MAMANWA MORPHOLOGY

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0. Introduction.
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2. Word Types.
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0. INTRODUCTION

A word in Mamanwa[1] 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.[2] 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[3] 'object focus' as in palit-en 'will buy it'. (A hyphen separates an affix from the stem.) 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.

1. STEM TYPES

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

1.1. Substitutes are relational stems which are words in the sense of

minimum free form. There are two kinds of substitutes: pronouns and directionals, e.g. hao *'I'*, iko *'you* sg*'*, ini *'this-in-hand'*, doro *'there-at-a-distance'*. 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.[4] Pronouns show person and number contrasts; directionals show distance contrast. A more detailed description of substitutes is left for a study of phrases.

1.2. Uninflectable stems are marking particles and adjuncts.

1.21. Marking particles are relationals of three kinds: coordinating, subordinating, and case-marking.

1.21.1. Coordinating particles link immediate constituents in a co-ordinate relationship: daw *'and'*, piro *'but'*, kay *'because'*, kon *'or'*, hasta *'and then'*.

EXAMPLES:

si Ana daw si Nati ani ya iba nao (Tp *Ana and* Tp *Nati* Spc Tp *companion my*)[5] *'Ana and Nati are my companions.'*

am-#-panaw kami kontana kazina piro may #-m-aga-pa-tambal (S-Nb-*go we/excl* Opt *awhile/ago but there/was* S-Nb-Cv-C-*medicine*) *'We would have gone awhile ago, but someone wanted medicine.'*

ang-#-karo kami ka Cabadbaran kay #-palit-en ya begas (S-Nb-*go we/excl* Op *Cadadbaran because* Nb-*buy*-O Tp *rice*) *'We will go to Cadadbaran because we will buy rice.'*

dakolaq kon geramay ya t-in-adtad mo (*large or small* Tp *that/chopped/ thing your*) *'Did you chop it into large or small pieces?'*

#-begket-en niran hasta #-bonal-an niran ya baroy (Nb-*bundle*-O *they and/ then* Nb-*pound*-R *they* Tp *leaf*) *'They bundle and then they pound the leaf.'*

1.21.2. Subordinate particles (Sub) link modifiers to head words or phrases in an attributive relation: nga *'which'* and nga ka (attribution in a number phrase).

EXAMPLES:

am-#-beles hao ka palanggana nga dakolaq (S-Nb-*borrow I* Op *basin* Sub *large*) *'I will borrow the basin, which is big.'*

opat nga ka gantang ani ya p-in-alit niran kahabi (*four* Sub *measure* Spc Tp *that/bought/thing they yesterday*) *'Four measures was the amount they bought yesterday.'*

If the word which precedes nga ka (attribution in a number phrase)
ends in a vowel, the nga of nga ka undergoes the loss of a, and ng be-
comes a clitic on the word which precedes it, e.g. isang ka gantang
'one measure'.

1.21.3. Case-marking particles show the construction which they intro-
duce to be substantival and related in case-like ways to other elements
of the sentence. These substantival phrases are of two types: non-
personal, marked by ya, na, and ka; and personal, marked by si, ni, and
kan. ya and si mark topic case **(Tp)**, indicating that the phrase is the
focus complement of the verb. na and ni mark source case **(Sp)**,[6] indi-
cating that the phrase is the subject of a clause or possessor in a
phrase. ka and kan mark oblique case **(Op)**,[7] indicating that the phrase
is non-topic and non-subject in the clause. A more detailed description
of the case-marking particles is left for a study of phrases.

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

1.22.1. Aspectual adjuncts

   Time: koman *'now'*, kahabi *'yesterday'*, konsilem *'tomorrow'*, kazina
'awhile ago', kayqan *'later'*, kaan *'soon'*, dazon *'immediately'*.

   Limitation: pen *'incomplete'*, di *'complete'*, lamang *'just'*, ka
'only', hangted *'until'*, keteb *'to the point of'*, sokad *'since'*.

