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NONVERBAL CLAUSES IN MAMANWA

JEANNE MILLER

0. Introduction.
1. Kernel Clauses.
2. Equational Clause.
4. Emphasis.

0. INTRODUCTION

A clause in Mamanwa\textsuperscript{1} consists of an obligatory predicate and an obligatory topic. Predicates of verbal clauses are manifested by verb phrases; verbal clauses also have goal, referent, and accessory tagmemes. Nonverbal clauses, however, have nonverbal constructions manifesting the predicates, and do not have goal, referent, and accessory tagmemes.\textsuperscript{2}

Equational clauses are derived from verbal and nonverbal clauses. Negative and emphatic nonverbal clauses are variations of nonverbal clauses.

1. KERNEL CLAUSES

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 five distinct nonverbal kernel clause types in Mamanwa: directional, descriptive, possessive, time, and existential.\textsuperscript{3}

1.1. Directional clause

The directional clause (DiCl)\textsuperscript{4} contains an obligatory directional
predicate slot \( (P_{di}) \) filled by a directional phrase \( (Ph_{di}) \), an obligatory topic slot \( (T_{di}) \) filled by a topic pronoun \( (pr_t) \) or topic phrase \( (Ph_t) \), and an optional time slot \( (Ti) \) filled by a time word or phrase:

\[
\text{DiCl} = + P_{di}:Ph_{di} + T_{di}:pr_t/Ph_t \pm Ti:ti
\]

\[
doro\, siran\, ka\, lengsed\, kahabi\, (P_{di}:\text{there} \ldots \text{at city})
T_{di}:\ldots \text{they} \ldots Ti:yesterday \quad 'They\, were\, at\, the\, city\, yesterday.'
\]

An interrogative directional clause is formed by substituting \text{hain} 'where' in the directional predicate slot. \text{Hain si ran kahabi (P_{di}:where T_{di}:they Ti:yesterday} 'Where were they yesterday?'

1.2. Descriptive clause

The descriptive clause (DeCl) contains an obligatory predicate slot \( (P_{de}) \) filled by a descriptive phrase \( (Ph_{de}) \), an obligatory topic slot \( (T_{de}) \) filled by a topic pronoun or topic phrase, and an optional time slot filled by a time word:

\[
\text{DeCl} = + P_{de}:Ph_{de} + T_{de}:pr_t/Ph_t \pm Ti:ti
\]

\[
\text{mariggen\, siran\, (P_{de}:\text{strong} T_{de}:\text{they})} \quad 'They\, are\, strong.'
\]
\[
\text{pethaw\, ya\, badoq\, (P_{de}:\text{steel} T_{de}:\text{the\, dress})} \quad 'The\, dress\, is\, made\, of\, steel.'
\]
\[
\text{madazaw\, ya\, pag-hatag\, kanami\, na\, tao\, kahabi\, (P_{de}:\text{good} T_{de}:\text{the\, person\, gave\, to/us\, by/the\, person Ti:yesterday})} \quad 'That\, which\, the\, person\, gave\, to\, us\, yesterday\, was\, good.'
\]

1.3. Possessive clause

The possessive clause (PoCl) contains an obligatory predicate slot \( (P_{po}) \) filled by an oblique pronoun \( (pr_o) \) or oblique phrase \( (Ph_o) \), an obligatory topic slot \( (T_{po}) \) filled by topic demonstrative pronoun \( (dem_t) \) or a topic phrase, and an optional time slot filled by a time word:

\[
\text{PoCl} = + P_{po}:pr_o/Ph_o + T_{po}:dem_t/Ph_t \pm Ti:ti
\]

\[
\text{kanao\, ini\, koman\, (P_{po}:\text{mine} T_{po}:\text{this Ti:now})} \quad 'This\, is\, mine\, now.'
\]
\[
\text{kan\, ama\, ya\, pala\, ka\, pag-tanem\, (P_{po}:\text{to\, father} T_{po}:\text{the\, shovel\, for}}
\]
plucking) 'The planting shovel is Father's.'

1.4. Time clause

The time clause (TiCl) contains an obligatory predicate slot (P_{ti}) filled by a time word or phrase and an obligatory topic slot filled by a past time clause (PtCl)\textsuperscript{10} introduced by a topic marker:

\[ TiCl = + P_{ti}:Ti + T_{ti}:PtCl_t \]

'sabado ya pag-hatag kanami na tao (P_{ti}:Saturday T_{ti}:the time-give to/us the person) 'Saturday someone gave us something.'

tolong ka oras ya pag-toon ta kan hollan ka minamanwa doro ka pangaylan (P_{ti}:three of hours T_{ti}:the time-learn ours from Julian the Mamanwa there at Pangaylan) 'We were learning Mamanwa from Julian for three hours there at Pangaylan.'

1.5. Existential clause

The existential clause (ExCl) contains an obligatory predicate slot (P_{ex}) filled by may 'there is', and an obligatory topic slot (T_{ex}) filled by a descriptive phrase or by an included clause (IcCl).\textsuperscript{11}

\[ ExCl = + P_{ex}:may + T_{ex}:Ph_{de/IcCl} \]

'may tao dizan (P_{ex}:there/is T_{ex}:person there) 'There is someone there.'

