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Acknowledgements

We are deeply indebted to all Mamanwa people who helped us over the years to learn their language. As we pursued learning their language in a monolingual situation, many of our questions seemed pointless to them. Especially because it was many years before they understood the answer to their question, "Why have you come to live among us?"

We gratefully acknowledge the friendly helpfulness of the following officials: Consuela Calo, who was governor of Agusan del Norte; Teophilo Curato, who was mayor of the municipality of Cabadbaran; Epifanio Salas, who was principal of the Santiago elementary school; and Artemio Serrano, who was councilman in Santiago.

Our special gratitude and love go to Lilia R. Castro with whom we have enjoyed a cooperative relationship in serving the Mamanwa cultural community. Her good work continues among the Mamanwas in Surigao del Norte. Her approach is wholistic and includes a training program for them in literacy and primary health care. Her periodic visits to Manila make it possible for us to hear news about our Mamanwa friends. She also greatly aided the compilers through her comments on the cultural notes in this book.

Special thanks goes to our SIL colleague, Sherri Brainard, who selected the twenty-eight texts in this book from our 306 page collection of Mamanwa texts, keyboarded them, and wrote the interlinear morphemic gloss, using the Mamanwa Grammar (Miller and Miller:1976) and applying experience gained in compiling Upper Tanudan Kalinga texts (Brainard:1985). She wrote the explanation of abbreviations and symbols as well. We thank her deeply for the major contribution she has made to this volume.
Biographical Information

The following people have contributed texts to this volume:

Julian Purogoy, narrator of eighteen of the texts in this book, was the eldest son of Lope Purogoy, who functioned as shaman among his people. Julian was born about 1920, and as a young man traveled extensively with his father throughout the Diuata Mountains. He was employed as the compilers' language assistant and was in his thirties and forties when he narrated his texts. He lived at Kasagazan about five kilometers upriver from sitio Pangaylan, had little formal education and, in addition to Mamanwa, speaks Upper Agusan Manobo and Visayan.

Julita Monos, narrator of four of the texts in this book, was born and raised in Pangaylan. She was eighteen when she narrated her texts and lived with the compilers for five years. She had elementary schooling up to grade 4 and speaks Mamanwa and Visayan.

Lucia Amosway, narrator of text 9, was born and raised in Pangaylan. She was a teenager when she narrated her text and lived with the compilers for three years. She had no formal schooling and speaks Mamanwa and Visayan.

Lolita Day-orn, narrator of text 10, was born and raised in Pangaylan. She was eighteen when she narrated her text and lived with the compilers for five years. She had elementary schooling up to grade 6 and speaks Mamanwa, Upper Agusan Manobo and Visayan.

Bonifacio Monos, now deceased, narrated text 11 when he was about sixteen years of age. He was born and raised in Pangaylan, had no formal schooling and spoke Mamanwa and Visayan.

Daylinda Enao, now deceased, narrated text 13 when she was about twenty-four years of age. She was born and raised in Pangaylan, had elementary schooling up to grade 3 and spoke Mamanwa and Visayan.

Felicin Enao, the mother of Daylinda Enao, was in her sixties when she narrated text 16. She had no formal schooling and speaks Mamanwa, Upper Agusan Manobo and Visayan.

Roberto Culangan, was about twenty years old when he narrated text 22. He was born and raised in Pangaylan, had little formal schooling and speaks Mamanwa and Visayan.

Sitio Pangaylan is the place where the twenty-eight texts were recorded. It was under the jurisdiction of Santiago, Agusan del Norte at the time the texts were recorded.

The date below the title of each text is the date of recording.
Location of the Mamanwa Language Group
Introduction

The twenty-eight texts in this collection were recorded and transcribed in sitio Pangaylan from native speakers living in the general area. The compilers gathered the texts between 1957 and 1976 while living in Pangaylan for extended periods of time under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

The morpheme breaks are indicated in all twenty-eight texts. An asterisk following a word in the vernacular text indicates that a comment is made about the word in the cultural and linguistic notes following each text. The numbering of the cultural and linguistic notes correlates with the sentence number in which the word is found in the vernacular text.

Ventura Publisher Professional Extension equations were used to align the interlinear text. Some problems were encountered with four or more lines of interlinear text per sentence. Due to apparent program limitations long sentences were divided (e.g., text 1, s. 55a and 55b and text 7, s. 7a, 7b, and 7c). The vernacular words are lined up with the corresponding English gloss and morpheme analysis. These lines are automatically justified to make the spacing as equal as possible.

The texts are grouped together into three types of discourse genre: narrative, procedural/explanatory, and hortatory. The narrative texts include traditional narratives (texts 1-4) and factual narrative (texts 5-10). Text 10 is included as a rare example of a text that is mainly descriptive narrative.

The procedural/explanatory texts (texts 11-25) are grouped together because there are no clear distinctions in the surface grammar that distinguish procedural discourse from explanatory discourse. Rather, these texts form a continuum with clearly procedural texts at one end of the continuum and clearly explanatory texts at the other end. Procedural texts are defined as discourses that present a set of steps for carrying out a particular process, such as making a swidden (text 11) or preparing poisonous roots for food (text 14). In this sense, procedural texts are event-oriented. Explanatory texts are defined as discourses that mainly present a set of concepts about a particular theme, such as spirits (text 19) or snakes (texts 23-25). Consequently, explanatory texts are mainly concept-oriented. Most of the texts labeled procedural/explanatory contain elements of both discourse types. The hortatorical texts (texts 26-28) include a call to battle, an exhortation on how to behave toward spirits, and an admonishment to children to be quiet.

The main cultural themes presented in the texts are the spirit world, sorcery, war, marriage, and childbirth.