   Emphasis (Emp): 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 (**Neg Emp Tp** *food our/excl*) *'We have no food
   at all.'*

agad hao (*also/***Emp** *I*) *'Also me.'*

kanao nganig (*mine here/***Emp**) *'This is mine here.'*

kanmo ngaroq (*your there/***Emp**) *'That is yours there.'*

basta waraq di kay #-m-aka-bathay hao ka tebaq (*therefore/***Emp** *complete
   ***S-Nb-Ab**-*carry/over/shoulder I* **Op** *palm/toddy*) *'Therefore I was not
   able to carry the palm toddy over my shoulder.'*

   Specifier (Spc): ani *'specifier'*. EXAMPLE: ya manga magazon ani
kanao (**Tp pl** *good/one* **Spc** *mine*) *'The good ones are mine.'* When ani is
followed by pen, di, or kay the resultant expressions are different from

the sum of their parts, e.g. ani pen = *'the first time'*, ani di = *'then'*, ani kay = *'the only one'*.

Repetition: pagqisab *'again'*, pirmi *'always'*, teedteed *'always'*.
EXAMPLES:
tambal-an mo hao pagqisab (*medicine-T you me again*) *'You medicine me again.'*

pirmi gazed magqoran (*always Emp rain*) *'It is always raining'*.

Optative (Opt): kontana *'indicates strong desire'*. EXAMPLE:
am-#-palit kami kontana ka gas (*S-Nb-buy we/excl Opt Op kerosene*) *'We want to buy kerosene.'*

Degree of certainty: balitaw, lagbey, and matood are used as response statements to indicate certainty; basi *'maybe'* as in 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 there/is money your*) *'It is possible if you have the money.'*

Existential: may *'there is'* as in basi may lomon mo daza ka mayaq (*maybe there/is relative your up Op Mayag*) *'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.'*

1.22.2. Modal adjuncts

Quotative (Quot): koni indicates that a statement has been made by someone other than the speaker, as in nabahaw di koni (*well complete Quot*) *'It is said that he is well now.'* nga is a quotative particle which precedes what is spoken, as in m-in-laong iza nga diri hao (*S-B-say he Quot Neg I*) *'He said, "It wasn't me."'*

Interrogative (Int): daw and kon indicate a question. kon an-#-init hao ka sapaq (*Int S-Nb-heat I Op water*) *'Shall I heat the water?'*

Negative (Neg): waraq *'none'* and diri *'not'*. waraq di ya makaen nami (*Neg complete Tp food our/excl*) *'We have no food now.'* diri siran #-m-aka-panaw (*Neg they S-Nb-Ab-go*) *'They are not able to go.'*

Hortative: naa *'advisable'*. m-ag-senqad ko naa kiton (*S-Imp-cook you advisable that*) *'It is advisable that you cook that.'*

1.22.3. Other adjuncts are **surprise**, **referent**, and **number**.

Exclamatory: bazaq and ambazaq show surprise, the latter because of an unfulfilled condition. daked sa bazaq (*up Rf surprise*) *'It's up there!'* ambazaq kay waraq sa (*surprise because* Neg Rf) *'I was surprised because it was not there.'*

Referent (Rf): sa and hinoa refer to a preceding statement. masakit pen hinoa (*painful incomplete* Rf) *'It is painful yet.'* The referent particle sa is sometimes preceded by completive particle di, limitation particle ka, or incompletive particle pen. minqoran di sa *'It is still raining'*; daza ka sa *'He is upriver yet'*; waraq pen sa *'There are none yet.'*

Number: manga pluralises the word it modifies. manga kamahan (pl *monkey*) *'monkeys'*.

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

1.31. 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'*.

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

1.32.1. 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'*; olitao *'young unmarried man'* from oliq *'to return to the place from which one started'* and tao *'person'*.

1.32.2. Contentive affix-derived stems are inflectable,[8] 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-.

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

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

-ay   indicates *'diminution in size'*: lagkaway *'small house'* from lagkaw *'house'* and -ay; amaamaay *'small boy'* from amaama *'boy'* and -ay.

When -ay co-occurs with the secondary distribution of certain
verbal inflectional affixes the resultant form indicates *'per-
former 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.

2. WORD TYPES

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

2.1. Verbs

Forms that are marked for aspect, mode, and focus are verbs. They
function as predicators of clauses, either independent or included with-
in a phrase.[9] In the following example the verb in parentheses is the
predicate of a clause included within a phrase: n-a-kit-an nami ya
(n-a-manik) (B-St-*see*-R *we/excl* Tp B-D-*climb*) *'We saw the ones who were
climbing.'* In the following example the verb in parentheses is the pre-
dicate of an independent clause: (m-aga-hinang-en) niran ya laqkaw (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
X and Y are conditioned variants of the same system, showing the inter-
section of the dimensions of focus and aspect I.[10] The affixes of
chart Y occur with aspect II affixes; the affixes of chart X do not oc-
cur with aspect II affixes.[11]

ASPECT I

		Nb	B
	S	an-#-...	m-in-...
	O	#-...-en	in-...-#
FOCUS	R	#-...-an	in-...-an
	A	i-#-...	#-in-...