'may ampakahagdam kanao dindaza konisolom (P_{ex}:there-is T_{ex}:one/who/will/inform me up/here tomorrow) 'There will be someone to inform me up here tomorrow.'

2. 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 (P_{eq}). The remainder of the non-equational clause becomes the topic of the equational clause (T_{eq}) and is preceded by a topic marker.\textsuperscript{12} Specific particle ani (Sp) precedes the equational topic. In the examples which follow, ani is optional when enclosed in parentheses.
From kernel verbal clause: inhatag nao ya kowarta kan melina (P: gave Subject: I T: the money Referent: to Melina) 'I gave the money to Melina.' + ya kowarta ani ya inhatag nao kan melina (P eq: the money Sp: ani Teq: the gave I to Melina) 'Money is what I gave to Melina.'

From causative verbal clause: ipabahog ni ina ining makaen ka baboy (P: cause/to/feed Subject: the mother T: this food Referent: the pig) 'Mother will cause this food to be fed to the pig.' + ining makaen ani ya ipabahog ni ina ka baboy (P eq: this food Sp: ani the cause/to/feed the mother the pig) 'This food is what mother will cause to be fed to the pig.'

From stative verbal clause: magatambalan kami ni mam (P: being/given/medicine Referent: we Subject: by Mum) 'We are being given medicine by Mum.' + kami (ani) ya magatambalan ni mam (P eq: we Sp: ani Teq: the being/given/medicine by Mum) 'We are the ones being given medicine by Mum.'

From descriptive nonverbal clause: mariggen siran (P de: strong T de: they) 'They are strong.' + siran (ani) ya mariggen (P eq: they Sp: ani Teq: the strong) 'They are the strong ones.' pethaw ya badoq (P de: steel T de: the dress) 'The dress is made of steel.' + ya badoq ani ya pethaw (P eq: the dress Sp: ani Teq: the steel) 'The dress is what is made of steel.' segqeq iton (P de: honey T de: that) 'That is honey.' + iton (ani) ya segqeq (P eq: that Sp: ani Teq: the honey) 'That is the honey.'

From time nonverbal clause: sabado ya pag-hatag kanami na tao (P ti: Saturday T ti: the time-give to/us the person) 'Saturday someone gave us something.' + ya pag-hatag kanami na tao ani ya sabado (P eq: the give to/us the person Sp: ani T eq: Saturday) 'Someone gave us something on Saturday.'

From possessive nonverbal clause: kanao ini (P po: mine T po: this) 'This is mine.' + ini (ani) ya kanao (P eq: this Sp: ani Teq: the mine) 'This is what is mine.' kan ama ya pala ka pagtanem (P po: to father T po: the shovel to plant) 'The planting shovel is father's.' + ya pala ani ya kan ama (P eq: the shovel Sp: ani Teq: the to father) 'Father is the owner of the shovel.'

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

From kernel verbal clause: inhatag nao ya kowarta kan melina (P: gave Subject: I T: the money Referent: to Melina) 'I gave the money to Melina.' + ono ya inhatag nao kan Melina (P eq: what T eq: the gave me to Melina)
'What did I give to Melina?'

From descriptive nonverbal clause: marlgqen sl ran (P\textsubscript{de}:strong T\textsubscript{de}:they) 'They are strong.' + sinqo ya marlgqen (P\textsubscript{eq}:who T\textsubscript{eq}:the strong ones) 'Who are the strong ones?'

3. NEGATION

All nonverbal clauses except interrogative can be negated, by either dirl kon or waraq. The negative tagmeme (Neg) occurs pre-predicate. dirl kon is used to negate descriptive, possessive, time, and equa­tional nonverbal clauses, dirl kon pethaw ya badoq (Neg:not P\textsubscript{de}:steel T\textsubscript{de}:the dress) 'The dress isn't steel.' dirl kon kanao lni koman (Neg: not P\textsubscript{po}:mine T\textsubscript{po}:this Ti:now) 'This isn't mine now.' dirl kon Sabado ya pag-hataq kanami na tao (Neg: not P\textsubscript{ti}:Saturday T\textsubscript{ti}:the time-give to/us the person) 'It wasn't Saturday that someone gave us something.' dirl kon lza ya impananqogan na tao (Neg: not P\textsubscript{eq}:the T\textsubscript{eq}:the one/storied by person) 'He wasn't the one told about by someone.'

waraq is used to negate directional and existential nonverbal clauses.

waraq sliran doro ka lengsed kahabi (Neg: not T\textsubscript{di}:they P\textsubscript{di}:there at city Ti:yesterday) 'They were not there at the city yesterday.' Notice that waraq draws the topic pronoun to a prepredicate position. In the existen­tial negative, the predicate tagmeme is replaced by the negative existential (Neg\textsubscript{ex}) and a descriptive phrase filler of the existential topic is introduced by ya topic marker. waraq ya tao dizan (Neg\textsubscript{ex}:none T\textsubscript{ex}:the person there) 'There is nobody there.'

4. 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 emphasised tagmeme occurs in clause-initial position.

