LANGUAGE DATA

ASIAN-PACIFIC SERIES, NUMBER 8

MAMANWA GRAMMAR

Jeanne and Helén Miller
LANGUAGE DATA

Asian-Pacific Series No. 8
(Also published as Language Data Microfiche AP 8)

MAMANWA GRAMMAR

by

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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.

Editor-in-chief: Irvine Davis
Asian-Pacific Series: Phyllis Healey
                        David Thomas
African Series: Pamela Bendor-Samuel
Amerindian Series: Viola Waterhouse
Publisher: Benjamin Elson

Published 1976

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

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ISBN 0-88312-208-1
(also microfiche 0-88312-308-8)
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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 completeive 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 sim 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
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Npur  nonpurposeful aspect
O     object focus
R     referent focus
Rec   reciprocal aspect
Reflx 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

CLASSES

AccA  Accessory as item involved in the action
AccB  Accessory as beneficiary 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
Rloc  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
IndQP | Indirect Quote Formula
IndQsF | Indirect Question Formula
lk | link
MT | Mistaken 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
WagM | 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
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Exhor  Exhortation
Expo  Exposition
FIN  Finis
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 \( U \).
\( a, b, \ldots, n \)  Terms of predicates, always written immediately to the right of the predication containing them.
\( x, y \)  Further predicate terms with a special or temporal function.
\( a' \)  Synonym or situational equivalent of term \( a \).
\( a'' \)  Antonym or situational opposite of term \( a \).
\( E_{ab} \)  Equational predication. "term \( a \) is \( b \)"
\( P, Q, R \text{ (but not } U) \)  Predicates: If terms have been assigned to some or all of the variables to form an acceptable statement, the result 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.

\( \neg P \)  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:

\( \mathbb{P} \)  \( P \) denoting a non-punctiliar activity or state.
\( \mathbb{P} \)  \( P \) denoting a punctiliar event.
\( \mathbb{P}_{A}Q \)  \( P \) denoting a non-punctiliar activity or state which overlaps in time with a punctiliar event in \( Q \).
\[ P \supset Q \] If \( P \), then \( Q \).

\[ P_a \] \( P \) with first term (actor) \( a \).

\[ P_{ab} \] \( P \) with first term (actor) \( a \), and a subsequent term \( b \) which may or may not function as goal.

\[ P_a \land Q_b \] \( P \) 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.

\[ P_a \land Q_a \] \( P \) with first term (actor) \( a \), and \( Q \) with the same first term (actor) \( a \).

\[ P(a) \land P(b) \land \ldots \land P(n) \] Conjunction of \( n \) identical predications with nonidentical terms having the same function in each predication.

\[ P \beta \] Operator \( \beta \) changes the positive-negative value of \( P \) so that every predicate in the expression takes one of the two values. For example,

\[ [P \supset Q] \land P \land Q \]

means any one of the four possibilities:

\[ [P \supset Q] \land P \land Q, [P \supset Q] \land P \land \overline{Q}, \overline{P} \land Q, \text{ or } [P \supset Q] \land P \land \overline{Q}. \]

\[ P(a) \] \( P \) involving term \( a \) which has the same function as any other term or terms enclosed in parentheses in the same expression.

\[ P \lor Q \] \( P \) or \( Q \) or both (inclusive disjunction).

\[ P \oplus Q \] 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 \( \overline{P(U)} \land P(a) \), \( U \) has the same function in \( P \) as term \( a \) has in \( P \).

The following seven symbols occur with subscripts preposed to predicate symbols, distinct from the terms of the respective predications, 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.

∃P     Existential predication. "There is ________." 

t     Predicate term with a temporal function.

U     Universal set, such as the set of all people or all places.

U - a     Complement of set U - a.

∀a     Universal quantifier. "for every term a."

(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 ∨ (Q ∨ R)     The three expressions P ∨ P, P ∨ Q, and P ∨ R.
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

Mamaw 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 Mamaw, Surigaanon, Butuanon, Kamayo, and Tausug. Comparison of standard 372 word lists yields the following percentages of shared cognates with Mamaw: Surigaanon 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 Mamaw language area, shown on the map on page 6, is bordered on the north and east by Surigaanon, on the west by a mixed dialect of Surigaanon and Cebuano, on the southwest by Butuanon, and on the southeast by Bislig Kamayo.

Variations of the name Mamaw are Mamaw, Amamaw, Congking, and Conquista (Maceda, 1964). The term Conquista is used to refer to the Mamawas 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. Mamawas in Pangaylan refer to themselves as Mamaw and to their language as Minamaw.

0.2 GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

The Mamaw 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 Mamaw are difficult to obtain since the places where they live are accessible only by foot travel and the majority of the Mamawas 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 Minamawwa) 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 Bacuas 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, Kasagasan, 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. Carvan, 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 mamaw, derived from bandaw 'forest', thus 'people of the forest'. Mamawas, 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 Mamansas 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 Mamansaw language available to scholars and others interested in the language. Although Mamansaw 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 tagmemic as proposed by Pike (1954-60). Clause Section 4.1-5 uses Pike's expanded tagmeme and paradigm (Pike, 1963-6), while 4.6 is based on the theory of case grammar (Pillmore, 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 Inibaloii (Ballard, Conrad, and Longacre, 1971) to interclausal relations in Mamansaw 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 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 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

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


--- --- --- --- The Culture of the Mamanwa as compared with that of other Negritos of Southeast Asia. San Carlos Publication, Cebu City. 148 pp. 1964.


1 PHONOLOGY

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

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

1.1 SYLLABLES

The syllable patterns of Mamamwa 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.bág 'to answer', CV.CVC tá.nan 'all', CVC.CV kéł.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', ká.v.gan 'later', gá.was 'outside'. Since there are no vowel-initial words in Mamamwa, no vowel-initial syllables are posited.

1.2 CONSONANTS

The 17 consonants of Mamamwa are: voiceless and voiced stops and nasals occurring at bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation /p, t, k; b, d, g; m, n, η/; 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', gámpak 'wing', gám.bak 'toad', gátep 'roof', sággeh 'to get water'.
   t/d: tágad 'to wait', dé.gat 'sea', bá.tiq 'to hear', bá.dí 'knife', gál.át 'rattan basket', gál.ád 'fence'.
   k/g/q: ká.was 'jump down', gá.was 'outside', maka- (prefix) 'ability aspect', maga- (prefix) 'continuative aspect', há.wak 'waist', há.wag 'to call', kav 'because', gá.vga.y (exclamation), píkit 'to adhere to', págit 'bitter', gá.zoq 'to ask', gá.zoq 'friend'.
   h/q: há.las 'snake', gá.las 'o'clock', lá.hoŋ 'to carry on a pole', lá.goŋ 'to say', gá.poh 'grandmother', gá.roq 'far'.
   d/l/r: dí.pi 'across', lipát 'forget', bá.dí 'knife', baló.to
'dugout canoe', labád 'headache', támbal 'medicine', rípq 'dirty', báriq 'to break', gímbur 'drum'.

m/u/ŋ: mánap 'harmful animal', náery (direct address to mother), báre 'husband', bárey 'bite', mánaq 'insect', hágdam 'to know', gýrán 'rain', dáho 'leaf', láho 'to carry on a pole', ɲa (quotative particle, subordinating particle).

s/z: séggy 'aun', zéhyet 'angry', gásáwa 'wife', gásaw 'don't'.

y: vá (topic marker), bóyak 'flower', háhavy 'to hang to dry'.

w: wání (identificational particle), kátawa 'laugh', gábábaw 'shallow'.

/y/ is either flapped or trilled in all environments: [réppapa ~ réppapa] 'ankle', [bárey ~ bárey] 'a kind of long leafed plant', [gímbur ~ gímbur] 'drum'. /l/ and /r/ alternate freely word initially and medially: [líro ~ rílo] 'wristwatch', [dírek ~ dílek] 'armpit'.

/z/ has variants [z], [ɬ], and [ɣ]. [z] and [ɬ] are free variants: [zéhyet ~ zhéhyet] 'angry', [mezó ~ mézó] 'your(pl). When [ɬ] occurs it alternates freely with [z]: [míngaq ~ mínchéq] 'merry', [tawí ~ tawí] 'key', [pižága ~ piţiága] (type of fish). When [ɣ] does not vary to [z] it is interpreted as the sequence of /d/ and /z/: [bíyock] bidzog 'fish spear', [loýock] lodzog '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.zeg/ 'camote'; /pi.yaq/ 'cat', /pi.zen/ 'to close eyes'; /su.ye/ 'to write', /sa.ea/ 'skirt'; /ka.yee/ '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 archiphonemel, which we symbolize as Y in the following examples: [hay.huq] /hay.yuq/ 'face'; [kay.gan] /kay.gan/ 'later'; [ge.re.may] /ge.re.may/ 'small'; [seng.gay] /seng.gay/ '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.he.zen]. Here the affix system is involved. In this instance both the morphology and syllable structure are pertinent to the definituon of the archiphoneme. When suffixes of the shape -VC occur with word basea 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] /sengqaZen va bataq/ 'He will carry the baby on his shoulder'.

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

[ge.re.may] 'small' plus [-en] 'object focus' becomes [ge.re.ma.zen] /geremayen ini pagradad/ '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; /ʁ/ occurs only after /b/, /n/ occurs only after /г/ and /k/. bozaga'thoil', silhig 'broom', baligzag 'sell', bánwa 'forest', sábri 'open', tágneg 'mosquito', něáknek 'flea'. Consonant clusters tend to be homorganic. sódlay 'comb', lápkaw 'house', gombaflay 'neighbor'.

1.3 VOWELS

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

/i/ is a high, front, unrounded vocoid. silhig 'broom', kášíli 'eel', bítbit 'hand carry'. [i] alternates freely with [i] 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/. hágo 'I', tágo 'person', mapágoq 'hot', bálog 'possible if a condition is met', tángkoŋ 'green vegetable', girom 'nose', lósoŋ 'mortar for grinding rice', hógas 'to wash', hóbag 'swollen', homog 'to shell corn'.

/e/ is a high, open, central, unrounded vocoid. délem 'afternoon', dédéq 'pup', bédéd 'to wind, coil so as to encircle something'. A slightly lower variant has been observed before /g/, /n/, /d/, /k/, and /ʁ/. [básq] 'strong', [káqi]n 'eat', [sŋj]v 'like, as', [liti]k 'to pronounce', [gíkak] 'to play'. This has not been observed to contrast with [i] and occurs less frequently than [i].
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 /\/ has been noted falling on the ultimate and penultimate syllables: bahaw 'leftover food' and báhaw 'to be healed', tógod 'tree stump' and tógod 'purpose', sábét 'to understand' and sábet '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. nakapanaAwánaw iza kañabi 'he was able to walk about a little yesterday', ya banigbánig aní ya hininañ nañqo 'the small mat was that 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: /gálad/ alad 'fence', /págit/ paít 'bitter'; written with a hyphen following a consonant: /gipouán/ gip-osan 'youngest sibling', /dágoak/ dag-ok 'thunder'; when following a vowel, written as a grave accent over that vowel: /pišeq/ pise 'chick', /qídoq/ idó '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/ baráto 'cheap', /sábét/ sábet 'understand', and /sapáq/ sapó '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 idó. 'and the dog is helping.' daked ka hibong kaw-a na babazi. 'the woman got it up in the mountain.' ya ise nagasay-ong ka bozag. 'the other (woman) is carrying camote.' napatay di ya boog kay in-osi na idó. '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 níran. '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 Series 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). <lodzog> 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 <naining> 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), Base2 of an alternative sentence (Sec. 5.4), Activity2 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:manda +H: <lodzog> +Poss:<ni> + per name or common noun/<naini>/<nao>/<naining> + common noun

lodzog 'bolo-knife'

Lodzog iyi. 'This is a bolo-knife.'

bolo.knife this
Manga lodzog  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

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

Manga lodzog  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

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

Manga lodzog  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)'  no
'his, hers, its'  naiza
'ours(exc)'  nami
'ours(incl)'  nita ~ ta
'your(pl)'  mazo
'their'  niran

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

Manga lodzog  naiza  ani 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 Mamamwa text material.

Formula:
Ser NP = Sim NO\(^{\dagger}\) (daw + Sim NP)\(^{R}\)

manga embaw, manok, kamahan, mireq, manga katozog 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 a noun head. The topic marker tagmeme is manifested by topic particles <si> or by portmanteau marking in the topic demonstrative and personal pronouns. The noun head is filled by a simple noun phrase, serial noun phrase, topic demonstrative pronouns <ind>, 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).
NOUN PHRASES

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 mana Lodzoq  ni Tatoj  ani ini.
tp pl  bolo.knife of (name) eqp this
'The bolo-knives of Tatoj are what these are.'

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

Topic demonstrative pronouns may be either common or definite:
'this one, common'  ini
'this one, definite'  inheq
'that one, common'  iton
'that one, definite'  itonhoq

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

Thatag me  ini  kan Tatoj.  'You give this to Tatoj.'
give you this ntp (name)

Topic personal pronouns show person and number contrast:
'I'
'you(s)'  hao
'he, she, it'  iko ~ ko
'we(exc)'  liza
'we(incl)'  kami
'you(pl)'  kita
'they'  kamo
'they'  siran

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

Angaliq  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 va minkawat ka vais.
--- t.p D-climbing eqp t.p 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
classes, 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/Sex NP
Poss: <naining>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>topic</th>
<th>referent</th>
<th>possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'this, emphatic'</td>
<td>ining</td>
<td>kining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'that, emphatic'</td>
<td>itong</td>
<td>kitong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'that, theme'</td>
<td>izang</td>
<td>kizang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ining lodzoq ni Tatoy ani madazay.
this.emph bolo.knife of (name) eqp good
'This (emphatic) bolo-knife of Tatoy is the good one.'
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 a noun head. Nonpersonal topic and nontopic particles va/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:

Emphatic possessor personal pronouns are:

'my' kanaong
'your(s)' kamong
'his, hers, its' toong
'ours(exc)' kanaming
'ours(inc)' kantang
'yours(pl)' kamaizong
'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 (emphatic 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 va 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'  kana
'belongs to you(s)'  kamo
'belongs to him, her'  kanangiza
'belongs to us(exc)'  kanami
'belongs to us(inc)'  kante
'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 (same) 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.