CHART X

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

In column **Nb** of chart X 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 Y. In column B of
chart X 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
	S	#-m-...	#-n-...
	O	m-...-en	n-...-en
FOCUS	R	m-...-an	n-...-an
	A	___ 12	___

CHART Y

Aspect I and focus affixes which occur with aspect II affixes

In chart Y 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.

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

2.11.1. 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. Ac-
tion-not-begun has allomorphs 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* Op *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 Op *chicken*) '*I will buy the*

chicken.' #-òran-en kita (Nb-*rain*-O *we/incl*) *'We'll be rained on.'*
#-tambal-an ta ko (Nb-*medicine*-R *we/incl you*) *'I will medicine you.'*
i-#-dohol mo ya lodzoq (A-Nb-*hand/over you* Tp *bolo*) *'You hand over
the bolo.'*

2.11.2. 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 complete* Tp *relative our/excl*)
'Our relative has arrived now.' in-hinang-# nao ya lagkaw (B-*make*-O
I Tp *house*) *'I made the house.'* in-ekt-an nalza ya idoq (B-*tie*-R *he*
Tp *dog*) *'He tied the dog.'* #-in-haplas nalza ya tambal ka tohod (A-B-
rub he Tp *medicine* Op *knee*) *'He rubbed the medicine on the knee.'*

 Allomorph n- occurs with affixes denoting subject, object, and refer-
ent focus and aspect II. #-n-aga-dara siran ka lanot (S-B-Cv-*bring they*
Op *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/two* Op *leaf*) *'We pounded the leaf to-
gether.'*

2.12. 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.

 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* Op *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/excl* Sp *mother Gitay awhile ago*)
'Mother Gitay was causing us to eat awhile ago.' n-aga-hinang-an nami
ya bingka (B-Cv-*make*-R *we/excl* Tp *cake*) *'We are making a cake.'*

 Ability indicates 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-tindeq
(**Neg** *incomplete 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.'

Simultaneous action indicates that two or more persons are perform-
ing 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/excl* Sp *Melina
tomorrow*) '*Melina and I will weed together tomorrow.*' #-n-amag-ka-
kita kami ni Julian dilod ka Paypay (S-B-Si-St-*see we/excl* Sp *Julian
down* Op *Paypay*) '*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.*'

2.13. Focus directs attention to the topic substantive of a verbal
clause. The topic substantive is either a topic case-marked phrase or
a pronoun inflected for topic case. (See 1.1. and 1.21.3.) A class of
focus affixes in the verb specifies whether the topic is subject, ob-
ject, referent, or accessory of the clause.[13]

2.13.1. Subject focus indicates that the subject is the topic or focus
complement of the clause, i.e. is performing the action of a non-causat-
ive 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 (S-Nb-*cook incomplete I* Op *rice*) '*I will cook the rice yet.*'
am-#-panaw di kami (S-Nb-*go complete we/excl*) '*We're going to go now.*'
tagad naa kay am-#-bado pan hao (*wait advisable because* S-Nb-*dress in-
complete 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 (S-B-
pass/by they awhile/ago) '*They passed by awhile ago.*' m-ing-karini si
Eyeg kahabi kay in-hilant-an iza (S-B-*come/here* Tp *Eyeg yesterday be-
cause* 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* Quot Nb-
St-*follow complete* Tp *Alaw*) '*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* Op *mat*) '*She is going to
make a mat.*' #-n-aka-tekeb ya piyaq ka ambaw (S-B-Ab-*catch* Tp *cat* Op
rat) '*The cat can catch the rat.*' #-n-amag-ka-kita siran dilod (S-B-
Si-St-*see they downriver*) '*They saw each other downriver.*'

2.13.2. 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-caus-
ative clause. Object focus has the allomorphs -en and -#.

