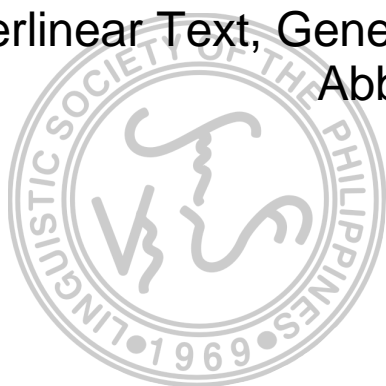


STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES & CULTURES

Supplementary Series
No. 5 1991
Mamanwa texts

Helen Miller and Jeanne Miller, comps.; Fe T. Otanes, Hazel Wrigglesworth,
series eds.

Table of Contents, Acknowledgments, Biographical
Information, Map, Introduction, Abbreviations and Symbols
in Interlinear Text, General Abbreviations and Notes on
Abbreviations



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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-om, 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.

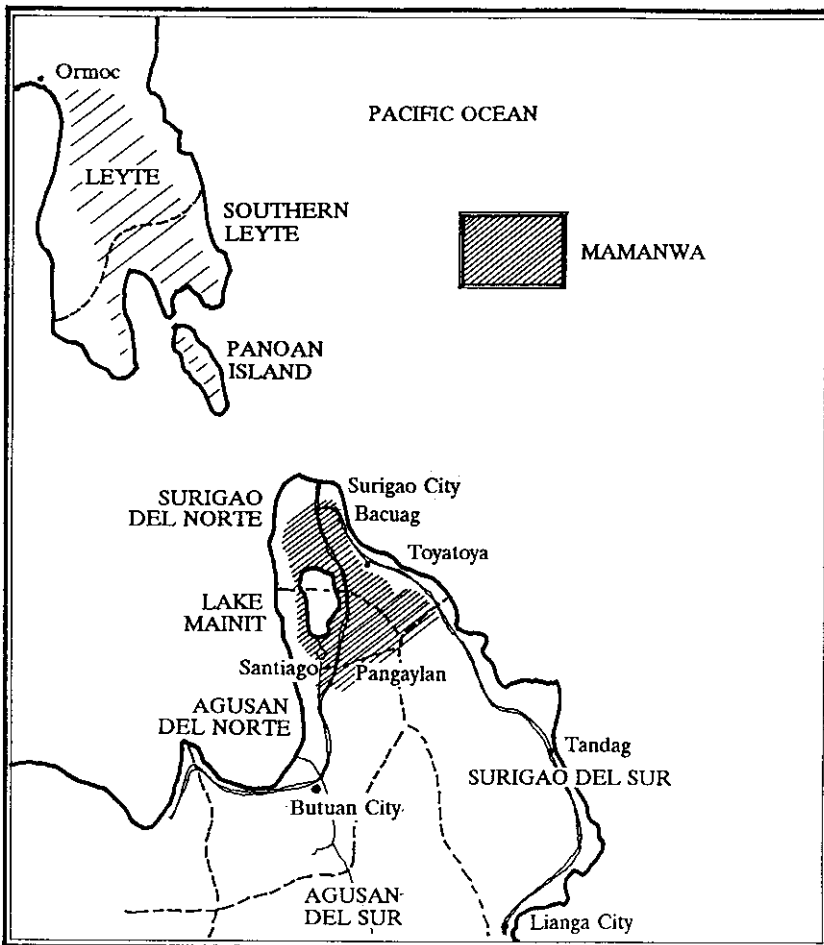
Daylinda Enao, now deceased, narrated text 13 when she was about twenty-four years of age. She was born and raised in Pangaylan, had elementary schooling up to grade 3 and spoke Mamanwa and Visayan.

Felicia 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.