2.7.1 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
NOUN PHRASES

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:<emem> +Subp:ngka +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 baggong lodzog nao ani ini.
tp pl new bolo.knife my eqp this
'My new bolo-knives are what these are.'

Iining manga baggong lodzog mahait di.
emph this pl new bolo.knife sharp cmp
'These (emphatic) new bolo-knives are sharp.'

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

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

Inkararingan di ining tolong bolos nga lodzog.
rusty cmp this.emph three ms subj 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 lodzog nga baggo.
belong.to.them this.emph pl bolo.knife subj good
'These (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 nso 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.cmph.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.exec 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:
\[ Ti \text{ NP } = ^{+Ti} \frac{<konsilem>}{<sokad>} \mathbf{\ddagger M_1; pen/di \ddagger M_2}; \text{ embedded clause} \]

The members of <konsilem> class are: konsilem 'tomorrow', kongisa 'day after tomorrow', koman 'now', kazina 'awhile ago', kaygan 'later', kaan 'soon', kahabi 'yesterday', isanghabhi '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

kaygan 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 NF = +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. *diniheg* '(definite) here at hand'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common</th>
<th>Definite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'here at hand'</td>
<td>dini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'there closeby'</td>
<td>dizan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'there distant'</td>
<td>dakoza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'there far distant'</td>
<td>doro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common</th>
<th>Definite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'here at this place'</td>
<td>dini kini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'there closeby at that place'</td>
<td>dizan kiton ~ diton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'there distant at that place'</td>
<td>dakoza kiton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'there far distant at that place'</td>
<td>doro kiton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'there closeby at that (theme) place'</td>
<td>dizan kiza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'there distant at that (theme) place'</td>
<td>dakoza kiza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'there far distant at that (theme) place'</td>
<td>doro kiza</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 (emphatic) house'
there.distant  at_that.emph  house

disan  ka  kanirang  lagkaw  'there closeby at their (emphatic possessor) house'
there.closeby  at_their.emph.poss  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  Simsimon  'on the other side at Simsimon'
on.the.other.side  ntp  (name)

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 ngerini kanao. 'Bring (it) to me here.'
Dadhen ngaro ka lagkeq. 'Take (it) there to the house.'

The motion locatives can combine with ngerini 'toward here'. In this combination ngerini undergoes the loss of final -i, and the resulting combination substitutes for the whole locative noun phrase formula, i.e. ngerindaked '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 menge 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 NP₁ = +Top mker: ya -H: # +M:may+<loidzoq>

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 nge plus a common noun follow the embedded possessor noun phrase. The topic particle ya is obligatory initially in this construction.

Formula:
Th Top NP₂ = +Top mker: ya +M:Sim poss NP +Subp: nge +M: <loidzoq>
Ya kan Taoy nga bataq ani nalaag.

 tp belongs.to (name)subp child eqq lost
 'The child of Taoy 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 thep 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 Taoy.
theme Saturday afternoon cmp Cv-walk tp (name)
'(Theme) It was on a Saturday afternoon that Taoy 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 affix₁. 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 relational or contentives. Bound relational 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 sentence². 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 relational 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 (attribute 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', kayqen 'later', kagan 'soon'.

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

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

Examples:
Warag gazed ya makaen nami. 'We indeed have no food.'
Neg emph Tp food our.exc

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

Kano nganig. 'This is mine here (emphatic).'
Mine here.emph

Kamo ngaroq. 'That is yours there (emphatic).'
Your there.emph

Basta warag di kay #-m-eka-bathay hao therefore.emph neg cmp S-Nb-Ab-carry.over.shoulder I
ka rebag.

Itp palm.toddy
'Therefore (emphatic) I was not able to carry the palm toddy over my shoulder.'
Repetition: paggisab 'again', pirmi 'always', reedreed 'always'.

Examples:
Tambal-an mo hao paggisab. '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: baliraw, lagbey, and matood are used as response statements to indicate certainty; basi 'maybe' is used to indicate uncertainty.

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

Possibility: balog 'possible if a condition is met', mahimog 'possible without meeting a condition'.

Example:
Balog 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 maze? '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 rap 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-sengad 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 incomplete particle pen.
Examples:
Mingoran di sa. 'It is still raining.'
raining cmp ref
Daza ka sa. '(He) is upperiver.'
upriver cmp ref
Waraq pen sa. '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: *toboompaas* 'thigh' from the stems *tobean* 'place of sprouting' and *paa* 'foot', *komandaldav* 'today' from the stems *koman* 'now' and *aldav* 'day', *tagondalan* 'wild animal trail' from *tagon* 'to resemble' and *dalan* 'trail', *oolal* 'young unmarried man' from *ool* 'to return to the place from which one started' and *ool* 'person'.

3.13.22 Contentive affix-derived stems are inflectable, 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 heligen* 'dwelling place' from *helag* 'to dwell' and *-an* 'referent focus'; *tobean* 'tree trunk' from *toba* 'to sprout' and *-an* 'referent focus'. In some instances *-anan* is a variant form of *-an*: *lapazahanan* 'beach' from *lapa* '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'.

*pah* - *pangotana* 'question' from *otana* 'to request' and *pah* - 'distributive aspect', *penabeg* 'word' from *sabaq* 'voice, language' and *pah* - 'distributive aspect'.

*ka* - *kapasog* '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 batag 'child', -an, and ka-

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

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

mag-  maggasawa '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-; malagasmaw 'as skinny as a bamboo roof support' from gasgaw 'bamboo roof support' and mala-.

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

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

tag-  'each': tagasingko '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': taggiza ,

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

-ay indicates 'diminution in size': amamahay 'small boy' from amana '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: magtoldaay 'teacher' from oldoq 'to guide', mag-, and -ay; ipahiday 'handkerchief' from pahid 'to wipe', i- 'accessory focus', and -ay; ikabooay 'small dipper' from boqboq 'to dip', i- 'accessory focus', ka-, and -ay.
Full reduplication of stem 'diminutive in size':
manok 'bird' from manok 'chicken' plus redup.; banig 'artefact, miniature sleeping mat' from banig 'sleeping mat' plus redup. Children's toys and games are named by full stem reduplication: tarak 'toy truck' from tarak 'truck' and redup.; hebanghebang 'game of hide and seek' from hebang 'hide' plus redup.
With colors full stem reduplication means 'to a lesser degree': potigpotig 'not so white' from mapotig 'white' plus redup.; itemgitem 'not so black' from maitem 'black' plus redup.

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

3.2 WORD INFICTION

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

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

N-a-kit-an nemi 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-age-hinang-en niran ya lagkaw.
Nb-Cv-make-O they Tp house
'They are going to make a house.'

Basic verb inflection in Mamamwa 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 I do not occur with aspect II affixes.
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; -en referent focus; \_\_a\_- zero allomorphs of object and accessory focus; and in-action-begun. Dots represent word nucleus slots.

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; \_\_a\_- 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.


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

M-sge-hineng-en niran ya kazas.
Nb-Cv-make-0 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-emeg-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 menok.
S-Nb-buy I ntp chicken
'I will buy the chicken.'

#-oran-en kita. 'We'll be rained on.'
Nb-rain-0 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-0 I Tp house

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

#-in-haplas naiza ya tambal ke 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.
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 kaygan.
S-Nb-Cv-speak he ntp radio later
'He is going to speak on the radio later.'

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.

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

An-#-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.
AFFIXATION

#-m-ag-a-binang 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 downstream.'
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-ag-a-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 konsilen.
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 va toong sarowar.
B-C-sew-O ntp (name) Tp emph.poss.his trousers
'Pitoy caused his trousers to be sewn.'

Im-patay-# nio va 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 idog. '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 youTp pig utp (name) utp peeling
'You are going to feed the peelings to the pigs for Mam.'

M-amag-bonal-an miran ya baroy.
Nb-Si-pound-R theyTp 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 tohol.
A-Nb-rub youTp medicine ntp knee
'You rub the medicine on the knee.'

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

I-#-pa-dara mo hao ka soyat konsilem.
A-Nb-C-send youTpnpt 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 wellTp knife
'I scraped well with the knife.'

#-in-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 heTpnpt 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-haybay-# ni Lucia ya manga badog.
B-D-hang.to.dry-O ntp (name) Tp pl clothes
'Lucia hung the clothes to dry.'

#-im-pan-sylo niran ya lapos 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 man- permit the subject focus and aspect I potential of the distributive aspect marker to be manifested.

#-m-an-havid siran ka manga lodzog.
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 manga- 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

#-m-anga-bahaw di ya elat. '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-O 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-agा-pa-bahog \textit{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 \textit{ya maimpis na inaq ka parot ka baboy.}  
C-feed-0 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 causes of the action are present. In other words, one person is being caused to cause another person to perform an action. See Section 4.3.1 for a more detailed description of causative aspect.

\textit{Pa-pa-kaw-en hai ni Mam ka balengkag.}  
C-C-get-O I ntp (name) ntp pig/pig hair necklace  
'Mam is causing me to cause someone else to get her a pig hair necklace.'

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

\#-n-agа-pahi-katawa \textit{kami ka mange dedeq.}  
S-Nb-Cv-Au-laugh we.exc ntp pl pup  
'We were laughing a lot at the pups.'

\textit{Im-pahi-bonai-an niran ya baroy.}  
B-Au-pound-R they Tp leaf  
'They pounded the leaves vigorously.'

\textit{M-im-pahi-inem siran ka tebag.}  
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-agа-bere-bentak-ay \textit{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-agа-tara-takpaw \textit{ya lagkaw.}  
S-Nb-Si-Dim-distant tp house  
'The houses are not so distant from each other.'

\#-n-agа-logloqto-ay \textit{di ya nabadlay.}  
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-ere 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', garag 'to misbehave', pikac 'to cut leaves lengthways for decorations', tabas 'to cut cloth into strips', tipak 'to break bread into crumbs'.

#-n-aga-ibaiba ya bataq ka toeng 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-helaghelaq 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-agapaka-ohaw ining asin kanaq.
S-Nb-Cv-Refx-thirst this.emph salt me
'This (emphatic) salt will make me thirsty.'

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

m-agapakahagdam-en nami si Lucia.
Nb-Cv-Refx-know-0 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-agapati-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 kanaq.
S-Nb-Rec-help they me
'They are requesting help from me.'

#-n-agapaki-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-agapakig-away siran kanaq.
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 Mamamwa 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-ag-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.

#-m-ag-ka-haldek ya piyaq ka silhig.
S-b-Cv-St-frighten Tp cat ntp broom
'The cat is being frightened by the broom.'

M-ag-a-tambal-an pen kami na doktor.
N-b-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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nb</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>#-m-a-...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>m-a-...-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>m-a-...-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nb</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>#-m-aga-ka-...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m-aga-#-...-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m-aga-#-...-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 va 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-0  I

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

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

#-n-aka-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-agha-#-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-agha-#-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.
uprver 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 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 \textit{m-ag-}, \textit{p-ag-}, or \textit{\emptyset} form of the imperative mode.

\textbf{M-ag-sengad} ko ka bozag! 'You cook the camote!'
\textit{S-Imp-cook} you ntp camote

\textbf{\emptyset-tabang} ko kanap! 'You help me!
\textit{Imp-help} you me

\textbf{P-ag-pahid-en} mo ya bagbag mo! 'You wipe your mouth!'
\textit{Imp-wipe-0} you Tp mouth your

\textbf{Dawat-a} mo ya soyat! 'You receive the letter!'
\textit{receive-0} you Tp letter

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

\textbf{Hawid-i} mo iton! 'You hold that!'
\textit{hold-R} you that

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

\textbf{M-ag-pa-hatag} ko kan Badang ka asin!
\textit{S-Imp-C-give} you 0p (name) ntp salt
'You cause the salt to be given to Badang!'

\textbf{P-ag-pan-hinang-en} mazo ya kazar!
\textit{Imp-D-make-O} you.pl Tp frame.for.slicing.wild.root
'You all make the frames for slicing wild root!'