Allomorph -en occurs with affixes denoting action-not-begun aspect

and aspect II. #-oran-en kita (Nb-*rain*-O *we/two*) *'We'll be rained on.*
m-aga-hinang-en naiza ya balatik (Nb-Cv-*make*-O *he* Tp *pig/trap*) *'He is
going to make the 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/two* Tp *abaca tomorrow*) *'We will
separate the abaca together tomorrow.'*

Allomorph -# occurs with affixes denoting action-begun, but does not
occur with affixes denoting aspect II. in-oran-# kita (B-*rain*-O *we/
two*) *'We were rained on.'* im-pa-tahi-# ni Pitoy ya toong sarowar
(B-C-*sew*-O Sp *Pitoy* Tp *his trousers*) *'Pitoy caused his trousers to be
sewn.'* im-patay-# nao ya manok (B-*kill*-O *I* Tp *chicken*) *'I killed the
chicken.'*

2.13.3. 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 (Nb-*tie*-R *you* Tp *dog*) *'You tie the dog.'* im-bantaz-an ni
Tanyong ya manga bataq kazina (B-*watch*-R Op *Tanyong* 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* Op *Mam* Op *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
together.'*

2.13.4. 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* Op *knee*) *'You rub the medicine on the knee.'*
i-#-bahoq mo si Mam ka baboy (A-Nb-*feed you* Tp *Mam* Op *pig*) *'You feed
the pig for Mam.'* i-#-pa-dara mo hao ka soyat konsilem (A-Nb-C-*send
you I* Op *letter tomorrow*) *'You cause the letter to be sent for me to-
morrow.'*

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 nalza
ining panaptan ka olat nao (A-B-*bandage he this material* Op *wound my*)
'He bandaged my wound with the cloth.' #-im-basa naiza hao ka libro
(A-B-*read he I* Op *book*) *'He read the book for me.'*

2.14. 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, re-
flexive, and reciprocal.

2.14.1. 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
(S-Nb-D-*gather/firewood I*) '*I will gather firewood.*' im-pan-hayhay-#
ni Lucia ya manga badoq (B-D-*hand/to/dry*-O Sp *Lucia* Tp pl *clothes*)
'*Lucia hung the clothes to dry.*' #-im-pam-aylo niran ya lagos ka makaen
(A-B-D-*trade they* Tp *rattan* Op *food*) '*They traded rattan for food.*'
m-im-pang-awaq di siran ka begas, tebaq, daw baboy (S-B-D-*got complete
they* Op *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* Op pl *bolo*) '*They are going to hold the knives.*'
#-n-ang-aen siran ka baay (S-B-D-*eat they* Op *wild/root*) '*They ate the
wild root.*' #-m-ang-away siran (S-Nb-D-*fight they*) '*They are going to
fight.*' #-n-am-alit siran ka begas (S-B-D-*buy they* Op *rice*) '*They
bought 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* Op
frame/for/slicing wild/root) '*They will make many frames for slicing
wild root.*' #-m-anga-sili siran (S-Nb-pl-*catch/eel they*) '*They are
going to catch eels.*' #-n-anga-bahaw di ya olat (S-B-pl-*well complete
Tp sore*) '*The sores are healed now.*' #-panga-torog kamo (S-pl-*sleep
you/pl*) '*All of you go to sleep!*' #-panga-lapa-en niran ya boog koman
(Nb-pl-*butcher*-O *they* Tp *wild/pig now*) '*They will butcher the wild pigs
now.*'

2.14.2. 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* Op
child Op *peeling* Op *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* Sp *mother* Op *peeling* Op *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. pa-pa-kaw-en hao ni Mam ka balengkag (C-C-*get*-O I Sp *Mam* Op *pighair/necklace*) *'Mam is causing me to cause someone else to get her a pighair necklace.'*

2.14.3. 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/excl* Op pl *pup*) *'We were laughing a lot at the pups.'* im-pahi-bor̹al-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* Op *palm/toddy*) *'They drank much palm toddy.'*

2.14.4. Diminutive aspect indicates that less than the usual amount of action is taking place. Diminutive aspect is marked by reduplication of the stem. #-n-aka-panawpanaw di ya nabedlay (S-B-Ab-Dim-*go complete* Tp *ill/person*) *'The ill person can walk about a little now.'* #-n-aga-laonglaong kami dilod agon nadelem kami (S-B-Cv-Dim-*say we/excl downriver therefore late we/excl*) *'We were talking a little downriver therefore we're late.'* in-hilot-hilot-# naiza ya toong tohod (B-Dim-*massage*-O *he* Tp *his knee*) *'He massaged his knee a little.'*

