:STIM:DQS Imporbahan o pagbonoq. Waraq gazed
attempted I to.spear neg indeed

dolti ka geremay ya lawas na halas, minlaong hao
pierce ntp little tp body of snake said I

ka malaas waraq gazed dolti ya lawas naitong
ntp elder neg indeed pierce tp body of.that

halas. RESOL:DQS Minsambag ya malaas daw waraq sa
snake answered tp elder intr neg ref

hao maglaong diri kamo maghilabet kay masarang
I say neg you.pl bother bec very

katigqa ya lawas naiton. Maghamarag kita kay Biernes
hard tp body of.that be.careful we.inc bec Friday

Santo koman kay arani ya manga tayangban magapamothoq
Holy now bec near tp pl caves will.come.out

siran ka tayangban kiza.
they ntp cave there

SIMEX:STIM:DQS 'My father said, "You go and look to see why that dog is barking." RESOL:SimS I immediately went there. As I looked for that at which the dog was barking, there was a snake the size of a five gallon kerosene can. CPLXEX$_1$:STIM:DQS I called to my father, "It's a snake that the dog's barking at! Let's kill it!" RESOL:DQS The elder answered, "Don't kill it lest you be poisoned." CPLXEX$_2$:STIM:SimS I went and got a spear. RESOL:DQS The elder said, "Don't spear that snake lest it retaliate." CPLXEX$_3$:STIM:DQS I tried to spear the snake. Not being able to pierce it even a little, I said to the elder, "I indeed can't pierce that snake's body."

RESOL:DQS My father said, "Didn't I tell you not to bother with that snake because it's body is very hard. Let's take care because this is Holy Friday, because at the caves nearby (the snakes) will come out."'

8 SOME FEATURES OF THEME IN DISCOURSE

8.1 Participant identification
8.2 Development of theme in narrative discourse
8.3 Reference
8.4 Linking
8.5 Information structure

The themes of a discourse are the people, things, or subject-matter being talked about in the discourse or in some part of the discourse. The cohesive elements which make it possible to follow a theme and signal continuity throughout a discourse are participant identification, anaphoric and deictic reference, linking, and information structure. Paragraphs may also have thematic time or location.

The primary statement of the theme occurs in the initial sentence or paragraph of a discourse and is expounded by a title, a simple sentence, a direct quote sentence, a simple exchange dialogue, or a non-verbal identification clause. Throughout the discourse the theme is referred to anaphorically by personal, demonstrative, and thematic pronouns.

The Topic (see Sec. 4.1) of a clause is the clause theme. The Topic in a sentence nucleus is the sentence theme (Chapter 5).

8.1 PARTICIPANT IDENTIFICATION

8.11 Introduction of thematic participants.

Whether the discourse is narrative, procedural, expository, hortatory, or dialogue, thematic participants are introduced in one of five ways. A thematic participant will always be introduced in one of these five ways, but these ways do not necessarily signal a thematic participant. Ways 1) and 2) always signal a theme, whether a discourse, paragraph, sentence, or clause theme. Ways 3), 4), and 5) are sometimes used nonthematically. A dialogue paragraph usually has two alternating thematic participants.

1) Personal names preceded by the personal topic marker si.

Si Salekep ka pagkatao pen naiza, ...
tp (name) ntp when.born yet he
'Salekep, at the time when he was born, ...'

2) Non-specific nouns like 'man', 'dog' preceded by the non-personal topic marker ya.

Ya idoq in-iba ni Sinsiyo daked ka Hadzeen.
tp dog Of-accompany ntp (name) up ntp (name)
'The dog accompanied Sinsiyo up to Hadzeen.'

3) Topic personal pronouns or pronoun phrases with ni (Sec. 2.3 lists the topic personal pronouns and describes pronoun phrases with ni). Narrative, expository, and procedural discourses largely use first and third person pronouns while hortatory discourse uses almost exclusively second person pronouns.

An-karo hao ka banwa kay an-hinang hao ka balatik.
Sf-go I ntp forest bec Sf-make I ntp pig.trap
'I will go to the forest because I will make a pig trap.'

Kami ni Waning naga-pilpig kazina...
we.exc (name) Sf-build.dam awhile.ago
'Waning and I were building a dam awhile ago...'