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

\textbf{M-ag-h-in-inang} ko ka soong!
\textit{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: \textit{pangotana} 'question', \textit{mapait} 'bitter', \textit{paggakakita} 'sight', \textit{balagen} 'vine', \textit{kapait} 'bitterness', \textit{amaama} 'boy', \textit{mararag} 'red', \textit{lagkaw} 'house', \textit{kahaldek} 'fear', \textit{paggabereng} 'surprise', \textit{asin} 'salt', \textit{pagkaen} 'food', \textit{bazawan} 'altar', \textit{maripa} '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 \textit{ya}.
3.3 MORPHOPHONEMIC ALTERNATION

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

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

3.3.1.1 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{an-} + \text{panaw} & \rightarrow \text{ampanaw} \\
\text{an-} + \text{bonal} & \rightarrow \text{ambonal} \\
\text{an-} + \text{kaen} & \rightarrow \text{angkaen} \\
\text{in-} + \text{pokaw} & \rightarrow \text{impokaw} \\
\text{in-} + \text{gazon} & \rightarrow \text{inggazon}
\end{align*}
\]

3.3.1.2 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{paN-} + \text{panaw} & \rightarrow \text{pamanaw} \\
\text{paN-} + \text{baligqaq} & \rightarrow \text{pamaligqaq} \\
\text{paN-} + \text{silhig} & \rightarrow \text{panilhig} \\
\text{paN-} + \text{tanem} & \rightarrow \text{pananem} \\
\text{paN-} + \text{goliq} & \rightarrow \text{pangoliq} \\
\text{paN-} + \text{gabok} & \rightarrow \text{panggabok}
\end{align*}
\]

3.3.2 When -an 'referent focus' and -an '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
dagob 'to lie prone' + -en → *dagobon
ponog 'to fill' + -en → *ponogon
potos 'to wrap up something' + -en → *potoson

3.31.22 Stems ending with a vowel add h.

bali 'over' + -en → balihen
giba 'companion' + -an → gibahan
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
labo '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 → *hegman
lapaq 'to butcher' + -an → lapan
*dagobon 'to lie prone' → *dagbon
*ponogon 'to fill' → pougon

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 → tekhen
geket 'to tie' + -an → gektan
gotod 'to cut in half' + -an → gotdan
lemes 'to drown' + -an \rightarrow lemesan
sazod 'to know' + -an \rightarrow *sazdan
sazep 'to err' + -an \rightarrow *sazpan

Occasionally alternation is seen in stems ending with the above consonants, but preceded by \(i\) or \(e\).
lanit 'to tear off' + -an \rightarrow lansten
lisp 'to forget' + -an \rightarrow liptan

Occasionally alternation is seen in stems ending with \(i\) and preceded by \(o\) or \(e\).
sakol 'to pound' + -an \rightarrow saklon
negel 'to grunt' + -an \rightarrow neglan
Also, *sobohon 'to boil' -o \rightarrow 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; -xC- becomes -yC- (Sec. 1.2). C = any stop.
*darhen 'to bring' \rightarrow dadhen
*sazdan 'to know' \rightarrow saydan
*sazpan 'to err' \rightarrow saypan

3.31.25.2 By metathesis, -xC- becomes -Cx-; -ts- becomes -st- in one instance.
*daqbon 'to lie prone' \rightarrow dabqon
*hegman 'to soak' \rightarrow hemgan
*potson 'to wrap' \rightarrow poston

3.32 Morphophonemic alternation across word boundaries is found in Mamamwa 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, i, or u. *-ny and *-gy reduce to -yi; *-iy reduces to -i (observed only with wanin 'this nearby' and di 'complete').
Dadhen mo *ya manga idog. or 'You will bring the dogs.'
Dadhen moy manga idog.

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 firmino niran. or 'They have no set date.'
Waray firmino niran.

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

Waton ya tao. or 'That is someone nearby.'
Watov 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 \textit{nagadalagan iza 'running he'} = 'He is running', \textit{nagadalagan} 'running' manifests the predicate tagmeme and \textit{iza 'he'} manifests the topic tagmeme. In the clause \textit{mada\textcolor{red}{zaw} iza 'good he'} = 'He is good', \textit{mada\textcolor{red}{zaw} 'good'} manifests the predicate tagmeme and \textit{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 non-verbal. 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 <na>/<naini>/ <naa> 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>/<kino>/ <kano> 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal case marking particles are either personal or nonpersonal:</th>
<th>topic</th>
<th>nontopic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>personal(s)</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personal(pl)</td>
<td>sin</td>
<td>nin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nonpersonal</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demonstrative pronouns are either common or definite:

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

Personal pronouns show person and number contrasts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 s</th>
<th>hao</th>
<th>nao ~ o</th>
<th>kanao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 s</td>
<td>iko ~ ko</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>kamo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 s</td>
<td>iza</td>
<td>naiza</td>
<td>kanagaiza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl, exc</td>
<td>kami</td>
<td>nami</td>
<td>kanami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl, inc</td>
<td>kita</td>
<td>nita ~ ta</td>
<td>kanta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>kamo</td>
<td>mazo</td>
<td>kanako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>siran</td>
<td>niran</td>
<td>kaniran</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'.

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

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

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

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

I-karos mo ya lodzog 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 lodzog 'bolo-knife'.

I-bonal mo si Mam ka baroy.
AccBi-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-en 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).'

Tebile-an
will.fell.banana.tree-Rf I T (name) tomorrow
'nI will (help) Tatoyn banana trees tomorrow.'

I-tebile
AccBf-will.fell.banana.tree I T (name) tomorrow
'I will fell banana trees for Tatoyn 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.

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.'

An-palit ya meinpis ka gaa.

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:

$SfC1 = +Pr_{Sf} +SAct_T \downarrow \text{OG} \uparrow (\text{TAccI } \uparrow R)\uparrow$

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:

$SfC1 = +Pr_{Sf}: V 1-8 + SAct_T <\text{hao}>/si ph/ya ph \downarrow \text{OG}: <\text{kanao}>/\text{kan ph} /
\text{ka ph} \uparrow (\text{TAccI:ka ph} \uparrow R:<\text{kanao}>/\text{kan ph/ka ph})$

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  \textit{não si Maria.}
\textit{will.medicine-Of I T (name)}
'I will medicine Mary.'

Azo-on  \textit{na maimpie ya kowarta kan Mam.}
\textit{will.ask-Of the child T money (name)}
'The child will ask Mam for money.'

Bon-on  \textit{não itong baboy ka bangkaw.}
\textit{will.kill-Of I T that pig with.the.spear}
'I will kill that pig with the spear.'

Tagmemic notation of Object Focus is:

\[ \text{OfCl} = +\text{Pr}_{of} +\text{SAct} + \text{OG}_T \uparrow (\text{IR} \uparrow \text{AccI}) \]

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:

\[ \text{OfCl} = +\text{Pr}_{of} : \text{V 1,3,4,6} + \text{SAct} : \langle \text{nao}\rangle / \text{ni ph}/ \text{na ph} + \text{OG}_T : \langle \text{hao}\rangle / \text{si ph}/ \text{va ph} \uparrow (\text{IR} : \langle \text{kanao}\rangle / \text{kan ph}/ \text{ka ph} \uparrow \text{AccI : ka ph}) \]

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 \textit{nao} pronoun class or a \textit{ni} phrase or a \textit{na} phrase, plus an obligatory object-as-goal tagmeme filled by either a member of the \textit{hao} pronoun class or a \textit{si} phrase or a \textit{va} phrase, plus an optional referent tagmeme filled by either a member of the \textit{kanao} pronoun class or a \textit{kan} phrase or a \textit{ka} phrase, or an optional accessory-as-instrument tagmeme filled by a \textit{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 clauaes 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 *va* is unrestricted in form while in the Referent-location the topic *va* is restricted in form.

### 4.23.1 Citation of Referent Focus

\[
\text{Bahog-an} \quad \text{mo} \quad \text{si} \quad \text{Mam} \quad \text{ka baboy} \quad \text{ka parot.}
\]

will.feed-Rf you T (name) the pig the peeling 'It is for Mam that you will feed the peelings to the pig.'

\[
\text{Bahog-an} \quad \text{mo} \quad \text{va} \quad \text{baboy} \quad \text{kan Mam} \quad \text{ka parot.}
\]

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:

\[
\text{RfCl} = +Pr_{RF} + SAct + R_T \nmid (\text{OG} \nmid \text{AccI})
\]

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.

\[
\text{RloCl} = +Pr_{Rlof} + SAct + Rlo_T \nmid (\text{AccA} \nmid \text{AccI})
\]

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:

\[
\text{RfCl} = +Pr_{Rf}: V 1,2,4,7 + SAct: <\text{naq}>/\text{ni ph}/\text{na ph} + R_T: <\text{hao}>/\text{si ph}/\text{va ph} \mid (\text{OG:ka ph} \mid \text{AccI:ka ph})
\]

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 *naq* 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 *va* 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.
RlofC1 = +PrRlof: V 1,2,4,7 +SAct: <nao>/ni ph/na ph. +RloT: 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 option-
al 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
classes in that (1) the predicate tagmemes contrast in form (affixa-
tion) and function, and (2) the second post predicate tagmemes con-
trast 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.

I-bahog mo si Mam ka baboy.

I-bahog mo ya otang ka kowarta.

AccIf-will.feed you T peeling the pig
'It is the peeling that you will feed the pig.'

AccBf-will.feed you T (name) the pig
'It is Mam for whom you will feed the pig.'

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:
AccIfC1 = +PrAccIf +SAct +AccI_T +OC

The preceding tagmemic notation formula is to be read:
An accessory-as-instrument focus clause consists of an obligatory
predicate tagmeme marked for accessibility 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.

\[ \text{AccBfC1} = \text{+Pr}_{\text{AccBf}} \text{ +SAct \text{ +AccB} \text{ +AccI}} \]

The above formula is to be read:
An accessory-as-benefactor focus clause consists of an obligatory
predicate tagmeme marked for accessibility 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.

\[ \text{AccAfC1} = \text{+Pr}_{\text{AccAf}} \text{ +SAct \text{ +AccAt \text{ +AccI}}} \]

The above formula is to be read:
An accessory-as-associate focus clause consists of an obligatory
predicate tagmeme marked for accessibility 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:

\[ \text{AccAfC1} = \text{+Pr}_{\text{AccAf}}: \text{V 1,3,5} \text{ +SAct:<naro>/ni ph/na ph \text{ +AccI: ya ph \text{ +OG:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph}}} \]

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 accessibility focus, plus an obligatory subject-as-
actor tagmeme filled by either a member of the <naro> 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-
gal tagmeme filled by either a member of the <kanao> pronoun class
or a kan phrase or a ka phrase.

\[ \text{AccBfC1} = \text{+Pr}_{\text{AccBf}}: \text{V 1,3,5} \text{ +SAct:<naro>/ni ph/na ph \text{ +AccB: <hao>/si ph/ya ph \text{ +OG:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph}}} \]

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 accessibility focus, plus an obligatory subject-
as-actor tagmeme filled by either a member of the <naro> 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.

\[ \text{AccAfC1} = \text{+Pr}_{\text{AccAf}: \text{V 1,3,5} \text{ +SAct:<naro>/ni ph/na ph \text{ +AccAt: ya ph \text{ +AccI: ka ph}}} \]

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 <nau> 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

Kadag alaw 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.'

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

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

4.25.12 Tagmemic-notation formula

Ti +Prsf +SAct_Tutchi +t(OG +R +AccI) +tTi

4.25.13 Tagmatic-notation formula

Ti:ti +Prsf: V 1-8 +SAct_Tutchi:<hao>/si ph/ya ph +tTi:ti +t(OG:<kanao>/
 kan ph/ka ph +R:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph) +tTt: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 dizean 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
+PrSF +SActTاتف(G AccI و) Dir

4.25.23 Tagmematic-notation formula
+PrSF: V 1-8 +SActT:ناو/gi ph/ya phاتف(G:ن/ا/ا/ا/ا/ph/ka ph

4.25.3 Post predicate manner tagmeme.
The post predicate manner slot is filled by a class of descript-
tive words (Sec 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
Magbahog 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-binte.
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 Tagmematic-notation formula
+PrSF +SActTاتف(M G AccI و)

4.25.33 Tagmematic-notation formula
Acci:ka ph و:ن/ا/ا/ا/ا/ا/ph/ka ph)

4.25.4 Pre-predicate manner tagmeme.
The pre-predicate manner slot is filled by a class of descript-
tive 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 badogi ya mainpis ka bedog.
<---
twice(M) dressed the child the dress
'The child dressed twice.'

Anipen badoga na mainpis ya badog.
<---
once(M) dressed the child the dress
'The child dressed once.'

4.25.42 Tagmemic-notation formula

+M +PrSF +SActT +OG
+M +PrOF +SActT +OC

4.25.43 Tagmatic-notation formula


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(SActT) will.feed the pig the peeling for (name)
'We will not feed the pig the peelings for Melina.'

Diri ambahog ya mainpis ka baboy ka parot
<---
will.not(Neg) will.feed the child(SActT) the pig the peeling

kan Melina,
for (name)
'The child will not feed the pig the peelings for Melina.'

Waraq siren makakarini.
<---
did.not(Neg) they(SActT) able.to.come.here
'They were not able to come here.'

Azaw kamo pagaway. 'Don't you fight!'
<---
don't(Neg) you(SActT) fight
Abay  kamo pagmatay. ‘Don't you cry!’
don't(Neg) you(SAct_T) cry

4.25.52 Tagmemic-notation formula
+Neg  +SAct_T  +PrSF  +(+OG  +AccI  +R)
+Neg  +PrSF  +SAct_T  +(+OG  +AccI  +R)

4.25.53 Tagmatic-notation formula

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?

IntrPron SAct_T the.one borrowed the iron
‘Who was the one to borrow the iron?’

Kagango  magpanlababa  ya Tawe?

IntrPron Ti will.laundry the (name)
‘When will the Visayan person launder?’

Daw  kagango  magpanlababa  ya Tawe?

IntrP IntrPron Ti will.laundry the (name)
‘When will the Visayan person launder?’
Minono va inaq mo?
Sf-Intrpron the mother your
'What did your mother do?'