2.14.5. Repetitive aspect indicates that an action is repeated, but not in the distributive sense as described in 2.14.1. Repetitive aspect is marked by the morpheme -in- in its secondary distribution, which contrasts with the primary distribution of -in- *'action-begun'* (see 2.11.2.) by manifesting a non-fixed order of occurrence. #-m-aga-k-in-aro kami ka Cabadbaran (S-Nb-Cv-*go*-Rep *we/excl* Op *Cabadbaran*) *'We go repeatedly to Cabadbaran.'* #-m-in-aga-karo kami ka Cabadbaran (S-Nb-Rep-Cv-*go we/excl* Op *Cabadbaran*) *'We go repeatedly to Cabadbaran.'* #-m-aga-pa-h-in-inang siran ka kazas (S-Nb-Cv-C-*make*-Rep *they* Op *frame/for/slicing wild/root*) *'They will cause the frames for slicing wild root to be made repeatedly.'* #-m-in-aga-pa-hinang siran ka kazas (S-Nb-Rep-Cv-*make they* Op *frame/for/slicing wild/root*) *'They will cause the frames for slicing wild root to be made repeatedly.'*

2.14.6. Reflexive aspect indicates that the actor or acting agent causes the object, which may be himself, to be in a certain state or to perform an action. Reflexive aspect is marked by the affix paka-. #-m-aga-paka-ohaw ining asin kanao (S-Nb-Cv-Ref-*thirst this salt me*) *'This salt will make me thirsty.'* #-m-aka-paka-daob di ining bataq (S-Nb-Ab-Ref-*prone complete this child*) *'This child can turn himself over now.'* am-#-paka-hagdam kami kan Lucia (S-Nb-Ref-*know we/excl* Op *Lucia*) *'We will inform Lucia.'* m-aga-paka-hagdam-en nami si Lucia (Nb-Cv-Ref-*know*-O *we/excl* Tp *Lucia*) *'We will be informing Lucia.'*

2.14.7. 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 is marked by kig-, which is always preceded by pa-. am-#-pa-kig-oliq si Wili ka toong inaq (S-Nb-C-Rec-*return/home* Tp *Wili* Op *his mother*) *'Wili is urging his mother to return home.'* m-im-pa-kig-away siran kanao (S-B-C-Rec-*fight they me*) *'They are picking a fight with me.'* #-m-aga-pa-kig-laong si Daday kanao (S-Nb-Cv-C-Rec-*say* Tp *Daday me*) *'Daday is trying to make me talk to her.'*

2.15. 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* sg*'* 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 (S-Imp-*plant you/pl* Op *camote*) *'You all plant the camote.'* #-m-aga-tanem siran ka bozag (S-Nb-Cv-*plant they* Op *camote*) *'They are going to plant the camote.'*

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

2.15.11. 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* Op *broom*) *'The cat is being frightened by the broom.'* n-aga-#-lomba-an kami na idoq (B-Cv-St-*race*-R *we/excl* Sp *dog*) *'We are being raced by the dog.'* Stative mode has allomorphs -ka-, -#-, and -a-.

Allomorph -ka- occurs with affixes denoting subject focus and aspect II. #-m-aga-ka-bahaw ya olat ka tambal (S-Nb-Cv-St-*well* Tp *sore* Op *medicine*) *'The sore will be made well by the medicine.'* #-n-aka-ka-onga di ya pitromak ka kararing (S-B-Ab-St-*bad complete* Tp *lantern* Op *rust*) *'The lantern was in bad condition from the rust.'*

Allomorph -#- occurs with affixes denoting referent focus and aspect II. m-aga-#-silot-an siran ka pisi (Nb-Cv-St-*punish*-R *they* Op *police*) *'They are going to be punished by the police.'* m-aga-#-tambal-an pen kami ni Mam (Nb-Cv-St-*medicine*-R *incomplete we/excl* Sp *Mam*) *'We are going to be treated yet by Mam.'* n-aga-#-hapdes-an ya

kanaong soroqsoroq ka bowahan (B-Cv-St-*burn*-R Tp *my stomach* Op *lansoni/
fruit*) *'My stomach is being burned by the lansoni fruit.'*