Note should be taken that the English translation is neither a true literal nor a fluent idiomatic translation. An attempt has been made to avoid the awkward wording produced by literal translations, while keeping the translation close enough to the vernacular text that it will provide help to the reader who is interested in the form and structure of the language as well as the meaning.

Mamanwa is typologically an Austronesian language classified by Dyen (1965) as a member of the Visayan language family of the Southern Philippines. According to comparative studies made by Pallesen (1985), the Southern Visayan language family historically has two main branches which are Proto-Surigao and Proto-Mansaka. From Proto-Surigao are descended Mamanwa, Surigaonon, Butuanon, Kamayo, and Tausug.
The Mamanwa language area shown on the map (page vii), is bordered on the north and east by Surigaonon, on the west by a mixed dialect of Surigaonon and Cebuano, on the southwest by Butuanon, and on the southeast by Bislig Kamayo. Comparison of standard 372 word lists yields the following percentages of shared cognates with Mamanwa: Surigaonon 82 percent, Butuanon 77 percent, Bislig Kamayo 75 percent, Tausug 57 percent and Cebuano 69 percent (Pallesen:1985).

See Appendix A for a discussion of Mamanwa phonology. The majority of Mamanwas are bilingual to the degree that they have contact with Visayans and Surigaonons.

The 1975 official integrated census of Surigao del Norte and Agusan del Norte lists the total census figure for Mamanwas living in the municipalities of Jabonga, Kitcharao, Santiago, Claver, Mainit Anaoaon and Sison as 1,217 Mamanwas. Additionally, Mamanwas live in Surigao del Sur, Panoan Island and in the mountains of southern Leyte. So it seems reasonable to estimate that the general figure is about 1,500. During 1957-1976 the compilers had regular contact with about three hundred Mamanwas living in Agusan del Norte in the Aciga River valley. Lilia Castro continues to have regular contact with about three hundred in Surigao del Norte. The majority of Mamanwas prefer to live in small houses along mountain ridges accessible only by foot travel. Therefore any attempt to take an accurate census is just that, an attempt only.

The purpose of the compilers living among them was to reduce the Mamanwa language to writing, provide vernacular reading books, and to translate books of high moral quality into the Mamanwa language. Reading classes were conducted from 1962-1964 in Pangaylan to thoroughly test the reading lessons. The resulting set of reading primers continue to be used by Lilia Castro in her training program for the Mamanwas (see Bibliography for listing of Mamanwa books produced to date). Thus far 55 persons have acquired varying degrees of literate ability in their own language and some ability to bridge into the Visayan and Surigaonon languages. Of this number 5 became tutors for beginners in current courses. One of these tutors is now a qualified barangay (small community) health care worker as well.
### Abbreviations and Symbols in Interlinear Text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>abilitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCF</td>
<td>accessory focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADD</td>
<td>additive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVER</td>
<td>adversative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFFIR</td>
<td>affirmative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJR</td>
<td>adjectivizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTN</td>
<td>attention getter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>action begun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CERT</td>
<td>certainty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMP</td>
<td>completive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COL</td>
<td>collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONN</td>
<td>connecting particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRD</td>
<td>complete reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>consonant vowel pattern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>consonant vowel consonant pattern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D₁</td>
<td>deictic, this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D₂</td>
<td>deictic, that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>definite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR₁</td>
<td>directional, toward here near speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR₂</td>
<td>directional, toward there far from speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR₃</td>
<td>directional, toward there very far from speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>distributive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EX</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXT</td>
<td>existential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>habitual action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON</td>
<td>honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORT</td>
<td>hortatorical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMM</td>
<td>immediately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
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<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>incompletive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INS</td>
<td>intensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L₁</td>
<td>locative, here near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L₂</td>
<td>locative, there close by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L3</td>
<td>locative, there distant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L4</td>
<td>locative, there far distant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LG</td>
<td>ligature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIM</td>
<td>limiter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LK</td>
<td>linker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NB</td>
<td>action not yet begun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIF</td>
<td>new information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPUR</td>
<td>nonpurposeful action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>nontopic marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>oblique marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OF</td>
<td>object focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT</td>
<td>optative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORD</td>
<td>ordinal number</td>
</tr>
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<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>reciprocal action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REDUP</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF</td>
<td>anaphoric reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REP</td>
<td>repetitive action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RF</td>
<td>referent focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RS</td>
<td>reported speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SF</td>
<td>subject focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIM</td>
<td>simultaneous action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQ</td>
<td>sequence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SURP</td>
<td>surprise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>topic marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TD</td>
<td>topic deictic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>volitional particle</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>topic pronoun, focused subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>nontopic pronoun, nonfocused subject, or possessive pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>oblique pronoun, nonfocused nonsubject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>emphatic possessive pronoun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
General Abbreviations

ad. term of address
c.n. cultural note
lit. literally
n. note
R reciprocal term
s. sentence
syn. synonym

Notes on Abbreviations

The following notes are brief descriptions of most of the abbreviations used in this volume. The descriptions give the most common grammatical forms associated with an abbreviation, a short definition of the term, and, in some cases, a possible English translation. The reader should refer to the appendixes for additional information about the phonology, morphology, and grammar of Mambawa.

ABL abilitative verb affixes; indicate possibility, or that the actor is innately capable of performing the action.

ACCF accessory focus verb affixes; indicate that a noun phrase functioning as the accessory is the focused element of the clause. An accessory can be (1) the instrument used to perform an action, (2) the item involved in an action, or (3) the item associated with or benefiting from an action.

ADD additive particles; indicate repetition or addition; ‘too’, ‘also’, ‘again’.