Iko kon t-om-ambal kining siliksilik...
you.s if Sf-treat emph.this salicylic.acid
'You, if treating with this (emphatic) salicylic acid, ...'

4) Possessed relatives or objects like 'his dog', 'her uncle', 'my wife'.

Min-laong ya toong lagi ey mag-hadhad kita.
Sf-said tp emph.poss.his friend attn Sf-fell.timber we.inc
'His friend said, "Friend, let's fell timber."'

5) A nonverbal identification clause (Sec. 4.41.6). In the following example, which is the initial paragraph of a narrative, the waro in the first sentence identifies thematic time, and the waton in the fourth sentence identifies a thematic participant.

Delem di, waro di ya sega. Min-haring si Yeyeq ka
afternoon cmp idp cmp tp sun Sf-burn tp Uncle ntp

toong homay. Kamhan min-seleng si Yeyeq
emph.poss.his rice.field next Sf-looking tp Uncle

ngandilod ka taway na batang. S-em-eleng pen nga
down ntp end of log Sf-looking yet subp

waton di ngarini ya babazi nga bolaw ya bohok.
idp cmp come.toward tp girl subp blond tp hair

'It was afternoon, the sun was out of sight. Uncle was burning off his rice field. Next, Uncle looked down at the end of the log. As he was looking yet, there closeby coming toward him was a girl with blond hair.'

8.12 Special marking of the participant as discourse or paragraph theme.

Oral discourse begins with an obligatory aperture or introduction, the purpose of which is to introduce the participants and set up a situation to get the discourse moving. The following

grammatical devices are used to mark a participant as discourse theme in the initial sentence of a discourse, or as paragraph theme in the initial sentence of a paragraph.

1) Moving the subject of the verb in a Narrative or paragraph to pre-predicate emphasis position.

Ya bogtakaw naga-anak doro ka anay...
tp kingfisher Sf-laying.eggs there ntp termite.nest
'The kingfisher was laying eggs there at the termite nest...'

2) Moving the subject of the initial nonverbal clause of an Expository discourse or paragraph to clause initial emphasis position.

Ya pagakabohian niran obod koman.
tp food their bamboo.shoots now
'Their food is now bamboo shoots.'

3) Moving a vocative pronoun to the pre-predicate emphasis position in a Hortatory discourse or paragraph. The vocative pronoun is usually present also in its normal position following the verb. This results in a repetition of the theme which leaves no question that the discourse or paragraph theme is 'you women'.

Kamo nga manga babazi Ø-pan-hies kamo ka manga betang.
you subp pl woman imp-D-pack you ntp pl belongings
'You women, you pack your belongings!'

4) Using an emphatic demonstrative noun phrase (Sec. 2.4) or an emphatic possessor noun phrase (Sec. 2.5) in Narrative, Expository, and Hortatory discourses or paragraphs.

Min-laong izang amaama ka asawa...
Sf-said theme.that man ntp wife
'That man (theme) said to his wife...'

5) Using a thematized noun phrase (Sec. 2.10) with thematic particle may in Narrative, Hortatory, and Dialogue discourses, but not paragraphs.

Am-panangog hao ka may nangasawa...
Sf-will:tell I ntp thp suitor
'I will tell about a suitor (theme)...'

Because the subject focus prefix is present on the verb this is an example of double thematization, may marking the theme of the discourse (the suitor) and an- pointing to the topic pronoun as the theme of the clause (the speaker).

6) Bringing the participant in as the explicit goal of the verb 'tell' in the initial sentence of a discourse and deleting the topic pronouns which indicate the hearer kamo 'you(pl)' and iko 'you(s)'.

This construction commonly serves as an optional title for the discourse. The pronouns are left in the free translation in order to make a complete sentence in English.

Panangog-an (ta kamo) ka babazi nga inlimeng.
will.tell-Rf I you.pl ntp girl subp lost
'I'll tell you about a lost girl.'

7) Using a nonverbal identification clause with wani 'this (in hand)' in the predicate position. The theme is the topic noun phrase which manifests the topic tagmeme. This construction also serves as an optional title for the discourse.

Wani ya panangog ka maglagi.
idp tp story ntp two.friends
'This is a story about two friends.'

Wani ya panangog nao ka pagsakay ka idro.
idp tp story my ntp ride ntp airplane
'This is my story about my airplane ride.'