4.25.62 Tagmemic-notation formula
+IntrpronSActT +ICFsf +OG
+IntrpronTi +Prsf +SActT
\[+(\text{Intrp} +\text{IntrpronTi}) +\text{Prsf} +\text{SActT}\]
+Prsf +SActT

4.25.63 Tagmatic-notation formula
IntrpronSActT: singo +ICPrsf: V 8 +OG:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph
+IntrpronTi: kagango +Prsf: V 1-8 +SActT:<hao>/si ph/ya ph
\[+(\text{Intrp} : \text{daw/kon} +\text{IntrpronTi}: \text{kagango}) +\text{Prsf}: V 1-8 +\text{SActT}:<\text{hao}>/\text{si ph}/ya ph\]
+PrIntrpronSf: ono/hain +SActT:<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 va 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 magahohog 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 bonion 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

+eSAcTt +PrSf +(tOG +AccI +R)
+eOGt +PrOf +SAcT +(tR +AccI)
+eRT +PrRf +SAcT +OG +ACCI
+eAccIT +PrAccIf +SAcT +(tOG +R)

4.26.12 Tagmatic-notation formula

+eSAcT<haoo>/si ph/ya ph +PrSf: V 1-8 +(tOG:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph
+tAccI: ka ph +R:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph)
+eOG<haoo>/si ph/ya ph +PrOf: V 1,3,4,6 +SAcT:<nao>/ni ph/na ph
+t(R:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph +AccI: ka ph)
+eRT:<haoo>/si ph/ya ph +PrRf: V 1,2,4,7 +SAcT:<nao>/ni ph/na ph
+OG: ka ph +AccI: ka ph
+eAccIT: ya ph +PrAccIf: V 1,3,5 +SAcT:<nao>/ni ph/na ph +(tOG:
<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-infex. 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: maha- 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

Mga-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 nac si Howan karmo.
Ca-to.accompany-Rf I(SCa) (name) (RActT) you
'I will cause John to accompany you.'

Pa-bahug-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.
Acc1CAF-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)(OT)
'I will cause Julita to bring Mam's grater.'

4.31.2 Tagmemic-notation formula

+Prscaf +SCaT +OAct ++(AccI +OG)
+Pr0Caf +OActT +SCa ++(AccI +OG)
+PrRCaf +SCa +RActT +OG
+Pr0Caf +SCa +RAct +OGT
+PrAccICaf +SCa +AccIT +OG
+Pr0Caf +SCa +RAct +OGT

4.31.3 Tagmatic-notation formula

+Prscaf: V 1-87 +SCaT:<hao>/si ph/ya ph +OAct:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph
 ++(AccI: ka ph +OG: ka ph)
+Pr0Caf: V 1,3,4,6 +OActT:<hao>/si ph/ya ph +SCa:<nag> ni ph/na ph
 ++(AccI: ka ph +OG: ka ph)
+PrRCaf: V 1,2,4,7 +SCa:<nag>/ni ph/na ph +RActT:<hao>/si ph/ya ph
 +OG:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph
+Pr0Caf: V 1,2,4,7 +SCa:<nag>/ni ph/na ph +RAct:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph
 +OGT: si ph/ya ph
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 Mamamwa (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-tabal-an kami ni Mam.
Sta-being.medicined-Rf we(StaRT) (name)(Act)
'We are being medicined by Mam.'

Maga-sirot-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
+PrSSStaf +StaST +Act
+PrSSStaf +StaRT +Act

4.32.12 Tagmatic-notation formula
<nao>/ni ph/na ph
+PrSSStaf: V 1,2,4,7 +StaRT: hao/<sii> 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
+PrSF +SActT +Into
4.33.12 Tagmatic-notation formula

\( +\text{Pr}_{\text{O}f} \uparrow \text{SAct} \uparrow \text{OG}_{T} \uparrow \text{Into} \)
\( +\text{Pr}_{\text{R}f} \uparrow \text{SAct} \uparrow \text{HT} \uparrow \text{Into} \)
\( +\text{Pr}_{\text{Accf}} \uparrow \text{SAct} \uparrow \text{Acc}_{T} \uparrow \text{Into} \)

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 (Verstraalen 1965)\(^8\).

4.41.1 Directional clause.

The directional clause (DirCl) contains an obligatory directional predicate slot (\( \text{Pr}_{\text{dir}} \)) filled by a locative noun phrase (\( \text{Ph}_{10} \)), an obligatory topic slot (T) filled by a topic noun phrase marked for topic (\( \text{TopNP}_{T} \)), and an optional time slot (Ti) filled by a time noun phrase (\( \text{TiNP} \)):

\[ \text{DirCl} = +\text{Pr}_{\text{dir}}: \text{Ph}_{10} \uparrow \text{T}: \text{TopNP}_{T} \uparrow \text{Ti}: \text{TiNP} \]

\[ \text{siran} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{lengsed} \quad \text{kahabi.} \]

there(\( \text{Pr}_{\text{dir}} \)) they(T) at the city(\( \text{Pr}_{\text{dir}} \)) yesterday 'They were at the city yesterday.'

The directional predicate in the above example is discontinuous.

An interrogative directional clause is formed by substituting \( \text{hain} \) 'where?' in the directional predicate slot.

\[ \text{hain} \quad \text{siran} \quad \text{kahabi?} \]

where(\( \text{Pr}_{\text{dir}} \)) they(T) yesterday(Ti) 'Where were they yesterday?'

4.41.2 Descriptive clause.

The descriptive clause (DeCl) contains an obligatory predicate slot (\( \text{Pr}_{\text{de}} \)) filled by a descriptive, an obligatory topic slot (\( \text{T}_{\text{de}} \)) filled by a topic noun phrase marked for topic (\( \text{TopNP} \)), and an optional time slot filled by a time noun phrase (\( \text{TiNP} \)): 
DeCl = +Prde: de +T:TopNP, +Ti:TINP

Mariagen siir. 'They are strong.'
strong(Prde) they(T)

Pethaw ya badog. 'The dress is made of steel.'
steel(Prde) the dress(T)

Madazaw ya paghatag kanami na tao kahabi.
good(Prde) 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 (Prpo) 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 = Prpo:SimPossNP +T:TopNP +Ti:TINP

Kango ini koman. 'This is mine now.'
mime(Prpo) this(T) now(Ti)

Kana ama ya pala ka pagtanem.
father's(Prpo) 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
(Prti) filled by a time noun phrase and an obligatory topic slot filled
by a Real time clause (RtCl) introduced by a topic marker:

TiCl = +Prti:NP +T:RtCl

Sahade ya paghatag kanami na tao.
Saturday(Prti) 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 Hollan
three hours(Prti) 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
three hours there at Pangaylan.'

4.41.5 Existential clause.

The existential clause (ExCl) contains an obligatory predicate
slot (Prax) filled by may 'there is', and an obligatory topic slot
(Tex) filled by a descriptive or by an included clause (ICCl):
ExCl = +Pre:may +T:Phde/ICCl

May =

\[ \text{tao dizan. 'There is someone there.'} \]

there.is(Pr_ex) person(T) there

May

\[ \text{ampakahagdam kanaa dindaza konsimol. 'There is one who will inform me up here tomorrow.'} \]

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 \(<\text{wani}>\) class of identification particles, and can be optionally expanded with a modification tagmeme filled by the comparative particles \(\text{pen} \) 'incomplete' or \(\text{di} \) 'complete'. The \(<\text{wani}>\) 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: \text{waton babaq wababag 'that person/thing close by down there'}; \text{waton ngarini 'that person/thing close by approaching here'}.

'this person/thing here in hand' \(\text{wani}\)
'that person/thing there close by' \(\text{waton}\)
'that person/thing there distant' \(\text{waza}\)
'that person/thing there far distant' \(\text{waro}\)

Formula:

\[ \text{IdCl = +Pr_id:Ph_id +T:TopNP_t} \]

\[ \text{Wani: di ya lodsoq nso. this here in hand cmp the bolo knife my} \]

'This is my bolo-knife.'

\[ \text{Waton: pen ya tao. that there close by yet the person} \]

'That person is there close by yet.'

4.42 Equational clause.

Equational clauses are derived from kernel, causative, and stative verbal clauses 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 (Preq). 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 \(\text{ani} \) (eqp) precedes the equational topic.
In the examples which follow, ani is optional when enclosed in parentheses.

From verbal kernel clause:

\textit{inhata\textsubscript{g} n\textsubscript{ao} y\textsubscript{a kowarta k\textsubscript{an} Mel\textsubscript{ina}}.}

\textit{Given(Pr) by.me the money(T) to (name)}

'I gave the money to Melina.'

To equational clause:

\textit{Ya kowarta ani y\textsubscript{a inhatag n\textsubscript{ao} k\textsubscript{an Mel\textsubscript{ina}}.}}

\textit{the money(Preq) Eqp the given by.me(T) to (name)}

'Money is what I gave to Melina.'

From causative verbal clause:

\textit{Ipabahog ni inaq ining maka\textsubscript{en} ka baboy.}

\textit{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:

\textit{Ining maka\textsubscript{en} ani y\textsubscript{a ipabahog ni inaq ka baboy.}}

\textit{this food(Preq) 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:

\textit{Magatambal\textsubscript{an}} kami ni Mam. \textit{being.given.medicine(Pr) we(T) by (name)}

'We are being given medicine by Mam.'

To equational clause:

\textit{Kami (ani y\textsubscript{a magatambal\textsubscript{an}} ni Mam.}}

\textit{we(Preq) Eqp the being.given.medicine(T) by (name)}

'We are the ones being given medicine by Mam.'

From descriptive nonverbal clause:

\textit{Mariggen sir\textsubscript{an}.}

\textit{strong(Pr), they(T)}

'They are strong.'

To equational clause:

\textit{Siran (ani y\textsubscript{a mariggen.}}

\textit{they(Preq) 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(Preq) 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(Preq) Eqp mine(T)
'This is what is mine.'

Interrogative clauses using the interrogative pronouns **ono** 'what?' and **singo** '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(Preq) the given by.me(T) to (name)
'What did I give to Melina?'

From descriptive nonverbal clause:

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

To equational interrogative clause:

**Singo** **ya mariggen?**
who(Preq) 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.

\[
\text{Diri kon } \text{pethaw } \text{ya badog.}
\]
\[
\text{not(Neg) steel(Pr}_{\text{de}}) \text{ the dress(T)} \text{'The dress isn't made of steel.'}
\]

\[
\text{Diri kon } \text{kanao } \text{ini } \text{koman.}
\]
\[
\text{not(Neg) mine(Pr}_{\text{po}}) \text{ this(T) now} \text{'This isn't mine now.'}
\]

\[
\text{Diri kon } \text{Sabado } \text{ya paghatag } \text{kanami } \text{na } \text{tao.}
\]
\[
\text{not(Neg) Saturday(Pr}_{\text{ti}}) \text{ the giving(T) to us by the person} \text{'It wasn't Saturday that the person gave us something.'}
\]

\[
\text{Diri kon } \text{iza } \text{ya impamangogan } \text{na } \text{tao.}
\]
\[
\text{not(Neg) he(Pr}_{\text{eq}}) \text{ the one.told about(T) by the person} \text{'He wasn't the one told about by the person.'}
\]

Waraq is used to negate directional and existential nonverbal clauses.

\[
\text{Waraq } \text{siran } \text{doro } \text{ka } \text{lengsed } \text{kahabi.}
\]
\[
\text{not(Neg) they(T) there at the city(Pr}_{\text{dir}}) \text{ yesterday(Ti)} \text{'They were not there at the city yesterday.'}
\]

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 (Negex) and a descriptive phrase filler of the existential topic is introduced by ya topic marker.

\[
\text{Waraq } \text{ya tao } \text{dizan.}
\]
\[
\text{none(Negex) the person(T) there} \text{'There is nobody there.'}
\]

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 helag niran doro ka lengsed.
the dwelling place theirs(EmT) there at the city(Prdir)
'Their dwelling place is there at the city.'

Ya kabengtas niran ka isdag masara.
the hunger theirs(EmT) for fish very great(Prde)
'They are very hungry for fish.'

Ya impanangogan 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(Prpo)
'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 T1)
'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, Em Dir = 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(Em Dir) 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 helag niran doro ka lengsed.
they(Idpo) the dwelling place theirs(T) there at the city(Prdir)
'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 magamamag mariggen ya ngipen niran.

The betelnut chewers (Idp) 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 Mamamwa 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.

4.5.1 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 semantically 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.

4.5.1.1 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 minsengad
di siran.

arrived (IntroPr) they (SAct nt) upriver (Dir) prepared food

they (IndCl)

'When they arrived upriver they prepared food.'

Pagska-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.'

Pagska-kawag ni Howen 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.

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{Pagka-kamhan} & \text{niran} & \text{pag-pangaen} & \text{ka isdag} \\
\text{finished(IntroPr)} & \text{they(SAct nt)} & \text{eating(IntroPr)} & \text{the fish(0)} \\
\text{nangatorog} & \text{siran} & & \\
\text{slept} & \text{they} & \text{(IndCl)} & \\
\end{array}
\]

'When they finished eating the fish they slept.'

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{Pagka-kamhan} & \text{na anaama} & \text{pag-garas} \\
\text{finished(IntroPr)} & \text{the man(SAct nt)} & \text{cutting.grass} \\
\text{minolig} & \text{di iza} & \text{he} & \text{(IndCl)} \\
\text{returned.home} & \text{he} & \text{(IndCl)} & \\
\end{array}
\]

'When the man finished cutting the grass he returned home.'