ADVER adversative surprise particle; signals surprise in an antithetical sentence.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFFIR</td>
<td>affirmative refers to phrases that indicate an affirmative response; 'yes', 'all right', 'okay'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJR</td>
<td>adjectivizer affixes; change the grammatical function of a word to an adjective.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTN</td>
<td>attention getter particles; are used to get hearer's attention; 'hey'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>action begun verb affixes; signal that the action of a verb has already been initiated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative verb affixes; indicate that the grammatical subject of a clause is the causer of an action and that the grammatical object is the performer of the action.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CERT</td>
<td>certainty indicates an action has definitely taken place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMP</td>
<td>completive used for the particle <em>di</em>; indicates that an action has been completed; 'now', 'already'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COL</td>
<td>collective nominal affixes; change a single item to a group of the same item. For example, 'person' becomes 'people'; changes geographical word to the general geographical area indicated by that word. For example, 'lake' becomes 'in the area of the lake' and 'level place' becomes 'lowlands'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
<td>conjunction used for the conjunction <em>hasta</em> which has several meanings, such as 'so that' and 'and'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONN</td>
<td>connecting used for the particle <em>kon</em> which links elements in the negative phase <em>diri kon</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuative verb affixes; indicate that an action continues without ceasing over a period of time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRD</td>
<td>complete reduplication indicates that a root or stem has been completely reduplicated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>definite affixes; signal that an item is definite in that the speaker is referring to one particular item.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive affixes and reduplication; diminutive forms can be used with several grammatical forms, such as verbs and nouns. With verbs, diminutive forms indicate that less than the usual amount of action is taking place. With nouns, diminutive forms indicate that an object is smaller than its normal size, or that it is a toy object.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>directional a set of words that signal both the direction of an action and the distance the action is moving away from the speaker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST distributive</td>
<td>verb affixes; indicate repeated action in one of the following ways: (1) the action is repeated again and again by one person, (2) the action is performed simultaneously by several people, or (3) many actions are being performed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH emphatic</td>
<td>particles; are used to lend prominence to what the speaker is saying; 'really', 'very'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EX exclusive</td>
<td>refers to first-person plural pronouns; indicates that the hearer is not included; 'we, but not you'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXT existential</td>
<td>refers to the existentials <em>may</em> or <em>deket</em> which both mean 'there is'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB habitual</td>
<td>affixes; indicate that an action is performed habitually or on a regular basis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON honorific</td>
<td>a polite means of addressing or referring to someone of higher social status.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORT hortatorical</td>
<td>particles that strengthen the force of a statement, or that soften the harshness of a strong statement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMM immediately</td>
<td>used for the particle <em>dazon</em>; signals that an action took place immediately; 'immediately', 'right then'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP imperative</td>
<td>verbal affixes; mark that a statement is given as a command.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN inclusive</td>
<td>refers to first-person plural pronouns; indicates that the hearer is included; 'we all'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INC incompletive</td>
<td>used for the particle <em>pen</em>; indicates that an action has not yet been completed; 'yet', 'still'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF infinitive</td>
<td>verb affixes; change the verb to a nonfinite form which does not show aspect or mood contrasts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INS intensive</td>
<td>verb affixes: signal that an action is intensified.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT interrogative</td>
<td>interrogative pronouns; 'who', 'what/why', 'where', 'when'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LG ligature</td>
<td>refers to the particle <em>nga</em> or its variant, enclitic -<em>ng</em>, which link elements in certain noun phrases, or which occur before quotes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIM limiter</td>
<td>particles; indicate limitation of some sort, such as only one action, only one person, or only a certain number of things; 'only', 'just'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LK linker</td>
<td>used for the particle <em>nga</em> which links elements in certain noun phrases, and for the free standing morpheme <em>kon</em> which links words to form negative phrases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NB action not yet begun</td>
<td>verb affixes; signal that an action has not been initiated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative particles; signal the negation of a statement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIF</td>
<td>new information used for the particle <em>na</em> which indicates that the information that follows contains new content.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPUR</td>
<td>nonpurposeful action reduplication; refers to the complete reduplication of a root or stem, indicates that an action is performed with no specific purpose in mind. For example, with complete reduplication the word <em>laong</em> ‘say’ changes to ‘chat’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR</td>
<td>nominalizer nominal affixes; indicate that a root or stem is functioning as a nominal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>nontopic marker noun phrase marker; marks the grammatical subject as a nontopic, or nonfocused element, in the clause.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>oblique marker noun phrase marker; marks the direct or indirect object as a nontopic, or nonfocused element, in the clause.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OF</td>
<td>object focus verb affix; indicates that a noun phrase functioning as the object is the focused element of the clause. An object is the goal of the action in a noncausative clause.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT</td>
<td>optative used for the particle <em>kontana</em>; indicates a strong desire; ‘wish’, ‘hope’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORD</td>
<td>ordinal number affixes; change a cardinal number to an ordinal number. For example, ‘five’ becomes ‘fifth’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>reciprocal action verb affix; signals that the actor performs as action and causes or desires another person to reciprocate the action.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REDUP</td>
<td>reduplication indicates ‘characteristic of’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF</td>
<td>anaphoric reference used for the particles <em>sa</em> and <em>hinoa</em> which signal anaphoric reference in that the particles point backwards in the text to something previously mentioned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REP</td>
<td>repetitive action verb affix; indicates that an action begins and ends repeatedly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RF</td>
<td>referent focus verb affix; indicates that a noun phrase functioning as the referent is the focused element of the clause. A referent is the beneficiary or location of the action.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RS</td>
<td>reported speech used for the particle <em>koni</em>; indicates that the speaker is not verifying the truthfulness of the statement he is repeating.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SF</td>
<td>subject focus verb affix; indicates that a noun phrase functioning as the grammatical subject is the focused element of a noncausative clause.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIM</td>
<td>simultaneous action verb affix; indicates that two or more people are performing an action (1) simultaneously, (2) in cooperation with each other, or (3) both.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>stative verb affix; indicates the state or condition of an item.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SURF</td>
<td>surprise particles; signal surprise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>topic marker noun phrase marker; marks the grammatical subject as the topic, or focused element, of the clause.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TD</td>
<td>topic deictic used for the deictics <em>ani</em> and <em>aniton</em>; identifies a topic as the theme of the discourse. Also signals that the topic is definite and exclusive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>volitional particle indicates a choice or decision to be made.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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5. Pagsaka daw pagkombiti
The marriage contract and the marriage feast
Julian Porogoy (1959)
48–62