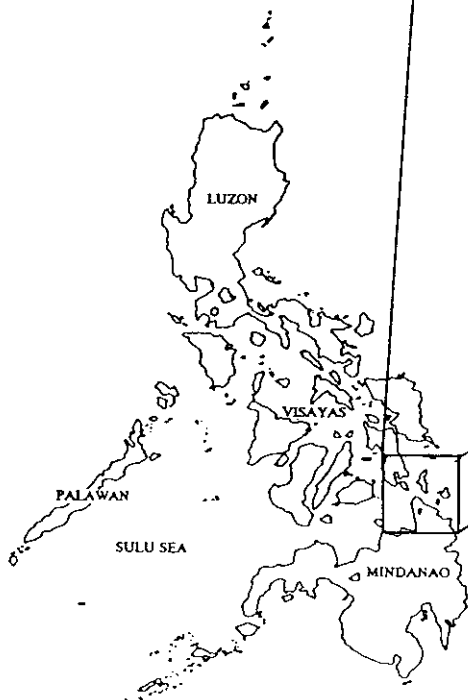
Roberto Culangan, was about twenty years old when he narrated text 22. He was born and raised in Pangaylan, had little formal schooling and speaks Mamanwa and Visayan.

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**



The Philippines

Introduction

The twenty-eight texts in this collection were recorded and transcribed *in situ* 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 hortatorial 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 Anaoon 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

ABL	abilitative
ACCF	accessory focus
ADD	additive
ADVER	adversative
AFFIR	affirmative
AJR	adjectivizer
ATTN	attention getter
B	action begun
C	consonant
CAUS	causative
CERT	certainty
CMP	completive
COL	collective
CONJ	conjunction
CONN	connecting particle
CONT	continuative
CRD	complete reduplication
CV	consonant vowel pattern
CVC	consonant vowel consonant pattern
D ₁	deictic, this
D ₂	deictic, that
DEF	definite
DIM	diminutive
DIR ₁	directional, toward here near speaker
DIR ₂	directional, toward there far from speaker
DIR ₃	directional, toward there very far from speaker
DIST	distributive
EMPH	emphatic
EX	exclusive
EXT	existential
HAB	habitual action
HON	honorific
HORT	hortatorical
IMM	immediately
IMP	imperative
IN	inclusive
INC	incompletive
INF	infinitive
INS	intensive
INT	interrogative
L ₁	locative, here near
L ₂	locative, there close by

L ₃	locative, there distant
L ₄	locative, there far distant
LG	ligature
LIM	limiter
LK	linker
NB	action not yet begun
NEG	negative
NIF	new information
NPUR	nonpurposeful action
NR	nominalizer
NT	nontopic marker
O	oblique marker
OF	object focus
OPT	optative
ORD	ordinal number
PL	plural
REC	reciprocal action
REDUP	reduplication
REF	anaphoric reference
REP	repetitive action
RF	referent focus
RS	reported speech
S	singular
SF	subject focus
SIM	simultaneous action
SQ	sequence marker
ST	stative
SURP	surprise
T	topic marker
TD	topic deictic
V	vowel
VP	volitional particle
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
I	topic pronoun, focused subject
II	nontopic pronoun, nonfocused subject, or possessive pronoun
III	oblique pronoun, nonfocused nonsubject
IV	emphatic possessive pronoun

blank space	word boundary
=	morpheme boundary
:	indeterminate morpheme boundary
,	semantic/grammatical components
— —	discontinuous morpheme
*	see notes and/or introductory comment appended to this text
()	encloses words in free translation which facilitate reading and in the gloss line to indicate zero allomorph
/	alternate related meanings
.	compound gloss or compound vernacular phrase
-	glottal stop following a consonant
`	glottal stop word final

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 Maman-wa.

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.