8.13 Introduction of thematic subject.

In Procedural discourses there is usually no thematic participant, but there is a thematic subject, which may be introduced in one of three ways.

1) Bringing the procedure in as the explicit goal of the verb 'tell' and deleting the topic pronouns which indicate the hearer.

Panangog-an (ta kamo) ka naga-hadhad.
will.tell-Rf I you.pl ntp Sf-felling.timber
'I'll tell you about felling timber.'

2) Shifting the topic phrase to the pre-predicate position in an equative clause and putting the rest, also with topic marker, after the equative particle ani. Although the surface construction is equative, the semantic option is one of theme. As a thematic identifying construction discourse initially this form gives definiteness and exclusiveness to the theme, much like the corresponding construction in English (Halliday's 'identification', 1967). In the following example the speaker is saying that spearfishing and only spearfishing is what he will tell about.

Ya magpangantiparahay ani ya panangog nao.
tp spearfishing eqp tp story my
'Spearfishing is what I will tell about.'

3) Using a simple exchange dialogue between the two main participants in a narrative. In the following example the subject theme of the discourse is given by the husband in the form of an explanation, i.e. 'because I will hunt wild pig tomorrow'. The remainder of

the discourse relates the husband's experiences during his hunting trip. The thematic participant of the discourse is the Topic of the thematic subject clause (i.e. the husband).

Min-laong ya asawa an-karqin sa ko konsilem? Min-sambag
Sf-said tp wife Sf-going ref you.s tomorrow Sf-answered

ya toong bana, ey, konsilem am-panaw hao
tp emph poss.her husband attn tomorrow Sf-go I

kay am-balatik hao konsilem.
bec Sf-trap.pig I tomorrow

'The wife said, "Where are you going tomorrow?" The husband answered, "Woman, tomorrow I'm going because I will trap pigs tomorrow."'

In a folktale the theme may also be announced in a single sentence, which usually contains a 'once upon a time' formula followed by the introduction of the thematic participants of the discourse.

May isang aldaw 'Once upon a time'
exis one day

Kawandini pen 'long ago' can substitute for the 'once upon a time' formula.

Kawandini pen ya langit koni ababaq pen.
long.ago tp sky rsp low yet
'Long ago the sky, it is said, was low yet.'

8.14 Thematic time in Narrative Setting.

In Narrative discourse thematic time is given in the initial paragraph or setting. In Sec. 8.13 where the discourse theme is introduced by a simple exchange dialogue temporal setting is identified in the form of a foreshadowing of the events that will take place the following day.

In order to express a particular time in the past when the events of a narrative took place, the speaker may use an emphatic demonstrative noun phrase with kizang 'that, theme'. In the following example nangasawa 'suitor' is both paragraph and discourse theme, and kizang bolan-a nga Honyo 'that (theme) month which was June' is also paragraph theme.

Am-panangog hao ka may nangasawa kizang bolan-a nga
Sf-will.tell I ntp thp suitor theme.that month-id subp

Honyo.
June
'I will tell about a suitor (theme) last June (theme).'

8.15 Thematic location in Narrative Setting and paragraphs.

In Narrative discourse thematic location is given in the initial paragraph or setting. In Sec. 8.13(3) where the discourse theme is introduced by a simple exchange dialogue, locational setting is alluded to in that such a conversation would most likely take place in the home of the participants as they discuss the work they will do the next day.

In order to identify a particular location distant from the present location of the speaker and hearer, an emphatic demonstrative noun phrase with kizang 'that, theme' may be used in the initial sentence of a paragraph. In the following paragraph kami 'we' in the first sentence is both clause and sentence theme while kizang baryo nga paniedtohanan 'that (theme) barrio which was a lunch stop' is paragraph theme. In the second sentence doro 'there', ya makaen 'the food', and ya isdaq 'the fish' are all references to the paragraph theme. In the third and final sentence of the paragraph ya kanaming makaen 'our food' and kizaheq 'that (theme) place' are likewise references to the paragraph theme.

Kamhan	min-heneng	pen	kami	kizang	baryo	nga	paniedtohanan.
next	Sf-stopped	yet	we	theme.that	barrio	subp	lunch.atop

Piro	ya	makaen	doro	masarang	kamahal,	ya	manga	isdaq
but	tp	food	there	very	expensive	tp	pl	fish

mahal.	Na,	ya	kanaming	makaen	kizaheq	igoq
expensive	nim	tp	our.exc	food	theme.def.that	enough

lamang	nga	diri	kami	mapasmo.
just	subp	neg	we.exc	ill

'Next we stopped at that (theme) barrio which was a lunch stop. But the food there was very expensive, the fish were expensive. Our food at that (theme) place was just enough to keep us from becoming ill.'