Tagmemic notation formula

\[\text{NTCl} = +\text{IntroPr} \; +\text{SAct nt} \; +0 \; +\text{Dir} \]

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

\[\text{NTCl} = +\text{IntroPr: } V_{<\text{pag}->} / V_{\text{ph}} \; +\text{SAct nt: } <\text{kano}/\text{na ph}/\text{na ph} \; +0: \; <\text{kanao}/\text{kan ph}/\text{ka ph} \; +\text{Dir: } \text{dir}\]

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 `<kano>` class pronoun or a `<na ph>` phrase or a `<na ph>` phrase plus an optional Object slot filled by a `<kanao>` class pronoun or a `<kan ph>` or a `<ka ph>` 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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Kon} & \text{domateng} \; \text{siran} \; \text{dini} \\
\text{whenever(Intro)} & \text{will.arrive(Pr)} \; \text{they(SAct P)} \; \text{here(Dir)} \\
\text{ansengad} & \text{kami.} \\
\text{will.prepare.food} & \text{we} \; \text{(IndCl)} \\
\text{Whenever they will arrive here we will prepare food.'}
\end{array}
\]
Ansegad kami kon domateng
will.prepare.food we (IndCl) whenever(Intro) will.arrive(Pr)

siran dini.
they(SActT) 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)

anernk 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(SActT) cutting.grass(IntroPr)

daza angoliq 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(SActT) washing(IntroPr)

ka palato matorog siran.
the dishes(0) will.sleep they (IndCl)
'Whenever they finish washing the dishes they will sleep.'

Tsagmemic-notation formula

CondTCl = +Intro +Pr +SActnt +0 +Dir

The tagmemic formula is to be read:
A Conditional Temporal clause includes an obligatory Introducer
tagmem plus an obligatory Predicate tagmem plus optional topic
Subject-as-actor, Object and Direction tagmemes.

Tagmamic-notation formula

CondTCl = +Intro:kon +Pr:V(except pag- verbs)/V ph (V ma- + V pag-)
+SActT:<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 topical 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(0) 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(0) 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(Pr) given(Pr) by.me to (name)(R)
"The money is what I gave to Melina."

Independent Clause:

Magatorioq 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 magatorioq
seen(Pr) by.them(SActNR) the water(T) subj 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:

Papakakita niran ka bolan nga nagalipsilipsi
upon.seeing(Pr) they(SActNT) the moon subp eclipsing(ICPr)

maninggit siran.
screamed(Pr) they(T)

'They saw the moon that was eclipsing and they screamed.'

Tagmemic-notion formula

IC = +ICPr (+SAct ⊕) ⊕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 tagmemes
plus optional nontopic Subject-as-actor, Object, Referent and
Direction tagmemes.

Tagmatic-notion formula

IC = ICPr: V 1-8 (+SActNT):<nao>/ni ph/na ph ⊕0:<kanao>/kan ph/ka
ph ⊕R:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph ⊕R:<kanao>/kan ph/ka ph ⊕0dir: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 Mamamwa
predicates to the nominal expressions that go with them. This is an
initial attempt to describe the semantic structure of Mamamwa verbs,
and as a result does not cover all kinds of verbs and the possible
role structures that occur with them. The relationships are des-
cribed 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 ken 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:

Ambalizag 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 llina 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:

Aqakan 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 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 din.
Sf.will.return I(Sf) here(R)
'I will return here.'

Also dateng 'arrive', olio 'go home', dalagan 'run', lepos '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(ST) 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(ST)(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(ST) ntp house(O)
'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(ST) tp child(R)
'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.
Acc-if-will.bar I(ST) this chest(I) 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(ST) 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(ST)
'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-an  o  ining tazog 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-hawag  hao  konasilom 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 'laundry clothes', ilab 'slice potatoes on a special frame', bonog 'to wound with a spear'.

The instrument is not expressed unless it needs to be:

I-hawag  nao  ining dagopak o  kaygan.
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).'</n
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 bazed '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-olig  nao  ining baskit  doro  kan Roberto.
AccIf.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(Snt) tp potatoes(0) there ntp (name)(R)
'I will buy potatoes there from Noay.'

Also ambit 'buy meat', kawag '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) ntp potatoes yours(0)
'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 Non-

instigative:

Masakit-en si Illina ka biribiri.
sick-Of tp (name)(S) ntp beriberi(Noninstigative cause)
'Illina is sick from beriberi.'

Na-balik-an nami ya hilanat.
Stative-return-Ref we(Snt) tp fever(T) (Noninstigative cause)
'We have fever again.'

Also soka 'nauseated', olat 'suffer a wound'.

Ma-bogqat ya kanaong hinawa ka pagpanaw.
Stative-heavy tp my breath(S) from walking(Noninstigative cause)
'my breath is heavy from walking.'

Ma-sakit ya kanaong olo ka pagbasa.
Stative-hurts tp my head(S) 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) 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) ntp mother theirs(Noninstigative cause)
'We unintentionally saw their mother.'

N-aka-bahq kami
Involuntary Sf-smelled we (S)

ka baboy nga nalata.
ntp pig that was spoiled(Noninstigative cause)
'We unintentionally smelled the rotten pig.'

Also nakabatig 'unintentionally heard something'.
Sentence nuclei (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.
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 only activity their ntp day ntp searching ntp
(STOp)
kanirang makaen.
their food
'The monkey, their only activity during the day is searching for their food.'

2 Ilang manga tag, namagsabet siran nga siran
thp pl person together decided they that they
(STOp)
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 ye tabang niren nga amagama pagdare ke 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 ve 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 COODINATE 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deep Structure</th>
<th>Surface Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Coupling)</td>
<td>+Base₁(P) +CoorLK +Base₂(Q) +CoorLK + Afterthought</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Pa ∧ Qa        | IndCl  
|                |  
| Pa ∧ Qb        | IndCl(Ex5) 
|                |  
| P ∧ [P₂ Q]     | SimS 
|                |  
| Pa ∧ P'b       | IndCl(6) 
| (Afterthought) |  
| Fab ∧ (Pa)c    | IndCl(7) 
|                |  
| Pax ∧ (Pa)y    | EqCl 
|                |  
| Pab ∧ Pac      | EqCl(8) 
| (Temporal      |  
| Overlap        | EqCl(9) 
| Simultaneity)  |  
| P               | EqCl(10) 
|                |  
| Q               | EqCl(11,12) 
|                |  
|                | IndCl(6) 
|                |  
|                | SimS 
|                |  
|                | IndCl(16) 
|                |  
|                | IndCl(17) 

Chart 5. Coordinate Deep Structures Underlying Coordinate Sentences.

Examples with coupling of different predicates with same terms, Pa ∧ Qa:

5  İzang Dominggo nangautipara 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 Pagkakamahan ka pagshingbia inhogasan isab daw inkawgan
having.finished ntp scaling washed also and removed
isab ka tingi...
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 Angolig 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, Pa^[P^Q]P:

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 makaaran.
 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 predications
are equational: Eab "term a is b". Therefore the etic formula
for listing variety of coupling is Eab^Ecb'.
11 ...mabeggiat ya tooong tarabaho daw dakolaq ya tooong 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 bang.
    thp woman collecting camote.leaves and thp husband
    'That (theme) woman is collecting camote leaves and that (theme)
    husband.'

14 Ya manga mataggoranen 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 taggiza 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 Pappakepahimlay ka niran minpamatay ka manga boog daw having rested cmp they D.killed ntp pl wild.pigs and ya iba minsengad 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deep Structure</th>
<th>Surface Structure</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Base₁(Thesis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrast</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P(a) ∧ P⁽ᵇ⁾(b)</td>
<td>NonvbCl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EqCl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P(U⁻a) ∧ P⁽ᵃ⁾(a) &amp; (a ∊ U)</td>
<td>CoorS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NonvbCl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expectancy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reversal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(P⁺Q) ∧ P ∧ Qₜ</td>
<td>EqCl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EqCl</td>
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<td></td>
<td>IndCl</td>
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<td></td>
<td>NonvbCl</td>
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<td></td>
<td>IndCl</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sequence S</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conflicting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Premises</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(P⁺Q ∧ (R⁺Q)) ∧ P ∧ R</td>
<td>IndCl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IndCl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Examples with pair of antonyms or situational opposites in both bases (Contrast), P(a) ∧ P⁽ᵇ⁾(b):

18 Ya bayhoq mapotiq ya kilay piro maitem ya kekeq. 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.
bronzeband 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 Mimbaliu izar 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 inlibin pen daza
==== === === === === === === ===
dog including tp rice and pig but left yet upriver
ya toong manga dara nga gastm.
=== === ===
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 ... Ne, ya palato
will.borrow cmp also I ntp plates dtp nip tp plates
osso piro dowa ya dakolaq kon mahimog.
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∧Qb:

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 kabattan niran ya kabezeng na pocy piro ya sabaq
only heard they tp noise of evil.spirits but tp voice
rao daw idog.
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), $P \land Q \rightarrow P \land \neg Q$ (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 seladan ponoq koni ka manga lasqay piro
tp bamboo subp container full rsn ntp pl animal.fat but
antowad giran ka bolo kay ani ya batasan niran.
will.upturn they ntp bamboo beq np 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),
$P \land Q \rightarrow P \land \neg Q$:

27 Maazak gazed si Toldog 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 seladan ni Lodrita piro
mother I desid tp will.pay ntp school.fee of (name) but

diri pen manohido 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), \((P\land Q) \land \neg \neg Q = P\land R\):

30 Minlaong ya ama pastangedq antangedq hao piro
said tp father when negotiating will negotiate I but
bomalik ko kaan kg 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'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deep Structure</th>
<th>Surface Structure</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+Base(Alt₁) +AltLk +Base₂ (Alt₂...+[+Lk +Baseₙ(Altₙ)])</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alternation by negation</th>
<th>&lt;mahagdam&gt; kon Negp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pa ≠ Pab</td>
<td>'or' (Ex 32,33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IntrS</td>
<td>Negp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(34,35)</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alternation by antonym</th>
<th>NonvBCl kon Sim NP</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pa ⊥ Pa''</td>
<td>(36a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alt ph</td>
<td>kon Top NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(36b)</td>
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<tr>
<td>NonvBCl</td>
<td>Nu ph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(37a)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alt Nu ph</td>
<td>kon Top NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(37b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa ≠ P'a</td>
<td>IndCl kon IndCl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(38)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Differing Predicates P ∨ Q ∨ N | IndCl kon IndCl kon IndCl (39) |

Examples with alternation involving a negation in the second base and
the first base is preceded by a <mahandam> class of verbs signifying
awareness, expounding the Quote Formula of an Indirect Quote Sentence,
Pab & Pab:

32 Hao mindateng dini kamazo kay dazaw masazed 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 & Pab:

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 situa-
tional opposite of the first predicate, with the alternative link kon
placed sentence finally, Pa & Pa", Pab & Pab", Pa & P"a. In the case
of alternation of the predicate, the subject may optionally be
deleted from the second base (38). Equivalent phrase level alter-
nation 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 Ampanid hao kon idog 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 Ampanid hao kon idog 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 paghelag 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 paghelag 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 antageq pen?
intr will.leave now wc.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 $\sqsupset$ Qa $\sqsupset$ Na:

39 Minkatini hao kay dagaz mahagdam hao kon nakasengad di ko
came.here I so.that will.know I if could.cook cmp you.s
kon nakasengad 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 existentials
   particles when the existence of an object is given in terms of its
   location (42).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deep Structure</th>
<th>Surface Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coupling $\exists P(a) \land \exists Q(b)$</td>
<td>$+ \text{Base}_1(\text{Proposition}_1)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NonvbCl</td>
<td>NonvbCl (40-43)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Examples encoding Coupling, $\exists P(a) \land \exists Q(b)$:

40 Matipon ya kanirang manga linokad.
gathered tp their pl dug.up.roots
May antolong ka balogbog, may angopat.
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 key malaw iza. Waray sarower,
tp (name) eqp always.hiding bec ashamed he neg trousers
warey bedog,
 neg shirt
'Yomagas was always hiding because he was ashamed. He had no
trousers, no shirt.'

42 Anhangod kita ka bahaw key waton ya bahaw nga magazon
will.smell we.inc ntp leftovers bec idp tp leftover subp good

  ya bahog, waton ya bahaw nga mapanges.
  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 minbosog.
  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
Simultaneity 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deep Structure</th>
<th>Surface Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Succession</td>
<td>+Base₁(Event₁) +Base₂(Event₂)......+Baseₙ(Eventₙ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa^Qa ...^Na</td>
<td>IndCl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simultaneity</td>
<td>Sim S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa^Qa</td>
<td>IndCl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa^Qa</td>
<td>IndCl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⋮^Ra</td>
<td>IndCl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Examples of several bases encoding a sequence of punctiliar events, Pa^Qa ...^Na:

44 Sigi si Eduardo angorov, 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 Kongisa di ko kay magabalatik hao konsilem, day.after.tomorrow cmp you.s bec make pig.traps I tomorrow
magapanlaog hao konsilem.
made 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
   angirab, antambeg ngambali, angirab
   looking.out looking.down on.other.side looking.out
   ngerimbali, magapanoldog 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 State-
ment-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).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deep Structure</th>
<th>Surface Structure</th>
<th>+Base₁( Remark )</th>
<th>+Base₂(Paraphrase)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Identity-Equivalence</td>
<td>IndCl</td>
<td>IndCl (Ex.48)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa∧P'a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement-Specification</td>
<td>IdNonvbCl</td>
<td>NonvbCl (49)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa∧Pba</td>
<td>IndCl</td>
<td>NonvbCl (50)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generic-Specific</td>
<td>NonvbCl</td>
<td>Noun Ph (51)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gPa∧sPa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative-Positive Paraphrase</td>
<td>Neg NonvbCl</td>
<td>NonvbCl (52)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḧa∧Eab&quot;</td>
<td>Neg IndCl</td>
<td>IndCl (53)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḧa∧P&quot;a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Examples encoding Identity-Equivalence, Pa∧P'a:

48 Si Iska diri antangedeg karmo, 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 Mingosi di ya idog, 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 Ḧa∧Eab" and the second example is Ḧa∧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 segged.