AFFIR affirmative	refers to phrases that indicate an affirmative response; 'yes', 'all right', 'okay'.
AJR adjectivizer	affixes; change the grammatical function of a word to an adjective.
ATTN attention getter	particles; are used to get hearer's attention; 'hey'.
B action begun	verb affixes; signal that the action of a verb has already been initiated.
CAUS 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.
CERT certainty	indicates an action has definitely taken place.
CMP complete	used for the particle <i>di</i> ; indicates that an action has been completed; 'now', 'already'.
COL 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'.
CONJ conjunction	used for the conjunction <i>hasta</i> which has several meanings, such as 'so that' and 'and'.
CONN connecting	used for the particle <i>kon</i> which links elements in the negative phase <i>diri kon</i> .
CONT continuative	verb affixes; indicate that an action continues without ceasing over a period of time.
CRD complete reduplication	indicates that a root or stem has been completely reduplicated.
DEF definite	affixes; signal that an item is definite in that the speaker is referring to one particular item.
DIM 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.
DIR directional	a set of words that signal both the direction of an action and the distance the action is moving away from the speaker.

DIST distributive	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.
EMPH emphatic	particles; are used to lend prominence to what the speaker is saying; 'really', 'very'.
EX exclusive	refers to first-person plural pronouns; indicates that the hearer is not included; 'we, but not you'.
EXT existential	refers to the existentials <i>may</i> or <i>deket</i> which both mean 'there is'.
HAB habitual	affixes; indicate that an action is performed habitually or on a regular basis.
HON honorific	a polite means of addressing or referring to someone of higher social status.
HORT hortatorical	particles that strengthen the force of a statement, or that soften the harshness of a strong statement.
IMM immediately	used for the particle <i>dazon</i> ; signals that an action took place immediately; 'immediately', 'right then'.
IMP imperative	verbal affixes; mark that a statement is given as a command.
IN inclusive	refers to first-person plural pronouns; indicates that the hearer is included; 'we all'.
INC incomplete	used for the particle <i>pen</i> ; indicates that an action has not yet been completed; 'yet', 'still'.
INF infinitive	verb affixes; change the verb to a nonfinite form which does not show aspect or mood contrasts.
INS intensive	verb affixes: signal that an action is intensified.
INT interrogative	interrogative pronouns; 'who', 'what/why', 'where', 'when'.
LG ligature	refers to the particle <i>nga</i> or its variant, enclitic <i>-ng</i> , which link elements in certain noun phrases, or which occur before quotes.
LIM limiter	particles; indicate limitation of some sort, such as only one action, only one person, or only a certain number of things; 'only', 'just'.
LK linker	used for the particle <i>nga</i> which links elements in certain noun phrases, and for the free standing morpheme <i>kon</i> which links words to form negative phrases.
NB action not yet begun	verb affixes; signal that an action has not been initiated.

NEG negative	particles; signal the negation of a statement.
NIF new information	used for the particle <i>na</i> which indicates that the information that follows contains new content.
NPUR 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 <i>laong</i> 'say' changes to 'chat'.
NR nominalizer	nominal affixes; indicate that a root or stem is functioning as a nominal.
NT nontopic marker	noun phrase marker; marks the grammatical subject as a nontopic, or nonfocused element, in the clause.
O oblique marker	noun phrase marker; marks the direct or indirect object as a nontopic, or nonfocused element, in the clause.
OF 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.
OPT optative	used for the particle <i>kontana</i> ; indicates a strong desire; 'wish', 'hope'.
ORD ordinal number	affixes; change a cardinal number to an ordinal number. For example, 'five' becomes 'fifth'.
REC reciprocal action	verb affix; signals that the actor performs an action and causes or desires another person to reciprocate the action.
REDUP reduplication	indicates 'characteristic of'.
REF anaphoric reference	used for the particles <i>sa</i> and <i>hinoa</i> which signal anaphoric reference in that the particles point backwards in the text to something previously mentioned.
REP repetitive action	verb affix; indicates that an action begins and ends repeatedly.
RF 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.
RS reported speech	used for the particle <i>koni</i> ; indicates that the speaker is not verifying the truthfulness of the statement he is repeating.
SF subject focus	verb affix; indicates that a noun phrase functioning as the grammatical subject is the focused element of a non-causative clause.