Simple locatives (Sec. 2.91) and directional locatives (Sec. 2.92) are also used in the setting of a discourse to establish the location in relation to the present situation of the speaker and hearer. The locational setting may also be given in the form of an event.

Min-haring	si	Yeyeq	ka	toong	homay.
Sf-burn	tp	Uncle	ntp	emph.poss.his	rice.field

'Uncle was burning off his (emphatic possessor) rice field.'

8.2 DEVELOPMENT OF THEME IN NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

8.21 Theme-restriction pattern in narrative and folktale.

Becker's (1965) theme-restriction pattern for English paragraphs seems to reflect the natural way a Mamanwa introduces a participant as the theme in Narratives. Becker's formula includes Topic (i.e.

theme), Restriction, and Illustration (i.e. Body), whereas a Mamanwa narrative also includes final Terminus or Climax.

In the initial paragraph of a Narrative the theme of the discourse is stated in general terms in the first one or two sentences. In the next sentence the theme is restated in more specific terms. This restatement is what Becker calls 'restriction'. For example, in the first sentence of one narrative discourse the theme is the suitor. In the next sentence, which begins the restriction, the suitor is described as a mountaineer, and the name of the girl he is courting is given. In this second sentence the existential particle may is in the predicate position and is therefore functioning as a verb rather than as a thematic particle. In the third sentence the paragraph thematic time is restricted.

Am-panangog	hao	ka	may	nangasawa	kizang		bolan-a	nga
Sf-will.tell	I	ntp	thp	suitor	theme.that		month-id	subp
Honyo.	May	nangasawa	nga	taga		bobong	kan	Iska.
June	exis	suitor	subp	resident.of		mountain	ntp	(name)
Min-saka			iza	kizang		bolan-a.		
Sf-initiate.negotiations			he	theme.that		month-id		

'I will tell about a suitor (theme) last June (theme). There was a suitor, who was a mountaineer, desiring to marry Iska. He initiated marriage negotiations during that (theme) identified month.'

In the above paragraph hao 'I' in the first sentence is both clause and sentence theme, nangasawa 'suitor' is both paragraph and discourse theme, and kizang bolan-a 'that (theme) month' is also paragraph theme. In the second sentence nangasawa nga taga bobong 'suitor who was a mountaineer' is sentence theme and is a reference to the parsgraph and discourse theme. In the third sentence iza 'he' is clause and sentence theme and kizang bolan-a 'that (theme) month' is a reference to the paragraph theme.

If there are several characters or a group of people, they are introduced first as a group with the existential particle may. This fills the theme slot of the discourse. Then the sentence or sentences that follow fill the restriction slot and specify the individuals making up the group. In the following example a parallel sentence fills the restriction slot.

Kawandini	pen	may	magsoon	nga	tolong	ka	tao.	May	
long.ago	exis	relatives		subp	three	subp	person	exis	
isang	babazi,	may	dowang	amaama.					
one	girl	exis	two	boy					

'Long ago there were three relatives. There was one girl and

two boys.'

8.22 Switch of subject focus to object focus in a folktale.

The theme of a folktale may be developed by using subject focus to introduce the thematic participant, and then switching to object focus to furhter develop the theme. In the following example the girl, who is the theme of the folktale, is introduced in the initial sentence as the topic (subject focus) of the main verb. Then she (object focus) is seen by a fairy (subject non-focus). Throughout the paragraph the fairy, who is the paragraph theme, is in the Subject role, while the girl, who is the discourse theme, is in the Object role.

May	isang aldew	naga-panawpanaw	ya babazi	dizan	ka	dao.		
once.upon.a.time		Sf-walking.about	tp girl	there	ntp	balete		
Kamhan	na-kit-an	iza	na	inkanto	nga	naga-helaq	dizan	ka
next	St-seen-Rf	she	ntp	fairy	subp	Sf-living	there	ntp
dao.	Kamhan	na-ayk-an	iza	na	inkanto.	Na,		
balete	next	St-liked-Rf	she	ntp	fairy	after.a.time		
in-dara	di	ya babazi	ngandalem	ka	helaq	niran.		
Of-taken	cmp	tp girl	inside	ntp	house	their		

'Once upon a time a girl was walking about by a balete tree. Next, she was seen by a fairy who lived in the balete tree. Next, she was liked by the fairy. After a time (he) took the girl inside their house.'