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 magtibeg 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 QF₂ is expounded by a clause which must contain the verb laong 'to say' (54,55). The QF₁ 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 AQ, 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deep Structure</th>
<th>Surface Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>≥DQF₁ +DQLk</td>
<td>+DQF₂ +DQLk + Dir Quote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech wP∧Q</td>
<td>IndCl nga laong nga Sim NP (Sec.2.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(54,55)</td>
<td>〈iṣa〉 Any Sentences (54,55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>〈ṣa〉 Paragraphs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>said Discourse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Examples encoding Speech, wP∧Q:

54 DQF₁: Homawag hao ka ama nao; QF₂: maglaong hao
calling I ntp father my said I

Quote: halas ini ev nga magagihen na idog.
snake this atta ntp barking ntp dog

"Calling to my father I said,"This is a snake that the dog is
barking at."

55 DQF₂: Ya nangasawa minlaong lk: nga Quote: hao mimbalik di
tp suitor said I returned now

ngarini karko kay kon mahimoq otangan di hao
der here 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 bearer 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: sazd 'to know', seleng 'to become aware', batiq 'to hear' (See Warning Margin ex.138), kita 'to see', mated 'is it true?'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deep Structure</th>
<th>Surface Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speech wP∧Q</td>
<td>+IndQF₁ +IndQLk +Base(IndirQ) +IndQF₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awareness aP∧Q</td>
<td>&lt;laong&gt; nga ExisCl (Ex.56) koni (57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;mahagdam&gt; NonvbCl (60) IndCl (59)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 12. Indirect Quote Deep Structures Underlying Indirect Quote Sentences.

Examples encoding (oral or written) speech, wP∧Q:

56 IndQF₁: Minlaong si Mana lk: nga Quote: may panaw naiza
          said  tp  rp  that  exis trip she
          komangaldaw  
          'Older sister said that she had a trip today.'

57 IndQF₁: Ya babazi minsinggit lk: nga Quote: ambalik
          tp  girl  screamed  that  will.return
          iza  ka  dao  kay nabibo  IndQF₂ 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 IndQF₁: Mated  ey  lk: nga Quote: ampabolau
          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 IndQF₁: Mahagdam kami dgan lk: nga Quote: waro di
know we.exc already that left cmp
iza kahabi.
she yesterday
'We already know that she left yesterday.'

60 IndQF₁: Pageseleng ni Yeyeg 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,
have 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' re-
placing the indirect question link kon, and has the personal pronoun
'you' rather than 'I'. QF: Nangotana iza lk: kon Ques:
balizzag hao ka manok (kon diri). 'He asked kon if I sold the
chicken (or not).' Alternate subtype QF: Nangotana iza kanao Ques:
daw balizzag 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deep Structure</th>
<th>Surface Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+IndQs Formula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech wP∧Q</td>
<td>IndCl containing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-otana <em>iza</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'he asked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awareness aP∧Q</td>
<td>IndCl containing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>inday</em> 'I don't'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>know</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: *kagango kita*  
            Asked they when *wa.inc*  

            *makategbeng.*  
            go.to.town  
            'They asked *kon* when we were going to town.'

63 IndQsF: **Daw waraq pen kamo mangotana** lk: **kon baliqzag 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 baav kay kwaijen kay go.down cmp w.inc tp our.inc wild.root bec will.get bec

IndQsF: inday Ques: makaen di. 

"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: naberang si Yeveq 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deep Structure</th>
<th>Surface Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ Quote Formula</td>
<td>+ MTlk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mistaken Idea (Qɓ) tp Q</td>
<td>silaong&lt;naiza&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'he wrongly thought'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Examples encoding Mistaken idea: (Qɓ) tp Q:

67 QF: Silaong nami lk: kon MTBase: waraq pen tho't wrongly we.exc that neg 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 mao liq 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 masakibol 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deep Structure</th>
<th>Surface Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+Activity1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. P</td>
<td>IndC1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. Q</td>
<td>DepC1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DepC1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SimS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples with the two bases encoding one punctiliar event contingent upon another, $P \land (P \supseteq Q)$:

70 Keneten niran naa ve baay ayhaq kon sangkalen.
\hspace{1cm} will.mash they adv tp wild.root then whenever fry
\hspace{1cm} 'Advisedly they will mash the wildroot, then (they'll) fry it.'

71 Pagkawaraq di na kegang ayhaq pen mo tambalen.
\hspace{1cm} when.gone cmp ntp scab then you.s medicine.it
\hspace{1cm} 'When the scabs are gone, then you medicine it.'

72 Pagkatebteb na nizog ayhaq pen linyi.
\hspace{1cm} having.reached.end ntp coconut.grove then lake
\hspace{1cm} 'Having reached the end of the coconut grove, then (you come to) the lake.'

73 Kazina ka paggoran mingempag kami ayhaq oliq.
\hspace{1cm} awhile.ago ntp rain jumped we.exc then returned.home
\hspace{1cm} 'Awhile ago when it rained we jumped (in the river), then (we) returned home.'
6 SENTENCE MARGIN-NUCLEUS COMBINATIONS

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 tagmem 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 be 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 variants of <pag-> affix are pagka- oo pagpaka- oo -em- oo -an. -em- oo -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 Papanhoroaw ka manga tolong ka simanag nalazaq
when.hot.weather cmp pl three subp weeks dry

di ya manga liwaang.
cmp tp pl trees

'When the weather is hot for three weeks the trees become dry.'

75 Pappangoliq niran kahabzen di.
when.proceeding.homeward they night cmp
'As they were proceeding homeward it became night.'

76 Semeleng pen hao kitong magatengtengan na idog
searching yet I emph.that Cv-looking ntp dog

watang 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deep Structures</th>
<th>Surface Structures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>P ∧ Q</strong></td>
<td><strong>NTemM(P)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(Overlap type 1)</strong></td>
<td>Non-topic dependent clause \textit{&lt;pag&gt;} (Ex. 74-81)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Post-predicate particle \textit{pen} 'incomplete' (76-79)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Non-verbal clause (76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Tim NP (75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Post-predicate particle \textit{di} 'completive' (74,75, 77,78)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(Overlap type 2)</strong></td>
<td>Non-topic dependent clause \textit{&lt;pag&gt;} (82,83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>\textit{waraq pen} 'not yet', \textit{and verbs with \textit{maz}-- 'time not yet realized' (86-89)}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Zero affix on verb (86, 87) \textit{min}-- 'punctiliar' (88,89)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Post-predicate particle \textit{di} 'completive' (86-89)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Succession</strong></td>
<td>Non-topic dependent clause \textit{&lt;pag&gt;} (90-98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Post-predicate particles \textit{di} (90,91,94) \textit{dazan} 'immediately' (93,96,97,100) \textit{mage}-- 'continuous' (92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>\textit{na}, \textit{in--an} 'stative' (94,95)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Gerundives built on \textit{&lt;aldaw&gt;} (99-103)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Non-verbal clauses (102)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Temtengan 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 ⊃ Q are simultaneously encoded in the deep structure, but
only Overlap is manifested in the surface structure:

80 Pagpakakita ka niran nga magason 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 ssawa nga inhoro pan 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 punctilir event that interrupts it.

Formula: NTeM ∈ {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
mimamatay siran...
cried they
'Being dumbfounded that their young was gone now they cried...'}
The following two examples are atypical in that they show Overlap type 2 with the Narrative Temporal Margin expounded by nage- 'continuous action' with incompletive particle pen, rather than a gerundive:

84 Nagapanhelag pen kami mingosi ya idog.
when-D-resting yet we.exc barked tp dog
'When we were resting yet the dog barked.'

85 Nagapenon pen ira ngaro ani di nakitan naize 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:  
(verbs have min- 'punctiliar action' with completive particle di).

86 Waraq pen maggedto sepa kamhen di niran pagpeneng.
neg yet noon sun finished cmp they fishing
'When (it) wasn't yet noon they finished fishing already.'

87 Waraq pen maggedto 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 deteng doro ka bozagan mingosi di ya idog.
neg yet reach there ntp camote.field barked cmp tp dog
'When (they) had not yet reached the camote field the dog barked now.'
In Chronological Succession the Temporal Margin encodes a relatively punctiliar event and the Nucleus encodes a subsequent relatively punctiliar event.

Formula: + TempM:gerundive + Nuc:indcl

Examples encoding Chronological Succession:

90 Pagsobo ka na init inlonoq di ya isdaaq.
when boiling cmp ntp hot.water immersed cmp tp fish
'When the hot water reached boiling (she) immersed the fish.'

91 Pagkalotek ka na makaen impianlog 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 nge metseb nagapahilikad
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 TemNg 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 se nami ka mingleso di hasta minlaga
when cs see cmp ref we exc ntp smoke cmp and flames
di impahies deazon 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 nangahoho di siran.
when eaten emp they full cmp they
'When they had eaten they were full now.'
95 Pagbatiq ka na amaana imboronan izá.
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 Q, and
Reason Margin P ⊆ Q are simultaneously encoded in the deep structure,
but only Overlap is manifested in the surface structure.

96 Pagkita na idog mindalagan dazon ya idog ngáro 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 imbisoq 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 mai'pia
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 Pagkaaldow minhadheq siran nga dowang ka tao.
when.day felled.trees they subp two subp man
'When day the two men felled trees.'

100 Paggarani naiza imbinoq 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 kaneneq 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: \[P\rightarrow Q\]

Here again Chronological Succession and Reason Margin are simultaneously encoded in the deep structure, but only Overlap is manifested in the surface structure.

102 \textit{Pagdateng ka niran doro ka lagkaw ni Salekep when.reached cmp they there ntp house of (name)}
\textit{ya manga babazi masarang pagpangahaldek.}
\textit{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 \textit{bisan} 'even if'. Note that in this case \textit{pen} 'incomplete' occurs in the Nucleus. This is an exception to Point 2 on page 128.

103 \textit{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 \textit{kon} 'simple conditional relator 'if' or \textit{basta} 'emphatic conditional relator 'if' \textit{Kon} occurs with both varieties of Implication, while \textit{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 \textit{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 mahinog 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deep Structure</th>
<th>Surface Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P ⊨ Q</td>
<td>Cond. Mg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Simple Hypothetical)</td>
<td>RAS in which Relators are kon 'if' whenever' (Ex.104,106-109) basta 'emph. if' (105) Verbs having affix -em- 'possibility' (104,106,107) occur frequently in the Axis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P ⊨ Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Contrafactual)</td>
<td>RAS in which Relator is kon 'if' (110-114) Verbs having indicative stative affixes (111) or indicative active affixes (110,113,114).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Examples encoding Hypotheticality, P ⊨ Q:

104 Minlaong ya asawa baligzag 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 gared hao pagasosi ka baqbaq na karabaw
like indeed I to.examine ntp mouth of carabao

basta naanad ya karabaw.
emph.if tame ntp 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 ntp germs
diri mapasay...
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 enhangzoq
older.sister if possible ntp breath your will.ask.favor
hao nga kada aldaw isa ka lamang ya ansengad.
I that every day one only just ntp 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, \( P A [ P B \rightarrow Q A ] A P \rightarrow Q ] \) Negation of the Predicate results in a variety known as Negative Contrafactuality, \( P a b [ P a b \rightarrow Q b ] A P b \rightarrow Q b \) (113,114).

110 Kita manga horipot di kita kon mindazon ya
we.inc pl wiped.out cmp we.inc if completed ntp
bolan paglipsi lipsi.
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 siren 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 ke 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 Faba[Fab ⊔ Qh]Λ [Fab ⊔ Qh]:

113 Kon waraq bohil mangerini di say manga kaporoon
if neg freed D-come.here cmp ref pl evil.spirits
kanta.
ua.inc
'If (the moon) had not been freed the evil spirits would
have come here now to us.'

114 Minlaong va bozag neg kon waraq hao makanarini
said tp old.woman dqp if neg i come.here
maobos kamo.
uied.off you.pi
'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 withisan (kon) 'simple concessive relator, even if' or
aged '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 ⊔ Q)ΔPΔQ:

115 Bisan makakaro kamo ka Bukidnon mahagdam di kamo
even.if go you.pl ntp Bukidnon know cmp you.pl
ka Minamawa.
ntp Mamamwa.language
'Even if you go to Bukidnon you know the Mamamwa language
already.'

116 Bisan mazetek siran ani dakoleg gihepon va rara.
even.if small they eqp big also tp poison
'Even if they are small, the poison that is also what is big.'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deep Structure</th>
<th>Surface Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expectancy Reversal</td>
<td>RAS in which Relators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(P ⊨ Q)APaQ6</td>
<td>are <strong>bisan</strong> (kon) 'even if' or <strong>agad</strong> 'emph, even if'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Nucleus</strong> (Q)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Anything</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


117 **Agad** **someab** di ya Mamalagay kamazo emph.no.matter.if. have.surrounded cmp tp raiders you.pl

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>diri</th>
<th>kamo</th>
<th>makitan.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>neg</td>
<td>you.pl can.be.seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>even.though found</th>
<th>I neg emph want even.though</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>patazen pen hao.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>killed yet I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'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 Base1. This is unlike all other sentence 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 Base2 which gives the element being emphasized.