SIM 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.
ST stative	verb affix; indicates the state or condition of an item.
SURP surprise	particles; signal surprise.
T topic marker	noun phrase marker; marks the grammatical subject as the topic, or focused element, of the clause.
TD topic deictic	used for the deictics <i>ani</i> and <i>aniton</i> ; identifies a topic as the theme of the discourse. Also signals that the topic is definite and exclusive.
VP volitional particle	indicates a choice or decision to be made.

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5. *Pagsaka daw pagkombiti*

The marriage contract and the marriage feast

Julian Porogoy (1959)

48–62



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5 *Ya Pag-saka* *daw Pag-kombiti**
 T NR=marriage.contract and NR=marriage.feast

**The Marriage Contract
 and the Marriage Feast**

By Julian Porogoy (1959)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. <i>Ya amaama naga-laong* ka asawa naiza nga, "Inihè</i>
 T boy/man CONT,SF,B=say O wife/marry II,3,S LK D₁
 <i>mag-sabet kita kay ining maanak ta</i>
 SF,NB=agree/discuss I,1,PL,IN because D₁ child II,1,PL,IN
 <i>hosto di sa nga minze=en=en*.</i>
 old.enough CMP REF LK marry=OF,NB=AJR</p> <p>2. <i>Kon ma-azak ko kitong babazi ani</i>
 if/when ST,SF,NB=want/like I,2,S D₂ girl/woman TD
 <i>i-pa-asawa ta itonhò."</i>
 ACCF,NB=CAUS=wife/marry II,1,PL,IN D₂</p> <p>3. <i>Min-laong ya asawa nga, "Ma-azak hao kiton.</i>
 SF,B=say T wife/marry LK ST,SF,NB=want/like I,1,S D₂</p> <p>4. <i>Saka-han* di nita."</i>
 initiate.marriage.contract=RF,NB CMP II,1,PL,IN</p> <p>5. <i>Mim-pangawà di siran ka begas, tebà, daw</i>
 SF,B=DIST;get CMP I,3,PL O husked.rice palm.wine and
 <i>baboy.</i>
 pig</p> <p>6. <i>Pag-dateng ka min-laong ya amaama nga, "Pag-hies di sa</i>
 when=arrive LIM SF,B=say T boy/man LK IMP,SF=pack CMP REF
 <i>kamo."</i>
 I,2,PL</p> <p>7. <i>Kamhan in=azi-han niran ya toong mga lomon*.</i>
 SQ <u>RF,B=pass/experience=</u> II,3,PL T IV,3,S PL close.relative</p> | <p>1. The man said to his wife, "Let's discuss this because this our child is of marriageable age.</p> <p>2. If you like that girl, she is the one we'll get as a wife for our son."</p> <p>3. The wife said, "I like that.</p> <p>4. Let's initiate the marriage contract."</p> <p>5. They collected husked rice, palm wine and pig.</p> <p>6. When they arrived (from getting these) the man said, "Pack up everything."</p> <p>7. Then they passed by the house of his close relatives.</p> |
|--|--|

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=-HORT REF I,2,PL
itonhò."
 D₂

8. When they arrived at the house of their close relative the owner of the house said, "Why have you come here?"

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

9. They answered, "You accompany us because we will initiate a marriage contract."

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

10. The man said, "Yes."

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

11. Then they went 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

12. When they arrived at the house of the girl the man said, "We are here."

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.here=up

13. The owner of the house said, "You climb up here."

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

14. When they had climbed up the father said, "If it's possible, I will inform you so that you know that I have a purpose here concerning you."