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Sample Citation Format
Ya Pag-saka \textit{daw} Pag-kombiti* \\
T NR=mariage.contract and NR=mariage.feast

By Julian Porogoy (1959)

1. Ya amaama naga-laong* ka asawa naiza nga, "Inihè mag-sabet kita kay ining maanak ta.

2. Kon ma-azak ko kitong babazi ani if/when ST,ST,SB=want/like 1,2,S D2 girl/woman TD i-pa-asawa ta iunho."

3. Min-laong ya asawa nga, "Ma-azak hao kiton.

4. Saka=han* di niia.” initiate.marriage.contract=RF,SB CMP II,1,PL,IN

5. Mim=pangawa di siran ka begas, teba, daw baboy.

6. Pag-dateng ka min-laong ya amaama nga, "Pag-hies di sa when=arrive LIM SF,B=say T boy/man LK IMP,SB=pack CMP REF kamo.” 1,2,PL

7. Kamhan in=-azi-han niran ya toong nga lomon*.

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The Marriage Contract and the Marriage Feast

1. The man said to his wife, “Let's discuss this because this our child is of marriageable age.

2. If you like that girl, she is the one we'll get as a wife for our son.”

3. The wife said, “I like that.

4. Let's initiate the marriage contract.”

5. They collected husked rice, palm wine and pig.

6. When they arrived (from getting these) the man said, “Pack up everything.”

7. Then they passed by the house of his close relatives.

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8. **Pag-dateng ka niran ka lagkaw na lomon niran**
   when-arrive LIM II,3,PL O house NT close.relative II,3,PL
   min-laong ya tag-lagkaw nga, "K=om-ar-in-ay sa kamo
   SF,B=say T owner=house LK come_here=IMP,SF=SHORT REF I,2,PL
   itonhö."

9. **Min-sambag nga, "Om-iba sa ko iton kay**
   SF,B=answer LK IMP,SF=accompany REF I,2,S D₂ because
   an-saka kita.
   SF,NB=initiate.marriage.contract I,1,PL,IN

10. **Min-laong ya tao nga, "E.e.ey."**
    SF,B=say T person=live LK AFFIR

11. **Kamhan nanobà di sinan ngan-daza.**
    SQ SF,B=go.upriver CMP I,3,PL toward.there=upriver

12. **Pag-dateng ka niran ka lagkaw na babazi min-laong**
    when-arrive LIM II,3,PL O house NT girl/woman SF,B=say
    ya amaama nga, "Ey, wani di kami."
    T boy/man LK ATTN L₁ CMP I,1,PL,EX

13. **Min-laong ya tag-helà nga, "Panapon sa kamo**
    SF,B=say T owner=dwelling LK DIST,SF,NB=climb.up REF I,2,PL
    ngarin=daked."
    toward.up

14. **Pagpaka-tapon ka kizahè min-laong ya amaama nga, "Ey,**
    when=climb.up LIM D₂ SF,B=say T boy/man LK ATTN
    kon ma-himò hao am-paka-hagdam kanmo kay
    if/when ST,SF,NB=possible I,1,S SF,NB=CAUS=know III,2,S because
    dazaw ma-sazod ko nga may ka-tozo-an o kanmo dini.
    so.that ST,SF,NB=know I,2,S LK EXT NR=purpose= II,1,S III,2,S L₁

15. **Min-karini hao kay may ka-azak nao ka maanak**
    SF,B=come_here I,1,S because EXT NR.want/like II,1,S O child
    mo.
    II,2,S
16. Even though there is no agreement for the marriage of our children because my liking for you and your child is big.

17. I have arrived here so that I know if you will receive me or not.

18. The father of the girl said, “What will confirm our agreement?”

19. Then the man said, “Let’s drink.”

20. Then the palm wine they had brought, they immediately offered to the owner of the house and placed the food on the table.

21. When they had finished eating they started to talk.

22. That person (father of the girl) said, “We’re finished eating now.

23. Let’s begin talking.”
24. Kamhan min-sambag ya taga-amaama, “E.e.ey. 
SO SF,B-answer T owner-boy/man AFFIR

because T purpose II,1,S now INS=confirm=NR=—OF,NB II,1,PL,IN
ya sabet* ta.
T agree/discuss II,1,PL,IN

26. Kon iko an-dawat kanao ining maanak o
if/when 1,2,S SF,NB-receive III,1,S D1, child II,1,S
ispangasawa o kontana ka maanak mo kon iko
ACCF,NB=Caus:wife/marry II,1,S OPT O child II,2,S if/when 1,2,S
ma-gosto kanao.”
ST,SF,NB=want III,1,S

27. Min-sambag ya ama na babazi nga, “Hao ey, diri
SF,B-answer T father NT girl/woman LK I,1,S ATTN NEG
hao an-diri ka olitao mazo kay hao diri sa kon
1,1,S SF,NB-refuse O unmarried.boy II,2,PL because 1,1,S NEG REF LK
hao kay an-asawa ka maanak o.
1,1,S O=T SF,NB-wife/marry O child II,1,S