Examples of special Concessive Sentence, + B1 + Link + B2:

119 **Base1**: **Bisan** kon **maonga** ya tengtengan **Lk**: **waray bali**

| even.if bad tp appearance never.mind |
|----------------|---------------------------|
| basta          |

**Base2**: **malotog.**

| emph.just.so | baked |

**Base1**: 'Even if the appearance (of the cake) is bad, **Lk**: never mind just so (emphatic) **Base2**: it's baked.'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deep Structure</th>
<th>Surface Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Expectancy Reversal<br>P ⊇ Q_A B_Q_A | Conc RA sentence introduced by bisan (kon) 'even if'  
waray bali basta (kay) 'never mind, emph, just so'  
Nonverb (119-120) |


120 **Base₁**: Bisan hilaw ya begas<br> + Base₁  Lk: waray bali

---

even though not cooked<br>tp rice never mind

---
basta kay Base₂: ya karni lotog di.
emph. just so tp meat cooked cmp

---
Base₁: 'Even though the rice is not cooked  
Lk: never mind  
just so (emphatic) Base₂: 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 C1/Sim N/Red C1

121 Si Salekep **bisan** onhon pagbonog niran diri masakem.<br>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.<br>no matter where tp store just will enter  
'No matter where the store just anywhere we will enter.'

123 **Bisan** onoy magahatag nga hazed diri anheneng pagmatay.<br>no matter what will give subj 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 Cause 'so that not' (126), and Warning 'lest' (127). Reason Margin is expounded by Relator Axis sentences with relator kay 'because'.

Reason 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deep Structure</th>
<th>Surface Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Efficient Cause)</td>
<td>Surface Structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P [(P \supset Q)]</td>
<td>Anything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RAS in which Relator is kay 'because'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Axis which is expounded by SimNP (124), IndCl (125)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Negative Final Cause)</td>
<td>IndCl (126)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P [(P \supset \neg Q)]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Warning)</td>
<td>Stac1 (127)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(P (\supset Q)) (\neg F)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Examples encoding Efficient Cause, i.e. P [\(P \supset Q\)]:

124 Alas sayis pen ka kadelemen ansebay  di ya
     o'clock six yet ntp evening will.come.up cmp tp

     bolan kay kalezan 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 maglalasilis kay diri siran maggangan
     then always they arguing bec neg they same

     ka sabaq nirar.
     ntp language they
"Then they were always arguing because they did not speak the same language."

Reason Margin occasionally encodes negative Final Cause 'so that not', PA\(\supset\) p\(\supset\):

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)\(\supset\)\(\supset\):

127 Minlaong va toong lagi pagbantay ey tombabaq kay
said tp his friend watch.out attn down.there lest
madatgogan ko ka liwaan nge 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 falling 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 relations 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, PA[P \(\supset\) p\(\supset\)]:

128 Naninggit siran kay dazaw makabetig koni va mananap
D-screamed they so.that able.to.hear rsp tp beast
nge 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.'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deep Structure</th>
<th>Surface Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Final Cause</td>
<td>Nucleus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>paj d pQJ</code></td>
<td>Anything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


129 ... angandam hao ka kanaong ipanabaq doro ka will.prepare I ntp my speech there ntp
\[ \text{ginikanan ni Lucia kay hasta makadara kami ka babazi.} \]
\[ \text{parents ntp (name) so that can.bring we.exc ntp girl} \]
'... I will prepare my speech there at the parents of Lucis so that we can bring the girl.'

130 Insamligan nami ya pilpig dazaw kabhaqan.
\[ \text{pad we tp dam so that water.will.recede} \]
'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
\[ \text{dakolaq ya kantang makaen.} \]
\[ \text{big tp our.inc food} \]
'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 baik '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 Que-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deep Structure</th>
<th>Surface Structure</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nucleus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(P ☞ Q) ☞ P ☞ Q</td>
<td>Neg or Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Command</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awareness</td>
<td>&lt;-haldek&gt; 'afraid'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aP ☞ Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</tbody>
</table>


Examples encoding Warning 'lest', (P ☞ Q) ☞ P ☞ Q:

132 Dirk isah ko magqazog kay basi mabonq 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 Dirí mo pabalaan ya rilo mo kay basí magkaonga. neg you.s cs.to.borrow tp watch your.a last be.broken 'Don't you land your watch last it be broken.'

134 Laket kiton baloto kay basí maanod. secure that dugout last be.washed.away 'Secure that dugout last it be washed away.'

135 Pokaßen mo gi Rosita kay basí dirí iza makaapas awaken you.s tp (name) last neg she can.on.time ka pagsalet ka iskwilahan. ntp enter ntp schoolhouse 'You awaken Rosita last she not be able to get to the schoolhouse on time.'

Examples encoding Awareness 'fear lest', aP∧Q:

136 Magakahaldek hao ka idiq nga mingagmqg kahabi ka was.afraid I ntp dog subp barking yesterday ntp paggazi o dizar ka dalan kay basí magapamangq iton. passing I there ntp trail last 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 ankarondaza piro dirí pen hao would.like I come.upriver but neg yet 1 togotan na amaen o kay basí may grant.permission ntp uncle my last exis maonga tendaza. 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 pagquliq ni inaq nawied iza ka awhila.ago ntp came.home ntp mother worried she ntp nabatian nga may palems koni ka bahaq news that exis drowned rsp ntp flooded.river kay basí si ama ani ya palems. last 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 basí, with a past verb form in Complement]
Occasionally the Axis in the Warning Margin is expounded by an Indirect Question Sentence (aPQ):

139 Nagasolok di siran ka moron kay mahaldek
lighted the way cmp they ntp kerosene lamp bec afraid
   siran kon msa 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 mainpis 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 Mamerwa 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 mataggoranen sa koman kay izang panborawen
   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(P ⊃ pQ) with a sentence in its Axis consisting of Concessive Margin plus Nucleus encoding Expectancy Reversal: (P ⊃ Q) P ⊃ Q, the two juxtaposed relators kay agad occasionally permute to agad ka.

142 Maggozamet kamo paggiskwila agad ka aroq
   concentrate effort you.pl schooling so that even if far
   iko kaneo nakahimoq di kamo ka pagbinestan
   you.s from me possible cmp you pl ntp to manage
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 magatalgoban 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 makasseled kay paibahen hao piro
neg I can.come.to.work bec cause.to.accompany I but
kon makassazo kami paggoliq 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 Base2 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 hinawe niran singed pen ka
in.number but tp understanding their like yet ntp
hinawa

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 syhaq 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
magulisili kita.
alternate we.inc 'The mother (bird) said, "Didn't I say that we shouldn't leave (the nest) together, we should take turns?"'
7.1 Narrative
7.2 Procedural
7.3 Explanatory
7.4 Hortatory
7.5 Dialogue

This paper describes the five contrastive paragraph types in Mamamwa. 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 Mamamwa 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 bogstakaw 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 Hortatory paragraph. The
vocative pronoun is usually present also in its normal position follow-
ing the verb:

Kamo nga manga babazi Ø-panhiaa kamo ka manga betang...

you.pl subj 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 siraŋ nga siraŋ magabaay.

thp pl person decided.together they isp 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 Explan-
tory paragraphs, and EXHORTATION in Hortatory paragraphs) produce dif-
ferent profiles as seen in the following representations: (height
represents focal points, circles represent important units)

Narrative:

Procedural:

Explanatory
and Hortatory:

Dialogue:

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 per-
son. 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 kaman and the particle na. Both kaman '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 Formulc and Definition of Tagmemes.

Narr Par:

\[ \text{\#SETTING(SET)} \oplus (\text{\#BUILD UP(BU)}^n \oplus \text{\#CLIMAX(CL)} \oplus \text{\#PARENTHESIS(PAREN)} \oplus \text{\#STEPDOWN(SD)}^n \oplus \text{\#TERMINUS(TER)} \]

**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) SET₁:NTemM Pagpakadateng ke na manga tao nga garing having.arrived cmp ntp pl person subj from
dilod SET₂:Nucleus minlaong ya babazi nga SET₃:Quote downriver said tp woman dqp
waraq di kita kaan key ambothog di ya manga neg cmp we.inc soon bec will.appear cmp tp pl
kaporoone.
evil.spirits
SET₁:NTemM 'When the people arrived from downriver SET₂:Nucleus the woman said,' SET₃: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 key '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:CplxNTemM Pagkapatay ne boog minkawaq dazon having.died ntp wild.pig went.and.got immed
ka pagbaba izaug tao. BU₁:IndCl Ingakotan dazon ntp carry.on.back thp person tied immed
naiza ya boog. BU₂: Cplx+NTemM Pagkahoman imbaba
he tp wild.pig having.finished carried
dazon naiza ya boog. BU₃: 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. BU₁: IndCl He immediately tied the wild pig. BU₂: Cplx+NTemM Having finished, he carried the wild pig on his back. BU₃: 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, CLIMAX₁ gives the high point of the paragraph while CLIMAX₂ gives the attendant argument.

3) CL₁: Cplx+NTemM Temengteng pen ya inaq ka toong anak
searching yet tp mother ntp her young
waraq di sa. CL₂: SimEx Maglaong ya inaq nga daw
neg cmp ref said tp mother dqp intr
waraq sa hao maglaong nga diri kita magtibeg
neg ref I say iqpp neg we.inc at.same.time
pagpanaw, magisilisili kita. Daw magconono pen sa
leave take.turns we.inc intr will.do yet ref
kita ka anak ta nga inkawag na
we.inc ntp young our.inc subp come.and.taken ntp
owak. Minsambag ya bana nga onbon pen mingiba
blackbird answered tp husb dqp how yet accompanied
sa hao kay silaong kon waray makasibol ka
ref I bec mistakenly.tho't iqpp neg could.steal ntp
anak ta.
young our.inc
CL₁: Cplx+NTemM As the mother (kingfisher) searched for her young, she discovered that they were gone! CL₂: 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) BU₁:Cplx+NTemM Pagkakaaldawen minselem pappanaw izang toong
at.daybreak early left thp her
  bana. PAREN:Parallel s Mindera ke tolong bolos
  husband took ntp three in.number
  nga idog, dara ya bangkaw. BU₂:IndCl Mimpesaw dazon
  subj dog took tp spear left immed
  ngandaked ka tebbeb nga oms.
  up ntp edge of farm
  BU₁:Cplx+NTemM 'At daybreak her husband left early (to hunt).
PAREN:Parallel s He took three dogs, took a spear. BU₂: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) SD₁:Cplx+NTemM Pagkabereng ka niran nga waraq di
  being.dumbfounded cmp they lqp neg cmp
  anak niran minmatay siran ka kawied niran ka
  young their wept they ntp concern their ntp
  kanirang anak. SD₂:Cplx+NTemM Pagkakamhan niran
  their young having.finished they
  pappinagmatay namasglingawlingaw si siran...
  weeping sang.softly/together they
  SD₁:Cplx+NTemM 'Being dumbfounded that their young were miss-
ing, they wept in their concern about their young. SD₂:Cplx+
NTemM Having finished weeping, they sang softly together...'

Terminus. Optional TERM occurs at the end of a Narrative para-
graph 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 olik 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

7.2.1 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\textsubscript{2} affixes, whereas Narrative paragraphs are actor oriented with subject focus and aspect\textsubscript{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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predicate (action)</th>
<th>Subject (actor)</th>
<th>Object (goal)</th>
<th>Referent (location)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. went to collect leaves to make a mat</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>inherent in verb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. collected leaves</td>
<td></td>
<td>leaves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. cut lengthwise</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. removed thorns</td>
<td></td>
<td>leaves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. put in sun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. pressed in sand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. put in sun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>inherent in verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. wound together</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. unwound</td>
<td></td>
<td>leaves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. tied in bundles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. pounded</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. cut bundles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 kaman '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:
\[ \text{ACTIVITY(}\text{ACT}\text{)} \oplus \text{STEP}(\text{S})^n \oplus \text{PARENTHESIS}(\text{PAREN}) \oplus \text{SIMULTANEOUS STEP}(\text{SS}) \oplus \text{FINIS}(\text{FIN}) \]

**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 ankaroo hao ka barwa
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 Mamamwa 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 tagmene 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 S1: Nucleus garasan
how.to.make.farm cmp this cut.underbrush

dazon kay hastang waraq di makaireg. S2: Cplx+SeqM
immed so.that neg cmp can.steal

Pagkakaman paggarae hadhadan di kay hastang
having.finished cutting.grass fell.trees cmp so.that

madaliq masonog. S3: 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. S4: Cplx+SeqM Pagkakaman pagtdtdad sonogon
debris having.finished chopping burn

di dazaw matorc ya sagbet pagkasonog. S5: 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  tabakog.
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 under-
brush, 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  Ankawag  hao  ka  baweg.  PAREN:equs  Ani
will go get  I  ntp  supplr:branch
kawqen  o  ya  lingbahan  key  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  supplr:branch
padagpakahan  o.
make split post  I
$S_1$:SimS  'I will go and get a supple branch (for making a
wild pig trap).  PAREN:equs  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 gerun-
dives.  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  uita.
said  tp  mother  many  tp  yams  our inc
Lidgidon mazo va 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
ka paglidgid minkawaq kami ka dahon. $S_5$: Cplx+SeqM ntp grating went.and.got we.exc ntp leaves
Pagdateng din ka lagkaw imbolaq. $S_6$: IndC1 having.arrived here ntp house put.in.sun
Minkawaq isab ka nizog. $S_7$: IndC1 Insakatan ya went.got also ntp coconut mixed tp
linigid ka nizog. $S_8$: Cplx+SeqM Pagkalazaq ka grated.yams ntp coconut having.dried cmp
na dahon impamotos ya linigid. $S_9$: Cplx+SeqM ntp leaves D-wrapped tp grated.yams
Pagkakamahan pagparamos insengaq. FIN: Cplx+SeqM having.finished wrapping cooking
Pagkalotoq ka na linigid 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. $S_4$: Cplx+SeqM Having finished grating (we) went and got banana leaves. $S_5$: Cplx+SeqM Having arrived here at the house, (we) put them in the sun to dry. $S_6$: IndC1 (We) also went and got coconut. $S_7$: IndC1 (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:

At 11:00 peeled grated started yams yams
to prepare yams Mixed wrapped cooked ate
got coconut yams yams yams
put in sun in yams coconut
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 tagmememe, and to terminate the paragraph by an action which is a logical result of the activity given in the foregoing STEPS, e.g. 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

7.3.1 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: Base₁ 'Closeby were fish, Base₂ small fish'. EXPOSITIONS similarly specify or explain the subject identified in the TEXT, as in Example 11.