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

15. I have come here because I like your child.

16. *Agad warà mag-ka-tarato ya maanak ta kay*
 even.though NEG SF,NB=NR=betroth T child II,1,PL,IN because
hao-y dakola-ng ka-azak kanmo daw maanak mo.*
 I,1,S=T big=LG NR=want/like III,2,S and child 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. *Hao min-dateng dini kamazo kay.dazaw ma-sazod hao*
 I,1,S SF,B=arrive L₁ III,2,PL so.that ST,SF,NB=know I,1,S
kon dawat-en hao kon diri."
 if/when receive=OF,NB I,1,S or NEG

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

18. *Min-laong ya ama na babazi, "Ey, daw*
 SF,B=say T father NT girl/woman ATTN INT
ma-ono sa kon mag-ka-ozon ya ka-sabet-an*
 ST,SF,NB=what/why REF INT SF,NB=ST=parallel T COL=agree/discuss=_
ta?"
 II,1,PL,IN

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

19. *Kamhan min-laong di ya amaama nga, "Ey, manginem*
 SQ SF,B=say CMP T boy/man LK ATTN DIST,SF,NB:drink
naa kita."
 HORT I,1,PL,IN

19. Then the man said, "Let's drink."

20. *Kamhan ya tebà nga dara im-pa-inem dazon ka*
 SQ T palm.wine LK carry ACCF,B=CAUS=drink IMM O
tag-lagkaw daw in-lamisa-han di ka makaen.
 owner-house and RF,B=table=_ CMP O food

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. *Pagka-kamhan ka niran pag-pangaen min-sangat disab*
 when=finish LIM II,3,PL INF=DIST:eat SF,B=start ADD
pag-laong-laong.
 INF=CRD,NPUR=say

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

22. *Izang tao min-laong, "Ey, na-kamhan di sa kita*
 D₂ person/live SF,B=say ATTN ST,SF,B=finish CMP REF I,1,PL,IN
wani pag-pangaen.
 now INF=DIST:eat

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

23. *An-sangat disab kita pag-paraakan ka pag-laong-laong."*
 SF,NB=start ADD I,1,PL,IN INF=much O INF=CRD,NPUR=say

23. Let's begin talking."

24. *Kamhan min-sambag ya taga-amaama, "E.e.ey.*

SQ SF,B=answer T owner=boy/man AFFIR

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

25. *Kay ya tozò nao koman paga=t-in-ingbeet-en ta*
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

25. Because my purpose is to confirm our agreement.

26. *Kon iko an-dawat kanao ining maanak o*
if/when I,2,S SF,NB=receive III,1,S D₁ child II,1,S

i-pangasawa o kontana ka maanak mo kon iko
ACCF,NB=CAUS:wife/marry II,1,S OPT O child II,2,S if/when I,2,S
ma-gosto kanao."
ST,SF,NB=want III,1,S

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

27. *Min-sambag ya ama na babazi nga, "Hao ey, diri*

SF,B=answer T father NT girl/woman LK I,1,S ATIN NEG
hao an-diri ka olitao mazo kay hao diri sa kon
I,1,S SF,NB=refuse O unmarried.boy II,2,PL because I,1,S NEG REF LK
hao ka-y an--asawa ka maanak o.
I,1,S O=T SF,NB=wife/marry O child II,1,S

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. *Piro ya kanmong maanak diri hao an--apora nga mag-helà*
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

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

29. *Iko ka sa-y peteng ya maga-beet."*

I,2,S LIM REF=T LIM T CONT,SF,NB=decide

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

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,RF,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

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. *Kay ini t-in-igbeet di nga sabet."*

because D₁ confirm=NR=_ CMP LK agree/discuss

31. Because this is the confirmation now of our agreement."

32. *Min-sambag ya ama na babazi nga, "Kay ani sa*
 SF,B=answer T father NT girl/woman LK because TD REF
iza ya tozò mo kanao.
 I,3,S T purpose II,2,S III,1,S

32. The father of the girl replied, "Because that is your purpose regarding me.

33. *Ya kanmong maanak mag-helà di naa dini kanao*
 T IV,2,S child SF,NB=dwell CMP HORT L₁ III,1,S
kay.dazaw maga-aligra di dini.*
 so.that CONT,SF,NB=care.for CMP L₁

33. Your child will live here at my place so that he can take care of things here.

34. *Mag-tabang di iza ka mga tarabaho nao."*
 SF,NB=help CMP I,3,S O PL work II,1,S

34. He will help with my work."

35. *Na, izang ama na nangasawa min-hatag ka mga*
 NIF D₂ father NT NR:wife/marry SF,B=give O PL
kowarta ka pag-ka-tigbeet nga mim-paningoha iza ka
 money O INF=NR=confirm LK SF,B=DIST:make.every.effort I,3,S O
toong maanak.
 IV,3,S child

35. Then the betrothed boy's father gave money making every effort to confirm it (the formal contract for the marriage) for his son.