28. Piro ya kanmong maanak diri hao an-apora nga mag-hela
but T IV,2,S child NEG I,1,S SF,NB-urge LK INF, SF=dwell
di iza dini.
CMP I,1,S L1

29. Iko ka say peteng ya maga-beet.”
I,2,S LIM REF=T LIM T CONT, SF,NB=decide

30. Min-sambag ya ama na amaama nga, “Ining
SF,B-answer T father NT boy/man LK D1
pag-karini o ey kanmo diri hao an-oli kon
NR=come.here II,1,S ATTN III,2,S NEG I,1,S, SF,NB=return.home if/when
diri nao ma-sayd-an ya sabà mazo daw
NEG II,1,S ST, SF,NB=know— T voice/say II,2,PL and
tangde-en di mo kami.
agree.to.marriage.contract=OF,NB CMP II,2,S I,1,PL,EX

31. Kay ini t-in-igbeet di nga sabet.”
because D1 confirm=NR= CMP LK agree/discuss

24. Then the father of the boy answered, “Yes.

25. Because my purpose is to confirm our agreement.

26. If you receive me I want to cause my child to marry your child if you want me (my proposal).”

27. The father of the girl replied, “I will not refuse your unmarried son because I am not the only one who will decide about my child marrying.

28. But I will not urge him to live here.

29. You only will be the one to decide that.”

30. The father of the boy replied, “Regarding my coming here to you I would not return home if I did not know your voice and agreement to a marriage contract with us.

31. Because this is the confirmation now of our agreement.”
32. Min-sambag ya ama na babazi nga, "Kay ani sa iza ya tozd mo kanao.

33. Ya kanmong maanak mag-helâ di naa dini kanao kay dazaw maga-aligrar di dini. I,3,S T purpose II,2,S III,1,S

34. Mag-tabang di iza ka mga tarabaho nao.

35. Na, izang ama na nangasawa min-hatag ka mga kowarta ka pag-ka-tigbeet nga mim-paningoha izak a money o INF=NR=confirm LK SF,B=DIST:make.every.effort 1,3,S O toong maanak. IV,3,S child

36. Min-laong ya ama ka nangasawa nga, "Iko mag-helâ di ko dini.

37. Ya tarabaho mo an-tabang ko ka mga tarabaho.


42. Tanan dini ka lagkaw ani sab pag-tarabaho-on mo kay iton nga tarabaho mo pangalagad ta ka tag-babazi.
The Marriage Contract and the Marriage Feast

43. Kon t-em-egbeng ko ka mga longsod kon
   if/when go.down=SF,NB= 1,2,S O PL city if/when
   mag-o-uli ko may mga dara mo gihapon nga teba,
   SF,NB=return.home 1,2,S EXT PL carry 1,2,S ADD LK palm.wine
   isda.
   fish

44. Kon may mga makaen ani sab ya paga-dad-hen."
   if/when EXT PL food TD ADD T INS,NB=carry=OF

45. Ani sasy tao nga maga-pangasawa nga diri
   TD REF=T person/live LK CONT,SF,NB=CAUS:wife/marry LK NEG
   ka=layt-an na taga-babazi.
   NR=angry= NT owner-girl/woman

46. Pagka-ika-lima-ng bolan kasy masara sa-ng
   when=ORD=five=LG moon/month LIM=ST very REF=LG
   pangaraw niran ka mga kowarta, mga boog, mga begas.
   work.for.money 1,3,PL O PL money PL wild.pig PL husked.rice

47. Na-tipon di niran ya mga harominta niran ka
   ST,SB,B=gather CMP 1,3,PL T PL goods 1,3,PL O
   pag-pangasawa niran, daw ya i-bazad-ay ka in-azò* nga
   INF=CAUS:wife 1,3,PL and T ACCF,NB=pay=NR O OF,B=ask.for LK
   kowarta daw mga lodòw daw mga palato daw mga kardiro daw ya
   money and PL long.knife and PL plate and PL pot and T
   i-pa-palit ka teba daw bino kaan.
   ACCF,NB=CAUS=buy O palm.wine and wine soon

48. Pagka-biemis ka kiza mim-pan-dapit disab siran kaniran
   when=Friday LIM D2 SF,B=DIST=contact ADD 1,3,PL III,3,PL
   mga lomon ka pag-pa-iba ka kaniran
   PL close.relative O INF=CAUS=accompany O III,3,PL
   pag-ganas.
   INF=marriage.feast

49. Namanaw dazon siran.
   DIST,SB,B=go IMM 1,3,PL

43. When you go down to the city upon returning you bring palm wine and fish.

44. When there is food you also bring that."

45. This is (the behavior) of the person who takes a wife who will not anger the owner of the girl.

46. When it was the fifth month they had worked hard to collect money, wild pigs and husked rice.

47. They gathered their goods agreed on to obtain a wife and the amount of money requested as well as the bolo knives, enamel dinner plates, cooking pots and money to buy palm wine and bottled wine a little later.

