1 PHONOLOGY

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The inventory of Mamanwa phonemes consists of /p, b, t, d, k, g, q (glottal stop), h, s, z, m, n, η , 1, r, w, y, i, e, a, o/.

1.1 SYLLABLES

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

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

1.2 CONSONANTS

Following are examples of contrast among the consonant phonemes: p/b: pánday 'to temper', bántay 'to watch', qámpak 'wing', qámbak 'toad', qátep 'roof', ságqeb 'to get water'.

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

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

h/q: <u>hálas</u> 'snake', <u>qálas</u> 'o'clock', <u>lahon</u> 'to carry on a pole', <u>láqon</u> 'to say', <u>qápoh</u> 'grandmother', <u>qaróq</u> 'far'.

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

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'dugout canoe', <u>labád</u> 'headache', <u>támbal</u> 'medicine', <u>rípaq</u> 'dirty', <u>bárig</u> 'to break', <u>gímbar</u> 'drum'.

m/n/n: manánap 'harmful animal', nánay (direct address to mother), bána 'husband', bánaq 'bite', máman 'insect', hágdam 'to know', góran 'rain', dáhon 'leaf', lahon 'to carry on a pole', na (quotative particle, subordinating particle).

s/z: ségaq 'sun', zéhet 'angry', qasawa 'wife', qazaw 'don't'.

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

w: <u>wáni</u> (identificational particle), <u>katáwa</u> 'laugh', <u>qabábaw</u> 'shallow'.

/r/ is either flapped or trilled in all environments: [raparapa ~ raparapa] 'ankle', [baroy ~ baroy] 'a kind of long leafed plant', [gimbar ~ gimbar] 'drum'. /1/ and /r/ alternate freely word initially and medially: [1fro ~ rilo] 'wristwatch', [qirek ~ qilek] 'armpit'.

/z/ has variants [z], [ž], and [š]. [z] and [ž] are free variants: [zehet ~ žehet] 'angry', [mazo ~ mažo] 'your(pl)'. When [š] occurs it alternates freely with [ž]: [minjeq ~ minžeq] 'marry', [jawi ~ žawi] 'key', [pijaŋa ~ pižaŋa] (type of fish). When [š] does not vary to [š] it is interpreted as the sequence of /d/ and /z/: [bijoq] bidzoq 'fish spear', [lojoq] lodzoq 'bolo-knife'.

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

However, complementary distribution also occurs between the two in that /y/ occurs in syllable final position, but /z/ never does. Moreover, only /z/, never /y/, can occur next to a suffix (syllable initial position). The contrast between /y/ and /z/, and the neutralization of that contrast in syllable final position represent an archiphoneme¹, which we symbolize as Y in the following examples: [bay.huq | /baY.huq / 'face'; [kay.qan | /kaY.qan / 'later'; [ge.re.may | /ge.re.maY / 'small'; [seng.qay | /seng.qaY | 'to carry on shoulders'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.3 VOWELS

The four vowels of Mamanwa are /a, i, o, e/. /a/ is a low, central, unrounded vocoid. hádhad 'to fell timber', 1ópaq 'ground', qának 'egg'. [e] is an allophone of /a/ which occurs only following /t/: [tépras] tapras 'measles'. This has not been observed to contrast with [a].

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

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

/e/ is a high, open, central, unrounded vocoid. délem 'after-noon', dédeq 'pup', bédbed 'to wind, coil so as to encircle something'. A slightly lower variant has been observed before /g/, /n/, /d/, /k/, and /r/. [báskivg] 'strong', [káqivn] 'eat', [sínivd] 'like, as', [litivk] 'to pronounce', [qívak] 'to play'. This has not been observed to contrast with [i] and occurs less frequently than [i].

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

1.4 STRESS

Contrastive primary word stress /'/ has been noted falling on the ultimate and penultimate syllables: <u>baháw</u> 'leftover food' and <u>báhaw</u> 'to be healed', <u>togód</u> 'tree stump' and <u>tógod</u> 'purpose', <u>sabét</u> 'to understand' and <u>sábet</u> 'to discuss'.

Primary word stress on the penultimate syllable of a reduplicated root denotes that the reduplication involves a single stress group rather than two stress groups. Secondary word stress then falls on the syllable preceding the syllable with the primary stress.

nakapanawpanaw iza kahabi 'he was able to walk about a little yesterday', ya banagbanig ani ya hininan naqo 'the small mat was that which I made'.

1.5 PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY

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

- (1) Glottal stop will be written as in Pilipino, i.e., omitted word initial and between vowels: /qálad/ alad 'fence', /páqit/ pait 'bitter'; written with a hyphen following a consonant: /gipqosan/gip-osan 'youngest sibling', /dágqok/ dag-ok 'thunder'; when following a vowel, written as a grave accent over that vowel: /piseq/pise 'chick', /qídoq/ ido 'dog'.
- (2) Primary word stress will not be written on the penultimate syllable. It will be written as acute accent on the ultima and as a circumflex when the stress symbol and grave accent occur over the same vowel: barato/barato 'cheap', sabet 'understand', and sapa 'water'.
 - (3) The velar nasal phoneme will be symbolized by the digraph ng

1.6 TEXT IN ORTHOGRAPHIC WRITING

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