Allomorph -a- occurs with the affixes of chart Y which denote subject
and referent focus, but does not occur with affixes denoting aspect II.
#-m-a-tigbas ya dedeq ka lodzoq (S-Nb-St-*cut* Tp *pup* Op *bolo*) *'The pup
will be cut by the bolo.'* #-n-a-belad ya bataq ka sega (S-B-St-*ex-
hausted* Tp *child* Op *sun*) *'The child was exhausted by the sun.'* n-a-
balatik-an ya kanding ka Tawwe (B-St-*trap*-R Tp *goat* Op *Visayan*) *'The
goat was trapped by the Visayan.'* m-a-bar-han iton manok ka lepes
(Nb-St-*injure*-R *that chicken* Op *rope*) *'That chicken will be injured by
the rope.'*

2.15.12. The indicative active mode is nonstative and is marked by an
absence of the stative mode markers. It represents the subject as per-
forming 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* Op *blossoms up* Op *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.'*

2.15.2. The imperative mode indicates an urgent command or some condi-
tion 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 Ø 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 (S-Imp-*cook
you* Op *camote*) *'You cook the camote!'* Ø-tabang ko kanao (Imp-*help you
me*) *'You help me!'* p-ag-pahid-en mo ya baqbaq mo (Imp-*wipe*-O *you* Tp
mouth your) *'You wipe your mouth!'* dawat-a mo ya soyat (*receive*-O *you*
Tp *letter*) *'You receive the letter!'* p-ag-hawid-an mo ya bolo (Imp-
hold-R *you* Tp *bamboo/pole*) *'You hold the bamboo pole!'* hawid-i mo
iton (*hold*-R *you that*) *'You hold 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 *Badang* Op *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

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(S-Imp-*make*-Rep *you* Op *rat/trap*) *'You repeatedly make the rat traps!'*

2.2. 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 fre-
quently as simple stems. Some descriptives are: pangotana *'question'*
mapait *'bitter'*, pagpakakita *'sight'*, balagen *'vine'*, kapait *'bitter-
ness'*, 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 (Nb-*get*-O *you* Tp *red/one*) *'You get the red one.'*

malised ya kahimtang naiza kay wara-y pagpakakita naiza (*difficult* Tp
 condition his because Neg-Tp *sight his*) *'His condition is difficult
 because he has no sight.'*

nabogtoq di bazaq ya balagen (*snapped/in/two complete surprise* Tp *vine*)
 'The vine has snapped in two now!'

3. MORPHOPHONEMIC ALTERNATION

We discuss morphophonemic change both within a word and across word
boundaries.[14] Asterisk (*) indicates a nonterminal string.

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

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

3.11.1. 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;

in- + pokaw *'to awaken'* → impokaw; an- + kaen *'to eat'* → angkaen; in- + gazon *'to repair'* → inggazon.

3.11.2. 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- + qoliq *'to return'* → pangoliq; paN- + gabok *'to fetch firewood'* → panggabok.

3.12. When -an *'referent focus'* and -en *'object focus'* occur with stems, five types of morphophonemic alternation take place.

3.12.1. 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 + -en → *potoson.

3.12.2. 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.

3.12.3. Word final y changes to z.[15]

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

3.12.4. 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.

3.12.41. Lenis vowel in the last syllable drops.

kilala *'to recognise'* + -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.

3.12.42. 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.

3.12.43. 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; *potoson *'to wrap'* → *potson.

   Occasionally alternation is seen in stems ending with the above consonants, but preceded by i or a. lanit *'to tear off'* + -en → lanten; lipat *'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'* -0→ sobhon.

3.12.5. Some of the consonant clusters formed as a result of vowel loss (3.12.4.) change.

3.12.51. -rh- becomes -dh- in one instance; -zC- becomes -yC-.[16] C = any stop. *darhen *'to bring'* → dadhen; *sazdan *'to know'* → saydan; *sazpan *'to err'* → saypan.

3.12.52. By methasis, -qC- becomes -Cq-; -ts- becomes -st- in one insstance. *daqbon *'to lie prone'* → dabqon; *heqman *'to soak'* → hemqan; *potson *'to wrap'* → poston.