In the next paragraph the girl's mother is in Subject role while the girl remains in Object role.

8.23 Repetition of sentence theme in background information of narratives and folktales.

In background information in Mamanwa Narratives and Folktales a thematic sentence initial noun phrase may be repeated sentence finally. Repetition of a topic noun phrase in background information marks the end of a paragraph, with the following paragraph having a different theme. The following example is from a text in which the narrator is telling about a man and woman who are making a new field. After felling the trees and burning off the underbrush they await the rainy season and then plant the new field. This excerpt is background information about the limits of their new farm and the sentence initial topic noun phrase is repeated. A new paragraph immediately follows this background information. (See also Sec. 8.5 for a second example of the repetition of a topic noun phrase in background information of a narrative.)

Na,	ya eley	na	tanem	niran,	tagsang	ka	mitros	ya	
nim	tp boundary	ntp	plant	their	one	ntp	meter	tp	

eley na toboan na tanem.
boundary ntp growing ntp plant
'The boundsry of their plants, one meter the boundary of the growing of their plants.'

8.3 REFERENCE

The reference system in Mamanwa is basic to theme throughout the discourse. Topic noun phrases and accompanying pronominal reference, time noun phrases, locative noun phrases, and the referent particle sa in dialogue sections of narratives are used for purposes of continuity throughout the discourse.

8.31 Topic noun phrases and accompanying pronominal reference.

The narrative about the suitor in 8.21 will be used to illustrate how noun phrases and accompanying pronominal reference maintain the identity of the msin participants as the narrative progresses. The sequence of topic noun phrases that identify the suitor in the first three sentences of the text are already shown in the previous section. In sentence 4 the father of Iaka is introduced by the phrase ya ama 'the father'. This same phrase is repeated in sentence 5 in which the father initiates the conversation about the bride price. The father's direct quote sentence continues through sentence 6. In sentence 7 the suitor answers the father and is referred to as ya amaama nga nangasawa 'the boy who was the suitor'. Seotence 8 opens with a time margin and the suitor is referred to as iza 'he'. In sentence 9 he initiates the conversation with the father and is referred to as ya nangasawa 'the suitor'. When the father answers in sentence 10 he is identified as ya ama ni Iska nga si Tegi 'Iska's father, Tegi'. In sentence 11 the suitor speaks his final word and is referred to as ya amaama 'the boy'.

The suitor, the discourse theme, is the paragraph theme for the first paragraph (i.e. sentences 1 to 3) and is the subject in all three sentences. The father is introduced as new paragraph theme in sentence 4 and is referred to in the same way in sentences 5 and 6.

In the dialogue paragraph of sentences 4 through 7 the father and the boy are both paragraph themes and are both introduced with ya. In the following paragraph of aentences 8 through 11 the boy and the father are again both paragraph themes marked by iza and ya.

8.32 Referent particle sa.

In the dialogue sections of narrative discourse the referent particle sa points back to the situation which has given rise to the dialogue. In the following example sa refers to the time previous to the dialogue when the kingfishers went off leaving their young unattended, and a blackbird stole the young. In the first and fifth instances of sa below, there is a quotation of a previous speech or thought; in the third and fourth instances there is

reference to a previous action; and in the second instance there is discussion of future action in the light of a past event.

Mag-laong	ya	inaq	nga	daw	waraq	sa	hao	mag-laong	nga
Sf-said	tp	mother	dqp	intr	neg	ref	I	Sf-said	iqp

diri	kita	mag-tibeq	pagpanaw,	mag-silisili	kita?
neg	we.inc	Sf-together	leave	Sf-take.turns	we.inc

Daw	mag-onoono	pen	sa	kita	ka	anak	ta	nga
intr	Sf-what	yet	ref	we.inc	ntp	young	our	subp

in-kawaq	di	sa	na	owak?
Of-taken	cmp	ref	ntp	blackbird

'The mother kingfisher said, "Didn't I say that we shouldn't leave the nest together, but take turns leaving? What shall we do about our young that have been taken by the blackbird?"'