36. *Min-laong ya ama ka nangasawa nga, "Iko mag-helà di*
 SF,B=say T father O NR:wife/marry LK I,2,S SF,NB=dwell CMP
ko dini.
 I,2,S L₁

36. The betrothed boy's father said to him, "You live here.

37. *Ya tarabaho mo an-tabang ko ka mga tarabaho.*
 T work II,2,S SF,NB=help I,2,S O PL work

37. Your work is to help with the work.

38. *Am-pangisdà ko. 39. Mang-gabok ko.*
 SF,NB=DIST:fish I,2,S SF,NB=firewood I,2,S

38. You fish. 39. You gather firewood.

40. *Mag-sag-eb ko. 41. Tanan ya tarabaho=en.*
 SF,NB=fetch.water I,2,S all T work=OF,NB

40. You fetch water.
 41. All of this is your work.

42. *Tanan dini ka lagkaw ani sab pag-tarabaho-on mo kay iton*
 all L₁ O house TD ADD NR=work=OF,NB II,2,S because D₂
nga tarabaho mo pangalagad ta ka tag-babazi.
 LK work II,2,S NR:serve II,1,PL,IN O owner=girl/woman

42. All of this here in the house is also your work because that work of yours is our service to the owner of the girl.

43. *Kon t-em=egbeng ko ka mga longsod kon*
 if/when go.down-SF,NB=_ I,2,S O PL city if/when
mag--oli ko may mga dara mo gihapon nga tebà,
 SF,NB=return.home I,2,S EXT PL carry II,2,S ADD LK palm.wine
isdà.
 fish

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

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

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

45. *Ani sa-y 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

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

46. *Pagka=ika=lima-ng bolan ka-y 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 II,3,PL O PL money PL wild.pig PL husked.rice

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

47. *Na-tipon di niran ya mga harominta niran ka*
 ST,SF,B=gather CMP II,3,PL T PL goods II,3,PL O
pag=pangasawa niran, daw ya i-bazad-ay ka in-azò nga*
 INF=CAUS:wife II,3,PL and T ACCF,NB=pay=NR O OF,B=ask.for LK
kowarta daw mga lodzò 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 tebà daw bino kaan.
 ACCF,NB=CAUS=buy O palm.wine and wine soon

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. *Pagka=biernis ka kiza mim-pan-dapit disab siran kaniran*
 when=Friday LIM D₂ SF,B=DIST=contact ADD I,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

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

49. *Namanaw dazon siran.*
 DIST,SF,B:go IMM I,3,PL

49. They immediately left.

50. *Pag-dateng ka niran ka lagkaw na babazi min-laong ya*
 when=arrive LIM II,3,PL O house NT girl/woman SF,B=say T
ama na nangasawa nga, "Ey, wani disab kami."
 father NT NR:wife/marry LK ATTN L₁ ADD I,1,PL,EX

51. *Min-sambag ya ama nga tag-babazi, "E.e.ey,*
 SF,B=answer T father LK owner-girl/woman AFFIR
panapon sa kamo iton."
 DIST,SF,NB:climb.up REF I,2,PL D₂

52. *Na, pagpakapa-himlay ka kiza niran mim-pamatay dazon*
 NIF when=rest LIM D₂ II,3,PL SF,B-DIST:die IMM
siran ka mga boog daw ya iba min-sen-ad ka mga
 I,3,PL O PL wild.pig and PL companion SF,B=cook O PL
begas daw mga kami.
 husked.rice and PL meat