48. When it was Friday they also contacted their close relatives to accompany them to the marriage feast.

49. They immediately left.
50. *When they arrived at the house of the girl the father of the betrothed boy said, “Here we are again.”*

51. *The father of the girl said, “Yes, you climb up here.”*

52. *When they had rested they immediately killed the wild pig and the others cooked the rice and meat.*

53. *The father of the boy immediately placed the palm wine and bottled wine on the table.*

54. *They kept drinking and drinking.*

55. *When the people are drunk you cannot hear the noise of people talking.*

56. *The only thing that gets people’s attention is when these two people motion with their hands saying, “Go ahead and come here because we will fight with you.”*
The Marriage Contract and the Marriage Feast

57. **Na, ya mga tao na-bereng kay warà sa-y NIF T PL person/live ST, SF, B=surprise because NEG REF=T tao nga pinaga-lalis.**

58. **Ya mga tao nga iba nangempag T PL person/live LK companion DIST, SF, B=jump ngam-babà ka lopà daw mga babazi aní koma-y kolang toward=down O earth and PL girl/woman TD now=T lack ya mga barí-an siran.**

59. **Ya iba-ng tao nga mga ka-hebeg-hebeg=an T companion=LG person/live LK PL Continental, SF, B=drink= NEG=T naga-tinindas ka tambaring. CONT, SF, B=kick O partition**

60. **Somiri dowa-ng ka minoto waray na-bilin ka after two=LG O minute NEG=T ST, SF, B=remain.behind O tambaring partition**

61. **Horot na-gebà na mga hebeg ya tambaring. all ST, SF, B=tear.apart NT PL drunk T partition**

62. **Kamhan izang dowa-ng ka tao maga-sagitan=an di SO D2 two=LG O person/live CONT, NB=step.on=RF CMP na mga hebeg kay siran nga dowa warà inem ka tebà. NT PL drunk because L3, PL LK two NEG drink O palm.wine**

63. **Pagka-kamhan ka na lamisa namentag di ya when=finish LIM NT table DIST, SF, B=lie.down CMP T mga tao in-lekp=an ya saleg. PL person/live RF, B=distribute.about=_ T floor**

64. **Namoriniag=an ya mga tao nga namentag. DIST, SF, B=lie.down=NR T PL person/live LK DIST, SF, B=lie.down**

57. Now the people were surprised because no one had been there who had wanted to argue.

58. The other people jumped down to the ground and the women were not harmed.

59. The other people who were drunk kicked the wall.

60. After two minutes there was nothing left of the wall.

61. It was all torn apart by the drunks.

62. Then those two people were trampled by the drunks because they had not drunk palm wine.

63. When there was no food left the people lay down all over the floor.

64. The people were lying about all over the place.
65. Pagka-masiselem ka kiza ka kamhan na pamahaw* when=morning LIM D₂ O finish NT breakfast min-laong ya ama na olitao nga, "Wani di dakoza ya SF,B=say T father NT unmarried.boy LK L₁ CMP L₂ T kardiro tolo-ng bolos, karahà isa. pot three=LG piece skillet one

66. Ya lodzd tolo. 67. Ya palato isa-ng ka dosina. T long.knife three T plate one=LG O dozen

68. May kowarta pen nga singkowinta." EXT money INC LK fifty

69. Pagka-kamhan ka kiza in-dawat di na ama na when=finish LIM D₂ OF,B=receive CMP NT father NT babazi. girl/woman

70. Min-laong ya inainà na babazi, "Pa-bado-i di SF,B=say T stepmother NT girl/woman CAUS=clothe=IMP RF CMP mazo itong si Oday." II,2,PL D₂ T Oday

71. Pag-bati ka na babazi min-dalagan* ngaro ka when=hear LIM NT girl/woman SF,B=run DIR 3 O banwa. forest

72. Magazon kay may isa-ng ka batà ST,ST,SB,good because EXT one=LG O child maga-s=inggit nga, "Ariari kamo kay min-dalagan CONT,SB,SB=scream=INS= LK hurry 1,2,PL because SF,B=run di ini!" CMP D₁

73. Dazon in-lopog na ama nga min-laong, IMM OF,B=chase NT father LK SF,B=say "Maga-ka=ono sa ko ion? CONT,SB,SB=ST=what/why REF 1,2,8 D₂

74. Diri ko kiton nga batasan mo." NEG 1,2,8 D₂ LK behavior II,2,8
The Marriage Contract and the Marriage Feast

75. Pagpaka-dateng doro ka lagkaw im-pa-bado-an di. when-arrive L-4 O house RF,B=CAUS=clothe=CMP

76. Pagka-kamhan ka pag-badò in-habits-an niran ya when-finish LIM INF=clothe RF,B=hold.hand= T babazi.
girl/woman

77. Ya ma-hori min-laong nga, “Am-panaw di kami.” T ST, SF, NB=last.one SF,B=say LK SF, NB=go CMP I,1, PL, EX

78. Min-laong ya ama nga, “E.e.ey.” SF,B=say T father LK AFFIR

79. Pag-dateng ka niran dilod ka Kasagazan nga when-arrive LIM I,3, PL downriver O Kasagazan LK

salem ka helà na babazi min-dakep

location, beyond, certain, point O dwelling NT girl/woman SF,B=catch
disab ka boog.
ADD O wild.pig

80. Na, in-dara niran ngan-dilod ka Sinasawan* NIF ACCF,B=carry I,3, PL toward, there=downriver O Sinasawan

nga ika-dowa-ng ka-dang-an helà naizang amaama. LK ORD=two= LG NR=arrive=CMP dwelling D,2 boy/man

81. Kamhan izang babazi min-loos di SQ D,2 girl/woman SF,B=leave.without.permission CMP

kontana.
OPT

82. Pag-dateng ka niran ka Sinasawan masara-ng when-arrive LIM I,3, PL O Sinasawan very=LG

pag-ka=sazâ na mga bozag kay naka-kawà di niran ka
NR=ST=happy NT PL old.woman because ABL, SF,B=get CMP I,3, PL O

babazi.
girl/woman

83. Min-ihay disab niran ka mga boog. 84. Ya dowa in-hal-ob
SF,B=prepare ADD I,3, PL O PL wild.pig T two OF,B=roast
niran.
I,3, PL

84. When they arrived at the house they put the dress on her.

76. When they had dressed her they held her by the hand.

77. The last ones (to leave) said, “We're leaving now.” 78. The father said, “Yes.”

79. When they arrived downriver at Kasagazan, which was beyond the location of the girl's house, they also caught a wild pig.