4.1. The topic of any nonverbal clause (except an existential clause) can be emphasised by being moved to clause-initial position. Em = emphasised tagmeme. ya helaq nir\textsubscript{an} doro ka lengsed (Em\textsubscript{di}:the dwelling their P\textsubscript{di}:there at city) 'They live at the city.' ya kabengtas nir\textsubscript{an} ka Isaq masara (Em\textsubscript{de}:the hunger their for fish P\textsubscript{de}:great) 'They are very hungry for fish.' ya impananqogan na tao lza (Em\textsubscript{eq}:the one/
Any nonpredicate tagmeme of an included clause filling the topic of an existential clause may be emphasised. The emphasised tagmeme moves to prepredicate position in the existential clause and is manifested by the same class as when non-emphasised. EmOb = emphasised object tagmeme, EmDi = emphasised direction tagmeme.

In an emphasized directional clause: siran ya helaq niran doro ka lengsed (Id: they EmDi: the dwelling their Pa: there at city) 'They have their dwelling place in the city.' The identification tagmeme specifies niran, the possessors of a dwelling place.

In a descriptive clause: ya magamamaq mariggen ya ngipen niran (Id: the betel/nut/chewers Pa: strong Ta: the teeth their) 'People who chew betel nut have strong teeth.' The identification tagmeme specifies niran, the possessors of teeth.
1. The Mamanwa language is spoken by approximately 1000 negritos residing in the northeastern area of Mindanao, Philippines, in Agusan and Surchao provinces. The data were collected during the years 1957-1966 while residing at the sitio Pangaylan in northern Agusan. Principal informants were Lucia Amosway, a teenage Mamanwa girl, Roberto Culangan, a teenage Mamanwa boy, and Julian Porogoy, a middle-aged Mamanwa man.

The author is indebted to Elmer Wolfenden and Richard Roe of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for their assistance in the preparation and presentation of this paper.


3. Since completion of this paper, Eugene Verstrelaan's "Some Elementary Data of the Mamanwa Language" (Anthropos 60:803-15, 1965) has come to our attention. He 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).

Other studies give inventories similar to that described here. Myra L. Barnard, "Dibabawon Nonverbal Clauses", in Mario D. Zamora, ed., Studies in Philippine Anthropology (In Honor of H. Otley Beyer) 559-66, Quezon City, Alemar-Phoenix Publishing House (1967), describes the following nonverbal clauses for Dibabawon: classificational and descriptive (both are Mamanwa descriptive), benefactive (Mamanwa possessive), locational (Mamanwa directional), existential, and identificational (Mamanwa equational). Leonard E. Newell, "Independent Clause Types of Batad Ifugao", Oceanic Linguistics 3:187-8 (1964) describes the following for Ifugao: adjectival (Mamanwa descriptive), existential, and equational (Mamanwa descriptive and equational). Ernesto Constantino, "The Sentence Patterns of Twenty-Six Philippine Languages", Lingua 15:88-94 (1965) describes the following for general Philippine: adjectival and nominal
(both are Mamanwa descriptive) and particulate (Mamanwa directional, possessive, and existential). Constantino's kernel definite sentences are equivalent to what we have described as equational.

4. Symbols used in this paper are as follows:

\[ Cl = \text{clause}; \quad Ph = \text{phrase}; \quad P = \text{predicate}; \quad T, \ t = \text{topic}; \ o = \text{oblique}; \]
\[ Ti, \ ti = \text{time}; \ Di, \ di = \text{directional}; \ pr = \text{pronoun}; \ De, \ de = \text{descriptive}; \]
\[ Po, \ po = \text{possessive}; \ dem = \text{demonstrative pronoun}; \ Pt = \text{past time}; \ Ex, \ ex = \text{existential}; \ Ic = \text{included clause}; \ eq = \text{equational}; \ Neg = \text{negative}; \]
\[ Em = \text{emphasised}; \ Ob = \text{object}; \ Id = \text{identification}; \ Sp = \text{specific}. \]

5. Helen Miller, in an unpublished manuscript, describes a directional phrase as composed of an obligatory relator slot filled by a class of directional words, an optional connector slot filled by \textit{ka}, and an optional axis slot filled by class I stems. If the connector slot occurs, then the axis must also occur.

6. Topic phrase is introduced by nonpersonal \textit{ya} or personal \textit{si}. Topic pronouns are: \textit{hao '1 sg'}, \textit{iko and ko '2 sg'}, \textit{iza '3 sg'}, \textit{kita '1 pl inclusive'}, \textit{kami '1 pl exclusive'}, \textit{kamo '2 pl'}, \textit{siran '3 pl'}.


8. Oblique phrase is introduced by nonpersonal \textit{ka} or personal \textit{kam}. The oblique pronouns are: \textit{kan ao '1 sg'}, \textit{kan mo '2 sg'}, \textit{kan ngiza '3 sg'}, \textit{kanta '1 pl inclusive'}, \textit{kan ami '1 pl exclusive'}, \textit{kanazo '2 pl'}, \textit{kaniran '3 pl'}.

9. Topic demonstrative pronouns are \textit{ini 'this one here'} and \textit{iton 'that one over there'}.

10. A past time clause has a predicate filled by a verb affixed by \textit{pag-}, \textit{pagpaka-}, or \textit{pagka-}. The subject is optional and is filled by a source phrase or source pronoun. See the author's unpublished manuscript, "Mamanwa Dependent Clauses".