Min-sambag	ya	bana	nga	onhon	pen	min-iba	sa	hao	kay
Sf-answered	tp	husband	dqp	how	yet	Sf-with	ref	I	bec

silaong	sa	nao	kon	waray	maka-sibol	ka	anak
mistaken.thought	ref	I	that	neg	Sf-steal	ntp	young

ta.
our.inc

'The husband answered, "Why did I go with you? Because I mistakenly thought that there was nothing that could steal our young."'

The referent particle sa may also substitute for a participant which has been identified in the preceding sentence or clause. It frequently follows the completive aspect particle di or incompletive aspect particle pen in negated existential nonverbal clauses, in which it substitutes for the topic pronoun or phrase following the negative particle waraq. In the following example sa substitutes for the topic phrase ya anak 'the young of the kingfisher'.

Min-oliq	di	siran	ngaro	ka	kanirang	anak	dalem
Sf-went.home	cmp	they	there	ntp	their	young	inside

ka	anay.	T-em-engteng	pen	ya	inaq	ka	toong
ntp	termite nest	Sf-looking	yet	tp	mother	ntp	emph.poss.her

anak	waraq	di	sa.
young	neg	cmp	ref

'They returned home to their young inside the termite nest. As the mother was looking about yet for her young, they were gone.'

8.4 LINKING

The time and sequence margins of sentences are one means by which a Mamanwa discourse is linked together. This linking is a major cohesive device which provides continuity of action in narrative discourse, and continuity of sequence in procedural discourse

(Thurman, 1971).

The grammatical form of the linkage can be a gerundive construction (See Sec. 7.11 and 7.21 for discussion), a relator-axis sentence with kon 'whenever' as relator (Sec. 6.2), a derived succession sentence with ayhaq kon 'then and only then' as link between two activities (Sec. 5.12), or the temporal adjuncts kamhan 'then, next' and na 'after a time' in chronological sequence of events (Sec. 7.11).

8.5 INFORMATION STRUCTURE

In Halliday's (1967) analysis a theme in English tends to associate with a particular information structure, even though theme structure is independent of information structure. In English a theme usually appears clause initially as a separate information unit. The information structuring is shown by intonation, with intonational stress marking new information.

In Mamanwa the speaker may let the hearer know where new information is by the particle na. However, na is used with both cumulatively new and contrastively new information. Contrastively new information is marked by intonational stress on the penultimate syllable of the constituent following na. In the following example the speaker uses intonational stress on the third person plural pronoun siran to identify a new group of people in the context in contrast to one member of the group, whom he has explicitly described in the preceding two sentences.

Na,	SIRAN	nga	manga	tao	diri	maga-inaranihay
nim	THEY	subp	pl	person	neg	Sf-close.to.each.other

kon	mag-panhelaq.	Ya	eley	niran	ka	pangaroq
when	Sf-living	tp	boundary	their	ntp	distance

tagdowang	ka	kilomitro,	tagsang	ka	kilomitro,
sometimes.two	ntp	kilometer	sometimes.one	ntp	kilometer

ya	pangaaroq	niran.
tp	distance	their

'(Contrastively new information) They, who are the people, are not close together when living there. The distance of their boundary is sometimes two kilometers, sometimes one kilometer, their distance from each other.'

On the other hand, cumulatively new information is not marked with intonational stress and rather than being absolutely new information, it is relatively new, being added to that given in the previous context and surrounding situation. In the following example the speaker is informing the listener of two additional facts about his trip to bring his child home. These facts are new relative to the information given in the initial sentence of the paragraph. The given part of the information is recoverable anaphorically, as shown by the use of the

third person singular possessive pronoun naiza and non-topic pronoun kanangiza.

Ya	tozoq	o	doro	ka	Cantilang	min-apas	hao	ka
tp	purpose	my	there	ntp	(name)	Sf-overtake	I	ntp

kanaong	maanak	nga	si	Sirlita.	Na,	ya	pagpanaw
emph.poss.my	child	subp	tp	(name)	nĩm	tp	leaving

pen	naiza	Mayo.	Na,	ya	pag-apas	o	kanangiza	Siktimbri	di.
yet	her	May	nĩm	tp	overtake	my	her	September	cmp

'My purpose for going to Cantilang was to overtake my child, Sirlita. She left in May. My overtaking her was in September.'