80. Now they carried it downriver to Sinasawan, which was the second place the boy had arrived.

81. Then the girl tried to get away.

82. When they reached Sinasawan the old women were very happy because they had gotten the girl.

83. They also prepared the wild pig. 84. They roasted the two wild pigs.
85. They cooked the other one (in a pot) to celebrate the taking of a daughter-in-law because they were really happy because of the marriage feast now.

86. When the palm wine and the lowlanders arrived the people drank again.

87. They became drunk again. 88. They also danced.

89. The others embraced the girl who was dancing.

90. They contributed money. 91. Each one gave a peso.

92. They also embraced the husband of the girl.

93. For those who gave twenty pesos it was possible for them to embrace the girl.

94. For those who gave fifty pesos it was possible.

95. For those who gave one peso it was possible.

96. They made a lot of noise because of their happiness in repeatedly embracing and dancing with the girl.
The Marriage Contract and the Marriage Feast

97. Pagka-kamhan ka niran pag-hazè ya mga babazi nga
when-finish LIM II,3,PL INF=celebrate T PL girl/woman LK
mga Tawe nga mga hebeg im-panakit-an ka olo kay
PL lowlander LK PL drunk RF,B=DIST:sick= O head because
im-bals-an ka ka-bezeng niran.
RF,B=revenge O NR=noisy II,3,PL

98. Ka-labad na mata ka szaw, katawa, himazà.
AJR=pain NT eye O dance laugh happiness

99. Pag-howas-i ka niran ka kina-hebeg-an nangoli
when-tired=OF LIM II,3,PL O COL=drunk DIST,SF,B=return.home
di siran.
CMP 1,3,PL

100. Ya babazi nga g-in-anas ka kahabzen in-hatag
T girl/woman LK marriage.feast=NR O night OF,B=give
di ka amaama.
CMP O boy/man

101. Anipen pag-kolkol-a sirang dowa kay ya mga
first.time INF=sleep.together=OF I,3,PL,LG two because T PL
tao nanga=tiklas di ka lagkaw niran.
person/live DIST,PL,LF,B=leave CMP O house II,3,PL

97. When they were finished celebrating the girls who were lowlanders who were drunk had headaches as a result of their noise.

98. Their eyes were painful from dancing, laughing, and happiness.

99. When they were tired from being drunk they returned home.

100. The girl for whom the marriage feast was given, when it was night she was given to the boy.

101. They slept together for the first time because the people had already left for their homes.
Cultural and Linguistic Notes on THE MARRIAGE CONTRACT AND THE MARRIAGE FEAST

**Title** pagkombiri ‘marriage feast’. See cultural note 87 for details.

1. **nagalaong** ‘say’. The narrator uses a simple exchange dialogue between a man and his wife to set the stage for the subject of his narrative, that of making marriage arrangements for their son. This introduction also serves to illustrate that the socially approved way to marry is for parents to initiate the marriage contract. It is also common practice for a young man to request his parents to initiate marriage arrangements with the parents of a girl in whom he is interested. If the parents are deceased, their kin group acts in their behalf by initiating marriage arrangements for the boy. This is true of the girl who is an orphan as well. Her aunts are the ones to negotiate with the boy’s parents. Because it takes 2½ years to complete the dowry (tandê/hingkat), it is not uncommon for young people to elope (ayaban, layas). But in case of eloping the dowry is doubled for the boy’s parents. In this case, the couple stays away for about three months, then returns home to their parents to ask forgiveness. Both sets of parents meet together to negotiate (hosay). They argue far into the night to equalize the dowry. First cousin marriages are never arranged and are taboo. Among those who eloped in Pangaylan, was a couple who were first cousins. Although this practice is taboo, when they returned home they were allowed to continue living together. Among the older people, only a few men are known to have deserted their wives and run away with other women. A woman whose husband dies faces pressure for illicit relations from the relatives of her husband. This was the situation with a new widow in Pangaylan. When it became evident she was pregnant, the relatives of her husband denied any responsibility. The woman likewise denied she was with child, and reportedly strangled the baby after giving birth.

**hosto di sa nga minzeenen** ‘is of marriageable age’. In Surigao del Norte the average age for Mamanwas to marry is young. If there is a delay there is a tendency to immoral living. Girls can be as young as twelve years old. In Pangaylan the average age for girls to marry is between sixteen and twenty-one. The compilers have never observed the marriage of a preadolescent girl. For boys it is between ages seventeen to twenty-two years old. In Pangaylan the compilers observed the marriage of an adolescent Mamanwa girl to a Manobo widower, but this was an exception to the general practice. Marital exogamy is practiced between Mamanwa clans in the Surigao area and the Northern Agusan area. In Pangaylan several young men got their wives from sitio Sibagat, a Manobo sitio east of Butuan City.

2. **sakahan** ‘make marriage contract’ is the shortened form of saka sikrito, which is the initial step in negotiating a marriage contract. The go-between for the boy and his parents is a relative who is good at speaking. He comes with the boy’s parents to the girl’s home bringing rice, palm toddy and a pig (s. 5). The grandfather, uncle or father is the spokesman for the girl. If they have no interest in initiating a marriage contract, they refuse (indiri) and do not eat or drink with the boy’s relatives. If they are interested, the girl’s family participates with the boy’s family in eating and drinking. The speaker for the boy’s family uses archaic Mamanwa language terms and indirect speech (bulak) to talk about the proposal saying, “Our bee would like to marry your flower.” In a saka sikrito observed in Toyatoya the girl’s family passed an enamel plate with betel nut (mam-en), lime (apog), and a leaf for wrapping these. Each person involved dipped a finger in the mixture and tasted it. This action was symbolic of unity and acceptance by the grandfather of the girl.