11. An included clause is the same as any verbal or nonverbal independent kernel clause except that it has no topic. See the author's unpublished manuscript, "Mamanwa Dependent Clauses".
12. See Jannette Forster, "Dual Structure of Dibabawon Verbal Clauses", *Oceanic Linguistics* 3:38-40 (1964) where a similar construction is described.
MAMANWA MORPHOLOGY

HELEN W. MILLER

0. Introduction.
1. Stem Types.
2. Word Types.

0. INTRODUCTION

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

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

1. STEM TYPES

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

1.1. Substitutes are relational stems which are words in the sense of
minimum free form. There are two kinds of substitutes: pronouns and directionals, e.g. hao 'I', iko 'you sg', ini 'this-in-hand', doro 'there-at-a-distance'. Substitutes are free morphemes with privileges of occurrence parallel to those of phrases. Like phrases, they show case-like relations to other elements in a sentence. Pronouns show person and number contrasts; directionals show distance contrast. A more detailed description of substitutes is left for a study of phrases.

1.2. Uninflectable stems are marking particles and adjuncts.

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

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

EXAMPLES:

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

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

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

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

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

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

EXAMPLES:

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

opat nga ka gantang ani ya p-in-allt niran kahabi (four Sub measure Spc Tp that/bought/thing they yesterday) 'Four measures was the amount they bought yesterday.'
If the word which precedes nga ka (attribution in a number phrase) ends in a vowel, the nga of nga ka undergoes the loss of a, and ng becomes a clitic on the word which precedes it, e.g. isang ka gantang 'one measure'.

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

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

1.22.1. Aspectual adjuncts

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

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

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

EXAMPLES:

waraq gazed ya makaen nami (Neg Emp Tp food our/excl) 'We have no food at all.'

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

kanao nganiq (mine here/Emp) 'This is mine here.'

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

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

Specifier (Spc): ani 'specifier'. EXAMPLE: ya manga magazon ani kanao (Tp pl good/one Spc mine) 'The good ones are mine.' When ani is followed by pen, di, or kay the resultant expressions are different from
the sum of their parts, e.g. ani pen = 'the first time', ani di = 'then', ani kay = 'the only one'.

Repetition: pagqlisab 'again', pirmi 'always', teedteed 'always'.
EXAMPLES:
tambal-an mo hao pagqlisab (medicine-T you me again) 'You medicine me again.'
pirmi gazed maggqoran (always Emp rain) 'It is always raining'.

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

Degree of certainty: balitaw, lagbey, and matood are used as response statements to indicate certainty; basi 'maybe' as in basi an-#-tegbeng ya tao kayqan (maybe S-Nb-go downriver Tp person later) 'Maybe someone will go downriver later.'

Possibility: baloq 'possible if a condition is met', mahlimoq 'possible without meeting a condition'. EXAMPLE: baloq kon may kwarta mo (possible if there/is money your) 'It is possible if you have the money.'

Existential: may 'there is' as in basi may lomon mo daza ka mayaq (maybe there/is relative your up Op Mayag) 'Maybe there is a relative of yours up at Mayag.' deket is a positive reply to a question regarding the existence of something, as in daw may gabok mazo 'Do you have firewood?' deket 'We have.'

1.22.2. Modal adjuncts

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.32.2. Contentive affix-derived stems are inflectable, 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 helqaq 'dwelling place' from helaq 'to dwell' and -an 'referent focus'; toboan 'tree trunk' from tobo 'to sprout' and -an 'referent focus'. In some instances -anan is a variant form of -an: lapzahanan 'beach' from lapza 'lapping sound of water' and -anan.
-en basahen 'book' from basa 'to read' and -en 'object focus'. With the names of cities -en indicates 'resident of': Cabadbaranen 'resident of Cabadbaran' from Cabadbaran and -en 'resident of'.

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

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

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

ma- madazaw 'good' from dazaw and ma-; mapalt 'bitter' from palt 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-; malagasqaw 'as skinny as a bamboo roof support' from gasqaw 'bamboo roof support' and mala-.

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

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

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

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

2. WORD TYPES

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

2.1. Verbs

Forms that are marked for aspect, mode, and focus are verbs. They function as predicates of clauses, either independent or included within a phrase. In the following example the verb in parentheses is the predicate of a clause included within a phrase: n-a-kit-an nami ya (n-a-manik) (B-St-see-R we/excl Tp B-D-climb) 'We saw the ones who were climbing.' In the following example the verb in parentheses is the predicate of an independent clause: (m-aga-hinang-en) niran ya laqkw (Nb-Cv-make-O they Tp house) 'They are going to make a house.'