3.2. 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 dadhen moy manga idoq *'You will bring the dogs.'*
waro iton ya tao or waro itoy tao *'That person is over there.'*
pira ya makaen niran or piray makaen niran *'How much was their food?'*
dakolaq ya oran daza or dakolay oran daza *'It rained hard upriver.'*
waraq ya tirmino niran or waray tirmino niran *'They have no set date.'*
waraq pen ya sega or waraq pey sega *'There is no sun yet.'*

waton ya tao or watoy tao *'That is someone nearby.'*
waraq di ya makaen niran or waraq di makaen niran *'They have no food
now.'*

N O T E S

1. The Mamanwa language is spoken by an estimated 1000 negritos resid-
ing in the northeastern area of Mindanao, Philippines, in Agusan and
Surigao provinces. The Mamanwas residing around Lake Mainit are called
"conquistas". There are two dialects of Mamanwa, "Zezeqan" being
spoken in the more remote areas. The data presented in this paper were
gathered in sitio Pangaylan during field trips made between 1958 and
1964 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The
analysis is based on data obtained from many Mamanwa speakers, but those
who assisted most were Lucia Amosway and Julian Porogoy, both of sitio
Pangaylan. The author is indebted to Kenneth Pike, Elmer Wolfenden,
David Thomas, Richard Elkins, and Richard Roe of the Summer Institute of
Linguistics for their help in the analysis and presentation of these
materials.

   Since completion of this study, Eugene Verstraelen, "Some Elementary
Data of the Mamanwa Language", *Anthropos* 60:803-15 (1965) has come to
our attention. We note several interesting parallels between Verstraelen's
sketch and our work, as well as the introduction his article provides to
phrase structure.

2. See Benjamin Elson and Velma Pickett, *An Introduction to Morphology
and Syntax* 7:75-6 (Santa Ana, 1962) where reference is made to Bloom-
fieldian and tagmemic definition of word.

3. The inventory of Mamanwa phonemes consists of p, b, t, d, k, g, q
(glottal stop), h, s, z, m, n, ng, l, r, w, y, i, a, e, o. See Jeanne
and Helen Miller, "Mamanwa Phonemes and Orthography", *Philippine Social
Sciences and Humanities Review* (1964).

4. See Jeanne Miller, "The Role of Verb Stems in the Mamanwa Kernel
Verbal Clauses", *Oceanic Linguistics* 3:87-100 (1964) for the distribution
of pronoun classes in clause-level slots.

5. We use the following abbreviations and symbols:

CASE: **Tp** = topic case-marking particle; **Sp** = source case-marking'
particle; **Op** = oblique case-marking particle. NUMBER: **sg** = singular;
pl = plural; *excl* = exclusive. TYPES OF MORPHEMES: **#** = the zero shape
of a morpheme; **Sub** = subordinating particle; **Spc** = specific particle;
Opt = optative particle; **Neg** = negative particle; **Emp** = emphatic par-
ticle; **Rf** = referent modal adjunct; **Quot** = quotative particle; **Int** =
interrogative particle. ASPECT I: **Nb** = action-not-begun; **B** = action-
begun. ASPECT II: **Cv** = continuative aspect; **Ab** = ability aspect; **Si** =
simultaneous aspect. FOCUS: **S** = subject as actor in focus; **O** = object
focus; **R** = referent focus; **A** = accessory focus. ASPECT III: **D** = dis-
tributional aspect; **C** = causative aspect; **Au** = augmentative aspect;
Dim = diminutive aspect; **Rep** = repetitive aspect; **Ref** = reflexive as-
pect; **Rec** = reciprocal aspect. MODE: **St** = indicative stative mode;
Imp = imperative mode.

6. See Howard P. McKaughan, *The Inflection and Syntax of Maranao Verbs*
9 sec. 1.22.3. and 11 sec. 2.12. (Manila 1962) for discussion of case-
marking particles.

7. See Phyllis M. Healey, *An Agta Grammar* 41 sec. 4.0. (Manila 1960)
for use of the term *oblique*.

8. Several restrictions have been noted in the inflection of affix-
derived stems.

9. An included clause has no topic. See Jeanne Miller, "Mamanwa Depend-
ent Clauses", unpublished manuscript (February 1965).

10. See Kenneth L. Pike, "Dimensions of Grammatical Constructions",
Language 38:221-44 (1962).

11. This distinction is true in indicative active mode only. See
2.15.11.

12. No accessory focus occurs when verbs are inflected for aspect II.

13. See Jeanne Miller, 1964, where limitation of occurrence of focus
affixes is described.

14. Jeanne Miller did the analysis of changes across word boundaries.

15. See Doris Walker Blood, "The 'Y' Archiphoneme in Mamanwa",

Anthropological Linguistics 4:29-30 (April 1962).

16.   ibid.