The second step in negotiating a marriage contract is the tandê/hingkat. All the relatives, especially of the girl, meet together so that they can tell the boy’s parents and relatives what the dowry (in-azo) is. This takes a long time, and they discuss far into the night before reaching a decision about the amount and kind of dowry. There can be as many as 36 kinds (pidaso), such as enamel dinner plates, rice pots, bolo knives, as well as money for the rice,
pig, and wine for the marriage feast (kombiti). At the tandé/hingkat the date of the wedding (kasal) is decided on. If a second suitor comes to the girl after the tandé/hingkat and she accepts him (pikasen), her kin group must refund all they have received from the family whom they have already begun a marriage contract, and even pay more.

7. lomon 'close relative, such as a brother, sister, or cousin'. In the band level of society decisions are actually the crystallized opinions of the adult members of the clan group. This is true of decisions about marriage as well. The following terms supplement the list of kinship terms in Appendix J:

- asawhenen 'betrothed girl'
- balikad 'having one parent deceased'
- balò nga babazi/amaama 'widow/widower'
- dalagaloilitao 'unmarried girl/boy'
- higara 'peer group'
- ilo 'orphan'
- nangasawa 'betrothed boy'
- pomilaya 'nuclear family' (man, wife, plus unmarried children)
- pangasaw-enen 'betrothed girl'
- sakop 'clan member'
- tara |t 'betroth'

16. kaaazak 'want/like'. Qualities a boy's parents look for in a future daughter-in-law are that she is willing to share with others (mag-angay-angay), her family is compatible, equal-in-rank, and willing to share what they have with them, she is a good cook and works industriously in the field, and gets along well with people. The parents of the girl want a son-in-law who knows how to work and is able to support a wife and family. In some cases, however, it seems that the only criteria needed to accept the proposal of the boy's parents is that the boy is of marriageable age and comes from an allied band with which the clan practices reciprocal exogamy.

18. magkaown lit., 'parallel' with the extended meaning of 'like minded'. Sometimes if the girl and her family are not interested in the proposal, they will ask an impossible bridewealth such as sewing machines, radios, or a hollow block house. If they are interested in the proposal, they request a reasonable amount of goods. These goods are provided by the kin group of the boy and received and shared among the kin group of the girl.

25. sabet 'agree/discuss'. Contrastive primary word stress /\ falls on the ultimate and penultimate syllable of [sabêt] 'to understand' and [sábert] 'to agree/discuss'. In the practical orthography primary word stress is not written on the penultimate syllable /sabet/ 'to agree/discuss'. It is written as acute accent on the ultima /[sabêt]/ 'to understand'.

33. magaaligra 'care for'. At the conclusion of the tandé/hingkat (s. 34) the boy begins to serve (pangalagad) his future in-laws. He serves for as long as it takes for his parents and relatives to collect the entire dowry, which can take about 2½ years or more. The boy can return home for one purpose only, to prepare the dowry. He must return to the girl's parents, who will not release him until the dowry is completed. During this time the boy and girl may live together as husband and wife, and even have children. He and his parents work hard so that he can be free from serving his in-laws and go back to his clan.

47. inazò 'bridewealth'. The girl's uncles, aunts and cousins all make their personal requests of the uncles, aunts and cousins of the boy. A marriage is a contract between kin groups, rather than between individuals. Security against the breakdown of the marriage contract is inbuilt in the share of many people in both kin groups providing for and receiving the bridewealth. The compilers never knew of a wife seeking a divorce. Outwardly most couples
seem content, with the husband taking the lead and the wife doing the work of bearing and raising children, planting and weeding the field, and cooking the meals. The compilers knew of one case of protracted wife-beating to the point where the wife became ill and died. Even in this situation she remained with her husband.

65. *pamahaw* 'breakfast'. Other meals are *paniedto* 'lunch', and *panihapon* 'supper'. However, most Mamanwas usually eat only two regular meals a day: when they return from their fields at noon, and before they go to sleep at night.

71. *mindalagan* 'run away'. On the day of the wedding and marriage feast (*kombiti*) it is fairly common for the prospective bride to run off into the forest. Especially in cases where the girl is not happy about the choice of her parents or surrogate parents, this is her final opportunity to register how she feels about it. In this account the father is the one to go after the girl to bring her back. One Mamanwa girl not only ran away, but also tore the white dress the boy's family had bought for her.

80. *Sitio* Sinasawan is a small settlement 1.5 kilometers downriver from *sitio* Pangaylan where the compilers lived. It is between *sitio* Pangaylan and the municipality of Santiago.

85. *binalazi* 'daughter-in-law' from the root word *babazi* 'girl'. In sentence 102 she is also referred to as *ginanas* 'bride' from the root word *ganas* 'wedding'.

*nakaganas* 'wedding celebration', is the formal event, whereas the *saka sikriio* and *tandehingkat* are more a betrothal. It includes all the activities on the occasion of a marriage, such as merrymaking, dancing and drinking. The dancing is borrowed from Western culture and referred to as *bayli*. The feast is called the *kombiti* after which the bride and groom feed each other rice. Following this the grandparents and parents spend considerable time (sometimes 2 hours) exhorting (*magasindò*) the newlyweds, mostly telling them what not to do as a married couple. Everybody hears and everybody advises on behavior, of understanding each other, and taking care of each other. Currently some families invite a lowland minister to solemnize the wedding. At the *kombiti* the entire dowry is presented. After the feast and exhortation the girl goes to the home of the boy.