Basic verb inflection in Mamanwa is for aspect I and focus. Charts X and Y are conditioned variants of the same system, showing the intersection of the dimensions of focus and aspect I. The affixes of chart Y occur with aspect II affixes; the affixes of chart X do not occur with aspect II affixes.

\[
\text{ASPECT I}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{S} & \text{an-#-...} \\
\text{O} & \text{#-...-en} \\
\text{R} & \text{#-...-an} \\
\text{A} & \text{i-#-...} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{CHART X}
\]

Aspect I and focus affixes which do not occur with aspect II affixes.
In column Nb of chart X the affixes indicating focus are overt and the symbol # indicates a zero allomorph for action-not-begun. The overt manifesting variant of this # is m- of chart Y. In column B of chart X the m- indicates subject focus; -an, referent focus; #, zero allomorphs of object and accessory focus; and in- action-begun. Dots represent word nucleus slots.

ASPECT I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nb</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>m-...-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>m-...-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>m-...-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td><em>12</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FOCUS

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

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

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

Allomorph m- occurs with affixes denoting subject, object, or referent focus and aspect II. m-agha-hinan-en niraykapazas (Nb-Cv-make-O they Tp frame/for/slicing/wild/root) 'They are going to make the frame for slicing wild root.' m-aka-tambal-an naoyatigbas (Nb-Ab-medicine-R I Tp wound) 'I can treat the wound.' #-m-amag-bonal kita baroy (S-Nb-Si-poundwe/twoOp leaf) 'We will pound the leaf together.'

Allomorph #- occurs with affixes denoting subject, object, referent, or accessory focus, but does not occur with affixes denoting aspect II. am-#-palit hao ka manok (S-Nb-buy I Op chicken) 'I will buy the
chicken.' #-oran-en kita (Nb-rain-O we/incl) 'We'll be rained on.'
#-tambal-an ta ko (Nb-medicine-R we/incl you) 'I will medicine you.'
i-#-dohol mo ya lodzoq (A-Nb-hand/over you Tp bolo) 'You hand over the bolo.'

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

Allomorph -in- occurs with affixes denoting subject, object, referent, or accessory focus, but does not occur with affixes denoting aspect II. m-in-dateng di ya lomon nami (S-B-arrive complete Tp relative our/excl) 'Our relative has arrived now.' in-hinang-# nao ya lagkaw (B-make-O I Tp house) 'I made the house.' in-ekt-an nalza ya idaq (B-tie-R he Tp dog) 'He tied the dog.' #-in-haplas nalza ya tambal ka tohad (A-B-rub he Tp medicine Op knee) 'He rubbed the medicine on the knee.'

Allomorph n- occurs with affixes denoting subject, object, and referent focus and aspect II. #-n-agadara siran ka lanot (S-B-Cv-bring they Op abaca) 'They are going to bring the abaca.' #-n-aka-kaen ya pilyaq kiton (S-B-Ab-eat Tp cat that) 'The cat can eat that.' #-n-amag-bonal kita ka baroy (S-B-Si-pound we/two Op leaf) 'We pounded the leaf together.'

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

Continuative action indicates that the action of the verb extends over a period of time. Continuative action is marked by the morpheme -aga- and occurs with affixes denoting aspect I and subject focus. When -aga- occurs with affixes denoting object and referent focuses it is restricted to co-occurrence with action-begun affixes of aspect I. #-m-aga-panabaq iza ka radyo kayqan (S-Nb-Cv-speak he Op radio later) 'He is going to speak on the radio later.' n-agapa-kan-en kami nl Nanay Gitay kazina (B-CV-eat-O we/excl Sp mother Gitay awhile ago) 'Mother Gitay was causing us to eat awhile ago.' n-agapinhaan-an nami ya bingka (B-CV-make-R we/excl Tp cake) 'We are making a cake.'

Ability indicates that the actor is inherently able to perform the action of the verb. Ability is marked by the morpheme -aka- and occurs with affixes denoting aspect I and subject, object, and referent focus. Ability aspect is absent in accessory focus. waraq pen iza #-m-aka-tindeq (Neg incomplete he S-Nb-Ab stand) 'He isn't able to stand yet.' n-aka-begket-en nao ya olat (B-Ab-bandage-O I Tp sore) 'I was able to bandage the sore.' n-aka-tambal-an nao ya tigbas (B-Ab-medicine-R I Tp wound) 'I was able to medicine the wound.'
Simultaneous action indicates that two or more persons are 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.

Simultaneous action indicators include:

1. #-m-amag-hawaq kami ni Melina konsilem (S-Nb-Si-weed we/excl Sp Melina tomorrow) 'Melina and I will weed together tomorrow.'
2. #-n-amag-ka-kita kami ni Julian dilod ka Paypay (S-B-Si-St-see we/excl Sp Julian down Op Paypay) 'Julian and I saw each other down at Paypay.'
3. n-amag-lahong-an nirvan ya tao (B-Si-pole/carry-R they Tp can) 'They were carrying the can on a pole between them.'

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

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

Allomorph an- occurs with affixes denoting action-not-begun, but does not occur with affixes denoting aspect II. an-#-senqad pen hao ka begas (S-Nb-cook incomplete I Op rice) 'I will cook the rice yet.'

Allomorph m- occurs with affixes denoting action-begun, but does not occur with affixes denoting aspect II. m-#-panaw di kami (S-Nb-go complete we/excl) 'We're going to go now.'