53. *Ya ama na olitao min-lamisa dazon kining tebà*
 T father NT unmarried.boy SF,B=table IMM D₁ palm.wine
daw bino.
 and wine

54. *Masara-ng in--inem--inem niran.*
 very-LG OF,B=CRD,REP=drink II,3,PL

55. *Pag-panga-hebeg ka na mga tao diri ko*
 when=DIST,PL=drunk LIM NT PL person/live NEG I,2,S
maka-bait ka kina-bezeng nga l-in-aong-laong na
 ABL,SF,NB=hear O NR=noisy LK CRD,NPUR=NR=_=say NT
ka-tao-han.
COL=person/live=_

56. *Ani di ing-kegtà na mga tao kay*
 TD CMP OF,B=startle NT PL person/live because
min-warawara di sa ining dowa-ng ka tao nga
 SF,B=motion.with.hand CMP REF D₁ two-LG O person/live LK
min-laong nga, "Hala pangarini kamo kay away kita
 SF,B=say LK go.on DIST:come.here I,2,PL because fight I,1,PL,IN
mazo."
 II,2,PL

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."

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.
 person/live LK INS,SF,B=argue

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

58. *Ya mga tao nga iba nangempag*
 T PL person/live LK companion DIST,SF,B=jump
ngam-babà ka lopà daw mga babazi ani koma-y kolang
 toward.there-down O earth and PL girl/woman TD now=T lack
ya mga bari-an siran.
 T PL harm=RF,NB I,3,PL

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

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

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

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

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

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

61. It was all torn apart by the drunks.

62. *Kamhan izang dowang ka tao maga-sagiman=an di*
 SQ D₂ two=LG O person/live CONT,NB=step.on=RF CMP
na mga hebeg kay siran nga dowang warà inem ka tebà.
 NT PL drunk because I,3,PL LK two NEG drink O palm.wine

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

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

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

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 L₃ T
kardiroloto-ng bolos, karahà isa.
 pot three=LG piece skillet one

66. *Ya lodzò 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 DIR₃ O
banwa.
 forest

72. *Ma-gazon kay may isa-ng ka batà*
 ST,SF,NB=good because EXT one=LG O child
maga-s-in-inggüt nga, "Ariari kamo kay min-dalagan
 CONT,SF,NB=scream=INS=_ LK hurry I,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 iton?"
 CONT,SF,NB=ST=what/why REF I,2,S D₂

74. *Diri ko kiton nga batasan mo."*
 NEG I,2,S D₂ LK behavior II,2,S

65. When it was morning and breakfast was finished the father of the boy said, "Here are the three rice pots and one skillet.

66. There are three bolo knives. 67. There are one dozen enamel plates.

68. There are fifty pesos yet."

69. When he was finished (enumerating) the father of the girl received everything.

70. The stepmother of the girl said, "Put this dress on Oday."

71. When the girl heard this she ran to the forest.

72. It was good because there was one child who screamed, "You hurry because she's run off!"

73. Immediately the father chased her saying, "Why are you doing this?"

74. Don't you behave like that."

75. *Pagpaka-dateng doro ka lagkaw im-pa-bado-an di.*
 when-arrive L₄ O house RF,B=CAUS=clothe=_ CMP

75. Upon arrival at the house they put the dress on her.

76. *Pagka-kamhan ka pag-badò in-habit-an niran ya babazi.*
 when-finish LIM INF=clothe RF,B=hold.hand=_ II,3,PL T
 girl/woman

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

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

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

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 salem ka helà na babazi min-dakep disab ka boog.*
 when-arrive LIM II,3,PL downriver O Kasagazan LK location.beyond.certain.point O dwelling NT girl/woman SF,B=catch ADD O wild.pig

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

80. *Na, in-dara niran ngan-dilod ka Sinasawan* nga ika-dowa-ng ka-dng-an helà naizang amaama.*
 NIF ACCF,B=carry II,3,PL toward.there-downriver O Sinasawan LK ORD=two=LG NR=arrive=_ dwelling D₂ boy/man