In conclusion, the features of theme in discourse discussed in this chapter plus changes from event to background material, as well as changes from non-dialogue to dialogue material, are all influential in signalling the main sections and paragraphs within a discourse. Usually two or three of these changes are present at one time.

NOTES

Abbreviations and Symbols

[1] This is an attempt to follow the general use of "predicate" in the predicate calculus as an expression containing variables such that an assignment of values results in a statement. The term predication is reserved for predicates to which some or all of the values have been assigned.

[2] The notation (∃x)P(x)is not used here because of conflict with the definition of P(x)in this presentation.

Chapter 1. Phonology

[1] Hockettt (1955) has said concerning this: "In certain positions both phonemes of an archiphoneme occur, in contrast. In positions where the contrast is irrelevant, one does not say that what occurs is either one phoneme or the other, rather one says that it represents the archiphoneme, the contrast in that position being neutralized."

[2] Some would say that bringing in the level of morphology would exclude this analysis from phonemics, but sometimes there may be relevance between syllable and morpheme structure. Pike speaks of this view of language analysis as 'integration', and states further: "...the phoneme can only be defined, in this view, in reference to the fact that in some way it is related to morphemes, and the morpheme can only be defined in reference to the fact that it is in some way related to phonemes... '

Chapter 3. Affixation

[1] See Benjamin Elson and Velma Pickett, An Introduction to Morphology and Syntax 7, 75-6 (Santa Ana, 1962) where reference is made to Bloomfieldian and tagmemic definition of word.

[2] See Chapter 4 for the distribution of pronoun classes in clause-level slots.

[3] Several restrictions have been noted in the inflection of affix-derived stems.

[4] An included clause has no topic. See Section 4.52.

[5] This distinction is true in indicative active mode only. See 3.21.51.2.

[6] No accessory focus occurs when verbs are inflected for aspect II.

[7] See Chapter 4 where limitation of occurrence of focus affixes is described.

Chapter 4. Clauses

[1] Longacre suggests that some linguistic structures are layered while others are ordered like beads on a string. The string constituent analysis discovers and describes grammatical strings as well as the constituent substitution points within the strings. (String Constituent Analysis (1960).

[2] Bloomfield wrote that transient words fell into four classes according to the four relations which a subject might bear to them when they are used as predicate. McKaughan (1958) wrote that specific syntactic relations between the topic and the verb were indicated by certain morphemes included in the verb which he called voice marking affixes. Alan Healey (1958) calls these focus. Austin (1966) also refers to these as focus.

[3] Those verbs that can only be affixed for Subject focus usually require the causative infix -pa-.

[4] There is no fixed order for the non-topic Accessory Instrument slot or the Referent slot.

[5] Some verb stems require an object slot and Accessory Instrument slot while others may only have these as optional slots.

[6] Only ya item has been observed to occur in the topic slot.

[7] There is some variation in the verb stem classes with some stems when they occur with the causative -pa- infix.

[8] Verstraelen describes nonverbal predicates filled by adjective phrases and noun phrases (both of which we include in descriptive predicate), and object phrases (equivalent to our possessive and directional predicates). (Some Elementary Data of the Mamanwa Language 1965).

Other studies give inventories similar to that described here, Myra L. Barnard, "Dibabawon Nonverbal Clauses", Beyer Anniversary Volume (1965), describes the following nonverbal clauses for Dibabawon: classificational and descriptive (both are Mamanwa descriptive), benefactive (Mamanwa possessive), locational (Mamanwa directional), existential and identificational (Mamanwa equational). Leonard E. Newell, "Independent Clause Types of Batad Ifugao", Oceanic Linguistics 3:187-8 (1964) describes the following for Ifugao: adjectival (Mamanwa descriptive), existential and equational (Mamanwa descriptive and equational). Ernesto Constantino, "The Sentence Patterns of Twenty-Six Philippine Languages," Lingua 15:88-94 (1965) describes the following for general Philippine: adjectival and nominal (both are Mamanwa descriptive) and particulate (Mamanwa direction, possessive, and existential). Constantino's kernel definite sentences are equivalent to what we have described as equational

[9] See Jannette Forster "Dual Structure of Dibabawon Verbal Clauses" 1964.

[10] When these directional predicates occur with Accessory focus they become conveysnce predicates.

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