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

2.13.2. Object focus indicates that the object is the topic or focus complement of the clause, i.e. is the goal of the action of a non-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 (Nb-rain-O we/two) 'We'll be rained on.' m-aga-hinang-en naiza ya balatik (Nb-Cv-make-O he Tp pig/trap) 'He is going to make the pig trap.' m-aka-bon-on nao ya boog (Nb-Ab-spear-O I Tp wild/pig) 'I can spear the wild pig.' m-amag-paksi-en ta ya abaka konsilem (Nb-Si-separate-O we/two Tp abaca tomorrow) 'We will separate the abaca together tomorrow.'

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

2.13.3. Referent focus indicates that the referent is the topic or focus complement of the clause, i.e. is the beneficiary or location of the action. Referent focus is marked by the morpheme -an. #-ekt-an mo ya ldoq (Nb-tie-R you Tp dog) 'You tie the dog.' im-bantaz-an ni Tanyong ya manga bataq kazina (B-watch-R Op Tanyong Tp pl child awhile/ago) 'Tanyong watched the children awhile ago.' m-aga-bahog-an mo ya baboy kan Mam ka parot (Nb-Cv-feed-R you Tp pig Op Mam Op peeling) 'You are going to feed the peelings to the pigs for Mam.' m-amag-bonal-an niran ya baroy (Nb-Si-pound-R they Tp leaf) 'They will pound the leaf together.'

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

Allomorph i- occurs with affixes denoting action-not-begun, but not with affixes denoting aspect II. i-#-haplas mo ya tambal ka toborah (A-Nb-rub you Tp medicine Op knee) 'You rub the medicine on the knee.' i-#-bahoq mo si Mam ka baboy (A-Nb-feed you Tp Mam Op pig) 'You feed the pig for Mam.' i-#-pa-dara mo hao ka soyat konsilem (A-Nb-C-send you I Op letter tomorrow) 'You cause the letter to be sent for me tomorrow.'

Allomorph #- occurs with affixes denoting action-begun, but not with affixes denoting aspect II. #-ing-karis nao pagdazaw ya badi (A-B-scrape I well Tp knife) 'I scraped well with the knife.' #-im-begket naiza ining panaptan ka olat nao (A-B-bandage he this material Op wound my) 'He bandaged my wound with the cloth.' #-im-basa naiza hao ka libro (A-B-read he I Op book) 'He read the book for me.'

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

2.14.1. Distributive aspect indicates that (1) the action of a verb is repeated over and over again by one person, (2) an action is performed simultaneously by many persons, or (3) there are many actions involved. Distributive aspect is marked by the affix paN-. am-#-pang-gabok hao (S-Nb-D-gather/firewood I) 'I will gather firewood.' im-pan-hayhay-# ni Lucia ya manga badoq (B-D-hand/to/dry-O Sp Lucia Tp pl clothes) 'Lucia hung the clothes to dry.' #-im-pam-aylo niran ya lagos ka makaen (A-B-D-trade they Tp rattan Op food) 'They traded rattan for food.' m-im-pang-awaq di siran ka begas, tebaq, daw baboy (S-B-D-get complete they Op rice palm/toddy and pig) 'They obtained rice, palm toddy, and pig.'

maN- and naN- permit the subject focus and aspect I potential of the distributive aspect marker to be manifested. #-m-an-hawid siran ka manga lodzoq (S-Nb-D-hold they Op pl bolo) 'They are going to hold the knives.' #-n-ang-aen siran ka baay (S-B-D-eat they Op wild/root) 'They ate the wild root.' #-m-ang-away siran (S-Nb-D-fight they) 'They are going to fight.' #-n-am-alit siran ka begas (S-B-D-buy they Op rice) 'They bought rice.'

A free variant of the distributive aspect marker paN- is the plural marker panga-. manga- and nanga- permit the subject focus and aspect I potential of the plural marker to be manifested. Normally manga 'plural' is not used as a modifier in the topic phrase when it occurs as verbal inflection. am-#-panga-hinang siran ka kazas (S-Nb-pl-make they Op frame/for/slicing wild/root) 'They will make many frames for slicing wild root.' #-m-anga-sili siran (S-Nb-pl-catch/eel they) 'They are going to catch eels.' #-n-anga-bahaw di ya olat (S-B-pl-well complete Tp sore) 'The sores are healed now.' #-panga-torog kamo (S-pl-sleep you/pl) 'All of you go to sleep!' #-panga-lapa-en niran ya boog koman (Nb-pl-butcher-O they Tp wild/pig now) 'They will butcher the wild pigs now.'

2.14.2. Causative aspect indicates that the cause of the action is the grammatical subject of the clause and the actor is the grammatical object of the clause. Causative aspect is marked by the affix pa-. #-m-aga-pabahog ya inaq ka maimpis ka parot ka baboy (S-Nb-Cv-C-feed Tp mother Op child Op peeling Op pig) 'The mother is causing the child to feed the peeling to the pig.' pa-bahog-en ya maimpis na inaq ka parot ka baboy (C-feed-O Tp child Sp mother Op peeling Op pig) 'The child is being caused by the mother to feed the peeling to the pig.'