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

81. *Kamhan izang babazi min-loos di kontana.*
 SQ D₂ girl/woman SF,B=leave.without.permission CMP OPT

81. Then the girl tried to get away.

82. *Pag-dateng ka niran ka Sinasawan masara-ng pag-ka-sazà na mga bozag kay naka-kawà di siran ka babazi.*
 when-arrive LIM II,3,PL O Sinasawan very=LG NR=ST=happy NT PL old.woman because ABL,SF,B=get CMP I,3,PL O girl/woman

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

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

83. They also prepared the wild pig. 84. They roasted the two wild pigs.

85. *Ya isa im-pan-lotò niran ka pag=pa-bibo niran ka*
 T one ACCF,B=DIST=cook II,3,PL O when=CAUS=fun II,3,PL O
binalazi niran kay min-sazà gazed siran kay*
 daughter.in.law II,3,PL because SF,B=happy EMPH I,3,PL because
naka-ganas di.*
 ABL,SF,B=marriage.celebration CMP

86. *Pag-dateng ka na mga tebà daw mga Tawe*
 when=arrive LIM NT PL palm.wine and PL lowlander
nanginem disab ya mga tao.
 DIST,SF,B:drink ADD T PL person/live

87. *Nanga-hebeg disab.* 88. *Nanazaw disab siran.*
 DIST,PL,SF,B=drunk ADD DIST,SF,B:dance ADD I,3,PL

89. *Ya iba nan-geel ka babazi nga nanazaw.*
 T companion SF,B=embrace O girl/woman LK DIST,SF,B:dance

90. *Min--amot siran ka kowarta.* 91. *Kada isa pisos.*
 SF,B=contribute I,3,PL O money each one peso

92. *Ya bana na babazi geel-an isab na iba.*
 T husband NT girl/woman embrace=RF,NB ADD NT companion

93. *An--amot sab ya an-geel kon may bienti*
 SF,NB=contribute ADD T SF,NB=embrace if/when EXT twenty
ma-himò.
 ST,SF,NB=possible

94. *Kon may singkowinta ma-himò.*
 if/when EXT fifty ST,SF,NB=possible

95. *Kon pisos ma-himò.*
 if/when peso ST,SF,NB=possible

96. *Masara-ng ka-bezeng isab niran kay ingkazab ka mga*
 very=LG NR=noisy ADD II,3,PL because NR:happy O PL
naga-g-in-eel-geel nga naga-panazaw.
 CONT,SF,B=CRD,REP=INS=_=embrace LK CONT,SF,B=DIST:dance

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.

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

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

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

98. Their eyes were painful from dancing, laughing, and 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 I,3,PL

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

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

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

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,SF,B=leave CMP O house II,3,PL

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 *pagkombiti* '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 (*tandè/hingkat*), it is not uncommon for young people to elope (*tayaban, 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.

4. *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 *tandè/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-azò*) 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 *tandè/hingkat* the date of the wedding (*kasal*) is decided on. If a second suitor comes to the girl after the *tandè/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:

<i>asawhenen</i>	'betrothed girl'
<i>balikad</i>	'having one parent deceased'
<i>balò nga babazi/amaama</i>	'widow/widower'
<i>dalaga/olitaò</i>	'unmarried girl/boy'
<i>higara</i>	'peer group'
<i>ilo</i>	'orphan'
<i>nangasawa</i>	'betrothed boy'
<i>pamilya</i>	'nuclear family' (man, wife, plus unmarried children)
<i>pangasaw-enen</i>	'betrothed girl'
<i>sakop</i>	'clan member'
<i>tarato</i>	'betroth'

16. *kaazak* '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. *magkaozon* 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 [*sabét*] 'to understand' and [*sábet*] '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 /*[sabét]*/ 'to understand'
33. *magaaligra* 'care for'. At the conclusion of the *tandè/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 sikrito* and *tandè/hingkat* 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.