11)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Expo₁</th>
<th>Expo₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The deeds of the people, this is what they did.</td>
<td>They continually speared (people)</td>
<td>They are even spearing yet because they do not yet recognize the law of the governor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>because there was no law of the governor yet.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 tagmememes 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: *Ye 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/haste(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) [REASON(rea)] +TERMINAL(ter)

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 gives the weapons used for offensive fighting, while TEXT gives that which is used for defensive fighting.

12) TEXT:EqCl Ya kanirang harominta ani ya bangkaw daw tp their weapons eqp tp spear and
   kalis daw panag. TEXT:EqCl Ya kanirang
   bolo.knife and bow.arrow tp their
   salimanan ani ya kalasag. EXPO: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
   longgan iza nga hanas di.
   will.say that.one iqp expert.fighter cmp TERM:SimS
   Kamban anwarawara sian ka kanirang kalasag.
   term.mk er will.fLOURish they ntp their shield

TEXT:EqCl 'Their weapons were a spear, bolo knife, and bow and arrows. TEXT:EqCl Their protection was a shield. EXPO: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 sentence. The function of REASON tagmeme is to state the reason 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 separated by the TERMINAL tagmeme marked by aniton 'That's why'. REASON_3 is thus an afterthought.

13) TEXT: nonvb cl Masaráng pangahalde niran REASON_1:ReaM kay superl fear their bec kon malomon di ya bolan diri di maalaw. if swallowed cmp tp moon neg cmp become.day REASON_2:ss+ReaM Ya manga kaporoon ambothog 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.mk er ya inkahaldekan niran REASON_3:ReaM kay ya gabok isab tp made.afraid they bec tp firewood also mawarag 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 be 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 kamhañ '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

7.4.1 General characteristics.

When a Mamamwa 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 (ika, 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 EXHORATION) of the paragraph. The remainder of the paragraph is dependent both structurally and semantically on the EXHORATION 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 EXHORATION 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.

\[ \text{PRELIMINARY(PRELIM)} \rightarrow \text{EXHORATION(EXHOR)} \rightarrow \text{REASON(REA)} \rightarrow \text{PURPOSE(PUR)} \rightarrow \text{RESULT(RES)} \rightarrow \text{REINFORCEMENT(REINF)} \rightarrow \text{TERMINALTERM) } \]

**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 EXHORATION 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 advise someone to perform an activity or to improve his behavior.

14) PRELIM:DQF2 ... ya baylan nagalaong EXHOR:Quote
    tp medicine.man was.saying
    m-ag-pongkay kamo ka baboy ka balazed PUR:purM
    imp.place.upon you.pl ntp pig ntp altar
    kav dezaw ya kaporoon diri makakaweg ka mamedlay.
    so.that tp evil.spirits neg can.get ntp sick.person

PRELIM:DQF2 "... 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 Œ-pañhies kamo ka you.pl subp pl woman imp.pack you.pl ntp
manga betang daw Œ-manhabet kamo ke manga pl belongings and imp-carry you.pl ntp pl
maimpis REA:ReaM of DQS kay ambantay kami dorc ka child bec will.guard we.exc there ntp
hongahan PUR: PurM of DQS kay dazaw makahonga 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:DQF1 Ining nga katahahan kawandini pen PRELIM:DQF2 these subp people long.ago
inlonggan na oloolo niran EXHOR:Quote abay kamo were.told ntp leader their neg you.pl
pagkabereng ka kanaong manga aogog kamazo ka be.surprised ntp my pl command to.you.pl ntp
paggarem kamazo RESULT1: ResM+ConcM kay agad to.train you.pl as.a.result.even.if
may kontra to kaygan ya kamazong lawas malaksi exis enemy our.inc later tp your.pl body agile
There are two people, a long time ago, they were told by their leader, 'Don't be surprised at my commands to you to train your eyes to see with your eyes. As a result even if you have enemies later, your eyes will be agile because you are trained to use the shield and spear. 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. You'll be able to see your own ferocious breathing as you defeat each person. 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 tagmene is to paraphrase the EXHORTATION tagmene 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:DQF2 Ya Tahaw ani nagatoldog ka manga
    tp God dp was.teaching ntp pl
    kamalaasan nga EXHOR:Quote m-ag-mamag kamo
dep elders imp-chew.betelnut you.pl
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 Ankargin 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 APER-TURE 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 ankargin 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 tombabag
   said tp his friend watch.out attn dawn.there
   kay madatqogan ko ka liwaan nga kanaong indeeg.
   lest will.be.struck you.s ntp tree subj 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 ampanatay di
   Cv-D-calling dqp help you.pl bec will.die cmp
   kaan ining tao kay magapanmidpid di sa ya toong
   soon this person bec D-tremble cmp ref tp his
   lawas. -RESOL:SimS Ya manga tao waray minesambag 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)\textsuperscript{n}

Obligatory multiple SIMEX is expounded by two or more Simple
Exchange Dialogues. The STIMULUS for each successive 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 Dia-
logue then continues until the two speakers agree on the terms of
their contract. In some ways Example 22 resembles a Narrative para-
graph, but essentially it is a Compound Exchange Dialogue:

22) SIMEX\textsubscript{1}:STIM:DQS Minlaong ya amaama nga ev wani di
said tp man dqp attn here cmp
kami. RESOL:DQS Minlaong ya taghelag nga panapon
we.exe said tp house-owner dqp climb
sa kamol ngarindaked. Pappakatapon ka kizahelq
ref you_p1 up_here having.climbed cmp there

SIMEX\textsubscript{2}:STIM:DQS' minlaong ya amaama nga ev kon
said tp man dqp attn if
mahimoq hao ampakahagdam kamno kay dazaw masazod
possible I will.inform you_s so.that will.know.
kono nga may katozoan o kamno dini. Minkarini
you_s iqp exis purpose my you_s here came_here
hao kay may kaazak nao ka maihpis mo agad
I bec exis liking my ntp child your_s even.tho'
waraq magkatatarato ya maanak ta kay haey
neg engagement tp children our.inc bec I
dakolang kaazak kamno 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 ev daw maono ga kon magkacqong
father of girl attn intr what ref intr mk.parallel

ya kasabetan ta. SIMEX\textsubscript{2}:STIM:DQS Minlaong di
tp understanding our.inc said cmp

ya amaama nga ev manginem nga kita. RESOL:SimS
.tp man dqp attn drink adv we.inc

Kamhan ya rebaq nga dare 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\textsubscript{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\textsubscript{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\textsubscript{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: \textasteriskcentered STIMULUS \textasteriskcentered 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 in-
roduce one's own question, proposal, or remark instead. In Example
23 the initial exchange is a Simple Exchange Dialogue, but each ex-
change 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 nge nga tengteng!
said tp father my dqp look

mazo koni magaposken na idog daw ono iza.
you.pl rsp barking ntp dog intr doing ha
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. CPLXEX₁: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." CPLXEX₃:STIM:DQS I went and got a spear. RESOL:DQS The elder said, "Don't spear that snake lest it retaliate." CPLXEX₃: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

8.1.1 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.

\[\text{Si Salekep ka pagkatao pen naiza, ...}\]
\[\text{tp (name) ntp when.born yet he}\]
\['Salekep, at the time when he was born, ...'\]

2) Non-specific nouns like 'man', 'dog' preceded by the non-personal topic marker ya.

\[\text{Ya idog in-iba ni Sinsiyo daked ka Hadzeen.}\]
\[\text{tp dog Of-accompany ntp (name) up ntp (name)}\]
\['The dog accompanied Sinsiyo up to Hadzeen.'\]
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 sy 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. Kambah 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 closely 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 Q-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 thematicized 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 nge 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 maglalag.
 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 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 meppangantiparanhay 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-kargin sa ko konsilem? Min-sambag
Sf-said tp wife Sf-going ref you.s tomorrow Sf-answered

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ya} & \text{ toong} \\
\text{tp} & \text{ emph poss.her}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{bana} & \text{ ev, konsilem am-panaw hao} \\
\text{tre} & \text{ husband attn tomorrow Sf-go I}
\end{align*}\]

kay am-balatik hao konsilem.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{-------------------------} \\
\text{bec Sf-trap.pig I tomorrow}
\end{align*}\]

'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 iisang aldaw 'Once upon a time'

\[\begin{align*}
\text{exis} & \text{ one day}
\end{align*}\]

Kawandini pen 'long ago' can substitute for the 'once upon a time' formula.

Kawandini pen ya langit koni ababaq pen.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{-------------------} \\
\text{long.ago tp sky rsp low yet}
\end{align*}\]

'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 nangasaaw na '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 nangasaaw 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)'.

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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.

Kampan min-beneng pen kami kizang baryo nga paniedtohanan.
next Sf-stopped yet we theme.that barrio subj lunch.stop
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 nm tp our.exc food theme. def. that enough
Lamang nga diri kami mapasmo.
just subj 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 Yeveq 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 re-statement 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-panangu hao ka may nangasawa kizang bolan-a nga
Sf-will.tell I ntp thp suitor theme.that month-ld subp
Honyo. May nangasawa nga tsga bobong kaa Iska.
June exis suitor subp resident.of mountain ntp (name)
Min-saka iza kizang bolan-a.
Sf-initiate.negotiations he theme.that month-ld
'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 tsga bobong 'suitor who was a mountaineer' is sentence theme and is a reference to the paragraph 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 magsaon nga tolong ka tao. May
long.ago exis relatives subp three subp person exis
iaang babazi, may dowang amaana.
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 further 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 ısang eldaw naga-panawpanaw ya babazi dizan ka dao.

Once upon a time Sf-walking about tp girl there ntp balete

Kamhan na-kit-an ıza na inkanto nga naga-helaq dizan ka dao. St-seen-Rf she ntp fairy subj Sf-living there ntp

Kamhan na-ay-k-an ıza na inkanto. Na, balete next St-liked-Rf she ntp fairy after a time

In-dara di ya babazi ngendalem 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
8.3 Reference

The reference system in Manamwa 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 main 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 Iska 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 amaga nga nangasawa 'the boy who was the suitor'. Sentence 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 amaga '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 sentences 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-leong ya inaq nga daw waraq sa hao mag-leong nga
Sf-said tp mother dqp intr neg ŋef I Sf-said iqp
diri kita mag-tibea pagpanaw, mag-silisili kita?
neg we.inc Sf-together leave Sf-take.turns we.inc
daw mag-monoono pen sa kita ka anak ta nga
intr Sf-what yet ref we.inc ntp young our subp
in-kawaw di sa na owak?
Of-taken cmp ŋeg 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 onbon pen min-iba sa hao kay
Sf-answered tp husband dqp how yet Sf-with ŋef I bec
sil-eong sa nao kon waray maka-sibol ka anak
mistaken.thought ŋef 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 incomplete
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 siwan ngaro ka kanirang anak dalam
Sf-went.home cmp they there ntp their young inside
ka anay. T-em-enteng pen ya inaq ka toong
ntp termite nest Sf-looking yet tp mother ntp emph.poss.her
anak waraq di sa.
young neg cmp ŋef

'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 Mamana discourse is linked together. This linking is a
major cohesive device which provides continuity of action in narra-
tive discourse, and continuity of sequence in procedural discourse
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 Mamamya 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Na, SIRAN} & \quad \text{nga} \quad \text{manga} \quad \text{tao} \quad \text{diri} \quad \text{maga-inaranihay} \\
\text{nim} \quad \text{THEY} & \quad \text{subp} \quad \text{pl} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{neg} \quad \text{Sf-close.to.each.other} \\
\text{kon} & \quad \text{mag-panhelaq.} \quad \text{Ya} \quad \text{eley} \quad \text{niran} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{pangedrag} \\
\text{when} & \quad \text{Sf-living} \quad \text{tp} \quad \text{boundary} \quad \text{their} \quad \text{ntp} \quad \text{distance} \\
\text{tagdowang} & \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{kilometro,} \quad \text{tagbanga} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{kilometro,} \\
\text{sometimes.two} & \quad \text{ntp} \quad \text{kilometer} \quad \text{sometimes.one} \quad \text{ntp} \quad \text{kilometer} \\
\text{ya} & \quad \text{pangedrag} \quad \text{niran.} \quad \text{tp} \quad \text{distance} \quad \text{their} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'(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 \textit{naiza} and non-topic pronoun \textit{kanangiza}.

\textit{Ya tozo o doro ka Cantilang \textit{min-apas} hao ka} tp purpose my there ntp (name) Sf-overtake I ntp

\textit{kanaong maanak nga ai Sirlita. Na, ya pagpanaw emph.poss.my child subp tp (name) \textit{nim} tp leaving}

\textit{pen naiza Mayo. Na, ya pag-apas o kanangiza Siktimbri di. yet her May \textit{nim} 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.
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 Hockett (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.
Several restrictions have been noted in the inflection of affix-derived stems.

An included clause has no topic. See Section 4.52.

This distinction is true in indicative active mode only. See 3.21.51.2.

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

See Chapter 4 where limitation of occurrence of focus affixes is described.

Chapter 4. Clauses

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).

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.

Those verbs that can only be affixed for Subject focus usually require the causative infix -pa-.

There is no fixed order for the non-topic Accessory Instrument slot or the Referent slot.

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 

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", Bayer 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," Lingue 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 conveyance predicates.
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