It is possible to have two causatives, indicating that two causers of
the action are present. In other words, one person is being caused to cause another person to perform an action. pa-pa-kaw-en hao ni Mam ka balengkag (C-C-get-O I Sp Mam Op pighair/necklace) 'Mam is causing me to cause someone else to get her a pighair necklace.'

2.14.3. Augmentative aspect indicates that an action is intensified. Augmentative aspect is marked by the affix -pahi-. #-n-aga-pahi-katawa kami ka manga dedeq (S-Nb-Cv-Au-laugh we/excl Op pl pup) 'We were laughing a lot at the pups.' im-pahi-bor-al-an niran ya baroy (B-Au-pound-R theyTp leaf) 'They pounded the leaves vigorously.' m-im-pahi-inem siran ka tebaq (S-B-Au-drink they Op palm/toddy) 'They drank much palm toddy.'

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

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

2.14.6. Reflexive aspect indicates that the actor or acting agent causes the object, which may be himself, to be in a certain state or to perform an action. Reflexive aspect is marked by the affix paka-. #-m-ag-a-paka-ohaw ining asin kanao (S-Nb-Cv-Ref-thirst this salt me) 'This salt will make me thirsty.' #-m-aka-paka-daob di ining bataq (S-Nb-Ab-Ref-prone complete this child) 'This child can turn himself over now.' am-#-paka-hagdam kami kan Lucia (S-Nb-Ref-know we/excl Op Lucia) 'We will inform Lucia.' m-ag-a-paka-hagdam-en nami si Lucia (Nb-Cv-Ref-know-O we/excl Tp Lucia) 'We will be informing Lucia.'
2.14.7. Reciprocal aspect indicates reciprocal action in that the actor not only causes the action, but desires or causes the other person to reciprocate in action. Reciprocal aspect is marked by kig-, which is always preceded by pa-. am-#/pa-kig-oliq si Wili ka toong inaq (S-NB-C-Rec-return/home Tp Wili Op his mother) 'Wili is urging his mother to return home.' m-im-pa-kig-away siran kanao (S-B-C-Rec-fight they me) 'They are picking a fight with me.' #-m-aga-pa-kig-laong si Daday kanao (S-NB-Cv-C-Rec-say Tp Daday me) 'Daday is trying to make me talk to her.'

2.15. In Mamanwa there are two modes: indicative and imperative. Two formal contrasts mark the difference between the indicative and the imperative mode:

1. only the pronouns of direct address (iko and mo 'you sg' and kamao 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 kamao ka bozag (S-Imp-plant you/pl Op camote) 'You all plant the camote.' #-m-aga-tanem siran ka bozag (S-Nb-Cv-plant they Op camote) 'They are going to plant the camote.'

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

2.15.11. The indicative stative mode denotes that the topic is made to be in a certain state or condition; it is being acted upon by the element represented by a ka or a na phrase construction. #-n-aga-ka-haldek ya piyaq ka silhig (S-B-Cv-St-frighten Tp cat Op broom) 'The cat is being frightened by the broom.' n-aga-#/lomba-an kami na idoq (B-Cv-St-race-R we/excl Sp dog) 'We are being raced by the dog.' Stative mode has allomorphs -ka-, -#-, and -a-.

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

Allomorph -#/ occurs with affixes denoting referent focus and aspect II. m-aga-#/silot-an siran ka pisi (Nb-Cv-St-punish-R they Op police) 'They are going to be punished by the police.' m-aga-#/tambal-an pen kami ni Mam (Nb-Cv-St-medicine-R incomplete we/excl Sp Mam) 'We are going to be treated yet by Mam.' n-aga-#/hapdes-an ya
kanaong soroq soroq ka bowahan (B-Cv-St-burn-R Tp my stomach Op laneoni/fru it) 'My stomach is being burned by the laneoni fruit.'

Allomorph -a- occurs with the affixes of chart Y which denote subject and referent focus, but does not occur with affixes denoting aspect II.

#-m-a-tigbas ya dedeg ka lodzoq (S-Nb-St-cut Tp pup Op bolo) 'The pup will be cut by the bolo.' #-n-a-belad ya bataq ka sega (S-B-St-exhausted Tp child Op sun) 'The child was exhausted by the sun.' n-a-balatik-an ya kanding ka Tawwe (B-St-strap-R Tp goat Op Visayan) 'The goat was trapped by the Visayan.' m-a-bar-han iton manok ka lepes (Nb-St-injure-R that chicken Op rope) 'That chicken will be injured by the rope.'

2.15.12. The indicative active mode is nonstative and is marked by an absence of the stative mode markers. It represents the subject as 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 bong a daked ka liwaan (S-Nb-D-eat Tp pl monkey Op blossom up Tp tree) 'The monkeys will eat the blossom up in the tree.' daza siran #-m-aka-peneng konsilem (upriver they S-Nb-Ab-fish tomorrow) 'They can fish upriver tomorrow.'

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

The imperative mode occurs with the following affixes of aspect III: pan-, pa-, pahi-, -in-, and stem reduplication. m-ag-pa-hatag ko kan Badang ka asin (S-Imp-C-give you Op Badang Op salt) 'You cause the salt to be given to Badang!' p-ag-pan-hinang-en mazo ya kazas (Imp-D-make-O you/pl Tp frame/for/slicing wild/root) 'You all make the frames for slicing wild root!' p-ag-pahi-bonal-an mo ya baroy (Imp-Au-pound-R you Tp leaf) 'You pound the leaf vigorously!' m-ag-h-in-inang ko ka soong
(S-Imp-make-Rep you Op rat/trap) 'You repeatedly make the rat traps!'

2.2. Descriptives

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

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

ono ya pangotana naiza kanmo (what Tp question his to/you) 'What was his question to you?'
dakolaq ya pagkabereng niran kanao (great Tp surprise their at/me) 'Great was their surprise at me.'

#-kawq-en mo ya mararag (Nb-get-O you Tp red/one) 'You get the red one.'
malised ya kahimtang naiza kay wara-y pagpakakita naiza (difficult Tp condition his because Neg-Tp sight his) 'His condition is difficult because he has no sight.'
nabogtoq di bazaq ya balagen (snapped/in/two complete surprise Tp vine) 'The vine has snapped in two now!'

3. MORPHOPHONEMIC ALTERATION

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

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

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

3.1.1.1. 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.

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

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

paN- + panaw 'to go' → pamanaw; paN- + baligzaq 'to sell' → pamanaw; paN- + silhig 'to sweep' → pamanem; paN- + qoliq 'to return' → pangoliq; paN- + gabok 'to fetch firewood' → panggabok.

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

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

sobo 'to boil' + -en + *soboon; tolo 'three' + -en + *toloon; daqob 'to lie prone' + -en + *daqobon; ponoq 'to fill' + -en + *ponoqon, potos + -en + *potoson.

3.12.2. Stems ending with a vowel add h.

bali 'over' + -en + balihen; qiba 'companion' + -an + qibahan; dara 'to bring' + -en + *daraheh; *soboob 'to boil' + *sobohon; *toloon 'to triple' + *toloohon.

3.12.3. Word final y changes to z.15

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

3.12.4. In certain stems, the last vowel of the stem drops when the penult of the stem is open. -0+ indicates that the change is optional.

3.12.41. Lenis vowel in the last syllable drops.

kilala 'to recognize' + -an + *kilalhan; sira 'to close' + -an -0+ sirhan; laba 'to launder' + -an + *labhan; *daraheh 'to bring' + *daraheh; *sakazan 'to ride on' + sakazan; *labazan 'to pass by' + *labazan.

3.12.42. The last vowel of the stem drops if the medial or final con-
sonant of the stem is glottal stop.
heqem 'to soak' + -an + *heqman; lapaq 'to butcher' + -an + lapqan; *daqobon 'to lie prone' + *daqbon; *ponoqon 'to fill' + ponqon.

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

dakep 'to catch' + -an + dakpan; tekeb 'to catch and kill' + -en + tekben; qeket 'to tie' + -an + qektan; qotod 'to cut in half' + -an + qotdan; lemes 'to drown' + -an + lemsan; sazod 'to know' + -an + *sazdan; sazep 'to err' + -an + *sazpan; *potoson 'to wrap' + *potson.

Occasionally alternation is seen in stems ending with the above consonants, but preceded by i or a. lanit 'to tear off' + -en + lanten; ilpat 'to forget' + -an + ilptan.

Occasionally alternation is seen in stems ending with l and preceded by o or e. sakol 'to pound' + -an + saklon; qegel 'to grunt' + -an + qeglan.

Also, *sobohon 'to boil' -0= sobhon.

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

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

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

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

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

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

waro iton ya tao or waro itoy tao 'That person is over there.'
pira ya makaen niran or piray makaen niran 'How much was their food?'
dakolaq ya oran daza or dokolay oran daza 'It rained hard upriver.'
waraq ya tirmino niran or waray tirmino niran 'They have no set date.'
waraq pen ya sega or waraq pey sega 'There is no sun yet.'
watón ya tao or watoy tao 'That is someone nearby.'
waraq di ya makaen niran or waraq di makaen niran 'They have no food now.'
NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

5. We use the following abbreviations and symbols:
CASE: $T_p$ = topic case-marking particle; $S_p$ = source case-marking particle; $O_p$ = oblique case-marking particle. NUMBER: $s$ = singular; $p$ = plural; excl = exclusive. TYPES OF MORPHEMES: # = the zero shape of a morpheme; Sub = subordinating particle; Spc = specific particle; Opt = optative particle; Neg = negative particle; Emp = emphatic particle; $R_f$ = referent modal adjunct; $Q_{out}$ = quotative particle; Int = interrogative particle. ASPECT I: $N_b$ = action-not-begun; $B$ = action-begun. ASPECT II: $C_v$ = continuative aspect; $A_b$ = ability aspect; $S_i$ = simultaneous aspect. FOCUS: $S$ = subject as actor in focus; $O$ = object focus; $R$ = referent focus; $A$ = accessory focus. ASPECT III: $D$ = distributional aspect; $C$ = causative aspect; $A_u$ = augmentative aspect; Dim = diminutive aspect; $R_p$ = repetitive aspect; $R_f$ = reflexive aspect; $R_c$ = reciprocal aspect. MODE: $S_t$ = indicative stative mode; Imp = imperative mode.


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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

16. ibid.